

# SIX DECADES OF PEACEKEEPING

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*A principle of the United Nations which is absolutely binding upon all is the maintenance of peace, in order to protect human life.*

— Dag Hammarskjöld, UN Secretary-General

Though the concept of peacekeeping was evolved immediately after the United Nations (UN) was founded, peacekeeping as a means to resolve conflicts began only with the deployment of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation (UNTSO) into the Middle East in 1948 to monitor the Arab-Israeli ceasefire. Since then, the UN has established a total of 63 peace missions, of which 50 were in the post-Cold War era. Presently, more than 1,23,000 (92,000 uniformed personnel and 21,000 civilians) from 117 countries are serving in the 18 UN peacekeeping missions across the world. In the last six decades, the UN has spent \$ 61 billion for peacekeeping. The peacekeeping budget has increased significantly in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and now stands at \$ 7.1 billion for the accounting year 2008-09.<sup>1</sup> Peacekeeping, during the Cold War period traditionally involved employment of unarmed or lightly armed military

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1. United Nations Peacekeeping Operations – Fact Sheet, available at <http://www.un.org/depts/dpko/dpko/bnote.htm>

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personnel to observe a ceasefire or withdrawal of the forces after the ceasefire has been signed by the conflicting nations. The only exception to this traditional peacekeeping role was in Congo in the early 1960s, when the UN hesitatingly undertook robust actions, including use of offensive air power to suppress the rebel forces and to restore the territorial integrity of the country.

Though there were more than 100 major conflicts and 20 million deaths around the world during the period of the Cold War, the UN intervention for conflict resolution was limited to just 18.<sup>2</sup> The UN was unable to respond to the remaining crises, mainly due to the lack of resolve among the members of Security Council, especially the USA and Soviet Union which were engaged in proxy war and cultivating client states, and lack of consent by the affected nations for fear of prolonged presence of UN forces in their countries. Even when the UN responded, consensus could not be reached among the five permanent members (P-5) for any robust action and the intervention was limited to observing ceasefire, withdrawal of troops, supervision of political transition and holding of election in the newly decolonised countries. The end of the Cold War also brought an end to the “veto culture,” of the superpowers, thus, paving the way for greater cooperation among the members of the Security Council to resolve many long standing conflicts. The 1990s witnessed an unprecedented surge in peacekeeping activities: a total of 38 peacekeeping missions were established in one decade alone as compared to 18 until the end of the 1980s. The peace operations in the post-Cold War era also threw up many challenges to the peacekeepers, thus, necessitating many a peace-enforcement operations. Whenever Chapter VI operation did not bring in peaceful settlement to the crises, the Security Council, without much reluctance, authorised more robust actions under Chapter VII, especially to deal with humanitarian crises. In the

2. Boutros Boutros Ghali, “Agenda for Peace - Preventive Diplomacy, Peace-making and Peacekeeping,” 1992, available at <http://www.globalpolicy.org/reform/initiatives/ghali/1992/0617peace.htm>

post-Cold War era, the most difficult and arduous challenges to peacekeepers were presented by civil wars in “failed states,” where governmental functions were suspended, police and judiciary had collapsed, infrastructure destroyed and the population uprooted. The nature of conflicts, steadily shifted from inter-state to intra-state as the millennium came to a close. In the growing intra-state conflicts, innocent civilians, particularly women and children, have become victims as hundreds of thousands of these defenceless people were massacred by the marauding forces, rebels and militias, as was witnessed in Cambodia, East Timor, Rwanda and Democratic Republic (DR) of Congo, etc. The contemporary intra-state conflicts present multi-dimensional roles for the peacekeepers, who, unlike in the past, also have to deal with post-conflict peace and nation-building activities, besides carrying out peacekeeping roles: Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR).

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Ever since the deployment of the UN Protection Force in 1992 for the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, the dependence on air power for peacekeeping has become marked. As in the case of conventional conflicts, the application of air power for peacekeeping operations gained operational acceptability among the members of the Security Council for prosecuting peace-enforcement and post-conflict peace-building operations. In order to enhance the success of intrusive peace-enforcement, all facets of military capability such as intelligence gathering, integrated C3 (Command, Control and Communication), aerospace power, maritime power/sea control, forcible entry, strategic mobility, global logistic support, land combat power, nation-building, etc had to be employed. Of all these capabilities, air power stands out distinctly because of the speed and effect it can lend to peace operations, both pacific and enforcement.<sup>3</sup> Air power resources for troop movement, logistic

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3. Steven Metz, “The Air Force Role in UN Peacekeeping,” available at <http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/airchronicles/apj/apj93/win93/metzz.htm>

support, intelligence gathering, airborne early warning, interdiction, counter-air missions, close air support, communication, casualty evacuation, etc became more prominent since the Yugoslavian crisis. The changing dimensions of 21<sup>st</sup> century peace operations would require the use of advance capabilities of air power in the realms of Intelligence, Surveillance and Communication (ISR) enabled through space-based platforms.<sup>4</sup>

In order to understand why and how the UN peacekeeping has changed over the years and what shape it will take in future, it is pertinent to understand the procedure for establishing UN peacekeeping missions, peacekeeping roles envisioned in the UN Charter, elements of peacekeeping force and force structure, conduct of peace operations, principles and guidelines of peacekeeping as set out in UN Charter and later evolved through precedence, legal tenets and international laws concerning peacekeeping, and the reforms undertaken by the UN to make the peacekeeping operation ensure international peace and security in the evolving geo-political security scenario.

## **PEACEKEEPING IN THE UN CHARTER**

Though *peacekeeping* is one of the main activities of the UN, the UN Charter makes no explicit mention of it. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the UN, to maintain international peace and security, the members of the UN confer on the Security Council the power and responsibility to take collective action. The international community expects that the Security Council, while discharging its peacekeeping duties, will act in accordance with the *purpose and principles* of the UN. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for maintenance of international peace and security shall be in accordance with Chapters VI, VII, and VIII. Generally, the peace operations are established and implemented by the UN itself, with troops serving under UN command. In some cases, where direct UN involvement is not considered appropriate or feasible, the Security Council may authorise regional agencies such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Organisation of African Union (OAU) or

a coalition of willing states to implement both peacekeeping and peace-enforcement functions on behalf of the UN, in accordance with provisions contained in Chapter VIII of the UN Charter.<sup>4</sup>

*Chapter VI – Pacific Settlement of Disputes*

Under Article 33(1), the UN Security Council (UNSC) may call upon the parties to any dispute which may endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, to resolve the dispute by means of negotiation, inquiry, third party mediation, conciliation arbitration, judicial settlement or any other means of the disputant's choice.

Article 34 empowers the UNSC to "investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to dispute in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international security."

Under Article 37, if the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall initiate actions considered appropriate, for the pacific settlement of the dispute<sup>5</sup>.

Chapter VI lays down the guidelines for pacific settlement of conflicts and forms the basis of consensual peacekeeping. It implies that peacekeeping would be voluntary and non-enforceable. All peacekeeping operations, with the exception of Congo, launched by the UN until the end of the Cold War were Chapter VI operations. The fundamental feature of Chapter VI operations is the consent of the parties to the deployment of peacekeepers to resolve conflicts.

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4. Bruce Jones, "Evolving Models of Peacekeeping – Policy Implications and Responses," available at <http://www.smallwarjournal.com/documents/pkomodels>

5. UN Charter VI, available at <http://yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/un/unchart.htm>

**Force beyond self-defence also may be used by the peacekeepers when forced to withdraw from their position, disarm, and prevented from fulfilling the mission mandate.**

*Chapter VII – Action With Respect to Peace, Breaches of Peace and Acts of Aggression*

Under Article 39, the UN Security Council “shall determine the existence of any threat to peace, breach of peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations or decide what measures shall be taken.”

Article 41 allows the use of measures not involving use of armed forces; these are economic and diplomatic sanctions (complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, radio and other means of communication and severance of diplomatic relations). Article 42 states that should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 are inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockades and other operations by air, sea or land forces of the members of the UN.

Article 43 calls upon all member states to make provisions to make available to the Security Council, “armed forces, assistance and facilities including the rights of passage of the troops.”

Article 44 stipulates that whenever the Security Council decides to use force, it shall, before calling upon a member not represented on it, provide armed forces in fulfilment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that member to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that member’s armed forces.<sup>6</sup>

Chapter VII provides the guidelines for “action with respect to peace, breaches of peace and acts of aggression” comprising enforcement actions (use of military, sanctions and severance of diplomatic ties). Generally, Chapter VII operations are authorised by the Security Council only in grave situations such as to prevent acts of aggression, to deal with armed conflict, to

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6. UN Charter VII, available at <http://yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/un/unchart.htm>

facilitate humanitarian operations and to protect life and property of the UN in the mission area.

Force beyond self-defence also may be used by the peacekeepers when forced to withdraw from their position, disarm, and prevented from fulfilling the mission mandate.<sup>7</sup> Though the UN will try and seek consent from the parties before undertaking peace-enforcement operations, it may not possible or may not be done where the operations are necessitated on account of human catastrophe or where the legitimacy of the government is questionable.

### *Chapter VIII – Regional Arrangements (Hybrid Operations)*

Article 52 authorises regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the UN. Members of the UN, when entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies, shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of disputes.

Article 53 empowers the Security Council to allow regional arrangements or agencies to undertake peace-enforcement action. But no enforcement action shall be taken by regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorisation of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against any enemy state to prevent further aggression.<sup>8</sup>

Budgetary constraints, time delay involved in mustering the troops and lack of troop support from major military powers since the mid-1990s have forced the UN to follow a flexible approach and tailor its peacekeeping response based on resources available in a particular situation, while structuring the peace operation.

Compulsions of the emerging attitude of major military powers in committing their military troops for peace operations under the aegis of the UN, has prompted it to resort to joint or hybrid operations to avail of the advantage of legitimacy and force, two distinct requirements of peacekeeping

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7. Boris Kondoch, *International Peacekeeping* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2007 Edition), p. 190.

8. UN Charter VIII, available at <http://yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/un/unchart.htm>

operations. In many cases, this flexible approach of the UN has resulted in coopting a bilateral force, a multinational force under a lead country or regional or sub-regional organisations. These non-UN organisations can supplement or fill up troop deficiency. The UN has been conducting hybrid operations with regional arrangements like NATO, European Union (EU), ECOWAS and OAU. Four types of hybrid operations have evolved over the years: integrated operation (UN and regional agencies operate with a single joined command: Haiti – UN/EU/OSCE); coordinated operation (UN and regional organisations operate side-by-side under separate command structure but in a coordinated fashion: Kosovo – UN/NATO); parallel operation (UN and regional organisations operate alongside forces of other countries: Rwanda – UN and France led forces); and sequential operations (UN precedes multinational/regional/bilateral forces: Sierra Leone).<sup>9</sup>

#### *Chapter VI versus Chapter VII Operations*

While peacekeeping under Chapter VI still remains the most preferred option, the proliferation of violent intra-state conflicts in the recent past has compelled the UN to authorise peace-enforcement operations under Chapter VII. Expectedly and significantly, the emphasis on UN Chapter VII mandated that peace operations would have a strong impulse in the future years. And this point needs to be taken into account.<sup>10</sup> Considering the highly fragile political atmosphere and internal security in many nations in various parts of the world, UN intervention under Chapter VII peace-enforcement is highly probable.

#### *Peacekeeping Defined*

In simple terms, peacekeeping is primarily a diplomatic tool used to stimulate the peaceful resolution of conflict and is not an end in itself. Dag Hammarskjöld, the second UN Secretary-General, referred to it as belonging to “Chapter Six and a Half” of the Charter, placing it between traditional methods of resolving disputes peacefully, such as negotiation and mediation

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9. Jones, n.4.

10. AVM Kapil Kak (Retd), “IAF and Peacekeeping Operations,” *Air Power Journal*, vol.2, no.3, Monsoon 2005 (July-September).



under Chapter VI, and more forceful action as authorised under Chapter VII.

*Peacekeeping as defined by UN is “a way to help countries torn by conflict and create conditions for sustainable peace.”<sup>11</sup> A more comprehensive and apt definition is the one offered by the International Peace Academy: “Peacekeeping is an international technique used in conjunction with diplomacy for the purpose of conflict management. Peacekeeping operations employ voluntary military and diplomatic personnel from one or more countries, either to create the conditions for conflict resolution or to prevent further hostilities through the supervision of an interim or final settlement of conflict. Peacekeeping forces are impartial and exist only with the consent of the host countries of all disputing parties; therefore, peacekeeping forces do not interfere with the internal affairs of the host countries or use coercion to enforce agreements – the use of force is limited to self defence.”* This definition embodies three principles or foundations that set peacekeeping apart from other international methods of conflict control or resolution: consent, impartiality and use of force limited to self-defence.

### ***UN Bodies Responsible for Peacekeeping***

When the United Nations was established, it was composed of six principal organs: General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), Trusteeship Council, Secretariat, and International Court of Justice. Since then, the UN family has grown over the years and now has 15 agencies, several bodies and programmes. Of these six principal organs, the Trusteeship Council suspended its operations from November 1, 1994, as the last such territory under it, Palau, became a formal member of the UN. Four of the UN organs are located at the main United Nations Headquarters located in the international territory in

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11. “UN Peacekeeping – FAQ – Meeting New Challenges,” available at [www.un.org/Depts/dpko/faq](http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/faq)

New York City and the fifth, the International Court of Justice, is located in the Hague.<sup>12</sup> The principal organs of the UN are briefly explained below:

- **UN General Assembly.** It is the main deliberative organ and is composed of representatives of all member states, each of which has one vote. Decisions on all important matters such as peace and security, admission of new members and budgetary matters, etc require two-thirds majority, but other issues require only simple majority. Though the General Assembly is the main deliberative organ of the UN, in practice it does not have any executive powers with regard to maintenance of peace. As per Article 11 of the UN Charter, the General Assembly may discuss, make recommendations and call the attention of the Security Council regarding issues related to maintenance of international peace and security. Under the "*Uniting for Peace*" resolution adopted by the General Assembly in November 1950, the Assembly may take action if the Security Council, in the event of lack of unanimity of its permanent members, fails to act where there appears to be a threat to international peace, breach of peace or act of aggression. The Assembly is empowered to consider the matter immediately and with a view to making recommendations to the members for collective measures, including the use of armed forces when necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security.<sup>13</sup>
- **UN Security Council.** As per Article 24 of the UN Charter, the General Assembly confers on the Security Council the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and agrees that in carrying out its duties, it shall act in accordance with the purpose and the principles of the UN. The Council consists of fifteen members of the UN, of which the US, UK, France, China and Russia (five members) are permanent and the other ten are non-permanent members elected for two years, on the basis of equitable geographical distribution. Each member has one vote and decisions on procedural matters are made by an affirmative vote of at least 9 of the 15 members, and on substantive matters, require

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12. "UN Organisation," available at <http://www.un.org/depts/depts>

13. *The UN Today* (UN Department Information, 2007 edition), p. 7.

nine votes and the absence of a negative vote by any one of the P-5. If a permanent member does not fully agree with a proposed resolution, but does not wish to cast its vote, it may choose to abstain, thus, allowing the resolution to be adopted if it obtains the required number of nine votes in favour. Under Article 25 of the UN Charter, all members of the UN agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council. While other organs of the UN make recommendations to member states, the Council alone has the power to take decisions, which member states are obligated under the Charter to implement. The Security Council is the primary decision-making body with regard to establishment or closure of peacekeeping/peace-enforcing missions<sup>14</sup>.

- **Secretariat.** The Secretariat is headed by the Secretary-General, who is assisted by a staff of international civil servants worldwide. The Secretariat services the other principal organs of the UN and administers the programmes and policies laid down by them. It provides studies, information, and facilities needed by United Nations bodies for their meetings. Some key offices such as the Office of Legal Affairs (OLA), Department of Political Affairs (DPA), Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), Department of Field Support (DFS), Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) and Department of Public Information (DPI) are part of the Secretariat.
- **Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO).** Established in 1992, the department is responsible for assisting member states and the Secretary General in their efforts to maintain, achieve and sustain international peace and security. DPKO is responsible to plan, prepare, manage and direct UN peacekeeping operations, so that they can effectively fulfill their mandates under the overall authority of the Security Council and General Assembly and under the command vested in the Secretary-General. DPKO provides political and executive direction to UN peacekeeping operations. It also maintains contact with the Security Council, troop and financial contributors, and parties to the conflict in the implementation of Security

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14. Ibid., p. 8.

Council mandates.<sup>15</sup> The Department works to integrate the efforts of UN, governmental and non-governmental entities in the context of peacekeeping operations. It also provides guidance and support on military, police, mine clearing activities, and other relevant issues to other UN political and peace building missions. DPKO is headed by an Under Secretary General, who is assisted by a military advisor and policy and analysis unit. DPKO has two main branches: Operations, and Planning and Support. The Operation Branch is responsible for controlling the ongoing missions and is divided into Africa, Asia, Middle East, Latin America and Europe divisions. The Planning and Support Branch undertakes the planning of new missions and provides field support to ongoing missions. The functions of this branch are shared between Field Administration and Logistics (FALD) and Planning. FALD is responsible to plan logistic support for new missions, administer ongoing missions and provide staff for the logistic functions in the peacekeeping missions.<sup>16</sup>

- **Department of Field Support (DFS).** DFS was established on June 29, 2007, as part of the reforms undertaken in the face of growing demands for UN peacekeeping and aims to strengthen the capacity of the organisation to manage and sustain the peace operations, which are spread around the world. Under the new arrangement, DPKO is responsible for strategic oversight and operational political guidance, while DFS is charged with planning, deployment and maintenance. In order to help ensure unity of command, the Under Secretary General for Field Support reports to, and receives directions from, the Under Secretary General for Peacekeeping Operations.<sup>17</sup>

## AGENDA FOR PEACE

With the end of the Cold War, there came a new enthusiasm among the P-5 of the UN Security Council for contributing more constructively towards maintenance of international peace and security. In order to resolve many

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15. Ibid., p. 28.

16. Ibid., p. 28.

17. Ibid., p. 30.

long lasting conflicts, the UN had to revamp its doctrine and expand its activities beyond conventional peacekeeping. The UN's response to the emerging peacekeeping operations was unveiled by UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali in 1992 in a policy document titled *Agenda for Peace, Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping*. The new peace agenda proposed the expansion and enlargement of UN peacekeeping. He argued that the UN should be involved in peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace-building activities. The *Agenda for Peace* envisages peace operations encompassing the earliest stages of conflict prevention to the stage of post-conflict peace-building. The significant aspects of the *Agenda for Peace* are:<sup>18</sup>

- **Preventive Diplomacy.** Preventive diplomacy envisages actions to prevent disputes developing between parties; if a dispute occurs, prevent it from escalating into a conflict, and limit its expansion. Though primarily a diplomatic activity, some situations may demand application of force to coerce the parties to avoid confrontation; in that way, preventive diplomacy includes both military and non-military activities. Military activities include confidence-building measures, early warning based on intelligence, preventive deployment of force, and maintaining forces ready for deployment. These days, preventive diplomacy is being increasingly used as a tool to demonstrate the will and commitment of nations to a pacific resolution of disputes.
- **Peacemaking.** Peacemaking involves both political and diplomatic efforts to bring the hostile parties to a negotiated settlement of the dispute, especially through pacific means such as negotiation, inquiry, mediation and conciliation as outlined in Chapter VI. A peacemaking operation is conducted after the conflict has arisen, to secure a ceasefire or a peaceful settlement. In this type of operation, all military interventions, either actual or threat of use, are preceded by diplomatic efforts. It is the belief that an apparent high state of readiness for military deployment would help in making peace.
- **Peacekeeping.** Peacekeeping involves the presence of a peace force in

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18. "An Agenda for Peace," available at [www.globalpolicy.org/reform/initiatives/ghali/1992](http://www.globalpolicy.org/reform/initiatives/ghali/1992)

the field to implement or monitor the arrangements relating to control of conflict. The facilitating arrangements may vary from ceasefire, separation of forces, monitoring of borders, and delivery of humanitarian aid. Peacekeeping is undertaken normally after the ceasefire has been achieved and there is consent from the parties to the conflict to make peace and there is low threat of disruption. Force is used only as a last resort, and when used, it is only for defence. Military tasks during peacekeeping would primarily consist of observation and monitoring of truces and ceasefires through a system of reporting and monitoring. Other tasks that could be entrusted to a peacekeeping force are: supervision of ceasefire lines, borders and demilitarised zones, refugee and displaced persons camps, DDR (Disarmament, Demobilisation, and Reintegration) of combatants, census, referendums, plebiscites and elections. Sometimes, a peacekeeping force could be entrusted with negotiation, mediation, liaison with parties to the conflict/other agencies and investigation of complaints/violations also.

- **Peace-building.** Peace-building entails actions to identify and support indigenous structures which will promote peace and build trust and interaction between the parties to the conflict. Peace-building includes but is not limited to reintegrating former combatants into the civilian society, strengthening the rule of law by training and restructuring of government institutions such as the military, police and judicial systems; monitoring of human rights and providing technical assistance for democratic development and promoting national reconciliation techniques.

## PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING

The legal doctrine of consensual peacekeeping operations under Chapter VI of the UN Charter is based on three principles. Firstly, the presence of a peacekeeping force requires the consent of the state; secondly, the force should be impartial; and, thirdly, the use of force is permitted only in the case of self-defence. These key legal principles have been derived from the establishment and operation of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I) in 1956, which became the precedent for consensual peacekeeping operations.

- **Consent of Parties.** Consent of parties to the conflict is the primary principle of all UN peacekeeping operations, except for peace-enforcement operations under Chapter VII. The parties to the conflict must agree for the truce, the participation of the multinational force for peacekeeping from the soil of the nation(s) concerned, the terms and mandates of the UN force and its composition. As a general rule, the continued consent of the concerned government(s)/parties is essential in inter-state conflicts. In civil war situations, although only the consent of the government is required from a legal point of view, in practice, the UN tries to obtain factual consent from other parties to the conflict as well. An exception to the rule of consent of the parties is applied when the UN is unable to obtain consent due to the collapse of internal authority or when resorting to “*peace-enforcement*” under Chapter VII. The UN interventions in former Yugoslavia and Liberia were undertaken without recourse to the consent of the parties, due to the total collapse of governmental functions and the governmental authority lacking credibility.<sup>19</sup>
- **Impartiality.** Another important principle is impartiality, which implies that the peacekeepers should not be party to advancing the interest of one party over the other. Without impartiality, there is hardly any prospect of preserving the confidence or cooperation of the parties to the conflict. A peacekeeping force can perform successfully only when it is trusted by all parties to the conflict. Wider international support is seen as a major contributor to overall impartiality of a mission. Impartiality must not be confused with neutrality or inaction as this will restrict both flexibility and the potential to execute an initiative. The conduct of a peacekeeping force should be impartial to the parties but can never be neutral to the execution of the mission.

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19. n. 7, p. 213.

- **Use of Force.** One of the cornerstones of peacekeeping is the defensive use of force. If not otherwise mandated under Chapter VII, peacekeepers can use force only in self-defence. However, over the years, the concept of self-defence has evolved and the UN on many occasions got involved in operations that went beyond self-defence and included robust actions. Peacekeepers would be entitled to use force beyond self-defence, when forced to withdraw from their position, infiltrate and envelop such positions as deemed necessary by their commanders for them to hold, thus, jeopardising their safety; attempts by force to disarm peacekeepers; attempts by force to prevent peacekeepers from carrying out their responsibilities as ordered by their commanders; violation by force on UN premises; attempts to arrest or abduct UN personnel (military/civil); and attempts to use force to make them withdraw from positions which they occupy under orders from the force commander. Force should be used only when negotiations and other pacific means have failed. When force is used, it should be precise, appropriate, proportional and timely, with due regard for civilian casualties and collateral damage.<sup>20</sup> Use of force also can be authorised by the Security Council to ensure safety of civilians and delivery of humanitarian assistance as was done in Somalia (UNSOM II), Kosovo (UNPROFOR), Croatia (UNCRO) and Rwanda (UNAMIR), etc.
- **International Support.** UN peacekeeping operations are to be mandated by the Security Council. A peacekeeping mission can be formed only with a positive vote of a minimum nine members, including all permanent members, of the 15-member Security Council. There must a wide support from the General Assembly and the international community for undertaking peacekeeping operations under the aegis of the UN.

## LEGAL ASPECTS OF PEACEKEEPING

UN peace operations are essentially international in composition and character. Every peacekeeping mission derives its legitimacy from statutory laws, conventions and other legal instruments. The legal status of the members

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20. Ibid., p. 176.



of the peacekeeping force is secured by the mandate of the mission, the Status of Force Agreement (SOFA) or Status of Mission Agreement (SOMA) and the Rules of Engagement (RoE).<sup>21</sup> Therefore, it is incumbent on the peacekeepers to regulate their conduct and operations entirely in pursuance of these legal instruments. Mission Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) and the Force Commander's operational orders are drawn up in consonance with the spirit of these overarching instruments, to guide the conduct of peacekeepers. The broad legal aspects of peace operations are discussed below:

- **Mandate.** A mandate emerges from the Security Council Resolution and it lays down the broad objective and time-lines for the operation. A mandate is a basic necessity for the conduct of peace operations. It is the overarching UN document which provides the outline, composition and functions of the military and civil components of a peace mission. It also lays down the procedures for humanitarian intervention and election monitoring, if planned to be held in the host country.
- **Status of Force Agreement (SOFA)/Status of Mission Agreement (SOMA).** SOFA/SOMA essentially is a legal agreement between the UN and the host country to describe the legal position of the Peace Force in the host country and also to define the relationship of the Peace Force and its members with the government and citizens of the host country. This agreement provides the Peace Force a legal international status, privileges and immunities of the UN and arrangements for the criminal jurisdiction of the force, freedom of movement to the members of the force, and authorisation to bring in arms and ammunition, carry and employ them as per conditions set out in the Rules of Engagement.
- **Rules of Engagement (RoE).** Though "use of force" is resorted to as the last option for peacekeeping, the contemporary peace operations invariably use force well beyond self-defence, either because of the volatile nature of the conflict or to fulfill the mandate of the mission. Therefore, peacekeepers must be aware of the tenets of the application of force and the RoE.

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21. Ibid.

**Rules of Engagement may be modified or changed during a peacekeeping operation depending upon the ground situation and progress of the peace operation, with the consent of UN HQ.**

The Force Commander or the Head of the Mission is responsible for drawing up the RoE, based on the mandate, resources available to the force, and terms of the agreement between the parties to the conflict. RoE are directions that delineate the circumstances and limitations for use of force. In addition to providing the legal authority, RoE also reflect the legal, political and diplomatic constraints of use of force. Nothing in the RoE prohibits

a commander from taking appropriate actions to protect his force. Rules of Engagement may be modified or changed during a peacekeeping operation depending upon the ground situation and progress of the peace operation, with the consent of the UN HQ. While RoE are essential for preventing excesses by the peacekeeping forces, many times these very rules have served as great impediments to the successful conduct of peace operations, as evidenced in former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Haiti, DR Congo, Liberia and Cote d'Ivoire.

## **INTERNATIONAL LAWS AND PEACEKEEPING**

In general, the legal status of personnel serving in peacekeeping operations refers to their rights and duties under the applicable law, and the terms of civil, service and criminal jurisdiction which are applicable. The legal status of peacekeepers is derived from four different bodies of law: the national law of the host country, the law of the intergovernmental organisation (if the peacekeeping operation is not established by a group of states), the law of the sending or participating state and the rules of general international laws (humanitarian law, human rights law and criminal law).<sup>22</sup>

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22. Ibid., p. 230.

- **International Humanitarian Law.** One of the legal disputes concerning peacekeeping operations is whether international humanitarian law is applicable and to what extent. The application of humanitarian law becomes all the more important when peacekeepers become involved in combat situations or when they are taken as hostages. The UN, being an international organisation, is not in a position to become a party to the Geneva Convention or Additional Protocols. Also, since it is not a state, it lacks the legal and other structures for dealing with violations of humanitarian law. However, this does not mean that the conduct of peace operations by UN forces will be free from humanitarian constraints or that humanitarian law considerations do not apply. For a long time, the UN argued that peacekeepers were under no legal obligations arising from international humanitarian law and they were only bound by its principles and spirit, as peacekeepers act on behalf of the international community and, therefore, cannot be considered a “party” to the conflict, nor a “power” within the meaning of the Geneva Convention.<sup>23</sup> In response to the long standing plea of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the UN promulgated “*Observance by United Nations Forces of International Humanitarian Law*” in 1999 and, for the first time, it declared itself to be bound by the fundamental principles and rules of international humanitarian law.
- **International Human Rights.** Peacekeepers should be aware of human rights standards. Until the 1990s, peacekeepers had no specific mandate related to human rights. The common understanding that “human rights violations are often the cause of conflicts and addressing them is a pre-condition for peace,” led to the assignment of various human rights functions to second generation peacekeeping and other types of human rights operations. Human rights have played an important role in the performance of UN peace operations since the Kosovo and East Timor missions. Even if human rights are incorporated in the mandate or in UN regulations, peacekeepers serving in consensual peacekeeping

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23. Ibid., p. 326.

operations are bound by human rights rules, which form part of customary international law.<sup>24</sup> In the case of peace operations established under Chapter VII, legal obligations flow at least from those rights that are legally enforceable. The UN established security zones and safe corridors for the protection of civilians in Rwanda and in Bosnia-Herzegovina are classic examples of importance attached to human rights protection during peace operations.

- **Protection of Peacekeeping Force.** In the recent years, increasing numbers of peacekeepers are becoming victims of crimes such as killing, kidnapping, hostage taking, armed robbery, etc, and protection to peacekeepers, has now become an important agenda of the UN. The safeguards and protection available to the peacekeepers under the Convention on the Safety of UN and Associated Personnel of 1994 (Safety Convention 1994), which was adopted following assaults on peacekeepers in Somalia, Rwanda and former Yugoslavia, are limited to murder, kidnapping or other attacks against personnel. As per the Safety Convention 1994, the safety of a Peace Force engaged in peace-enforcement operations undertaken under Chapter VII is outside the purview of the Safety Convention and is to be dealt with under the provisions of the Law of International Armed Conflict (IAC).<sup>25</sup> With most of the 1990s peace operations falling under Chapter VII, there was a need to bring Peace Forces engaged in peace-enforcement also under the cover of the Safety Convention. Triggered by the massacre of nine UN peacekeepers in February 2005 in DR Congo, the “Operational Protocol” to the “Convention on the Safety of the UN and Associated Personnel”, was signed in December 2005. As per this new operational protocol, UN peacekeepers would be granted legal protection when they are engaged in providing emergency humanitarian assistance, peace-building activities and delivery of humanitarian, political and development assistance.

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24. Ibid., p.312.

25. Ibid., p.410.

## PEACEKEEPING AND CHANGING ROLES

- **First Generation Peacekeeping.** The “First Generation” peacekeeping, referred to as “classic” or “traditional” peacekeeping, started in 1948 and continued until the end of the Cold War. The first full-fledged peacekeeping operation to be undertaken by the UN was the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I) in 1956, with contributions from ten nations, to supervise the withdrawal of foreign troops (Israeli, UK and France) from the Suez Canal area. The basic principles and guidelines for peacekeeping operations were evolved during this mission and these tenets continue to regulate the peacekeeping missions established thereafter. Peacekeeping was conceived as a useful means for the UN to resolve inter-state conflicts. Normally, a ceasefire had to be in place between the parties to the conflict, before the deployment of UN peacekeepers. The presence of peacekeepers was intended to provide the time and opportunity for initiating a diplomatic process to address the root cause of the conflict. The peacekeepers were not intended to fight fire with fire, but were to observe the ceasefire from the ground and report impartially on the adherence to it. The role of peacekeepers until the end of the 1980s, with the exception of Congo, was mostly to function as a neutral party to monitor the ceasefire, create and control buffer zones after the agreement had been signed, and withdrawal of forces from the ceasefire line. Out of the 13 missions established during the Cold War period, five are still operating as they have not yet fulfilled their mandates. The details of the first generation peace missions are given in Table 1.

**UN peacekeepers would be granted legal protection when they are engaged in providing emergency humanitarian assistance, peace-building activities and delivery of humanitarian, political and development assistance.**

**Table 1. First Generation Peacekeeping Missions**

<b>Start</b>	<b>End</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Acronym</b>	<b>Purpose</b>	<b>Comment</b>
1948	On-going	UN Truce Supervision Organisation	UNTSO	Monitor Arab-Israeli ceasefire.	Authorised in June 1948. The first UN peacekeeping mission.
1949	On-going	UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan	UNMOGIP	Monitor India-Pakistan ceasefire in Kashmir.	The mission still continues due to Pak claims of violation of LoC/ceasefire line.
1956	1967	UN Emergency Force 1	UNEF I	Supervise withdrawal of troops from the Suez crisis.	First armed peacekeepers. Ended in June 1967.
1958	1958	UN Observation Group in Lebanon	UNOGIL	Prevent troops and weapons entering Lebanon during crisis.	Ended in December 1958.
1960	1964	UN Operation in the Congo	ONUC	Prevent foreign intervention in and preserve territory of the Congo	Ended in June 1964.
1962	1963	UN Security Force in West New Guinea (West Irian)	UNSF	Monitor ceasefire during transition of West Irian from Dutch rule to Indonesia.	Ended in April 1963.
1963	1964	UN Yemen Observation Mission	UNYOM	Supervise disengagement of Saudi Arabia and Egypt from Yemen's civil war.	Ended in September 1964.
1964	On-going	UN Force in Cyprus	UNFICYP	Prevent conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.	

1965	1966	Mission of the Representative of the Secretary-General in the Dominican Republic	DOMREP	Monitor situation caused by rival governments in Dominican Republic. Ended in October 1966.	
1965	1966	UN India-Pakistan Observation Mission	UNIPOM	Supervise India-Pakistan ceasefire outside of Kashmir.	Ended in March 1966.
1973	1979	UN Emergency Force II	UNEF II	Supervise withdrawal of forces from Sinai after Egypt, Syria and Israel battle.	Ended in July 1979.
1974	On-going	UN Disengagement Observer Force	UNDOF	Maintain ceasefire between Syria and Israel on the Golan Heights	
1978	On-going	UN Interim Force in Lebanon	UNIFIL	Supervise Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. Keep the international peace and security, and help the Lebanese government restore its effective authority in the area.	
1988	1990	UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan	UNGOMAP	Enforce Afghanistan and Pakistan from mutual non-interference.	Ended in March 1990.
1988	1991	UN Iran-Iraq Military Observer Gp	UNIIMOG	Supervise Iran-Iraq ceasefire.	Ended in February 1991.

Source : [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Time\\_ofUnited\\_Nations\\_peacekeeping\\_missions](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Time_ofUnited_Nations_peacekeeping_missions)

- **Second Generation Peacekeeping.** “Second-Generation” peacekeeping was evolved in the late 1980s. The collapse of the Soviet Union, following the social revolution brought about by the 1988 *Glasnost* and *Perestroika*, marked a new beginning in the history of the UN functioning. The new Russian Federation under Gorbachov was more willing to contribute towards building a new world order and peace. A new spirit of cooperation began to emerge among the P-5 members, which facilitated the UN to take a central role in the international security system. The immediate result of the increased cooperation among the Security Council members was evident from the brokering of the tripartite agreement among Angola, Cuba and South Africa in December 1988 and deployment of UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTA) to oversee free and fair election in the new republic of Namibia. In one of its most complex and successful interventions, the United Nations became directly involved in peacekeeping and peacemaking efforts in Central America in 1989, when the Governments of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua requested its assistance in the implementation of their collective agreement to establish lasting peace in Central America. The role of peacekeepers exceeded beyond the traditional neutral party to cover combat functions to include demobilisation of armed Nicaraguan rebels. The second generation peacekeeping mainly focussed on ensuring smooth political transitions of newly formed republics, peacekeeping and peacemaking as demonstrated in Central America, which had been besieged by civil war, and to ensure mutual non-interference between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The UN peacekeepers, for their contribution to establish smooth political transitions in Central America and in recognition of their efforts for “reducing tensions” and making a decisive contribution towards peace negotiations, were awarded the 1988 Nobel Prize for Peace. The details of “Second Generation” peacekeeping mission are given in Table 2.<sup>26</sup>

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26. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Time\\_ofUnited\\_Nations\\_peacekeeping\\_missions](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Time_ofUnited_Nations_peacekeeping_missions)



**Table 2. Second Generation Peacekeeping Missions**

Start	End	Name	Acronym	Purpose	Comment
1988	1990	UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan	UNGOMAP	Enforce Afghanistan and Pakistan from mutual non-interference.	Ended in March 1990.
1988	1991	UN Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group	UNIIMOG	Supervise Iran-Iraq ceasefire.	Ended in February 1991.
1989	1991	UN Angola Verification Mission I	UNAVEM I	Supervise withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.	Ended in June 1991.
1989	1990	UN Transition Group	UNTAG	Supervise Namibia's elections and transition to independence.	Ended in March 1990.
1989	1992	UN Observer Group in Central America	ONUCA	Monitor ceasefire in Nicaragua	Ended in January 1992.
1991	2003	UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission	UNIKOM	Enforce Kuwait-Iraq border after Gulf War.	Ended in 2003.
1991	1995	UN Angola Vérification Mission II	UNAVEM II	Enforce ceasefire in Angolan civil war.	Ended in February 1995.
1991	On-going	UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara	MINURSO	Implement ceasefire and help promote referendum on area's future.	
1991	1992	UN Advance Mission in Cambodia	UNAMIC	Prepare the way for UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia.	Ended in March 1992.

- **Third Generation Peacekeeping.** 'Third Generation' peacekeeping evolved in the 1990s in response to domestic conflicts with complex

internal dynamics and fallouts emanating from ethnic, religious, political and linguistic conflicts. The intra-state strifes in Somalia, former Yugoslavia and Rwanda are typical of intra-state conflicts which resulted in genocide and internal displacement of millions of people. The magnitude of human tragedy caused by these conflicts, shocked and horrified the international community, forcing the UN to intervene on humanitarian grounds even without the consent of the nation and parties to the conflict. The traditional principles of consent and use of force only for self-defence became contested. With the increase in the number of conflicts in Africa, Balkans and Central America, the Security Council has found itself under pressure to respond, and approved over 37 new peace operations since 1990. Half of all current peacekeeping operations have been authorised since the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This expansion in UN peacekeeping could be justified by pointing out the international consequence of the conflict, such as refugees or preventing widespread conflict and instability. Third generation peacekeeping definitely a dramatic shift from earlier doctrines and guidelines on peacekeeping. Liberal use of military forces, policing functions, human rights interventions, reconstruction, election facilitation and monitoring and post-conflict reconstruction became the hallmarks of third generation peacekeeping. The details of peacekeeping missions established by the UN since 1991 are given Table 3.<sup>27</sup>

**Table 3. Details of Third Generation Peacekeeping Missions**

Start	End	Name	Acronym	Purpose	Comment
1991	On-going	UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara	MINURSO	Implement ceasefire and help promote referendum on area's future	

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27. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Time\\_ofUnited\\_Nations\\_peacekeeping\\_missions](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Time_ofUnited_Nations_peacekeeping_missions)

1991	1992	UN Advance Mission in Cambodia	UNAMIC	Prepare the way for UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia.	Ended in March 1992.
1992	1995	UN Protection Force	UNPROFOR and UNPRODEP	Protect area of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Republic of Macedonia.	Restructured in December 1995.
1992	1993	UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia	UNTAC	Assist reorganisation of Cambodia.	Ended in September 1993.
1992	1993	UN Operation in Somalia I	UNOSOM II	Enforce ceasefire, reorganised as Unified Task Force (UNITAF).	Replaced March 1993 by UNOSOM II.
1992	1993	UN Observer Mission to Verify the Referendum in Eritrea	UNOVER	Monitor referendum for independence of Eritrea from Ethiopia.	Ended April 1993.
1992	1994	UN Operation in Mozambique	ONUMOZ	Monitor ceasefire in Mozambique's civil war.	Ended in December 1994.
1993	1995	UN Operation in Somalia II	UNOSOM I	Stabilise Somalia and assist humanitarian efforts.	Ended in March 1995.
1993	1994	UN Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda	UNOMUR	Enforce ceasefire between Rwanda and rebel group based in Uganda	Ended in September 1994.
1993	On-going	UN Observer Mission in Georgia	UNOMIG	Enforce ceasefire between Georgia and Abkhaz separatists.	

1993	1996	UN Observer Mission in Liberia	UNOMIL	Monitor ceasefire and elections in Liberia.	Ended in September 1997.
1993	1996	UN Mission in Haiti	UNMIH	Stabilise Haiti after coup overturned.	Ended June 1996.
1993	1996	UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda	UNAMIR	Monitor ceasefire, and after Rwanda genocide, to promote relief efforts.	Ended in March 1996.
1994	1994	UN Aouzou Strip Observer Group	UNASOG	Monitor Libya's withdrawal from disputed territory given by International Court of Justice to Chad.	Ended in June 1994.
1994	2002	UN Mission of Observers in Tajikistan	UNMOT	Monitor ceasefire in Tajikistan civil war.	Ended in May 2000.
1995	1997	UN Angola Vérification Mission III	UNAVEM III	Monitor ceasefire and disarmament.	Ended in June 1997, but followed up with another mission, MONUA.
1995	1996	UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia	UNCRO	Attempts to implement ceasefire.	Ended in January 1996.
1995	1999	UN Preventive Deployment Force	UNPREDEP	Replaced UNPROFOR in former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and monitored border with Albania.	Ended in February 1999.
1995	2002	UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina	UNMIBH	Monitor human rights, de-mining, relief.	Ended in December 2002.

1996	1998	UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Sirmium	UNTAES	Supervise integration of region into Croatia.	Ended in January 1998.
1996	2002	UN Mission of Observers in Prevlaka	UNMOP	Monitor demilitarisation of the Prevlaka Peninsula, Croatia.	Ended in December 2002.
1996	1997	UN Support Mission in Haiti	UNSMIH	Modernise police and army of Haiti.	Ended July 1997.
1997	1997	UN Verification Mission in Guatemala	MINUGUA	Monitor ceasefire in Guatemala's civil war.	Ended in May 1997.
1997	1999	UN Observer Mission in Angola	MONUA	Monitor ceasefire and disarmament	Ended in February 1999.
1997	1997	UN Transition Mission in Haiti	UNTMH	Help stabilise Haiti.	Ended in November 1997.
1997	2000	UN Civilian Police Mission in Haiti	MIPONUH	Modernise Haiti's police forces.	Ended in March 2000.
1998	1998	UN Civilian Police Support Group	UNPSG	Monitor Croatian police.	Ended in October 1998.
1998	2000	UN Mission in the Central African Republic	MINURCA	Maintain security and stability in Central African Republic.	Ended in February 2000.
1998	1999	UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leone	UNOMSIL	Monitor disarmament and demobilisation in Sierra Leone.	Ended in October 1999.
1999	On-going	UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo	UNMIK	Exercise administrative authority, including administration of justice in Kosovo	

1999	2005	UN Mission in Sierra Leone	UNAMSIL	Help stabilise and disarm Sierra Leone.	Ended in December 2005.
1999	1999	UN Mission in East Timor	UNAMET	To oversee popular consultation on political relation to Indonesia.	Ended in 1999, but followed with UNTAET.
1999	2002	UN Transitional Administration in East Timor	UNTAET	Transition of East Timor to independence	Ended in May 2002, but followed with UNMISET.
1999	On-going	UN Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau	UNOGBIS	Facilitate elections in Guinea-Bissau and implementation of the Abuja Agreement	
1999	On-going	UN Org Mission in DR Congo	MONUC	Monitor ceasefire in DR Congo	
2000	2008	UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea	UNMEE	Enforce ceasefire between Ethiopia and Eritrea	Ended in July 2008.
2002	2005	United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor	UNMISET	Ensure security and stabilise the nascent state during the post-independence period.	Ended in May 2005.
2003	On-going	United Nations Mission in Liberia	UNMIL	Oversee ceasefire and train national police.	
2004	On-going	United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire	UNOCI	Facilitate implementation of peace process.	
2004	On-going	United Nations Stabilisation Mission in Haiti	MINUSTAH	Return stability to Haiti	

2004	2006	United Nations Operation in Burundi	ONUB	Help implement the Arusha accords	Ended in December 2006, replaced by BINUB.
2005	On-going	United Nations Mission in the Sudan	UNMIS	Support implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, perform certain functions relating to humanitarian assistance, and protection and promotion of human rights.	
2006	On-going	United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste	UNMIT	Support the government in consolidating stability, enhancing a culture of democratic governance, and facilitating political dialogue among Timorese stakeholders, in their efforts to bring about a process of national reconciliation and to foster social cohesion.	
2007	On-going	United Nations African Union Mission in Darfur	UNAMID	Monitor arms trade and shipping, to cause and keep the ceasefire.	
2007	On-going	UN Mission in the CAR & Chad	MINURCAT		

Source : [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Time\\_ofUnited\\_Nations\\_peacekeeping\\_missions](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Time_ofUnited_Nations_peacekeeping_missions)

### TREND LINES

The nature of conflicts in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has forced a greater degree of consensus in the UN Security Council and acceptance of "Peace Enforcement" to hasten the resolution to conflicts. There is an enlarging area of legitimate tasks as part of contemporary peace operations. As part of the conflict resolution, peace-building and humanitarian assistance operations have become integral to the contemporary peace operations. A contemporary peace operation mandate encompasses a variety of roles such as end civil wars, establish/reestablish democratic government, promote development of civil society and provide impetus to economic reconstruction and growth. With post-conflict nation- building taking centre-stage of peacekeeping operations,

**The Security Council, for budgetary and tactical reasons, is increasingly acquiescing to delegate its part of the peacekeeping responsibilities to international and regional arrangements.**

the peacekeepers, in addition to undertaking traditional functions like Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR), need to perform peace-building functions such as humanitarian relief, assistance in post-conflict reconstruction, facilitation of elections, peace-building through training and development of the state's indigenous institutions such as the military, police, judiciary, etc. Many of the operations conducted since the 1990s were also aimed at establishing or reestablishing democratic government, promotion of civil society, facilitating economic reconstruction and growth of conflict affected nations.

Current trends indicate that the Security Council, for budgetary and tactical reasons, is increasingly acquiescing to delegate its part of the peacekeeping responsibilities to international and regional arrangements and organisations such the OSCE (Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe), NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) , OAU (Organisation of African Unity) and ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States), etc which are willing to take up peace operations in a more vigorous and forceful manner.<sup>28</sup> Traditional troop contributing nations such as the US, France, UK, Canada, Sweden and Norway, etc have significantly decreased their troop contribution to the UN and have become more involved with regional arrangements, which are founded on the commonality of their interests. These regional arrangements provide them more flexibility and enable them to act promptly without much criticism of interference. What needs to be ensured is that peace operations by these regional agencies should not become a means to further the vested interests of these agencies at the expense of the UN. If the rich military powers continue to abstain from committing troops, it will certainly limit the capability and the scope of peacekeeping operations and

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28. Maria Kiani, "Changing Dimensions of Peacekeeping," available at [http://www.issi.org/pk/journal/2004\\_files/no\\_1/article/8a.htm](http://www.issi.org/pk/journal/2004_files/no_1/article/8a.htm)



marginalise the UN in the international security system. Peacekeepers' role in the 21<sup>st</sup> century will be mainly to protect civilians in the conflict zone, create stability, and facilitate democratic transformation and economic recovery of conflict affected states.

**India has remained one of the most consistent supporters of UN peacekeeping since 1952 and has contributed troops to 43 missions since then.**

### **INDIA'S ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING**

Of all the developing nations, India has remained one of the most consistent supporters of UN peacekeeping since 1952 and has contributed troops to 43 missions since then. Today, there are about 10,000 Indian troops engaged in seven out of 18 ongoing UN peace missions. Indian participation in international peacekeeping started in 1952. During the Korean War, 60 Para Field Ambulance of the Indian Army treated more than 1,800 battle casualties and some 9,000 sick and injured. Lt Gen K.S. Thimayya, as the Chairman of the Neutral National Repatriation Commission, and Maj Gen S.P.P. Thorat as the Force Commander ably facilitated the protection of 22,000 Prisoners of War (POWs) and their eventual transfer to North Korea. In Congo, the Indian Air Force (IAF) Canberras and Indian Army's Independent Brigade were in support of the UN mission and enabled suppression of the secessionists and unification of Congo, thus, playing a vital role to the success of the UN mission in Congo in the early 1960s. The Indian infantry battalion group in Gaza monitored the buffer zone between Egypt and the Anglo-French forces since 1956 and remained there until 1967, when the war broke out between Israel and Egypt. Even today, an infantry battalion group is performing the delicate task of maintaining peace in Southern Lebanon as part of the UNIFIL. Indian contribution to UNTAC (UN Mission in Cambodia) was considerable. The Indian Army provided an infantry battalion, ambulance company, mine training team, staff personnel and military observers to UNTAC. Indian Military Observers participated in the UN Mission in Yemen (1964), Iran-Iraq (1988-91), Namibia (1989-91), Angola (1989-91), Central America (1988-92),

El Salvador (1991-95), Liberia (1993-97), Democratic Republic of Congo (1999 onwards) and Ethiopia Eritrea (2000 onwards).

After Congo, Indian military contingents have participated in UN peacekeeping missions in Cambodia (1992-93), Mozambique (1992-94), Somalia (1993-94), Rwanda (1993-96), Haiti (1994-2000), Angola (1995-99), Somalia (93-94) and Sierra Leone (1999-2000) Kosovo (1999) East Timor (1999) Liberia (2003) DR Congo (2000) and Sudan (2005). Currently, Indian troops and air power elements form a major part of UN peace missions in DR Congo and Sudan.

## CONCLUSION

In spite of some degradation in its capabilities and flawed responses, the UN still remains the one global institution that can ensure peace and security. UN peacekeeping has come a long way since the mission in the Suez Crisis 1956. In response to the changing international security environment, the peacekeeping has evolved and become multifunctional, from the limited mandate during the Cold War period. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the UN has become central to the response of the international community to a host of complex security issues. The peacekeepers' responsibilities have enlarged and taken on unfamiliar roles in preventive action (UNPREDEP in Macedonia), intervention and peacemaking in active war zones (UNOMIL in Liberia, UNPROFOR in Bosnia, UNOSOM in Somalia), peacekeeping and post-conflict peace-building (ONUSAL in El Salvador, UNTAC in Cambodia, ONUMOZ in Mozambique) and conflict control and democratic process (MONUC in DR Congo).

In order to reinvigorate the UN to undertake peace operations in the emerging security environment, there is an urgent need for the members of the UN, particularly the developed nations, to commit more troops and finance. In addition to strengthening the peacekeeping force, there is also a need to empower peacekeeping by developing new approaches and skills to deal with the conceptual and practical problems at the strategic, operational and tactical levels. The past failures of peacekeeping are results of deliberate inaction or lack of consensus among the P-5. This should not be allowed to happen in

future. In order to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of peacekeeping, greater cooperation and support by the powerful and rich nations, especially the permanent members of the UN Security, needs no underscoring. The challenges before the peacekeepers in the new millennium are unique and unprecedented. Helping to salvage nations from the woes of civil war, provision of humanitarian relief, monitoring of elections, building/strengthening of state institutions in “failed states” and nations affected by civil war, and nation-building, etc would be the main functions of future peacekeeping missions. In order to increase the effectiveness of peacekeeping, the UN authorised a comprehensive restructuring programme in 2007. This new initiative has facilitated reorganisation of DPKO and the establishment of a separate Department of Field Support, augmentation of resources and capabilities.

**Past failures of peacekeeping are results of deliberate inaction or lack of consensus among the P-5. This should not be allowed to happen in the future.**

The “Blue Helmets” are a symbol of the UN’s efforts to fulfil its commitments to ensure peace and stability in the world. In the strength and effectiveness of this august force, lies the guarantee for a peaceful and prosperous world. It is high time that the rich and influential members of the UN, particularly the P-5, took greater interest in strengthening the UN, so that peacekeeping and peace-building can be done more effectively and expeditiously. In order to establish global peace and stability, there is no other credible and internationally acknowledged instrument other than peacekeeping; therefore, it is important for the members of the UN to strengthen it. The need is greater than ever before, because of the unprecedented security and divisive challenges the world faces today.