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International / Regional Trends in Peace Missions: Implications for the SA Army

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A Reality check

“Many of today’s conflicts are within states rather than between states. The end of the Cold War removed constraints that had inhibited conflict in the former Soviet Union and elsewhere...There has been a rash of wars within newly independent states, often of a religious or ethnic character and often involving unusual violence and cruelty.”

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, 1995





Consequently,

Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1942 architecture of the "United Nations" which was able to "remedy" the failures of the 1919 Treaty of Versailles and League of Nations is no longer an effective antidote to post-Cold War intra-state conflicts and their maelstrom of complex humanitarian emergencies.



As a result,

Dag Hammarskjöld's axiom that "peacekeeping is not a job for soldiers, but they are the only ones who can do it" is no longer tenable, even if not flawed.





But,

In spite of this reality that demands an “all hands on deck” response and commitment, regional organisations such as the African Union, ECOWAS, IGAD and SADC, are having to bear increasing responsibilities towards peacekeeping regionally and globally.



Against this backdrop,

The intervention seeks to highlight the following aspects of the paper that was presented:

- ❖ **Contemporary peacekeeping landscape and trends.**
- ❖ **Underpinning factors of this paradigm.**
- ❖ **Conclusions.**
- ❖ **Broad implications for the SA Army.**

The paper is there for the reading, to fill in other vital details of the discourse.



A caveat!

- **Peacekeeping and peace enforcement (and/or enforcement action) are but two of the policy tools for peace implementation and activities:**
 - Preventive diplomacy (conflict prevention).
 - Peacemaking.
 - **Peacekeeping.**
 - **Peace enforcement.**
 - Peace building.
 - Sanctions.
 - **Disarmament.**
 - **Humanitarian operations.**



Landscape and trends: the quantitative dimension

- First international missions:
 - **UNTSO/UNMOGIP: 1948.**
- First African mission:
 - **ONUC (1960-64).**
- 1948-1988:
 - **13 peace operations;**
 - **5 ongoing.**
- End of 1988:
 - **Five peace operations.**
 - **Maximum of 10,000 troops.**



Landscape and trends: the quantitative dimension

- **1948 - 2006:**
 - **60/61** operations since **1948** (new mission in Timor).
 - **52/53** operations since **1988**; 15/18 ongoing, 7/8 in Africa.
- **Peaks:**
 - **1994: 78,000** personnel; **2006: 73,008** personnel
- **2006:**
 - **16/18** missions.
 - Nearly **75,000** personnel; up to **92,300** military, police and civilians.
 - **108** countries.



Landscape and trends: the quantitative dimension

- **Budget:**

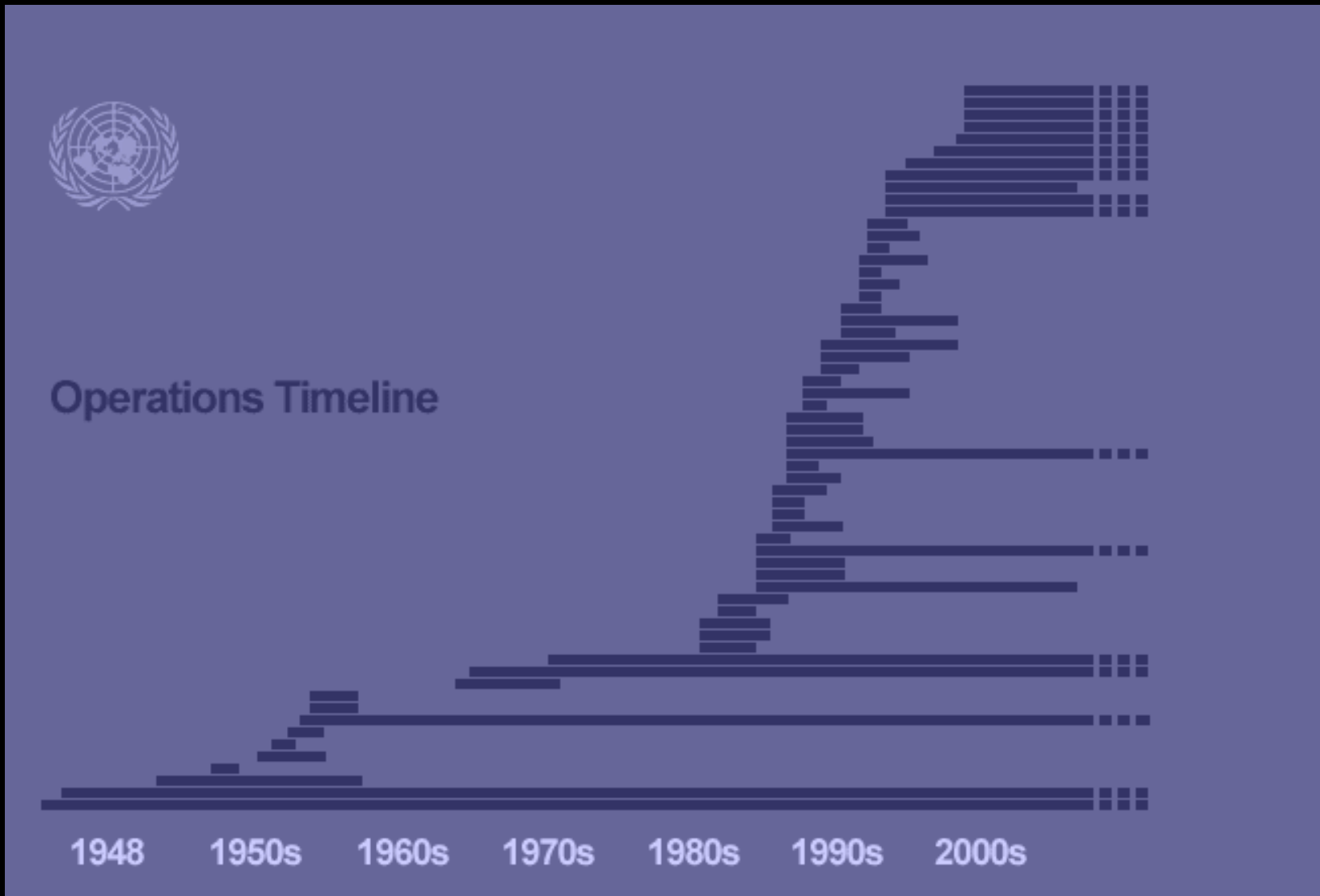
- **\$41 billion** global total.
- **\$4.47 billion** year on year.

- **MONUC:**

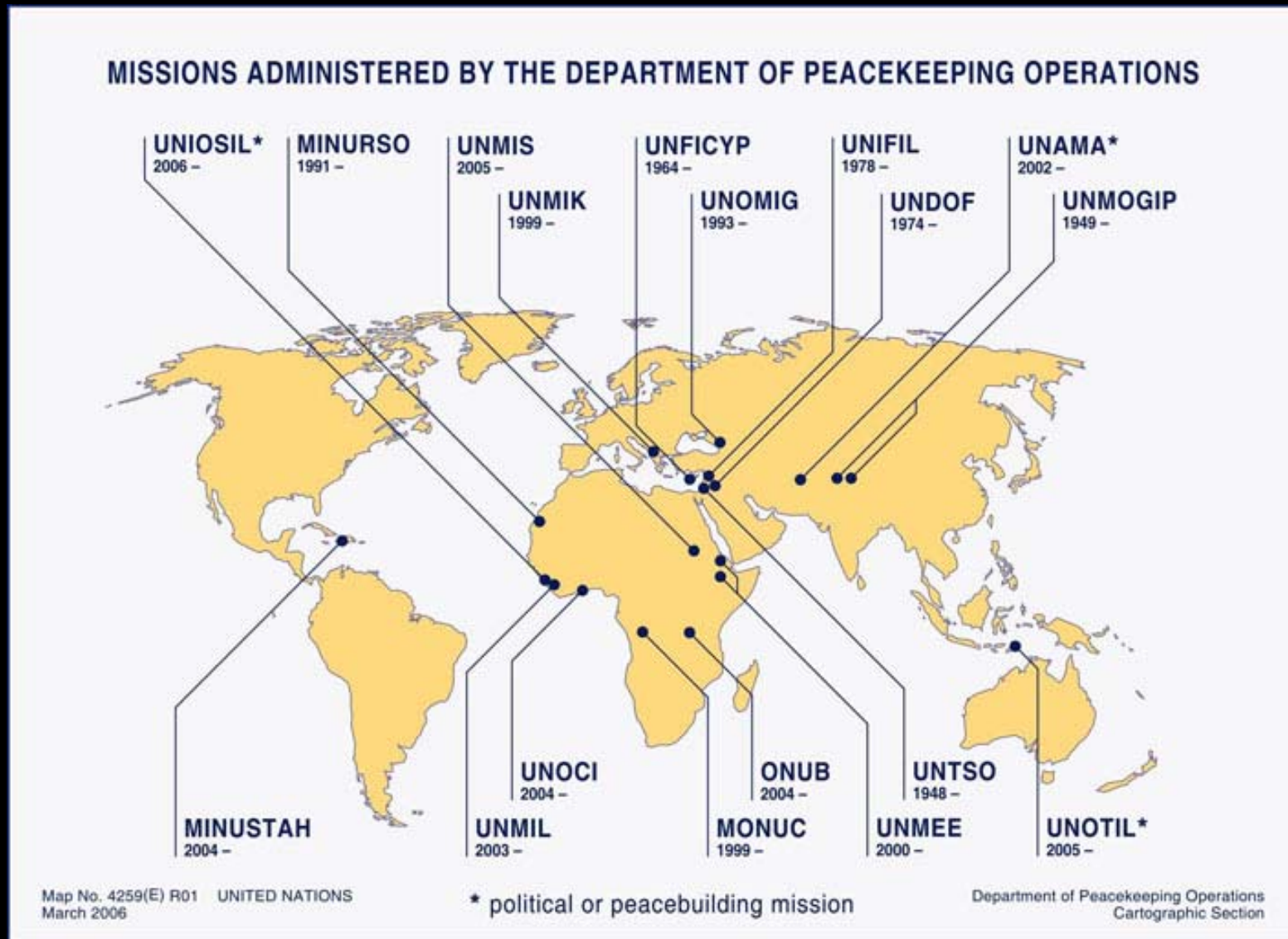
- **19,000** personnel (16,700 troops).
- **US\$ 1.14** billion gross (1 July 2006 – 30 June 2007).



A picture is worth a thousand words...



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Landscape and trends: the qualitative dimension

- **Mandates, missions and end-states.**
- **New actors:** multidimensional and multidisciplinary .
- **New key issues:** TAs, DDR, SSR, gender, SEA, mince action, etc.
- **High “use of force” threshold:** Chap VII.
- **Regionalisation** of peace support architecture.
- **Hybridisation:** a neo-colonial agenda?
- **Outsourcing:** an economic boomerang?



Post-Cold War peacekeeping paradigm: A Portrayal of the **Poor Man's NATO**

Srl	Country	No	%
1	Bangladesh	10,126	13.87
2	Pakistan	8,797	12.05
3	India	8,290	11.35
4	Nepal	3,510	4.81
5	Jordan	2,798	3.83
6	Ethiopia	2,771	3.80
7	Uruguay	2,598	3.56
8	Ghana	2,592	3.55
9	Nigeria	2,412	3.30

Sudan-Darfur (AMIS): 7,000.

Srl	Country	No	%
10	S/Africa	2,094	2.87
11	Senegal	1,885	2.58
12	China	1,648	2.26
13	Morocco	1,548	2.12
14	Kenya	1,352	1.85
15	Benin	1,288	1.76
16	Brazil	1,257	1.72
17	Sri Lanka	1,011	1.38
18	Egypt	831	1.14
	Asia	30,723	42.08
	Africa (9)	19,371	26.53



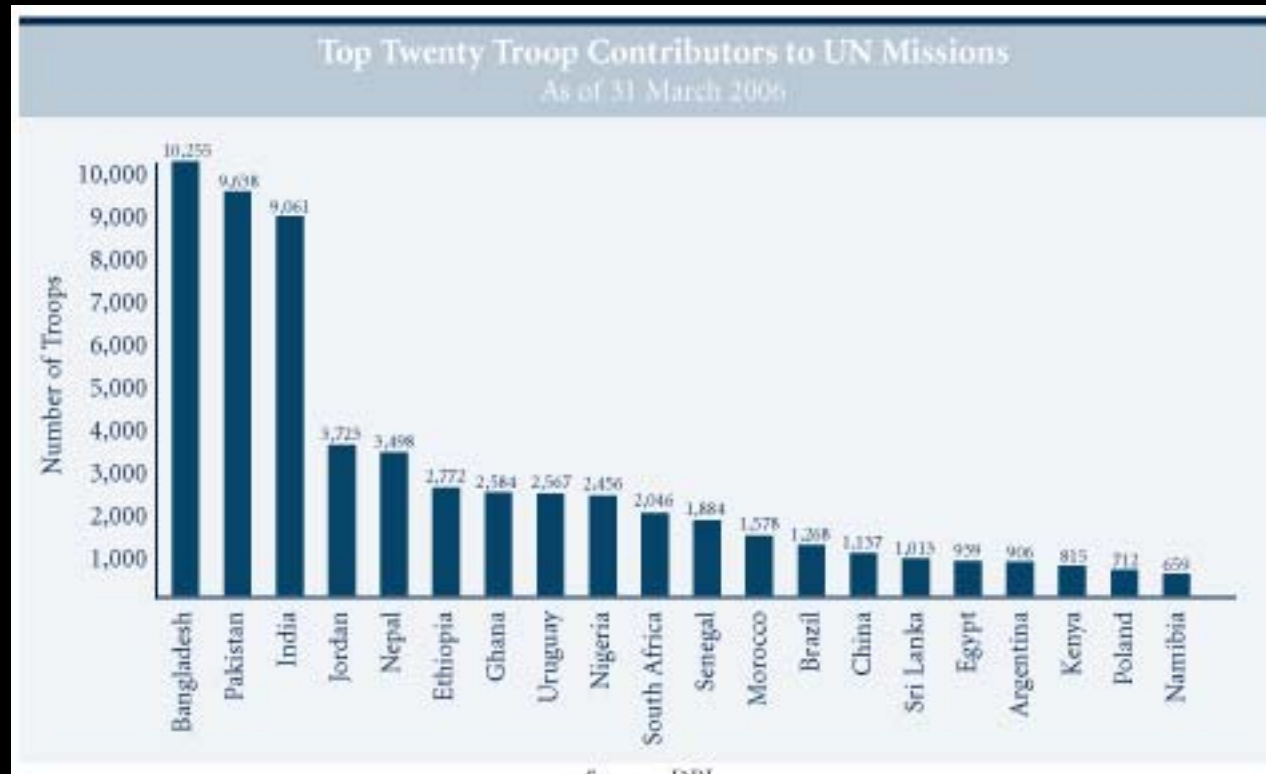


Post-Cold War Peacekeeping Paradigm: A Portrayal of the **Poor Man's NATO**

- In actual fact, **34 African countries** listed as at June for contributing some **20,749 personnel**.
- In addition to Sudan-Darfur (AMIS), therefore, Africa is deploying **nearly 28,000 peacekeepers globally**.



Post-Cold War Peacekeeping Paradigm: **The cottage industry of troop contributions**



What are the key underpinning dynamics and trends? **The UN dimension**

- UN policy agendas:
 - **Agendas for Peace 1992 and 1995.**
 - **Standby Arrangements:** SHIRBRIG; ASF; Regional and lead nation coalitions, etc.

“...regional action as a matter of decentralisation, delegation and cooperation with efforts could...contribute to a deeper sense of participation, consensus and democratisation in international affairs.”

Boutros Boutros-Ghali. 1992



What are the key underpinning dynamics and trends?

The UN dimension

- Insufficient / inconclusive damage limitation exercises:
 - **Brahimi Panel:** effectiveness of UN operations (2000).
 - **Intervention and State Sovereignty** (ICISS, 2000): the responsibility to protect.
 - **UN Reform:** In Larger Freedom.





State sovereignty and intervention: A far cry from what Darfur teaches

**In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights
for all (A/59/2005), March 2005**

I believe that we must embrace the responsibility to protect, and, when necessary, we must act on it. This responsibility lies, first and foremost, with each individual State, whose primary raison d'être and duty is to protect its population. But if national authorities are unable or unwilling to protect their citizens, then the responsibility shifts to the international community to use diplomatic, humanitarian and other methods to help protect the human rights and well-being of civilian populations. When such methods appear insufficient, the Security Council may out of necessity decide to take action under the Charter of the United Nations, including enforcement action, if so required.





What are the key underpinning dynamics and trends?

The Western dimension

- Disengagement and withdrawal (abdication):
 - Watershed: **Somalia (1993) and Rwanda (1994).**
 - Western commitments on **war on terror.**
 - Western inclination to **stabilisation operations** (Chapter VII).



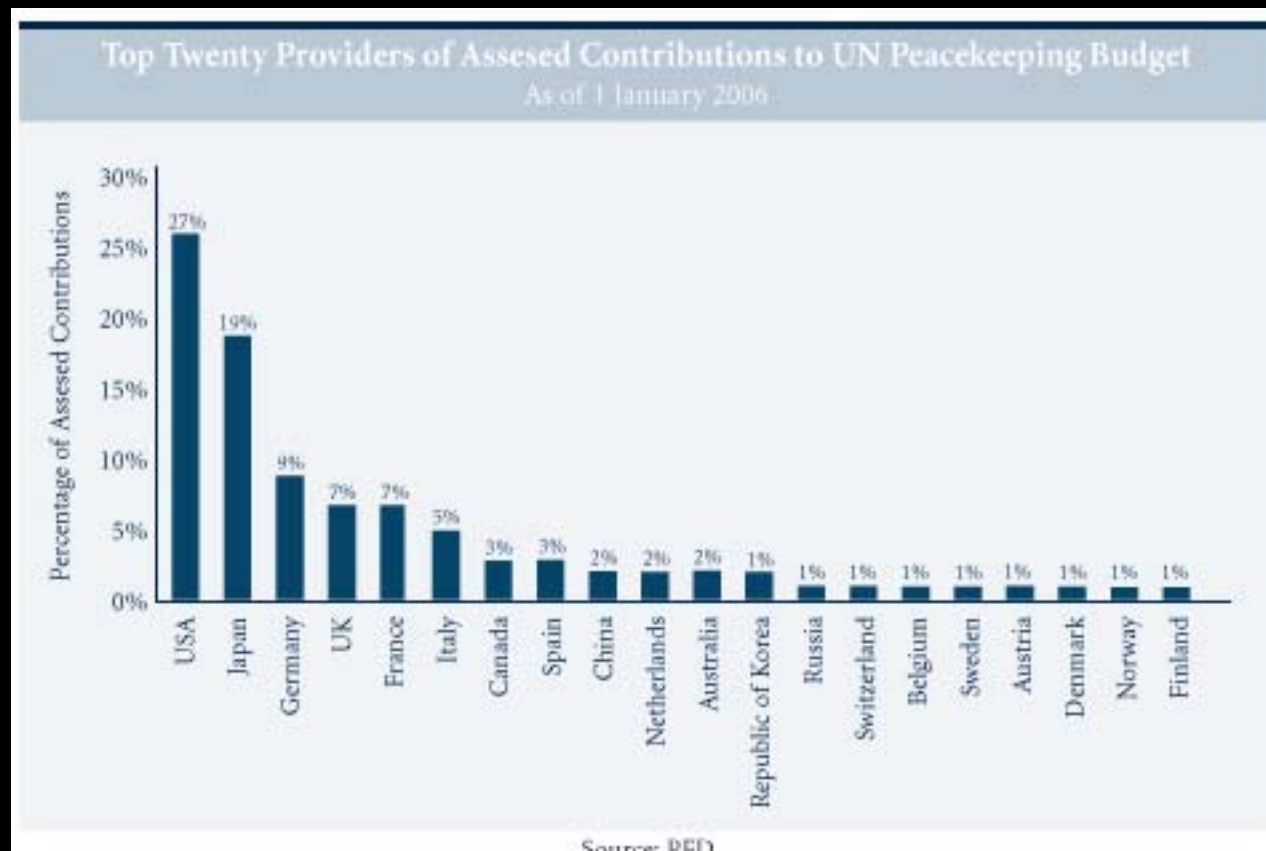
What are the key underpinning dynamics and trends? **The Western dimension**

- As a result, the West now resorting to:
 - **Hybridisation.**
 - **Funding for UN PSO:** Western boots out of harms way.
 - **External initiatives:** training focus.
 - **EU/G8 Africa Action Plan:** a CPRM approach.
 - Direct support: strategic airlift, logistics and equipment.
 - **Outsourced through Western PLCs.**
 - **Typified by AU / AMIS's Darfur dilemmas.**



What are the key underpinning dynamics and trends?

Developing-Western Worlds role reversal



Assuming that,

“Traditional peacekeeping operations of the kind deployed during the Cold War are unlikely to be repeated. Peacekeeping today requires not only rethinking the means, but also the methods of implementing mandates set out by the Security Council.”

Kofi Annan, 1998





**A blank page for renaissance regional transformation
and ramifications, and national commitments**





What are the implications for the SA Army: **Key conclusions**

- **Modes of commitments:**
 - Limited national deployment: SAPSD.
 - Lead nation role.
 - Coalition of the willing and able.
 - Framework role: **a strong note of caution!**
- **Force protection capabilities:**
 - Capabilities for Chap VII scenarios even in Chap VI missions.
 - Civilian protection capabilities: humanitarian operations.



What are the implications for the SA Army: **Key conclusions**

- **Specialised capabilities:**
 - Capabilities for Chap VII scenarios even in Chap VI missions.
 - Civilian protection capabilities: humanitarian operations.
- **Force structure and level:**
 - Formation: assured security.
 - Battalion: capability for rapid reinforcements.

What are the implications for the SA Army: **Key conclusions**

- **Peace mission doctrine:**
 - Consistency with Chap VI UN doctrine and best practices.
 - Ease of inter-operability.
 - Avoidance of complex and resource-demanding doctrines.
 - Harmonise war fighting doctrine with regional neighbours.
- **Sustainability of high levels of commitment(s):**
 - Take note of short interval rotations.
 - Erosion of combat professionalism.
 - Compromise Army reserve for national security contingencies.



What are the implications for the SA Army: **Key conclusions**

- **Critical issues:** Gender, Conduct and Discipline.
- **Training and education:** national, sub-regional and regional.
- **Individual social risks and costs:**
- **Proactive planning:**



Conclusion

If, according to Georges Clemensceau's dictum:

"war (peacekeeping) is too serious a matter to be entrusted to military minds"

Then

what the military requires is a professional leadership that can engage political minds in meeting national objectives at "acceptable costs."

The failure to engage will have dire consequences.

