

Annual Review of **Global Peace Operations** 2006

Briefing paper

A Project of the
Center on International Cooperation

Supported by the **Peacekeeping Best Practices Section** of the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations
and the **International Peace Academy**



First Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2006

The Center on International Cooperation's (CIC) *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations* is the most comprehensive report of its kind, examining more than forty UN and non-UN peacekeeping missions in 2005 including the Darfur region of the Sudan, Afghanistan, Haiti, Liberia and Kosovo among others. Its purpose is to inform policy-makers, members of the media, academics and peace-keepers in the field as the international community debates the growing role of peace operations around the world. It will be presented in both a published report and also an interactive data base—again, the 1st of its kind—which will allow researchers, policy-makers and journalists to access peacekeeping data and analysis instantly. In researching the *Review*, CIC had access to data which was previously unpublished outside of the United Nations.

Summary of Conclusions

- 1 Global Peace Operations have grown exponentially since 1999.** There are currently a greater number of larger, more robust peace operations underway around the world than ever before. Simultaneously, these operations are typically armed with more ambitious military, policing and political goals than pre-1999 missions.
 - **Global Military Deployment:** Rapid growth in the number of UN Peacekeeping missions as well as their size means that UN missions now involve more active duty troops globally than the foreign deployments of any country with the exception of the United States. In 1998 the largest UN Peace keeping mission in the world consisted of 4,500 troops posted in Lebanon. Today the UN has five missions of this size or larger.
 - **International Police Missions:** Peace operations are increasingly using significant numbers of policemen to handle security tasks. The overall number of UN and non-UN police deployed world-wide has tripled since 1998 to more than 9,500. Additionally, police are being used in a growing number of missions. In the 1990's the overwhelming majority of police involved in peace operations were in the Balkans. Now police serve on missions throughout Africa and in Haiti.
 - **Growing Significance of Civilians Aspects of Peace Operations:** The number of civilian staff involved in peace operations has also grown, reflecting the increasing diversity of tasks missions are expected to fulfill. Civilians are being tasked with developing political and security structures for societies emerging from conflict, taking responsibility for economic governance and developing human rights and public health infrastructure and projects.
- 2 UN operations underpin this tremendous growth, contrary to claims that regional organizations and "coalitions of the willing" are now the key drivers of peacekeeping.** While the number of peacekeeping troops employed by regional organizations fell by 57% since 1999, UN forces have grown by nearly 500%:
 - From 1999 to 2005 the number of troops in UN peace operations increased from 12,700 to 60,700.*
 - During that same period, the total number of peacekeeping troops deployed by regional organizations fell from 108,000 to 46,000.

* Figures rounded to the nearest 100—full figures in the Annual Review.

As this growth in global peace operations continues, the international framework for peacekeeping is under acute and worsening strain. Both UN and non-UN organizations are finding it increasingly difficult to deploy peacekeeping forces in a timely manner. There is also growing uncertainty among peacekeepers and Security Council members about how to carry out ambitious mandates that require the use of force.

- **Challenge of Deployment:** As the number of troops deployed has grown, it is increasingly difficult to recruit troops for new missions and deploy them rapidly. For example, in 2000 the UN deployed more than 12,000 troops to Sierra Leone (almost its entire mandated size) within nine months. Conversely, in 2005 it took over nine months to deploy just 3,600 troops to the Sudan, representing only 40% of the mission’s mandated size.
- **Challenge of ambitious mandates:** Increasingly ambitious mandates have created new political and operational dilemmas, which directly affect a peace operations’ ability to maintain security and protect civilians. There is often a gap between the mandate given and formal knowledge about how to execute it, especially when the capacity of the operation is limited. Improvised responses are often the result, which can lead to inconsistency and false expectations.

Policy Choices

The information and analysis contained in the Review have a series of implications for policy choices on UN and non-UN peace operations. These include the need to:

- 1 **Develop** the strategic capacities of the UN and non-UN organizations to resolve problems in deploying and sustaining peace operations worldwide. Additionally, a system of “strategic reserves” must be developed in order to have rapidly deployable capacities available to the UN in order quickly reinforce missions under strain as well as rapidly deploy to new missions.
- 2 UN member states to need **reflect** on the fundamental principles of contemporary peace operations and provide doctrinal clarity. The circumstances governing the use of force in particular must be more explicitly defined and effectively communicated to personnel contributors, the parties to a conflict and the broader population amongst whom the operation is deployed.
- 3 **Build** integrated strategies among components within peacekeeping missions and between UN and non-UN missions to allow complex peace operations to operate effectively. The international community should implement commitments made at the 2005 UN World Summit to strengthen capacity of regional and sub-regional organizations in Africa, the continent home to 70% of the UN’s troop deployment world-wide. Within missions, the strategic coherence of military, police and civilian activities must also be enhanced.

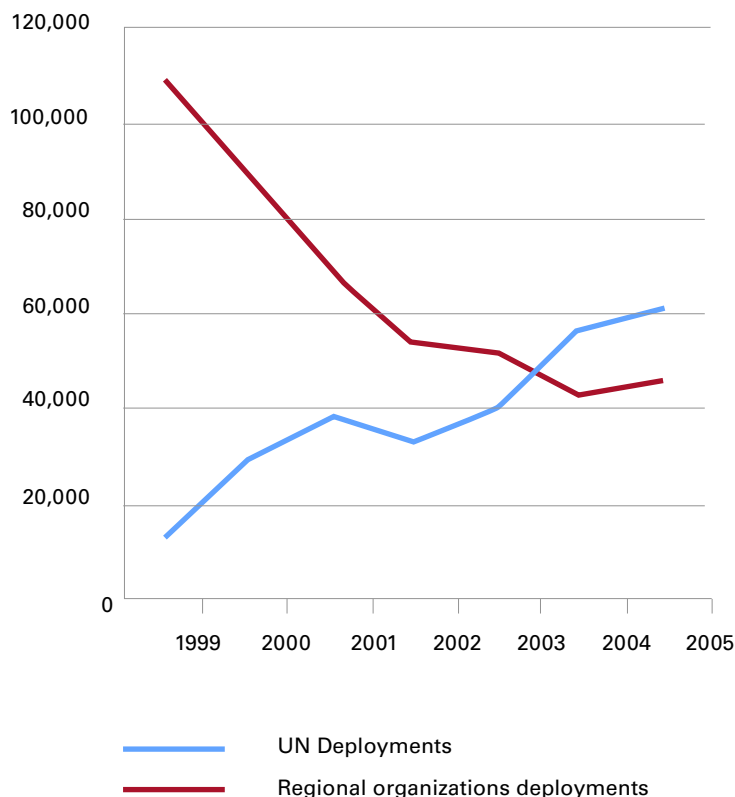
In Detail: the Exponential Growth of Peacekeeping

What is the evidence for significant growth in peace operations? In 2005, three factors stood out: (i) global military deployment; (ii) the diversity and ambition of international mandates for peacekeeping, and (iii) the role of peace operations in allowing societies emerging from war to choose their futures freely through elections and referendums.

- 1 **Global military deployment.** In late 1998, there were 76,000 troops deployed in UN and non-UN peace operations worldwide. By the third quarter of 2005, that figure had risen by half to 116,000 - not including the Multinational Force in Iraq.

This overall growth was largely due to a far more dramatic expansion in UN forces. From 1999 and 2005, the number of UN Peacekeepers increased from 12,700 to 60,200 troops worldwide—a rise of 477%. During that same period, the total number of peacekeepers deployed by other international organizations (including NATO, the European Union and African Union) more than halved from over 108,000 to 46,000—a 57% drop. In total military manpower terms, the UN and other multilateral bodies have arrived at a new parity:

Peacekeeping troops deployed by the UN and regional organizations, 1999–2005*



* Figures rounded to the nearest 100—full figures in the Annual Review.

The rate of growth in UN Peacekeeping forces means that UN missions now involve more active troops globally than the foreign deployments of any country with the exception of the United States:*

United States	592,600
United Nations	60,200
UK	54,200
Turkey	38,300
Russia	34,900
France	25,000

This overall growth reflects the fact that individual missions are getting larger. In 1998, the UN's largest mission consisted of 4,500 troops in Lebanon. Today the UN has five missions on this scale or greater, and the ten largest peace operations outside Iraq are equally divided between UN and non-UN missions:

2 Diversity and ambitions of mandates for peacekeeping.

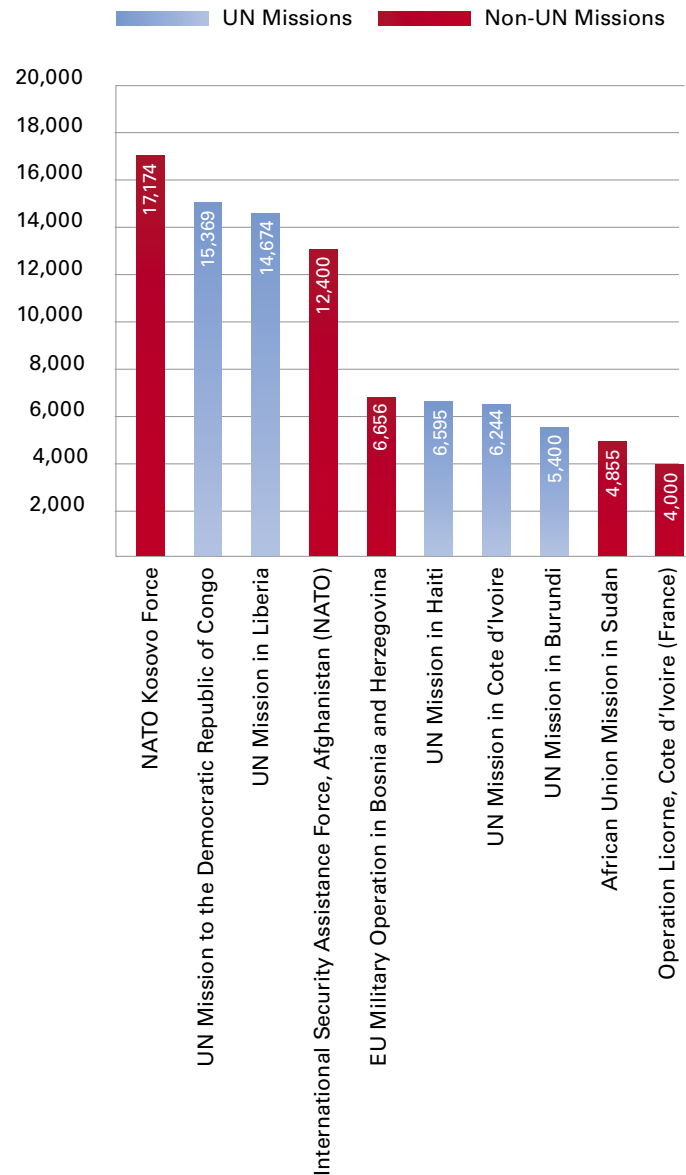
But while military deployments may be the most obvious sign of the peacekeeping boom, other factors are making peace operations more diverse and ambitious:

The growing reach of international police missions.

The *Review* notes that peace missions are increasingly using significant numbers of policemen to handle security tasks unsuitable for military forces. In 1998 3,100 international police officers were attached to UN peace operations worldwide. By September 2005, policing had become a critical component of an increasing number of missions:

- **The UN was deploying 6,100 police worldwide** (an increase of 51%), of which more than half (3,300) were members of “formed police units” trained to handle public disorder in Haiti, Kosovo and African missions. **Non-UN peace operations accounted for a further 3,400 personnel** – meaning that the overall number of UN and non-UN police deployed has tripled since 1998 to a total of more 9,500 world-wide.
- **The geographical reach of police operations is widening.** In the later 1990s, the majority of police serving on peacekeeping missions world-wide were deployed in the Balkans, and Bosnia and Kosovo in particular. Today, while the UN's police presence in Kosovo is shrinking, more than 1,000 police officers are serving in Haiti and the number of police deployed in Africa has grown by more than a third to 2,300 in the first three quarters of 2005.

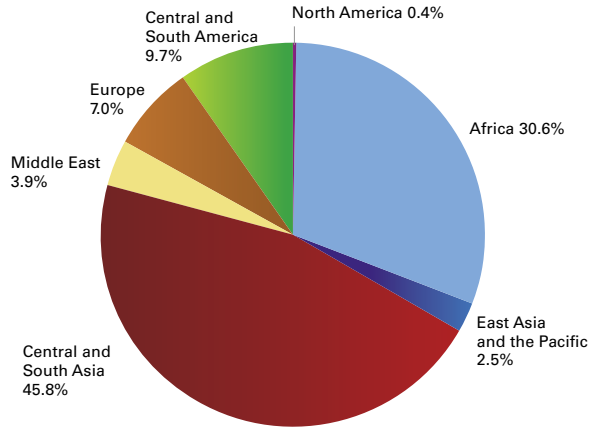
- **International organizations have improved the speed at which they can deploy police.** In 1999, the UN was mandated to deploy over 3,000 police officers to Kosovo: it took 9 months to reach half-strength, during which time standard military troops struggled with serious inter-ethnic violence. More recent large-scale UN police deployments in Liberia (2003) and Haiti (2004) both passed the 50% mark in under 6 months. In 2005, the European Union created a police rapid reaction force capable of deploying 800 personnel with 30 days.



The deployment problems faced by UNMIS included not only a lack of available forces, but the sheer size of the operational area, its lack of good roads and its distance from ports. A significant feature of recent UN operations has been the need to operate over large areas: in Sierra Leone, the UN deployed one soldier for approximately every six square kilometers of the country. In 2005, the UN mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo had one soldier for every 150 square kilometers.

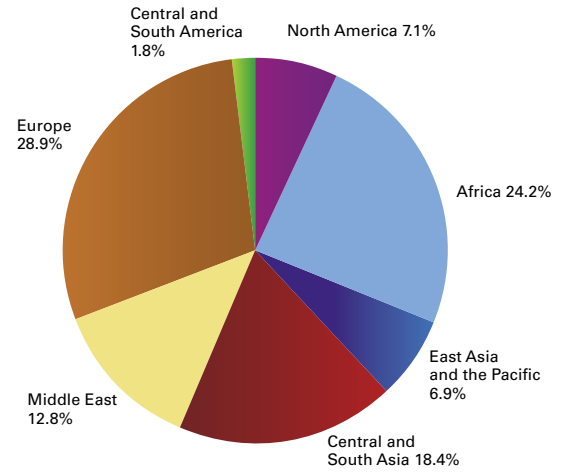
* Data on non-UN deployment from the Military Balance 2005.
* Chapters 5 and 6 of the Annual Review.

Contributions to Troops and Military Observers by Region, 30 September 2005



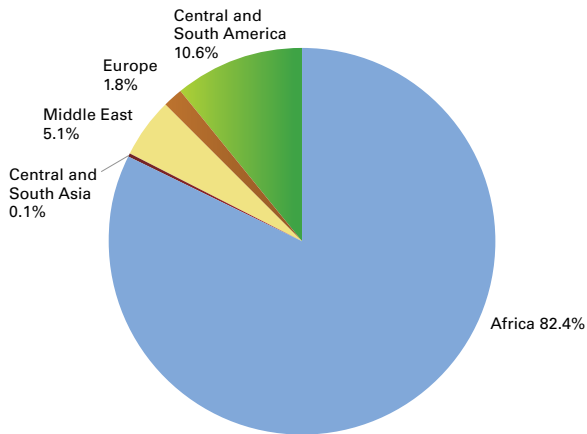
Region	Troops/MilObs	% of Total
Africa	19,104	31%
East Asia & the Pacific	1,583	3%
Central & South Asia	28,547	46%
Middle East	2,409	4%
Europe	4,387	7%
Central & South America	6,067	10%
North America	249	0%
Total	62,346	

Contributions of Police by Region, 30 September 2005



Region	Troops/MilObs	% of Total
Africa	1,494	24.2%
East Asia & the Pacific	423	6.9%
Central & South Asia	1,132	18.4%
Middle East	791	12.8%
Europe	1,780	28.9%
Central & South America	108	1.8%
North America	439	7.1%
Total	6,167	

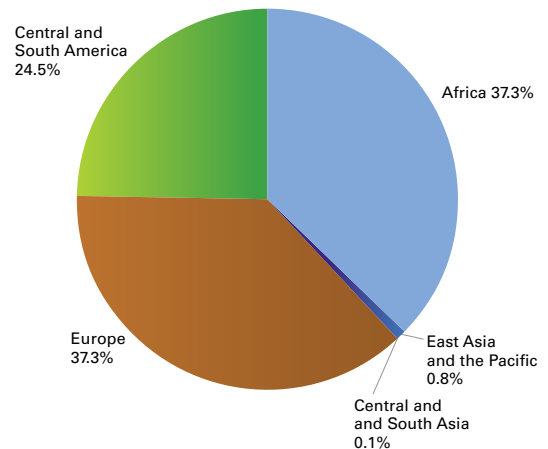
Deployment of Military Staff within Regions, 30 September 2005



Region	Troops/MilObs	% of Total
Africa	51,402	82%
East Asia & the Pacific	15	0%
Central & South Asia	57	0%
Middle East	3,174	5%
Europe	1,103	2%
Central & South America	6,595	11%
North America	—	0%
Total	62,346	

Source: DPI (DPKO website).
 Note: a. This figure rounds to zero percent and thus does not appear in the pie chart above.

Deployment of Police Within Regions, 30 September 2005



Region	Troops/MilObs	% of Total
Africa	2,300	37.3%
East Asia & the Pacific	48	0.8%
Central & South Asia	7	0.1%
Middle East	—	—
Europe	2,303	37.3%
Central & South America	1,509	24.5%
North America	—	—
Total	6,167	

The growing significance of civilian aspects of peace operations

The number of civilian staff involved in peace operations has also grown, reflecting the increasing diversity of tasks missions are expected to fulfill. In 2004, the ratio of civilian UN staff in field operations to military and police personnel in peace missions was 1:9.

Highest Representation of Nationalities Among International Civilian Staff (as of June 2005) UN Field Missions

Country	Staff	Percentage
United States	328	6%
Canada	287	6%
Kenya	212	4%
United Kingdom	207	4%
France	185	4%
Philippines	182	4%
India	140	3%
Ghana	124	2%
Ethiopia	111	2%
Australia	100	2%
Nigeria	89	2%
Pakistan	80	2%
Germany	79	2%
Croatia	77	2%
Fiji	71	1%
Lebanon	68	1%
Italy	66	1%
Bosnia & Herzegovina,		
Sierra Leone	65 each	1% each
Tanzania	63	1%

The majority of civilians in the field are involved in logistic and administrative tasks (accounting for about 90% of posts). But the presence of civilians in the field also reflects the increasing diversity of tasks peace missions are required to undertake.

- **Building political and security structures**—since 1999, the UN has developed state structures in Kosovo and Timor-Leste. In 2005, UN troops left Timor Leste, while its mission was developing new ministries in Kosovo. Its regional partner, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, had trained over 1,000 riot police there in an eighteen-month period.
- **Helping to build justice institutions**—UN civilian staff have remained in both Sierra Leone and Timor-Leste after troop withdrawals, with the development of justice institutions among their priorities. There is growing recognition that this is one of the areas that takes longest to develop after conflict.
- **Taking responsibility for economic governance:** in Liberia, 2005 saw the negotiation of a General Economic Management Assistance Programme (GEMAP), by which the UN worked with European Commission and World Bank is developing international oversight of the country's revenue streams.

A key role of peace operations in 2005 was providing secure frameworks for elections and referendums around the world. There have been set-backs: votes in both Afghanistan and Haiti had to be delayed due to security concerns. But polls secured by international peace missions have seen high turn-outs compared to some elsewhere. In February 2005, a constitutional referendum in Burundi saw a 92% turnout, while 80% of registered voters participated in Afghanistan's presidential elections.

Peace Operations Under Strain

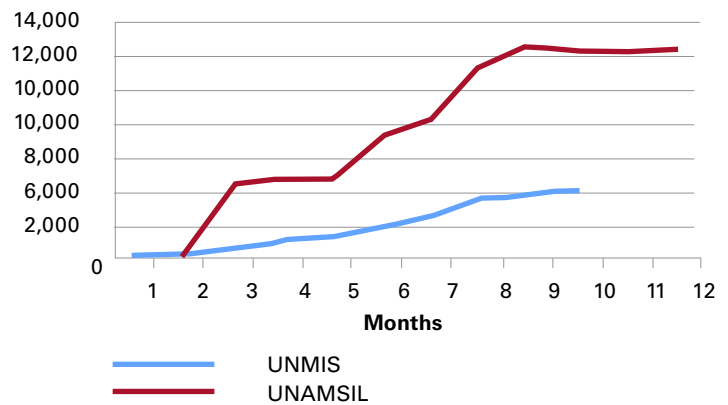
While peace operations have expanded and are increasingly seen as a vital strategic tool, this expansion has put the UN and non-UN organizations under mounting strain. This strain has been demonstrated by (i) increasing difficulties in deploying peacekeeping forces; (ii) uncertainty amongst peacekeepers and Security Council members about how to carry out ambitious mandates that require the use of force.

1 The challenge of deployment

As the number of troops already deployed in peace operations worldwide has grown, it is increasingly difficult to find troops for new missions and to deploy them rapidly.

In 2005, the clearest example is the UN Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS), which took over nine months to deploy just 3,600 troops - 40% of its mandated strength. By contrast, when the UN deployed to Sierra Leone in 2000, it was able to move more than 12,000 troops into the field in its first nine months—almost its total planned size:

Troop Deployment



The deployment problems faced by UNMIS included not only a lack of available forces, but the sheer size of the operational area, its lack of good roads and its distance from ports. A significant feature of recent UN operations has been the need to operate over large areas: in Sierra Leone, the UN deployed one soldier for approximately every six square kilometers of the country. In 2005, the UN mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo had one soldier for every 150 square kilometers. Problems in finding sufficient troops—and civilian personnel—have also affected both UN missions beyond Sudan and organizations other than the UN:

Recent requests to the Security Council to expand UN forces in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Côte d'Ivoire have been rejected.

- By the end of September 2005, the African Union's Mission in Sudan fielded 4,900 troops and 700 military observers—behind schedule in trying to reach an authorized strength of 7,700. The Review notes that an expansion to 12,300 had been contemplated “but less was heard of that as the year wore on”.
- Efforts to expand NATO's International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan have created tensions within the Alliance, and many of the Provincial Reconstruction Teams it has deployed there are under-resourced and under-staffed, especially the civilian political and assistance personnel.

2 Challenges of ambitious mandates

For peacekeepers on the ground, increasingly ambitious mandates have created new political and operational dilemmas that directly affect their ability to maintain security.

Many non-military tasks—such as the efforts to develop international oversight of Liberia's economy—have been delayed by political opposition within the societies they affect. But problems remain around military and policing aspects of peace operations, discussed in the special essay by Professor Ian Johnstone in the Review. These problems include:

- Mandates are not rooted in clear peace operations doctrine: UN missions are routinely given mandates to use force to protect civilians, “within the limits of their capabilities and areas of deployment”, and yet there is a large gap between the mandate given and formal knowledge about how to execute it, especially when the capacity of the operation is limited. This is true of the UN mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the African Union mission in Darfur, and the UN and French operations in Cote d'Ivoire.
- The use of force by peacekeepers can have unintended consequences: robust action by peacekeeping force in certain places can lead to reprisals elsewhere in a country, a pattern witnessed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.
- Poor coordination can undermine joint military-police security operations: some security challenges are best addressed by a mix of military, formed police units and civilian police, yet different operating styles and attitudes towards the use of force can make coordinated operations difficult. This was a problem in Haiti in 2005, as it had been in Kosovo in 2004.

Policy Choices

The Review's analysis and data contains several policy recommendations for strengthening global peace operations capacity while reducing the current level of strain. These fall into three broad categories:

1 Developing strategic capacities

The September 2005 World Summit recognized the need for “rapidly deployable capacities” in order to quickly reinforce existing missions as well as to enable the UN to more rapidly deploy new missions—but did not offer any details for how these capacities should be developed.

The international community should develop a formal arrangement by which major contributors to UN missions hold some forces at readiness for rapid deployment (48 hours to one week) in order to increase flexibility in peacekeeping capacity.

2 Increasing clarity about peacekeeping doctrine

So as to mitigate the dilemmas experience by peacekeepers in protecting civilians and providing public security, the Review proposes:

UN member states should search for consensus on the basics of peace operations in order to provide greater doctrinal clarity on the use of force and other fundamental principles. This would lead to greater coherence in the field and facilitate the management of expectations among personnel contributors, the parties to a conflict and the broader population amongst whom the operation is deployed.

3 Promoting integrated strategies for peacekeeping at all levels

The Review argues that the UN, other organizations and national governments should aim for integrated peacekeeping strategies at the global, regional and mission levels.

The September 2005 UN World Summit produced political agreement on the need for a ten-year process to build the peacekeeping capacities of regional and sub-regional organizations in Africa. As Africa now accounts for 70% of the UN's troop deployment, such a process would ease the overall burden of global peace operations.