

COUNCIL *on*
FOREIGN
RELATIONS

Global and Regional Peacekeepers

Part of Discussion Paper Series on Global and Regional Governance

Paul D. Williams
September 2016

The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) is an independent, nonpartisan membership organization, think tank, and publisher dedicated to being a resource for its members, government officials, business executives, journalists, educators and students, civic and religious leaders, and other interested citizens in order to help them better understand the world and the foreign policy choices facing the United States and other countries. Founded in 1921, CFR carries out its mission by maintaining a diverse membership, with special programs to promote interest and develop expertise in the next generation of foreign policy leaders; convening meetings at its headquarters in New York and in Washington, DC, and other cities where senior government officials, members of Congress, global leaders, and prominent thinkers come together with CFR members to discuss and debate major international issues; supporting a Studies Program that fosters independent research, enabling CFR scholars to produce articles, reports, and books and hold roundtables that analyze foreign policy issues and make concrete policy recommendations; publishing *Foreign Affairs*, the preeminent journal on international affairs and U.S. foreign policy; sponsoring Independent Task Forces that produce reports with both findings and policy prescriptions on the most important foreign policy topics; and providing up-to-date information and analysis about world events and American foreign policy on its website, CFR.org.

The Council on Foreign Relations takes no institutional positions on policy issues and has no affiliation with the U.S. government. All views expressed in its publications and on its website are the sole responsibility of the author or authors.

For further information about CFR or this paper, please write to the Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York, NY 10065, or call Communications at 212.434.9888. Visit CFR's website, www.cfr.org.

Copyright © 2016 by the Council on Foreign Relations® Inc.
All rights reserved.

This paper may not be reproduced in whole or in part, in any form beyond the reproduction permitted by Sections 107 and 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law Act (17 U.S.C. Sections 107 and 108) and excerpts by reviewers for the public press, without express written permission from the Council on Foreign Relations.

Global and Regional Peacekeepers

Today, like most periods, is a time of crisis and potential flux in peace operations. At the United Nations, major high-level reviews have recently analyzed the state of peace operations, the roles of new technologies in peacekeeping, the global peacebuilding architecture, and the poor state of implementing the women, peace, and security agenda.¹ Debates about how best to implement their recommendations continue. The global-regional axis is not the only dimension along which such debates are playing out, but it is an important dimension, particularly in relation to Africa.

But UN-regional relations are complicated. The UN Charter does not define what it calls “regional arrangements,” and these organizations come in many different sizes and serve a wide variety of purposes, not all of which include conducting peace operations.² Moreover, even in the peace and security realm, there is no uncontested standard against which a regional organization should be measured. In sum, few generalizations about the world’s regional organizations hold.

When it comes to peace operations, there is not a uniform relationship between regional and UN organizations. In part, this stems from the huge variation across the world’s regional arrangements, many of which have little experience with peace operations and hence have not formed part of this debate. UN-regional relationships thus vary considerably, depending on the regional organization in question and the threat to international peace and security under consideration.

However, the UN Security Council remains the single most authoritative institution on issues of international peace and security across the globe, including peace operations. The United Nations has conducted more peacekeeping operations than any other party—seventy-two between 1948 and 2016—and has deployed, by far, the largest number of peacekeepers. This reflects the relatively high levels of legitimacy the United Nations can generate for its missions and the fact that the United Nations is one of the few international organizations that can sustain its operations in the field due to its effective, if not perfect, system of financial support.

The United Nations has never had a monopoly on peacekeeping. Between 1946 and 2016, for instance, thirteen regional organizations conducted sixty-five peace operations (see Appendix A).³ Not only has the United Nations’ primacy sometimes been challenged but it has also frequently relied upon partnerships with regional arrangements to maintain international peace and security and solidify its own legitimacy. Particularly, since the end of the Cold War, the flow of international norms relating to peace operations has not all been one way from the United Nations down to regional arrangements. Instead, some regions have played an important role in shaping the debate. For example, Western policies related to liberal market democracy and military doctrine have heavily influenced the shape of UN peace operations, although they have generated pushback in some parts of the world.⁴ On other occasions, as in Somalia and Sudan, the mantra of “African solutions for African problems” influenced the United Nations’ approach to peace operations, although in both cases, the results were far from successful.⁵

Today, the nature of peace operations remains hotly debated at the United Nations and across the world, with considerable attention on how best the United Nations can support regional operations,

especially in Africa. The United States has occupied an important place in these debates. As the largest financial contributor to UN peace operations and a major supplier of training and equipment to regional forces, it is well-placed to influence constructive reforms at both global and regional levels.

THE NEW REGIONAL LANDSCAPE: SEVEN RECENT TRENDS

In discourses about peace operations, regionalization is commonly understood in both empirical and explicitly normative terms. Empirically, it denotes the increasing participation of regional organizations in peace operations. In normative terms, it refers to the idea that each region of the world “should be responsible for its own peacemaking and peacekeeping, with some financial and technical support from the West but few, if any, military or police contingents from outside the region.”⁶

As a shorthand descriptor for what is happening across the contemporary peacekeeping landscape, “regionalization” is misleading in several respects. First, regional organizations are not the only important actors in peace operations; the United Nations, coalitions, and states individually play significant roles as well. Moreover, when regional organizations deploy peace operations, such forces are usually a coalition of willing members within the organization, not all the members equally. Second, regionalization is occurring unevenly across regions. While some regions are willing and able to conduct peace operations, others have the will but lack the relevant capabilities; some dislike the idea of conducting military operations but are keen to undertake political and observer missions; still other regional organizations have no desire to perform collective peace operations of any sort; and some parts of the world have no significant regional arrangements at all. Third, not all regional arrangements confine their activities to their own region; for example, some Western regional organizations, such as the European Union (EU) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), operate well beyond their own neighborhoods. These are the exceptions rather than the rule in the domain of regional peace operations.

To describe today’s peacekeeping landscape as simply increasing regionalization is therefore inaccurate. Rather, seven interrelated trends can be identified that amount to a more complex reality.

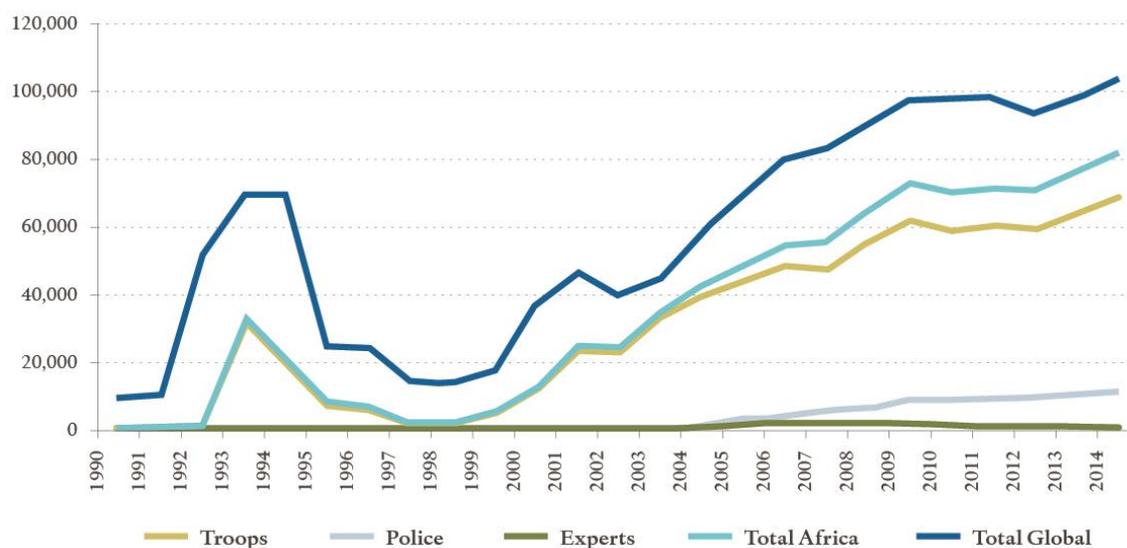
The United Nations remains the most important peacekeeper. The United Nations remains the dominant peacekeeper across most of the world’s regions and clearly the single most important peacekeeping actor. Since 1946, there have been seventy-two UN-led peace operations authorizing the deployment of over 415,000 uniformed personnel. Overall, the United Nations has a good track record of fulfilling its core peacekeeping tasks and has a financial system that can sustain its operations.⁷ The United Nations currently fields sixteen peacekeeping operations, as well as another two dozen or so special political missions that are usually managed by the UN Department of Political Affairs. These operations involve over 100,000 uniformed personnel, including troops, police, and military experts, and approximately 20,000 civilian staff. The United Nations, thus, currently deploys more soldiers and police personnel than any other actor in world politics. However, the United Nations has never exercised monopoly on conducting or authorizing peace operations, and its operations have often coexisted or explicitly interacted with peace operations led by other actors, including regional organizations.⁸ The United Nations has conducted more peace operations than regional organizations have in both Asia and the Middle East; in other regions of the world, it is matched by regional organizations (see Figure 1). Since the end of the Cold War, most of the UN peacekeepers have been deployed in Africa, at some points reaching as much as 80 percent of the global total (see Figure 2).

Figure 1. Number of Regional and UN Peace Operations by Region, 1946–2016

	Africa	Americas	Asia	Caucasus	Europe	Middle East (Including Egypt)	Pacific
Regional missions	39	9	2	2	8	4	1
UN missions	33	7	10	1	10	11	0

Source: Compiled by author.

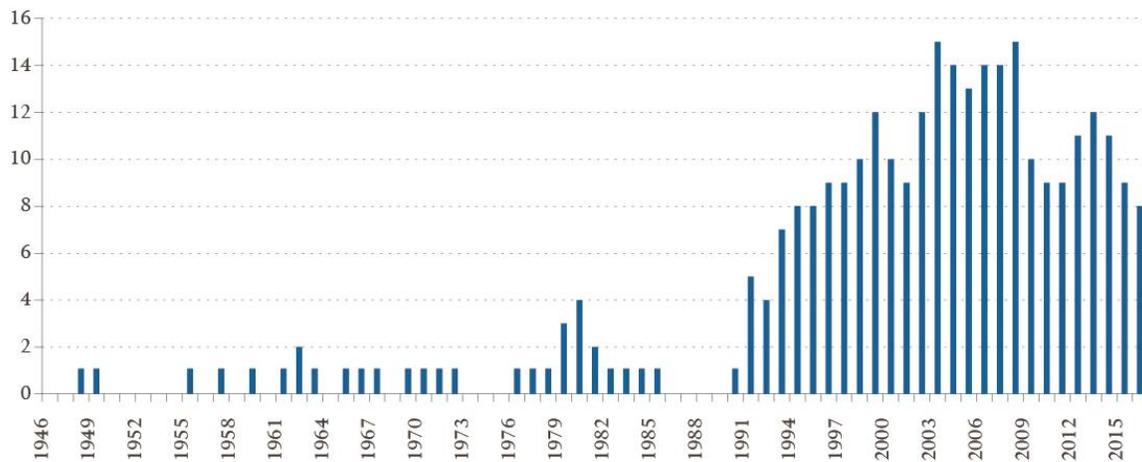
Figure 2. UN Uniformed Peacekeepers Worldwide and in Africa



Source: Compiled by author from the IPI Peacekeeping Database.

More peace operations are being conducted by regional organizations, especially now by the African Union and EU. More regional arrangements are getting involved in peace operations and have conducted greater numbers of missions. This trend has become particularly pronounced since the end of the Cold War (see Figure 3). Of the sixty-five regional peace operations conducted since 1946, forty-eight—roughly 74 percent—took place after 1989. It is also notable that most of these post-Cold War missions were larger than their Cold War counterparts. Since the late 1990s, there have regularly been more than ten regional peace operations in any calendar year. During the twenty-first century, the African Union (AU) and EU have conducted far more peace operations than any other regional organization. The AU has dramatically altered the pace, tempo, and ambition of its predecessor—the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which conducted about a dozen small observer and monitoring operations but was neither willing nor able to conduct larger multidimensional operations. The EU's peace operations stemmed from the organization's attempts to develop a common foreign and security policy after the general impotence it faced when trying to respond to the wars of Yugoslav succession in the 1990s. Notably, the EU's peace operations deploy out of area, which is rare for regional organizations, most of which focus their activities in their own neighborhoods.

Figure 3. Number of Regional Peace Operations Since 1946



Source: Compiled by author (See Appendix).

Not all regional arrangements conduct peace operations. The sixty-five operations listed in Appendix A were carried out by thirteen different regional organizations. This means that some regional organizations, including those involved in other conflict management activities, have chosen not to conduct peace operations.

The regional arrangements that participate in conflict management activities vary in their approaches across at least six dimensions: they see different types of conflicts as security challenges; they accord different levels of significance to conflict management initiatives; they differ in the relative emphasis they give to particular parts of the conflict management enterprise (e.g., prevention, mitigation, reconciliation, or postwar peacebuilding); they use different types of institutional frameworks for dealing with conflict issues; they vary in terms of the instruments and techniques they prefer to use as part of their conflict management repertoire; and the geographic scope of their activities is highly uneven, with most staying within their own region but a few operating out of area.⁹

Scholarly literature has offered four sets of explanations for this regional variation but has not come to a consensus on the relationship among them. The first set of explanations focuses on the exercise of political power, especially the roles played by internal and external hegemony.¹⁰ The second cluster emphasizes domestic factors, particularly the ways in which the political character of regimes can affect regional choices and domestic coalitions can shape regional preferences.¹¹ A third set of explanations points to ideational factors, particularly the ways in which regional approaches to conflict management are shaped by shared security cultures that predispose their members to certain actions and policies.¹² The fourth set revolves around collective capacity issues, since regional organizations can conduct conflict management initiatives only if they have relevant resources and capabilities.¹³ Hence, organizations populated by richer states with more developed power projection capabilities are more likely to be proactive in managing conflicts than poorer, less well-equipped states. For a regional organization to conduct peace operations, it needs to conceive of such activities as legitimate, persuade some of its members to participate in particular crises, and develop the appropriate material capabilities.

The UN Security Council has used its authority more frequently to support regional peace operations. In recent years, it has become more likely that the UN Security Council will authorize regional peace operations. According to the list in the appendix, it was not until 1995 that the UN Security Council authorized a regional peace operation: NATO's force in Bosnia, the Implementation Force (IFOR).¹⁴ Since then, the UN Security Council has authorized just over 40 percent of regional peace operations. This suggests that in the post–Cold War era, regional organizations undertaking peace operations increasingly value the additional legitimacy—and sometimes legality—that comes with receiving authorization from the UN Security Council. Moreover, this means most of the peace operations conducted by regional organizations since the end of the Cold War have generally conformed with the rules of the UN system rather than tried to break or bypass them.

Debate over the principal purposes of peace operations continues, and some regional voices are crucial in this debate. The multifaceted mandates assigned to many contemporary peace operations have blurred the lines between activities traditionally kept distinct.¹⁵ Numerous contemporary peace operations, especially some of those conducted in Africa, have involved complicated mixtures of war fighting, stabilization, counterinsurgency, counterterrorism, atrocity prevention, state-building, and regime-consolidation tasks—particularly in the Central African Republic (CAR), the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Mali, and Somalia, where the United Nations and AU have explicitly designated enemy groups. Most of these tasks far outstrip the principles and guidelines on which UN peacekeeping is currently based.¹⁶ Consequently, much debate has occurred concerning the need to clarify the limits of peace operations and how to distinguish them from other tasks. Not surprisingly, different regional organizations have adopted different approaches or philosophies on this issue. Arguably, the most important regional input of late has been the attempts by the AU to define the philosophy behind what it calls peace support operations, which are not seen as beholden to the established UN principles and guidelines for peacekeeping.¹⁷ Particularly with regard to the use of military force, the United Nations has generally remained rather conservative, whereas the AU has taken a more assertive position, including a willingness to forcibly make peace in active war zones by designating particular groups as enemies of the mission. Finally, it is worth noting that some regional organizations have developed counterterrorism and/or war fighting mechanisms rather than mechanisms to conduct peace operations per se (e.g., the Shanghai Cooperation Organization).

Africa remains the region with the most intense global-regional collaboration on peace operations. It is often forgotten that more than fifty new peace operations have been deployed across Africa since 2000. Moreover, more than half of all regional peace operations since 1946 have taken place in Africa. Since the end of the Cold War, the relative frequency of regional peace operations in Africa has become even more pronounced, with nearly 73 percent—thirty-five out of forty-eight—of all regional peace operations taking place on the continent. Indeed, it is striking that the last fifteen peace operations conducted by regional organizations, dating back to 2004, have all taken place in Africa. Africa has also been, by far, the site of most UN peacekeepers deployed after the Cold War.¹⁸

The UN-AU collaboration on peace and security has a long history dating back to at least 1965.¹⁹ The basis for such collaboration is mutual recognition of several important facts. First, over the last decade, the majority of the UN Security Council's agenda has been occupied by peace and security challenges in Africa. Second, both institutions recognize that the UN Security Council has the primary—but not exclusive—responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, including

in Africa.²⁰ Third, both institutions acknowledge that, alone, neither can cope with the multitude of peace and security challenges on the continent. Both institutions now also recognize that while the AU is an important source of political authority for conflict management in Africa, it lacks the necessary material and financial capabilities to take decisive action alone to resolve these problems, as was highlighted by the ongoing crisis in Mali.²¹ On the basis of these shared insights, pragmatic and context-specific forms of collaboration between the United Nations and AU have evolved as part of the creation of the new African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA).²² In 2006, the United Nations established a ten-year capacity-building program to assist in this endeavor. Individual members of the UN Security Council also helped develop the APSA through various mechanisms, most notably the U.S. Global Peace Operations Initiative and the EU's African Peace Facility, both of which started in 2004.

Several patterns have emerged on the continent: the number of peacekeepers, missions, and budgets has risen consistently; partnership peacekeeping has become the norm; and African states and the AU play increasingly important roles in various peace operations, both those conducted by the United Nations and regional organizations.²³

In Africa, partnership peacekeeping has become the norm, including between global and regional peacekeepers. Partnership peacekeeping involves collaboration among various multilateral and bilateral actors and institutions to deploy one or more peace operations in the same theater.²⁴ The most important and sustained partnership has been that between the United Nations and AU. However, the EU and several bilateral partners, notably France, the United States, and several other European states) have also played significant roles in fielding contemporary peace operations in Africa. Much of this work has been carried out under the framework of the APSA, of which the deployment of African-led peace operations is a central part.²⁵

The African context of partnership peacekeeping is further complicated by the existence of numerous so-called subregional organizations, usually now referred to as Africa's Regional Economic Communities (RECs).²⁶ While the UN Charter does not distinguish between a continental regional arrangement, such as the AU, and subcontinental regional organizations, such as the African RECs, their centrality to the APSA has, at times, complicated the United Nations' tasks related to some specific peace operations where the AU and relevant RECs do not always share the same policies. Officially, the relationship between the AU and RECs is supposed to be guided by the principles of subsidiarity, complementarity, and comparative advantage, but they have been defined in highly ambiguous terms and consequently often generate practical problems in implementing specific responses to particular crises in Africa.²⁷

In sum, the United Nations remains the largest provider of peace operations and peacekeepers, but regional organizations have become important actors since the end of the Cold War and, particularly, in the past decade. Regional organizations exhibit considerable diversity in their involvement in peace operations. The AU and EU are most active, but some organizations play no role in this sector. Consequently, the United Nations has developed innovative mechanisms to support regional peace operations. In the past decade, most peace operations and UN support have centered on Africa, where partnership peacekeeping has become the norm.

OPPORTUNITIES AND RISKS OF REGIONALIZATION IN PEACE OPERATIONS

Two fundamental characteristics of the UN system have encouraged regional organizations to undertake peace operations. First, Chapter VIII of the UN Charter encourages “regional arrangements” to be proactive in peacefully resolving conflicts that occur within their neighborhoods, but it forbids them from taking enforcement measures without authorization from the UN Security Council. Second, the United Nations’ lack of standing armed forces has meant that it often needs to delegate other actors to undertake peace operations on its behalf, especially those involving large-scale enforcement activities. The growing number of regional organizations conducting peace operations has thus provided the United Nations with an expanded set of options. But beyond these charter provisions, it is not always clear what practical support the United Nations should provide regional peace operations, and how. The UN Security Council’s inconsistent involvement in regional operations, especially in Africa, also confused the issue.²⁸

As a result, the United Nations developed ad hoc approaches to collaboration with regional organizations. The three most common are:

- *Parallel operations*, in which a UN and regional peace operation collaborate simultaneously in the same theater, for example, UN Interim Administration Mission and Kosovo Force (KFOR) in Kosovo, UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission and the European Union Force RCA (EUFOR RCA) in CAR.
- *Sequential operations*, in which UN and regional peace operations deploy in sequence, usually in a regional-to-UN transition, such as the African-led International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA) to the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali, but less frequently in a UN-to-regional transition, such as UN Protection Force to IFOR in Bosnia.
- *Support packages*, in which the United Nations provides various forms of support, usually logistical and financial, to a regional peace operation, such as the heavy and light support packages to the AU Mission in Sudan and the UN Support Office for the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).

Overall, these models of partnership have worked reasonably well inasmuch as they facilitated flexible and pragmatic responses to various crisis zones. Nevertheless, they also revealed weaknesses and limitations.

Potential Advantages of Regional Peacekeepers²⁹

In 1992, UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali argued that “in this new era of opportunity, regional arrangements or agencies can render great service if their activities are undertaken in a manner consistent with the purposes and principles of the charter, and if their relationship with the United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, is governed by Chapter VIII.”³⁰

In some conflicts, regional organizations can provide enhanced legitimacy and sensitivity borne of a greater working knowledge of the relevant circumstances. Moreover, their geographical proximity allows regional actors to deploy and supply peacekeepers relatively quickly. In the extreme case of the former Soviet Union, the Russian troops that became part of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) peace operation in Abkhazia, Georgia, were already present in the country because they had not withdrawn from the Soviet garrisons. In Somalia, after 2007, for instance, AMISOM struggled to field sufficient forces until the neighboring states were called upon to deploy troops. In CAR and

Mali in 2013, AU peace operations consisting primarily of states from the subregion deployed before the UN missions took over.

Another potential benefit is that regional organizations can bring additional resources to peace operations beyond those available from the United Nations. Indeed, in some cases, regional peace operations may be the only realistic option in conflicts where the United Nations has declined to deploy peacekeepers. In this sense, regional arrangements can help fill some of the gaps in international conflict management left by the UN Security Council's selective approach. For example, African organizations responded with peace operations where the United Nations had declined in several post-Cold War cases, including Burundi, Congo-Brazzaville, and Liberia in the 1990s, and in Burundi, Guinea-Bissau, and Somalia in the twenty-first century. Regional organizations can also bring additional capabilities. The EU, for instance, has provided approximately €2 billion to African peace operations since 2004 through its African Peace Facility. Similarly, NATO has sometimes been crucial in conducting airstrikes (e.g., in Bosnia) and more commonly in providing strategic lift capabilities to deploy African peacekeepers in a variety of theaters, including Darfur and Somalia.

In some instances, parties to a conflict may prefer the involvement of regional actors rather than the United Nations or other external bodies, hence the frequent calls for Arab, African, or Asian solutions to regional problems.³¹ This argument about regional legitimacy “relies on the notion that the people and governments in a region have a natural affinity with those in that geographic area and an inherent suspicion of what they perceive as outside intervention.”³² This has certainly been the case in a variety of conflicts, such as those in Darfur, where for four years Sudan would only permit African, and not UN, peacekeepers, and in the Caucasus, where Russia was ready to utilize CIS peace operations but was much more loathe to support UN missions.

Another argument suggests that the region's proximity to the crisis in question means that its members have to live with the consequences of unresolved conflicts. As a result, regional arrangements are unable to disentangle themselves from an issue and hence may be more likely to sustain long-term peacekeeping operations. The experiences of the EU and NATO in Bosnia and the AU's experiences in Somalia, for example, support this argument.

Potential Disadvantages of Regional Peacekeepers

Regional organizations suffer from many of the same constraints and problems faced by UN peace operations as well as other distinct disadvantages. Geographic proximity to a conflict does not automatically generate a regional consensus on how to respond. As Paul Diehl has pointed out, although “one might expect regional organizations to have an advantage over the United Nations because their membership is more homogenous,” in fact, the “most common threats to regional peace—internal threats—are exactly those least likely to generate consensus.”³³ Immediate neighbors often have different views on how a local conflict should be resolved, which often has repercussions for the deployment of any peace operation. This might encourage a tendency for forum shopping, where great powers or powerful local actors seek more pliable peacekeepers. Russia's preference to support CIS rather than UN peacekeepers in the Caucasus or Sudan's demand, reiterated in Security Council resolution 1769, that any peacekeeping force in Darfur must retain its “predominantly African character,” are examples.

A related point is that regional organizations can be particularly susceptible to the pull of partisan interests, especially those associated with a regional hegemon such as Nigeria in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Russia in the CIS, and arguably the United States in NATO. Because of the inability of regional organizations to act against their most powerful members, regional peace operations “are unlikely to be authorized in conflicts that directly involve the global powers or regional powers.”³⁴ Instead, local hegemons have often used regional arrangements to legitimize their activities in conflicts that are relevant to them rather than those going on inside their borders. This kind of manipulation was clearly evident in the Nigerian-led ECOWAS operations in Liberia (1990) and Sierra Leone (1997), the Russian-led CIS operations in Georgia (1994), and the Australian-led Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) operation in the Solomon Islands (2003).

Compared to the United Nations, regional organizations lack considerable experience in conducting peace operations.³⁵ Even the AU and EU, the busiest regional organizations, have undertaken only a small fraction of the operations conducted by the United Nations. In this sense, like the United Nations, these organizations have had to learn the techniques of peacekeeping as they go. In some cases, the regional organizations in question, such as NATO and the PIF, have also lacked provisions to undertake peace operations in their respective charters.

As Marrack Goulding observed, another weakness is that regional organizations, with the possible exceptions of NATO and EU, tend to operate with relatively small bureaucracies and budgets and lack the administrative, logistical, and command structures necessary to manage large-scale military operations.³⁶ The problem is, as Diehl has noted, that “merely having the authority to carry out a conflict management activity is not enough if the organization lacks the requisite resources [financial, political, and military] to take effective action.”³⁷ This can be particularly problematic given that deploying a poorly equipped and funded peace operation can generate various problems in the area concerned. Indeed, it is notable that a serious deficiency of mission support structures has been identified as one of the major failings of the African Peace and Security Architecture and, consequently, the AU’s peace operations.³⁸ In this sense, it is important to remember that the United Nations’ assessed budget for peacekeeping is one of the most sustainable forms of financial support for peace operations and is certainly far better than most regional alternatives. There is also the issue of peacekeeping standards in terms of training and equipment that the United Nations has developed but which are still lacking in many regional organizations.

Another problem stems from the uneven levels and types of regionalization evident around the globe. In particular, some parts of the world, including areas of intense confrontation such as across the Middle East and Central and South Asia, have no regional organizations capable of conducting significant peace operations. Attempting to subcontract the United Nations’ responsibilities to the regional level could have disastrous effects. As the former head of the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Jean-Marie Guéhenno, warned, regionalization can encourage an “only in my backyard” approach that spells trouble for regions that lack the necessary capacities.³⁹

Finally, although the UN Security Council faces several significant problems, no other organization can consistently generate as much international legitimacy for its missions as the United Nations. This is why a growing number of regional peace operations seek authorization from the Security Council.⁴⁰ As then UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali concluded in 1995, if regionalization threatened to weaken the internationalist basis of the United Nations, it should be treated as a “dangerous” idea.⁴¹

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

With different international organizations likely to maintain distinct approaches to peace operations and comparative advantages, the policy challenge is how to ensure the best international division of labor that can deliver effective peace operations in particular crises. Pursuing the following steps would help:

- *Clarify the limits of UN peace operations.* It will be increasingly difficult to build political consensus around and provide practical support to peace operations if they mean different things to different organizations. The UN Security Council and the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations should, therefore, urgently clarify the limits and principal purposes of UN-led peace operations. Specifically, these bodies should clarify the meaning of stabilization operations in the context of UN peacekeeping and the role of UN peacekeepers in counterinsurgency campaigns or counterterrorism. Training regimes and force requirements for operations should be developed in line with these definitions.
- *Develop a new and improved strategic partnership between the United Nations and AU.* The UN Security Council and AU need to clarify the nature of their strategic partnership following the end of the United Nations' ten-year capacity-building program for the AU in 2016. In the peace and security realm, this will involve developing new terms and institutional mechanisms for the relationship that will retain enough flexibility to adapt to new and unforeseen challenges while avoiding the problems of persistent ad hoc responses. Two crucial issues are ensuring that AU peace operations have access to predictable, sustainable, and flexible funding and developing appropriate UN support mechanisms for them.
- *Fully implement the new U.S. presidential policy on peace operations.* The United States should ensure rapid and full implementation of its new presidential policy on peace operations, including its stated aim to "lead the drive for reform of UN and regional peace operations."⁴² Specifically, the United States should prioritize the need to develop "skilled, deployment-ready, high quality forces and enablers, with capable leadership at the contingent, brigade, battalion and company levels" and make available to regional organizations "pre-deployment training, leadership education and training, joint planning, and doctrine development and implementation." This needs to include police and civilian personnel, not just soldiers.
- *Establish a new funding mechanism to support the AU.* To assist in these efforts, the United States should establish a predictable funding mechanism to support AU peace operations and headquarters requirements that includes full financial accountability and African contributions. A U.S. funding mechanism to support the AU directly rather than bilateral support to troop- or police-contributing countries would help build sustainable capacity for crucial planning and mission support requirements. Such support should be contingent on some level of matching funds from the AU member states and include a mechanism to ensure oversight of the disbursement of funds. One possible model is the EU's African Peace Facility.⁴³
- *Assist in the development of new standards for AU peace support operations.* The United States should assist the AU in particular to develop training, equipment, and performance standards for its peacekeepers as well as appropriate assessment metrics. These standards would need to be interoperable with those of the United Nations. The United States could make available assistance with the development of specific training and equipment standards and methodologies for assessing peacekeeper performance in the field.

Never before has it been so important for policymakers to balance regional and global forms of peacekeeping. While the UN Security Council retains primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security and is the single largest source of peacekeepers, some regional organizations, particularly in Africa and Europe, are playing increasingly important roles. The current challenges are daunting. Both global and regional peacekeepers will struggle to pacify warzones where civilians are deliberately targeted, factions often fight without clear political agendas, and the lines between political and criminal violence are increasingly blurred. Better-resourced peace operations would help, but more resources alone will not make missions more effective. Political leadership should develop shared strategic vision for the United Nations and other organizations involved in peace operations, appropriate mechanisms through which these organizations can support one another while using their comparative advantages, and viable conflict resolution strategies to end the wars that peacekeepers are sent to manage.

APPENDIX: REGIONAL PEACE OPERATIONS, 1946–2016

Peace operations involve the expeditionary use of uniformed personnel (police and/or military), with a mandate to

- assist in the prevention of armed conflict by supporting a peace process;
- serve as an instrument to observe or assist in the implementation of cease-fires or peace agreements;
- or
- enforce cease-fires, peace agreements, or the will of the UN Security Council to build stable peace.

This definition encompasses UN, UN-authorized, and non-UN operations, which may range in size from small observation and monitoring missions involving less than fifty personnel to multidimensional operations involving tens of thousands of soldiers, police, and civilians. The list excludes:

- training missions, such as those conducted by the EU in Somalia and Mali;
- military interventions authorized by regional organizations, including NATO's Operation Allied Force in Kosovo (1999); and Operation Boleas in Lesotho (1998) and Operation Sovereign Legitimacy in the DRC (1998), both of which some members claimed were authorized by the Southern African Development Community;
- cases where regional arrangements have authorized but failed to deploy peace operations, such as the Intergovernmental Authority on Development peace mission to Somalia (2005) and the AU-authorized African Prevention and Protection Mission in Burundi (2015).

Table A1. Regional Peace Operations Since 1946

		UN-authorized	UN-recognized	Non-UN
	Dates	Mission	Location (Region)	Deployed Size (estimated maximum uniformed)
	1994–1949	OAS Mission	Costa Rica, Nicaragua (AM)	4
	1955	OAS Military Experts Commission	Costa Rica, Nicaragua (AM)	27
	1957	OAS CMOG	Honduras, Nicaragua (AM)	22
	1959	OAS Mission	Panama (AM)	Unclear
	1961–1963	Arab League Force	Kuwait (ME)	5,000
	1962	OAS Quarantine	Cuba and Caribbean (AM)	Unclear
	1965–1966	OAS Inter-American Peace Force	Dominican Republic (AM)	25,200
	1967	Arab League Military Observers	Yemen (ME)	Unclear
	1969(?)	OAS Military & Civilian Observers	Honduras, El Salvador (AM)	Unclear
	1970–1971	Arab Ceasefire Observer Mission	Jordan (ME)	Unclear
	1972	Arab League Observers	Yemen (ME)	Unclear
	1976–1981	OAS Military Observers II	Honduras, El Salvador (AM)	28
	1979–1980	CMF (UK Commonwealth)	Rhodesia/Zimbabwe (AF)	1,319
	1980	OAU Peacekeeping Force 1	Chad (AF)	550
	1981–1982	OAU Peacekeeping Force 2	Chad (AF)	2,600
	1983–1985	CPF aka ECPF (OECS)	Grenada (AM)	350
	1986	ANAD Observer Commission	Mali and Burkina Faso (AF)	16
	1990–1999	ECOMOG	Liberia (AF)	12,040
	1991–2000	ECMM (then EUMM 22 Dec 2000)	Former Yugoslavia (EUR)	350
	1991–(?)	OAU Mission	Western Sahara (AF)	Unclear
	1991	OAUMOT	Rwanda (AF)	15
	1991–1993	OAU NMOG I	Rwanda (AF)	57
	1994–2008	South Ossetia JPKF (CIS)	Georgia / South Ossetia (CAU)	1,500

	UN-authorized	UN-recognized	Non-UN
Dates	Mission	Location (Region)	Deployed Size (estimated maximum uniformed)
1993–2000	CPKF (CIS)	Tajikistan (AS)	32,000
1993	OAU NMOG II	Rwanda (AF)	70
1993–1996	OMIB (OAU)	Burundi (AF)	47
1994–current	CPKF/CPFOR (CIS)	Georgia (Abkhazia) (CAU)	2,500
1994	CPAG (UK Commonwealth)	South Africa (AF)	33
1995–1996	IFOR (NATO)	Bosnia-Herzegovina (EUR)	60,000
1996–2005	SFOR (NATO)	Bosnia-Herzegovina (EUR)	36,179
1997–2000	ECOMOG	Sierra Leone (AF)	14,000
1997–1998	OMIC (OAU)	Comoros (AF)	20
1998–1999	ECOMOG	Guinea-Bissau (AF)	750
1999–current	KFOR (NATO)	Kosovo (EUR)	45,000
1999	AFOR (NATO)	Albania (EUR)	5,500
1999–2000	OAU Observer Mission	DR Congo (AF)	43
2000–2008	OLMEE, AULMEE	Ethiopia, Eritrea (AF)	43
2003–2014	ISAF (NATO)	Afghanistan (AS)	130,000
2001–2003	Essential Harvest, Amber Fox, Allied Harmony (NATO)	Macedonia, FYR (EUR)	4,400
2001–2002	OMIC 2 (OAU)	Comoros (AF)	14
2001–2002	CEN-SAD Mission	Central African Republic (AF)	300
2002–2004	ECOMICI	Ivory Coast (AF)	1,500
2002–2008	FOMUC (ECCAS)	Central African Republic (AF)	380
2002	OMIC 3 (OAU)	Comoros (AF)	39
2003	Operation Concordia (EU)	Macedonia, FYR (EUR)	400
2003–current	RAMSI (PIF)	Solomon Islands (PAC)	2,250

	UN-authorized	UN-recognized	Non-UN
Dates	Mission	Location (Region)	Deployed Size (estimated maximum uniformed)
2003	ECOMIL	Liberia (AF)	3,600
2003	Operation Artemis / IEMF (EU-led)	DR Congo (AF)	2,205
2003–2004	AMIB	Burundi (AF)	3,250
2004–	EUFOR Operation Althea	Bosnia-Herzegovina (EUR)	6,500
2004–2007	AMIS	Sudan (AF)	7,700
2004	MIOC (OAU)	Comoros (AF)	41
2005–current	EUSEC-RD-CONGO	DR Congo (AF)	50
2005–2007	EU Support to AMIS 2	Sudan (AF)	50
2006	EUFOR-RD	DR Congo (AF)	2,275
2006	AMISEC	Comoros (AF)	1,260
2007–current	AMISOM	Somalia (AF)	22,126
2007–2008	MAES (AU)	Comoros (AF)	356
2008	Op Democracy in the Comoros (AU)	Comoros (AF)	1,800
2008–2009	EUFOR-Chad	Chad (AF)	3,700
2008–2013	MICOPAX (ECCAS)	Central African Republic (AF)	730
2012–	ECOMIB	Guinea-Bissau (AF)	629
2012–2013	AFISMA	Mali (AF)	9,620
2013–2014	MISCA	Central African Republic (AF)	5,739
2014–2015	EUFOR RCA	Central African Republic (AF)	750

Source: Based on Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams, "Trends in Peace Operations, 1947–2013," in Joachim Koops et al, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peace Operations* (Oxford University Press, 2015).

ENDNOTES

1. Final Report of the Expert Panel on Technology and Innovation in UN Peacekeeping, *Performance Peacekeeping* (December 2014); Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations on uniting our strengths for peace: politics, partnership and people (UN doc. A/70/95-S/2015/446, June 17, 2015); Global Study on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325, *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace* (New York: UN Women, October 2015); and Report of the Advisory Group of Experts on the 2015 Review of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture, *The Challenge of Sustaining Peace* (June 29, 2015).
2. This paper includes NATO peace operations despite the fact the alliance defines itself as a collective self-defense alliance rather than a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter.
3. They are: Organization of American States (OAS), League of Arab States, UK Commonwealth, Organization of African Unity/African Union (OAU/AU), European Community/European Union (EC/EU), Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), The Treaty of Non-Aggression, Assistance, and Mutual Defense (ANAD), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), and the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF).
4. See, for example, Roland Paris, *At War's End* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) and Sevrine Autesserre, *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
5. See, for example, Linnea Gelot, *Legitimacy, Peace Operations and Regional-Global Security: The AU-UN Partnership in Darfur* (London: Routledge, 2012).
6. Marrack Goulding, *Peacemonger* (London: John Murray, 2002), p. 217.
7. For overviews, see Michael Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006); Virginia P. Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices After Civil War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008); and Joachim Koops et al, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
8. See Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Cambridge: Polity, 2nd edition, 2010).
9. Paul D. Williams and Jürgen Haacke, "Regional Approaches to Conflict Management," in Chester Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, eds., *Rewiring Regional Security in a Fragmented World* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2011), pp. 49–74.
10. For example, Peter J. Katzenstein, *A World of Regions* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005) and Amitav Acharya, "The Emerging Regional Architecture of World Politics," *World Politics* 59, no. 4, 2007, pp. 629–652.
11. For example, Benjamin Miller, *States, Nations, and the Great Powers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) and Amitav Acharya and Alastair Iain Johnston, eds., *Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
12. For example, Michael C. Williams, *Culture and Security: Symbolic Power and the Politics of International Security* (London: Routledge, 2007) and Williams and Haacke, "Regional Approaches," pp. 63–65.
13. For example, David A. Lake and Patrick M. Morgan, eds., *Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).
14. Legally, there is no need for the UN Security Council to authorize a regional peacekeeping mission based on Chapter VIII of the UN Charter and carrying out Chapter VI tasks. But, as Article 53 of the UN Charter makes clear, the Security Council must authorize regional operations that undertake enforcement.
15. See William Durch and Madeline England, *The Purposes of Peace Operations* (New York University CIC, March 2009).
16. *UN Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines* (UN DPKO/DFS, 2008).
17. See Cedric de Coning et al., eds., *The Future of African Peace Operations* (London: Zed, 2016).
18. See Paul D. Williams, "United Nations Peacekeeping in Africa," in Chester Crocker and Pamela Aall, eds., *Minding the Gap: African Conflict Management in a Time of Change* (Canada: CIGI Press, 2016), pp. 239–255.
19. The OAU first signed a cooperation agreement with the United Nations on November 15, 1965.
20. This is noted in, for example, Article 17(1) of the *Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union* (2002). Article 52 of the UN Charter encourages regional arrangements to undertake peaceful resolution of local disputes, including peacekeeping missions, but Article 53 precludes the use of force without prior Security Council authorization.
21. See *Report of the Chairperson of the Commission on the Operationalisation of the Rapid Deployment Capability of the African Standby Force and the Establishment of an "African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises"* (AU doc. RPT/Exp/VI/STCDSS/(i-a)2013, 29–30 April 2013), para. 53.
22. See Arthur Boutellis and Paul D. Williams, *Peace Operations, the African Union, and the United Nations: Towards More Effective Partnerships* (New York: International Peace Institute, May 2013) and Paul D. Williams and Solomon Dersso, *Savings Strangers and Neighbors: Advancing UN-AU Cooperation on Peace Operations* (New York: International Peace Institute, February 2015).
23. See Paul D. Williams, *Enhancing U.S. Support for Peace Operations in Africa*, Council Special Report No. 73 (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, May 2015).

-
24. Used in academic literature for some time. To my knowledge, it was first used by the UN secretary-general to describe some of the United Nations' work in Africa in an April 2015 report. See, for example, Paul D. Williams and Arthur Boutellis, "Partnership Peacekeeping: Challenges and opportunities in the United Nations–African Union Relationship," *African Affairs* 113, 2014, pp. 254–287; and Report of the UN Secretary-General, *Partnering for peace: moving towards partnership peacekeeping* (UN doc. S/2015/229, 1 April 2015).
25. See Paul D. Williams, *War and Conflict in Africa* (Cambridge: Polity, 2nd edition, 2016), chapters 8 and 10.
26. The AU has a formal relationship with six RECs through the APSA: AMU, ECOWAS, SADC, IGAD, ECCAS, and CEN-SAD. The AU also has a formal relationship with two Regional Mechanisms as part of the APSA effort to build the African Standby Force: the North African Regional Capability (NARC) and the Eastern Africa Standby Force (EASF).
27. See Michelle Ndiaye, "The relationship between the AU and the RECs/RMs in relation to peace and security in Africa: subsidiarity and inevitable common destiny," in de Coning et al, eds., *The Future of African Peace Operations*.
28. See Jane Boulden, ed., *Responding to Conflict in Africa: The United Nations and Regional Organizations* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013).
29. This section draws from Bellamy and Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping*, chapter 13.
30. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace* (New York: UN 1992), para. 63.
31. This is not always the case. For example, in both the Eritrea-Ethiopia war (1998-2000) and the current conflict in Burundi (2015–present), at least some of the local actors preferred a UN force rather than a local OAU/AU force.
32. Paul Diehl, "New Roles for Regional Organizations," in Chester A. Crocker et al., eds., *Leashing the Dogs of War* (Washington DC: USIP Press), p. 541.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 540–541.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 543.
35. See Goulding, *Peacemonger*, p. 217.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Diehl, "New Roles for Regional Organizations," p. 546.
38. Walter Lotze, "Mission support for African peace operations," in de Coning et al, eds., *The Future of African Peace Operations*.
39. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, "Everybody's Doing It," *World Today* 59, no. 8/9, 2003, pp. 35–36.
40. See Paul D. Williams, "Regional and Global Legitimacy Dynamics: The United Nations and Regional Arrangements," in Dominik Zaum, ed., *Legitimizing International Organization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
41. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *Unvanquished: A US-UN Saga* (London: IB Tauris, 1999), p. 306.
42. *United States Support for United Nations Peace Operations* (The White House, September 28, 2015), at <http://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2015peaceoperations.pdf>
43. Williams, *Enhancing U.S. Support*, p. 26.

About the Author

Paul D. Williams is associate professor of international affairs and associate director of the security policy studies MA program at the George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs. Williams is also a nonresident senior advisor at the International Peace Institute in New York and a global fellow associated with the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars' Africa program. From 2014 to 2015, he was a visiting fellow at the Wilson Center. From 2011 to 2014, Williams worked as a visiting professor at Addis Ababa University's Institute for Peace and Security Studies. He previously taught at the Universities of Aberystwyth, Birmingham, and Warwick in the United Kingdom and has been a visiting scholar at Georgetown University and the University of Queensland, Australia. Williams currently serves on the editorial board of four scholarly journals: *African Affairs*, *International Peacekeeping*, *Global Governance*, and *Global Responsibility to Protect*. He is also managing the Providing for Peacekeeping Project, an independent research project that analyzes how to develop more effective United Nations peacekeeping operations. Williams holds a PhD from the University of Wales, Aberystwyth.

Acknowledgments

This discussion paper was presented at a CFR workshop “Regional and Global Governance: Competitors or Complements?,” organized by Senior Fellow Miles Kahler. The authors wish to thank the participants in the workshop and especially the discussants, whose comments made important contributions to the discussion papers: Reuben E. Brigety II, CFR adjunct senior fellow for African peace and security issues and dean of George Washington University’s Elliott School of International Affairs; Ajai Chopra, former deputy director of the International Monetary Fund; Alison Giffen, senior peacekeeping advisor at the U.S. Department of State; Jennifer Hillman, senior counsel at Cassidy Levy Kent and visiting professor of law at the Georgetown University Law Center; Edward Mansfield, Hum Rosen professor of political science and director of the Christopher H. Browne Center for International Politics at University of Pennsylvania; Helen V. Milner, B.C. Forbes professor of politics and international affairs and director of the Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance at Princeton University’s Woodrow Wilson School; Scott Morris, CFR senior fellow and director of the Rethinking U.S. Development Policy initiative at Center for Global Development; Macarena Saez, fellow in the International Legal Studies Program and director of the Center for Human Rights and Humanitarian Law at American University’s Washington College of Law; and Naboth van den Broek, partner at WilmerHale and senior distinguished fellow at Georgetown University Law Center’s Institute of International Economic Law. The authors also thank Daniel Chardell, research associate, for his organizational and editorial contribution to the project and the discussion papers, and Megan Roberts, associate director of the International Institutions and Global Governance program, for her oversight of the final stages of publication. This publication is part of the International Institutions and Global Governance program and was made possible by the generous support of the Robina Foundation.