

## Research Article

# IN SEARCH OF EFFECTIVE SCENARIOS FOR PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS FOR THE UN AND NATO

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Submitted on 01 Feb 2022 / Revised 18 Feb 2022 / Approved **15 Jun 2022**

Published: **15 Aug 2022**

**Summary:** 1. Introduction. – 2. Criteria for Peacekeeping. – 3. The Influence of Peacekeeping on Conflict and Its Effectiveness. – 4. Open Databases of the World Bank, UN Department of Peacekeeping – Data and Examples of State Situations. – 5. Regularities that Influenced the Effectiveness of Peacekeeping and Post-conflict Stabilisation. – 6. Conclusions.

**Keywords:** *peacekeeping; peacekeeping operations; peacekeeping effectiveness; UN and NATO peacekeeping operation scenarios*

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**Managing editor** – Dr Serhii Kravtsov. **English Editor** – Dr Sarah White.

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**How to cite:** Rzhavska, N, Moroz A 'In Search of Effective Scenarios for Peacekeeping Operations for the UN and NATO' 2022 3(15) Access to Justice in Eastern Europe 87–106. DOI: 10.33327/AJEE-18-5.3-n000319

## ABSTRACT

**Background:** *Peacekeeping operations are considered one of the main tools for negotiating conflicts and are used by the international community to renew and keep international peace and security. The practice of peacekeeping activities has faced fundamental changes that have influenced its aims and principles. That is why the effectiveness of modern peacekeeping operations and operations for peace maintenance, as an answer to global challenges, need further assessment and explanations. The article aims to 1) characterise peacekeeping activities and principles and assess their effectiveness; 2) determine the main problems in the function of peacekeeping mechanisms; identify optimal methods for the future peacekeeping operations of the UN and NATO.*

**Methods:** *This study proposes a complex systematisation of present approaches, assessing the effectiveness of both peacekeeping operations and operations for the maintenance of peace. The key goal is to develop optimal scenarios for peacekeeping missions.*

**Results and Conclusions:** *The practical importance of the research is the frameworks and conclusions that can be used as methodical recommendations in the work of international organisations that regulate peacekeeping activities.*

## 1 INTRODUCTION

There are many cases in the history of humankind when it was possible to stop or predict war by means of third-party interventions. Yet Special Forces providing peacekeeping functions appeared only after the end of the Second World War. Nowadays, the vast majority of peacekeepers operate under the auspices of the UN and other bodies, including NATO. Peacekeeping operations are considered impartial actions for keeping and creating a peaceful environment, as a rule, without the use of weapons. These actions are conducted through the legislative norms of international law and the legislation of the mandate country, by agreement of two parties to the conflict or by its absence. The character of peacekeeping implementation has faced some changes, and together with these, there has appeared a need for a new assessment of peacekeeping with regard to the level of financial and resource expenses and the fulfilment of goals.

Peacekeeping operations are one of the main tools for negotiating conflicts and are used by the international community to renew and keep international peace and security. The first peacekeeping operation was conducted in 1948, after the ceasefire between Israel and its Arabic neighbours, when an unarmed military group of observers, controlled by the UN, started its work.<sup>3</sup> Since that moment, there have been over 70 peacekeeping missions all over the world, 14 of which are ongoing.<sup>4</sup> The practice of peacekeeping has faced fundamental changes that have influenced its principles, aims, and targets. The rising significance of effective peacekeeping calls for new methods and assessments.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the theoretical and empirical perception of the peace problem and the characteristics and determination of criteria for successful peacekeeping operations has drawn the attention of researchers in the field of international relations.

The way international relations were conducted at the end of the Cold War led to profound

<sup>3</sup> A J Bellamy, P D Williams, S Griffin, 'Understanding peacekeeping' (2015) 3 PP 75, 80.

<sup>4</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping Official Website, 'Principles of Peacekeeping' <<https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/principles-of-peacekeeping>> accessed 2 February 2022.

changes in the nature and scope of peacekeeping operations. We can identify two types of changes: demand for and supply of peacekeeping operations. Demand for peacekeeping operations increased after the collapse of the bipolar system, the cessation of the mediation of superpowers in the wars on the African continent, and the outbreak of devastating civil wars after the collapse of communist regimes. Help in ending 'new wars',<sup>5</sup> which are characterised as internal (rather than interstate) and by decentralisation, was a new requirement for the international community. At the same time, after the end of the Cold War, the UN was given the opportunity to deploy peacekeeping operations in previously inaccessible territories (due to the USSR veto). Thus, peacekeeping operations were given a more complex context, resulting in the establishment of more ambitious mandates and active involvement not only in the process of 'freezing' conflicts but also in the transition to a peaceful state. They are conventionally called 'multidimensional' or 'second-generation peacekeeping operations'.<sup>6</sup>

In 1992, the UN General Assembly adopted Resolution A/47/277 'An Agenda for Peace'. The document establishes a typology of peacekeeping operations that is still valid today. Chapter VII mentions the possibility of conducting coercive peace operations that are different from peacekeeping operations. The list of tasks is also reflected in the Supplement to an Agenda for Peace. 'Second-generation' peacekeeping operations included the activities provided in Section VI. This means that the success of their implementation depends on the goodwill of the parties to the conflict, as well as on the levers of influence of the UN.<sup>7</sup> The transitional relief missions in Namibia (UNTAG) can be considered successful, as can those in Mozambique (UNOMOS) and El Salvador (UNUAS). However, the organisation's inability to prevent or limit genocide in Rwanda in 1994, its inefficiency in reaching political agreement combined with the relatively large military losses in Somalia, and its inability to protect Bosnian civilians in 1995 led to a profound rethinking of the UN peacekeeping system.<sup>8</sup>

Peacekeeping operations are carried out when a conflict poses a real threat to global or regional security.<sup>9</sup> As a result of strict adherence to the principles of inviolability of borders and sovereignty and restrictions on the use of force, the UN faced the problem of the 'horror of inaction', when the interests of the state prevailed over human rights. It was only after the 'three failures' that the protection of human rights during peacekeeping operations received special attention. In August 2000, Lakhdar Brahimi delivered a report providing 69 recommendations for improving UN peacekeeping operations in planning and developing a strategy, deploying and supporting peacekeeping operations, and information policy.<sup>10</sup>

For the first time, the issues of humanitarian intervention and the relationship between human rights and non-interference in the internal affairs of the state were brought up for wide discussion in the late 1990s. It was then that a new form of peacekeeping operations emerged, called 'humanitarian intervention', which gave priority to the protection of human rights. According to Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, coalitions with regional organisations were envisaged for coercive peace operations and humanitarian interventions.<sup>11</sup> The first third-generation peacekeeping operation was considered to be the actions of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) against Yugoslavia in connection with the conflict

5 I N Sopilko, 'Formation of cybersafety policy (Ukrainian experience)' (2013) 27 WASJ 371, 374.

6 Bellamy, Williams, Griffin (n 3) 75-80.

7 An Agenda for Peace UN Documents Gathering a body of global agreements of 31 January 1992 <<http://www.un-documents.net/a47-277.htm>> accessed 2 February 2022.

8 L Weaver, UN Peacekeeping: Lessons Learned in Managing Recent Missions (DIANE Publishing 2014).

9 'Principles of Peacekeeping' (n 4).

10 United Nations Official Website, 'Brahimi Report' (2000) <[http://www.un.org/en/events/pastevents/brahimi\\_report.shtml](http://www.un.org/en/events/pastevents/brahimi_report.shtml)> accessed 2 February 2022.

11 An Agenda for Peace (n 8).

in Kosovo in 1999, as well as the presence of the Australian government-led international troops in East Timor in 1999. Such missions were characterised by the establishment of a temporary mandate to create a peaceful environment in which the UN could perform its civilian tasks.<sup>12</sup> Thus, UN-NATO cooperation was not established during the Cold War. However, with the development of third-generation UN peacekeeping operations, the range of tasks defined by the mandate of the operation was expanded, and the structure of the peacekeeping mission became more complex. NATO has undergone a significant metamorphosis: from the traditional use of member countries' military capabilities to police functions in peacekeeping missions, technical assistance in the post-war period, and overcoming man-made and other disasters (for example, the peacekeeping missions in the Balkans, anti-piracy, and modern operations in Iraq).

The fourth generation of peacekeeping operations was peace-building operations that are used to solve a wide range of civilian tasks. In the 'Agenda for Peace', Boutros Boutros-Ghali described peace-building as follows: support for structures that seek to strengthen peace and restore conflict; comprehensive efforts to identify and support institutions that promote peace, make agreements and organise interaction between former enemies, and strengthen a sense of confidence and well-being among the people.<sup>13</sup> The meaning embedded in the concept has changed many times. Initially, peace-building meant a set of measures for demobilisation, the reintegration of the subjects of confrontation, and the implementation of democratic transit, after which conflicts could be resolved not militarily but politically. By the end of the 1990s, the peace-building program had been significantly expanded.

The main goals of post-conflict peace-building are:

- 1) Preventing the resumption of open violence and maintaining a 'negative peace', in which violence has been stopped, but the root and structural causes of the conflict remain unresolved;
- 2) Creating conditions for the establishment of a 'positive' or 'sustainable' peace by promoting reconciliation between the parties to the conflict and eliminating the root causes of conflict.

The toughest measure of peace-building operations is the establishment of a temporary administration, in which the guarantee of sovereignty over a certain territory and executive, legislative, and judicial powers are temporarily transferred to the UN mission. To date, only two such administrations have been established: the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the United Nations Interim Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) in 1999. The United Nations Conflict Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), although not a fourth-generation operation, has all these basic features as well.<sup>14</sup> The complexity of the structure and functional tasks has led to an expansion of the range of participants involved in the peace-building process. They include regional organisations such as NATO and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), together with specialised UN agencies, international NGOs, and international financial institutions. As a result, there is the problem of coordinating the goals and efforts of participants in the peacekeeping process. Resolving this issue is still on the agenda for the UN.<sup>15</sup>

12 D J Durch, V K Holt, C R Earle, M K Shanahan, UN Peace Operations (The Henry L Stimson Centre 2017).

13 An Agenda for Peace (n 8).

14 J Koops, N MacQueen, T Tardy, P D Williams, Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (OUP 2015).

15 'Principles of Peacekeeping' (n 4).

The fourth generation of peacekeeping operations has come under considerable criticism. Oliver Richmond, David Chandler, and Michael Ruff argue that peace-building as a paradigm is based on liberal values and aims to create a 'liberal world' based on democracy, a market economy, and other elements of 'modern statehood'. This concept of peace-building is in the interests of the countries of Northern and Western Europe, for which peace-building is a tool for the spread of neo-colonialism.<sup>16</sup>

Modern experience and an analysis of UN peacekeeping suggest the emergence of the fifth generation of peacekeeping – the so-called hybrid missions, which are characterised by the deployment of troops under the decentralised command of the UN and regional organisations. The emergence of such missions is a consequence of the redistribution of responsibilities for the implementation of tasks between the subjects of the global peacekeeping system and a change in the approach of Western states towards respecting sovereignty and determining the limits of non-interference in internal affairs. NATO member states and other Nordic and Western countries that internalise the concept of the use of force to protect civilians and human rights are conducting peaceful interventions, regardless of UN decisions (for example, the invasion of Iraq and the promotion of security in Afghanistan). The UN's response to this trend has been a call in the New Horizon Initiative's report to establish a coordinated global peacekeeping system that involves a wide range of peacekeepers (states, international and regional organisations).<sup>17</sup> A clear example of the transition to the fifth type of UN peacekeeping operations was the peacekeeping operation in Haiti (MINUSTAH), where the military contingents were, for the most part, the armed forces of South America.<sup>18</sup>

At present, there are a couple of main alternative ways to assess peacekeeping effectiveness, which are based on the priority of assessing its measurements and are as follows: the ability to prevent the occurrence or escalation of the conflict; the cessation of hostiles or decrease of violence rates in the active conflict;<sup>19</sup> geographical containment;<sup>20</sup> the presence of military contingents;<sup>21</sup> and budget level. Yet, in recent decades, many researchers have pointed out the shortcomings and negative consequences of UN PKOs.<sup>22</sup> There is still no common approach to determine an effective scenario of development for peacekeeping operations and operations for peace maintenance. Besides, the criteria for determination are vague. The conditions of economic, political, and social development are key factors for the conception of so-called positive peace. That is why the effectiveness of modern peacekeeping operations and operations for peace maintenance, as an answer to global challenges, needs assessment and further grounding.

The aim of the present research is to characterise the criteria for assessing the effectiveness of peacekeeping activities, as well as to identify the main problems of the peacekeeping mechanism, which will lead to the optimisation of scenarios for future UN and NATO peacekeeping operations.

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- 16 O Richmond, 'The problem of peace: understanding the "liberal peace"' (2006) 6 JCSJ 291, 314.
  - 17 A L Roy, S Malcorra, *The New Horizon Initiative: Progress Report No. 6.* (United Nations Peacekeeping 2017).
  - 18 Bellamy, Williams, Griffin (n 3) 75-80.
  - 19 L Hultman, J Kathman, M Shannon, 'Beyond keeping peace: United Nations. Effectiveness in the midst of fighting' (2014) 108 APS Rev 737, 753; J D Salvatore, 'The effectiveness of peacekeeping operations' (2017) 4 OUP 36, 37; A Ruggeri, H Dorussen, T-I Gizelis, 'Winning the peace locally: UN peacekeeping and local conflict' (2017) 71 JCR 86, 87.
  - 20 K Beardsley, K S Gledisch, 'Peacekeeping as conflict containment' (2021) 17 ISR 67, 89.
  - 21 B Heldt, P Wallenstein, 'Peacekeeping operations: global patterns of intervention and success' (2006) 2 FBAP 32.
  - 22 B Pouligny, *Peace Operations Seen from Below: UN Missions and Local People* (Kumarian Press 2006); S Autesserre, *The trouble with the Congo* (Cambridge University Press 2010) <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511761034>; S Autesserre, *Peaceland* (2014) <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107280366>; S Autesserre, *Frontlines of Peace* (Oxford University Press 2021).

## 2 CRITERIA FOR PEACEKEEPING

In the early 1990s, the theoretical and empirical understanding of the problem of peace, its characterisation, and the definition of criteria for the effectiveness of peacekeeping attracted the attention of researchers in the sphere of international relations. In 1988, Deal published the first work on assessing the effectiveness of peacekeeping, which went beyond the descriptive approach ('Territorial changes and militarized conflict'). According to his research, the main criteria for success in maintaining peace is the ability, within the mission, to limit armed conflicts and prevent their resumption. Other criteria are related to the ability of peacekeepers to facilitate a peaceful settlement of the situation. Counterfactual scenarios are considered those that contradict the actual trends (for example, the possible consequences of resolving the conflict without sending a peacekeeping mission). Deal outlined the range of tasks identified by peacekeepers for successful operation and then compared promising scenarios with basic expectations and real results.

For many years, the improvement of the concept of peacekeeping operation effectiveness was aimed at updating the improvement of only one aspect – ensuring long-term peace. However, there are obviously other aspects that determine success. The continuation of the peacekeeping operation depends on many factors, including progress. Therefore, an assessment designed to measure the level of progress can be an important element of any peacekeeping operation. In general, scientists have identified three universal dimensions for assessing the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations. The first is characterised by the ability to prevent the emergence or escalation of conflict. Maintaining peace in post-conflict conditions remains one of the main tasks of peacekeeping and is the most researched aspect of the effectiveness of peacekeeping.

Some scholars believe that the risk of escalating conflict is reduced by 75-85% or more in the presence of peacekeepers. Their work pointed to a noticeable difference in the importance of peacekeeping operations after the Second World War, when peacekeeping did not affect the duration of peace in a post-conflict situation, and after the Cold War, when the impact was significant.<sup>23</sup> However, a different conclusion was reached by Collier, Heufler, and Soderbom. They argue that despite economic recovery, the best way to achieve stable peace is for the peacekeeping mission to play a key role in ensuring a stable post-conflict situation. In a broader sense, considering the issue of third-party monitoring of peace agreements, the authors concluded that five years after the signing of the peace agreement, the share of victims is 68%, while in the absence of control over peace conditions, the figure reaches only 32%.<sup>24</sup>

The second universal measure of the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations is the cessation of hostilities or the reduction of violence in the current conflict. Hultman, Katmai, and Shannon concluded that the desire of peacekeepers to resolve the dispute affects the reduction of hostilities between opposing parties if the military potential of peacekeepers is greater than the parties alone.<sup>25</sup> According to a study by Baisley and Gredig, peacekeepers are reducing violence by geographically deterring conflict. Ruggeri, Dorussen, and Gizelis note that the presence of peacekeeping contingents reduces the duration of the conflict at the local level.<sup>26</sup>

23 Horbachova, Dudaryov, Zarosylo, Baranenko, Us (n 21) 1-6.

24 P Collier, A Hofer, M Soderbom, 'Post-conflict risks' (2008) 45 JPR <<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/6250412.pdf>> accessed 2 February 2022.

25 Hultman, Kathman, Shannon (n 22) 737-753.

26 Ruggeri, Dorussen, Gizelis (n 24) 86-87.

Accordingly, Doyle and Sambanis also believe that UN missions, under a strong mandate, are effective in resolving conflict and ending violence against civilians. Geographical deterrence is another universal criterion for determining the effectiveness of peacekeeping. Baisley argues that the presence of peacekeepers reduces the risk of conflict in neighbouring countries. In another scientific study, Baisley and Gleditsch argue that peacekeeping activities curb the spread of violence during civil wars. Through the analysis of changes in conflict zones in different countries, they concluded that peacekeepers manage to contain and reduce conflict zones.<sup>27</sup>

A methodological problem for studying the consequences of peacekeeping is the bias in the choice of mission: the probability of successful implementation of the operation is higher when peacekeepers are sent to areas of small conflicts. However, today, the risk of this problem in determining the effectiveness of peacekeeping activities is quite low.<sup>28</sup>

The findings of these studies indicate a positive effect of peacekeeping on the establishment of lasting peace in post-conflict circumstances. However, not all operations are effective. Two key characteristics of peacekeeping and peacekeeping operations are the mandate (provided in accordance with Sections VI or VII of the UN Charter) and its scope (in terms of budget and military composition).<sup>29</sup> Abilova and Novosseloff believe that traditional peacekeeping operations, which are characterised by unarmed or low-armed forces with very limited mandates, do not affect the duration of peace. On the other hand, there is a significant link between the successful implementation of the peace-building process and the previous multifaceted peacekeeping operation with a 'broad mandate'. Distinguishing between hard and soft peace-building measures, researchers believe that multifaceted peacekeeping is 'effective in both cases', but UN missions in general have the most positive impact on preventing minor violence and encouraging democratisation and institution-building after a civil war, but they are ineffective in resolving or preventing the resumption of interstate conflicts and wars.<sup>30</sup>

Many studies consider the size of military contingents to be decisive in resolving the conflict. In particular, Hultman, Kathman, and Shannon concluded that the more armed personnel involved in UN missions, the faster the process of reducing violence between the parties to the conflict.<sup>31</sup> Some studies have shown that missions that use decisive peace-building measures promote cooperation between the parties to the conflict<sup>32</sup> and increase the likelihood of achieving long-lasting peace.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the level of protection of the civilian population both during and after the conflict is much higher in the deployment of a 'decisive mission'.<sup>34</sup> The global trend also shows a high correlation between the increase in the number of UN military contingents involved in peacekeeping operations during the 1990s and the decrease in the number of internal armed conflicts.<sup>35</sup> In addition, assessing the determinants of post-

27 Beardsley, Gleditsch (n 25) 67-89.

28 H Hegre, L Hultman, HM Nygard, 'Evaluating the conflict-reducing effect of UN peacekeeping' (2018) 81 JP 215, 232.

29 Charter of the United Nations: Chapter VII of 2018 <<http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-vii/index.html>> accessed 2 February 2022.

30 O Abilova, A Novosseloff, *Demystifying Intelligence in UN Peace Operations: Toward an Organizational Doctrine* Novosseloff (International Peace Institute 2016).

31 Hultman, Kathman, Shannon (n 22) 737-753.

32 Ruggeri, Dorussen, Gizelis (n 24) 86-87.

33 S Kreps, *Why does peacekeeping succeed or fail? Peacekeeping in the democratic republic of Congo and Sierra Leone. In modern war and the utility of force: challenges, methods, and strategy* (Routledge 2010).

34 Hultman, Kathman, Shannon (n 22) 737-753.

35 Heldt, Wallenstein (n 26) 32.

conflict risk, Collier, Heufler, and Soderbom found that ‘increasing the cost of peacekeeping operations halves the risk of failing to meet certain mandate targets from 40% to 31 %’. While some missions receive an annual budget of more than a billion US dollars, the budgets of other missions are usually a maximum of 50 million.<sup>36</sup>

### 3 THE INFLUENCE OF PEACEMAKING ON CONFLICT AND ITS EFFECTIVENESS

As the budget sets clear limits on the use of military contingents, its size affects the prospect of peace.

**Table 1.** The impact of peacekeeping aspects on the dynamics of conflict

Result	Mandate	Presence of peacekeepers	Size of military contingents	Police (UN)	Observers
Peace duration	✓	✓	✓	Minor	Minor
Conflict duration		Mixed			
The number of civilian deaths	✓		✓	✓	x
Genocide		✓ Long-term perspective X Short-term perspective			
Number of clashes with high levels of violence			✓	Minor	Minor
Peaceful settlement		Mixed			
Geographical deterrence of the conflict	✓	✓	✓	x	Minor
Duration of local conflict		✓	✓		
Duration of local peace		Mixed	Mixed		
Peacekeeping	✓	✓	Minor		

✓ – major influence, x – no influence

According to the results shown in Table 1, peacekeeping, regardless of the method and criteria for assessing its effectiveness, contributes to lasting peace, implements measures to protect civilians, promotes respect for human rights, and restrains the spread of violence beyond the conflict. Some missions contribute to the intensification of the peace process, but the nature of the impact on the development of this process depends on the type of mandate. There is reason to believe that peacekeeping operations potentially reduce the duration of local conflict but do not affect the duration of local peace. Finally, it is not possible to accurately assess the extent to which the presence of peacekeepers increases the chances of a peaceful settlement, as the expected positive outcome (compromise, negotiation, mediation, satisfaction of the parties) depends on the circumstances of the conflict and mandate conditions.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Collier, Hoefler, Soderbom (n 37).

<sup>37</sup> United Nations Archives, UNOG Registry, Records and Archives Unit, 1870- (Archive) History of the League of Nations (1919-1946) <[https://unog.ch/80256EDD006B8954/\(httpAssets\)/36BC4F83BD9E4443C1257AF3004FC0AE/%24file/Historical\\_overview\\_of\\_the\\_League\\_of\\_Nations.pdf](https://unog.ch/80256EDD006B8954/(httpAssets)/36BC4F83BD9E4443C1257AF3004FC0AE/%24file/Historical_overview_of_the_League_of_Nations.pdf)> accessed 2 February 2022.



All in all, it can be said that assessing the long-term impact of peacekeeping and finding optimal scenarios for peacekeeping operations is a new area of research that is only in the developmental stage. The effectiveness of a peacekeeping operation is related to the prevention of violence and the creation of peaceful societies (positive peace). Universal criteria for assessing the effectiveness of a peacekeeping operation are the cessation of hostilities or the reduction of violence, the geographical deterrence, the number of troops, the type of mandate, and the size of the budget. There is no single approach to determining an effective scenario for peacekeeping and peacekeeping operations. In addition, the criteria for determining success are unclear. The conditions for economic, political, and social development are a necessary part of the concept of positive peace. That is why the effectiveness of modern peacekeeping and peacekeeping operations needs to be evaluated and further substantiated in response to global challenges. Since the UN entered a new level of peacekeeping activities after the end of the Cold War, the global community has been concerned about the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations. Based on previous experience, the UN has pointed out the main factors that are crucial for providing successful peacekeeping operations.

The main indicators to provide an effective peacekeeping operation are the following:

- following principles of harmony, impartiality, and non-use of force, with the exception of self-dependence and protection of mandate cases;
- legitimacy and credibility of structure, particularly in the eyes of locals;
- promotion of responsibility of the host country for participation in the peace process on the local and international levels.<sup>38</sup>

According to the UN criteria, the peacekeeping operations of the Third, Fourth and Fifth generations (from the end of 1990 until now) can be considered effective. However, we think that information from official sources is not quite objective. Some operations are only partly successful because not all the main goals were reached by UN peacekeeping operations. To truly determine successful UN peacekeeping operations scenarios, it is necessary to examine how UN peacekeeping operations assess themselves. The organisation has a few mechanisms for assessing peacekeeping operations that are within the competence of management offices.

The subjects of peacekeeping effectiveness assessment are the United Nations Security Council, Special Political and Decolonization Committee (Fourth Committee), the Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (Fifth Committee), the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, the Office of Internal Oversight Services, the Board of Auditors, the Committee on Program and Coordination, and the Joint Inspection Unit.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, the scheme shows how important it is to form a new conception of the collection and assessment of data, as well as to form complex assessment activities. The main weak point of the modern system of effectiveness is that it does not have specific criteria or guidance for values. Different tools are used for different purposes without a strict division of their accountability, information on their usage, or an organised basis for training. There is a gap between the budgeting system, which is aimed at results, and the reporting on mandate usage and their context analysis.

The start of NATO peacekeeping activities is considered to be the ratification of the Dayton Agreement on peace on 14 December 1995 as part of the UN peacekeeping mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina UNPROFOR (United Nations Protection Force). The Implementation

38 North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 'Brussels Summit Declaration' (2018) <[https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_156624.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_156624.htm)> accessed 2 February 2022.

39 List of Peacekeeping Operations 1948-2018 <[https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/180413\\_unpeacekeeping-operationlist\\_2.pdf](https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/180413_unpeacekeeping-operationlist_2.pdf)> accessed 2 February 2022.

Force (IFOR) formally came into power on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BIH) with the adoption of the resolution of Security Council 1031,<sup>40</sup> which confirmed the delegation of authority to NATO in order to conduct the UN peacekeeping operation. During the first stage of operations, the factors for assessment were the criteria of situation stability. After that, the indicators of effectiveness, the total number of which was 25, were divided into three groups according to the spheres of usage: security, quality of life, and democratisation level. The analytic group consisted of leading experts in exploitation studies, analysts, and experienced military staff.<sup>41</sup>

The necessary component for planning operations and conducting actions with further assessment was the understanding of the operating environment. System analysis is a formalised method that helps to shape this understanding.

The determination of the format for assessment and backing up of the planning process include: the formation of a methodology for operation assessment; the determination of results; the monitoring of effectiveness indexes; the monitoring of strategic and operational risks and activeness; the categorisation and determination of the types of effectiveness characteristics; measures of effectiveness development (MOE); measures of performance development (MOP); the determination of the implementation of the data and relevant objectives (Allied Joint Doctrine for Operational-level Planning: Allied Joint Publication-5 C-M).<sup>42</sup>

Also, in order to build up effective operations scenarios, NATO created the Military Decision-Making Process (MDMP) and NATO Crisis Response System (NCRS). The Military Decision-Making Process (MDMP) is the only established and checked analytic process. It adapts the analytic approach of NATO for task-solving, which helps the commander and personnel develop an assessment of a plan and order of completed actions. Although the main task of the MDMP is the approval of the mission itself, its analytic basis is used in the process of operational evaluation.<sup>43</sup>

According to the structure of the decision-making process, the first element is getting or waiting for a new mission. This can emerge from the current operation or can be foreseen in an order made by the leadership at headquarters. The next stage is the analysis of the mission, which is crucial for the MDMP. The result of mission analysis is the determination of the tactical problem and the beginning of the real decision-making process.<sup>44</sup> Thus, the interrelated element of the system of activities that helps to form effective scenarios for future missions is the NATO Crisis Response System, which conducts the necessary level of preparation and support for the prevention of crises and conflicts, and calms crisis situations during the mission. The NCRS is a multi-phase mechanism for coordinating the efforts of NATO member-states, the aim of which is in the complex set of variants and activities for preparation for crisis situations, their management, and reaction.<sup>45</sup>

40 UN Documents, Security Council – Veto List (in reverse chronological order) <<http://research.un.org/en/docs/sc/quick/veto>> accessed 2 February 2022.

41 A Williams, J Bexfield, F Fitzgerald, F Johannes de Nijs, NATO operations assessment handbook: recent developments in measuring results in conflict environments (NATO Communications and Information Agency 2015).

42 C Aksit (ed), Allied joint doctrine for operational level planning. The development, concept and doctrine centre (NATO standardization office 2002).

43 J Bercovitch, R Jackson, 'Conflict resolution in the twenty-first century: principles, methods, and approaches' (2014) 2 Univ M Pr 238.

44 NATO Strategic Planning for Contracting Operations. Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology and Logistics <[https://www.acq.osd.mil/dpap/ccap/cc/jcchb/Topical/A\\_files/guides/Guide\\_to\\_Strategic\\_Planning\\_Process](https://www.acq.osd.mil/dpap/ccap/cc/jcchb/Topical/A_files/guides/Guide_to_Strategic_Planning_Process)> accessed 2 February 2022.

45 NATO/OTAN: NATO Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe; An Introduction to Operations Planning of 11 September 2018 <<https://shape.nato.int/page11283634/knowning-nato/episodes/the-nato-structure.aspx>> accessed 2 February 2022; An Introduction to Operations Planning at the Operational Level NATO of 2016 <[https://www.act.nato.int/images/stories/events/2016/sfpdpe/copd\\_v20\\_summary.pdf](https://www.act.nato.int/images/stories/events/2016/sfpdpe/copd_v20_summary.pdf)> accessed 2 February 2022.

The additional elements forming effective NATO operations are consultation and analytical reporting of the RAND Corporation, which have become a crucial point for adopting and changing strategies after the dissolution of the USSR in 1991. Most of the research done by the RAND Corporation is based on the use of system analysis, which is a vital part of the planning and strategic and operative assessment of any NATO mission.<sup>46</sup> NATO has a comprehensive system for creating effective mission scenarios and planning, assessing, and reacting to risks from the external environment, which includes the following mechanisms:

- NATO Crisis Response System Manual (NCRSM);
- Military Decision-Making Process (MDMP);
- NATO Crisis Response System (NCRS);
- Consultations and analytical reporting of the third side (RAND Corporation).

Even so, NATO assessment and planning are not comprehensive. For example, there is no assessment of the results of peacekeepers' activities themselves. Moreover, the geographical borders of influence and NATO political support levels are less than those of the UN. We consider the cooperation with the UN to be important for the fulfilment of the political and strategic interests of NATO. Enhancing the borders of cooperation in terms of conducting missions can increase the effectiveness level of attempts to solve conflict situations and reach peace.

#### 4 OPEN DATABASES OF THE WORLD BANK, UN DEPARTMENT OF PEACEKEEPING – DATA AND EXAMPLES OF STATE SITUATIONS

According to the present research, we believe that peacekeeping and peacekeeping operations that succeed in reducing the intensity of conflict can be effective in increasing the duration of post-conflict peace and preventing the escalation of the crisis. To confirm these conclusions and identify effective scenarios for the UN and NATO peacekeeping and peacekeeping operations, we conducted a statistical analysis of the peacekeeping activities of certain organisations and the overall conflict situation in the world from 1990 to 2017. To provide a comprehensive description, the following indicators were identified: borders, timeframes, duration of past and current UN and NATO peacekeeping missions, number of peacekeeping contingents by type (experts, observers, individual and formed police units, staff officers, military contingents and servicemen, gender, country of provision and mission on which they were sent), the number of deaths as a result of armed conflict in the country by years, the number of incidents during peacekeeping missions by type (accident, illness, act of malice, suicide), the type of contingent affected by the incident by years and countries, and the change in GDP (%) by years and countries.

In our research, the sources of information are open databases of the World Bank, the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping, and the official NATO website.<sup>47</sup> Statistical analysis was performed using comprehensive software for analytical modelling and data visualisation via Microsoft Power BI. According to the results of the study, the number of deaths as a result of armed clashes since 2011 began to increase from 22,931 to 104,679 in 2016 and 68,969 in 2017. This is due to a large number of volatile conflict situations in sub-Saharan Africa (18), East Asia and the Pacific (7), and the Middle East and South Africa (6). Accordingly, these regions recorded the highest number of victims from 2011 to 2017:

46 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). RAND Corporation Official Website <<https://www.rand.org/topics/north-atlantic-treaty-organization.html>> accessed 2 February 2022.

47 North Atlantic Treaty Organization, NATO and Afghanistan <[https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics\\_8189.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_8189.htm)> accessed 2 February 2022.

- The Middle East and South Africa – 354,552;
- South Asia – 107,551;
- Sub-Saharan Africa – 51,472.

However, the largest number of peacekeepers was sent to the region of sub-Saharan Africa (406,639), which is almost ten times less than recorded in the Middle East and North Africa (36,872) or Latin America and the Caribbean (47,742). Thus, in order to reduce casualties and reduce violence, conflicts in South Asia, the Middle East, and South Africa, there was a need for peacekeeping organisations. The largest number of UN peacekeeping operations, in particular those currently active, is concentrated in sub-Saharan Africa. The highest numbers of casualties in armed conflict were recorded in Ethiopia (120,494), Eritrea (42,269), Sudan (41,301), Somalia (31,775), Angola (27,716), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (24,634), Nigeria (158,224), the Congo (1,419), and Sierra Leone (11470). The largest number of victims in sub-Saharan Africa was recorded during the development of conflict situations and the deployment of UN peacekeeping missions.

Most peacekeepers between 1990 and 2017 were sent to the Democratic Republic of the Congo (174,587), South Sudan (67,540), Côte d'Ivoire (66,456), Liberia (58,143), Mali (53,570), the Central African Republic (48,709), and Sudan (37,370). In 2015-2017, the largest number of victims was recorded in Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia, Chad, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Among the countries of sub-Saharan Africa, peacekeeping contingents are provided by Ethiopia, Rwanda, Ghana, Senegal, Tanzania, Chad, and Togo. A relatively significant share of peacekeepers are women (7%, 3,000 people).

Among the countries sending UN missions to sub-Saharan Africa are India (0.86 million), Bangladesh (0.86 million), and Pakistan (0.68 million). Conflicts are taking place in the territories of these states, and UN peacekeeping missions are underway. Among the deployed peacekeepers (8 million people), a small proportion is women (3.77%, 3,000 people). Seven million (83.99%) of those sent on missions are military contingents, 1 million (7.03%) are police units, 410,000 (5.02%) are individual police units, and 17,000 (2.2 %) are experts. The GDP is unstable and has been declining from 2011-2014 in Sudan, Namibia, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, the Central African Republic, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, Chad, South Sudan, and Eritrea. Among the countries to which UN peacekeeping missions have been sent, only Ethiopia, Uganda, Mozambique, Rwanda, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo have a stable GDP, but they belong to the group of underdeveloped countries.

It should be noted that according to our findings, not all completed UN operations in the region can be considered successful. UNTAG and UNOMOZ are examples of successful 'multidimensional' UN operations, but experience has shown that the organisation's inability to prevent or limit genocide in Rwanda in 1994 and failure to reach a political agreement combined with relatively large military losses in Somalia means that second-generation UN operations cannot provide a decisive response to current conflict threats.

The largest number of victims as a result of armed conflict from 2011 to 2017 is in the geographical region of the Middle East and South Africa (354,552 people). The greatest casualties were recorded in the period 2012-2017, including 71,669 people in 2013 and 73,756 people in 2014. This is due to a large number of unstable conflict situations in Syria (281,612), Iraq (86,216), and Yemen (18,989). The largest number of peacekeepers was sent to Lebanon (31,553 in 2015-2017) and Syria (3,537 in 2014-2017). In 2017, peacekeepers were withdrawn from Iraq. Thus, to reduce the number of victims and the level of violence in the region, the conflicts in Yemen, Iraq, and Syria need the attention of the world community and peacekeeping organisations. NATO was involved in resolving the conflict in the Middle East. In particular, from 2004 to 2011, there was a NATO Training Mission conducted in

Iraq, but its main purpose of which was to conduct military training and, therefore, it cannot be considered a peaceful mission in response to modern threats to world peace and security.

Among the countries of the Middle East and North Africa, the most numerous peacekeeping contingents are Egypt (3,031), Morocco (2,143), and Jordan (863). A small proportion of peacekeepers are women (1.43%, 92 people). The countries that send the largest number of peacekeeping contingents to the region are mostly those with a stable peace situation: Indonesia (139,000), Italy (139,000), India (115,000), Nepal (109,000), France (104,000), Ghana (93,000), Malaysia (87,000), and Spain (8,100). Among the peacekeepers sent (1,230,000 people), a small share is women (3.93%, 5,000 people). 1,253,000 (97.5%) of the personnel sent on missions are military contingents, and 17,000 (1.3%) are experts. The GDP indicator is unstable and tends to decrease from 2016-2017 in Kuwait, Yemen, and Iran. Among the countries to which UN peacekeeping missions have been sent, only Lebanon and Iraq have a stable GDP ratio. However, Iraq is an agro-industrial country with a developed oil sector, thanks to which it has a stable GDP ratio. Of the seven completed UN peacekeeping missions, only the UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (1990)<sup>48</sup> is 'multidimensional', but it was unsuccessful. The UN Observer Mission in Syria (2012) also failed. Other UN operations were conducted before the collapse of the Soviet Union, and their purpose and mandate did not meet modern challenges and threats.

The Middle East and North Africa have areas with long-standing active conflicts. To ensure sustainable development and peace in the region, the UN should pay attention to the conflicts in Yemen, Syria, and Iraq in particular. The second region in terms of the number of victims of military confrontation from 2011-2017 is South Asia (107,551 people). The highest number of victims was in 2009, which was due to the development of conflict instability in Sri Lanka (10,165 victims), Pakistan (6,864), Afghanistan (6,341), and India (1,115). While no casualties have been reported in Sri Lanka since 2010, and the number has been declining in India and Pakistan, the death toll has risen in Afghanistan from 2009 to 2017. It should be noted that the UN sent a peacekeeping mission to Afghanistan from 1988-1990.

The purpose of the UN Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNMAP) was to assist in the implementation of the Afghanistan settlement agreements and to investigate and report possible violations of any statements of the agreements. The effectiveness of UNMAP's mandate has been hampered by a number of difficulties: climate conditions of the territory, the untimely reporting of incidents that have hampered the prompt response to them, and security conditions. A UN Political Mission in Afghanistan<sup>49</sup> has been operating since 2002 to assist in building the foundations for sustainable peace and development, supporting the government of Afghanistan, building regional cooperation and coordination and cooperation with NATO, and facilitating the delivery of humanitarian aid.<sup>50</sup> The current mission is political, and the number of peacekeepers in the region is insignificant: 15-20 people from 2009-2016. In 2017, no peacekeepers were sent to the country.

Another active mission in the region is the UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNDOF), which has been operating since January 1949 to monitor the ceasefire between India and Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir. The annual budget is \$21,134,800. The mission staff consists of 41 observers from Crete (9), the Republic of Korea (7), Sweden (5), the Philippines (4), Thailand (4), Switzerland (3), Uruguay (3), Chile (2), Italy (2), and Romania (2). According to the results of empirical research, the presence of observers and

48 United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNMIK) of 2 August 1990 <<https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/past/unikom/background.html>> accessed 2 February 2022.

49 Ibid.

50 D S Yost, NATO's balancing act united states institute of peace (United States Institute of Peace Press 2014).

experts in the conflict region has almost no effect on the duration of the established peace and does not contribute to resolving conflicts and reducing the number of casualties in military confrontations. There are 15 NATO operations carried out in South Asia, the vast majority of which (14) were conducted in Afghanistan. The NATO Training Mission in the Republic of Afghanistan has been underway since 2009 to support the establishment of a capable and self-sufficient Afghan National Security Force, the Afghan National Army (ANA), and the Afghan National Police (ANP). Since 2015, Operation Strong Support has been underway, providing training, advice, and assistance to Afghan forces and agencies. Among the troop-contributing states are the United States, Western Europe, Azerbaijan, and Ukraine. At the 2018 summit in Brussels, allies and partners agreed to extend their commitment to financial support for the Afghan security forces until 2024. Since 2017, the size of the US military presence has increased from 13,000 to 16,000.

Thus, there are two unstable conflicts in South Asia with a high number of victims in armed conflicts. Political and conflict monitoring missions do not promote a stable peace. Conducting military training and consultations without establishing a political dialogue is not effective in resolving the conflict. More decisive and coordinated action by the global community is needed to resolve the situation in the region. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, a number of armed conflicts took place in Eastern Europe and Central Asia: the Balkan Wars, the Abkhaz War, and the Civil War in Tajikistan. The global community responded to the threat to peace and security in the 1990s, and the UN sent ten missions to the conflict zone. Most of them were carried out jointly with NATO. It was during the period of regional conflicts that the largest number of casualties as a result of armed confrontations was counted: 12,718 in 1992, 11,944 in 1993, 8,785 in 1995, 8,794 in 1996, and 8,454 in 1999.

During the implementation of UN peacekeeping missions in the Balkans, a number of difficulties and problems affected the effectiveness of their implementation. To assess the UN peacekeeping activities and identify effective scenarios for peacekeeping operations, attention should be paid to aspects of UN-NATO cooperation in the field of peace and security. Recall that the UN has authorised NATO and led operations in the Balkans (IFOR, SFOR, and KFOR), Afghanistan (ISAF), and Libya (Operation Defender). In addition, NATO is conducting a training mission in Iraq (NTM-I), assisting in the consequences of the earthquake in Pakistan in 2005, escorting ships in the Gulf of Aden, and supporting the African Union in Darfur.

Also, to establish peace and security in Europe and Central Asia, the UN sent peacekeeping missions to the conflict zone in Tajikistan (UN Observer Mission in Tajikistan (UNMOT), 1994-2000)<sup>51</sup> and Georgia.<sup>52</sup> The latter can be considered a failure because the goals of the mandate were not achieved, and on 15 June 2009, the continuation of the mission was vetoed. This suggests a problem of abuse of the right of veto and the need for structural reform of the UN Security Council.

Among the countries providing peacekeeping contingents to the current mission in Kosovo are the Czech Republic (2 experts), Ukraine (2 experts), Hungary (2 police officers), and others. The total number of staff in 2018 was 18 people. Peacekeeping contingents remain in Crete to monitor ceasefire lines, support the buffer zone, conduct humanitarian operations, and support the Secretary-General's mission of good offices. In 2018, the mission staff included 50 experts and 752 servicemen from the United Kingdom (271 people), Slovakia (245 people), Argentina (244 people), and others. The GDP in countries where UN and

51 United Nations Observer Mission in Tajikistan (UNMOT) (1994-2000) <<https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/past/unmot/Unmot.htm>> accessed 2 February 2022.

52 United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (MINUSTAH) (1993-2009) <<https://peacekeeping.un.org/mission/past/unomig/index.html>> accessed 2 February 2022.

NATO peacekeeping missions have been conducted is stable. A sharp decline in 2009 and a gradual increase since 2010 have been observed in all countries in the region due to the economic crisis.

From 2001 to 2013, the number of casualties during the armed conflict was insignificant. The death toll rose sharply from 340 in 2013 to 4,567 in 2014 due to the development of the conflict in Ukraine and the volatile situation in Turkey. Thus, although the situation in Europe and Central Asia has stabilised since the crisis in the 1990s, there are conflicts and volatile situations that need the attention of the global community, particularly in Ukraine, Abkhazia, and Ossetia. Latin America and the Caribbean are regions with a low mortality rate as a result of armed conflict and crisis. There is a tendency toward a reduction in the number of deaths from 1990 (2,609 people) to 2017 (0 people). The most unstable conflict zone in the region was Colombia, where a civil war lasted from 1964 to 2016. During this period, there were more than 260,000 deaths, 82% of whom were civilians, 80,000 missing, 77,000 migrants, and 16,000 victims of sexual violence. According to HumanRightsWatch, gender-based violence is common in Colombia and, in most cases, does not qualify as a crime.<sup>53</sup>

Even though Colombia is the country with the most unstable crisis situation in the region, a UN mission was sent only after the end of the conflict. This is because Colombia is traditionally a sphere of US influence. The US had been involved in the conflict since the 1960s, and since 2012, a strategic political and economic partnership has been established between the states. In January 2016, at the request of the government, the UN Security Council set up a political mission under a tripartite mechanism of the UN, the government, and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) to monitor and verify the final bilateral ceasefire.<sup>54</sup> In July 2017, the Security Council established a second mission to verify the reintegration of FARC guerrillas and support the peace process.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, the UN successfully completed one traditional mission in the Dominican Republic and two peacekeeping missions in Central America and El Salvador. However, recall that the mandate of traditional missions does not meet modern crisis challenges and threats, and observation missions have little impact on the development of conflict and the duration of post-conflict peace. The UN Office for the Support of the Law Enforcement Sector in Haiti (UNMISA) has also been ongoing in the region since October 2017. Since 1993, the UN has carried out five missions in Haiti, but their implementation has been accompanied by a number of problems and shortcomings, so the missions cannot be considered effective. Asia and Africa have provided the largest number of peacekeepers to the current UN mission in Haiti since its inception: India (3,887), Senegal (2,087), Jordan (2,078), Bangladesh (2,074), Rwanda (1,998), and Nepal (1,956), as well as Tunisia, Benin, Niger, and Côte d'Ivoire. Of these, 79.43% are formed police units, 20.57% are individual police units, and 6.88% of the staff are women. Haiti belongs to the group of countries with the lowest GDP per capita – \$1,800.00 (213th place globally).<sup>55</sup>

Despite the organisation's active participation in the unstable military-political situation in Haiti, the country remains in the sphere of US influence. This is evidenced by Haiti's dependence on regular financial assistance from the US Agency for International Development, military support,<sup>56</sup> crisis support of situations (humanitarian aid of \$100

53 North Atlantic Treaty Organization Official Website, Relations with Ukraine <[https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics\\_37750.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_37750.htm)> accessed 2 February 2022.

54 Yost (n 68).

55 League of Nations, Britannica Encyclopedia of 2021 <<https://www.britannica.com/topic/League-of-Nations>> accessed 2 February 2022.

56 Operation Democracy Support on 1995 of 16 May 2020 <<https://amp.ru.autograndad.com/4006909/1/operatsiya-podderzhka-demokratii.html>> accessed 2 February 2022.

million), etc. Thus, the US is an active crisis protector in Latin America and the Caribbean. To effectively resolve the current conflicts and improve the peaceful situation in the region, the UN should take a stronger stance and coordinate and establish a partnership dialogue with the US within the Security Council.<sup>57</sup>

Since the late 1960s, seven peacekeeping missions have been carried out in East Asia and the UN in the Pacific, Cambodia, and East Timor. Although problems and difficulties arose during the operations, lasting peace was established in Cambodia and East Timor. Since 2002, there have been no victims in East Timor and Cambodia. However, a significant number of deaths have been reported in the Philippines, Myanmar, and Thailand. This is due to the development of internal armed conflicts between the central government of the Philippines and armed separatist groups since 1969, the interfaith conflict with signs of genocide in Myanmar, and the armed conflict involving a number of radical Islamic organisations advocating independence from the provinces in 2004. Thus, the UN peacekeeping operations in Cambodia and East Timor can be considered successful, as stable peace, improved economic development, and the development of democratic institutions have been achieved. However, in the region of South Asia and the Pacific, there are countries with unstable conflicts and a large number of victims of military confrontation: the Philippines, Myanmar, and Thailand. To establish a stable peace in the region, it is necessary for the UN to join in resolving the current conflicts.<sup>58</sup>

According to statistical analysis, traditional and multidimensional NATO peacekeeping missions are more successful (UNTAG, UNOMOT, UNMOT). Operations with a larger annual budget (Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Egypt, East Timor), more staff, including women and men (from countries with a stable peace situation and conflict resolution experience) (Lebanon, the Balkans, sub-Saharan Africa), and those which promote political, military, and human rights reforms (Mozambique, Haiti) contribute to lasting peace, stabilising GDP, and reducing casualties as a result of armed conflict and the number of crises in the region. At the present stage, the UN is focusing on building democratic institutions and achieving lasting peace, directing political missions (Namibia, Israel, Cambodia, Afghanistan) and missions to stabilise the post-conflict situation and adhere to peace agreements (Kosovo, Cyprus, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo). However, in most parts of the world, there are unresolved conflicts and areas of unstable crisis situations that need the attention of peacekeeping institutions (Iraq, Yemen, Syria, Colombia, Afghanistan, the Philippines, Myanmar, Georgia).

## 5 REGULARITIES THAT INFLUENCED THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PEACEKEEPING AND POST-CONFLICT STABILISATION

After conducting a statistical analysis of conflicts and crises and identifying the role of peacekeeping in stabilising the post-conflict situation in the regions of the world, we identified the main patterns that affect the effectiveness of UN and NATO operations, as well as the problems of modern peacekeeping:

1. The increase in the number of victims as a result of crises and armed conflicts in the Middle East and South Africa, which indicates an increasing need for future multi-component transformation missions to conflict zones.

57 M Lipson, 'Performance under ambiguity: international organization performance in un peacekeeping' (2018) 13 RIO 630.

58 I H Daalder, *NATO, the UN, and the Use of Force* (Report Brookings Institution 1999) <<https://www.brookings.edu/research/nato-the-un-and-the-use-of-force/>> accessed 2 February 2022.



2. While some African countries are likely to be able to make progress in economic and democratic development and establish a stable peace situation by reducing their dependence on peacekeepers (Burundi, Mozambique, Namibia), the overall situation in the region is not improving, as evidenced by unstable situations, the death rate as a result of armed conflict, and unstable GDP, particularly in countries such as Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan, Somalia, Angola, Nigeria, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

3. Large-scale operations in Africa require a significant number of contingents (10-15 thousand per year), as they must be conducted in a large geographical area with underdeveloped infrastructure.

4. Among the countries that provide the largest number of peacekeepers to UN missions are many underdeveloped countries and countries in conflict (Ethiopia, Rwanda, Bangladesh, Nepal, India, Pakistan, Ghana, Tanzania). To improve the effectiveness of missions, the largest share should be personnel from countries with modernised armies. The need to send qualified military personnel to UN missions determines the urgency of finding ways to cooperate with NATO.

5. Given the negative experience of human rights violations, in particular, the practice of various forms of sexual violence in conflict zones and during peacekeeping operations (Haiti, Cambodia), strengthening the gender perspective will contribute to the effective implementation of measures to protect civilians.

6. The effectiveness of peace operations requires a flexible approach to their implementation, which, in turn, involves cooperation and interaction with regional organizations (EU, NATO, African Union, etc.) or countries interested in resolving the conflict. Coordination, especially with NATO, requires mediation in the non-stable zones of Afghanistan, Iraq, Haiti, and Colombia.

7. The UN cannot function as an effective international mechanism for resolving the conflict so long as the issue of Security Council reform remains unresolved. Involvement in the resolution of current conflicts and the beginning of the UN crisis stabilisation process was impossible due to the use of veto on resolutions on the situation in Syria (13 times in 2011-2018), Yemen (2018), Ukraine (2015), Georgia (2009), Myanmar (2007), etc.

8. NATO's failure to comply with Art. 54 of the UN Charter complicates the process of coordinating and monitoring the organisation's actions in crisis situations, especially when NATO is carrying out a mandate that provides for the use of force (Operation Defender in Libya in 2011). A comprehensive solution is to develop more specific guidelines for monitoring the implementation of delegated operations.<sup>59</sup>

9. The crisis of legitimacy of UN operations (reaching political consensus of the parties, establishing legal and moral authority) negatively affects the effectiveness of their implementation (missions in Uganda, Rwanda, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Central African Republic, Chad, Somalia). The behaviour of personnel determines the moral authority of a peaceful operation. If the operation is perceived to lack moral authority, it may affect the decisions of countries on the deployment of personnel (missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Somalia, and Darfur).

10. An increase in the mission budget (\$100-800 million) will have a positive effect on reducing the number of armed conflicts and improving the efficiency of missions. The more the UN spends on maintaining peace, the stronger the mission's mandate. For example, an increase in contributions will allow the UN to send more qualified personnel to carry out the mission.

59 Charter of the United Nations: Chapter VIII of 1945 <<http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-viii/index.html>> accessed 2 February 2022.

11. The UN needs to modernise its mechanisms for assessing the effectiveness of operational and long-term performance, as well as working with NATO to combine peacekeeping experience and systematic assessment practices, with a view to achieving greater success in establishing control over the conflict zone.<sup>60</sup>

Thus, according to the given numbers and statistics analysed here, our effective scenarios for future UN peacekeeping operations are as follows:

#### Scenario 1. Multi-component transformational missions

- Aim: solving and containing geographic conflicts with a high level of intensity (the number of victims over 400 people) and preventing their renewal (prevention of interstate conflicts and war).
- Size of conflict: large regional wars and conflicts, civil wars and revolutions, terrorist acts, and international crises with a high level of intensity (the number of victims over 400 people).
- Main principles: impartiality (equal attitude without discrimination) toward the conflict factions.
- Mandate: a wide range of authorities and tasks conferred by Sections VII and VIII of the UN Statute (section 1.2).
- Mission staff: 1,000-1,500, where 60% are military contingents, 30% are police units, and 10% are experts and observers.
- Interaction with actors: involvement of regional organisations and institutions for common resistance to violence and conflicts, according to Section VIII of the UN Statute.
- Budget: 600-800 million USD annually.
- Post-conflict peace-building: maintenance of stable peace, economic growth, reformation of political institutes and democracy development, support in holding of democratic elections, providing of human rights, social development, and humanitarian aid.
- Expected duration: conflict resolution – two years; peace-building process – five years.

#### Scenario 2. Restricted peace-building and monitoring missions

- Aim: border monitoring, checking demilitarised zones, creation of political space for negotiations, mediation, and the prevention of conflict escalation.
- Size of conflict: local conflicts that are not violating baseline consensus in society can be solved by means of compromise; conflicts of a low level of intensity (up to 300 people).
- Mandate: a restricted range of authorities and tasks conferred by Section VI of the UN Statute (section 1.2).
- Mission staff: 500-1,000, where 60% are military contingents, 30% are police units, and 10% are experts and observers.
- Interaction with actors: search for compromise and coordination of actions in solving the contradictions between the sides of the conflict.
- Budget: 100-600 million USD.
- Expected duration: peace settlement between the sides – up to two years; monitoring of commitments fulfilment – five years.
- Action in case of situation escalation (the increase of conflict intensity and victim numbers): implementation of Scenario 1.
- Post-conflict resolution: maintaining stable peace (control over disarmament, prevention of genocide, presence of military and police subdivisions for five years, prosecution of military criminals, assistance in solving the main international conflicts).

60 Security Council Report, 'Monthly Forecast' <[https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/2021\\_05\\_forecast.pdf](https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/2021_05_forecast.pdf)> accessed 2 February 2022.

Building scenarios for effective UN peacekeeping operations requires the formation of a system for assessing the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping missions. The analysis of the existing system showed that the main weakness of the modern UN performance assessment system is that it does not have standard criteria and values. Different tools serve different purposes without a clear distinction of their accountability, information on how to use them, or an organised basis for educational work. There is a gap between a results-based budgeting system, on the one hand, and reporting on the implementation of mandates and analysing their context, on the other.

## 6 CONCLUSIONS

In comparison with the UN, NATO has a comprehensive system of scenarios for effective missions and their planning, assessment, and response to environmental risks, which includes the following mechanisms: a system of operational and strategic planning and assessment of NATO; a military decision-making process (MDMP); the NATO Crisis Response System (NCRS); third-party consulting and analytical reporting (RAND Corporation). Nevertheless, NATO's assessment and planning are not comprehensive. For example, the performance of peacekeepers themselves is not assessed. In addition, NATO's geographical boundaries and level of political support are much lower than those of the UN. Thus, cooperation with the UN can be useful in meeting NATO's political and strategic interests. Expanding the boundaries of cooperation in the joint implementation of missions can increase the level of effectiveness in resolving conflict situations and achieving peace. This conclusion confirms the hypothesis that the effectiveness of the UN and NATO peacekeeping operations depends on their cooperation in the field of peacekeeping.

Currently, research on the possibilities of such cooperation is almost non-existent, which can probably be explained by the different status and strategic goals of the UN and NATO. The findings of researchers who study the effectiveness of UN and NATO peacekeeping separately are fully in line with our vision. The two optimal scenarios for peacekeeping operations provided in the current research have shown that the main actor in peacekeeping is the UN, as it is the only global organisation that aims to maintain world peace and security. NATO is a regional organisation, and its interests are limited. However, given the alliance's military capabilities and strategic and analytical resources, UN-NATO cooperation is a desirable part of multi-component transformation missions. Success in the implementation of certain scenarios can be achieved by taking into account the established patterns of peaceful operations, the problems that arise in their effective implementation, and recommendations for their solution. The creation of such recommendations is the aim of this research. Thus, in view of the above, it can be argued that, for the first time, we have raised the issue of the necessity of UN-NATO cooperation in order to succeed in peacekeeping operations and develop a beneficial strategy for such cooperation. We hope that the present study will work as a starting point for such peacekeeping investigations and make a fundamental contribution to the current peacekeeping mission analysis and effective peacekeeping model research.

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