Peace Operations in 2010: The Year of Transition

Key Trends

• Global peace operations continued to grow in overall levels of deployment in 2010, despite an emphasis on consolidation and transition from full-scale peacekeeping.

• Overall, peacekeeping grew by 32 percent over the year; there were 256,170 peacekeepers deployed in 2010 compared with 194,379 in 2009.*

• While continued growth in 2010 reaffirms peacekeeping’s role in conflict management, these numbers stand in contrast to a growing reality: over the course of 2010, peacekeeping operations, especially the UN’s, were under tremendous operational, political, and financial pressure to scale down.

• Much of the growth in global peacekeeping can be attributed to the United States’ reinforcement of NATO’s International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) operation in Afghanistan, which increased by 59,462 troops in 2010 to a total of 130,492 troops—an 84 percent increase from 71,030 troops in 2009.

• Yet, even if NATO is excluded from the picture, UN and AU peacekeeping deployments increased in overall size—the UN grew by 2.4 percent over the year, contrary to expectations, adding 2,362 peacekeepers to reach a total global deployment of 99,172.

• At the same time, the spiraling situation in Somalia and the potential for that conflict to spread beyond the country’s borders led the AU to boost its peacekeeping force (African Union Mission in Somalia, AMISOM) by some 40 percent with the addition of 2,078 troops.

• Unlike military peacekeeping, where NATO deployments in Afghanistan outnumber global UN deployments, overall police deployments in peace operations continue to be led by the UN.

*Year to Year comparisons are made between September 2009-September 2010 for non-UN-commanded missions and October 2009-October 2010 for UN-Commanded Missions.
• The UN accounted for 87 percent of all deployed police in 2010 with 14,025 civilian police. The next largest contributor, the European Union (EU), accounted for 10 percent of overall deployments this year with 1,623 civilian police.

• Despite recognition of the need to broaden the base of UN troop contributing countries (TCCs), South Asian and African states continued to supply most of the troops for UN operations. Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India remained the largest military contributors to UN-commanded operations.

• Growth for UN-commanded operations slowed considerably in 2010. The measured drawdown of the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) and the closure of the UN Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT), led to significant reductions in two of the UN’s major operations.

• Current operations continue to face pressure to scale down in overall size, and the international community is unwilling to deploy new, large-scale multidimensional peacekeeping operations. Thus, while conditions on the ground necessitate action, and sometimes additional reinforcements, the era of continued growth for multidimensional peacekeeping may be coming to a close.

Source of Deployed Police: 31 October 2010

Changes in Deployment of UN Operations: 2009-2010
Data on UN-Commanded Operations

### Origin of Military Personnel by Region: 31 October 2011

- Africa: 35%
- Central and South America: 9%
- Europe: 9%
- Middle East: 2%
- North America: 0%
- East Asia and the Pacific: 8%
- Central and South Asia: 37%

### Deployment of Military Personnel by Region: 31 October 2011

- Africa: 74%
- Central and South America: 10%
- Europe: 1%
- Middle East: 15%
- North America: 0%
- East Asia and the Pacific: 0%

### Origin of UN Police Personnel by Region: 31 October 2011

- Africa: 34%
- Central and South America: 34%
- Europe: 7%
- Middle East: 14%
- North America: 1%

### Deployment of UN Police Personnel by Region: 30 September 2010

- Africa: 66%
- Central and South America: 0%
- Europe: 1%
- Middle East: 0%
- North America: 0%
- East Asia and the Pacific: 11%
- Central and South Asia: 0%
Data on Non-UN-Commanded Operations

Contributions of Military Personnel to Non-UN-Commanded Missions by Organization: 30 September 2010

- North Atlantic Treaty Organization: 90%
- African Union: 5%
- Coalitions/Ad hoc: 3%
- European Union: 2%
- Economic Community of the Central African States: >1%

Deployment of Non-UN-Commanded Military Personnel to Regions: 30 September 2010

- Europe: 9%
- Africa: 7%
- Central and South Asia: 83%
- Middle East: 1%
- East Asia and the Pacific: >1%

Deployment of Non-UN-Commanded Police by Organization: 30 September 2010

- Coalitions/Ad hoc: 15%
- African Union: 2%
- Economic Community of the Central African States: 7%

Deployment of Non-UN-Commanded Police to Regions: 30 September 2010

- Europe: 76%
- Africa: 10%
- Central and South Asia: 7%
- East Asia and the Pacific: 14%
- Middle East: 2%
- Other: 1%
Foreword

Jean-Marie Guéhenno

The international system must empower states to sustainably fulfill their sovereign responsibilities toward their citizens and other states. More and more, the UN, in cooperation with others, is being called upon to assist weak states in consolidating their authority, fulfilling core sovereign functions, and providing basic services. To do this, the UN and others have mobilized enormous resources through ambitious, multidimensional peace operations over the past decade and a half.

The aim of these operations must not be to circumscribe state sovereignty but to strengthen governments and extend their writ. This is the goal. But neither the UN nor the broader international system have yet acquired the means of fully achieving this goal—nor adequately considered the risks with such an ambitious undertaking.

In practical terms, the UN is now accompanying governments to support peacebuilding and institution building. In political terms, this confronts the UN with new dilemmas, such as what is the right balance between consolidating the capacity of the state to assert its authority and the need to reach out to those who challenge the emerging authorities. The primacy of politics must be the dominant mode of engagement.

Director’s Comment

Bruce D. Jones

As this year’s Review was being finalized, developments in Côte d’Ivoire, Sudan, and Afghanistan remind us of a critical lesson from earlier operations: size matters.

The massive overstretch and cost of UN forces in the Horn and Central Africa have led to questions about the sustainability of peacekeeping. Much of the past year was dominated by discussions of alternative models, cost reductions, the use of special political missions, and reforms to the UN’s operational architecture—a debate the NYU Center on International Cooperation has encouraged and occasionally joined. Elsewhere we have strongly reinforced the point that size alone is far from enough: capability matters and politics matters. The debate, though, must not neglect the point that force—an adequate force, with the right capacities—is an essential tool for political negotiations. Force without politics is nothing; but politics without force will often fail, to the detriment of the UN and tragedy on the ground.
Peacekeeping’s Transitional Moment

Ian Johnstone

The most intractable challenges for transition processes in peace operations are not technical—not how to build local administrative capacity, for example—but political. They are manifest in the multiple pressures a mission faces. The pressures, and operational dilemmas associated with them, are especially acute at the moment of transition because they compel reflection on a fundamental question: given the enormous constraints and inordinate expectations under which peacekeeping missions labor, what can they reasonably be expected to achieve before pulling out?

The proper answer requires greater attention to three questions that go to the heart of contemporary peacekeeping? How transformative should a peace operation seek to be? What are the parameters of consent? What is the nature of the relationship between internal and external actors?

Because the uncertainties and associated operational dilemmas surrounding these questions are true dilemmas in the sense that they are endemic, not conducive to quick managerial fixes, there is all the more reason to devise transition strategies that account for them.

• Treat peace agreements as living documents
• Consent to the deployment of a peace operation should be understood expansively
• Use benchmarks to foster accountability and dialogue
• Stand on principle
• Look to “lead nations”

Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2011:

The Center on International Cooperation’s (CIC) Annual Review of Global Peace Operations is the most comprehensive publication of its kind covering both UN-commanded and non-UN-commanded peace operations during 2010. Released prior to the UN General Assembly’s Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, the Annual Review serves as an indispensable resource informing policy-makers, academics, practitioners, the media, and peacekeeping stakeholders as the international community considers the role of peace operations in managing conflicts.

Peace Operations Program

CIC’s Peace Operations program has been a leading source of reliable data and policy analysis of the major trends affecting UN and regional organizations’ response to conflict and crisis. Its independent analysis of the role and effect of peacekeeping and political operations has had a significant impact on both policy and political support for those missions at a time of growing uncertainty.
“As we work to strengthen peacekeeping operations to respond to current and future challenges, the intellectual rigor, analysis, and data presented in the Annual Review makes it an indispensable resource for policymakers, practitioners, and academics alike. This volume is a tremendous contribution.”

—ATUL KHARE
UN Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations

“Just as peacekeeping operations seek to respond to quickly changing environments on the ground, they also need the tools to ensure that peacebuilding processes start as soon as contexts will permit. The Annual Review of Global Peace Operations give us these tools and is a must read for decision makers and peacekeepers as peace operations continue to evolve.”

—ELLEN MARGARETHE LØJ
Special Representative of the Secretary General for the United Nations Mission in Liberia