

PEACEKEEPING FOR THE 21ST CENTURY:

A N E W P A R T N E R S H I P

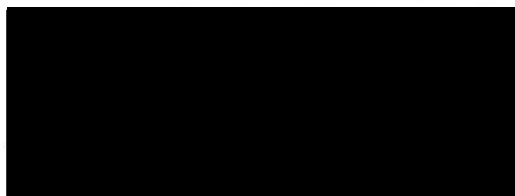
Deanna Rose Iribarnegaray B.A.(Hons), University of New England

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I certify that I am the sole author and that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not being currently submitted for any other degrees.

I certify that to the best of my knowledge that any help received in preparing this thesis, and all sources used, have been acknowledged in this thesis.

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Signature

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Abstract

The shift in armed conflict from inter-state to predominantly intra-state conflicts has seen a growing progression of sophistication in the type of United Nations peacekeeping operation that has been mounted to address these now prevailing conflicts. Concomitant with this change has come an increasing inability of peacekeepers to cope with the complexity of the mandates upon which each new peacekeeping mission is based. This has resulted in failures of various proportions for United Nations peacekeeping missions. A new model of peacekeeping that can significantly contribute globally to a culture of peace is now required. This thesis presents a model, based on a civilian-military partnership. This partnership is conceptualized to reaffirm the United Nations as the world's foremost peacekeeping agent by endorsing the essential role of the military, but also by affirming the central value of civilian commitment to foster the activism of indigenous communities in the recovery process.

Six case studies representing conflicts throughout the world are analysed to ultimately determine the underlying causes for failings of the United Nations peacekeeping missions associated with each conflict. Using the theoretical implications of what I discover, I then posit an improved peacekeeping model created by Professor Joseph Schwartzberg, the United Nations Peace Corps (UNPC), subject it to analysis to discover its shortcomings and then hypothesize an enhancement of the model so as to meet the challenges of contemporary peacekeeping. The result is a standing, all-volunteer, internationally recruited, rapidly deployable, military-civilian peacekeeping force which would be both multinational and of mixed gender in origin. While it is acknowledged that this would be a long term project perhaps requiring changes to the structure of the United Nations itself, making civilians an integral part of peacekeeping operations could be realized in the short term thus paving the way for more effective mobilization of local populations in peacebuilding processes and the facilitation of indigenous activism in general.

The outcome of the analyses suggests that an all military peacekeeping force cannot provide all the resources that are necessary to meet the mandates of missions.

Humanitarian interventions especially are shown to require the intertwining of peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding functions. A military peacekeeper cannot embody all three roles. What emerges most clearly is the central importance for the peacekeeping team to mobilize activism at the indigenous level in order that the local population can ultimately own the processes of recovery. Civilian organization is seen to be more readily adaptable to this more interpersonally related facet of peacebuilding than military organization. Hence, I recommend that the reconciliation of the security and protection role at which the military excels, with the human relationships skill that the civilian can impart, be represented in a civilian-military team whose components can co-function and complement each other. Such a team could be recruited internationally thus having its allegiance to the United Nations alone. This would transcend national barriers and represent a truly impartial and deterrent peacekeeping force, which, over time may diminish the need for nations to have military establishments of their own, thereby contributing to a culture of peace on a global scale.

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List of Acronyms

BIG	Bougainville Interim Government
BPT	Balkan Peace Team
BRA	Bougainville Revolutionary Army
CIMIC	Civil Military Cooperation
CIVPOL	Civilian Police
CPP	Cambodian People's Party
CPT	Christian Peacemaker Teams
CNRT	National Council of Timorese Resistance
EU	European Union
FALINTIL	The armed wing of the National Council of Timorese Resistance
FRY	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
FUNCINPEC	National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia
GAM	Mutual Support Group
GNP	Global Nonviolent Peaceforce
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IFOR	Implementation Force (NATO, Bosnia)
INTERFET	International Force East Timor
IO	International Organisation
IPTF	International Police Task Force
JIAS	Joint Interim Administrative Structure
KFOR	Kosovo Force (NATO)
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NC	National Council
NGO	Nongovernmental Organisation
OAS	Organisation of American States
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
ONUMOZ	United Nations Operation in Mozambique

OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PBI	Peace Brigades International
PMG	Peace Monitoring Group
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
SFOR	Stabilisation Force (NATO, Bosnia)
SNC	Supreme National Council
SOC	State of Cambodia
SRSG	Secretary General's Special Representative
TMG	Truce Monitoring Group
TNI	Indonesian National Armed Forces
UNAA	United Nations Administrative Academy
UNAMET	United Nations Mission in East Timor
UNAMIC	United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia
UNAMIR I	United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda I
UNAMIR II	United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda II
UNCRO	United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation
UNCIVPOL	United Nations Civilian Police
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNFICYP	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
UNHCR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNITAF	Unified Task Force
UNMIBH	United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNMOP	United Nations Mission of Observers in Prevlaka
UNOSOM I	United Nations Operations in Somalia I
UNOSOM II	United Nations Operations in Somalia II
UNPC	United Nations Peace Corps
UNPREDEP	United Nations Preventive Deployment Force
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UNPSG	United Nations Civilian Police Support Group
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
UNTAES	United Nations Transitional Administration in Eastern Slovenia, Baranja, and Western Sermium
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
UNTAG	United Nations Transitional Assistance Group
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation
WFP	Witness For Peace