



ROYAL DANISH DEFENCE COLLEGE

HOW DOES PARTICIPATION IN PEACE OPERATIONS SHAPE NATIONAL ARMED FORCES? IS IT ALL BAD NEWS?

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The changing framing and realities of PM and its national consequences

SIGLA-EGMONT Seminar 28/11-24



The role of the militaries in post-colonial states

- Frederick Cooper and the ‘gatekeeper state’ – important when understanding the “Global Norths” strategic failures – better partner for the regimes
- Post-colonial regimes unable to fulfil high expectations
- Weak governing institutions, especially legislatures
- Ethnic division and control – blocs reforms
- Coup leaders often claimed to be acting on behalf of the people to restore order and throw out corrupt politicians
- Militaries portrayed themselves as disciplined institutions capable of bringing about modernisation.
- Rawling’s – coups to end all coups ?
- Peace mission and its impact..





Professionalisation, Skills Development, Civil-Military Relations

- Positive Effects: Participation in peacekeeping missions contributes to professionalisation. Exposure to international training standards and joint operations enhances technical expertise and operational discipline. Rwanda and Ghana: have led to better organisation, leadership, and military efficiency (Williams, 2013; Wilén, 2012). Kigali - principles
- Challenges: Potential neglect of domestic military needs, resources to peacekeeping efforts. This can create internal disparities between units engaged in peacekeeping and those focused on domestic security, Fisher (2016).
- Strengthened Civil Control: Peacekeeping has bolstered the military's reputation, showcasing it as a professional and apolitical institution committed to international peace (Williams, 2013).
- Potential Militarisation: The financial and political benefits of peacekeeping can strengthen the military's political influence, sometimes undermining democratic accountability (De Waal, 2015).



Operational Capacity and Readiness/Regional and Global Security

- **Enhanced Capability:** Peacekeeping deployments improve logistical, operational, and leadership skills. Wilén and Chapaux (2011) argue that such missions provide African militaries with valuable experience that can be applied domestically.
- **Overextension and Strain:** Frequent peacekeeping missions can overstretch resources. (Cilliers, 2018) (Mandrup 2019).
- **Contribution to Regional Stability:** PSO stabilises conflict-affected areas, reducing regional insecurity (Francis, 2005) (EPON 2019, 2020).
- **Strategic Dependencies:** Critics argue that heavy involvement in UN and AU missions can shift national priorities to align with external actors, potentially undermining local security needs. For instance, Bryden (2010) discusses how African peacekeeping missions sometimes align more with donor priorities than with regional security objectives. Another critique is when neighbours intervene and are part of the security problem they are trying to address .



Economic Impacts/Social Impacts

- **Financial Benefits:** Participation in UN peacekeeping missions provides financial incentives. Countries receive reimbursements for equipment and personnel, often used to supplement national defense budgets. For example, Mays (2018) notes that Nigeria and Ghana have leveraged peacekeeping funds to offset budgetary constraints. South Africa the same
- **Potential Risks:** Dependence on peacekeeping income can create distortions. Reports on Ethiopia and Uganda show how some militaries prioritise deployments abroad, fostering competition and corruption in deployment processes (Aning & Edu-Afful, 2017).
- **Positive Role Modeling:** Peacekeeping missions often showcase the military's constructive role in international affairs, improving its image domestically. (Straus, 2015).
- **Negative Externalities:** Instances of misconduct, such as sexual exploitation and abuse, have been reported among African peacekeepers. Aning and Edu-Afful (2017)(Cold Ravnkilde & Mandrup 2017) discuss how these incidents have damaged the credibility of contributing countries, calling for improved accountability and pre-deployment training.

UN PKO – a thing of the past?

PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS



Dashboard Peace Operations 2024

Current Developments

Compared to the previous year, the total number of peacekeeping personnel has remained roughly constant at 135,000. The number of military personnel has fallen (119,800 to 118,000), while the number of police (8,700 to 10,400) and - minimally - civilian personnel (6,500 to 6,550) has risen. However, a significant reduction in all personnel numbers is foreseeable for 2024 with the end of the UN missions in Mali and Sudan as well as the planned downsizing of the UN mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the AU mission in Somalia. In contrast, the EU opened four new - but much smaller - missions last year, in Armenia, Moldova, the Gulf of Guinea and Niger. However, the latter and the older EUCAP Sahel Niger are expected to close over the course of the year.

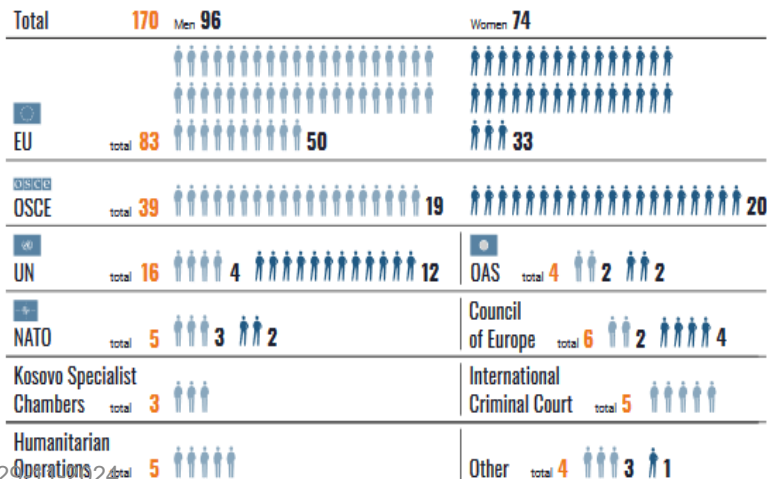
The development of German contributions to peace operations was uneven. The withdrawal of the large Bundeswehr contingent from Mali at the end of 2023 led to a significant decrease in the number of German mili-

tary personnel in peace operations. However, the number of civilian personnel in UN and EU missions increased. Around 170 civilian German experts are currently employed in peacekeeping missions, but also by international organisations in headquarters and in the field as well as in humanitarian missions (as of January 2024). The seconded personnel are spread across a total of 39 countries.

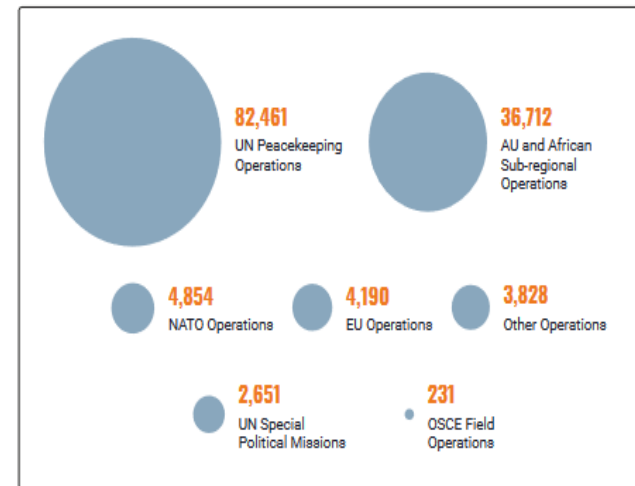
Three other facts remain unchanged: (i) the UN is still by far the largest actor, (ii) the majority of personnel continue to be concentrated in a small number of large missions and (iii) sub-Saharan Africa remains the region with the largest number of missions. Of the six missions with more than 10,000 personnel, five are active in this region (ATMIS/AU/Somalia; MINUSCA/UN/Central African Republic; MNJTF/Lake Chad; MONUSCO/UN/Democratic Republic of the Congo; UNMISS/UN/South Sudan). The sixth is the UN mission in Lebanon (UNIFIL).



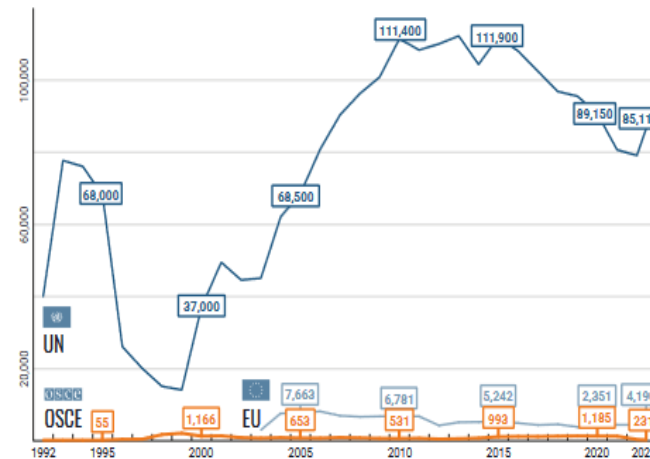
Seconded German Civilian Experts in the Field, HQs and Institutions



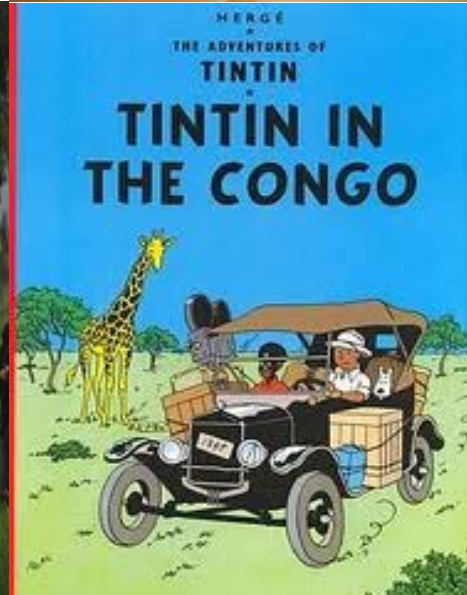
Personnel Strength by Organization



Development of Personnel Numbers in Peace Operations



UN/AU PSO in Africa – POC/R2P mandates





AU Mandated moving towards authorised

AU Peace Support Operations refers to a PSO mandated by the Assembly or Peace and Security Council wherein the AU exercises direct Command, Control and Management



“AU Authorized/Endorsed/Recognised PSO”: refers to a PSO wherein the AU does not exercise direct Command, Control and Management of the PSO but provides additional support through a cooperation agreement, in the form of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) and/or Support/Supplementary Implementation Agreement (SIA), or any other legal framework with periodic briefings provided by the mandating authority and/or the PSO to the AU PSC, in line with the provisions of Article 16 of the PSC Protocol (2002).

Trends

- 2719 – the UN, AU and the regions – a crisis at so many levels
- African solutions to African problems
- The doctrinal crisis
- The future role of UN, AU, the regions,
- Ad-hocism
- UN for the Future – Action 21 adaption of peace ops to better respond to existing challenges and new realities – Wane/Williams report...





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