

3. Peace operations and conflict management

Overview

In contrast to 2016, 2017 was a hectic year for peace operations, both in the field and at headquarters, particularly for the United Nations. The fall in the total number of personnel deployed in peace operations, which began in 2012 with the drawdown of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), continued in 2017. The total number of personnel deployed in the field (145 911) declined by 4.5 per cent compared to 2016. Although UN deployments had been on the rise before 2016, they continued to fall in 2017, by 7.6 per cent, whereas the number of personnel in non-UN operations increased by 2.3 per cent to 47 557 (see section I).

There were 63 peace operations active during 2017, one more than in 2016. Three UN peace operations closed: the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI), the UN Mission in Colombia (UNMC) and the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). The latter two were replaced by smaller missions: the UN Verification Mission in Colombia (UNVMC) and the UN Mission for Justice Support in Haiti (MINUJUSTH). Only one non-UN mission closed during the year—the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI)—while three new non-UN operations were established: the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Mission in the Gambia (ECOMIG); the European Union (EU) Advisory Mission in support of Security Sector Reform in Iraq (EUAM Iraq); and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Preventive Mission in the Kingdom of Lesotho (SAPMIL) (see section II).

Under the sustaining peace agenda, UN peace operations are giving increased attention to political processes, peace building and conflict prevention. In so doing, they increasingly encounter tensions over national sovereignty and operate on the boundary of host-state consent. This is already evident in Burundi, South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where host governments see UN efforts as an infringement of their sovereignty and respond by obstructing deployment. Outside the UN system, much more has been possible. Host governments have tended to favour predominantly military solutions in support of their authority, such as the Group of Five for the Sahel (G5 Sahel) Joint Force (Force Conjointe des Etats du G5 Sahel, FC-G5S) and the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) against Boko Haram. In the cases of Gambia and Lesotho, regional organizations were able to intervene in small countries, even though the amount of host government support was debatable in the former.

Although the UN clearly remains the principal actor in peace operations, the two non-UN operations deployed by African regional economic communities show how African actors are claiming an increasing role on the peace operations stage. This is also reflected in the establishment of the FC-G5S, a multilateral non-peace operation that falls into the grey zone outside the SIPRI definition of multilateral peace operations.

Peacekeeping reform, including implementation of the report by the UN High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations, continued to be discussed in the General Assembly and the Security Council. At times, this discussion was overshadowed by two other developments: the greater insecurity of personnel deployed in UN peace operations, and the efforts by the administration of United States President Donald J. Trump to drastically reduce the UN peace-keeping budget.

In previous years, peacekeeper fatalities linked to hostile acts had primarily been a challenge for the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA). In 2017, however, the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA) and the UN Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) also faced substantial losses. A particular low point was the attack on a MONUSCO Company Operating Base at Semuliki, North Kivu, on 7 December, in which 15 Tanzanian peacekeepers were killed and at least 53 injured. Overall, the UN witnessed a dramatic escalation in fatalities linked to hostile acts—in both absolute terms (from 34 in 2016 to 61 in 2017) and as a ratio of the number of personnel deployed (from 0.31 to 0.61 per 1000). An independent review into the security of peacekeepers, led by Lieutenant General Carlos Alberto dos Santos Cruz, left one main question unanswered: How would the UN generate the agile and mobile forces needed for the more robust and proactive force posture required to deal with these more challenging mission environments?

In 2017, UN peace operations, like African peace operations, could no longer be certain of 'predictable and sustainable funding'. The budget cuts sought by the Trump administration, in particular, meant that the UN had to rethink its strategy in many operations. A number of finance-contributing countries hoped that these budget cuts might be used pragmatically to strengthen peacekeeping reform. However, the effects of 'salami-slicing tactics' on some operations, such as MONUSCO, and of more substantial drawdowns in other operations, such as the African Union/UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), might put peacekeepers more at risk and leave populations more vulnerable. If so, it raises the question: Is it realistic to expect the UN to continue to do more with less, and is it worth taking the risk?

I. Global trends and developments in peace operations

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Multilateral peace operations in 2017

Sixty-three multilateral peace operations were active during 2017 (see figure 3.1).¹ This was one more than in 2016 and the second-highest number of operations conducted in the period 2008–17.

Among the 63 operations were 5 new missions and 4 that terminated during the year. The remaining 54 missions were active for the entire year. The new missions were, in chronological order, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Mission in the Gambia (ECOMIG), the United Nations Verification Mission in Colombia (UNVMC), the UN Mission for Justice Support in Haiti (MINUJUSTH), the European Union (EU) Advisory Mission in support of Security Sector Reform in Iraq (EUAM Iraq) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Preventive Mission in the Kingdom of Lesotho (SAPMIL). The missions that terminated during 2017 were, in chronological order, the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI), the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI), the UN Mission in Colombia (UNMC) and the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH).² The closure of these 4 missions meant that there were 59 ongoing multilateral peace operations at the end of the year.

Multilateral peace operations were deployed to 42 countries and territories in 2017.³ This included two countries—Gambia and Lesotho—that did not host peace operations in the preceding year. The Solomon Islands and Côte d'Ivoire no longer hosted any peace operations following the closure of RAMSI and UNOCI in mid-2017. Nineteen countries hosted more than one peace operation. Mali hosted 4 peace operations in 2017—more than any other country.

¹ The quantitative analysis draws on data collected by SIPRI to examine trends in peace operations. According to SIPRI's definition, a multilateral peace operation must have the stated intention of: (a) serving as an instrument to facilitate the implementation of peace agreements already in place; (b) supporting a peace process; or (c) assisting conflict prevention or peacebuilding efforts. Good offices, fact-finding or electoral assistance missions, and missions comprising non-resident individuals or teams of negotiators are not included (see section IV). Since all SIPRI data is reviewed on a continual basis and adjusted when more accurate information becomes available, the statistics in this chapter may not always fully correspond with data found in previous editions of the SIPRI Yearbook or other SIPRI publications.

² For a description of the missions that opened and terminated in 2017 see section II.

³ Including Abyei (Sudan), Western Sahara and the Palestinian Territories.

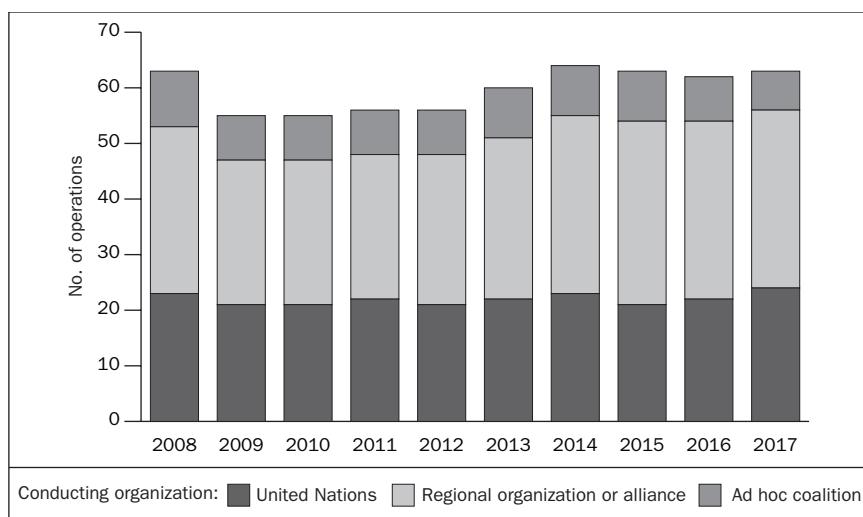


Figure 3.1. Number of multilateral peace operations by type of conducting organization, 2008–17

Trends in personnel deployments

The total number of personnel deployed in all multilateral peace operations decreased by 4.5 per cent over the course of 2017—from 152 822 to 145 911—and fell below 150 000 for the first time in the 2008–17 period (see figure 3.2).⁴ This was a continuation of a steady decline that began in 2016, after overall personnel deployments had remained relatively stable during 2015 at around 162 000. Of those deployed in 2017, 94 per cent were uniformed personnel (125 803 military and 11 846 police) while 8262 were international civilian personnel.

Personnel deployments in multilateral peace operations were much higher in the period 2008–14, but this was primarily due to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. ISAF inflated the figures to such an extent—it reached its maximum strength of over 130 000 personnel in 2010—that this disguised underlying trends. The number of personnel deployed in all multilateral peace operations fell sharply as NATO reduced its footprint in Afghanistan to approximately 13 000 between 2012 and the end of 2014,

⁴ The analyses of personnel levels in this chapter are based on estimates of the number of international personnel (i.e. military, police and international civilian staff) deployed at the end of each month in each of the multilateral peace operations that were active in the period Jan. 2008 to Dec. 2017. In previous editions of the SIPRI Yearbook, similar analyses used annual snapshot data on the number of international personnel in multilateral peace operations at the end of each year or, in the case of an operation terminated during a calendar year, on the number at their closure. Consequently, the data in this chapter does not exactly match data used in previous editions of the SIPRI Yearbook.

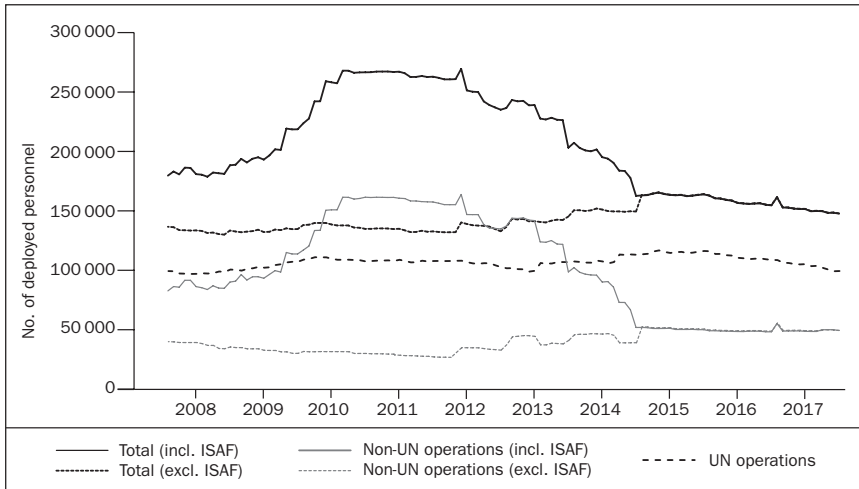


Figure 3.2. Number of personnel deployed in multilateral peace operations, 2008–17

ISAF = International Security Assistance Force.

Note: Year marker indicates monthly data at the mid-year point (June).

when ISAF terminated. However, in the same period the total number of personnel in all other multilateral peace operations increased by 13 per cent, from approximately 130 000 to more than 147 000.

The decrease in the total number of personnel deployed in multilateral peace operations after 2015 was caused primarily by a steady decline in personnel deployments by the UN. The number of personnel in UN peace operations increased quite significantly between 2012 and 2015, from less than 100 000 to nearly 115 000, but subsequently fell to 98 354 by December 2017—approximately the same level as before it began to rise five years earlier. The decrease in the number of personnel in UN peace operations in 2016–17 resulted primarily from reductions in the strength of the UN/African Union (AU) Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) and the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), as well as the gradual departure of peacekeepers from Côte d'Ivoire and Haiti prior to the closure of UNOCI and MINUSTAH. Although some of these reductions in mission strength were justified by the conditions on the ground, financial constraints also played a role as significant cuts to the UN peacekeeping budget compelled the UN Secretariat to reduce the number of peacekeepers in the field.

The number of personnel in non-UN peace operations—that is multilateral peace operations conducted by regional organizations and alliances or by ad hoc coalitions of states—remained within the range of

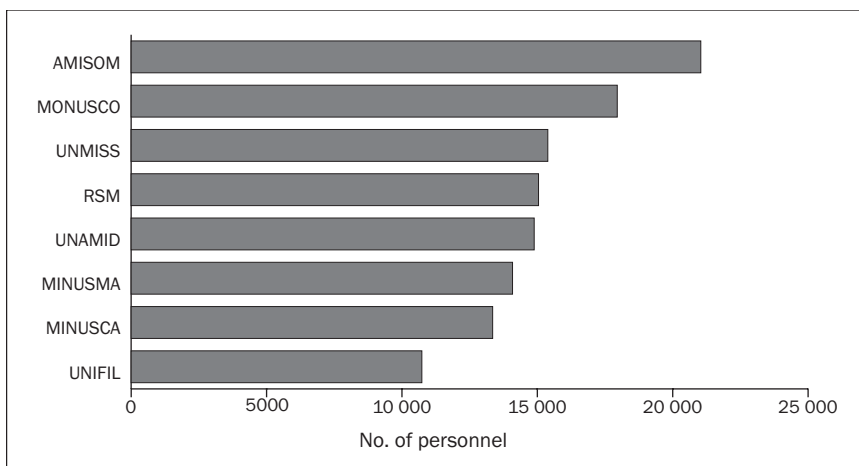


Figure 3.3. Multilateral peace operations with more than 10 000 personnel on 31 December 2017

AMISOM = AU Mission in Somalia; MONUSCO = UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo; UNMISS = UN Mission in South Sudan; RSM = Resolute Support Mission; UNAMID = AU/UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur; MINUSMA = UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali; MINUSCA = UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic; UNIFIL = UN Interim Force in Lebanon.

45 000–50 000 in 2014–17. Deployments in these operations first decreased somewhat in 2014–15, but increased by 2.3 per cent in 2017 from 46 432 to 47 557. This included a noticeable, albeit brief, peak in January 2017 as a result of the deployment of ECOMIG, which had an initial strength of 7000 before it quickly reconfigured into a much smaller mission of 500 after the post-electoral crisis regarding the succession of the Gambian presidency was resolved.

The AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) remained the largest multilateral peace operation throughout 2017. At the end of the year it had a total strength of 21 039 personnel. Besides AMISOM, seven operations fielded more than 10 000 personnel (see figure 3.3). These were, in decreasing order of size, the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), the NATO-led Resolute Support Mission (RSM), the AU/UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA), the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA), and the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). During the year, UNMISS and the RSM surpassed UNAMID to become the third- and fourth-largest operations, respectively, while MINUSMA surpassed MINUSCA to become the sixth-largest mission. At the end of 2017, these eight missions alone

accounted for 84 per cent of all personnel deployed in multilateral peace operations worldwide.

Organizations conducting peace operations

As in previous years, the UN was the organization that conducted the most multilateral peace operations and deployed the largest number of personnel in 2017. The UN led 24 of the 63 multilateral peace operations active in 2017, which is two more than in 2016. Three of these missions—UNOCI, MINUSTAH and the UNMC—terminated during the year. MINUSTAH and the UNMC were immediately succeeded by the new UN missions, MINUJUSTH and the UNVMC (see section II). Although the number of personnel deployed in UN peace operations fell by 7.6 per cent to 98 354, the UN accounted for two-thirds of all personnel in multilateral peace operations at the end of 2017 (compared to 70 per cent at the end of 2016).

Regional organizations and alliances were responsible for 32 of the 63 multilateral peace operations active in 2017. At the end of 2017, these actors deployed 44 902 personnel in multilateral peace operations, which accounted for 31 per cent of the total number of personnel deployed. The number of personnel in peace operations led by regional organizations and alliances increased by 2.7 per cent during 2017.

African regional organizations conducted seven multilateral peace operations. The AU conducted four and remained the regional organization that deployed the most personnel in its missions. The number of personnel in AU missions decreased by 4.1 per cent during 2017, from 22 004 to 21 104, as a result of the withdrawal of 1000 troops from AMISOM, which continued to account for nearly all the personnel deployed in AU-led peace operations. ECOWAS conducted two peace operations, one more than in 2016. The number of personnel in ECOWAS operations increased during 2017 as a result of the deployment of ECOMIG, from 543 to 977. SADC conducted one peace operation, SAPMIL, which it deployed to Lesotho in December 2017.

The EU, NATO and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) led 23 missions and operations that qualified as multilateral peace operations. The number of personnel deployed in the two NATO-led operations, the RSM and the Kosovo Force (KFOR), increased by 8.3 per cent in 2017, from 17 621 to 19 077. The EU conducted 12 peace operations in the framework of its Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). EUAM Iraq was launched in November 2017. The number of personnel in EU peace operations increased by 2.7 per cent in 2017, from 2395 to 2460. The OSCE conducted nine peace operations. At the end of the year it deployed 1000 personnel in these missions, which was almost exactly the same number as one year earlier.

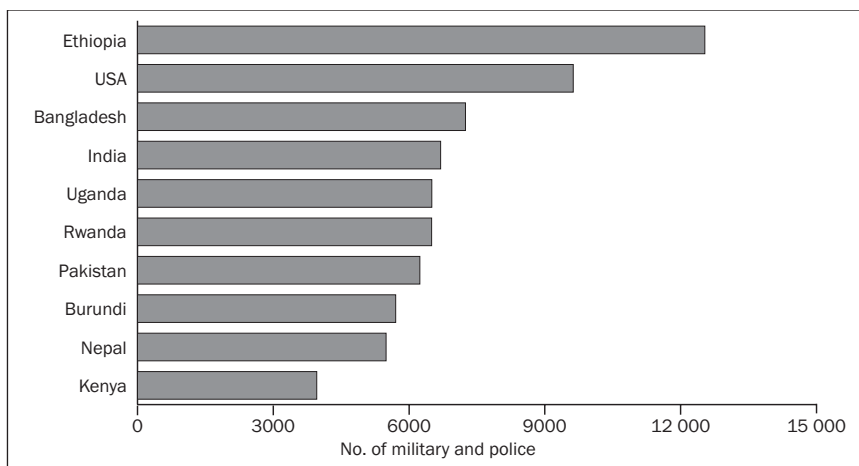


Figure 3.4. Largest contributors to multilateral peace operations on 31 December 2017

The Pacific Islands Forum and the Organization of American States conducted one peace operation each in 2017. These were RAMSI and the Mission to Assist the Peace Process in Colombia (MAPP/OEA), respectively. RAMSI terminated in mid-2017. There were no notable changes in the composition of MAPP/OEA.

Finally, seven multilateral peace operations were conducted by ad hoc coalitions of states—one fewer than in 2016. The number of personnel deployed in peace operations by such non-standing coalitions decreased by 2.5 per cent during 2017, from 2722 to 2655. This decrease resulted primarily from the completion of the reconfiguration of the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) in the Sinai Peninsula, which was the largest ad hoc peace operation in 2017, even though its force was reduced from 1383 to 1300.

Troop and police contributions

Ethiopia, the United States and Bangladesh were the three largest contributors of uniformed personnel (both military and police) to multilateral peace operations in 2017 (see figure 3.4). The ten largest contributors accounted for approximately half of all uniformed personnel in multilateral peace operations as of 31 December. The same ten countries were also the largest contributors in 2016.

Ethiopia has been the largest contributor of uniformed personnel to multilateral peace operations since it joined AMISOM in 2014. Ethiopia was also the largest contributor of uniformed personnel to UN peace operations. In December 2017, Ethiopia contributed 12 534 uniformed personnel to peace operations: 8420 to UN peace operations and 4114 to AMISOM. It was a

major contributor to AMISOM, UNAMID, the UN Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA) and UNMISS, all of which are active in neighbouring countries. Except for one staff officer in MINUSMA, all the Ethiopian troops and police were deployed in these four operations.

As the second-largest contributor of uniformed personnel to multilateral peace operations in 2017, the USA was the only Western country to rank among the 10 largest contributors. The USA deployed 9627 uniformed personnel, an increase of around 1500 on the year before. The increase in US contributions to peace operations resulted from a decision by the US Government to deploy more troops to Afghanistan, among other things to reinforce the NATO-led RSM (see section II). In addition to the RSM, the USA was a major contributor to the NATO-led KFOR and the MFO in the Sinai Peninsula. It contributed only 55 military and police personnel to UN peace operations.

Bangladesh ended 2017 as the third-largest contributor of uniformed personnel to multilateral peace operations. During the year it surpassed India and Pakistan—the third- and fourth-largest contributors in December 2016—by increasing its contribution from 6862 to 7246 uniformed personnel. In the same period, India's contribution decreased from 7710 to 6697 and Pakistan's decreased from 7156 to 6238, which made them the fourth- and seventh-largest contributors of uniformed personnel, respectively. Nepal—the other South Asian country in the top ten—maintained its position as the ninth-largest contributor. Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan only contributed to UN peace operations.

The other countries in the top ten were Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda. Rwanda was the sixth-largest contributor to multilateral peace operations in 2017 and the fourth-largest contributor to UN peace operations. Although Burundi, Kenya and Uganda contributed uniformed personnel to UN missions, their rankings are predominantly the result of their large contingents in AMISOM. The fact that five African countries were ranked among the ten largest contributors to multilateral peace operations illustrates how significant their role has become.⁵

Fatalities among peace operations personnel

Several of the multilateral peace operations active in 2017 were deployed amid ongoing or deteriorating situations of armed conflict in areas where viable peace agreements and state authority were either absent or highly fragile and contested. A number of missions that operated in these

⁵ Avezov, X., Van der Lijn, J. and Smit, T., *African Directions: Towards an Equitable Partnership in Peace Operations* (SIPRI: Stockholm, Feb. 2017).

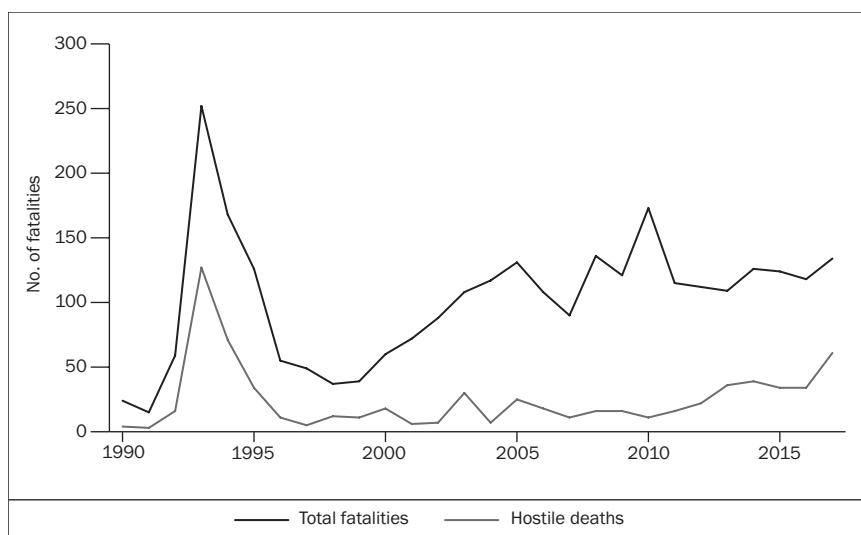


Figure 3.5. Fatalities in UN peace operations, 1990–2017

environments faced sustained threats and deliberate attacks from non-state armed groups and other spoilers (see section II).

It continues to be challenging for UN peace operations to adapt to these new realities on the ground. This has been reflected in the increase in the number of hostile deaths—that is, fatalities resulting from malicious acts—among personnel in UN peace operations in recent years. The number of hostile deaths was significantly higher in the period 2013–17 than in any other period since 1993–95, when the UN suffered exceptional losses in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia and Somalia (see figure 3.5). The ratio of hostile deaths per 1000 personnel was also markedly higher in 2013–17 than in earlier periods, albeit that similar or even higher ratios were regularly reported in the 1990s and occasionally in the 2000s (see figure 3.6). One caveat is that half of all the UN peacekeepers killed as a result of violent acts in the period 2013–16 were serving in MINUSMA, which since it was established in mid-2013 has suffered more hostile deaths than any other contemporary UN mission. In fact, the ratio of hostile deaths in all UN peace operations excluding MINUSMA in 2013–16 was not unusually high compared to other years—and in 2016 it was even the lowest in the entire 1990–2017 period.

This was clearly not the case in 2017, however, as UN peace operations witnessed a fairly dramatic increase in hostile deaths in both absolute and relative terms. UN peace operations suffered 61 hostile deaths in 2017, of which 58 were of uniformed personnel. The ratio of hostile deaths among uniformed personnel—0.61 per 1000—was twice as high in 2017 as it was in 2016. Both the number and the ratio of hostile deaths were significantly higher in 2017 than in any year since 1994. Excluding MINUSMA, the ratio

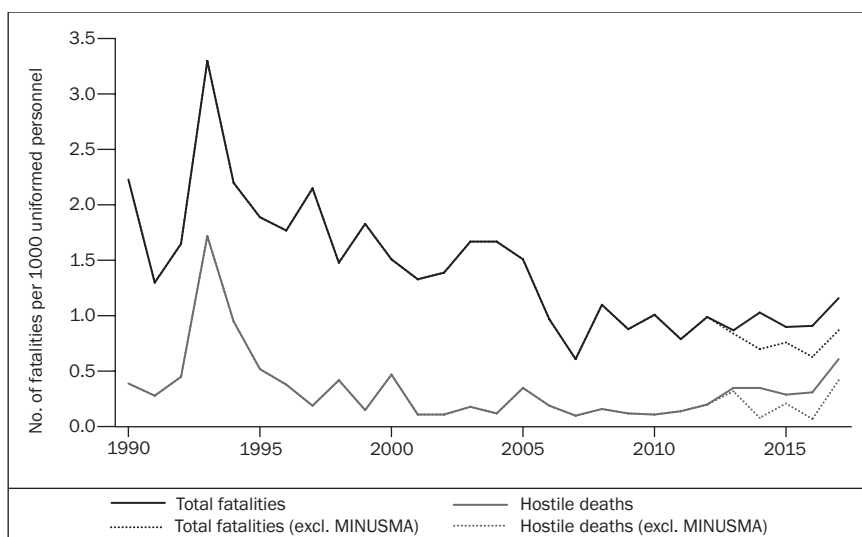


Figure 3.6. Fatality ratios for uniformed personnel in UN peace operations, 1990–2017

MINUSMA = UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali

of hostile deaths rose from 0.07 per 1000 to 0.42 per 1000—the highest since 2000. In addition, for the first time since 1993, hostile deaths made up more than half of all fatalities (52 per cent). All the hostile deaths among personnel in UN peace operations occurred in Africa, and the vast majority of the peacekeepers killed by violent acts were themselves from African countries.⁶ All but one of the 61 victims of hostile deaths in 2017 were deployed in MINUSCA, MINUSMA or MONUSCO.

These worrying developments further aggravated concerns about the safety and security of UN peacekeepers and their ability to deliver their mandates in complex security environments. The UN Secretary-General therefore appointed retired Lt General Carlos Alberto dos Santos Cruz of Brazil, in November 2017, to lead an independent review of the hostile deaths and injuries of UN peacekeepers, and suggest measures to reduce them. The review concluded that the increase in hostile deaths in recent years ‘is not a spike but rather a rise to a continuing plateau’.⁷ The Cruz Report urged the UN and contributors to UN peacekeeping operations to accept and adapt to the changed nature of mission environments in which challenges are multifaceted, complex and fluid, and in which blue helmets can no longer count on their status as an impartial force for protection against the security

⁶ Dos Santos Cruz, C. A., Phillips, W. R. and Cusimano, S., *Improving Security of United Nations Peacekeepers: We Need to Change the Way we are Doing Business* (United Nations Independent Report: New York, 19 Dec. 2017), p. 5.

⁷ Dos Santos Cruz, Phillips and Cusimano (note 6), p. 5.

threats that emanate from this. To face up to these challenges, the report emphasized, among other things, that stronger leadership, less risk-averse strategies and tactics, and a more flexible interpretation of the guiding principles of peacekeeping should allow proactive and pre-emptive use of force by missions against combatants that might otherwise threaten them.⁸

The UN peacekeeping budget

In addition to developments in the field, the year also saw a number of discussions and developments regarding UN peace operations in the Security Council and the General Assembly in New York. These were held under the shadow of the Trump administration's intention to cut its spending on UN peacekeeping by as much as 40 per cent.⁹ This was to be achieved by reducing the US share of assessed contributions to the UN peacekeeping budget from 28 per cent to 25 per cent, and by dramatically reducing this budget overall.¹⁰ With this goal, the US Ambassador to the UN, Nikki Haley, called for a review of the 16 UN peacekeeping missions, arguing that some might no longer be useful, while others might need to be reconfigured, shrunk or closed down.¹¹

A US concept note argued that: 'The United Nations becomes trapped in these frozen conflicts, and peacekeeping missions that were initially conceived to provide temporary security to allow space for political solutions to take hold instead deploy for years without clear mandates or exit plans'.¹² Haley's call resonated with a number of finance-contributing countries and the Secretary-General, as they perceived it as an opportunity to make UN peacekeeping operations fit for purpose. While they may not favour sudden cuts in the peacekeeping budget, they would like to see the UN focus more on conflict prevention and supporting political processes.¹³

The outcome of the negotiations in 2017 was that the UN peacekeeping budget was reduced from nearly \$7.9 billion for the period 2016–17 to around \$6.8 billion for the period 2017–18. The share of US assessed contributions determined in 2015 for the period up to 2018 decreased from slightly over to slightly under 28.5 per cent. As a consequence, the US assessed contribution

⁸ Dos Santos Cruz, Phillips and Cusimano (note 6), section III, pp. 9–17.

⁹ Lynch, C., '\$1 billion in cuts to UN Peacekeeping', *Foreign Policy*, 23 Mar. 2017.

¹⁰ US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Hearing Transcript, Hearing on the nomination of Gov. Haley to be US Ambassador to the United Nations, 18 Jan. 2017.

¹¹ United Nations, Security Council, Seventy-second year, 7918th meeting, United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, S/PV.7918, 6 Apr. 2017.

¹² United Nations, Security Council, Annex to the letter dated 4 April 2017 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, 'Concept paper: Thematic debate, Peacekeeping operations review', S/2017/287, 5 Apr. 2017.

¹³ Gowan, R., 'Why Trump could speed up—and complicate—inevitable UN Peacekeeping reforms', *World Politics Review*, 27 Mar. 2017.

for the budget period 2017–18 decreased by some \$300 million, or 14 per cent, compared to the previous budget period.¹⁴ While the Trump administration continues to seek a further reduction in the US contribution to the peacekeeping budget, in practice the result will depend on diplomatic outcomes and it is likely to push less hard for cuts to operational costs than in 2017.¹⁵

UN peacekeeping reform

The term ‘peacekeeping reform’ has been used to describe discussions on a variety of adjustments both within the UN Secretariat and in the field, following the 2015 report of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (HIPPO) and that of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the HIPPO report’s recommendations.¹⁶ It encompasses fundamental questions similar to those raised by the US administration, such as how to continue to operate where there is no political process to support, how to guard against mission creep, and how to act when the strategic consent of the host government is absent or weak. In addition there are questions about how to ensure that there is an exit strategy, particularly if the political process breaks down, and whether there are any alternatives to peacekeeping operations in such cases.¹⁷ Peacekeeping reform also includes more operational areas, such as those suggested by the Permanent Representative of Ethiopia to the UN: (a) assessing the impact of reforms implemented over the past two years on the performance of missions; (b) enhancing the role of the Security Council in ensuring implementation and follow-up; (c) the Secretary-General’s efforts to reform the UN peace and security architecture; (d) the status of member state commitments in terms of force generation and the deployment of critical capabilities, and remaining gaps; (e) the new strategic partnership between the UN and the AU; and (f) support for AU-led peace support operations.¹⁸ Discussions on all these topics are likely

¹⁴ United Nations, General Assembly, Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of United Nations peacekeeping operations: Implementation of General Assembly resolutions 55/235 and 55/236, Report of the Secretary-General, A/70/331/Add.1, 28 Dec. 2015; United Nations, General Assembly, Fifth Committee, Administrative and budgetary aspects of the financing of the United Nations peacekeeping operations: Approved resources for peacekeeping operations for the period from 1 July 2016 to 30 June 2017, A/C.5/70/24, 22 June 2016; and United Nations, General Assembly, Fifth Committee, Administrative and budgetary aspects of the financing of the United Nations peacekeeping operations: Approved resources for peacekeeping operations for the period from 1 July 2017 to 30 June 2018, A/C.5/71/24, 30 June 2017.

¹⁵ US Department of State, Congressional Budget Justification: Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs, fiscal year 2019.

¹⁶ See Van der Lijn, J., ‘A year of reviews’, *SIPRI Yearbook 2016*, pp. 294–304.

¹⁷ United Nations, Security Council, ‘Letter dated 4 April 2017 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General’, S/2017/287, 5 Apr. 2017.

¹⁸ United Nations, Security Council, ‘Letter dated 22 August 2017 from the Permanent Representative of Ethiopia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General’, S/2017/766, 12 Sep.

to continue in the coming years but, given the current momentum, some progress may be expected in 2018.

One of the main items on this agenda, where progress was made in 2017, was the Secretary-General's intention to reform the UN Secretariat to reinforce the peace and security architecture. The internal review team he established on taking office, to study existing proposals and present options for further improvement of structures and working methods, made five core proposals: (a) a restructuring of the Department of Political Affairs, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and the Peacebuilding Support Office, to create a Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs and a Department of Peace Operations; (b) the creation of a single political-operational structure under Assistant Secretaries-General with regional responsibilities, reporting to the Under-Secretaries-General for Political and Peacebuilding Affairs and for Peace Operations; (c) the establishment of a Standing Principals' Group of the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Peacebuilding Affairs and the Under-Secretary-General for Peace Operations; (d) enhanced coherence and coordination across the peace and security pillar; and (e) the introduction of non-structural changes to the way the peace and security pillar works on a daily basis.¹⁹ The General Assembly supported the Secretary-General's vision of reform and asked him to formulate a comprehensive proposal for its implementation.²⁰

Sustaining peace and peace operations

The concept of 'sustaining peace' has its origins in the 2015 report by the Advisory Group of Experts on its review of the UN peacebuilding architecture.²¹ It was also used by HIPPO.²² In 2017, the Security Council gave special attention to the relationship between peace operations and sustaining peace in a presidential statement. The Council broadly understood the concept as 'a goal and a process to build a common vision of a society, ensuring that the needs of all segments of the population are taken into account, which encompasses activities aimed at preventing the outbreak, escalation, continuation and recurrence of conflict, addressing root causes, assisting parties

2017; and UN Security Council Resolution 2378, 20 Sep. 2017.

¹⁹ United Nations, General Assembly, Strengthening of the United Nations system, 'United Nations reform: Measures and proposals', Restructuring of the United Nations peace and security pillar, Report of the Secretary-General, A/72/525, 13 Oct. 2017.

²⁰ United Nations, General Assembly Resolution 72/199, 19 Jan. 2018.

²¹ On sustaining peace see Caparini, M. and Milante, G., 'Sustaining peace: The new overarching United Nations framework', *SIPRI Yearbook 2017*, pp. 220–32.

²² Advisory Group of Experts, The challenge of sustaining peace: Report of the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 review of the United Nations peacebuilding architecture, 29 June 2015; and United Nations, General Assembly and Security Council, 'Identical letters dated 17 June 2015 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the General Assembly and the President of the Security Council', A/70/95-S/2015/446, 17 June 2015.

to conflict to end hostilities, ensuring national reconciliation, and moving towards recovery, reconstruction and development'.²³

The Security Council stressed that sustaining peace requires all three pillars of the UN to be involved and that peacekeeping should grasp the challenges of peacebuilding and sustaining peace at the start of a mission through integrated assessment and planning. It expressed its intention to consider the following elements when mandating peace operations: (a) an assessment of mandate implementation in all its dimensions, including when relevant peacebuilding and sustaining peace; (b) support for a consultation process within the mission to support national ownership; (c) the existence of clear goals and objectives for peacebuilding and sustaining peace; (d) periodic strategic integrated analyses of opportunities and challenges for national and local authorities to build and sustain peace; (e) progress in the political and operational delivery of mandates in a coherent manner; (f) clarity regarding the roles and responsibilities of peace operations and other actors to ensure effective integration of effort and maximum contribution to addressing the root causes of conflict; and (g) the existence of an exit strategy that lays the foundations for a long-term and sustainable peace.²⁴ Similar efforts in the past, however, have shown that many of these elements are difficult to achieve and progress can only be made slowly.

Ecological footprint, cultural heritage and gender mainstreaming

In 2017, the Security Council paid increased attention to three topics in relation to peace operations: (a) managing their environmental impact, (b) their role in protecting cultural heritage, and (c) their contribution to improving gender relations and gender mainstreaming.

With 98 354 UN peace operations personnel in the field, the Security Council has increasingly emphasized the importance of managing the environmental impact of peace operations. The topic was first mentioned in 2013, in the mandates of MINUSMA and UNAMID, and again in 2015 in relation to UN support to AMISOM. In 2017, the topic was stressed in the mandate renewals of the missions in the Central African Republic and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the Security Council addressed it in a separate press release.²⁵ At the same time, however, the USA objected to the inclusion of the term 'climate change' in a resolution on the Lake Chad Basin.²⁶

²³ United Nations, Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/2017/27, 21 Dec. 2017.

²⁴ United Nations (note 23).

²⁵ UN Security Council Resolution 2387, 15 Nov. 2017; UN Security Council Resolution 2348, 31 Mar. 2017; and United Nations, Security Council, Press statement on environmental management of peacekeeping operations, Press Release SC/13134-ENV/DEV/1830-PKO/700, 21 Dec. 2017.

²⁶ 'Resolution on the Lake Chad Basin', What's in Blue, 31 Mar. 2017.

The first, and so far only, time that the Security Council included the protection of cultural heritage in the mandate of a peace operation was in that of MINUSMA.²⁷ In a special resolution on the topic in 2017, however, the Council affirmed that UN peace operations can be mandated to assist governments to protect cultural heritage from destruction, illicit excavation, looting and smuggling, and that operations should operate with care in the vicinity of such sites.²⁸

Finally gender received greater attention in peace operations' mandates in 2017. The UN Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS) and the UN Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) were asked to incorporate a gender perspective into their efforts.²⁹ The Council also reaffirmed the importance of gender mainstreaming when it established MINUJUSTH.³⁰ However, China and Russia in particular have often resisted such insertions, as they see them as an expansion of the women, peace and security agenda, as a challenge to national sovereignty or as the responsibility of other parts of the UN system.³¹

Moreover, sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) perpetrated by UN peacekeepers remained high on the agenda. There were 62 allegations of SEA in UN peacekeeping operations and special political missions recorded in 2017, compared to 103 in 2016 and 69 in 2015. Of the 62 allegations in 2017, 41 involved military personnel and implicated 101 alleged perpetrators. The remaining allegations all pertained to single-perpetrator incidents, of which 11 involved civilian personnel and 10 involved police personnel. The allegations in 2017 involved a total of 130 victims, of which 21 were girls and 109 were women. The percentage of allegations of SEA that concerned sexual abuse—as opposed to sexual exploitation—was 32 per cent in 2017, compared to 55 per cent in 2016. This lower percentage is more in line with previous years. The decrease in the number of allegations of SEA in 2017 compared to 2016 is largely linked to a decrease in the number of allegations in MINUSCA. There were 19 reported allegations of SEA by members of MINUSCA in 2017, compared to 52 in 2016. The share of allegations of SEA that involved members of MINUSCA fell accordingly, from about half in 2016 to less than one-third in 2017.³²

²⁷ UN Security Council Resolution 2100, 25 Apr. 2013.

²⁸ UN Security Council Resolution 2347, 24 Mar. 2017.

²⁹ UN Security Council Resolution 2343, 23 Feb. 2017; and UN Security Council Resolution 2376, 14 Sep. 2017.

³⁰ UN Security Council Resolution 2350, 13 Apr. 2017.

³¹ 'Presidential statement on the Liberia Peacebuilding Plan and elections preparation', What's in Blue, 21 July 2017.

³² United Nations, General Assembly, Report of the Secretary-General, Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and abuse, A/72/751, 15 Feb. 2018.

II. Regional trends and developments in peace operations

JAÏR VAN DER LIJN AND TIMO SMIT

The 63 multilateral peace operations that were active in 2017 were spread across all the main regions of the world (see table 3.1). There were 25 peace operations in Africa, 18 in Europe, 9 in the Middle East, 6 in Asia and Oceania, and 5 in the Americas. Although the majority of peace operations were located in Africa and Europe—as was the case for the entire 2008–17 period (see figure 3.7)—these two regions hosted very different types of missions. Whereas most of the peace operations in Europe were small civilian missions in post-conflict countries, the peace operations active in Africa included many major missions with significant uniformed components. Six of the missions in Africa, for example, had a strength exceeding 10 000 personnel (see section I). Their combined strength was greater than the total number of personnel deployed in all 18 peace operations in Europe.

Comparisons of the distribution of personnel across the different regions in 2008–17 underscore the degree to which peace operations have become increasingly concentrated in Africa (see figure 3.8). Personnel deployments in Africa increased by nearly 60 per cent in the first eight years of the 2008–17 period, from approximately 75 000 to almost 120 000 in December 2015. Although they fell by 11 per cent in 2016–17, missions in Africa continued to account for the overwhelming majority of all the personnel deployed in multilateral peace operations. At the end of 2017, nearly three-quarters of all personnel were deployed in Africa.

Africa

There were 25 multilateral peace operations in Africa in 2017, one fewer than in 2016. The number of personnel deployed in missions in Africa decreased by 4 per cent during the year, from 110 623 to 106 240. This was the second year in a row that personnel deployments in the region fell, following a period of more or less continuous growth since 2000.

The United Nations–African Union (AU) partnership was further strengthened in 2017. A Joint UN–AU Framework for enhanced cooperation between the UN Secretariat and the AU Commission was signed on 19 April.¹ The UN Secretary-General produced a report outlining different options for planning, mandating and financing AU and AU-mandated peace support operations.² Introducing the AU Peace Fund, on the basis of a 0.2 per

¹ UN Security Council Resolution 2378, 20 Sep. 2017.

² United Nations, Security Council, 'Report of the Secretary-General on options for authorization and support for African Union peace support operations', S/2017/454, 26 May 2017.

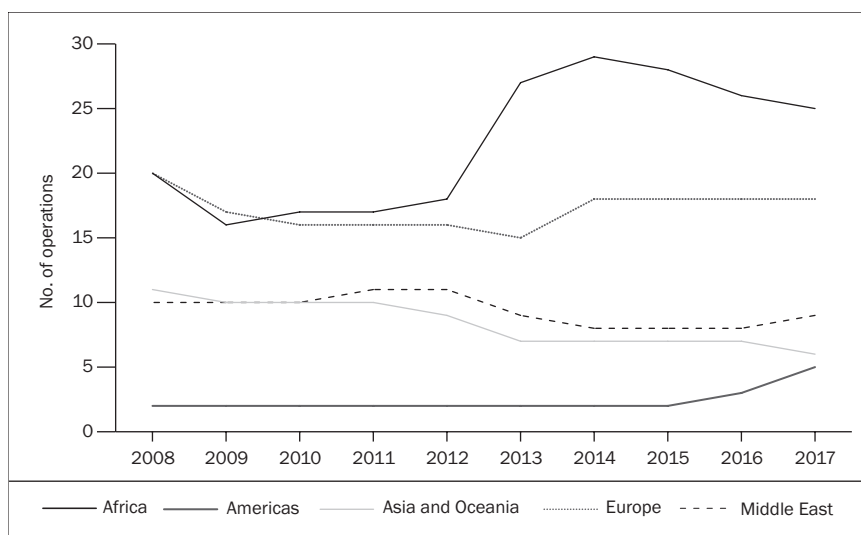


Figure 3.7. Number of multilateral peace operations by region, 2008–17

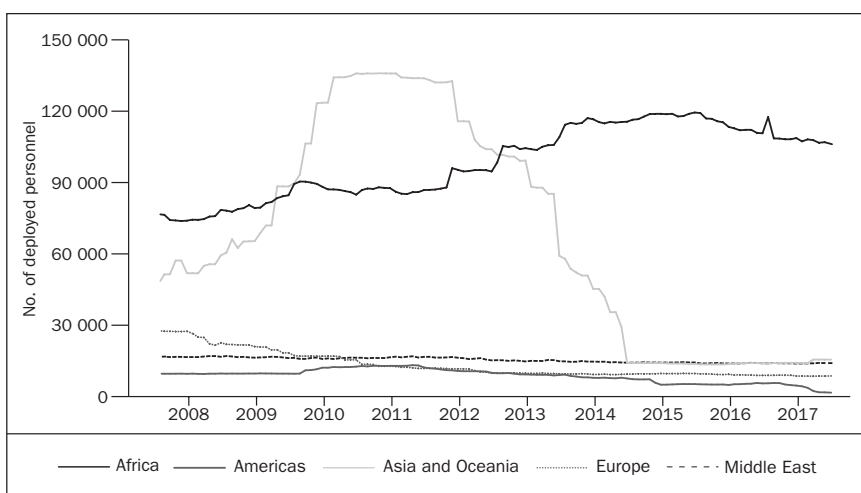


Figure 3.8. Number of personnel in multilateral peace operations by region, 2008–17

Note: Year marker indicates monthly data at the mid-year point (June).

cent import tax on ‘eligible imports’ into the continent, proved challenging as modalities for implementing it had to be found.³ By May, 12 per cent of the total target amount of contributions had been collected by 14 AU member

³ Apiko, P. and Aggad, F., ‘Analysis of the implementation of the African Union’s 0.2% levy: Progress and challenges’, Briefing Note no. 98 (European Centre for Development Policy Management: Maastricht, Nov. 2017).

Table 3.1. Number of peace operations and personnel deployed, by region and type of organization, 2017

Conducting organization	Africa	Americas	Asia and Oceania	Europe	Middle East	World
Operations	25	5	6	18	9	63
United Nations ^a	12	4	2	2	4	24
Regional organization or alliance	12	1	2	14	3	32
Ad hoc coalition	1	–	2	2	2	7
Personnel^b	106 240	1 606	15 467	8 597	14 001	145 911
United Nations ^a	82 739	1 580	375	1 101	12 559	98 354
Regional organization or alliance	23 404	26	15 046	6 347	79	44 902
Ad hoc coalition	97	–	46	1 149	1 363	2 655

^a United Nations figures include peace operations led by the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, the UN Department of Political Affairs and the UN/African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID).

^b Personnel figures are as of 31 Dec. 2017.

Source: SIPRI Multilateral Peace Operations Database.

states.⁴ Discussions continued on predictable funding for AU-led peace support operations under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter. The AU Peace and Security Council, while acknowledging that decisions on the financing of specific missions will be taken on a case-by-case basis, sought to establish the principle that AU-mandated or authorized peace support operations authorized by the UN Security Council should be financed by UN assessed contributions.⁵ The Security Council expressed its intention to establish mechanisms for UN funding on a case-by-case basis, and with the necessary strategic and financial oversight and accountability.⁶

West Africa

In 2017, two peace operations were drawn down in West Africa, while the region also hosted a quick and successful intervention in Gambia. On 30 June 2017, after some 13 years, the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) completed its mandate and closed. The UN will remain committed through its Country Team, the personal involvement of the Secretary-General and the UN Office for West Africa and the Sahel (UNOWAS).⁷ The UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) is moving towards closure on 30 March 2018. After the

⁴ 'Briefing and Informal Interactive Dialogue on AU-UN Cooperation', What's in Blue, 14 June 2017.

⁵ African Union, Peace and Security Council, 689th Meeting, Communiqué PSC/PR/COMM (DCLXXXIX), 30 May 2017.

⁶ UN Security Council Resolution 2378, 20 Sep. 2017.

⁷ United Nations, Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/2017/8, 30 June 2017; and UN Security Council Resolution 2284, 28 Apr. 2016.

victory of the former footballer, George Weah, in the presidential election in December 2017, its remaining task is to contribute to the development of national capacities to sustain peace. The UN Country Team and the Peacebuilding Commission will remain involved after UNMIL's departure.⁸

Following a strategic review, and given the continuing political and institutional impasse and deadlocked implementation of the Conakry Agreement, the UN Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS) was refocused to create the political space for sustainable peace. Its good offices and political facilitation tasks are now being emphasized over other tasks and its management structure has been streamlined.⁹

The financial difficulties of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Mission in Guinea Bissau (ECOMIB) persisted. The mission has been in long-term limbo over its future. The Monrovia Summit of ECOWAS Heads of State and Government extended its mandate by three months beyond its intended end date of 30 June.¹⁰ The Security Council called for a further extension and for international financial support.¹¹ Although the ECOWAS Heads of State and Government did not prolong the mission at their subsequent summit, ECOMIB continued its efforts in the absence of a formal mandate.

The only new mission in West Africa was the ECOWAS Mission in the Gambia (ECOMIG). President Yahya Jammeh initially conceded defeat following the 1 December 2016 elections, which were won by Adama Barrow, but on 9 December Jammeh claimed that there had been irregularities and rejected the results. Troops were deployed on the streets of Banjul by the Jammeh Government and on 18 January 2017 the Gambian Parliament approved a 90-day state of emergency. Diplomatic pressure on Jammeh to resign was strong and unified from the beginning. ECOWAS, the AU Peace and Security Council and the UN Security Council all recognized Barrow as the new president. The first two warned that the use of force could not be excluded, while the third welcomed and supported the efforts of the first two but added that a solution should be sought 'by political means first'.¹²

On 19 January, Barrow was inaugurated as *de jure* president, while the *de facto* incumbent government led by Jammeh was still in power.

⁸ United Nations, Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/2017/11, 24 July 2017; and MacDougall, C. and Cooper, C., 'George Weah wins Liberia election', *New York Times*, 28 Dec. 2017.

⁹ UN Security Council Resolution 2343, 23 Feb. 2017.

¹⁰ Economic Community of West African States, Final Communiqué of the 51st Ordinary Session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of States and Government, 4 June 2017.

¹¹ UN Security Council Resolution 2343, 23 Feb. 2017.

¹² Economic Community of West African States, Final Communiqué of the 50th Ordinary Session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of States and Government, 17 Dec. 2016; African Union, Peace and Security Council, 647th Meeting, Communiqué PSC/PR/COMM (DCXLVII), 13 Jan. 2017; and UN Security Council Resolution 2337, 19 Jan. 2017.

Immediately after Barrow's inauguration as the *de jure* and internationally recognized president, and at his invitation, a regional force composed of Senegalese, Nigerian, Ghanaian, Malian and Togolese troops—ECOMIG—entered Gambia.¹³ ECOMIG initially consisted of some 7000 troops and was mandated to: (a) ensure the safety of President Barrow, political leaders and the entire population; (b) uphold the results of the presidential election; and (c) ensure that the president-elect was sworn in.¹⁴ Under military coercion, but following a political agreement, Jammeh conceded and there was a peaceful transition of power.¹⁵ On 9 February, President Barrow extended ECOMIG's mandate for three months.¹⁶ The new mandate came into effect on 21 February and in addition to ensuring security, ECOMIG was asked to facilitate the establishment of trust between the new authorities and the Gambian defence and security forces. The force was subsequently downsized to 500 personnel, although in practice its numbers had already been significantly reduced.¹⁷ The security situation remained fragile, however, and on 4 June the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government extended ECOMIG's mandate for a year and added the task of supporting the training and reorientation of the Gambian armed forces. The ECOWAS Authority requested additional troops to carry out this role.¹⁸

The Sahel and Maghreb regions

The Sahel and Maghreb regions are hot spots where a variety of international organizations have various peace operations deployed. The UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) continued to be afflicted by a lack of key capabilities for operating in complex security environments. As a consequence, the asymmetric threats from frequent hostile attacks persisted. An extraordinary force generation conference on 22–23 May led to a variety of pledges to fill the capability gaps. The UN Security Council called for the rapid deployment of UNOCI's Quick Reaction Force, and the aviation unit that supports it, to Mali. It also asked the Secretary-General to consider long-term rotation schemes for critical capabilities and innovative partnerships between equipment-, troop- and police-contributing countries as new options for enhancing MINUSMA's

¹³ Cocks, T. and Farge, E., 'West African military halt Gambia operation, issue Jammeh deadline', Reuters, 19 Jan. 2017.

¹⁴ Jobe, A., 'ECOMIG forces explain mandate in Gambia', The Point, 31 Jan. 2017; and Williams, P. D., 'A new African model of coercion? Assessing the ECOWAS mission in the Gambia', IPI Global Observatory, 16 Mar. 2017.

¹⁵ Office of the Spokesman for the UN Secretary-General, Note to Correspondents, Joint Declaration on the Political Situation in The Gambia, 21 Jan. 2017; and United Nations, Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/2017/10, 24 July 2017.

¹⁶ President Barrow extends ECOMIG mandate by 3 months, The Point, 9 Feb. 2017.

¹⁷ De Cherisey, E., 'ECOMIG gets new mandate as some troops withdraw', Janes 360, 28 Feb. 2017.

¹⁸ Economic Community of West African States, Final Communiqué of the 51st Ordinary Session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of States and Government, 4 June 2017.

capabilities. At MINUSMA's annual mandate renewal in June, the Security Council maintained its tasks and authorized strength of 15 209 uniformed personnel (13 289 military and 1920 police).¹⁹ After the deployment of the Group of Five for the Sahel (G5 Sahel) Joint Force (Force Conjointe des Etats du G5 Sahel, FC-G5S), the idea of deploying a Force Intervention Brigade within MINUSMA dropped off the agenda (see section III). By the end of 2017, however, MINUSMA had still only attained 88.3 per cent of its authorized strength (11 698 military and 1725 police).

On 15 May 2017, the Council of the European Union (EU) approved a Concept of Operations for the regionalization of the EU Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) missions in the Sahel: EUCAP Sahel Niger, EUCAP Sahel Mali and the EU Training Mission (EUTM) Mali. The strategic objectives of regionalization are to support cross-border cooperation in the Sahel, support regional cooperation structures and enhance the national capacities of the G5 Sahel countries. A Regional Coordination Cell (RCC) was set up for this purpose within EUCAP Sahel Mali.²⁰

Despite the fact that the Libyan Political Agreement (LPA), signed at Skhirat, Morocco on 17 December 2015, established a Government of National Accord (GNA), Libya remained effectively partitioned in 2017. Therefore, following a strategic assessment review, the Security Council tasked the UN Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) with supporting an inclusive political process within the framework of the peace agreement, in addition to its existing mandate.²¹ During the year, UNSMIL and the UN Country Team continued to gradually increase their operations inside Libya and maintained a temporary rotational presence. The deployment of a guard unit to protect the UNSMIL premises in Tripoli had been completed by the end of the year.²² In response to reports that migrants were being sold into slavery in Libya, the Security Council welcomed the work of UNSMIL on coordinating and supporting the provision of humanitarian assistance to migrants and refugees.²³

In spite of earlier indications to the contrary, only 25 civilian staff of the UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) were allowed to return after the expulsion of the civilian component in 2016. Moreover,

¹⁹ United Nations, Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Mali, S/2017/478, 6 June 2017; and UN Security Council Resolution 2364, 29 June 2017.

²⁰ Council Decision 2017/1102/CFSP of 20 June 2017 amending Decision 2014/219/CFSP on the European Union CSDP Mission in Mali (EUCAP Sahel Mali), *Official Journal of the European Union*, L158/44, 21 June 2017.

²¹ 'Restoring UN Leadership of Libya's Peace Process', Statement, International Crisis Group, 18 Sep. 2017; and UN Security Council Resolution 2376, 14 Sep. 2017. On the conflict in Libya see also chapter 2, section V, in this volume.

²² United Nations, Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Support Mission in Libya, S/2018/140, 12 Feb. 2018.

²³ United Nations, Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/2017/24, 7 Dec. 2017.

tensions continued between the Moroccan armed forces and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Río de Oro (Frente Popular de Liberación de Saguía el Hamra y Río de Oro, POLISARIO) in the Gueguerat buffer strip, even after the withdrawal of Moroccan forces. The combination of these issues raised questions in the Security Council about MINURSO's future mission structure and how to measure its performance. MINURSO was allowed to increase the proportion of medical personnel within its currently authorized troop ceiling.²⁴

The Democratic Republic of the Congo

The Comprehensive and Inclusive Political Agreement signed in Kinshasa on 31 December 2016 determined that current President Laurent Kabila would remain Head of State until his successor was elected before the end of December 2017.²⁵ However, the political space in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) shrank and reports increased of serious violations of international humanitarian law and human rights. At the same time, inter-communal and militia-related violence spread from regions such as the Kivu provinces (including Beni) and Ituri to the Kasai provinces and Tanganyika.²⁶ In order to support the electoral process in this deteriorating environment, the Secretary-General requested an increase in the authorized ceiling for the police component of the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) from 1050 to 1370 personnel. He expected that although the military component was struggling to implement its mandate, reconfiguration efforts would not require additional military personnel.²⁷

At the time of MONUSCO's annual mandate renewal, the 17 000 troops the mission had deployed for the past two years was already far fewer than its authorized troop ceiling of 19 815. Nonetheless, the United States and the United Kingdom called for further troop reductions, even though the other Security Council members opposed this. The USA even threatened to veto a mandate renewal in the absence of a significant personnel reduction. The UN Secretariat considered that a further reduction of 500 troops would not affect MONUSCO's ability to implement its mandate 'too adversely'. It also

²⁴ 'Western Sahara: Morocco to pull out of UN buffer zone', BBC News, 27 Feb. 2017; United Nations, Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on the situation concerning Western Sahara, S/2017/307, 10 Apr. 2017; and UN Security Council Resolution 2351, 28 Apr. 2017.

²⁵ The electoral calendar published in December set the combined presidential, legislative and provincial elections for 23 Dec. 2018.

²⁶ UN Security Council Resolution 2348, 31 Mar. 2017; and United Nations, Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, S/2017/824, 2 Oct. 2017. On the conflict in the DRC see also chapter 2, section VI, in this volume.

²⁷ United Nations, Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, S/2017/206, 10 Mar. 2017.

suggested that the required increase in police personnel could be obtained through inter-mission cooperation.²⁸ Subsequently, the Security Council reduced MONUSCO's authorized troop levels from 19 815 to 16 215 military personnel, and from 760 to 660 military observers and staff officers. It did not increase the size of the police component of 391 police personnel and 1050 personnel in formed police units (FPUs), but asked the Secretary-General to explore options for inter-mission cooperation.²⁹

MONUSCO's mandate remained largely the same, except that its civilian and political stabilization efforts were now framed in the context of the 31 December 2016 agreement. In addition, the Council urged MONUSCO to continually incorporate lessons learned into reforming the mission to enable it to better implement its mandate, in particular to protect civilians. In this context the Council specifically mentioned MONUSCO's chain of command, its effectiveness, the safety and security of its personnel, and its ability to manage complex situations. The Council also highlighted that undeclared national caveats, lack of effective command and control, failure to obey orders, inadequate equipment, and the failure to respond to attacks against civilians could affect the mission negatively. Finally, the Security Council requested the Secretary-General to undertake a strategic review to examine the continued relevance of the mission's tasks, priorities and related resources, and formulate an exit strategy and options for reducing the force after the implementation of the 31 December agreement.³⁰

As tensions over the transition of power started to destabilize the country as a whole, analysts argued that MONUSCO's strategic review should result in a more mobile mission, less concentrated on eastern DRC.³¹ The strategic review concluded that: 'Given the vastness of the country, the widening array of threats faced by the population and the limited resources' MONUSCO must shift 'from protection through presence to protection through projection'. It argued that MONUSCO's ultimate goal is to prevent the collapse of the DRC, and that only the implementation of the 31 December agreement and the containment of armed groups would allow MONUSCO to shift its focus away from protection and towards a drawdown. It stated that it is 'imperative that Member States provide MONUSCO with the resources required to implement its mandate' and that they 'should exercise caution in

²⁸ 'Vote on Draft Resolution Renewing MONUSCO Mandate', What's in Blue, 31 Mar. 2017; and Lynch, C. and McCormick, T., 'Nikki Haley threatened to withhold backing for UN's Congo mission, then blinked', *Foreign Policy*, 30 Mar. 2017.

²⁹ UN Security Council Resolution 2348, 31 Mar. 2017.

³⁰ UN Security Council Resolution 2348, 31 Mar. 2017.

³¹ Guéhenno, J., 'Open Letter to the UN Secretary-General on Peacekeeping in DRC', International Crisis Group, 27 July 2017.

making further cuts to the Mission's budget that may compromise its ability to deliver on its core priorities'.³²

A little over two months later, on 7 December, MONUSCO was hit hard when a company operating base at Semuliki, North Kivu, was attacked, reportedly by the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF). Fifteen Tanzanian peacekeepers, part of the Force Intervention Brigade (FIB), and five members of the DRC's armed forces were killed. At least 53 others were injured.³³ The event shocked the entire UN system and representatives of member states in New York. The Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, Jean-Pierre Lacroix, explained that the FIB had been fighting the ADF, and that he saw this as a response to MONUSCO's increasingly robust posture.³⁴ Some analysts questioned whether the force reduction earlier in 2017 had left MONUSCO vulnerable.³⁵ The attack was the start of a further increase in insecurity in the region, indicating that MONUSCO's restructuring and the closure of bases in the absence of the required air assets had at least reduced its ability to protect civilians. The troop reduction had taken place in an increasingly insecure environment and ahead of original plans. It was also implemented before the strategic review was able to provide insights on whether and where troops could be cut. As a consequence, the mission appeared to be unprepared for protection through projection.³⁶

Burundi

The security situation in Burundi remained relatively calm. However, the number of refugees and internally displaced persons increased, the human rights situation remained alarming and the political impasse persisted. The Security Council did not mention the deployment of the UN police component in its presidential statement on the country, but did support efforts to implement the resolution mandating it.³⁷ The UN and the Government of Burundi were not able to reach agreement on the modalities of the deployment of the UN police component, as the latter objected to it. Further, some

³² United Nations, Security Council, 'Special report of the Secretary-General on the strategic review of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo', S/2017/826, 29 Sep. 2017.

³³ United Nations, Security Council, Press statement on attack against United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in Democratic Republic of Congo, Press Release SC/13114-PKO/699, 8 Dec. 2017.

³⁴ Mahamba, F, 'Rebels kill 15 peacekeepers in Congo in worst attack on UN in recent history', Reuters, 8 Dec. 2017.

³⁵ Vogel, C., 'UN peacekeepers were killed in Congo: Here's what we know', *Washington Post*, 8 Dec. 2017.

³⁶ Spink, L., *Protection With Less Presence: How the Peacekeeping Operation in The Democratic Republic of Congo is Attempting to Deliver Protection with Fewer Resources* (Center for Civilians in Conflict, 10 Jan. 2018).

³⁷ United Nations, Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/2017/13, 2 Aug. 2017; and Van der Lijn, J. and Smit, T., 'Regional trends and developments', *SIPRI Yearbook 2017*, pp. 188–89.

members of the Security Council argued that the component's one-year mandate had expired one year after the resolution, whereas others argued that its mandate would only start once the component had been established on the ground.³⁸

The Security Council was also concerned about the continuing delays in the deployment of AU human rights observers and military experts. By December 2017, only 37 human rights observers and 8 military observers had been deployed, far below the 200 observers the Burundian Government had agreed and fewer than the 2016 number. Both the Security Council and the AU called for the rapid signing of a memorandum of understanding to make the AU mission fully operational.³⁹

Lesotho

Tensions in Lesotho were played out in a rivalry between two senior military figures, Brigadier Maaparankoe Mahao and Lieutenant General Tladi Kamoli, and their respective political allies, Tom Thabane and Pakalitha Mosisili. In 2014, South African Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa brokered an agreement that included the removal of Kamoli and Mahao from their positions.⁴⁰ The subsequent May 2015 assassination of Mahao triggered the involvement of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). SADC set up an independent Commission of Inquiry and an Oversight Committee to serve as an early warning mechanism for potential instability in the country, and which would intervene when needed. In addition, SADC urged Lesotho to reform its constitution and security sector.⁴¹ In November 2016, Kamoli resigned from his position as commander of the Lesotho Defence Force (LDF).⁴² After two years in exile, Thabane won the 3 June 2017 elections, succeeding Mosisili as prime minister.⁴³

At their August 2017 Summit in Pretoria, the Heads of State and Government of SADC gave the Government of Lesotho until November 2017 to formulate a road map for implementing all further SADC decisions.⁴⁴ This included legal action against Kamoli and two other officers who, according to the SADC Commission of Inquiry, were implicated in the assassination of Mahao. Two weeks later, the new Commander of the LDF was assassinated

³⁸ 'Burundi presidential statement', What's in Blue, 1 Aug. 2017.

³⁹ United Nations (note 37).

⁴⁰ ENCA, 'SADC agree to commission of inquiry into recent turmoil in Lesotho', African News Agency, 4 July 2017.

⁴¹ Southern African Development Community (SADC), Communiqué, Extraordinary Summit of the Double Troika, Pretoria, Republic of South Africa, 3 July 2015.

⁴² Agence France-Presse, 'Lesotho army chief accused of 2014 coup attempt resigns', News24, 9 Nov. 2016.

⁴³ Akwei, I., 'Lesotho: Incumbent Mosisili loses election to former Prime Minister Thabane', Africa News, 6 June 2017.

⁴⁴ SADC, Communiqué of the 37th Summit of SADC Heads of State and Government, Department of International Relations and Cooperation, Pretoria, South Africa, 19–20 Aug. 2017.

because he was unwilling to prevent the prosecution of those implicated in the assassination of Mahao.⁴⁵

These events in turn led SADC to send a Ministerial Fact Finding Mission to Lesotho to assess the situation. The mission found that the security situation was volatile and the political stability of the country was at risk. A Double Troika Summit of SADC Heads of State and Government noted the need to assist Lesotho with restoring law, order and peace, and to enable the implementation of SADC decisions—particularly those on security sector reform (SSR) and constitutional reform, and on the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry. To this end, the summit approved the deployment of a Contingent Force consisting of military, security, intelligence and civilian experts to support the Government of Lesotho. In the meantime, it expanded the number of personnel on the Oversight Committee to 34 military, security, intelligence and civilian experts.⁴⁶

The Contingent Force, named the SADC Preventive Mission in the Kingdom of Lesotho (SAPMIL), was launched on 2 December with the consent of the Government of Lesotho. Like the Oversight Committee before it, it consists of military (217), intelligence (15), police (24) and civilian (13) personnel. Its mandate was for an initial six months to be renewed depending on the progress made.⁴⁷ On 28 January the AU Peace and Security Council welcomed the mission and appealed to all AU member states and the UN to provide SAPMIL with technical and financial support.⁴⁸

The Central African Republic

The UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA) came under increasing attack from anti-Balaka groups, predominantly Christian and animist militia that fought the predominantly Muslim Seleka rebel movement after it took power in 2013. These hostile acts culminated in an attack on 8 May near Bangasso that killed four peacekeepers.⁴⁹ Throughout the year, MINUSCA aimed to deal with the situation by protecting civilians and combating armed groups with operations BEKPA, MARAZE and DAMAKONGO. In coordination with the EU Training Mission in the Central African Republic (EUTM-RCA), it also supported the authorities in the Central African Republic (CAR) with

⁴⁵ Fabricius, P. and Van Schie, K., 'Lesotho: Political tensions run high following army shootings', *Daily Maverick*, 6 Sep. 2017.

⁴⁶ SADC, Final Communiqué of the Double Troika Summit of SADC Heads of State and Government, Department of International Relations and Cooperation, Pretoria, South Africa, 15 Sep. 2017.

⁴⁷ Reliefweb, 'SADC officially launches the SADC Preventive Mission in the Kingdom of Lesotho on December 2, 2017', Press release, SADC, 2 Dec. 2017.

⁴⁸ African Union, Peace and Security Council, 'Communiqué', 748th meeting, PSC/PR/COMM(DCCXLVIII), 24 Jan. 2018.

⁴⁹ Guilbert, K., 'Four UN peacekeepers killed, eight wounded, in Central African Republic', *Reuters*, 9 May 2017. On the conflict in CAR see also chapter 2, section VI, in this volume.

the development of a redeployment plan for CAR's armed forces, in order to extend state authority and security throughout the country.⁵⁰

However, the spread of armed confrontations and violence left MINUSCA thinly spread and overstretched. Unable to respond to the security challenges, MINUSCA allowed space for armed groups to proliferate. In order to respond to the situation, the Secretary-General requested additional troops and capabilities. Although these would not allow MINUSCA to protect all civilians in the country, they would give the force more flexibility in geographical priority areas and reinforce its pre-emptive and reactive postures in high-risk areas.⁵¹

In response to the deteriorating security situation, the 19 June agreement signed in Rome under the auspices of the Sant-Egidio community, and the joint road map agreed by the AU and neighbouring countries in Libreville, the Security Council adjusted MINUSCA's mandate slightly compared to 2016. The mission still protects civilians and facilitates the creation of a secure environment for the delivery of humanitarian assistance. However, good offices and support to the peace process, including transitional justice, were made priority tasks, while the promotion and protection of human rights became a secondary task. In addition, the Council increased MINUSCA's authorized troop levels by 900 military personnel to 11 650, including 480 military observers and military staff, to strengthen the mission's flexibility and mobility.⁵²

There were fewer reports of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) by members of MINUSCA in 2017. Given the very high number of reports in previous years, this was a notable, positive development. The Security Council attributed this success to the UN Secretary-General's renewed commitment to the UN's zero-tolerance policy on SEA.⁵³

South Sudan and Sudan

South Sudan and Sudan remained troubled mission areas in a situation exacerbated by difficult relationships with the host governments.

The situation in South Sudan deteriorated further as the conflicting parties were unable to reach a ceasefire agreement, the coherence of the parties weakened and new rebel movements appeared. The Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangements Monitoring Mechanism (CTSAMM) reported regular violations of the 2015 peace agreement across South Sudan,

⁵⁰ UN Security Council Resolution 2387, 15 Nov. 2017.

⁵¹ United Nations, Security Council, 'Report of the Secretary-General on the Central African Republic', S/2017/865, 18 Oct. 2017.

⁵² United Nations, Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/2017/9, 13 July 2017; and UN Security Council Resolution 2387, 15 Nov. 2017.

⁵³ UN Security Council Resolution 2387, 15 Nov. 2017.

perpetrated by both government and opposition forces.⁵⁴ The UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) continued to protect over 200 000 civilians at its camps.⁵⁵ The image of UNMISS and its ability to protect civilians outside its camps improved during 2017, due to its more robust force posture.⁵⁶ However, humanitarian workers and UNMISS peacekeepers were frequently obstructed in their efforts, increasing the suffering in famine-affected regions.⁵⁷ The Security Council continued to call for the immediate removal of all obstacles to the work of UNMISS.⁵⁸

The Security Council also, once again, demanded the removal of all obstructions of CTSAMM personnel, who continued to experience restrictions on their freedom of movement, and of the deployment of the UNMISS Regional Protection Force (RPF).⁵⁹ The Council did not follow through on its threat of an arms embargo if the Transitional Government of National Unity (TGoNU) continued to obstruct the deployment of the RPF. By May 2017, however, the first elements of the force were trickling in.⁶⁰ The security situation in Juba has significantly improved since August 2016, when the RPF was mandated, but the deployment of the RPF in Juba would allow UNMISS to reallocate resources outside Juba.⁶¹ In spite of diplomatic efforts by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), little substantial progress was made.⁶² In August, the TGoNU even grounded UN aircraft over a row about whether the RPF was mandated to control Juba airport.⁶³ At the end of the year, only 742 of the 4000 mandated RPF staff had been deployed.⁶⁴ By then, UNMISS had still only attained 76.1 per cent of its total authorized strength of 17 000 troops and 2101 police (12 969 troops and

⁵⁴ Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangements Monitoring Mechanism (CTSAMM), CTSAMM Violation Reports. On the conflict in South Sudan see also chapter 2, section VI, in this volume.

⁵⁵ United Nations, Security Council, 'Report of the Secretary-General on South Sudan (covering the period from 2 September to 14 November 2017)', S/2017/1011, 1 Dec. 2017.

⁵⁶ United Nations, Security Council, 'Letter dated 17 April 2017 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council', S/2017/328, 17 Apr. 2017; and Patinkin, J., 'UN moves to protect South Sudan civilians after years of criticism', Reuters, 28 Aug. 2017.

⁵⁷ United Nations, Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/2017/25, 14 Dec. 2017; and 'UN denied access to South Sudan town alleged to be massacre site', Reuters, 7 Apr. 2017.

⁵⁸ United Nations, Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/2017/4, 23 Mar. 2017.

⁵⁹ United Nations (note 58).

⁶⁰ Nichols, M., 'Eight months after approval, new UN troops trickle into South Sudan', Reuters, 18 May 2017.

⁶¹ United Nations, Security Council, 8056th meeting, Reports of the Secretary-General on Sudan and South Sudan (Provisional), S/PV.8056, 26 Sep. 2017.

⁶² Intergovernmental Authority on Development, Communiqué of the 31st Extra-ordinary Summit of IGAD Assembly of Heads of State and Government on South Sudan, 12 June 2017, Addis Abba.

⁶³ Maasho, A., 'South Sudan grounds UN planes in airport row', Reuters, 21 Aug. 2017.

⁶⁴ United Nations, Security Council, 'Report of the Secretary-General on South Sudan (covering the period from 2 September to 14 November 2017)', S/2017/1011, 1 Dec. 2017.

1559 police). The UNMISS mid-December annual mandate renewal was given a technical rollover of three months to allow for the completion of its strategic review.⁶⁵

Significant progress was lacking on achieving the benchmarks for the Joint Border Verification and Monitoring Mechanism (JBVMM) and lifting the impediments imposed on it. In the Security Council, the USA in particular wanted to suspend support for the JBVMM by the UN Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA), while Ethiopia particularly wanted it to continue.⁶⁶ In the end, the Security Council warned at the first biannual mandate renewal for UNISFA that this would be the final renewal of support unless both parties could 'demonstrate through their actions clear commitment and steadfast guarantees for implementation'. In order to continue, the Council demanded the resumption of border demarcation discussions, regular meetings of the Joint Political and Security Mechanism, and full freedom of movement for the JBVMM. The Council also reduced the authorized troop ceiling by 535 to 4791.⁶⁷

Half a year later, in November, the Council recognized some improvements, but a lack of 'significant progress'.⁶⁸ The Secretary-General agreed with the Council that the parties bear the primary responsibility for making the process a success. At the same time, he urged the Council to 'give due consideration to the imperative to preserve the achievements of relative stability' in Abyei, as he argued UNISFA was containing 'the real risk of relapse into international armed conflict'.⁶⁹ The Council eventually opted to renew UNISFA's mandate for the usual half-year term, but warned that next time the mission may no longer support the JBVMM and may instead focus only on Abyei, if the parties fail to fulfil the criteria. A reduction in the authorized troop ceiling by 556 to 4235 would then follow.⁷⁰

In Darfur, the number of military confrontations decreased and the Government of Sudan, on the one hand, and two of the major opposition groups, the Sudan Liberation Army Minni Minnawi (SLA/MM) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) Gibril, on the other, announced unilateral cessations of hostilities. Nonetheless, inter-communal violence continued. Moreover, in spite of improvements, government restrictions on the UN/AU Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), such as limits on freedom of

⁶⁵ UN Security Council Resolution 2392, 14 Dec. 2017.

⁶⁶ 'Council consultations and possible vote on draft resolution on UN Interim Security Force for Abyei', What's in Blue, 12 May 2017.

⁶⁷ UN Security Council Resolution 2352, 15 May 2017.

⁶⁸ UN Security Council Resolution 2386, 15 Nov. 2017.

⁶⁹ United Nations, Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Abyei, S/2017/870, 17 Oct. 2017.

⁷⁰ UN Security Council Resolution 2386, 15 Nov. 2017.

movement and visa restrictions, continued to affect its ability to implement its mandate.⁷¹

The Security Council endorsed a two-pronged strategy for the mission. This focuses on military protection and emergency relief in the Jebel Mara region while emphasizing stabilization and supporting the police and the rule of law institutions, and mediating inter-communal conflict in regions where there has not been any recent fighting. This added new peacebuilding tasks to UNAMID's mandate and it was reconfigured to optimize the mission for its new tasks. For the first six-month period, phase one, UNAMID's authorized troop ceiling was reduced by 4450 military personnel to 11 395, and by 255 police personnel to 2888, including individual police officers (IPOs) and FPU. In phase two, starting on 31 January 2018, if a number of criteria are met, the force will then be reduced by a further 2660 military and 388 police personnel, to 8735 and 2500 respectively, by 30 June 2018. The Security Council underlined that this reduction should not affect the mission's ability to quickly respond to threats. A civilian staffing review would look at the size of UNAMID's civilian components.⁷²

The downsizing of UNAMID was met with harsh criticism from analysts, advocacy groups such as Human Rights Watch and The Enough Project, and representatives of local groups. They talked of 'flagrant mistakes' and 'false narratives about Darfur's war ending', and argued that it would make several key areas insecure for the provision of humanitarian assistance and the local population.⁷³

Somalia

In mid-January 2017, the AU Peace and Security Council requested the UN Security Council to authorize 4500 additional troops for the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), for a non-renewable period of six months. The aim of this surge was to implement the 2016 concept of operations, and in particular to expand offensive operations and facilitate the exit strategy.⁷⁴

On 8 February, Somalia witnessed the conclusion of its electoral process with the election of President Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed 'Farmajo'. AMISOM played a critical role in securing these elections. At the same time, the situation in the country remained difficult and there were frequent attacks by the Islamist group Harakat al-Shabab al-Mujahideen (Mujahedin

⁷¹ UN Security Council Resolution 2363, 29 June 2017; and UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Sudan: Darfur Humanitarian Overview, 1 Oct. 2017.

⁷² UN Security Council Resolution 2363, 29 June 2017; and UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Sudan (note 71).

⁷³ 'UN decides to downsize peacekeeping mission in Darfur', *Dabanga*, 30 June 2017.

⁷⁴ African Union, Peace and Security Council, 'Communiqué', 649th meeting, PSC/PR/COMM(DCXLIX), 16 Jan. 2017.

Youth Movement, or al-Shabab).⁷⁵ AMISOM was also hit hard at times.⁷⁶ On the international diplomatic front, at the London Somalia Conference in May, progress was made to secure additional support for Somalia and agreements were made on the coordination of mentoring, training, equipment and remuneration for the police and military forces, such as the 10 900-strong Somali National Army.⁷⁷

Nonetheless, AMISOM troop contributors claimed that they faced financial challenges after the EU reallocated 20 per cent of the funds for allowances into other forms of support to AMISOM, such as training and indirect costs. In addition, as the Government of Burundi is under sanctions, the EU did not reimburse the AU to cover the Burundi Government's costs. After Burundi threatened to withdraw its forces, the AU and the Burundian Government came to an agreement to funnel the remuneration for Burundian forces through a commercial bank.⁷⁸

An AU/UN joint review of AMISOM looked into the future needs of the mission. AMISOM's increased authorized force levels after 2012 had been envisaged as enhancing the mission's capacity as part of its exit strategy. The joint review ignored the call for a surge by the African Peace and Security Council and instead recommended the start of a gradual and phased reduction of troop numbers and a reorganization of AMISOM to allow it to play a greater support role to the Somali security forces, as they progressively take the lead.⁷⁹ The Security Council subsequently adjusted AMISOM's strategic objectives in line with these recommendations.

In addition to reducing the threat from al-Shabab, the handover of security responsibilities to the Somali security forces was prioritized, and providing security to enable the political process, stabilization efforts, reconciliation and peacebuilding was replaced with providing assistance to the Somali security forces to the same end. The Security Council subsequently reduced the authorized troop level by 500 to 21 626 by the end of 2017—a figure that includes 1040 police officers in five FPU. This reduction was scheduled to include a further 1000 troops by the end of October 2018. The civilian component of the mission was still not operational and the human rights component in particular required additional staffing. At the same time, the AU intended to develop a new concept of operations, which was intended to

⁷⁵ United Nations, Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/2017/3, 10 Feb. 2017. On the conflict in Somalia see also chapter 2, section VI, in this volume.

⁷⁶ Burke, J., 'Witnesses say dozens killed in al-Shabaab attack on Kenyan troops', *The Guardian*, 27 Jan. 2017; and Omar, F., 'African Union troops ambushed in Somalia, official says 24 dead', Reuters, 30 July 2017.

⁷⁷ UN Security Council Resolution 2372, 30 Aug. 2017.

⁷⁸ Williams, P. D., 'Paying for AMISOM: Are politics and bureaucracy undermining the AU's largest peace operation?', 11 Jan. 2017, IPI Global Observatory; and Karuri, K., 'Burundi, AU resolve AMISOM pay dispute', *Africa News*, 16 Feb. 2017.

⁷⁹ UN Security Council Resolution 2372, 30 Aug. 2017.

strengthen the command and control structures of the mission, among other things.⁸⁰ However, analysts wondered whether, in an environment in which al-Shabab is gaining ground, a simple exit strategy is actually feasible.⁸¹

The Americas

There were five multilateral peace operations in the Americas in 2017, which was two more than in 2016. Two operations terminated during 2017, both of which were immediately succeeded by follow-on missions. As in the previous year, therefore, there were never more than three peace operations deployed in the region at the same time. The number of personnel deployed in multilateral peace operations in the Americas decreased by 71 per cent, from 5464 to 1606, primarily as a result of the termination of the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) in October 2017. The only peace operation in the Americas that did not experience any significant change in either mandate or composition in 2017 was the Organization of American States Mission to Support the Peace Process in Colombia (MAPP/OEA), which has been active in the country since 2004.

Haiti

Jovenel Moise was sworn in as Haiti's new president on 7 February 2017, ending the electoral process and, according to the UN Security Council, restoring the 'constitutional order'. The Security Council decided to terminate MINUSTAH's mandate on 15 October and that its military component should draw down in the six remaining months. MINUSTAH, which commenced operations in 2004, assisted the Haitian National Police (HNP) and the country as a whole through the 2010 earthquake, but was also connected to the 2010 cholera outbreak that affected nearly 800 000 people and caused over 9000 deaths. In spite of substantial progress, the HNP required continued international assistance to expand its territorial reach and build its technical capacity and community-based programmes.⁸²

The Security Council mandated MINUJUSTH as a follow-on mission, to be established following the termination of MINUSTAH, for an initial six-month period commencing on 15 October 2017. Its mandate was to continue to provide assistance to the government and to consolidate MINUSTAH's gains by: (a) strengthening the government's rule of law institutions; (b) further supporting and developing the HNP; and (c) monitoring, reporting on and providing analyses of the human rights situation. It was authorized to

⁸⁰ UN Security Council Resolution 2372, 30 Aug. 2017.

⁸¹ Williams, P., 'Somalia's African Union mission has a new exit strategy: But can troops actually leave?', *Washington Post*, 30 Nov. 2017.

⁸² Guyler Delva, J. and Brice, M., 'Businessman Jovenel Moise takes office as President of Haiti', Reuters, 8 Feb. 2017; and UN Security Council Resolution 2350, 13 Apr. 2017.

deploy seven FPU or 980 personnel—a reduction of four units compared to MINUSTAH. The Security Council intends to further decrease this number if the capacity of the HNP increases as projected over a two-year period. The FPUs were mandated to safeguard the security gains and provide operational assistance to the HNP. MINUJUSTH's 295 IPOs, a reduction from 1001 in MINUSTAH, will assist the development of the HNP, while its 38 corrections officers, reduced from 50, are to strengthen the administration of prisons. MINUJUSTH's quick impact projects and community violence reduction efforts will be transitioned eventually to development actors. After a benchmarking process that is projected to last two years, it is intended that assistance to Haiti will be provided by a non-peacekeeping UN presence.⁸³

On the closure of MINUSTAH, the General Assembly decided to transfer \$40.5 million in unspent funds to the UN Haiti Cholera Response Multi-Partner Trust Fund. The USA decided not to participate as it had already spent \$100 million on the cholera epidemic.⁸⁴

Colombia

The situation in Colombia improved further in 2017 and levels of violence were at their lowest for over 40 years. As part of the implementation of the peace agreement, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo, FARC-EP) laid down its weapons and demobilized. This process was completed and verified by the UN Mission in Colombia (UNMC) on 27 June.⁸⁵ After the closure of the UNMC on 25 September, the Secretary-General drew a number of conclusions in a report on the mission, most notably that: (a) the strong and united support of the Security Council and the political will of the parties were essential to the mission's success; (b) its two-stage mandating process, involving an initial mandate followed by a more detailed one when all the information was available, proved to be an efficient process; and (c) even though it was not integrated with the mission, cooperation with the UN Country Team was invaluable.⁸⁶

⁸³ UN Security Council Resolution 2350, 13 Apr. 2017.

⁸⁴ United Nations, General Assembly, Strengthening of the coordination of humanitarian and disaster relief assistance of the United Nations, including special economic assistance: Special economic assistance to individual countries or regions, The new United Nations approach to cholera in Haiti, A/71/L.78, 10 July 2017; and UN approves use of unspent funds on Haiti's cholera epidemic, VOA News, 13 July 2017.

⁸⁵ United Nations, Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/2017/6, 11 May 2017; and UN Security Council Resolution 2366, 10 July 2017. On the conflict in Colombia see also chapter 2, section II, in this volume.

⁸⁶ United Nations, Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Verification Mission in Colombia, S/2017/801, 26 Sep. 2017.

Implementation of further aspects of the peace agreement, such as those on reconciliation, is still to follow. In order to verify these efforts, on 26 September the Security Council established the UN Verification Mission in Colombia (UNVMC) as a follow-up to the UNMC, for an initial period of 12 months. Its tasks are to include verification of the economic and social reincorporation of the FARC-EP, implementation of the personal and collective security guarantees, and protection measures for communities and organizations.⁸⁷ The UNVMC was mandated to have approximately 120 international unarmed observers and an appropriate civilian component deployed at the mission's headquarters in Bogota, in nine regional offices and in 26 local teams. In its geographical deployment, the mission aims to cover the priority areas of reintegration and security guarantees, and to co-locate and closely coordinate with the UN Country Team.⁸⁸

The Government of Colombia and the National Liberation Army (Ejército de Liberación Nacional, ELN) signed a temporary ceasefire on 4 September. Both parties asked the UN to become part of the monitoring and verification mechanism. Within two weeks of its establishment, the Security Council added verification of this ceasefire, as well as preventing and responding to incidents to the UNVMC's mandate. To this end, the Security Council authorized a maximum of 70 additional international observers.⁸⁹

Asia and Oceania

There were six multilateral peace operations in Asia and Oceania in 2017, one fewer than in 2016. The number of personnel deployed in this region increased by 11 per cent during 2017, from 13 975 to 15 467. This was primarily the result of an increase in the number of troops in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)-led Resolute Support Mission (RSM) in Afghanistan. The other peace operations in the region were two ad hoc operations—the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission (NNSC) on the Korean Peninsula and the International Monitoring Team on the Philippine Island of Mindanao—and two UN missions—the UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA). The Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI), which was led by Australia and New Zealand under the political authority of the Pacific Islands Forum, terminated in mid-2017.

⁸⁷ United Nations, Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/2017/6, 11 May 2017; and UN Security Council Resolution 2366, 10 July 2017.

⁸⁸ United Nations, Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Verification Mission in Colombia, S/2017/745, 30 Aug. 2017; and UN Security Council Resolution 2377, 14 Sep. 2017.

⁸⁹ UN Security Council Resolution 2381, 6 Oct. 2017.

The RSM was one of two peace operations active in Afghanistan in 2017—the other being UNAMA following the termination of the European Police Mission in Afghanistan at the end of 2016—and was by far the largest mission in the region. The RSM was initially meant to stay in Afghanistan for a period of two years, to continue to train, advise and assist the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) following the termination of ISAF and the formal end of NATO-led combat operations at the end of 2014. However, NATO leaders decided to extend the RSM beyond this two-year period at their Summit in Warsaw in 2016, and announced their intention to increase the number of troops in the RSM from 13 000 to 16 000 in November 2017. This followed the decision by the Trump administration to replace the USA's existing timeline-based policy for departure from Afghanistan with a conditions-based strategy, and to deploy an additional 4000 US personnel to Afghanistan to reinforce the RSM and the regional US counterterrorism operation, Freedom's Sentinel.⁹⁰

Europe

There were 18 multilateral peace operations in Europe in 2017—the same number as in the previous year. The number of personnel in peace operations in Europe decreased by 2.7 per cent during 2017, from 8832 to 8597. With the exception of the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), all the peace operations in Europe were deployed in the states of the former Yugoslavia or states that had been part of the Soviet Union.

There were three peace operations in Ukraine in 2017, all of which were deployed in response to the armed conflict that broke out there in 2014. These were the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission (SMM), the Observer Mission at the Russian Checkpoints of Gukovo and Donetsk, and the EU Advisory Mission (EUAM). On 5 September, Russia proposed the launch of a UN Support Mission to Protect the OSCE SMM in south-eastern Ukraine along the *de facto* line of contact.⁹¹ From a Ukrainian perspective this would have 'frozen' the conflict. A second Russian proposal reportedly included deploying such an operation throughout the SMM mission area. This proposal gained more interest from Ukraine and among Western countries. In response, Ukraine drafted its own proposal to deploy a broader peace operation that, among a variety of tasks, would help to return the Donbas region to

⁹⁰ On the conflict in Afghanistan see also chapter 2, section III, in this volume.

⁹¹ United Nations, Security Council, 'Letter dated 5 September 2017 from the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council', S/2017/754, 5 Sep. 2017. On the conflict in Ukraine see also chapter 2, section IV, in this volume.

Ukrainian control and to secure the Russian border. This proposal was not tabled after the USA discouraged it in favour of continued diplomacy.⁹²

There were 10 peace operations in the Western Balkans. Four of these were located in Kosovo, three in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and one each in Albania, Macedonia and Serbia. The NATO-led Kosovo Force (KFOR) and the EU Rule of Law Mission (EULEX) in Kosovo were the largest of these missions. All the others were relatively small. The remaining peace operations were located in Georgia, Moldova and Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Middle East

There were nine multilateral peace operations in the Middle East in 2017, one more than in the previous year. The number of personnel deployed in missions in this region also remained fairly constant during the year. At the end of 2017 there were 14 001 personnel deployed in peace operations in the Middle East, compared with 13 928 at the end of 2016.

On 19 June 2017, the Council of the EU announced that it had received a request from the Iraqi authorities to deploy an EU Security Sector Reform Advise and Assist Team. The EU Advisory Mission in support of Security Sector Reform in Iraq (EUAM Iraq) was established on 16 October to: (a) provide advice and expertise at the strategic level to contribute to the implementation of the Iraqi National Security Strategy; (b) analyse, assess and identify opportunities for further EU support for SSR in Iraq; and (c) assist with the coordination of EU and member states' support in the field of SSR in Iraq. More concretely, it will assist efforts to implement the National Counter-Terrorism Strategy and with the drafting of a national strategy against organized crime, and map ongoing activities to identify lessons and gaps. It deployed to Baghdad on 17 November.⁹³

Despite continued fighting in the area of separation between Israel and Syria, the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) slowly returned to previously vacated positions, starting with Camp Faouar on the eastern border of the buffer zone (the bravo side). However, it continued to struggle to achieve the capacity and resources required to implement its mandate in a safe way.⁹⁴

⁹² International Crisis Group (ICG), *Can Peacekeepers Break the Deadlock in Ukraine?* Report no. 246 (ICG Europe: Brussels, 15 Dec. 2017).

⁹³ Council Decision 2017/1869/CFSP of 16 October 2017 on the European Union Advisory Mission in support of Security Sector Reform in Iraq (EUAM Iraq), *Official Journal of the European Union*, L266/18, 17 Oct. 2017; and European External Action Service, Common Security and Defence Policy, EU Advisory Mission in support of Security Sector Reform in Iraq (EUAM Iraq), Nov. 2017. On the conflict in Iraq see also chapter 2, section V, in this volume.

⁹⁴ UN Security Council Resolution 2361, 29 June 2017; and UN Security Council Resolution 2394, 21 Dec. 2017.

Incidents in the area of operations of the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) demonstrated the continuing fragility of the situation there.⁹⁵ Nonetheless, it was perhaps in the Security Council that the most notable developments and heated debates took place. The Trump administration and Israel called for a more forceful attitude from UNIFIL and sought a strengthened mandate to proactively confront Hezbollah, which the USA alleged was illegally stockpiling weapons. Other members of the Security Council—particularly those that were contributing troops to the mission, such as France and Italy—strongly disagreed, as they argued that this might destabilize southern Lebanon.⁹⁶ The final text of UNIFIL's renewed mandate contained tougher language against Hezbollah than before and requested the Secretary-General 'to look at ways to enhance UNIFIL's efforts . . . including ways to increase UNIFIL's visible presence, including through patrols and inspections, within its existing mandate and capabilities'. UNIFIL's mandate, however, was not changed.⁹⁷

Finally, the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) continued to monitor the implementation of the 1979 peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. The personnel strength of the MFO decreased further in 2017, from 1383 to 1300. This reduction resulted from a reconfiguration of the force in 2016 and 2017, in which it reduced its presence in northern Sinai and increased its reliance on remote sensors rather than ground-based monitoring.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ United Nations, Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1701 (2006), S/2017/591, 11 July 2017.

⁹⁶ 'Vote on a Resolution Renewing UNIFIL', What's in Blue, 30 Aug. 2017.

⁹⁷ UN Security Council Resolution 2373, 30 Aug. 2017.

⁹⁸ Schenker, D., 'The MFO 2.0', The Washington Institute, 16 May 2016.

III. Multilateral non-peace operations

JAÏR VAN DER LIJN

An increasing number of military and civilian personnel are being deployed in operations that fall within the grey zone of just outside the SIPRI definition of multilateral peace operations. These kinds of multilateral non-peace operations are mandated or welcomed by the United Nations Security Council but fall outside the SIPRI definition, for example, because they do not serve as instruments to facilitate the implementation of peace agreements, support peace processes, or assist conflict prevention or peacebuilding efforts. Other multilateral non-peace operations may fall outside the SIPRI definition of multilateral peace operations because their units operate on their own territory.¹

In 2017, two operations drew extra attention in the UN Security Council: the Group of Five for the Sahel (G5 Sahel) Joint Force (Force Conjointe des Etats du G5 Sahel, FC-G5S) and the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) against Boko Haram (see below). In addition to these two, other operations that have undertaken considerable efforts are: the 4000-troop French Operation Barkhane, which also implements Security Council-mandated tasks; the European Union Military Operation in the Southern Central Mediterranean (EUNAVFOR MED, or Operation Sophia), which deployed multiple European navy vessels and nearly 1000 personnel in 2017 and is mandated to implement the Libyan arms embargo by means of maritime interdiction; and the 1031-strong Regional Task Force (RTF) of the African Union (AU) Regional Coordination Initiative against the Lord's Resistance Army. Following the withdrawal of US Special Forces in May and the Ugandan People's Defence Forces (UPDF) in August, however, the RTF has been left toothless, despite its mandate renewal of one year by the AU Peace and Security Council in May.²

The Group of Five for the Sahel Joint Force

On 6 February 2017, the G5 Sahel set up FC-G5S to fight terrorism and organized crime on the territory of its member states—Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger.³ On 13 April, the AU Peace and Security Council

¹ For a discussion of the SIPRI definition of multilateral peace operations and the missions that fall in the grey zone outside this definition see Smit, T., 'Global trends in peace operations', *SIPRI Yearbook 2017*, pp. 165–75. The increased deployment of multilateral non-peace operations, particularly when they involve military operations, will demand increased attention in future editions of the SIPRI Yearbook.

² African Union, Peace and Security Council, Communiqué 685th meeting, PSC/PR/COMM(D-CLXXXV), 12 May 2017.

³ G5 Sahel, Permanent Secretariat, Resolution 00-01/2017, Relative a la creation d'une force conjointe du G5 Sahel [Resolution on the creation of a joint G5 Sahel force], 6 Feb. 2017. On the conflict in

endorsed the strategic concept and authorized a 5000-strong mission. The mission was to have military, police and civilian components, and the latter two were to deal in particular with human rights and the protection of civilians. The FC-G5S mandate is to: (a) combat terrorism, drug trafficking and human trafficking, with the aim of creating a more secure environment in the Sahel region by eradicating ‘terrorist armed groups’ and organized criminal groups; (b) contribute to the restoration of state authority and the return of displaced persons and refugees; (c) facilitate humanitarian assistance; and (d) assist development efforts.⁴ Once it is fully operational, the FC-G5S will consist of 5000 personnel, including 500 police.

The Secretary-General recommended that the Security Council approve the deployment of the FC-G5S and authorize him to look into financial and other modalities for support.⁵ The FC-G5S was of particular importance to France, as part of its strategy to reduce the pressure on its overstretched armed forces deployed in operations such as Barkhane. France was therefore willing to push hard against the United States, which was resistant to any potential UN financial or other support as it sought to reduce the UN peacekeeping budget (but perhaps could not be seen to be vetoing a counterterrorism force). The USA argued that: (a) the force did not need a UN mandate because it would be operating on the territory of its own member states; (b) its mandate was too broad and unclear, as the force would be eradicating ‘undefined criminal networks’; (c) it lacked sufficient accountability and oversight; (d) coordination with other operations in the region needed to be further operationalized; and (e) the lack of an exit strategy meant that it would be prone to mission creep.⁶ Eventually, the Security Council welcomed—rather than authorized as France had wanted but the USA had opposed—the deployment of the FC-G5S, encouraged bilateral and non-UN funding and agreed to review the mission after four months.⁷ The Security Council also requested MINUSMA to coordinate with the FC-G5S, through information and intelligence sharing among other things.⁸

The FC-G5S reached its initial operational capacity by 17 October and undertook its first operation, Hawbi, in the central boundary zone. It is scheduled to be fully operational by March 2018.⁹ The FC-G5S managed to

the Sahel region see also chapter 2, section VI, in this volume.

⁴ African Union, Peace and Security Council, Communiqué, 679th meeting, PSC/PR/COMM (DCLXXIX), 13 Apr. 2017.

⁵ United Nations, Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Mali, S/2017/478, 6 June 2017.

⁶ Lynch, C., ‘Trump weighs vetoing France’s African anti-terrorism plan’, *Foreign Policy*, 13 June 2017; and Nichols, M., ‘US wary of French push for UN to back Sahel force: Diplomats’, Reuters, 6 June 2017.

⁷ UN Security Council Resolution 2359, 21 June 2017.

⁸ UN Security Council Resolution 2364, 29 June 2017.

⁹ UN Security Council Resolution 2391, 8 Dec. 2017.

collect over half of its estimated budget of €500 million from donors such as the European Union (€50 million), Saudi Arabia (€100 million), the United Arab Emirates (€30 million) and the USA (\$60 million).¹⁰ In addition, the Security Council decided after four months that the FC-G5S was contributing to the stability of Mali and, as such, to the fulfilment of MINUSMA's mandate. It therefore requested MINUSMA to provide operational and logistical support to the FC-G5S on Malian territory until it becomes self-reliant. This will include the provision of medical and casualty evacuation (MEDEVAC and CASEVAC), access to water, rations and fuel, and use of engineers to assist with the preparation of operational bases in Mali. Moreover, given that military operations like FC-G5S run the risk of having adverse effects if they do not fully respect human rights, the support guarantees a compliance framework based on the Human Rights Due Diligence Policy (HRDDP) on UN support to non-UN security forces.¹¹

The Multinational Joint Task Force against Boko Haram

Like the FC-G5S, the 10 772-strong MNJTF involves countries deploying operations on their own territory. The Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC) member states (Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria) and Benin are working together to combat Boko Haram. The MNJTF developed its concept of operations and received support from the AU Peace and Security Council in 2014. In the context of the UN, in March 2015 the Security Council considered a draft resolution on providing assistance, including financial support, to the MNJTF under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. After the election of President Mohammadu Buhari in Nigeria, however, the country changed its position, no longer sought a Chapter VII mandate and instead chose to fund most of the operation itself.¹² Subsequently, the Security Council commended the efforts of the MNJTF and asked it to mitigate the security, development and humanitarian consequences of the fighting.¹³ At the same time, the Security Council has encouraged other actors to share intelligence with the MNJTF.¹⁴

In 2017 the Security Council addressed the MNJTF in a separate resolution for the first time. It stressed the need for operations to be conducted in accordance with international law, and again emphasized the need for a

¹⁰ France Diplomatie, 'G5 Sahel joint force and alliance for the Sahel' [n.d.].

¹¹ United Nations, Security Council, 'Report of the Secretary-General on the Joint Force of the Group of Five for the Sahel', S/2017/869, 16 Oct. 2017; and UN Security Council Resolution 2391, 8 Dec. 2017.

¹² African Union, Peace and Security Council, 484th meeting at the level of Heads of State and Government, Communiqué, PSC/AHG/COMM.2(CDLXXXIV), 29 Jan. 2015; and UN Office for West Africa, Security Council Report, 'July 2015 monthly forecast', 1 July 2015. On the conflict in the Lake Chad region see also chapter 2, section VI, in this volume.

¹³ United Nations, Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/2015/14, 28 July 2015.

¹⁴ United Nations, Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/2016/7, 13 May 2016.

holistic approach that goes beyond military operations to include civilian efforts such as improving governance, inclusivity and economic development.¹⁵

The year seemed to be a relatively successful one for the MNJTF. It was able to make important territorial gains, liberate a number of hostages and increase the number of defectors. The countries in the region also paid increasing attention to the root causes of the conflict, by means of development efforts such as the 'Buhari Plan' in Nigeria. In January 2017, however, the Nigerian Air Force accidentally bombed a refugee camp in Rann. The Security Council called for an investigation into the incident, for the deployment of civilian personnel, including human rights and gender advisers, and for donors to fulfil their pledges.¹⁶ After losing territory, Boko Haram dispersed and instead intensified its suicide attacks. Thus, in spite of the progress made, Boko Haram remains a threat capable of causing large-scale humanitarian suffering.¹⁷

¹⁵ UN Security Council Resolution 2349, 31 Mar. 2017.

¹⁶ UN Security Council Resolution 2349, 31 Mar. 2017.

¹⁷ United Nations, Security Council, 'Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in the Lake Chad Basin region', S/2017/764, 7 Sep. 2017.

IV. Table of multilateral peace operations, 2017

TIMO SMIT

Table 3.2 provides data on the 63 multilateral peace operations that were conducted during 2017, including operations that were launched or terminated during the year.

The table lists operations that were conducted under the authority of the United Nations, operations conducted by regional organizations and alliances, and operations conducted by ad hoc (non-standing) coalitions of states, as well as unilateral operations that were sanctioned by the UN or authorized by a UN Security Council resolution. UN operations are divided into three subgroups: (a) observer and multidimensional peace operations run by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations; (b) special political and peacebuilding missions; and (c) the joint African Union/UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID).

The table draws on the SIPRI Multilateral Peace Operations Database, which provides information on all UN and non-UN peace operations conducted since 2000, such as location, dates of deployment and operation, mandate, participating countries, number of personnel, budgets and fatalities.

Table 3.2. Multilateral peace operations, 2017

Unless otherwise stated, all figures are as of 31 Dec. 2017 or the date of closure. Operations that closed in 2017 are shown in *italic type* and are not included in the aggregate figures.

Operation	Start	Location	Mil.	Pol.	Civ.
United Nations Peacekeeping Operations			68 957	8 277	3 947
UNTSO	1948	Middle East	152	–	77
UNMOGIP	1951	India/Pakistan	44	–	22
UNFICYP	1964	Cyprus	888	68	32
UNDOF	1974	Syria (Golan)	990	–	45
UNIFIL	1978	Lebanon	10 492	–	245
MINURSO	1991	Western Sahara	227	2	74
MONUSCO	1999	DRC	15 856	1 351	747
UNMIK	1999	Kosovo	8	10	95
UNMIL	2003	Liberia	428	306	186
<i>MINUSTAH</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>Haiti</i>	<i>299</i>	<i>1 497</i>	<i>136</i>
<i>UNOCI</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>Côte d'Ivoire</i>	–	–	<i>25</i>
UNISFA	2011	Abyei	4 522	37	140
UNMISS	2011	South Sudan	12 969	1 599	861
MINUSMA	2013	Mali	11 698	1 725	663
MINUSCA	2014	CAR	10 683	2 020	649
MINUJUSTH	2017	Haiti	–	1 199	111
United Nations Special Political Mission			1 142	75	1 070
UNAMA	2002	Afghanistan	4	2	303
UNAMI	2003	Iraq	245	–	313
UNIOGBIS	2010	Guinea-Bissau	1	11	59
UNSMIL	2011	Libya	232	3	148
UNSOM	2013	Somalia	539	14	143
<i>UNMC</i>	<i>2016</i>	<i>Colombia</i>	<i>167</i>	–	<i>98</i>
UNVMC	2017	Colombia	121	45	104
United Nations/African Union (UN/AU)			11 449	2 731	706
UNAMID	2007	Sudan (Darfur)	11 449	2 731	706
African Union (AU)			20 530	466	108
AMISOM	2007	Somalia	20 522	466	51
MISAHHEL	2013	Mali	–	–	11
MISAC	2014	CAR	–	–	9
AU Observer Mission in Burundi	2015	Burundi	8	–	37
Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)			707	270	–
ECOMIB	2012	Guinea-Bissau	332	145	–
ECOMIG	2017	Gambia	375	125	–
European Union (EU)			1 361	326	773
EUFOR ALTHEA	2004	Bosnia and Herzegovina	536	–	21
EUBAM Rafah	2005	Palestinian territories (Rafah Crossing Point)	–	1	7
EUPOL COPPS	2005	Palestinian territories	–	12	36

Operation	Start	Location	Mil.	Pol.	Civ.
EULEX Kosovo	2008	Kosovo	–	194	225
EUMM Georgia	2008	Georgia	–	–	206
EUTM Somalia	2010	Somalia	152	–	10
EUCAP Sahel Niger	2012	Niger	–	30	67
EUTM Mali	2013	Mali	510	–	31
EUAM Ukraine	2014	Ukraine	–	42	92
EUCAP Sahel Mali	2015	Mali	–	38	63
EUTM RCA	2016	CAR	163	–	1
EUAM Iraq	2017	Iraq	–	9	14
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)			19 077	–	–
KFOR	1999	Kosovo	4 031	–	–
RSM	2015	Afghanistan	15 046	–	–
Organization of American States (OAS)			–	–	26
MAPP/OEA	2004	Colombia	–	–	26
Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)			–	–	1 000
OSCE Mission to Skopje	1992	Macedonia	–	–	37
OSCE Mission to Moldova	1993	Moldova	–	–	9
OSCE PRICIO	1995	Azerbaijan (Nagorno-Karabakh)	–	–	6
OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina	1995	Bosnia and Herzegovina	–	–	29
OSCE Presence in Albania	1997	Albania	–	–	16
OMIK	1999	Kosovo	–	–	76
OSCE Mission to Serbia	2001	Serbia	–	–	20
OSCE SMM	2014	Ukraine	–	–	785
OSCE Observer Mission at the Russian Checkpoints Gukovo and Donetsk	2014	Russia (Gukovo and Donetsk checkpoints)	–	–	22
Pacific Islands Forum (PIF)			–
<i>RAMSI</i>	2003	<i>Solomon Islands</i>	–
Southern African Development Community (SADC)			222	24	12
SAPMIL	2017	Lesotho	222	24	12
Ad hoc coalitions of states			2 358	3	294
NNSC	1953	South Korea	10	–	–
MFO	1982	Egypt (Sinai)	1 187	–	113
JCC	1992	Moldova (Transnistria)	1 136	–	–
OHR	1995	Bosnia and Herzegovina	–	–	13
TIPH	1997	Palestinian territories (Hebron)	–	–	63
IMT	2004	Philippines (Mindanao)	25	3	8
CTSAMM	2015	South Sudan	–	–	97

– = not applicable; .. = information not available; AMISOM = AU Mission in Somalia; CAR = Central African Republic; Civ. = International civilian personnel; CTSAMM = Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangements Monitoring Mechanism; DRC = Democratic

Republic of the Congo; ECOMIB = ECOWAS Mission in Guinea-Bissau; ECOMIG = ECOWAS Mission in the Gambia; EUAM Iraq = EU Advisory Mission in Support of Security Sector Reform in Iraq; EUAM Ukraine = EU Advisory Mission for Civilian Security Sector Reform Ukraine; EUBAM Rafah = EU Border Assistance Mission for the Rafah Crossing Point; EUCAP Sahel Mali = EU Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) Mission in Mali; EUCAP Sahel Niger = EU CSDP Mission in Niger; EUFOR ALTHEA = EU Military Operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina; EULEX Kosovo = EU Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo; EUMM Georgia = EU Monitoring Mission in Georgia; EUPOL COPPS = EU Police Mission for the Palestinian Territories; EUTM Mali = EU Training Mission Mali; EUTM RCA = EU Training Mission in the CAR; EUTM Somalia = EU Training Mission Somalia; IMT = International Monitoring Team; JCC = Joint Control Commission Peacekeeping Force; KFOR = Kosovo Force; MAPP/OEA = OAS Mission to Support the Peace Process in Colombia; MFO = Multinational Force and Observers; MINUJUSTH = UN Mission for Justice Support in Haiti; MINURSO = UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara; Mil. = military personnel (troops and military observers); MINUSCA = UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic; MINUSMA = UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali; MINUSTAH = UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti; MISAC = AU Mission for the Central African Republic and Central Africa; MISAHEL = AU Mission for Mali and the Sahel; MONUSCO = UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo; NNSC = Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission; OHR = Office of the High Representative; OMIK = OSCE Mission in Kosovo; OSCE SMM = OSCE Special Monitoring Mission in Ukraine; Pol. = police; PRCIO = Personal Representative of the Chairman-in-Office on the Conflict Dealt with by the OSCE Minsk Conference; RAMSI = Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands; RSM = Resolute Support Mission; SAPMIL = SADC Preventive Mission in the Kingdom of Lesotho; TIPH = Temporary International Presence in Hebron; UNAMA = UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan; UNAMI = UN Assistance Mission in Iraq; UNAMID = AU/UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur; UNDOF = UN Disengagement Observer Force; UNFICYP = UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus; UNIFIL = UN Interim Force in Lebanon; UNIOGBIS = UN Integrated Peace-building Office in Guinea-Bissau; UNISFA = UN Interim Security Force for Abyei; UNMIK = UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo; UNMIL = UN Mission in Liberia; UNMISS = UN Mission in South Sudan; UNMOGIP = UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan; UNOCI = UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire; UNSMIL = UN Support Mission in Libya; UNSOM = UN Assistance Mission in Somalia; UNTSO = UN Truce Supervision Organization; UNVMC = UN Verification Mission in Colombia.

Source: SIPRI Multilateral Peace Operations Database. Data on multilateral peace operations is obtained from the following categories of open source: (a) official information provided by the secretariat of the organization concerned; (b) information provided by the operations themselves, either in official publications or in written responses to annual SIPRI questionnaires; and (c) information from national governments contributing to the operation under consideration. In some instances, SIPRI researchers may gather additional information on an operation from the conducting organizations or governments of participating states by means of telephone interviews and email correspondence. These primary sources are supplemented by a wide selection of publicly available secondary sources consisting of specialist journals, research reports, news agencies and international, regional and local newspapers.