

## 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.

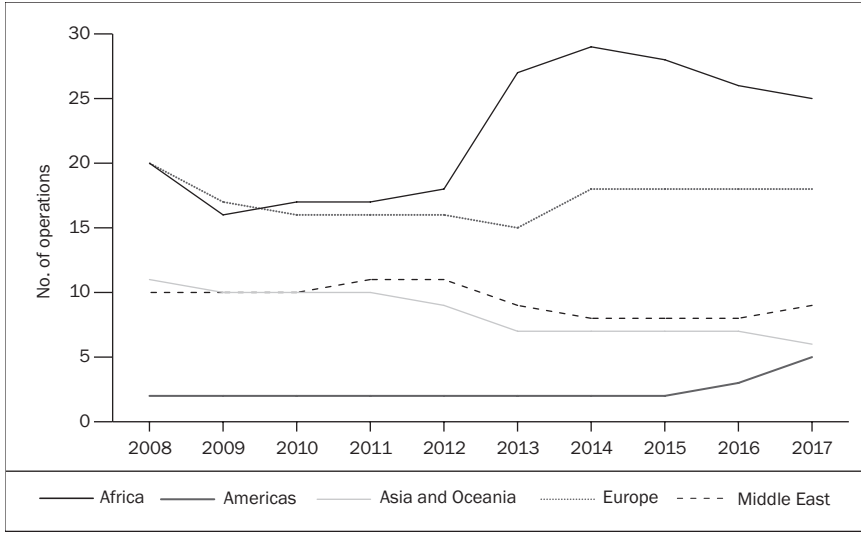
### Africa

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.

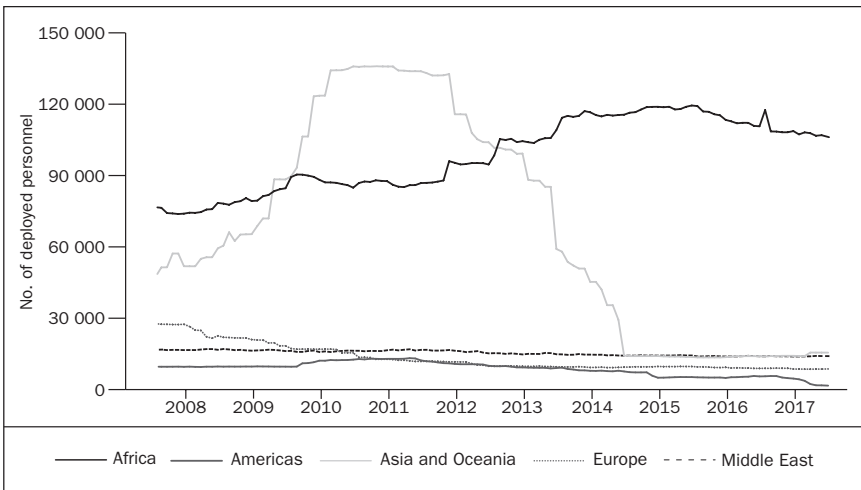
The United Nations–African Union (AU) partnership was further strengthened in 2017. A Joint UN–AU Framework for enhanced cooperation between the UN Secretariat and the AU Commission was signed on 19 April.<sup>1</sup> The UN Secretary-General produced a report outlining different options for planning,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

<sup>1</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2378, 20 Sep. 2017.

<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> By May, 12 per cent of the total target amount of contributions had been collected by 14 AU member

<sup>3</sup> 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
<b>Operations</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>63</b>
United Nations <sup>a</sup>	12	4	2	2	4	24
Regional organization or alliance	12	1	2	14	3	32
Ad hoc coalition	1	–	2	2	2	7
<b>Personnel<sup>b</sup></b>	<b>106 240</b>	<b>1 606</b>	<b>15 467</b>	<b>8 597</b>	<b>14 001</b>	<b>145 911</b>
United Nations <sup>a</sup>	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

<sup>a</sup> 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).

<sup>b</sup> Personnel figures are as of 31 Dec. 2017.

Source: SIPRI Multilateral Peace Operations Database.

states.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

### *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).<sup>7</sup> The UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) is moving towards closure on 30 March 2018. After the

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

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

<sup>6</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2378, 20 Sep. 2017.

<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup> The Security Council called for a further extension and for international financial support.<sup>11</sup> 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'.<sup>12</sup>

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

<sup>8</sup> 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.

<sup>9</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2343, 23 Feb. 2017.

<sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>11</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2343, 23 Feb. 2017.

<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> Under military coercion, but following a political agreement, Jammeh conceded and there was a peaceful transition of power.<sup>15</sup> On 9 February, President Barrow extended ECOMIG's mandate for three months.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup>

### *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

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

<sup>14</sup> 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.

<sup>15</sup> 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.

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

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

<sup>18</sup> 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).<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup>

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.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup>

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,

<sup>19</sup> 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.

<sup>20</sup> 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.

<sup>21</sup> '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.

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

<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup>

### *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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> 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 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.<sup>27</sup>

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

<sup>24</sup> '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.

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

<sup>26</sup> 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.

<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup>

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.<sup>30</sup>

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.<sup>31</sup> 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

<sup>28</sup> '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.

<sup>29</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2348, 31 Mar. 2017.

<sup>30</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2348, 31 Mar. 2017.

<sup>31</sup> 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'.<sup>32</sup>

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.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> Some analysts questioned whether the force reduction earlier in 2017 had left MONUSCO vulnerable.<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup>

### *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.<sup>37</sup> 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

<sup>32</sup> 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.

<sup>33</sup> 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.

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

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

<sup>36</sup> 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).

<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup>

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.<sup>39</sup>

### *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.<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup> In November 2016, Kamoli resigned from his position as commander of the Lesotho Defence Force (LDF).<sup>42</sup> After two years in exile, Thabane won the 3 June 2017 elections, succeeding Mosisili as prime minister.<sup>43</sup>

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.<sup>44</sup> 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

<sup>38</sup> 'Burundi presidential statement', What's in Blue, 1 Aug. 2017.

<sup>39</sup> United Nations (note 37).

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

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

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

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

<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup>

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.<sup>46</sup>

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.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup>

### *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.<sup>49</sup> 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

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

<sup>46</sup> 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.

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

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

<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup>

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.<sup>51</sup>

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.<sup>52</sup>

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.<sup>53</sup>

### *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,

<sup>50</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2387, 15 Nov. 2017.

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

<sup>52</sup> 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.

<sup>53</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2387, 15 Nov. 2017.

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

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).<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup> 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.<sup>61</sup> In spite of diplomatic efforts by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), little substantial progress was made.<sup>62</sup> In August, the TGoNU even grounded UN aircraft over a row about whether the RPF was mandated to control Juba airport.<sup>63</sup> At the end of the year, only 742 of the 4000 mandated RPF staff had been deployed.<sup>64</sup> 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

<sup>54</sup> 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.

<sup>55</sup> 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.

<sup>56</sup> 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.

<sup>57</sup> 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.

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

<sup>59</sup> United Nations (note 58).

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

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

<sup>62</sup> 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.

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

<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup>

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.<sup>66</sup> 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.<sup>67</sup>

Half a year later, in November, the Council recognized some improvements, but a lack of 'significant progress'.<sup>68</sup> 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'.<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup>

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

<sup>65</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2392, 14 Dec. 2017.

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

<sup>67</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2352, 15 May 2017.

<sup>68</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2386, 15 Nov. 2017.

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

<sup>70</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2386, 15 Nov. 2017.

movement and visa restrictions, continued to affect its ability to implement its mandate.<sup>71</sup>

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.<sup>72</sup>

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.<sup>73</sup>

### *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.<sup>74</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

Youth Movement, or al-Shabab).<sup>75</sup> AMISOM was also hit hard at times.<sup>76</sup> 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.<sup>77</sup>

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.<sup>78</sup>

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.<sup>79</sup> 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

<sup>75</sup> 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.

<sup>76</sup> 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.

<sup>77</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2372, 30 Aug. 2017.

<sup>78</sup> 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.

<sup>79</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2372, 30 Aug. 2017.



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

## 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 Moïse 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.<sup>82</sup>

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

<sup>80</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2372, 30 Aug. 2017.

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

<sup>82</sup> Guyler Delva, J. and Brice, M., 'Businessman Jovenel Moïse 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.<sup>83</sup>

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.<sup>84</sup>

### *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.<sup>85</sup> 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.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>83</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2350, 13 Apr. 2017.

<sup>84</sup> 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.

<sup>85</sup> 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.

<sup>86</sup> 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.<sup>87</sup> 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.<sup>88</sup>

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.<sup>89</sup>

## 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.

<sup>87</sup> 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.

<sup>88</sup> 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.

<sup>89</sup> 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.<sup>90</sup>

## 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.<sup>91</sup> 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

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

<sup>91</sup> 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.<sup>92</sup>

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.<sup>93</sup>

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.<sup>94</sup>

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

<sup>93</sup> 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.

<sup>94</sup> 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.<sup>95</sup> 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.<sup>96</sup> 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.<sup>97</sup>

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.<sup>98</sup>

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

<sup>96</sup> ‘Vote on a Resolution Renewing UNIFIL’, What’s in Blue, 30 Aug. 2017.

<sup>97</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2373, 30 Aug. 2017.

<sup>98</sup> Schenker, D., ‘The MFO 2.0’, The Washington Institute, 16 May 2016.