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EVOLVING TRENDS OF UN PEACEKEEPING: CHALLENGES FOR BANGLADESH AND ITS RESPONSES

Abstract

Peacekeeping has emerged as one of the core activities of the United Nations (UN). Due to ground realities, the doctrines, principles and structures of peacekeeping have evolved in accordance with necessity. In the traditional phase, during the Cold War era, peacekeeping was mostly limited to monitoring and observation affairs. In the post-Cold War era, there was an expansion of peace operations and "minimum use of force", where necessary, emerged as an acceptable norm of peacekeeping. In the consolidation phase, after 2000, peace operations emphasised on peace building affairs i.e., democratisation, institution building, security sector reform (SSR) and human rights protection. The phase of New Horizon, which started in 2009 indicating changing trends, focuses mainly on development, capacity building, planning and oversight. It can be argued that the future peace operations are going to be more robust and multidimensional, and would concentrate on responsibility to protect civilians, human rights and environmental issues, gender mainstreaming, democratisation and institution building to achieve sustainable peace in the conflicting areas. Being a leading troops contributing country, Bangladesh will face new challenges to adapt with the emerging trends of UN peace operations. The challenges include dealing with new doctrinal issues and capacity building of its peacekeepers in the field level. In this respect, the main objectives of this paper are to understand the changing trends of UN peacekeeping and to identify potential challenges for Bangladesh and its likely responses in the coming days to continue its contributions in the UN peace operations.

1. Introduction

Since its formation in 1945, the UN has been remarkably contributing to global peace and stability. The UN peacekeeping started in 1948 through deployment of the UN military observers in the Middle East, known as the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), to monitor the Armistice Agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbours. Since then, the UN operated 69 peacekeeping missions

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in the conflict prone areas of the world. At present, there are 16 peacekeeping missions including one political mission in Afghanistan. The doctrines and structures of the peace operations have shifted and changed to adapt with field level realities. Previously, the responsibilities of the peace operations were to observe the situation and to maintain stability between or among the conflicting groups. In the post-Cold War era, the UN peace operations involved peace enforcement, where peacekeepers were allowed to use minimum force for achieving peace.

The failure of its missions in Liberia, Bosnia and Haiti in the late 1990s persuaded the UN to make a fresh assessment of its peacekeeping missions. The Brahimi report in 2000 recommended an extended doctrinal and structural shift of the UN peacekeeping. At present, it reached a phase called New Horizon that sets a comprehensive doctrine for the future peacekeeping operations.

Bangladesh is one of the highest troop contributing countries to the UN peace operations. The adoption of new doctrines, changing global order, altering nature of the conflicting groups and technological modernisation indicate that Bangladesh will need to invigorate its training and preparation to ensure its respectable position in the UN peace operations. In this respect, the main objectives of this paper are to understand the evolving trends of UN peacekeeping and to identify emerging challenges for Bangladesh and necessary responses to continue its contribution in the UN peacekeeping missions. The paper is divided into five sections including introduction and conclusion. Section two highlights the evolution of the UN peacekeeping since 1948. Section three elaborates the reforms recommended by Brahimi report, which is considered as the key document to determine contemporary doctrinal and operational trends of the UN peacekeeping. And section four identifies the challenges for Bangladesh and its responses to adapt with the emerging trends of UN peacekeeping.

2. Evolution of UN Peacekeeping

The visions of the UN are echoed in the charter of the organisation, which was signed on 26 June 1945. The charter describes that the main objective of the UN is to “save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”.¹ It also underlines that one of the important responsibilities of the UN is “to maintain international peace and security.”² The scourge of two World Wars convinced all nations of the world that without a combined effort to maintain global peace and security, humanity may have to face wars again. Although the issue of peacekeeping is not explicitly mentioned in the UN Charter, it has evolved as one of the main tools to achieve the goals of the UN. As such, peacekeeping operations are based on weak legal provisions as there is no

¹ Preamble of the Charter, The Charter of the United Nations, 1945.

² *Ibid.*

direct reference in the UN Charter. To justify peacekeeping activities, Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld remarked that peacekeeping might be placed as its own chapter "six and a half" of the UN Charter.³ The UN peacekeeping operations always remain as a focused area of UN activities. Hence, the principles, functions and objectives of the peacekeeping evolved through precedents and customs.⁴ The UN used previous organisational and operational experience to determine its future activities.

At the beginning, peacekeeping was limited to observer missions. The first two missions, occurring in 1948 and 1949, involved mostly the tasks that were undertaken by the League of Nations, the preceding organisation of the UN. They were the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) in the Middle East and the UN Military Observer Group (UNMOG) in India and Pakistan. The UN Secretary General directly controlled the employment of military personnel provided by the contributing nations. The two missions, which continue till today, mostly work on monitoring and observing the situation and remain active to prevent any escalation of conflict among the hostile groups. These two military observers were also unarmed. The armed peacekeeping was introduced first in the UN Emergency Force (UNEF I) in 1956 to address the Suez Crisis. The first large scale UN peacekeeping was deployed in Congo in 1960. The mission had nearly 20,000 military personnel. In the 1960s to 1970s, the UN established short term missions in the Dominican Republic, West New Guinea, Yemen, and Cyprus and in the Middle East.

The period, beginning in 1948 up to the end of Cold War, is known as traditional phase of peacekeeping. The deployment of any peacekeeping force was always carefully scrutinised in the Security Council due to rivalry between the US and the former USSR. The UN was not always capable of addressing security issues adequately. The failure of the UN caused states to move away from a system of collective security and towards a system of collective defence.⁵ The world was divided into two blocs, the US-led North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the former USSR-led Warsaw Pact. However, in the traditional phase, the main objectives of the peacekeeping were limited to maintaining ceasefire and stabilising situation on the ground, providing crucial support for political efforts to resolve conflict by peaceful means.⁶ The missions had some distinguishable features: consent and cooperation of parties to the conflict, international support of the UN Security Council, UN command and control, multinational composition, no use of force, neutrality of UN force between rival armies and political impartiality of the UN relationships towards the rival states.

³ J. P. Bialke, "United Nations Peace Operations: Applicable Norms and the Application of the Law of Armed Conflict", *Air Force Law Review*, Vol. 50. No. 1, 1996, p. 10.

⁴ Pia Christina Wood and David S. Sorenson, "Introduction", in David S. Sorenson and Pia Christina Wood (eds.), *The Politics of Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era*, Cambridge: Frank Cass, 2005, p. 1.

⁵ Elinor C. Solan, *Bosnia and the New Collective Security*, Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1988, p. 1.

⁶ The United Nations, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines*, 2008, p. 20.

The main roles of the peacekeeping forces were to prevent escalation of conflict and mediation among the hostile groups.⁷

The end of the Cold War put an end to rivalry between the US and the former USSR. The US emerged as a super power in global politics. It gave rise to unprecedented cooperation among the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. The period saw a sudden expansion in the UN peacekeeping operations. In 1988, there were only 13,000 peacekeepers involved in eight operations. But, in 1994, the number of peacekeeping operations increased to twenty four, involving 76,500 peacekeepers.⁸ Moreover, a new set of crisis has put the UN to be more active in the peacekeeping operations. The previous operations were mostly concentrated on the issues of organised violence between the states fighting over an international border. In the post Cold War era, the UN was faced with new type of emergencies—“collapsed state structures; humanitarian tragedies caused by starvation, disease of genocide; large scale fighting and slaughter between rival ethnic or bandit groups; and horrific human rights atrocities”⁹ The UN felt the necessity of using some degree of force to stabilise conflicting situations. Its operations did not remain limited to maintaining stability between the conflicting countries, rather it also got involved in mediating and stabilising the internal conflicts in many countries. The period covers approximately from 1989 to 2000. The major operations, during the time, were in the countries like Angola, Cambodia, El Salvador, Mozambique and Namibia.

In the post-Cold War era, peacekeeping missions took the responsibility of multidimensional activities. They were designed to ensure the implementation of the comprehensive peace agreements, assist in laying the foundations of sustainable peace, stabilise security situation, reorganise military and police and elect new government and build democratic institutions.¹⁰ The peacekeepers undertook a wide variety of complex tasks of helping to build sustainable institutions of governance, human rights monitoring, security sector reforms (SSR), disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) of former combatants. In addition to military forces, different professionals engaged in the peacekeeping missions—administrators, police officers, legal experts, de-miners, electoral observers, human rights monitors, civil affairs and governance specialists, humanitarian workers, communication and public

⁷ John Terence O’neill and Nicholas Rees, *United Nations Peacekeeping in the Post Cold War Era*, New York: Routledge, 2005, p. 182.

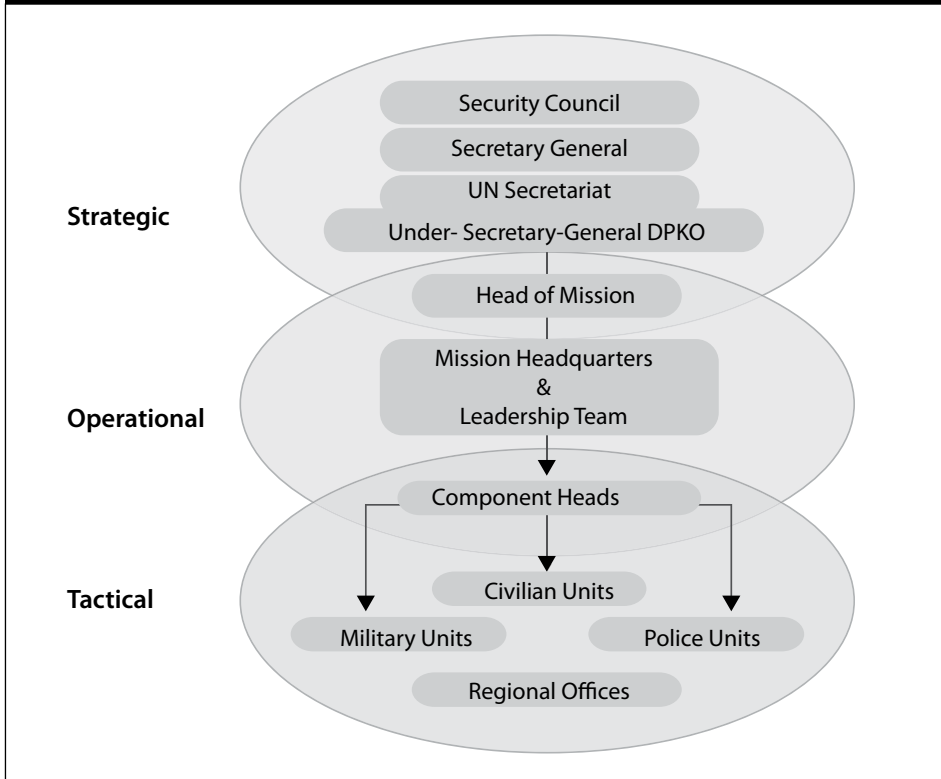
⁸ Nadege Sheehan, *The Economics of Peacekeeping*, New York: Routledge, 2011, p. 90.

⁹ Ramesh Thakur and Albrecht Schnabel, “Cascading Generations of Peacekeeping Across the Mogadishu Line to Kosovo and Timor”, in Ramesh Thakur and Albrecht Schnabel (eds.), *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Ad Hoc Missions, Permanent Engagement*, Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2001, p. 20.

¹⁰ Michael W Doyle, “Discovering the Limits and Potentials of Peacekeeping” in Olara A. Otunnu and Michael W. Doyle (eds.), *Peacemaking and Peacekeeping for the New Century*, Lanham: Rowan and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 1988, p. 15.

information experts.¹¹ The command and control of the peace operations also found a new structure with three tiers of decision making and implementation process: strategic level, operational level and tactical level.

Figure 1: Levels of Decision Making



Source: UN Peacekeeping PDT Standards, Core Pre-deployment Training Materials, 2009.

In the strategic level, objectives and frameworks of a peace operation are confirmed by the UNSC, in the operational level, the mission head quarter plans to implement the decisions of the UNSC and in the tactical level the operations divided in different units like military and police to implement the priorities of the mission.

The 1990s expansion of peacekeeping continued till the end of the decade. But the success of the operations came under challenge. The UN extended its operations, management capacities, efficiency, resources, political and financial supports but it did not mitigate accordingly. In fact, the problems in Somalia and

¹¹ Thijs W Brocades Zaalberg, *Soldiers and Civil Power: Supporting or Substituting Civil Authorities in Modern Peace Operation*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000, p. 14.

Bosnia, and the “disastrous” mission in Rwanda “promoted a period of retrenchment” for peacekeeping operations.¹² The Security Council, particularly the US, was reluctant to authorise, implement or finance new peacekeeping operations. The total deployment of UN military and civilian personnel fell from its peak in 1993 of more than 80,000 to approximately 14,000 in 1998.¹³ During this time, civilian casualties rose, hostilities continued and the reputation of UN peacekeeping suffered.

To identify the problems, Secretary General commissioned an independent inquiry into the actions of the UN during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda and, at the request of the General Assembly, provided a comprehensive assessment on the 1993-1995 events in Srebrenica in the former Yugoslavia. The circumstances that led to the UN withdrawal from Somalia were also carefully examined. In the meantime, UN peacekeepers continued their long-term operations in the Middle East, Asia and Cyprus.

3. Brahimi Report and Emerging Trends

In March 2000, the UN Secretary General appointed a panel to assess the shortcomings and difficulties of the then existing system and to make specific and realistic recommendations for change. The panel was composed of individuals experienced in conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace building. The panel submitted its report in August 2000. Since Lakhdar Brahimi led the panel, the report is known as the “Brahimi Report”. It mainly recommended three issues: (i) renewed political commitment on the part of member states to continue peacekeeping operation; (ii) significant institutional change; and, (iii) increased financial support.¹⁴ The report also emphasised that the UN should take preventive measures to contain potential crisis in the conflict-prone areas. The panel noted that in order to be effective, the UN peacekeeping operations must be properly resourced and equipped, and operate under clear, credible and achievable mandates.

Brahimi report introduced a wide range of doctrinal and structural change in the UN peacekeeping missions. Firstly, the report started focusing on the peace building issues, which would help to stabilise conflicting areas and showed the ways to achieve sustainable development. Secondly, the UN established a High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. The objective of the panel was to set out a broad framework for collective security for the new century. Thirdly, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) was split into two, creating a new and separate

¹² J. P. Bailke, *op. cit.*

¹³ Michael Griffin and Bruce Jones, “Building Peace through Transitional Authority: New Directions, Major Challenges”, in Adekeye Adebajo and Chandra Lekha Sriram (eds.), *Managing Armed Conflicts in the 21st Century*, Wiltshire: Antony Rowe Ltd., 2000, p. 75.

¹⁴ “The Brahimi Report: Four Years On”, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, June 2004, available at: https://www.civcap.info/fileadmin/user_upload/Research_Reports/Tardy_Report.pdf, accessed on 25 April 2014.

body named Department of Field Support (DFS). The lack of administrative supports at the field level was addressed by establishing DFS. Fourthly, after Brahimi report the UN started engaging regional organisations in the peacekeeping missions. In 2007, the UN engaged the African Union (AU) troops in the peacekeeping operations. It helped peacekeepers to get political support regionally as well as human and resource support for the missions. Fifthly, based on the recommendations of Brahimi report, in 2008, the UN published *Capstone Doctrine*, which outlined the most important principles and guidelines for UN peacekeepers in the field. The *Capstone Doctrine* adopted five-step peace processes conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping, peace enforcement and peace building.

Figure 2: Steps of UN Peacekeeping Missions



Source: UN Peacekeeping PDT Standards, Core Pre-deployment Training Materials, 2009.

Conflict prevention involves diplomatic initiatives to engage relevant stakeholders to contain inter-state and intra-state tensions and disputes escalating into violent conflict. Peacemaking works when conflict is in progress and involves diplomatic initiatives to bring the hostile parties in a negotiation agreement. Peacekeeping is aimed at maintaining peaceful environment to prevent further escalation of conflict. Peace enforcement involves the use of minimum coercive measures under the explicit authorisation of the UN Security Council. Peace building seeks to attain sustainable peace after resolving conflict among the hostile groups.

After Brahimi report, the UN peace operations regained global commitment for political and financial support for peacekeeping missions.¹⁵ It helped to begin institutional change, which made it easier to implement complex peace agreements and to stabilise security situation. Moreover, the UN missions became more aware about the human rights issues in different regions. Brahimi report augmented an era of consolidation in the UN peace operations. Despite fear of escalating conflicts, the UN has successfully created an opportunity for self-determination for the people of East Timor.

The peace operations in the contemporary period stretched like never before and increasingly called upon to deploy to remote, uncertain operating environments and into volatile political contexts.¹⁶ It faced a varied set of challenges, including challenges to deliver on its largest, most expensive and increasingly complex missions, challenges in design and execute viable transition strategies for missions where a degree of stability has been attained, and challenges to prepare for an uncertain future and set of requirements. In this respect, in 2009, to face the new challenges, the UN developed a document named *A New Partnership Agenda: Charting a New Horizon for UN Peacekeeping*. The document identified a wide range of challenges as well as recommended to adapt with the emerging realities in the operating areas of the UN peacekeeping. The report denotes the future trends of the UN peace operations and how the organisation needs to prepare to address the upcoming challenges in this regard.

The main objectives of the report were to assess the major policy level and strategic dilemmas facing UN peacekeeping today and over the coming years and reinvigorate the ongoing dialogue with stakeholders on possible solutions to better adjust UN peacekeeping to meet current and future requirements.¹⁷ The New Horizon recommendations are applied to DPKO and DFS. As part of the New Horizon initiative, in early 2009, DPKO and DFS commissioned an external think-piece by the Center of International Cooperation (CIC) "*Building on Brahimi: A Coalition of Peacekeeping in an Era of Strategic Uncertainty*", to help stimulate discussion on the challenges and opportunities for UN peacekeeping. The CIC piece is an independent, external contribution to the process. It does not reflect or prejudice the views of DPKO and DFS. The New Horizon is keen to address the emerging challenges considering duration and effectiveness of the peace operations. It recommended for a global partnership with three dimensions: a partnership in purpose, a partnership in action and a partnership for the future.¹⁸ A partnership in purpose emphasises on a more

¹⁵ Bruce Jones, Richard Gowan, and Jake Sherman, "Building on Brahimi Peacekeeping in an Era of Strategic Uncertainty", NYU Center on International Cooperation, New York University, April 2009.

¹⁶ Cedric De Conon, "The Emerging UN-AU Peacekeeping Partnership", *Conflict Trends, Issue. 1*, 2010.

¹⁷ William J. Durch, Victoria K. Holt, Caroline R. Earle, Moira K. Shanahan, *Brahimi Report and the Future of Peace Operations*, Washington D.C.: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2009, p. 5.

¹⁸ "A New Partnership Agenda: Charting a New Horizon for the UN Peacekeeping", Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support, New York, July 2009.

inclusive approach in designing, planning and managing UN peacekeeping missions. A partnership in action agreed on approaches and capacities required to implement this vision on the ground and to deliver critical tasks, as well as to manage crises. A partnership for the future is a collective dedication to building and sustaining the right capabilities for UN peacekeeping into the future, by examining new ways of drawing on global resources and flexible, innovative measures to deploy and support peacekeepers in the field.

The New Horizon agenda is based on four major operational principles -policy development, capacity development, global field support strategy, and planning and oversight.¹⁹ Policy development is about clarifying the critical roles and responsibilities of peacekeepers and developing practical guidance in specific areas, including the protection of civilians, peace building roles of peacekeepers, and effective and robust response to threats. Capacity development focuses on filling critical capability gaps in peacekeeping missions in a forward-looking and sustainable manner and ensuring peacekeepers are prepared, equipped, and enabled to deliver against reasonable performance expectations. Global field support strategy includes service delivery in the field through efficient and effective support arrangements and improved accountability and resource stewardship. Planning and oversight is about bolstering consultations among stakeholders and ensuring more effective and inclusive arrangements for planning, management, and oversight of missions.

The New Horizon reinvigorates some of the issues of the UN peacekeeping operations like DDR, rule of law and electoral assistance. Moreover, it also includes new issues where the peacekeeping missions need to focus. The protection of civilians is an important strategy adopted in the New Horizon approach. Gender and peacekeeping issues are also getting more attention. The UN is more aware about preventing violence against women in the conflicting areas. The issue of environment and sustainability is also gaining focus in the peacekeeping strategy. The UN is more concerned to protect children in the conflicting regions. The refugee problems due to conflict are also included in the New Horizon agenda. In addition, the report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations in 2012 added the necessity of providing advanced technologies in peacekeeping operations and emphasised on sufficient training for the peacekeepers in the field level.

Overall, the New Horizon introduces new doctrinal issues in the UN peace operations for the future. It is also adopting new governance structure for UN peace operations²⁰ and includes basic socio-economic issues in the peacekeeping agenda.²¹ In the field level, the emergence of Non-State Actors (NSAs) adds to new

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Ian Johnstone, *The Power of Deliberation: International Law, Politics and Organisation*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 142.

²¹ *Ibid.*

complexity for peacekeepers. Since NSAs have no structured leadership and their motivations are difficult to understand, it will be challenging to engage them in the negotiation process. To neutralise such NSAs, the peacekeepers will need modern and sophisticated technologies. Significantly, however, the operations in future will be more concentrated on peace building affairs. Therefore, the civilian affairs will increase in the peace missions.²² The New Horizon indicates that the future UN peace operations will focus on protection of civilians, women and children, institution building, protection of human rights, and ensuring environmental sustainability. Peacekeeping operations in future would be more robust and multidimensional than any time in their history.

4. Challenges for Bangladesh and Responses

Since independence in 1971, Bangladesh expressed its commitment for global peace and stability. Article 25 of the Constitution of Bangladesh states, "The State shall base its international relations on the principles of respect for national sovereignty and equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, peaceful settlement of international disputes, and respect for international law and principles enunciated in the United Nations Charter". Bangladesh became a member of the UN in 1974 and since then the country has always raised its voice in all international fora in support of global peace and security. Bangladesh is pledge-bound to the principles enshrined in the UN Charter, the peaceful settlement of international disputes and to the maintenance of global peace and security. Therefore, the commitment of Bangladesh towards global peace and security is undisputable. The country is always keen and prepared to contribute in the UN peacekeeping operations and considers it as a national obligation to support global peace and stability.

In this respect, footprints of Bangladeshi peacekeepers are now evident in almost all of the troubled areas of the world, starting from Haiti to East Timor, from Lebanon to DR Congo. Bangladesh stepped into the family of 'Blue Helmet' through participation in UNIMOG (Iraq-Iran) in 1988 with 15 military observers from Bangladesh Army and Bangladesh Navy. Bangladesh Air Force joined United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKO) in 1993 while Bangladesh Police joined in 1989. As of today, Bangladesh has contributed in 54 out of total 69 UN peacekeeping missions where 1,26,489 Bangladeshi peacekeepers have participated. Currently, with the strength of 8,841 peacekeepers, Bangladesh is the highest peacekeepers contributing country in the world. On the way to achieving global peace, 119 Bangladeshi brave and valiant soldiers made supreme sacrifice by laying down their lives. Today, Bangladeshi peacekeepers have rightfully earned the credentials of "Role Model"

²² Jair van der Linj, "The Future of Peace Operations", Netherlands Institute of International Relations, available at: http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20130100_future_%20peace_operations_paper_lijn.pdf, accessed on 25 April 2014.

in global peacekeeping due to their professionalism, commitment, impartiality, integrity, and humane attitude.

Following the reforms in UN peacekeeping operations, the troop contributing countries like Bangladesh will have to cope with the changing situation to maintain the edge. This section highlights some newly emerged challenges for Bangladesh in UN peacekeeping which Bangladesh needs to address and some possible responses to cope with the reform processes in the UN. Now, the peacekeepers have more complex mandates to implement as appeared in the Brahimi report and New Horizon initiatives.

In the phase of New Horizon, the global peacekeeping operations are taking new issues in the peacekeeping agenda like protection of civilians, women and children, ensuring human security, and environmental security. Bangladesh needs to take immediate preparation to work with new doctrinal issues such as:

- The UN is now partnering with regional organisations, such as the African Union (AU), the European Union (EU) or North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and in some cases sub-regional bodies. The most promising attempt to strengthen the peacekeeping partnership and cooperation seems to be with the AU and there is an attempt to establish African Standby Force (ASF), which will be in operation by 2015. There is a concern whether such initiative will reduce the number of Bangladeshi troops working in Africa.
- As such, Bangladesh's peacekeepers need to enhance the technological expertise to enable them to respond to the challenges of the third generation high-tech driven peacekeeping operations.
- Effective and rapid deployment is one of the core issues in Brahimi report and in New Horizon process. Recent developments in South-east Asia point to a strengthening of more rapidly deployable peacekeeping troops and the ASEAN Security Community will be operational by 2015. Bangladesh needs to take preparation for rapid deployment.

In the contemporary peace operations, peacekeepers need multidimensional capacities. In this respect, capacity building would remain a challenge for Bangladesh. If peacekeepers know the language of the country where they are deployed, it would be helpful for them to deal with the issues of the region. Moreover, the use of modern technologies makes peacekeeping activities easy. Bangladeshi peacekeepers should be equipped with modern technologies and they should be adequately trained to use the technologies during their operations in the peacekeeping missions. Bangladeshi peacekeepers are mainly deployed in the field levels. Because of the sustained contributions Bangladesh made in the peace operations, the country deserves to be a part of the policy making and strategic levels of the UN peace operations. It may be mentioned that Bangladeshi peacekeepers successfully contributed in the senior

levels of military affairs of the peace operations. Nevertheless, it would be a challenge for Bangladesh to ensure its deserved positions in the peacekeeping activities. The country can raise the issue in the respective fora and can use diplomatic instruments to get its rightful positions in the UN peace operations.

The issues of peace building are getting more importance than before. The issues cover establishing democratic institutions, formation of state institutions like legislative and judicial bodies, ensuring rule of law and maintaining peace and security to prevent escalation of conflicts. Bangladeshi peacekeepers need to be more capable of helping peace building affairs in the UN missions. In this respect, peacekeepers, specifically involved in peace building matters, should be given prior training about the respective areas where UN missions work.

The emergence of violent NSAs is making peace operations more difficult than before.²³ The NSAs and terrorist groups have no structured leadership. Hence, it is difficult to communicate with them to reach in any peace agreement. Moreover, the tactics used by the NSAs are also not always the same. The motivations of the violent NSAs are difficult to understand. Bangladeshi peacekeepers need to enrich their knowledge about the conflicting groups before deployment. It would make their work easy and effective. In this respect, Bangladeshi peacekeepers also have to develop their negotiation skills to deal with the conflicting groups. In the process of peace building, democratisation, institution building and promotion of electoral systems are very important nowadays. In the field level, peacekeepers need to know the primary issues in this regard. Being citizens of a democratic country, Bangladeshi peacekeepers are aware about the process of democratisation, yet they need to be aware about the local culture, traditions and practices too. It would increase their efficiency in the field level work.

Gender mainstreaming is a globally accepted approach to achieve gender equality and constitutes an essential part of UN Women's work. As peacekeeping has evolved to encompass a broader humanitarian approach, female peacekeepers have increasingly become part of the peacekeeping family. Female peacekeepers from police, military and civil bodies are included in the peacekeeping missions which have made a positive impact on peacekeeping environment, both in supporting the role of women in building peace and protecting women's rights.²⁴ Bangladesh has been sending female peacekeepers mainly in medical sector. Bangladesh Police is sending female peacekeepers, which has earned good name and fame for the country.

²³ Gregory Hodgjin, "United Nations Peacekeeping and Non-State Actors: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis of the Conditions Required for Cooperation", Paper 27, Georgia State University, 2009, available at http://scholarworks.gsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1026&context=political_science_theses, accessed on 25 May 2014.

²⁴ The United Nations, "Women in Peacekeeping", available at <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/womeninpk.shtml>, accessed on 17 June 2014.

However, there are ample opportunities for sending more female peacekeepers in other areas too, specifically, in Protection of Civilians (POC) activities. POC activities take into account of the fact that women and girls are the main target of sexual violence by combatants. In this context, women can play important roles in assessing their vulnerabilities and threats they may face in a conflicting environment. This recognises the importance of women empowerment and incorporation of gender perspective of POC activities.

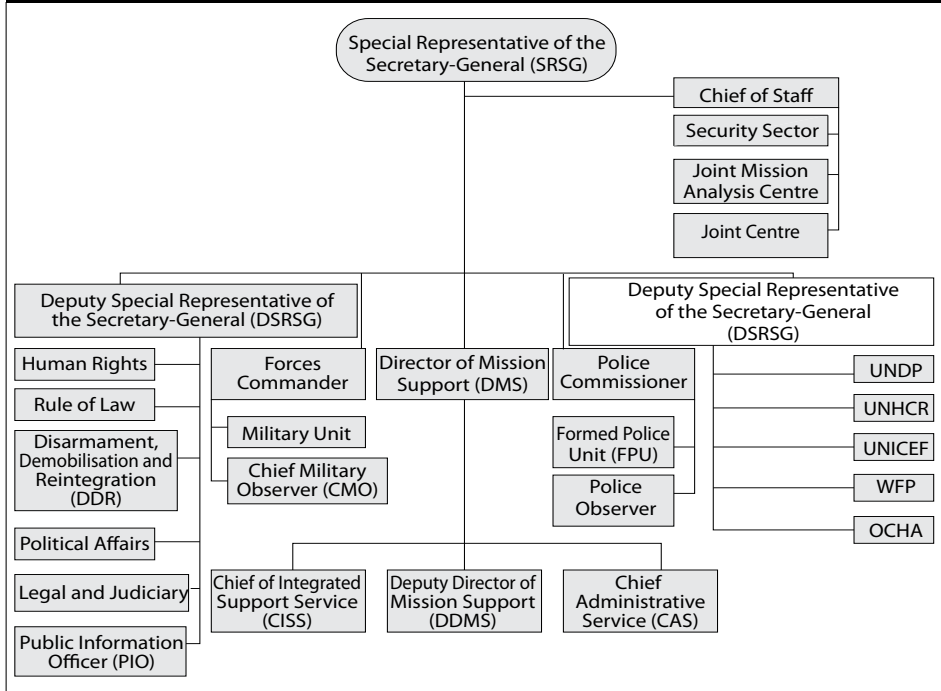
In many peace operating regions, UN missions face difficult infrastructural hurdles.²⁵ The terrains of peace operation areas are not always friendly to ensure communication and to provide service for local people. In this context, Bangladeshi engineers and relevant experts could be involved in constructing infrastructures of the conflict zones. Such initiative is essential in the post-conflict areas to make peace sustainable and effective.

Most of the UN contingents are deployed for six months, but many of the Bangladeshi contingents stay one year or more. Due to financial considerations, most of the Bangladeshi soldiers do not visit their family during the entire period of mission. Such long stay in the mission causes psychological impact affecting their work. Some troop contributing countries arrange round trip visits for their soldiers. Bangladesh can also consider such initiative for its peacekeepers.

Bangladesh is one of the largest contributors in UN peacekeeping operations in terms of Armed Forces and police deployment. However, the presence of Bangladeshi civilian experts in the UN peacekeeping operations is very negligible. The organogram shows (figure 3) integrated mission structure has many posts for civilian experts. Overall, there is a high vacancy rate for civilian experts in the field. Bangladesh can fill in the gap by taking actions to send more civilian experts.

²⁵ The United Nations, *Protection of Civilians: Coordination Mechanisms in UN Peacekeeping Missions*, New York, 2012.

Figure 3: Integrated Mission Structure



The military is trained for war which is closely tied up with nationalism and the doctrine of sovereignty and involves violence and destruction. Peacekeeping operations are very complex in present days and the mental frame and attitudes essential for a military contingent member in a peace operation and training methodology that can be adapted to build the mindset. Moreover, to make peacekeepers more confident, they should be given sufficient knowledge of language of respective area. Since most of the peace operations are in African region, the learning of French language would make peacekeepers more capable to deal with local people. The plan of establishing a Peace Building Centre in Bangladesh with the help of Japanese government will help to improve the capacities of the peacekeepers in the coming days.

Lastly, since the end of the Cold War, on many occasions there was unprecedented consensus in the UNSC. But, in recent times, Russia and China are critical about the US positions in the Security Council. In the coming days, reaching a consensus on the activities of peace operations may not be always easy for the members of the UNSC. The recent Chinese presence in Africa, where most of the UN peacekeeping forces are deployed, is not seen by France positively.²⁶ Nowadays, peacekeeping is a

²⁶ Paul Melly and Vincent Darracq, "A New Way to Engage? French Policy in Africa from Sarkozy to Hollande", SAFPI Digest, 30th Edition, 17 May 2013.

part of global geopolitics.²⁷ Hence, it may be a challenge for Bangladesh to maintain a position, where all the Security Council members feel convenient to deploy Bangladeshi peacekeepers. Bangladesh needs to adopt effective diplomatic policies to maintain a neutral, but a cordial relation with all international actors. The image that Bangladesh already has achieved would make it easier for the country to convince international community that the objective of Bangladesh is to work for the betterment of humanity to achieve peace and stability. In addition, the commitment of Bangladesh to achieve global peace needs to be raised in the international fora effectively.

5. Conclusion

The UN is the global institution to negotiate among the hostile groups and to resolve international conflicts. At the beginning, the UN peace operations were mainly concentrated on mediation and negotiation to prevent escalation of conflicts. The doctrine of New Horizon peacekeeping, which is going to determine future of the UN peace operations, is more robust and multidimensional than before.

As a significant contributor in the UN peacekeeping activities, Bangladesh needs to understand its challenges and to prepare to respond effectively in the new era of peace operations. The responses would include, adaptation with the emerging doctrinal shifts, adopting efficient diplomatic instruments to justify the country's contribution in the global affairs and facing new threats in the field level operations i.e., dealing with NSAs, activities relating to DDR and monitoring ceasefire in the conflicting areas. Moreover, the capacity building to handle peace building affairs, like contributions in the process of democratisation, institutionalisation and arranging peaceful elections, would be a challenge for Bangladesh. The use of modern technology and language skill for the mission areas are also necessary for efficient functioning of peace operations.

Bangladesh takes pride in few sectors and peacekeeping is one of those. The previous records of Bangladesh show that its peacekeepers are keen to adapt with new challenges efficiently. The earlier commitments and dedications substantiate that Bangladesh certainly would be able to respond properly for adjusting with the new issues of peace operations. To ensure the country's respectable position in the planning and strategic levels of the UN peacekeeping activities, the country needs to be more active in the international fora. To secure good image of Bangladesh achieved due to its contributions in the UN peacekeeping, it needs a planned and comprehensive training and motivation for its peacekeepers to deal with the emerging issues of peace operations. Last but not least, the motto of the peacekeepers of Bangladesh would be to win hearts and minds of the people of areas where they are deployed. It would increase the acceptance of Bangladeshi peacekeepers and would enhance the image of the country in the international fora.

²⁷ Sharon Wiharta, Neil Melvin and Xenia Avezov, *The Geopolitics of Peace Operations: Mapping the Emerging Landscape*, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), 2012.