

# **Pakistan's Foreign Policy Objectives for Troops Contribution to Peace Operations**



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(Registration No: NUST201490177PCIPS6114S)

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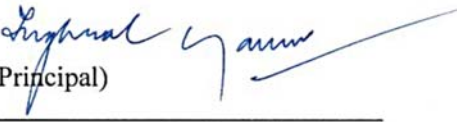
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## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to my wonderful mother and wife, who have always been an inspiration to me. I may never be able to repay them for their tremendous sacrifices in support of my studies.

The dissertation is also dedicated to those commanders and soldiers who have given their lives for the sake of world peace and stability so that future generations can live in peace. All of the soldiers who have helped me complete my dissertation by participating in UN missions and showcasing Pakistan as a peaceful country.



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## **ABSTRACT**

Peacekeeping by the UN is a role held by the Department of Peace Operations as "a unique and dynamic instrument developed by the organization as a way to help countries torn by conflict to create the conditions for lasting peace. Pakistan is amongst the leading contributors in the world and has played an important role in peacekeeping missions in its over fifty-year long peacekeeping activism. This study explores what makes Pakistan a preferred peacekeeping contributor as compared to other nations. The thesis also highlights various challenges that are being faced by Pakistan in contributing troops for peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions.

Since the option of contribution lies with the member states therefore there must be compelling reasons for it. This study will be focused on the factors that motivate Pakistan for such a large number of troops contribution towards UN peacekeeping operations. Hans Morgenthau's principle of National interest is considered to be the basis of support for this study. The study aims to find out Pakistan's objectives for maintaining its top troop contributing status at UN Peacekeeping and the outcomes from such effort despite having requirement of troops at home for traditional external and internal security duties. This study intends to fill the long-existed gap in literature on Pakistan's foreign policy objectives with respect to troop contribution for UN peacekeeping. It will establish a scholarship on Pakistan's motivation and rationale for peacekeeping as well as increase academic understanding on the country's troop contribution. The study limits itself to Pakistan's security, economic, political and strategic challenges.

The study used Morgenthau's principle of national interests as conceptual/ theoretical framework. The primary and secondary data was analyzed through content analysis methodology and record analysis technique to understand Pakistan's foreign policy objectives with respect to its troop contribution to UN peacekeeping. A comparative analysis technique was used to understand Pakistan's motivation for troop contribution. The primary foreign policy objectives of Pakistan to safeguard the national security, its economic interests abroad and to project its peace-loving image to the world are aligned with its troop contribution to UN. Pakistan's troop contribution decisions are motivated by its political, economic, security and institutional interests. Pakistan's comparison with other contributors, show that the country enjoys a unique position among the top-ranked contributors.

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

1. UN	United Nations
2. Peacekeeping Operations	POs
3. Troops Contributing Country(ies)	TCCs
4. Nonviolent Peacekeeping	NP
5. Civilian Peacekeeping	CP
6. UN Civil Police	CIVPOL
7. Responsibility to Protect	R2P
8. Internally Displaced People	IDP
9. Global War on Terror	GWOT
10. UN Truce Supervision Organization	UNTSO
11. UN Emergency Force	UNEF
12. Police Contributing Countries	PCCs
13. Financial Contributing Countries	FCCs

## LIST OF ACRONYMS (OPERATIONS)<sup>1</sup>

<b>Acronym</b>	<b>Mission Name</b>	<b>Start</b>	<b>End</b>
<b>UNTSO</b>	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization	1948	Present
<b>UNMOGIP</b>	United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan	1949	Present
<b>UNEF I</b>	First United Nations Emergency Force	1956	1967
<b>UNOGIL</b>	United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon	1958	1958
<b>ONUC</b>	United Nations Operation in the Congo	1960	1964
<b>UNSF</b>	United Nations Security Force in West New Guinea	1962	1963
<b>UNYOM</b>	United Nations Yemen Observation Mission	1963	1964
<b>UNFICYP</b>	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus	1964	Present
<b>DOMREP</b>	Mission of the Representative of the Secretary-General in the Dominican Republic	1965	1966
<b>UNIPOM</b>	United Nations India-Pakistan Observation Mission	1965	1966
<b>UNEF II</b>	Second United Nations Emergency Force	1973	1979
<b>UNDOF</b>	United Nations Disengagement Observer Force	1974	Present
<b>UNIFIL</b>	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon	1978	Present
<b>UNGOMAP</b>	United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan	1988	1990*
<b>UNIIMOG</b>	United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group	1988	1991
<b>UNAVEM I</b>	United Nations Angola Verification Mission I	1989	1991
<b>UNTAG</b>	United Nations Transition Assistance Group	1989	1990
<b>ONUCA</b>	United Nations Observer Group in Central America	1989	1992
<b>UNIKOM</b>	United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission	1991	2003
<b>MINURSO</b>	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara	1991	Present
<b>UNAVEM II</b>	United Nations Angola Verification Mission II	1991	1995
<b>ONUSAL</b>	United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador	1991	1995
<b>UNAMIC</b>	United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia	1991	1992
<b>UNPROFOR</b>	United Nations Protection Force	1992	1995
<b>UNTAC</b>	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia	1992	1993
<b>UNOSOM I</b>	United Nations Operation in Somalia I	1992	1993
<b>ONUMOZ</b>	United Nations Operation in Mozambique	1992	1994
<b>UNOSOM II</b>	United Nations Operation in Somalia II	1993	1995
<b>UNOMUR</b>	United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda	1993	1994
<b>UNOMIG</b>	United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia	1993	2009
<b>UNOMIL</b>	United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia	1993	1997
<b>UNMIH</b>	United Nations Mission in Haiti	1993	1996
<b>UNAMIR</b>	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda	1993	1996
<b>UNASOG</b>	United Nations Aouzou Strip Observer Group	1994	1994
<b>UNMOT</b>	United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan	1994	2000
<b>UNAVEM III</b>	United Nations Angola Verification Mission III	1995	1997
<b>UNCRO</b>	United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia	1995	1996
<b>UNPREDEP</b>	United Nations Preventive Deployment Force	1995	1999
<b>UNMIBH</b>	United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina	1995	2002
<b>UNTAES</b>	United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium	1996	1998
<b>UNMOP</b>	United Nations Mission of Observers in Prevlaka	1996	2002
<b>UNSMIH</b>	United Nations Support Mission in Haiti	1996	1997
<b>MINUGUA</b>	United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala	1997	1997
<b>MONUA</b>	United Nations Observer Mission in Angola	1997	1999
<b>UNTMIH</b>	United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti	1997	1997
<b>MIPONUH</b>	United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti	1997	2000
<b>UNCPSG</b>	UN Civilian Police Support Group	1998	1998
<b>MINURCA</b>	United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic	1998	2000
<b>UNOMSIL</b>	United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone	1998	1999
<b>UNMIK</b>	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo	1999	Present
<b>UNAMSIL</b>	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone	1999	2005

<sup>1</sup> List of Peacekeeping Operations, *United Nations Peacekeeping*, [https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/unpeacekeeping-operationlist\\_1.pdf](https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/unpeacekeeping-operationlist_1.pdf). Accessed Oct. 19, 2019.



<b>UNTAET</b>	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor	1999	2002
<b>MONUC</b>	United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo	1999	2010
<b>UNMEE</b>	United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea	2000	2008
<b>UNMISSET</b>	United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor	2002	2005
<b>MINUCI</b>	United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire	2003	2004
<b>UNMIL</b>	United Nations Mission in Liberia	2003	Present
<b>UNOCI</b>	United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire	2004	2017
<b>MINUSTAH</b>	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti	2004	2017
<b>ONUB</b>	United Nations Operation in Burundi	2004	2006
<b>UNMIS</b>	United Nations Mission in the Sudan	2005	2011
<b>UNMIT</b>	United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste	2006	2012
<b>UNAMID</b>	African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur	2007	Present
<b>MINURCAT</b>	United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad	2007	2010
<b>MONUSCO</b>	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo	2010	Present
<b>UNISFA</b>	United Nations Organization Interim Security Force for Abyei	2011	Present
<b>UNMISS</b>	United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan	2011	Present
<b>UNSMIS</b>	United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria	2012	2012
<b>MINUSMA</b>	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali	2013	Present
<b>MINUSCA</b>	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic	2014	Present
<b>MINUJUSTH</b>	United Nations Mission for Justice Support in Haiti	2017	Present

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

Pakistan is sixth in the list of TCCs, with India and Bangladesh, with 200,000 troops committed to 42 UN peacekeeping missions in 26 countries ranging from Africa to Latin America to Southeast Asia since 1960.<sup>2</sup> From a liberalist perspective the country's overwhelming contribution to UN peacekeeping operations reflects its desire to play a role in promoting and maintaining international peace and stability. However, from a realist perspective, troop contribution to UN' peace operations are a known way for nations to pursue a country's foreign policy objectives.

This dissertation investigates Pakistan's ideological approach to the UN, its various bodies and forums, and understands its foreign policy objectives for troop contribution to peace operations. In addition, the study explores factors affecting Pakistan's troop contribution decisions and attempts to find out, whether these objectives are in alignment with its troop contributing tradition.

Pakistan's approach to UN in general and its troop contribution practice can be best understood by understanding the country's foreign policy principles, dimensions of its foreign policy and most importantly its foreign policy objectives. Since Pakistan from the time of its creation has a very clear and unambiguous view towards other states and international institutions and maintains an official stance on the nature of its relations with such states and institutions therefore a dissection of its foreign policy objectives with respect to its role in UN peacekeeping will help the researcher to investigate Pakistan's role in UN peacekeeping.

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<sup>2</sup> "Pakistan's role in UN peacekeeping missions is a soft power bank". Arab News, July 3, 2019. <https://www.arabnews.pk/node/1520101>

This dissertation attempts to answer why and how Pakistan maintained active and large-scale contribution to UN peacekeeping missions in the last decade of previous century and the first two decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The study also discusses Pakistan's motivation and rationale for troop contribution by examining the purpose statements or agenda text of different operations, by reviewing the literature on troop contribution and by drawing a comparison with troop-contributing motivations of Ethiopia and India. The thesis also presents firsthand experiences of Pakistani peacekeepers, who have either served or are serving at the moment in different UN peacekeeping missions as well as the opinions from different experts on UN peacekeeping.

Pakistan dispatched its first contingent of troops to the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 1960 to ensure peacekeeping.<sup>3</sup> The battle is still ongoing after more than five decades, and peacekeeping soldiers are still stationed here. Pakistan is one of the world's largest donors and has played a significant part in peacekeeping operations during the course of its fifty-year peacekeeping involvement.<sup>4</sup> This research investigates what makes Pakistan a favored peacekeeping contributor in comparison to other countries. The thesis also discusses the difficulties Pakistan has in supplying soldiers to peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

The UN does not force its members to contribute troops for its peacekeeping missions rather it is a voluntary contribution based on a country's national interest, foreign policy, and constitutional and non-constitutional obligations towards international community. Since the option of contribution lies with the member states therefore there must be compelling reasons for it. Looking at it through the prism of an idealist, it can be highlighted that countries are

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<sup>3</sup> "Troop and Police Contributors," United Nations Peacekeeping, Accessed June 21, 2019  
<https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/troop-and-police-contributors>

<sup>4</sup> Kabilan Krishnasamy, "'Recognition' for Third World Peacekeepers: India and Pakistan", *International Peacekeeping* 8, no. 4 (2001): 56-76, doi:10.1080/13533310108413920.

willing to contribute troops simply because they wish to cooperate in promoting and maintaining international peace. However, realist would argue that they are motivated to contribute because it provides them opportunities to promote their national interests.

This study will focus on the factors that motivate Pakistan for such a large number of troops contribution towards UN peacekeeping operations. Hans Morgenthau's principle of national interests is considered to be the basis of support for this dissertation. Notwithstanding the fact of morality and virtue of politics, where people are supposed to behave in a universally rightful manner, they will always pursue their interests and goals. The same principles are applicable to states, where troop contributions to the UN peacekeeping operations is regarded as a noble act but in return they are receiving a number of benefits including economic, professional and political interests.

### 1.3 Objectives of the Dissertation

1. To find out Pakistan's objectives for maintaining its top troop contributing status at UN Peacekeeping and the outcomes from such effort.
2. To explore, how the country manages to maintain a top-ranked position at UN peacekeeping despite having requirement of troops at home for traditional external and internal security duties.
3. To find whether Pakistani troops are favored in any way or manner for UN peacekeeping by the UN and if yes why UN prefers Pakistani peacekeepers.

### 1.4 Research Questions

1. What is Pakistan's foreign policy objectives for troop contribution to UN Peacekeeping?

2. How Pakistan manages to be a top-ranked troop contributor for UN Peacekeeping?
3. How far Pakistan's internal factors such as security, economy and politics play a part in its troop-contribution tradition?
4. What is Pakistan's comparative traits that make it a preferred choice for troop contribution?

## 1.5 Hypothesis

Peacekeeping contributions benefits Pakistan to safeguard its national interests. If Pakistan contributes a considerable number of forces towards peacekeeping missions around the world, then there must be strong motivations to achieve its national interests and must contribute considerable number of troops to the peacekeeping operations. There is a significant relationship between national interest and troops contribution.

## 1.6 Significance of the Dissertation

This dissertation intends to fill the long-existed gap in literature on Pakistan's foreign policy objectives with respect to troop contribution for UN peacekeeping. It will establish a scholarship on Pakistan's motivation and rationale for peacekeeping as well as increase academic understanding on the country's troop contribution. The dissertation will highlight the challenges to UN peacekeeping and will be of great significance for Pakistani and UN policymakers.

## 1.7 Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of ten chapters. The first chapter introduces the topic and provides background. It also introduces the research questions and objectives of the dissertation. The chapter also discusses the significance of the dissertation. Further, it provides an organization of the dissertation.

The second chapter reviews the literature on peacekeeping with a special focus to Pakistan's contribution and foreign policy objectives. It reviews books, papers, reports, articles, and other secondary sources establishing that the body of literature has gap when it comes to understanding Pakistan's foreign policy objectives for UN peacekeeping operations.

The third chapter discuss the methodology and theoretical framework of the dissertation. The chapter introduces research structure and methods as well as author's approach to data analysis. Further, this chapter also discusses the importance of theoretical background, theory of Realism with its specific consideration, rationale for a methodological approach and theoretical framework.

The fourth chapter takes on UN peacekeeping contribution discussing evolution of peacekeeping and providing its historical background. It also defines, peace, peacekeeping and illustrates types of peacekeeping. The chapter discusses the conceptual definitions of peacekeeping including the latest trends in peacekeeping. It also elaborately covers the new dimension of cyber peacekeeping and Pakistan's capacity to operate in cyber threat environments. The chapter also describe the basic principles of peacekeeping concept.

The fifth chapter takes on Pakistan's UN peacekeeping contributions with respect to the country's foreign policy objectives. It discusses trends in Pakistan's foreign policy from 1960s to 2000. The chapter also highlights trends in Pakistan foreign policy after 2001 and sees its role at UN peacekeeping missions.

The sixth chapter focuses on Pakistan as a favored candidate for UNPKO soldier contributions. It focuses on the hypothetical foundations of UN peacekeeping through a case study of H.J Morgenthau's six principles of political realism. It also looks at the many roles that Pakistani troops have played in UN peacekeeping operations. It emphasizes the reasons for Pakistani forces' preference, which are based on their extensive experience gained through actual deployment in a variety of critical situations. It finishes the dissertation and makes recommendations for further research.

The seventh chapter discusses the research findings for rationale of why and how such a large number of contributions by Pakistan. It discusses the motivations and rationale for contributions with a comparison of rationale for purpose, place and mandate of the mission. Finally, it draws a comparison of Pakistan contribution with the other two top contributors with logic and rationale of their own.

The eighth chapter is based on primary and secondary data logical findings to better comprehend Pakistan's intentions. This chapter was written based on the study of interviews with experienced peacekeepers from various levels. At the end of the chapter, conclusions based on firsthand knowledge of peacekeepers have been reached for a complete Foreign policy alternatives and suggestions for the successful operation of all sorts of tough circumstances.

The ninth chapter in the sequence focuses on the internal and external obstacles and challenges that the state has in preparing its forces to make a meaningful and productive contribution to UN peacekeeping missions. Political, communicative and strategic, cultural, and economic issues are prominently discussed in this chapter. These issues present many possibilities for the state to gather experience that will be useful in contributions.

The tenth chapter is based on conclusions and recommendations of the dissertation with endorsements for future research, with particular emphasis on safeguarding national interests,

motivation for decision making, domestic crisis management experiences, counter-terrorism strategic successes, and the diplomatic role of our troops as part of public diplomacy.

## 1.8 Delimitation of the Dissertation

This dissertation focuses on Pakistan's UN peacekeeping contributions with respect to its foreign policy objectives. The thesis draws a comparison between Pakistan's motivations and motivations of other contributing nations (such as Ethiopia and India) for troop contribution to UN peacekeeping. The dissertation limits itself to Pakistan's security, economic, political and strategic challenges.

## 1.9 Conceptual/Operational Definitions

**Peacekeeping:** Peacekeeping by the UN is a role held by the Department of Peace Operations as "a unique and dynamic instrument developed by the organization as a way to help countries torn by conflict to create the conditions for lasting peace".



## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction

A great deal of academic attention has been given to the subject of peacekeeping operations in the contemporary international arena. It is a known fact that there has been no reference of peacekeeping in the charter of the League of Nations and was never defined before 1945. With the formation of UN, it started developing and continued to evolve and pursue peacekeeping operations as a tool to maintain peace and security. The foundation of the UN undertaking the responsibility of peace operations has developed from deploying unarmed military observers to deal with the international armed conflicts. Since then the UN has a rich past of peacekeeping operation incorporating new ideas with the passage of the time for improvement of international peace and stability. Peacekeeping defines the arrangements made to build environments that would lead to ending peace in a particular ordination.

The evolution of the peacekeeping operations has been categorized in groups as per their formation in a specific time period. The first-generation peacekeeping operations were termed as the truce keeping,<sup>5</sup> the traditional peacekeeping operations<sup>6</sup> and the first-generation peacekeeping operations,<sup>7</sup> which, are also known as the interposition missions. Such operations contingents of lightly armed troops would serve as buffer between conflicting parties, monitor them and report on the violations of ceasefire agreements. The first ever unarmed peacekeeping operation was implemented in 1948 with the deployment of UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) mandated to supervise the truce between Arab and Israel in 1948. It

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<sup>5</sup> Erwin A. Schmidl, "Peace Operations Between War and Peace". *London: Taylor and Francis*, 2013), <http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=1539310>.

<sup>6</sup> Tommie Sjöberg, "From Korea And Suez To Iraq: Half A Century of United Nations Conflict Management" *Lund: Sekel*, 2006.

<sup>7</sup> Rams Botham, O., Woodhouse, T. and Mial, H., 2007, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge: Polity Press

was followed with the deployment of the UN Monitoring and Observation Group in Kashmir in 1949.

The first armed peacekeeping mission was the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) in 1956 to implement peace during Suez crisis. This was a new milestone achieved in the history of the UN peacekeeping operations in the shape of UN operations in Congo (CONUC). In 1960 as much as 20,000 troops were deployed in this region. This was one of the deadliest missions which claimed the lives of 250 individuals including the Secretary General Dag I-Hammarskjold.<sup>8</sup>

The deployment of the larger forces was the result of the apprehension that small unarmored forces would be unable to counter the bellicosity as in the case of Suez.<sup>9</sup> Undeniably the UNEF-I was unsuccessful in preventing recurrence of the conflict in the region in 1967 due to its inherent reactive mandate. The post cold war era experienced a dramatic surge for more peacekeeping operations due the strategic uncertainty of situation in different member states of the UN. The post-cold war era has changed the dynamics of international relations with more focus on intra state political situations than interstate.

The rising demand for UN peacekeeping mission during the first decade of 21<sup>st</sup> century has seen an extraordinary increase in the number and size of the UN mandated missions. UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon has admitted in February 2011 that securing the required resources and troops for UN peacekeeping operations had consumed much of his energy. He said he had been begging the leaders to make the resources available to them.<sup>10</sup>

These circumstances encourage questions as to why states contribute to UN peacekeeping missions and what constrains them from contributing for such a principled cause

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<sup>8</sup> " Troop and Police Contributors," United Nations Peacekeeping, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/early.shtml>, Accessed May 20, 2019.

<sup>9</sup> John Hillen, *Blue Helmets: The Strategy of UN Military Operations*. Washington: Brassey's, 1998, 312 P.

<sup>10</sup> Ban Ki Moon, Cyril Foster Lecture, University of Oxford, 2 February 2011, at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2011/sgsm13385.doc.htm>, Accessed August 9, 2019.

of international peace and stability. The answer to this question seems to be quite difficult because there have been frequent efforts by the scholars to establish a general theory of UN peacekeeping contributions but most of them have failed due to the unfathomable variations in the state's past behavior for troops contributions to the peacekeeping operations.<sup>11</sup>

In an attempt to construct a general theory on UN peacekeeping, different approaches such as realism, idealism, and liberalism have been analyzed. Clearly there are dissimilarities in the states behavior that have to be considered to understand why they send troops for peacekeeping operations. Depending on these factors the states make their decisions, whether to send troops for peacekeeping operations or not.

A vast body of literature is available on the subject of troop contribution to the UN peacekeeping operations. However in case of Pakistan, there is a critical deficiency of literature on the peacekeeping operations by Pakistani as well as other scholars to highlight the enormous and consistent contributions by Pakistan..

For decades, Pakistan has been the world's leading TCC. It has committed more than 200,000 personnel, including 380 female participation, to 42 operations of all types in 25 countries throughout the world, with 154 Pakistanis killed, including 23 officers and a female officer. Pakistan sends 6000 military and police officers to UN peacekeeping as of June 30, 2019, with 2680 of them stationed in MONUSCO.<sup>12</sup> Except for certain statistical data provided by the Inter Services Public Relations, there is little by way of official information on peacekeeping activities by Pakistani troops. There are no personal memoirs by army officers.

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<sup>11</sup> Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams, *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions*, (Oxford University, 2013), Press. 459

<sup>12</sup> "United Nations Peacekeeping, Pakistan", <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/pakistan>, Accessed Oct. 17, 2019.

## Research Theses and Articles Review

In his research thesis, "The Contribution of States to UN Peacekeeping Operations: A two Stage Synthetic Approach," Moon-Seok Chun, a South Korean scholar, offers an inclusive description of the UN human resource contribution by the member states to the UN peacekeeping operations. He has based his research by employing Andrew Moravcsik (1997) two stage behavioral theory of the states. Chapter VII, article 43 states that all states have an obligatory contribution to UN Peacekeeping operations (PKOs); however, there are states who feel more "obligations" than others in contributing their resources for peacekeeping operations.<sup>13</sup>

The author describes in his research work that the contribution for the UN PKOs is partly voluntary and partly obligatory action of the member states. He further elaborates the motivation of states cooperation through international organizations and suggests further studies on foreign policy substitutability and alternatives for states foreign policy decisions for troops contribution to the UN PKOs.

In his dissertation the author concludes that "The liberal norms consistently support the policy of contribution to UN PKOs in the preference stage as well as the adjustment stage (amount of contributions), institutional democracies are no more likely to prefer to contribute and send even fewer human resources to UN PKOs. Economic interests in terms of trade relationships cause states to prefer to contribute as well as increase the amount of contribution to UN PKOs. The notion of contribution for the- sake, of money is supported by, statistical analyses and these monetary interests cause states to prefer more contributions. States also avoid sending troops to politically relevant areas than to the non-relevant areas."

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<sup>13</sup> Moon Seok Chun, "The Contribution of States to UN Peacekeeping Operations: A Two Stage Synthetic Approach" *Athens, Georgia*, 2009, p. 1-5.

Moon Seok Chun describes that since institutional democracies have the tendencies to contribute very fewer human resources because the policy makers in democracies are risk averse therefore reducing the risk factor in UNPKOs is very crucial. The author also suggested that instead of patchwork for multinational forces standing forces for UNPKOs be maintained which would maximize the readiness and reduce the risk from low readiness.

The most important thing about this dissertation is that it supports Theoretical pluralism. Which suggests that every approach is not excludable rather it is interdependent on each other. The dissertation suggests cooperation of competing approaches on the subject rather than competing an approach for its validity or making it invalidated.

Another valuable paper written on this subject is *Supplying Peace: Participation in and Contribution to Peacekeeping Missions* by Vincenzo Bove and Leandro Elia which explores the domestic and international dynamics of countries participation in and contributions to peacekeeping operations from 1999 to 2009. The author in his dissertation explains that, "The moral imperative for peacekeeping may be universally accepted but a country decision to participate is also based on the self-interest combined with the conflict dimension and finally constrained by political and technical considerations."<sup>14</sup>

He further elaborates that the ability to provide troops sometimes configured to engage in combat and the willingness to pay human cost involves different decision criteria. The risk of casualties is an important determinant and countries are reluctant 'to provide troops that might be placed at risk.<sup>15</sup> The countries which are providing. troops analyze it national capacity, (the quality of troops, their level of training and the intending outcome of the operations. thus, it has been experienced that the contributors have more control over their national contingents than financial contributors.

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<sup>14</sup> Vincenzo Bove and Leandro Elia, "Supplying Peace: Participation in and Contribution to Peacekeeping Missions", *London: Birkbeck College London, 2010.* 78-90.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, 88.

The author has tried to test different theoretical frameworks and hypothesis to validate his argument on his topic as the other scholar on the similar topics have done. The scholars have worked on 8 different hypotheses and tested them against different data models like participation by countries, their troops contribution, the global humanitarian intervention, competitive relationship, ambition and the mercerization of UN forces.

The dissertation concludes that participation of troops is decided in a carefully chosen context in which various aspects must be considered. At the domestic level the advantage of manpower, the acceptance of casualties and sustainability to undertake multiple missions always play a vital role whereas at the international level, the security threat due to a specific conflict, the location of the conflict and the number of displaced people would be the deciding factor for any kind of intervention by the United Nations.

The International Peace Institute New York has conducted a study on "Trends in Uniformed Contributions to UN Peacekeeping: A New Dataset, (1991-2012" authored by Chris Perry and Adam C. smith. The United Nations peace operations have been fundamental measure of the desire for international peace and stability. The member countries have invested incredible resources in terms of humans and finances. Despite the fact that it is quite difficult to isolate the effects of UN peacekeeping, scholar have been able to highlight the importance and effectiveness of the UN peacekeeping missions in reducing the risk of reappearance of the conflicts. Such success stories can be attributed to the missions already conducted in Cambodia, El Salvador, Liberia, Mozambique, Namibia and Sierra Leone.

Despite the consistent efforts associated with UN peacekeeping operations, it is absolutely difficult to build a sound evidence base with which the basic research on composition and impact of operations can be assessed. It has been observed that a full range of available data on uniformed contributions to UN peacekeeping has not been readily available to the researchers.

The author further elaborated that contently there is no publicly available and searchable database offering all available statistics on uniformed contributions to the UN peacekeeping operations since 1990. However, Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) has improved the situation by providing a monthly update on different missions. The IPI peacekeeping database has been created by the International Peace Institute to fill the gap.<sup>16</sup>

Describing the regional trends in contributions of troops this dissertation reveals that from 1992 till 1996 the European contribution remained steady. However European contribution remained steady. However, after 1996 to 2000 the contributions from European countries remained very low. During this time period the major contributions came from the Asian and African countries. It has been experienced that during the first surge in contribution for broadening the base of contribution was in 1993 while only 73 countries contributed but the second surge from 2008 to 2011. the overall strength of contributing countries increased to the level of 115 countries. As of now there about 120 countries which are actively participating and contributing their troops<sup>17</sup>.

While describing the rationales for contributions by the countries, different datasets of different time frame have been evaluated to draw conclusions. It has been highlighted that the continuity of contribution reveals that it is not linked to the country's domestic- political or foreign policy developments rather the contributions may be based on the normative rationale and economic or institutional factors. The countries who contribute excessively indicate that political and security considerations play a greater role in those countries. The concluding remarks shows that the aim of the dissertation under the project of IPI is basically provision of a broad base dataset for further analysis by policy makers and practitioner\ and predictive modeling for force generation to peacekeeping operations.

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<sup>16</sup> Chris Perry and Adam C. Smith, "Trends in Uniformed Contributions to UN Peacekeeping: A New Dataset 1991 2012." New York: International Peace Institute, 2013, no.3 47-75.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 69-71.

Virginia Page Fortna and Lise Morje Howard in their article "Pitfalls and Prospects in the Peacekeeping Literature" describes that the literature on the subject of peacekeeping emerged in two distinct phases. The first phase is considered to be the cold war era where the main focus was peacekeeping between the states. This work on peacekeeping encompasses the Classic works as the authors describe it. The second phase commenced with the end of cold war which is imagined to be the most dysfunctional disillusioned and focuses on the failure of the missions in Somalia, Rwanda, Angola and Bosnia despite substantial success in the other parts of the world. The third and the most recent phase mainly focuses on the systematic and rigorous analysis of the basic empirical questions of the effects of peacekeeping and sources of peacekeeping outcome.<sup>18</sup>

The authors described that the UN turned away from the peacekeeping after the debacles in Somalia, Angola, Rwanda and Srebrenica from 1993 to 1998. That is the reason that during this period the UN had fielded only one mission in Eastern Slavonia, this pessimism affected the practice as well as the analytical studies of the peacekeeping during this era.

The institutionalization of Brahimi Report articulated a strategic perspective of all the aspects of the UN peacekeeping. This positive turn also affected the social science research on peacekeeping in a positive manner. The questions on the durability and maintenance of peace have been addressed using both quantitative and qualitative methods. It has been observed that in most of the quantitative peacekeeping studies the traditional interstate setting has been analyzed.<sup>19</sup> More so the focus of the quantitative research remained the civil wars within the states.

The authors also highlighted the importance of the third wave of the changing trends in the peacekeeping literature as to who should be doing the peacekeeping job and who all are

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<sup>18</sup> Virginia Page Fortna and Lise Morje Howard. "Pitfalls and Prospects in the Peacekeeping Literature", Annual Review of Political Science Volume Nill, (2008), 10-33.

<sup>19</sup> Virginia Page Fortna and LiseMorje Howard. "Pitfalls and Prospects in the Peacekeeping Literature", Annual Review of Political Science Volume Nill, (2008),. 10-33.



supposed to do this job actually. Then the pros and cons of the peace enforcement remained the main focus of this phase of peacekeeping literature. Besides these- issues the ambiguities on transitional administrations and peacekeeping and democratization were also debated during this phase of the peacekeeping literature.<sup>20</sup>

David Axe in his article published in *The Diplomat*, "Why South Asia Loves Peacekeeping" has described the trends of troops contribution by South Asian countries and narrates that "South Asian have some very specific reasons aside from 'doing the right thing' for sending troops abroad on UN missions-reasons that often have little to do with the nature and needs of the host country. It's an often-overlooked truth that donor nations can benefit, or even profit, from their contributions to peace missions, given the right circumstances". For India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, for example, peacekeeping is a way to maintain large armies and boost the pay of select troops, building diplomatic inroads in poorer countries that might be rich in resources that South Asia lacks.

Laura Neack in her article published in *Journal of Peace Research* 'UN Peace-Keeping: In the Interest of Community or Self?' has examined whether state participation in UN peace-keeping results from idealistic commitment to the global community and international peace or whether participation is tied to the state's national interest. With the high profile of UN peace-keeping in this post-Cold War era, the answer to this inquiry may suggest to us whether the emerging international system will be organized on the principles of community or self. This inquiry is conducted through an examination of the eighteen UN peace-keeping operations fielded from 1948 until 1990. Specifically, this article examines the incidence of state participation and the types of contributions states have made both to observer missions and peace-keeping forces at the aggregate level.

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 25-29.

"Pakistan's Contribution to the UN Peacekeeping" by Maria Kiani is another piece of literary work on the subject of Pakistan's contribution to the peacekeeping operations in which the author has comprehensively covered most of the features of contribution by Pakistan to the UN peacekeeping operations. This research paper has been written in manner in which certain specific areas of peacekeeping contribution by Pakistan has been underlined to understand the process and the grey areas where special attention is required to enhance the contributions.

The writer has laid special emphasis on the role of Pakistan in the peacekeeping operations since its inception. She has highlighted that Pakistan has been contributing troops to 28 UN missions which is approximately 14.5 percent share of the total contributions by the troops contributing countries (TCC).<sup>21</sup> This contribution has been recognized by the authorities of the UN and has always appreciated the efforts of this country for its contribution in maintaining peace and security in the conflict regions.

Despite the fact that many rich countries have reoriented their support to the UN peacekeeping operation, Pakistan has not wavered in its support on the grounds of humanitarian help. Pakistan has never bothered for their employment in any region or working with any race or religion as its main objective is always its positive role towards world peace and security.

The writer has very elaborately stated that the conventional foreign policy instruments of military force, trade and diplomacy are not the only ones available to state for enhancing influence at international level. In the prevalent international political context in which Pakistan found itself, "peacekeeping provided an avenue to enhance the country's image and stature, manifest its unfaltering commitment to the UN' issues of peace and security and to the humanitarian causes".<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Maria Kiani, Pakistan's Contribution to UN Peacekeeping"

<sup>22</sup> Ibid,

"Peacekeeping Literature in Pakistan" by Dr Tughral Yamin is another authentic and master piece article with regards to Pakistan's Peacekeeping contributions and its importance for the peacekeeping scholars. The writer has very correctly assessed the grave dearth of peacekeeping literature in Pakistan because of the cold shoulder approach of the literary circles towards this subject. The writer highlights that mostly the literary circle considers this topic a purely military subject and some of them who are inclined to write on the subject consider it a non-profitable quest with insignificant audience.

Dr Tughral Yamin has a special grip on the subject and very determinedly highlighted that there is dire need to build a substantial and meaningful quantity of literature on the peacekeeping because of the simple reason that Pakistan has a great wealth of experience in this field of human endeavor. The writer has also explained the reasons of the lack of interest by the scholars in the subject and recommends the right kind of official patronage and recognition by 'local' literary circles in the country. The concluding remarks of the writer describe his inner feelings and desires for the subject to flourish. He correctly explained that if not recorded and analyzed this knowledge would go waste and that would amount a criminal neglect to our living history and that must never be allowed to happen. The history of Pakistan contribution to UN peacekeeping operations must be preserved with Pakistani' perspective otherwise the distortion of this history would never allow the true perspective of our efforts and sacrifices.

In "UN Peacekeeping: South Asian Perspective" an article published in Pakistan Army Green Book in 2013 by Dr Tughral Yamin, is another landmark intellectual work with respect to the peacekeeping literature in Pakistan. The author has done a unique rationality to highlight the importance of peacekeeping as a confidence building measure for the South Asian neighbors who are mostly dagger drawn in the normal, circumstances but once provided with an opportunity to serve together under the umbrella of UN or any other institutional control

have shown a great respect and magnanimity towards each other. The author has suggested measures where using the experience of United Nations military Observers (MILOBs), a similar kind of south Asian observer group can be created for effective border management and avoid frequent cease fire Violations (CFVs). The writer has also rightly supported the use of the United Nations Military Observers Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) as the platform for such an initiative by the South Asian countries<sup>23</sup>. Despite all the benevolence, peaceful desires and respect for humanity on both sides of the borders, the idea of such an endeavor would require sane minds, enormous political and diplomatic courage and levelheaded military approach.

## Books

Jeni Whalan in his book "How Peace Operations Work, Power, Legitimacy and Effectiveness", has very critically analyzed the literature of peace keeping operations to ascertain the contemporary concept of peace operations. This dissertation reveals that there are some more efforts required to analyze the subject of peace operations at local level. He describes in his dissertation that existing approaches do not highlight the local dimensions and local setting in which the operations are to be pursued.

The author has developed a framework of power and legitimacy to analyze that how peace operations influence the local actors. The author then deliberated upon the case studies of UNTAC (United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia) and RAMSI (Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands) in which he identifies the resistance, compliance and cooperation for investigations and the local actors' behavior. He has amply highlighted the importance of giving greater attention to the cooperation by the local actors to the effectiveness

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<sup>23</sup> Tughral Yamin, "UN Peacekeeping: South Asian Perspective," *Pakistan Army Green Book*, (2013):108-120.

of peace operations. The considerations towards the interests and believes of the locals play very important role in the attainment of objectives of peace operations in a specific area. .

The author suggested at the end of dissertation that, some further research be carried out on the local's perspectives, beyond those of elites, which may- be included in policymaking and evaluation of peace keeping operations.<sup>24</sup>

The edited edition of Alex J. Paul D. Williams, "Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations" is a book that answers for all types of questions on the motivations for contribution of peacekeeping forces and the factors that inhibit the countries from contribution. The rising demand for peacekeeping forces during the first decade of twenty first century due to ongoing conflicts in the aftermath of cold war political situation exceeded the capacity of the member states for more contributions.

The author has explained the challenges faced by the UN for pooling up resources to meet the rising demand and persuading member countries for more contributions to meet the increased level of demand. The author also explained that the several endeavors for evolving a generalized theoretical framework for UN peacekeeping contributions have failed.

This book has also highlighted different accounts based on international theoretical explanations. The realist inspired explanations holds that states provide peacekeepers for self-interested reasons. The liberal explanation emphasizes on the democratic states more likely hood for contributions to peacekeeping operations. They believe that states will contribute for mutual gains even if the burdens and benefits are unequal.<sup>25</sup> The Public good theory suggests that states produce collective goods through self-interested behavior.

While discussing the potential motivating rationales for providing peacekeepers, the author has identified five motivating reasons for troop's contribution by the member states.

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<sup>24</sup> Jeni Whalan, *How Peace Operations Work, Power, Legitimacy and Effectiveness*, (Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>25</sup> Bellamy Alex J. and Williams Paul D, *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, (Oxford University Press, 2013).

These have been identified as political, economic, security, institutional and normative concerns.<sup>26</sup> The first part of the book has described the general pattern of troop contributions and how these contributions fit into broader trends in the peace operations conducted by international institutions. The authors of the book have also highlighted the historical background of their countries and the procedure by which the decision for contribution is made. Pakistan's peacekeeping contributions have been explained by Inam Ur Rehman Malik who is a police officer and has participated in the peacekeeping operation in Timor-Leste. The author has elaborated on the historical background with the history of peacekeeping beginning with military observer groups in India and Pakistan in the disputed territory of Kashmir in 1949. The relatively increased ratio of contribution has been attributed to the de-escalation of tension between India and Pakistan in 2002, increased number of UN missions and the increased number of missions in Africa which is considered safe by Pakistani policy makers<sup>27</sup>.

With regards to decision making, the author has elaborately described the process of decision making upon receiving the request for contribution from UN, which starts from ministry of Foreign Affairs. He further elaborates that it is the military- bureaucratic nexus that plays the pivotal role in making decisions regarding the country's contributions. Parliament is kept out of the decision and there is no process of debate about the country's involvement in UN peacekeeping.

While explaining its political rationale the author describes, " UN peacekeeping not only helps Pakistan project its middle-power credentials to the outside world and garner much needed international goodwill, it also enhances Pakistan's diplomatic profile at the UN where India Pakistan rivalry is taken for granted".<sup>28</sup> Describing the security rationale and concerns, the

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid 25-30.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid 35-39.

<sup>28</sup> Bellamy Alex J. and Williams Paul D, *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, (Oxford University Press, 2013), P. 211

author is of the opinion that Pakistan main focus of security is its perceived threat from India. Pakistan peacekeeping credentials have also enabled it to raise the issue of Kashmir at the international forum.

With regards to the institutional rationale, the author considers that Pakistan's peacekeeping efforts have a vibrant international experience for its, military and all other services and technical arms. With respects to economic rationale, it is considered that a financial incentive is also essential to raise the morale of troops serving outside the country and to keep them motivated to serve under risky, volatile and stressful situations.<sup>29</sup>

Pakistan has been a reliable and, effective peacekeeper, motivated by innumerable rationales. Pakistan is likely to continue its contributions to peacekeeping operations. The only predictable caveats are its internal security and its commitments in the war against terror. Due to its consistent record of contributions Pakistan will continue to represent itself where it can affect the strategic decision-making process on UN peacekeeping.

In the concluding part the author has described for motivation for contributions and inhibiting factors. Other than the motivating factors the evident inhibiting factors are political in nature. At the end the author has elaborately defined the framework for analysis where three elements organized in two stage process have been recognized. The first two stage elements are cultures and institutions which influence the state predisposition which further leads to policy standpoints and finally the decision for troop contributions is made.

United Nations peacekeeping operations have been playing a key role in responding to the international security and threat situations by presenting a collective response by most of the member states. Peacekeeping forces are mostly busy in conduct of multidimensional peace operations and it is expected out of these operations that they would ensure secure and stable

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid. P. 219.

environments which in turns provides legitimate legal and political process under lawful regimes. The pressing demand for rule of law in the peacekeeping. operations have resulted in resorting to a more careful approach as for as legal framework of these operations is concerned.

To address the legal issues and legal framework, Bruce Oswald, Helen Durham and Adrian Bates in their book "Documents on The Law of UN Peace Operations" have sufficiently covered all the primary legal documents and other international laws, agreements and guidelines which are required to be taken care of during the conduct of peace operations.

The key documents of this book include the international laws, civil rights, invulnerabilities, human rights laws, international humanitarian laws and international criminal laws. Moreover, the international treaties, Security Council and General Assembly decisions and decisions taken by international court of justice are part of this book. Mission specific details are also part of this book with relevance to the peace operations.

"Documents on The Law of UN Peace Operations" by Bruce Oswald, Helen Durham and Adrian Bates is a comprehensive book having six parts with 46 chapters on different topics explaining the legal framework of peace operations. A useful book which not only focuses on the legal framework of peace operations rather provides a guideline to all kind of operations thus the peacekeepers do not lose their credibility and legitimacy in their mission.<sup>30</sup>

The writer has also considered upon different sources at the end of his book and these sources can be very helpful in peace research. These sources include websites which can be helpful in extracting useful data with regards to UN peacekeeping operations and other information required for the knowledge, of UN peace operations. These sources also provide useful links to other sources and libraries with huge amount of data with reference to UN activities.

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<sup>30</sup> Bruce Oswald, Helen Durham and Adrian Bates, Documents on The Law of UN Peace Operations, (Oxford University Press, 2010).



The book is a comprehensive guide for the students, scholars, policy makers and representatives of military, police and civil departments to understand, undertake, control and manage the operations while remaining within the legal parameters.

With regards to the literature on Pakistan's Foreign policy, there are several books by former diplomats but there is little to discern in these books about peacekeeping operations. The first on the list is the book 'Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2012: A Concise History' by Ambassador Abdul Sattar. He has covered in a great deal in which through a meticulous research, has reiterated the reasons of major policy decisions made in the backdrop international attitude towards the challenges faced by this country since its inception. The major influence on Pakistan foreign policy decisions came from the failure of its allies to rescue it in the times of crisis like helplessness of UN to confine India from its interventions and unprovoked aggressive designs towards Pakistan and most of the discriminatory sanctions against the country on one pretext or the other in the past.<sup>31</sup>

The vision of the founding father of Pakistan Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah with regards to the foreign policy of Pakistan demonstrated in his views is a contemporary acumen with firm pledge for the international peace and security as, mentioned in one of his famous speech, the excerpts of which are:

Our foreign policy is One of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation, we believe in the principle of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make the utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking extending its material and moral support to the

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<sup>31</sup>Abdul Sattar, 'Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2012: A Concise History', (Oxford University Press, 2006). 30-51.

oppressed and suppressed people of the world and upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter.

There is nothing that we desire more ardently than to live in peace and let others live in peace, and develop our country according to our own lights without outside interference, and improve the life of the common man."<sup>32</sup>

Based on the vision of Pakistan's founding father the foreign policy has been orchestrated to fulfil the international obligations as a responsible peace-loving country. The author has tried to present a wholesome picture of Pakistan foreign policy by highlighting the aspects related to Kashmir issue, security related matters, its alliances with different powers, the conflicts with neighbors, relations with Afghanistan, nuclearization of the country, post 9/11 policy, counter terrorism and its obligations towards international organizations. At the end of the book the author has presented an appraisal of the foreign policy of Pakistan in which he has reiterated certain turning points in the history of Pakistan's foreign policy. The first turning point was Indian attitude towards Pakistan and second being the decision to join alliances for collective defense. The dissolution of alliances ended up with friendly relations with China which was a third turning point. Fourth turning point was the debacle of 1971 war which ending the policy of nuclear self-restraint fifth turning point was the consequence of intervention of Soviet Union in Afghanistan and later it spilling over to the tribal belt of Pakistan thus engaging Pakistan in an unending war on terror which is still going on. However there has been hardly any discussion on the troop contribution in such a large number by Pakistan as an objective of foreign policy to accomplish international peace and security, project it as a responsible peace-loving country fully conscious to the international obligations with regards to the human security.

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<sup>32</sup> Abdul Sattar, Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2012: A Concise History, (Oxford University Press, 2006). 39-47.

"Pakistan's Foreign Policy, A Reappraisal" by veteran diplomat Shahid M. Amin is a probing analysis of Pakistan's Foreign Policy from its inception till the beginning of the new era in its Foreign Policy perspective but there is no mention of UN peacekeeping operation. The authors have very realistically highlighted the flaws in the foreign policy making process and suggested to rework it with new dimensions and with different perspectives.

The author describes that "Foreign policy is often considered the first line of defense of any country. This is probably even more pronounced in the case of Pakistan which has been beset by different security situations from very beginning with its most indefensible frontiers with two separate wings miles apart".<sup>33</sup> The foreign policy of any country is generally influenced by its history and geography which is certainly true in case of Pakistan as well. The author in his book suggests that the foreign policy formulation exercise be conducted with cool precision and clear thinking. Strategic interest is the hall mark of foreign policy formulation, clear of all kinds of illusions and romanticism and based on the *realpolitik*. But in case of Pakistan policy makers and even the nation has allowed illusions to prevail their judgment resulting into dangerous consequences. The biggest flaw has been highlighted as the adhocism and taking decisions to overcome immediate pressures without any long-term plans.<sup>34</sup>

There is another interesting revelation by 'the author of this book as for 'as Pakistan's foreign policy is concerned. He revealed in his writings that if we dig deep in any aspect of foreign policy of Pakistan, one would always find an Indian dimension. Joining of western pacts by Pakistan to find an equalizer to India thus spoiling the relations with Soviet Union which proved a key factor of defeat in -1971 war is one of the historic examples of this dimension. The author has covered almost all the aspects of Pakistan's foreign policy but it has been found that there is hardly any mention of troop contribution to peacekeeping operations

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<sup>33</sup> Shahid M. Amin, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 55-79.

<sup>34</sup> Shahid M. Amin, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 98-105.

as an image building measure or economic measure to enhance Pakistan's soft image voluntarily contributing to the cause of world peace.

M. Ikram Rabbani, a senior professor of political science in his book "Pakistan Affairs" given a fair assessment of Pakistan's foreign policy. The author has covered the entire fabric of Pakistan's history from its inception till the inception of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). In one of the chapters on foreign policy of Pakistan the author described different phases the challenges that are confronted in the current situation where Pakistan is in menace of terrorism and confronted with civil war like situation within and outside its frontiers. However, throughout the book and specifically the chapter on foreign policy has no mention of any policy option with regards to the huge contribution in the shape of troops and other law enforcing personnel.

Pakistan has always supported the cause of peace by contributing a large number of troops all over the world. However, in the recent past, the UN involvement in peacekeeping missions has increased manifold. Pakistan Army is one of the best trained Army of the world having quality troops for deployment in multi dimension operations. Anticipating the future requirements Pakistan Army has also formalized its peacekeeping training and a constant effort is underway to improve all the levels of the training of armed forces earmarked to perform the duties under the mandate of UN missions. Pakistan Army has published a General Services Publication (GSP) coded as GSP-1911 in 1995 "Peacekeeping Operations Part -1 Concept and Pre-Departure Training" for the training of troops earmarked for UN peacekeeping missions. This publication covers the basics of peacekeeping including fundamental of peacekeeping operations with its historical background and the concept of peacekeeping. It also highlights the future trends in the peacekeeping operations, the principles of operations with political considerations, pre-departure formalities, the duties and responsibilities of all individuals included in the contingent have been amply covered in this GSP.

The Pakistan Army Green Book carries one article contributed by Dr Tughral Yamin on peacekeeping. In this article, the author argues that peacekeeping can serve as a useful CBM by South Asian peacekeepers (Indian, Pakistani and Bengalis) based on their mutually pleasant experiences while operating as part of UN peacekeeping missions abroad. The dangers that they have faced together can inspire trust and confidence in each other. Besides the Green Book, National Defense University Journals, Citadel and Margalla Papers published by Institute for Strategic Studies Research and Analysis of the last ten years do not have a single article on the subject of troops contributions by Pakistan in UN peacekeeping operations.

Consequently, the literature on the topic of Peacekeeping suggests Pakistan has been beset by different security concerns from very beginning such a hostile territory of nearly one thousand miles separating the two wings of the country. With the biggest flaw has been highlighted as the adhocism and taking decisions to overcome immediate pressures without any long-term plans. All the aspects of Pakistan's foreign policy have been searched but it has been found that there is hardly any mention of troop contribution to peacekeeping operations as an image building measure or economic measure to enhance Pakistan's soft image voluntarily contributing to the cause of world peace.

With such an active participation and involvement of more than hundred and seventy thousand troops and paramilitary forces besides the diplomatic contributions in UNPKOs, Pakistan should have a lot of material to boast about but unfortunately there is very little substance available to bank on for any further research. In comparison to Pakistan other nations like India and Bangladesh who are the other two major contributors have systematically documented their UNPKOs which are contributing towards their further improvement in the refinement of their UN missions.

## CHAPTER 3

### METODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 3.1 Introduction

Peacekeeping missions are multidimensional operation that are not only limited to maintenance of peace and security in regions but look after the political structure, reduce or eliminates conflicts, discourage any disobedience and plays a vital role in disarmament. In this retrospect, Pakistan has played a vital role in peacekeeping missions under the auspices of United Nations (UN). The mission aimed at maintaining peace in the conflicting regions and also to reduce the conflict. States choice to participate in such mission is only attributed to the national cause or objective by a state. Like other countries, Pakistan has always been the member of the UN peacekeeping mission as per the needs of foreign policy of the state.

Pakistan's overwhelming contribution to UN peacekeeping operations has elicited divided opinions within academic circles. Literature shows that idealists contend that such participation is a desire of the country to play a role in promoting and maintaining international peace, however, on contrary, realists believe that contributing such high scores to the UN peacekeeping operations helps Pakistan safeguard its national interests.<sup>35</sup> While idealism can explain Pakistan's choice whether to contribute troops, can be best explained through the lens of realism and more precisely by Hans Morgenthau's principle of national interests.<sup>36</sup> This chapter will set a conceptual consideration of the dissertation and provide details on the method adopted for the research. It will also cover the research design of the dissertation as well as both methodological and philosophical foundations. The chapter will also discuss the overall

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<sup>35</sup> Laura Neack, "UN Peace-Keeping: In the Interest of Community or Self?", *Journal of Peace Research* 32, no. 2 (1995): 181-196,

<sup>36</sup> Benjamin Wong, "Hans Morgenthau's Anti-Machiavellian Machiavellianism", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 29, no. 2 (2000): 389-409

methodology and methodology of the individual chapters. It will further cover the technical grounds of research questions and rationalize for the adaptation of different approaches to tackle empirical chapters.

### 3.2 Importance of Theoretical Background

A theoretical structure or framework comprises of ideas, along with their definitions and reference to applicable insightful writing, existing hypothesis that is utilized for your specific review. The theoretical structure should show a comprehension of speculations and ideas that are pertinent to the subject of your research dissertation or paper and that identify with the more extensive subject matters being thought of. The theory structure is frequently not something promptly found inside the writing. You should survey course readings and appropriate exploration reads up for hypotheses and logical models that are pertinent to the examination issue you are researching. The choice of a theoretical framework ought to rely upon its suitability, simplicity of use, and informative power.

The theoretical framework reinforces the review in the complementary ways:

- An unequivocal assertion of hypothetical suppositions allows the pursuer to deeply assess them.
- The theoretical posture interfaces the scientist to existing information. Directed by a significant hypothesis, you are given a reason for your speculations and decision of exploration strategies.
- Articulating the theoretical suspicions of an exploration concentrate on compels you to resolve inquiries of why and how. It grants you to mentally progress from essentially depicting a peculiarity you have seen to making speculations regarding different parts of that peculiarity.

- Having a hypothesis assists you with distinguishing the cutoff points to those speculations. Theoretical structure determines which key factors impact a peculiarity of interest and features the need to look at how those key factors may vary and under what conditions.

By virtue of its usefulness, great hypothesis in sociology is unequivocally valuable because it fulfils one primary role: to clarify the significance, nature, and difficulties associated with a peculiarity, frequently experienced yet unexplained on the planet wherein we live, so we can use that information and comprehension to act in more educated and powerful ways.

### 3.3 The Liberalist Perspective

Peace has been essential to the investigation and thought that has brought mankind to its current position, allowing us to better understand human nature and its role in social and political existence. Theories of peace and conflict have been the focus of this mental endeavor. In the last three centuries, however, relationships between nation-states have taken central stage. Theories have emerged that provide sense on how nations interact, what pushes them to go to war, what motivations they may have to establish peace, and how these causes and motivations might be managed. Nonetheless, enormous obstacles remain in the road of reaching peace. Although theorists have identified them and literature has shed light on them, the quest of peace has in some cases led in a more hostile state of global relations among nations and peoples.

In the contemporary international relations, it is necessary to comprehend the repeating phenomenon of war throughout human history. With the establishment of nation states in the 16th century, problems of human liberty and independence, as well as the survival of the state, became the primary focus of political debate. In this scenario, liberalism and realism are the



two philosophies that advance these influences in global political debate toward peace and conflict resolution. Individualism, human rights, universality, independence from authority, right to be treated equally under the law, duty to respect and regard others as "ethical objects," and freedom for social activity are among liberalism's key ideas.

The liberal state's sovereignty and integrity are not subject to any external control, such as an authority, because it is represented by a sovereign government of the people. The concept that states may be made to cooperate in economic terms even if they exist in a system with security competition is at the heart of the liberal internationalist worldview. Liberals say that democracies are essentially peaceful states that do not easily resort to war, and that war between democracies is a very unusual occurrence. The idea that democracies rarely go to war with each other has been described as "as close as anything to an empirical law in international politics. Liberalism also contends that in the international system, stability and relative peace can be reached by a hegemon who sets the agenda for global institutions by participating actively in international affairs. The hegemonic stability hypothesis asserts that in the international state system, a hegemon with greater economic and military might than other states may provide economic stability, which is considered as a collective benefit in the international order, and all states profit from it.

Despite significant assertions from both sides backed up by practical and theoretical evidence, both liberalism and realism are shown to be weak in terms of peace possibilities. While realism does not claim to be a peace theory, liberalism's commitment to peace among democratic nations and collaboration through economic interdependence is nevertheless significant. Liberal interventions in other regions of the world, however, continue to constitute

a threat to peace in both absolute and relative terms, which is unhelpful for a theory that advocates for a more positive and reforming approach to international relations.

After the conclusion of the Cold War, the process of liberal peacekeeping and peacebuilding becoming a popular concept and practice in the international security agenda is gradually coming to an end. In both language and practice, international operations are becoming less ambitious, with a move toward stabilization and counterterrorism. For example, the United Nations (UN) has gradually fielded "stabilization missions," and the Security Council has given field missions increasingly extensive mandates. Understanding changes in foreign interventions, particularly UN peacekeeping missions, can give a lens through which to view greater movements in world politics. Two significant developments are shown in the rising emphasis on stabilization and counterterrorism rather than liberal peacebuilding. First, liberal peacebuilding has proven to be more challenging than predicted, plagued with difficulties, and beset by a persistent inability to comprehend local politics and dynamics. Second, host nations have resisted liberal interventions more frequently and pushed for demands that are more closely aligned with authoritarian countries' self-interest. There has been an increase in the number of regional informal alliances formed to combat terrorists and other armed organizations, and they are routinely incorporated in UN peacekeeping missions, weakening their impartiality and legitimacy. Western military are shifting their strategic emphasis away from peacebuilding and counterinsurgency actions and toward stabilization and counterterrorism, as seen by their policies toward UN peacekeeping missions.

### 3.4 The Realist Perspective

In the discipline of International Relations (IR), authenticity is a way of thinking that realism is the serious and conflictual side of worldwide relations. Foundations of realism are frequently supposed to be found in a portion of mankind's soonest chronicled works, especially Thucydides' set of experiences of the Peloponnesian War, which seethed somewhere in the range of 431 and 404 BCE.<sup>37</sup>

The basic aspect of realism is that the country state (usually abbreviated to 'state') is the standard bearer in international relations. There are several bodies, such as people and groups, but their authority is limited. Second, the state is a unified actor. Public interests, particularly in times of conflict, compel the state to speak and act in unison. Third, state policymakers are the reasonable dynamic urges that seek the public interest. Making steps that render your state helpless or vulnerable would not be objective in this situation. According to the notion of realism, all decision makers, regardless of political power, observe this as they attempt to cope with their state's attempts to make due in a difficult atmosphere. Finally, states exist in a condition of revolt — that is, there is no sign of someone in universal power. The widely used metaphor of their being "nobody to bring" amid a global catastrophe helps to emphasize this notion. Within our own states, we often have police forces, military, courts, and so forth.

In a crisis, it is assumed that these groups will 'achieve something' as a result. As there is no established progressive structure, there is no fair assumption for any person or entity 'accomplishing something'. As a result, nations may finally rely only on themselves.

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<sup>37</sup> Sadrina Antunes and Isabel Camisao, "Introducing realism in international relations theory", <https://www.e-ir.info/2018/02/27/> (Accessed on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2021).

### 3.4 Theoretical Considerations

In this research realism has been used as a conceptual framework to understand Pakistan's foreign policy objectives for troop contribution to peace operations and its significance for its national objectives. UN Peacekeeping assists nations with exploring the troublesome way from struggle to harmony. The mission has exceptional qualities, including authenticity, trouble sharing, and a capacity to convey troops and police from around the world, incorporating them with regular citizen peacekeepers to address a scope of orders set by the UN Security Council and General Assembly. UN peacekeeping mission dates back to the year of 1956 when the international arena decided to help out the poor nation affected from Suez crisis. The war between Israel and Egypt. The purpose was to help the states from reducing the conflict, leading to peaceful relations. At present more than 120 countries have so far contributed to the UN peacekeeping mission including Pakistan.

Theory of realism is considered as father of the international politics that helps in shaping the relations between the states. Countries maintenance of peaceful relations with other states is pertinent to the national interest or objective. On a realistic ground, it has been assumed that Pakistan's contribution to UN peacekeeping missions have been influenced by its need to safeguard its national interest, like every other nation state. Further, such interests are aligned with the country's foreign policy objectives and therefore, have considerable significance. There can certainly be other reasons for a developing country to rank as one of the top contributors to UN peacekeeping operations. Pakistan has remained among top three troop-contributing nations from 2005 to 2013 for almost a whole decade.<sup>38</sup> This level of consistency in participation confirms the assumption that "states are able to pursue their interests through

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<sup>38</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Our History," <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>, (Accessed March 6, 2019).

participating in multilateral activities such as peacekeeping"<sup>39</sup> and since contributing troops helped Pakistan in safeguarding its national interests, therefore the country maintained a keen contribution. In other words, Pakistan supported international status quo to promote its national interest like any other state by aligning with the U.S. block and supporting the UN missions. As Neack puts it "if states see that their interests are promoted by the international status quo, they will do whatever they can to support the international status quo."<sup>40</sup>

Therefore, from Morgenthau's perspective – who argued that "politics is governed by objective laws with roots in human nature"<sup>41</sup> – it can be said that Pakistan's contribution to the UN peacekeeping mission is a gesture of the country's acceptance of human rights. As he argued "that man is bound to act in accordance to what is regarded as universally right, but is also always in pursuit of the realization of his goals and interests."<sup>42</sup> From a liberalist point of view a state's participation in UN peacekeeping missions is without a doubt a noble act. However, it is also true that a contributing state also benefits from this. From a liberalist stand point, it could be said that a contributing state is solely motivated by its desire to promote international peace, however, from a realist perspective participating in UN peacekeeping missions allows a state to pursue its national interests. These interests can range from economic to professional and political to institutional.

States as Morgenthau argues, always desire to secure their national interests "even if they strive to work for the common good",<sup>43</sup> because denying their inherent selfishness is impossible for them.<sup>44</sup> Therefore it is safe to say that even though contributing states, maintains

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<sup>39</sup> Neack, Laura. "UN Peace-Keeping: In the Interest of Community or Self?" *Journal of Peace Research* vol. 32 no. 2 (1995): 181–196.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* 181–196.

<sup>41</sup> Morgenthau, Hans J, *The Six Principles of Political Realism, The Politics of Nations*, (7<sup>th</sup> edition,2006), . 4-16

<sup>42</sup> Murielle Cozette, "What Lies Ahead: Classical Realism on The Future of International Relations", *International Studies Review* 10, no. 4 (2008): 667-679,

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* 667-679.

<sup>44</sup> Benjamin Wong, "Hans Morgenthau's Anti-Machiavellian Machiavellianism", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 29, no. 2 (2000): 389-409,

that their contribution is for the promotion of international peace this is not the complete reality. The fact is, their actions are motivated by their desire to pursue their national interests. As Morgenthau states, "all nations are tempted—and few have been able to resist the temptation for long—to clothe their own particular aspirations and actions in the moral purposes of the universe."<sup>45</sup> From a realist standpoint though states cooperate and often try to be good international citizens but they always prioritize their goals. This prioritizing is a natural character of every state therefore the best way is serving interests of others as well themselves. As Morgenthau highlights the "importance of emphasizing both the national interest and moral principles of foreign policy."<sup>46</sup> Therefore, it can be said that it is quite logical that Pakistan has realized that the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping and found it as a solution to pursue its own national interests. According to Morgenthau, it is possible to "respect the interests of other nations, while protecting and promoting one's own."<sup>47</sup> Pakistan's contribution to UN peacekeeping can be seen as a country's pragmatic approach to pursue its national interests while serving the interests of international community.

### 3.6 Research Design

A research design includes the identification of problem or issue, the conceptual framework to approach it, the strategy to tackle it and tools and procedures to be used for data collection and analyses. In Punch's words it is "a structure to plan and execute a particular research." The researcher used the qualitative research method, particularly developed to understand social and cultural phenomena, by observing feelings, interpreting thoughts, and measuring behaviors and gauging belief of the mass society, through an action research, a case

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<sup>45</sup> Alfred A. Knopf, "Six Principles of Political Realism", Mtholyoke.Edu, 2019, <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/morg6.htm>. (Accessed Oct. 20, 2019).

<sup>46</sup> A. J. H. Murray, "The Moral Politics of Hans Morgenthau", *The Review of Politics* 58, no. 1 (1996): 81-108

<sup>47</sup> Murielle Cozette, "What Lies Ahead: Classical Realism on The Future of International Relations", *International Studies Review* 10, no. 4 (2008): 667-679,

study approach or a grounded theory by applying collecting data through reactions, actions, observations, interviews, questionnaires and other techniques.<sup>48</sup>

Since the key philosophical paradigm of the research is the understanding that behind multiple interpretations there are multiple constructions and there is no absolute reality but a constructed one that emerges through interactions of individuals, selection of a qualitative method over a quantitative one met all the requisites. Therefore, to describe these interactions and attitudes or in other words the social constructions explanatory or correlational survey/interview were conducted from more than 20 respondents including policymakers and practitioners as well as peacekeepers.<sup>49</sup>

### 3.7 Research Methodology

This research dissertation is based on both qualitative and quantitative data collection. The major portion of the dissertation is descriptive in manner. The data collection is based on both the primary data collection and the secondary data collection. The details are as follows:

- **Primary Data Collection:** the primary data collection included the key Informant interviews and the in-depth interviews with policy makers of Pakistan, university professors, experts, and the senior analyst and the UN official. In addition to this, it also included the visits of the UN offices, foreign offices, Universities and the research institutes.
- **Secondary Data Collection:** the secondary data collection, included the literature review from the books, research papers, journals, news articles and websites and e. library sites.

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<sup>48</sup> G. Ramesh Babu, *Research Methodology in Social Sciences*. (New Delhi, India: Concept Publishing Company Pvt. Ltd. 2008). 39-59.

<sup>49</sup> Sharan B Merriam and Robin S Grenier, *Qualitative Research In Practice: Examples For Discussion And Analysis*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, a Wiley Brand, 2019). 367-390.

### 3.8 Limitation of the Research

This dissertation has focused on the primary data collection: Some of the data such as the detailed analyses and operation of the posture was unable to document in detail. The sensitivity of the topic has kept much of the information classified and could not be accessible as mentioned. Therefore, this dissertation is supported by the secondary sources. Additionally, personal interviews have already been conducted of those who remained on high positions such as officials working in different universities, UN officials, professor for their valuable inputs which have incorporated into the thesis.

### 3.9 Ethical Considerations and Data Collection

Although, most of the information provided by different respondents was not classified, still it was ensured that research ethics were followed during the dissertation because as Silverman puts it protecting "the dignity and safety of research participants" in conducting a research is very important.<sup>50</sup> Several ethical considerations were kept into account to make sure that this research was conducted in a suitable manner. All respondents gave their verbal consent to be interviewed and be a part of the dissertation and the purpose and process of the research explained to them very clearly.<sup>51</sup> The interviews were conducted in person and online and after seeking respondents' consent. Therefore, all respondents were interviewed at their convenient time and a venue of their choice. The researcher treated all respondents with respect while collecting data.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Benjamin F Crabtree and William L Miller, *Doing Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE, 2000). 78-91.

<sup>51</sup> Earl Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research*, 14th ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2019). 120-145.

<sup>52</sup> J Mouton and H. C Marais, *Basic Concepts in the Methodology of the Social Sciences*, (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1990). 167-173.



Though the researcher managed to conduct first five interviews within three months, however, it took another year to contact all 20 respondents selected for this research. The process of interview taking involved a lot of travelling and was time consuming. It is important to note that besides tapping primary sources, a lot of secondary data was collected from libraries. In Willman's words, research is a "process dealing with the analysis of evidences such as historical records and documents."<sup>53</sup> This meant gathering data from open sources such as books, journals, dissertations, theses, reports and conference proceedings. This collection also included data collected virtually, through internet sources including e-books, online journals, and soft copies of dissertations, theses, reports and conference proceedings.

### 3.10 Data Analysis and Analysis Process

The researcher collected primary data through two separate sets of interviews. The first set included 15 policymakers, foreign policy and experts both military and civilian. The second set of interviews was designed for peacekeepers. This included 10 Pakistani peacekeepers, who had served on different peacekeeping missions. The primary set of interviews included questions to build up empirical evidence to determine Pakistan's motivations for peacekeeping with respect to its foreign policy objectives. However, the second set of interviews inquired from the interviewees about their personal experiences, while serving on various the missions. It also included questions on the command structure and overall experiences. The researcher used content analysis methodology to understand the phenomenon better by breaking it down into its constituent parts. This is by far the perfect way of understanding the conditions behind a specific phenomenon, such as peacekeeping.<sup>54</sup> It appears to be simple but it's not easy. As Drew and others stated:

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<sup>53</sup> Bowen, Glenn, "Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method". *Qualitative Research Journal*. (2009) 9. 27-40. 10.3316/QRJ0902027.

<sup>54</sup> J Mouton and H. C Marais, *Basic Concepts in The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1990). 153-154

The qualitative research data analysis is probably carrying more negative connotations than any other single part of the research process, which could be because of the fact that in such studies, data are usually recorded in the form of words; descriptions, opinions and feelings rather than numbers.<sup>55</sup>

The responses were written in plain text to understand patterns, trends and matching and contrasting themes. The analysis of the data was then done in the light of existing literature to differentiate different themes and enhance understanding.

### 3.11 Conclusion

The dissertation used Morgenthau's principle of national interests as theoretical framework. Both primary and secondary data were used to conduct the dissertation. Primary data was collected through two different set of interviews. The first set of interviews collected responses from experts and policymakers and the second set collected responses from peacekeepers. The secondary data was collected through national and international reports on peacekeeping and Pakistan's contribution in it. The data was analyzed through content analysis methodology. The researcher used record analysis technique to understand Pakistan's foreign policy objectives with respect to its troop contribution to UN peacekeeping in the fourth chapter, "UN Peacekeeping: Evolution and Historical Background." A comparative analysis technique was used to understand Pakistan's motivation for troop contribution in the fifth chapter, "Un Peacekeeping and Pakistan's Foreign Policy Objectives." The researcher analyzed the eighth chapter through primary and secondary data to interpret Pakistan's peacekeeping compatibility, present situation and future challenges. The dissertation reviewed the literature

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<sup>55</sup> C.J. Drew, *Qualitative Research in Education*. (USA: Sage, 2010).

including reports, books, research journals, newspaper articles etc. through a mixed literature review method.

## CHAPTER 4

### UN PEACEKEEPING: EVOLUTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

#### 4.1 Introduction

UN Peacekeeping initiative completed its 70 years in June 2019. During this period at least one million men and women served in 71 peacekeeping missions. As of June 2019, 100,411 personnel were serving in 14 UN peacekeeping operations with 86,145 uniformed personnel from 122 countries were serving under the blue flag. During the past 70 years 3844 peacekeepers have laid down their lives, while serving the UN mandate in conflict zones. Peacekeeping in the earlier years was limited to maintaining ceasefires and stabilizing the post conflict situation.<sup>56</sup> However, peacekeeping has become more intrusive. The peacekeepers are called upon to not only maintain peace and security but also protect civilians, disarm combatants and support elections and/in conflict zones and also to restore the rule of law under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

The United Nations (UN) was established in October 1945 as a result of the League of Nations' failure to prevent World War II. It enhanced the League of Nations charter for 'Collective Security' by introducing the clause 'Unity for Peace.' As such, the UN Charter expresses its determination to unify the strength of member nations in order to promote international peace and security. The primary goal of the UN is to maintain international peace and security. Although the term "peacekeeping" is not mentioned in the charter, it is one of the means via which that defined objective might be achieved. Some significant provisions of the UN Charter establishing the Peace Keeping / Peace Enforcement domain / responsibilities of the UN are mentioned in Chapter 1 Article 1 which highlights that the purpose of the UN is to maintain "International Peace and Security, and to that end to take effective collective measures

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<sup>56</sup> "DATA", United Nations Peacekeeping, 2019, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/data>. (Accessed 28 July 2019).

for the prevention and removal of threats (and) for the suppression of acts of aggression". Chapter VI Article 33 highlights the importance of negotiation, inquiry, mediation and conciliation as ways of settling disputes, failing which Article 37 empowers the Security Council to recommend a solution. Chapter VI covers actions with respect to threat to peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression, dealing in detail with the mechanics of peace enforcement action(s) when conciliation fails. It spells out the imposition of economic sanction and other measures to affect the security council's decisions, including the use of military staff committees in conducting military action to this end.

During cold war, when Peace Enforcement as envisage in Chapter VI could not be implemented, UN resorted to an alternate method of Peace Keeping under Chapter VI Article 40. It suggests that before resorting to enforcement the security council may call on the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary desirable without prejudice to the rights, claims or position of the parties concerned. Other than that, Chapter V Article 29 stipulates that "the Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as it considers necessary for the performance of its functions. Extracts of Chapter VI and VII related to pacific settlements of disputes are given at Appendix 1.

The terms "peacekeeping" is not formally used in the UN Charter. Peacekeeping, which involves the participation of the parties to the conflict in issue, has emerged as a pragmatic reaction to a range of international conflicts that have been placed on the UN agenda throughout the years. In essence, peacekeeping tried to resolve disputes via the use of pacific third-party initiatives. Despite its limits, peacekeeping has frequently shown to be a helpful approach for conflict management and resolution. There are six main organs of the United Nations, General Assembly- Security Council- Economic and social Council- Trusteeship Council- International Court of Justice- Secretariat.

This chapter takes on UN peacekeeping contribution discussing evolution of peacekeeping and providing its historical background. It also defines, peace, peacekeeping and illustrates types of peacekeeping. The chapter discusses the conceptual definitions of peacekeeping including the latest trends in peacekeeping. It also elaborately covers the new dimension of cyber peacekeeping and Pakistan's capacity to operate in cyber threat environments. The chapter also describe the basic principles of peacekeeping concept.

## 4.2 Evolution and Historical Background of Peacekeeping

The purpose here is to trace the evolution of the concept of peacekeeping and to study the basic principles defining peacekeeping as a unique and viable paradigm for curtailing local conflicts. The chapter will further elaborate the chronological evolution of the process involved in the development of contemporary peacekeeping operations by the UN. The precise roles of Secretary-General Hammarskjöld (10 April 1953 – 18 September 1961) and the Canadian delegate Lester Pearson (Canadian delegate Lester Pearson) - the pioneering diplomats in the formation of peacekeeping forces - are central to the ethos of peacekeeping operations.

## 4.3 Evolution and Historical Background

Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld. once said, "the purpose of the UN is not to get us to heaven but to save us from hell." He added:

Peacekeeping has evolved both in its focus and in setting increasingly ambitious goals. In effect, the referent object of peacekeeping—what and whose peace is to be kept—has changed. The peace that is to be kept has evolved from a negative conception of peace to encompassing an increasingly positive understanding of peace. Similarly, the

object of the peace has shifted from the global to the national, and ultimately to the local. In effect, this has raised the bar for peacekeeping.<sup>57</sup>

The first deployments of unarmed military observers (MOs) was in Palestine and the Greek Civil War. MOs were also deployed in the disputed region of Jammu and Kashmir Dispute in 1948. They are still there. The use of armed multinational forces was first made in the Sinai / Suez Crisis in 1956.<sup>58</sup>

These early efforts at UN peacekeeping were made in an *ad hoc*, and hastily unplanned manner to address deadly conflicts. Over the next seventy years peacekeeping would adapt to shifts in the global system and new patterns of armed conflicts. Over time, it has become a very sophisticated and, institutionalized practice. Two distinct approaches are characteristic of peacekeeping took place in different contexts and eras.

UN peacekeeping operations were primarily perceived to contain and manage interstate wars, which had the possibility to become global conflicts. In a high-risk era marked by Cold War competition amid violent decolonization and self-determination struggles, it was imperative to limit the involvement of the two leading powers. A central, yet seldom officially acknowledged, objective was to curtail intensification of smaller wars into a bigger, probably a nuclear war. The UN has gone through a major and gradual evolution of its objectives in maintaining and establishing peace. The biggest achievement in its evolutionary history is the development of the phenomenon of peacekeeping as a convenient method of impartial disposition between warring nations. The UN later continually broadened its sphere of action. The most important aspect regarding the UN peacekeeping is the absence of a clear definition

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<sup>57</sup> Gareth Evans, "The Responsibility to Protect: An Idea Whose Time Has Come ... And Gone?", *International Relations* 22, no. 3 (2008): 283-298

<sup>58</sup> William J. Durch (Ed.), *The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping — Case Studies and Comparative Analysis*, (St. Martin's Press, New York 1993), 509, *Journal of International Peacekeeping* 1, no. 2 (1994): 74 -75, (Accessed Oct. 14, 2019).

of the UN concept of peacekeeping.<sup>59</sup> Over a period of time peacekeeping has evolved its focus of setting up more robust goals i.e. from the negative conception to a more positive understanding of peace. The major evolutionary change observed is the shifting of focus of peacekeeping was from authorization and organization to the effectiveness of peacekeeping in avoiding the recurrence of conflict and their ability to change the situation on ground.

#### 4.4 Defining Peace and Peacekeeping

It is difficult to define peacekeeping. For different people, it holds different meanings and is therefore an impractical exercise.<sup>60</sup> In International Relations, the major focus is directed towards the study of wars and how to achieve peace in the long term. However, according to theorists, peace is not a phenomenon but a process in which nonviolent struggle and efforts to overcome each other are involved. This common struggle must cater for the other perspectives and should not lead to any conflict.

Certain other traditions consider peace as a process rather than a circumstance. According to Buddhism, peace is a continuous process in which efforts cannot be distinguished from the ultimate objectives. The efforts must culminate in a conclusive objective of avoiding war or violence. According to British scholar Diana Francis, peace is based on constructive, nonviolent conflict and peaceful relationships. Francis' major focus remains on the peace at state level with regards to the state security.<sup>61</sup> John Paul Lederach points out that those communities, struggling with peace and violence are actually suffering from a lack of justice, mercy and truth.<sup>62</sup> However, to have peace in such communities a reconciliation effort would

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<sup>59</sup> Ronald Hatto, "From Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding: The Evolution of the Role of the United Nations in Peace Operations", *International Review of The Red Cross* 95, no. 891-892 (2013): 495-515, (Accessed 3 August 3, 2019).

<sup>60</sup> Oliver Richmond, *Peace in International Relation*, (London: Routledge, 2008), 30.

<sup>61</sup> Diana Francis, *From Pacification to Peace Building A Call to Global Transformation*, (London: Pluto Press, 2010), 88.

<sup>62</sup> John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1997), 70.



be required to address these pressures. The focus of both these scholars is at individual and community level rather than at the state level.

The concept of positive and negative peace by Johan Galtung is a popular perception in peace literature. This concept pronounces that negative peace is simply the absence of war, whereas the positive peace is based on a just and cooperative society with a considerably reduced structural violence. Galtung's negative peace is very significant term in the evolution of the concept of traditional peacekeeping, which is certainly meant to avoid imminent conflicts. The contemporary peacekeeping missions are multidimensional with more lucrative mandates including numerous elements aimed to achieve a particular vision closer to positive peace. This new vision is quite encouraging for peacekeeping to lead toward positive peace and contain essentials related to governance, human rights, justice, and thus peacekeeping has become tangled with peacebuilding.<sup>63</sup>

#### 4.5 Defining Peacekeeping

A system of generally accepted peacekeeping terms and concepts has now evolved in international practice. These terms and concepts describe the various types of peacekeeping operations and the directives which pertain to them, and they characterize the actions which are taken in the course of performing these operations. Using terms incorrectly or inexactly may lead to confusion or misunderstandings, especially when conducting international

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<sup>63</sup> Laura Zanotti, *Governing Disorder: UN Peace Operations, International Security and Democratization in the Post-Cold War Era*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 188.

business. Even more importantly, this terminology reflects the essence of operations and plays a crucial role in their planning and execution.<sup>64</sup>

Though the term peacekeeping conveys different meanings however, it is not always defined and that is mainly because of varied assumption of "peace" itself.<sup>65</sup> Peacekeeping literature suggests the term originated with the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) in the Suez which was described as a peacekeeping mission.<sup>66</sup> UN General Secretary Boutros Boutros-Ghali defined peacekeeping in 1992 as an activity of the UN emphasizing deployment of military and police personnel, while noting the frequent inclusion of civilians, to prevent conflict and make peace (without defining what he envisioned as conflict or peace). At the time his definition also included the expectation that this deployment was "with the consent of, all parties concerned."<sup>67</sup>

The UN Department of peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) Manual on peacekeeping refers to peacekeeping simply as;

... a technique designed to preserve the peace, however fragile, where fighting has been halted, and to assist, in implementing . agreements achieved by the peacemakers working together to help lay the foundations for sustainable peace.<sup>68</sup>

Definitions of peacekeeping have changed over time. The use of the term peacekeeping is quite different military interventions. It is meant to normalize the greater use of force and .

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<sup>64</sup> Colonel Andrei Demurenko and Professor Alexander Nikitin, "Basic Terminology and Concepts in International Peacekeeping Operations: An Analytical Review" Volume 6, Summer 1997, [https://www.bits.de/NRANEU/docs/demurenko\\_nikitin97.htm](https://www.bits.de/NRANEU/docs/demurenko_nikitin97.htm) (Accessed November, 12, 2021)

<sup>65</sup> David Roberts, "Post-Conflict Peacebuilding, Liberal Irrelevance and the Locus of Legitimacy", *International Peacekeeping* 18, no. 4 (2011): 410-424

<sup>66</sup> "First United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I) - Background (Summary)", *Peacekeeping*. UN. Org, 2019, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/mission/past/unef1backgr1.html>. (Accessed 28 July 2019).

<sup>67</sup> "Terminology", *United Nations Peacekeeping*, 2019, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/terminology>. (Accessed 3 August, 2019).

<sup>68</sup> "United Nations Peacekeeping", *United Nations Peacekeeping*, 2019, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en>. (Accessed 28 July 2019).

emphasize on global governance over state sovereignty. As Virginia Page Fortna and Lise Morje Howard of Columbia University New York pointed out, earlier definitions referred to peacekeeping as taking place in an international setting, using no or light force, and requiring the consent of the affected countries. As the contexts and purposes of peacekeeping missions have changed, some definitions of peacekeeping have become broader and more encompassing. Some use the term peacekeeping operations rather than peacekeeping missions, restricting the word missions for those engagements that have more limited goals and that use no or very limited force. The UN now uses the phrase multidimensional peacekeeping operations, acknowledging that peacekeeping activities are now intertwined with efforts that lie outside peacekeeping and are often thought of as peacebuilding, such as improving governance, human rights and economic development.<sup>69</sup>

The UN, in this description of peacekeeping, still discusses consent of the parties and the use of force only for self-protection. Though some of the operations have in fact occurred without the consent of all parties and have been authorized to use all force necessary to protect civilians within their capabilities. Fortna and Howard define peacekeeping as "the deployment of international personnel to help maintain peace and security" which is a very broad definition and leaves undefined peace and 'security'.<sup>70</sup>

#### 4.6 Scope of UN peace Initiatives

The scope of the UN Peace Initiative is very comprehensive. It comprises measures/actions made to restore hope of peace, humanitarian help, and even multi-national operations. A sequence of activities performed to achieve peace are as follows: -

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<sup>69</sup> "What Is Peacekeeping", United Nations Peacekeeping, 2019, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/what-is-peacekeeping>. (Accessed August 3, 2019).

<sup>70</sup> Séverine Autesserre, "Peace land" (Barcelona: Institut Català Internacional per la Pau. ICIP, 2018), 21.

#### 4.6.1 Preventive Diplomacy

It is the first step in reducing stress in possible hot spots. The actions are intended at preventing escalation or limiting the scope of the disputes/conflicts. Preventive diplomacy necessitates steps to instill trust: it necessitates early warning based on information collecting and informal or formal fact-finding missions. It may also necessitate preventive deployments and, in certain cases, demilitarized Zones.

#### 4.6.2 Peace Making

These are the steps done to bring antagonistic parties to execute an agreement primarily by peaceful methods as envisaged in the UN Charter (Pacific Settlement of Disputes) through mutual dialogue, reference to a regional body/Security Council. The Security Council has the authority to provide suggestions to the parties in order to resolve the disagreement and carry out the agreement using non-military methods. In situations when peacekeeping may necessitate the implementation of sanctions under Article 41 of the Charter. If diplomatic methods fail, the Security Council may deploy the powers outlined in Chapter VIII of the Charter to restore peace and security in the face of a "threat to the peace, violation of the peace, or act of aggression.

#### 4.6.3 Peace Enforcement

These are the steps used to guarantee the implementation of UN decisions. Under Article 41, the Security Council has the ultimate authority to ensure peace using non-military methods. The major steps being taken in this regard are, economic penalties, either partial or whole, disruption of communication channels, termination of diplomatic ties and peace enforcement through military action in accordance with UN Security Council Resolutions 42-43.

#### 4.6.4 Peacekeeping

Peacekeeping is an endeavor to protect the atmosphere that is best suited for a peaceful resolution of a dispute. Its goal is to improve the prospects of keeping the peace and guaranteeing the agreements for execution. It entails the engagement of an international military presence in the troubled area that has previously been done with the permission of all parties involved.

#### 4.7 Principles of Peacekeeping

Given the variety of these activities, the following general concepts give direction in the design and execution of Peacekeeping Missions: -

##### 4.7.1 Clarity of Task and Role

It is critical that all parties participating in Peacekeeping Operations understand their objective and responsibility. These factors are directly related to the Security Council's mandate. As a result, it is preferable if the mandate is clear and explicit. The peacekeepers would need to understand the limitations and Terms of Reference within which they must operate. The Secretary General shall explicitly establish guidelines to serve as implication and interpretation of the mission in plain terms. All participants must have a shared knowledge of the task, else the mission may be jeopardized partially or completely.

##### 4.7.2 Consent of Disputing Parties

The outcome of Peace Keeping operation greatly depends on the degree of consent demonstrated, by the disputing parties. Apart from this country participating in the Peace Keeping Force also consent to these operations for their own interests. They may limit the employment of their force through rules of engagement or terms of reference. Consent also

applies to other interested states who may support Peace Keeping Operations or at least refrain from harmful to their success.

#### 4.7.3 Unity of Command

The Force Commander is ultimately accountable for all aspects of the combat zone. For unambiguous functioning, he should have a direct line of command with the Secretary General. The Force Commander should be in command of all national contingents and other military actions in his region. The Force Commander requires effective communication infrastructure to guarantee proper command and control of the contingent forces, to maintain contact with all parties, and to report to and receive direction from the competent International Organization (UNO).

#### 4.7.4 Neutrality and Impartiality

The total impartiality and neutrality of the Peace Keeping Force is required to maintain the trust and confidence of the parties in dispute and the host government. The best way to do this is to form a multi-national peacekeeping organization with a broad geographic representation. If a Peace Keeping Force is suspected as favoring one of the parties involved, its efficacy will be lessened, and the force may struggle to complete its job.

#### 4.7.5 Credibility

The capability of the Peace Keeping Force to complete the task determines credibility. It is essential for restoring trust among conflicting parties and should be high on the Force Commander's priority list. The Peacekeepers must have an adequate number of qualified troops who are properly organized and equipped for their given duty. While the organization should represent no threat to the parties involved in the war, there should be little question that it is incapable of carrying out its designated objective.

A peacekeeping organization must deploy its assets in a good operational concept to ensure mission completion in the face of expected attempts by the parties to gain an advantage over their opponents or to sabotage peacekeeping activities. The organization's workers must continually display a disciplined attitude, successful performance of responsibilities, and suitable off-duty behavior.

#### 4.7.6 Balanced Force

The force organization would be determined by the mandate/mission to be accomplished. The number/strength would be proportionate to the work and expected results, as well as the strength of the participants it is essential to govern. Internal cohesion and compatibility of the force's constituents are required. Each contingent should have functional cohesiveness, compatibility, and structural integration of pieces.

#### 4.7.7 Minimum Use of Force

Peacekeeping operations are founded on the assumption that peaceful techniques, rather than enforcement tactics, will be employed to achieve the mission's aim. As a result, the use of force must be carefully managed. The use of unwarranted force undermines the acceptability of a Peace Keeping Force and may exacerbate the degree of violence in the area of operations. Under normal circumstances, a Peace Keeping Force has no ability to prevent violations of an agreement by the active use of force.

Active force is generally used by members of the Peace Keeping Force to defend themselves, their positions, and force equipment, or, when commanded, to stop a life-threatening situation or to assure the completion of an essential mission. Commanders should develop standing operating procedures (SOP), or rules of engagement, within the framework of the UN's overall guidelines.

#### 4.7.8 Freedom of Movement

The whole Peace Keeping Force, as well as all of its components, should have complete freedom of movement. The force should be allowed to maneuver freely in and around Buffer Zones, along demarcation lines, or throughout a host nation.

#### 4.7.9 Concurrent Action

Concurrent action refers to any further steps made to create permanent peace while the Peace Keeping Force stabilizes the situation. Any effort by the Peace Keeping Force that encourages agreement between opposing parties contributes to this long-term goal.

### 4.8 Nonviolent and Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping (UCP)

According to Rachel Julian:

Unarmed civilian peacekeeping, also referred to as unarmed civilian protection (UCP), fields trained civilians using unarmed and other nonviolent methods to; protect other civilians from violence, deter armed actors, support local efforts to build peace, and maintain human rights. It challenges the assumption that peacekeeping and civilian protection requires the military and the use of weapons.<sup>71</sup>

Peacekeeping is about preventing, reducing, and stopping violence. It is a common assumption that only armed military or police can do the work of peacekeeping, however unarmed civilians have also been successfully keeping the peace in situations of violent conflict all over the world, and their numbers are increasing. Unarmed civilian peacekeeping is a generic term that gives recognition to a wide range of activities by unarmed civilians to reduce

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<sup>71</sup> Rachel Julian, "Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping", Oxford Research Group, 2019, <https://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/blog/unarmed-civilian-peacekeeping>. (Accessed August 3, 2019).



violence and protect civilians in situations of violent conflict. There are many non-governmental as well as governmental organizations that engage in unarmed civilian protection (UCP), using a variety of methods and approaches. Non-Violent Peace force (NP) is engaged in what we call 'third generation', or 3G UCP.

Records show that unarmed, trained civilians involved in peacekeeping not only prevented violence but also saved people's lives in many cases. For instance, in

Mindanao the Nonviolent Peace force international protection team were a part of the official ceasefire monitoring process and have, in part, been credited with the success of the ceasefire lasting.

In Guatemala, Peace Brigades International (PBI), whose projects are delegated by the General Assembly, due to their familiarity and access to the remote areas provided human rights defenders a chance to work more widely and in South Sudan civilian peacekeepers protected internally displaced people (IDPs) in their camps through patrolling. Similarly, in 2018 in a town in the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka, Valaichenai, where Nonviolent Peace force UCP worked for five years, prevented the spread of violence by building relationships to the opposing groups.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Rachel Julian, "Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping", Oxford Research Group, 2019, <https://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/blog/unarmed-civilian-peacekeeping>. (Accessed August 3, 2019).

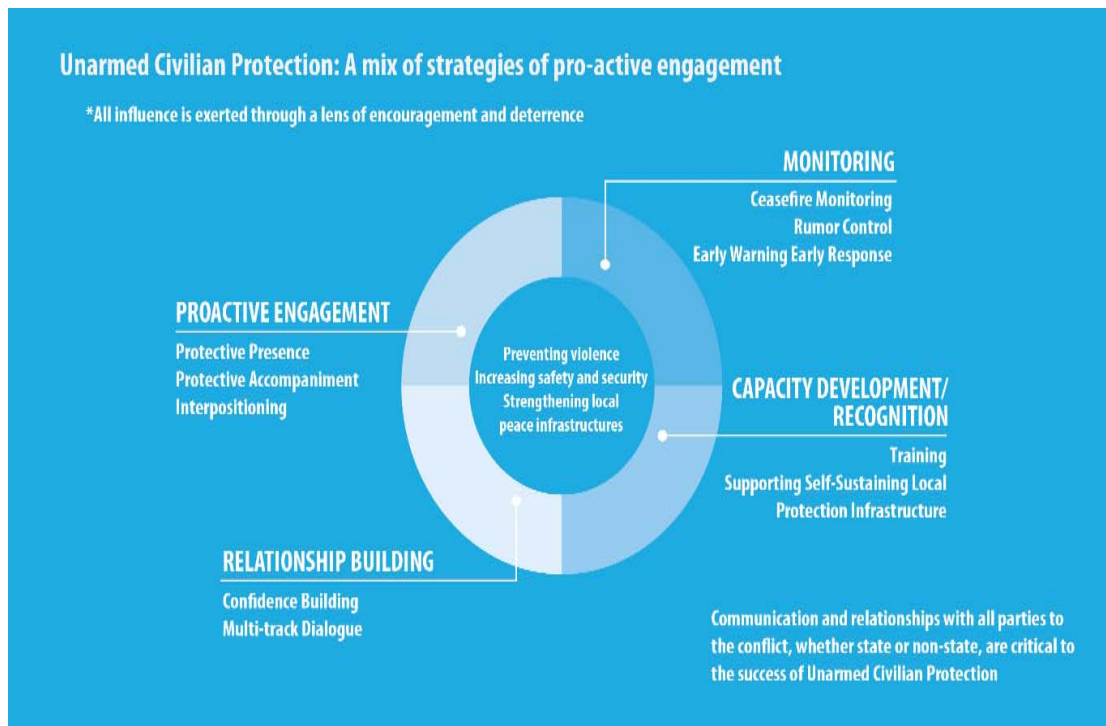


Figure "Unarmed Civilian Protection", *Nonviolentpeaceforce.Org*, 2019, <https://www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org/unarmed-civilian-protection>.

## 4.9 Military Peacekeeping

UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld and UN General Assembly President Lester Pearson defined the three straightforward principles of peacekeeping (in developing, UNEF I), which would endure until the mid-1990s i.e. 1. The consensus of the conflicting parties, 2. The non-use of force, except in self-defense, and 3. Political neutrality, impartiality, and legitimacy.<sup>73</sup>

Peacekeeping was not stated in the UN Charter while the Security Council authorized operations under Chapter VI (peaceful settlement of disputes), traditional peacekeeping resided in a grey area between Chapter VI and VII. The choice and variety of related activity was

<sup>73</sup> Oliver Rams Botham, Tom Woodhouse and Hugh Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), 134.

relatively uncommon with one exception of ONUC: 1960-64 UN peacekeeping forces which were used to monitor borders and establish buffer zones following cease-fire agreements. These missions were largely composed of lightly armed soldiers in national troop contingents provided by small, middle and neutral member states.<sup>74</sup>

#### 4.10 Traditional Peacekeeping

Traditional peacekeeping has been defined differently by different experts. In the first instance it was called operations involving military personnel powers to help maintain or restore international peace and security in areas of conflict. These operations were voluntary and based on consent and cooperation of the parties to the conflict. They achieve their objectives not by force of arms but through peaceful means, thus contrasting them with the 'enforcement action' of the U N under Article 42.<sup>75</sup>

It was also defined as field operations established by the UN with the consent of the parties concerned, to help control and resolve conflicts between them, under UN command and control, at the expense collectively of the member states, and with military and other personnel and equipment provided voluntarily by them, acting impartially between the parties and using force to the minimum extent necessary.<sup>76</sup>

Preparations were made to train and develop explicit policy for UN peacekeeping however infrequent at best. Similarly, there was inadequate financial and political support for doing more to institutionalize related UN efforts. A traditional pattern of response would encounter very different environments in the aftermath of the Cold War; ever-growing . multifaceted conflicts that had not been anticipated nor prepared for. Yet traditional

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<sup>74</sup> "Mandates and The Legal Basis for Peacekeeping", United Nations Peacekeeping, 2019, (Accessed 28 July 2019), <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/mandates-and-legal-basis-peacekeeping>.

<sup>75</sup> "UN Peace Keeping - Theory and Practice", *Defencejournal.Com*, 2019, <http://www.defencejournal.com/apr99/un-peace-keeping.htm>. (Accessed August 3, 2019).

<sup>76</sup> Alex J Bellamy, Paul Williams and Stuart Griffin, *Understanding Peacekeeping*, (Cambridge: Polity, 2015), 96.

peacekeeping would survive and adjust to the new inter-state challenges, while a new approach to develop under intense pressure to deal what initially appeared to be a dramatic shift in the pattern of armed conflict.

#### 4.11 The Concept of Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and Peacekeeping

From an ethical point of view, states are primarily responsible to guard their population from mass atrocity crimes including genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and the ethnic cleansing. In case a state fails to protect their civil population against these crimes then the international community comes forward and fulfill its obligations to protect the civil population through effective actions in line with the UN Obligations.

This phenomenon was highlighted in response to the failure to protect the people during the Rwandan genocide and ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia in 1990's.<sup>77</sup>

This understanding was orchestrated as a political and operational response to react to such kinds of criminal activities in future. All other crimes have strict legal definitions except genocide, while ethnic cleansing – which a UN Commission of Experts defined as "... rendering an area ethnically homogeneous by using force or intimidation to remove persons of given groups from the area" – is a crime without a valid definition.<sup>78</sup>

In 2001 the International Commission on International and State Sovereignty (ICISS) heads of state and governments had a mutual consent to uphold the Responsibility to Protect or R2P at the 2005 UN world summit. R2P has been articulated in paragraphs 138, 139 in the UN world summit outcome document published in 2005.<sup>79</sup> It was further explained in the

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<sup>77</sup> Helen M. Hintjens, "Explaining the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37, no. 2 (1999): 241-86. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/161847>.

<sup>78</sup> "United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and The Responsibility to Protect", Un. Org, 2019, (Accessed 28 July 2019). <https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/ethnic-cleansing.shtml>.

<sup>79</sup> UN General Assembly Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly on 25 September 2015, (Accessed Oct. 02, 2019). [http://www.un.org/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/1&Lang=E](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/1&Lang=E) (2015)

annual reports presented to UN general assembly by the UN Secretary-General and a special advisor on the subject was also appointed in 2008.<sup>80</sup>

#### 4.12 Role of New Technologies in Peacekeeping

The world has become increasingly digitized. In 2012 in DRC rebels created a Facebook group to generate support for their cause. Non-State Actors (NSA) and anti-state elements are continuously trying to harness new technologies to achieve their objectives. Therefore, a need was felt in the UN to integrate and innovate these technologies as no mission can achieve its objectives in the contemporary digital era without the integration of new technologies. Towards this end, the role of new technologies was emphasized in June 2014, once the UN- Under Secretaries-General of Peacekeeping Operations and Field Support tasked an expert panel to recommend the incorporation of new technologies to increase the efficacy of peacekeeping operations.<sup>81</sup>

These skills can keep the progression of peacekeeping, one step ahead of the challenges. The integration of new technologies can have convincing effects on the success of the peacekeeping operations, e.g. it can enhance the operational efficiency, can improve overall safety and security environments, increase situational awareness, enhance mission support usefulness, increase intelligence gathering capacity for mandate implementation including safety and security of the peacekeepers through use of UAVs tracking systems, application for detection of mines and surveillance drones.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Gareth Evans, "The Responsibility to Protect: An Idea Whose Time Has Come ... And Gone?", *International Relations* 22, no. 3 (2008): 283-298,

<sup>81</sup> "Final Report of the Expert Panel on Technology and Innovation in UN Peacekeeping", United Nations Peacekeeping, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/final-report-of-expert-panel-technology-and-innovation-un-peacekeeping>. 2019, (Accessed August 3, 2019).

<sup>82</sup> "Final Report of the Expert Panel on Technology and Innovation in UN Peacekeeping", United Nations Peacekeeping, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/final-report-of-expert-panel-technology-and-innovation-un-peacekeeping>. 2019, (Accessed August 3, 2019).

#### 4.13 Existing UN Peacekeeping Operations

Complex multidimensional peacekeeping arose in response to the additional demands of violent intrastate conflicts and civil wars within weak or poorly governed states suffering from identity, resource distribution and power struggles. Strategic context for UN peacekeeping shifted sharply in the early 1990s, prompting a corresponding organizational shift to complex “multidimensional” operations designed to ensure the implementation of inclusive peace agreements and assist in laying the foundations for sustainable peace. Freed from the binding constraints of the super-power rivalry into a period of unparalleled unipolarity, the Security Council authorized larger, complex operations with extended mandates to implement increasingly comprehensive tasks.<sup>83</sup>

From traditional five UN operations in 1988, the 11 operations were hastily deployed by 1992 and, 17 by 1994. This happened after the end of the Cold War, when the US as the sole superpower could have its way in deploying peacekeeping missions, to fulfil its foreign policy objectives. The problems associated with this dramatic growth during the early 1990s were compounded by fundamental changes in the nature of conflicts, the need for new, approaches, new functions and skills, as well as more resources and participants.

With the broader range of objectives, UN operation promptly became multifunctional. The multiplicity of tasks first expanded to include security concerns, humanitarian issues and political objectives. Environmental developmental and socio-economic objectives were appended as the need for even more comprehensive responses became increasingly evident. This broader range of objectives also demanded a new multidimensional approach that included civilians and police, as well as military participants. Given such diversity, it became

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<sup>83</sup> "Our History", United Nations Peacekeeping, 2019, (Accessed August 3, 2019). <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>.

critical to develop a unity of effort and purpose among various participants. A broader partnership is now reflected in the composition of all UN peacekeeping operations.<sup>84</sup>

#### 4.14 Beyond Peacekeeping

Further, a broader array of peacekeepers now undertakes a wider variety of demanding tasks, from helping to maintain security, restoring law and order, monitoring human rights, building sustainable institutions of governance, coordinating elections, reforming the security sector, to disarming, demobilizing and reintegrating former combatants. The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations reports that: -

Although the military remain the strength of most peacekeeping operations, the many faces of peacekeeping now include administrators and economists, police officers and legal experts, de-miners and electoral observers, human rights monitors and specialists in civil affairs and governance, humanitarian workers and experts in communications and public information.<sup>85</sup>

In fact, this is a short-list, which could easily cover many pages. Depending on their mandate, complex multidimensional peacekeeping missions may now be required to prevent the outbreak of conflict or the spill-over of conflict across borders; to stabilize conflict situations after cease-fire, to create an environment for the parties to reach a lasting peace agreement. Such missions can also help restore law and order and appropriate judicial processes and monitor and advise on human rights and international humanitarian law. Multidimensional peacekeeping missions may also be required to liaise with host nations, internal and external parties; including regional organizations and NGOs. They are also

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<sup>84</sup> "Our History", *United Nations Peacekeeping*, 2019, (Accessed Oct. 2, 2019).  
<https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>.

<sup>85</sup> "Department of Peace Operations", *United Nations Peacekeeping*, 2019, (Accessed August 20, 2019).  
<https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/departement-of-peace-operations>.

required to monitor and report on developments within or in proximity to the area of operations; protect civilians; promote human security, confidence-building measures and power-sharing arrangements. Also, to help in implementing comprehensive peace agreements and lead states or territories through a transition to stable government, based on democratic principles, good governance and economic development is yet another requirement.<sup>86</sup>

In a 2014 statement of the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations notes that:

...Each peacekeeping operation has a specific set of mandated tasks, but all share certain common aims - to alleviate human suffering, and create conditions and build institutions for self-sustaining peace. The substantial presence of a peacekeeping operation on the ground contributes to this aim by introducing the UN as a third party with a direct impact on the political process.<sup>87</sup>

In about last two decades, peacekeeping has become far more multinational and multicultural. The number of member states contributing personnel and resources has jumped from small group of 26 troop contributors to include over 100 countries.<sup>88</sup>

The leading troop contributors to UN peacekeeping also changed markedly as member states from the Southern hemisphere, particularly Asia and Africa assumed a lead role. As of June 30, 2019, Pakistan provides 6000 military and police officers to UN peacekeeping whereas,<sup>89</sup> in June 2017, the top contributors to UN peacekeeping were Ethiopia with 8221 troops, India with 7676 troops, Pakistan with 7123 troops, Bangladesh with 7013, Rwanda with 6203 troops and Nepal with 5202 troops. By 1997, the absence of many experienced contributions and the more powerful members, pushed a heavy burden onto many new, less experienced contributors,

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<sup>86</sup> "Department of Peace Operations", United Nations Peacekeeping, 2019, (Accessed Oct. 10, 2019). <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/department-of-peace-operations>.

<sup>87</sup> Lisa Hultman, Jacob Kathman, And Megan Shannon. "Beyond Keeping Peace: United Nations Effectiveness in the Midst of Fighting." *American Political Science Review* 108, no. 4 (2014): 737–53.

<sup>88</sup> "Ranking of Military and Police Contributions", United Nations Peacekeeping, 2019, (Accessed Oct. 10, 2019). <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/ranking-of-military-and-police-contributions>.

<sup>89</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Pakistan", <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/pakistan>, (Accessed Oct. 17, 2019).



while their help remains critical, the shortage of well-trained, well-equipped personnel also strained the UN, particularly those in the DPKO. In addition to their primary tasks in planning, managing and supporting peace operations, they continue to work in training and advising new participants and, on developing higher standards for training and conduct.

Aside from the operational difficulties to be expected in working with so many diverse cultures and customs co-located in areas of high risk, serious problems also arose with numerous incidents of sexual misconduct, which demanded a higher priority be accorded to gender, humanitarian law and codes of conduct. The risks of participation in complex multidimensional operations also increased. While personnel working in serious war zones always face a higher frequency of accidents and illness, the number of hateful acts leading to fatalities rose to 127 peacekeepers in 1993, 71 in 1994, 34 in 1995 and resumed again in 2003 with 30 and 25 in 2005. Whereas, as of August 31, 2019, the total number of UN peacekeeper fatalities were 3877.<sup>90</sup>

#### 4.15 Cyber Peacekeeping

As Nations become more and more dependent on Cyber domain for their critical infrastructure such as transportation, telecommunication, power grid and water supply the threat for cyber warfare increases. To understand if the peacekeeping is needed for cyberwar or not we need to understand what the core objectives of the UN peacekeeping charter are. According to this if Cyber warfare can threaten the peace and security of the nation, there should be a need to conduct peacekeeping in response to it.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Fatalities," <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/fatalities>, (Accessed Oct. 18, 2019).

<sup>91</sup> A Bellamy and P. Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping*. (Polity, 2010).

Cyber-attacks effect factors that are considered essential in a peacekeeping situation. Globally cyberattacks in different nations have proven to hinder infrastructure, disrupt weapons and effect national economies. All these effects the civilians and destabilizes nations, hence creating a need to form with cyber peacekeeping operations.<sup>92</sup>

#### 4.16 Defining Cyber Peacekeeping

Researcher have been facing issues to define exactly what cyber peacekeeping should mean due to the vastness of the domain. By modifying the basic definition of peacekeeping, cyber peacekeeping can mean; “Action undertaken in cyberspace to preserve peace, however fragile, where fighting has been halted and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers”. However, this definition does not include the essential factors of cyber peacekeeping such as activities that require the cyber knowledge but are kinetic in nature. To address this the definition can be altered as; “Cyber related action undertaken to preserve peace, however fragile, where fighting has been halted and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers”. This definition then includes the actions taken outside cyberspace as well that are to prevent the risk of cyberwar and harm caused by it.<sup>93</sup>

#### 4.17 A Comparison between Peacekeeping and Cyber Peacekeeping

Cyber peacekeeping is not any different from peacekeeping; it serves as an extension to the original peacekeeping operations into the cyberspace. Cyber peacekeeping is still more

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<sup>92</sup> Michael Robinson, Kevin Jones, Helge Janicke and Leandros Maglaras. “An Introduction to Cyber Peacekeeping”. (April 2018). <https://arxiv.org/pdf/1710.09616.pdf>

<sup>93</sup> Michael Robinson, Kevin Jones, Helge Janicke and Leandros Maglaras. “An Introduction to Cyber Peacekeeping”. (April 2018). <https://arxiv.org/pdf/1710.09616.pdf>

under research and due to lack of information about the possible threats the scope of it is yet to be clearly defined.

They both however focus on preventing conflicts while ensuring peace and security of people. Cyber peacekeeping may involve more preventive systems in the networks rather than written agreements of compliance involved in peacekeeping.<sup>94</sup>

#### 4.18 The Legal Ambit of Cyber Peacekeeping

Cyber Peacekeeping to achieve its goals needs to follow certain legislations. There are three broad categories of cyber peacekeeping; capacity building, maintenance and security, and recovery. The majority of the cyber peacekeeping services do not require special legislation. For example, in case of capacity building it can be done according to the choice of Nation's authority and does not require any international legislation to be followed. They can take place by simple agreements. There might be certain regulations when accessing the government data however there are no international laws and it mostly at the domain of the government itself. Cyber peacekeeping has no authority to enforce law in any jurisdiction and will not encroach on the sovereignty of any member organizations. However, the two main cyber peacekeeping services that do require proper jurisdiction and legislation are safe layer and information clearinghouse.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Cahill, Thomas P., Konstantin Rozinov, and Christopher Mule. "Cyber warfare peacekeeping." In IEEE Systems, Man and Cybernetics Society Information Assurance Workshop, (2003)., 100-106.

<sup>95</sup> Akatyev, Nikolay and James, Joshua I. "Legislative Requirements for Cyber Peacekeeping," Journal of Digital Forensics, Security and Law: Vol. 12 : No. 3 (2017) , Article 4.

## 4.19 The Concept of Cyber Peacekeeping Units and Organizations

Cyber peacekeeping can be a part of the existing UN peacekeeping organization assuming that the talent has been acquired. The existing organization structure is as shown in figure 1 that's has strategic, operational and tactical areas of work. However, due to the differentiated nature of cyber peacekeeping a new type of unit is introduced within the organization called the cyber unit. It creates a new role, called head of cyber components, to overlook and ensure the tactical cyber aspects are run effectively in an operation. Figure 2 shows how the cyber unit fits into the organization.<sup>96</sup>

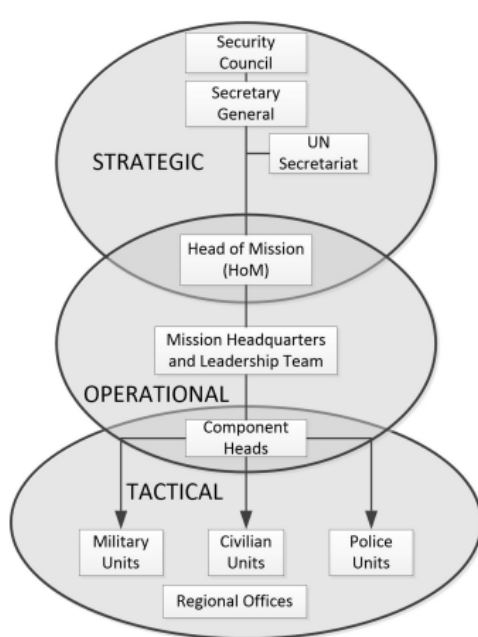


Fig. 1. Traditional UN Peacekeeping Organisational Structure

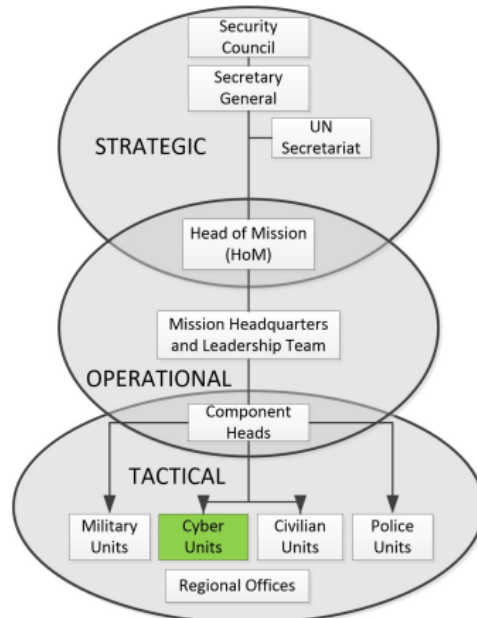


Fig. 2. Proposed UN Peacekeeping Organisational Structure (Cyber Units Added)

## 4.20 The Concept of Cyber Peacekeeping Reservists

To carry out UN cyber peacekeeping operations, it was proposed UN is the ideal organization to have the power for trust and funding for the technology to be used for cyber

<sup>96</sup> Michael Robinson, Kevin Jones, Helge Janicke and Leandros Maglaras. "An Introduction to Cyber Peacekeeping". (April 2018). <https://arxiv.org/pdf/1710.09616.pdf>

peacekeeping. UN can approach network owners that they believe are capable and request one or two staff member to become Cyber Peacekeeping Reservists. These individuals will stay a part of the existing organization but be “activated” when UN requests and will then be required to cooperate with other reservists of networks in order to achieve an agreement.<sup>97</sup>Cyber peacekeeping will face certain challenges like integrating it into peacekeeping organization, due to the differentiated nature of cyber warfare a separate unit and communication method is required. Acquiring individuals that have the desirable skillset and availability of these individuals when in need. The resistance towards this is a detrimental challenge. While the highest level might support, due to the sensitivity of information the locals might not support this.

#### 4.21 Pakistan’s Capacity for Cyber Peacekeeping

As cyber space becomes a new battlefield throughout the world, Pakistan has also been receiving some deadly cyber-attacks in recent years. Pakistan previously had already been engaged in ocean, land and air warfare with rival countries for years. Recently with the major rival India Pakistan has faced war at a different domain, cyberspace.

India in this situation has smartly taken advantage of their superior and speedily growing technological capabilities, along with assistance from Israel. In 2010, Indian government took their opening move towards making their own cyber warrior, with the main motive being to spy on the classified information of Pakistan and China by hacking into network systems.

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<sup>97</sup> Michael Robinson, Kevin Jones, Helge Janicke and Leandros Maglaras. “An Introduction to Cyber Peacekeeping”. (April 2018). <https://arxiv.org/pdf/1710.09616.pdf>

Pakistan has been a victim of cyber spying, cyber sabotage, data gathering, denial of service attacks, attacks on sensitive institutions' networks, etc. in recent times, creating more concern for creating cyber security technologies. Efforts are already into play to support country's cyber defense however, there are variety of constraints that speed down the progress. For starters, in contrast to India, Pakistan has been unable to formulate a productive cyber strategy or an alliance which will create the defense of the country cyber proof.<sup>98</sup>

A number of cyber scuffles have already taken place between the two countries in recent years. In 2008, some hackers from India claiming to have no association with the government of India, hacked the websites belonging to the Pakistan Army and the others belong to different ministries, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Finance, Pakistan Computer Bureau, Council of Islamic Ideology, etc.

Additionally, Pakistan is facing a serious threat from the non-state actors as well in the cyber space. Pakistan has launched a major operation within the terrorist region of the country. Those parts have the capability to launch a cyber-attack against Pakistan since Al al-Qaida has already launched variety of cyber-attacks on the US. in recent years.<sup>99</sup>

#### 4.22 Legal Aspects of Cyber Warfare in Pakistan

At an international level Pakistan being a victim of cyber espionage and hacking is bound to follow the existing International Humanitarian Law (IHL) that is applicable to

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<sup>98</sup> Naseer, Rizwan, and Musarat Amin. "Cyber-Threats to Strategic Networks: Challenges for Pakistan's Security." *South Asian Studies* (1026-678X) 33, no. 1 (2018).

<sup>99</sup> Ali, Jibrán. "Cyber Warfare and Pakistan." *Policy East*, (September 23), 2018. <http://policyeast.com/cyber-warfare-and-pakistan/>.

cyberwarfare. This law exists due so there is a logical framework to maintain transparency and protect international community from cyber threats. Since Pakistan itself lacks an effective system to defend against Cyber-attacks if has be following IHL and doing constant effort to identify loopholes.<sup>100</sup>

Simultaneously, Pakistan being a nuclear state and increasing threats to its cyber security has implemented a few defense policies, in order to prevent the entry of terrorists in country and supervise territorial borders. Critical defense measures for important cyber services of the country such as NADRA (National Database and Registration Authority), E-Government services and capital markets requires attention of government in current security situation. These services are using firewalls and other technologies to protect systems, however; there are many possibilities by which the terrorists can use cyber as a source to attack, control and stop the essential ICT services.<sup>101</sup>

#### 4.23 The likely Objectives of Cyber Attacks in Pakistan

Pakistan has faced cyber-attacks mostly from its neighboring enemy India, most of these have been with the motive to spy on the important agencies in Pakistan and gather valuable information that could aid in other forms of warfare. While the other nation actors without any affiliation to intelligence or government have been conducting various cyber-

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<sup>100</sup> Sahar Haroon. "International Humanitarian Law on Cyberwarfare and Pakistan's Legal Framework". (October 2017). [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3051009](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3051009)

<sup>101</sup> Awan, Jawad, and Shahzad Memon. "Threats of Cyber Security and Challenges for Pakistan." (ResearchGate, March 2016). [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318850748\\_Threats\\_of\\_Cyber\\_Security\\_and\\_Challenges\\_for\\_Pakistan](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318850748_Threats_of_Cyber_Security_and_Challenges_for_Pakistan).

attacks with attempts to demean the image of the country internationally such as the incident of hacking the websites of the government.<sup>102</sup>

#### 4.24 Contemporary Threat Pattern to Cyber space activities in Pakistan

Pakistan is unfortunately located in a region where is more exposed to threats like cyber terrorism. Pakistan has not faced any large-scale events of cyber terrorism yet but according to former NSA contractor Edward Snowden, Pakistan is the second most spied on country.<sup>103</sup> The trend of spying can be due to the rival nations being able to access the sensitive information of the government due to lack of cyber security.

When looking at pattern of Cybercrimes specifically in Pakistan, many terrorist organizations are running their recruitment pages and financial set-up electronically. The online presence of such parties is a threat as through these pages, websites, blogs and video they spread hate, sectarianism, violence and messages to overthrow the governments. Hence, there is a need for filters and blocking mechanisms to have control over malicious activities.

#### 4.25 Security and Protection Policies for Cyber warfare in Pakistan

For defense against the cybercrimes Pakistan established a legal framework. This included Electronic Transaction Ordinance (ETO) passed by the government in 2002. The main objectives of this ordinance was to protect the documentation, information and

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<sup>102</sup> Awan, Jawad, and Shahzad Memon. "Threats of Cyber Security and Challenges for Pakistan." (ResearchGate, March 2016).  
[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318850748\\_Threats\\_of\\_Cyber\\_Security\\_and\\_Challenges\\_for\\_Pakistan](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318850748_Threats_of_Cyber_Security_and_Challenges_for_Pakistan).

<sup>103</sup> Malik, Muhammad Baqir. "Pakistan and India Cyber Security Strategy." *Defense Journal* 17, no. 11 (2014): 59.



communications carried out electronically for accreditation of service provider.<sup>104</sup> There have been more acts such as Pakistan Telecommunication Reorganization Act 1996, Payment systems and Electronic Fund Transfer Act 2007, Electronic Crime Ordinance 2007, Cyber Security Strategy Bill, Prevention of Electronic Crime Bill and National Action Plan; all of them were to regularize the different crimes that are happening in the cyber space. However, there is no proper institution that's exists in Pakistan to create legislations and defensive strategies for this space which is why the system is very weak and makes the country vulnerable to these crimes.<sup>105</sup>

#### 4.26 Pakistan's Capabilities for Cyber Peacekeeping

UN Peacekeeping missions that involve Pakistan troops cover about 70 operations in different parts of the world. Pakistan has a long history with UN peacekeeping and in February 2018 Pakistan was the 5<sup>th</sup> largest contributor of uniformed personnel including more than 6000 men and women serving the nations under UN flag. They have been involved in activities in Sudan; have provided vocational and technical trainings after civil war, conducted computer courses in places like Camp Clara, medical services at various places etc.<sup>106</sup>

Up until recently, Pakistan's government is more focused on the military prospects of cybersecurity rather than the cybercrime in the country. Previously the country's national security used to be only focused on the Kinetic threats until now the policymakers are starting

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<sup>104</sup> Ullah, Sultan, Muhammad Amir, Mudasser Khan, Hamid Asmat, and Kamran Habib. "Pakistan and cybercrimes: Problems and preventions." First International Conference on Anti-Cybercrime (ICACC) (2015), pp. 1-6. IEEE, 2015.

<sup>105</sup> Ayhousha Khan. "Cyber Terrorism and its Securitization in Pakistan". (December 2018). <https://modern diplomacy.eu/2018/11/30/cyber-terrorism-and-its-securitization-in-pakistan/>

<sup>106</sup> "Pakistan: One of the longest-serving and largest contributors to UN peacekeeping", UN News. <https://news.un.org/en/gallery/525401>

to think about the non-kinetic issues as well. There are two 35 significant actions taken by the government towards the creation of a cybersecurity strategy. The first one is the establishment of the National Response Center for Cyber Crime (NR3C) in the country and the second main one is the role of the “Pakistan’s Senate Defense Committee”.<sup>107</sup>

Despite the efforts in Islamabad to develop a proper framework in order to defend the country from cyberattacks, Pakistan has not been able to develop a detailed cybersecurity strategy document. A national cybersecurity strategy that included CERT and an Inter-Services Cyber Command Center was presented to the national assemble but has not received any considerable progress. Pakistan may in future benefit from its relations with China as it has a relatively stronger cyber security capacity and backs Pakistan in case of any attacks from India.<sup>108</sup>

#### 4.27 Establishment of Cyber Peacekeeping Units and Organizations

While Pakistan itself does not have the required infrastructure for have Cyber peacekeeping Units and organizations being part of UN they are protected against international threats to a certain extent. UN has peacekeeping organizations within which Pakistan’s troops play an important role. However, within the organization the Cyber Units have little contribution from Pakistan as of yet due to the lack of talent required.<sup>109</sup>

Pakistan lacks the required talent to establish Cyber peacekeeping units. As it offered post-graduate level program in Cyber Security in only one university, that too started only

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<sup>107</sup> Muhammad Baqir Malik, “Pakistan & India Cyber Security Strategy,” (June 2016).  
[https://www.academia.edu/7935735/Pakistan\\_and\\_India\\_Cyber\\_Security\\_Strategy](https://www.academia.edu/7935735/Pakistan_and_India_Cyber_Security_Strategy)

<sup>108</sup> Reda, Baig, “Could Offensive Cyber Capabilities Tip India and Pakistan to War?” (March 2019).  
<https://thediplomat.com/2019/03/could-offensive-cyber-capabilities-tip-india-and-pakistan-to-war/>

<sup>109</sup> Bove, Vincenzo, and Leandro Elia. "Supplying peace: Participation in and troop contribution to peacekeeping missions." *Journal of Peace Research* 48, no. 6 (2011): 699-714.

recently. It has previously been offering programs in Information Security in a few universities, but that deals with only fundamental parts of cyber security such as Cryptography, Reverse Engineering, Malware, and Forensics. Few universities offer “Cyber Warfare” courses, but this is more related to military.<sup>110</sup> Considering professional trainings in cyber security, there are only a few certifications in information security such as CISSP “Certified Information System Security Professional” offered in the country.

There are few efforts being done to change this situation. Some of the training initiations such as Pak CERT, focus on providing a few courses related to Ethical Hacking, Penetration Testing, CISSP, Digital Forensics, “Information Security Management Systems” implementation and Security Risk Management. 2014 to 2017 the NR3C put in some efforts to give awareness trainings about cybersecurity for almost 12,458 individuals. Similarly, “Information Security Association Pakistan” (PISA) in Pakistan is also conducting some Cyber Security Awareness seminars.<sup>111</sup>

Currently due to having no proper cyber security framework, Pakistan does not have any approved budget to be invested in the domain. Cyber peacekeeping requires cyber unit with the appropriate talent and infrastructure for communication. Currently Pakistan is lacking behind in cyber warfare due to lack of investment and available technological infrastructure for the defense. As people are adapting more internet-based transaction in banks and telecommunication is increasing the risk of breach is increasing as well. However, there is very little technological infrastructure available for banks or other organization for protection.

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<sup>110</sup> Pak wired - Web Desk, “EDUCATION Cyber Security Education in Pakistan,” (27 Jan 2016). <https://pakwired.com/cyber-security-education-in-pakistan-anoverview/>.

<sup>111</sup> Taimoor Tufail. “Comparing the National Cyber Security Framework of Pakistan With India And United Kingdom”. (2018). <https://digi.lib.ttu.ee/i/file.php?DLID=10767&t=1>

Banks have recently started investing in making their networks more secure but the overall national threat remains.<sup>112</sup>

#### 4.28 Legal and social implications

The legal system for cyber-crimes in Pakistan is not as strong as other nations. While the society remains unaware of such laws the government has put little effort into it as well. The initial major efforts included “Pakistan’s Cyber Crime Bill 2007”, that focused on electronic crimes, i.e. cyber terrorism, criminal access, electronic system fraud, electronic forgery, misuse of encryption etc. But the implementation has not been up to the mark. “Prevention of Electronic Crimes Bill 2015”, was introduced to the National Assembly (NA) of Pakistan but was not approved due to criticism on its content that included ambiguities in definitions of certain sections/clauses. It focused more on moral aspects of internet use than cyber-crime itself. The society in general lacks awareness as well about cybercrime, as the use of internet and information sharing is increasing but with lack of education about ethical and appropriate use of information. Seminars are regularly conducted to educate people but there are still loopholes and lack of understanding at the part of the population regarding the threat.<sup>113</sup>

#### 4.29 The UN Civil Police (CIVPOL)

As civilian police (CIVPOL) became essential in the majority of operations, it became critical to attract and train thousands of individuals from within national police services. By 2001, this effort generated wider support and recognition of Police Contributing Countries (PCCs). Similarly, a higher priority was accorded to preparing very large numbers of civilian

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<sup>112</sup> Taimoor Tufail. “Comparing the National Cyber Security Framework Of Pakistan With India And United Kingdom”. (2018). <https://digi.lib.ttu.ee/i/file.php?DLID=10767&t=1>

<sup>113</sup> Khalid Chandio. “Cyber Security/Warfare and Pakistan”. (April 2017). <https://ipripak.org/cyber-securitywarfare-and-pakistan/>

peacekeepers, leading both the member states and the UN to develop on-call lists of personnel, with the requisite skills and training to fill numerous positions in operations worldwide.<sup>114</sup>

While widely viewed as cost-effective, UN peacekeeping, operations are far-from cheap' as large numbers of people must be prepared, transported and deployed into remote locations, housed, fed sustained and equipped to work in, and move through, vast areas.<sup>115</sup> The annual costs of UN peacekeeping vary according to the size, nature and number of operations deployed, by 1993 the UN was faced with a peacekeeping budget of \$3.6 billion; by 1998, just under \$1 billion in 2005, \$5 billion; and, in 2009 an estimate of \$7.8 billion. The financial expense of peacekeeping now exceeds all other areas activity combined. This growing burden has been shared by the more affluent member states following remain at the forefront of financial contributing countries (FCCs): United Kingdom, France, Italy, Canada, Spain, China and the Netherlands.<sup>116</sup>

The UN Secretary General special representative in Rwanda Shahryar Muhammad Khan in the 1990s in his book *The Shallow Grave of Rwanda* explained the very unstructured way and apathetic manner, the world community and the UN dealt with episodes of mass massacre and genocide in Rwanda. The book is a personal account and an eye-witness experience of the author's helplessness in the face of the slow response of UN Headquarters.<sup>117</sup> Similar information is also available in the book of Canadian Lieutenant General Roméo Dallaire in his book *Shake Hands with the Devil*.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> "Peace Operations Monitor, Civilian Monitoring of Complex Peace Operations", Pom.Peacebuild. Ca, 2019, <https://pom.peacebuild.ca/bestpracticesevol.shtml>.

<sup>115</sup> Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "The Challenge of Reducing the Global Incidence of Civil War", Vol. 2004, Copenhagen Consensus Challenge Paper, 2004.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> René Lemarchand and Shaharyar M. Khan, "The Shallow Graves of Rwanda". International Journal, 2001, 56. 541. 10.2307/40203590.

<sup>118</sup> Roméo Dallaire and Brent Beardsley, *Shake Hands with The Devil* (New York City: Carroll & Graf, 2005).

### 4.30 Types of Peacekeeping Operations

Based on their composition, mandate and purpose the peacekeeping operations has been grouped under different categories. The first of its kind of peacekeeping operations have been termed as the truce — keeping peacekeeping.<sup>119</sup> The traditional peacekeeping operations<sup>120</sup> and the first-generation peacekeeping operations,<sup>121</sup> were essentially interposition missions in which contingents of lightly armed troops serve as buffer between the parties to the conflict monitor ceasefire violations agreements. The first-ever unarmed operation was implemented in 1948 with the deployment of United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) mandated to supervise the truce between Arab and Israel in their conflict in 1948. Similarly, the first-ever United Nations Monitoring and Observation Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) is still functional in Kashmir since 1949.

The first armed peacekeeping mission was the UN Emergency Force-I (UNEF I) in 1956 to impose peace during the Suez crisis; since then, a new milestone in the history of UN peacekeeping operations in the form of UN operations in Congo (ONUC) has been accomplished. In 1960, up to 20,000 soldiers were stationed in this region. This was one of the worst missions, killing 250 people, including Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld. Pakistani peacekeepers were also stationed in Congo for the first time.

The deployment of the larger forces was the result of the apprehension that small unarmed forces would be unable to counter the bellicosity as in the case of Suez.<sup>122</sup> Undeniably the UNEF-I was unsuccessful in preventing recurrence of the conflict in the region in 1967 due to its inherent reactive mandate. The post-Cold War era changed the

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<sup>119</sup> E.A. Schmid. *Peace Operations Between War and Peace*. (London: Frank Cass, 2000).

<sup>120</sup> Tommie Sjoberg, *From Korea And Suez To Iraq* (Lund: Sekel, 2006).

<sup>121</sup> Oliver Rams Botham, Tom Woodhouse and Hugh Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016).

<sup>122</sup> John, Hillen. *Blue Helmets: The Strategy of IJN Military Operations*, (Washington: Brassey's, (1998), 312.

dynamics of international relations with more focus on intrastate political situations than interstate.

The rising demand for UN peacekeeping mission during the first decade of 21<sup>st</sup> century has increased the number and size of the UN-mandated missions' manifold. The UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon admitted in February 2011 that securing the required resources and troops for UN peacekeeping operations had consumed much of his energy. He said he had been begging the leaders to make the resources available to the UN.<sup>123</sup> These circumstances supplicate the question, as to why state contributes to UN peacekeeping missions and what constrains them from contributing for such a principled cause of international peace and stability. The answer lies in the foreign policies of member states. There is no standard theory to justify UN peacekeeping contributions but the variations in each state's behavior in providing troops and finances makes it difficult to come up with a one size fit all answer.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> "Cyril Foster Lecture at Oxford University: "Human Protection and the 21St Century United Nations"", United Nations Secretary-General, 2019, <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/speeches/2011-02-02/cyril-foster-lecture-oxford-university-human-protection-and-21st>. (Accessed August 3, 2019).

<sup>124</sup> Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams, *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions*, (Oxford University Press, 2013), 459.

## CHAPTER 5

### UN PEACEKEEPING AND PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES

#### 5.1 Introduction

Before investigating the motivations of Pakistan to be one of the leading contributors to the UN peacekeeping missions, it is important to understand the country's foreign policy objectives and whether these objectives are in alignment with its troop contributing tradition or otherwise. In addition, before exploring the factors affecting the country's decisions to send troops to different UN missions; it is pertinent to explore its ideological approach to the UN and its various bodies and forums. Such an approach can best be understood by exploring the country's foreign policy principles, the dimensions of its foreign policy and most importantly its foreign policy objectives.

Since the time of its creation Pakistan has sought friendly relations with all countries but a dispute with India over the occupied territories of Jammu and Kashmir put a spanner in the works. It was one reason that Pakistan did not send its forces with the UN forces to Korea. Subsequently, however, Pakistan participated in UN peacekeeping operations. In the forthcoming chapters, effort has been made to investigate foreign policy motivations for participating in UN peacekeeping.

There are theories to interpret state behavior but as discussed earlier each state has its own policy consideration based on a number of factors. Pakistan's foreign policy decisions are largely based on its security concerns and the decision to send peacekeeping troops is a direct outcome of such kind of thinking.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Mohammed Younus, *Foreign Policy A Theoretical Introduction* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 4.



## 5.2 Early Years of UN Peacekeeping and Pakistan's Foreign Policy

Though the UN was created in 1945 the first two peacekeeping operations, which were the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) and the UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), were deployed in 1948 and 1949 respectively. Pakistan due to its ideological stance against the creation of Israel and its religious connection with Arab States, not to forget its recent birth and domestic challenges, was not a contributor to UNTSO and was itself a party on the Kashmir dispute where UNMOGIP was deployed. Pakistan's non-contribution to UNTSO till this day reveals its ideological position; rejection of Israel and continued support to the cause of the Palestine. However, a lack of any violence between Pakistan and Israel shows that the country being a member state of the U N respects its charter particularly the paragraph IV of the Article II that states;

All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.<sup>126</sup>

UNMOGIP was deployed in 1949. Pakistan as one of the parties to the dispute over former princely state of Jammu and Kashmir, not only accepted the UN's mediatory role but also respected its article II, paragraph III that states:

All members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.<sup>127</sup>

It also respected Article 33 of the UN Charter that states:

The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by

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<sup>126</sup> "Chapter I: Purposes and Principles" UN.org. <https://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-i/index.html>, (Accessed Oct. 20, 2019).

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.<sup>128</sup>

In addition, despite being at odds with India over Kashmir one after the other leader of the country kept following the peaceful trajectory that was laid by the founding father of the nation. This position is best explained in the words of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, who stated that:

We could never think of embarking on aggression against India, not only because we are a smaller country, but also because it is a cardinal principle of our foreign policy to settle all disputes by peaceful means and through negotiations in accordance with the purposes of the United Nations Charter. Our record shows that we have never departed from this principle.<sup>129</sup>

From a realist perspective, Pakistan being smaller in size, lesser in population and limited in resources feels threatened from India but does not want to pick up a fight unnecessarily e.g. in 1962, when India was most vulnerable during its war with China, Pakistan refrained from joining the fray as found this in account of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto:

"We were not even tempted to resort to a show of force during India's hour of humiliation and defeat in the autumn of 1962. That is sufficient evidence of Pakistan's peaceful intentions. I think very few countries would have restrained themselves, as Pakistan did, when India lay completely beaten by the armies of the People's Republic of China."<sup>130</sup>

It is true that Pakistan formed its foreign policy in the crucible of interaction with India, but it is also true that the basis of such a policy was provided by the vision of the nation's father and his faith and confidence differences resolving capability of human beings. Like Jinnah,

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<sup>128</sup> Zulfiqar Bhutto, *Foreign Policy of Pakistan: A Compendium of Speeches Made in the National Assembly of Pakistan 1962-64* (Karachi: Pakistan Institute of International Affairs), PDF e-book, 2.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>130</sup> Zulfiqar Bhutto, *Foreign Policy of Pakistan: A Compendium of Speeches Made in the National Assembly of Pakistan 1962-64* (Karachi: Pakistan Institute of International Affairs), PDF e-book, 5.

speeches and actions of the first prime minister of the country, Liaqat Ali Khan, and first foreign minister of the country, Sir Zafar Ullah Khan, also reveal Pakistan's standing on matter of international importance. Being first foreign minister of Pakistan Sir Zaffar Ullah laid the foundation of promoting international peace, progress and prosperity. As he stated this in one of his speeches: There lies in front of us a new chapter and it will be our endeavor to create and maintain goodwill and friendship with Britain and our neighborly dominion Hindustan, along with other sisterly nations so that we together may make our greatest contribution for the peace and prosperity of the world.<sup>131</sup>

It's natural for every state to have a self-centered foreign policy, as Morgenthau argues, that states always desire to secure their national interests "even if they strive to work for the common good",<sup>132</sup> however, then how one state manages its national interests and international obligations can be a criterion when judging its role and responsibilities towards other nations. As Morgenthau puts, "all nations are tempted—and few have been able to resist the temptation for long—to clothe their own particular aspirations and actions in the moral purposes of the universe."<sup>133</sup>

Pakistan has met this criterion from its early years very objectively. Right after getting independence the country not only upheld the UN Charter but also demonstrated compliance to the fundamental principles of international law. Pakistan, like every other state, strived to safeguard its national interests but it respected the right of every nation to be independent. It advocated the principles of non-aggression, and noninterference in internal affairs of other states and cooperated in promoting international peace by developing a goodwill towards other

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<sup>131</sup> Abdul Sattar, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2009: A Concise History* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010), PDF e-book, 9-12.

<sup>132</sup> Murielle Cozette, "What Lies Ahead: Classical Realism on The Future of International Relations", *International Studies Review* 10, no. 4 (2008): 667-679,

<sup>133</sup> Colin Elman, Michael Jensen, *The Realism Reader* (Routledge, 2014), Google Books, 58.

nations, by helping the lawful cause of peoples and by cherishing of the brotherly relations with other Muslim nations.<sup>134</sup>

One should not forget that when Pakistan came into being the world divided between Soviet and US blocs. For the sake of its own security it joined the western camp. This put it into an unenviable situation. It is also important to note that during this time missions of the UN were also evolving. The initial endeavor of "Peacekeeping was primarily limited to maintaining ceasefires and stabilizing situations on the ground, providing crucial support for political efforts to resolve conflict by peaceful means when the world was divided between Soviet and US blocs."<sup>135</sup> In addition as stated by the world body itself, "both - UNTSO and UNMOGIP- of these missions, which continue operating to this day, exemplified the observation and monitoring type of operation and had authorized strengths in the low hundreds. The UN military observers were unarmed. Those missions consisted of unarmed military observers and lightly armed troops with primarily monitoring, reporting and confidence-building roles."<sup>136</sup>

### 5.3 National Interests through Collective Security and Peaceful Settlements

Being at odds with India was the first factor that influenced Pakistan's foreign policy objectives and the main reason for joining the US bloc. It is important to note that the UN, has always been dominated by the US because it was basically the brain child of the US State Department and major financier of this organization. Its location in New York also tilts the balance in its favor. This notwithstanding, many members of this organization were allied to

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<sup>134</sup> Raja Khan, 'Foreign Policy of Pakistan In the Changing Regional and Global Settings', Journal of Contemporary Studies, Vol. IV, No.1, (2015), 14-30.

<sup>135</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Our History," <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>. (Accessed March 6, 2019).

<sup>136</sup> P. R. Kumaraswamy, 'The Strangely Parallel Careers of Israel and Pakistan', Middle East Quarterly June 1997, 31-39

the Soviet bloc during the days of the Cold War and even now would rather go their own way, rather be swayed by the policies of the US.

One can argue that had it been a non-US ally, Pakistan would have not been such an active participant of UN bodies, forums and conferences as it has been that Pakistan's foreign policy objectives would certainly had been different, if its first prime minister Liaqat Ali Khan had opted to accept Soviet Union in 1949 prior to his visit to the US in 1950. Had that been the case Pakistan's appetite for UN peacekeeping missions may had been less voracious.

Suffice is to say that Pakistan's decision to join the western bloc laid the foundation of its close ties with the US. Despite several setbacks, Pakistan is still beholden to the US on the international stage. This closeness provided Pakistan an opportunity to cooperate with the US to promote world peace as well as build its defense to achieve balance of the power in the region. As stated Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra: "The two countries have a great deal in common, they shared convictions regarding freedom and democracy and spiritual strength to fight the totalitarian concept."<sup>137</sup>

Due to its close relations with the US, Pakistan joined a web of alliances sponsored by its western partner. This included South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Baghdad Pact, later renamed Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). Pakistan became part of the SEATO alliance system on September 8, 1954. Other member states included Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand and UK. The SEATO charter, while proclaiming, the adherence to the principles of peaceful settlement of disputes and declared its intention for collective defense against foreign aggression. However, the objective was not actualized, in 1965 when India attacked Pakistan. At that time, no SEATO member came to Pakistan's aid.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Raja Khan, 'Foreign Policy of Pakistan In the Changing Regional and Global Settings', Journal of Contemporary Studies, Vol. IV, No.1, (2015), 14-30.

<sup>138</sup> Abdul Sattar, Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2009: A Concise History (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010), PDF e-book, 258-259.

The Bagdad Pact was initially founded by Iraq and Turkey in 1955, for mutual cooperation for defense and security purpose. Again, Pakistan signed the pact because it believed that this would safeguard its national interests. The pact was renamed CENTO, once Iraq pulled out of it due to regime change. Though, CENTO like SEATO, "was a treaty of mutual aid and peaceful intentions and mutual consultation among the member countries," however Pakistan did not find its CENTO allies coming to its aid, in its hour of need.<sup>139</sup> Although the US did not become a full member of CENTO, in 1949 it concluded a bilateral defense cooperation agreement with Pakistan. Within the framework of this Agreement, the US promised help Pakistan in the hour of need with verbal commitments to come to assistance if India shows aggression and attacks.<sup>140</sup>

Shallowness of these treaties and silence of member states particularly that of US on Indian aggression against Pakistan in 1965 was a wakeup call and time to revisit foreign policy objectives and diplomacy. Consequently, this made Pakistan search for new friends to maintain balance of power with respect to India. This was the time when Pakistan started pursuing a relatively independent foreign policy and build ties with the People Republic of China (PRC). There was also thaw in its relations with the Soviet Union but it could not build a critical mass. This was because of Soviet Union's continuous support of India.

In its early years besides striking peace deals Pakistan strived for a peaceful neighborhood. The urge to iron out its post-independence's disputes with all other countries but India. Pakistan's foreign policy at that time was best summed up by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. He said:

We have resolved our differences with the Government of Afghanistan. We have settled our boundary problems with Iran and Burma. We have very cordial relations with

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<sup>139</sup> Shahid M. Amin, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010). 315.

<sup>140</sup> Mohammed Ayub Khan, "The Pakistan-American Alliance", *Foreign Affairs*, 1964, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/asia/1964-01-01/pakistan-american-alliance>. (Accessed Oct. 18, 2019).

Nepal, with Ceylon and with the great country of Indonesia. We have good relations with countries like Malaya, Thailand and Philippines. We have recently concluded a boundary agreement which draws a line of peace between Pakistan and the People's Republic of China. How is it that Pakistan, motivated by goodwill and a desire for cooperation with all peoples of Asia and of Africa, can settle its problems with all of them except India? The reason is that India is an aggressor state and that India does not believe in peaceful settlement of its disputes with the countries that surround it.<sup>141</sup>

#### 5.4 Trends in Pakistan Foreign Policy and Peacekeeping 1960s and 1970s

In order to prove itself a responsible member of the UN, Pakistan first contributed troops to the UN mission in the Republic of the Congo, a former Belgian colony that became independent on 30 June 1960. The peacekeeping effort, which began in 1960 and ended in 1964, is known as the UN Operation in the Congo (ONUC). It was the first large-scale UN peacekeeping mission, with some 20,000 military soldiers at its height. ONUC was a perilous endeavor. During that expedition, 250 UN employees were killed, including Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld.<sup>142</sup>

The motivation to join the UN peacekeeping mission was explained subtly by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto:

The United Nations is still the most encouraging instrument of peace in the hands of man. Despite its inadequacies, it has, on numerous occasions, interposed its pacifying counsel to save the world from scourge of total war, as in the case of Suez, Berlin, the

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<sup>141</sup> Zulfikar Bhutto, *Foreign Policy of Pakistan: A Compendium of Speeches Made in the National Assembly of Pakistan, 1962-64* (Karachi: Pakistan Institute of International Affairs), PDF e-book, 6.

<sup>142</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Our History," <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>, (Accessed March 6, 2019).

Congo and, most recently, Cuba. In fact, its intervention in such circumstances has become essential for the resolution of disputes between nations.<sup>143</sup>

Pakistan's contribution of troops in the UN peacekeeping mission to the Congo was an expression of its sentiment that it believed in the sovereignty and the independence of other nations. Pakistan's moral and political support for the Congo was in fact in alignment with its other "endeavors in the United Nations for the independence of Libya, Somalia, Eritrea, Morocco, Tunisia and, finally, our support for the independence of Algeria."<sup>144</sup> It was also in alignment with Pakistan's own history and struggle against colonialism. This act was a manifestation of belief that Pakistan "shall collaborate with all those countries which believe in the salvation of the people of Asia and Africa."<sup>145</sup>

The wars of 1965 and 1971 and a non-supportive attitude from the West and particularly from the US made Pakistan join Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and leave SEATO, CENTO and the British Commonwealth. This revision not only helped Pakistan improve its bilateral relations with the other nations but also made its foreign policy objectives clearer. It helped Pakistan improve political and economic ties with the Middle Eastern countries and have better relations with France, enabling it to secure an agreement on the provision of nuclear technology, which annoyed the US. The exit from the US led pacts freed Pakistan to adopt a more independent foreign policy. Mr. Bhutto, as the new head of state of Pakistan in the 1970s became the champion of pan-Islamism and was able to hold the second Islamic Summit in Lahore in 1974. He was able to gather all the important leaders of the Islamic world, who in very clear and unambiguous terms sought to seek a solution of all occupied territories, particularly Palestine.

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<sup>143</sup> Zulfiqar Bhutto, *Foreign Policy of Pakistan: A Compendium of Speeches Made in the National Assembly of Pakistan, 1962-64* (Karachi: Pakistan Institute of International Affairs), PDF e-book, 28.

<sup>144</sup> Zulfiqar Bhutto, *Foreign Policy of Pakistan: A Compendium of Speeches Made in the National Assembly of Pakistan, 1962-64* (Karachi: Pakistan Institute of International Affairs), PDF e-book, 21.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid*, 132.



Pakistan with its revised foreign policy and its nuclear program, showed clear signs of independence from US policies by the end of the 1970s. But then two events of momentous proportions occurred that brought Pakistan back to the US fold. In February 1979 the US-backed Raza Shah's regime in Iran was overthrown by the Islamic revolution. The revolution coupled with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, made the West and the US feel losing the control over the Persian Gulf. The US policy makers like Secretary of State Zbigniew Brzezinski propounded Soviet Union was capable of taking the control of oil-rich Gulf States by invading Afghanistan and possibly also Pakistan.<sup>146</sup> The US realized that Pakistan was again relevant in its scheme of things<sup>147</sup>. Previous suspicions were forgotten and Pakistan was adopted once again to contain the scourge of communism. Pakistan accepted this as a heaven-sent opportunity to bolster its defenses both in the west (against the Soviet Union) and the east (against India). In the decade of the eighties, it was the strategic partnership with the US to defeat the Soviets that suited Pakistan than the need to be part of any peacekeeping mission.

### 5.5 Trends in Pakistan Foreign Policy and Peacekeeping 1980s and 1990s

Unlike 1960s and 1970s when the US abandoned Pakistan in its war against India, the US extended its economic and military assistance to Pakistan during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Not only the US but the Muslim countries, the West and also China supported Pakistan due its strategic importance. It is true that Pakistan with help of these countries succeeded in stopping the Soviets and this benefited Pakistan. However, it is also true that Soviet defeat in Afghanistan led to the collapse of the Soviet Union. This of course benefited the US it and its allies.

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<sup>146</sup> Minton F. Goldman, "Soviet Military Intervention in Afghanistan: Roots & Causes." *Polity* 16, no. 3 (1984): 384-403. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3234556>, (Accessed Oct. 18, 2019).

<sup>147</sup> Rafael Reuveny, Aseem Prakash, 'The Afghanistan war and the breakdown of the Soviet Union', *Review of International Studies* (1999), 25, 693–708.

However, after the signing of Geneva Accord for the peaceful settlement of Afghanistan in 1991 the relation between Pakistan and the US started deteriorating once again. The resurgence of the freedom movement in Kashmir and nuclear explosions in May 1998, displayed a definitely independent foreign policy streak.<sup>148</sup>

With the end of the Cold War, there was a surge in UN peacekeeping mission. This changed the strategic "context for UN Peacekeeping" and the world body did two things simultaneously.

The UN shifted and expanded its field operations from "traditional" missions involving generally observational tasks performed by military personnel to complex "multidimensional" enterprises. These multidimensional missions were designed to ensure the implementation of comprehensive peace agreements and assist in laying the foundations for sustainable peace.<sup>149</sup>

With end of the Cold War the nature of the conflicts also changed. Previously the states from opposite blocs used to fight and their limited peacekeeping tasks. Now the intrastate conflicts and civil war became more common. Till the 1990s the UN peacekeepers were mainly assigned with simpler tasks as observing, reporting and keeping peace among warring factions. However, from 1990s onwards they started undertaking a wide variety of complex tasks, from governance to institution building, to disarmament to demobilization, and to monitoring human rights to bringing security sector reform along with reintegration of former combatants.

After the end of the Cold War, "the Security Council authorized a total of 20 new operations between 1989 and 1994, raising the number of peacekeepers from 11,000 to 75,000." Allowing it to establish peacekeeping operations in Angola, Cambodia, El-Salvador, Mozambique and Namibia to "help implement complex peace agreements, stabilize the security situation, re-

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<sup>148</sup> Rafael Reuveny, Aseem Prakash, "The Afghanistan war and the breakdown of the Soviet Union", *Review of International Studies* (1999), 25, 693–708.

<sup>149</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Our History," <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>. (Accessed March 6, 2019).

organize military and police, elect new governments and build democratic institutions."<sup>150</sup> However, this surge made the UN appear over ambitious. This exuberance faded to an extent after the failure of three mission established in situations where the guns had not yet fallen silent, in areas such as the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and Somalia, where there was no peace to keep.<sup>151</sup>

The world body came under heavy criticism and took time to reassess its capacity and on ground needs.

"The setbacks of the early and mid-1990s led the Security Council to limit the number of new peacekeeping missions and begin a process of self-reflection to prevent such failures from happening again."<sup>152</sup>

## 5.6 Pakistan Foreign Policy Objective after 9/11 and Peacekeeping

The attacks of September 9/11 on American mainland by Al-Qaeda changed the world politics. It not only altered the US foreign policy but also the foreign policy of its allies. Pakistan at that time languishing in isolation, once again became a front-line ally in the US led Global War on Terror (GWOT). In words of Dr Tughral Yamin: To breakout from its isolation post Afghan Jihad, Pakistan had agreed to become part of the UN peacekeeping mission to Somalia.<sup>153</sup> Under the circumstances, it had to carryout major revisions in its foreign policy on two fronts. First on its Afghan policy and second on its Kashmir policy. Pakistan had enjoyed close relations with Taliban before 9/11, however, under immense US pressure President General Pervez Musharraf wilted and chose to side with the US against the Taliban. He had

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<sup>150</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Our History," <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>. (Accessed March 6, 2019).

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Our History," <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>, (Accessed March 6, 2019).

<sup>153</sup> Tughral Yamin, "Examining Pakistan's Strategic Decision to Support the US War on Terror," *Strategic Studies* 35 (2016): 122.

little choice in that matter because he was asked pointblank by the US Secretary of State Colin Powell, 'are you with us or against us?' With one decision, Pakistan became a major non-NATO ally of the US in its war against terrorism. Though this made Pakistan re-prioritize its foreign policy objectives by standing against the Taliban and condemning the militancy in Kashmir, however, it did not shake the countries believe neither in the United Nations nor its peacekeeping operations. That was the reason the country is kept utilizing every opportunity for the cause of Kashmir's freedom as well as for the promotion of peace globally by contributing troops.<sup>154</sup>

The UN, with the change in the global politics in 1999, went on tackling through its peacekeeping missions and first time in its history the world body, e.g. in 1999, started severing as an administrator for both Kosovo in the former Yugoslavia - UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, UNMIK, and in East Timor (now Timor-Leste) - UN Transitional Administration in East Timor, UNTAET, which was in the process of gaining independence from Indonesia.<sup>155</sup>

The UN Security Council also established large and complex peacekeeping operations in a number of African countries in the following years including, Burundi, Chad and the Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eritrea/Ethiopia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan and war-torn Syria.<sup>156</sup>

According to the UN "today, a little more than 110,000 military, police and civilian staff currently serve in 14 peacekeeping missions, representing a decrease in both personnel and peacekeeping missions, as a result of peaceful transitions and the rebuilding of functioning states." And in three of 14 missions' Pakistani troops are serving. At present 2679 Pakistani

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<sup>154</sup> Musarrat Jabeen, Either You Are with Us or Against Us', South Asian Studies A Research Journal of South Asian Studies, Vol. 24, No.2, (July-December 2009), 175-191

<sup>155</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Our History," <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>, (Accessed March 6, 2019).

<sup>156</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Our History," <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>, (Accessed March 6, 2019).

troops are serving at the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo or MONUSCO. 1233 in United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic, MINUSCA, and 1084 in United Nations–African Union Mission in Darfur, ANAMID.<sup>157</sup>

## 5.7 Conclusion

Theoretically Pakistan's foreign policy is based on these ideals. Ideally, therefore, all its foreign policy objectives that it has pursued over the time and today emerge from this operative paragraph. Add to this Jinnah's message in 1948 to the people of world that Pakistan believes in the "principle of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings" and it is prepared to make "utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world" or the constitution of the country that states it will "promote international peace and security, foster goodwill and friendly relations among all nations and encourage the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means". Like every other nation the primary foreign policy objective of Pakistan is to safeguard the national security, its economic interests abroad and to project its peace-loving image to the world.

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<sup>157</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Our History," <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>, (Accessed March 6, 2019)

## CHAPTER 6

### PAKISTAN, A PREFERRED CHOICE FOR TROOP CONTRIBUTION TO UNPKOs

#### 6.1 Introduction

The scope of peacekeeping missions in the post-Cold War era has grown manifold. Peacekeeping forms part of the multiple approaches adopted to ensure the maintenance of peace in conflict areas. The prime objective of the formation of U N was to maintain peace and security at international level in post Second World War scenario. Though the procedure to peacekeeping operations was unclear: Chapter VI and Chapter VII were interpreted in the context of the settlement of disputes and implementing the plan of actions respectively.<sup>158</sup> The UN Collective Security apparatus including the permanent members play a vital and foremost role in interpreting and analyzing Chapter VI and Chapter VII with respect to developing consensus on peacekeeping operations in a given state. However, peacekeeping is managed with the coordination, involvement and consent of affected as well as contributing states.<sup>159</sup>

Peacekeeping has emerged as an important instrument of the foreign policy that reflects the ideology or soft power of the state. The inclusive peacekeeping strategies such as humanitarian intervention, political freedom, disarmament, mainstreaming the deprived population, economic integration, etc. have been devised by the local and international stakeholders. South Asian countries like India, Pakistan and Bangladesh are now the major participating states in the peacekeeping missions. Pakistan has been participating in peacekeeping operations for the last 58 years and its policy about the UN peacekeeping mission in conflict regions has remained very clear.

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<sup>158</sup> David M. Malone and Karin Wermester, "Boom and Bust? The Changing Nature of UN Peacekeeping," *International Peacekeeping* 7, no. 4 (2000): 37-54

<sup>159</sup> Michael Pugh, "Peacekeeping and Critical Theory," *International Peacekeeping* 11, no. 1 (2004): 39-58

This chapter explores what makes Pakistan a preferred peacekeeping contributor as compared to other nations. The chapter also highlights various challenges being faced by Pakistan in contributing troops for peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions.

## 6.2 Conceptual Construct of UN Peacekeeping

Before exploring the factors that make Pakistan an ideal troop contributor to UN peacekeeping missions, it is important to discuss the conceptual and philosophical foundations of troop contribution. The literature on the philosophy and objectives of peacekeeping has been written and analyzed with a liberal perspective supporting the multilateral humanitarian interventions to prevent violence, serve humanity and promote the liberal values.<sup>160</sup> In order to get a situational analysis around the UN peacekeeping operations worldwide, Morgenthau's six principles of political realism have been employed. Political realism of Morgenthau considers that the politics is governed by some objective laws; without understanding these laws it is not possible to understand the political dynamics.<sup>161</sup> For instance, man is selfish and rational' and acts according to his interests. The same law is applied on the states that act rationally to achieve their (national) interests. Therefore, for all states it is of primary interest to safeguard their national interests and if such interests are being safeguarded through peacekeeping, so contribution to the UN missions is a great opportunity in this dimension. Therefore, from a realist perspective it can be said that the UN peacekeeping provides a platform for countries to promote their soft power.

Morgenthau believes that interests of states, like those of a rational man, are not constant. National interests are dynamic and change with the time. The states modify these

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<sup>160</sup> Jack Snyder, "Realism, refugees, and strategies of humanitarianism," *Refugees in International Relations* (2011): 29-52.

<sup>161</sup> Hans J. Morgenthau, "Six principles of political realism." *Classic Readings of International Relations* (2006): 34-38.

interests to suit the situation.<sup>162</sup> For instance, when the Soviet Union attacked Afghanistan, the US not only supported the Taliban but also considered them the legitimate stakeholders, however, following the attacks of 9/11 on mainland US, they debunked them "Taliban terrorists" and attacked Afghanistan. Previously they had been glamorized as Holy Warriors, the Mujahedeen. Similarly, a shift in interests of the big powers can also be seen the Middle East where on the one hand Russia supports the Assad regime and the US along with its European allies are working against it.

Although, politics is often judged through the lens of ethics, values and morality, however, from a realist perspective, every state wants to achieve its national interests through any means. Therefore, it is safe to assume that despite humanitarian and moral reasons, participation in UN peacekeeping missions are motivated by political interests.<sup>163</sup> Morgenthau argues there is a difference between moral aspirations of a nation and universal morality. Nations define their morality with respect to the concept of power. Keeping in view Morgenthau's principles, the UN peacekeeping mission do not entirely correspond to the morality of a nation suffering from the ravages of conflict. The increasing trend of peacekeeping missions has become a mean in the contemporary world to explore the new dimensions of cooperation among the regional states to influence and indicate their soft power.

There are competing narratives on the reasons why poorer and underdeveloped states rank high in the list of troop-contributing countries. This however, is complex notion because the views of writers from the Global North, the developed world, are in direct contradiction with the views of scholars from the Global South, the underdeveloped world. For scholars in the Global North, the troop contributors are not primarily motivated by peace, morality and democracy but their political and economic benefits. For scholars in the Global South,

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid, 34-38.

<sup>163</sup> Morgenthau. "Six principles of political realism," *Classic Readings*: 34-38.



however, the UN peacekeeping itself is a form of neo-imperialism, or neo-colonialism and current peacekeeping missions of promoting liberal values and agenda is seen as another way to advocate for the status quo and involvement of the big corporations of western countries which exploit the natural resources of the developing world. Therefore, peacebuilding or peacekeeping are the new tools of the influential powers that support the intervention in the weak states.<sup>164</sup>

Pakistan considers UN peacekeeping operations; as a great way to promoting its positive image and soft power. This provides the country a platform to show case its peace-loving policies and dismiss the misconceptions and allegations of being a state backing or supporting any non-state actors.<sup>165</sup> Pakistan strives to establish its narrative of peace and convince the global powers on the Kashmir dispute, nevertheless, India at the same time is playing and countering the Pakistani narrative at the world forums. The Indian and Pakistani contribution to UN peacekeeping operations can also be observed in the context of the inter-regional rivalry and competition. In addition, Pakistan is enhancing its role and significance at the regional and global level by interacting on major issues at ground and international level respectively. Hence, the narrative of powerful, influential and peaceful country is being disseminated across the world.

### 6.3 Role of Pakistani Troops in Multiple Peacekeeping Operations

The general view of the peacekeeping missions in Africa (East, West and Central), Latin America and South East Asia gives the information about the presence and commitment

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<sup>164</sup> Michael Lipson, "Peacekeeping: organized hypocrisy?" *European Journal of International Relations* 13, no. 1 (2007): 5-34.

<sup>165</sup> Kabilan Krishnasamy, "Pakistan's Peacekeeping Experiences," *International Peacekeeping* 9, no. 3 (2002): 103-120.

of Pakistani troops to international peace. 157 Pakistani peacekeepers laid down their lives for the sake of global peace.<sup>166</sup> 24 were killed on a single day on 5 June, 1993 in Mogadishu.<sup>167</sup>

Pakistani peacekeepers have faced multiple challenges and performed their multifarious duties professionally. This has included tasks such as maintaining and ensuring the peace, providing medical aid, monitoring the elections, developing roads particularly for the strategic purposes and various other assigned responsibilities according to the mandate.<sup>168</sup> Their professional has been recognized by no less a person than the Secretary General himself. In 2011, International Female Police Peacekeeper award was given to a Pakistani policewoman Shehzadi Gulfam for effectively and professionally contributing to the peacekeeping mission and serving the humanity.<sup>169</sup>

Pakistan has participated in a number of successful missions in conflict zones around the world. The role of Pakistani troops in Sierra Leone remained quite evident in resolving the crisis. In this African country, the civil war started in 1991 after the invasion of the Revolutionary United Front, commonly known RUF. Sierra Leone has huge and rich in natural resources but the local population is very poor.<sup>170</sup> RUF took control of the Eastern and Southern Sierra Leone, famous for its natural resources including diamonds. The Front began to steal and sell the diamonds for guns and other weapons. In 1995, the UN announced direct involvement in Sierra Leone to resolve the crisis. The world body's leading role resulted into

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<sup>166</sup> Ume Farwa and Ghazanfar Ali Garewal, "An Analysis of UN Peacekeeping as Pakistan's Soft Power Asset." *NUST Journal of International Peace and Stability (NJIPS)* 1, no. 2 (2018).

<sup>167</sup> Alex De Waal, "US war crimes in Somalia" *New Left Review* 230 (1998): 131.

<sup>168</sup> Tughral Yamin, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy Motivations in Sending Troops Abroad," *NUST Journal of International Peace and Stability (NJIPS)* 1, no. 1 (2017): 1-21.

<sup>169</sup> United Nations, "Honoring Pakistan's Peacekeepers – Serving the World for Peace," <https://www.un.org.pk/honoring-pakistans-peacekeepers-serving-the-world-for-peace/>, (Accessed June 21, 2019)

<sup>170</sup> Jonathon P. Riley, *The UK in Sierra Leone: A Post-Conflict Operation Success?* (Heritage Foundation, 2006),

the Lomé Peace Agreement, which was concluded in 1999, where all the concerned parties agreed that UN Assistance Mission in Sierra Leone will operate from 2001 to 2005.<sup>171</sup>

In the UN Assistance Mission in Sierra Leone, 13,626 Pakistani troops participated for ensuring the peace in the country. The first Deputy Force Commander appointed in 2001 was also from the Pakistan. After he took over the control, the rehabilitation process became swift and smooth.<sup>172</sup> Pakistan Army helped in developing the infrastructure, roads, schools, mosques and churches. In 2001, situation turned into normal and Sierra Leone after a decade of civil war recovered from the crisis with the huge support of UN peacekeeping mission.<sup>173</sup> The third president of Sierra Leone Ahmad Tejan Kabbah appreciated the contribution of Pakistani troops for the peace-seeking and providing great humanitarian assistance to the local people.<sup>174</sup> The contribution of Pakistani troops was highly crucial in that crisis-ridden environment and the efforts were acknowledged by all the relevant stakeholders.

Pakistani troops also performed duties in Haiti in a UN peacekeeping mission. In Haiti, among other things they were employed to develop the roads, hospitals and schools in various parts of country. The efforts of Pakistani troops were well recognized. To honor the peacekeepers and their country,<sup>175</sup> a school in Haiti was named Pakistan School. The Special Representative of UN Secretary-General, Enrique Ter Horst, appreciated the constructive and productive role that the Pakistani troops played in the peacekeeping mission.<sup>176</sup> Similarly, Pakistani troops also contributed in the Balkan States in promoting and ensuring peace in the

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<sup>171</sup> David J. Francis, "Torturous path to peace: The Lomé Accord and postwar peacebuilding in Sierra Leone," *Security Dialogue* 31, no. 3 (2000): 357-373.

<sup>172</sup> Mark Malan, Sarah Meek, Thokozani Thusi, Jeremy Ginifer and Patrick Coker, "Sierra Leone: Building the Road to Recovery," *Institute for Security Studies Monographs* 2003, no. 80 (2003): 170.

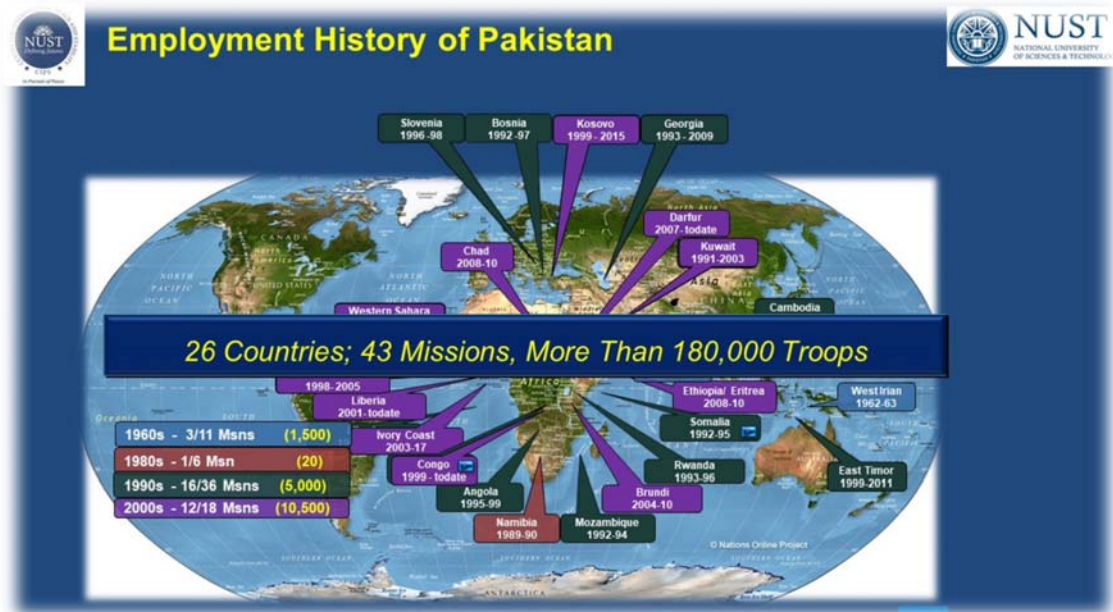
<sup>173</sup> Peter Albrecht and Paul Jackson, "Security System Transformation in Sierra Leone, 1997-2007". GFN-SSR, *The Global Facilitation Network for Security Sector Reform (GFN-SSR)*, (University of Birmingham, UK 2009).

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid*,

<sup>175</sup> Nicolas, Lemay-Hébert, and J. A. Koops. "United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH)." *The Oxford handbook of United Nations peacekeeping operations* (2015).

<sup>176</sup> Ume, Farwa, and Ghazanfar Ali Garewal. "An Analysis of UN Peacekeeping as Pakistan's Soft Power Asset." *NUST Journal of International Peace and Stability (NJIPS)* 1, no. 2 (2018).

region.<sup>177</sup> The humanitarian interventions which were carried out in these states included water, food and medical assistance to the affected people.



Troops from Pakistan also became a part of one of the most important and critical missions of the UN to maintain peace in Somalia. The duties of Pakistani troops were to promote the disarmament and recover the illegal arms from the local armed groups.<sup>178</sup> The effective and efficient role of Pakistani troops earned the respect from the local people to the extent that they chanted the slogans “*Pakistan and Somali Walal Walal*” (Pakistani and Somali are brothers).<sup>179</sup> In 1993 in Somalia, an armed group captured 75 US soldiers in Olympic Hotel, however a joint operation was executed by the US, Pakistan and Malaysian troops to rescue the soldiers. It was an eight-hour long operation that helped and rescued the troops. The Deputy Commander of the United Nations Force in Somalia, Maj. Gen. Thomas. M.

<sup>177</sup> Stephen J Cimbala and Peter Kent Forster, *Multinational Military Intervention* (Furnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2010).

<sup>178</sup> R. G Patman, “Disarming Somalia: The Contrasting Fortunes of United States and Australian Peacekeepers During United Nations Intervention, 1992-1993,” *African Affairs* 96, no. 385 (1997): 509-533,

<sup>179</sup> Sadi Gillani, “Reminiscences - My stay in Somalia.” *Defense Journal* 15, no. 7 (2012): 39.

Montgomery acknowledged that soldiers remained alive due to the swift action of Pakistani troops in tense and critical environment.<sup>180</sup>

The great effort of the Pakistani peacekeepers in the rescue operation was largely ignored, in famous Hollywood movie “*Blackhawk Down*.”<sup>181</sup> Without the support of Pakistani troops, it would not have possible for US troops to either get an entry into war torn Somalia nor a face-saving exit. The dedication, bravery and perseverance in Somalia may not have been acknowledged by the US popular media but it did earn them the respect of the US forces and the UN. They would become popular within knowledgeable circles for their nation building takes in places such as Cambodia, where they supported the local people in developing road networks and providing medical assistance to the affected people.<sup>182</sup>



Somalia- 1993

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<sup>180</sup> Walter S Poole, *The Effort to Save Somalia, August 1992-March 1994* (Washington, DC: Joint History Office, Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2005).

<sup>181</sup> Robert Nellis, “Black Hawk Down and the Silences of Ridley Scott’s Realism,” *Journal of Social Theory in Art Education* 24, no. 1 (2004): 8-27.

<sup>182</sup> United Nations, “Honoring Pakistan's Peacekeepers – Serving the World for Peace,” <https://www.un.org.pk/honoring-pakistans-peacekeepers-serving-the-world-for-peace/>, (Accessed June 21, 2019)

## 6.4 Pakistan as a Preferred Choice for Peacekeeping

The professionalism of the Pakistani peacekeeper soon earned them a place as one of the top troop contributors for peacekeeping operations. The advantage that the Pakistani peacekeepers have over the others is also due to their exposure as the first respondents in all natural and manmade disasters in their country. The role of Pakistani troops in UN peacekeeping missions has remained quite impressive and one that helped the country attain an upright position among the contributing nations. The agility with which the Pakistani joined the UN peacekeeping operations has always been praiseworthy.

Troubles at home has provided Pakistan military the experiences to approach challenges in the conflict zones. Wars with India has enhanced Pakistani military capabilities. Its operations in metropolitan cities like Karachi equipped it with the experience to tackle gang violence. Its rescue missions in natural disasters in recent years including the devastating 2005 earthquake, destructive floods of 2010, 2011 and 2012, gained it experience of dealing with natural tragedies. Pakistan's efforts to eliminate terrorists following the 9/11 gained its military experience of combating modern terrorist organizations through operations like *Rah-i-Nijat and Zarb-i-Azab*.<sup>183</sup>

## 6.5 Experiences Gained from the 2005 Earthquake

Pakistan was jolted by a devastating earthquake of 7.6 Richter scale on 8 October 2005. The earthquake destroyed the country's northern province Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and upper districts of Azad Kashmir, Neelum, Hattian, Muzaffarabad, Rawalakot and Bagh. The earthquake destroyed million-dollar worth of infrastructure, including, communication system, hospitals, schools etc. and killed about 80,000 people. Pakistan Army came ahead in the

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<sup>183</sup> Umbreen Javaid, "Operation Zarb-e-Azb: A Successful Initiative to Curtail Terrorism," *South Asian Studies* (1026-678X) 30, no. 2 (2015). 43-58

aftermath of earthquake and started the relief operation for the victims. The extensive coordination plan was devised to provide the humanitarian assistance to the people in the affected areas. Military also coordinated with the international agencies for providing the humanitarian assistance to the people of Pakistan.<sup>184</sup> Though natural disasters like this one damaged the country in worse possible manner but it gave a great exposure to Pakistani military for handling and managing the population in the crisis and post-crisis situation. The crises improved the capacity and build the confidence of the military to deal with any situation anywhere in the world.

## 6.6 Experiences Gained from the Devastating Floods of 2010-11

The 2010-11 floods were termed as the most horrible in the history of Pakistan. The country faced huge financial and human loss along the destruction of infrastructure of worth billions of dollars. The international aid made its way to Pakistan and provision of humanitarian assistance was started at a larger level with the coordination of the national and international stakeholders. Once again, the country's military-led the relief operation and utilized its previous exposure to rescue the victims and resolve the problems of the affected people.<sup>185</sup> The army played a prominent role and supported and capacitated the National Disaster Management Authority around the flood 2010-11. The devastating natural calamities damaged the country as whole, however, repeated disasters not only tested the readiness of the Pak Army but also provided it opportunities to manage such incidents with utmost professionalism. Thus, the participation of Pakistani troops, in UN operations in the context of natural disasters, made its role exclusive and exceptional.

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<sup>184</sup> Esther K. Hicks and Gregory Pappas, "Coordinating Disaster Relief After the South Asia Earthquake," *Society* 43, no. 5 (2006): 42-50

<sup>185</sup> Ajay Madiwale and Kudrat Virk, "Civil-Military Relations in Natural Disasters: A Case Study of the 2010 Pakistan Floods," *International Review of The Red Cross* 93, no. 884 (2011): 1085-1105  
doi:10.1017/s181638311200032x.

## 6.7 Experiences gained from the 2009 Internally Displaced People (IDP) Crisis

In post 9/11 scenario, when the country was facing the terror attacks, its military started multiple operations against terrorist organizations, most prominent one the Taliban, in its Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), now part of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. However, the situation became worse between mid-2008 and 2009 and with the help of the political forces, Pakistan military started an offensive operation against the terrorists in Swat. Resultantly, 500,000 people had to leave their homes and became internally displaced, IDPs. Military-led in providing the humanitarian assistance to the IDPs and the temporary camps and shelters were established across the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and International aid also played a vital role in this regard.<sup>186</sup> After the successful operation, the IDPs returned to their homes, however military faced coordination problems with respect to providing the humanitarian assistance to the IDPs. Various techniques were used to get the accurate data around of the IDPs and their losses. Gradually, the arising problems were solved and military got more exposure to understand and deal with problems involving displacement or internal migration.

## 6.8 Experiences Gained from Global War on Terror (GWOT)

Since 9/11, Pakistan has emerged as a frontline state and a leading ally of United States against the war on terror. Pakistan has suffered a lot and lost almost 70,000 people in this war and also faced a wave of extremism in various parts of the country. Multiple operations have been planned, strategized and executed to eradicate the terrorism and bring peace and security in the country.<sup>187</sup> Pakistan army has been engaged in combating the terrorists in the various parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa including Khyber Agency, North Waziristan and South

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<sup>186</sup> Muhammad Waqas Chughtai, "The Impact of Rising Terrorism and Military Operations on Socio Economic Culture of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan," *A Journal of Peace and Development* 3, no. 1 (2013): 18-32.

<sup>187</sup> Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror*. (Routledge, 2015).



Waziristan. Pakistan military conducted successful operations, brought peace and established the government control resulting an improvement in the law and order situation of the country. The capacities, exposure and determination of the military boost its confidence and has enabled it to combat terrorist outfits in other regions of the world if required as a peacekeeper. Although, the exercise was never easy and damaged the country to a great extent however, as its army gained experience and build mechanism to eliminate the menace of terrorism Pakistan has started coming out of the shadows of terrorism. This, at the same time has also equipped the Pakistani military with a skill set that could come handy in terrorist ridden conflict zones such as Syria and Yemen.

## 6.9 Comparison with Passive Contributors

After the end of the Cold War, a great shift was observed in the policies of the Western countries with respect to their involvement in the UN peacekeeping missions. The contributions from the West were declined rapidly whereas, the contribution increased from the African and South Asian countries. Although, UN have increased the number of the peacekeeping operations in the world, but overall the participation of the West is approximately 6% of blue helmets. The decreasing trend of the participation of the West in peacekeeping missions can be interpreted and explained through different approaches. One may say that after the collapse of Soviet Union the strategic interests that the West could gain through peacekeeping were over, or such interests were achievable through war on terror by creating bigger organizations that could deal with peace issues.<sup>188</sup> It is no surprise that Western countries prefer participating in NATO-led operations instead of working with UN missions. The military structure of NATO

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<sup>188</sup> Gaibulloev Khusrav, Sandler Todd, and Shimizu Hirofumi, "Demands for UN and non-UN peacekeeping: Nonvoluntary versus voluntary contributions to a public good," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53, no. 6 (2009): 827-852.

is far better, well equipped and trained soldiers with larger size as compare to the United Nations missions.<sup>189</sup>

During the Cold War, western countries like Denmark, Sweden, Canada, New Zealand were well known for their ideology of internationalism, supporting the legitimate role of UN in ensuring the peace and security.<sup>190</sup> The peacekeeping policies of Western countries need to be analyzed to understand the change in the policy of the Western forces. Some countries, Canada, New Zealand, Belgium, were historically and ideologically strongly associated with the UN peacekeeping operations. For instance, Canada has been termed as the middle power and it achieved this status after the Second World War. Canada developed a narrative that the middle powers are supposed to act responsibly in the interest of the global world.<sup>191</sup> However, since 1945, Canada remained a leading country in supplying the almost 10 percent troops and showed consent to participate in more or less in every peacekeeping mission.<sup>192</sup> The lack of interest of the Western forces towards peace-building missions also affected Canada which also decreased troop contribution, significantly.<sup>193</sup> In 2014, only thirty-two Canadian troops participated in five out of the eighteen UN peacekeeping missions and Canada was categorized as the 68<sup>th</sup> contributors out of 124 contributing countries.

While participating in UN peacekeeping mission, Canada is also the member of North Treaty Organization. Nevertheless, Canada still advocates the ideology of promoting peace and security across the world and financially contributing at a huge level but its military

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<sup>189</sup> Gaibulloev Khusrav, George Justin, Sandler Todd, and Shimizu Hirofumi, "Personnel contributions to UN and non-UN peacekeeping missions: A public goods approach" *Journal of Peace Research* 52, no. 6 (2015): 727-742.

<sup>190</sup> Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams, "The West and Contemporary Peace Operations," *Journal of Peace Research* 46, no. 1 (2009): 39-57.

<sup>191</sup> Bernard Wood, *The Middle Powers and The General Interest* (Ottawa: North-South Institute, 1988).

<sup>192</sup> Alistair D. Edgar, "Canada's Changing Participation in International Peacekeeping and Peace Enforcement: What, if Anything, does it Mean?," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 10, no. 1 (2002): 107-117, doi:10.1080/11926422.2002.9673309.

<sup>193</sup> R.A. MacKay, *The Canadian Doctrine of the Middle Powers*, in *Empire and Nations*, ed. H.L. Dyck and H.P. Krosby (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 137.

contribution is insignificant.<sup>194</sup> The realist approach explains the politics of middle power revolves around the self-interest. In addition, they are also the allies of the Western forces and the strategies of their allies influence their politics. It was also narrated that Canada was engaged in supporting the international status quo through United Nations peacekeeping operations to protect its national interest. Canada has prioritized its national interest on the ideological interest and altruistic patterns.

### 6.10 A Comparison with Active Contributors: India and Bangladesh

Generally, South Asian and African countries are leading the UN peacekeeping operations by participating and offering large number of troops as compare to European countries. Specifically, Pakistan, Bangladesh and India are three world's top nations actively working in UN peacekeeping missions.<sup>195</sup> Although, the interests of these three countries have varied historically and politically differences with each other, however they worked together under the framework of United Nations for the promotion of peace in the conflict areas. On the other hand, Italy and France are considered as the top troop-contributing countries to the UN missions in north and comes at fourteenth and nineteenth respectively in the list of top twenty contributors.

Since 1950s, India has been known as the big contributor to the UN peace-promoting missions at the regional and global level. In order to understand the policy of India towards the UN peacekeeping missions, there is need to look at the historical role of the Indian Army even before its independence from the British Rule. Indian Army under the British Rule participated in two World Wars and it became the largest volunteer army in the world in

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<sup>194</sup> Zachery Abram, "In the Service of Peace: The Symbolic Power of Peacekeeping in Canada." *The Dalhousie Review* 92, no. 1/2 (2012).

<sup>195</sup> Belinda Helmke, "The Absence of ASEAN: Peacekeeping in Southeast Asia," *Pacific News* 31 (2009): 4-6.

1945.<sup>196</sup> After the partition of subcontinent, India contributed in UN peacekeeping operations by providing 38,000 troops worked in Korea, Indochina, Congo and Middle East during the Cold War.<sup>197</sup> However, the post-Cold war scenario brought the significant shift in the policy of the world powers including India. India has participated in about 43 peacekeeping operations and utilized 180,000 troops along with the police forces in multiple conflict areas.

Bangladesh, another South Asian top-ranked contributor, is also providing troops to UN peacekeeping operations across the world. The country is also among few nations that recognized UN Charter in their constitution and advocate for the international peace and security.<sup>198</sup> Bangladesh is a significant participant of UN missions and contributed approximately in more 40 countries and 50 missions. Bangladesh deployed 8,135 troops, 74 military experts and 1,223 police personnel in multiple UN peacekeeping operations in 2015. In 1989, Bangladeshi police first time participated in the UN mission in Namibia and later on continuously contributed in almost all the major operation carried out by United Nations. Astonishingly, the number of Bangladeshi police personnel increased 870% in UN peacekeeping operation from 2000 to 2015.<sup>199</sup>

The Army of Bangladesh has been playing a political role in the country and is a powerful and influential stakeholder. Though it is better equipped and has a degree of professionalism, however, it cannot be compared with the Western armies because of their technological advancement and level of training. The issue of finance has become critical for in the context of the future role of Bangladesh in the contribution in the U N peace promoting operations. It seems ironical that a South Asian country with less resource is very much clear

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<sup>196</sup> Daniel P. Marston and Chandar S. Sundaram (eds), *A Military History of India and South Asia: From the East India Company to the Nuclear Era* (Praeger: London, 2007).

<sup>197</sup> David S Sorenson and Pia Christina Wood, *The Politics of Peacekeeping in The Post-Cold War Era*, 1st ed. (Abingdon, Oxon: Taylor and Francis Ann Arbor, Michigan ProQuest, 2014).

<sup>198</sup> Kabilan Krishnasamy, "Bangladesh and UN Peacekeeping: The Participation of a 'Small' State." *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 41, no. 1 (2003): 24-47.

<sup>199</sup> Jacob D. Kathman, and Melin Molly M. "Who keeps the peace? Understanding state contributions to UN peacekeeping operations." *International Studies Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (2016): 150-162.

and active for the promotion of the peace and security, whereas the rich countries of European Union are far behind in contribution the management of the conflicts.<sup>200</sup> A quick comparison with passive and active contributors, it has been established that Pakistan enjoys a unique position among the top-ranked contributors and due to its various domestic challenges the country's military has gained experiences that others lack. Such vast experience of managing all kinds natural and man mad crisis coupled with professionalism and a commitment to international peace, makes Pakistan a preferred troop contributor.

## 6.11 Conclusion

It is quite clear that South Asian and African countries are leading the United Nations peacekeeping operations by providing troops, police force and medical teams. The three South Asian countries are not in good relations with each other but they are working together in conflict zone for promoting and ensuring the peace. On the other hand, the Western countries gradually decline the strength of their troops for the United Nations peacekeeping operation. This shift came after the fall of Soviet Union and Western countries started to prefer to work under the NATO missions instead of UN missions. The developing countries are more active in contributing to the UN peace missions and still a regional competition among the South Asian countries have emerged.

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<sup>200</sup> Alex J., Bellamy and Paul D. Williams, Trends in peace operations, 1947–2013, (The Oxford Handbook of United Nations peacekeeping operations. 2015).

## CHAPTER 7

### FINDINGS FOR RATIONALE OF WHY AND HOW SUCH A LARGE CONTRIBUTION BY PAKISTAN

#### 7.1 Introduction

Pakistan contributed peacekeepers to several UN peacekeeping missions before 1990 including, UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), for early independence of Namibia in April 1989. However, the country started large-scale and active participation after 1990 with troop contribution to UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), which was established in February 1992 and concluded in September 1993. Pakistan also contributed troops to UN Operation in Somalia, (UNOSOM I and II) from September 1992 to March 1995, and the UN Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina (UNMIBH), which started in 1995 and concluded in December 2002. In addition, the country contributed troops to UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) in 1993; the operation ended in March 1996. Further, it contributed troops to UN Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA), established in June 1997 and concluded February 1999, and to the UN Transitional Authority in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium (UNTAES), in January 1996; the mission concluded its mandate in January 1998.<sup>201</sup>

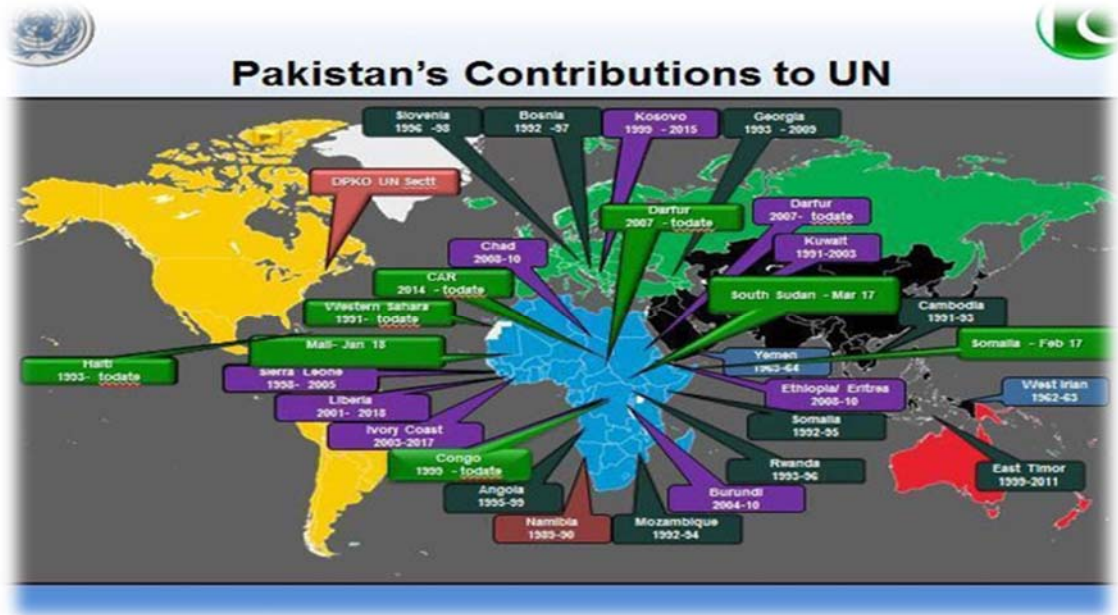
Overall, Pakistan deployed 10,000 troops to 13 peacekeeping mission by the mid-1990s and the number grew to 150,000 personnel to 41 UN peacekeeping missions by mid-2014.<sup>202</sup> As of May 31, 2019 Pakistan had 5083 troops and police contributors to 14 current peacekeeping missions.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Our History," <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history> (Accessed March 6, 2019).

<sup>202</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Delegates Argue Merits of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles, Other Technologies as Security Council Considers New Trends in Peacekeeping," <https://www.un.org/press/en/2014/sc11434.doc.htm> (Accessed March 6, 2019).

<sup>203</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Troop and Police Contributors," <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/troop-and-police-contributors>, (Accessed June 21, 2019).



This chapter attempts to answer why and how Pakistan maintained its active and large-scale contribution to UN peacekeeping missions in the last decade of previous century and the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The chapter discusses Pakistan's motivations and rationale for troop contribution by examining the purpose statements or agenda text of different operations, by reviewing the literature on troop contribution and by drawing a comparison among troop-contributing motivations of Pakistan, India and Ethiopia.

## 7.2 Motivations and Rationale for Troop Contribution to UN Peacekeeping

Not every country contributes to the UN peacekeeping for the same reasons. Some contribute for solely economic reasons and some for projecting their political aims. According to the *Economist* Africa editor, Oliver August, countries like Ethiopia and Bangladesh mainly contributes their personals to peacekeeping operations because of economic benefits. They also do so for maintaining and improving the professional efficiency of their armies.<sup>204</sup> However, countries that are bigger in size and have prominent position in world affairs do it for projecting

<sup>204</sup> "UN peacekeepers in Africa," YouTube video, 7:52, The Economist, June 20, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N6E8ijQtHHc>. (Accessed June 21, 2019)

their soft power. India's peacekeeping motivation is not primarily economic. It does so to project its soft power and acquire reputations as an international broker. According to August:

"South Asians have some very specific reasons aside from 'doing the right thing' for sending troops abroad on UN missions — reasons that often have little to do with the nature and needs of the host country. It's an often-overlooked truth that donor nations can benefit, or even profit, from their contributions to peace missions, given the right circumstances."<sup>205</sup>

Developing countries find peacekeeping operations as an inexpensive way to maintain large armies and boost the pay of selected troops, while also building diplomatic inroads into poorer countries rich in resources.<sup>206</sup> Developed countries make up their presence in peacekeeping operations by providing the finances

### 7.3 Pakistan's Motivation and Rationale for Troop Contribution

Like all contributing countries, Pakistan has multiple reasons and motivations for troop-contributing to UN peacekeeping missions. The country's active and large-scale contribution to the UN mission can be explained through the approaches firstly, by assessing the purpose, place and mandate of a mission, secondly by reviewing the peacekeeping literature, thirdly by analyzing the primary data i.e. responses of peacekeepers, policymakers and experts, and finally, by comparing Pakistan's motivations and rationale for troop contribution to other active contributors like that of India and Ethiopia. Assessing a mission's purpose, place and mandate is important because it is one of the key factors that decides whether a country participates or refrains from participation to a certain UN peacekeeping mission. In the case of Pakistan, when the UN Secretariat sends a request for peacekeepers, the foreign ministry with inputs from the

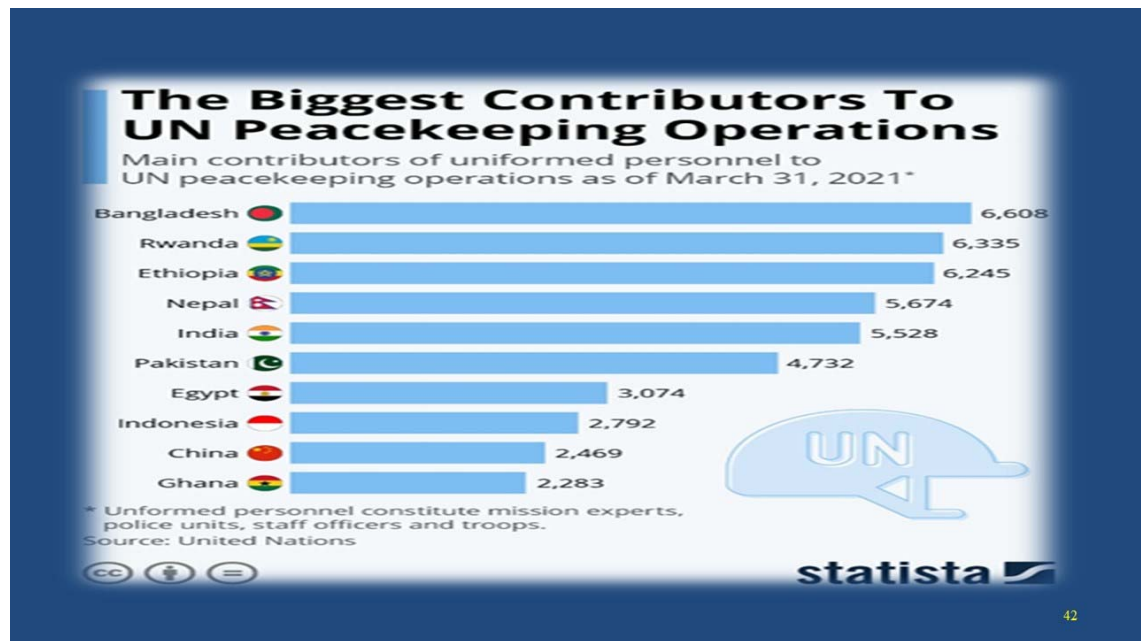
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<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> "UN peacekeepers in Africa," YouTube video, 7:52, The Economist, June 20, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N6E8ijQtHHc>. (Accessed June 21, 2019).



military decides to respond positively or otherwise. A lot depends on the purpose, place and mandate of the mission. The decision makers also consider political will of involved parties, interests of other states, availability of necessary resources, and the expected cooperation or competition of relevant international actors.<sup>207</sup> Therefore a look at purpose, place and mandate of different missions will help us understand Pakistan’s motivations and rationales for troop contribution to such missions.



#### 7.4 Understanding Pakistan’s Rationale from the Purpose, Place and Mandate of the Missions

Pakistan contributed troops to the U N Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) from February 1992 to September 1993. The mission was “to ensure implementation of the Agreements on the Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict, signed in Paris on 23 October 1991.” It is safe to say that the country did not have any conflicting

<sup>207</sup> Inam-ur-Rahman Malik, “Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Pakistan,” Providing for Peacekeeping, (June 2014), <http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/2014/04/03/contributor-profile-pakistan/>. (Accessed June 21, 2019)

interests in the area, therefore the decision making must have been simple. The mandate of the operation was multifold. It included aspects relating to human rights, the organization and conduct of elections, military arrangements, civil administration, maintenance of law and order, repatriation and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons and rehabilitation of Cambodian infrastructure.<sup>208</sup>

In 1995, Pakistan contributed troops to the U N Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina (UNMIBH) "to exercise a wide range of functions related to the law enforcement activities and police reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina."<sup>209</sup> In this case the troop contribution was in alignment with the country's foreign policy objective of helping and building strong ties with Muslim countries across the globe. In addition, as the signatory of Human Rights Charter, Pakistan's decision to participate in the mission, which:

also coordinated other UN activities in the country relating to humanitarian relief and refugees, demining, human rights, elections and rehabilitation of infrastructure and economic reconstruction,<sup>210</sup>

One can again assume that the purpose must have been to build a positive image among the regional countries.

Similarly, the country's decisions to contribute troops to the UN Operation In Somalia II, UNOSOM II, ( September 1992 to March 1995) and to the UN Assistance Mission For Rwanda UNAMIR, (October 1993 to March 1996) can be examine on the basis of the purposes of the missions which were "to take appropriate action, including enforcement measures, to establish throughout Somalia a secure environment for humanitarian assistance" and "to help

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<sup>208</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Our History," <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>, (Accessed May 20, 2019).

<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

implement the Arusha Peace Agreement signed by the Rwandese parties on 4 August 1993", respectively.<sup>211</sup>

Pakistan contributed troops to UN Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA) from June 1997 to February 1999. MONUA's was

to assist the Angolan parties in consolidating peace and national reconciliation, enhancing confidence-building and creating an environment conducive to long-term stability, democratic development and rehabilitation of the country.<sup>212</sup>

The mission was in alignment with Pakistan's foreign policy objective of supporting the underdeveloped counties in their freedom struggle and democratic transition. The decision was not in conflict with the country's ideology or foreign policy in any way or shape and was an opportunity to play its role in rehabilitation of Angola.<sup>213</sup>

Pakistan's decision to send troops to UN Transitional Authority in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium (UNTAES), in January 1996 was

to supervise and facilitate demilitarization; monitor return of refugees; contribute to the maintenance of peace and security; establish a temporary police force; undertake tasks relating to civil administration and public services; organize elections; and undertake other activities relevant to the Basic Agreement.<sup>214</sup>

This was in alignment with the country's foreign policy objectives of promoting international peace. The place, purpose and mandate of the operation were all favorable for troop contribution and in the country's national interest. The credit for success of UNTAES which concluded in January 1998, "having accomplished its key objective of peacefully reintegrating

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<sup>211</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Our History," <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>, (Accessed March 6, 2019).

<sup>212</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Our History," <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>, (Accessed March 6, 2019).

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium into Croatia,” went to all peacekeeping states including Pakistan.<sup>215</sup>

## 7.5 Comparing Pakistan’s Reasons with Reasons of Ethiopia and India

A look at these two cases would highlight how Pakistan’s motivations and rationales for troop contribution to UN peacekeeping missions are different or similar to other contributors. As far as Ethiopia is concerned it started participating in UN peacekeeping missions in 1951 to UN authorized peacekeeping mission in Korea (1951-1954). Ethiopia happens to be one of the few non - NATO country which participated in a contingent of UN forces in South Korea along with United States led 7<sup>th</sup> Division. The next contribution that the Ethiopian Forces participated in was the UN operation in Congo (ONUC) which lasted from 1960 to 1964. Contrary to Pakistan with a consistent Foreign Policy on peacekeeping contributions under military as well as civilian leadership, Ethiopian shift from democratic government to the military government called *Dreg* in 1974 brought fundamental changes in their foreign policy framework and international politics. Ethiopia didn’t participate in any UN missions till the end of cold war. In 1991 it resumed its participation in UN missions with its first mission in Rwanda in 1994.

After the end of civil war in 1991, the transitional government sent troops to mission in Rwanda in 1994-95 (UNAMIR). Ethiopia deployed two battalions forces for this mission. The subsequent troops contribution efforts by Ethiopia opened a new paradigm for troops contributions for peacekeeping operations in the UN mandated missions. These missions include the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) in September 2003, United Nations Operation in Cote d’Ivoire (UNOCI) in April 2004, United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB) in May 2004 -2006, African Union / United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur

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<sup>215</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Our History," <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history> (Accessed March 6, 2019).

(UNAMID) in February 2008, United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti in 2015, United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali in April 2016 and United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) in 2011 which later changed to United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA) with a unique exception of entirely composed of Ethiopian Forces.

Ethiopia is among the top-ranking troops contributing country participating in UN operations all around the world<sup>216</sup>. Out of sixteen UN Peacekeeping operations deployed all over the world, Ethiopia participated in six UN missions with a significant number of troops and a highest number of female participations. Precisely, the basic reasons that motivated Ethiopia for troops contribution to UN peacekeeping operations is the failure of the League of Nations to defend Ethiopia against the Italian aggression in 1936. The ineffectiveness of League of Nations forced the country to work for a collective security paradigm. Similarly, in case of Pakistan the long outstanding and unresolved issue of Kashmir and the tragic separation of East Pakistan forced the nation to remain relevant and up guarded for its national interests at the international forum. Alternatively, another interesting comparison can be drawn between Pakistan and Ethiopia is that the participation in UN peacekeeping operations is considered a worthwhile national security strategy. The environments of both the countries are similar with regards to the conditions of state failures which are transnational due to social and economic issues and unintended spillover effects on the neighboring countries.

There are certain other conditions which also make the comparison very motivating, for example both the countries are sheltering huge number of refugees, the effects of civil war in Ethiopia and War on Terror in Pakistan (WOT). Consequently, the circumstances and basis

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<sup>216</sup> “Ranking of Military and Police Contributions to UN Operations”. United Nations. UN.org. (January,31 2017). [http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2017/jan17\\_2.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2017/jan17_2.pdf), (Accessed on 6 January 2021).

of foreign policy decision with regards to sending troops to UN PKOs are very similar in both the cases. Factually, peacekeeping missions by Ethiopian is considered to be a financial advantage for the soldiers for participating in the PKOs. Besides financial gain it is a life time opportunity for every soldier of the armed forces to gain experience of crisis situations which is confronted in the UN operations. Resultantly, participation in peacekeeping operations has become an essential part of Ethiopia's foreign and military policies for the last decade or so. Despite the fact that Ethiopia is one of the most effective and capable armed forces in the region with battle hardened troops to confront all types of situations but it will have to improve and work hard to handle diverse environments of urban warfare<sup>217</sup>.

Like Pakistan, India was among the original members of the U N. Though the country contributed almost 200,000 peacekeepers military and police over the years, however, there is a fundamental difference between the motivations of the two countries. Unlike Pakistan, as August states, India's peacekeeping motivation is not primarily economic. It does so to project its soft power and acquire reputations as an international broker.<sup>218</sup> However, like all other countries, peacekeeping helps India in building diplomatic inroads in countries that lack resources and can be potential markets of future. Secondly, since India has a Pakistan centered foreign policy, it helps keep pace with Pakistan politically In a TV interview retired Indian Major General, PK Sehgal, stated that:

On several occasions, our enemies, for example, the Pakistani as well as the Chinese have operated under the command of an Indian Commander. There have been very few instances where the Chinese and the Indian have been in the same

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<sup>217</sup> "Chapter Nine: Sub-Saharan Africa". The Military Balance 117/1. 2017. The International Institute for Strategic Studies. 14 February 2017. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/04597222.2017.1271216>, (Accessed on 6 January 2021).

<sup>218</sup> "UN peacekeepers in Africa," YouTube video, 7:52, "The Economist," June 20, 2012, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N6E8ijQtHHc\\_](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N6E8ijQtHHc_)

contingent. But there have been many instances where the Pakistani and the Indian forces acted together in performance shoulder to shoulder and they have displayed a remarkable love and affection for each other.<sup>219</sup>

## 7.6 Conclusion

Pakistan's active and large-scale contribution to UN peacekeeping missions in the last decade of previous century and the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century can be understood by examining the purpose statements or agenda text of different operations, by reviewing the literature on troop contribution and by drawing a comparison among troop-contributing motivations of Pakistan, India and Ethiopia. A thorough review of different operations indicates that the country contributed troops to places where its national interests were not clashing with those of other states or of major powers and where the purpose and the mandate of the missions were in alignment with its foreign policy objectives.

A comparison of Pakistan's motivations for troop contribution with that of India and Ethiopia shows that in contrast to these two countries Pakistan has its own motivations and rationales for troop contributions and its practice has its own character that is different than these. As Brig (R) Mirza Saleem Beig,<sup>220</sup> who served in Liberia from 2004 to 2005 as the head of the peacekeeping training department told the researcher that these factors contributed in Pakistan decision to maintain its top-ranked contribution for UN peacekeeping but despite all the odds Pakistan has always stood at the back and call of UN to resolve the international conflicts through peacekeeping.<sup>221</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> "In Depth - India's Peace Keepers | Rajya Sabha TV," YouTube video, 25:17, "Rajya Sabha TV," June 1, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HqYsgM9Vn6k&t=1116s>.

<sup>220</sup> Mirza Saleem Beig, (peacekeeper) in discussion with the author March 13, 2019.

<sup>221</sup> Mirza Saleem Beig, (peacekeeper) in discussion with the author March 13, 2019.

## CHAPTER 8

### FINDINGS FOR UNDERSTANDING PAKISTAN'S MOTIVATIONS FROM PRIMARY AND SECONDARY DATA

#### 8.1 Introduction

In order to understand the real motivations of the country to send its peacekeepers on various missions, five Pakistani peacekeepers and ten subject matter experts were interviewed. Their observations were based on their personal experiences, recruiting process, operations, chain of command, mission benefits, and benefits to Pakistan etc. The chapter presents firsthand experiences of Pakistani peacekeepers, who served or are serving at the moment in different UN peacekeeping missions as well as the opinions from different experts on UN peacekeeping. One of the interviewees who served from 11 July 2018 to 11 July 2019 in MINURSO in Western Sahara, Morocco was of the opinion that:

UN peacekeeping is organized approach to the conflict resolution. An effort is made by the military component of the Mission to normalize the ground situation favorable for the diplomatic engagement / negotiation / mediation between the adversaries by the civilian component for reaching the logical end to the conflict. The peacekeeping process is very time demanding depending on the nature of the conflict and grievances of the adversaries.

The selection process in the Pakistan Army is very competitive selection process and only those who are graduates of the Command & Staff College are selected as per the merit set by the GHQ.<sup>222</sup>

On the mission's role an interviewee responded:

UN mission MINURSO mandate was to create favorable situation for the referendum in Western Sahara which is a conflict area between Morocco and Polisario

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<sup>222</sup> Respondent 1, (peacekeeper) in discussion with the author, March 20, 2019



(Abbreviation for the French title Frente Popular de Liberación de Saguía el Hamra y Río de Oro) Front. Once the situation became favorable and voters list were finalized; referendum was held. After transition of normalcy and pulled out of UN from the mission area.<sup>223</sup>

On chain of command, one of the interviewees said:

The mission had a civilian and a Military component. MINURSO was a Civilian dominant mission headed by special representative of Secretary General of UN. Whereas, a small component of MILOB are headed by a Force Commander to look after the military component.<sup>224</sup>

## 8.2 Political Motivations

Literature shows that the following could be the main rationales behind Pakistan's troop contribution.

Priscilla Cabuyao, a policy expert at The Innovation Center, argues that from a realist perspective, the impressive devotion of top-troop contributors to UN Peacekeeping is rooted in several political, professional, and economic motivations.<sup>225</sup> For Pakistan political motivation is the most important one as compared to economic and professional interests.<sup>226</sup>

It is important to note that Pakistan sees its troop contribution as a projection of its international image as Krishnasamy sees the country's proactive role at the UN peacekeeping

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<sup>223</sup> Respondent 1, (peacekeeper) in discussion with the author, March 20, 2019

<sup>224</sup> Respondent 2, (peacekeeper) in discussion with the author, March 20, 2019

<sup>225</sup> Priscilla Cabuyao, "UN Peacekeeping: Bangladesh, India and Pakistan's Troop Contributions-International Relations Students, (June 18, 2014), <https://www.e-ir.info/2014/06/18/un-peacekeeping-bangladesh-india-and-pakistans-top-troop-contributions/>

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

mission is an ambition to become a ‘good international citizen’ and claim its spot among the international community.<sup>227</sup>

Almost all the respondents, those who served or are serving in UN peacekeeping missions, were of the opinion that their participation help Pakistan project its positive image. It also helped the country in countering the propoganda of being a weak and failed state, which, from Morgenthau’s point of view is very important because the “others' impression of us is as important as what we actually are.”<sup>228</sup>

However, Pakistan’s political motivation and rationale are not limited to its image building alone. This also helps the country building a positive image at home and bilateral relations with major powers, particularly with the United States. This has at times helped the country deflect the criticism of its nuclear programs.<sup>229</sup> Along with enhancing its diplomatic profile at the UN, troop contribution to peacekeeping mission places, it provides Pakistan the leverage to counter Indian ambitions to get a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. .<sup>230</sup>

### 8.3 Economic Motivations

According to Kudesia and Rubenstein “peace operations and the opportunity to participate in one are regarded as income generators and incredibly beneficial to participate in.”<sup>231</sup> Cabuyao, also believes that “the income generated in peacekeeping could be a huge

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<sup>227</sup> Kabilan Krishnasamy, “Recognition for Third World Peacekeepers: India and Pakistan,” *International Peacekeeping* 8, no. 4 (2001): 56-76, (Accessed June 21, 2019).

<sup>228</sup> Cabuyao, Priscilla, “UN Peacekeeping: Bangladesh, India and Pakistan’s Troop Contributions-International Relations Students, (June 18, 2014), <https://www.e-ir.info/2014/06/18/un-peacekeeping-bangladesh-india-and-pakistans-top-troop-contributions/>

<sup>229</sup> “UN seeks 'peacekeepers' from Pakistan to bolster mission in South Sudan,” *Express Tribune* <https://tribune.com.pk/story/650245/un-seeks-peacekeepers-from-pakistan-to-bolster-mission-in-south-sudan/>. (Accessed March 10, 2019).

<sup>230</sup>, *Ibid.*

<sup>231</sup> Stuart S. Brown, Katrina Burgess, Beatriz Tinajero, Hongying Wang, Steven R. Brechin, Suprita Kudesia, Robert A. Rubinstein and Arthur C. Brooks, “Non-State Transnational Transfers: Types and Characteristics.” *International Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (2009): 402-50. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40389081>. (Accessed Oct. 19, 2019).

motivator for Pakistan in sending their armies to UN missions.”<sup>232</sup> However, upon looking at the remittances that the country received from peacekeeping this claim does not hold much water. For example, it is estimated that Pakistan earned about US\$220 million per annum in foreign exchange from its troop contribution to UN peacekeeping missions.<sup>233</sup> According to Pew Research Center, the country ranked among “Top-10 Remittance Receiving Countries by Country Income Group, 2013,” however, “the macroeconomic impact of the amount earned from UN peacekeeping is relatively modest.”<sup>234</sup>

Since the UN compensates every peacekeeper with about US\$1000 per month the microeconomic benefits of peacekeeping are important. There are conflicting set of information on whether the Pakistani government pay its peacekeepers in full or deducts a certain amount from their salaries. According to Krishnasamy, it is the privilege of the contributing country whether it pays its peacekeepers in full or deducts from their salaries. He argues that, Pakistan does not pay its peacekeepers full salaries. He maintains that the national government pays the peacekeepers according to their scale and surplus goes to national treasury.<sup>235</sup>

However, Pakistani policeman and UN veteran, Malik argues that

"Pakistani authorities do not deduct money from this UN remuneration or death/disability claims of peacekeepers. All UN personnel payments go directly to the individual peacekeeper."<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> Cabuyao, Priscilla, “UN Peacekeeping: Bangladesh, India and Pakistan’s Troop Contributions,” E-International Relations Students, (June 18, 2014), <https://www.e-ir.info/2014/06/18/un-peacekeeping-bangladesh-india-and-pakistans-top-troop-contributions/>. (Accessed March 10, 2019),

<sup>233</sup> Pew Research Center Social and Demographic Trends, " Top-10 Remittance Receiving Countries by Country Income Group, 2013," <https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/12/17/changing-patterns-of-global-migration-and-remittances/sdt-2013-12-17-global-migration-04-02/>. (Accessed March 10, 2019).

<sup>234</sup> Ibid.

<sup>235</sup> Cabuyao, Priscilla, " UN Peacekeeping: Bangladesh, India and Pakistan’s Troop Contributions-International Relations Students, (June 18, 2014), <https://www.e-ir.info/2014/06/18/un-peacekeeping-bangladesh-india-and-pakistans-top-troop-contributions/>.

<sup>236</sup> Inam-ur-Rahman, Malik, "Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Pakistan," Providing for Peacekeeping, (June 2014), <http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/2014/04/03/contributor-profile-pakistan/>.

It is important to note that peacekeeping does not seem major factor in improving the national economy, however, for a peacekeeper it "represent a once-in-a-career opportunity to generate savings and gain some financial security."<sup>237</sup>

## 8.4 Security Motivations

If India is using UN peacekeeping as a platform to project its soft power and advance its regional and global ambitions,<sup>238</sup> it is safe to say that Pakistan is also motivated by similar concerns. It is reasonable to assume that Pakistan due to its large scale and active peacekeeping has not only gained respect in international diplomatic circles but also has used to leverage its position in the UN Security Council on unresolved Kashmir dispute. The country has also managed to keep the Kashmir dispute as one of the international issues by attaching special importance to UNMOGIP to monitor the Line of Control (LOC) in the disputed area of Jammu and Kashmir, despite India insisting that it's a bilateral issue.<sup>239</sup>

However, the claim that Pakistan's active and large-scale contribution to the UN peacekeeping is motivated by its desire to have strong bilateral relations with the US, the largest donor of the world body, seems superficial. If it were the case Pakistan's troop contribution would have not seen a huge surge in 1990s when the country went under American military and economic sanctions because of its nuclear program. Similarly, its troop contribution must have seen a decline following the US-India strategic partnership in June 2005 but instead it witnessed another surge.

Literature indicates that Pakistan's contribution to the UN peacekeeping is in alignment with its stance on "multilateralism as the panacea for festering global issues and underscored

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<sup>237</sup> Inam-ur-Rahman, Malik, "Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Pakistan," Providing for Peacekeeping, (June 2014), <http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/2014/04/03/contributor-profile-pakistan/>.

<sup>238</sup> "UN peacekeepers in Africa," YouTube video, 7:52, *The Economist*, June 20, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N6E8ijQtHHc>.

<sup>239</sup> Inam-ur-Rahman Malik, "Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Pakistan, Providing for Peacekeeping, June 2014, <http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/2014/04/03/contributor-profile-pakistan/>.

the need to make the UN an effective institution.”<sup>240</sup> Therefore, the country’s contribution to the UN peacekeeping mission can be seen as a reflection of its independent foreign policy and effort to garner support against the US-India military partnership.

## 8.5 Institutional Motivations

Along with political, economic and security motivations for troop contribution, acquiring advanced military skills and training can also motivate contributors. The participation in UN peacekeeping not only provides troops global exposure, and field experiences, but also provides opportunities to learn from professionals around the world. In Pakistan’s case, due to the country’s prolonged military rule, the troop contribution to UN peacekeeping missions were largely institutional driven for both national and institutional interests. According to Krishnaswamy Pakistan’s troop contribution to the UN peacekeeping mission enabled the country improve its ‘military recruitment system’ hence deploying more disciplined, patient, understanding and sensitive, soldiers and developing a stricter recruitment process.<sup>241</sup>

In any case Pakistan Army is well-placed to undertake peacekeeping and peace-building mission due to its significant state-building roles in almost every sector of the country. Peacekeeping actually provides its vital international experience in all emergency services including medical, de-mining, engineering, and aviation. The country’s troop contribution to UN peacekeeping missions not only provides its military international exposure in a complex multinational environment but also enables it to participate in non-UN missions. It was because

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<sup>240</sup> Malik, Inam-ur-Rahman, “Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Pakistan” Providing for Peacekeeping, (June 2014), <http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/2014/04/03/contributor-profile-pakistan/>.

<sup>241</sup> Kabilan Krishnaswamy, ‘Recognition’ For Third World Peacekeepers: India and Pakistan”, *International Peacekeeping* 8, no. 4 (2001): 56-76,

of Pakistan's active and large-scale role to the UN peacekeeping that it contributed "1,000 troops in the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina."<sup>242</sup>

On peacekeepers level, the deployment to missions helps them grow professionally as well as provide chances to get involved to other missions and seek professional positions. For instance, one of the peacekeepers told the researcher that:

Pakistan Contribution is beneficial since while working in an international environment along with other troop-contributing countries; can prove their professionalism earned through sheer hard work, dedication during War on Terror.<sup>243</sup>

Yet another peacekeeper said, his deployment at UN peacekeeping missions helped him improve multiple skills and understand the foreign culture. He said:

My experience at UN peacekeeping helped me financially as well as professionally. Due to my service at the mission I got experienced which helped me seek a professional position at UN.<sup>244</sup>

One of the interviewees when asked, how he sees Pakistan role in peacekeeping mission with respect to its foreign policy, said:

Peacekeeping missions provide effective grounds for the country's foreign policy to improve the credibility and say at the international forum. By participating in the missions Pakistan emerged amongst the world leaders where it can exercise its foreign policy not only playing part in these mission mandate but also execute own foreign policy objectives.<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>242</sup> Inam-ur-Rahman Malik, "Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Pakistan," Providing for Peacekeeping, (June 2014), <http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/2014/04/03/contributor-profile-pakistan/>.

<sup>243</sup> Respondent 3, (peacekeeper) in discussion with the author, March 20, 2019

<sup>244</sup> Respondent 4, (peacekeeper) in discussion with the author, March 20, 2019

<sup>245</sup> Respondent 2 (peacekeeper) in discussion with the author, March 20, 2019

Over 90% interviewees responded that peacekeeping helps Pakistan in building its positive image across the globe. Only a brief percentage responded that along with promoting Pakistan's positive image it helps them and the country monetarily.

## 8.6 Findings Based on Interviewers' First-Hand Knowledge

Following a thorough examination of the data gathered from interviews with peacekeepers of various levels, the following conclusions have been grasped: -

- Pakistan's contributions to peacekeeping reflects our founding father's determination to establish our goals for a complete peace inside and beyond. We desire to live peacefully and have peaceful, cordial, and pleasant ties with our local neighbors and the rest of the world. We have no ambitious plans for anyone. We should uphold the UN Charter and will happily contribute to the world's peace and prosperity.
- By providing soldiers to UN peacekeeping operations, Pakistan has gained more recognition and respect from the international community, in accordance with our commitments under Articles 43 and 44 of Chapter VII of the UN Charter.
- While observing Pakistan's position in international peacekeeping and peacebuilding, it is clear that with each passing year, Pakistan's commitment to play a larger role in the international arena is growing, which is entirely consistent with our national interests.
- Pakistan's comparative characteristics that make it the best candidate for peacekeeping include acknowledgment of its basic ideals of humanity and governmental responsibility to alleviate the sufferings of conflict-affected populations. Second, its soldiers' professionalism exemplified respect for international humanitarian law. Third, it is characterized by discipline and a concern for the well-being of the people living in the combat zone.

- Pakistan has recently lowered its contributions owing to the country's domestic law and order situation, and the removal of the terrorist threat has to be prioritized. One of the main arguments for Pakistan's reduced soldier participation appears to be the desire for internal stabilization.
- In answer to queries about the benefits of being a peacekeeper, it was disclosed that he gains higher respect and recognition for the nation, which strengthens his commitment and respect for humanity. He also finds great pleasure in easing and sharing the sorrows of the impacted communities. Aside from that, he will receive a significant financial benefit.
- The peacekeepers revealed that at state level Pakistan has earned global recognition due to the respect for humanity and profound professionalism displayed by the staff and the troops deployed in various missions. The UN secretary General Mr. Ban Ki moon's address at the UN Headquarters on 21 January 2013 amply substantiate this fact: -

I have personally met brave Pakistani men and women who served proudly in some of our toughest missions around the world. They are truly an inspiration. Pakistan provide essential "Boots on the Ground" and also the "Brain on the issues" As secretary General I count on Pakistan to help our missions. The UN is deeply grateful for their contributions. Pakistan's historic commitment to peacekeeping have taken a heavy toll. 132 Pakistan have lost their lives while serving the UN. We owe them a great deal of gratitude

- The experience of the Pakistan peacekeepers revealed that there are several regions where peacekeeping personnel face extremely difficult circumstances. One such problem is the method for perception management and confidence development mechanism (CBM). Furthermore, neutrality is one of the core concepts of IHL. Peacekeepers must maintain neutrality while doing their duties and must strive to acquire the trust and confidence of the inhabitants in mission



areas. Given the high religious terrain of their operation, Pakistani forces had to contend with the problem of neutrality, trust, and confidence at some time during MINUSCA. Kaga Bandoro is a Muslim-dominated territory plagued by armed Christian and Islamic organizations.

- In other cases, the civilian component of the MINUSCA, which was made up of Christians, attempted to interpret Pakistani troops' behavior through the prism of religion, accusing them of being partisan – preferring Muslims. Similar to the Muslim claim that UN forces were transporting them to anti-Balaka to be murdered, Furthermore, CBM and trust between residents and peacekeepers can be strengthened if the latter are highly trained and familiar with the social settings of the mission locations.
- The importance of pre-deployment training for both civil and military troops has grown significantly. Pre-deployment orientation training ensures that personnel understand how their mission as peacekeepers varies from that of combat forces, and it also improves UN Peacekeepers' readiness.
- The communication gap and language barrier were key obstacles in certain missions, and the communication gap, particularly the language barrier and social challenges, presented some degree of difficulty. Pakistani forces were hampered by a communication gap and a lack of a better grasp of the social context, which hampered excellent and easy connections with the people and weakened their full capacity to execute effective job.
- Peacekeeping must go beyond carrying guns and carefully embrace the concept of peace communication, which falls within the purview of persuasive communication processes. However, the divergence of opinion influenced strategic and operational decisions, paving the way for a lack of coordination in

peace and security concerns during the implementation stages. The problems eventually lead to intimidating zone while working on mission implementation.

## 8.7 Conclusion

A comprehensive review of the primary data and existing literature shows that Pakistan's troop contribution decisions are motivated by its political, economic, security and institutional interests. Political motivations are far most the important ones followed by economic, security and institutional rational. Economic motivations are modest at macro level however, important at micro level. Security rationale indicates that Pakistan's contribution to UN peacekeeping is not motivated by its desire to have strong bilateral relations with major powers rather it is motivated by its desire of multilateralism as a solution for international conflicts. Institutional interests also motivate Pakistan to contribute troops for their professional experience and learn advanced skills, such as new systems for recruitment.

## CHAPTER 9

### OBSTACLES AND CHALLENGES TO UN PEACEKEEPING

#### 9.1 Introduction

During Cold War, the main role for peacekeepers was to disconnect the intimidating forces for a successful operation with the support and coordination of the relevant parties. The peacekeepers were supposed to neutrally observe the cease-fires and resolve the conflict and security issues of the states.<sup>246</sup> However, after the fall of Soviet Union, the peacekeeping missions were comprehensively strategized under the new circumstances and changed geopolitics. United Nations overstepped and played an active role, in some cases, without the consent of the relevant parties. Consequently, the world body faced grave challenges to perform peacekeeping actions. The nonmilitary elements were also incorporated into peacekeeping strategies and they were supposed to work in the field advocating the rule of law, promoting human rights, children protection and focusing on the transparent elections. However, the comprehensive peacekeeping strategies stretched the role of Department of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and it also brought economic, security, political, strategic and other related challenges for the states.

#### 9.2 Trained and Adequate Personnel

Trained and highly professional troops are necessary for conducting and accomplishing a successful operation in the conflict areas. Since the peacekeeping efforts have become multidimensional, the presence of professional civilians is also necessary on the ground for state building in a post-conflict society. Certainly, well-trained personnel are required to

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<sup>246</sup> Thomas G Weiss and Cindy Collins, *Humanitarian Challenges and Intervention*, 2nd ed. (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2018).

identify as well as resolve the issues. Professionals must devise an extensive plan to monitor and evaluate the policies and must ensure that the adopted plan of action that can bring sustainable and the long-term peace in the society. State building in post-conflict societies, is a huge and complex task and requires a large number of civilian experts and troops.

Although, the developing countries including Pakistan have performed an active role in peacekeeping efforts, however, the intricacies of the issues in conflict zone demand highly trained and professionals familiar with the state building mechanisms.<sup>247</sup> The additional strength of trained military and expert civilian peacekeepers support and guarantee the success of the operations. An international conference, entitled *Challenges to Peace Operations in the 21st Century* in 2006, emphasized on the training and advance education for the personnel operating in conflict zones for peacekeeping.<sup>248</sup>

### 9.3 Political Challenges

The five permanent members of UN Security Council including, US, China, Russia, UK and France play a crucial role in conducting any peacekeeping operations across the world. All the permanent members have different ideologies and political interests; the decision about peacekeeping operations is taken on the basis of the vested interests of the permanent members. Above all, the United States has become a leading and influential actor in peacekeeping operations by providing political, logistical and financial support. The Clash of the national interests of permanent members influences the operations and it is almost impossible to carry out a successful peacekeeping operation without the political support of the permanent members of Security Council. Furthermore, the Western Forces are less inclined towards the African countries and prioritize the areas of their interest like Afghanistan, Kosovo, Iraq,

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<sup>247</sup> J. Reilly and B. Gill, "Sovereignty, Intervention and Peacekeeping: The View from Beijing," *Survival* 42, no. 3 (2000): 41-60

<sup>248</sup> James V. Arbuckle, *Military Forces In 21St Century Peace Operations* (Routledge, 2009).

Egypt, whereas the operations in Africa are mostly led by developing countries such as India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The NATO and EU forces are well equipped, trained and comparatively advanced than the troops of developing world, however, interest-oriented Western strategies have made critics question the philosophy of peacekeeping missions.<sup>249</sup> The Western countries enjoy the highest military capability but under the NATO and EU Framework they are engaged in overseas operations. Pakistani troops are also engaged in a war on terror at home and still contributing in the worldwide peacekeeping operations. The political behavior of the Western countries regarding the selective and preferred peacekeeping operations has increased the reservations of the contributing countries of the developing world. The peacekeeping operations have stimulated the debate of sovereignty; nonetheless, the United Nations affirms the sovereignty of state in principles.<sup>250</sup> The philosophy of execution of the peacekeeping missions in the conflict zones was to save and protect the next generation instead of supporting a government or a regime against the other political or ethnic groups.

The peacekeeping mission follows a mandate that encourages the UN military personnel to stand and assist the government forces for the protection of civilians. This support of the military personnel to the government forces is perceived as partial and hence adding to the controversies around effectiveness of such operations. Maintaining the impartiality, towards all the relevant parties or stakeholders of the conflict, is a key element for the success of an operation.<sup>251</sup> Therefore, peacekeeping operations, as critics say, are politicized to safeguard political and strategic interests of the global powers.

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<sup>249</sup> Alex J Bellamy and Paul D Williams, *Providing Peacekeepers* (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2014).

<sup>250</sup> Andrew Cottey, "Beyond Humanitarian Intervention: The New Politics of Peacekeeping and Intervention," *Contemporary Politics* 14, no. 4 (2008): 429-446,

<sup>251</sup> Salman Ahmed, Paul Keating and Ugo Solinas, "Shaping the Future of UN Peace Operations: Is There A Doctrine in The House?," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 20, no. 1 (2007): 11-28

## 9.4 Communication and Strategic Challenges

Peacekeeping or peace-sustaining in a conflict state is an exhaustive and complicated task. The strategies that work in one operation can prove counterproductive in the other. The mandate of the operations should be vivid and clear without any ambiguity and haziness supporting the absolute peace. A poorly designed operation can bring horrible consequences for the native country as well as for the internationally employed forces.<sup>252</sup> Coordination is a key element for the success of an operation and conversely the lack of coordination worsens the situation. Coordination occurs at various levels but mainly the political level and field level are the most significant in planning and conducting peacekeeping operations. At political level the first challenge is to develop political consensus with the support of all relevant political players and stakeholders. The political consensus helps in devising an inclusive approach and strategy towards the operation. The field level coordination is a regular and constant challenge specifically for the employed troops and generally civilians. The field level coordination classified step by step and issue by issue.<sup>253</sup> For example, for conducting a free and transparent elections, a different coordination mechanism has to be developed and by engaging with the threatening forces in the field coordination mechanism should be designed accordingly. The communication with the native people is a very crucial element of the implementation of a plan. The relevant peacekeeping authorities have to communicate with the native population to gather the important information for implementing the policies. The interaction becomes very critical in high risk and uncertain environment. Well trained and advance military personnel develop and establish an integrated coordination mechanism while contributing in peace-

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<sup>252</sup> B.K. Greener, "UNPOL: UN Police as Peacekeepers", *Policing and Society* 19, no. 2 (2009): 106-118,

<sup>253</sup> Christina Maiers, Margaret Reynolds, and Mark Haselkorn, "Challenges to effective information and communication systems in humanitarian relief organizations," In IPCC 2005. Proceedings. International Professional Communication Conference, 2005. 82-91. IEEE, 2005.

promoting operations.<sup>254</sup> The coordination problem at the political level directly or indirectly affects the operations in the field. The lack of interest of the developed countries creates obstacles in devising well-coordinated operations.

## 9.5 Security Challenges

The security of the civilians is the primary concern of the peacekeeping operations. The world body mandates the peacekeepers to protect the local population from the physical and psychological violence.<sup>255</sup> UN mandated its peacekeeping mission in Sierra Leone in 1999, to protect the native population from the physical violence. Sometimes situation regarding the protection of the population becomes worse as in the crisis of South Sudan, people gathered before the United Nation camps and requested for the protection of their life from the armed group. UN compounds offer them protection and opened the gates for the civilians.<sup>256</sup> The protection of the civilians requires very calculated strategy and proactive military personnel in the field for analyzing and identifying the threats. In some extraordinary situations, the military personnel have to respond and counter any attack by using the force. The use of force in itself brings huge implications for the host country as well as for the peacekeeping mission. The sentiments of local people may turn against the military personnel after the use of force and they might lose the moral ground. The military personnel can be the high target of the armed groups operating in the host state.

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<sup>254</sup> Paul D. Williams, and Arthur Boutellis, "Partnership peacekeeping: Challenges and Opportunities in the United Nations–African Union Relationship," *African Affairs* 113, no. 451 (2014): 254-278.

<sup>255</sup> Tom Woodhouse and Oliver Ramsbotham, "Cosmopolitan peacekeeping and the globalization of security," *International Peacekeeping* 12, no. 2 (2005): 139-156.

<sup>256</sup> Nicki Kindersley and Øystein H. Rolandsen. "Briefing: prospects for peace and the UN Regional Protection Force in South Sudan." *African Affairs* (2016): 1-12.

## 9.6 Cultural Challenge

The local population particularly of the developing world is quite sensitive towards their norms, culture, rituals and religious practices.<sup>257</sup> On the other hand, the deployed troops come from different culture and if native population perceive any act of the troops contradicting to their values the peacekeeping operation might face hurdles from the people. The role of the chiefs of the clans, local religious scholars and key informant needs to be incorporated into the operational mechanism. Therefore, troops should not only be professionally well trained but also equipped with the social, religious, ethnic and cultural knowledge about the host society.<sup>258</sup> Familiarity with the native culture helps in analyzing the local disputes.

## 9.7 Economic Challenges

Although, all member states are supposed to contribute to peacekeeping budget under a predefined formula, however, the world faces a debt. The financial support of the peacekeeping operations does not give positive indicator.<sup>259</sup> The increased size of the operations and outreach of the UN peacekeeping missions have economically burdened the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations. The training of the troops before the operation, deployment of the troops, provision of medicines, development of infrastructure, particularly in post-conflict societies, require huge resources.<sup>260</sup> Since the UN peacekeeping operations have become large in size and number, certainly the conduction demands more human and financial resources, however, lack of resources results into under-resourced operations.

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<sup>257</sup> Tamara Duffey, "Cultural issues in contemporary peacekeeping," *International Peacekeeping* 7, no. 1 (2000): 142-168.

<sup>258</sup> Robert A. Rubinstein, Diana M. Keller, and Michael E. Schreger. "Culture and Interoperability in Integrated Missions," *International Peacekeeping* 15, no. 4 (2008): 540-555.

<sup>259</sup> Michael Carnahan, William J. Durch, and Scott Gilmore. *Economic impact of peacekeeping*. United Nations, Peacekeeping Best Practices (Unit, 2006).

<sup>260</sup> Paul D. Williams, "International Peacekeeping: The Challenges of State-Building and Regionalization," *International Affairs* 81, no. 1 (2005): 163-174.



## 9.8 Conclusion

Pakistan's domestic challenges provided its military chances to gain experiences that came handy abroad. Pakistan hostile relations with India equipped its troops with formal war experience. Its peace operations in metropolitan cities like Karachi equipped its troops with the experience of tackling gang violence. Its rescue missions in natural disasters in recent years including the devastating 2005 earthquake, destructive floods of 2010, 2011 and 2012, gained its military experience of dealing with natural tragedies. Pakistan's efforts to eliminate terrorists following the 9/11 gained its military experience of combating modern terrorist organizations. Pakistan's comparison with passive and active contributors, show that the country enjoys a unique position among the top-ranked contributors and due its various domestic challenges its military gained experiences that others lack. Such vast experience of managing all kinds natural and man mad crisis coupled with professionalism and a commitment to international peace, makes Pakistan a favored troop contributor.

## CHAPTER 10

### CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 10.1 Introduction

Using Morgenthau's principle of national interests as theoretical framework, with primary and secondary data analyzed through discourse analysis, comparative analysis and interpretive methodology, this dissertation attempted to understand Pakistan's foreign policy objectives with respect to its troop contribution to UN peacekeeping; its motivation for troop contribution and its peacekeeping compatibility, present situation and future challenges. The dissertation reviewed the literature including reports, books, research journals, newspaper articles etc. through a mixed literature review method. This dissertation concludes:

#### 10.2 Safeguarding National Interests

Like every other nation the primary foreign policy objective of Pakistan – which is aligned with its troop contribution to UN – is to safeguard the national security, to its economic interests abroad and to project its peace-loving image to the world. Pakistan contributed troops to places where its national interests were not contradicting with that of neighboring states or of major powers and where the purpose and the mandate of the missions were in alignment with its foreign policy objectives.

#### 10.3 Motivation for decision making on Contribution of troop

Pakistan's troop contribution decisions are motivated by its political, economic, security and institutional interests. Political motivations are far most the important ones followed by economic, security and institutional rational. Economic motivations are modest at macro level however, important at micro level. Security rationales indicate that Pakistan's contribution to UN peacekeeping is not motivated by its desire to have strong bilateral relations with major

powers rather it is motivated by its desire of multilateralism as a solution for international conflicts. Institutional interests also motivate Pakistan to contribute troops for their professional experience and learn advanced skills, such as new systems for recruitment.

#### 10.4 Comparative Motivation for Contribution of troop

A comparison of Pakistan's motivations for troop contribution with that of India and Ethiopia shows that in contrast to these two countries Pakistan has its own motivations and rationales for troop contributions and its practice has its own character that is different than these. Pakistan hostile relations with India equipped its troops with formal war experience.

#### 10.5 Domestic Crisis Management Experience

The country's peace operations in metropolitan cities like Karachi equipped its troops with the experience of tackling gang violence. Pakistan Army's rescue missions in natural disasters in recent years including the devastating 2005 earthquake, destructive floods of 2010, 2011 and 2012, gained its military experience of dealing with natural tragedies.

#### 10.6 Counter Terrorism Experience

Pakistan's counter-terrorism efforts following the 9/11 gained its military experience of combating modern terrorist organizations. Pakistan's comparison with passive and active contributors, show that the country enjoys a unique position among the top-ranked contributors and due its various domestic challenges its military gained experiences that others lack. Such vast experience of managing all kinds natural and man-made crisis coupled with professionalism and a commitment to international peace, makes Pakistan a favored troop contributor.

## 10.7 The Diplomatic Role by Troops

The diplomatic role by the troops contributing countries and the public diplomacy part of the peacekeeping operations is possibly a dramatic changer which empowers the country to fulfill its foreign policy agenda because it provides a greater opportunity to the deployed troops to interact with public, create cultural awareness and understand their narratives. This effort enables greater understanding and potentially opens new vistas of access to the local population and markets. Since Pakistan contributes an enormous number of troops to UN peacekeeping operations therefore it must benefit from its prominent role because Pakistan is in a unique position to use peacekeeping as its diplomatic tool to achieve its economic, political and other foreign policy objectives.

## 10.8 Recommendations of the dissertation

Basing on the findings, challenges and conclusions of the dissertation following is recommended to be implemented at different tiers of governmental and institutional levels: -

### **a. Documenting the peacekeeping by Pakistan**

Despite Pakistan's massive dispositions of troops and paramilitary forces, as well as diplomatic efforts at all levels of the UN, there is sadly little material on which to base any additional research on the subject of troops contributions. In comparison to Pakistan, other key contributors like as India and Bangladesh, as well as Ethiopia, have meticulously recorded their UNPKOs, aiding in the refinement of their UN missions. As a result, it is advised that the government make special efforts to encourage literary and intellectual work in order to document the data on our massive peacekeeping contributions.

b. **Integrating of New Technologies in Peacekeeping**

The world has become increasingly digitized. Non-State Actors (NSA) and anti-state elements are continuously trying to harness new technologies to achieve their objectives. Therefore, there is a need to integrate and innovate these technologies as no mission can achieve its objectives in the contemporary digital era without the integration of new technologies which will increase the efficacy of peacekeeping operations. These skills can keep the progression of peacekeeping, one step ahead of the challenges. It is recommended that Pakistan Army should integration these technologies which can have convincing effects on the success of the peacekeeping operations.

c. **Peacekeeping as a Foreign Policy Tool**

Peacekeeping operations are no longer purely deployed in the interests of global peace and security; rather, the deployment and contribution of peacekeeping operations is increasingly molded by foreign and security policy considerations of particular states. A growing body of scholarship on the supply side of peacekeeping offers a variety of explanations for why countries contribute to peacekeeping missions, including realism, liberalism, alliance politics, and domestic politics. Status improvement and influence in the international system are two foreign and security policy aims that states seek to achieve by participating in peacekeeping missions. There are certain unanswered concerns and methodological challenges in the present literature that need to be addressed. Questions like the politics of tool choices and the viability of peacekeeping as a foreign policy tool are particularly important. Data availability and gathering, as well as the right modelling of cooperation between multiple organizations performing peacekeeping operations, are important

conceptual issues. It is recommended that Pakistan's Foreign policy makers must expedite the process of making decisions about whether or not to adopt peacekeeping as a foreign policy tool.

d. **Addressing the issue of Communication Gap, a key to successful operation**

In some missions, the communication gap and language barrier remain major impediments, and the ineffective communication, particularly the language barrier and social issues, posed considerable difficulties. Pakistani forces were impeded by a communication gap and a lack of understanding of the social context, both of which hampered great and simple interactions with the people and limited their full capacity to carry out efficient operations. Pre-deployment language training, including understanding of the social environment of the combat zone, is recommended for all troops at the unit and institutional levels in order to achieve effective operational results.

e. **Peace Communication an Essence to Success**

Peace communication (PC) is a technique for dealing with violent political crises that aims to inspire behavioral and structural change. The bulk of Peace Communication programs try to change intergroup attitudes in order to stimulate the formation of cross-group alliances as a means of promoting peace. Alliance formation, on the other hand, is natural by political, economic, social, or military structures, which could all be sources of conflict. Peace Communication signifies the assessment of intercultural intergroup contact as well as intercultural communication as a discourse, ritual, mediating object, and so on. Instead of breaking down connections with our anger, words, and actions, communication skills can be utilized to strengthen them. Respect, grace,

empathy, and active listening are all required for effective communication to offer value to the person being communicated with. It is strongly recommended that peacekeeping must carefully integrate the concept of peace communication, which falls under the umbrella of persuasive communication techniques. The differences of opinion, on the other hand, influences strategic and operational decisions, resulting in a lack of coordination in peace and security concerns during the implementation stages. While working on mission implementation, the challenges finally lead to an intimidating zone. To handle armed political crises, peace communication technique tries to encourage behavioral and structural change. The majority of Peace Communication activities are aimed at modifying intergroup attitudes in order to encourage cross-group acquaintance creation as a means of promoting peace. Effective communication requires; respect, grace, empathy, active listening for adding value to the person being heard. Consequently, Peace Communication must be included in the pre-deployment peacekeeping training at institutional level by Pakistan Army.

f. **Addressing cultural sensitivities of the conflict zones**

Conflict and conflict resolution are inextricably linked to culture because conflicts emerge in human connections, cultures are inherent in every conflict. There is always a cultural component to any dispute that affects us where it matters, where we build meaning and maintain our identities. Those who intervene in conflicts or simply want to operate more successfully in their own situations and settings should have cultural fluency as a core competency. Cultural fluency necessitates recognizing and behaving respectfully. Sequel to the context of culture and conflict there is a dire need to train the troops and

leaders on the cultural context of the conflict to address the sensitivities of cultural settings of the combat zones. Thus, cultural context's knowledge and awareness should be the compulsory part of pre-deployment training at official level.

g. **Conflict Mapping training for Peacekeepers**

Another important aspect of Peacekeepers training is the understanding of the matrix of the conflict zone where troops are deployed. Conflict Mapping is a method of assessing a scenario in which there is a conflict and it is graphically described by placing the parties in relation to the problem and depicting the relationships between them. Conflict mapping is a graphic tool that focuses on the interaction between conflicting parties. It's taking a step back from the fight to assess who's engaged, what roles they play with each other, and how powerful they are. A simplified depiction of reality that aids us in imagining the complicated interrelationships and hidden interests of all the conflict's stakeholders. One of the most essential purposes of mapping is to assist opposing parties in separating their goals/positions from their genuine interests/needs and bringing those goals and interests as close to unity as feasible. A dispute has its own set of dynamics, which are continually shifting and changing. A disagreement, on the other hand, always serves a purpose for those engaged. Conflict mapping training is therefore an essential part of peacekeepers training and should be included in the Peacekeeping training curriculum at the institutional level for all echelons of peacekeepers.



The researcher encourages future scholars to take upon the following areas/topics:

1. Peacekeeping in digital space and Pakistan's role
2. Evolution of peacekeeping and emergence of cyber peacekeeping
3. Peacekeeping to peacebuilding and role of Pakistani troops
4. Peacekeeping in Kashmir following the abrogation of Article of 370 and 35A of Indian Constitution by India
5. Peacekeeping in Palestine after United States' recognition of Jerusalem as capital of Israel

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1

#### **EXTRACT FROM UN CHARTER ON PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES**

#### **UN Charter - Chapter VI**

##### **1. Article 33**

- a. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall first of all seek a solution by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, other peaceful means of their own choice.
- b. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

##### **2. Article 34.**

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situations is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

##### **3. Article 35**

- a. Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.
- b. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party if it accepts in advance, for the purpose of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.
- c. The proceedings of the General Assembly in respect of the matters brought to its attention under this Article will be subject to the provisions of Articles 11 and 12.

#### 4. Article 36

- a. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.
- b. The Security Council should take into consideration any procedures for the settlement of the dispute which have already been adopted by the parties. In making recommendations under this Article the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

#### 5. Article 37

- a. Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that Article, they shall refer it to the Security Council.
- b. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

#### 6. Article 38.

Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 33 to 37, the Security Council may, if all the parties to any dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties with a view to a pacific settlement of the dispute.

### UN Charter - Chapter VII

7. Action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of peace, and acts of aggression.

**Article 39.** The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain/restore international peace and security.

8. **Article 40.** In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations, deciding upon the measures provided for in Article

39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights claim or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

9. **Article 41.** The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

10. **Article 42.** Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea or land forces of members of the United Nations.

**11. Article 43**

- a. All Member of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.
- b. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided.
- c. The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council and groups of members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

12. **Article 44.** When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall, before calling upon a member not represented on it to provide armed forces in fulfilment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that Member, if the member so desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that member's armed forces.

13. **Article 45.** In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures Members shall make immediately available national air- force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action shall be determined, within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

14. **Article 46.** Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.



**15. Article 47.**

- a. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament.
- b. The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any Member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that Member in its work.
- c. The Military Staff Committees shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently.
- d. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional sub-committees.

**16. Article 48**

- a. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.
- b. Such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

**17. Article 49.** The Members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

**18. Article 50.** If preventive or enforcement measures against any state are taken by the Security Council, any other state, whether a Member of the United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

**19. Article 51.** Nothing in the present charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

## APPENDIX 2

### LIST OF PAST PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

#### **Africa**

African Union - United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID)	Jul 2007 - Dec 2020
United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)	Sep 2003 - Mar 2018
United Nations Operations in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI)	Apr 2004 - Jun 2017
United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS)	Mar 2005 - Jul 2011
United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT)	Sep 2007 - Dec 2010
United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC)	Nov 1999 - Jun 2010
United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE)	Jul 2000 - Jul 2008
United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB)	May 2004 - Dec 2006
United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)	Oct 1999 - Dec 2005
United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI)	May 2003 - Apr 2004
United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA)	Mar 1998 - Feb 2000
United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL)	Jul 1998 - Oct 1999
United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA)	Jun 1997 - Feb 1999
United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL)	Sep 1993 - Sep 1997
United Nations Angola Verification Mission III (UNAVEM III)	Feb 1995 - Jun 1997
United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR)	Oct 1993 - Mar 1996
United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II)	Mar 1993 - Mar 1995
United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II)	May 1991 - Feb 1995
United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)	Dec 1992 - Dec 1994
United Nations Observer Mission Uganda - Rwanda (UNOMUR)	Jun 1993 - Sep 1994
United Nations Aouzou Strip Observer Group (UNASOG)	May 1994 - Jun 1994

United Nations Operation in Somalia I (UNOSOM I)	Apr 1992 - Mar 1993
United Nations Angola Verification Mission I (UNAVEM I)	Dec 1989 - Jun 1991
United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG)	Apr 1989 - Mar 1990
United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC)	Jul 1960 - Jun 1964

## **Americas**

United Nations Mission for Justice Support in Haiti (MINUJUSTH)	Oct 2017 - Oct 2019
United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH)	Jun 2004 - Oct 2017
United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONUH)	Nov 1997 - Mar 2000
United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH)	Jul 1997 - Nov 1997
United Nations Support Mission in Haiti (UNSMIH)	Jun 1996 - Jul 1997
United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA)	Jan 1997 - May 1997
United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH)	Sep 1993 - Jun 1996
United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL)	May 1991 - Apr 1995
United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA)	Nov 1989 - Jan 1992
Mission of the Representative of the Secretary - General in the Dominican Republic (DOMREP)	May 1965 - Oct 1966

## **Asia and the Pacific**

United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor - Leste (UNMIT)	Aug 2006 - Dec 2012
United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISSET)	May 2002 - May 2005
United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET)	Oct 1999 - May 2002
United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT)	Dec 1994 - May 2000
United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)	Feb 1992 - Sep 1993
United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC)	Oct 1991 - Mar 1992
United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP)	May 1988 - Mar 1990

United Nations India - Pakistan Observation Mission (UNIPOM)	Sep 1965 - Mar 1966
United Nations Security Force in West New Guinea (UNSF)	Oct 1962 - Apr 1963

## **Europe**

United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG)	Aug 1993 - Jun 2009
United Nations Mission of Observers in Prevlaka (UNMOP)	Feb 1996 - Dec 2002
United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH)	Dec 1995 - Dec 2002
United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP)	Mar 1995 - Feb 1999
United Nations Civilian Police Support Group (UNCPSG)	Jan 1998 - Oct 1998
United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium (UNTAES)	Jan 1996 - Jan 1998
United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO)	Mar 1995 - Jan 1996
United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)	Feb 1992 - Mar 1995

## **Middle East**

United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS)	Apr 2012 - Aug 2012
United Nations Iraq - Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM)	Apr 1991 - Oct 2003
United Nations Iran - Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG)	Aug 1988 - Feb 1991
United Nations Emergency Force II (UNEF II)	Oct 1973 - Jul 1979
United Nations Emergency Force I (UNEF I)	Nov 1956 - Jun 1967
United Nations Yemen Observation Mission (UNYOM)	Jun 1963 - Sep 1964
United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL)	Jun 1958 - Dec 1958

## **List of Current Operations**

United Nations Truce Supervision Organization UNTSO	May 1948
United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan UNMOGIP	Jan 1949
United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus UNFICYP	Mar 1964
United Nations Disengagement Observer Force UNDOF	May 1974

United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon UNIFIL Mar 1978

United Nations Mission for The Referendum in Western Sahara- MINURSO April 1991

United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo UNMIK June 1999

United Nations Organization Mission in Democratic Republic of the Congo MONUC July 2010

United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei UNISFA June 2011

United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan UNMISS July 2011

United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali – MINUSMA April 2013

United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in The Central African Republic- MINUSCA April 2014

## APPENDIX 3

### **PhD- Peace and Conflict Studies**

#### Interview Questions from Peacekeepers

#### **Pakistan's Foreign Policy Objectives for Troop Contribution to Peace Operations**

Name:

Unit /Formation/Organization:

Rank/Appointment:

Name of the UN mission:

Area of the Mission:

Duration;

Please answer the following questions in detail where required!

Q-1 What is UN peacekeeping, share your personal experiences? UN Peacekeeping is a mission assigned under the charter of United Nations and governed under rules and chapter of United Nations aimed at peace keeping through deployment of humanitarian to law enforcement agencies; working in harmony with each other.

Q-2 How you got enrolled /selected for the mission (Selection Process/Procedure)? Through Pakistan Army. Pakistan Army has an internal selection procedure based upon strict merit.

Q-3 How you did you perform peacekeeping, what was your mission / supposed to do? I was selected as peace keeping Military Observer, MILOB and was assigned to reach out to locals with a view to observe and report matters in the light of mandated task of the mission under UN Chapter.

Q-4 What was the Channel / chain of command? MILOBs work in a Team Site of observers in part of a Sector Headquarters.

Q-5 How a mission works in general and how your mission worked/working? UN Mission works under a mandated deployed as authorized through a resolution of the UN Security Council.

Q-6 What benefits a peacekeeper gets please list a few? Daily Allowance is paid by UN.

Q-7 How Pakistan's contribution in UN peacekeeping is beneficial? It is important in view of our commitment to be part of peace keeping force along with other international community, being part of UN.

Q-8 Anything else worthwhile that you want to share? No

(Please use back side of the page if required)

## APPENDIX 4

### **PhD- Peace and Conflict Studies**

#### Interview Questions from Subject Experts

#### **Pakistan's Foreign Policy Objectives for Troop Contribution to Peace Operations**

Name:

Institute:

Role:

Please answer the following questions in detail where required: -

- Q-1 What are Pakistan's motivations and rationales for troop contribution to UN Peacekeeping? Being member of UN, Pakistan has also offered its troops to be part of peacekeeping missions. This is important to acknowledge the resolutions and role of UN.
- Q-2 In your view how Pakistan's internal factors such as security, economy and politics played a part in its troop-contribution tradition? Pakistan troops contribution is based on requisition request by UN who themselves view Pakistani troops as highly professional and committed to the mandate.
- Q-3 What is Pakistan's approach to UN Peacekeeping or in other words what exactly Pakistan wanted/wants to achieve by contributing such huge scores? International standing in line with other countries, promoting full support to UN.
- Q-4 In 1960s Pakistan contributed troops in Congo (August 1960 to May 1964) and West New Guinea (October 1962 - April 1963), why and what benefit that earned? Besides being part of UN, Pakistan has opened avenues of trade and identified opportunities of interest.
- Q-5 Similarly, the country contributed to six different missions from late 1980s to the end of 1990s, including, Namibia (April 1989 to March 1990), Kuwait (December 1991 to October 1993), Haiti (1993 to 1996), Cambodia (March 1992 to November 1993), Bosnia (March 1992 to February 1996), Somalia (March 1992 to February 1996), Rwanda (October 1993 – March 1996), Angola (February 1995 to June 1997) and Eastern Slavonia (May 1996 – August 1997), how you see Pakistan's role in these



missions with respect to its FP objectives? Very Effective and fruitful. World knows Pakistan. These countries know capabilities of Pakistan.

Q-6 Please comment on trends in Pakistan FP After 2001 with respect to UN peacekeeping missions? Not much except it has been seen more and more committed to UN Peacekeeping.

Q-7 How you see Pakistan's role in international peacekeeping and peace building? Our forces have displayed extreme level of professionalism and is highly regarded in UN.

Q-8 In your view what are Pakistan's comparative traits that make it ultimate choice for troop contribution? Professionalism?

Q-9 Experts believe that Bangladesh mainly contribute for economic reasons while India to increase its soft power, how Pakistan's motivations are different then these two? International recognition to accept UN body as lawful and legitimate conflict resolution organization, even more pronounced when India Pakistan core issue is also tabled in UN.

Q-10 In recent years Pakistan dropped from number one to number 3 in top contributing countries, what obstacles and challenges it faces in contributing troops? Not specific to Pakistan alone. Now UN is preferring more to policing operations rather than military operations. This way, demand of military is being cut to which Pakistan is a major contributor. Moreover, position of 1-3 keeps fluctuating and is never permanent.

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## APPENDIX 5

### SAMPLE UNITED NATIONS MANDATE RESOLUTION PASSED

#### BY THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

#### AT THE XXTH MEETING

##### **The Security Council**

Noting that the present situation with regard to (country/countries) is likely to threaten international peace and security and may further deteriorate unless additional measures are promptly taken to maintain peace and to seek out a durable solution.

Considering the positions taken by the parties in relations to the peaceful intentions signed at New York on (date).

Having in mind the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and its article 2, para 4, which reads: 'All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

1. Calls upon all Member States, in conformity with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, to refrain from any action or threat of action likely to worsen the situation in () and (), or to endanger international peace.
2. Asks the Governments of () and (), which have the responsibility for the maintenance and restoration to stop violence and bloodshed in their countries.
3. Recommends the creation, with the consent of the Governments of () and (), of a United Nations' Peace Keeping Force in those countries. The composition and size of the Force shall be established by the Secretary General, in consultation with the Governments of

() and (). The Commander of the Force shall be appointed by the Secretary General and report to him. The Secretary General, who shall keep the Governments providing the Force fully informed, shall report periodically to the Security Council on its (the Peace Keeping Force's) Operation.

4. Recommends that the function of the Force shall be, in the interest of preserving international peace and security, to use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting and, as necessary, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and a return to normal conditions.

5. Recommends that the stationing of the Force shall be for a period of three months, all costs pertaining to it being met, in a manner to be agreed upon by the Governments providing the contingents and by the Governments of () and (). The Secretary General may also accept voluntary contributions for that purpose.

6. Recommends further that the Secretary General designate, in agreement with the Governments of () and (), a mediator, who shall use his best endeavors with the representatives of the communities and also with the aforesaid Governments, for the purpose of promoting a peaceful solution and an agreed settlement of the problem confronting () and (), in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, having in mind the well-being of the peoples of () and () as a whole and the preservation of international peace and security. The mediator shall report periodically to the Secretary General on his efforts.

7. Requests the Secretary General to provide, from funds of the United Nations, as appropriate for the remuneration and expenses of the mediator and his staff.

## APPENDIX 6

### SAMPLE TERMS OF REFERENCE

The Terms of Reference (TOR) may be in either letter or message format and is sent from the United Nations Secretary General to the Commander of the Mission when the Commander is appointed. The TOR may contain some or all of the following actions: -

**SECTION A:** Greetings from the Secretary General and expression of confidence in the commander.

**SECTION B:** UN authority under which the Mission was created. This may be a quotation from the resolution relevant to the task, of the Mission, e.g. to ensure the supervision of the Armistice and the withdrawal of all armed personnel to the national boundaries which existed prior to the conflict.

**SECTION C:** Statement explaining the type of mission to accomplish, i.e. observation, mediation, or other type. In addition, it may detail the primary duties of the force, e.g. "UNXYZ" is an Observation Mission with primary duty of observing and reporting.

**SECTION D:** Statement of secondary duties and appropriate guidance. For example, the Military Observers, in supervising the observance of the Armistice, shall do all that they reasonably can to persuade local commanders to restore the armistice in cases where fighting has occurred. Observers have no power or authority to order and end to the fighting Where their persuasive efforts fail, their recourse is to fully report on the entire circumstances, their efforts, and the results.

**SECTION E:** Instructions as to the method of reporting to the UN, channels of communications to use, etc.

**SECTION F:** Information regarding provision of logistics support and administration of the Mission, e.g. the logistical, communications, and administrative needs of the Mission will be provided by the UN Field Service.

**SECTION G:** Instructions concerning relations with any other UN Missions or agencies in the area.

**SECTION H:** Statement regarding the current status of negotiations with host countries concerning freedom of movement, U immunities, etc.

**SECTION I:** Specific instructions on methods of operation such as:

- a. Uniform - standard UN headgear.
- b. Weapons - observers will not carry weapons.
- c. Chain of command - the observers are to serve as j individuals, not as national teams.

The observers are under the direct order of the Commander and will take neither orders nor advice from their national governments in the performance of UN duties.

- d. Advice or guidance on deployment - deploy as closely as possible to the Armistice Line.

**SECTION J:** Instructions including Public Relations and contact with the people of the host country.

**SECTION K:** Miscellaneous points regarding the situation, e.g. the need for nuclear, biological, and chemical protective equipment etc.

## APPENDIX 7

### CONVENTION ON THE PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

**(Adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 13 February 1946)**

Whereas Article 104 of the Charter of the United Nations provides that the Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfilment of its purposes and, Whereas Article 105 of the Charter of the United Nations provides that the Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfilment of its purposes and that representatives of the Members of the United Nations and officials of the Organization shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connection with the Organization:

Consequently, the General Assembly by a Resolution adopted on the 13 February 1946, approved the following Convention and proposed it for accession by each Member of the United Nations.

#### **Article I**

##### **Juridical Personality**

**Section 1.** The United Nations shall possess juridical personality. It shall have the capacity: -

- a. To contract
- b. To acquire and dispose of immovable and movable property
- c. To institute legal proceedings

#### **Article II**

##### **Property, Funds and Assets**

**Section 2.** The United Nations, its property and assets wherever located and by whomsoever held, shall enjoy immunity from every form of legal process except insofar as in any particular case it has expressly waived its immunity. It is, however, understood that no waiver of immunity shall extend to any measure of execution.

**Section 3.** The premises of the United Nations shall be inviolable. The property and assets of the United Nations, wherever located and by whomsoever held, shall be immune from search, requisition, confiscation, expropriation and any other form of interference, whether by executive, administrative, judicial or legislative action.

**Section 4.** The archives of the United Nations, and in general all documents belonging to it. or held by it, shall be inviolable wherever located.

**Section 5.** Without being restricted by financial controls, regulations or moratoria of any kind: -

- a. The United Nations may hold funds, gold or currency of any kind and operate accounts in any currency.
- b. The United Nations shall be free to transfer its funds, gold or currency from one country to another or within any country and to convert any currency held by it into any other currency.

**Section 6.** In exercising its rights under section 5 above, the United Nations shall pay due regard to any representations made by the Government of any Member insofar as it is considered that effect can be given to such representations without detriment to the interests of the United Nations.

**Section 7.** The United Nations, its assets, income and other property shall be: -

- a. Exempt from all direct taxes, it is understood, however, that the United Nations will not claim exemption from taxes which are, in fact, no more than charges for public utility services.
- b. Exempt from customs duties and prohibitions and restrictions on imports and exports in respect of articles imported or exported by the. United Nations for its official use. it is understood, however, that articles imported under such exemption will not be sold in the country into which they were imported except under conditions agreed with the Government of that country.
- c. Exempt from customs duties and prohibitions and restrictions on imports and exports in respect of its publications.

**Section 8.** While the United Nations will not, as a general rule, claim exemption from excise duties and from taxes on the sale of movable and immovable property which form part of the price to be paid, nevertheless when the United Nations is making important purchases for official use of property on which such duties and taxes have been charged or are chargeable, members will, whenever possible, make appropriate administrative arrangements for the remission or return of the amount of duty or tax.

### ARTICLE III

#### FACILITIES IN RESPECT OF COMMUNICATIONS

**Section 9.** The United Nations shall enjoy in the territory of each Member for its official communications treatment not less favorable than that accorded by the Government of that Member to any other Govern, Government including its diplomatic mission in the matter of priorities, rates and taxes on mails, cables, telegrams, radiograms, telephotos, telephone and other communications and press rates for information to the press and radio. No censorship shall be applied to the official correspondence and other official communications of the United Nations.

**Section 10.** The United Nations shall have the right to use codes and to dispatch and receive its correspondence by courier or in bags, which shall have the same immunities and privileges as diplomatic couriers and bags.

### ARTICLE IV

#### THE REPRESENTATIVES OF MEMBERS

**Section 11.** Representatives of Members to the principal and subsidiary organs of the United Nations and to conferences convened by the United Nations, shall, while exercising their functions and during their journey to and from the place of meeting, enjoy the following privileges and immunities: -

- a. Immunity from personal arrest or detention and from seizure of their personal baggage, and in respect of words spoken or written and all acts done by them in their capacity as representatives, immunity from legal process of every kind.
- b. Inviolability for all papers and documents.
- c. The right to use codes and to receive papers or correspondence by courier or in scaled bags.
- d. Exemption in respect of themselves and their spouses from immigration restrictions, alien registration or national service obligations in the state they are visiting or through which they are passing in the exercise of their functions.
- e. The same facilities in respect of currency or exchange restrictions as are accorded to representatives of foreign governments on temporary official missions.
- f. The same immunities and facilities in respect of their personal baggage as are accorded to diplomatic envoys and also.



- g. Such other privileges, immunities and facilities not inconsistent with the foregoing as diplomatic envoys enjoy, except that they shall have no right to claim exemption from customs duties on goods imported (otherwise than as part of their personal baggage) or from excise duties or sales taxes.

**Section 12.** In order to secure, for the representatives of Members to the principal and subsidiary organs of the United Nations and to conferences convened by the United Nations, complete freedom of speech and independence in the discharge of their duties, the immunity from legal process in respect of words spoken or written and all acts done by them in discharging their duties shall continue to be accorded, notwithstanding that the persons concerned are no longer the representatives of Members.

**Section 13.** Where the incidence of any form of taxation depends upon residence, periods during which the representatives of members to the principal and subsidiary organs of the United Nations and to conference convened by the United Nations are present in a state for the discharge of their duties shall not be considered as periods of residence.

**Section 14.** Privileges and immunities are accorded to the representatives of Members not for the personal benefit of the individuals themselves, but in order to safeguard the independent exercise of their functions in connection with the United Nations. Consequently, a Member not only has the right but is under a duty to waive the immunity of its representative in any case where in the opinion of the Member the immunity would impede the course of justice and it can be waived without prejudice to the purpose for which the immunity is accorded.

**Section 15.** The provisions of section 11, 12 and 13 are not applicable as between a representative and the authorities of the State of which he is a national or of which he is or has been the representative.

**Section 16.** In this article the expression "representative" shall be deemed to include all delegates, deputy delegates, advisers, technical experts and secretaries of delegations.

## **ARTICLE V**

### **OFFICIALS**

**Section 17.** The Secretary-General will specify the categories of officials to which the provisions of this article and article VII shall apply. He shall submit these categories to the General Assembly. Thereafter these categories shall be communicated to the Governments of all Members. The names of the officials included in these categories shall from time to time be made known to the Governments of Members.

**Section 18.** Officials of the United Nations shall: -

- a. Be immune from legal process in respect of words spoken or written and all acts performed by them in their official capacity.
- b. Be exempt from taxation on the salaries and emoluments paid to them by the United Nations.
- c. Be immune from national service obligations.
- d. Be immune, together with their spouses and relatives dependent on them, from immigration restrictions and alien registration.
- e. Be accorded the same privileges in respect of exchange facilities as are accorded to the officials of comparable ranks forming part of diplomatic missions to the Government concerned.
- f. Be given, together with their spouses and relatives dependent on them, the same repatriation facilities in time of international crises as diplomatic envoys.
  
- g. Have the right to import free of duty their furniture and effects at the time of first taking up their post in the country in question.

**Section 19.** In addition to the immunities and privileges specified in section 18, the Secretary-General and all Assistant Secretaries-General shall be accorded in respect of themselves, their spouses and minor children, the privileges and immunities, exemptions and facilities accorded to diplomatic envoys, in accordance with international law.

**Section 20.** Privileges and immunities are granted to officials in the interests of the United Nations and not for the personal benefit of the individuals themselves. The Secretary-General shall have the right and the duty to waive the immunity of any official in any case where, in his opinion, the immunity would impede the course of justice and can be waived without prejudice to the interests of the United Nations. In the case of the Secretary General, the Security Council shall have the right to waive immunity.

**Section 21.** The United Nations shall cooperate at all times with the appropriate authorities of members to facilitate the proper administration of justice, secure the observance of police regulations and prevent the occurrence of any abuse in connection with the privileges, immunities and facilities mentioned in this article.

## **ARTICLE VI**

### **EXPERTS ON MISSIONS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS**

**Section 22.** Experts other than officials coming within the scope of article VI performing missions for the United Nations shall be accorded such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions during the period of their missions,

including the time spent on journeys in connection with their missions. In particular, they shall be accorded.

- a. Immunity from personal arrest or detention and from seizure of their personal baggage.
- b. In respect of words spoken or written and acts done by them in the course of the performance of their mission, immunity from legal process of every kind. This immunity from legal process shall continue to be accorded notwithstanding that the persons concerned are no longer employed on missions for the United Nations.
- c. Inviolability for all papers and documents.
- d. For the purpose of their communications with the United Nations, the right to use codes and to receive papers or correspondence by courier or in sealed bags.
- e. The same facilities in respect of currency or exchange restrictions as are accorded to representatives of foreign governments on temporary official missions.
- f. The same immunities and facilities in respect of their personal baggage as are accorded to diplomatic envoys.

**Section 23.** Privileges and immunities are granted to experts in the interests of the United Nations and not for the personal benefit of the individuals themselves. The Secretary-General shall have the right and the duty to waive the immunity of any expert in any case where, in his opinion, the immunity would impede the course of justice and it can be waived without prejudice to the interest of the United Nations.

## ARTICLE VII

### UNITED NATIONS LAISSEZ-PASSER

**Section 24.** The United Nations may issue United Nations Laissez-passer to its officials. These Laissez-passer shall be recognized and accepted as valid travel documents by the authorities of Members, considering the provisions of section 25.

**Section 25.** Applications for visas (where required) from the holders of United Nations Laissez-passer, when accompanied by a certificate that they are Laissez on the business of the United Nations, shall be dealt with as speedily as possible. In addition, such persons shall be granted facilities for speedy travel.

**Section 26.** Similar facilities to those specified in section 25 shall be accorded to experts and other persons who, though not the holders of United Nations Laissez-passer, have a certificate that they are travelling on the business of the United Nations.

**Section 27.** The Secretary-General, Assistant Secretaries-General and Directors travelling on United Nations Laissez-passers on the business of the United Nations shall be granted the same facilities as are accorded to diplomatic envoys.

**Section 28.** The provisions of this article may be applied to the comparable officials- of specialized agencies if the agreements for relationship made under Article 63 of the Charter so provide.

## **ARTICLE VIII**

### **SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES**

**Section 29.** The United Nations shall make provisions for appropriate modes of settlement of:

-

- a. Disputes arising out of contracts or other disputes of a private law character to which the United Nations is a party.
- b. Disputes involving any official of the United Nations who by reason of his official position enjoys immunity, if immunity has not been waived by the Secretary-General.

**Section 30.** All differences arising out of the interpretation or application of the present convention shall be referred to the International Court of Justice, unless in any case it is agreed by the parties to have recourse to another mode of settlement. If a difference arises between the United Nations on the one hand and a Member on the other hand, a request shall be made for an advisory opinion on any legal question involved in accordance with Article 96 of the Charter and Article 65 of the Status of the Court. The opinion given by the Court shall be accepted as decisive by the parties.

## **FINAL ARTICLE**

**Section 31.** The convention is submitted to every Member of the United Nations for accession.

**Section 32.** Accession shall be affected by deposit of an instrument with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Convention shall come into force as regards each Member on the date of deposit of each instrument of accession.

**Section 33.** The Secretary-General shall inform all Members of the United Nations of the deposit of each accession.

**Section 34.** It is understood that, when an instrument of accession is deposited on behalf of any Member, the Member will be in a position under its own law to give effect to the terms of this Convention.

**Section 35.** This Convention shall continue in force as between the United Nations and every Member which has deposited an instrument of accession for so long as that member remains a Member of the United Nations, or until a revised general convention has been approved by the General Assembly and that Member has become a party to this revised convention.

**Section 36.** The Secretary-General may conclude with any Member or Members supplementary agreements adjusting the provisions of this Convention so far as that Member or those Members are concerned. These supplementary agreements shall in each case be subject to the approval of the General Assembly.

## APPENDIX 8

### **DECISION MAKING AT ARMY LEVEL / RESPONSIBILITIES OF DIRECTORATES AT GENERAL HEADQUARTERS**

#### **General**

1. The Overseas Operations Cell established under the MO directorate will incorporate the concerned directorates at General Headquarters and other organizations right from the planning stage. All details of the task to be performed by respective directorates will be coordinated at Overseas operations cell. It is expected that all concerned will extend maximum assistance/help in smooth and speedy preparation and move of the contingent. The spirit should be, "the contingent is going to represent Pakistan, and all efforts must be made to make it a potent force". The visualized responsibilities of various directorates of General Headquarters and contingent commander are given in succeeding paragraphs.

#### **Military Operations (MO) Directorate**

2. The decision to send the military contingent for UN Force will be taken by the Government of Pakistan. Once the decision is made, Ministry of Defense will be asked by the government to implement the decision, finally it will be the MO Directorate which will be tasked by Chief of the Army Staff to organize the contingent.

3. Overseas Operation Cell at MO Directorate will plan the contingent for, UN Force and will work out all the details. The role of the MO Directorate will be as under: -

- a. Organize and prepare the Contingent to be dispatched as part of UN Force, in the light of guidelines received from UN.
- b. Relieve the earmarked troops from operational tasks making alternative arrangements.
- c. Concentrating the force for pre-departure training.
- d. Clarify the tasks and role of the contingent in the host country.

- e. Constitute the contingent as well-balanced force capable of operating independently.
- f. Coordinate and arrange with U Force Command Headquarters any additional equipment required by own troops in the area of operation.
- g. Provide information on composition, weapons and equipment on the inventories of opposing forces.
- h. Ascertain general situation in the host country, background of the dispute and the stage of negotiations.
- i. Ascertain the composition of UN Force in the host country including details of weapons and equipment.
- j. Work out details of weapons, equipment and vehicles to be taken by the contingent, if not covered in the Terms of Reference.
- k. Coordinate selection of suitable officers and troops in conjunction with Military Secretary Branch and concerned Arms/Service Directorates respectively. It will be endeavored that following aspects are catered for: -
  - (1) As far as possible the entity and structure of command of a unit is maintained. Unsuitable personnel of the unit may however be got replaced.
  - (2) Selection criteria should be laid for all ranks.
  - (3) Sufficient warning be given for preparation to each unit.
  - (4) Some reserve be selected in each rank so that they can be sent as replacement when required.
- l. Ensure timely concentration, training and movement of troops to the host country.
- m. Compile all data/info about the host country to include history, geography, climatic conditions and other relevant details.

### **Military Intelligence Directorate**

4. Military Intelligence (MI) Directorate has following responsibilities:
  - a. Arrange/carry out security clearance of all personnel selected for going abroad on Peace Keeping Mission.
  - b. Selection of Intelligence/security personnel (COs/OR) accompanying the contingent.
  - c. Briefing/Training of Intelligence/security personnel for intelligence operation in host country.
  - d. Provide general information about the host country.
  - e. Ensure security of own troops during the mission.

### **Military Training (MT) Directorate**

5. MT Directorate will be responsible to coordinate training of the contingent. All details required for comprehensive training will be obtained from the MO Directorate. This directorate is overall responsible for ensuring that commanding officer of the contingent earmarked for UN mission is issued with all training instructions/training aids in the concentration area for the training of his contingent. It is also responsible for the training of officers selected by Military Secretary's Branch at Peacekeeping Cell in School of Infantry and Tactics.

6. The role of MT Directorate will be as under: -
  - a. Prepare and issue training instructions for the Peacekeeping training.
  - b. Ensure that sufficient training facilities/assistance in training matters to the contingent in its concentration area.
  - c. Provide training parameters, training aids (concerned package of peacekeeping)



and necessary staff to the contingent for training.

- d. Decide for introduction to the local language of the host country. Sufficient number of qualified language experts should be included in the instructional staff if required. If instructors are not available in the army the same may be hired from civil for the duration of training cycle.
- e. To arrange special training grant for the duration of training.

### **Staff Duties (SD) Directorate**

- 7. This Directorate has following tasks: -
  - a. Assist preparation of passports for all personnel proceeding abroad on UN assignments.
  - b. Following actions are taken only in case of persons (Officers/JCOs/OR) who proceed on individual appointments i.e. U Military Observer and persons on staff positions in UN Headquarters at New York or within UN mission areas (not forming part of Pakistani NS HQ/Brigade HQ/ Units/Sub Unit which are dealt by Overseas Operations Cell under Military Operation Directorate):
    - (1) Processing of case for obtaining approval of the COAS on receipt of UN demands to provide persons on fresh appointments allotted to Pakistan as well as relief/rotation.
    - (2) MS Branch/PA Directorate is requested for carrying out necessary selection of officers and JCOs/OR respectively.
    - (3) Processing issuance of Government letter (only for military observers and staff appointments)

- (4) Issuance of required stores/equipment is arranged through Ordnance Directorate, Weapon and Equipment Directorate etc.
- (5) Medical examination/completion of necessary medical documents arranged through Medical Directorate and MH/CMH as per requirement of UN Authorities.
- (6) In addition to the detailed briefing by SD Directorate necessary briefings are also arranged with following Directorates/ authorities prior to their departure from Pakistan:
  - a) MI Directorate.
  - b) MO Directorate.
  - c) Ministry of Foreign Affairs Islamabad.
- (7) Possible help is provided/necessary coordination carried out for following: -
  - (a) Attachment of persons with AS Directorate for computer training whenever required/asked by the UN Authorities within period available.
  - (b) Help provided in obtaining International Driving License.
- (8) Travel arrangements are made/air tickets prepared for dispatch of persons through PAREP UN/Concerned UN Authorities.  
Endorsement of required visas arranged.
- (9) PAREP UN/UN Authorities asked to decide for endorsement of required visas (if not possible in Pakistan before dispatch),

accommodation, transportation and reception on arrival at UN mission area.

- (10) Persons seen off by representative of SD Directorate at Islamabad Airport.

**8. Military Secretary Branch**

- a. Ensure timely selection and move of officers as per demand to the place of concentration.
- b. Plan relief/rotation of officers as per the laid down tenures.
- c. Keep a reserve pool of officers to meet emergency demands.

**9. Weapons and Equipment Directorate**

- a) Advise on availability of weapons/ equipment
- b) Order inter unit/inter formation transfer of weapons/equipment if required.
- c) Keep a reserve pool of vehicles for UN missions.

**10. Command Control Communication Computer & Intelligence Directorate (C4 I)**

Plan, organize and conduct training on operating system, utilities and commonly used software application packages including DOS, Word Processing, windows, anti-virus packages, E-mail and presentation package to selected personnel.

**11. Concerned Arms/Services Directorate**

- a) Carry out selection of the JCOS/OR as per the requirement given by Military Operations Directorate.
- b) Ensure timely concentration of troops.
- c) Ensure completion of all documentation and medical formalities connected with deployment abroad of all personnel in consultation with SD and Medical Directorate respectively.
- d) Review organization proposed by the UN and recommend modifications if

required to MO Directorate.

- e) Overseas motivation and familiarization training of the troops.
- f) Ensure that all officers selected are well trained drivers and fully conversant with the international highway code.

**12. Signals Directorate.**

Following additional tasks will be performed by Signal Directorate than there given in para 11:

- a) Work out communication requirements of the force.
- b) Ensure telephone communication to the country of operation from Pakistan.
- c) Arrange dispatch/receipt of official mail.
- d) Plan and arrange contingent communication in country of deployment

**13. Electrical and Mechanical Engineers Directorate.**

In addition to the duties given in para 11, following tasks will be performed: -

- a) Modification of equipment/vehicles required.
- b) Painting/UN marking of helmets, vehicles etc.

**14. Ordnance Services Directorate**

- a. Work out requirement of stores and check their availability.
- b. Arrange timely issue of stores. In case these are not available off the shelf, local purchase may be arranged.
- c. Arrange to meet special requirements like painting of vehicles and equipment in consultation with Electrical and Mechanical Engineers Directorate.
- d. Ensure issue of those stores to units/individuals on loans which are not authorized in Table of Organization and Equipment but are required for the operations.

- e. Carry Out accounting/ pricing of all stores and issue of comprehensive lists to Contingent Commander.
- f. After issue of stores/dispatch of troops, make consolidated lists of stores issued from stock, stores procured through local purchase and expenses incurred on modification/fabrication through workshop/civil sources.
- g. Ensure proper packing/crating of stores.

15. **Personnel Administration Directorate**

- a. Select OR, and task the regimental centers for selection of personnel as per requirement strictly in accordance with selection policy in vogue
- b. Ensure concentration of troops as per time schedule.
- c. Plan relief of individuals on receipt of instructions from Officer In charge Overseas Operations Cell.

16. **Supply and Transport Directorate**

- a. Arrange provision of rations/Petrol Oil and Lubricants/replenishment as per scales decided for a particular operation.
- b. Plan replenishment before ration stocks are exhausted.
- c. Provision of special items of rations.
- d. Ascertain the standard and types of food stuff available in the host country. If it has to be imported from other countries then likely source and the possibility of arranging from own country.
- e. Ensure/plan timely replenishment of supplies for the contingent.

17. **Medical Directorate**

- a) Medical examination/inoculation of all individuals as per the disease commonly found in the country of employment.
- b) Medical documentation
- c) Health education of troops regarding country of employment.
- d) Provision of medicines/medical appliances.
- e) Carry out selection of personnel (AMC) except officers as per the requirement given by Military Operations Directorate.

18. **Budget Directorate**

- a. Issue release order for pay and allowances, incidental charges Miscellaneous Expense Grant in local currency and for one free air passage on the request of PP&A Directorate.
- b. Allocates funds for local purchase of stores etc. to concerned directorates on the request of Overseas Operation Cell (MO Directorate).

19. **Pay, Pension and Allowances Directorate**

- a. Work out and fix the payment of the pay and allowances for the contingent.
- b. Issue note to the Contingent Headquarters, for opening the unit foreign currency imprest account.
- c. Take up case with ministry of finance (external finance) for permission to open unit foreign currency. imprest account. Also take up case with State Bank of Pakistan for sanction to open unit foreign currency imprest account. Will obtain Chief of Army Staff's approval regarding scale/ details of pay and allowances for the contingent. Prepare case for issuance of government

letter by Ministry of Defense for contingent indicating UN pay scale, death/injury compensation rate etc.

- d. Arrange payment of advance and incidental charges as per Government letter.

20. **Logistic Directorate**

- a. Coordinate rail and air transportation arrangements of all' personnel and stores/equipment with the concerned agencies.
- b. Coordinate rail and air transportation of personnel, stores and equipment within Pakistan and transportation of the contingent to the host country.
- c. Coordinate with various shipping agencies for move of troops and stores abroad through embarkation headquarters.
- d. Provide train/transportation facility for replenishment of contingents.
- e. Coordinate dispatch of private mail of troops through Pakistan Postal Corporation

21. **Quartering Directorate.** Will coordinate/process the case of retention of family accommodation for officers and other ranks of the contingent.

22. **Air Dispatch Company Army Service Corps**

Advise the contingent commander regarding procedures to be followed for air dispatch of troops/contingent.

- a. Palletization of equipment for airlifts.
- b. Necessary coordination with Pakistan Air Force/Civil Aviation Authorities.  
Contingent Commander

23. **Force Commander is responsible for:**

- a) Timely concentration of troops, their documentation, medical examination etc.
- b) Place ration/POL/stores demand on proper indents as per existing procedures.
- c) Timely collection of stores/equipment /rations etc.
- d) Provide details of equipment, weapons, ammunition, personal baggage indicating tonnage.
- e) Place demand of rolling stock for move of the contingent/stores within the country.
- f) Coordinate preparation of pricing lists of all equipment with Ordnance Services Directorate and get them approved from Financial Advisor (Army), three copies to be taken along and one deposited with the Overseas Operation Cell.
- g) Ensure all members of contingent are in possession of required documents like Passport, Health Card, enough copies of photographs etc.
- h) Pay and Allowances
  - (1) Open imprest account in an international scheduled bank and intimate to Pay, Pension and Accounts Directorate.
  - (2) forward complete nominal roll of the Contingent to the Overseas Operation Cell and Pay, Pension and Accounts Directorate.
  - (3) Forward monthly demand/expenditure state to Pay, Pension and Accounts Directorate.



- (4) Forward family allotment forms to concerned regimental centers/Field Pay Office for payment to Next of Kin.
- (5) Coordinate with Officer In charge Transit Camp for the regular payment of emoluments of all ranks, paid in Pakistan, to their families.