



PragueMUN2022

GLOBALLY UNITED

STUDY GUIDE



SECURITY COUNCIL

It's time to be UNique!

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LETTER OF WELCOME

Dear delegates,

Welcome to the PragueMUN 2022 and the United Nations Security Council. We are truly excited to be a part of this amazing committee and hopefully, you will have a great experience as well.

Allow us to briefly introduce ourselves. Žan is a master's student at the University of Ljubljana, School of Economics and Business. He lives in a small village near Grosuplje, a city close to the capital city of Slovenia, Ljubljana. He has been doing MUN for six years and simply adores chairing. In his free time, he likes to listen to music, especially rock and metal, watch football, and discuss politics, European law, and philosophy.

A bachelor of defence studies at the University of Ljubljana, Bor reached into the field of economy currently finishing his second year at the Moscow State University. An avid follower of international politics for many years, MUNs are a perfect fit. He has always strived on representing his country faithfully and defending his position with passion and fervour. After participating as a delegate at various national and international MUN conferences, chairing has become a passion of his. Taking great interest both in recent events and history, you will never run out of topics to discuss with him. In his spare time, he enjoys reading, listening to music and enjoying Russian culture.

We both hope that we will have an interesting debate and that we will come to great conclusions. Both topics are quite relevant in the present world, and we are looking forward to some fruitful debates about both the peacekeeping and Afghanistan crisis. We hope that this study guide will be useful and will give you the needed insight into the selected topics.

Kind regards,

Žan Gulič Nosan and Bor Grobelšek

ABOUT THE COMMITTEE

United Nations Security Council is one of the six main organs of the United Nations, and it was established by the United Nations Charter in 1945. It is composed out of fifteen members. Five members are permanent (China, France, Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America), while the remaining ten have a term in the council for two years. Five seats are reserved for African and Asian states, one for Eastern European states, two for Latin American and Caribbean states, and two for Western European and other states. The so-called P5 members have the power of veto. Moreover, when voting upon a resolution, there must be at least five votes in favour, while P5 members must not vote against it (United Nations, n.d.).

In accordance with the UN Charter, the Security Council has the following functions and powers: maintenance of peace and security under the principles and purposes of United Nations; investigation of disputes or situations, which may have an impact on the global level; proposal of methods to settle such disputes; formulation of plans for the establishment of a system to regulate armaments; identification of existence of a threat to peace or act of aggression and recommendation of action that should be taken; calling members to apply economic sanctions and other non-violent measures to stop or prevent aggression; usage of military action against the aggressor; recommendation of admission of new members; exercising the trusteeship function of the UN in strategic areas; cooperation in appointing new Secretary-General and judges to the International Court of Justice (United Nations, n.d.).

Security Council may act either under Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter (Pacific Settlements of Dispute) or under Chapter VII (Actions with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression).

TOPIC A: SECURITY IN AFGHANISTAN

INTRODUCTION

Afghanistan is a country located in Southern Asia, between Iran and Pakistan. It has around 37,5 million inhabitants, 99,7% of which belong to the Muslim religion. Its GDP per capita is \$2000 and is ranked 214th among 229 countries (CIA Factbook, 2021).

In April 2021, The President of the United States of America announced that American troops would withdraw from Afghanistan, a country where the American army was present for almost 20 years (Liptak, 2021). This has left a power vacuum, which was almost immediately filled with the Taliban forces that took control of the capital city, Kabul, just a few days after the withdrawal (Hollingsworth, 2021). This move has left the country in a worrisome position.

Afghanistan has been of great geopolitical interest for decades. We will thus explore the history of the conflict, analyse the recent development, inspect the United Nations involvement in Afghanistan, provide some possible solutions and examine the bloc positions.

HISTORY OF THE TOPIC

Soviet Occupation

The history of Afghanistan is rather complex. In 1956, the country became allies with the Soviet Union and in 1973, after the last king of Afghanistan, Mohammed Zahir Shan, is overthrown, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan comes to power. Mohammed Daoud Khan, a cousin of the former king, becomes the president. In 1978, Khan is killed in a communist coup. Two Marxist-Leninist parties, namely the People's Party and Banner Party took over, a friendship treaty is signed with the Soviet Union and at the same time, conservative Islamic and ethnic leaders founded the guerrilla movement Mujahedeen to fight the communist regime (PBS, 2011).

On December 24th, 1979, the Soviet Union sent 30.000 troops to Afghanistan. The Mujahedeen, which were backed up by the US, resisted strongly. 100.000 Soviet troops controlled the major

cities while Mujahadeen took over the countryside. Clashes and bombings led to 4,3 million Afghan migrants that sought asylum in Pakistan and Iran. Mujahadeen forces were receiving weapons from the US, UK, and China (PBS, 2011). There was no progress on either side and thus the stalemate position eventually resulted in an agreement, which was signed in Geneva, between the Soviet Union, United States, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. On February 15th, 1989, the Soviets withdrew their troops from Afghanistan. Mujahadeen's resistance against the Soviet backed regime, however, continued (Britannica, n.d.).

Afghanistan in the post-Soviet era

In 1992, Mujahadeen forces took over and overthrew the former communist president Mohammad Najibullah, which was elected as a president of the puppet Soviet state in 1986. Burhanuddin Rabbani became the president of the Islamic State, yet the Mujahadeen forces began to fragment (PBS, 2011).

In 1995, the era of the Taliban began. The majority of Afghan people supported the regime, which was based on Islamic values. The production of opium was banned, crime rate was reduced. The position of women was worsened. Among many other things, they were refused education and employment. The US refused to accept the new government. Two years later, Najibullah is publicly executed by the Taliban (PBS, 2011).

One of the main causes for the US occupation of Afghanistan emerged a few years earlier, in 1984. Osama bin Laden, Saudi Islamist, makes the first documented trip to Afghanistan in order to help anti-Soviet forces. Four years later, a terrorist group al-Qaeda is established by bin Laden and 15 other Islamists. The US was identified as an obstacle towards the establishment of a state based on Islam and thus their main reason for jihad, holy war. In 1998, al-Qaeda bombed two American embassies in Africa. In response, the US launched a missile attack on al-Qaeda's training camps in Afghanistan, but with no success. Taliban refused to extradite bin Laden. Afghanistan was sanctioned by the United Nations. Trade and economic development were restricted (PBS, 2011).

The tensions between the US and al-Qaeda reached their peak on the infamous 9/11 2001. Four commercial planes were hijacked by al-Qaeda in the US. At 8:46 and 9:03, two planes crashed

into World Trade Center in New York. At 9:37, Pentagon was hit. The fourth target was reportedly US Capitol Building, yet this attempt was not successful. There were almost 3000 fatalities and thousands of injured (Gladstone, n.d.). NATO's Article 5 was invoked for the first and only time in the history of the organization (NATO, n.d.). The war in Afghanistan has begun.

Post 9/11 era

A month after the terrorist attack, the Taliban refused to turn over the prime suspect of the attacks, bin Laden. As the result, US and British forces bombed Taliban targets and bases that reportedly belonged to al-Qaeda. In November, the Taliban forces retreated from, Kabul, while in December, they have lost their last province Zabul. The rule of the Taliban has thus ended and on December 22nd, 2001, Hamid Karzai became the leader of the interim government in Afghanistan. He is also elected in the presidential elections of 2004 with 55% of all votes (PBS, 2011).

As the violence in Kabul increased, NATO's forces decided to take over security in the region. In 2006, NATO expanded its peacekeeping operations to the southern part of the country, since the fighting between Taliban and al-Qaeda forces and Afghan government forces escalated. On May 2nd, 2011, it has been reported that Osama bin Laden was killed in Pakistan (PBS, 2011). In 2011, under Obama's administration, the number of troops in Afghanistan reached its peak. There were 140.000 troops in Afghanistan (Al Jazeera, 2021). The combat mission of NATO was officially ended in December 2014. Troops, however, remained in order to train and advise Afghan forces.

DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEM

On February 29th, 2020, Taliban forces and the US with its NATO allies have signed the agreement, which would remove all NATO troops from Afghanistan. Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar represented the Taliban forces while the US was represented by US special envoy Zalmay Khalilzad. Former US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo acted as a witness. The agreement was signed in Doha, Qatar (BBC, 2020).

In the said agreement, the US and its allies pledged to remove all troops within 14 months. In exchange, Afghanistan would no longer be a safe haven for al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups. Moreover, there would be an exchange of prisoners. Around 5000 Taliban prisoners would be exchanged for 1000 Afghan security force prisoners. This raised objections by Afghan president Ashraf Ghani that stated that: "Freeing Taliban prisoners is not [under] the authority of America

but the authority of the Afghan government,” (Kiely & Farley, 2021). Last but not least, the US would lift sanctions against the Taliban and would cooperate with the UN to do just that as well.

In August 2020, a report from the Lead Inspector General of the US claimed that, while US troops were reduced to 8600 members, the Taliban did not distance themselves from the al-Qaeda and kept attacking Afghan National Defence and Security Forces (Department of Defense Office of Inspector General, 2020). The Afghan and Taliban negotiators met in Doha to negotiate a possible framework for peace. At first, the said negotiations were unsuccessful and, moreover, violence continued. On September 16th, for example, 17 people, including six civilians were killed. On January 15th, just a few days before Biden’s administration began, the number of troops was reduced to 2500, the lowest number since 2001 (Kiely & Farley, 2021).

On February 3rd, 2021, the Afghanistan Study Group, which was formed in December 2019 by Congress, released a report, where it suggested that withdrawal of troops should not be limited to the inflexible timeframe, but rather to fulfilment of the commitments, especially the ones by the Taliban forces. It thus suggested extending the deadline of withdrawal. Moreover, it recognized that the US military presence should create conditions for a sustainable and acceptable peace agreement. It also reemphasised the long-term diplomatic strategy, which should be established with neighbouring countries (Afghanistan Study Group, 2021).

In April, despite the continuation of violence on Afghan people, Biden announced that the entirety of US troops will be removed by September 11th. The delay sparked outrage among Taliban forces that promised countermeasures. It has been reported that there were 37% more attacks in the first quarter of 2021 than in the same period in the previous year (Kiely & Farley, 2021).

As the withdrawal continued, numerous officials stated that the Taliban’s takeover is unlikely or at least not inevitable. This was, however, not the case. On August 6th, the Taliban took over the first province, Nimroz. Nine days later, Taliban forces conquered Kabul, the capital city of Afghanistan. Afghan President Ashraf Ghani fled the country (Kiely & Farley, 2021).

The war that lasted for almost 20 years has left devastating results. Approximately 241 thousand people have lost their lives, among which there were 71344 civilians. \$2,26 trillion was spent by the US on the war on Afghanistan and the costs continue to rise even after withdrawal (Al Jazeera, 2021).

The situation in Afghanistan is alarming. According to the UN’s special representative for Afghanistan, Deborah Lyons, the country is facing a humanitarian crisis, collapsing economy, and

a high chance of extremism. Around 60% of the entire Afghan population is facing hunger, which will likely worsen in the winter season. The GDP will reportedly fall by 40%. The main issue, according to Lyons, is the economic sanctions towards the Taliban regime, which have restricted the banking system and thus every aspect of the economy. Organizations such as World Bank and International Monetary Fund have halted payments to Afghanistan. The paralysis of the banking system can eventually lead to terrorism, trafficking, and drug smuggling. The special representative called upon the UN and the global community to help the Afghan people that feel forgotten and left behind (Ledered, 2021).

Another issue that has risen in Afghanistan is the rise of the so-called IS-K. The Islamic State Khorasan Province is a smaller fraction of the Islamic State, named after the historical region Khorasan, nowadays a part of both Afghanistan and Pakistan. It was set up in 2015 when the Islamic State was at the peak of its power, and it mostly recruits Afghan and Pakistani jihadists, as well as former Taliban fighters that believe that the Taliban are not extreme enough. IS-K is located in the province Nangarhar and is responsible for severe atrocities all over Afghanistan (Gardner, 2021). Several attacks were executed, including two deadly bombings in Shia mosques in the northern Kunduz and southern Kandahar provinces. Nearly 100 people were killed and dozens were injured. Another noticeable attack happened in August near the Hamid Karzai Airport in Kabul, where 170 Afghans were killed and over 150 were wounded. The ongoing threat has, however, been partially dismantled by the current regime. 670 militants of IS-K were arrested, and 25 terrorist hideouts were destroyed. The interim government spokesman Zabihullah Mujahid stated that “these terrorists have no place in Afghanistan because the Afghan people have rejected their ideology”. The country’s security is, however, still unstable, as there are still terror attacks happening (Sajid, 2021).

We must also not forget about women’s rights under the new Taliban regime. The Taliban forces stated that the situation would not change much, however, we can take a look at the last Taliban rule, where women’s rights were limited to the extent that they could not leave their homes without a male guardian. In the last few months, the majority of women were constrained to their homes. Women now have limited access to education and cannot work in certain workplaces. While child marriage (under the age of 15) is illegal nationwide, it is still a common practice in rural areas. The number of such marriages increased after the regime change in August. Their rights are limited by Islamic law. Ministry of Women’s Affairs, which was mainly responsible for the promotion of women’s rights, was abolished. Furthermore, the Elimination of Violence against Women Law, which was signed in 2009, was removed. In early December, the government

released a so-called decree on women's rights, which among others states that "a woman is not property", allows a widow to own husband's property, states that women should not be forced into marriage, etc. The said decree does not clarify the women's situation in regard to education and work and was thus dismissed by Afghan women (Mackintosh, 2021). Immediately after the Taliban take-over, women expressed their opinions in a protest against the Taliban, but the protests were put down with violence, which was usually done by the so-called moral police, and were afterwards banned. The number of protests faded (Siddiqui & Zemaryalai, 2021).

The refugee crisis in Afghanistan is another issue that has been present for quite some time. With 2,6 million refugees, Afghanistan is the third largest country in that aspect. Moreover, 3 million Afghans are internally displaced. Since May 2021, 73.000 Afghans fled the country and nearly 240.000 Afghani are internally displaced. According to some estimates, there will be 500.000 additional refugees in the near future (Tripathi, 2021). The current situation in Afghanistan, after the change in regime, is quite alarming. The country is struggling financially, the humanitarian crisis is almost inevitable, terrorism is on the rise, security in the country is shaken, women's rights are in question, etc. It is thus of no surprise that the refugee crisis will be another issue that should be addressed by the global community.

PREVIOUS UN INVOLVEMENT

Afghanistan and its long and ongoing crisis have been a frequent discussion of the United Nations. As of December 2021, there are more than 70 United Nations Security Council resolutions on the topic (Security Council Report, 2021).

With the UNSC Resolution S/RES/1378 2001, United Nations showed support to the Afghan people and their desire to form a new transitional broad-based multi-ethnic government and United Nations decided to play a central role in its establishment. The UNSC Resolution S/RES/1386 2001 authorized the establishment of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), which is led by NATO, to take care of security in Kabul. The mandate of ISAF was further extended several times (Security Council Report, 2021).

With UNSC Resolution S/RES/1401 2002, United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) was established. The original goal of UNAMA was to support the implementation of the Bonn Agreement, which is also known as an Agreement on Provisional Arrangements in

Afghanistan Pending the Re-establishment of Permanent Government Institutions. The said agreement, for example, provided a legal framework until a new constitution is adopted, established the new Afghan Armed Forces, etc (United Nations Peacemaker, 2001). The mandate has been extended and altered several times, on the annual level, lastly on September 17th, 2021. Since 2008, UNAMA is an integrated mission, meaning that all UN agencies, funds, and programmes work in a multidimensional and integrated manner to better assist the prioritized needs of Afghanistan (UNAMA, 2021).

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

Finding a solution for Afghanistan has been a challenge for the global community for decades. The withdrawal of the US army has once more left the void in Afghanistan and the Taliban have returned stronger than ever. Numerous issues have arisen in the past few months and it is hard to pinpoint solutions that would stabilize the country in the long run.

The biggest dilemma is, whether countries should begin negotiating with the new regime and eventually recognize it. As of December 2021, no country has recognized the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan and its government (Reuters, 2021). Negotiations could be the key to preventing a safe haven for terrorist organizations and towards economic stability. If the economic sanctions are lifted and assets halt removed, the country could be stabilised. For that to happen, the government should improve the conditions for minorities and women, continue their fight against terrorist groups such as IS-K, etc., and cooperate with neighbouring countries on the issue of refugees. Improving the standard of living as well as removing the terrorist threats should reduce the number of refugees and internally displaced persons. This issue could potentially be an enormous issue for European Union, especially because another migrant crisis could destabilize the region. It is thus of great importance to begin negotiations. Economic sanctions and recognitions should be the main bargaining tool of the global community in its negotiations with the Afghani government.

Another issue that should be solved is the hardship of women in Afghanistan. Due to the Islamic law and the Taliban's commitment to it, it is hard to anticipate that the situation will return to pre-

Taliban times when women had access to education and work. It is hard to say that the situation will improve under the Taliban rule.

Even though intervention could solve some of the issues, it is hard to assume that there will be one in the foreseeable future. Afghanistan, the so-called “graveyard of empires”, will unlikely experience another intervention, unless something of unimaginable proportions happens. Numerous nations have tried to stabilize the nations yet failed. It appears that negotiations are the only reasonable way forward.

Another thing that United Nations can do is to further focus on the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA). It already comprises of the following priorities: the provision of good offices; support for the organization of future elections; strengthening capacity in the protection and promotion of human rights including the protection of children affected by armed conflict and prevention of child recruitment; support for gender equality and women’s and girls’ empowerment; the coordination and facilitation of humanitarian assistance; and support for Afghanistan’s development and governance priorities, including the rule of law, transitional justice as an essential component of the ongoing peace process, budget execution and the fight against corruption throughout the country (UNAMA, n.d).

BLOC POSITIONS

Both China and Russian Federation are quite fond of the current regime in Afghanistan, even though neither has recognized the current regime just yet. The People’s Republic of China maintained a solid relationship with diplomatic support, political endorsement with the Taliban over the last decade. China proclaimed the Taliban a “critical military and political force in Afghanistan”. The threat of terrorism remains the main concern of the Chinese government. From the Chinese perspective, the current situation in Afghanistan is a perfect example of how the Western model of democracy has failed. There are thoughts about spreading the Belt and Road Initiative to Afghanistan, whereas China would replace the US and use Afghanistan as a strategic asset in the region. Afghanistan is on the other hand infamous as the “graveyard of empires”, which may discourage China to fill in the void that was left after the US withdrawal (Kofman, et al., 2021).

Similar to China, Russia finds Taliban forces as “far more capable than the Kabul puppet government”. Taliban spokesperson claimed that the group has a good relationship with Russia. It must, however, not be forgotten that the Taliban is still recognized as a terrorist organization by Russia. The main fear of the Russian Federation is the spread of tensions and instability across Afghan borders as well as potential terrorist threats. Another, yet not that important, goal is the reduction of drug trafficking that is headed to the north. According to Russians, Afghanistan needs to keep its unity. Russia, however, has performed a military exercise with Tajikistan and Uzbekistan on the Afghan border to warn Afghanistan not to spread its ambitions beyond its border (Kofman, et al., 2021).

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland does not plan to recognize the so-called Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan. There have been some discussions between UK officials and the Taliban. The safe passage of the Britons and Afghans was discussed (Al Jazeera, 2021). On the other hand, France refuses to recognize the new government, but at the same time refuses to establish a relationship with the said government (Reuters, 2021).

The position of the US is quite complex. As mentioned, an agreement between the US and the Taliban was reached under Trump’s administration. The deal withdrew the troops from Afghanistan and gravely contributed to the collapse of the previous Afghan government. The withdrawal was led by Biden’s administration, while the president claimed that he does not regret the withdrawal (Kiely & Farley, 2021). It is unlikely that the Taliban regime is to be recognized by the current administration under current conditions.

RELEVANT INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS AND FURTHER READING

- December 6th, 2001: UNSC Resolution S/RES/1383
- December 6th, 2001: Report of the Secretary General: S/2001/1157
- December 20th, 2001: UNSC Resolution S/RES/1386
- March 18th, 2002: Report of the Secretary General: S/2002/278
- March 28th, 2002: UNSC Resolution S/RES/1401
- June 26th, 2002: UNSC Resolution S/RES/1419
- March 10th, 2020: UNSC Resolution S/RES/2513
- March 12th, 2021: Report of the Secretary General: S/2021/252
- August 30th, 2021: UNSC Resolution S/RES/2593
- September 2nd, 2021: Report of the Secretary General: S/2021/759

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QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

- How can the United Nations Security Council prevent the new rise of terrorism in Afghanistan?
- Should the global community recognize the Taliban regime as the legitimate regime of Afghanistan?
- What measures should be taken to help the people of Afghanistan in order to prevent humanitarian catastrophe?
- What should be done to improve the current struggle of women in Afghanistan?
- How should the global community prevent a migrant crisis?

TOPIC B: IMPROVING UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING

INTRODUCTION

Since the end of World War II, states and international organizations have deployed nearly 200 peace operations involving military contingents, and they remain the principal international mechanism for managing armed conflict. Despite the common use of the term peace operation, its definition has proven to be quite a complex and demanding task. It originates from the days of the League of Nations when they were meant as a timely and effective means of deescalating events or developments that were endangering peace and security. (Bellamy et. al. 2009)

The first peace operation, excluding the post-war investigative, supervisory and observational missions was launched in Egypt in 1956 in response to the Suez crisis. It set the basis and legal framework as well as the organizational foundations for all of the later peace operations, which were conducted during the cold war. Peace operations as such are not named or mentioned in the Charter of the United Nations, but were formalized by the United Nations General Assembly in 1965 with the establishment of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations as and an additional tool for managing complex crises for the United Nations and the Security Council. Traditionally, peacekeeping has contributed to keeping or building peace, especially in countries and conflicts of the third world, but there were very seldom peacekeeping operations in hotspots where superpowers were involved.

Even though they have been conducted in one form or another since the end of the second world war, they became increasingly widespread after the end of the Cold war and the gridlock that came with it. United Nations peacekeeping hasn't only grown in size but it has become increasingly multifaceted, opening up many moral, operative, financial and organizational problems. Expanding its operational activities from monitoring cease-fires, today's multidimensional peacekeeping operations are called upon to facilitate the political process through the promotion of national dialogue and reconciliation, protect civilians, assist in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of combatants, support the organization of elections, protect and promote human rights, and assist in restoring the rule of law.

United Nations peacekeeping practices have evolved significantly over the course of the last seven decades. They have however kept in accordance with their original three basic principles,

the consent of all parties, impartiality without prejudice or favour to any party and the non-use of force except in self-defence and defence of the mandate. These traditional values continue to set United Nations peacekeeping operations apart from those conducted by other organizations as an impartial tool for maintaining international peace and security

HISTORY OF THE TOPIC

We may think of peace operations as being intrinsically linked to the United Nations, but their beginnings can be traced a century earlier. They were decided on during the course of the peace treaty signing and were there to ensure the respect of post-war borders, such as Swedish peacekeeping forces in Schleswig-Holstein in 1848 and Austro-Hungarian soldiers in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Berlin congress. After the first world war peacekeeping was used to enforce results of plebiscites under the auspices of the League of Nations. The predominant peacekeeping operation from that period are the multilateral forces that were sent into Saarland after the reunification with Germany. (Jelušič, 2003)

With the creation of the United Nations in 1945, we enter the period of modern peace operations. We can divide United Nations peacekeeping into two distinct generations. The first one lasted from 1947-1988 and was marked by the height of the Cold war and rivalry between the two superpowers. Peacekeeping in this generation in many cases meant freezing the situation on the ground and preventing combatting sides from engaging each other by the presence of peacekeepers but without the diplomatic and political efforts necessary to resolve the conflict. They were meant strictly to divide the opposing forces and enforce a status quo.

The first generation contains the first 1947-1956 and second 1956-1988 phases. The first phase had mainly observational missions with a smaller number of military forces and limited authority. The second phase started with the Suez crisis and ushered in long-lasting expanded operations. The first officially named peacekeeping operation United Nations Emergency Force 1 was started on the Sinai Peninsula to supervise the retreat of French, British and Israeli forces from Egypt. Some other notable ones are the UNDOF 1974 (United Nations Disengagement Observer Force) between Israel and Syria and UNFICYP (United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus), both ongoing, UNIFIL 1978 (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon), ONUC 1960 (United Nations Operation in Congo) and other lesser ones in Lebanon, New Guinea, the Dominican Republic

and on the India-Pakistan border. ONUC was one of the operations which cemented the practical and normative framework of enforcing peace under the United Nations. It was established after a civil war started in the Belgian colonized Congo and demanded the departure of the colonizing forces.

The vast majority of peace operations in the first generation were created for helping the process of decolonization. They were conducted in crisis zones where differing interests were not endangered and the superpowers could find agreement in fielding weak peacekeeping forces. Bigger conflicts were not on the table because of the jousting in the Security Council. Dag Hammarskjöld, the Secretary General of the United Nations deemed this first generation of peacekeeping operations as a failure of the United Nations SC to find consent and conduct classical operations for enforcing peace as they were described in the seventh chapter of the Charter. The exception to this were the Korean war (1950-1953) and the anti-colonial operation in 1960.

After the end of the Cold war in 1988 peacekeeping operations under the United Nations really started to ramp up in numbers, and their mandate changed significantly as well. We can observe the multiplication of tasks and a mixed composition of the peacekeeping forces, including army, police, diplomats, civilian employees and non-governmental organizations (NGO). In addition to keeping the peace, they enforce the preconditions for order, stability and the development of crisis regions. (Jelušič, 2003)

The disparity is clear when we take a look at the numbers. During the Cold war in the period of 1948 – 1978, there were 13 peacekeeping operations started. In the decade between 1978 – 1988, not a single new operation was started. From 1988 until 1996 however, there were 29 new peacekeeping operations. This increase can be observed due to several factors. The three main ones are the increasing number of armed conflicts after the Cold war, the lessening importance of veto use in the United Nations Security Council (UN SC) and the increasing importance of the United Nations in international conflict resolution. Some of the first-generation principles were retained, while others were changed significantly.

In some cases, the consent of all conflicted parties as a requirement is not required for action by the United Nations SC. Such is the case in internal conflicts and civil wars, where getting consent from all parties is cumbersome. There is also an increased readiness for the use of force, which was beforehand deemed acceptable only in self-defence. As a consequence, the use of force against one of the conflicting sides counters the principle of impartiality. (Ramsbotham and

Woodhouse, 1999) With the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia, wars came back to Europe after a 50-year peace. Peacekeeping was used to stop the wars from Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia while containing the negative consequences such as organized crime, corruption, refugees and political and economic instability.

Peacekeeping, with ebbs and flows, has been a constant of international organizations after the end of the Second World War. In them participate both old and established peacekeeping countries as well as smaller new members, wanting to gain legitimacy and showing responsibility for international peace and security. As mentioned, they contain a plethora of services, the military component of which has come to be known as the Blue helmets or the Blue berets because of their signature head covering.

DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEM

After the end of the Cold war peacekeeping operations of the United Nations finally got a formal definition and acknowledgement on the United Nations level, not only in theories of international relations or security studies. In 1992, the SC gave the Secretary General the task of preparing an analysis and recommendations for enhancing the United Nations preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping. In the report titled *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping*, Boutros Boutros Ghali found that fighting after the Second World War claimed the lives of at least 20 million people, while the United Nations couldn't intervene in most of these conflicts because of permanent member veto usage, which they exercised 279 times until 1990. (Jelušič, 2003)

The document underlined that the United Nations should get involved in resolving the causes of conflict, especially economic predicament, social injustice and political violence. They should prematurely identify critical situations and use preventative measures to prevent the outburst of violence. Secondly, should the predicament turn violent, it should enter the negotiations as a peacemaker and solve the reasons for the flare up. Thirdly, they should enforce peace when it does arise. Lastly, the United Nations should get significantly more hands on in addressing urgent situations, and also help with the rebuilding of national institutions, infrastructure and state building. The role of the United Nations should expand in the time before the conflict, during the active stage of fighting, after the ceasefire and in helping to enact a lasting peace. The Agenda clearly defined all the actions that the United Nations has at its disposal in the pursuit of peace

and security, and placed an emphasis on all stages of action, preventative diplomacy, building the peace, keeping the peace and the post-conflict settlement.

Peacekeeping is one of the most effective tools available to the United Nations in the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security. With over 75000 deployed personnel across 12 missions, the scale of United Nations peacekeeping today is enormous. The diversity of mission mandates stretches peacekeepers capacity to deliver on all tasks. Personnel, logistics, finance and administration systems are struggling to support operations in some of the world's most inhospitable terrain. Complex threats in several environments are causing a rise in fatalities and injuries of peacekeepers, and missions have sometimes lacked the personnel and equipment to meet these threats. This year alone, 123 peacekeepers have lost their lives. A small decrease from 131 last year but still on an upward trend compared with the last 3-year period. The necessary military capabilities are increasingly scarce in the face of rising global demand. Political solutions are often absent, and missions seem to have mandates that lack focus and clear priorities. (United Nations Fatalities, 2021)

New peacekeeping tasks require high numbers of police and civilian specialists, experts that are in limited supply both at home and abroad. The budget has soared to nearly 6.5 billion dollars a year at the same time as the global economic crisis has diminished overall available resources. And there is no sign that the need for peacekeeping will diminish. Threats such as environmental changes, economic shocks, transnational crime and extremism threaten many states and contribute to growing political and security instability. (United Nations, 2009)

One of the criticisms brings attention to the inability of United Nations to resolve crises, if their only measure used in internal conflicts and civil wars is traditional demarcation of warring parties. The outcome of this is that conflicts are getting deepened, not resolved. The peacekeepers themselves are often put into very dangerous conditions where the governmental side is weak, defenceless and lacks authority, while the rebelling groups respect neither peace agreements nor the rules of international humanitarian law. Others were saying that in the modern post Cold war setting with complex and multidimensional peacekeeping operations, the mixing of military, humanitarian and political goals could be a dangerous endeavour and that operations should be limited to the traditional keeping of peace. The mixing of different sectors leads to biases of peacekeeping forces, unnecessary or unlawful use of military force. (Jelušič, 2003)

In the history of United Nations there were 70 peacekeeping operations conducted, out of which only 13 were during the Cold war. Numerically we can see that the United Nations has been

proverbially let into more conflicts, finally fulfilling its role as the international guarantor of peace. But in many cases, these are conflicts of varying insurgent and paramilitary natures, mainly internal ones, of which we have seen a rise of. In these kinds of conflicts, political settlement, guarantees and the adherence to peace deals is increasingly hard to achieve, especially in cases of fragmented opposition or longstanding conflicts.

Experiences since the end of the Cold war have shown that the United Nations are traditionally not an extremely capable enforcer of peace when it comes to coercive military action. The United Nations SC can authorise and legitimise military action but the United Nations is underequipped and underprepared to lead such operations. (Berdal, 2001) Two cases, in particular, illustrate just exactly how disastrous how this kind of action, if ill conceived, can be. The first is the United Nations role in the fighting that led to the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 and the fall of the safe zone Srebrenica, protected by the United Nations forces, that led to the wide-scale massacres of captured civilians. The increased number of peacekeeping operations after the Cold war brings with it a multitude of difficulties in their managing, conduct, leading and acceptance from different states. There is considerable bloat in the United Nations organization, as the number of participants and the amount of money that is put towards new peacekeeping operations.

Questions were raised whether the United Nations were to give emphasis on traditional peacekeeping missions or new tasks, such as election support, supervising and conduct as in ONUVEN in Nicaragua and ONUMOZ in Mozambique, the resettlement and protection of refugees and displaced persons as in UNPROFOR in Yugoslavia and UNTAC in Myanmar, the assistance in distributing humanitarian aid and reporting of human rights following as in ONUSAL in Salvador and UNMIH in Haiti, the preventative deployment of forces as in UNPREDEP in Macedonia or even demarcation of armed forces such as paramilitary, private and irregular units, their demobilization and collection and destruction of weapons as in Angola, Myanmar and Mozambique. This also increased strategical mistakes due to the lack of consistency in doctrine. (Jelušič, 2003)

The Agenda for peace introduced new terms such as preventative diplomacy, but in practice that made the conduct of peacekeeping even less distinguishable and particularly in the case of a bureaucratic organization, specific reforms would be necessary. There is are underlying tensions between the United Nations Department for political affairs and the Department for peacekeeping operations, between which authority is not clearly divided. The complexity of modern operations requires a lot of horizontal collaboration among bureaucratically equal departments, that are

unwilling to give way or compromise. The division of political and operative dimensions of peacekeeping operations is controversial, because they include elements of political, military, humanitarian, political, governmental and nongovernmental components, in which we can't effectively coordinate two separate departments.

Another scepticism is reflected in a declining number of transnational administrations, where United Nations peacekeepers would assume governance over a territory, showing a negative trend. While in the 1990s, there were several major international administrations in Bosnia, Kosovo and East Timor for example, the 2010s saw zero interest for such missions. After the eruption of the South Sudanese civil war in December 2013, it was the only case where even a minor debate arose over establishing such an administration. (Williams, 2021a) During the 2010s there was some progress of the women, peace and security agenda in relation to peacekeeping. The number of women in senior mission leadership roles and deployed as uniformed peacekeepers continued to rise, but while the proportion of female police officers increased considerably, the proportion of soldiers didn't get to the desired goal.

The recent Afghanistan situation presented a unique problem to United Nations peacekeeping. There were several requests including France that called upon the United Nations to establish a safe zone or another peacekeeping force in addition to the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) already in the country. Even if the Taliban gave their consent, there would be significant risks for the peacekeepers in the form of the Islamic State in Khorasan, al-Qaida and other hostile groups. (Williams, 2021b) Afghanistan's political context isn't well suited to United Nations peacekeepers as the Taliban have wanted foreign forces out of Afghanistan for a long time. Peacekeepers work best when there is a viable peace process, whereas in Afghanistan there was an inevitable end to a long and bloody civil war where the Taliban indisputably took control of the country. Additionally, the Taliban government lacks recognition from the international community.

Peacekeeping operations have faced challenges in delivering on protection mandates and in contributing to long term, sustainable peace, support fragile political processes, and in achieving understanding with other actors. Peacekeeping, if it wants to be successful in its activities, aims and goals, has to work as a collective endeavour akin to a partnership, where countries cooperate as well as take decisive action when need be. It only works if all partners step up and carry their share, including the Security Council, member countries contributing soldiers and police, the

United Nations Secretariat, regional organizations and host countries. We require strong, collective action if we are to succeed in addressing these challenges. (Lacroix, 2018)

PREVIOUS UN INVOLVEMENT

The landmark Brahimi report, released in 2000 charted a renewed vision for United Nations peacekeeping that helped make peacekeeping stronger, more effective and comparatively cost-efficient. These reforms enabled a five-fold growth in operations over the past decade. But United Nations peacekeeping is now at a crossroads. The scale and complexity of peacekeeping today are straining its personnel, administrative and support machinery. New political, military and financial challenges threaten to erode the unity of vision and purpose of the global peacekeeping partnership. A renewed partnership and a shared agenda are essential to ensuring that UN peacekeeping can meet the challenges of today and tomorrow. (United Nations, 2009) Under the more important recommendations of the Brahimi report are the demands for the creation of an Integrated Mission Task Force (IMTF), which would be comprised of the members' staff but under the command of the United Nations as a unit for planning and mission support, in addition to the need for more effective coordination in civilian police usage in peacekeeping operations.

The Brahimi report wrote very critically about the fall of Srebrenica in 1999, and it was later used as a basis for further analysis and recommendations in the area of peacekeeping operations. The report demands that the mandates that are set out by the United Nations SC have to be operationally clear, legitimate and achievable. Which is of specifically critical importance in the case of coercive peace operations. That is significant as it was customary for the Security Council not to divert too much attention to clarity and achievability of mandates, particularly in the most dangerous of situations. In many cases it was difficult to even achieve consensus among the members let alone deliberate on the details of operational details. The Brahimi report firmly establishes that the cost for this kind of conduct is unacceptably high, as seen in the case of Srebrenica. (Jelušič, 2003)

Regarding a new peacekeeping mission in Afghanistan, already in 2000, the Brahimi Report concluded that there are many tasks that United Nations peacekeeping forces should not be asked to undertake and many places they should not go. Without the Taliban's support and active cooperation, Afghanistan should definitely not be entered by the United Nations. (Williams, 2021b)

Because of the importance of firm collective action in peacekeeping, the Security General in 2018 launched the Action for Peacekeeping (A4P) initiative to reform peacekeeping for a new age and help it succeed on the ground where it matters most. The A4P agenda represents a reinforcement of commitments to peacekeeping operations. Following intensive consultations with all Member States as well as intergovernmental organizations the Secretary-General put forward a document to all member states for their endorsement, so far it has been supported by 154 countries.

The declaration lays out a number of mutual commitments that aim to concretely improve the impact and effectiveness of operations: stronger support for political efforts, stronger commitment to improve training, equipment and performance and stronger partnerships. They specifically focus on the implementation of goals related to the eight priority commitment areas: politics, women, peace and security protection, safety and security, performance and accountability, peacebuilding and sustaining peace, partnerships and the conduct of peacekeepers and peacekeeping operations. (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2021)

The United Nations responded to many justified criticisms with the Brahimi report from the year 2000. The future of United Nations peacekeeping lies in more robust operations, that include coercion into peace, if need be. The problem arises as the United Nations don't have permanent forces at their disposal, that they could direct into such actions. The short-term solution was seen in regional collective security organizations such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). After the Cold war, NATO experienced a kind of crisis of identity in which it saw peacekeeping operation as space for its post Cold war development and offered its services to the United Nations. This cooperation pioneered some of what sometime in the future could be United Nations own modern robust peacekeeping operations, prepared to coerce the warring sides into peace such as SFOR (Stabilization force in Bosnia and Herzegovina) and KFOR (Kosovo Force). That meant that the doctrinal advance of the United Nations was at a crossroads, one was with operations maintaining peace or the status quo, while the other would enact peace if that was deemed necessary by the SC. The first deviation from the original guidelines enacted by Hammarskjold was seen when the United Nations authorised regional security organizations to act on its behalf. The other is that the United Nations peacekeeping forces were no longer neutral, but are making active choices as to the post-conflict reconstruction, the civil institutions and infrastructure. The United Nations are taking the reins of crisis situations, close to what was originally conceived.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

In many missions, peacekeepers are responding more effectively to threats and attacks. In response to the multitude of threats that peacekeeping forces are facing, many changes were made. Peacekeepers camps are better protected thanks to the use of more advanced systems that detect threats. Peacekeepers are conducting more patrols to protect populations despite significant threats. Changing mindsets and enhancing the preparedness of troops is helping to significantly limit casualties during attacks, because the perpetrators can expect to be met with a strong response. (Lacroix, 2018)

Implementation of a number of actions has already begun. This includes improving performance, mindsets and support for our peacekeepers by implementing the Action Plan on safety and security of United Nations peacekeepers. The peacekeeping forces are also undertaking a series of independently led peacekeeping missions to assess mandates and determine whether they have the appropriate strategies and resources to meet the objectives. There is the strengthening cooperation with key partners, especially the African Union and European Union. Despite the full commitment towards implementing initiatives, UN peacekeeping cannot succeed without the engagement of all partners. Strengthening peacekeeping also means helping countries who provide troops and police, including by supporting training that needs to ensure the deployed personnel is equipped and prepared to accomplish their tasks. Similarly, members are also key to the efforts to increase the number of women in peacekeeping at all levels. More women in peacekeeping means more effective peacekeeping. Women as of yet represent only 21% of personnel.

Ensuring that all United Nations personnel maintain the highest standards of conduct must be at the heart of collective efforts. In recent years, more was done to strengthen accountability and transparency, raise awareness and provide better support for victims. However, the process is ongoing and the forces have to continue to work harder. Regarding the collective Action for Peacekeeping, the United Nations is fully committed to strengthen peacekeeping. The Declaration of Shared Commitments that more than 150 countries have already signed is an important and meaningful step. (Lacroix, 2018)

United Nations peacekeeping operations have had to change and adapt. In the multi-decade development, they have experienced they have exceeded the ideas of the original writers of the Charter. Their practice has to continually challenge the boundaries presented by the rigid

structures and urge the United Nations into institutional change, doctrinal adjustment and increased effectiveness in preparation for the next peacekeeping operation. Peacekeeping forces have to become more self-sufficient, being trained and ready to respond in a coordinated and ferocious manner to any kind of attacks to common in the intra-state conflict era, not being the vulnerable but the enforcing. Personnel logistics have to be strengthened as well. United Nations peacekeepers work in a multitude of different environments and climates, often being under supplied for the nature of their work. As per the Brahimi report political will has to be strengthened, missions have to achieve operational priority and clarity to them going forward and in the same vein being achievable and comprehensive.

The Security Council in future, needs to be briefed and updated on the civilian situation and their potential insecurity. They have to be briefed fully, accurately and early on the threats and vulnerabilities that civilians in the mission area face, as such information is critical for shaping clear mandates and operations in a correct manner. The said mandates then have to be monitored by the Security Council continuously to evaluate the impact on the ground more closely and to support civilians more effectively. Even though the need has been present for multiple decades, the Department of Peace Operations has composed their Protection of Civilians Mandate peacekeeping operational policy in 2019. The mandate includes principles as well the roles and responsibilities of all relevant personnel. Secondly, it contains a performance and accountability section which lines out the responsibilities and duties of the whole chain of command, from the Security Council down to commanders of the mission and the soldiers themselves, showing clear advances being made and tangible efforts being exerted to better peacekeeping operations.

For police and troop contributing countries, peacekeeping tasks have grown dramatically over the last decade, as have expectations of what missions can achieve. Their own operational experience has so far not been tapped for reflection on what protecting civilians meant to them, what strategies they used, and what they found did or did not work as part of a mission-wide approach. The challenges that the more than 100 countries providing personnel have faced and dealt with need to be understood, and that knowledge is incorporated into future guidance and practice. (Holt and Taylor, 2009)

Four specific recommendations have been made in the independent study by the the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs regarding civilian protection. Those are linking the Security Council to the field, mission-wide strategy and crisis planning, improving the role of uniformed personnel, political follow up and achieving mission aims. The Department of Peace Operations (DPKO) should lead the development, in

consultation with humanitarian actors, of an operational concept of protection of civilians to assist with the development of planning, preparedness and guidance for future missions. Requirements for carrying out protection related tasks for contingents implementing the protection of civilians should be clearly laid out by the DPKO to the soldier and police providing countries as early as possible. Additionally, it should establish a joint team at the headquarters level for education and outreach, coordinating and liaising with senior political, military and police leadership in the participating countries.

During mission planning and deployment, the Special Representative of the Secretary General and mission leaders, with DPKO and member backing, must ensure the provision of four basic elements in each peacekeeping mission, required for mission-wide delivery on the protection of civilian mandates. One senior mission leader was designated to develop and command the operational implementation of the protection of civilians' strategy. There needs to be a systematic approach to building an ongoing analysis and understanding of the threats and vulnerabilities to the civilian population in the mission area. The operations need to establish a structure that both drives the collection of data, as well as its analysis and distribution to relevant actors, giving the operation command technical and reporting capabilities. Lastly, specific methodology to anticipate, plan for, and run tabletop and planning exercises for upsurges in violence and other protection crises at the senior leadership level needs to be developed, United Nations peacekeepers should never again be caught off guard. In order to implement these four elements, the DPKO should be provided with additional civilian planning staff to improve civilian participation in and contributions to the planning process for peacekeeping missions. (Holt and Taylor, 2009)

BLOC POSITIONS

Prague

Countries are quite united when it comes to United Nations peacekeeping operations, as they all have international peace and security in their best interest. Russia on the one hand, is interested in participating in United Nations peacekeeping operations in its capacity as a member of the Confederation of Independent States (CIS). One of the reasons lies in the fact that in the former Soviet, CIS space, arose many conflicts or potential for conflict on ethnic, political and religious grounds. Russia, as a country intrinsically connected to its former territories, is interested in sorting the problems arising in its backyard by itself, rather than letting a medley of international peacekeepers and differing interests onto their doorstep. They have been successful in some cases when authorised by the United Nations, such as the Tajik – Afghan border stabilization,

Abkhazia talks promotion and in the case of Nagorno-Karabakh, which recently flared up. Russia enjoys trust from several actors in the post-Soviet space and as such is well positioned to mediate. (Lavrov, 1996) They contributed peacekeepers for geographically diverse locations such as Tajikistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Metohija and Angola. The 15th Separate Motorized Rifle Brigade is formed in order to prepare the Russian troops to take part in operations to maintain international peace and security. Its troops can be detached to peacekeeping contingents according to the decision of the President of the Russian Federation and in the interests of the Commonwealth of Independent States, UN, OSCE, NATO-Russia Council.

It is the position of Russia, China and some other countries that mixing political, humanitarian and military goals is dangerous because it can make peacekeeping missions biased towards one of the sides while we should put emphasis on traditional peacekeeping. While the Brahimi report advocates more frequent use of coercive methods in resolving conflicts, if the warring sides have no real intention of concrete cooperation within the peacekeeping process. This approach is contrary to the principles of less developed countries that are joined in the so-called Group 77. They are of the position that the report imposes upon them the norms of the western world and that it's contrary to the principles of sovereignty and non-intervention of states in other states internal affairs. (Berdal, 2001)

Despite its growing status in the international system, including in the military sphere, China continues to be a strong supporter of United Nations peacekeeping operations, a stance commonly considered to be more the purview of medium powers. China is also a major contributor of peacekeeping personnel and support. Beijing's current UN peacekeeping policies have helped China expand its diplomacy throughout the developing world, a notable action given the ongoing evolution of its Belt and Road trade initiatives. (Lanteigne, 2018)

One of the disagreements was seen in practice during the Kosovo war during the dissolution of former Yugoslavia. The western countries believed that the events in Kosovo constituted viable reasons to act. While Russia tabled a draft resolution in the Security Council that condemned the intervention and demanded its immediate cessation, it was rejected by twelve votes to three of Russian, China and Namibia. 5 of the voters cast in favour belonged to NATO members, but seven others did not. An interesting development is that the seven non-NATO chose not to abstain but to actively cast their vote in support of the western perspective. The most surprising of these was the longstanding supporter of state sovereignty and advocate of the ASEAN way, Malaysia.

RELEVANT INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS AND FURTHER READING

- An agenda for Peace, Preventative Diplomacy, Peacemaking and peace-keeping Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Available on: https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/A_47_277.pdf
- Brahimi report. Available on: <https://undocs.org/A/55/305>
- A New Partnership Agenda – Charting a new horizon for UN Peacekeeping. Available on: https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/newhorizon_0.pdf
- Declaration of Shared Commitments on UN Peacekeeping Operations. Available on: <https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/dpko-dfs-declaration-shared-commitments-unpeacekeeping-1812605e.pdf>
- United Nations Peacekeeping Operations – principles and guidelines https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/capstone_eng_0.pdf
- Just Different Hats? Comparing UN and Non-UN Peacekeeping. Available on: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13533312.2020.1737023>
- Policy Unclassified – The Protection of Civilians in United Nations Peacekeeping. Available on: https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/poc_policy_2019_.pdf

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

- How can the United Nations reform its inefficient bureaucracy?
- The mandates of peacekeeping operations in the past have been too vague to be practically achievable, how can the United Nations mandates become reasonable while remaining ambitious?
- In which way will the Council tackle the task of significantly reforming United Nations peacekeeping with all of the ambitious plans laid out in multiple reports discussed in this Study Guide?
- The Department of Peace Operations requires more operational support from the Security Council and the contributing countries. Which course of action should the Security Council take to increase the interest for peacekeeping from the relevant actors?
- How should the United Nations increase the presence and proportion of female peacekeepers.?

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