

# UNDERSTANDING FOURTH GENERATION PEACEKEEPING: STRIVING FOR PEACE IN A NEW MILLENNIUM

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## **Introduction: Positive Peace and Fourth Generation Peacekeeping**

Over the decades, with the changing pace of global politics and war strategies, contemporary conflicts have now adapted new natures and trends. The central axes of these changes in the nature of contemporary conflict have demanded changes in conflict resolution, thereby effecting the peace operations that now dominate them. When we talk about these conceptual shifts, we can trace them to what Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams have coined as the post-Westphalian<sup>1</sup> approach to the world order. This post-Westphalian order, a shift taking the form of many progressive changes in accounts of conceptual and practical ways, has principally paired with the restructuring of the relation between two structural elements of the principle of sovereignty, that is, the rights of the state and the human rights of individuals. In the recent terms of interventions by **the Fourth Generation of Peacekeeping operations**, takes cues from this and works further in conceptualising peace and security through human security<sup>2</sup> and Johan Galtung's **Positive Peace**.

While we often denote the concept of peace being directly relevant to the absence of violence, peace, with its many symbols and meanings, can go deeper in its representation, especially in conflict situations. Which is why, when we talk about an inter-state war heading for a ceasefire, we are not left with a long-term sense of peace, and are left hoping for more resolution. In this contemporary world of violence and non-traditional war, we are forced to understand that an absence of direct, armed conflict is not peace and that for true peace, or positive peace to grow, we need to have sustainable and holistic resolutions of conflict that support rebuilding and restructuring infrastructure and ensuring public security in its actual sense. In other words, we

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<sup>1</sup>Bellamy, A. (2004). The 'Next Stage' in Peace Operations Theory? *International Peacekeeping*, 11(1), 17–38.

<sup>2</sup>Kaldor, M. (2007). *Human security: reflections on globalization and intervention*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

need **Peacebuilding**. Peacebuilding usually comes after peacemaking (efforts to resolve a conflict while in its latent phases through negotiations, mitigations, etc.) and peacekeeping (armed or unarmed intervention during violent conflict by a third party state or organisation) efforts are come and gone, perhaps in a ceasefire state, where a state still carrying its wounds of war requires restructuring state administration, readdressing and reestablishing of infrastructure as well as restoring the relationship between the conflicting parties. This paper will briefly try to explain the development of Fourth Generation Peacekeeping in the contemporary conflictual world, and how it works towards sustainable peace for war-torn states. The paper will explain it by discussing conflict resolution and peacebuilding and talk about the reasons behind why fourth generation operations are not more in vogue.

### **Conflict Resolution Becoming Central for Humanitarianism**

Johan Galtung, a pioneer of Peace and Conflict Research has said, “By Peace we mean the capacity to transform conflicts with empathy, without violence, and creatively- a never-ending process.”<sup>3</sup> With humanitarian concerns advancing more into the forefront, peace operations have gone through a three-part cumulative progression in terms of their central purpose<sup>4</sup>. Conflict resolutions include processes and instruments that support peace endeavours and resolve conflicts at their latent or manifested stage. First, the conflict resolutions were added collective security concerns based on the Westphalian order and later **humanitarian** preoccupations. Then, they became a key element in the attempt to reconstitute the central organising principle of Westphalian sovereignty, development from their previous use as a case-bound conflict resolution tool. And finally, peace operations began to gain a place on the lateral notion of non-intervention, humanitarian concerns, like dispatching an increasing number of peace operations to distributing of relief, protecting of civilians, etc. and from here peace operations began to make its niche in political discourse and academic discussions with regards to conflict management, humanitarianism and collective security.

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<sup>3</sup>Galtung, J. Culture of empathy builder: Johan Galtung. (n.d.). Retrieved September 3, 2020, from Cultureofempathy.com website: <http://cultureofempathy.com/References/Experts/Johan-Galtung.htm>

<sup>4</sup>Kenkel, K. M. (2013). Five generations of peace operations: from the “thin blue line” to “painting a country blue.” *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional*, 56(1), 122–143.

## **Generations of Peacekeeping**

Peacekeeping operation is an instrument of conflict resolution processes, mostly using two or more tools of conflict resolution, such as mediation, conciliation, arbitration and/or third-party intervention. These operations in practice can commonly be divided into generations, and despite not having clear demarcations of the beginning and subsequent end of its predecessor generation(s), the approaches taken into practice and based on the conflict resolving methods can be divided into four, and according to many academicians, five generations.

**First generation** was the traditional kind of peacekeeping missions. Mostly relevant in during 1948-1990, these were the **interposition missions**; the tasks were to observe, monitor and report. Supervision became a key response, to codify, elaborate and interpret agreements as well as implementation of peace agreements and conciliation between parties was prominent approaches to conflict resolution. Peacekeeping operations here were unarmed and the peacekeepers were ‘soldier diplomat’<sup>5</sup>. The United Nations Truce Supervision, deployed in the Middle East, founded in 1948, the United Nations Monitoring and Observation Group in India and Pakistan, active in Kashmir since 1949 and UNFICYP, deployed to Cyprus following that island’s partition in 1964 are examples of First Generation peacekeeping.

**The Second generation** Peacekeeping missions are of **multidimensional forced**. During these operations, call for separate combatants and peacekeeping forces in pre-formed units were made, calling for civilian forces for the first time, who were armed for only self-defence. Second generation peacekeeping operations always fall under the auspices of Chapter VI of the UN Charter, stating no changes to be made under the rule of engagement, meaning that the success of these operations depended entirely on the goodwill of the parties involved. There have been a remarkable number of successful cases on these kinds of operations, examples like the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (UNOMOZ), United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia, and the United Nations Observer Group in El Salvador (ONUSAL) are

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<sup>5</sup>Woodhouse, A. S.-M. T. (n.d.). The United Nations, armed conflict and peacekeeping. Retrieved September 3, 2020, from Uoc.edu website:

[http://openaccess.uoc.edu/webapps/o2/bitstream/10609/50481/2/United%20Nations%20and%20peace%20operations\\_Unit1\\_The%20United%20Nations%2C%20armed%20conflict%20and%20peacekeeping.pdf](http://openaccess.uoc.edu/webapps/o2/bitstream/10609/50481/2/United%20Nations%20and%20peace%20operations_Unit1_The%20United%20Nations%2C%20armed%20conflict%20and%20peacekeeping.pdf)

worth mentioning<sup>6</sup>. **Third generation** peacekeeping operations expanded peacekeeping within the limits of the UN's ability and started to become more smaller in size, complex and based on robust application of Chapter VII of the UN Charter, multidimensional and mostly **Peacebuilding operations**<sup>7</sup>. By then the conflict arising due to Cold War and in post-Cold War had begun to dominate schools of thought and global leaders, and the main threats were being faced from armed attacks or invasions, civil war, human rights violations, and terrorism. So, the goals had now become national and international stability, ceasefires, peace agreements, conflict



*Figure 1 Overview of the Generations of Peacekeeping Operations (Source: Annotated by the Author).*

management and resolution. It focused more on civil military actions, enforcing ceasefires and rebuilding failed states. The robust approach meant that the consent of the conflicting parties were not required.

**The Fourth generation** peacekeeping missions are known for their **transitional administrations**. These are rarely referred to as ‘peacekeeping’ and the actions are delegated to other international operations such as NATO, as seen in the case of Bosnia in mid-1990’s. Here, the operations lead nations and regional organisations to conduct peace enforcement operations, and are known to be robust, taking more peacebuilding activities including peace enforcement, building of institution, and on some occasions, temporary exercise of sovereignty. Another

<sup>6</sup>Doyle and Rosalyn, M. (1995). *Second-Generation Peacekeeping*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>7</sup>Peacekeeping to peacebuilding | . (n.d.). Retrieved September 3, 2020, from Lawexplores.com website: <https://lawexplores.com/peacekeeping-to-peacebuilding/>

example is seen in the intervention of ECOWAS in the peace mission in Liberia (UNMIL). Often, a few operations were argued by many scholars to be Fifth generation operation, known to be a hybridisation<sup>8</sup>; although this hybrid feature is already present in Fourth generation. These missions deploy troops and police personnel under mixed command, having both the United Nations and various regional organisations deploying troops to the same missions under separate chains of command and distinct forms of mandate. Another example stands out on the fourth generation peacekeeping mission of MINUSTAH in Haiti, where a majority of troops came from South America and the mission's main focus was on economic development and societal stability.

### **Fourth Generation Peacekeeping: Peacebuilding for Contemporary Conflicts**

Fourth generation Peace operations in the current typology are a combination of robust peacebuilding operations and elevated approvals to use force with enhanced civilian forces that are more 'intrusive' in terms of their effect on local autonomy, compared to the Second generation<sup>9</sup>. The missions that fall under this generation is known in analytical literatures and national doctrines as peace support operations. The contention remains with peacebuilding as a concept though, the definition used in UN practice is taken from Boutros-Ghali's Agenda for Peace,

action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict...(page 15). Through agreements ending civil strife, these may include disarming the previously warring parties and the restoration of order, the custody and possible destruction of weapons, repatriating refugees, advisory and training support for security personnel, monitoring elections, advancing efforts to protect human rights, reforming or strengthening governmental institutions and promoting formal and informal processes of political participation (page 55)"<sup>10</sup>

Setting a clear concept of peacebuilding was hence formulated.

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<sup>8</sup>Kenkel, K. M. (2013). Five generations of peace operations: from the "thin blue line" to "painting a country blue." *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional*, 56(1), 135–136

<sup>9</sup>Bellamy, A. J., Williams, P. D., & Griffin, S. (2010). *Understanding Peacekeeping* (2nd ed.). Oxford, England: Polity Press.

<sup>10</sup>Boutros-Ghali, B. (1992). *An Agenda For Peace*.

Peacebuilding, as pointed out before, became vital post-Cold War, an epoch brought in by the definitive victory of freemarket capitalism and liberal democracy. And further cementing the idea of Democratic **Peace**, it became a clear belief that liberal democratic states do not go to war with each other. So, implementing democracy became a practice, popularised by peace operations as conflict management. This facilitated elections, repatriation of refugees, reestablishing infrastructures, political parties and strengthening government institutions; all stated in Boutros-Ghali's definition.

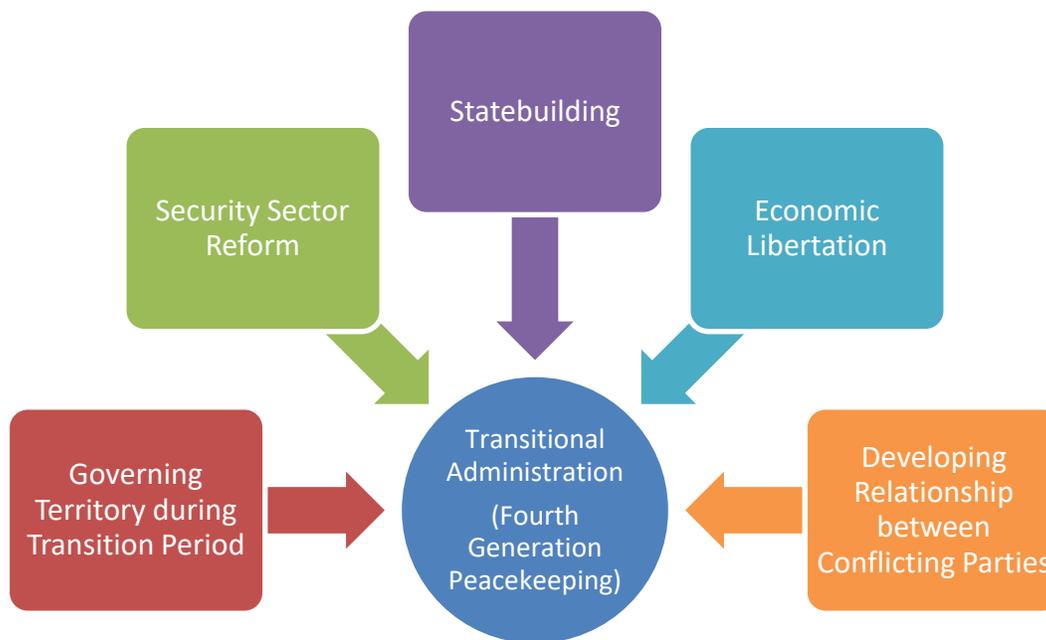


Figure 2 Elements of Fourth Generation Peacekeeping Operations (Source: Annotated by the Author).

An extreme form of robust peacebuilding is the ‘Transitional Administration’, where the UN peace operation has the effective power to exercise of sovereignty over a given territory, and under the Head of UN mission temporarily lied all executive, legislative, and judicial authority. Only four such administrations have been set up till date, between 1995 till 1999<sup>11</sup>, in East Timor, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Eastern Slavonia, and Kosovo. Peacebuilding missions of Fourth generation operations have means of achieving their end pursuing predominantly through two simultaneous processes of **Institutionalisation** and **Economic Liberalisation**, and among them,

<sup>11</sup>DiFelice, B. (2007). International Transitional Administration: The United Nations in East Timor, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Eastern Slavonia, and Kosovo. *International Journal of Legal Information*, 35(1), 53–60.

institutionalisation consists of direct external involvement in the shaping of government institutions, adapting a subcategory of peacebuilding called *Statebuilding*. This marks a significant shift in the ways international intervention are achieved. The end goal of the fourth generation operations are to hand over the power to a peaceful, stable country governed by a democratically elected local leadership.

Fourth generation operations also call for regional organisations such as NATO or Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) to cope with the multidimensional demands of peacekeeping operations. These operations are a combination of military, police and civilian led activities under a mixed command mechanism, in which UN and other international or regional organisations deploy troops and civil personnel for an operation under several chain of commands. This, as we previously mentioned, is the hybridisation of operations, known now as the Fifth generation operations. Because of the ways peacekeeping missions under a transitional administration of UN are catered based on the needs of the aggrieved parties of a conflict and taking support from regional organisation as well as local civil services, readdressing and reestablishing administration and peacebuilding for a sustainable sovereign and stable state in positive peace seems like the kind of peace operation much needed for contemporary conflicts. From the successful precursors of the transitional administration, in Cambodia and West Papua, to the newer case East Timor, we see a vein of hope for contemporary conflicts being settled in peaceful elections as power is handed over to more stable governments. However, so is not the case for all, and since 1999, we have not seen any newer cases of transitional administrations by UN peacekeeping operations. So, the question is, how is this generation of peace operation failing?

### **Criticism of Fourth Generation Peacekeeping**

While we spoke of the latest cases, we mentioned the peacekeeping mission in Kosovo, UNMIK, a mission under the fourth generation operations that argumentatively, failed to settle the regional concerns of stable government and establishing equal rights for the conflicting ethnic parties. While calling it a failure is a stretch, since it did manage to successfully calm the volatile situation and created a noticeable progress in the department of justice and security, the issue related to the settlement with Serbia, they did not succeed. Most experts also agree that the UN failed to create a stable political system with functioning institutions to assist and support a

working administration. The main reason for this seemed to be that UNMIK did not involve local population in their decision-making, marginalising them, which led to a fall for support for UNMIK till its eventual demise in 2007<sup>12</sup>. KFOR on the other hand, was a peace force set up by NATO as a ‘leading support organisation’ for the region, still remains. There was a subsequent EU takeover from UN that is slowly making its case for a peaceful future.

The issues do not just lie in recognition of all conflicting parties, as seen in the case for Kosovo, but with the overall longevity transition period too. Questions regarding the process, whether it is a transitional administration or a form of neo-colonialism is also posed, and experts ask if this process of peacebuilding renders the conflicting state dependent on international rule. Another issue is brought in with the extent of international involvement, and whether it is welcoming by local government or not, issues that overall have snagged at future cases for fourth generation peacekeeping.

## **Conclusion**

With the new generations of peacekeeping operations evolving, we can notice the central essence of serving human rights and humanitarianism becoming more prioritised. Fourth generation believes in establishing sustainable peace that encourages better local democracy and ensures public security. Contemporary conflicts are now fought more over identity, rights and integrity rather than territory. Conflicts over social identity hence are protracted and prolonged and the end of which still carry grievances of the parties losing their demands. A transitional administration hence seems like a strong support a conflictual state can depend on while it recuperates to stand on its own. It all depends on whether this peacebuilding process for the contemporary conflicts of the world is executed well and how much it is accepted by the parties to make it a true success.

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<sup>12</sup>Analysis: The UN in Kosovo- Success or Failure? (2015). Retrieved September 2, 2020, from EU Reporter website: <https://www.eureporter.co/world/2015/04/17/analysis-the-un-in-kosovo-success-or-failure/>

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