

Preventive Diplomacy

In Conflicts:

Role of the

Regional Inter-State Organizations

ΑΠΜΑΤΑ
τηλ.: 53
53 06 00



PREVENTION includes
not only pre-conflict diplomacy.

PREVENTIVE elements,
PREVENTIVE functions
are present in course
of international interference in
erupted conflicts, preventing from
further escalation and more blood

PREVENTION is broader than
pre-conflict diplomacy.

PREVENTIVE elements are
in-built components
of all peace support operations
of the UN
and regional organizations
(including military operations)

Sovereignty

**International
interference**

**Great
powers**

**Great
Organizations**

Who has the right
to interfere on behalf of the
International Community ?

Not Nations, but...

United Nations.



Also Chapter VIII
regional security organisations:

OSCE. EU. NATO.

AU. ECOWAS. IGAD. SADC

LAS. OIC.

ARF. OAS.

CIS. CSTO

Legitimacy of Intervention in Conflicts

Article 51 of UN Charter – Self-Defense

Chapter VI rules = Peace-keeping (PK)

**Chapter VII rules = Peace Enforcement
(PE)**

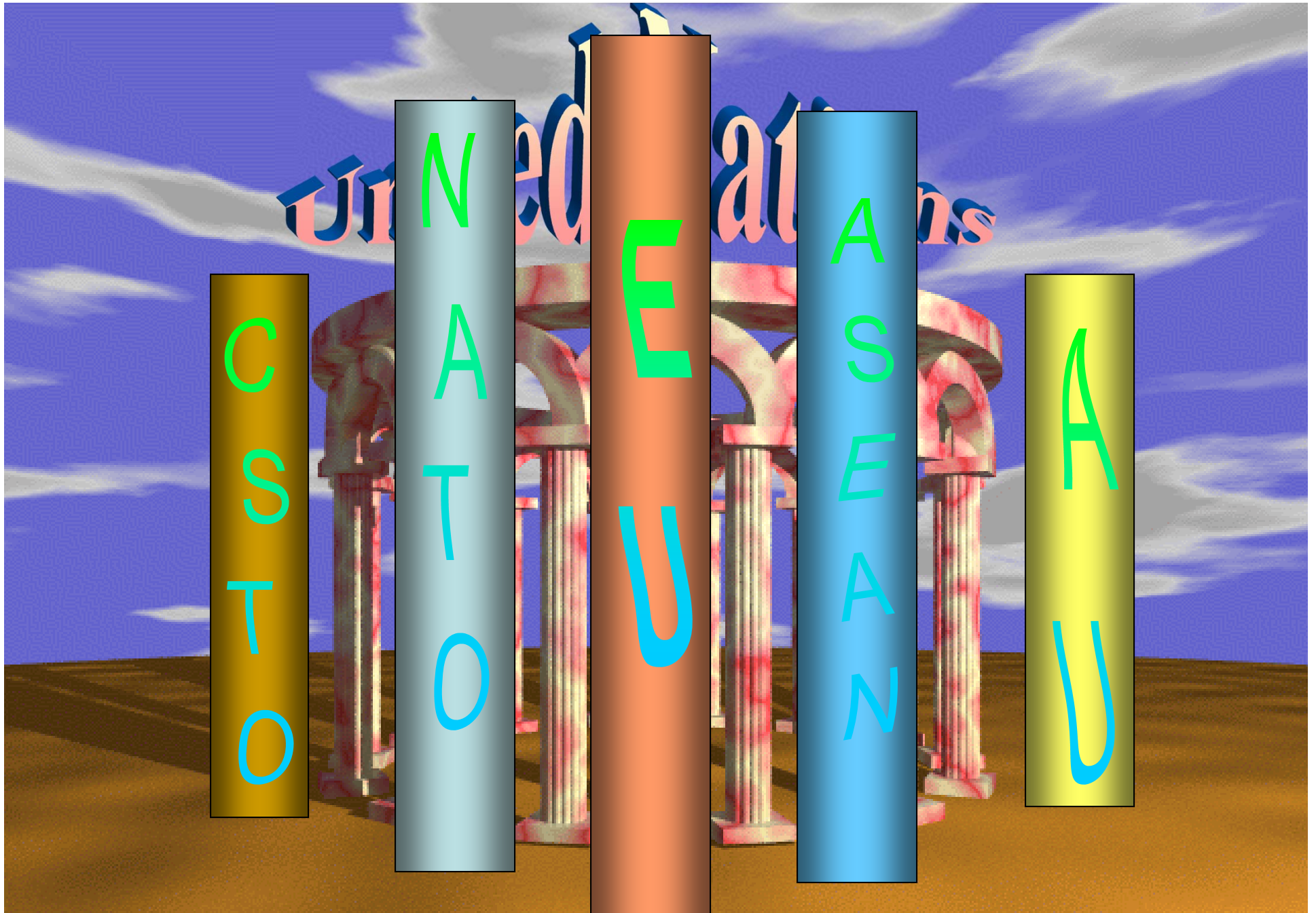
Chapter VIII=Functions of Regional Org.

Legitimization of Intervention

UN Peace Operations (PK + PE)

**Operations of Regional Organizations
(legally – PK only, not PE)**

**Operations of states and coalitions
on the basis of Interstate Agreements
(Legitimate Interventions on Request)**



Strong regional organizations represent new multilateralism

REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Continental regional organizations with universal representation of states:

America

OAS

Africa

AU (53)

Eurasia

OSCE (56+)

Asia

-

Sub-regional organizations :

OPANAL

MERCOSUR

ECOWAS

IGAD

SADC

CSSDC

NATO

EU

CIS/CSTO

SCO

ASEAN

ARF

APEC

**Regional international
organizations
(RIOs)
are
structured sub-groups
of powers.**

**Use of force
on behalf of world community
through UN and RIOs
became a field for conflict
of great powers' interests**

Trends:

**-International Community
interferes more often and broader**

**From interference into
inter-state wars
towards interference into
internal conflicts
and overthrowing regimes
(Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya)**

International Community

IS RESPONSIBLE

for democracy and human rights
inside its member-states.

**But who judges and
who executes ?**

In UN - no consensus
on many operations





- Coordination mechanisms between great powers do not work in times of crises
(Ukraine,
Russian-Georgian war,
Iraq,
'color revolutions',
revolts in Arab world)

A photograph of a large fire, likely a forest fire, with bright orange and yellow flames rising from a dark, charred ground. In the foreground, a red fire hydrant is visible. The background shows dark, charred trees and smoke. The text is overlaid on the image in white, bold, sans-serif font.

**BROKEN INTERACTION
IN TIMES OF
RUSSIAN--GEORGIAN WAR
OF 2008**

**AND UKRAINIAN-RUSSIAN
CRISIS OF 2014**

Breaking dialogue in times of crisis:

- **NAC decision**

**To break main political channel -
to freeze NATO-Russian Council**

- **Russian decision**

**To break main military channel -
NATO-Russian Mil-to-mil cooperation**



**Ad hoc personal “deals”
are not a reliable solution**

**“All-weather” stable mechanisms
of coordination between
OSCE, UN, NATO, NRC, CSTO,
are required**

**which do not break,
but activate interaction in times
of crises**



Putin :

**Russia is not only great European power.
It is as well a great Asian power.**



Legitimate Interference: UN

Regional
Organisations

Ad-hoc
Coalitions
of States

UN
Standing
Forces

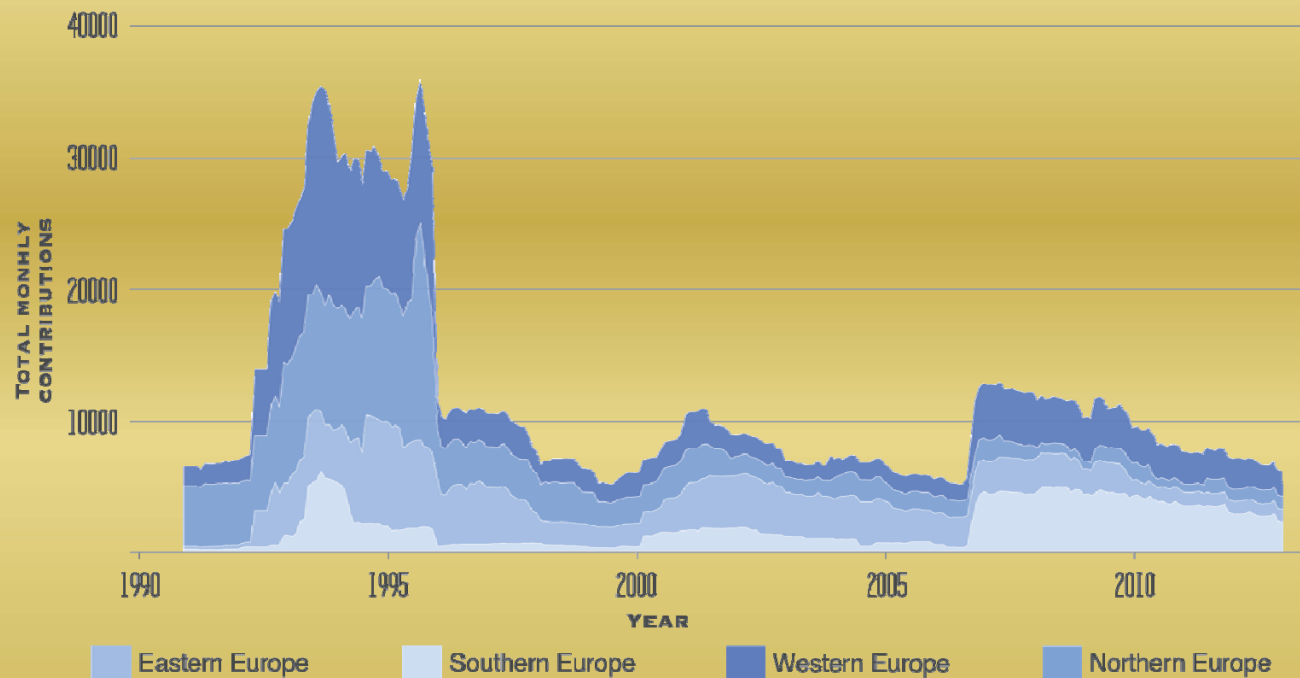
EU RR ECOMOG
CSTO CORF AU Forces
NATO RF

WHO ACTS ON BEHALF OF UN ?

**Model 1: *ad hoc* Coalition of powers
coordinated directly by the UN**

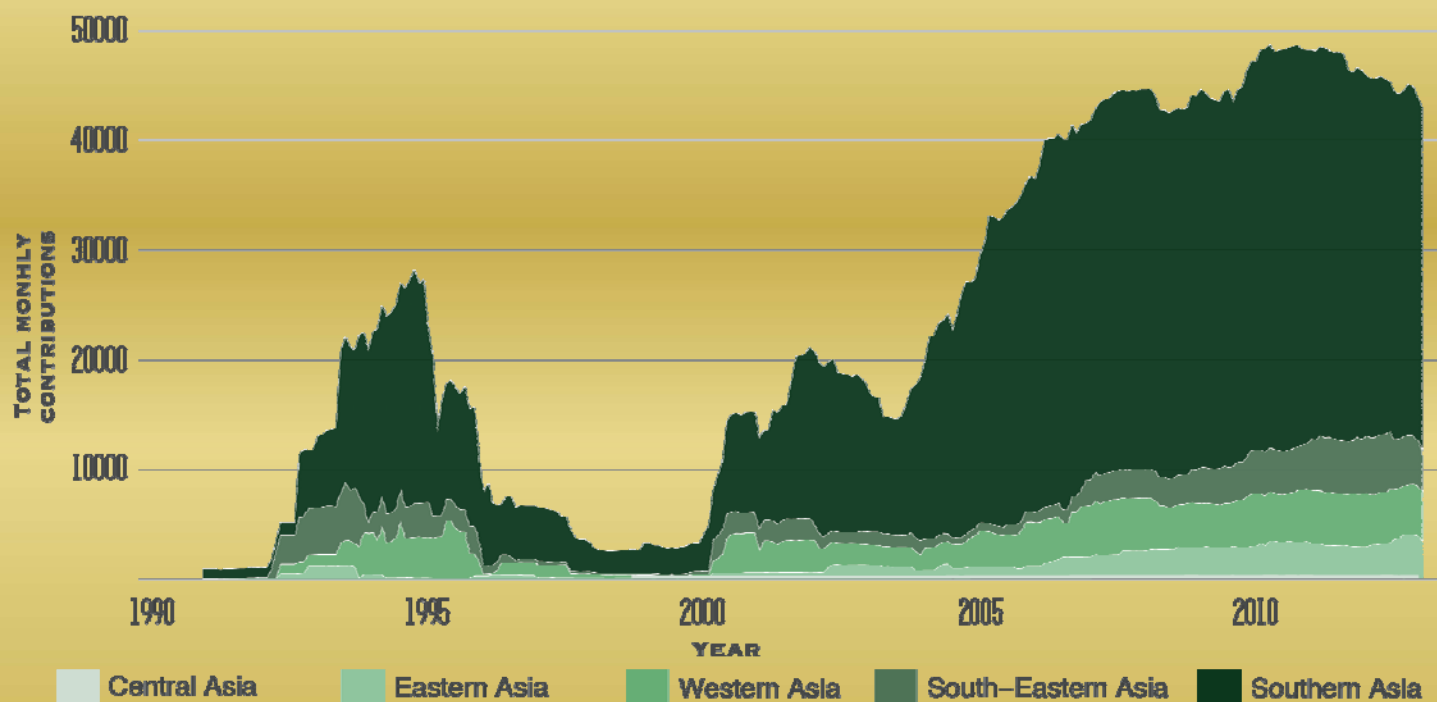
**Model 2: Regional organization (RIO)
(NATO, EU, AU, etc.) with
regional crisis response forces
or national armed forces**

Europe



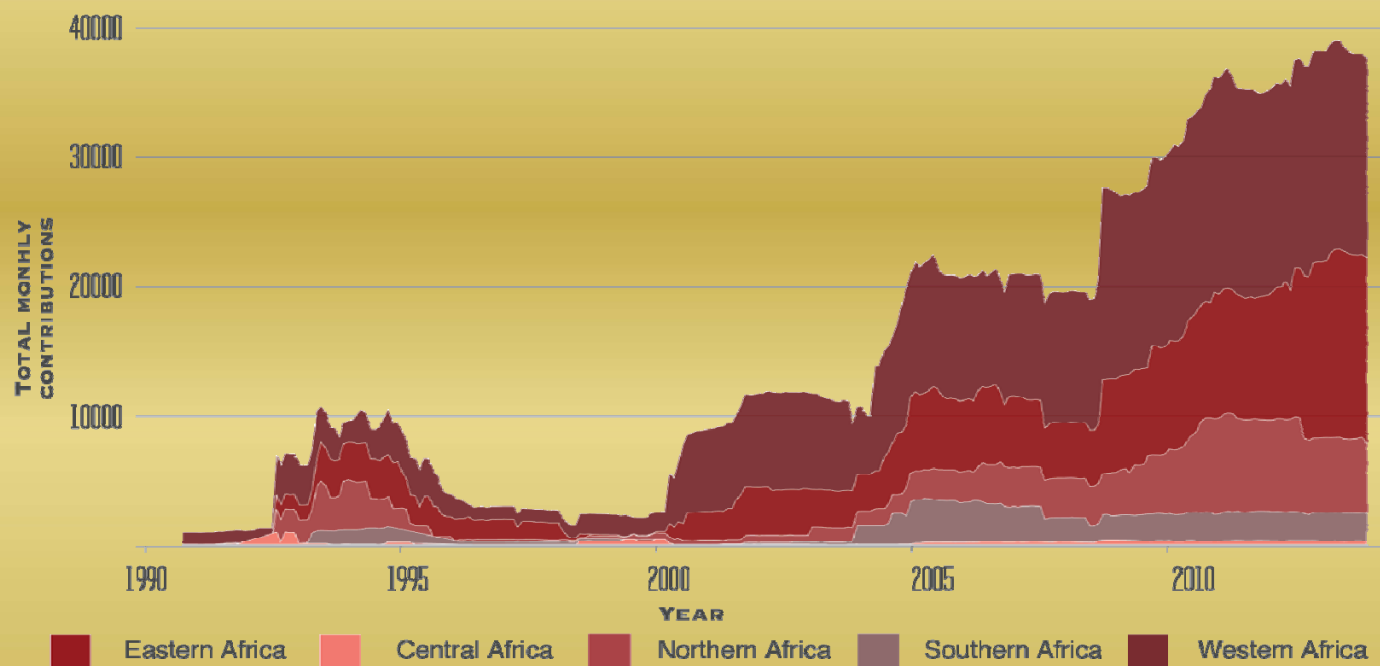
At the end of 2012, European countries provided 6,115 uniformed personnel to UN peacekeeping operations, or 6.5% of the global total. As with other regions, the number of European countries contributing to UN peacekeeping has grown over the last two decades, from 19 in 1992 to 34 at the end of 2012. A small spike in contributions from Europe starting in 2007 was largely driven by the Spanish, Italian and Irish forces participating in Lebanon (UNIFIL). Overall contribution numbers from Europe, however, are about 25% of the region's peak figures from the period 1993-95.

Asia



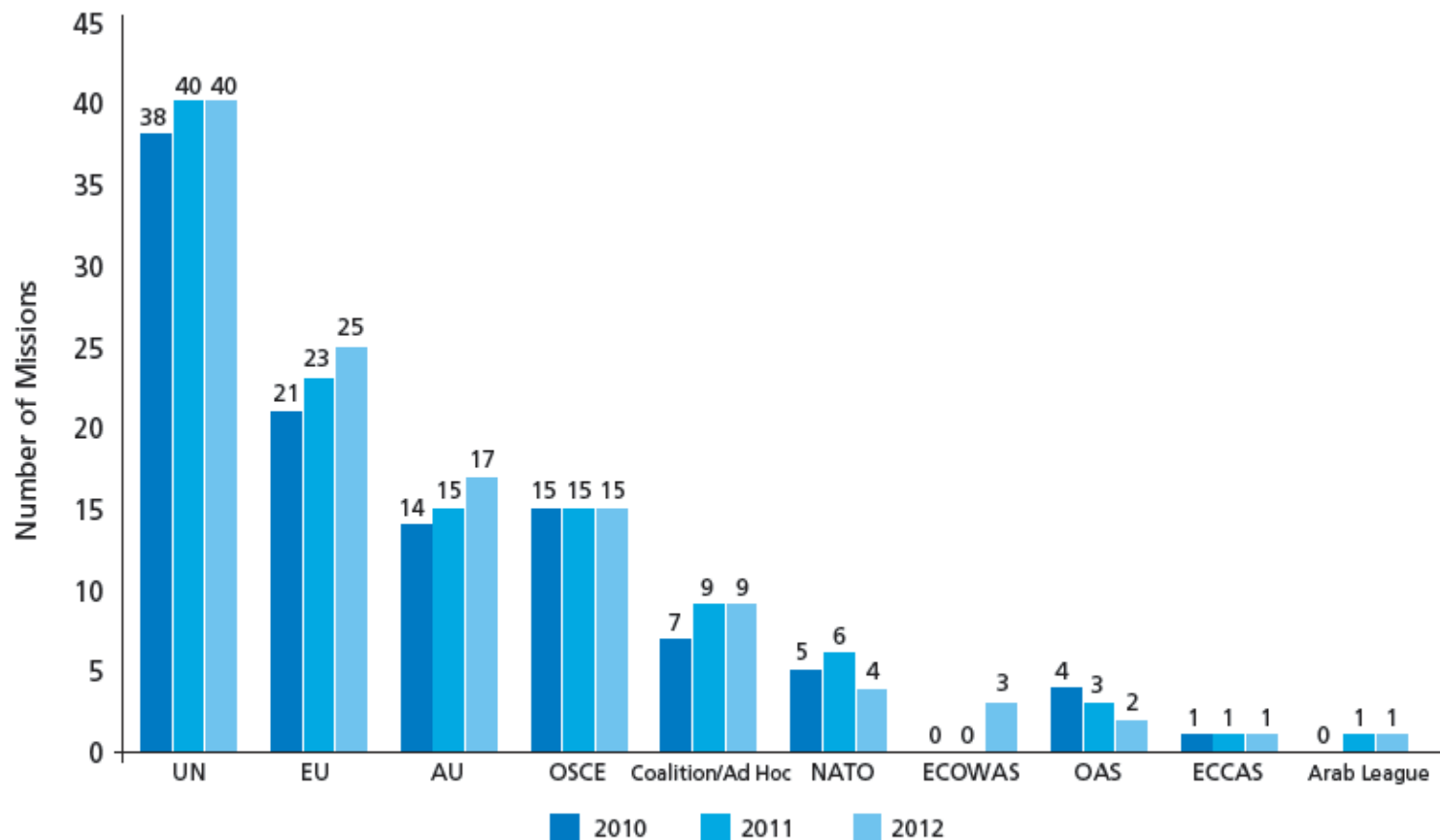
Asian countries provide the most uniformed personnel to UN peacekeeping, accounting for 46 percent of the total (42,939 of 94,081) in December 2012. Twenty-four countries from the region contribute at present, up from eight in 1990 and sixteen in 2001. The three largest contributors to UN peacekeeping come from Southern Asia: Pakistan, Bangladesh and India, which together accounted for 27 percent of all UN peacekeepers. These three countries, along with Jordan and Nepal, provide 52 percent of all UN police.

Africa



At the end of 2012, African countries provided 37,189 uniformed personnel to UN peacekeeping operations, or 39.5% of the global total. In a fairly short period of time, from 2002 to 2008, the number of African countries contributing to UN peacekeeping doubled (from 20 to 40), surpassing the total number of European contributors. As seen in the graph above, a large portion of Africa's contributions to UN peacekeeping operations have been driven by substantial contributions from Western Africa (Ghana and Nigeria in particular). In recent years, Eastern Africa, led by Ethiopia and Rwanda, has increased its share as well.

Total Number of Missions by Organization: 2010–2012



Note: Includes both military and civilian-led missions that were operational for any period between January and December of each year. The UN Special Envoy for the Sahel, EUAVSEC South Sudan, ECOMIB, the ECOWAS Envoy to Mali, and the ECOWAS Envoy to Guinea-Bissau are counted in the graph, but are not presented in the data sections of this *Annual Review*.





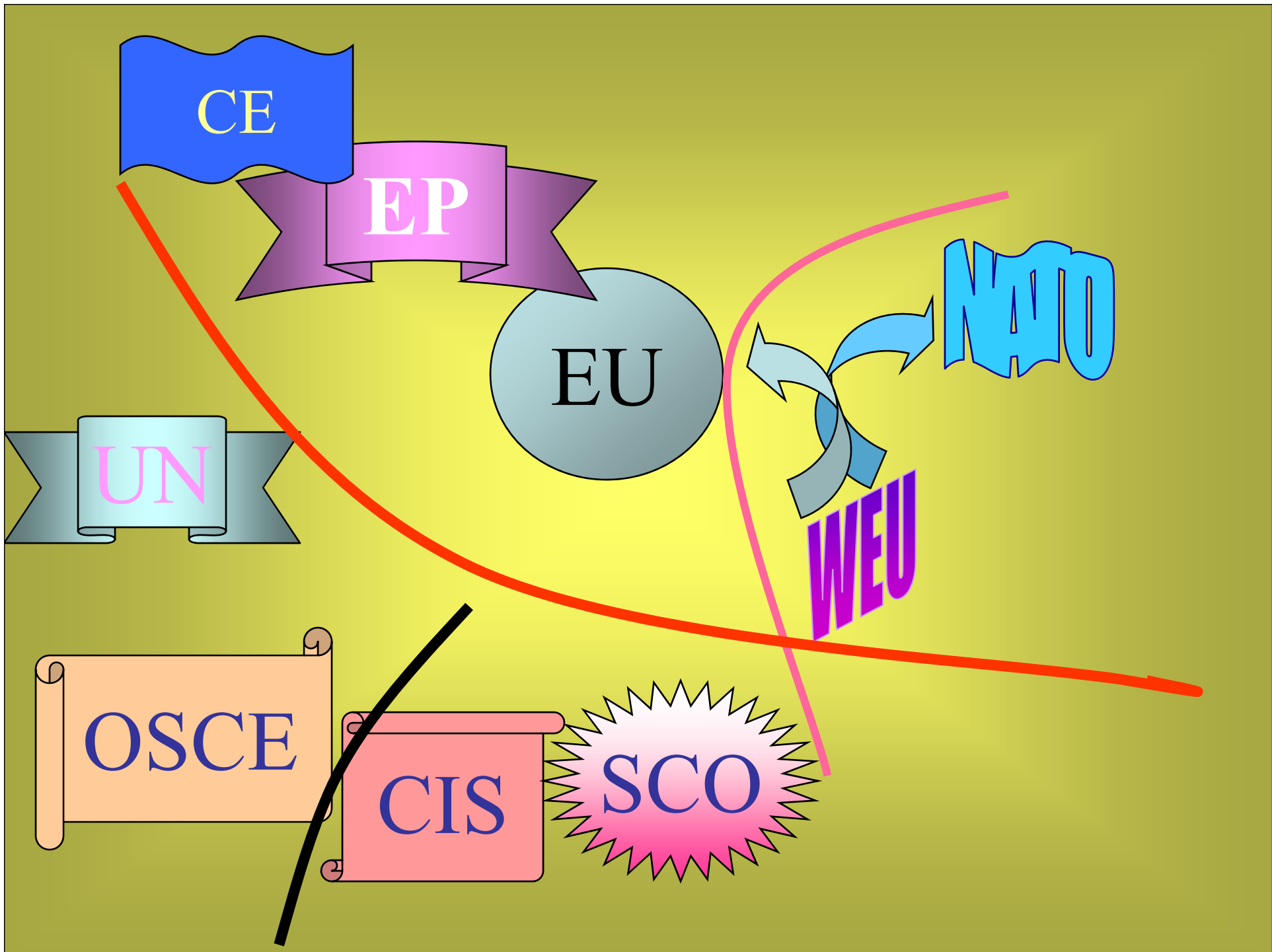
European Security Charter

“OSCE is a primary organization for peaceful settlement of disputes... key instrument for early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation”

OSCE

**Except for abortive attempt of
Peacekeeping in Karabakh (in 1993)
OSCE has no record or experience of
peace-keeping with military elements**

**But does mediation, observation, post-
conflict reconstruction of political system**



13 current EU Operations

Peace Operations

with Military Force: 3

- EUFOR ALTHEA
- EUNAVFOR – Atlanta
- EUTM SOMALIA

Peace Operations

Civilian personnel : 10

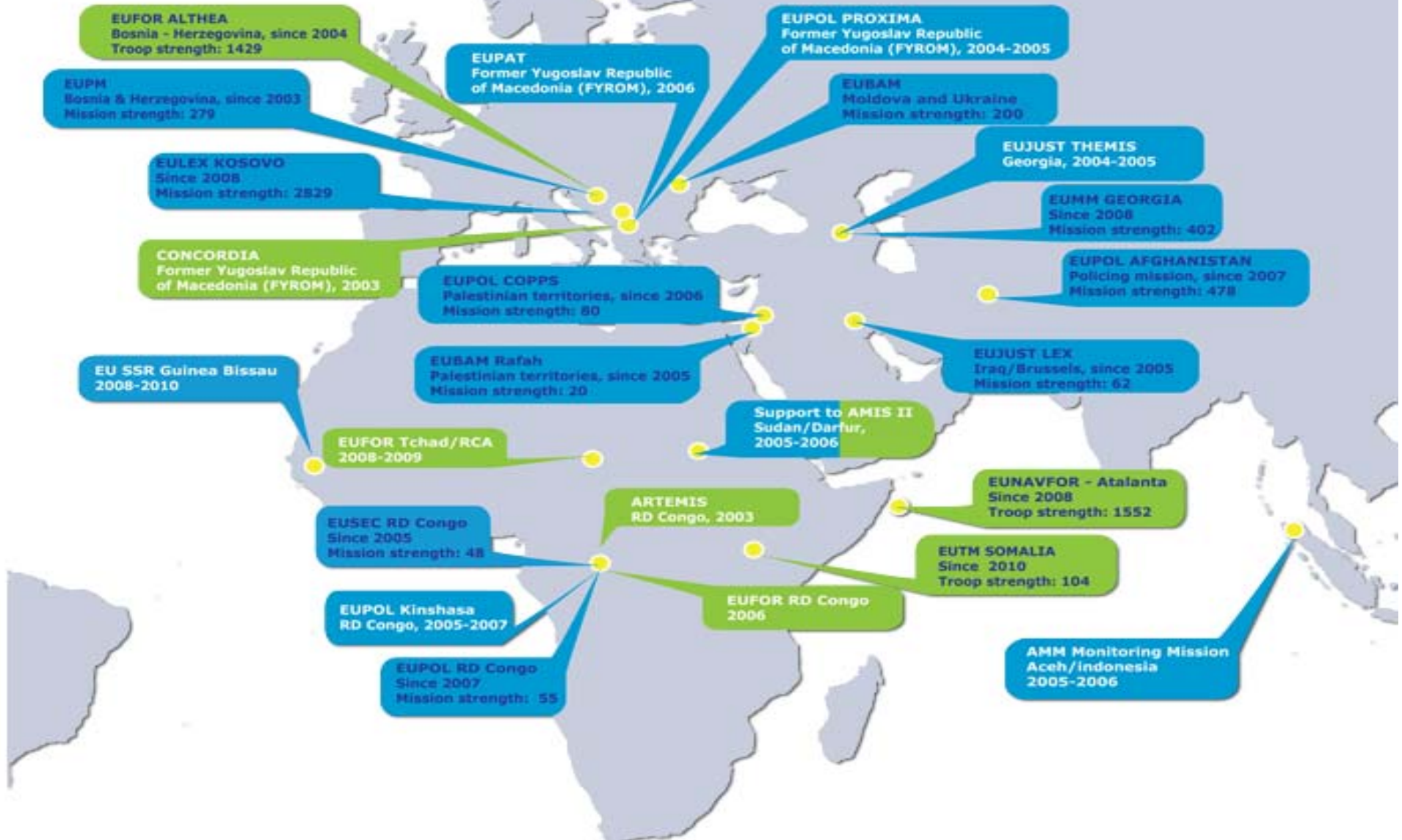
- EUBAM
- EUBAM Rafah
- EUJUST LEX
- EULEX KOSOVO
- EUMM GEORGIA
- EUPM
- EUPOL AFGHANISTAN
- EUPOL COPPS
- EUPOL RD Congo
- EUSEC RD Congo

EU Operations

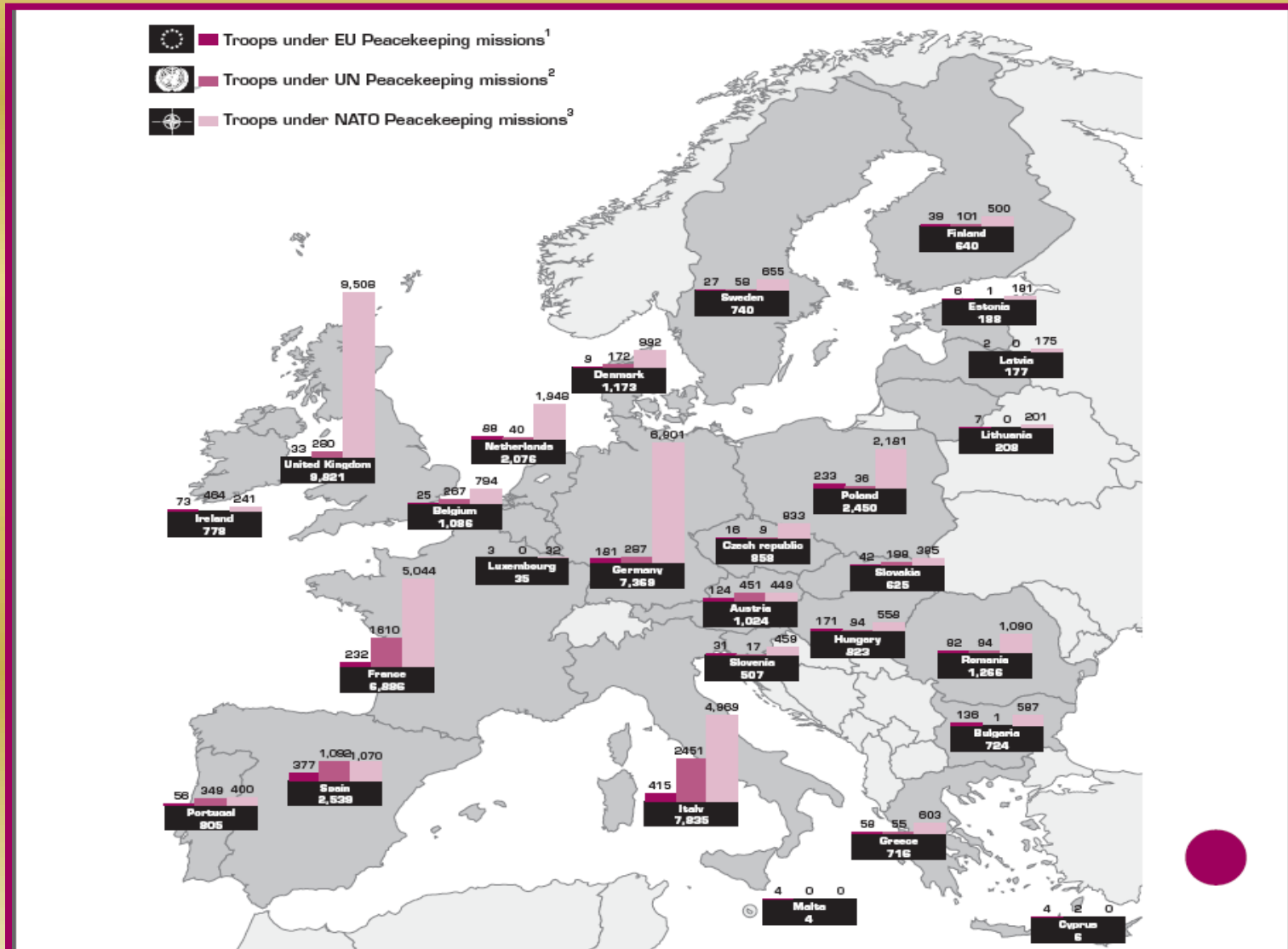
Civilian missions: ongoing/completed

Military operations: ongoing/completed

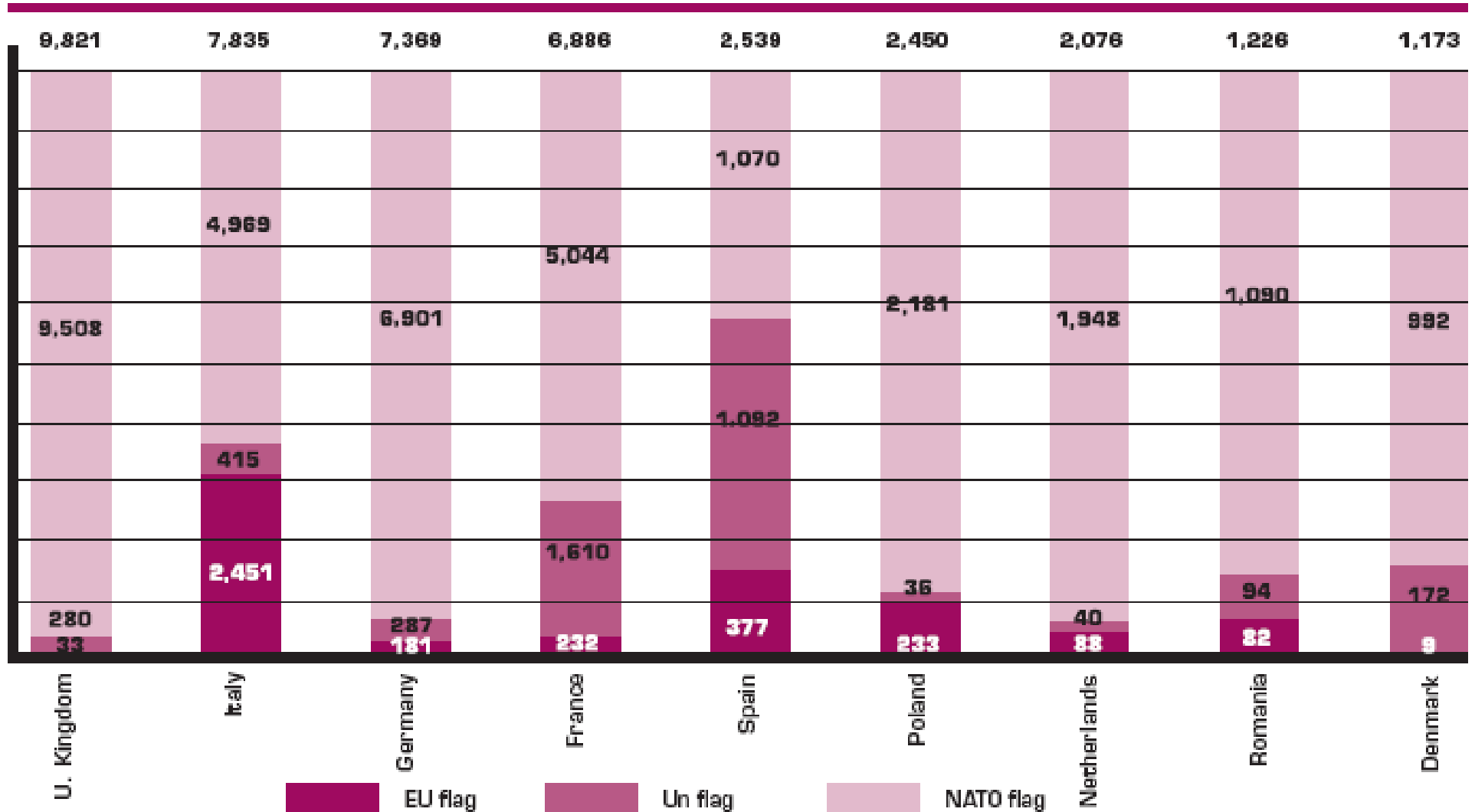
"Strengths take into account international and local staff"



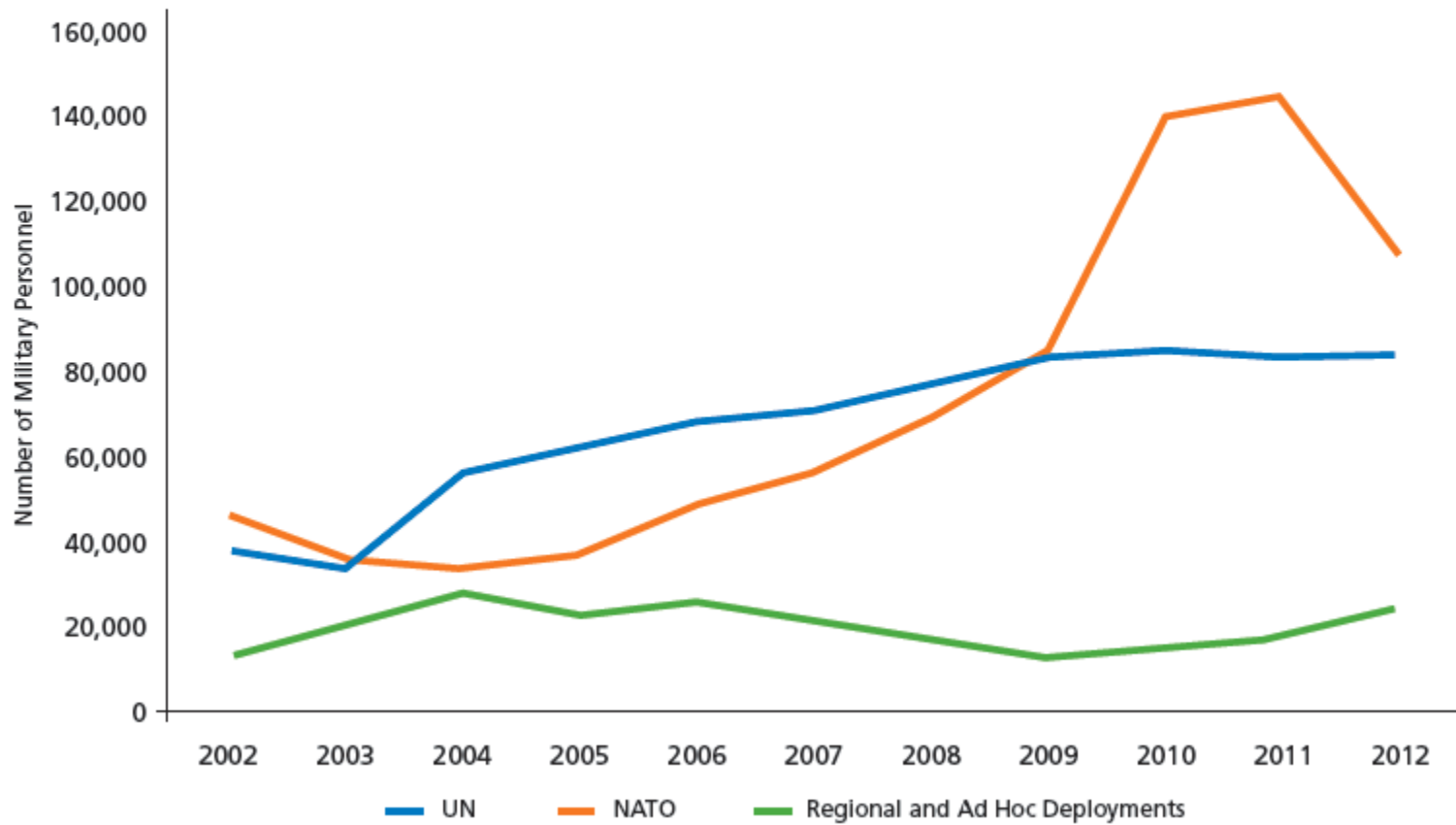
Troops Deployed in Peace Operations of UN, EU, NATO



Troops to Operations under NATO flag dominate over EU and UN



Total Military Contributions to UN Peacekeeping and Non-UN Military Operations: 2002–2012



Dayton

High Rep.

Bosnia

NATO

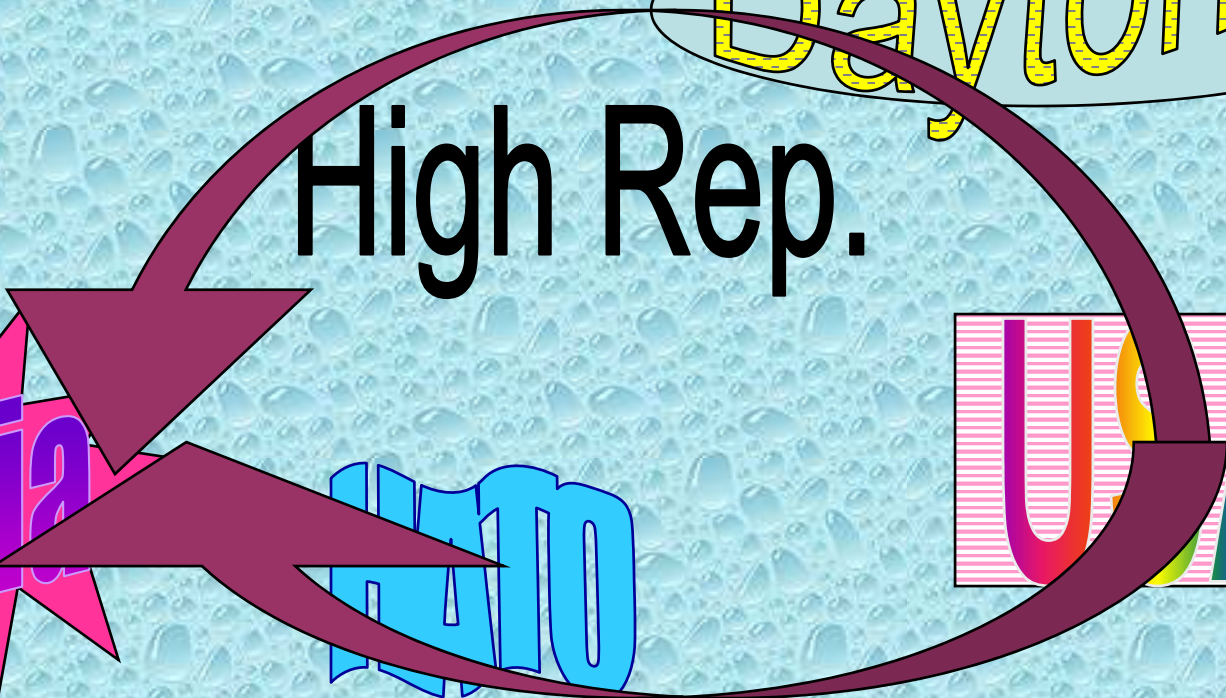
USA

~~UN~~

~~OSCE~~

G7

RUSSIA



Central Asia



Tajik Peace Accords (June 1997)

- Political Agreement
 - Military Protocol
 - Protocol on Refugees
 - National Reconciliation Commission
 - Protocol of Guarantees
- Tajik gov-t
 - United Tajik Opposition (UTO)
 - Russia
 - Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan
 - Turkmenistan, Iran
 - Afghanistan, Pakistan,
 - UN, OSCE, OIC

President Rakhmonov

UTO Leader Nouriddin

UN Rep Merriem

1990s – operations

“Six and a Half”

**(just mediation and prevention
by mandate,
but coercive use of force
in fact)**

Six and a Half (between PK and PE)

White Helmets – Diplomats, civ.missions

**Blue Helmets – Observers, mediators,
Chapter VI tasks**

**Green Helmets – Regular military forces
of states or coalitions under UN mandate**

**2000-2014 – operations
“Seven and a Half”**

**(by regional organizations
like NATO, EU, AU,
but with strong coercive
use of force)**

Shifts in functions

**1990s: From unarmed observers
to heavily armed military forces
+ intelligence
+ air-force, naval support**

2000s: From military to police functions

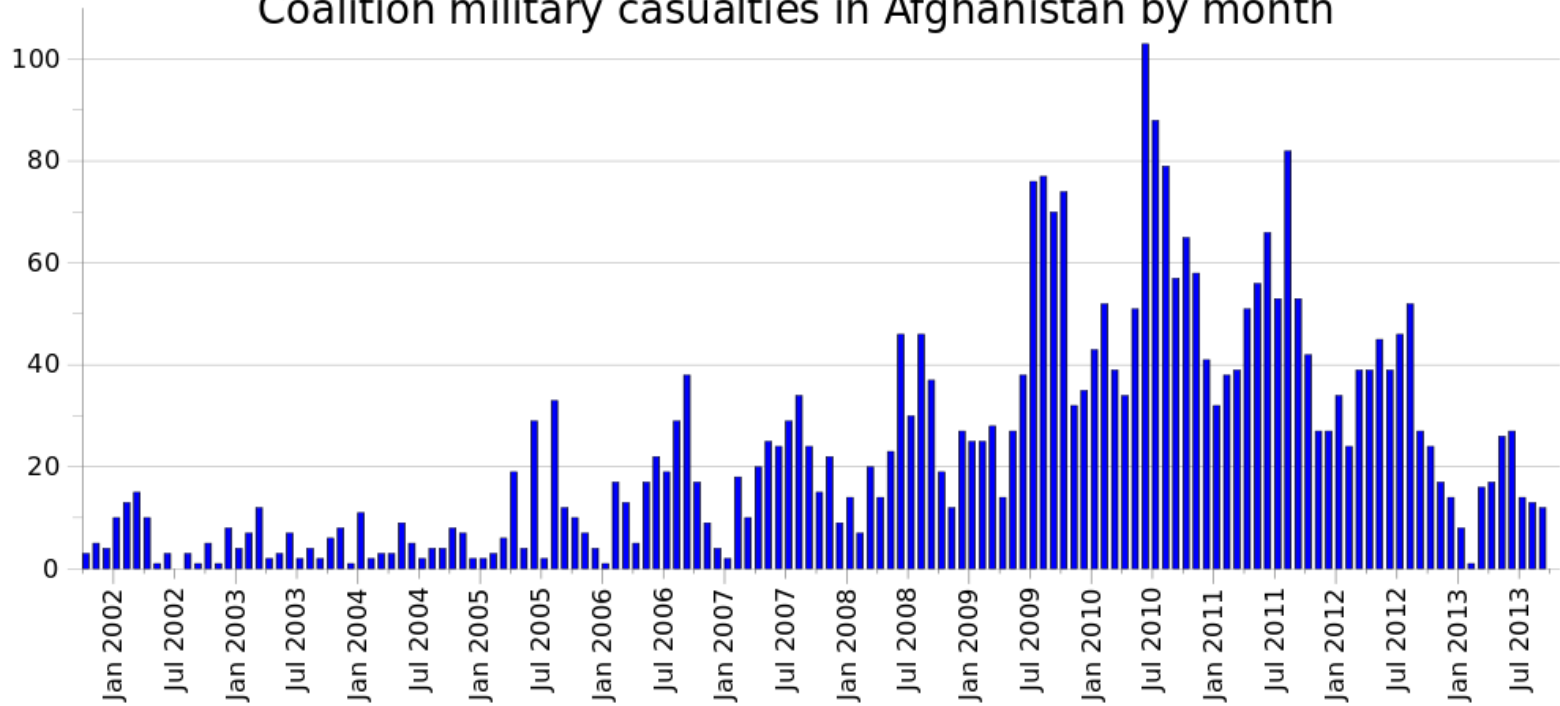
Regional Commands & Major Units (>700 troops)



Coalition under NATO command in Afghanistan plans to withdraw in 2014. Now it becomes a serious problem for Russia.

	Albania	250		Greece	135		Portugal	115
	Armenia	40		Hungary	520		Romania	1695
	Australia	1550		Iceland	5		Singapore	50
	Austria	3		Ireland	7		Slovakia	300
	Azerbaijan	95		Italy	3770		Slovenia	80
	Belgium	530		Jordan	0		Spain	1470
	Bosnia & Herzegovina	45		Republic of Korea	245		Sweden	500
	Bulgaria	610		Latvia	135		The FYROM*	165
	Canada	2905		Lithuania	180		Tonga	55
	Croatia	290		Luxembourg	9		Turkey	1825
	Czech Republic	470		Malaysia	30		Ukraine	20
	Denmark	750		Mongolia	60		United Arab Emirates	35
	Estonia	160		Montenegro	35		United Kingdom	9500
	Finland	165		Netherlands	195		United States	90000
	France	4000		New Zealand	235			
	Georgia	925		Norway	415			
	Germany	4920		Poland	2490		Total	131,983

Coalition military casualties in Afghanistan by month

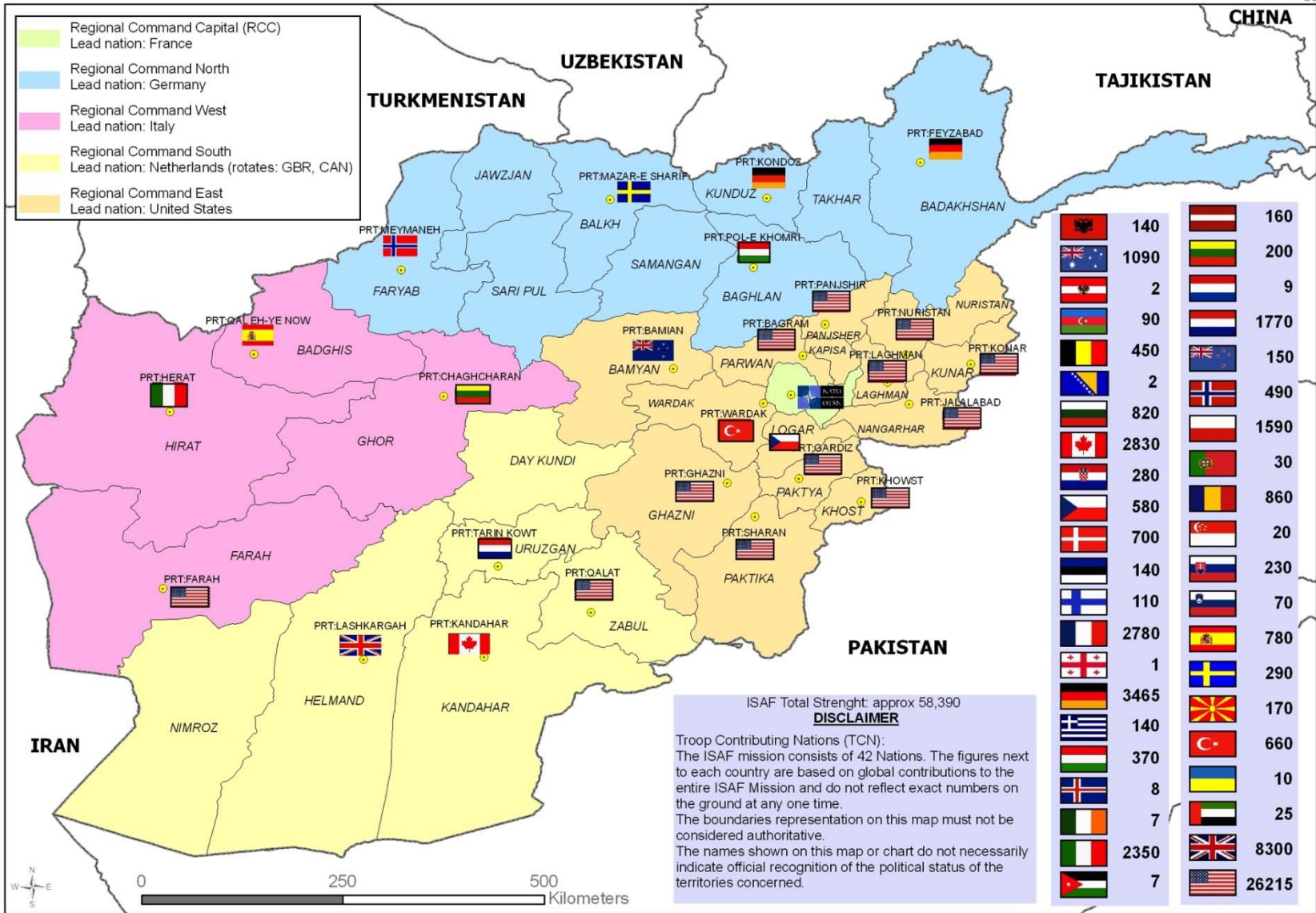




AFGHANISTAN ISAF RC AND PRT LOCATIONS



- Regional Command Capital (RCC)
Lead nation: France
- Regional Command North
Lead nation: Germany
- Regional Command West
Lead nation: Italy
- Regional Command South
Lead nation: Netherlands (rotates: GBR, CAN)
- Regional Command East
Lead nation: United States



EAST-WEST INTERACTION

WEST **MOSCOW** **JOINT**

IRAQ 1991

+

+/-

IRAQ 2003-2010

+

-/+

Afghanistan 2001-2014

+

+

+/-

Bosnia

+

+

+

Kosovo

+

+/-

+/-

EAST-WEST INTERACTION

WEST

MOSCOW

INTL

Tajikistan

-

+

UN

Abkhazia

-

+

UN

South Ossetia

-

+

OSCE

Transnistria

-

+

OSCE+EU

Lybia

+

+/-

- Instead of one UN-led system
Peace operations have split onto not always compatible and sometimes confronting practices based on different standards and groups of powers, centered around RIOs.

Problem of Neutrality (Impartiality)

**ECOMOG forces accused as biased
in Liberia, Sierra Leone**

CIS forces accused as biased in Georgia

**NATO forces accused as biased in Kosovo
and in Libya**

Parliamentary (political) control

Formulation of mandate

Reconfirmation of mandate periodically

On-line political guidance

Political structure on top of the military

Exit strategy

Example: Nigerian peacekeepers lacked control in ECOWAS operations

Challenges of International Intervention

**International involvement
may *de facto* work
as support for some political interests
of conflict sides**

Challenges of International Intervention

Whole 'industry' of crises response
remains a field for conflict of interests
of great powers

International operations may *de facto* work
as support for some political interests
of conflict sides (Libya – interests of France,
Ukraine – interests of Russia)

Combination of mechanisms

UN-level

+

**Multi-layer regional
conflict resolution
mechanisms and coalitions**

Commonwealth of Independent States



SCO=Shanghai Cooperation Organization

1996 - 2000....2001-2014





- **SCO full members: China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan**
- **Observers:**
Afghanistan, India, Pakistan, Iran, Mongolia
- **Partners: Belarus, Turkey, Sri Lanka.**



- 2001 – SCO founded
- 2002 Saint-Petersburg Summit. Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure.
- 2003 Moscow Summit. Founding of SCO HQ in Beijing.
- ...
- 2014 Dushanbe Summit (Tajikistan)

SCO=Shanghai Cooperation Organization



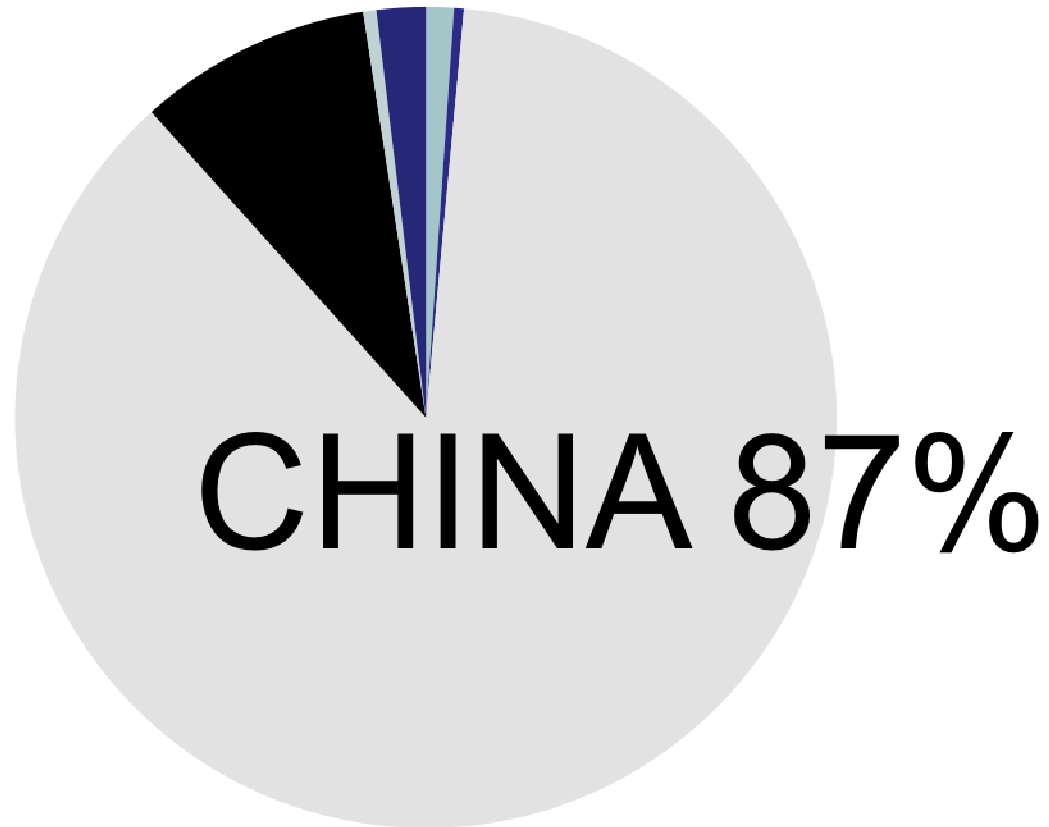
SCO=Shanghai Cooperation Organization



Population of SCO
= 1,562 billion
= 1/4 of mankind



SCO POPULATION



Territory of SCO
30 million sq.km
=60% of Eurasia



S C O

In 2015

INDIA and PAKISTAN

**are expected to get full membership status
(at Ufa Summit in Russia).**

**That will change correlation of forces
and SCO agenda**



SCO Charter:

“States-members will interact in preventing international conflicts and in their peaceful settlement”



- **Council of Heads of States**
- Council of Heads of Governments.
- Council of Foreign Ministers
- Meetings of Heads of Parliaments
- Sessions of Defense Ministers
- Sessions of Economy Ministers
- Sessions of Emergency Ministers
- Sessions of Education Ministers
- Sessions of Ministers of Culture



- Council of SCO states
National Coordinators

-Three «evils» –

-terrorism, extremism, separatism

different SCO states

interpret differently

-China, Russia and Central Asia

have different agendas in security,

so all security agenda went out

of focus in SCO

S C O

SCO Secretary General :

«Initially SCO was planned as a structure able to become an effective security provider,

now the emphasis is more and more on deepening regional integration, resolution of socio-economic problems»



- **PRIORITIES of Russian Chairmanship at SCO:**
- **STRATEGY:**
Elaborate and adopt
SCO STRATEGY till 2025



- **PRIORITIES** of Russian Chairmanship at SCO:
- **SECURITY:**
 - **Create Center for Counteracting Against Threats and Challenges (+anti-narcotics functions for RATC)**



- **PRIORITIES of Russian Chairmanship at SCO:**
- **INFORMATION SECURITY:**
 - **Realization of SCO Agreement on cooperation in information security**



- **PRIORITIES of Russian Chairmanship at SCO:**
- **SCO ENLARGEMENT:**
 - **INDIA and PAKISTAN to start process towards full members**
 - **- more involve AFGHANISTAN**



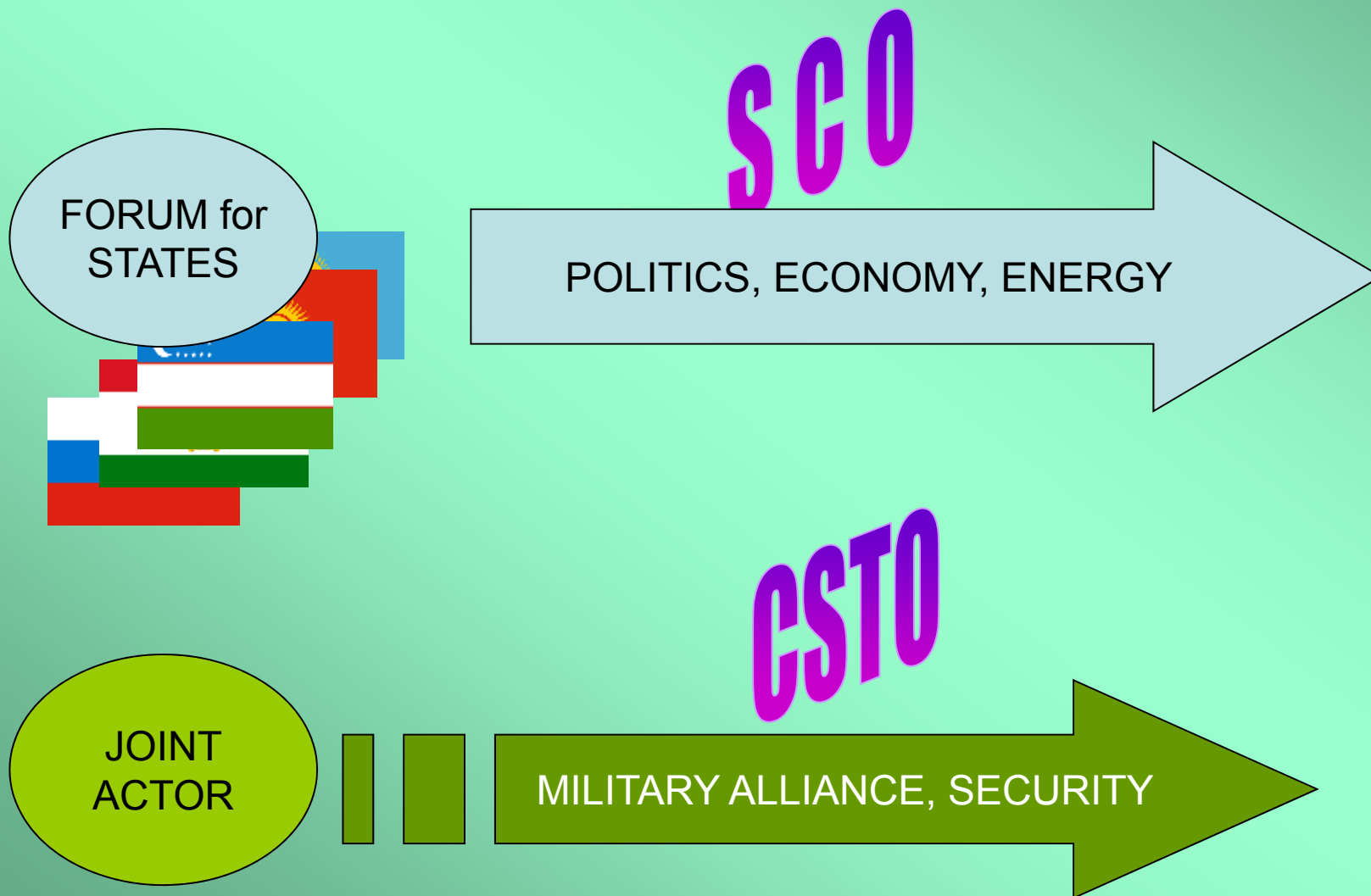
- **PRIORITIES** of Russian Chairmanship at SCO:
- **HISTORIC VICTORY:**
celebrate 70 years of victory against fascism in WWII

Model of the CSTO and SCO as of different arsenals of mechanisms in the hands of same group of states



CSTO and SCO

Share of responsibilities:



SCO Functions

SCO = coordination forum for policy

SCO = economic union

SCO → Energy “Club”

SCO ~~≠~~ military alliance

SCO ~~≠~~ security community

Collective Security Treaty Organization



ГОСУДАРСТВА-ЧЛЕНЫ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ДОГОВОРА О КОЛЛЕКТИВНОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ



РЕСПУБЛИКА АРМЕНИЯ



РОССИЙСКАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ



РЕСПУБЛИКА БЕЛАРУСЬ



РЕСПУБЛИКА ТАДЖИКИСТАН



РЕСПУБЛИКА КАЗАХСТАН



КЫРГЫЗСКАЯ РЕСПУБЛИКА



Combined Defense Spending of the CSTO ~ 60-70 bln. USD



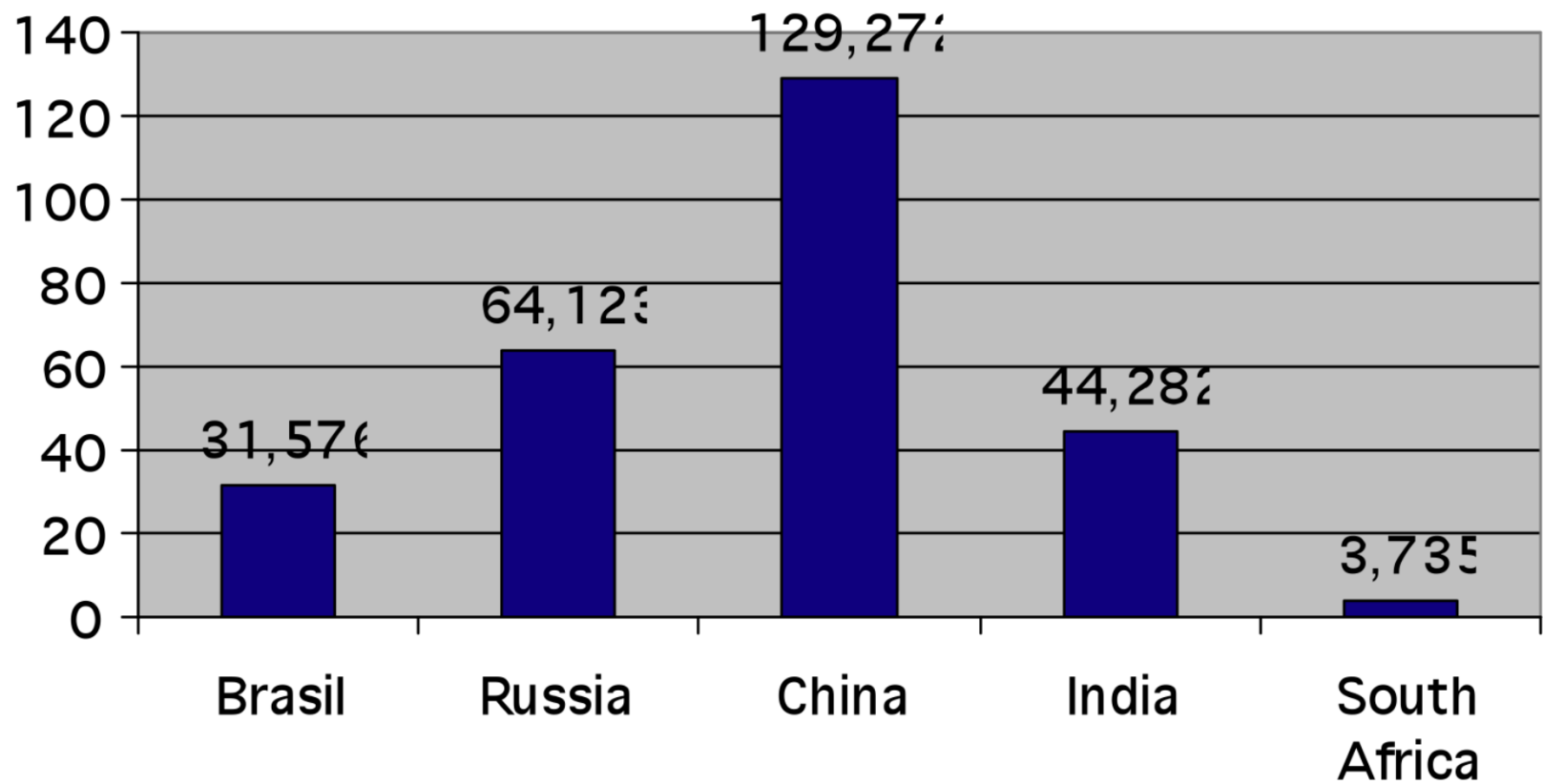
CSTO

Combined Defense Budget
of NATO states – 900-1000 bln.



NATO summit

BRICS military expenditure (\$ bn.)



**CSTO-SCO:
Parallelism and
Light Rivalry**

**CSTO
Military-Political
Integration**

**SCO:
Mostly Economic
and Social Cooperation,
Few Anti-Terror,
Soft Security Aspects**

CSTO states create new Collective Peace Operations Forces 3600 men strong in 2012-2014



CSTO

Crisis Response Forces

NATO	EU	CIS / CSTO
NRF= NATO Response Forces	Rapid Reaction Forces 60.000	CORF= Collective Operational Reaction Forces
Ready since 2006: 20.000	2014:1.500 x3	2011: 17.000 CPF: 2014: 3.601



Instruments for

**"Hire" to UN
Regional Crises Response**

**SCO
CSTO
BRICS
- they are
“non-Western”
formats**

2012

APEC 2012

2-9 September 2012



Asia-Pacific
Economic Cooperation

APEC
RUSSIA 2012

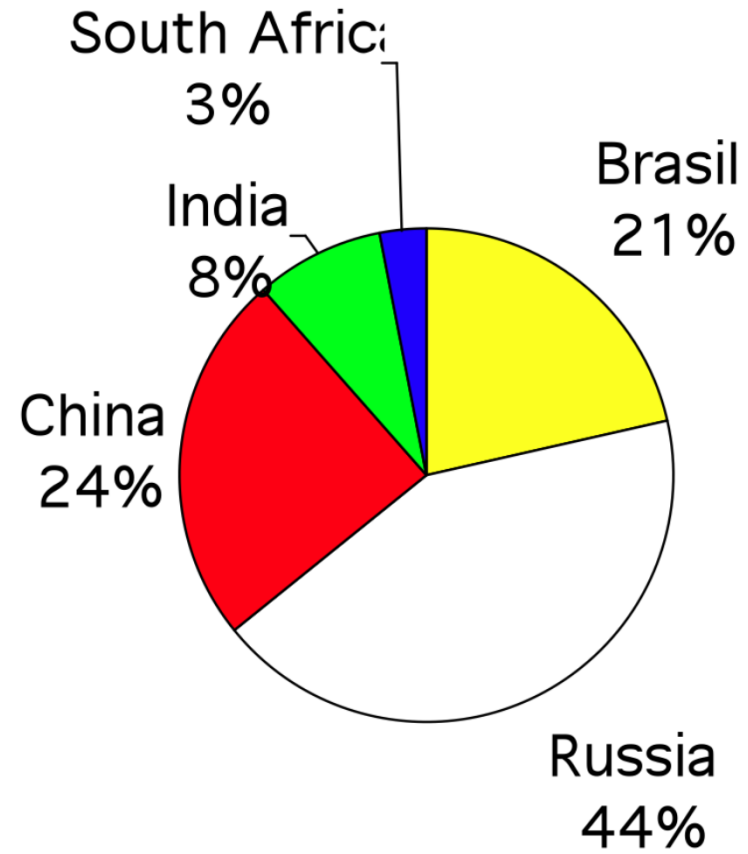


АТЭС 2012

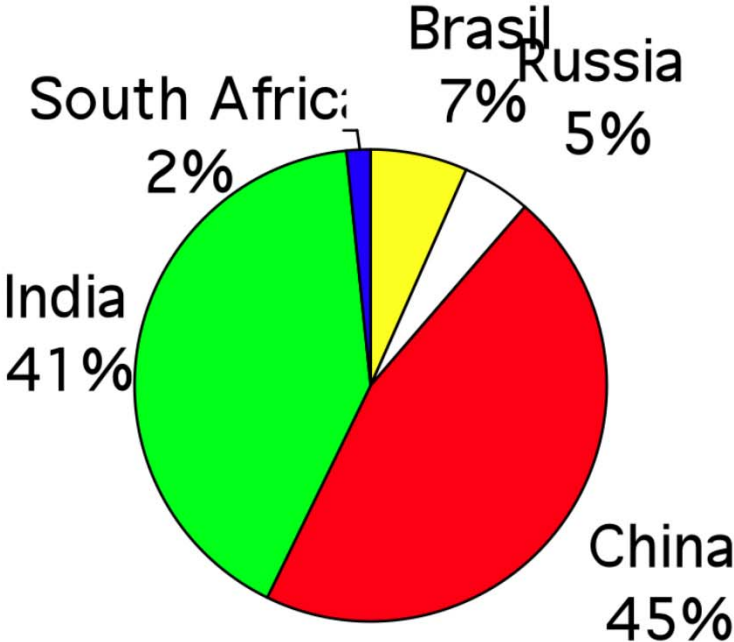
Владивосток
2-9 сентября 2012



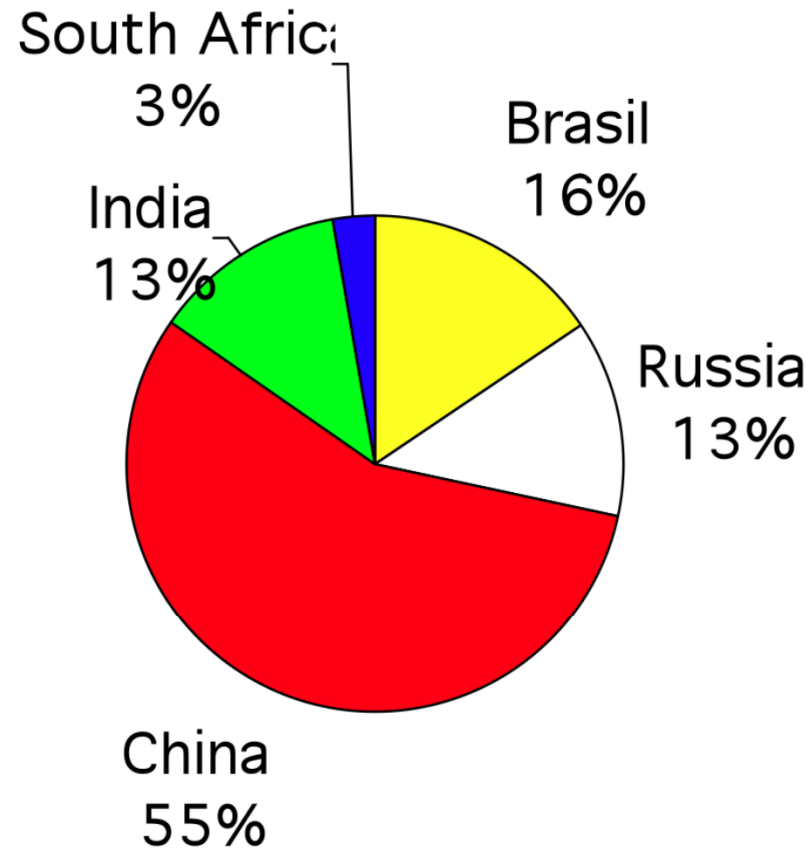
BRICS Territory



BRICS Population



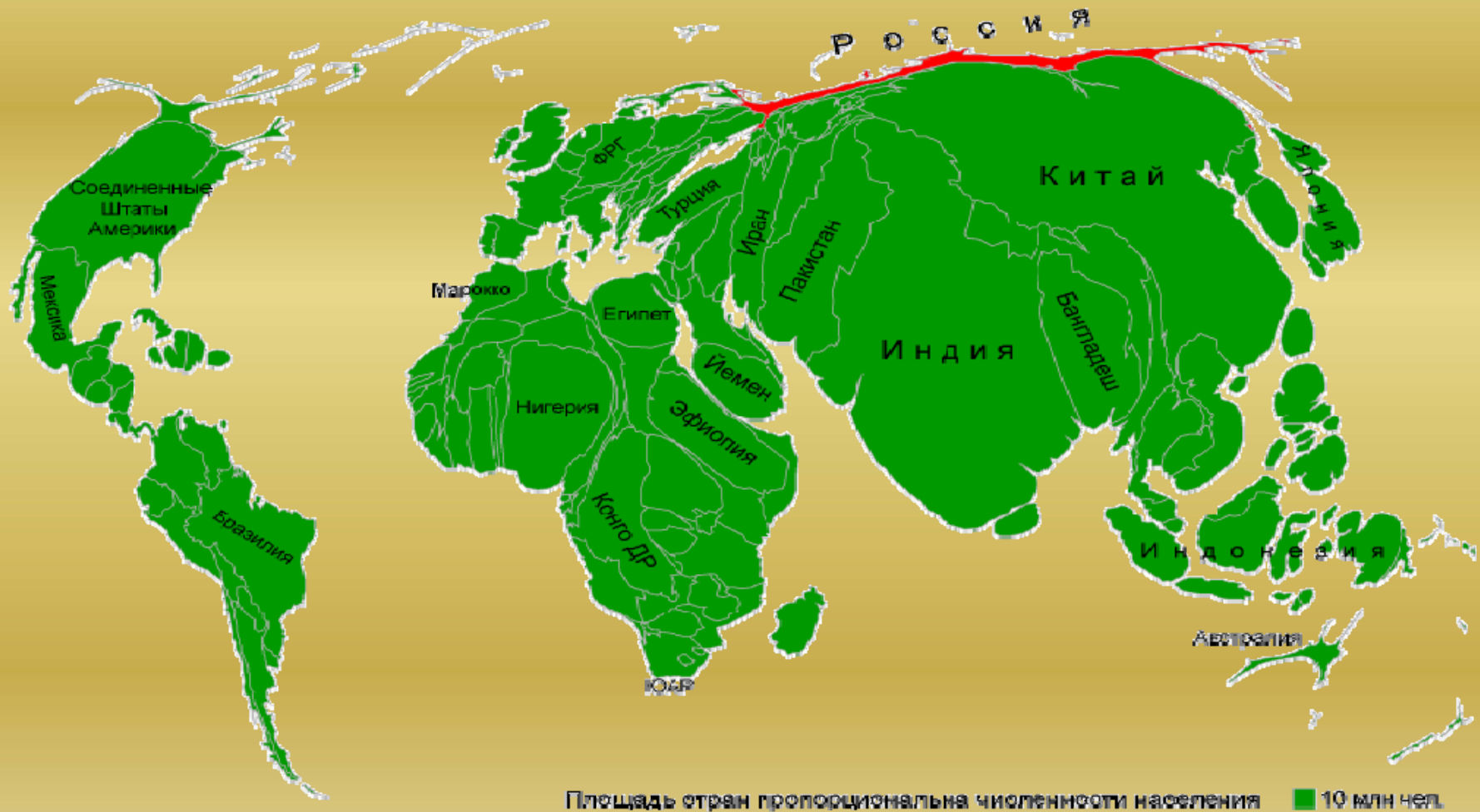
BRICS GDP(nominal)



2050 : population proportions. . .

Карта 1. У России нет места на карте мира будущего

Карта-анаморфоза стран мира по численности населения к 2050 году



World

search for a country

2010

EST. MUSLIM POPULATION

1,618,143,000

23.4%

OF POPULATION IS MUSLIM

100%

OF WORLD MUSLIM POPULATION

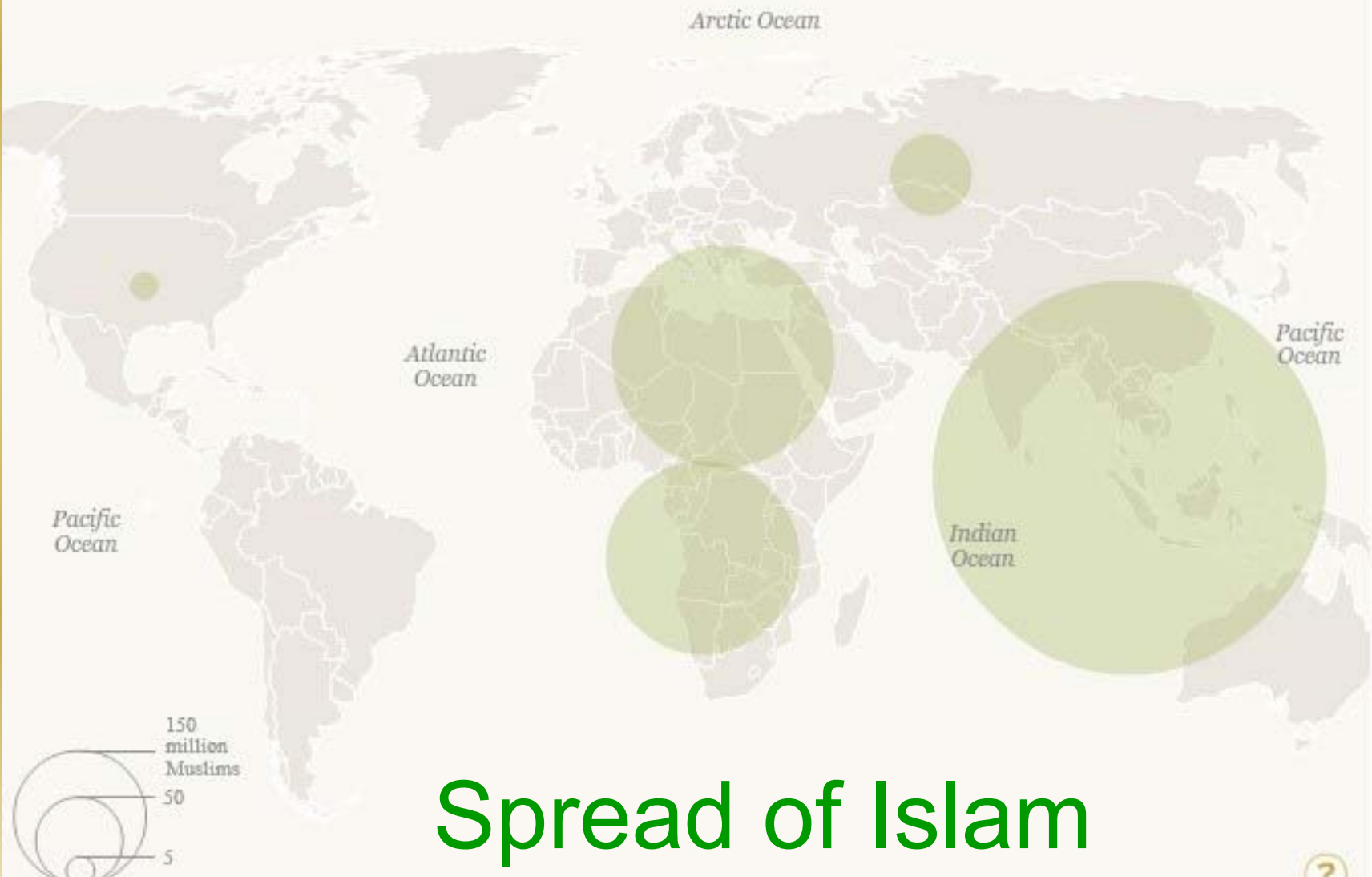
1990

2000

2010

2020

2030



Spread of Islam

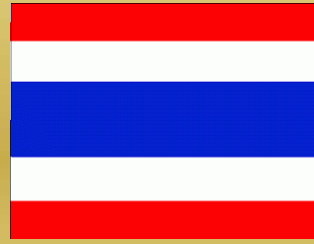
“One Vision, One Identity, One Community”



ASEAN MEMBERS



FOUNDING FATHERS



photo



Other RIOs



Learn from experience of African Union

**AU interfered more than 20 times
in African conflicts**

**AU, ECOWAS, SADC have
regional crisis response forces
(standby forces or ad hoc forces)**

The African Union



Evolution of African Union



The Union of African States consists three West African states, in the 1960s - Mali, Ghana, and Guinea.



The Organisation of African Unity was established on 25 May 1963 in Addis Ababa, with 32 signatory governments and was disbanded on 9 July 2002 by its last chairperson, South African President Thabo Mbeki



The African Union consists 54 African states with exemption of Morocco. The AU was established on 26 May 2001 in Addis Ababa
AU Official Languages: English, French, Arabic, Portuguese

Morocco and AU: Failure of Diplomacy



The Organs of the AU

- **The Assembly**
- **The Executive Council**
- **The Commission**
- **The Permanent Representatives' Committee**
- **Peace and Security Council (PSC)**
- **Pan-African Parliament**
- **ECOSOCC - The Economic, Social and Cultural Council**
- **The Court of Justice**



AU and EU: Hybrid Operations in Conflicts



African Regional Forces

**OAU – 1964-1965 –
first plans for joint African
stand-by forces**

**1990s – operations in
Central African Rep, Kongo, Rwanda**

African Regional Forces

**Forces of ECOWAS = ECOMOG –
Sierra Leone, Liberia**

IGAD – EASBRIG – Stand-by brigade

**SADC –mil. exercise in Zimbabwe,
'intervention brigade' in DRC in 2014**

CONCLUSIONS

International community needs to develop and keep a wide arsenal of fact-finding, monitoring, mediatory mechanisms.

If some parts of the arsenal would be politically blocked in future conflicts, still other non-restricted elements of monitoring and mediation are to be used

Conclusions

NATO

EU

Russia

New military “crisis response instruments” are formed by great powers:

NATO NRF, (20.000)

EU RR, (4.500)

CSTO CORF + CPF (17.000+3600)

**Asian nations are yet too far from creating
Joint crises response forces (in ASEAN, ARF, etc.)
But they can and must develop preventive arsenal**

FUNCTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN CONFLICTS

- **Physical protection of civilians against violence**
(UN, NATO, EU, CSTO, coalitions)
- **Protection of economic and supplying infrastructure**
(dams, pipelines, electric and water supply, etc.)

FUNCTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN CONFLICTS

***Humanitarian and economic assistance**

(UN, ICRC, IMF, EU)

•Mediation, facilitating a peace process

(UN, OSCE, ICRC, CSTO, SCO)

FUNCTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN CONFLICTS

Political decision (mandate) on international interference in conflict

(UN, OSCE, semi-legitimately – NATO, EU, CSTO, LAS, SCO, etc.)

***Monitoring and observation:**
joint missions

***Financing conflict management**
Create Conflict Resolution Fund

FUNCTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN CONFLICTS

- **Post-conflict reconstruction of economic infrastructure**
(EU, IMF, private sector)
- **Post-conflict reconstruction of political/social infrastructure**
(elections, institutions, etc.)
(UN, OSCE, CE, NGOs)

- **Coordinating int. actors**
Create Coordination Council
of Regional Organizations
- **Negotiate on its behalf**
Reserve Agreements
with states on their input
in times of crises response

- **Coordinating int. actors**

**Create Coordination Council
of Regional Organizations**

**Develop cooperation of
Anti-terrorist and security
structures**

Coordination Council of Regional Organizations

**Combine conflict resolution
potentials of different regional
organizations on opposite sides
of the conflict:**

**NATO for Georgia + CSTO for
Abkhazia and Ossetia**

Coordination Council of Regional Organizations

**Combine conflict resolution
potentials of different regional
organizations on opposite sides
of the conflict:**

**NATO for Azerbaijan + CSTO for
Armenia**

Council of Regional Organizations

**Coordinate conflict resolution
involvement of relatively
new actors in conflict settlement:
ARF, OIC, LAS, GUAM,
CSTO, SCO,
potentially – Eurasian Union**

“Conveyor belt” of joint crises response:

1. UN mandate

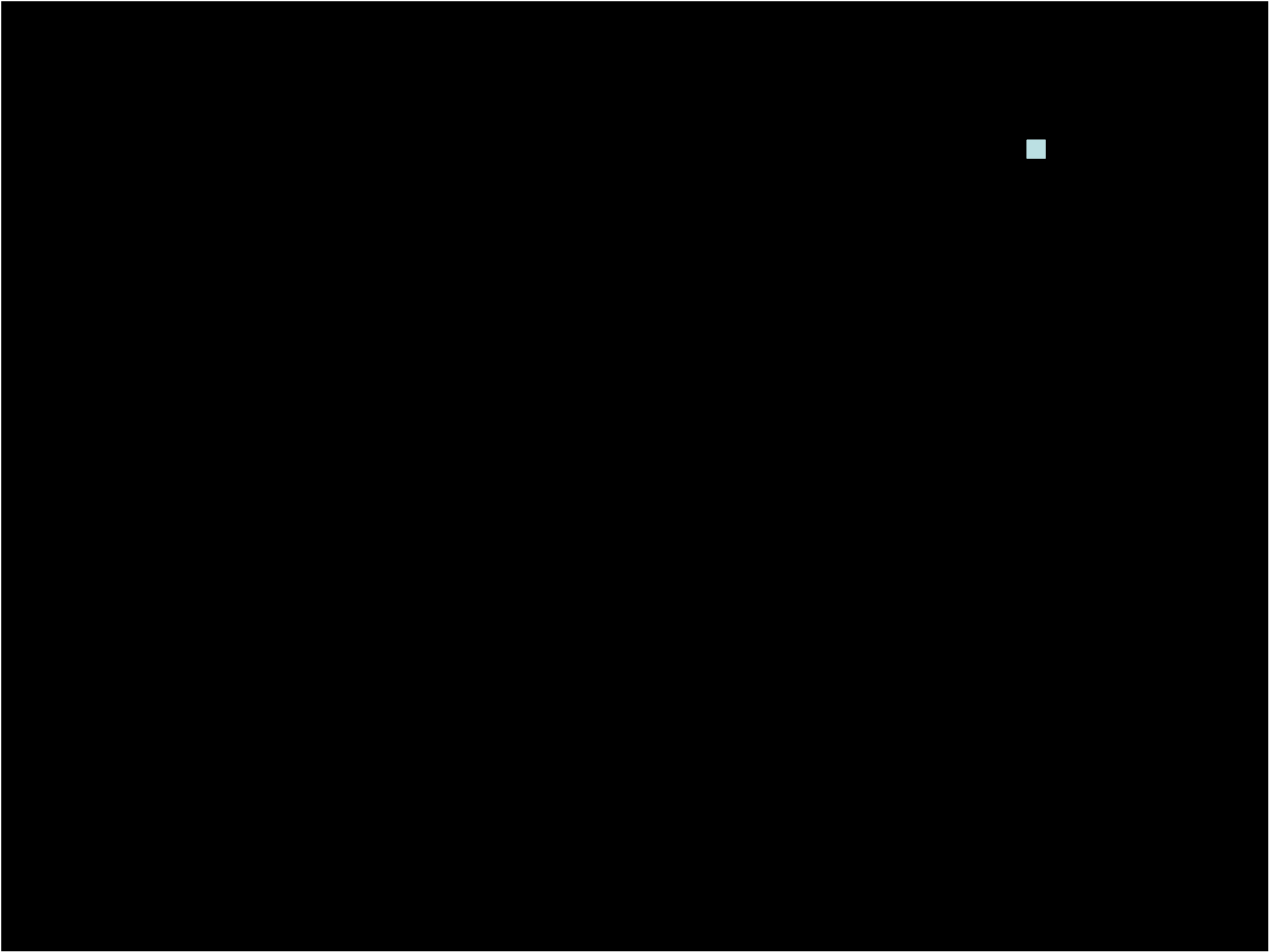
2. Coalition of states under the lead of pre-trained Crises response forces of regional organizations (NATO, EU, CSTO)

3. OSCE, EU, SCO, ASEAN

take lead at political

post-conflict reconstruction stage

4. finally, NGOs and business sector lead economic & social reconstruction



Professor

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