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EX NEW HORIZON

THE ROLES OF MARITIME FORCES IN UN PEACE OPERATIONS

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ABSTRACT

The United Nations has contributed to world peace and security since it was established in 1945. Among its many activities, peacekeeping operations which was invented by Canada has been regarded as one of the most successful efforts for resolving disputes around world. In general, peacekeeping operations have been recognized as a land component activity. The role of maritime forces in peacekeeping operations has generally been regarded as one of providing assistance to the overall operation.

In the 21st century, there are increasing maritime forces activities being used to resolve international maritime disputes utilizing the characteristics of maritime forces, such as flexibility, readiness, sustainability, and mobility. And, with a changing world security environment, national interests look to the sea for trade, commerce, and natural resources associated with Exclusive Economy Zones (EEZ).

The concept of peace operations is fairly new, and includes traditional peacekeeping, peace support, and peace enforcement. In the context of historical change, the role of maritime forces in resolving maritime conflict must change in order to main a position in maritime peacekeeping operations.

The new patterns, I suggest, of UN maritime peacekeeping operations are as follows: preventing conflict (Surveillance, presence); imposing sanctions (intercept, search, apprehend); crisis management (protection, shipping control); intervention (anti-shipping, anti-submarine, shore strike); peacekeeping (surveillance); transportation (logistic supply, evacuation); and humanitarian assistance (disaster relief, rescue).

To support maritime peace operations effectively, sovereign states should prepare flexible Rules of Engagement (ROE), supported and enhanced by various and applicable platforms and doctrines.

Introduction

The end of the Cold War resulted in a dramatic reduction in the threat from global war and paradoxically an increase in regional disputes and conflicts. Actually, the changes that have been taken place throughout the world have been an indicator of how unstable the world is today, compare to the Cold War era.

At a time when the international community is focused on restoration and maintenance of world peace and security, it is witnessing a growing number of conflicts between and within countries, especially politically unstable or weak countries. This situation has resulted in a greater involvement by regional and international organization such as the United Nations (UN), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), European Union (EU), and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Their role has been one of conflict management through the sponsoring of peace related operations. Historically, Northern European countries and Canada have been strong supporters of world peace and security. These countries have always responded to the call of peacekeeping duty by providing the requested land, air, and more recently, naval assistance.

The global environment of the 21st century is changing, and complicated. Most nations focus on improving their national interests. In pursuing their

economic interests, there is no eternal friend and enemy. There are only competitions for economic survival. What's more, the sea of the 21st century is a realistic competitive stage for economic interests and national security issues. In the context of a maritime security environment, each countries around the world makes efforts to ensure that suitable maritime forces are available in order to protect their national interests at sea.

Thus, we can anticipate many kinds of maritime disputes that could take place in the seas around the world. Also, aided by globalization and communication technologies that make national borders increasingly permeable, international crime has been on the rise since the end of the Cold War. Taken in a maritime context, international crime regularly translates into the illegal sea-borne trafficking of people and drugs, as well as piracy.¹ Furthermore, international criminal organizations are not only trans-state actors that may pose a future security threat to the West and peace and stability of the international community at large.² The trend of terrorism committed by these criminal organizations can be transferred to sea-borne terrorism. The 1994 execution, by Algerian fundamentalists, of eight Italian sailors while on board their ship in port of Jijel, is one example.³ By the same

¹ NDHQ, *Leadmark: The navy's Strategy for 2020*, Directorate of Maritime Strategy, Ottawa, 2001, p.83.

² *Ibid.*, p.84.

³ Anthony Forster, "An Emerging Threat Shapes up as Teroists take to the High Seas," *Janes Intelligence Review* 10, No.7, p.42.

token, it can be expected that the more common terrorist acts of bombing, hijacking and kidnapping will be joined by other asymmetric warfare methods similar to those employed in inter-state conflicts. The attack on the guided missile destroyer USS Cole while refueling in the Yemeni port of Aden⁴ is another case of sea-borne terrorism.

With the increasing importance of sea, the roles of maritime forces that can contribute to keeping the peace and stability at sea are being recognized more and more. I think that the role of maritime forces will be conducted through UN peacekeeping operations. And, the roles of maritime forces in UN peacekeeping operations have been considered as assistance to land operations so far. However, changing trends in the world's security environment requires a more significant role for maritime forces in order to conduct more effective peacekeeping operations. Thus, we should deem UN maritime forces peacekeeping operations in terms of major UN peacekeeping operations.

In this context, I will examine the UN peacekeeping operations and maritime forces' role, and develop new patterns for UN maritime peacekeeping operations. First of all, I will review the UN peacekeeping operations history, characteristics, and maritime forces' characteristics and

⁴ "Attack on US Ship Show Vulnerabilities," *Jane's Defense Weekly*, 12 October 2000, at www.janes.com/security/regional.../usscole0012-3-n.shtm.

roles. After that, I will suggest alternative patterns for UN maritime forces peacekeeping operations.

Historical Review of UN Peacekeeping Operations

The history of peacekeeping operations is almost the same as the United Nations' history. The evolution of peacekeeping, not originally envisaged in the United Nations charter, has occurred mostly in response to the failure of the Security Council to make sufficiently effective use of pacific measures to resolve conflicts and/or to enforce peace, and of the failure of the world organization to agree on an effective means for limiting the arms race.⁵ In facing the challenges to make peacekeeping efforts more effective, the United Nations' peacekeeping system was first developed to observe, monitor, supervise, and report on agreements to end hostilities or accomplish cease-fires.⁶

United Nations peacekeeping activity had a remarkable beginning in 1956, with the establishment of the first United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF-I) in the Middle East, which followed the invasion of Egypt by Israel, France and the United Kingdom.⁷ The term "peacekeeping" has

⁵ Henry Wiseman, *Peacekeeping*, Pergamon Press Canada Ltd., 1985, p.5.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.19.

acquired the connotation that applies to many variable methods in the treatments of conflict, and has come to mean various types of non-United Nations missions by military and paramilitary groups⁸. A distinction needs therefore, to be drawn between these kinds of activities and United Nations peacekeeping operations. In United Nations peacekeeping, enforcement plays no part. It is a concept of peaceful action, not of persuasion by force. The weapons used by the peacekeeper in achieving his objectives are those of negotiation, mediation, quiet diplomacy, tact and the patience job – not the self-loading rifle.⁹

United Nations peacekeeping operations have always had various inherent difficulties. Peacekeepers, also, have been exposed to dangerous situations. United Nations peacekeeping operations were invented by Canada in 1956. After that, peacekeeping operations have changed dramatically over the years.¹⁰ One of the major reasons why this change has taken place is that the world has been changing. In the past, one of the most respected ideals of the United Nations was national sovereignty. It was held that the United Nations ought not to do anything that would interfere with the national sovereignty of a country. But these days we feel that we have a greater duty in the world. More countries and the United Nations itself are

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.6.

beginning to realize that citizens and individuals ought not be held hostage to what are rapidly becoming outmoded concepts.

Eventually, after the Cold War we have moved into a new era marked, for now, by uncertainty and unpredictability. The military forces of the NATO countries and several other responsible countries have also accepted the change, and are restructuring so they can respond more effectively to new requirements. And new world order will not emerge without using force to counteract aggression, anarchy, and abuses of human rights.¹¹ Thus, in the future I think we will see that the United Nations is becoming more interventionist in conducting operations in countries without the agreement of government itself.

We have embarked on a period of international crisis management in terms of peacekeeping operations, but we have not handled it very well yet. The Secretary-General of the United Nations has also recognized this transition. He asserted in his address 'Agenda for Peace' the roles and functions of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, and peacekeeping. The role of the United Nations in the New World stage would become more significant in order to secure peace and stability.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.7.

¹⁰ Alex Morrison ed., *The Changing Face of Peacekeeping*, CISS, 1993, p.6.

¹¹ Peter Haydon, "Navy and Air Force Peacekeeping: a Expanded Role." *The Changing Face of Peacekeeping*, CIIS, 1993, p.84.

Traditional UN peacekeeping missions have involved peacekeeping forces such roles as election monitoring, arms collection, provision of medical aid, observation, and intervention between hostiles parties.¹²

There are differences between the basis of second-generation operations and traditional peacekeeping. The consent of the parties to dispute resolution is not necessarily required, although obviously some form of consent is to be preferred, and the mandate to use force will be extended. Already, the commander of a peacekeeping contingent may be entitled to use force in the prosecution of his prescribed missions, as well as in self-defense.¹³ Second generation operations offer the prospect of increased use of remit, which merge the two justifications. Furthermore, this is psychologically important, substantial military assets are likely to be utilized in second generation peacekeeping operations. In order to ensure the security of forces involved in these operations and to attain military objectives, forward presence and larger zone of operations will become necessary.¹⁴

On the other hand, with the Cold War at an end, past restraints have been removed and new opportunities opened to the UN in its mission to maintain international peace and security. These encompass a wide range of

¹² Michael Pugh, *Maritime Security and Peacekeeping*, Manchester University Press, New York, 1994, p.60.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.61.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p62.

tasks from conflict prevention to humanitarian assistance, and to nation building. Since these operations relate to the maintenance of international peace, the term peacekeeping continues to be applied to them. But, when the missions are authorized to use force aggressively and without respect to impartiality, their continued description as peacekeeping is confusing and surely explains why traditional peacekeepers have trouble with their new missions.¹⁵

The United States has named both the traditional and enforced peacekeeping operations as peace operations, a broad yet descriptive definition.¹⁶ The US Army has defined, from FM 100-23, peace operations as;

A new and comprehensive term that covers a wide range of activities. ...peace operations comprise three types of activities: support to diplomacy (peacemaking, peace-building, and preventive diplomacy), peacekeeping and peace enforcement. Peace operations include traditional peacekeeping as well as protection of humanitarian assistance, establishment of order and stability enforcement of sanctions, guarantee and denial of movement, establish of protected zone, and forcible separation of belligerents. ...peace operation are conducted to reach a resolution by conciliation among the competing parties, rather than termination by force.¹⁷

¹⁵ Indar Rykhye, *The Politics and Practice of United Nations Peacekeeping: Past, Present, and Future*, Canada Peacekeeping press, Clemensport, 2000, p.92.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Department of Army USA, *Army Training and Doctrine Command Field Manual 100-23, Peace Operation*, December 1994, p.76-77.

The concept of new peace operations includes such kinds of peace activities as seen in the past. It is more comprehensible and flexible. Also, it is easier to apply in the complicated and enlarged security environment in the future.

Trend of Peace[keeping] Operations

Future peace operations are likely to take place in an operational environment with one or more of the following characteristics:¹⁸

- Numerous parties to the conflicts;
- Uncontrolled factions;
- Absence of effective cease-fires;
- Breakdown of law and order;
- Threats from local armed groups in opposition; and
- Presence of large numbers of civilians, including refugees.

Three military aspects of peace operations can be identified: traditional peacekeeping; peace support operations; and peace enforcement. Each of them has their own unique characteristics:¹⁹

¹⁸ Indar Rikhye, *Op.cit.*, p.93.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*,

- Traditional peacekeeping: these are operations with consent including observer missions and interposition. These operations will be guided by the same principles as traditional peacekeeping, emphasizing diplomatic rather than forceful measures.
- Peace support operations: These are non-traditional peacekeeping operations including conflict prevention, demobilization operations, military assistance, humanitarian relief, security of movement, and nation-building tasks. (Some refer to this as 'wider peacekeeping and second generation peacekeeping') These operations must be empowered to use force when necessary. However, the application of force must be cautious and tailored specifically to the end to be attained; and
- Peace enforcement: These are operations involving belligerents who may not consent to intervention. Such operations include blockade to apply sanctions and direct intervention by air, land and naval action to restore peace.

The tasks of peace operations are more comprehensive and parts of common military functions. In peace operations, roles of military may be required humanitarianism and common sense for negotiations. William J. Durch and J. Matthew Vaccaro have suggested the tasks of peace operations. First of all, new tasks for peace operation are follows : negotiate tactical Status of Forces Agreements (SOFA) with local leader; mediate or act as an intermediary in disputes between factions; arbitrate local disputes or fights; administer local justices codes; prevent refugee flows; conduct resettlement; administer humanitarian relief operations.²⁰ Furthermore, the multinational aspect of peace operations and numerous non-military organizations activity

in the theatre greatly complicate command and control compared to normal combat operations. Thus, the mix of tasks is required for peace operations. They are, also, indicated by Durch and Vaccaro as follows: guarding facilities; self-protection in static positions; escorting and guarding convoys; negotiation, mediation, arbitration, diffusion of tension; civic action; providing humanitarian assistance; psychological and informational operations; police duties; providing logistics support to non-military organizations; civil affairs interaction in local processes; area and route reconnaissance.²¹

In the context of this trend of peace[keeping] operations, the roles of maritime forces in UN peace[keeping] operations, which is this paper's thesis, can be said to be comprehensive and include the traditional roles such as peacekeeping, peace support, and peace enforcement.

Characteristics of Maritime Forces

The qualities and characteristics of maritime forces used as political/military instruments in support of government policies are readiness, flexibility, self-sustainability, and mobility. Maritime forces may

²⁰ William J. Durch and J. Matthew Vaccaro, "The Environment and Tasks of Peace Operations." *Peace Operations: Developing an American Strategy*, Antonia H. Chayes and George T. Raach ed., National

be used to reassure or provide succor to allies and friends, to deter aggression, influence unstable situations or respond to aggression.²²

- Readiness. One of the strengths of maritime forces lies in their immediate availability to respond to contingencies. As a matter of course, by maintaining proficiency in the capabilities necessary to resolve major conflicts, maritime forces can provide a wide range of services in support of peacetime operations.
- Flexibility. Maritime forces have been employed in the resolution of many international crises since the end of World War II. The inherent flexibility of maritime forces permits political leaders and commanders to shift focus, reconfigure and realign forces quickly to handle a variety of contingencies by providing a wide range of weapons system, military options, logistical or administrative skills. In tasks ranging from forcible entry and strike operations, non-combatant evacuation operations, disaster relief and humanitarian assistance, maritime forces can control the seas and provide diplomatic leverage in peace or time of crisis. The excellent strategic and tactical command, control and communication (C3) capabilities of maritime forces provide for a uniquely controllable force to complement diplomatic efforts. In all cases, maritime forces provide both a perception and a potential for action ashore without necessarily committing forces to sovereign soil.
- Self-sustainability. Although the degree of self-sustainment achievable by an allied force will be determined by the nature of the operation and the types of units committed by the participants, maritime forces are capable of operating in forward areas at the end of long supply lines without significant land-based supply structure. With the provision of replenishment at-sea and on-station replacement of personnel and ships, maritime operations may be continued indefinitely.
- Mobility. Maritime forces are much less constrained by political boundaries than air or ground forces; they can deploy virtually anywhere in the world and transit through territorial waters of non-participating countries by the right of innocent passage

Defense University Press; Washington, DC, 1995, p.32.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.35.

²² Naval Doctrine Command, *Multinational Maritime Operations*, Norfolk, 1995, p.2-1/7.

customary in the law of the sea. Maritime forces, with their strategic and tactical mobility, have the ability to monitor a situation and possibly remain on station for a sustained period, respond to a crisis rapidly and deploy in combat with authority. Mobility enables maritime forces to respond from over the horizon, becoming selectively visible and threatening to adversaries, as needed; if diplomatic, political or economic measures succeed, maritime forces can be quickly withdrawn without further action ashore. Maritime forces can also respond to indications of pending crises by relocating rapidly from one end of the theatre to another or from one theatre to another, usually independent of fixed logistics. In combat, the ability to position maritime forces quickly provides commanders with a significant tactical and operational advantage.

These characteristics of maritime forces are unique abilities that could be applicable to many complicated UN peacekeeping operations in the future.

The Roles of Maritime Forces

Will traditional maritime forces' [naval] roles apply to twenty-first century maritime forces operations? My view is that the traditional maritime forces roles will not only remain relevant, but will become increasingly essential. To understand how those roles will be fulfilled in the future, we must understand the historical uses of the ocean.²³

²³ James O. Ellis Jr., "Traditional Naval Roles," *the Role of Naval Forces in 21st Century Operations*, Richard H. Shultz ed., Brassey' :Virginia, 2000, p.141.

Oceans have long served as a bridge between regions, a bountiful source of natural resources, a barrier from attack, and, more recently, a bastion from which to project power. In short, the oceans are a source of both prosperity and security for those nations able to control them.

John F. Kennedy was well aware of these as well as how vital control of the seas is to the security of the nations, when he said, “control of the seas means security. Control of the seas means peace. Control of the seas can mean victory...”

Sir Walter Raleigh stated in 1616, “ whoever commands the sea commands the trade; whoever commands the trade of the world commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself.”²⁴

Although the political environment and/or technical advances have changed throughout history, the roles of maritime forces have been kept essentially the same in terms of national power. Ken Booth asserted that as symbols of national power the roles of maritime forces must be military, diplomatic, and constabulary.

Ken Booth conceived the use of the sea as the unity underlying a trinity of roles – military, diplomatic, and policing.²⁵ Although conceptualized during the Cold War, his work remains universally accepted as a valid theoretical basis. Booth’s model on the roles of navies [maritime forces] is summarized below:

- Diplomatic role: negotiation from strength, manipulation, prestige, and humanitarian assistance;
- Military role: deterrence, sea control; and

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Ken Booth, *Navies and Foreign Policy*, Croom Helm, London, 1977, pp.15-16.

- Constabulary role: coastguard, nation-building.²⁶

Furthermore, Leadmark, the Canadian Navy's Strategy for 2020, refines this model and describes the following specific roles for the Canadian Navy of the future:²⁷

- Diplomatic role (crisis management and naval diplomacy): preventive deployments, coercion, maritime interception operation, peace support operations, non-combatant evacuation operations, civil-military cooperation, symbolic use, presence, humanitarian assistance, confidence building, track two diplomacy;
- Military role (global/regional confrontation): command of the sea, sea control, sea denial, battle space dominance, fleet in being, maritime power projection, maritime maneuver; and
- Constabulary role (law and order): sovereignty patrols, aid of civil power, assistance to other government department, search and rescue, disaster relief, ocean management.²⁸

After reviewing these roles, I found some special roles that could be associated with the UN peace activbe assc 09713.98 0 0 13.98 303.0.(bes13.98 0 98 425.8

Review on Maritime Forces Peacekeeping Operations

Under the concept of conventional UN peacekeeping operations, the operations were regarded as primarily a ground forces' function. In fact, most of the peacekeeping operations have been conducted with ground forces and assets. However, maritime forces have contributed a significant portion to peacekeeping operations.

There are many tasks that the United Nations peacekeeping forces might play on the oceans. The need for peacekeeping maritime forces became more acute after the Iran-Iraq war spread to the Persian Gulf, resulting in frequent attacks on tankers and oil installations.²⁹

The UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 598 (20 July 1987) requesting an immediate cease-fire included peacekeeping at sea tasks for the first time in the history of the United Nations. UNEF-I included a landing ship tank in order to give troops practice in loading and unloading personal and vehicles from beaches. The United Nations Security Force (UNSF) in West Guinea included about five coastal vessels for supplying essential goods to the population and the UN troops. The operation also included a flight of amphibious aircraft provided by the Royal Canadian Air Force.³⁰

The Canadian experience in Somalia is a good example of how modern military operations now depend on several branches of military structure working closely together. For instance, the Canadian Air-borne Regiment

²⁹ Indar Rikhye, *Op.cit.*, p.118.

would not have been able to carry out its security role without the initial help of the maritime helicopters embarked in HMCS Preserver. Moreover, in the early days, the warship provided medical, logistic, and communications support to the land forces. Had the situation turn sour, the ship would have been able to evacuate the ground forces. Thus, the ship and its helicopters were instrumental in making Somalia a successful operation.³¹

Another case of maritime forces peacekeeping operations were those conducted during the former Yugoslavia conflict. The UN arms embargo in the former Yugoslavia included a limited naval blockade (UNSCR 713, 25 September 1991).³² European Union (EU) maritime forces were in the Adriatic Sea while EU states assumed responsibility for the Danube River. UN authorized the maritime forces were well suited to monitoring ceasefire lines on the high sea and to supervising mine-clearing operations after the end of hostilities. In addition, UN peacekeeping forces could help enforce naval treaties such as the Antarctic Treaty and the partial Test Ban and Sea Bed Arms Control Treaties.³³

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Peter Haydon, *Op.cit.* , p.85..

³² Indar Rikhye, *Op.cit.*,p.118.

³³ *Ibid.*, p.119

Growing Demand for Maritime Forces in UN peace operations

As previously mentioned, Maritime forces have some unique characteristics i.e., flexibility, readiness, sustainability, and mobility. Thus, under various situations or different threat levels maritime forces would be able to provide a number of functions.

On the other hand, during the last fifty years of the United Nations mandate, peacekeeping activities were primarily the domain of land forces supported by air and occasionally by maritime forces. Since 1988, the scope and nature of its peace operations have changed dramatically and extended their reach to the maritime world.

In the 1980s, some scholars who had an interest in peacekeeping operations had already initiated the concepts on maritime peacekeeping operations. Of them, Charles M. Ayers, suggested the patterns of maritime forces peacekeeping operations underlying naval operations as follows; sea lift, reconnaissance, interdiction coastal sea control, protection of offshore assets, harbor defense/port security, countermines, and search and rescue.³⁴ These concepts on maritime forces peacekeeping operations have been used to develop new peacekeeping operations.

³⁴ Charles M. Ayers, *Peacekeeping Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures*, Army-Air Force Center for Low Intensity Conflict, 1989, pp.43-45.

Additionally, major maritime nations have supported and contributed to the United Nations peacekeeping efforts. They have contributed ships and personnel to support the maritime portion of the following missions:

- Blockade to support UN sanctions against Iraq;
- Peacekeeping operations in Central America;
- Humanitarian aid and support of coalition forces in Somalia;
- River line observer missions in Cambodia;
- Maritime Interdiction Operations in the Adriatic sea against the former Republic Yugoslavia, namely Serbia and Montenegro;
- Maritime Interdiction Operations in the Caribbean against Haiti; and
- Maritime Interdiction Operations in the Persian Gulf against Afghanistan.

Those maritime forces operations, sanctioned or supported by the United Nations, clearly identify the growing demand for, and renewed role of, maritime forces in conducting a myriad of peacekeeping operation in areas where land conflicts have been extended to adjacent waters.

Historically, maritime peacekeeping operations have been conducted in areas adjacent to the land and extended well into the international open waters. These operations covered several thousand square miles and were conducted under all weather conditions.

Furthermore, after reviewing a number of historical activities, Michael Pugh outlined patterns of future maritime peacekeeping operations, as follows:³⁵

- Naval [maritime forces] operations have generally been tied closely to the peacekeeping command on land. As typified in Nicaragua and Cambodia, command links with land and air operations, have been essential;
- The most common tasks have been follows. Transport, sealift and sovereign base support to land-based peacekeepers, as in Bernadott's Palestine mission, have been valuable, and inshore support was particularly useful to UN administrating authorities in Western Iran and Cambodia. Monitoring agreements for ceasefires, disarmament and military disengagement or supervising the cantonment of vessels have been tasks undertaken in the Gulf of Fonseca, Strait of Trian and Cambodia. Monitoring embargos at sea, as in the Adriatic Sea before November 1992, has underpinned sanctions policies which cross the threshold of coercion;
- It has sometimes been practical and convenient to delegate naval operations to a single state. For such distinct and usually modest operations it has made sense to give tactical control to single national authority, thereby avoiding problems associated with the integration of multinational forces; and
- Except for monitoring and verifying sanctions, the requirement has been for unglamorous, relatively cheap naval equipment with low combatant status – minesweepers, cutters, small patrol vessels and inflatable crafts.³⁶

There is a tendency today, particularly among theorists, to champion peacekeeping wrongly as the great new mission of maritime forces.³⁷ This misperception is largely the result of not fully understanding the mechanics

³⁵ Michael Pugh, *Maritime Security and Peacekeeping*, Manchester University Press, New York, 1994, pp.42-44.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

of how those forces operate. Tasks now being proposed as the key elements of a maritime peacekeeping mission are in fact, traditional naval tasks that have been undertaken by warships since the days of sail.³⁸ The important point here is that the inherent flexibility of warships has always allowed them to change tasks quickly and without loss of efficiency.

Many warships, such as frigates, are highly effective in a broad range of functions. As a surveillance platform, for instance, frigates can maintain almost complete surveillance in and over some 20,000 square kilometers of ocean. Although it may not be able to intercept all contacts in that area, the frigate can investigate almost any contact within the area under surveillance by using its helicopter. The frigate can be also use the helicopter to extend the size of area over which it is keeping watch. The ship and its helicopter have thus become a highly potent and flexible team.

The other possible model is the cycle of maritime crisis management, which has five phases: (1) preventing conflict at sea; (2) imposing and enforcing sanctions; (3) crisis management and containment; (4) intervention; and (5) keeping the new peace.³⁹ To explain this inherent flexibility I will review some of the possible roles of those forces within five maritime categories.

³⁷ Peter Haydon, *Op.cit*, p.88.

First, in preventing conflict at sea, maritime forces can conduct surveillance and monitor ocean use to provide early warning of a deteriorating situation and to gather general information on the situation. Maritime forces can also be deployed into a region as a deterrent to aggression. Under the heading of naval presence, this is a traditional way of signaling concern over a worsening situation. There may also be an occasional need to use a warship to oversee or take action in humanitarian relief situation or to enforce international law. Examples of these situations are numerous. They range from the deployment of a full naval task force into an area. Submarines and maritime patrol aircraft have also been used in this role, particularly where the operations of other submarine are of concern.

Second, maritime forces can also be used to impose and enforce economic sanctions, quarantines, or blockades. Under some situations this may require the use of force to make ships stop and submit to search, and so these operations must be conducted under strict rules defining the situations where force may be used and the level of force permissible. Experience has shown that these operations can be done with multinational forces, but only

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Peter Haydon, *Ibid*, p.89.

under a unified command structure, particularly where the operations of air, surface and sub-surface units have to be coordinated.

Third, most maritime tasks are those of containing a crisis and protecting non-belligerents, not only because they require the limited use of force under tightly prescribed conditions but also because of the difficulty of determining what constitute a direct threat to ships or facilities being protected – the old problem of defining hostile acts and hostile intent. A related problem lies in the fact that under law, a state may only use force to protect ships sailing under its own flag. With some 75 percent of the world's shipping now sailing under flags of convenience, the problem of protecting their cargoes is complex. The 1987-88 Tanker War in the Persian Gulf is probably the best example of just how complex this operation can get. Under some circumstance, military forces may also have to dispose of mines and explosive or undertake other specialist tasks such as controlling the movement of shipping.

Fourth, the decision to intervene in a crisis ironically simplifies the situation by removing most ambiguities. However, an intervention must have clearly specified objectives with accompanying limits on the use of force. As in other phases, determining appropriate rules of engagement is

extremely important and will influence the final outcome. The wrong rules, either too stringent or too loose, can jeopardize an operation.

Finally, keeping the new peace, after a treaty or cease-fire has been signed, may require maritime forces to conduct surveillance, monitor the use of the ocean, and verify that the conditions of the treaty or truce are being respected at sea. Again, this requires a unified command and control structure if the operations of ships, aircraft and submarines are to be coordinated effectively.

Thus, all type of maritime forces can be used in crisis management, but not with the same degree of effectiveness in each case. This can be seen from the following table, which matches the suitability of platforms (ships and aircraft), to specific crisis management tasks.⁴⁰

| Types | | Patrol Vessel | Frigate | Sub | Aircraft Carrier | Patrol Aircraft |
|----------------------------|-------------------|---------------|---------|------|------------------|-----------------|
| PREVENTING CONFLICT | -Surveillance | GOOD | GOOD | GOOD | GOOD | GOOD |
| | -Presence | POOR | GOOD | POOR | GOOD | POOR |
| IMPOSING SANCTIONS | -Intercept | POOR | GOOD | GOOD | GOOD | GOOD |
| | -Search | GOOD | GOOD | POOR | FAIR | NIL |
| | -Apprehend | POOR | GOOD | POOR | FAIR | NIL |
| CRISIS MANAGEMENT | -Protection | FAIR | GOOD | GOOD | GOOD | POOR |
| | -Shipping control | FAIR | GOOD | NIL | POOR | NIL |

⁴⁰ Peter Haydon, *Op.cit.*, pp.90-91.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| INTERVENTION | -Anti-shipping | POOR | GOOD | GOOD | GOOD | POOR |
| | -Anti-submarine | POOR | GOOD | GOOD | FAIR | GOOD |
| | -Shore strike | NIL | POOR | NIL | GOOD | NIL |
| PEACEKEEPING | -Surveillance | GOOD | GOOD | FAIR | GOOD | FAIR |

I have adopted Peter Haydon’s model in applying new maritime forces to peace operations. In addition, I would include a couple of other maritime elements to make up for the above such as transportation (logistic supply, evacuation), and humanitarian assistance (disaster relief, rescue).

Therefore, the additional platforms I suggest are transportation ships, amphibious ships, supply ships, hospital ships, and salvage ships.

Conclusion

The United Nations has assumed stronger, and more credible roles in the areas of international security since the Cold War ended. Although the dignity of the UN has sometimes been infringed upon by the super powers, its legitimacy as global-level organization has been preserved.

In these days, tribal conflicts occur often around the world, however, global conflict is not likely to happen unless there is a huge shift in the present world political atmosphere. As we have witnessed in the past decades, the

types of conflicts or situations that will attract the international community's attention in the future will most likely be regional problems. Future conflicts are likely to be related to economic factors, particularly maritime sovereignty associated with Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) management.

The number and diversity of maritime operations conducted in the post-Cold War years is an indication that in the future, maritime forces will be called upon to play an important role in keeping world peace and security. To provide the required level of credibility and legality, it is under the auspices of the United Nations that multinational naval forces will most likely conduct future maritime peacekeeping operations.

Historically, UN peacekeeping operations have been changing since Canada invented peacekeeping in the 1950s. One of the major reasons why this change has taken place is that the world is constantly changing.

Traditional peacekeeping missions have included roles such as election monitoring, arms collection, provision of medical aid, observation, and intervention between hostile parties, etc. while second generation operations have become increasingly diverse. These operations encompass a wide range of tasks from conflict prevention to humanitarian assistance to nation building.

Nowadays, the meaning of peacekeeping includes peace building, peace enforcement, and peacekeeping, and is called peace operations by some

scholars. The United States has also named both the traditional and the second generation peacekeeping operations as peace operations, a broad descriptive definition. Future peace operations are likely to take place in a constantly changing security environment which some experts on peacekeeping operations have concluded may well increasingly involve maritime forces.

The main characteristics of maritime forces are readiness, flexibility, sustainability, and mobility, all of which can be used to enhance the effectiveness of future peace operations. Furthermore, maritime forces can be used to support such roles as diplomacy, military, and constabulary which in turn can contribute to the development of new concepts of UN peacekeeping operations.

Canada, for instance, has established detailed roles for its maritime forces. Among them items such as preventive deployments, maritime interdiction operations, peace support operations, non-combatant evacuation operations, civil-military cooperation, symbolic use, presence, humanitarian assistance, search and rescue, and disaster relief, can be applied to the future development of maritime peace operations.

On the other hand, examples of maritime peacekeeping operations in the past included blockade, embargo, monitoring ceasefire on the sea, and supervising mine clearing in support of land based peacekeeping operations.

However, it is now time to change and expand the role of UN maritime forces engaged in peace operations.

As stated previously, the changing face of future peacekeeping is such that maritime peace operations could become a major part of any UN peace operations. To support UN maritime peace operations, we can use various maritime forces platforms, such as frigates, patrol vessels, submarines, aircraft carriers, transportation ships, amphibious ships, supply ships, hospital ships, salvage ships and patrol aircraft. In addition, future maritime peace operations are likely to expand from traditional peacekeeping operations (mainly surveillance) to the prevention of conflict (surveillance, presence), imposing sanctions (intercept, search, apprehend), crisis management (protection, shipping control), and intervention (anti-shipping, anti-submarine, shore strike), as well as peacekeeping. Additionally, transportation (logistic supply) and humanitarian assistance (disaster relief, rescue) could be included in any new maritime peace operations.

To support effective future maritime peace operations, sovereign nations should prepare flexible Rules of Engagement (ROE), and should also be prepared to use various platforms and doctrines depending on the circumstances in which they find themselves, and the roles demanded of their maritime forces.

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