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## INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING: ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

**Summary.** The purpose of the research is to analyze the evolution of the Cold War peacekeeping activity. To illustrate the main stages of peacekeeping development. To substantiate the impact of World War II conferences on the introduction of peacekeeping operations. To identify the main periods of development of the idea of peacekeeping activity, its event history. The research methodology is based on the grounds of historicism, systematic, scientific. General methods (analysis, synthesis, comparison, generalization) and historical (historical-chronological, comparative-historical) methods were used. The scientific novelty is that a structured analysis of the formation and development of peacekeeping activities was carried out based on domestic and foreign sources and separate periods were identified with general key features and their comparisons. Some works of foreign authors are introduced into Ukrainian historiography for the first time. Conclusions. Peacemaking in different forms presented long before the twentieth century and is one of the most viewable and controversial pages in history. The concept has come a long way in becoming and developing. In the context of bipolar confrontation, the UN has developed a method of resolving international conflicts, and peacekeeping operations have become tools of this mechanism. Since the start of the first peacekeeping missions, the basic methods, principles and mechanisms have a long and debatable development.

**Keywords:** United Nations, Security Council, General Secretary, peacekeeping activity, conflict.

## МІЖНАРОДНА МИРОТВОРЧА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ: СТАНОВЛЕННЯ ТА РОЗВИТОК

**Анотація.** Мета дослідження – проаналізувати еволюцію миротворчої діяльності під час холодної війни. Висвітлити основні етапи розвитку миротворчості. Обґрунтувати вплив конференцій Другої світової війни на становлення операцій з підтримки миру. Виявити основні періоди розвитку концепції миротворчої діяльності, її подієвої історії. Методологія дослідження базується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості. Використані загальні методи (аналіз, синтез, порівняння, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичні (історико-хронологічний, порівняльно-історичний) методи. Наукова новизна полягає у тому, що на основі вітчизняних та іноземних джерел здійснено структурований аналіз становлення та розвитку миротворчої діяльності, виокремлені окремі періоди з ключовими особливостями і їх зіставлення. Окремі праці іноземних авторів вперше вводяться в українську історіографію. Висновки. Миротворчість в різних формах існувала задовго до ХХ ст. і є однією з найпомітніших і найсуперечливіших сторінок історії. Концепція пройшла довгий шлях становлення та розвитку. В обстановці біполярного протистояння ООН розробила метод врегулювання міжнародних конфліктів, інструментами цього механізму постали операції з підтримки миру. З моменту заснування перших миротворчих місій, основні методи, принципи і механізми пройшли тривалий та суперечливий розвиток.

**Ключові слова:** Організація Об'єднаних Націй, Рада Безпеки, Генеральний секретар, миротворча діяльність, конфлікт.

**Problem statement.** Many people recognize a number of small problems every morning. For example, It is impossible to start a normal work day without coffee, or if coffee is cold, or there is no warm water in the morning and so on. We were lucky enough to go to school, work, and just live. Unfortunately, millions of people, do not have the pleasure of complaining about cold coffee or cold water every morning, instead they are worried about how to get the essentials to live to see another day.

Given the relevance of peacekeeping activities in the 21st century, it is appropriate to extend the knowledge and understanding of these processes in the context of their sources and development. Given the scale and complexity of peacekeeping operations, it is important to consider how the peacekeeping activity developed during the Cold War, as these missions were completely another from the operations which are conducted today. It is important to get the conceptual background and history of peacekeeping operations by reviewing the historical, political and diplomatic experience that has contributed to the development of peacekeeping in a chronological order.

Over the past half-century, the problem of international security has been first-rate for the international political system. War has always been, and its prevention has been a goal throughout human history. Nowadays, the world is more involved in human rights neglects than ever before and tries to solve them. However, peace is not easy to achieve, as UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar remarked: “Peace – the word evokes the simplest and most cherished dream of humanity... yet our history overwhelmingly shows that while we speak incessantly of peace, our actions tell a very different story” (Javier, 1991).

Peacekeeping, separately peacekeeping operations, are able to participate directly in conflicts without political predicament. International peacekeeping has become a gigantic part of the international community and is one of the main governing institutions of international relations. Peacekeeping operations are the most visible activity of the UN, which prevents and restrains armed conflicts.

The subject of peacemaking became mostly remarkable with the end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the bipolar system of international relations. This is generously due to the wish to find a way out of many conflicts, and the need for peacekeeping has increased relatively.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** Researchers in countries such as the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom have taken the lead in the study of peacekeeping about historiography. The theoretical ground for understanding the development of peacemaking during the Cold War is mostly the work of scholars such as D. Jett (Dennis, 1998), W. Durch (William, 1993), A. Fetherston (Fetherston, 1994), I. Rikhye (Henry, 1987), P. Diehl (Paul, 2008), A. Arend (Anthony, 1993). Materials from international conferences are also included to the research.

Among the Russian researchers we can identify: I. Krupyanko (Krupyanko, 2008), T. Kochetkova (Kochetkova, 1995), Y. Zapariy (Zapariy, 2005), V. Rumyantsev (Rumyantsev, 2000). Among the leading Ukrainian researchers dealing with problems of settlement of international conflicts are V. Bruz (Bruz, 1994) and V. Kuchinsky (Kuchinsky, 2004).

**The publication’s purpose.** Exactly, the creation and evolution of peacekeeping is one of the specialize achievements of the UN. Peacekeeping activities of the twentieth century had a traditional character, mostly monitoring the implementation of ceasefire pact. Ways to conducting peacekeeping actions have evolved deeply, selecting a understanding of peace that goes beyond only military concerns. The force of peacemaking, as a tool for de-escalation of conflicts, can be explained by the process of gradual change in peacekeeping operations and the methods of work of peacekeepers that have been deployed in recent decades. That is why it is important to draw the evolution of these processes to highlight the important points that helped arbitrate conflicts in different parts of the world.

**Statement of the basic material.** The Crusades are the first precedents of international collective action in the world history. Several countries have united under the leadership of the Vatican to save the Holy Land from the scourge of the infidels. Just as many states are uniting under the leadership of the UN or other peacekeeping organizations for peace now. It is difficult to attribute to the Crusades the desire for

peace and security as this comparison may be too shallow. This indicates about collective military action focused on stopping the aggressor or stopping the conflict took place in World History up to the twentieth century, though in a somewhat different retrospect than in the modern sense. The Napoleonic wars show that coalitions were formed to suspend the conflict and establish a new order in the post-conflict territory and for returning of the status quo.

The military operation, which was partly similar to peacemaking, was a joint operation by eight states to liberate Beijing during the Boxing Rebellion in 1900. The 1907 Hague Convention elevated the topic of the peaceful resolution of international conflicts: "Foreign conflict parties have the right to offer a peaceful adjustment even during hostilities. In this case, neither side can regard it as an unfriendly act". (Gogosha, 2008).

The number of casualties during World War I was the same as in the period from 1790 to 1913 (Anthony, 1993: 19). A League of Nations was set up to prevent future conflicts, but the number of participating countries was limited. The outbreak of World War II demonstrated the invalidity of this organization.

In the work "Peacekeeping Operations" Paul Diehl highlights the following features of the first joint military operations:

- Operations organized for resolving the crisis and dissolving in its resolution. There were no permanent operations.

- Operated without any management center, often without coordinating with other participants.

- These actions were approved without the involvement of international institutions, because international organizations, as they exist today, were absent (Paul, 2008: 29).

The First and Second World Wars brought an unprecedented number of casualties. The United Nations was founded with the aim to protect the next generations from such awful conflicts. The main goal is to support international peace and security.

The first years of the UN's existence were the start of the development of the peacekeeping concept. The creation of a new peacekeeping system was one of the main issues addressed by the allies of the anti-Hitler coalition. Many documents have cited to the require for an effective common security system. The issue of the creation of common bodies that were supposed to guarantee collective security was discussed at the first conferences that took place during World War II. For the first time, the idea of establishing such an organization was originated at the Atlantic Conference in August 1941 between F. Roosevelt and W. Churchill. It was proposed to create police forces to ensure stability in the post-war world, this concept was called "four police": the US, USSR, UK and China (Kochetkova, 1995: 28).

Further ideas for the formation of an international peacekeeping organization took place during the Third Moscow Conference of 1943, which adopted the Declaration of Four States on the Common Security (Deklaratsiya, 1943). The Dumbarton-Oaks Conference of 1944 played key role, which adopted the document "Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization", which formed the basis of the Charter of the United Nations (Tymchenko, 2012: 235). The collective security system was put on the principle of national quotas in the formation of the armed forces at the disposal of the organization; Items of command and number remained beyond the area of debate (Zapariy, 2005: 15).

Provisions were set up to establish a Military Staff Committee, which is a collegial body and its responsibilities include: strategic leadership of the armed forces, drafting recommendations to the Security Council, regulating arms and disarmament (Dumbarton Oaks, 1944).

The final stage in organizing the foundation of the international security organization was the Yalta Conference, which resolved the issue of vetoes where each

member of the Security Council has one vote, a country that is a conflict part abstains from voting (Krymskaya, 1945).

The epilogue to the introduction of an international organization for peace and security was the San Francisco Conference in 1945. The main features for the maintenance and support of collective security were laid in the UN charter, which was adopted at the conference on June 26, 1945. and specific actions in the event of a threat to peace are enshrined in Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter (Peaceful Settlement of Disputes) and VII (Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression).

The creation of the UN meant the running from a multipolar system to a system of regulation of international relations at the supranational level. The focus was on preventing conflicts from occurring and escalating, but such a mechanism was tailored to the interests of the leading powers, in particular the US and the USSR, which in the future led to conflicts and misunderstandings between the peacekeepers themselves, while making important decisions and activities.

If to compare the process of adopting the features of the UN Charter and putting it into practice, we can draw some conclusions. In the end of the debate and the creation of a methods of peacekeeping in the post-war period. The world has changed. And the common threat to all in the form of the militarization of Germany and Japan has disappeared. The world has begun to become bipolar, and it is impossible to calm the great powers by the mechanisms foresee by the UN Charter. We can assume that instead of building a collective security system, the focus was on building regional security. According to the Charter, the UN could only ensure international presence in the tension zone or limit the spread of the conflict.

World politics and the nature of conflict have changed with the establishment of the UN. Conflicts have turned from inter-state into threats originating from the state itself, internal conflicts (Siv, 2008: 4). In response to the new nature of conflicts, peacekeeping organizations changed their approach to peace and security, and gradually shifted from armed intervention to diplomatic, with the least use of weapons, but with the changing nature of peacekeeping, the basic features stayed the same:

- Impartiality.
- Consent to cooperate.
- Proper use of force.
- Unity and international character.
- Respect for the principles of international humanitarian law.
- Respect for local laws and customs (What is peacekeeping, 2016).

The history of peacemaking includes periods of rapid growth in activity and inertia. Henry Weisman identified 5 periods of peacekeeping:

1. Nascent period, 1946–1956
2. Assertive period, 1956–1967
3. Dormant period, 1967–1973.
4. Resurgent period, 1973–1978.
5. Maintenance period, 1978–1985 (Dennis, 1998: 40).

This list was supplemented by B. Fetherston, who singled out the sixth period:

6. Extension period, 1988 – 1993 (Fetherston, 1994).

You can also add a seventh period, according to Dennis Jett:

7. Contraction period, 1993 – 2000 (Dennis, 1998: 41). (The cut-off date is 2000, since this period was suggested by Dennis Jett in the book “Why Peacekeeping Fails”, published in 2000).

The number of peacekeepers has increased, the non-military component of the peacekeeping environment has increased, and the number of women involved in peacekeeping activities can be noted precisely with the beginning of the XXI century. There have been changes in methods. In particular we can talk about the next

generation of peacekeeping operations. Peacekeepers create a resistant and safety environment for security and respect for human rights. The tasks of peacekeeping activities include not only the suspension of the conflict and the support for peace in the XXI century. Peacekeepers continue their work after the end of the conflict. They introduce new institutions, facilitate the political process to create legitimate institutions of governance. Conditions for safe movement of people and humanitarian aid are created, protection of civilians is organized, much attention is paid to peacebuilding. In our opinion, the period beginning with the beginning of the 21st century can be called the period of reconsideration or the period of reformation.

The first peacekeeping missions did not include in their name “peacekeeping” (Dennis, 1998: 42): The importance of operations from 1946 to 1956 was that they prepared a resource for further peacekeeping operations. The main function of these missions was to collect information and control the implementation of Security Council decisions. A commission was first set up to settle the situation and gather information, recruited military personnel, then a mandate was given to mediate between the conflicting parties to resolve the conflicts. The most important features of these missions is the limited function of the monitors, which came down to recording and investigating events. The activities of peacekeepers were separated from the political settlement process, although the mere presence of observers led to a reduction in the intensity of the conflict. Another important feature is the limited presence of scales (the number of observers varied from a few dozen to several hundred). A limited contingent of military observers from different countries could not disrupt the balance and deployment of forces in the conflict zone. The first missions had a number of limited functions that were limited to recording and investigating violations, and these tasks were separated from the political settlement, which made it impossible to resolve the conflict. The creation of missions enabled the UN to increase its capacity and increase its strength.

Forthcoming peacekeeping missions have taken place in connection with the recurrence of conflicts in the Middle East. 8 peacekeeping missions were launched in 1956–1967, 4 of them were contemplative. The specialities of these missions were that for the first time the United Nations appropriate temporary management of the territories. Divisions of the civilian police were established and were directly integrated to the civil war. Peacekeepers were allowed to carry weapons. During this period, the basic principles of peacekeeping operations were developed:

1. The peacekeeping mission took place with the mutual agreement of the two parties.
2. Force could only be used in self-defense.
3. Peacekeepers are troops voluntarily formalized by neutral states.
4. Impartiality.
5. The mission should be carried out under the daily supervision of the Secretary-General (Dennis, 1998: 45).

This is the phase of the most active application of the practice of peacekeeping throughout the Cold War. It is this peacekeeping activity has shown that without proper political regulation, peacekeeping missions are not capable of eliminating the causes of the conflict. Peacekeeping operations were considered as a political tool of influence. During this period, peacekeeping operations were used by Western powers to protect their interests. Missions have been a method of maintaining constancy in strategic regions. There has been a development from conflict monitoring to policing and humanitarian assistance. However, we can conclude that the primary idea of these peacekeeping missions was to freeze the conflict and maintain the status quo.

In 1967–1973, peacekeeping stopped in relation to the Congo riots during the United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC), where peacekeeping became a method of coercion to peace and through the suspension of the UN-1 Emergency Force

(UNEF-1) through a change in Egypt's foreign policy. The Egyptian command began to concentrate its armed forces on the Sinai Peninsula because relations with Israel worsened. Egypt demanded the transferring of peacekeepers from its territory. The organization could not hold the presence of international forces against the will of a sovereign state.

Since 1973, peacekeeping missions have reloaded operations in relation to the escalation of the conflict in the Middle East. During this period, a format of peacekeeping was formed, founded on the features developed in the 1940s – 1950s: separation of conflicting parties, consent of parties to the operation, prohibition of the use of force other than self-defense. All missions operated within the competence of Section VI of the UN Charter. The UN tried to create the preconditions for political settlement of the conflict, minimizing the intervention of major powers.

Peacekeeping activity have declined again in the 1980s. When Israel launched the Lebanon War in 1982, peacekeeping forces that began their mandate since 1978 could do little to prevent bloodshed.

With the end of the Cold War, peacekeeping began to take on new forces. This was influenced by several factors identified by Dennis Jett (Dennis, 1998: 50):

- With the end of the Cold War, the USSR and the US no longer used the UN for their debates and for blocking decisions.
- Changing the nature and amount of conflict. Wars can be fought not against individual states in a holistic sense, but with individual groups of people, organizations. Along with interstate conflicts, there were many internal conflicts. The civilian casualties are increasing. Civilians, not soldiers, become tactical targets.
- Peacemaking has become more in demand and desirable, than the development of the information circle, the speed of information transmission, that is, thanks to the CNN effect, where the world has become a “global village” (Marshall, 2011).

Many new peacekeeping missions have been organized. Since 1993 peacekeeping missions have achieved great success, but at the same time they have had major failures. Peacekeeping missions have failed, for example, in Somalia, Bosnia and Rwanda, but this has not been a barrier to ending peacekeeping operations, particularly in the Middle East.

**Conclusions.** The concept of peacekeeping has got some transformations and has developed, but despite the contradictions between the great countries, the UN has established a system of peaceful adjustment of conflicts. Unarmed observers were placed on the line of demarcation between the conflicting parties, monitoring the situation and investigating violations at the initial stage. The deployment of peacekeepers took place with the consent of the conflicting parties.

Little by little, with the attenuate of relations situation between the US and the USSR in the 1950s – 1960s, the UN expanded its activities in the resolving of international conflicts. In addition to observing the demarcation situation, peacekeepers began to perform police functions and provide humanitarian assistance. Peacekeeping operations were regarded as a political tool of influence. During this period, peacekeeping operations were used by Western countries to protect their interests. These missions were a method of saving constancy in strategic regions, and the primary purpose of peacekeeping missions was to freeze conflict and preserve the status quo.

We could talk about the completion of the concept of UN peacekeeping in the 1960s – 1970s. It was during this period that the USSR began to cooperate with the UN in the field of peacekeeping, and the legitimacy of peacekeeping operations was finally recognized.

Since the creation of the first peacekeeping missions, the basic methods, principles and mechanisms have got a long and controversial development. Since the appearance of the UN Charter, the development of the notion of peacekeeping has evolved on the

foundation of an interpretation of the provisions of the Charter, as peacekeeping operations were not explicitly spelled out. Analyzing the activities of the UN, it should be emphasised that peacekeeping operations aimed at isolating conflicts at the regional level and preventing the collision of major powers. Operations are an important tool for international diplomacy.

Peacekeeping is one of the brightest and polemical pages in history. Methods for the settlement of international conflicts including military personnel have been developed throughout the history of mankind. The zenith of these processes was the twentieth century, which was embodied in UN peacekeeping mechanisms. Many peacekeeping operations were carried out during which the concept of peacekeeping was developed.

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