Lt. Gen. Zoltán Orosz:

THE FIRST UNITED NATIONS CHIEFS OF DEFENCE CONFERENCE (2015) – RESULTS AND EXPERIENCES

„the UN-led nation-building operations are smaller, cheaper and …
more successful than the US [operations]".
(James Dobbins[1])

ABSTRACT: *By now the United Nations' peacekeeping activities have become one of the most effective tools of the international community, which is operating to limit the burst of conflicts and restore peace. But what is the measure of success? How can one determine that a United Nations mission achieved its purpose? Not only the UN analyzed the factors and conditions of success, but also many other researchers had interest in clarifying the terms of the success itself. In my analysis, besides summarizing the experience of the first United Nations Chiefs of Defence Conference in 2015, I highlight significant security threats and problems of the 21st century and present the United Nations operations' success and failure factors. My other objective is to point out that promptly planned missions and rapidly deployed United Nations forces can significantly lower the level of intervention and the associated resource requirements during the management of a region's conflicts.*

KEYWORDS: *United Nations, peacekeeping, conference of CoDs, security challenges, international stabilization mechanisms.*

INTRODUCTION

I chose to start my thesis with a quote from US diplomat James Dobbins, as it perfectly highlights the dilemma with which the international community is often faced, specifically that the neglect of a conflict results over time in an increasingly growing financial burden on the participants. The achieved result of a pre-planned and quickly accomplished low-budget mission should be recognized and compared to the estimated financial needs of a mission launched after the escalation of the conflict and the radical deterioration of the situation. The differences in spending can be proven by the fact that the United Nations spent on its peacekeeping operations annually as much as the United States spent in Iraq in a month. The UN's own assessment also points out that UN operations are not only cheaper than other interventions carried out by international players, but the expenditures are also more equally distributed among the member countries. Only a half percent of the world military expenditure is spent on the United Nations' peace operations, while their effectiveness far exceeds the amount of resources spent on them.

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[1] James Francis Dobbins Jr. (1942-) American diplomat, The United States' ambassador to the EU between 1991-93, Deputy Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (2001), Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan (2013-14).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS

Over the past sixty years, the United Nations peacekeeping activities played a decisive role in guaranteeing peace and security. Over the decades, missions included a wide-range of tasks, large numbers of peacekeepers, and substantial financial resources that were used to resolve conflicts in many countries of the world. Therefore, determining the definition of peacekeeping success and failure and the examination of the factors that influence success received great attention from both individual researchers and the United Nations. Yet peacekeeping's universal recipe has not been crystallized, experience rather confirms that the conflicts are different so they require a different response from the international community as well. The definition of success is not an easy task, the literature is rather diverse in identifying success factors, but one can detect universal characteristics that are measuring the effectiveness of the UN missions.

At the beginning of peacekeeping operations' establishment, the United Nations intended to effectuate the mandates granted by the Charter of the United Nations in a changing international power structure. Its work was essential, as the organization provided an opportunity for a possible dialogue between the two blocs to stabilize the international relations. According to the principles laid down in the Charter, the member states aim is to "maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace".[2] For the purpose stability the Charter decided to introduce soft and hard measures for those who endanger international peace. Reactions vary from the peaceful settlement of conflicts (Sixth Chapter) to stricter coercive measures (Seventh Chapter) depending on the characteristics of the arisen conflict.

The document however does not contain a definition or specific details about the mechanism of peacekeeping; it rather gives priority to the co-operation within the Security Council. Powerful measures of Chapter VII, however, failed to settle international conflicts during the Cold War, the original plans – the Security Council decides about further stabilizing actions – were proven to be unsuccessful after a short time as the veto of the Security Council has repeatedly questioned the organization's ability to act effectively.[3] States sought to limit the effects of the unstable political decision-making system.

This objective launched the first peacekeeping missions in order to guarantee peace, to moderate conflicts between the two blocs, and to act against the outbreak of local problems. Considering their mandates and principles, peacekeeping operations are unofficially claimed to be based on "Chapter six and a half".[4] The limited mandate of the missions under the Sixth Chapter consists of peaceful and soft-policy measures (such as consultancy, support, training operations), thereby active military involvement is only in the portfolio of missions under Chapter VII. The United Nations peacekeeping operations are based on voluntary

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[2] UN Charter: Chapter I, Purposes and Principles, Article 1. 1945.

[3] Bokodi, Á. „Mit tartanak fenn a békefenntartók? Az ENSZ békefenntartó műveletek sikerének értékelése". *Külügyi Szemle* 2011. nyár 91-115. 91. http://kki.gov.hu/download/2/da/b0000/Kulugyi_Szemle_2011_02_Mit_tartanak_fenn_a_b%C3%A9kef_.pdf, Accessed on 7 June 2016.

[4] Hillen, J. F. „UN Collective Security – Chapter six and a half", 1994. http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/parameters/Articles/1994/1994%20hillen.pdf, Accessed on 7 June 2016.

force contributions, minimum and proportionate use of strength, the principle that military intervention should only be used as 'ultima ratio', and that every mission must be preceded by the host country's consensus. The first official UN mission was launched in 1948 (UNTSO[5]), and since then a total of 63 peacekeeping operations have taken place with the participation of hundreds of thousands of peacekeepers. [6]

Over the years, peacekeeping operations have adapted to changes of the security challenges with many smaller or bigger modifications. Between the two generations of missions (after the end of the Cold War), similarly to other international organizations, the United Nations also had to change its point of view and methods. Additionally, peacekeeping was influenced by several other factors alongside the collapse of the two blocs. Besides traditional military operations the first generation (traditional) peacekeeping missions also included observer operations. Complementing the UN's definition, Janos Tisovszky presented a more general definition of the first generation of peacekeeping missions in his analysis "The United Nations and peacekeeping". According to him, the task of missions' is to "supervise the ceasefire agreements between the conflicting states, as well as the establishment of a neutral buffer zone."[7] These operations are commonly small, unarmed operations, and most of the 13 operations – launched during the Cold War – may be listed here.[8]

MODERNIZATION STRATEGIES

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali further differentiated the previous categorization of the peacekeeping missions in his report, „Agenda for Peace" in 1992. He complemented the single peacekeeping concept with preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, -enforcement, and peace-building missions.[9] Simultaneously with this multi-faceted approach, a need for multidimensional and complex operations emerged during the changed circumstances after the end of the Cold War. The conceptual distinction thereby facilitated to concentrate the work of the United Nations. At the same time – in line with the East-West confrontation's disappearance – within the UN Security Council, the use of veto decreased, so that effective action could respond to crises. The Agenda for Peace was among the first official documents, which aimed to highlight the success factors in peacekeeping[10]:

- clear and feasible mandate;
- cooperation among partners in accomplishing the designated tasks;
- continuing support of the Security Council;

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[5] According to the decision of the Security Council of the United Nations, military observers were deployed to the Middle East (UNTSO). The main task of the mission was the supervision of the ceasefire agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

[6] Magyar ENSZ Társaság. „Békefenntartás – Békefenntartó műveletek: 1948-2011". http://www.menszt.hu/informaciok/bekefenntartas, Accessed on 7 June 2016.

[7] Tisovszky, J. „Az ENSZ és a békefenntartás", 1997, 9. http://docplayer.hu/6095-Tisovszky-janos-az-ensz-es-a-bekefenntartas.html, Accessed on 6 June 2016.

[8] Bokodi, Á. „Mit tartanak fenn a békefenntartók? Az ENSZ békefenntartó műveletek sikerének értékelése", *Külügyi Szemle* 2011. nyár, 91-115. 91. http://kki.gov.hu/download/2/da/b0000/Kulugyi_Szemle_2011_02_Mit_tartanak_fenn_a_b%C3%A9kef_.pdf, Accessed on 7 June 2016.

[9] Rada, M. „Az ENSZ és a békefenntartás – Növekvő igények, növekvő terhek". *Biztonságpolitikai Szemle* Vol 4:1, 2011. http://biztpol.corvinusembassy.com/jscripts/tiny_mce/spirit_docs/upload_31/bsz_vol_4.1.pdf, Accessed on 6 June 2016.

[10] Boutros-Ghali, B. „Agenda for Peace", 1992.

- readiness of Member States to contribute;
- effective UN management;
- adequate financial and logistic support.

The traditional first-generation missions' responsibilities thus expanded with a multifaceted mandate, including political, military, police, humanitarian, reconstruction and development tasks.[11]

Boutros-Ghali's detailed analysis and subsequent careful planning, however, was not always satisfactory for a successful mission. The UN has failed on numerous occasions. The least successful deployment of international peacekeepers took place in Somalia (the United Nations Operation in Somalia – UNOSOM – launched on the 24th of April 1992).[12] In addition, the engagement in Rwanda and Bosnia was not fruitful either.[13]

By the end of the nineties, failures had proved that even extended mandates were not enough for ensuring unstable areas. There was a need for a so-called "robust peacekeeping", the deployment of a sufficient amount of properly armed personnel, where peace is not only achieved and maintained by the military, but also by civil stabilizing and securing methods. The mission ensures the protection of the population within the area of operations, as well as helps the settlement of the conflict with other tasks. The mandate will continue to allow the use of weapons only for self-defense. According to their versatile duties, similar missions are labeled as "integrated operations", referring to civil and military joint coordination. Since the peacekeeping missions received broad functions, United Nations peacekeepers worked in close cooperation with local police forces in the humanitarian and development tasks as well.

In the 2000s, problems rapidly evolved to be multidimensional and international. Moreover, radicalization, territorial, and ethnic disputes combined with local conditions played a deep role, so it was essential to involve civil activities, such as business counseling, humanitarian aid and direct support for the rule of law. The Brahimi report in 2000 discovered several errors in the second generation of peacekeeping mechanisms, for example, highlighted some deficiencies in protecting personnel and stressed the importance of using the soft-policy tools. On the basis of the comprehensive report, peace enforcement, peacekeeping and peace-building units worked in closer cooperation. Sharing information, achieving a clearer mandate, providing essential resources to protect the civil population were also aims of the modernization.[14] Regarding changes in the personnel, former UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld claimed: "Peacekeeping is not a job for soldiers, but only soldiers can do it." The changes were confirmed in 2008, when the UN released another comprehensive document, the Capstone Doctrine, which envisaged a multi-dimensional function rather than an increase in traditional military operations. The new missions had to cooperate with local

[11] Bokodi, Á. „Mit tartanak fenn a békefenntartók? Az ENSZ békefenntartó műveletek sikerének értékelése". *Külügyi Szemle* 2011. nyár, 91-115. 91. http://kki.gov.hu/download/2/da/b0000/Kulugyi_Szemle_2011_02_Mit_tartanak_fenn_a_b%C3%A9kef_.pdf,
Accessed on 7 June 2016.

[12] Tisovszky, J. „Az ENSZ és a békefenntartás", 1997, URL: http://docplayer.hu/6095-Tisovszky-janos-az-ensz-es-a-bekefenntartas.html, Accessed on 7 June 2016.

[13] Pusztai, D. „Az ENSZ Biztonsági Tanácsának konfliktuskezelő tevékenysége a posztbipoláris korszakban – a szomáliai példa". ELTE BTK Történelemtudományi Doktori Iskola, 2014. 5-7. http://doktori.btk.elte.hu/hist/pusztaidavid/tezis.pdf, Accessed on 6 June 2016.

[14] Brahimi Report: Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, 2000.

actors in order to achieve efficiency and legitimacy, as well as mapping the political and social conditions. The new peacekeeping doctrine highlights the role of the following elements[15]:

- Create secure environment while strengthening the state's ability to be able to guarantee security, fully respecting the rule of law and human rights;
- Ensure the political dialogue, promote negotiating period and support the development of rule of law;
- Ensure that all UN and other international actors continue their activities in a coordinated way in the given country.

The New Horizon report, published in 2009, complemented the above detailed doctrine by emphasizing the importance of enhanced cooperation with other international and humanitarian organizations involved in peacekeeping to protect civilians and military personnel.[16] Thus the new, third-generation peacekeeping operations' framework, the recent norms and mandates were created, in which the focus is on parallel application of civil and military capabilities rather than on purely military or diplomatic means. The change in the peacekeeping mandate is an ongoing process, since the system adapts to the local and international political, social and economic conditions, but the awareness of doctrinal changes outlined in this chapter is essential to suggest further development steps.

CHALLENGES OF THE 21ST CENTURY

Today, processes affecting the security of the world are increasingly accelerated, became more complex and less predictable. A wider interpretation of security, including the economic, social, environmental and technological changes and their various interacting processes will significantly transform the security's previously only political-military dimension. There are however a number of processes, which are very likely to have a significant impact on the world's security.

Such factors are the gradual shift of the global economic power's center towards Asia and the Pacific region, which entails the strengthening of the region's political lobbying capabilities as well. In response, the United States began to focus on the strategic shift towards the region, which implies a weakening of the attention paid to other regions in the long term. This process presents enormous challenges.

Economic difficulties and the Western (mainly European) countries' budget priorities (priority on social spending) created a serious lack of resources in the defense sector, the consequences of which will persist for the next 15 years, and the skill shortages are expected to continue to grow, reducing the forces' fighting ability. Underfunding is not only the consequence of the difficult economic environment. Western (mainly European) countries armed forces' decreased willingness to use military means after the end of the Cold War contributed greatly to the development of the situation. Conflicts are preferred to be settled by "soft power" tools. The underfunded national combat capabilities cannot be effective, so there is a risk that this will reduce the effectiveness of international organizations as well.

The states are becoming less open to the use of armed forces, instead, they will seek to achieve their goals through the use of pressure, other proxy states or asymmetric ways.

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[15] Capstone Doctrine: United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, Principles and Guidelines, 2008.
[16] New Horizon. „A New Partnership Agenda – Charting a New Horizon for UN Peacekeeping", 2009.

Nevertheless, the traditional interstate armed conflicts' (wars) occurrence in the next 15 years cannot be entirely ruled out. Although the decline in the number of open conflicts can act as a stabilizing factor in the world's security, "invisible" types of "hybrid warfare" or other factors of uncertainty could generate new conflicts. Support for proxy forces (militias, insurgents), intelligence, special operations and PSYOPS capabilities, asymmetric warfare, the use of sabotage, disinformation in order to deny the intervention are tools of the new types of warfare.

The growth of global population will increase over the next 15 years, but its pace is slowing, and the process is significantly different by geographical location. However, the most important aspect of the changing population will be the altering of the distribution in age groups. These processes may result in internal social tensions, such as the discontent of those layers who are forced out of labor market (see. the "Arab Spring"), strengthening prejudices against and segregation propensity among immigrants, increased conflicts between the majority and minority society (riots), therefore the non-integrated social layer's increasing poverty, and aging societies' reduced propensity for violence. The declining population and the demographic problems caused by the aging population are also present in Hungary, serious challenges for population policy of the country can be detected even in the short term.

The increasingly widespread digitalization brings a growth in cyber threats in both the public and private sectors. The rapid development of information technology and applied technologies often enables only reactive response, so generally speaking, the shortcomings in the area of cyber defense is expected to persist in the long term. From this point of view, building up adequate cyber defense capabilities and their effective application is especially important in the defense sector, since the armed forces are one of the largest technology-using organizations in every country.

Among all the threats of the 21st century, however, the most challenging areas are those in which a government is unable to permanently project power over the citizens. In areas where there is no public administration or public policy, a vacuum of power raises actors that are not interested in the establishment of security, cannot guarantee the safety of life and property for a wide range of the population. The resulting chaos may generate a wave of migration, which directly affects remote areas as well. Think of the fact that the security problems of Afghanistan or Syria also affected Hungary thousands of kilometers away, due to the migration flow starting there.

REASONS OF THE 21ST CENTURY CHALLENGES

Let us examine what causes the conflicts that despite their regional nature achieve to influence global processes. It seems that the bad economic conditions are the main cause of long-term armed, non-interstate (i.e. civil war) conflicts. Behind this we find the explanation that rivalry for economic profit can be found in poor societies as well, since because of the scarcity of available profits competition becomes sharper and even violence can occur.

Examining the civil wars we find that economic factors have a much greater role than political or social reasons do. The complaints, such as the violation of political or social rights were not included among primary reasons for the outbreak of the conflict. Ethnic divisions alone do not lead to violence (as shown by many cases of multicultural states), but as a reference, it has a major role in increasing the effectiveness of propaganda and agitation as well.

Where there are significant political, economic and social inequalities between groups and these cleavages coincide with ethnic boundaries, conflict probability increases significantly. [17]

It is widely recognized that democracies do not go to war against each other. However, research has also shown that it is not authoritarian states which are mostly at risk of conflict, but, in general, extremely poor and vulnerable countries (undeveloped) in a state of transition to democracy.[18]

It should be stressed that not only the appearance of conflicts but also the probability of their recurrence is high. Agnes Bokodi's research shows that at least a third of conflicts returns within five years. In terms of settlement of disputes, we cannot miss the fact that the stabilizing role of ceasefire agreements is increasingly appreciated over military victory. Between 1995 and 2004 negotiation as a win was three times more frequent than military overcome. [19] It should also be added that their survival probability has increased in recent years, since the parties' disillusionment, a lack of open dialogue and honesty and ideological conflicts within each group further diverse challenges, creating hardly manageable reasons for expanding the clashes.[20]

MEASURING THE SUCCESS OF PEACEKEEPING

Despite the difficulties mentioned above, peacekeeping is still trying to fight against the international conflicts with multidimensional management methods. The presence of peacekeepers in recent times has proved to be essential, and although specific data are rarely available to analyze their effectiveness, some indicators can be made clear to measure the importance of international actions.

Within the legal framework of peacekeeping,[21] modernization plans offer increasingly wider mandates for participants in an operation. This expanding framework may contribute to the integrated handling of problems.

In the case of an international or intra-national conflict, the primary aim is the solution of direct causes (negative peace), but also more attention should be given to the early treatment of other peace-hindering aspects as well as to launch the reconstruction process on time (positive peace). The concept of negative and positive peace was introduced by Norwegian researcher John Galtung. According to a positive peace (fit to the conceptual framework of peace-building activities) it is important to build a stable political, economic and social

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[17] Collier, P. and Hoeffler, A. „Greed and Grievance in Civil War". *Oxford Economic Papers,* 2004. No. 25., 563-595. http://goo.gl/8O3OWy, Accessed on 6 June 2016.

[18] Bokodi, Á. „Mit tartanak fenn a békefenntartók? Az ENSZ békefenntartó műveletek sikerének értékelése". *Külügyi Szemle* 2011. nyár, 91-115. 91. http://kki.gov.hu/download/2/da/b0000/Kulugyi_Szemle_2011_02_ Mit_tartanak_fenn_a_b%C3%A9kef_.pdf, Accessed on 7 June 2016.

[19] Call, C. and Cousens, E. M. „Ending Wars and Building Peace". *IPA Working Papers Series,* 2007, 3. http://peacealliance.org/cms/assets/uploads/2013/05/Ending-Wars-Building-Peace.pdf, Accessed on 7 June 2016.

[20] Bokodi, Á. „Mit tartanak fenn a békefenntartók? Az ENSZ békefenntartó műveletek sikerének értékelése". *Külügyi Szemle* 2011. nyár, 91-115. 91. http://kki.gov.hu/download/2/da/b0000/Kulugyi_Szemle_2011_02_ Mit_tartanak_fenn_a_b%C3%A9kef_.pdf, Accessed on 7 June 2016.

[21] Such a framework is for example the ceasefire agreement by the conflicting parties, since based on the Charter VII. Article 7th Chapter, 2nd paragraph, the United Nations have no right "to interfere in issues that are essentially belong within the internal jurisdiction of a State." In addition, as an essential basis for peacekeeping, we have to mention the principle of impartiality, the principle of ultima ratio and the principle of minimum use of force.

system.[22] According to a UN mission's success, it should be emphasized that negative peace usually provides only a temporary solution, but considering a long-term planning, positive peace is needed to be achieved. In a broader sense, only positive peace is clearly seen as a success.

In a narrower sense, however, a UN mission should demonstrate success by the complete implementation of the mandate[23], efficacy in the decrease of armed conflict during the period of the mission, of the effectiveness in the detection, monitoring and treatment of the underlying problems. The UN missions' success indicators include also the level how they were able to guarantee the maintenance of peace and the settlement of conflicts after the completion of the peacekeeping mission.

EVALUATING THE EXPERIENCE OF THE FIRST UNITED NATIONS CHIEFS OF DEFENCE CONFERENCE

Comments of the United Nations' leaders

The first United Nations Chiefs of Defence Conference took place on March 27, 2015 with an aim to evaluate the results of peacekeeping on both operational and strategic levels. This was the first time, when 107 countries' Chiefs of Staff were present under the auspices of the United Nations. The consultation is designed to enhance the cooperation among member states in order to reach that countries uniformly engage in the increasingly important UN peacekeeping operations, which will operate with functioning, robust and achievable mandates based on a shared view.

Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon pointed out that the more efficient and more robust missions involve massive loss of life over the years and require more soldiers to participate year after year. The United Nations stationed the second largest amount of personnel abroad, after the United States' 200 thousand soldiers. The United Nations has recognized the need for the Security Council – that declares mandate for the missions – to enhance tripartite consultations with actors that provide operations resources (both financial means and equipment) as well as for participant states and the governing United Nations Secretariat.

Deputy Secretary-General Harve Ladsous stressed the significant changes in the classic operational environment. According to his view, crime and terrorism are factors that threaten the lives of civilians and soldiers in UN field operations, and with which peacekeeping principles are not compatible to cope even after the modernization processes. However, he stated, peacekeeping remains the most cost-effective device in the hands of the Member States to treat conflicts at their sources and not to spend billions on the superficial treatment of the consequences. In simple terms, this means that if you do not want the migrants to stop right at the border, you need to help creating a secure and livable environment in the source countries of migration.

Harve Ladsous added, that the complex and difficult tasks not only require crowds of troops from donor countries, but also well-equipped and trained soldiers who adapt to the challenges innovatively and proactively, and who are capable to adapt to changes and work-

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[22] Galtung, J. „Positive and Negative Peace". 2003. http://www.activeforpeace.org/no/fred/Positive_Negative_Peace.pdf, Accessed on 7 June 2016.

[23] Compared to its mandate, an independent criterion must be found to help evaluating and comparing two missions. This may be the length of the durability of the peace or prevention of the spread of violence.

ing for the mission's objectives. Strategic power- and skill-development and planning units, set up by the UN body, is an effective way for making the UN flexible, to help it respond rapidly to changes in the different geographical areas.

Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations Athul Kare unveiled a new operation support system, which significantly facilitates the management of operations corresponding to the comprehensive approach. The new system is called Global Field Support Strategy, which will be more economical and efficient, and help prevent wasting resources, thereby more distant areas will be accessible, even in dangerous conditions. He also reported that the transport routes remained extremely dangerous. Many brave UN soldiers were killed in recent months by IEDs, anti-tank and air defense missile attacks. (Week prior to the conference, two Dutch Apache helicopter pilot had been killed in Mali.)

Lieutenant General Maqsood Ahmed, Peace Operations Advisor of the Secretary-General, pointed out that the Organization will only be able to quickly deploy forces in the region of conflicts if the Member States' specially trained forces reached a high degree of readiness. Later on he stressed the unevenness in the training of personnel, that it is not easy to demand the same level of service from soldiers with completely different backgrounds. He urged trainings' unification and deploying not only the best soldiers, but also the best leaders to command positions, because despite all the political and logistic support to a mission, all that can be achieved depends on the commander.

Director for monitoring and evaluation of the training policy David Haer underlined the importance of standards and pointed out that economic reasons play a great role in the durability of conflicts, since maintaining the troubled political, economic, military environment helps transnational crime.

With all the problems and dilemmas, UN operations are still the most "cost-effective" way of conflict management. It is important that operations not only win in reality, but are supplemented by effective communication – which prevents the spread of faulty narrative – the UN's position may achieve global dominance against the false interpretation of local warlords.

Experience of the Chiefs Of Staff

Among the participants, Colonel General Tom Mindendrop, the Netherlands Armed Forces Chief of Staff, addressed the leaders. He thanked for the condolences regarding the two helicopter pilots. He pointed out that the Netherlands has initiated the modernization of UN peacekeeping operations, because the present operational environment not only changed the nature of conventional military operations, but also have a significant influence on peacekeeping. We need to take the initiative and proactive action should be taken during the operation (and the Netherlands, for its part, has already made these steps). This new approach was already launched when selecting peacekeeping troops: there is a need for:

- Massive intelligence and reconnaissance capabilities in operations, thereby units producing intelligence and possess suitable equipment are also needed.
- Special Operations Forces must also be addressed, with the potential to remove the specific people or obstacles, who are hindering peace.
- Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) have been effective tools for supporting the troops for a decade, and this ability cannot be given up in UN operations.
- Attack helicopters, which possess enormous firepower and are not highly dependent on weather conditions, comprise important means of air support to troops.

In terms of the success of UN missions, not only the knowledge of local conditions, but also the ability to influence them is crucial. Therefore information obtained from the local media (PR), public administration, governmental and non-governmental organizations will be necessary (CIMIC, HUMINT). The information acquired must be transformed to evaluated and correlated situational awareness by the specialized units. On the basis of a single plan, the United Nations should be able to influence key players and local opinion through media (IO, PSYOPS). The Netherlands has considerable experience accumulated in this field and they are willing to share this experience with Member States during a thematic conference.

It is important that the Mission Commander is able to recognize and supervise events as soon as possible, so he has to be deployed to the conflict zone as soon as possible, to be able to quickly adapt – a and if needed – to disposition units. To do so it is essential that besides the logistic support provided by the UN he could use other sources and if needed, reallocate to other missions or cooperate with local non-governmental organizations.

The Dutch Chief of Staff also confirmed that the leadership and the role of the commander is irreplaceable, but just as important is that the military leaders and their units' further training is done on a unified basis, so that the complex operational environment meet the "comprehensive approach" criteria. Thereby, he welcomed the establishment of the UN training standards. These training requirements should not only teach the selected personnel before the mission, but each nation would be obliged to incorporate requirements in their own national military standards and routinely update such knowledge. It is important that those skills do not wear out, but are updated regularly according to the lessons learned from the past operations. It is necessary for professionals to meet regularly and share their experience.

Processing of the lessons learned requires not ignoring the experience, capabilities and the immediate environment of a conflict. In the regions of operations, in general, better prepared teams are available for the local climatic, geographic and cultural conditions, so it is important to use regional capacities beyond the international capability.

Tom Mindendrop also pointed out that cooperation is vital with the host nations' authorities, not only for daily activities, but also to make them capable of the "ownership" of nation-building after the UN troops left.

The Indian Chief of Staff welcomed the UN's efforts to forge closer consultation with the Member States involved, but according to him, there are still huge deficiencies in this area. The UN Security Council practically ignores the UN Charter's requirement that "troop-contributing nations participate in the UNSC decision-making processes" during operations. India has supported various operations of the United Nations with 180 thousand soldiers so far, and the importance of his contribution was not in balance with its involvement in strategic decisions.

SUMMARY OF THE CONFERENCE – COMMENTS ON THE MODERNIZATION OF PEACEKEEPING

Summarizing the Conference, it can be stated that the UN demands much greater determination and contribution from its nations. It requires a common understanding of the roles and principles, faster deployment of troops, and the provision of accurate equipment and trainings. However, the UN realized the importance of logistical support, so it is trying to strengthen those capabilities.

Following the conference, on the basis of the previous reviews, the Secretary-General prepared his own report, the presentation of which took place at the UN General Assembly in September 2015.

The Secretary-General's report grouped the tasks around the following objectives:

- To increase the operational capacities for prevention and mediation, the primacy of political solutions.
- Closer cooperation with regional actors in the area to be developed, the report highlighted the African Union and ASEAN, the European Union, the Arab League, the OSCE, NATO, the Organization of American States and the Collective Security Treaty Organization.
- A further objective is to apply a wide range of peace operations, to ensure the smoother transitions between them. Each peace operation must apply to the local needs.

The non-stationary problems – such as arms trade and terrorism – require the integrated management of the deep underlying economic and political challenges as well, since challenges are able to extend their duration if only handled by the meager mandate of peacekeeping and relying only on negative security. After the troops' withdrawal, frozen conflicts may open the way towards radicalization. To avoid this, the modernization of the United Nations peacekeeping tasks require ongoing consultation. The Conference of Chiefs of Staff was a great opportunity to review the stabilization mechanisms of the United Nations and to base the hopefully long-term international peace and security.

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