Section 4 Complex and Diverse Regional Conflicts and Approaches of the International Community

1 Efforts to Stabilize the International Community

The characteristics of regional conflicts recently emerging around the world differ from one to another. They may result from various ethnic, religious, territorial, or resource-related issues, and some are entangled at multiple levels in each region. They also range in form from armed conflict to sustained armed confrontation. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that the impact of global-scale problems such as climate change could also constitute a cause of conflict[1]. In addition, human rights violations, refugees, famine, poverty and terrorism resulting from the conflicts sometimes evolve into international issues. For that reason, it has become increasingly important that the international community discern the character of such complex and diverse conflicts, consider international frameworks and involvements matched to their particular circumstances, and then seek out appropriate responses.

The end of the Cold War was accompanied by rising expectations for the peacekeeping system by the United Nations, which up to that time had not functioned adequately, and, as a result, many U.N. peacekeeping operations (PKO) were established. In recent years, their roles have come to include civilian activities encompassing disarmament monitoring, security organization reforms, election and administration monitoring, and humanitarian assistance for refugees returning home, as well as their traditional roles of the monitoring of truces and withdrawals of armed forces, and some PKO activities have been vested with strong authority under Article 7 of the Charter of the United Nations[2] (See Fig. I-2-4-1).

In addition to the PKO activities, there are cases in which multinational forces and regional organizations, that have been authorized by the U.N. Security Council, are in charge of conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace-building operations.

While PKO missions have diversified and expanded, various challenges have arisen. The Departments of Peacekeeping Operations and Field Support of the United Nations compiled "A New Partnership Agenda: Charting a New Horizon for U.N. Peacekeeping" in July 2009 to make an assessment of the major policy and strategy dilemma of U.N. peacekeeping and to discuss passive solutions among stakeholders. This document cited securing equipment and ensuring the safety of personnel and enhancing troops' capabilities as challenges. The United Nations used this document to work on the so-called "New Horizon Process," and reports were published in October 2010 and December 2011 to the effect that intensified efforts were being made to develop guidelines for critical areas like protection of civilians[3] and peace-building and developing capabilities required to execute missions, all of which are the issues of the reform of the peacekeeping operations.

2 Present Situation of Regional Conflicts

1 Situation in Afghanistan

The ongoing efforts in Afghanistan include the operation to mop up the Taliban conducted as part of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) and activities to maintain security conducted by the International Security Assistance Forces[1] and the Afghan National Security Forces. The security situation in many parts of Afghanistan continues to remain unpredictable, and security in the eastern part, which borders with Pakistan, as well as in the south and southwestern parts, is still a matter of concern.

1-1 The Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) released by the U.S. Department of Defense in February 2010 regards climate change as a key factor that will shape the future security environment. It claims that climate change may accelerate instability and conflict by causing water and food scarcity, the spread of disease, and so on.

1-2 As of the end of April 2013, 15 peacekeeping operations are conducted. (As of the end of March 2013, approximately 92,000 people from 116 countries are participating in PKOs.) Of the 15 PKOs, nine have been vested with strong authority under Article 7 of the Charter of the United Nations.

1-3 The protection of civilians has recently been becoming more important in peacekeeping operations (PKO). Currently, eight PKO missions have the protection of civilians as their mandates. However, host countries are mainly responsible for the protection of civilians. PKOs which have the protection of civilians as their mandate are allowed to use force only in self-defense and defense of the mandates under the principles of PKO: 1) consent of the parties, 2) impartiality, and 3) non-use of force except in self-defense and defense of the mandate.

2-1 As of February 2013, around 100,000 personnel from 50 countries, mainly NATO members, were being deployed.

Fig. I–2–4–1 List of Presently Progressing Peacekeeping Operations

Notes: According to the United Nations (as of the end of May 2013)

Africa

	Mission	Date Established
①	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO)	Apr 1991
②	United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)	Sep 2003
③	United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI)	Apr 2004
④	African Union/United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID)	Jul 2007
⑤	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO)	Jul 2010
⑥	United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA)	Jun 2011
⑦	United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS)	Jul 2011
⑧	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA)	Apr 2013

Middle East

	Mission	Date Established
⑨	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO)	May 1948
⑩	United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF)	Jun 1974
⑪	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)	Mar 1978

Asia

	Mission	Date Established
⑫	United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP)	Jan 1949

Europe/CIS

	Mission	Date Established
⑬	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)	Mar 1964
⑭	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK)	Jun 1999

The Americas

	Mission	Date Established
⑮	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH)	Jun 2004

Although the Taliban's attack capability is diminishing because of the activities of the ISAF and ANSF, the group is presumed to have secured safe havens in Pakistan and to be crossing the border into Afghanistan to conduct terrorist activities there[2].

At the NATO Summit Meeting in Lisbon in 2010, it was agreed that the responsibility for security should be transitioned from the ISAF to the ANSF by the end of 2014. The transition of the security authority has been implemented in five phases by region. The first phase commenced in July 2011. President Hamid Karzai specified the areas for the second, third and fourth phases of the transition in November 2011, in May 2012 and in December 2012, respectively. After the fifth phase of the transition, ANSF is scheduled to take the lead for the activity to maintain security across the entire country.

ISAF will shift from a combat mission to a new training, advising and assistance mission for ANSF after the fifth phase of the transition of the responsibility for security starts, and it is scheduled to complete the missions by the end of 2014. Currently, it is scaling back its size gradually. In July 2011, the U.S. forces started withdrawing from Afghanistan, and by September 2012, 33,000 troops withdrew[3]. Moreover, while Canada and France have already completed the withdrawal of their combat units, other major NATO countries also announced their policies for withdrawal of their combat units.

After the transition of the responsibility for security, ANSF will have full security responsibility in Afghanistan. ANSF is approaching its target size, and its capabilities are continuing to improve. However, there are many problems, including the illiteracy, the limited logistics capabilities and attacks on coalition personnel by ANSF soldiers and police officers on international troops. Moreover, while the cost of maintaining ANSF is funded almost entirely through international donations, ANSF is scheduled to reduce its size beyond the end of 2014[4].

An agreement has been reached to continue the international community's support for Afghanistan beyond the end of 2014. At the NATO Chicago Summit held in May 2012, commitment to Afghan security beyond 2014 was reaffirmed. In addition, at the Tokyo Conference on Afghanistan in July 2012, the international community, including Japan, announced the provision of over 16 billion dollars in financial aid. Moreover, countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom and France concluded a Strategic Partnership Agreement with Afghanistan[5], which called for continued support beyond 2014.

Afghanistan faces not only security problems but also a pile of challenges related to reconstruction, including preventing corruption, enhancing the rule of law, strengthening the crackdown on narcotics trafficking and promoting regional development. Ensuring peace and stability in Afghanistan is a common challenge of the international community, which needs to continue engagement with the country.

2 Situation over the Middle East peace effort

Between Israel and Palestine, the Oslo Agreement concluded in 1993 marked the beginning of a peace process through comprehensive negotiations. In 2003, the Israelis and the Palestinians agreed on a "Roadmap" that laid out a course leading to the establishment of a Middle East peace initiative based on the principle of the peaceful coexistence between the two nations. However, the Roadmap has yet to be implemented. Negotiations between Israel and Palestine were then halted as the result of large-scale Israeli military operations, such as air raids and deployment of ground forces to the Gaza Strip from the end of 2008 through early 2009 in response to rocket attacks from the area against Israel. In November 2012, in response to rocket attacks launched from the Gaza Strip against Israel, the Israeli military conducted air raids on the region. However, the fighting ended due to mediation by Egypt, among other countries. At the U.N. General Assembly meeting in November 2012, a resolution to grant Palestine Non-Member Observer State Status[6] was adopted, and the following day, Israeli announced a plan to expand settlements in the West Bank of the Jordan River[7].

Israel has yet to sign peace treaties with Syria and Lebanon. Israel and Syria disagree on the return of the Golan Heights which Israel has occupied since the 1967 Arab-Israel War. The

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2 Based on the "Report on Progress Towards Security and Stability in Afghanistan" (April 2012) by the U.S. Department of Defense, etc. As for the relationship between Pakistan and the United States with regard to the situation in Afghanistan, see Chapter 1, Section 6.

3 As of February 2013, the number of U.S. troops dispatched to ISAF was 68,000

4 The current target size of ANSF is 352,000 personnel, with the cost of maintaining them estimated at approximately $6 billion. At the NATO Summit Meeting in Chicago in May 2012, it was decided to reduce the size to 228,500 personnel by 2017 in order to continue fiscal support in the long term.

5 The Afghan-U.S. Enduring Strategic Partnership Agreement mentions the possibility that U.S. troops may stay in Afghanistan beyond 2014.

6 Non-member states and organizations that do not have voting rights, in addition to member states, may participate in the United Nations as observers. Observers are broadly categorized into states and non-states (international organizations, regional organizations, and entity, etc.). Until this U.N. Resolution was adopted, Palestine had been given observer status not as a state but as an entity.

7 In December 2012, the Israeli government approved a plan to construct 3,000 new houses in East Jerusalem and the West Bank.

United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) has been deployed in the Golan Heights region to observe the implementation of the ceasefire and military disengagement between the two parties[8]. Concerning Israel and Lebanon, the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) increased its presence following the 2006 clash between Israel and Hezbollah, a Shiite Muslim organization. Although there have not been any prominent conflicts since, there are reports that Hezbollah is enhancing its military strength again[9].

3 Situation in Syria

Since March 2011, anti-government demonstrations calling for democracy and the resignation of President Bashar al-Assad have taken place all over the country, leading to large casualties through clashes with security forces. The Syrian Government, in response to this situation, deployed military and security forces in a number of cities, and conflicts between military forces and opposition forces continued[10].

The opposition forces initially did not have a unified organization, so it was pointed out that defectors from the Syrian military and armed Islamic forces were individually clashing with the government forces. In November 2012, various anti-government forces held a meeting in Doha, Qatar through the mediation of the United States and the Arab League and established a unified organization called the National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces. Later, in December 2012, the National Coalition was approved as the legitimate representative of Syrian people in the 4th Ministerial Meeting of the Group of Friends of the Syrian People held in Morocco. Meanwhile, in a speech in January 2013, President Assad dismissed the anti-government forces clashing with the government forces as terrorist organizations and maintained a confrontational stance.

The United States and the European Union (EU) have called on President Assad to step down and imposed sanctions such as banning oil imports from Syria. Meanwhile, some of the anti-establishment forces clashing with the Syrian military have refused to join the National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces. Among such forces is the Nusra Front[11], which has been designated by the United States as a terrorist

organization due to its alleged affiliation with Al-Qaeda. As there are concerns that weapons may pass into the hands of terrorist organizations, the United States and European countries do not provide weapons to the anti-establishment forces.

Amid the intensifying clash between the Syrian military and the opposition forces in an area of Syria close to the border with Turkey, shells launched from the Syrian territory landed in Turkey in October 2012, killing some people. At the request of Turkey, NATO approved the deployment of the Patriot PAC-3 in the country in December 2012, and the deployment in the area close to the border with Syria was completed in February 2013.

Regarding the alleged possession of chemical weapons by Syria, the international community has repeatedly requested it to not use biological or chemical weapons[12]. In March of the same year, the United Nations investigation team was formed at the request of the Syrian government in response to the claim that chemical weapons had been used in Syria. However, due to a disagreement regarding the target area to be investigated, negotiations are still underway between the Syrian government and the United Nations, and on-site investigations have not yet been initiated.

The United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria, which was established in April 2012 by the U.N. Security Council, ended its activity in August of the same year, because it became difficult to continue executing its mission[13] due to a lack of improvement in the security situation in the country. The effort by

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8   Military observers of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) are also active within this region.

9   Report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on the implementation of resolution 1559 (April 2010), etc.

10   As reported by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in December 2012, the death toll from the conflicts as of November 2012 was about 60,000.

11   In December 2012, the United States designated the Nusra Front as an Al-Qaeda-affiliated organization.

12   In December of the same year, the chairman's conclusions issued at the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of Friends of the Syrian People stated that any use of chemical or biological weapons by the Syrian regime would draw a serious response from the international community.

13   UNSMIS was established based on U.N. Security Council Resolution 2043 (April 21, 2012). The six-point proposal, the implementation of which is monitored by UNSMIS, asks the Syrian authorities to: (1) commit to work with the Special Envoy in a Syrian-led political process; (2) commit to stop fighting and achieve an effective United Nations supervised cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties; (3) accept and implement a daily two-hour humanitarian truce to ensure provision of humanitarian assistance; (4) intensify the pace and scale of release of arbitrarily detained persons; (5) ensure freedom of movement for journalists; and (6) respect freedom of association and the right to demonstrate peacefully as legally guaranteed.

U.N.-Arab League envoy Lakhdar Brahimi, who took office in August 2012, to promote dialogue toward the resolution of the situation did not make major progress, so the future outlook of the Syrian situation remains unclear.

4 Situation in Sudan and South Sudan

In Sudan, a 20-year north-south civil war broke out in 1983 between the Sudanese Government, which is predominantly composed of Muslim Arabs from northern Sudan, and antigovernment forces comprising African Christians from southern Sudan. In accordance with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) that was concluded between the north and the south in 2005, a referendum was held in January 2011 to determine the validity of the separation and the independence of Southern Sudan, and the independence of the south was supported by an overwhelming majority. Accordingly, the Republic of South Sudan became an independent state in July. The United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) was established in accordance with the U.N. Security Council Resolution 1996[14]. After the independence, negotiations have continued with regard to pending issues such as the north-south border disputes, including the attribution of the Abyei area[15] and revenue sharing of South Sudan oil, through mediation by the international community, including the African Union (AU)[16]. Tensions between the two states have escalated since late March 2012; while the incident in which the Sudan military allegedly launched air raids on South Sudan's territory in a north-south border area broke out, the South Sudan military occupied an oil field area in the Sudanese territory. In response to these situations, in May 2012, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 2046 calling on both countries to cease all hostilities immediately and resume negotiations. By August 2012, both countries withdrew troops from the Abyei area. In September, they signed agreements concerning security measures in the border area and oil. In March 2013, they signed a document that specified the schedule for implementing those agreements, so there are hopes that the agreements, including one concerning the resumption of oil exports, will be steadily im-

plemented.

In the Darfur region of western Sudan, conflict intensified between the Arab government and several African antigovernment forces in around 2003. The conflict in Darfur has produced a large number of internally displaced persons, which the international community, including the United Nations, regards as a serious humanitarian crisis. After the government and a fraction of the major anti-government forces concluded the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) in May 2006, the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 1769 in July 2007, which stipulated the creation of the African Union/United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID). The Sudanese Government and anti-government groups based in Darfur, including the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), have engaged in peace negotiations intermittently since February 2010 in Doha, the capital of Qatar, through arbitration by the United Nations, the AU and Qatar. In July 2011, the government of Sudan and the "Liberation and Justice Movement" (LIM) signed the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (DDPD). However, battles between the government and anti-government forces have continually occurred. In addition, anti-government forces refuse to participate in negotiations and the Sudanese government lacks funds. These factors cause delay in implementation of the peacekeeping process.

5 Situation in Somalia

Somalia had been in a state of anarchy since 1991, but in 2005, the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) was inaugurated. However, battle raged between the TFG and the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC), an Islamic fundamentalist organization, and other groups opposed to the TFG. Ethiopian forces intervened in response to the request from the TFG and eliminated the UIC in December 2006. In January 2007, the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) was established, and in August 2008 in Djibouti a peace agreement was concluded between the TFG and Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia (ARS), which was formed by the UIC and other groups. However, fierce resistance by Islamist armed groups such as Al-Shabaab[17] has continued, and neighboring countries such as Kenya and

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14 The initial mandate period was one year with up to 7,000 military personnel and up to 900 police personnel. UNMISS is on the ground to consolidate peace and security and to help establish conditions for development in the Republic of South Sudan. Specifically, the mandate of UNMISS is as follows: (1) support for peace consolidation and thereby fostering long-term state building and economic development, (2) support the Government of the Republic of South Sudan in exercising its responsibilities for conflict prevention, mitigation and resolution and protect civilians, and (3) support the Government of the Republic of South Sudan in developing its capacity to provide security, to establish rule of law, and to strengthen the security and justice sectors.

15 The Abyei area was one of the bloodiest battlefields during the North-South civil war. Both the North and the South claim sovereignty over the area due to its abundant oil resources. Whether the area belongs to the North or the South remains uncertain, as a referendum that will settle the territorial issue has not yet been held. In May 2011, immediately before the independence of South Sudan, a battle began between the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) and Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), which was a major military organization in Southern Sudan. In June 2011, the Security Council established under its Resolution 1990 the United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA) in the region.

16 The African Union is the world's largest regional organization, comprised of 54 member countries and areas. It was created in July 2002 as a result of the reorganization of the Organization of African Union (established in May 1963). The objectives of the African Union's activities include achieving greater unity and solidarity of African countries and peoples, accelerating the political, economic and social integration of Africa and promoting peace, security and stability in Africa.

17 In 2008, the United States designated the Al-Shabaab as an international terrorist organization, and it officially joined Al-Qaeda in 2012.

Ethiopia deployed troops to defeat Al-Shabaab, forcing it to withdraw from the capital city of Mogadishu and Kismayo, where it had a major base. Although progress can be seen to a certain extent, battles continued, mainly in the central southern part of Somalia. Under these circumstances, in August 2012, the period of transitional government by the TFG expired and a new federal parliament was convened. In September, a new president was elected, and in November of the same year, a new cabinet was inaugurated. Somalia's first unified government in 21 years aims to stabilize the situation.

6 Situation in Mali

In Mali, the National Movement for the Liberation of the Azawad (MNLA), an armed group from the Tuareg Tribe[18] situated in the north, incited a rebellion in January 2012, and Ansar al-Dine[19], an Islamist armed group said to be affiliated with Al-Qaeda, joined the rebellion. In March 2012, some soldiers caused a riot in the capital city of Bamako. Taking advantage of the riot, the MNLA took over several cities in the northern part of Mali, and in April 2012, they declared independence of the northern region.

Later, as a result of conflicts over the enforcement of Islamic law (Sharia), Islamic fundamentalist terrorist groups, such as Ansar al-Dine, the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), and Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), governed the country based on Sharia, thereby worsening humanitarian and security situations. In response to this situation, the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 2085, approving the deployment of the African-led International Support Mission in Mali (AFISMA)[20], whose mandates included supporting the Mali authorities to rebuild the capacities of the Malian Defense and Security forces, recover the northern part of Mali and reduce the threat posed by terrorist organizations. In January 2013, in response to the advance of Ansar al-Dine and other forces into the southern central part of Mali, France dispatched troops to the country at the request of the transitional Mali gov-

ernment. Other western countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom also provided support in terms of transport, supplies and information. These supports helped the Mali military recover many major cities in the north central region of the country. While the outbreak of suicide bombings was reported in some of the cities, France has begun withdrawing its troops since April 2013 based on the decision that a large part of the mission had been completed. France also revealed its plan to reduce the troop strength which was approximately 4,000 troops at maximum to around 1,000 troops by the end of 2013. Under such circumstances, the U.N. Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 2100 to establish the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) in April 2013, whose missions include the stabilization of key population centers and support for the reestablishment of state authority throughout the country, and to transfer the authority from AFISMA to MINUSMA on July 1[21].

The EU decided to establish a training mission of 500 people and is supporting the training and realignment of the Mali military.

Forces of France and other nations engaging in operations in Mali
[Ministry of Defense of France (Ministère de la Défense)]

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18 The Tuareg Tribe is a nomadic ethnic minority in the Sahara Desert. It is pointed out that the tribe has been in conflict with the government of Mali seeking for autonomy in the Northern Mali.

19 See Section 3-2

20 The AFISMA personnel have been deployed from Mali and neighboring countries: Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Niger, and Nigeria.

21 The initial mandate period of MINUSMA is one year from July 2013. The mission is implemented by a maximum of 11,200 military personnel and a maximum of 1,440 policing personnel. In case the MINUSMA is exposed to imminent danger, based on a request from the Secretary-General of the United Nations, French forces are given authorization to intervene for the purpose of assisting the mission.