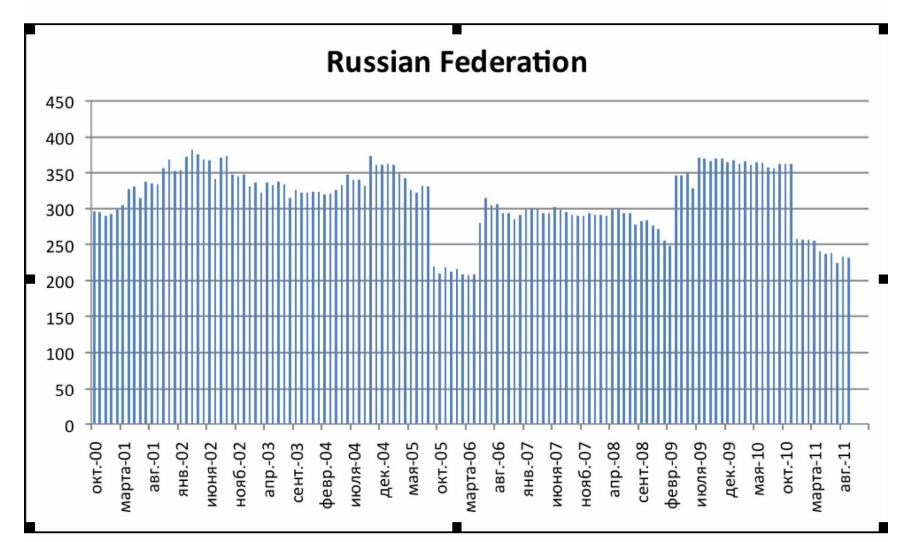


Current budget of the UN operations in conflict areas is 7 billions USD

But this is just 0,5% of the world annual military spending Russia occupies only 51 st place among 115 suppliers of PK contingents

Russia provided 225 peacekeepers to UN in 2011 (135 – military, 68 – military observers, 22 – policemen)



Contributions of Uniformed Personnel to UN Peacekeeping Operations, 2000-2011

Russian contribution to UN PK finances in 2011-2012 is 160 million USD

Russia is second biggest in UN purchases for PK sector (382 mln USD = 14% of all UN PK purchases contracts)

# Return of global power or even «super-power» mentality



Multi-polarity. «To balance» other super-powers. Global role and mission for Russia. New integration: Eurasian Union Pragmatic Self-Affirmation of Russia requires to interface with International organizat ions like UN and OSCE

**New Instrument (2011-2012): CSTO' Collective Peace-Keeping** Forces (4.000 military from 7 states) **"Operations by own Dec ision** (CSTO mandate) **"Operations by UN** Mandate

**CSTO** has a problem with coercive operations on its own territory: **Kirgyzian crisis showed that CSTO Presidents are afraid** to create a precedent of collective interference into internal affairs

If you wait for a formal request from «legitimate authorities» you may support only Old regimes.

The West created a precedent: international support to illegitimate self-proclaimed Benghazi op position in Libya.

# Moscow's view: UN mandate (Res. 1973) Was strongly misinterpreted and artificially expanded:

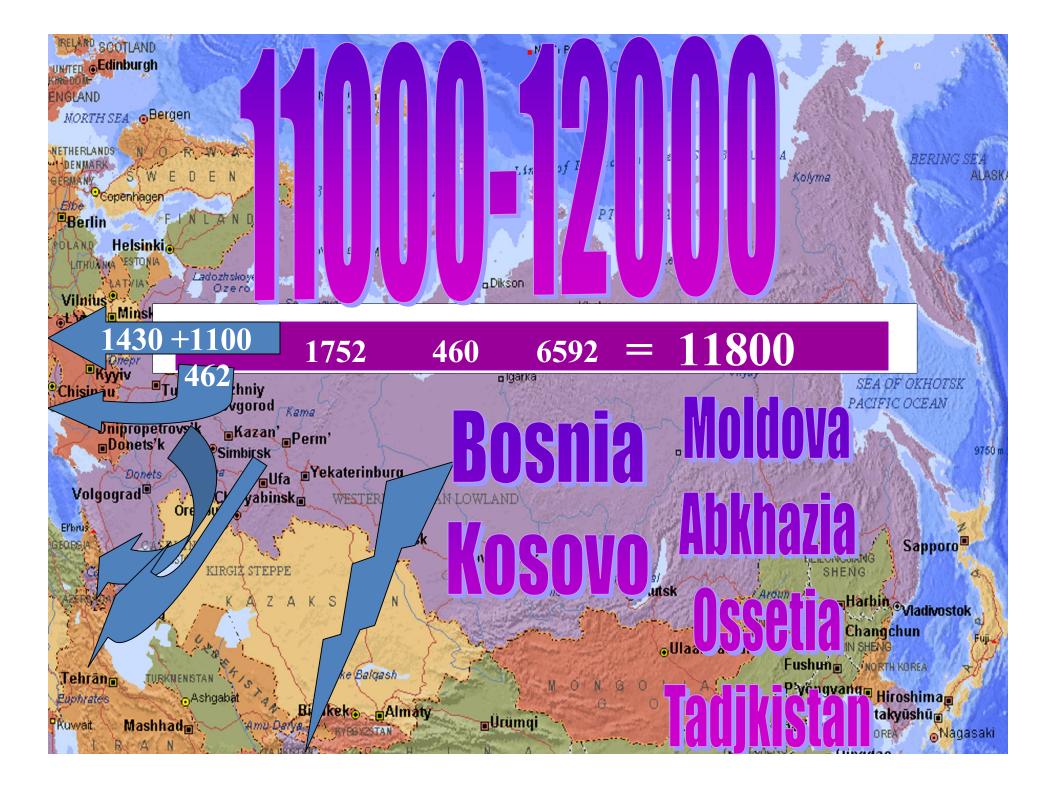
"No Fly Zone" was converted into coercive "Regime Change" in Libya.

To freeze serious armed conflicts one requires not just any combination of national forces, but interoperable and jointly trained forces. **Precedent: UN forces failed in 1995 in Bosnia And UN applied to NATO for** heavier interoperable contingent

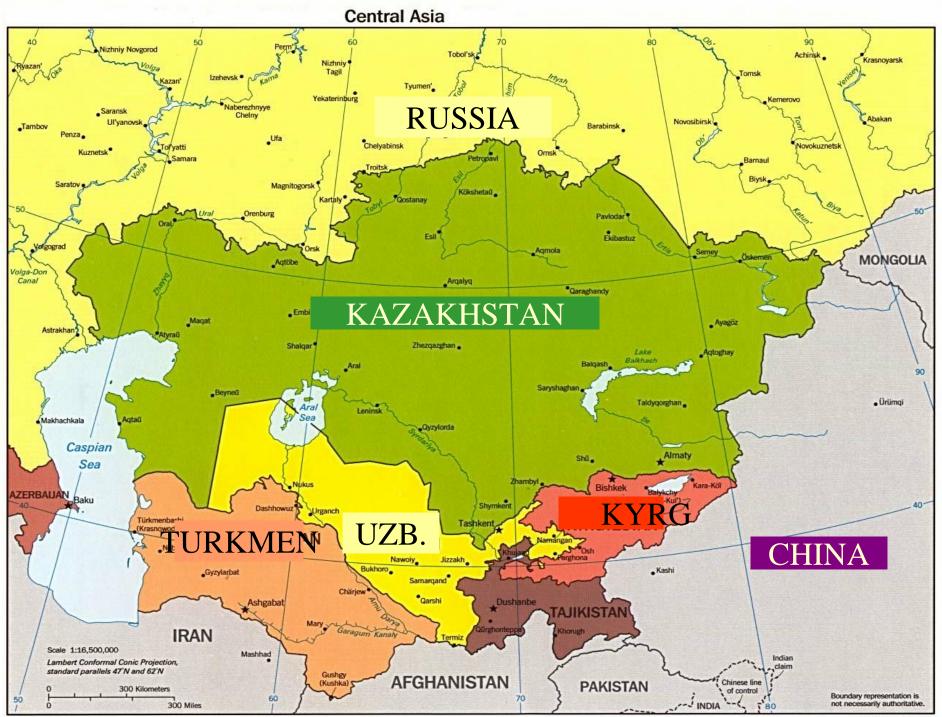
**Precedent: EU CJTFs are** assigned to concrete states responsible for their interoperability and adequate joint training

The only attempt of **OSCE** peace-keeping operation with military component took place in Post-Soviet space: **OSCE** mandate in 1993 for abortive operation in Karabakh

**Russia undertook in 1992 - 2012** several operations in conflict areas: **Both under UN mandat es Regional CIS mandates** and inter-state agreements



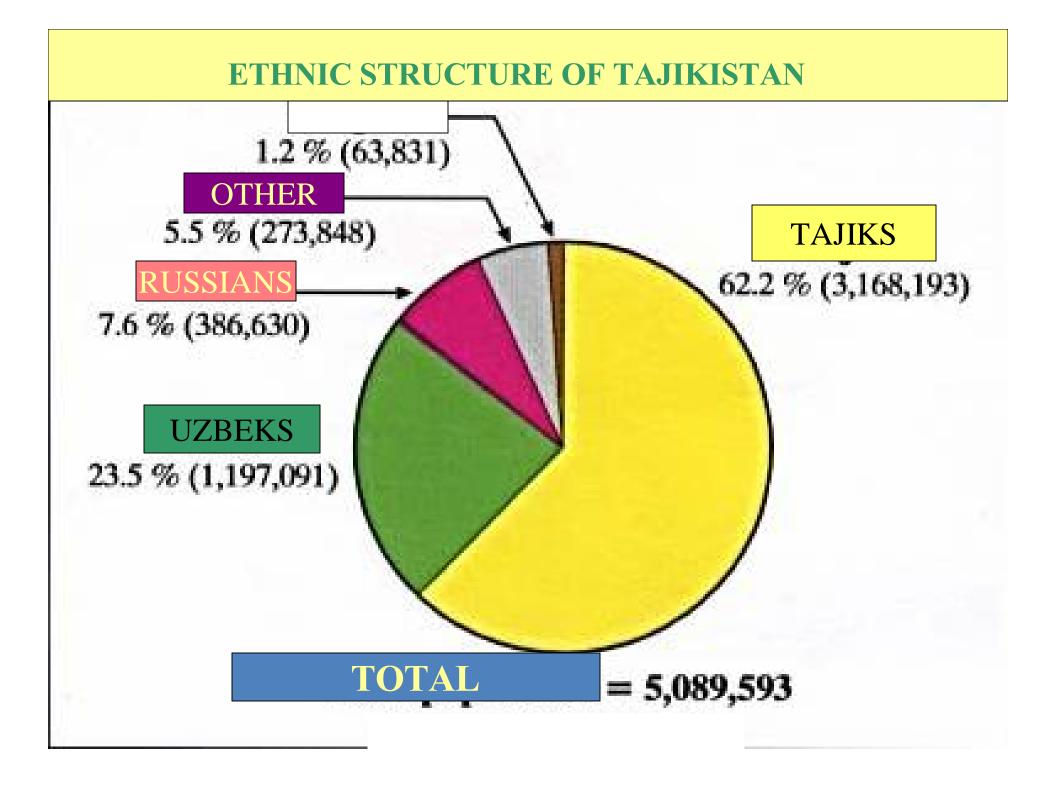
**Regional reconciliation** and joint crises response efforts : **Tajikistan-CIS mandate** Abkhazia – CIS mandate South Ossetia – inter-state Agreement 1992 **Transnistria – inter-state** Agreement 1992



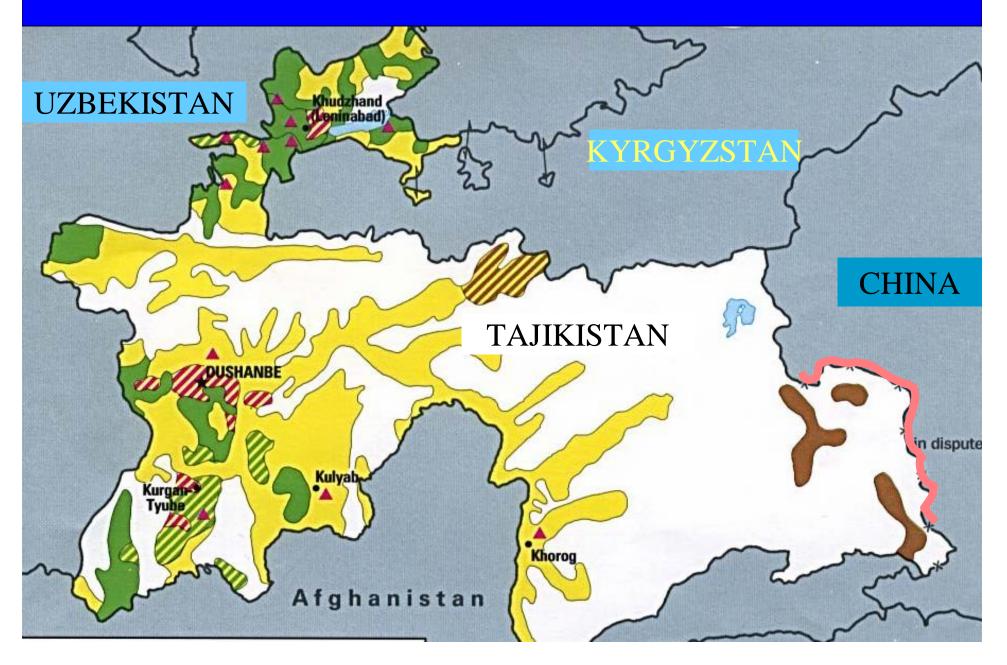
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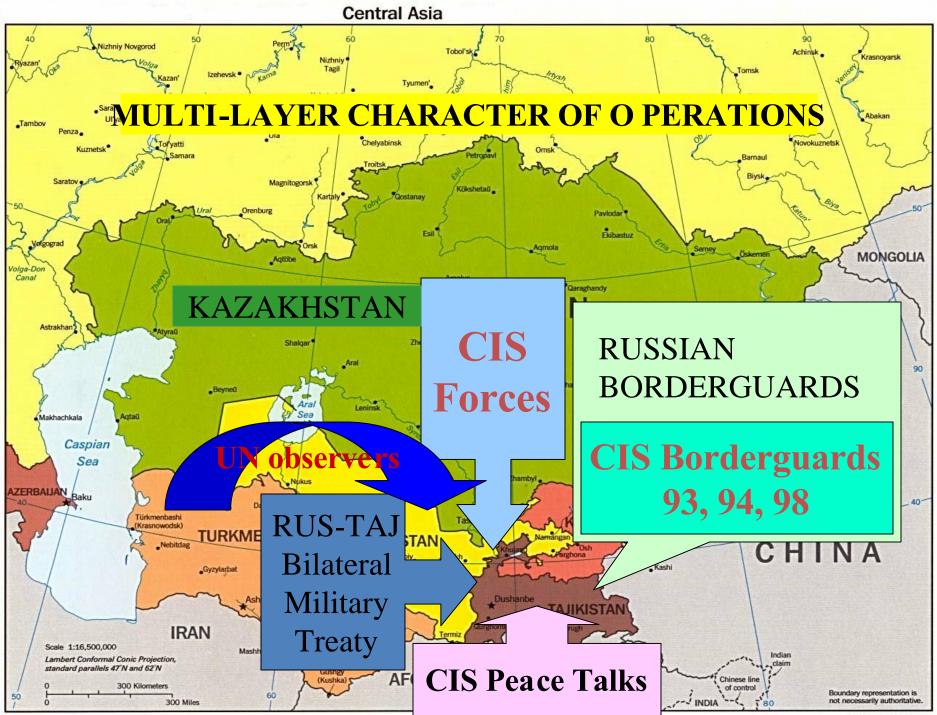
Tajikistan-130 UN observers, **But real regional operation** was done by **7500 CIS peacekeepers** from 4 CIS states

Tajikistan-**Positive reconciliation Experience: Tajik Peace Accords** of 1997 **implemented till 2000** 



## **MIXTURE OF ETHNIC GROUPS**





## Trends and Problems of Russian/CIS Regional Peace-keeping

- CIS delegated authority to Russia or 3-4 states, same way as UN delegates it to coalitions
- " «Impartiality» not at all stages

Tendencies and Problems of Russian/CIS Regional Peace-keeping

 Contingents of conflict sides themselves were involved into PK forces
(never applied in UN PK)

"Elements of Enforcement were present in Peace-keeping operations Trends and Problems of Rus/CIS Peace-keeping

- Mandates: CIS or interstate agreements, but no UN mandates
- Military stage has been succesful, but political conflict resolution was far behind

Instead of one UN-led system Peace operations have split onto not always compatible and sometimes confronting reconciliation practices based on different standards

- Coordination mechanisms designed for joint crises response (like NATO-Russia Council, etc.) do not work in times of crises (- Iraq,
  - Russian-Georgian war,
    - 'color revolutions',
      - 'Arab spring', Libya, Syria)



**'Ad Hoc' personal deals between presidents** (G-8 type of coordination) is not a reliable solution. **International community needs** stable mechanisms of Joint Crises Response

# **Crisis Response Forces**

NATO Response Forces

**NATO** 

**2006-2012: 20.000** 

Rapid Reaction Forces 60.000

EU

2012: CJTFs of 1.500 size CSTO Collective Operational Reaction Forces 2012:15.000

CPF: 2012: 4.000

We need to develop practice of Joint Missions (UN+EU+OSCE+CSTO...) in conflict regions (observation, mediation, humanitarian missions)

New military "crisis response instruments" are formed: **NATO NRF, but also** EU RR, **CSTO CPKF NATO NRF and CSTO CPKF** should exercise together and develop interoperability (at least in Central Asia re: Afghan borders)

Problem for the OSCE: whether Joint Crises Response in all crises in OSCE area is a doctrinally approved task?

**Combination of** mechanisms **UN-level conflict resolution Multi-layer regional conflict resolution Mechanisms (role for OSCE) Coordination Council of International Organizations** is needed !