

Australian Peacekeeping

Sixty Years in the Field

Peter Londey
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Australian Peacekeeping:
Sixty Years in the Field

Peter Londey
2009 B1
Introduction

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Inventing Peacekeeping

Edited by
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David Horner
Peter Londevy
Jean Bou
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ABBREVIATIONS

ACFID	Australian Council for International Development
ADF	Australian Defence Force
AFP	Australian Federal Police
ALNAP	Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action
AMIS	African Union Mission in Sudan
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AUSAID	Australian Agency for International Development
AWM	Australian War Memorial
BRA	Bougainville Revolutionary Army
CCJAP	Cambodia Criminal Justice Assistance Project
CERF	Central Emergency Response Fund (United Nations)
CIVPOL	Civilian Police
CMAC	Cambodian Mine Action Centre
CMF	Commonwealth Monitoring Force
COMASC	Commander Australian Contingent
CPD	<i>Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates</i>
DCP	Defence Cooperation Program
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
DHA	Department of Humanitarian Affairs (United Nations)
DOMREP	Mission of the Representative of the Secretary-General in the Dominican Republic
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations (United Nations)
DSTO	Defence Science and Technology Organisation
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECP	Enhanced Cooperation Program
GICHD	Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian Demining

HIV/AIDS	Human immunodeficiency virus/Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome	POLRI	<i>Polisi Negara Republik Indonesia</i> (Indonesian National Police)
HR	House of Representatives	R2P	Responsibility to protect
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee (United Nations)	RAMSI	Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross	RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
IDG	International Deployment Group (Australian Federal Police)	SLA	South Lebanon Army
		SPARTECA	South Pacific Regional Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreement
INTERFET	International Force for East Timor	SPPKF	South Pacific Peacekeeping Force (Bougainville)
IPMT	International Peace Monitoring Team	SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organization
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force	TLDPDP	Timor-Leste Police Development Program
ISF	International Security Force (Timor-Leste)	TMG	Truce Monitoring Group (Bougainville)
JIPTC	Jordan International Police Training Centre	UNAMET	United Nations Mission in East Timor
KFOR	Kosovo Force	UNAMIC	United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia
MAC	Mixed Armistice Commission	UNAMID	United Nations/African Union Hybrid Mission in Darfur
MDG	Millennium Development Goals	UNAVEM	United Nations Angola Verification Mission
MFO	Multinational Force and Observers	UNBRO	United Nations Border Relief Operation (Thailand)
MIF	Maritime Interception Force	UNCIP	United Nations Commission in India and Pakistan
MINURSO	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara	UNDOF	United Nations Disengagement Observer Force
MNF	Multinational Force	UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
MP	Member of Parliament	UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
NAA	National Archives of Australia	UNFICYP	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization	UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
NZDF	New Zealand Defence Force	UNGOC	United Nations Committee of Good Offices
OCHA	Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (United Nations)	UNGOMAP	United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan
OGL	Observer Group – Lebanon	UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
ONUC	<i>Opération des Nations Unies au Congo</i> (United Nations Operation in the Congo)	UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
ONUCA	United Nations Observer Group in Central America	UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
ONUMAZ	United Nations Operation in Mozambique	UNIIMOG	United Nations Iran–Iraq Military Observer Group
OP	Observation post	UNIPOM	United Nations India–Pakistan Observer Mission
PIR	Pacific Islands Regiment	UNITAF	Unified Task Force (Somalia)
PMG	Peace Monitoring Group (Bougainville)	UNMAS	United Nations Mine Action Service
PM&C	(Department of) Prime Minister and Cabinet	UNMCTT	United Nations Mine Clearance Training Team
PNG	Papua New Guinea	UNMEE	United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea
PNGDF	Papua New Guinea Defence Force	UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
POLISARIO	<i>Frente Popular de Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro</i> (Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Río de Oro)	UNMIS	United Nations Mission in Sudan
		UNMISSET	United Nations Mission in Support of East Timor
		UNMIT	United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste
		UNMO	United Nations Military Observer

UNMOGIP	United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan
UNMOVIC	United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Aid to Afghanistan
UNOMSA	United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNOTIL	United Nations Office in Timor-Leste
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UNSCOB	United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans
UNSCOM	United Nations Special Commission
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Authority in East Timor
UNTAG	United Nations Transition Assistance Group
UNTEA	United Nations Temporary Executive Authority
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization
UNYOM	United Nations Yemen Observer Mission
UXO	Unexploded ordnance
VMF	Vanuatu Mobile Force
VPFCBP	Vanuatu Police Force Capacity Building Project
WFP	World Food Programme
WMD	Weapons of mass destruction

Introduction

David Horner, Peter Londey and Jean Bou

Australian peacekeeping operations occupy a unique and special place in the history of the nation's military experience. By September 2007, the 60th anniversary of Australian peacekeeping, between 30 000 and 40 000 Australian military personnel and police had served overseas in more than 50 peacekeeping missions in at least 27 different conflicts. By any calculation, this is a substantial part of the history of Australia's overseas military engagement.

Yet it is a part of our history that garnered almost no attention until the 1990s, and even then that interest was slow to develop. Australia's first peacekeepers were sent to Indonesia in 1947, but for almost three decades after that, apart from a sizable contingent of police in Cyprus, the nation's peacekeeping deployments were on a small scale and virtually ignored among the larger and more vital military commitments in Korea, Malaysia and Vietnam. After Vietnam, however, larger peacekeeping contingents to apparently dangerous places did seem to find a place in the larger national military tradition. Service personnel sent to places such as Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and the Sinai Peninsula in the 1970s, and then later in the 1990s to Cambodia or Somalia, might be given the sobriquet 'digger' by the media. Newspaper articles were frequently accompanied by photos of tearful farewells at the airport or dockside, just as they might have been in a time of war.¹ There were limits to this, however, and military personnel who went peacekeeping in smaller groups, as individuals on more established missions or to less obviously dangerous places, rarely attracted such colourful coverage. How police, diplomats or government aid officials might be dealt with was altogether less clear.

Media coverage with an Anzac theme was one thing, but full admission to the Anzac pantheon was another. Its traditions had been formed in the

First World War and reinforced with the Second. Hundreds of thousands of Australians had fought in those wars and the whole nation had been affected by their being in them. Big wars and major commitments in Asia after 1945 were less clearcut but could fit into the tradition without too much difficulty. Peacekeeping was less straightforward. Peacekeepers, regardless of the worth of their cause, were not fighting the nation's wars; they were trying to sort out someone else's. Even if that was in Australia's interest it seemed less compelling. Perhaps implicit, though usually spoken *sotto voce*, was the rather simplistic observation that Australian peacekeepers were not generally being killed for their cause (deaths were few and largely by accident or mines, though no less tragic for that). Such attitudes were best exemplified by the furore that accompanied the decision to award infantry combat badges to the soldiers who served in Somalia, a decision thought by some to overstate the dangers of the deployment and diminish the legacy of returned soldiers who had fought 'real' wars. Military historians may not have shared these views but, focused on Australia's world wars and Cold War and postcolonial conflicts after 1945, many reflected a blinkered view of Australia's military history and certainly overlooked Australia's history of peacekeeping. Even by the end of the 1980s, significant new Australian military histories made no mention at all of peacekeeping.²

Within the Australian Defence Force (ADF) there was considerable interest: since the mid 1970s, after Vietnam, it had been seen that peacekeeping operations might for the foreseeable future provide the only means by which personnel would obtain overseas operational experience. Encouraged by expected deployments in Rhodesia and Namibia planning for peacekeeping operations reached new levels. In 1989 the ADF agreed to a proposal that peacekeeping deaths be commemorated on the roll of honour at the Australian War Memorial.³ When the Memorial set up its first exhibition on peacekeeping, in 1993, it was with considerable financial support from the three services, especially the Army, and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Australian artist George Gittoes, who visited the Australians in Somalia in 1993, reflected the growing view and spoke for many Australians when he wrote:

Like all Australians I have heard the legends of the Anzacs since I was a child. It took less than a fortnight in Somalia to realise the people of RAR, Colonel Mellor's command administration in Mogadishu and the UNOSOM people at the airport, all deserved to take their place in this respected tradition.⁴

Academics had also become more interested, and for a few years from 1989 a series of conferences focused on the experiences of peacekeepers, analyses

of peacekeeping and lessons to be heeded for future operations.⁵ The publications provide good primary sources for future historians, but do not attempt to place peacekeeping missions in any broader historical perspective. It was not until 2004 that Peter Londey, who, as an historian at the Memorial had curated the first peacekeeping exhibition there in 1993, published what remains until now the only general narrative history of Australian peacekeeping, *Other People's Wars*.⁶ Indeed, in the period since September 2001 it seems that interest in peacekeeping has substantially diminished, as Australia finds itself, for the first time in a generation,⁷ fighting wars not in our own region but in Afghanistan and Iraq. There are still Australian peacekeepers in Timor-Leste, the Solomon Islands, Egypt, Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Cyprus and the Sudan, but far less public attention is focused on their activities than was devoted to Australian peacekeepers in the early 1990s or in 1999, when the nation's largest peacekeeping commitment began in East Timor. And that lack of public interest has helped cause, or perhaps been fed by, a failure to distinguish peacekeeping as a separate category of activity.

One of the purposes of this volume is to put peacekeeping back on the agenda; another to stake a claim for the separateness of peacekeeping as a category of action. Our approach is historical. The term 'peacekeeping' was probably first used in the mid 1950s but the activities it describes are older than that.⁸ By devising a clear set of criteria for what should be considered to be peacekeeping, the origins of the activity, if not of the word, in much earlier periods can be ascertained. We have adopted criteria that are elaborated by Peter Londey in the first chapter. In summary, they are that an operation should be

- dealing with the effects of conflict
- include a substantial military and/or police component, provided by contributing governments
- be composed as a multinational force, whether or not under the aegis of the United Nations
- not be a party to the conflict, but be impartial between belligerent parties
- have rules of engagement and practices in the field to ensure the minimum use of force consistent with achievement of the mandate.

These criteria serve to set apart as a group a large number of otherwise disparate operations, ranging from small groups of unarmed military observers, to armed infantry carrying out peace enforcement, to the huge and complex peacekeeping operations we see today. In his chapter, Peter Londey argues that, while these operations differ from each other in many ways, the features that unify them are more important than their differences. Above all,

their impartiality and their commitment to the minimum use of force set them apart from war-fighting of the kind in which Australia is currently engaged in Iraq and Afghanistan.⁹

The criteria also allow us as historians to draw boundaries between peace-keeping and war-fighting that follow each other in the same theatre. In Korea, the military observers attached to the UN Commission on Korea (UNCOK) in 1950, including Australians Major Peach and Squadron Leader Rankin, were clearly peacekeepers, part of the United Nations' effort to solve the Korean conflict peaceably. But once the North Koreans invaded the south, the Western response – justified by reference to the collective security provisions of the *UN Charter* – was to fight a conventional war. War imposes its own logic, utterly different from that of the most robust form of peacekeeping, and so the US-led 'United Nations' forces soon abandoned any limits implicit in the *Charter* by crossing the 38th parallel.

A similar situation existed in the first Gulf War in 1991. The United Nations responded to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait by imposing economic sanctions, enforced by a multinational flotilla to which Australia contributed several ships. This effort to force a backdown without undue bloodshed may be classed as robust peacekeeping, but once that failed, the US-led air and ground campaigns, while respecting the limits of legitimacy more than General Douglas MacArthur had in Korea in 1950, nevertheless escalated the violence to a level that ultimately led to the carnage on the Basra road. After the war, sanctions were reimposed, enabling peacekeeping to recommence.¹⁰

Peter Londey argues that the distinction between peacekeeping and war-fighting is important in terms of public policy. Both the aims and the moral justification of the two activities are so different, he suggests, that we need governments, the general public and the military themselves to be clear which one they are about at any given time. Too often they are not clear. This seems to be where historians have a role to play. By charting the history of peacekeeping as an activity, by showing how it came into being and developed, and by describing the range of activities that fall under its rubric today, much can be done to sharpen people's perspectives on the subject. It is important also to deinstitutionalise the history of peacekeeping. The United Nations regards its first peacekeeping operation as the UN Truce Supervision Organisation (UNTSO), set up in Palestine in 1948. Whatever the origins of this view, it seems clearly wrong. By applying the criteria elucidated above, the origins of UN peacekeeping get pushed back to 1947, when the UN Consular Commission and the UN Committee of Good Offices (UNGOC) employed military observers in Indonesia. And the origins of peacekeeping as an

activity lie further back still, at the very least with the League of Nations, the UN's predecessor. The League set up forces to assist international commissions as they administered plebiscites in various disputed territories in 1920 and 1921, as well as a number of observation missions and a multinational force to supervise the Saar referendum in 1935. United Nations planners in New York were aware of these precedents, though to a large extent peacekeeping had to be reinvented in the postwar world.¹¹

There is plenty of room for debate in all this, and differences of opinion between the authors represented in this volume will be apparent. Londey, for example, argues that the Cold War was not the critical factor influencing the invention and development of peacekeeping, while Horner puts the case for the end of the Cold War being the decisive factor enabling the increase in size and complexity of peacekeeping operations in the 1990s. While these debates will continue, all the authors here agree that the historical approach is of value. There is today a voluminous literature on peacekeeping, but, understandably, the greater part of it focuses on the immediate lessons which may be drawn from recent operations to inform better practice in the future. That approach tends to neglect the earlier history of peacekeeping and sacrifices deeper historical understanding. An extended examination of one nation's peacekeeping experience will cast valuable light on peacekeeping as a whole.

Writing the history of peacekeeping poses many challenges. For a start, despite the necessary impartiality of peacekeepers, peacekeeping is always a politically highly-charged activity. All peacekeepers intrude into other people's lives and make decisions on the spot about the boundaries that should be placed around such intrusion. Governments treat the decision to commit troops to peacekeeping seriously: there was probably more discussion within the Australian government about the commitment of a single battalion to Somalia in 1993 than the government in 1914 gave to committing Australia to the First World War. Bob Breen, in his chapter on peacekeeping in the South Pacific, describes interventions into three of Australia's near neighbours, Papua New Guinea (with relation to Bougainville), the Solomon Islands and East Timor, where the boundaries between good neighbourliness and regional hegemony can be blurred, at best. John Connor's chapter deals with the deployments of the early 1990s to Cambodia, the former Yugoslavia, Somalia and Rwanda, and demonstrates the intensity of public debate sparked by the size, complexity and media coverage of these missions.

Peacekeeping operations have grown enormously in complexity. Once the preserve of the military and diplomats, today any mission is likely to include civilian police and a wide range of other civilians. The role for the military

has become equally complex, as they find themselves providing not only observers and infantry, but also logistics, medical support, communications, engineering construction, demining and other ordnance disposal, and so on. Peacekeepers are, increasingly, attempting complex tasks to rebuild (or build *ab initio*) the institutions of a peaceful society. Those within a peacekeeping mission work closely with those outside, including, especially, humanitarian aid organisations (NGOs). This complexity has been addressed in this volume, with contributions that explore the varied roles of the military, civilian police, diplomats and NGOs.

The increased complexity of peacekeeping operations means that it has been extremely difficult to determine who has actually been involved, especially when one is trying to calculate total numbers. It is relatively straightforward to include military and police personnel who have been assigned to be members of a mission, though whether to count those who supported them has proven to be fraught (how, for example, should the air force aircrew who may have flown them or their supplies there be counted – were they on the mission or simply doing a routine job?). It is also appropriate to include civilian government officials such as members of the Australian Electoral Commission and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) who have been deployed as part of a mission. It is more problematic to include members of Australian non-government organisations, even though the Australian government might have helped fund their activities. It does not seem appropriate to include officials who have merely visited missions, or Australians employed directly by the United Nations.¹²

A further level of complexity is the diversity of individual peacekeepers' experiences. More so than in orthodox military operations, individual peacekeepers may find themselves exercising disproportionate influence. The report from the two Australian peacekeeper observers in Korea in 1950 led to the involvement of the United Nations in the Korean War. An Australian captain serving in the UN Iran–Iraq Military Observer Group might well have prevented the re-ignition of hostilities between Iran and Iraq in 1989. Much of the work of a peacekeeping operation is done at the level of interactions between individual peacekeepers and members of the local population. As a consequence, it is possible to argue that it is only by drawing on the recollections of those individual peacekeepers that a worthwhile history of the whole process can be written.

With 30 000 Australian peacekeepers to choose from, it is possible in this volume only to provide the tiniest sample of the vast diversity of their experiences. Those chosen serve to illustrate the range of roles filled by peacekeepers: military observers, mine clearers, weapons inspectors, civilian

police. Many others could have been added. One specialised role that has been focused on is that of commander. To command any coalition military force is a task that requires political skill, nowhere more so than in peacekeeping, where national governments habitually retain a high level of control over the units they have contributed to an ostensibly multinational force. Australia has provided a number of distinguished commanders of peacekeeping operations, two of whom are represented in this book.

As historians working on recent and contemporary history, we are very aware that the object of our study is not standing still. For Thucydides, ancient Greek historian and author of *History of the Peloponnesian War*, it may have been possible to begin writing the history of a war at the outset, but for the rest of us writing about events that are still unfolding is an activity fraught with danger. Peacekeeping changes and will continue to change, as does the nature of war. In 1991 the military historian Martin van Creveld argued that the era of conventional wars had ended and he suggested that future wars would be 'waged for the souls of men'.¹³ General Rupert Smith, an officer in the British Army until 2002, has argued that 'rather than war and peace, there is no predefined sequence, nor is peace necessarily either the starting or the end point: conflicts are resolved, but not necessarily confrontations'.¹⁴ Peacekeepers must enter these messy situations, and though their means are radically different from those of the belligerents, they too must wage their war 'for the souls of men'. Increasingly, Australia's peacekeepers are engaged in trying to influence how people think and how societies as a whole work. Historians should avoid trying to predict the future, but we have included in this volume two contributions – by a distinguished practitioner, Major General Tim Ford, and an equally distinguished commentator, Professor Ramesh Thakur – that attempt to place the present in the context of the past and the future.

This book cannot answer all the questions. What we hope the book does demonstrate is the value to the study of peacekeeping generally of writing about the subject from an historical viewpoint. As the subject of a case study of a peacekeeping nation, Australia has much to offer: it was there at the start, it has consistently operated as a middle-level peacekeeper with widespread public support though not always without political controversy and dissent, it has taken increasing responsibility for managing missions in its own region and, under a new government, might become again a consistent contributor in the future. This, then, seems an opportune time to look back on and assess Australia's first 60 years as a peacekeeping nation.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

- 1 To take one example, see 'Off to keep the peace', *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 10 December 1979, with families waving farewell at the airport and, over a large photo of a soldier parting from his family on his way to Rhodesia, the heading, 'Good luck, soldier!'
- 2 See, for example, George Odgers, *Army Australia: An illustrated history*, Child & Associates, Sydney, 1988; Jeffrey Grey, *A Military History of Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990.
- 3 For reasons of bureaucratic inertia this never happened, and the Memorial's council partially reversed the decision in 1997.
- 4 George Gitroes, 'The Anzac Tradition', *Australian Defence Force Journal* 104 (January/February 1994) 52.
- 5 Important publications include Hugh Smith (ed.), *Australia and Peacekeeping*, Australian Defence Studies Centre, University of New South Wales, Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra, 1990; Hugh Smith (ed.), *Peacekeeping: Challenges for the future*, Australian Defence Studies Centre, University of New South Wales, Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra, 1993; Hugh Smith (ed.), *International Peacekeeping: Building on the Cambodian experience*, Australian Defence Studies Centre, University of New South Wales, Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra, 1994; Kevin Clements and Christine Wilson (eds), *UN Peacekeeping at the Crossroads*, Peace Research Centre, Australian National University, Canberra, 1994; special edition of the *Australian Defence Force Journal* 104 (January/February 1994).
- 6 Peter Londey, *Other People's Wars: A history of Australian peacekeeping*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2004.
- 7 Leaving aside the first Gulf War, in which Australia's operational involvement was minimal.
- 8 When the term 'peacekeeping' was first used is not entirely clear, but a plausible contention is that it was first used by UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld in 1956 in relation to UNEF I.

Appendix (cont.)

Name of operation	Acronym	Theatre	Dates of Australian involvement	Approx. average or maximum no. of Austs involved at any one time	Main role of Australians in mission
UN Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission for Iraq	UNMOVIC	Iraq	2002-3	about 5	weapons inspections
UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan	UNAMA	Afghanistan	2003-present	1	liaison officer
Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands	RAMSI	Solomon Islands	2003-present	1650	police, civilians, military providing security and logistics
UN Mission in the Sudan	UNMIS	Sudan	2005-present	25	logistics, air observers, movement controllers
UN Office in Timor-Leste	UNOTIL	Timor-Leste	2005-6	16	4 military advisors
International Security Force	ISF	Timor-Leste	2006-present	850	security support for UNMIT and for East Timorese gov't
UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste	UNMIT	Timor-Leste	2006-present	4 ADF, 50 police	150 police, liaison officers

9 Some might argue that the members of the Reconstruction Task Force, a Dutch-led Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in Afghanistan to which Australia contribute, should be counted as peacekeepers. We argue that it is more or less impossible for them to satisfy the criterion of impartiality when other Australians serving in Afghanistan are clearly fighting a war against the Taliban. Although PRTs in Afghanistan are engaged in activities that in another theatre might be considered peacekeeping, in this context they seem more closely analogous with hearts and minds operations in Vietnam.

10 Among the post-Gulf War operations, we would count as peacekeeping the Maritime Interception Force (MIF), the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) and an operation bringing aid to Kurdish refugees in northern Iraq, the Australian contribution to which was known as Operation Habitat. For a complete list of Australian peacekeeping operations, see Appendix.

11 See UN document A/C.21/W.18, 'United Nations Palestine Commission: precedents concerning the creation of an international force', 22 January 1948.

12 For purposes of determining who should be included in our lists of 'peacekeepers' we have used three criteria. First, they should have been an employee of an Australian federal or state government agency. Second, they should have been assigned to the mission and should have been directed by the mission headquarters. Third, they should have been paid an allowance (only mission-assigned personnel were paid allowances).

13 Martin van Creveld, *The Transformation of War*, Free Press, New York, 1991, p. 215.

14 Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force: The art of war in the modern world*, Allen Lane, London, 2005, p. 17.

I INVENTING PEACEKEEPING

1 See, in general, P. Londey, *Other People's Wars: A history of Australian peacekeeping*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2004.

2 The term 'peacekeeping' is often now used to mean only unarmed missions carried out with consent of the parties, generally, observer missions. It was not always thus; cf. *Other People's Wars*, p. 129. But the public, at least in Australia, uses the word to cover the whole gamut of peace operations.

3 On its website <www.peacekeepers.asn.au>, accessed January 2008, the APPVA explicitly lumps together 'all operations that have involved Australian and New Zealand Defence Forces Servicemen and Women, Federal and State Police, Philanthropic Organisations (Everyman's Welfare Service, Red Cross, Salvation Army, etc.) and Defence Civilians', and states that by 'peacemakers' it means those personnel who have served in (among other places) Namibia, Cambodia, Somalia, East Timor, Iraq and Afghanistan. A similar abandonment of any discrimination between 'peacemaking' and war fighting is evident in the association's publication, *The Australian Peacekeeper & Peacemaker Veterans' Association Magazine*.

4 P. Edwards, *Crises and Commitments: The politics and diplomacy of Australia's involvement in Southeast Asian conflicts 1948-1965*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1992, pp. 376-7.

5 In just one example of the importance ascribed to the Cold War, William Durch opens his *The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping* (New York, 1993) with the scene-setting statement (p. 1) that, 'During the Cold War, the United Nations could not do the job for which it was created'. UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali similarly identified the use of the veto in the Security Council as the primary cause for past UN inaction at 'An agenda for peace, preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping', UN document A/47/277 - S/24111, 17 June 1992, para 14.

6 UN Charter, article 33.1.

7 UN Charter, article 39.

8 UN Charter, articles 41-2.

9 UN Charter, articles 43, 45-7.

10 League of Nations Covenant, articles 11-16. The Covenant placed much emphasis on arbitration and judicial settlement and on the good offices of the Council (articles 13-15) and rather less on coercive measures (trade sanctions and the like: article 16.1; military action: article 16.2; the latter voluntary: article 16.3). The Covenant also had a long section on disarmament (article 8, coming before questions of dispute settlement), whereas the UN Charter has brief references to regulation of armaments (articles 11.1, 26, 47.1).

11 W. J. Hudson, *Australia and the League of Nations*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1980, pp. 73-87.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 70-1.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 89-93.

14 See Londey, *Other People's Wars*, pp. 31-2.

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 34-6.

16 Recently, the author's advice was sought by a member of the committee planning an Australian peacekeeping memorial on the question considered above, the definition of peacekeeping. The committee member was at pains to have the definition include the comment that peacekeepers act in our national interest; the activity could not, he felt, be publicly justified on purely altruistic grounds.

17 Though not all; the Greek civil war, for example, is one exception.

18 Mandates only applied to colonial territories held by the losers in the First World War, and in particular those whose peoples were judged to be 'not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world' (League of Nations Covenant, article 17). The Covenant emphasised the Mandatory states' responsibility to improve the wellbeing of those under their charge, but said little about future independence.

19 UN Charter, article 76(b), referring to those administering trusteeships. Even colonial powers outside the trusteeship system are enjoined 'to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions' (article 73(b)).

20 UN General Assembly Resolution 1514, 14 December 1960. For a general account of the issue, see R. E. Riggs and J. C. Plano, *The United Nations: International organization and world politics*, Dorsey Press, Chicago, 1988, pp. 217-34.