

7th ISDP-AMS Joint Conference

*Military Operations Overseas in Peacetime
December 10-11, 2014, Stockholm*

Institute for Security &
Development Policy



Contents

Foreword.....	3
Conference Itinerary.....	5
List of Participants.....	8
Session One: Counter-Piracy Operations.....	9
Session Two: Non-combatant Evacuation Operations.....	13
Session Three: Peacekeeping Operations.....	19
Session Four: Disaster Relief Operations.....	25

This report was edited and compiled by Alec Forss and James Smith, ISDP.

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About ISDP

The Institute for Security and Development Policy is a Stockholm-based independent and non-profit research and policy institute. The Institute is dedicated to expanding understanding of international affairs, particularly the interrelationship between the issue areas of conflict, security and development. The Institute's primary areas of geographic focus are Asia and Europe's neighborhood.

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Foreword

It gives us great pleasure to introduce the summary report from our most recent joint conference, which was held in Stockholm, Sweden, on December 10-11, 2014. The title for the conference this year was “Military Operations Overseas in Peacetime.”

Session discussions focused on Counter-Piracy Operations, Non-Combatant Evacuation Operations, Peacekeeping Operations, and Humanitarian and Disaster Relief Operations. These all constitute complex non-traditional security challenges which have risen in prominence over the last decade, and which necessitate that individual states as well as the international community at large develop the requisite tools, strategies, and institutions to deal with the threats that arise.

The conference brought together academics, diplomats, and military officials not only from Sweden and China, but also participants from Denmark, France, Japan, Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. This diversity served to inform and provide useful insights – including differing perspectives – from different governments and militaries on their experiences in dealing with piracy, evacuations, peacekeeping, and humanitarian assistance and disaster relief. At the same time, the individual sessions led to fruitful discussion and agreement on many issues. Indeed, the need to institutionalize cooperation between countries and operationalize such towards effective action was stressed by many participants.

We hope that this publication captures the presentations and discussions made and will be useful for all those who read it.

This was the seventh joint conference held by the PLA Academy of Military Science and the Institute for Security and Development Policy, and the success of this conference strengthens our cooperation for the future. Indeed, we plan to hold the eighth annual joint conference in Beijing in May 2015.

Dr. Niklas Swanström, ISDP Major General Nie Songlai, AMS

前 言

2014年12月10~11日，军事科学院与安全和发展政策研究所在瑞典斯德哥尔摩联合举办了主题为“和平时期海外军事行动”的研讨会。在此，我们很高兴推介这次研讨的情况综述报告。

研讨会分专题讨论了反海盗行动、非战斗人员撤运行动、维和行动和救灾行动。过去十年间，这些议题重要性突显，代表了在非传统安全领域的复杂挑战，需要每个国家以及整个国际社会提出具体手段、策略和机制，来应对这些新兴威胁。

研讨会不仅有来自瑞典和中国的学者、外交官和军官，也有来自丹麦、法国、日本、荷兰、英国和美国的与会者。代表们济济一堂，介绍了各国政府和军队在应对海盗、撤运、维和以及人道主义救援和救灾的经验，分享了有益的看法以及不同的观点。代表们在每一节专题中都进行了卓有成效的讨论，在很多问题上取得一致意见。很多代表强调，各国间需要建立机制性合作，并籍此采取有效行动。

希望这一出版物囊括了所有发言和讨论的思想，能够对每一位读者有所启迪。

本次会议是中国人民解放军军事科学院与瑞典安全和发展政策研究所第七次联合举办的研讨会。会议的成功将促进双方未来的合作。事实的确如此，2015年5月我们将在北京联合举办第八次研讨会。

瑞典安全和发展政策研究所施万通博士
中国人民解放军军事科学院聂送来少将

Conference Itinerary

Day 1: December 10, 2014

0930-1000: Welcome Reception

1000-1020: Opening Session: Strategic Context

Introductory Remarks by:

- Dr. Niklas Swanstrom, Director of the Institute for Security and Development Policy (ISDP)
- Major General Nie Songlai, Deputy Chief of the Department of Foreign Military Studies at the Academy for Military Science (AMS)

Keynote Speech by:

Major General Karlis Neretnieks, Associated Fellow at ISDP

1020-1200: **Session 1: Counter-Piracy Operations:**

What are the humanitarian and economic costs of piracy? What are the associated risks and opportunities for maritime security and defense? How do we support seafarers on an international scale? Do we have the right institutions and tools in place to counter pirate attacks? What are the possible solutions to piracy through collaboration across political, military, financial, and legal sectors?

Opening Statement by Chairman of the Panel:

- Senior Colonel Zhao Xiaozhuo, Deputy Director of the Center on China-America Defense Relations, AMS

Keynote Presentations by:

- Commander Carolyn Kenyon, Royal Navy of the United Kingdom
- Jeffrey S. Payne, Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies (NESA)
- Commander Johannes Nordby, Institute for Strategy at the Royal Danish Defense College

Discussion to follow moderated by Panel Chairman Zhao

1200-1310: Lunch

1310-1450: **Session 2: Non-Combatant Evacuation Operations:**

Large-scale evacuations can be extremely complex, requiring tremendous coordination and logistical support. Non-combatant Evacuation Operations (NEOs) present additional challenges of civil unrest and violence and can require military assistance to execute the evacuation. Moreover, NEOs contain many moving parts and simultaneous processes including thousands of evacuees, vehicles, aircraft, and personnel tracking technology.

Opening Statement by Chairman of the Panel:

- Dr. Lars Vargö, Former Ambassador to Japan and Republic of Korea, Distinguished Fellow at ISDP

Keynote Presentations by:

- Ingrid Johansson, Deputy Director, Department for Consular Affairs and Civil Law, Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs
- Mikael Tofvesson, Head of Global Monitoring & Analysis Section, Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency, MSB
- Dr. Li Chen, Lecturer, School of International Studies, Renmin University of China

Discussion to follow moderated by Panel Chairman Vargö

1450-1515: Coffee Break

1515-1700: **Session 3: Peacekeeping Operations:**

Multilateral peace operations are being undertaken by the international community in increasingly complex operating environments and with widely varying mandates. Many of these mandates include the protection of civilians in the most challenging conditions, often in the face of high expectations. How should militaries plan for these challenges? Effective peace operations partnerships also need agreement on strategic priorities, a common objective, and a division of labour, using the international community's strengths.

Opening Statement by Chairman of the Panel:

- Jonas Alberoth, Deputy Director General of the Folke Bernadotte Academy

Keynote Presentations by:

- Lieutenant General Olivier de Bavinchove, former Defense Advisor to the French Government
- Brigadier General Michael Claesson, Senior Military Advisor, Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs
- Akiko Yamanaka, Special Ambassador for Peacebuilding, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

- Colonel Xu Lin, Department of Strategic Studies, AMS

Discussion to follow moderated by Panel Chairman Alberoth

Day 2: December 11, 2014

0900-0930: Welcome Reception

0930-1130: **Session 4: Disaster Relief Operations:**

Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) operations can often be chaotic and slow due to a lack of coordination among the military forces and civilian aid agencies involved. But the first 48 hours are critical for saving lives. How do we develop collaborative guidelines to assist the planning of foreign military assistance in support of disaster response operations across the globe?

Opening Statement by Chairman of the Panel:

- Philip de Heer, Ambassador to Sweden, Netherlands

Keynote Presentations by:

- Senior Col. Zhao Xiaozhuo, Deputy Director, Center on China-America Defense Relations, AMS
- Kjell Engelbrekt, Associate Professor, Swedish National Defense College
- Akiko Yamanaka, Special Ambassador for Peacebuilding, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Discussion to follow moderated by Panel Chairman de Heer

1130-1200: Conclusions: Strategic Context

Closing Remarks from:

- Dr. Niklas Swanstrom, Director of ISDP
- Major General Nie Songlai, Deputy Chief of the Department of Foreign Military Studies, AMS

1200-1330: Lunch

1330-1530: Private Roundtable Discussion

Moderators:

- Major General Karlis Neretnieks, Associated Fellow, ISDP
- Dr. Li Chen, Lecturer, School of International Studies, Renmin University of China

List of Participants

Conference Chairmen and Panel Moderators

- Major General Karlis Neretnieks, Associated Fellow at ISDP
- Jonas Alberoth, Deputy Director General of the Folke Bernadotte Academy
- Lars Vargö, Distinguished Fellow at ISDP
- Philip de Heer, Ambassador to Sweden, Netherlands

International Delegation Members

- Lieutenant General Olivier de Bavinchove, former Defense Advisor to the French Government
- Commander Carolyn Kenyon, Royal Navy of the United Kingdom
- Commander Johannes Nordby, Institute for Strategy at the Royal Danish Defense College
- Jeffrey S. Payne, Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies (NESA) of the United States
- Akiko Yamanaka, Special Ambassador for Peacebuilding, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Chinese Delegation Members

- Major General Nie Songlai, Deputy Chief, Department of Foreign Military Studies, AMS
- Senior Colonel Zhao Xiaozhuo, Deputy Director, Center on China-America Defense Relations, AMS
- Senior Colonel Yu Xiaopeng, AMS Delegation Staff
- Colonel Xu Lin, Department of Strategic Studies, AMS
- Colonel Liu Silong, AMS Delegation Staff
- Li Chen, Lecturer, School of International Studies, Renmin University of China

Swedish Delegation Members

- Dr. Niklas Swanström, Director of ISDP
- Brigadier General Michael Claesson, Senior Military Advisor, Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs
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- Mikael Tofvesson, Head of the Global Monitoring and Analysis Section, Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency, MSB
- Ingrid Johansson, Deputy Director, Department for Consular Affairs and Civil Law, Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs

SESSION ONE

COUNTER-PIRACY OPERATIONS



Strategic Context:

- What are the humanitarian and economic costs of piracy?
- What are the associated risks and opportunities for maritime security and defense?
- How do we support seafarers on an international scale?
- Do we have the right institutions and tools in place to counter pirate attacks?
- What are the solutions to piracy through collaboration across political, military, financial, and legal sectors?

Opening Statement:

- Senior Colonel Zhao Xiaozhuo, Deputy Director of the Center on China-America Defense Relations, Academy of Military Science

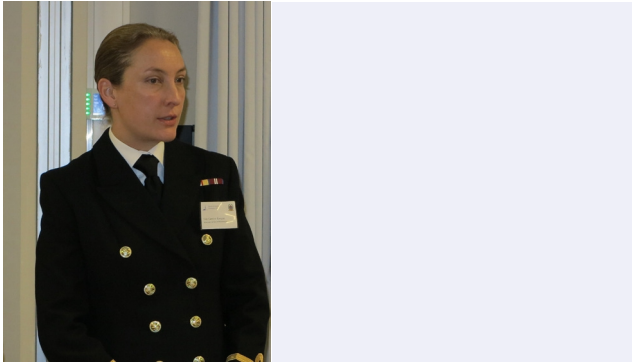
Keynote Presentations:

- Commander Carolyn Kenyon, Royal Navy of the United Kingdom
- Jeffrey S. Payne, Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies
- Commander Johannes Nordby, Institute for Strategy at the Royal Danish Defense College

SESSION ONE - COUNTER-PIRACY OPERATIONS

The “Legal Framework” of Piracy

Carolyn Kenyon



Commander Carolyn Kenyon is with the Service Prosecuting Authority based in RAF Northolt

The aim of Commander Kenyon’s presentation was to provide a general overview of the legal framework and challenges associated with the conduct of counter-piracy operations. While stating that piracy poses a threat to mariners and the safety of navigation in many areas of the world today, Kenyon highlighted that an international legal framework exists to support the efforts of states and multi-national naval partnerships which are striving to counter this crime. In particular, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea 1982 (UNCLOS) provides states with a wide range of powers exercisable on the high seas to board pirate vessels, to seize equipment onboard, and to arrest suspected pirates. The authority of states to use force to combat piracy is also enshrined in customary international law.

Kenyon argued that this overarching legal framework has been used to great effect, for ex-

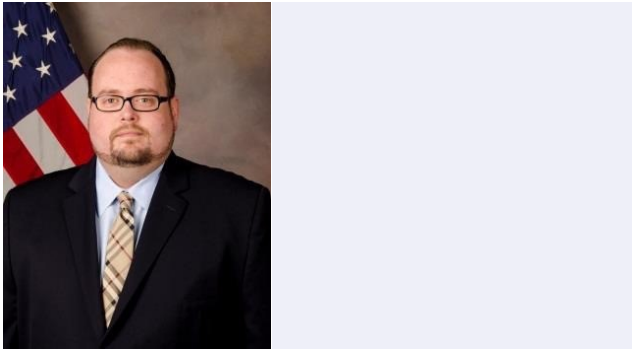
ample in countering piracy off the coast of Somalia: that is, attacks have been disrupted and deterred by independent deployers and by warships and aircraft operating in support of multi-national naval partnerships. Further, in relation to piracy and armed robbery off the coast of Somalia, the United Nations Security Council has authorized states and regional organizations co-operating with the Somali authorities to take all necessary measures, consistent with international law, to combat these maritime threats. Accordingly, the legal powers to deal with pirates in the high seas environment are comprehensive and wide-ranging.

“The legal powers to deal with pirates in the high seas environment are comprehensive and wide-ranging ... but the political will by states to prosecute suspected pirates and those who facilitate and benefit from their illegal activities remains a greater challenge.”

Kenyon argued that perhaps the greater challenge lies in ensuring that suspected pirates, and those who plan, organize, and finance attacks from ashore, are prosecuted and brought to justice. She emphasized that it was necessary for states to have first criminalized such activity within their own domestic law. Similarly they must have the capacity to undertake such prosecutions and to imprison those who are convicted. She further argued that the greatest obstacle to be overcome is that states have sufficient political will to prosecute suspected pirates and those who facilitate, and benefit from, their illegal activities.

Counter-Piracy in the Western Indian Ocean: A Horizon Scan

Jeffrey S. Payne



Jeffrey Payne is at the Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies

Jeffrey S. Payne focused his presentation on the impacts of multinational coordination in relation to counter-piracy operations through what he called a “Horizon Scan.” This scan assessed the viability of using the multinational coordination approach to piracy as a model in piracy-affected areas around the world.

Payne began his presentation by providing background information to and current analysis on piracy operations in the western Indian Ocean Region and around the Horn of Africa. Payne stressed concern that the region features several examples of political collapse; however, that the multinational operations to counter piracy around the Horn of Africa have contributed to a dramatic drop in incidents of piracy. This has renewed a sense of security amongst commercial shipping enterprises, and facilitated the strengthening of maritime institutions that impact the global commons.

Payne argued that the success of counter-piracy operations in the western Indian Ocean is

only a “mechanism for mitigating the impact of, not eliminating, the [piracy] threat.” Therefore, while arguing that counter-piracy operations in the western Indian Ocean serve as a powerful example of the effectiveness of multinational military cooperation, to truly eliminate the threat of piracy in this part of the world, political and economic development is needed within the territories that house pirates, specifically Somalia.

“to truly eliminate the threat of piracy in this part of the world, political and economic development is needed within the territories that house pirates, specifically Somalia.”

In sum, he argued, the lessons and examples learned from this region should serve as encouragement to governments and militaries on the effectiveness of multinational military cooperation, and that Military Operations other than War (MOOTW) are tools that enhance the capabilities of naval forces and policy makers alike.

Piracy, Maritime Security, and Good Order at Sea

Johannes Nordby



Commander Johannes Nordby is a researcher at the Institute for Strategy at the Royal Danish Defense College

Commander Johannes Nordby aimed through his presentation to explain the complexity of “good order” at sea in the Gulf of Guinea and the Indian Ocean, and why good order at sea is not only a matter for international law but is just as important as a normative concept by which all states, African as well non-African, can contribute to.

“Good order at sea as both a normative concept as well as a matter of international law should be promoted as a more comprehensive approach all states can contribute to in policing the seas.”

Commander Nordby argued that the increase in Somali piracy in 2007-2011 had an important impact on the understanding of maritime security. First of all, that it securitized piracy resulting not only in an increased international naval presence but most importantly it introduced the use of private security companies on board merchant vessels. It can be argued by doing so states outsourced the monopoly

on violence. Furthermore, piracy in the Indian Ocean was moved up on the international security agenda by states outside of Africa. The response from the East African states was limited and a contrast to the response from American, European, and Asian states. Nordby argued that this is a neglect which still exists today.

Similar to East Africa, West Africa has in recent years seen an increase in piracy. Even though the nature and impact of West African piracy is significantly different, states in the region have only paid limited attention to the problem. Yet, there seems to be a growing efforts in West Africa to combat piracy. The region has seen both an industrial but foremost a regional initiative anchored in the two regional organizations ECOWAS and ECCAS. While the industrial initiative only aims at combating piracy, the regional initiative aims just as much at establishing good order at sea.

Nordby went on to define good order at sea as being divided into five areas: good order from the shore; the sea as a resource; the sea as a medium of transportation; the sea as an area of dominion; and the sea as an environment. The major point, he argued, is that piracy cannot be approached as an isolated factor but must be approached in the context of good order at sea since the different areas interact. As such, poor order at sea with regard to the environment and sea as a resource has an impact on the sea as dominion, i.e. piracy. Thus, the narrow focus on piracy from non-African actors, including the use of private security companies and naval presence, do not alone contribute to good order at sea.

SESSION TWO

NON-COMBATANT EVACUATION OPERATIONS



Strategic Context:

Large-scale evacuation operations can be extremely complex, requiring tremendous coordination and logistical support. Noncombatant Evacuation Operations (NEOs) present additional challenges of civil unrest and violence and which can require military assistance to execute the evacuation. NEOs contain many moving parts and simultaneous processes including thousands of evacuees, vehicles, aircraft, and personnel tracking technology.

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- Dr. Li Chen, Lecturer, School of International Studies, Renmin University of China

SESSION TWO - NON-COMBATANT EVACUATION OPERATIONS

Non-Combatant Evacuations Amid Others' Wars

Li Chen



Dr. Li Chen is Lecturer at the School of International Studies, Renmin University of China

Dr. Li detailed the evacuation of some 35,000 Chinese nationals from Libya in February-March 2011, which was the largest scale evacuation ever completed by China, with the PLA's contribution involving four IL-76s of the PLA Air Force and the PLA Navy Frigate *Xuzhou*. Li argued that the riskiest mission in Libya involved evacuating Chinese nationals from Sabha in the center of the country. The mission period lasted 97 hours. While the crew had had previous experience of disaster relief in China and Mongolia, Li quoted a captain as saying "we never imagined this before, let alone practised [such a mission]."

Dr Li went on to review the political and legal context for Chinese Non-combatant Evacuation Operations (NEOs). He quoted the Chinese Defense White Paper from 2013, which states that "Vessel protection at sea, evacuation

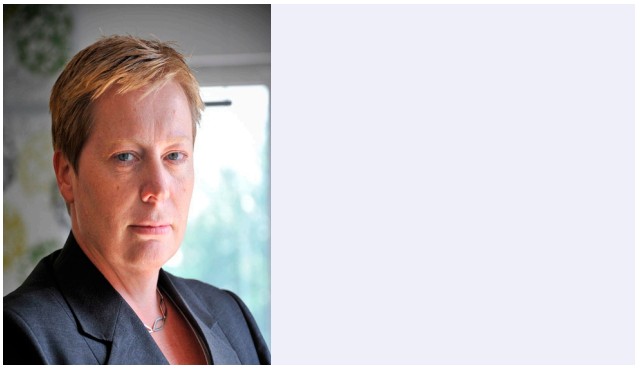
of Chinese nationals overseas, and emergency rescue have become important ways and means for the PLA to safeguard national interests and fulfil China's international obligations." In so doing, Li stipulated that Chinese NEOs would be conducted according to international and Chinese laws, respecting the host country's sovereignty, be by consent of the host government, and with authorization from the UN Security Council.

"Vessel protection at sea, evacuation of Chinese nationals overseas, and emergency rescue have become important ways and means for the PLA to safeguard national interests and fulfil China's international obligations."

Li continued by discussing the concept of Military Operations Other Than War: that is, that they have a humanitarian objective; that they entail a wide range of cooperation; and employ non-war fighting, technological, professional, and organizational capabilities. In addition, Li argued that NEOs often also involve an uncertain and hostile environment. He talked about the benefits and challenges of international cooperation: the benefits being resource and intelligence sharing, moral support, and legitimacy; the challenges being changing foreign policy objectives and different associations with local forces. Particular focus was placed, furthermore, on the needs and different levels of civil-military coordination as well as the rules of engagement in terms of the use of force—such as self-defense in NEOs and securing facilities of evacuation; he cautioned, however, that using force could potentially lead to escalation.

Consular Disaster Response - the Role of Government

Ingrid Johansson



Ingrid Johansson, Deputy Director, Department for Consular Affairs and Civil Law, Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs

Ingrid Johansson's presentation outlined the official stance of the Swedish Government when it comes to non-combatant evacuations and the reasons behind this stance. Her presentation drew findings from The Committee on the Responsibility of the State in Disasters Abroad (SAKU) which was appointed in response to the tsunami disaster in 2004 and the crisis in Lebanon in 2006, which many Swedish citizens were affected by.

“the Swedish state will only order consular disaster response in the event of a serious emergency or disaster, with evacuation being the last resort in the Consular Operation Plan.”

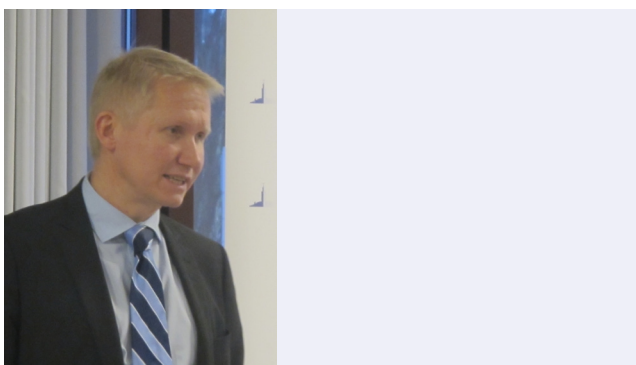
In the presentation she stated that the basic principle is that people are responsible for themselves when staying abroad and that the Swedish state will only order consular disaster response in the event of a serious emergency or disaster, with evacuation being the last resort in the Consular operation plan. Moreover, action

by the Swedish state is only intended to supplement the resources available to other actors in the country concerned. Indeed, Johansson argued that the Swedish Consular Department emphasizes the importance of awareness to Swedish citizens travelling abroad, and that an individual's insurance company, tour operators, and/or NGOs have important roles to play when it comes to their security.

Johansson stated that a decision to launch consular disaster response should be taken by the government and based on the assessment that the response is of an emergency nature aimed at bringing citizens out of immediate danger. The decisive factor in this assessment should be that individual people's need for protection, evacuation, and other support cannot be met in any other way. Johansson went on to detail how the response of the Swedish government is led through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the aid of support networks created for emergency preparedness and response—which are the Ministry for Foreign Affairs rapid response team and the Joint Response Team. The latter is a cooperative resource involving the Swedish Rescue Services Agency, the National Police Board, and the National Board of Health and Welfare, together with the Swedish Red Cross, Save the Children Sweden, and the Church of Sweden. She also re-affirmed the Swedish Consular Office's role in ensuring that there is organized and well-prepared cooperation between host actors and the state.

MSB in Non-combatant Evacuation Operations

Mikael Tofvesson



Mikael Tofvesson is Head of the Global Monitoring and Analysis Section of the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency, MSB

Mikael Tofvesson's presentation introduced and explained the role of MSB, the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency, in crisis management and evacuation of non-combatants. His presentation, which followed Ingrid Johansson's, gave a more complete picture of how the Swedish crisis management infrastructure works and specifically in the case of non-combatant evacuations.

“MSB’s mandate of operation is to enable and support the coordination of measures taken by local, regional, and national authorities during a serious crisis or disaster.”

MSB's mandate of operation as explained by Tofvesson is to enable and support the coordination of measures taken by local, regional, and national authorities during a serious crisis or disaster. Its role is to never take over responsibilities of other parties involved and to always support and follow the authority responsible for an operation during normal circumstances. The

MSB does have the capability to lead if no other authority is present, with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Swedish Government as its primary steering body. This was one of the main points made by both Tofvesson and Johansson when it comes to the “Swedish Model” of Crisis Management. A main strength is the ability to be fluid and adaptable in extraordinary circumstances, prioritizing the adherence and support of established leadership structures first, and providing as much coordinated information as possible to all parties, including the public, through all communication forms available.

Tofvesson highlighted the lessons learned from Crisis Management and non-combatant evacuations from previous operations. The need for information at the center of the operation is key with communication flowing to and from the public through multiple different channels. That means that coordination and liaising with all parties in the country is crucial, especially when it comes to the allocation of valuable resources. Also Tofvesson stressed the importance of having a rapid response team, which in MSB's case are SWIFT (Swedish International Fast Response Team) and USAR (Urban Search and Rescue). The first hours after a crisis are crucial to the outcome of a successful response, he argued. He concluded with the lesson that no emergency is a direct copy of any other and that flexibility in action is therefore key. Correct and verified information is very helpful in a crisis but is scarce and insufficient at times. Thus, it is important to have a team with substantial training, good communication, and, most importantly, situational awareness, capable of taking the calculated risks necessary to evacuate non-combatants and save lives.



Introductory speech by Maj. Gen Nie Songlai



*Dr. Jonas Alberoth moderating the
Peacekeeping Operations Session*



*Maj. Gen Nie Songlai &
Dr. Niklas Swanström*



*Maj. Gen Nie Songlai with Defense Attachés
from the United States and China*



Amb. Yamanaka speaking on Peacekeeping



*Mikael Tofvesson of MSB speaking on
Non-Combantant Evacuations*



*Senior Col. Wang Shumei & Maj. Gen Karlis
Neretnieks*



Maj. Gen Nie Songlai & Jeffrey Payne



*Amb. Philip de Heer,
Dutch Ambassador to Sweden*



Private Roundtable Discussion

SESSION THREE

PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS



Strategic Context:

Multilateral peace operations are being undertaken by the international community in increasingly complex operating environments and with widely varying mandates. Many of these mandates include the protection of civilians in the most challenging conditions, often in the face of high expectations. How should militaries plan for these challenges? Effective peace operations partnerships also need agreement on strategic priorities, a common objective, and a division of labor, using the international community's strengths.

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SESSION THREE - PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

Multilateral Peacekeeping Operations: New Challenges

Olivier de Bavinchove



Lieutenant General Olivier de Bavinchove was former Chief of Staff of the International Security Assistance Force, and Commander of the French Forces in Afghanistan

Lieutenant General Olivier de Bavinchove started his presentation by observing that since the 1990s, there has been a very wide spectrum of peacekeeping missions, ranging from “pure” peacekeeping and humanitarian missions to the evacuation of nationals and combat missions for crisis management. At the same time, he argued that such missions have become increasingly complex and challenging due to the nature of operations and the weaknesses of security organizations involved.

Not only is there a diversity of adversaries but also the methods they employ are asymmetric, such as the use of suicide attacks. The challenge for peacekeepers, furthermore, is to restore peace without inflicting collateral, infrastructural, or environmental damage. He identified the Society of Information (SOI), however, as one of the biggest restrictive factors, arguing that the real-

ity of SOI with a pervasive media, cell phones, and Internet prevent the command structure from exerting control over information that is passed.

“The challenge for peacekeepers, furthermore, is to restore peace without inflicting collateral, infrastructural, or environmental damage.”

De Bavinchove argued that multilateral peace operations are long term and entail a costly commitment: that results cannot be seen in weeks but rather decades. He also noted the enormous gap between ambitions and the assets deployed. National caveats, different army cultures, and rules of engagement are all constraints to multilateral missions along with the gap between those able to conduct operations in real time and those that are not. This necessitates a fundamental reshaping and thinking of operations—that is, ideas and intelligence need to be shared to enhance interoperability, including the ability to act together with others such as civilian agencies. In concluding, he argued that military structures have to be more reactive, more homogenous, and more open to other contributors.



Peacekeeping Operations: Towards a New Approach

Michael Claesson



Brigadier General Michael Claesson is a Senior Military Adviser at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sweden

Brigadier General Michael Claesson started his presentation by detailing Sweden's contribution to UN peacekeeping; that over 80,000 Swedes have participated in UN missions over the years. While the past 15 years have seen greater contribution to NATO and/or EU-led crisis management (namely in the Western Balkans and Afghanistan), Sweden will deploy around 250 troops in Mali as part of the MINUSMA mission.

Claesson argued that in today's environment there is a need for a new approach to peacekeeping with the protection of civilians continuing to be a challenging task which nonetheless needs to be kept at the core of peacekeeping. He argued that at the operational level, it is essential that appropriate doctrine, regulations, and Command and Control systems are developed in order to provide for a relevant level of information security. Furthermore, he added that for the sake of improved force generation, pre-deployment activities, and overall operational effi-

ciency, steps need to be taken to develop new and improve existing standards, both technical and methodological, as well as relevant procedures. He contended that efficiency could further be boosted through further developing the use of inter-mission cooperation, including through the use of dedicated military reserve forces. Mobile reaction forces in regional arrangements would offer a higher degree of flexibility and sustainability of missions than is seen today. Niche capabilities and modern technologies applied in Peace Keeping Operations require new methods and approaches that need to be reflected in standards, pre-deployment training, and evaluation efforts. Mitigation could be addressed through mobile in-theater training support, addressing, for example, new threats or other dimensioning features of a specific mission.

“Niche capabilities and modern technologies applied in peace keeping operations require new methods and approaches.”

Claesson paid specific attention to the tough challenge of Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs), arguing that more energy should be invested in developing ideas and principles on Mobile Training Teams. Another point emphasized was the importance of ensuring that UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security is reflected in all peacekeeping activities. He argued that simply having an advisor is not enough, but that it is necessary to incorporate a gender perspective at all levels of a mission.

Peacebuilding: New Security Threats

Akiko Yamanaka



Akiko Yamanaka is Special Ambassador for Peacebuilding, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Akiko Yamanaka observed in her speech the emergence of new global issues such as piracy and natural disasters which can jeopardize peace and stability and which thus necessitate a new security framework based on a two-pronged approach: military preparation and diplomatic trust.

“Japan has a valuable role to play in peacebuilding efforts.”

Her presentation focused on the role of Japan in particular in terms of human security, preventive diplomacy and its increasing human resources devoted to peacebuilding. In thus doing, she noted how Japan can be a mediator and play a special role. For example, Japan has already contributed to peacekeeping operations in Cambodia and East Timor. A further contribution that Japan can make is in regard to providing high technology, such as water purification.

A particular focus of her presentation cen-

tered on Sino-Japanese relations and the need to boost cooperation between the two powers in countering new security threats. She identified three areas in particular in which this could be done. The first is through preventing natural disasters; in this regard she highlighted the assistance provided by both sides in the aftermath of the 2008 Sichuan earthquake and the 2011 tsunami. She also said that a wider network could be created in East Asia. The second framework is a new framework for maritime cooperation. For example, there has been good cooperation in combating piracy in the Gulf of Aden. Furthermore, both Japan and China can accelerate dialogue step by step in order to establish a new framework for the maritime region based on the rule of law at sea through “our wisdom and wide field of vision.” The third was environmental in scope, namely combating pollution. In this regard, she said that this was something that Japan (i.e. through technology) could assist China with.

“A new security framework [is needed] based on a two-pronged approach: military preparation and diplomatic trust.”

While concluding on Aristotle’s quote that it is more difficult to organize peace than war, she nonetheless noted that new security frameworks have the potential to spur on peacebuilding efforts and that Japan has a valuable role to play therein.

An Analysis on the Use of Force in UN Peacekeeping Operations

Xu Lin



Colonel Xu Lin works at the Department of Strategic Studies, AMS.

Colonel Xu Lin started his presentation by noting that while the use of force only in self-defense is an important principle in United Nations peacekeeping operations, the reality is that recourse to force is becoming increasingly obvious in situations other than self-defense. Thus the question of how and when to use force needs to be revisited.

“‘expanded defense’ by going beyond strictly self-defense [is] making peacekeeping more complex with sharper contradictions.”

Xu Lin firstly argued that peacekeeping operations need to have what he termed a “good political basis”; that is, conducting peacekeeping operations with the consent of parties in conflict and maintaining political neutrality. He illustrated the UN Somalia Mission as being a failure in this regard. Second, it is necessary to obey the principle of multilateralism rather than the self-interest of individual states—that missions should be composed of

international staffs under the command of the UN, financed by member states collectively. The third point was improving communication with populations in the mission area—an area where Xu argued Chinese peacekeepers had done much to build good relationships.

Xu went on to more closely examine the concept of self-defense. He argued that “expanded defense” by going beyond strictly self-defense was making peacekeeping more complex with sharper contradictions. Second, that the use of force should always be taken as a last resort for self-defense. And thirdly, force should always be used at a minimum level. However, Xu recognized situations where force may need to be used in situations not for self-defense, such as in restoring social order. This brings with it inherent dangers which, he argued, should be mitigated through the following measures: that force not for self-defense should be authorized by the United Nations; that actively using force should not be a recourse for peace enforcement; and third, that use of force should only be temporary and not be used instead of measures such as mediation, sanctions, and political pressure.

In spite of the above, Xu recognized that force was still indispensable to peacekeeping operations but that the indirect use of force, such as maintaining a credible deterrent and carrying out continuous reconnaissance, and non-lethal force, i.e. using non-lethal weapons, should be expanded so as to keep hostilities and potential escalation of conflict to a minimum.

Question & Answer Discussion

In highlighting the difficulties of cultural differences in peacekeeping operations (PKOs) and the gap between the public and peacekeepers, one participant asked whether it would not be better to introduce more “regional” forces. The speaker agreed that respecting cultural and religious differences necessitated having specific knowledge in the area of deployment. Highlighted as a fairly successful example was the attempts to build a subregional command in Africa, particularly in regard to Senegal, Ivory Coast, and Chad. A further question addressed the issue of UN capacity building in peacekeeping operations and whether it would be possible to strengthen UN intelligence-sharing. In response, the speaker struck a pessimistic note arguing that countries are notoriously reluctant to share intelligence. Nevertheless, it was argued that in PKOs access to joint intelligence is very important. While this is very difficult to achieve in practice, it was argued that processes could be improved and that reliance could be increased on the host nation for intelligence; but that would also necessitate properly evaluating such intelligence.

A further question posed was that of the relationship between armed forces and civilians, and whether mixed situations called for hybrid operations. In answering it was argued that missions were not very efficient if committed to many issues and if not sufficiently well-trained and prepared. Therefore, it was argued that emphasis should be placed on pre-deployment training as well as deploying inter-agency teams to assess requirements, such as water, education, and

infrastructure. Thus it was emphasized that the military by itself is unable to solve all problems.

A point of clarification concerned whether Japan’s constitution constrained its role in PKOs. This was affirmed to be the case with it limiting Japan’s contribution and capacity to act. However, it was pointed out that Japan wanted to do more to proactively promote peace. Questions were also asked of China’s role with a scenario being posed of China leading a PKO on the request of another government. It was countered, however, that the only way China could send troops is through the framework of the UN. Another participant pointed out that China is in fact the largest contributor to PKOs of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

SESSION FOUR

DISASTER RELIEF OPERATIONS



Strategic Context:

Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) operations can often be chaotic and slow due to a lack of coordination among the military forces and civilian aid agencies involved. But the first 48 hours are critical for saving lives. How do we develop collaborative guidelines to assist the planning of foreign military assistance in support of disaster response operations across the globe?

Opening Statement:

- Philip de Heer, Ambassador to Sweden, Netherlands

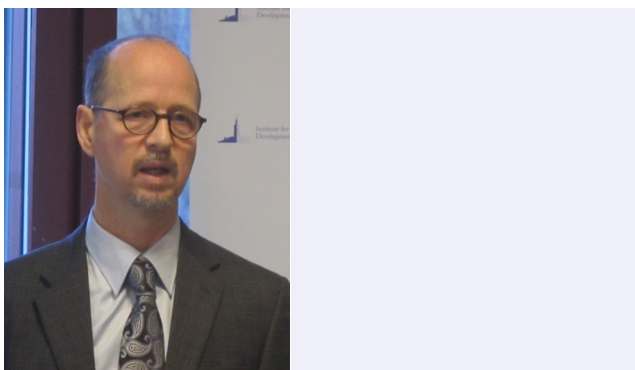
Keynote Presentations:

- Kjell Engelbrekt, Senior Lecturer, Swedish National Defense College
- Senior Colonel Zhao Xiaozhuo, Deputy Director of the Center on China-America Defense Relations
- Akiko Yamanaka, Special Ambassador for Peacebuilding, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

SESSION FOUR - DISASTER RELIEF OPERATIONS

Multinational Military Operations and Shared Situational Awareness: Two Contrasting Cases at Sea

Kjell Engelbrekt



Kjell Engelbrekt is Associate Professor at the Swedish National Defense College.

Kjell Engelbrekt introduced the concept of Shared Situational Awareness (SSA), defining it as the knowledge or understanding that a team, an organization, or several organizations engaged in responding to a situation should share. He argued that the concept—namely a lack of SSA—is particularly applicable to multinational military operations where differing traditions and perspectives among militaries may thwart effective communication, information sharing, and also lead to different assessments of a given situation. He also noted that in operations the stakes may at times be exceedingly high given that situations need to be correctly assessed and acted upon.

He went on to specifically apply the concept of SSA to naval operations by providing two contrasting examples: one being the shooting

down of Iranian Flight 655 by *USS Vincennes* in 1988; the second case involved the anti-piracy tactics employed by EUNAVFOR along the Somali coast in 2009-2013. In the first case he identified the sources of misperception which led to the shooting down of the civilian aircraft. These included ambiguity over the IFF codes associated with the unknown aircraft, a failure to establish communications between the *USS Vincennes* and IR655 (with no response to ten separate warning messages), as well as erroneous reporting within the ship's Combat Information Center. The situation was further exacerbated by fearful, expectation-driven interactions between trusted team members. In the second case, Engelbrekt argued that the partially overlapping multinational and national operations led to a patchwork of intelligence and information sharing on developing situations, patterns of behavior among pirates, rules of engagement, and so on. Furthermore, that a difference in strategic assessments generated different operational and tactical behavior among naval forces and private security companies. All of which served to hinder effective anti-piracy efforts. He argued that not until converging situational awareness became a central element of naval doctrine was greater success in counter-piracy efforts witnessed.

“While information has never been more abundant in quantity, there is no guarantee that misperceptions will not occur.”

Engelbrekt concluded by noting that the paradox today is that while information has never been more abundant in quantity, there is no

guarantee that misperceptions will not occur; and that a lack of knowledge or failure to communicate effectively will continue to exacerbate the problem of SSA.

Note: While not specifically dealing with disaster relief, Engelbrekt's presentation was of relevance for all sessions.

The PLA's Experience in Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief

Zhao Xiaozhuo



Senior Colonel Zhao Xiaozhuo is Deputy Director of the Center on China-America Defense Relations at the Academy of Military Science

Senior Colonel Zhao Xiaozhuo's presentation outlined the PLA's experience in humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR). In so doing, he started off by noting that China is one of the most vulnerable countries in the world in terms of natural disasters with frequent earthquakes and flooding disasters – a case in point being the 2008 Sichuan earthquake in which 110,000 servicemen participated in relief efforts. More recently, between 2011 and 2013, the PLA and Armed Police have contributed in total 370,000 service personnel (and many more from militias and reservists) in HADR efforts with 2.45 million people being evacuated.

With disasters becoming increasingly frequent, the PLA has become more and more involved in military operations other than war.

“China wants to be a responsible power and increase its capability in HADR missions.”

Zhao noted that whilst the PLA's capacity was relatively constrained in the past in HADR, this has now changed. He listed, for example, that there are now three different levels to coordinate earthquake relief efforts, headed by a commanding team. He also explained that China had established an International Search and Rescue Team based on the engineer regiment of the 38th Group Army. He further detailed that there are nine state-level teams to deal with disasters such as emergency flood response, maritime search and rescue, and repair of transportation and power facilities; and how at various levels military-civilian joint mechanisms have been instituted. In sum, therefore, China and the PLA is now much better-equipped to conduct HADR operations.

The last part of Senior Colonel's Zhao's presentation sought to answer the question of what the international community could expect from China in terms of HADR. He stated that China with its experience in this domain had much to offer. As an example, the PLA Navy's *Peace Ark* hospital ship has visited some 16 countries and provided medical care for 55,000 people. The PLA also dispatched 500 medical staff to Liberia and Sierra Leone in the wake of the Ebola virus outbreak. In concluding, he stated that China wants to be a responsible power and increase its capability in HADR missions and

that the international community could expect more efforts in this regard.

Two Handed Policy: Disaster Prevention and Mitigation

Akiko Yamanaka



Akiko Yamanaka is Special Ambassador for Peacebuilding at the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Akiko Yamanaka opened her presentation by first arguing that disaster prevention is based on the same concept of preventive diplomacy, whether it is based on natural- or human-induced disaster. She then went on to detail Japan's experience of natural disasters and how that it is very much in the Japanese people's mind-set to learn what to do and respond in the case of a natural disaster. This is further instilled in schools being part of the elementary school curriculum. In spite of all this, she argued that Japan has not been well-prepared in crisis prevention and management, especially in terms of nuclear accidents and terrorism. She then went on to detail a number of incidents in which existing procedures were insufficient, such as the Sarin Gas attack on the Tokyo underground in 1995, which necessitated a reform of various laws.

Her presentation paid particular attention to

the earthquake and tsunami of March 11, 2011. In spite of the existence of two warning systems, she argued that people had gotten into a false sense of security over the dangers, not least because of the defensive breakwater seawalls. She then moved on to the subsequent nuclear power station accident at Fukushima, detailing some of the crisis preparedness and management measures in place in the U.S.—lessons which Japan could learn from following the latter's Three Mile Island incident.

“Japan has not been well-prepared in crisis prevention and management in terms of nuclear accidents and terrorism.”

The last part of her presentation drew more on the lessons from the March 11 earthquake and tsunami. She argued that every relevant person in a certain position should and could do more to develop criteria for decision making, gather the necessary information, and provide guidance based on facts and forecasts. In particular, she argued the need for systematic preparation, management, and practice for crisis; immediate decision-making and leadership responsibility; and the development of expertise and specialists at all levels.

Question & Answer Discussion

The majority of questions and discussion focused on China's role in humanitarian and disaster relief (HADR). One question concerned responsibility for deciding if and when the PLA gets involved in an operation. It was replied that

it is part of a national response with the State Council taking the lead, under which exist various departments which take charge depending on the disaster. For example, the health department would take the lead in the case of an outbreak of an infectious disease. It was affirmed, moreover, that responses are joint military-civilian efforts. In answering another question, the presenter confirmed that a lot of equipment for disaster relief was already in place in areas of China especially prone to disaster. Still another question focused on the challenges China has experienced in HADR—to which it was answered: sufficient and suitable hardware and equipment, and the logistical task of organizing units efficiently and dispatching them within 48 hours. In responding to another question concerning long-term planning amid climate change, the presenter affirmed that there is an office in charge of scenarios; he further stressed that China is fully aware of the importance of pre-planning.
