Can the UN unite Ukraine?
Main Takeaways from Expert Report on Peacekeeping Options in Eastern Ukraine

Rasmussen Global commissioned a report by UN expert Richard Gowan to examine the make-up of a peacekeeping mission that could realistically bring about long-lasting peace in the Donbas. The report was published by the Hudson Institute. Key points include:

- A peace-keeping force will need a robust mandate and include 20,000 personnel; non-NATO European countries like Sweden, Finland or Austria could play important roles.
- The force would work as an enforcing mechanism to the Minsk Accords. Some political conditions alongside ceasefire would have to be fulfilled before its deployment; while others, notably local elections in the occupied regions, can only be delivered after full deployment.
- The civilian component of the force will be critical to deal with law and order issues and potential local tensions; a 2,000 to 4,000-strong police and civilian force will be needed to this end, with the EU potentially playing a key role in force generation. A Special Representative should be appointed to lead and coordinate the process.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

The report finds that a robust UN peacekeeping force could provide the Minsk Accords with an enforcing mechanism to break the current stalemate. Both Moscow and Kyiv will need to engage in confidence building measures before its deployment. Russia will need to keep local spoilers in line, enforce ceasefire and withdraw heavy weaponry. On its part, having already adopted a law on amnesty and special status for the Donbas, Kyiv will need to give further assurances to secessionists and make concrete promises regarding the region’s economic future. The authorities in the self-proclaimed republics would need to publicly accept peacekeepers. Without this political strategy, the mission will never be deployed.

THE MANDATE

The mission could either fall under direct UN command, or involve an independent military Multinational Force and UN-led police and civilian elements. Regardless, it will need a broad mandate that includes:

- Ensuring a long-lasting peace and a true cessation of hostilities and the armed conflict;
- Actively monitoring the 409-km international border;
- Supervising public order and the civilian dimensions of reintegration in the wake of elections and afterwards, maximizing the local population’s trust in the process;
- Enabling elections in the region to unlock progress on the Minsk Agreements.
MILITARY DIMENSION

To ensure a lasting peace such force would have to:

- Be large enough - up to 20,000 personnel including 5,000 deployed on the international border in order to watch over potential incursions.
- Be composed of non-NATO states that are acceptable both to Ukraine and Russia. This could include Belarus, Kazakhstan, Mongolia but also Austria, Finland or Sweden as well as a number of South American states. In addition, some NATO members which are perceived as friendly by Russia, such as Greece, could also be a part of the mission.
- Have a mandate of limited use of force to protect civilians and the peace process as well as deter spoilers.

POLITICAL DIMENSION

An international figure respected by all sides will need to act as a Special Representative of the UN Secretary General in order to broker compromises between the key stakeholders. To enable the Minsk-mandated local elections, the peacekeepers would need to:

- Create a secure environment for candidates of all valid parties to campaign before elections.
- Deter intimidation and electoral abuses on polling day itself.
- Ensure that the final results are credible and fair.

POLICE DIMENSION

The Kosovo and Eastern Slavonia experiences show that international military forces cannot maintain public order alone, and require police support. A peacekeeping mission in eastern Ukraine would need a considerable police force between 2,000 to 4,000 personnel, including riot squads, to monitor local security forces, respond to public disorder, and retrain local security personnel.

ECONOMIC DIMENSION

To address socio-economic issues, a mission would need to deploy 1) humanitarian agencies, 2) experts, lawyers and civilian outreach experts as well as c) public administration experts and mediators in order to work with local communities on post-conflict recovery and reintegration into Ukrainian state structures.

Given its long history of deploying police forces and rule of law operations, the EU could play a critical role in the civilian and police aspects of the mission as well as humanitarian aid provision.

Comparison of Major UN Missions (Personnel and Area)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Uniformed personnel</th>
<th>Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congo (MONUSCO)</td>
<td>18,571 (ongoing)</td>
<td>2,345,409 km²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosovo</td>
<td>40,000 (1999)</td>
<td>10,908 km²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Ukraine (hypothetical)</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>17,486 km²</td>
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About Rasmussen Global’s Ukraine initiative

Following Anders Fogh Rasmussen’s appointment as external adviser to the President of Ukraine, Petro Poroshenko, Rasmussen Global has initiated an ambitious project on Ukraine. The overall aim is to keep Ukraine on the international agenda while at the same time keeping reform on Kyiv’s agenda. It does so by providing strategic advice to the President and his government, all-the-while engaging with key decision and opinion makers in Western capitals to shape a better understanding of the reform efforts and challenges in Ukraine. For more information visit www.ukraineinitiative.info