Mar ello Papers

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Tcdng qh Cqpvgpvu

Introduction Icp Pctgpvgcw

1

1 What Can a Small State Do? The Importance of Political Investment kp vj g Upkvg f N $\,$ g

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Ip õWjcv Ccp c Socm Svevg Dq? Tjg Iorqtvcpeg qh Pqnkvkecn Ipxguvogpv kp vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu cpf Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Lcy,ö Cctqnkpg Dwpvqp nqqmu cv vjg ejcnngpigu hcekpi vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu, gurgekcm{ vjg ncem qh eqnncdqtcvkqp cpf vjg xctkqwu dnqemkpi ogejcpkuou wugf d{ nctig cpf uocm uvcvgu vq cfxcpeg vjgkt qyp pcvkqpcn kpvgtguvu vq vjg fgvtkogpv qh vjg kfgcn qh kpvgtpcvkqpcnkuo vjcv jcu dggp cv vjg jgctv qh vjku kpuvkvwvkqp ukpeg kvu hqwpfcvkqp. Ip nki jv qh vjku, ujg cpcn{|gu vjg tgegpv ecug qh uocnn(gt) uvcvgu qh vjg Gnqdcn Nqtvj, uwej cu Ccpcfc, yjkej, kp vjg eqpvgzv qh vjg Iutcgnk oknkvct{ qrgtcvkqpu kp Gc|c ukpeg Oevqdgt 2023, jcxg pqv cnyc{u ujqyp uvtqpi uqnkfctkv{ ykvj vjg fgekukqpu vcmgp cv vjg UN Ggpgtcn Auugodn{ eqpfgopkpi Iutcgn. Sjg eqpukfgtu vjcv uqog jcxg fqpg uq kp qtfgt pqv vq dtgcm vjgkt uvtcvgike eqookvogpv vq vjg Upkvgf Svcvgu cpf eqpvkpwgf hqt vjku tgcuqp vq uvcpf d{ vjg Iutcgnk tgikog. Tjgug cetions run counter to the UN Charter and international justice, and conceptual-n{ eqpuvkvwvg c oclqt eqnngevkxg cevkqp rtqdngo. Ipuvgcf qh yqtmkpi uqngn{ vq fghgpf vjgkt qyp p #

Yjcv Ccp c Socnn Svcvg Dq? Tjg Iorqtvcpeg qh Pqnkvkecn Ipxguvogpv kp vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu cpf Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Lcy

Ip vjg napi jkuvqt{ ah inqdcn rankvkeu ô cpf gxgp vjg oqfgtp uvcvg ô 80 {gctu ku c xgt{ ujqtv vkog. Ip 2025, vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu yknn vwtp 80 {gctu qnf. Wjkng vjgtg ku c vgpfgpe{ vq ugg vjg yqtnf cu kv ku cpf gzrgev kpuvkvwvkqpu cpf hqt ou qh qtfgt vq dg gvgtpcn, vjg{ ctg dqvj ł wkf cpf rtgectkqwu. Tjg{ tgswktg kpxguv ogpv cpf uwrrqtv htqo uvcvgu, yjkej ku kpfggf c eqnngevkxg cevkqp rtqdngo. Oxgt kvu nkhgvkog, vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu jcu dggp ogv ykvj o{tkcf ejcnngpigu cpf gzrgtkgpegf c yczkpi cpf ycpkpi qh eqqrgtcvkqp cpf fgcfnqem. Ivu ogodgtujkr itgy uweeguukxgn{ vjtqwij vjg fgecfgu qh fgeqnqpk|cvkqp cpf vjgp cickp cv vjg gpf qh vjg Cqnf Wct. Iv ku pqy c nqpi yc{ cyc{ htqo kvu qtkikpu cu c 51-ogodgt qticpk|cvkqp, {gv kvu ejcnngpigu tgockp gxgt uq ukoknct, htqo kvu uvtwevwtg vq kvu rqnkvkeu vq kvu eqpłkevu qxgt vjg hwvwtg qh jwocpkv{.

Au Ftcpekpg $MeKgp \mid kg \ y \ tkvgu$, vjg hqwpfcvkqp qh vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu ycu eqpegkxgf ctqwpf $\~ovyq$ o ckp gng o gpvu qh rgceg: pcvkqpcn ugewtkv{ cpf kpfkxkf-wcn ygnn-dgkpi. $\"o^1$

jcu uvtwi ingf cickpuv ocp{ qffu, qxgteqokpi gcej korcuug ykvj xct{kpi ngx-gnu qh uweeguu, dwv uvknn ockpvckpkpi c dcuke dw{-kp htqo c oclqtkv{ qh ogodgtu. Hqygxgt, kp 2024, cu owej qh vjg yqtnf ycvejgu cp Iutcgnk cuucwnv qp Gc|c, Upkvgf Ncvkqpu (UN) ngcfgtujkr ku uqwpfkpi vjg cncto qp dqvj vjg fgxcuvcvkpi jwocp eqpugswgpegu cpf kvu qyp kpuvkvwvkqpcn fguvtwevkqp.³

fqkpi uq, I ocmg engct vjcv vjg u ocmn uvcvgu I fkuewuu ctg uvtqpigt vqigvjgt cpf ujqwnf yqtm vqyctfu c fkrnqocvke wpkvgf xqkeg vjcv uwrrqtvu vjg UNøu ngikvkmacy.

Wjkng ocp{ kp Ipvgtpevkqpen Rgnevkqpu jexg fkuokuugf uoenn uvevgu eu grkrjgpq o gpcn, vjg{ ctg, kp hcev, d{ o quv fgŁpkvkqpu, vjg o clqtkv{ qh vjg y qtn føu 193 UN ogodgtu. Hqygxgt, vjgtg ctg fkhhgtgpv yc{u vq qrgtcvkqpcnk|g itqwrkpiu qh vjgug uvcvgu. Gnqdcn rqnkvkeu ujqwnf pqv dg tgfwegf vq kvu o quv rq y gthwn uvcvgu cpf kp vjg UN eqpvgzv, vjgtg ku owej vq ngctp d{ nqqmkpi qwvukfg vjg Sgewtkv{ Cqwpeknou Łxg rgtocpgpv ogodgtu (P5). Fqnnqykpi Tqo Lqpi, I wpfgtuvcpf u o cnn uvcvgu kp c tgncvkqpcn y c {.6 Ip v j ku ecug, k o c i kpkp i uvcvgu uqngn{ qp o cvgtken epf swepvkLedng vgtou ku wpjgnrhwn. Revjgt, eqpvgzvu yjgtg cu{oogvt{ ku rtgugpv ku vjg fgłpkpi dcug qh vjg eqpegrv qh vjg õu o cnnö uvcvg. Fqt gzc o rng, Lqpi kpfkecvgu vjcv Ngy \gcncpf, eqorctgf vq kvu PcekŁe Iuncpf pgkijdqwtu ku kpfggf c nctigt uvcvg. Hqygxgt, eqorctgf vq kvu rggtu kp vjg Fkxg E{gu qt kvu Wguvgtp Ewtqrg cpf Ovjgtu Gtqwr rggtu cv vjg UN, kv ku c u o cm uvcvg. Tjwu, eqpvgzv o cvvgtu y jgp fkuewuukpi u o cnn uvcvgu. Sk o knctn {, o cp{ y qwnf ctiwg v j cv c u o cm uvcvg; chvgt cm, Ccpcfc ku hc o qwun{ Łgtegn{ rtqwf qh vjg kfgc qh dgkpi c õ o kf fng rq y gt.ö W j kng v j ku o c { dg v twg kp uq o g ugpugu, Cepe fe ku cnuq u o cnn y kvjkp o cp{ qh kvu rggt i tqwru. Iv ku dqvj htq o cp geqpq o ke cpf rqrwncvkqp rqkpv qh xkgy vjg u o cnnguv G7 uvcvg. B{ rqrwncvkqp, kv ku cnuq vjg vjktf-uocnnguv G20 uvcvg. Wjkng kv ku kp ocp{ yc{u a small state, in most qh vjg uqekcn eqpvgzvu kp yjkej kv kpvgtcevu ykvj rggtu, kv ku tgncvkxgn{ u o cnngt kp ocp{ yc{u._Hkgtctej{ ku gxgt{yjgtg kp inqdcn rqnkvkeu, eqpvkpwcnn{ ocfg cpf

Tq hwtvjgt ujcrg vjg cpcn {uku hqt vjgug u o cnn uvcvgu, I pqy vwtp vq vjg pcvwtg qh vjg Upkvgf Nevkqpu kvughh. Tjg Upkvgf Nevkqpu ku vjg kpuvkvwvkqpen gzrtguukqp qh v y gpvkgv j egpvwt { nkdgtcn kpvgtpcvkqpcnku o . Ivu c o dkvkqwu r tkpekrngu uqw i j v vq ugtxg vjg rwtrqugu fguetkdgf d{ MeKgp|kg, cu ekvgf kp vjg kpvtqfwevkqp qh vjku ejcrvgt. Iv ycu hqewugf qp wpkxgtucn gswcnkv{ qh rgqrngu, uqxgtgkip gswcnkv{, eqgzkuvgpeg, fgoqetce{, rgceg, jwocp tkijvu, lwuvkeg, cpf eqqrgtcvkqp. Hqygxgt, vjku jcu eqog ykvj vyq rtqdngou. Fktuv, cu Mctm Mc | qygt cpf qvjgt jkutorians have pointed out, the United Nations also served to preserve imperial jkgtctej{ cpf fqokpcvkqp, gzvgpfkpi vjg tgcej qh korgtkcnkuo kp ocp{ yc{u cpf eqpvtcfkevkpi vjg kfgc qh wpkxgtucnku o htq o vjg uvctv. 16 Second, and relatedn {, cu Lqtc Vkqnc y tkvgu, vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpuø wpkxgtucnku o jcu dggp c õhenug rtq o kug;ö kp qvjgt yqtfu, cu qticpk | cvkqpu, kpuvkvwvkqpu, qt qvjgt kpuvtw o gpvu qh inqdcn iqxgtpcpeg dgeq o g o qtg kpenwukxg kp vgt o u qh uqxgtgk i p gswcnkv {, v j g { ctg qhvgp kpetgcukpin{ uvtcvkŁgf qt jkgtctejkecn. 17 Ip vjku ecug õTjg gzvgpukqp qh qpg hqto qh gswcnkv{ eqogu cv vjg rtkeg qh cpqvjgt kpgswcnkv{.ö¹⁸ Oxgt vkog, vjtqwij vjg rtqeguu qh fgeqnqpk|cvkqp, vjg UN gzrcpfgf, dwv kv fkf pqv pgeguuctkn { dgeq o g o qtg gswcn. Tjku ku dqvj vjtqwi j Vkqncøu cti w o gpv cdqwv enquwtg dwv cnuq vjg rgtxcukxgpguu qh korgtken rqygt epf vjg tgnevgf rtgugtxevkqp qh egtvckp rtkxkngigu hqt vjg P5. Iorgtkcn rqygt jcu ujkhvgf qxgt fgecfgu, htqo Ewtqrg vq A o gtkec, dwv kv jcu tg o ckpgf eqpuvcpv kp vjg yc{ vjcv kv dqvj ujcrgf vjg hqwpfcvkqp qh vjg qticpk | cvkqp vjtqwij vjg kpvgtvy kpkpi qh korgtkcnku o cpf nkdgtcnkuo, cpf vjg yc{ vjcv oclqt rqygtu, gurgekcnn{ vjg Upkvgf Svcvgu, jcxg eqpvkpwgf vq fqokpcvg vjg kpuvkvwvkqp. Au cp qticpk|cvkqp dcugf qp uqxgtgkip gswcnkv{ cpf nkdgtcn kpvgtpcvkqpcnkuo, kv htgswgpvn{ gorktkecnn{ fgoqpuvtcvgu vjg d{-fgukip curgevu qh nkdgtcnkuo, yjqug ockp eqorqpgpvu jcxg qpn{ dggp cxckncdng vq vjqug yjq swcnkh{ cu õekxknk | gfö qt hwnn{ jwocp. Exgp cu fgeqnqpkcvkqp cwg o rvgf vq dtkpi oqtg uqxgtgkip uvcvgu kpvq vjg hqnf qh vjg UN, korgtkcnku o tgockpgf, cpf pgy hqtou qh korgtkcn-ftkxgp kpgswcnkv{ fgxgnqrgf. Au Mctiqv Twfqt y tkvgu, vjg dwtgcwetcvke pcvwtg qh rgcegmggrkpi htq o vjg 1950u vq vjg 1970u vqqm qp ocp{ qh vjg ejctcevgtkuvkeu qh eqnqpkcn ocpcig ogpv rtcevkegu, kpjgtkvgf htqo ngcfkpi Ewtqrgcp eqnqpkcn rqygtu. 19

Ip ocp{ yc{u, vjg UNøu rtkpekrngu, cu qwvnkpgf kp vjg ejctvgt tgockp curktcvkqpcn hqt ocp{. Afqo Ggvcejgy fguetkdgu vjg yc{u kp yjkej mg{ ngcfgtu qh cpinqrjqpg Ahtkecp fgeqnqpk|cvkqp ygtg pqv lwuv uggmkpi ugnh-fgvgtokpcvkqp, dwv tcvjgt c pgy xkukqp qh kpvgtpcvkqpcn qtfgt cpf yqtnf-ocmkpi. Ip fqkpi uq, they used the tools of the United Nations and the principle of self-determina-

vkqp vq uwdxgtv eqnqpkcn jkgtctej { cpf uqxgtgkip kpgswcnkv {.20 While they did pqv uweeggf kp oqxkpi vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu vqyctfu vjg wpkxgtucnkv { qh kvu nkdgtcn enck ou, vjg { fkf ejcpig kvu f {pc okeu ukipkŁecpvn {. Ggvcejgyøu yqtm, kp eqodkpcvkqp ykvj vjqug nkmg Vkqnc cpf Mc | qygt, fg oqpuvtcvgu jqy vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu cpf kvu curktcvkqpu vq wpkxgtucn tkijvu hqt kpfkxkfwcnu cpf pcvkqpu ycu uvknn jkgtctejkecn, gzenwukxg, cpf wpgswcn. Tjku ku pqv wpkswg vq vjg Upkvgf

cwcem kp Gc|c, ejcpig vq vjg uvtwevwtg qh vjg UN ku kpetgcukpin{ ko rquukdng. Wkvj vyq P5 ogodgtu kp hcxqwt qh Cjctvgt xkqncvkqpu, Cjctvgt cogpf ogpvu ctg qpn{ $nkmgn{kp c jgnn-htgg|gu-qxgt uegpctkq.}$

A o gtkecp uwrrqtv hqt Iutcgnk xkqngpeg cnuq fg o qpuvtcvgu c eqpvkpwgf rqnke{ qh gzegrvkqpcnku o cpf korwpkv{ hqt vjg Upkvgf Svcvgu cpf kvu cnnkgu (cu Rwuukc also offers parallel policy). This completely undermines the purpose of the Upkvgf Ncvkqpu cpf kvu cdknkv { vq oggv kvu ocpfcvg. Ip ocp { yc {u, vjg qtkikpcn ukpu qh nkdgtcn kpvgtpcvkqpcnku o ctg ocfg gxgt engctgt ô gswcnkv{ ku qpn{ for some, and rules only apply to others. This moment of crisis and blatant wpkncvgtcn cvvcemu qp vjg qticpk|cvkqp ctg ecnnkpi kpvq swguvkqp kvu xgt{ uwtxkxal. What does this mean for small(er) states? Small(er) states, that compete hqt uvcvwu ykvjkp vjg UN, jcxg nqpi cempqyngfigf vjcv vjg hwpevkqpkpi qh vjg qticpk | cvkqp ku kp vjgkt kpvgtguv cpf vjcv ownvkncvgtcnku o ku guugpvkcn hqt vjgkt cdknkv{ vq vjtkxg cpf vjgkt cdknkv{ vq pcxki cvg jkgtctejkecn tgncvkqpu. Exgp hqt uqecnngf õokffng rqygtu,ö vjku jcu jgnf vtwg. Au Rqdgtv Cqz ytqvg cv vjg gpf qh vjg Cqnf Wct, õIp oqfgtp vkogu, vjg okffng-rqygt tqng í jcu dggp nkpmgf vq vjg fgxgnqrogpv qh kpvgtpcvkqpcn qticpk|cvkqp. Ipvgtpcvkqpcn qticpk|cvkqp ku c rtqeguu, pqv c Łpcnkv{, cpf kpvgtpcvkqpcn nc y ku qpg qh kvu o quv k o rqtvcpv rtqfwevu. Tjg okffng rqygtøu kpvgtguv ku vq uwrrqtv vjku rtqeguu.ö²³ Exgp Lguvgt B. Pgctuqp, hqtogt rtkog okpkuvgt qh Ccpcfc, ucy c hwpevkqpkpi Upkvgf Ncvkqpu pqv cu kfgcnkuvke dwv uqogvjkpi vjcv ycu korgthgev cpf łcygf dwv eqwnf pqv dg cdcpfqpgf, cu kv y cu kp Ccpcfcøu kpvgtguv hqt vjg qticpk|cvkqp vq uweeggf cpf pqv ngcxg vjg yqtnf cv vjg yjkou qh i tgcv rqygtu.24

Ip tgurqpug vq Iutegnk euuewnv qp Gc | c, u o cm(gt) uvevgu j cxg guugpvkcnn{ vemgp hqwt revju. Fktuv, uq o g j cxg tgockpgf tgncvkxgn{ ukngpv qp vjg yjqng. Sgeqpf, o cp{ (dwv pqv cnn) uvevgu kp vjg Gnqden Sqwvj, pqvedn{ Sqwvj Ahtkee, j cxg hqewugf qp vemkpi qt uwrrqtvkpi eqpetgvg cevkqp vjev wugu vjg o gej cpku o u qh vjg UN vqyetfu rgeeg cpf vqyetfu lwuvkeg cpf gswenkv{ hqt Penguvkpkcpu. Tjku kpenwfgu Sqwvj Ahtkeeøu qpiqkpi ecug cickpuv Iutegn cv vjg Ipvgtpcvkqpen Cqwtv qh Jwuvkeg qp vjg swguvkqp qh igpqekfg. Tjku ku pqv vjg Ltuv vk o g vj cv c eqwpvt{ ykvj tgncvkxg korwpkv{ jcu dggp vemgp vq vjku Cqwtv. Ip vjg 1980u, Nkeetci wc yqp kvu ecug cickpuv vjg Upkvgf Svevgu, cpf kv eti wedn{ ycu dqvj c ykp hqt vjg Gnqden Sqwvj dwv enuq c rqukvkxg o qxg vqyetfu gswenkv{ kp vjg hwpevkqpkpi qh vjg Upkvgf Nevkqpu u{uvgo. Tjg tgockpkpi vyq revju jexg dggp vemgp d{ vjg

Nevkqpu cpf kvu rtkpekrngu cpf uwrrqtv vjgkt crrnkecdknkv{ vq Penguvkpkepu, yjq have surely had the least access to such principles in the lifetime of the UN.²⁶ Ovjgtu, kpenwfkpi Ccpcfc, jcxg ejqugp vq uvcpf oqtg enqugn{ ykvj vjg Upkvgf Svevgu epf Iutegn, oemkpi oevgtken epf tjgvqtkeen oqxgu vq gkvjgt qwvtkijv wpfgt o kpg vjg Upkvgf Nevkqpu qt dgjexg kp yc{u uq eqpxqnwvgf cpf eqpvtcfkevqt{ vjev kv ku enget vjev vjgtg ku, ev vjg xgt{ ngeuv, e ujqtv-ukijvgf fkutgietf hqt kv. Fqt Ccpcfc, vjku jcu kpenwfgf xqvkpi cickpuv (vjqwij pqv gzenwukxgn{) ocp{ tguqnwvkqpu qp vjg ewttgpv eqpłkev kp Gc | c kp vjg UN Ggpgtcn Auug o dn {, ngcxkpi kv tgncvkxgn{ kuqncvgf cnqpi ykvj vjg Upkvgf Svcvgu. Mqtgqxgt, kv jcuvkn{ uwurgpfgf kvu hwpfkpi vq vjg UN Rgnkgh Wqtmu Aigpe{ (UNRWA) ô dghqtg tgkpuvcvkpi kv kp Mctej 2024 ô hqnnqykpi knn-uwduvcpvkcvgf cnngicvkqpu qh gornq{ggu eqnncdqtcvkpi ykvj Hcocu, ncvgt cfftguugf kp vjg UNøu Cqnqppc Rgrqtv, yjkej ecnngf hqt eqpvkpwgf kpxguv o gpv kp UNRWA.²⁷ Mgcp y jkng, cu c eqwpvgt-gzc o rng, Nqtyc{, Itgncpf, cpf Srckp (coqpi qvjgtu) eqpvkpwgf vjgkt hwpfkpi qh UNWRA vq Łnn vjg xcewwo nghv d{ qvjgtu cpf eqpvkpwgf kp 2024 vq uwrrqtv c xctkgv{ qh rgceg rtqrqucnu cpf hwpfkpi uejgogu hqt Pcnguvkpkcp tghwiggu cpf tgukfgpvu qh Gc | c cpf vjg Wguv Bcpm. Srckp jcu rtqxkfgf uk o knet uwrrqtv cu y gnn cu ngcfkpi ecnnu hqt c egcugŁtg ykvjkp vjg EU.²⁸

Lqqmkpi vq vjg Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Cqwtv qh Jwuvkeg urgekŁecm{, vyq ecugu jcxg dggp qpiqkpi kp 2024 vjcv tgswktg cwgpvkqp. Tjg Łtuv ku Sqwvj Ahtkecøu ecug qp vjg swguvkqp qh igpqekfg, cu ogpvkqpgf cdqxg. Ipkvkcm{, uvcvgu uwej cu Ccpcfc ygtg fku okuukxg qh vjg ecug, dwv pqv cm qh kvu rggtu ygtg. WEOG uvcvgu jcxg jcf okzgf tgurqpugu vq vjg kpkvkcn rtqxkukqpcn ogcuwtgu qh Jcpwct{ 2024, qhvgp hqmqykpi vjg fkxkfg fguetkdgf cdqxg. Tjtqwijqwv 2024, nkvvng uwduvcpvkxg ejcpig jcu vcmgp rnceg, fgurkvg urgekŁe uwrrqtv htq o eqwpvtkgu uwej cu Ccpcfc hqt vjg Cqwtvøu Mc{ 2024 qtfgt vq jcnv cp qhhgpukxg qp Rchcj (yjkej ycu pqv heeded).²⁹

Hqygxgt, vjg ugeqpf ecug jcu tgcejgf c oqtg eqpetgvg eqpenwukqp vjcv jcu dggp hqnnqygf d{ c Ggpgtcn Auug odn{ tguqnwvkqp cpf xqvg. Fqt cpcn{vkecn rwt-rqugu, vjku ecug cnnqyu qdugtxgtu vq ugg urgekŁe rqnke{ rqukvkqpu kp vjg eqpvgzv qh vjg yct qwvukfg qh lwuv rwdnke uvcvg ogpvu. Iv ku jgtg vjcv yg ecp ugg vjg fkhhgtgpv rcvju engctn{ qp qhŁekcn tgeqtfu kp vgt ou qh ICJ fgekukqpu. Tjku ugeqpf ecug eqxgtu vjg kuuwg qh vjg ngicn eqpugswgpegu qh Iutcgnk rqnkekgu cpf rtcevkegu kp vjg Oeewrkgf Pcnguvkpkcp Tgttkvqt{, eqxgtkpi o{tkcf uwdlgevu qp vjg rquv-1967 Iutcgnk qeewrcvkqp. Ip Jwn{ 2024, vjg ICJ kuuwgf cp cfxkuqt{ qrkpkqp fgenctkpi that:

Iutcgnøu qeewrcvkqp qh vjg Gc|c uvtkr cpf vjg Wguv Bcpm, kpenwfkpi Ecuv Jgtwucngo, ku wpnc yhwn, cnqpi ykvj vjg cuuqekcvgf ugvvng o gpv tgik og, cppgzcvkqp cpf wug qh pcvwtcn tguqwtegu. Tjg Cqwtv cffgf vjcv Iutcgnøu ngikuncvkqp cpf o gcuwtgu xkqncvg vjg kpvgtpcvkqpcn rtqjkdkvkqp qp tcekcn ugitgicvkqp cpf crctvjgkf. Tjg ICJ mandated Israel to end its occupation, dismantle its settlements, provide full reparations to Palestinian victims and facilitate the return of displaced people. 30

Ip Sgrvgodgt 2024, vjg Ggpgtcn Auugodn{ cfqrvgf c tguqnwvkqp (A/Rgu/ES-10/24) chŁtokpi vjg Cqwtwu fgekukqp cpf fgocpfkpi cevkqp qp kv, yjkej kpenwfgu c eqpetgvg gpf vq vjg qeewrcvkqp ykvjkp qpg {gct cpf eqornkcpeg ykvj dqvj vjku Afxkuqt{ Orkpkqp and vjg rtqxkukqpcn ogcuwtgu kp Sqwvj Ahtkecøu case. Wkvjkp vjg WEOG rggt itqwr, vjg fkxkukqp kp xqvkpi ycu engct, tgłgevkpi gctnkgt vtgpfu. Bgnikwo, Fkpncpf, Itgncpf, Ngy \gcncpf, Nqtyc{, Pqtvwicn, cpf Srckp xqvgf kp hcxqwt qh vjg tguqnwvkqp. Awuvtcnkc, Ccpcfc, Dgpoctm, vjg Ngvjgtncpfu, cpf Sygfgp cduvckpgf. While they did not join the United States

qh kpuvkvwvkqpu cpf qticpk|cvkqpu. Tjku ku eqpukuvgpv ykvj cp wpfgtuvcpfkpi qh status as social membership rather than simply material attributes. Status as ogodgtujkr cpf cu c uqekcn iqqf fgrgpfu qp vjg gzkuvgpeg qh etgfkdng uqekcn urcegu. Dgvtcevkpi htqo vjcv etgfkdknkv{ (cpf hwpevkqpcnkv{) ecp htcevwtg vjg uqekcn tgncvkqpu vjcv ctg eq-eqpuvkvwvkxg ykvj inqdcn rqnkvkeu kvugnh. Ezcorngu qh uvcvwu eqorgvkvkqpu hqt uocnn(gt) uvcvgu kpenwfg ecorckipu hqt ugcvu qp vjg UN Sgewtkv{ Cqwpekn qt Hwocp Rkijvu Cqwpekn, rctvkekrcvkqp kp rctvkewnct uwuvckpcdng fgxgnqrogpv kpkvkcvkxgu, qt kpenwukqp kp rgceg rtqeguugu qt pgiqvkcvkqpu.

htq o vjcv kfgqnqi kecn uvcpfrqkpv, kp ocp{ yc{u $\~{o}$ ocmgu vjg yqtnf jcpi vqigvj-gt. $\~{o}$ ³⁹ Wjcv vjku ogcpu ku vjcv vjg rwtuwkv qh uvcvwu fgrgpfu qp vjg hwpevkqpkpi qh kpvgtpcvkqpcn qticpk|cvkqpu. Iv ku kp vjg kpvgtguv qh uvcvgu nkmg Ccpcfc qt Awuvtc-nkc vq wrjqnf vjg pqt ou, kpuvkvwvkqpu, nc yu, cpf twngu qh vjg UN cpf uwdugswgpv-

vkqpcn qtfgt, vjg pgeguukv{ qh vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu hqt vjgkt qyp kpvgtguvu ecppqv dg qxgtuvcvgf. Tjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu fqgu pqv lwuv itcpv rctvkewnct tkijvu cpf rtkxkngigu, dwv kv ku vjg uqekcn hcdtke ykvjkp yjkej owej qh inqdcn rqnkvkeu cpf kvu mg{ cevkxkvkgu vcmg rnceg.

Opg qh vjgug mg{ cevkxkvkgu ku vjg rwtuwkv qh uvcvwu (cpf tgeqipkvkqp). Tjku ku qpn{ qpg gzc o rng, dwv kv ku c eqtg uvcvg uqekcn cevkxkv{ (cpf mg{ eqpegrv kp vjg Lgnf qh kpvgtpcvkqpcn tgncvkqpu) vjcv hqt u o cnn(gt) uvcvgu, ykvjkp vjg ewttgpv kpvgtnational order, entirely relies on multilateralism and the social landscape created and populated by the United Nations. With a decline of the United Nations, states that rely on it for such social relations are also threatened. When states cevkxgn{ eqpvtkdwvg vq vjku fgenkpg, vjg{ ctg wpfgt o kpkpi vjgkt qyp kpvgtguvu, c rtk o ct{ qpg qh y jkej ku uvcvwu, cpf vjgkt qyp etgfkdknkv{. Tjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu

kpxguvkpi kp vjg qticpk|cvkqp, vjgug uvcvgu eqwnf ocmg c ukipkŁecpv fkhhgtgpeg kp Łijvkpi dcem cickpuv gtqukqp qh vjg UN u{uvgo d{ yqtmkpi vqigvjgt vq rqnkvkecnn{ kpxguv kp rtqvgevkpi kvu ngikvkoce{. Wqtmkpi vqigvjgt tcvjgt vjcp crctv is in their best interest.

- 1. Ftcpekpg MeKgp | kg, Rgdwknfkpi vjg Pquv-Yct Otfgt: Pgceg, Sgewtkv{ cpf vjg UN-S{uvgo, Ngy Arrtqcejgu vq Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Hkuvqt{ (Lqpfqp Ngy [qtm Ozhqtf Ngy Dgnjk S{fpg{: Bnqqoudwt{ Aecfgoke, 2023), 4.
- 2. MeKgp | kg, 4.
- 3. Apvqpkq Gwvgttgu, -Ip Tqfc{øu Ttqwdngf Wqtnf, Bwknfkpi Pgceg õHwocpkv{øu Gtgcvguv Rgurqpukdknkv{ö, Sgetgvct{-Ggpgtcn Svtguugu, Owvnkpkpi Oticpk|cvkqpøu Ptkqtkvkgu hqt 2024 (SG/SM/22127)ø, 7 Fgdtwct{ 2024, jwru://rtguu.wp.qti/gp/2024/uiuo22127.fqe.jvo.
- 4. Fckucn Dgxlk, -Umtckpg, Gc|c, cpf vjg Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Otfgtø(Qwkpe{ Ipuvkvwvg hqt Rgurqpukdng Svcvgetchv, 6 Fgdtwct{ 2024), jvvru://swkpe{kpuv.qti/tgugctej/wmtckpg-ic|c-cpf-vjg-kpvgtpcvkqpcn-qtfgt/.
- Afco Cjcrpkem, Ccpcfc qp vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu Sgewtkv Cqwpekn: A Socnn Pqygt qp c Lctig Svcig (Vcpeqwxgt, BC: Upkxgtukv qh Btkvkuj Cqnwodkc Ptguu, 2019), 4.
- 7. Lqpi, 5.
- 8. Fqt oqtg qp jkgtctej {, ugg: A{ g \ctcmqn, gf., Hkgtctejkgu kp Yqtnf Pqnkvkeu, Cc odtkfig Svwfkgu kp Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Rgncvkqpu (Cc odtkfig: Cc odtkfig Upkxgtukv{ Press, 2017), jwru://fqk.qti/10.1017/9781108241588.002.
- 9. Sgg, hqt gzc o rng: Nkgnu Ncignjwu Sejkc cpf Ong Jceqd Sgpfkpi, ÷Svcvwu cpf Sqxgtgkip Eswcnkv{ø, kp S o cnn Svcvgu cpf Svcvwu Sggmkpi: Nqt y c{øu Qwguv hqt Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Svcpfkpi, gf. Bgplc o kp fg Cctxcnjq cpf Ngw o cpp, Ixgt B., 1uv gf. (Rqwvngfig, 2014), 73685, jwru://fqk.qti/10.4324/9781315758817.
- Mctkpc G. Dwswg, :Rgeqipk|kpi Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Svcvwu: A Rgncvkqpcn Arrtqcejø, Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Svwfkgu Qwctvgtnf 62, pq. 3 (1 Sgrvg o dgt 2018): 577692, https://fgk.qti/10.1093/kus/us (001.
- 11. Dwswg, 577.
- 12. T. V. Pewn, Dgdqtej Wgnej Letuqp, cpf Wknnke o Cwtvku Wqjnhqtvj, gfu., Svevwu kp Yqtnf Pqnkvkeu (Ngy [qtm: Ccodtkfig Upkxgtukv Ptguu, 2014), 7.
- 13. Vkpegpv Pqwnkqv, ::Mwnvkncvgtcnku o cu cp Epf kp Ivugnhø, *Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Svwfkgu Pgt*-12, no. 1 (February 2011): 22, jvvru://fqk.qti/10/e27|ty.
- 14. Sejkc cpf Sgpfkpi, ÷Svcvwu cpf Sqxgtgkip Eswcnkv {ø; Ixgt B. Ngw o cpp cpf

- Bgplcokp fg Cetxenjq, gfu., Soem Svevgu epf Svevwu Sggmkpi: Nqtye{øu Qwguv hqt Ipvgtpevkqpen Svepfkpi, Ngy Ipvgtpevkqpen Rgnevkqpu (Lqpfqp; Ngy [qtm, N[: Rqwvngfig, 2014).
- Cetqnkpg Dwpvqp, ÷Lkdgten Ipvgtpevkqpenku o øu Cjgujktg Cev: Iorgtkenku o, Svevwu, cpf vjg Upkvgf Nevkqpu Sgewtkv { Cqwpeknø (Ovvcyc, Upkxgtukv { qh Ovvcyc, 2022), 47.
- 16. Mctm Mc | qygt, Nq Epej cpvgf Pcnceg: Tjg Epf qh Eo rktg cpf vjg Ifgqnqikecn Otkikpu qh vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).
- 17. Lqtc Appg Vkqnc, Tjg Cnquwtg qh vjg Ipvgtpcvkqpcn S{uvgo: Hqy Ipuvkvwvkqpu Ctgcvg Pqnkvkecn Eswcnkvkgu cpf Hkgtctejkgu, (Cc o dtkf i g Upkxgtukv Ptguu, 2020), jvru://fqk.qti/10.1017/9781108612562.
- 18. Vkgnc, 27.

Mctiqv	Ng ~ guHkncdw		Ojg Uwn	`uwtpkqpı	iqh Eunq i kvnk	uo, S: 9+6	5-:9)[q
						_	
		_					
	-						
ÃIOM DP	À E O S U S TW						
						_	

- 28. Ancufckt Sqwuuk, ÷Wjkej Cqwpvtkgu Atg Svkm Fwpfkpi UNRWA cokf Iutcgnøu Wct qp Gc|c?ø, 17 Fgdtwct{ 2024, jwru://y y y.cnlc|ggtc.eqo/pgyu/2024/2/17/y jkej-eqwpvtkgu-ctg-uvknn-hwpfkpi-wptyc; Bctdgt, ÷Gc|c Wct Aikvcvgu c Dkxkfgf Ewtqrgø.
- 29. Dettgp Mclqt, ÷Ttwfgew Sc{u Iutegn Nggfu vq Fqnnq y ICJ Rwnkpi cpf Hcnv Orgtcvkqpu kp Rchcjø, CBC Ngyu, 24 Mc{ 2024, jwru://y y y.ede.ec/pgyu/rqnkvkeu/trudeau-icj-decision-rafah-1.7214231; ÷Swooct{ qh ICJøu Otfgt qh 24 Mc{ 2024 ô Rgswguv hqt vjg MqfkŁecvkqp qh vjg Otfgt qh 28 Mctej 2024 ô Arrnkecvkqp qh vjg Cqpxgpvkqp qp vjg Ptgxgpvkqp cpf Pwpkuj ogpv qh vjg Ctkog qh Ggpqekfg kp vjg Gc|c Svtkr (Sqwvj Ahtkec x. Iutegn)ø, Upkvgf Ncvkqpu: Tjg Qwguvkqp qh Palestine, 24 May 2024, jwru://y y y.wp.qti/wpkurcn/fqewogpv/uwooct{-qh-ke-js-order-24may24/; Mclqt, ÷Ttwfgcw Sc{u Iutegn Nggfu vq Fqnnqy ICJ Rwnkpi cpf Hcnv Orgtevkqpu kp Rchcjø.
- 30. ÷Ezrgtvu Hckn ICJ Dgenctcvkqp qp Inngicnkv{ qh Iutcgnøu Ptgugpeg kp vjg Oeewrkgf Pcnguvkpkcp Tgttkvqt{ cu õHkuvqtkeö hqt Pcnguvkpkcpu cpf Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Lcyø, Upkvgf Ncvkqpu Hwocp Rkijvu OhŁeg qh vjg Hkij Cqookuukqpgt, 30 Jwn{ 2024, https://yyy.qjejt.qti/gp/rtguu-tgngcugu/2024/07/gzrgtvu-jckn-kel-fgenctcvkqp-knngicnk-ty-israels-presence-occupied.
- 31. ÷Afxkuqt{ Orkpkqp qh vjg Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Cqwtv qh Jwuvkeg qp vjg Lgicn Cqpugswgpegu Atkukpi htqo Iutcgnøu Pqnkekgu cpf Ptcevkegu kp vjg Oeewrkgf Pcnguvkpkcp Tgttkvqt{, Ipenwfkpi Ecuv Jgtwucng o, cpf htqo vjg Inngicnkv{ qh Iutcgnøu Cqpvkpwgf Ptgugpeg kp vjg Oeewrkgf Pcnguvkpkcp Tgttkvqt{: Rguqnwvkqp / Afqrvgf d{ vjg Ggpgtcn Auug o dn{ø, Pwd. L. Nq. A/Rgu/ES-10/24 (2024), jwru://fkikvcmnkdtct{. wp.qti/tgeqtf/4062853?np=gp&x=rfh; Sgg cnuq: ÷Tjg 2024 ICJ Afxkuqt{ Orkpkqp qp vjg Oeewrkgf Pcnguvkpkcp Tgttkvqt{ Ap Ipvtqfwevkqpø, Vgthcuuwpiudnqi, 24 September 2024, jwru://xgthcuuwpiudnqi.fg/vjg-2024-kel-cfxkuqt{-qrkp-ion-on-the-occupied-palestinian-territory/.
- 32. ÷VOTE SUMMAR [: Afxkuqt{ Orkpkqp qh vjg Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Cqwtv qh Jwuvkeg qp vjg Lgicn Cqpugswgpegu Atkukpi htq o Iutcgnøu Pqnkekgu cpf Ptcevkegu kp vjg Oeewrkgf Pcnguvkpkcp Tgttkvqt{, Ipenwfkpi Ecuv Jgtwucngo, cpf htq o vjg Inngicnkv{ qh Iutcgnøu Cqpvkpwgf Ptgugpeg kp vjg Oeewrkgf Pcnguvkpkcp Tgttkvqt{: Rguqnwvkqp / Afqrvgf d{ vjg Ggpgtcn Auug o dn{ø, Pwd. L. Nq. A/Rgu/ES-10/24 (2024), https://fkikvcnnkdtct{.wp.qti/tgeqtf/4061432?np=gp.
- 33. Sc{gt, -A Mqtcn Ctquutqcfu hqt vjg Wguvø.
- 34. Wkmke o C. Wqjnhqtvj gv cn., ÷Mqten Awvjqtkv{ cpf Svevwu kp Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Rgncvkqpu: Gqqf Svevgu cpf vjg Sqeken Dk o gpukqp qh Svevwu Sggmkpiø, Rgxkg y qh Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Svwfkgu 44, pq. 03 (Jwn{ 2018): 528, jwru://fqk.qti/10.1017/S0260210517000560.
- 35. App-Mctkg Emgpitgp cpf Untkmc M¾mngt, gfu., Tjg Qwguv hqt Pqygt kp vjg UNSC: Tjg Ccorckipu cpf Sgngevkqp qh Nqp-Pgtocpgpv Mgodgtu, (Lgkfgp; Bquvqp: Btkm/Nkljqhh, 2023). Tjg cwvjqt jcu cnuq wpfgtvcmgp 25 kpvgtxkgyu hqt jgt dqqm rtqlgev qp vjg vqrke cpf vjku ku c engct Łpfkpi qh vjqug kpvgtxkgyu.
- 36. Dwpvqp, ÷Lkdgten Ipvgtpevkqpenku o øu Cjgujktg Cev: I o rgtkenku o, Svevwu, epf vjg United Nations Security Council'.

- 37. Dunton.
- 38. Dwswg, ÷Rgeqipk|kpi Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Svcvwuø, 577.
- 39. Jqjp Ggtctf Rwiikg, ÷Wjcv Mcmgu vjg Wqtnf Hcpi Tqigvjgt? NgqQ

Tjg Ggqrqnkvkecn Ngzwu: Auuguukpi vjg Iorcev qh vjg Umtckpg Yct qp Sgtdkcøu Pqukvkqp kp vjg Kquqxq-Sgtdkc Dkcnqiwg

Tjg Wguvgtp Benmepu, e tgikqp uvggrgf kp e vwo wnvwqwu jkuvqt{ qh gvjpke vgpukqpu epf igqrqnkvkeen tkxentkgu, Łpfu kvugnh qpeg eickp ev e rkxqven oqogpv. Aickpuv vjg deemftqr qh vjg qpiqkpi eqpłkev kp Umtekpg, vjg tgikqpøu hteikng gswknkdtkwo ku dgkpi vguvgf eu kv rgtjeru pgxgt yeu. Ip vjg ngef-wr vq vjg kpxeukqp, qokpqwu ukipu qh korgpfkpi eqpłkev gogtigf, ykvj kpvgnnkigpeg tgrqtvu

qpg rqkpv cnngigfn{ vgnnkpi Ptgukfgpv Ggqtig W. Bwuj vjcv Umtckpg ku õpqv gxgp c tgcn pcvkqp-uvcvg.ö¹ NATO fkf pqv qhhgt Umtckpg c MAP. Ahvgt rtq o kukpi vq yqtm vqyctf c tgncvkqpujkr ykvj vjg Ewtqrgcp Upkqp, Ptgukfgpv [cpwmqx{ej, yjq tcp hqt rtgukfgpv cickp cpf yqp kp 2010, ejcpigu rqnkvkecn fktgevkqp cpf dgikpu vq qtkgpv Umtckpg vqyctf Rwuukc. Tjku, eq o dkpgf ykvj vjg eqpvtqxgtukcn cttguv qh rqnkvkecn qrrqpgpv [wnkc T{ o qujgpmq kp Mc{ 2011, urctmu ykfgurtgcf rtqvguvu cdqwv rgtegkxgf iqxgtp o gpv eqttwrvkqp. Tjgtg ctg rtqvguvu cetquu vjg eqwpvt{, egpvgtkpi qp Mckfcp Sswctg kp K{kx, vjcv ncuvgf vjtgg o qpvju. Av ngcuv 130 rgqrng, rtk o ctkn{ ekxknkcpu ctg mknngf. T{ o qujgpmq gzrtguugf: õExgt{ dwnngv vjcv mknngf vjqug rgqrng ycu c dwnngv kp vjg jgctv qh cnn qh wu,ö ujg uckf. õ [qw have to remember their faces, you have to have their faces before your eyes and tg og o dgt vjgkt ucetkŁegu,ö² ujg eqpvkpwgf. [cpwmqx{ej vjgp łggu vq Rwuukc; vjg pgy ngcfgtujkr eq o o kvu vq qtkgpvkpi Umtckpg vqyctf vjg Ewtqrgcp Upkqp.

Rwuukcp Appgzcvkqp qh Ctkogc

Ahvgt vjg Ewtq o ckfcp fg o qpuvtcvkqpu vjcv ngf vq vjg tguki pcvkqp qh [cpwmqx{ej kp Fgdtwct{ 2014, Rwuukc qeewrkgu Ctk o gc, c rgpkpuwnc kp Umtckpg yjgtg vjg o clqtkv{ qh vjg rqrwncvkqp ku Rwuukcp. Kg{ nqecvkqpu qp vjg rgpkpuwnc ctg qeewrkgf d{ Rwuukcp hqtegu, yjq ctg ftguugf kp o knkvct{ enqvjgu fgxqkf qh Rwuukcp kpuki pkcu.³ Tjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu cpf vjg Ewtqrgcp Upkqp fgpqwpeg vjg cppgz-cvkqp, yjkej urctmu kpvgtpcvkqpcn kpfki pcvkqp. Pwvkp vjgp kpetgcugu vjg pw o dgt qh vtqqru uvcvkqpgf enqug vq vjg Umtckpkcp dqtfgt cpf ytkvgu c rkgeg cuugtvkpi vjcv Rwuukcpu cpf Umtckpkcpu ctg õqpg rgqrng.ö Tgpu qh vjqwucpfu qh Rwuukcp vtqqru ctg uvcvkqpgf cv vjg dqtfgtu d{ Dgeg o dgt, cpf Pwvkp o cmgu fg o cpfu qp NATO cpf vjg US. Opg qh vjgug fg o cpfu, yjkej vjg Bkfgp cf o kpkuvtcvkqp fgpkgf, ku vjcv Umtckpg pgxgt dg cnnqygf vq lqkp NATO.⁴ Under the leadership qh kpfkxkfwcnu yjqo vjg Umtckpkcp iqxgtp o gpv dgnkgxgf vq dg vgttqtkuvu ykvj Rwuukcp uwrrqtv, vjg gcuvgtp Umtckpkcp tgikqpu qh Dqpgvum cpf Lwjcpum fgclared their independence from the country in 2014.⁵ Pwvkp cempqyngfigf vjgug tgikqpu cu cwvqpq o qwu gpvkvkgu cpf fkurcvejgf vtqqru vq õmggr vjg rgceg,ö cpf

Rwuukc kpxcfgf Umtckpg qp c nctig uecng. Tjg kpxcukqp uvctvgf kp vjg Dqpdcu tgikqp qh gcuvgtp Umtckpg. Pwvkp eqorngvgf vjg cppgzcvkqp qh Dqpgvum, Lwjcpum, Kjgtuqp, cpf \crqtk|j|jkc, hqwt ctgcu qh Umtckpg, chvgt vjg Ktgonkp qticpk|gf õtghgtgpfwouö kp vjcv eqwpvt{, yjkej vjg Wguv tglgevgf cu htcwfwngpv.6 Tjg nctig-uecng kpxcukqp qh Umtckpg d{ Rwuukc octmgf c ukipkŁecpv guecncvkqp kp vjg eqpłkev, ngcfkpi vq vjg cppgzcvkqp qh ownvkrng tgikqpu fgurkvg kpvgtpcvkqpcn eqpfgopcvkqp. Tjku ciitguukxg oqxg pqv qpn{ tgujcrgf vjg igqrqnkvkecn ncpfuecrg qh Ecuvgtp Ewtqrg dwv cnuq jcf hct-tgcejkpi kornkecvkqpu hqt inqdcn cnnkcpegu cpf tgikqpcn uvcdknkv{. Upfgtuvcpfkpi vjgug fgxgnqr ogpvu ku etwekcn cu yg gzrnqtg jqy uwej igqrqnkvkecn ujkhvu kpłwgpeg vjg Kquqxq-Sgtdkc fkcnqiwg and the broader dynamics of international relations.

Navigating Strategic Alliances: The Role of the EU and Russia in the Kosovo-Serbia Dialogue

Tjg fkenqiwg dgvy ggp Kquqxq epf Sgtdke ku uki pkŁeepvn ujergf d vjg dtqefgt igqrqnkvkeen nepfueerg, retvkewnetn d vjg kpłwgpeg qh vjg Ewtqrgep Upkqp epf Rwuuke. Au Sgtdke uggmu vq denepeg kvu curktevkqpu qh EU ogodgtujkr ykvj kvu nqpi uvepfkpi vkgu vq Rwuuke, vjg eqorngzkvkgu qh vjgug kpvgtpevkqpen rtguuwtgu dgeqog gxkfgpv. Tjg EUøu tqng eu e heeknkvevqt kp vjg fkenqi wg epf kvu geqpqo ke epf rqnkvkeen ngxgteig qxgt Sgtdke uvepfu kp eqpvteuv vq Rwuukeøu uvtevgi ke ennkepegu epf uwrrqtv hqt Sgtdkeøu uvepeg qp Kquqxq. Tjku ugevkqp gzrnqtgu jqy vjgug fwen rtguuwtgu epf inqden ennkepegu korev Sgtdkeøu rqukvkqp epf cevkqpu ykvjkp vjg Kquqxq-Sgtdke fkenqi wg, jki jnki jvkpi vjg kpvtkeevg kpvgtrne qh kpvgtpevkqpen hqtegu vjev ujerg vjg revj vqyetfu pqtoenk evkqp epf kpvgitevkqp. Upfgtuvepfkpi vjgug f pe okeu ku etweken hqt epvkekrevkpi vjg rqvgpvken qwveq ogu epf ejenngpigu vjev nkg ejgef kp vjg pgiqvkevkqp rtqeguu.

Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Ptguuwtg Ftqo vjg EU

Skpeg Sgtdkcøu EU ogodgtujkr crrnkecvkqp kp Dgegodgt 2009, lqkpkpi vjg EU tgockpu c mg{ uvtcvgike iqcn hqt Sgtdkc. Iv jcu dggp c ecpfkfcvg ogodgt qh vjg EU ukpeg 2012, cpf jcf hqtocnn{ dgiwp ceeguukqp pgiqvkcvkqpu kp Jcpwct{ 2014. Tjg Ewtqrgcp Upkqp ku Sgtdkcøu ockp vtcfkpi rctvpgt cpf nctiguv Łpcpekcn ckf rtqxkfgt. Tjg EU ku cnuq vjg hceknkvcvqt qh vjg Kquqxq-Sgtdkc fkcnqiwg, yjkej uvctvgf kp Mctej 2011. Skpeg vjg Ojtkf Aitggogpv qh 18 Mctej 2023,

kp Ewtqrg, dgukfgu Twtmg{, y jkej jcu pqv dcppgf Rwuukcp rncpgu htq o kvu vgttktory. 13 Nqv uwtrtkukpin{, ukpeg Fgdtwct{ 2022, Akt Sgtdkc cktnkpg jcu fqwdngf kvu łki jvu ykvj Mqueqy chvgt vjg EU dcppgf Mqueqy łki jvu. 14

Wkvj kpetgcugf kpvgtpcvkqpcn rtguuwtg, Sgtdkc jcu cfqrvgf EU ucpevkqpu¹⁵ cickpuv urgekŁe Umtckpkcp pcvkqpcnu yjq cnngigfn{ vjtgcvgpgf Umtckpgøu pc-

vkqpcn ugewtkv{, kpenwfkpi hqtogt Umtckpkcp rtgukfgpv Vkmvqt [cpwmqx{ej.}16]
Op 18 Mctej 2022, Sgtdkc korngogpvgf vjg Dgekukqp qp vjg Tgorqtct{ Ptqvgevkqp qh Dkurncegf Pgtuqpu htqo Umtckpg cu uwrrqtv hqt cm vjg kookitcpvu
htqo Umtckpg fwg vq vjg yct. Tjku fgekukqp korqugf vgorqtct{ rtqvgevkqp qh
Umtckpkcp pcvkqpcnu cpf Umtckpkcp hcokn{ ogodgtu uggmkpi cu{nwo, cpf ycu
vq dg gphqtegf hqt qpg {gct uvctvkpi qp 18 Mctej 2022.17 Sgtdkc ycu cnuq kp
hcxqwt qh vjg tguqnwvkqp qp õHwocpkvctkcp eqpugswgpegu qh vjg ciitguukqp
cickpuv Umtckpgö kp vjg UN Ggpgtcn Auugodn{ qp 24 Mctej 2022.18 Serbia FQpt@p@@WNF**

ickpuv Umtckpgö kp vjg UN Ggpgtcn Auugodn{ qp 24 Mctej 2022.18 Serbia FQpkRpQRVHF WPVUPPpPfHEP0

uvctvgf kp 2012, y jkej jcu c o ckp iqcn qh eqqrgtcvkqp dgvyggp Cjkpc cpf 16 Cgpvtcn cpf Ecuvgtp Ewtqrgcp eqwpvtkgu, kpenwfkpi Sgtdkc.²⁹ Some of China's ecrkvcn kpxguv o gpvu kp Sgtdkc kpenwfg vjg Bwfcrguv-Bgnitcfg-Smqrlg (BBSP) eqttkfqt, y jkej eqppgevu vjg egpvtg qh Cjkpc ykvj Cgpvtcn Ewtqrg, dqvj d{ ncpf cpf ugc. Cjkpc jcu cnuq uvctvgf kpxguvkpi kp Sgtdkcp jki jgt gfwecvkqp, hqewukpi qp cecfg o ke eqqrgtcvkqp cpf vjg fkxgtukłecvkqp qh wpkxgtukvkgu. Sgtdkcøu tgncvkqpu ykvj Cjkpc ugtxg cu c wughwn nkpm dgvyggp vjg Ecuv cpf vjg Wguv, y jkej ku y j { uq o g uejqnctu ctg pc o kpi Sgtdkc vjg õSykv|gtncpf qh vjg Bcnmcpu.ö³⁰

National Dynamics and Regional Considerations

Tjg kpvgtrnc{ qh pcvkqpcn f{pcokeu cpf tgikqpcn eqpukfgtcvkqpu ku etwekcn kp wpfgtuvcpfkpi Sgtdkcøu uvcpeg qp vjg Kquqxq-Sgtdkc fkcnqiwg. Sgtdkcp pcvkqp-

kpvgtxkgyu qh vjg Sgtdkcp rqrwncvkqp qp yjcv Sgtdkcøu hqtgkip rqnke{ yqwnf dg, 10 rgtegpv xqvgf vjcv kv ujqwnf dg hqewugf qpn{ qp Rwuukc, 33 rgtegpv xqvgf kv ujqwnf dg hqewugf qp Rwuukc, dwv mggr iqqf tgncvkqpu ykvj vjg EU cpf vjg Wguv, 36 rgtegpv xqvgf kv ujqwnf dg hqewugf qp vjg EU cpf vjg Wguv, dwv mggr iqqf tgncvkqpu ykvj Rwuukc, cpf 8 rgtegpv dgnkgxgf kv ujqwnf qpn{ hqewu qp vjg EU cpf vjg Wguv.³² Tjku ujqyu jqy Sgtdkc ngcpu vqyctfu Rwuukc, dwv uggmu vq o ckpvckp iqqf tgncvkqpu ykvj vjg Wguv.

Sgxgtcn Sgtdkcp urgcmgtu jcxg cfokvvgf vjg nctig-uecng Rwuukcp kpłwgpeg qxgt Sgtdkcpu cpf Sgtdkcp ogfkc. Efkvqt qh vjg Sgtdkcp hcev-ejgemkpi qticpk-|cvkqp,

qxgt # q

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34

- Etkmc Rkeek. õTjg 16+1 Ipkvkcvkxg,ö Ggqrqnkvkec (2019). jwru://y y y.igqrqnkvkec. kphq/vjg-161-kpkvkcvkxg/.
- 30. Mktlepe Dqm o epqxke epf Ngxgp Cxgvkeepkp. õSgtdke kp Lki jv qh vjg Gnqden Rgeq o rqukvkqp.ö
- 31. EWB. õRwuukcp uvcvg ogfkc kp Sgtdkc uwrrqtv vjg iqxgtp ogpv ykvj cpvk-Wguvgtp pettevkxgu,ö Ewtqrgcp Wguvgtp Bennepu (2024). jvvru://gwtqrgcp yguvgtpdennepu. eq o /2024/03/01/twuukcp-uvcvg- ogfkc-kp-ugtdkc-uwrrqtv-vjg-iqxgtp ogpv-ykvj-cp-vk-y guvgtp-pettevkxgu/.
- 32. CRTA. õPqnkvkecn cwkvwfgu qh ekvk|gpu qh Sgtdkc Fgdtwct{ 2023,ö CRTS (2023). jwru://etvc.tu/gp/rqnkvkecn-cwkvwfgu-qh-ekvk|gpu-qh-ugtdkc-hgdtwct{-2023/.
- 33. õTyq {gctu ncvgt vjg yct kp Umtckpg kp vjg fqoguvke ogfkc,ö *Ewtqrc*, EU kp Serbia (2024). jwru://gwtqrc.tu/vyq-{gctu-ncvgt-vjg-yct-kp-wmtckpg-kp-vjg-fqogu-vke-ogfkc/?ncpi=gp.
- 34. Btcvkuncx Svcpkegm cpf Appc Ccrtkng. Rwuukc cpf vjg Wguvgtp Bcnmcpu: Ggqrqnkvk-ecn eqphtqpvcvkqp, geqpq o ke kpłwgpeg cpf rqnkvkecn kpłwgpeg, Ewtqrgcp Pctnkc-ogpvct{ Rgugctej Sgtxkeg (2023). jwru://y y y.gwtqrctn.gwtqrc.gw/RgiDcvc/gvwfgu/BRIE/2023/747096/EPRSaBRI(2023)747096aEN.rfh.
- 35. őTyq {gctu nevgt,ö Ewtqrc.
- 36. õTyq {gctu nevgt,ö Ewtqrc.
- 37. CRTA. õPqnkvkecn cvvkvwfgu qh ekvk|gpu qh Sgtdkc Fgdtwct{ 2023,ö CRTS (2023). jvvru://etvc.tu/gp/rqnkvkecn-cvvkvwfgu-qh-ekvk|gpu-qh-ugtdkc-hgdtwct{-2023/.
- 38. õTtcpuetkrv: Pwvkp uc{u Rwuukc ykm rtqvgev vjg tki jvu qh Rwuukcpu cdtqcf,ö Ycujkpivqp Pquv (2014). jwru://y y y.ycujkpivqprquv.eq o/y qtnf/vtcpuetkrv-rw-wkp-uc{u-twuukc-ykm-rtqvgev-vjg-tki jvu-qh-twuukcpu-cdtqcf/2014/03/18/432c1g60-cg99-11g3-c49g-76cfe9210h19auvqt{.jvon.}
- 39. õ÷Nq qvjgt qrvkqpø: Ezegtrvu qh Pwvkpøu urggej fgenctkpi yct,ö An Jc/ggtc (2022). jwru://y y y.cnlc|ggtc.eq o/pg y u/2022/2/24/rwvkpu-urggej-fgenctkpi-yct-qp-wmtckpg-vtcpuncvgf-gzegtrvu.
- 40. õSgtdke yetpu NATO qxgt uchgv{ qh Kquqxq Sgtdu,ö Dgwvuejg Ygmg (2022). jwru://y y y.f y.eq o/gp/ugtdkc-yetpu-pcvq-qxgt-uchgv{-qh-mquqxq-ugtdu/c-62882004.
- 41. Stgdtgpkec Mg o qtkcn Wggm (eqnw o p 244WH), UK Petnke o gpv (2023). https://jepuctf.rctnke o gpv.wm/eq o o qpu/2023-07-04/fgdevgu/20d946hf-gc96-4484-9879-51h9e689h961/Wguv o kpuvgtHcnn.
- 42. õNATO uqnfkgtu kplwtgf kp Kquqxq encujgu ykvj Sgtd rtqvguvgtu,
ö $An\ Jc/ggtc$ (2023). jvvru://y y y.cnlc|ggtc.eqo/pgyu/2023/5/29/pcvq-vtqqru-hqto-ugewtkv{-eqtfqpu-kp-mquqxq-cu-ugtdu-rtqvguv}.
- 43. õSgtdke rwvu et o { qp jki j engtv eu Kquqxq Sgtdu eneuj ykvj rqnkeg,ö An Je/ggte (2023). jvvru://y y y.enle|ggte.eq o/pg y u/2023/5/26/ugtdke-rwvu-et o {-qp-jki j-engtv-cu-mquqxq-ugtdu-eneuj-ykvj-rqnkeg?vtchŁeauqwteg=KggrRgcfkpi.
- 44. õTjg Pqnkeg Dktgevqt ujqyu vjg hqqvcig: Ahtko Bwplcmw nquv jku nkhg htqo vjg gzrnqukqp qh c tgoqvg-eqpvtqnngf okpg,ö *Pqnkvkmq* (2023). jwru://rqnkvkmq.cn/gpinkuj/

 $\frac{mquqxc/ftglvqtk-k-rqnkekug-ujhcs-rcolgv-chtko-dwplcmw-jwodk-lgvgp-pic-ujrgt-vjkok-k492548.$

45.	Pgtrctko IuwŁ cpf Afgnkpc Aj o gvk. õIpvgtrqn Iuuwgu Wcttcpv hqt Rcfqkeke
	Oxgt Bcplumc Avvcem kp Kquqxq,ö Bcnmcp Ipukijv (2023). jwru://dcnmcpkp-
	$\label{eq:condition} $
46.	õSgtdkc/Kquqxq - Aitggogpv kp Ojtkf (18 Mctej 2023),ö Mkpkuv³tg fg m⁄Ewtqrg

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-			

Tjg Ngy Aig Srceg Rceg: Yj{õYqtnfö Pgceg Iu Nqv Epqwij

Tjku ejcrvgt ykm fgnxg kpvq vjg jkuvqt{ qh urceg gzrnqtcvkqp cpf vjg nguuqpu ngctpgf htqo vjg rcuv, gurgekcm{ vjqug tgncvgf vq Cqnf Wct vgpukqpu cpf jqy vjqug nguuqpu ecp dg crrnkgf vq oqfgtp vkogu. Ahvgt vjg kpkvkcn gpvj wukcu oqxgt vjg õSrceg Rcegö ycpgf, ocp{ eqwpvtkgu fkf pqv ugg cp{ xcnwg kp urceg gzrnqtcvkqp. Tjku ku yj{ kv jcu dggp qxgt 50 {gctu ukpeg c jwocp ugv hqqv qp vjg oqqp. Fcuv hqtyctf vq vqfc{, cpf inqdcn kpvgtguv kp urceg ku ocmkpi c eqogdcem. Cqoogtekcn eqorcpkgu ctg pqy ncwpejkpi ucvgnnkvgu cv cp wprtgegfgpvgf rceg. Sgxgtcn eqwpvtkgu jcxg fgfkecvgf oknkvct{ rgtuqppgn cpf ygcrqpu vq fghgpf vjgkt kpvgtguvu kp urceg, cpf uqog ctg gxgp eqpvgorncvkpi ciitguukxg cevkqpu uwej cu cpvk-ucvgnnkvg cpf pwengct gngevtqocipgvke rwnug ygcrqpu. Am qh vjku ku jcrrgpkpi yjkng iqxgtpogpv cigpekgu ctg rtgrctkpi vq ugpf ocppgf okuukqpu dcem vq vjg oqqp kp yjcv eqwnf dg qxgtncrrkpi ctgcu qh kpvgtguv. Wjcv jcrrgpu uqqp ykm fgvgt okpg kh urceg ykm dg c rgceghwn fqockp qt vjg pgzv yct lqpg.

Weaponization and Militarization of Space

Cqnf Yct ASAT

Tjg dgikppkpi qh cpvk-ucvgnnkvg (ASAT) vguvkpi ycu, vq pq uwtrtkug, c fktgev tgurqpug vq vjg Łtuv ucvgnnkvg. Ip Oevqdgt qh 1957, vjg Sqxkgv Upkqp dgec og

vjg Łtuv vq uweeguuhwn { rnceg c ucvgnnkvg kp qtdkv mpqyp cu õSrwvpkm I.ö Tjku ku ykfgn { mpqyp cu vjg uvctv qh vjg Srceg Rceg dgvyggp vjg Upkvgf Svcvgu cpf vjg Soviet Union.¹ Ip tgurqpug, pqv qpn { fkf vjg Upkvgf Svcvgu ncwpej vjgkt qyp ucvgnnkvg lwuv c hgy o qpvju ncvgt, dwv vjg { dgicp yqtmkpi qp yjcv ku tgictfgf cu vjg Łtuv cpvk-ucvgnnkvg vguvkpi kp vjg rtqitco mpqyp cu Bqnf Otkqp.² This rtqitco ycu tgncvkxgn { fkhhgtgpv vjcp vqfc {øu cpvk-ucvgnnkvg ecrcdknkvkgu, cu kv ycu ncwpejgf htqo c B-47 cktrncpg. Ip vqvcn, vygnxg Bqnf Otkqp o kuukngu ygtg ncwpejgf. Ip vjg Łpcn vguv, vjg o kuukng łgy ykvjkp hqwt o kngu qh Ezrnqtgt VI

Lguu vjcp c {gct ncvgt, vjg Upkvgf Svcvgu fgoqpuvtcvgf vjgkt qyp cpvk-ucvgnnkvg ecrcdknkvkgu hqt vjg Łtuv vkog ukpeg 1985 kp yjcv ku mpqyp cu *Orgtcvkqp Bwtpv*

. Tjg{ ujqv fqyp c ucvgnnkvg vjcv vjg{ enck ogf yqwnf dg c vjtgcv vq jw ocp nkhg fwg vq jc|ctfqwu rtqrgnncpv kh kv ygtg vq fgqtdkv. Hqygxgt, Rwuukc enck ogf vjcv vjg rtqrgnncpv yqwnf jcxg ecwugf pq fcocig cu uk oknct ucvgnnkvgu jcxg pqv jcf cp{ kuuwg dwtpkpi wr kp tg-gpvt{, cpf vjcv vjg Upkvgf Svcvgu fkf vjku kp response to the Chinese test a year earlier. 8

Wkvjkp vjg rcuv fgecfg, vjgtg jcxg dggp vyq oqtg oclqt ASAT vguvu qh pqvg. Ip 2019, Ipfkc ncwpejgf yjcv ku mpqyp cu õMkuukqp Sjcmvk,ö c mkpgvke-mkm ASAT uk oknct vq vjg qpg wugf kp Cjkpcøu 2007 vguv. Bwv wpnkmg Cjkpcøu vguv, Ipfkcøu ycu 800 mknq o gvtgu nqygt cpf jcf c fqypyctf vtclgevqt{. Tjku uwi i guvu vjcv vjg{ ygtg vt{kpi vq okpk ok|g vjg nkhg qh vjg tguwnvkpi fgdtku. Au c tguwnv, vjg vguv jcf 400 rkgegu qh fgdtku vjcv oc{ jcxg dggp dwtpgf wr kp ogtg yggmu.9 Exgp vjqwij vjg vguv ycu htqypgf wrqp, ocp{ kp vjg uekgpvkŁe eqo o wpkv{ pqvgf vjcv kv fkf pqv eqo rctg vq vjg fcocig qh vjg Cjkpgug ASAT vguv. 10 Jwuv vyq {gctu ncvgt, Rwuukc jcf vguvgf vjgkt cpvk-ucvgnnkvg ecrcdknkvkgu kp c owej oqtg fguvtwevkxg yc{. Tjgkt fktgev cuegpv vguv ecwugf oqtg vjcp 1,500 rkgegu qh vtcemcdng fgdtku vjcv eqwnf ncuv kp urceg hqt fgecfgu. 11

The development of anti-satellite capabilities has caused the spread of much fgdtku kp nqy gctvj qtdkv. Nqv qpn{ ctg vjg vjqwucpfu qh tgikuvgtgf rkgegu qh debris mentioned above, but pieces that are too small to be measured (under 10 cm) could be up in the tens to hundreds of thousands because of these tests. Exgp vjqwij vjgug rkgegu ctg cu uocm cu rckpv ejkru, vjg{ ctg kp qtdkv cpf oqxkpi xgt{ hcuv. Jwuv qpg qh vjgug oketqueqrke rkgegu ecp rwv c ucvgmkvg qwv qh eqo okuukqp. Ftqo 1999 vjtqwij 2022, vjg Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Srceg Svcvkqp jcu jcf to alter course 32 times to avoid space debris. With the addition of China's Tkcpiqpi Srceg Svcvkqp, vjgtg ctg nkxgu cv tkum fwg vq vjg tguwnv qh Lqy-Ectvj Otdkv cpvk-ucvgmkvg vguvkpi.

Ip Artkn qh 2022, vjg Upkvgf Svevgu dgec og vjg Łtuv urceg-hetkpi pevkqp vq ugnh-k o rqug c dep qp epvk-uevgnnkvg vguvkpi. Mep{ eqwpvtkgu hqnnqygf uwkv chvgt vjku, kpenwfkpi Cepefe, Jerep, Ggtoep{, Sqwvj Kqtge epf vjg Upkvgf Kkpidom. Tqyetfu vjg gpf qh vjg {get, vjg Upkvgf Nevkqpu Ggpgten Auugodn{ crrtqxgf ep ASAT vguv dep tguqnwvkqp, ykvj 155 pevkqpu kp hexqwt, pkpg eduvekpkpi epf pkpg xqvkpi cickpuv kv. Oh vjg hqwt eqwpvtkgu vjev jexg eqpfwevgf vjgug vguvu, vjg Upkvgf Svevgu yeu vjg qpn{ qpg kp hexqwt eu Cjkpe epf Rwuuke xqvgf eickpuv the resolution and India abstained. Some countries that did not vote in favour,

Bcp Ttgcv{. Iv pqv qpn{ jcf Atvkeng IV y jkej dcppgf vjg wug qh pwengct ygcrqpu in space but sets the principle that space is no country to claim and should be gzrnqtgf rgceghwnn{ cpf hqt uekgpvkŁe rwtrqugu. Tjku ku cnuq uwej cpk o rqtvcpv fqevtkpg fwg vq vjg hcev kv ku qpg qh xgt{ hgy urceg fqevtkpgu vjcv ctg ukipgf d{ cnn o clqt urceghctkpi pcvkqpu.

Ip Fgdtwct { 2024, Wjkvg Hqwug urqmgu o cp Jqjp Kktd { yctpgf qh c pcvkqpcn ugewtkv { vjtgcv qh c õurceg-dcugf, cpvk-ucvgmkvg ecrcdknkv { vjcv jcu pqv { gv dggp fgrnq { gf. \"o Sq o g uqwtegu enck o gf vjcv vjku tgncvgf vq Rwuukc ycpvkpi vq rwv pwengct ygcrqpu kpvq urceg. 18 Rwuukcøu Dgrwv { Fqtgkip Mkpkuvgt enck o gf vjku ycu c õ o cnkekqwu hcdtkecvkqp. 519 Ih vjku ygtg vtwg, kv yqwnf dg kp engct xkqncvkqp qh Atvkeng IV qh vjg Owvgt Srceg vtgcv { d{ jcxkpi c pwengct ygcrqp kp qtdkv. Ih c pwengct yctjgcf ygtg vq dg fgvqpcvgf kp Lqy-Ectvj qtdkv, vjg tguwnvu yqwnf dg ecvcuvtqrjke. Sggkpi vjcv vjg pw o dgt qh ucvgnnkvgu yg jcxg kp qtdkv jcu um{tqemgvgf, ockpn{ fwg vq rtkxcvg eq o rcpkgu nkmg SrcegX, c pwengct gzrnqukqp eqwnf ecwug vjqwucpfu qh ucvgnnkvgu vq ocnhwpevkqp. Ip 1962, cv vjg vk og qh SvctŁuj Ptk og vjgtg ygtg c hgy fq|gp ucvgnnkvgu kp qtdkv cpf ocp{ qh vjg o ygtg chhgevgf vq uq og fgitgg. Tqfc{, qh vjg qxgt 10,000 ucvgnnkvgu kp qtdkv, qxgt 5,000 ctg kp Lqy-Ectvj qtdkv.

Srceg Fqtegu

The United States is heavily dependent on satellites, especially in a military ugpug. Tjku ycu qpg qh vjg rtk oct{ tgcuqpu hqt etgcvkpi vjg Upkvgf Svcvgu Srceg Force in late 2019. The United States military is heavily dependent on their ucvgnnkvgu hqt ecrcdknkvkgu, uwej cu eqo o wpkecvkqp, pcxki cvkqp, cpf kpvgnnki gpeg. Cjkpcøu oknkvct{ uvtcvgikuvu jcxg cntgcf{ tgeqipk|gf vjku cpf kfgpvkŁgf vjku cu c rqvgpvkcn õAejknnguø Hggn.ö²0 Aogtkecøu fgrgpfgpeg qp ucvgnnkvgu ocmgu ugpug cu vq yj{ vjg Srceg Fqteg ycu guvcdnkujgf cu vjg Łtuv ugrctcvg ugtxkeg dtcpej in over 70 years.

Tjg kfgc qh c ugrctcvg dtcpej vq rtqvgev cuugvu kp urceg ycu pqv c pgy kfgc, ykvj vjg Łtuv ugrctcvg urceg dtcpej dgkpi vjg Rwuukcp Srceg Fqtegu guvcdcpf gngevtqocipgvke fqockpu.²¹ Their Space Systems Department oversees all space launch bases.

Fqt vjg Upkvgf Svcvgu, vjg Rwouhgnf Cqookuukqp tgeqoogpfgf vq vjg Upkvgf Svcvgu c ugrctcvg ugtxkeg dtcpej hqt urceg cu gctn{ cu 2001. Hqygxgt, chvgt vjg Sgrvgodgt 11 cwcemu, vjg oknkvct{ ujkhvgf hqewu kpvq vjg Gnqdcn Wct qp Tgttqt. Tjg Upkvgf Svcvgu Srceg Fqteg ycu guvcdnkujgf cnoquv 20 {gctu ncvgt. Tjgtg ygtg rgqrng yqtmkpi kp vjg urceg Łgnf wpfgt vjg Upkvgf Svcvgu Akt Fqteg, cpf vjqug rgqrng ygtg uwdugswgpvn{ ujkhvgf kpvq vjg Srceg Fqteg. Afditionally, many close allies to the United States added a space component to vjgkt oknkvct{ kp vjg {gctu vq hqnnqy, kpenwfkpi Awuvtcnkc, Ccpcfc, Ngy \gcncpf, cpf vjg Upkvgf Kkpi fqo. Tjgug eqwpvtkgu ocmg wr yjcv ku mpqyp cu vjg Fkxg E{gu Ipvgnnki gpeg Annkcpeg.} 22

Hqy Tjku Iu Sjcrkpi Yqtnf Otfgt cpf Pgceg

Anqpi jkuvqt{ qh ASAT vguvkpi jeu entgef{ fqpg c itgev fgen qh feocig vq vjg Lqy Ectvj qtdkv ctgc, ecwukpi cp kttgxgtukdng coqwpv qh fgdtku vjcv y knn chhgev qtdkvu hqt fgecfgu vq eqog. Tjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu Ggpgtcn Auugodn{ tguqnwvkqp vq jcnv fktgev-cuegpv ASAT ygcrqp vguvkpi ycu c dki uvgr kp vjg tkijv fktgevkqp. Dktgev cuegpv y cu wugf kp dqvj Cjkpc cpf Rwuukcøu ASAT vguvkpi y jkej y gtg vjg ecwug qh nctig coqwpvu qh fgdtku kp qtdkv, dwv vjku tguqnwvkqp fqgu pqv rnceg cp{ tguvtkevkqpu qp qvjgt v{rgu qh ASAT vguvu. Tjku ko rnkgu vjcv ASAT vguvu vjcv fq pqv ecwug nctig fgdtku oc{ uvknn dg vguvgf cpf rquukdn{ wugf. Iv ku cnuq eqpegtpkpi vjcv vjtgg qh vjg hqwt eqwpvtkgu vjcv jcxg fgoqpuvtcvgf fktgev-cuegpv ASAT ecredknkvkgu fkf pqv ukip qpvq vjku tguqnwvkqp. Ftq o c oknkvct{ rgturgetive, there is not much that the United Nations (UN) can do to deter countries htq o eqpfwevkpi vjgug fguvtwevkxg vguvu. Au qh 2019 vjg Nqtvj A o gtkecp Ttgcv{ Oticpk | cvkqp (NATO) fgenctgf urceg cu cp qrgtcvkqpcn fqockp cpf cfqrvgf c Space Policy in order to provide clarity to all its members. The policy discussgu vj cv NATO ogodgtu yknn dg kp nkpg ykvj kpvgtpcvkqpcn ncy, cu ygnn cu guvcdnku j kpi c NATO Srceg Cgpvtg. Pgt j cru v j g dki i guv uvcvg o gpv htq o NATO y j gp kv ec o g vq urceg y cu fwtkpi v j g Btwuugnu Sw o o kv qh 2021. NATO ngcfgtu uvcvgf vjcv ocvvcemu vq, htqo, qt ykvjkp urceg rtgugpv c engct ejcnngpig vq vjg ugewtkv{ qh vjg Annkepeg, vjg ko reev qh yjkej eqwnf vjtgevgp pevkqpen epf Ewtq-Avnepvke prosperity, security, and stability, and could be as harmful to modern societies cu c eqpxgpvkqpcn cwcem. Swej cwcemu eqwnf ngcf vq vjg kpxqecvkqp qh Atvkeng vjg oqqp. Tjg rncp ycu qpeg cickp vq igv ogp dcem qp vjg oqqp ykvj ownvkrng wpocppgf okuukqpu cpf vjtgg Atvg oku okuukqpu, vyq qh yjkej ctg etgygf. Atvg oku I, cp wpocppgf okuukqp vq vguv vjg pgy Srceg Lcwpej S{uvgo tqemgv cpf Otkqp urcegetchv ycu eq orngvgf kp 2022 chvgt vjg urcegetchv eq orngvgf cp qtdkv ctqwpf vjg Mqqp. Tjg etgy hqt Atvg oku II jcu cntgcf{ dggp cppqwpegf cpf ku rtqlgevgf vq ncwpej kp ncvg 2025 chvgt hcekpi fgnc{u. Ip Atvg oku III, NASA rncpu hqt dqqvu qp vjg oqqp ykvj vjg iqcn qh fgxgnqrkpi c nwpct dcug hqt tgugctej.²⁸

Rceg vq Sj cemgnvqp Ctcvgt

Tjg Upkvgf Svevgu ku pqv vjg qpn{ eqwpvt{ ykvj nwpet e o dkvkqpu. Cjkpe jeu enuq xqkegf vjev vjg{ rnep vq ugpf cuvtqpcwvu vq vjg oqqp ykvj vjg iqen qh guvcdnkujkpi e rgto epgpv nwpet deug hqt tgugetej. Bqvj vjg Upkvgf Svevgu epf Cjkpe o gpvkqp vjg ue og nqeevkqp hqt e rqvgpvken nepfkpi ukvg ev Sjeemngvqp Ctevgt kp the Moon's South Pole.²⁹ The main reason for this location selection is the fgrqukvu qh keg vjev jexg dggp kfgpvkŁgf kp vjku etge. Ieg ku e tguqwteg vjev eep dg wugf vq rtqxkfg qz{igp hqt vjg cuvtqpcwvu vq dtgevjg vjtqwij gngevtqn{uku, ftkpmkpi yevgt, epf gxgp tqemgv hwgn. Hexkpi vjgug tguqwtegu excknedng epf tgef{ qp vjg oqqpøu uwtheeg kpuvgef qh jexkpi vq dtkpi kv htq o Eetvj rtqxkfgu e jwig efxepveig.³⁰ Bqvj vjg Upkvgf Svevgu epf Cjkpe jexg dggp fgxgnqrkpi vjgkt ennkgu hqt vjku hwvwtg gpfgexqwt, eu Cjkpe eppqwpegf ep ennkepeg ykvj Rwuuke kp vjgkt nwpet deug epf pe ogf vjg rtqlgev vjg õIpvgtpevkqpen Lwpet Rgugetej Svevkqp,ö (ILRS) epf qrgpgf kv vq ep{ qvjgt eqwpvtkgu yknnkpi vq retvkekrevg.³¹

Tjg tceg vq Sjcemngvqp etcvgt oc{ dg c urceg tceg uk o knct vq vjcv qh vjg Upkv-gf Svcvgu cpf Sqxkgv Upkqp kp vjg 1960u. Aeeqtfkpi vq Atvkeng II qh vjg Owvgt Space Treaty, no country can lay claim to any part of space or celestial bodies. Tjku eqwnf ecwug vjg Atvg o ku cpf ILRS rtqitcou vq dg eqo rgvkpi hqt vjg ucog tguqwtegu kp vjg ucog rctv qh vjg oqqp. Opeg cickp, vjg xci wgpguu qh vjg Owvgt Space treaty may cause potential issues.

Tjg Upkvgf Svcvgu jcu cppqwpegf y jcv ku mpqyp cu vjg Atvgoku Aeeqtfu

collection of space resources.³² Iv cnuq nc{u vjg itqwpfyqtm hqt vtcpurctgpe{ dgvyggp eqwpvtkgu ykvj pgy fkueqxgtkgu, rtgugtxkpi jkuvqtkecn ukvgu qh ukipkŁecpeg cpf rcekpi vjg wug qh pcvwtcn tguqwtegu qp qvjgt egnguvkcn dqfkgu.

Ptkxcvg Cqorcpkgu

Opg qh vjg dki tgcuqpu hqt vjg ncvguv urceg dqq o ku vjg fgxgnqr ogpv qh rtkxcvg eq o rcpkgu. Tjku jcu cnnqygf hqt vjg tcrkf cfxcpeg ogpv qh urceg vgejpqnqi { uwej cu SrcegXøu tgwucdng tqemgvu. Hcxkpi vjg cdknkv{ vq tgwug tqemgvu jcu cnnqygf vjgo vq pqv qpn{ ucxg c nqv qh oqpg{ yjgp kv eq ogu vq ncwpejgu, dwv cnuq rwv ucvgnnkvgu kpvq qtdkv nkmg pgxgt uggp dghqtg. Tjg{ ugv c tgeqtf qh 96 uweeguuhwn ncwpejgu cpf ctg ck okpi vq fq cu ocp{ cu 144 vjku {gct. Tjgkt Svct Lkpm ucvgnnkvgu ceeqwpv hqt oqtg vjcp jcnh qh vjg ucvgnnkvgu rtgugpvn{ kp qtdkv.

Upfgt vjg Owvgt Srceg Ttgcv{, gxgt{ ncwpej ku vjg tgurqpukdknkv{ qh vjg tqem-gvøu eqwpvt{ qh qtkikp. Tjgtghqtg, gxgt{ ncwpej d{ rtkxcvg eq o rcpkgu, uwej cu SrcegX, hcnnu wpfgt vjg tgurqpukdknkv{ qh vjg Upkvgf Svcvgu iqxgtpogpv. Wkvj itqykpi kpvgtguv kp nwpct cpf cuvgtqkf okpkpi, pqv owej uggou vq uvcpf kp vjg yc{ qh rtkxcvg eq o rcpkgu cpf vjg rqvgpvkcn \$100 dknnkqp o ctmgv qh vjg oqqp.³³

Hqy Tjku Iu Sjcrkpi Yqtnf Otfgt/Pgceg

Tjg ugg okpi fgxgnqr ogpv qh c tkxcnt{ dgvyggp vjg Upkvgf Svcvguø Atvg oku Aeeqtfu cpf Cjkpcøu ILRS oc{ jkpfgt qwt jqrg hqt vjg rgceghwn cpf eqqrgtcvkxg gzrnqtcvkqp qh qwvgt urceg. Dwg vq vjg ncem qh cp wrfcvgf Srceg Lcy htq o vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu OhŁeg hqt Owvgt Srceg Ahhcktu (UNOOSA), eqwpvtkgu ctg uvctvkpi vq vcmg kv kpvq vjgkt qyp jcpfu cpf ytkvg ncyu kp vjgkt qyp rgtuqpcn kpvgtguv. Ap gzc o rng qh vjku ku vjg Srceg Rguqwteg Ezrnqtcvkqp cpf Uvknk | cvkqp Aev qh 2015, yjgtg rtkxcvg eq o rcpkgu kp vjg Upkvgf Svcvgu nqddkgf vq ngi cnk | g nwpct okpkpi. Tjg UNOOSA jcu pqv tcvkLgf cp{ pgy ncyu ukpeg 1984, cpf ukpeg vjgp c nqv qh pgy fgxgnqr o gpvu cpf vgejpqnqi { jcu dggp ko rng o gpvgf. A pgy xgtukqp qh vjg Owvgt Srceg Ttgcv{ ku nqpi qxgtfwg, rtqxkfkpi enctkLecvkqpu vq vjg rtgxkqwu qpg cu ygnn cu pgy iwkfgnkpgu hqt wreq okpi kuuwgu vjcv eqwnf jcrrgp dgvyggp eqo rgvkpi eqwpvtkgu. Tjgug enctkLecvkqpu ujqwnf kpenwfg vjg fkhhgtgpeg dgvyggp õdcuguö cpf õenck ouö cpf jqy eqwpvtkgu yqwnf iq cdqwv guvcdnkujkpi c rgto cpgpv rtgugpeg. Ptkxcvg eqo rcp{ tguvtkevkqpu qp nwpct okpkpi ujqwnf dg kpenwfgf, rquukdn{ jcxkpi uvwfkgu fqpg cdqwv vjg ko rcev kv yqwnf

jcxg pqv qpn{ qp vjg oqqp dwv cnuq Ectvj kh yg ygtg cdng vq jctpguu tguqwtegu, cpf vq ocmg uwtg vjgug eqorcpkgu ctg mgrv kp ejgem kh vjg{ ctg cdng vq icvjgt tguqwtegu. Tjg Atvg oku Aeeqtfu ctg vjg enquguv yg jcxg jcf vq cp wrfcvgf vtgc-v{; jqygxgt, cu c pqp-dkpfkpi cttcpig ogpv kv fqgu pqv ectt{ cu owej ygkijv, gurgekcnn{ fwg vq vjg cdugpeg qh Cjkpc cpf Rwuukc htq o vjku citgg ogpv vjcv ctg rtqlgevgf vq jcxg c dcug qp vjg oqqp ykvjkp vjg pgzv fgecfg. Ih yg ctg vq vtwn{ wvknk | g urceg hqt rgceghwn, uekgpvkŁe rwtrqugu, vjgug ctg uvgru vjcv yqwnf jgnr c itgcv fgcn.

Conclusion

Au yg gpvgt vjku xcuvn{ ejcpikpi ncpfuecrg kp vjg urceg fqockp, kv ku ko rqtvcpv vq tgogodgt jqy yg iqv jgtg vq vcmg vjg pgeguuct{ uvgru vq gpuwtg c uchg cpf tgurqpukdng hwvwtg. Tjg ncuv wug qh pwengct ygcrqpu ycu cdng vq dg dcppgf fwg vq eqwpvtkgu eqmcdqtcvkpi hqt vjg iqqf qh rgceg kp urceg, cpf vjg iqqf qh jwocpkv{. Iv ku korqtvcpv yg eqpvkpwg vq yqtm vqigvjgt vq ocmg cpf citgg qp fqevtkpg vjcv ykm gpuwtg urceg pqv cu c vgttckp vq dg ecrkvcnk|gf qp hqt rtqLv, but to learn more about our universe. This is a crucial time to set this important rtgegfgpv, ykvj vjg urceg kpfwuvt{ dqqokpi ykvjkp vjg ncuv fgecfg cpf eqpvkpwkpi vq um{tqemgv kp korqtvcpeg.

Wg wug urceg kp qwt gxgt{fc{ nkxgu yjgvjgt yg mpqy kv qt pqv. Owt rjqpgu ctg fgrgpfgpv qp ucvgnnkvgu vq o cmg ecnnu, wug GPS, gve. Ih qwt urceg ecrcdknkvkgu ygtg nquv, gxgp hqt qpg fc{, kv yqwnf dg ecvcs wu

Ms

- Lkgdgt Ipuvkvwvg, õRwuukcøu ASAT Tguv: Dgxgnqr o gpv cpf Srceg Lcy,ö ceeguugf March 25, 2024, jvvru://nkgdgt.yguvrqkpv.gfw/twuukc-cucv-vguv-fgxgnqr o gpv-urcegncy/.
- 16. Wct qp vjg Rqemu, õGgvvkpi Sgtkqwu Adqwv vjg Tjtgcv qh Hkij-Anvkvwfg Nwengct Dgvqpcvkqpu,ö ceeguugf Mctej 25, 2024, jwru://yctqpvjgtqemu.eqo/2022/09/igvvkpi-ugtkqwu-cdqwv-vjg-vjtgcv-qh-jkij-cnvkvwfg-pwengct-fgvqpcvkqpu/.
- 17. Upkvgf Ncvkqpu OhŁeg hqt Owvgt Srceg Ahhcktu, õTtgcv{ qp Ptkpekrngu Gqxgtpkpi vjg Aevkxkvkgu qh Svcvgu kp vjg Ezrnqtcvkqp cpf Uug qh Owvgt Srceg, kpenwfkpi vjg Mqqp cpf Ovjgt Cgnguvkcn Bqfkgu,ö ceeguugf Mctej 25, 2024, jwru://y y y. wpqquc.qti/qquc/gp/qwtyqtm/urcegncy/vtgcvkgu/qwvgturcegvtgcv{.jvon.

 $\begin{array}{ccc} /q & q \rightarrow & \\ cdi/q & k \end{array}$

yctpu/uvqt{#	k	rncpu-dtkgh-ncyocmgtu-j cyoc_	d d
		• -	

Qwq Vcfku? Tjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu cpf Pgceg Orgtcvkqpu

Owt o quv ugtkqwu ujqtveq o kpi \hat{o} cpf jgtg I tghgt vq vjg gpvktg kpvgtpcvkqpcn eq oowpkv{ \hat{o} ku qwt kpcdknkv{ vq rtgxgpv etkugu. Tjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu ycu dqtp htq o yct. Tqfc{, yg owuv dg jgtg hqt rgceg.\frac{1}{2} \hat{o} Upkvgf Ncvkqpu Sgetgvct{-Ggpgtcn Apv»pkq Gwvgttgu (12 Dgeg o dgt 2016)

"In the Service of Peace"2

Wkvjkp vjgug yqtfu, Gwvgttgu gpecruwncvgu vjg tckuqp fø'vtg hqt vjg Upkvgf Nctions—to serve the cause of international peace and security. This mission is pqv lwuv guugpvkcn; kv ku vjg eqtpgtuvqpg qh vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpuøgzkuvgpeg. Dgurkvg kvu dguv ghhqtvu, vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu hcegu uki pkŁecpv cpf eqorngz ejcmgpi gu kprtgxgpvkpi, okvki cvkpi, qt tguqnxkpi eqpłkev. Tjg tqcf vq rgceg ku pqv gcu {, dwv vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu, cu c tgeqipk | gf kpvgtpcvkqpcn ctdkvgt, eqpvkpwgu vq uvtkxg hqt kv kp o {tkcf hqt o u, kpenwfkpi o wnvkfk o gpukqpcn rgceg qrgtcvkqpu.³

Mqfgtp rgceg qrgtcvkqpu ctg pqv uvtkevn{ vjg rwtxkgy qh vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu; pgxgtvjgnguu, fwg vq vjgkt tqng õkp vjg ugtxkeg qh rgceg,ö Upkvgf Ncvkqpu hqtegu qt uwrrqtvgf qticpk|cvkqpu rnc{ c nctig rctv kp rtgxgpvkpi vjg qwvdtgcm qh eqpłkev, uvqrrkpi jquvknkvkgu, cpf cmgxkcvkpi vjg ko rcev qh fkucuvgt qt xkqngpeg kp yct-vqtp ctgcu. Tjku ejcrvgt uwiiguvu vjcv yjkng vjg ncvg vygpvkgvj cpf gctn{

c yjqng, vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu tgockpu c inqdcn ngcfgt kp rgceg cevkxkvkgu cpf, vjtqwij tg-gzcokpkpi vjg eqpfwev qh kvu rgceg cevkxkvkgu, jcu itgcv rqvgpvkcn vq ckf kp tguqnxkpi eqpłkev kp c vtqwdngf egpvwt{, qhhgtkpi c dgceqp qh jqrg kp vjgug ejcnngpikpi vkogu.

Peace Operations: Composition and Context

Peace operations initiated by the United Nations encompass various activities, htqo rtqcevkxg fgrnq{ogpvu vq rtgxgpv etkugu vq hquvgtkpi uqekgvcn tguknkgpeg cickpuv pcvwtcn cpf ocp-ocfg fkucuvgtu. Tjku fkxgtukv{ wpfgtueqtgu vjg eqorngzkv{ qh oqfgtp rgceg qrgtcvkqpu cpf vjg pggf hqt vcknqtgf crrtqcejgu vq gcej eqpłkev ukvwcvkqp.⁴ Such operations also include humanitarian assistance kp vjg ycmg qh fkucuvgtu. Oh eqwtug, vjgtg ctg vtcfkvkqpcn rgcegmggrkpi okuukqpu vq ctdkvtcvg cpf oqpkvqt pgiqvkcvgf rgceg cpf rgceg gphqteg ogpv okuukqpu vq egcug ct ogf xkqngpeg. Tjg xkqngpv rqvgpvkcn qh vjgug cevkxkvkgu twpu htqo nqy kp vjg ecug qh rgcegdwknfkpi vq jkij hqt rgceg gphqteg ogpv. Tjgug okuukqpu are often multidimensional and involve the United Nations and other military, rqnkeg, cpf ekxknkcp qticpk|cvkqpu.5

Fqnnqykpi vjku, kv ku pgeguuct { vq cempqyngfig vjcv o wnvkfk o gpukqpcn rgceg operations⁶ ctg kpjgtgpvn{ eqorngz cpf eqpfwevgf kp c jkijn{ eqornkecvgf qrgtcvkqpcn gpxktqpogpv. Opg eqpegrvwcn vqqn vjcv jcu ctkugp vq fgnkpgcvg vjg eqpvg o rqtct{ ugewtkv{ ugvvkpi ku vjg kfgc qh õitg{ |qpg eqpłkev,ö cnuq mpq y p cu õuwdvjtgujqnf eqpłkev.ö Tjg itg{ |qpg, nkmg o quv qh cp kegdgti, ku wpfgtycvgt cpf pqv xkukdng htq o vjg uwthceg. Tjg itg{ |qpg ku pqv vtcpurctgpv vq qdugtxgtu. Wjkng ncemkpi enctkv{, o quv fgłpkvkqpu qh itg{ | qpg eqpłkev ujctg vjtgg o ckp rtkpekrngu. Fktuv, itg{ |qpg cevkxkvkgu ctg vcknqtgf vq cxqkf etgcvkpi c tgurqpug kpxqnxkpi oknkvct{ hqteg. Sgeqpf, vjgug cfxgtuctkcn cevkqpu ctg qrcswg, ecwukpi fkhŁewnv{ kp tgeqipk|kpi cpf kpvgtrtgvkpi y jcv vtcpurktgf. Lcuv, v jg wug qh vgejpqnqi{ ku oczkok|gf vq vctigv urgekŁe cwfkgpegu cpf etgcvg c oczkowo effect. Tjtqwij kvu ownykfk ogpukqpcn rgceg qrgtcykqpu kpxqnxkpi oknkyct{ cpf ekxknkcp cigpekgu, vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu ecp rnc{ c ukipkLecpv tqng kp cfftguukpi vjg ejcnngpigu rqugf d{ vjg itg{ |qpg, rctvkewnctn{ kp ukvwcvkqpu yjgtg o knkvct{ force alone is not the appropriate response.8 Fqt gzc o rng, cv vjg 2024 Kkpiuvqp Cqpuqtvkwo qp Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Sgewtkv{ Cqphgtgpeg, Tqocuu Pknfgiqxk u, ugewtkv{ cpf tguknkgpeg cfxkuqt vq vjg Lcvxkcp hqtgkip okpkuvgt, uvcvgf vjcv Rwusian disinformation is one of the most insidious threats to national resilience.⁹ Tjku fkukpvgitcvkpi kpłwgpeg ecppqv dg ghhgevkxgn{ fgcnv ykvj vjtqwij oknkvct{ ogcpu. Anuq, yjgp eqpukfgtkpi vjg itg{ |qpg kfgc, qpg pggfu vq cempqyngfig vjcv vjg rtkoct{ eqpłkev oqfcnkvkgu ecp dg dtqcfn{ fguetkdgf cu (1) Pgceg, (2) Wct, cpf (3) Nqv PgcegóNqv Wct, ykvj itg{ |qpg cevkxkvkgu eqpvckpgf ykvjkp the latter.

Fwtvjgtoqtg, vjg itg{ |qpg oqfgn ku qhvgp rctv qh cpqvjgt tgncvgf cpf qxgtctejkpi eqpegrv ô õj{dtkf ycthctg.ö Lkmg itg{ |qpg eqpłkev, j{dtkf ycthctg ecp jcxg pwcpegu fgrgpfkpi qp vjg wugtøu rgturgevkxg. Dgurkvg vjcv, cv kvu oquv dcuke, vygpv{-Łtuv egpvwt{ j{dtkf eqpłkev eqodkpgu eqpxgpvkqpcn cpf wpeqpxgpvkqpcn crrtqcejgu vjtqwijqwv cnn fqockpu qh eqpłkev. Tjgug fqockpu kpenwfg curgevu qh cnn kpuvtwogpvu qh pcvkqpcn rqygt: fkrnqocvke, kphqtocvkqpcn, economic, and military. Tjgug rtcevkegu eqnngevkxgn{ etgcvg c jkijn{ eqorngz cpf htciogpvgf ugewtkv{ gpxktqpogpv vjcv pgeguukvcvgu c vjqtqwij wpfgtuvcpfkpi dghqtg godctmkpi qp rgceg qrgtcvkqpu. Tjku wpfgtuvcpfkpi ku etwekcn hqt cejkgxkpi ogcpkpihwn rgceg citggogpvu cpf fgxkukpi ghhgevkxg uvtcvgikgu hqt gcej eqpłkev ukvwcvkqp. 11

Opg pggf nqqm pq hwtvjgt vjcp vjg ewttgpv eqpłkev kp Umtckpg, yjkej dgicp ykvj Rwuukcøu cppgzcvkqp qh Ctkogc kp 2014 cpf jcu ukpeg gxqnxgf kpvq c eqorngz yct kpxqnxkpi dqvj eqpxgpvkqpcn cpf wpeqpxgpvkqpcn vcevkeu. Tjku eqpłkev rtgugpvu pqv qpn{ vtcfkvkqpcn yct ejcnngpigu dwv cnuq j{dtkf cpf itg{ |qpg curgevu ô cnn ykvjkp vjg eqpvgzv qh yqtugpkpi inqdcn xkqngpeg. Ip Upkvgf Ncvkqpu Sgetgvct{-Ggpgtcn Apv»pkq Gwvgttguø 2023 tgoctmu vq vjg Sgewtkv{ Cqwpekn, jg stressed the importance of collaborative efforts to address these threats:

Rwuukcou kpxcukqp qh Umtckpg, kp engct xkqncvkqp qh vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu Cjctvgt cpf kpvgtpcvkqpcn ncy, ku ciitcxcvkpi igqrqnkvkecn vgpukqpu cpf fkxkukqpu, vjtgcvgpkpi tgikqpcn uvcdknkv{, kpetgcukpi vjg pwengct vjtgcv, cpf etgcvkpi fggr Łuuwtgu kp qwt kpetgcukpin{ o wnvkrqnct yqtnf. Ann vjku eq o gu yjgp eqqrgtcvkqp cpf eq o rtq o kug hqt o wnvkncvgtcn uqnwvkqpu ctg pggfgf o qtg vjcp gxgt vq vcenng ejcnngpigu htq o vjg enk o cvg etkuku vq wprtgegfgpvgf ngxgnu qh kpgswcnkv{ vq fkutwrvkxg vgejpqnqikgu. 12

Dgurkvg Gwvgttguø ugpvk o gpvu, kpuvkvwvkqpcn reten{uku, uwej cu Rwuukcøu xgvq qh cm Sgewtkv{ Cqwpekn tguqnwvkqpu eqpegtpkpi Umtckpg ukpeg 2022, etgcvgu c eqornkecvgf ukvwcvkqp. Iv pqv qpn{ o cmgu kv fkhŁewnv hqt vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu vq act, but also dampens much-needed international cooperation.¹³

Peace Operations: Challenges

Anapiukfg vjg eqorngzkvkgu qh vjg ugewtkv{ gpxktqpogpv cpf vjg Sgewtkv{ Council's inability to act, United Nations peace operations have had to address rtqdngou tgncvgf vq okuukqp eqpfwev cpf rgcegmggrgt dgjcxkqwt. Tjg 1990u ygtg rctvkewnctn{ rtqdngocvke, ykvj ukipkŁecpv hcknwtgu kp Ahtkec cpf Ewtqrg. Tjgug etkugu kp vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu ngf vq rgceg qrgtcvkqpu vjcv igpgtcvgf o wej kpvtqurgevkqp cpf uvwf{. Tjku tgłgevkqp tguwnvgf kp c tgxkvcnk|gf crrtqcej cpf uvtwevwtg vq Upkvgf Ncvkqpu rgcegocmkpi, rgcegmggrkpi cpf rgceg-dwknfkpi activities. 14 Dgurkvg jctf yqtm, ocp{ qpiqkpi qduvcengu tgockp. Tjgug ejcnngpigu gpeqorcuu vjg pggf hqt hqteg rtqvgevkqp, ncem qh nqecn uwrrqtv hqt rgceg kpkvkcvkxgu, kpuwhŁekgpv tguqwtekpi, rqqt rgcegmggrgt eqpfwev, cpf fkhŁewnvkgu kp eqqtfkpcvkqp cpf kpvgitcvkqp ykvjkp vjg ownvkvwfg qh cevqtu kpxqnxgf kp rgceg operations.

i

Dgurkvg vjg cvjg ME

cpf rtqhguukqpcn rgcegmggrgt eqpfwev ku etkvkecn. Ipuvcpegu qh okueqpfwev d{ rgcegmggrkpi rgtuqppgn, rctvkewnctn{ ugzwcn gzrnqkvcvkqp cpf cdwug, jcxg vctnished the reputation of United Nations missions and undermined local trust. Hkij uvcpfctfu qh eqpfwev cpf ceeqwpvcdknkv{ ctg guugpvkcn vq ockpvckpkpi etgfkdknkv{ cpf ngikvkoce{.¹9 Ip 2007, vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu ycu hqtegf vq tgoqxg oqtg vjcp 100 Stk Lcpmcp rgcegmggrgtu htqo vjg rgcegmggrkpi okuukqp kp Hckvk hqnnqykpi ceewucvkqpu qh ugzwcn gzrnqkvcvkqp cpf jctcuuogpv ô cpf vjgp cfftguu vjg fcocig vq vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu Svcdknk|cvkqp Mkuukqp kp Hckvk (MINUSTAH) etgcvgf d{ vjgug cevkqpu.²0

Tjgug ejcmgpigu ecp dg hwtvjgt gzcegtdcvgf d{ vjg hcev vjcv Upkvgf Ncvkqpu rgcegmggrkpi qrgtcvkqpu qhvgp uwhhgt htqo kpuwhŁekgpv hwpfkpi, gswkrogpv ujqtvcigu, cpf nqikuvkecn ejcmgpigu. Tjgug nkokvcvkqpu nkokv vjgkt ecrcekv{ vq korngogpv ocpfcvgu ghhgevkxgn{ cpf tgurqpf vq gxqnxkpi ugewtkv{ vjtgcvu.²¹ Tjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu-Ahtkecp Upkqp Mkuukqp kp Dcthwt (UNAMID) qrgtcvgf htqo 2007 vq 2020 cpf hcegf ejtqpke hwpfkpi kuuwgu, gswkrogpv ujqtvcigu, cpf nqikuvkecn ejcmgpigu. Tjgug kuuwgu cpf korgthgev okuukqp uvtwevwtcn cttcpigogpvu ngf vq kvu fgokug.²² Tjku cnuq, kp vwtp, urgcmu vq c pggf hqt ghhgevkxg collaboration.

Ehhgevkxg eqqtfkpcvkqp cpf kpvgitcvkqp coqpi xctkqwu cevqtu kpxqnxgf kp rgceg qrgtcvkqpu, kpenwfkpi oknkvct{, ekxknkcp, cpf jwocpkvctkcp eqorqpgpvu, ku qhvgp ejcnngpikpi. Epuwtkpi vjku eqortgjgpukxg crrtqcej cpf guvcdnkujkpi eqjgtgpeg cpf u{pgti{ cetquu fkhhgtgpv curgevu qh kpvgtxgpvkqp tgockpu c rgtsistent issue.²³ Fqt gzcorng, cnqpi ykvj vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu, cpqvjgt kpvgtpcvkqpcn qticpk|cvkqp fgfkecvgf vq rtqxkfkpi rgceg cpf ugewtkv{ vq kvu ogodgtu ku vjg Nqtvj Avncpvke Ttgcv{ Oticpk|cvkqp (NATO). Wjkng NATO ku c oknkvct{ cnnkcpeg hqewugf qp eqnngevkxg fghgpeg, kv ecp ghhgevkxgn{ eqnncdqtcvg ykvj vjg United Nations.

Tq qhhgt qpg cp kfgc qh vjg eqpłkev urceg yjgtg NATO eqpfwevu kvu qrgtcvkqpu, qpg ecp xkuwcnk|g kfgcu qh fgvgttgpeg cpf fghgpeg cu cpcnqiqwu vq rgcegmggrkpi cpf rgceg gphqteg o gpv kfgcu. Tjgug ctg crrnkgf vq tgikqpcn etkuku o cpcig o gpv vq rtgxgpv vjg urtgcf qh yct cpf cmgxkcvg uwhhgtkpi. Af o kvwgfn{ hqt NATO, qpg eqwnf ctiwg o qtg uq vjg hqt o gt vjcp vjg ncwgt. Bgecwug qh vjcv, ykvjkp rgceg qrgtcvkqpu, rctcnngn qticpk|cvkqpu, nkmg NATO, o kijv dg o qtg rtqfwevkxg yjgp fgcnkpi ykvj uvcvg xgtuwu pqp-uvcvg cevqtu, cnnqykpi, hqt gzc o rng, vjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu vq rtkqtkvk|g kvu cevkxkvkgu vq o kvkicvg xkqngpeg d{ pqp-uvcvg cevqtu cickpuv ekxknkcpu.²⁴ Tjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu uq o gvk o gu yqtmu ykvj

qt vjtqwij NATO vq guvcdnkuj cpf ockpvckp ugewtg gpxktqpogpvu. Tjg oquv ygmn-mpqyp hqtou qh eqqrgtcvkqp jcxg dggp Upkvgf Ncvkqpu Sgewtkv{ Cqwpekn Rguqnwvkqpu, yjkej rtqxkfgf vjg ocpfcvgu hqt NATO qrgtcvkqpu kp vjg Wguvgtp Bcnmcpu, Ahijcpkuvcp, cpf Lkd{c cpf vjg NATO vtckpkpi okuukqp kp Itcs. 25

Upfgtuvcpfkpi vjg tqngu qh NATO cpf uwrrqtvkpi cevqtu ykvjkp vjg dtqcf

inqdcn eq o owpkv{ vq wpkvg vq gpeqwtcig cpf guvcdnkuj rgceg. Wjkng rguuk o kuvu okijv ctiwg vjcv rgceg ku vjg cdugpeg qh yct cpf vjcv yct jcu dggp eqpvkpwqwu vjtqwijqwv jwocp rtgjkuvqt{ cpf jkuvqt{, qvjgtu, nkmg rgceg tgugctejgt Apvqp{ Afqnh, uc{ vjcv rgceg jcu c nqpi cpf guvcdnkujgf ngice{ cv vjg kpfkxkfwcn, uqekgvcn, cpf vtcpupcvkqpcn ngxgnu, ykvj rgceg rtcevkegu cfcrvkpi cpf gxqnxkpi vq rtqfweg õqpg yqtnf, ocp{ rgcegu.ö²9 Cqpukfgtkpi cp qhv-fkxkfgf Upkvgf Ncvkqpu Sgewtkv{ Cqwpekn qp Ipfq-PcekŁe, Mkffng Ecuv, cpf Ecuvgtp Ewtqrg issues, this approach may sometimes be one peace at a time, supported by kpvgtpcvkqpcn eqqrgtcvkqp, kp cevkxkvkgu nkmg vjqug kodwgf ykvjkp rgceg qrgt-cvkqpu. Tjg Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Ctkuku Gtqwr, c ygnn-tgurgevgf eqpłkev uvwfkgu vjkpm vcpm, qdugtxgu: õTjg qticpk|cvkqp]Upkvgf Ncvkqpu_pggfu vq nqqm hqt yc{u vq uwuvckp cpf uvtgpivjgp vjgug ghhqtvu fgurkvg vjg fkurktkvkpi igqrqnkvkecn ektew o-uvcpegu.ö³0

Multidimensional United Nations peace operations can be crucial in prexgpvkpi eqpłkevu htqo guecncvkpi kpvq hwm-uecng yctu qt kp nguugpkpi vjgkt ghhgevu. Fktuv, vjg{ ecp fgrnq{ rgcegmggrkpi tgrtgugpvcvkxgu cpf hqtegu vq eqpłkev-rtqpg tgikqpu, jgnrkpi vq fgvgt xkqngpeg cpf hceknkvcvg fkcnqiwg coqpi eqpłkevkpi rctvkgu cpf vjwu dtkpi rgceghwn qwveq ogu.³¹ Fqt gzcorng, vjku ycu accomplished by the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force in Macefqpkc (Dgegodgt 1992 vq Fgdtwct{ 1999), yjkej uweeguuhwnn{ rtgxgpvgf vjg [wiquncx eqpłkev htqo urkmkpi qxgt kpvq Mcegfqpkc.³²

Sgeqpf, dg{qpf vtcfkvkqpcn rgcegmggrkpi, oqfgtp Upkvgf Ncvkqpu okuukqpu qhvgp kpxqnxg dtqcfgt ocpfcvgu gpeqorcuukpi rgcegdwknfkpi cpf rquv-eqpłkev tgeqpuvtwevkqp. Tjqwij ykvj ejcnngpigu, vjku rtgugpvu cpqrrqtvwpkv{ vqcfftguu vjg tqqv ecwugu qh eqpłkev, tgdwknf kpuvkvwvkqpu, cpf rtqoqvg uwuvckpcdng fgxgnopment. The United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), started in 2011, jcu dggp eqpukuvgpvn{ tgpgygf vq gpeqorcuu hqwt mg{ ctgcu: rtqvgevkpi ekxknkcpu, hceknkvcvkpi eqpfkvkqpu hqt jwocpkvctkcp ckf fgnkxgt{, uwrrqtvkpi vjg korngogpvcvkqp qh vjg rgceg citggogpv cpf tgncvgf rtqeguugu, cpf oqpkvqtkpi, kpxguvkicvkpi, cpf tgrqtvkpi qp dtgcejgu qh jwocpkvctkcp cpf jwocp tkijvu ncyu. UNMISS jcu eqnncdqtcvgf ykvj jwocpkvctkcp rctvpgtu, pcvkqpcn cpf nqecn cwvjqtkvkgu, ugewtkv{ hqtegu, cpf vjg fkurncegf eqoowpkv{. Tjg gxqnxkpi rqnkvkcn cpf ugewtkv{ ugvkpi ku cnnqykpi vjg Mkuukqp vq gzvgpf kvu uwrrqtv vq oqtg rqqrng kp pggf yjkng uvtgpivjgpkpi vjg ecrcekv{ qh nqecn rqnkeg cpf vjg lwuvkeg u{uvgo vq uchgiwctf vjgkt ekvk|gpu. 34

Tjktf, rtqvgevkpi ekxknkcpu ecwijv kp eqpłkev |qpgu ku c egpvtcn ocpfcvg qh

ocp{ oqfgtp Upkvgf Ncvkqpu rgceg qrgtcvkqpu. Pgcegmggrgtu ecp okvkicvg xkqpu pgcgwu korcev qp xwnpgtcdng rqrwncvkqpu d{ rtqxkfkpi c rj{ukecn rtgugpeg and humanitarian assistance.³5 Tjg Mkuukqp fg nøOticpkucvkqp fgu Ncvkqpu wpkgu rqwt nc uvcdknkucvkqp gp R²rwdnkswg f²oqetcvkswg fw Cqpiq (MONUS-CO), ycu uvctvgf kp 2010 cu vjg uweeguuqt okuukqp vq MONUC qt Mkuukqp fg nøOticpkucvkqp fgu Ncvkqpu wpkgu gp R²rwdnkswg f²oqetcvkswg fw Cqpiq. MONUSCOøu rtkoct{ iqcnu ctg vq rtqvgev ekxknkcpu cpf rtqoqvg vjg uvcdknkv{ cpf fgxgnqrogpv qh uvcvg kpuvkvwvkqpu kp vjg Dgoqetcvke Rgrwdnke qh Cqpiq, yjkng cnuq cfxcpekpi iqxgtpcpeg cpf ugewtkv{ tghqtou. Ptqitguu jcu dggp made in these areas.³6

DCk kkzk | c

ср

ecredng qh cfftguukpi vjg tqqv ecwugu qh xkqngpeg, kv yknn pqv dg rquukdng. Tjg 1990u rtqxkfgf ocp{ gzcorngu qh hckngf qt uwdqrvk ocn okuukqpu tguwnvkpi htq o c tcrkfn{ ejcpikpi rquv-Cqnf Wct ugewtkv{ gpxktqpogpv. Tjg nguuqpu qh Apiqnc, Sqocnkc, Rycpfc, cpf Bqupkc cnn rqkpv vq vjg pggf vq wpfgtuvcpf vjg eqpłkev ugvvkpi vq eqpuvtwev rgceg qrgtcvkqpu rtqrgtn{. Tjg Upkvgf Ncvkqpu jcu ukpeg korngogpvgf swkvg c hgy ejcpigu kp vjg igpgtcvkqp cpf gzgewvkqp qh rgceg qrgtcvkqpu, dwv etkvkecn vq cnn qh vjku ku cp ceewtcvg wpfgtuvcpfkpi qh vjg pwcpegu qh vjg qrgtcvkqpcn dcemitqwpf qh vjg okuukqp. Cqpegrvwcn crrtqcejgu nkmg vjg itg{ | qpg rtqxkfg xcnwcdng vqqnu hqt fgŁpkpi vjku ugewtkv{ gpxktqpogpv.

Sgeqpf, vjg pggf hqt c y gnn-eqpuvtwevgf Upkvgf Ncvkqpu o gpvcn. Btkvkuj tgugctejgt Eokng Skoruqp gzrnckpu vjku kfgc qh vjg pcttcvkxg kp Yct htqo vjg Gtqwpf Ur: Tygpv{-Fktuv-Cgpvwt{ Cqodcv cu Pqnkvkeu. Hg y tkvgu, õSvtcvgike pettevkxg gzrtguugu uvtevgi { eu e uvqt {, vq gzrnekp qpgøu eevkqpu.ö⁴³ Iv ugtxgu ugxgtcn rwtrqugu, htq o cnkipkpi qpgøu hqtegu d{ etgcvkpi c eq o qp wpfgtuvcpfkpi cpf ujctgf rwtrqug vq eqpxkpekpi qrrqpgpvu cpf qvjgtu qh qpgøu rqnke{ iqcnu qt gpfu. Ptguuwtgu wrqp kpvtkecvg uqekgvcn u{uvgou ecp dg o{tkcf. Mcp{ fkukpvgitcvkpi kpłwgpegu ecp tgfweg vjg ghŁekgpe{ qh eqorngz iqxgtpo gpvcn, Łuecn, uqekcn, cpf geqnqikecn uvtwevwtgu. Tjgug kpenwfg pcvwtcn ecwugu, nkmg ftqwijv, Łtgu, łqqfu, cpf ugku o ke qt xqnecpke cevkxkv{; kpvgpvkqpcn vjtgcvu, kpenwfkpi itg{ | qpg eqpłkev, j{dtkf cevkxkvkgu, qt yct; qt c eqodkpcvkqp qh ocp-ocfg cpf pcvwtcn ghlgevu, uwej cu vjg Cqxkf-19 rcpfg oke. Tjgug ujqemu ecp tguwnv kp ukipkLecpv uvtguugu qp uqekcn u{uvgou, nkmg rqrwncvkqp okitcvkqp, enk o cvg ejcpig, cpf geqnqikecn dtgcmfqyp, y jkej ctg gzc o rngu vjcv jcxg jkuvqtkecnn{ hqtgujcfqygf vjg eqnncrug qh ekxknk|cvkqpu. Ncttcvkxgu ecp cuukuv kp hquvgtkpi vjg uqekcn tguknkgpeg pgeguuct{ vq tgukuv uqekgvcn ujqemu cpf uvtguugu.

wj_

5.

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Sgg Sctcj Sjcoko, õlutcg n cwcemu UN rgcegmggrgtu kp Lgdcpqp: Wj { kvớu u c dki fgcn, ö $An\ Jc/ggtc$					

- ekn
15813, 9719vj Mggvkpi (AM & PM) (03 Sgrvg o dgt 2024), p.r.,
 <u>https://press.wp.qti/gp/2024/ue15813.fqe.jvo.</u>
- 51. Pewn D. Wkmke o u ykvj Angz J. Bgnne o {, *Upfgtuvcpfkpi Pgcegmggrkpi*, 3rd ed. (Mgfhqtf, MA: Pqnkv{ Ptguu, 2021), 26627.

Capytkdwyqtu

Caroline Dunton ku vjg Smgnvqp-Cnctm Pquvfqevqtcn Fgnnqy cv Qwggpøu Upkxgtukv{. Sjg jqnfu c PjD htq o vjg Upkxgtukv{ qh Ovvcyc, yjgtg ujg ycu cnuq c research associate at the Centre for International Policy Studies. She has held o wnvkrng rqukvkqpu cv Gnqdcn Ahhcktu Ccpcfc, kpenwfkpi cu vjg Ccfkgwz Lgigt Fgnnqy cpf ycu c ugpkqt rqnke{ cpcn{uv kp Fqtgkip Pqnke{ Pncppkpi.

Bajram Geci is a captain in the Kosovo Security Forces (KSF) and instructor cv vjg Cgpvgt hqt Upkxgtukv{ Svwfkgu (CUS). Vguc Bn{vc cpf \cpc HcujcpI ctg third year cadets at the Center for University Studies (CUS) in Kosovo.

Nicholas Dominique ku ewttgpvn{ c ecfgv cv Vktikpkc Tgej oclqtkpi kp Ipfwuvtk-cn cpf S{uvgou Epikpggtkpi. Hg yknn eqo okuukqp kpvq vjg Upkvgf Svcvgu Srceg Force in May 2025.

Howard G. Coombs ku cp cuuqekcvg rtqhguuqt qh Hkuvqt{ cv vjg Rq{cn Mknkvct{ Cqmgig qh Ccpcfc cpf fktgevqt qh vjg Cgpvtg hqt Ipvgtpcvkqpcn cpf Dghgpeg Pqnke{ cv Qwggpøu Upkxgtukv{, dqvj nqecvgf kp Kkpiuvqp, Opvctkq. Cqqodu ku cnuq c rctv-vkog Ccpcfkcp Ato{ tgugtxkuv ykvj vjg Ccpcfkcp Dghgpeg Aecfgo{, cnuq kp Kkpiuvqp. Hg itcfwcvgf htqo vjg Upkvgf Svcvgu Ato{ Sejqqn qh Afxcpegf Mknkvct{ Svwfkgu cpf tgegkxgf jku PjD kp Mknkvct{ Hkuvqt{ htqo Queen's University. Coombs's primary research interests are Canadian professional military education and Canadian Cold War military operations and vtckpkpi.

Ian Parenteau ku cp cuukuvcpv rtqhguuqt qh Pqnkvkecn Sekgpegu cv vjg Rq{cn Mknkvct{ Cqnngig Sckpv-Jgcp cpf vjg fktgevqt qh vjg Ipvgtpcvkqpcn OhLeg. Hg ku vjg ugetgvct{ qh vjg Ipvgtpcvkqpcn Auuqekcvkqp qh Mknkvct{ Aecfgokgu. Hku tgugctej

hqewugu qp gngevqtcn ocpcigogpv dqfkgu, gngevqtcn fkukphqtocvkqp, gngevqtcn rctvkekrcvkqp, cpf rqnkvkecn kfgqnqikgu. Hg ku c itcfwcvg qh vjg Rq{cn Mknkvct{ Cqnngig qh Ccpcfc cpf c hqtogt ecxcnt{ qh&egt.