

# Evolution of the peace operations doctrine and its implications in the foreign policy of Mexico

*Evolución de la doctrina de las operaciones de paz y sus implicaciones para la política exterior de México*

**Abstract:** The general objective of this paper is to identify the evolution of the United Nations Peace Operations doctrine and the implications it has had on the foreign policy of Mexico, during the period from 1848 to 2018, analyzing for this purpose the 104 Peace Operations deployed during those 70 years, making a comparative analysis with the foreign policy of the Mexican state developed during that period to determine if that evolution has had anything to do with the participation Mexico's intermittent Peace Operations and with its decision to increase, starting in 2015, the collaboration in pursuit of peace and international security in a determined and conditioned manner (humanitarian aid).

**Keywords:** United Nations Organization. Peacekeeping Operations. Special Political Missions. Peace Operations. Foreign Policy of Mexico.

**Resumen:** El objetivo de este artículo es identificar la evolución de la doctrina de las Operaciones de Mantenimiento de la Paz de las Naciones Unidas, y el impacto que han tenido en la política exterior de México, durante el período de 1948 a 2018, buscando ese fin de las 104 Operaciones de Mantenimiento de la Paz llevadas a cabo a lo largo de estos 70 años, haciendo un análisis comparativo de la política exterior del gobierno mexicano desarrollada durante este período con el fin de determinar si este desempeño tuvo algo que ver con la participación de México en las Operaciones de Mantenimiento de la Paz en movimiento y con la decisión del aumento a partir de 2015 la búsqueda de la paz y la seguridad, una decidida e impulsada (ayuda humanitaria).

**Palabras-clave:** Organización de las Naciones Unidas. Operaciones de mantenimiento de la paz. Misiones Políticas Especiales. Operaciones de paz. Política Exterior de México.

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**Received: Mar. 04, 2020**

**Approved: Aug. 10, 2020**

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**ISSN on-line 2316-4891 / ISSN print 2316-4833**

<http://ebrevistas.eb.mil.br/index.php/RMM/index>



## 1 Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to provide an additional point of view to the many exposed on the conditions that have allowed the Mexican state to participate or not in the United Nations Peace Operations, based on the general objective of identifying the evolution of the Peace Operations doctrine and the implications it has had on the foreign policy of Mexico, during the period from 1848 to 2018.

The research development was carried out through the descriptive method, gathering and analyzing diverse documents issued by the United Nations and various sources of consultation related to the foreign policy of the Mexican state, which allowed the elaboration of the document and its analysis to obtain the final conclusions.

The United Nations as depositary and guarantor of international peace and security, through various agencies and in particular of the Security Council, has had, from its creation and up to our times, the important responsibility of taking the necessary actions (from diplomatic to military) so that world stability remains in harmony, avoiding the suffering and serious damage that war brings to human beings.

The analytical and descriptive work starts from the deployment of the first "Peace Operation" in May 1948 for the Monitoring of the Truce in Palestine (UNTSO) to the Mission for the Support of Justice in Haiti (MINUJUSTH) in October 2017, analyzing the different tasks and documents that have driven the doctrine evolution of these operations, taking as a frame of reference the period of 69 years, in which there has been participation of the international community through the United Nations and Regional Peace Operations agencies.

In a first chapter, all the mandates of the 104 Peace Operations that include the Peacekeeping Operations and the Special Political Missions that have been deployed within the indicated period were analyzed, as well as the main documents that have promoted and compiled the doctrine of these operations.

On the other hand, in the second chapter, the foreign policy of the Mexican State was analyzed, from the year 1948 to 2018, orienting this analysis to the participation that Mexico has had in the international agreement of the United Nations, its policy principles and the deployment of personnel in Peacekeeping Operations.

Finally and derived from the information obtained, we conclude on what has been the influence of the doctrinal evolution of the Peace Operations and how determining the guiding principles of foreign policy, the development of international relations and the problems that Mexico has faced during the period have been.

## 2 ARGUMENT

### 2.1 Evolution of the United Nations Peace Operations doctrine

#### 2.1.1 *The United Nations (UN)*

The UN is one of the most important international organizations in the world, currently composed of 193 countries out of 194 that make it up - the only exception is the Vatican City, which has the role of observer State (ACNUR, 2017).

It had its origin in The Charter of the United Nations (UNCH) signed on June 26, 1945 in San Francisco, United States of America. The article 1 of the UNCH establishes the purposes of the organization:

To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: take effective collective measures to prevent and eliminate threats to peace, and to suppress acts of aggression or other breaches of peace; and to achieve by peaceful means, and in accordance with the principles of justice and international law, the adjustment or settlement of disputes or international situations that may lead to breaches of the peace; to promote friendly relations between nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and the right to self-determination of peoples, and take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace; to carry out international cooperation in the solution of international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian nature, and in the development and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction based on race, sex, language or religion; and 4. to be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends (UNITED NATIONS, 1945, n.p.).

The Charter of the United Nations is an international treaty through which the UN was founded, it establishes its purposes and principles, its members, its composition, the functions and powers of the 6 main organs that comprise it, as well as the procedures related to the peaceful settlement of disputes (Chapter VI), action in the case of threats to peace, breaches to peace or acts of aggression (Chapter VII), regional agreements (Chapter VIII) and the international regime of fiduciary administration (Chapter XII).

The agencies of the UN that have direct involvement in Peace Operations are the General Assembly, the Secretary General and the Security Council. The aforementioned council is composed of 5 permanent members and 10 non-permanent members, as established in Art. 23 of the UNCH<sup>1</sup>. Among its functions and powers are the following:

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1 Permanent: The Republic of China, France, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America and non-permanent for the period 2016-2018 Bolivia, Ethiopia, Kazakhstan, Countries Netherlands and Sweden and for the period 2017-2019 Côte de Ivoire, Equatorial Guinea, Kuwait, Peru and Poland (UNITED NATIONS, [2017]).

In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and recognize that the Security Council acts on their behalf. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII, and XII (UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION, 1945, n.p.)

On March 4, 2010, the Secretary General of the UN issued a bulletin in which the organization and functions of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) were updated, assigning it, among others, the following:

Directs, manages and provides political and policy guidance and strategic direction to all operations under its responsibility, which comprise all traditional and multidimensional peacekeeping operations with military and/or police components and which may include elements of peacemaking and peacebuilding, as well as certain special political missions as determined by the Secretary-General (UNITED NATIONS, 2010a).

On the same date, the Department of Field Support (DFS) was established by the Secretary General stipulating, among its organization and functions, the following:

Provide administrative and logistical support services to the Departments of Peacekeeping Operations and Political Affairs, following the instructions of the Secretary General, through the specific support provided to United Nations peacekeeping operations, special political missions and other presences in the field, hereinafter referred to as "field operations" (UNITED NATIONS, 2010a).

The Department of Political Affairs was established in 1992 under the direction of the Secretary General's office, with the functions of:

Strengthen United Nations peace-building efforts, observe global political events and advise the Secretary-General of the United Nations on issues of crisis prevention and management; It also provides support to the numerous envoys of the Secretary-General who participate in peace talks or crisis diplomacy work, and at the same time oversees the political missions of the United Nations on the ground, which are mandated to assist nations and regions to resolve their conflicts and tensions peacefully (UNITED NATIONS, 2014).

As can be seen, in the agencies described above manage all the activities aimed at the conception, planning, execution, supervision, control and logistical and administrative support of the Peace Operations, and it is through these that the rest of the structures of the UN and the contributing countries coordinate everything related to them.

## 2.2 Definition of Peace Operations

Peace operations can be defined as the totality of tools available to the United Nations to fulfill its fundamental purpose of ensuring international peace and security.

The Capstone Doctrine (2008), describes the main operations as follows:

**Conflict prevention.** Implies the application of structural or diplomatic measures to prevent intra-state or inter-state tensions and disputes from turning into violent conflicts.

**Establishment of peace.** Includes measures to address ongoing conflicts and generally involves diplomatic action to bring hostile parties to a negotiated settlement.

**Peacekeeping.** It is a technique designed to preserve peace, however fragile, where the struggle has been stopped and to help implement the agreements reached by the peacekeepers.

**Peace enforcement.** It implies the application, with the authorization of the Security Council, of a series of coercive measures, including the use of military force.

**Peace consolidation.** It implies a series of measures aimed at reducing the risk of falling or relapsing into conflicts by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and laying the foundations for sustainable peace and development (UNITED NATIONS, 2008, p.17-18).

There are also special political missions that are defined as:

Political missions that participate in the work of prevention, establishment of peace and consolidation of peace after conflicts; These field operations, led by senior representatives of the Secretary General, provide an advanced platform for preventive diplomacy and other activities from a wide range of disciplines, with the aim of helping to avoid and resolve conflicts and support complex political transitions, in coordination with national actors and United Nations development and humanitarian agencies in the field (UNITED NATIONS, 2015)

For the foregoing, it is considered that "Peace Operations" is the most accurate and appropriate term to describe the global category of all types of operations operated

by the United Nations and regional organizations and that "Peacekeeping Operations"<sup>2</sup> refer only to a subcategory of such operations that now constitute a very small part of the general activities and, therefore, it is not a precise term for the general activities, since it does not include peace enforcement and peace consolidation (KENKEL, 2013), in addition to the fact that in these activities the Special Political Missions, so important in recent times, have not been considered.

### 2.3 Evolution of Peace Operations

The evolution of peace operations analyzed here was developed by grouping it into three periods, covering the first from its creation in 1948 until the end of the cold war in 1990; the second from 1991 until 1999, and a third group from the year 2000 until 2017, year of the deployment of the last peace mission.

Since the deployment of the first peace operation (Peacekeeping) on May 9, 1948 called the Commission for the supervision of the truce in Palestine (UNTSO) to that deployed in Central America on November 7, 1989, the UN deployed a total of 18 operations of the so-called traditional, mostly composed of military personnel (observers and small contingents), under chapter VI of the UNCH (Pacific Dispute Settlement), in strict adherence to the basic principles of action<sup>3</sup> of this type of operations and once there was a peace or ceasefire agreement between the Nation States in conflict, so that the area deployed for United Nations personnel was to some extent safe. The classic tasks that they developed were the following:

- Observation, monitoring and reporting: using static publications, patrols, overflights or other technical means, with the agreement of the parties (UNITED NATIONS, 2008, p. 21);
- Supervision of Cease-fire and support for verification mechanisms (UNITED NATIONS, 2008, p. 21);
- Interposition as a buffer and confidence-building measure (UNITED NATIONS, 2008, p. 21).

During this period the Nation State had a preponderance over any other aspect as a subject of international law, however, derived from the changes in the global environment and the conflicts that arose, the United Nations evolved and adapted itself to the new challenges by deploying peace with certain particularities, as follows:

**1. First United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I) Established in the Suez Canal, Egypt on Nov. 5, 1956, in order to supervise the cessation of hostilities, including the with-**

2 "Peacekeeping operations" are defined by the UN as an operation involving military personnel, but without enforcement powers (managed powers), managed by the United Nations to help maintain or restore international peace and security, while they are being treated of achieving lasting political solutions (TREJO GARCÍA; ALVAREZ ROMERO, 2007).

3 The basic principles of this type of operation are: the consent of the host nation, impartiality between the factions in conflict and the non-use of force by the United Nations troops (KENKEL, 2013).

drawal of armed forces from France, Israel and the United Kingdom from the Egyptian territory and, upon completion of the withdrawal, serve as a buffer zone between the Egyptian forces and the Israeli forces (UNITED NATIONS, 2003a).

2. **United Nations Temporary Executive Authority** (UNSF) It was established on Oct. 3, 1962 to maintain peace and security in the territory that was constituted in an agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands (UNITED NATIONS, 2003b).

3. The United Nations **Transitional** Assistance Group (UNTAG) was established on Apr. 1, 1989 to assist the **Special Representative of the Secretary-General** in ensuring the early independence of Namibia from free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations.

In the three operations mentioned above, the evolution of the doctrine of peace operations is shown, since to perform basically observation tasks, they assumed increasingly active tasks in the states in which they were deployed, always respecting the right to self-determination of each one of them.

Of the operations indicated (18), five of them remain deployed to date<sup>4</sup>.

The second study period began with the deployment of the Peacekeeping Operation on April 9, 1991 for the observation of a demilitarized zone on the border between Iraq and Kuwait (UNIKOM) and until the deployment of the Operation of Maintenance of the Peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) on November 30, 1999, during this period (9 years) the United Nations deployed a total of 42 peace operations (35 Peacekeeping and 7 Special Political Missions), characterizing this period for the attention of conflicts of internal character with greater preponderance than those of interstate nature, forcing the UN to make more flexible and adapt operations, becoming **Complex or Multidimensional Peace Operations**, ceasing to be purely military operations to integrate police personnel and civilians of various specialties in the missions. The framework of its action was based on the same principles of traditional operations (Chapter VI) and the deployment of operations with increasing frequency of operations under Chapters VII and VIII of the Charter of the United Nations began. These operations were carried out most of the time in an environment of violence, without the parties having reached a peace agreement. The basic functions of a multidimensional peacekeeping operation of the United Nations were:

To create a safe and stable environment while strengthening the capacity of the State to provide security, with full respect for the rule of law and human rights;

1. To facilitate the political process by promoting dialogue and reconciliation and supporting the establishment of legitimate and effective government institutions;
2. To provide a framework to ensure that all actors of the United Nations and other international actors develop their activities at the national level in a coherent and coordinated manner (UNITED NATIONS, 2008).

<sup>4</sup> UNTSO (Palestine) since May 28, 1948, UNMOGIP (India-Pakistan) since January 24, 1949, UNICYP (Greece-Turkey) since March 4, 1964, UNDOF (Israel-Syria) from the 31st of May 1974 and UNIFIL (Lebanon) since March 19, 1978.

During this period, humanitarian assistance and protection of human rights became more important and the tasks to be developed were multiplied as follows: Monitoring of the ceasefire, ensuring the implementation of agreements, maintenance of law and order, repatriation of refugees, supervision of the demilitarization of areas, measures of chapter VII of the UN Charter, border monitoring, best practices, demobilization of combatants, humanitarian demining activities, organization and training of police forces, organization and supervision of electoral processes, reform of the legal and penitentiary system, professionalization of the armed forces, restoration of peace and national reconciliation, economic rehabilitation, establishment of transitional authorities, aid for the consolidation of peace, democratic stability, rehabilitation of infrastructure and rehabilitation of the country.

The peace operations in which the evolution in the tasks can be observed in a specific way and that therefore also generated a change in their doctrine are the following:

1. The United Nations Observer Mission deployed in the Republic of El Salvador on May 20, 1991 (ONUSAL), was **the first multidimensional peacekeeping operation** in which police and civil activities were established for the first time, and in particular concerning the **protection and promotion of human rights**.

2. The United Nations Protection Force deployed in Croatia on February 21, 1992 (UNPROFOR), is the **first mission involving regional organizations under the leadership of the UN** (European Community Monitoring Mission (EOM) and the Organization of the North Atlantic Treaty (NATO) and also, the **first operation in which operations are authorized under Chapter VII** and the task of **protecting Humanitarian Aid also appears for the first time**.

3. The United Nations Observer Mission established in Angola on June 30, 1997 (MONUA), is the first operation in which a mandate to **assist in the consolidation of peace** was issued.

4. **The United Nations Interim Administration Mission** deployed in Kosovo on June 10, 1999 (UNMIK), becomes the first operation of its kind.

5. **The Transitional Administration Mission** deployed to East Timor on October 25, 1999 (UNTAET), is the first peace mission of its kind.

6. Seven special political missions are deployed for the first time in the countries of Angola, Burundi, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Somalia, Papua Guinea and Timor Leste.

During this period there were violent situations that exceeded the capacity of the deployed troops and would force a rethinking of the material resources placed at their disposal and the military restrictions for the fulfillment of their mandates:

The "**three great**" failures of peacekeeping in the 1990s include the lack of prevention or limiting the **Rwandan** genocide in 1994; its inefficiency in achieving political agreement, together with relatively strong military losses, in **Somalia**; and his failure to protect civilians and herself in **Bosnia**, symbolized by the 1995 Srebrenica massacre (KENKEL, 2013, p. 129, emphasis added).



The events that took place during these three operations urged the UN and the member countries to analyze and generate doctrine to prevent their recurrence. Of the operations of this period (42), only two continue to be deployed<sup>5</sup>.

The third period of study is between the years 2000 and 2017, in which the UN deployed a total of 43 missions (18 multidimensional Peacekeeping and 25 Special Political Missions). Peacekeeping operations are characterized by being deployed mostly under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations to address intra-state conflicts of a political/religious/tribal nature and for having the protection of civilians as the highest priority in recent times and deployed under a more ambitious mandate under the figures of Consolidation and Stabilization of Peace.

Some characteristic missions of this period in which the evolution of the doctrine of operations can be appreciated are the following:

1. The United Nations Mission deployed in Liberia on 19 September 2006 (UNMIL) specifies for the first time a **mandate to protect United Nations personnel, services, facilities and equipment and to protect the population civilian who is under imminent threat of physical violence** (UNITED NATIONS, 2003c).

2. The **Hybrid Operation between the African Union and the UN** established in Darfur on July 31, 2007 (UNAMID), becomes the first operation of its kind.

3. The **UN Stabilization Mission** deployed in the Republic of the Congo on July 1, 2010 (MONUSCO). It is the first of its kind and the first that specifically establishes the protection of civilians as a priority in its mandate.

4. The **UN Multidimensional Integral Stabilization Mission** established in Mali on April 25, 2013 (MINUSMA), is the first of its kind.

Of the 43 operations of this period, 17 are still deployed, of which 7 correspond to Peacekeeping Missions<sup>6</sup> and 10 to Special Political Missions<sup>7</sup>.

Although peace operations began in 1948, it was not until the beginning of the nineties (four decades later) and as a result of the new threats to international peace and security that studies began to be generated, reports and recommendations to make these operations more efficient, adapting them to the new tasks to be developed. The following is a chronological description of the most important documents generated by the UN in which proposals for improvements and initiatives that have generated the evolution of doctrine:

The Secretary General's Report on the work of the organization, "A PEACE PROGRAM" (Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping), June 17, 1992, presents an overview of the situation of the post-cold-war world scenario and makes an analysis and recommendations to strengthen the capacities of the UN; Defines the terms of Preventive Diplomacy, Establishment of

5 MINURSO (Western Sahara) since April 29, 1991 and UNMIK (Kosovo) since June 10, 1999.

6 UNAMID (Darfur) since July 31, 2007, MONUSCO (Republic of the Congo) since July 1, 2010, UNISFA (Abyei) from June 27, 2011, UNMISS (South Sudan) from July 9, 2011, MINUSMA (Mali) from April 25, 2013, MINUSCA (Central African Republic) from the April 10, 2015 and MINUSJUSTH (Haiti) from October 16, 2017.

7 UNSMIL (Libya), Sep. 6, 2011; UNAMA (Afghanistan), Mar. 28, 2002; UNSOM (Somalia), Jun. 3, 2013; UNOWAS (West Africa), Jan. 28, 2006; UNIOGBIS (Guinea Bissau), Feb. 23, 2017; UNAMI (Iraq), Aug. 14, 2003; UNOCA (Central Africa), Mar. 2, 2011; United Nations verification mission in Colombia, January 25, 2016; UNRCCA (Central Asia), May 16, 2007 and UNSCOL (Lebanon), Jul. 20, 2000.

peace, Maintenance of peace and for the first time cites related to the Consolidation of peace; It proposes the action of a preventive deployment and the creation of demilitarized zones prior to the start of hostilities, the creation of so-called peace protection units and indicates the need for greater commitment of the member states to provide military personnel, police and civilian, as well as adequate logistical means for peacekeeping operations; Likewise, it highlights the security of UN personnel and makes a series of recommendations to solve the financial problem faced by these operations (UNITED NATIONS, 1992).

The Supplement to "An Agenda for Peace": Position Paper of the Secretary General submitted on the occasion of the 50th. anniversary of the UN, January 3, 1995, establishes that qualitative changes in operations are more important than quantitative changes, describing these changes as the operational change faced by UN contingents as of the end of the Cold War when attending interstate affairs in which civilians are the main victims; the use of United Nations force to protect humanitarian operations and operations with negotiated agreements in which, in addition to military issues, a wide range of civil issues was resolved.

A series of measures are proposed to improve the tools of preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping and peacebuilding; It also establishes some criteria on disarmament, sanctions and the power of the UN to carry out coercive actions and finally makes some recommendations regarding financial resources (UNITED NATIONS, 1995).

In the recommendations of the High Level Group on United Nations Operations (Lakhdar Brahimi), August 17, 2000, it is addressed that in the last decade (1990-2000) the UN have not lived up to the challenges and indicates that the key to success lies in political support, rapid deployment with a clear demonstration of strength and a good peacebuilding strategy. The report makes a series of recommendations regarding conflict prevention measures, peacebuilding strategy, peacekeeping theory and strategy, clear, convincing and viable mandates, information and strategic analysis, determination of deployment deadlines, military personnel, civilian police personnel, civil experts, rapid deployment capacity, logistic support and expense management. It also proposes some structural adjustments in the department of peacekeeping operations (BRAHIMI, 2000).

In the report of the high-level group on threats, challenges and change "A safer world: The responsibility we share" (Anand Panyarachun), December 2, 2004, an initial analysis is made of six groups of threats in the new century, as follows: Economic and social threats, such as poverty, infectious diseases and environmental degradation; The conflicts between States; Internal conflicts, such as civil war, genocide and other large-scale atrocities; Nuclear, radiological, chemical and biological weapons; terrorism and transnational organized crime. It deals in a particular way with each one of these threats proposing a series of measures from the point of view of prevention to face each of them; Address the role of sanctions; the use of force; the ability to impose peace; the consolidation of peace after a conflict and the protection of civilians, among others (UNITED NATIONS, 2004).

In the final document of the 2005 World Summit, the member states committed themselves to continue finding ways to implement the results of the Millennium Summit and to provide multilateral solutions to the problems of the following four areas: Development

(Special attention to equality among gender and the empowerment of women); Peace and collective security (peaceful settlement of disputes, use of force, Terrorism, maintenance and consolidation of peace, sanctions, transnational crime); Human rights and the rule of law (displaced persons, refugees, democracy, responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity, as well as the rights of children. the UN (Establishment of a peacebuilding commission) (UNITED NATIONS, 2005).

The Publication of the Maintenance of Peace of the UN principles and guidelines "CAPSTONE DOCTRINE", January 18, 2008 is a doctrinal document on Peacekeeping Operations that consists of three chapters: In the first chapter we discuss what is related to the evolution of the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, in the second it deals with its planning and in a third it talks about the art of executing the successful mandate; As the name implies, they contain a series of guidelines that allow us to know, understand and apply this type of operations (UNITED NATIONS, 2008).

The document called A new horizon was prepared by DPKO and DFS in 2009 and presents a guide on the development and evolution of Peacekeeping Operations during the period from 2000 to 2008, with a projection to the year 2010; It is a document that invites UN agencies and member countries to consider on what has been achieved and what needs to be done in relation to the proposals made in the Brahimi Report. It establishes 30 recommendations on which it intends to work to achieve unity of purpose, unity in action and unity for the future (UNITED NATIONS, 2009).

The report of the High Level Independent Group on Peace Operations: Combining our advantages in favor of peace - politics, alliances and persons dated June 16, 2015 establishes that, despite the great advances in operations, chronic difficulties persisted, so they made a series of proposals to improve them in the future, such as: Give priority to political solutions that go beyond military actions, prepare customized peace missions by making flexible use of the wide range of activities that are part of the peace operations and regulate the participation of regional organizations, among others (UNITED NATIONS, 2015).

## **2.4 Foreign policy of Mexico in relation to UN peace operations**

### *2.4.1 Foreign policy principles*

The foreign policy of Mexico is based on the normative principles established in Article 89, section X of the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States, which establishes as faculty and exclusive obligation of the President of the Republic:

Direct foreign policy and celebrate international treaties, as well as terminate, denounce, suspend, modify, amend, withdraw reservations and make interpretative declarations about them, subjecting them to the approval of the Senate. In the conduct of such policy, the holder of the Executive Power will observe the following normative

principles: the self-determination of the peoples; the nonintervention; the peaceful settlement of disputes; the proscription of the threat or use of force in international relations; the legal equality of States; international cooperation for development; respect, protection and promotion of human rights and the fight for international peace and security (MÉXICO, 2018b, our translation).

These normative principles are the product of the historical evolution of the country and are the tool that various presidents of Mexico have invoked throughout history not to be an active part of the peace operations of the UN.

#### *2.4.2 Secretariat of Foreign Affairs*

For the fulfillment of the powers and obligations indicated for the Executive, this is supported by the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, to which corresponds according to Article 28 of the Federal Public Administration Law, to dispatch among other matters, the following:

To promote and ensure the coordination of actions outside the agencies and entities of the Federal Public Administration; and without affecting the exercise of the attributions that correspond to each of them, to conduct foreign policy, for which it will intervene in all kinds of treaties, agreements and conventions in which the country is a party; To intervene in relation to commissions, congresses, conferences and international exhibitions, and to participate in international organizations and institutes of which the Mexican Government is a part of [...] (MÉXICO, 2018a, our translation).

In this regard, several authors maintain that the foreign policy of the Mexican State does not obey a national public policy but is guided solely and exclusively by the decisions of the group in power.

#### **2.5 Participation of Mexico in the United Nations and UN Peace Operations**

Mexico, being one of the 51 founding countries of the Organization (signed its accession on November 7, 1945), has maintained a participation within the organization, in favor of international peace and security, highlighting those related to:

The peaceful solution of disputes; The fight against the Apartheid; The promotion of disarmament, in particular with the Treaty of Tlatelolco that established the first nuclear-weapon-free zone in a densely populated area; The adoption of the Charter of Duties and Economic Rights; The promotion of the Extraordinary Period on Drugs, the elaboration of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and their Families, United Nations Conferences

held in Mexico; He has assumed the presidency of the General Assembly on one occasion and the vice president on 8 occasions, has participated in various periods in the Operations; He has been a non-permanent member of the security council on three occasions and since 1947 recognizes the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice [...] (MÉXICO, 2016, n. p., our translation).

The foreign policy of Mexico from the year 1945 to the present day has been characterized by the considerations described in the following paragraphs.

During the period from 1946 to 1969 (Miguel Alemán Valdés) "Mexican diplomacy begins to play a more important role in the face of the new world demands of the post-war period. In the post-war period, the kind of diplomacy known as multilateral or mechanisms of agreement begins to have relevance in the context of Mexico's foreign policy" (RAMÍREZ VASQUEZ, 2001), proof of this is the intense participation of Mexico in the United Nations during the aforementioned period, highlighting that:

He was president of the Sixth General Assembly in 1951; occupied the Vice Presidency of said assembly in the 2nd. and 3rd sessions (1945 and 147 respectively); He was a non-permanent member of the Security Council in 1946; he was part of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in 1950-1952; participated as a judge from 1946 to 1952 in the International Court of Justice and participated in the United Nations Military Observer Group in Kashmir (UNMOGIP) in 1949 with 4 Field and 2 Company Grade Officers of the Army and Air Force and in the Commission of UN Research in the Balkans (ONUSB) from 1947 to 1950 with a General, two Field Grade and one Company Grade Officer of the Army and Air Force (MÉXICO, 2016, n.p., emphasis added, our translation).

During the 18 years of Adolfo Ruiz Cortines (1952-1958) to Gustavo Díaz Ordaz (1964-1970),

to respond to the needs of a closed economic model, Mexican foreign policy maintained a relative passivity based on its traditional principles. Then, Mexico assumed a nationalist, legalistic and isolationist attitude to counteract the power of the United States and avoid possible interference in its internal affairs [...] (VELÁZQUEZ FLORES, 2007, our translation).

However, Mexico continued to participate in various forums of the United Nations, highlighting during this period that

[...] he was vice president of the General Assembly at the 8th and 16th sessions in the years 1953, 1961, respectively; he held the chair of the Economic and Social

Council (ECOSOC) in 1959 and participated as a judge in the periods 1955-1964 and 1964-1973 in the International Court of Justice (MÉXICO, 2016, n.p., emphasis added, our translation).

During the period of Luis Echeverría Álvarez (1970-1976) to José López Portillo (1976-1982), since 1970, international conditions changed significantly "giving a turn to foreign policy towards a more active performance taking as a central principle the ideological pluralism" (VELÁZQUEZ FLORES, 2007). The participation of Mexico in United Nations during this period was characterized by actively continuing since "he occupied the vice presidency of the General Assembly in the 29th and 36th sessions in 1974 and 1981, respectively; He was a non-permanent member of the Security Council from 1980 to 1981 and was a member of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) for the periods 1974-1976, 1977-79 and 1980-1982" (MÉXICO, 2016).

During the period of Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado (1982-1988) to Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León (1994-2000), Mexico faced recurrent economic crises and internal political problems. At the economic level, it began with the neoliberal model and at the political level, Mexican diplomacy intensified multilateralism to counteract dependence on the United States, strengthening its relations with Latin America. It is during this period (1987) that the guiding principles of foreign policy were raised to constitutional rank; during this period, the objectives of this policy were established to preserve national sovereignty and defend world peace, among others. Mexico participated in the organization of the United Nations:

Forming part of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in the periods 1983 - 1985, 1990-1992 and 1993-1995; participated as an ad hoc member in the International Court of Justice from 1982 to 1984; Participated in the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) from February 1992 to March 1993, with 120 police officers and in the Electoral Assistance in Timor Leste in 1999 and in Haiti in 2004; and assumed the vice presidency of the General Assembly in 52nd session in 1997 (MÉXICO, 2016, n.p., emphasis added, our translation).

Thanks to the arrival of a more democratic system with the coming to power of Vicente Fox Quezada (2000-2006), "Mexico almost immediately gained an increase in its capacity for international negotiation" (VELÁZQUEZ FLORES, 2007); In the National Development Plan, five foreign policy interests were established, including the one of "actively participating in the creation of an international system that promotes stability and cooperation, on the basis of international law, and that provides us with space for political and diplomatic action with other nations or regions" (VELÁZQUEZ FLORES, 2007). During this period, Mexico participated in United Nations "as an ad hoc member in the International Court of Justice in 2004; assumed the pre-

sidency in 58th session of the General Assembly in 2003 and formed part of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) for the periods 2000-2002 and 2005-2007" (MÉXICO, 2016).

During the period of Felipe Calderón Hinojosa (2006-2012) it was established in the National Development Plan 2007-2012 in its "Public Policy Democracy and Responsible Foreign Policy Axis" that the membership of Mexico in numerous forums and international organizations would offer conditions propitious to increase their participation in the construction of the new world order, that in order to resume international leadership, Mexico should be able to build solid and respectful relations with all nations, especially those of Latin America, with the objective of contributing to the efforts of the international community to extend the validity of democratic values and principles, fundamental freedoms and human rights, as well as sustainable development" (MÉXICO, 2007).

However, during the Calderón administration, the priority was the war against the drug cartels; therefore, other areas of political activity were relegated to secondary levels. This had an impact on Mexican foreign policy, whose design was not protagonist, since domestic politics had greater importance. "It deployed to Latin America a foreign policy of a personal nature, which would be called presidential diplomacy" (RODRIGUEZ AÑUEZ; PRADO LALLANDE, 2015). During these six years, Mexico participated in the United Nations "[...] as judge in the International Court of Justice in the period from 2006 to 2014" (MÉXICO, 2016, our translation); Was a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for the period from 2009 to 2010 and he organized the United Nations Conference on Climate Change that was held in Cancun, Mexico on November 29 to December 10, 2010 and the meeting of the 7th Summit of the G- 20 that took place in Los Cabos, Baja California Sur, Mexico, from June 18 to 19, 2012, among others. "Calderón rejected the participation of Mexico in UN Peace Missions since the attention of his government focused on the internal situation and the fight against drug trafficking" (ARGÜELLES ARREDONDO, 2014, our translation).

Between 2012 and 2018, Enrique Peña Nieto headed Mexico, who in his fifth goal of the National Development Plan 2013 - 2018 "Mexico with global responsibility" established, among others, the following strategies:

[...] 6. To consolidate the role of Mexico as a responsible, active and committed actor in the multilateral sphere, promoting in a priority manner strategic issues of global benefit and compatible with national interests; 7. To promote a vigorous international cooperation policy that contributes both to the development of Mexico and to the development and stability of other countries, as an essential element of Mexico's role as a responsible global actor (MÉXICO, 2013, n. p., our translation).

## 2.6 Restarting Mexico's participation in Peacekeeping Operations

During 69th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, the president of the republic presented, among other topics, the one related to Peacekeeping Operations, as follows:

Mexico values and supports the work of Peacekeeping Operations (PKO), as it is the instrument of the United Nations to provide direct support to countries that live or have come out of conflicts, and to help create the conditions for a lasting peace through reconstruction, humanitarian assistance and security. Mexico announced that it resumes its participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations, in which it has not been present since 1992. This new participation will be gradual, both in the number of personnel and missions and will pay special attention to situations of a humanitarian nature. For this, the Mexican participation will be conditioned to the existence of a cessation of hostilities framework, a clear mandate of the Security Council and the explicit acceptance of the State receiving the operation. The Mexican participation will be attached to the normative principles of the foreign policy of Mexico, and to the applicable constitutional framework (MÉXICO, 2014, p. 6-7, our translation).

As a result of the foregoing, several actions were implemented in the framework of Mexico's participation in Peacekeeping Operations, as will be explained below:

1. The contribution of personnel to the missions from April 2015 to October 2018, as follows: "50 field and company grade officers of the Army and Air Force in Haiti, Lebanon, Western Sahara, Mali and in Colombia in the special mission of the UN (4 of them military women). On January 12, 2018, the first military woman deployed in Peacekeeping Operations in the Western Sahara mission" (BIENVENIDA..., 2018, n. p., , our translation); "27 captains and junior officers of the Mexican Navy in the missions of Haiti, Lebanon, Western Sahara, Mali and in Colombia in the special mission of the UN" (BIENVENIDA..., 2018, n.p., our translation) and "A non-commissioned officer of the Federal Police was deployed in the United Nations Mission in Support of Justice in Haiti. (First participation since our country rejoined the peace operations in 2015" (REPÚBLICA DOMINICANA, [2018]).

2. Participation for the first time in history in the military parade commemorating the 208th anniversary of the independence of the country on September 16, 2018, in which the Armed Forces presented to the people of Mexico a representation of the personnel that has participated in UN Peacekeeping Operations.

3. The inauguration of the Joint Training Center for Peace Operations of Mexico (CECOPAM) on October 1, 2018, in which General Salvador Cienfuegos Zepeda, Secretary of National Defense stated that the Center:

Teaches in the first phase, the courses for United Nations Staff Officers and Military Mission Experts, and in a second phase, the courses for contingents, policemen, for civilians working in unstable environments and civil - military relations in the environment of the United Nations. That the implementation of this subject aims to train Mexican military, police and civilian personnel, and eventually foreign personnel, to perform efficiently in Peacekeeping Operations, to train units and circumstantial agencies of the Mexican Armed Forces, to generate doctrine for peace operations for the Armed Forces, within the scope of their competence; Maintains liaison with other similar institutions, within regional and multinational mechanisms for the exchange of experiences, good practices and lessons learned; and finally advises



the different branches, services and bodies of the Mexican Armed Forces on the inclusion of topics related to Peacekeeping Operations in their respective training programs (BIENVENIDA..., 2018, n.p., our translation).

It should be noted that Mexico is among the first contributors, since it occupies the 10th place in the regular budget of the UN with a pro-rata quota of 2.257 percent and is listed as the 23rd contributor to the budget of Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) with a share of 0.4515 percent. Mexico is the main contributor from Latin America and the Caribbean (MÉXICO, 2016).

Regarding its participation in humanitarian aid activities, Mexico has supported the international community through the organizations that are part of the UN as well as unilaterally through the deployment of its Armed Forces and other agencies of the federal public administration, highlighting the support in the following catastrophes: "earthquakes in Haiti and Chile in 2010. In the tsunamis of Indonesia in 2004 and Japan 2011, in Hurricane Katrina in the United States in 2005, in Hurricane Mitch in Central America in 1998, in the Ecuador earthquake in 2017, as well as in the forest fire in Nicaragua, in April 2018" (PELCASTRE, 2018). In addition to the previously stated support activities, through the Mexican Agency for International Development Cooperation (AMEXCID), humanitarian aid actions have been coordinated to various parts of the world with financial, material and Federal Government Dependencies and Federal Commission resources, like Electricity and the National Forestry Commission, among others (MÉXICO, 2017).

### 3 CONCLUSION

The UN Peace Operations initiated the development and evolution of its doctrine from the moment in which the first Peacekeeping operation was deployed in the year 1948, derived from the lessons learned and from the experiences lived during the development of the different tasks stipulated in the mandates and of all those experiences and observations made by the troops deployed in the field.

During the period from 1948 to 1990, the development of the doctrine was limited, since the places where Peace Operations were deployed were to attend interstate conflicts, in accordance with Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations and in strict adherence to the basic principles of action, with the participation of personnel and military units and the incipient activity of some civilians interacting under the rules of the military commander. In this period, deployments are made to protect nation states as a whole.

It is until the nineties that peace operations experience a faster evolution associated with the diversity of tasks that were added to address in a timely manner the growing need for deployment oriented mostly to address the problems generated by the intra-state conflicts of a political/religious/tribal nature in increasingly dangerous environments and many times without the consent of any of the parties; during the second half of this period, the

participation of police and civil personnel increases and the Special Political Missions appears to deal with conflicts in an integrated manner; a turning point in these operations were the experiences lived in Somalia, Rwanda and Kosovo, a situation that forced the United Nations to study and adapt the doctrine of operations to avoid the atrocities that took place in those countries. The deployment of operations begins under the figure of chapters VII and VIII of the Charter of the United Nations and the respect and promotion of human rights begins to be given greater importance.

From the year 2000 and up to date, the deployment of operations has continued with the attention of conflicts of interstate nature in its majority and as product of its doctrinal evolution are deployed with specific mandates in accordance with the existing problem, mostly under the figure of the chapters VII and VIII, predominating the Special Political Missions linked to the Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations. In this period, the protection of civilians, humanitarian aid activities and the participation of women in this type of operations are particularly important.

In order to compile the doctrinal evolution of the operations, starting in 1992, we begin with the presentation of reports and various studies in which a series of measures are proposed to improve its performance, with particular relevance being the so-called "A program for peace" presented by the Secretary General in 1992 and the so-called "Brahimi report" prepared in 2000, for presenting these documents a general outline of the situation in which the Peacekeeping Operations were at the end of the Cold War and at the beginning of the present century, respectively; Establishing in both reports a series of proposals tending to solve the problems presented by the aforementioned operations in their different spheres of action.

During the first years of life of the UN, the Mexican government participated in a preponderant manner in various forums of the organization, particularly during the administration of President Miguel Alemán Valdés (1946-1952), in which military observers were sent to the first Peacekeeping Missions deployed in the Balkans between 1947 and 1950 and in Kashmir in 1949. After the aforementioned period, Mexico demonstrated its pacifist vocation and in strict adherence to its guiding principles of foreign policy, especially that of non-intervention, actively participate with the deployment of personnel from 1950 and until 1992 (42 years), in which, as president, Carlos Salinas de Gortari ordered the participation of 120 policemen in the operation deployed in the Republic of El Salvador. Other participations were Timor Leste in 1999, being President Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León and in Haiti in 2004 under the presidency of Vicente Fox Quezada, in electoral assistance activities with civil personnel of the Federal Electoral Institute.

The statement made by Mr. Enrique Peña Nieto, President of Mexico on September 24, 2014, during the 69th session of the General Assembly, regarding the resumption of participation in Peacekeeping Operations, sets a precedent in the history of the foreign relations of the Mexican state, and reaffirms its commitment to international peace and security. In the aforementioned statement, the President of Mexico established the conditions for such participation: It will be done gradually, paying special attention to situations of a humanitarian nature, the existence of a cessation of hostilities, the existence of a clear mandate and the express acceptance of the receiving state. As of October 2018, 78 elements have been deployed (77 from the Armed Forces and one from the Federal Police), of which 11 were women.

Derived from the foregoing, it can be concluded that the evolution of the UN Peace Operations since its creation and until 2018, has not been decisive for the participation of the Mexican state in this type of operations, since this decision has obeyed domestic situations and based on the judgment of the power group in turn. In the concept that such participation has always been in accordance with the guiding principles of Mexico's foreign policy (Non-intervention), in addition to the fact that at present the country's capacities are being sought through the deployment of humanitarian aid activities, a branch in which that the Mexican Armed Forces and other agencies of the public administration have had an outstanding participation in different parts of the world.

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