



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

An architecture for peace: deciphering the UN's multidimensional approach to the Israel - Arab Conflict (1967 - 1982)

Salama, D.

Citation

Salama, D. (2024, April 16). *An architecture for peace: deciphering the UN's multidimensional approach to the Israel - Arab Conflict (1967 - 1982)*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3736081>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3736081>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

**An Architecture for Peace: Deciphering the UN's Multidimensional
Approach to the Israel - Arab Conflict (1967 - 1982)**

Proefschrift

**ter verkrijging van
de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties
te verdedigen op dinsdag 16 april 2024
klokke 11:15 uur**

**door
Diego Salama
geboren te Cochabamba, Bolivia
in 1989**

Promotores:

Prof.dr. A.W.M. Gerrits

Dr. A.M. O'Malley

Promotiecommissie

Prof.dr. I.G.B.M. Duijvesteijn

Prof. dr. J.A. Koops

Prof. dr. M.O. Hosli

Prof. dr. L.M. Howard (Georgetown University)

Prof dr. J Karlsrud (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs)

Cover Photo

From left to right: Sir Brian Urquhart, George Lansky, Lt Gen Ensio Siilasvuo, Jaques Schoelkopf and Gen Koho.

UNEF HQ, 1974

Credit: UN Photo/ Yukata Nagata

Back Cover Photo

A view of Government House in Jerusalem, the headquarters of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). This scene, taken from the radio antenna towards the northwest, shows the Kidron Valley and the Old City of Jerusalem with the Temple area in the background to the right. Part of the New City of Jerusalem is seen to the left.

Jerusalem, 1968

Credit: UN Photo

Acknowledgements

This dissertation stands as a milestone in my ongoing journey through the annals of United Nations history, a journey I am privileged to undertake at Leiden University. It's with profound gratitude that I reflect on the contributions of those who have made this work not just possible, but deeply enriching.

Foremost, my supervisors, Andre Gerrits and Alanna O'Malley, have been the Sherpas of this endeavour. Their incisive critiques, encouragement to grapple with complex questions, and unwavering patience have profoundly shaped this work. Our sessions, always a vibrant blend of intellectual challenge and a necessary dash of good humour, have been invaluable. Thank you, both.

I extend my appreciation to the distinguished reading committee: Professors Duijvesteijn, Hosli, Koops, Karlsrud, and Howard. Having my work scrutinized by such luminaries in peacekeeping and international organization studies has been an extraordinary privilege. Their insightful feedback has not only enriched my dissertation but also fortified its final form.

My tenure at the United Nations University was instrumental in reaching this goal, made possible by the support and understanding of my managers, Howard Hudson and Bartel Van de Walle. Their flexibility and encouragement were critical as I navigated the dual demands of work and research.

A critical component of this dissertation is the research I was able to conduct at the UN Archives in New York. The staff at the Archives deserves recognition for their assistance and the insightful recommendations that enhanced my research. A special note of thanks goes to my Uncle Roberto and Aunt Jadranka Salama, whose hospitality in New York allowed me to spend as much time as I did at the Archives.

Embarking on a PhD while working full-time is a solitary venture, yet it was made lighter by the companionship of dear friends. Dr. Ortrun Merkle, in particular, has been a source of unwavering support, invaluable insights, and academic camaraderie. Gabrielle Lipton's keen editorial eye has significantly shaped the clarity and coherence of my work. To my friends—Raoul, Robin, Matthew, Fabrizio, Stefano, Daniel, Felix, Adina, Florian, Iman, Thomas,

Virginia, Veronica, and Andrew—your encouragement and humour have been a constant source of joy and perspective.

To Tamara, my partner, your steadfast love and support made it possible for me to cross the finish line. Over the last 18 months, her unwavering support, patience and love gave me the inspiration this dissertation required.

This work is dedicated to my family, whose belief in me has been unwavering. My Aunts Silvia, Ester, Maria Del Sol always reminded me the importance of perseverance and resilience. My Sister Gabriela, stepmother Judy, and brother-in-law Rodrigo who, at times, were challenged by my academic endeavours even more so than I was, had never-ending patience and were the pillars of encouragement.

Lastly, but most importantly, my father, Rodolfo, deserves my deepest gratitude. His emotional support, intellectual engagement, and guiding discipline have been foundational to my development and achievements. His unwavering belief in me, even in moments of doubt, has been my greatest source of strength. Gracias, Pa.

As I stand on the threshold of this academic achievement, I am keenly aware that the work and history of the United Nations, while marked by aspirations towards a more just and peaceful world, are also characterized by imperfections and challenges. Despite these complexities, the imperative to study the United Nations—its achievements, its challenges, and its evolving role in the tapestry of international relations—has never been more critical.

In an era where the principles of multilateralism are under threat and the global landscape is rife with uncertainty, the role of historians in illuminating the United Nations' journey becomes indispensable. By delving into its history, we not only acknowledge its contributions and shortcomings but also reinforce the importance of multilateralism as the cornerstone of international cooperation and peace. This dissertation, therefore, is not merely an academic exercise but a reaffirmation of my commitment to contributing to a deeper understanding of the United Nations, believing that such insights are vital for safeguarding the future of global governance and sustainable development.

Maastricht, February 2024.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	1
Figure 1. UNTSO Area of Operations as of 1978	7
Figure 2. UNEF II Area of Operations as of 1978	8
Figure 4. UNIFIL Area of Operations as of 1978	10
List of Acronyms	11
Chapter 1 The UN Architecture in the Middle East.....	12
Introduction.....	12
A new approach.....	17
Complexity Theory and UN Peacekeeping in the Middle East.....	17
Research Question.....	19
Supplementary Research Questions:.....	20
Brief Reflections on the Research Questions.....	22
Methodology.....	23
UN Archives	23
1967 – 1982: A Tumultuous Period	25
The UN Architecture in the Middle East: A Note on Case Selection.....	27
A Voice to the Peacekeepers	29
Literature Review on ‘Peacekeeping in the Middle East’: An Incomplete Approach	30
Theoretical Reflections.....	33
Complexity Theory: A New Lens	36
The Role of the UN Secretariat and Peacekeeping Operations.....	41
UN Peacekeeping: An Improvised Development	42
Inter-Organization Collaboration.....	46
Structure of the Dissertation.....	48
Chapter 2 Foundations and Frameworks: Tracing the Israel-Arab Conflict and the Evolution of the UN's Peacekeeping Architecture	50
The Israel-Arab Conflict: A Never-Ending Quagmire.....	51
Israel-Arab and Israeli-Palestinian Conflicts.....	52
The United Nations & Israel-Arab Conflict	54
The UN in the Middle East: UNSCOP, UNPAC and Baptism by Fire.....	54
UN Mediation and the Rhodes Conference.....	58

UNTSO: The Keystone of the Architecture.....	59
Establishment and Authorization	59
Organisation and Deployment	60
Relationship with Host Countries	62
Budget.....	65
Strength of the Force.....	66
The UN Office for Special Political Affairs: The Golden Age of UN Staff	68
Peacekeeping in the Middle East (1956 – 1967): A Military Overview.....	71
UNEF II: A Short-lived Success	74
UNDOF: A Sentinel in the Heights	77
The Peacekeeper’s Maestro: The Chief Coordinator of the UN Peacekeeping Operations in the Middle East.....	80
UNIFIL: Welcome to Hell	84
Conclusion	88
Chapter 3 Inter-Operation Collaboration	90
Introduction.....	90
Inter-Operation Collaboration: Necessity is the Mother of Innovation.....	92
The Six-Day War: Filling in the Vacuum	94
The Yom Kippur War.....	95
Creative & quick (re) deployments	97
Post-deployment military cooperation.....	107
Administration: Who is paying for what?	111
A Definition and Framework for Inter-Operation Collaboration.....	115
Mandate and consent.....	119
Military Operations.....	120
Programme Management/logistics.....	123
Conclusion	125
Chapter 4 Architect or Builder? The Political Role of the United Nations Secretariat in the Israel-Arab Conflict	127
Introduction.....	127
The Six-Day War: When it all changed	130
The withdrawal of UNEF I: An Unforced Error?	132
Sitting Ducks: UNTSO and UNEF in the Six-Day War.	140

The Inter-War Years: A Jarring Period	142
Resolution 242: Ambiguously determined.....	144
The Yom Kippur War: An October Surprise	151
The Secretariat: A Case of Successful Rapid Response	153
Km 101: The Rise of Military Diplomacy in UN Peacekeeping.....	157
Role of the UN: A Landmark of Dwindling Agency?	162
The Geneva Peace Conference: A Stillborn Process	165
Round 1: A Conference of Empty Chairs	165
Secretary-General or Conference Manager? The Geneva Peace Conference	170
The Military Working Group: Exchanging a Tent for a Palace	174
Israel – Syria Disengagement: A Herculean Task	176
UNDOF: Taking a Leaf of Dag’s Book	179
The Second Sinai Disengagement Plan 1975	181
The Fourth Meeting of the Military Working Group.....	183
Winds of Change: The General Assembly v The West	185
Lebanon	187
A controversial, rushed deployment	189
Conclusion	194
The Secretary-General.....	195
The Office of Special Political Affairs	196
The Chief Coordinator.....	197
Chapter 5 Stress testing the peacekeeping architecture in the Middle East.....	199
The Breakdown of the Architecture	199
War & Peace: A Tale of Two Shocks	207
The United Nations and the Soviet Union: From Conveners to Bystanders	209
The Camp David Accords.....	214
UNEF II, Siilasvuo and the Camp David Accords: Collateral Damage.....	215
Lebanon: A Multi-Dimensional Conflict.....	221
UNTSO in Lebanon: the UN’s last resort.....	228
Conclusion	232
The Camp David Accords: The End of Conventional War.....	233
The Israel Invasion of Lebanon: A Shift in the Narrative.....	234

Chapter 6	236
Conclusion.....	236
Theoretical Reflections and Insights: Embracing Complexity in the UN’s Peacekeeping Efforts.....	237
Implications and Future Directions for Research.....	240
Inter-Operation Collaboration: The Key to Success.....	240
UNTSO: The Pillar of the Architecture	242
The Jarring Mission & Geneva Peace Conference: A Tale Changing Political Agency	243
The Triumphs of “Middle-Management” Diplomacy	245
The Shocks to the Architecture	247
The Camp David Accords: An Attack against Multilateralism	247
The Chief Coordinator: The Demise of a Very Good Idea	249
The Israel Invasion of Lebanon	252
A Legacy of Persistence and Mixed Record: The UN's Contributions and Trials in the Israel-Arab Conflict	253
Archival Sources	255
Primary Sources	258
Secondary Sources.....	261
CV	289
Samenvatting.....	290

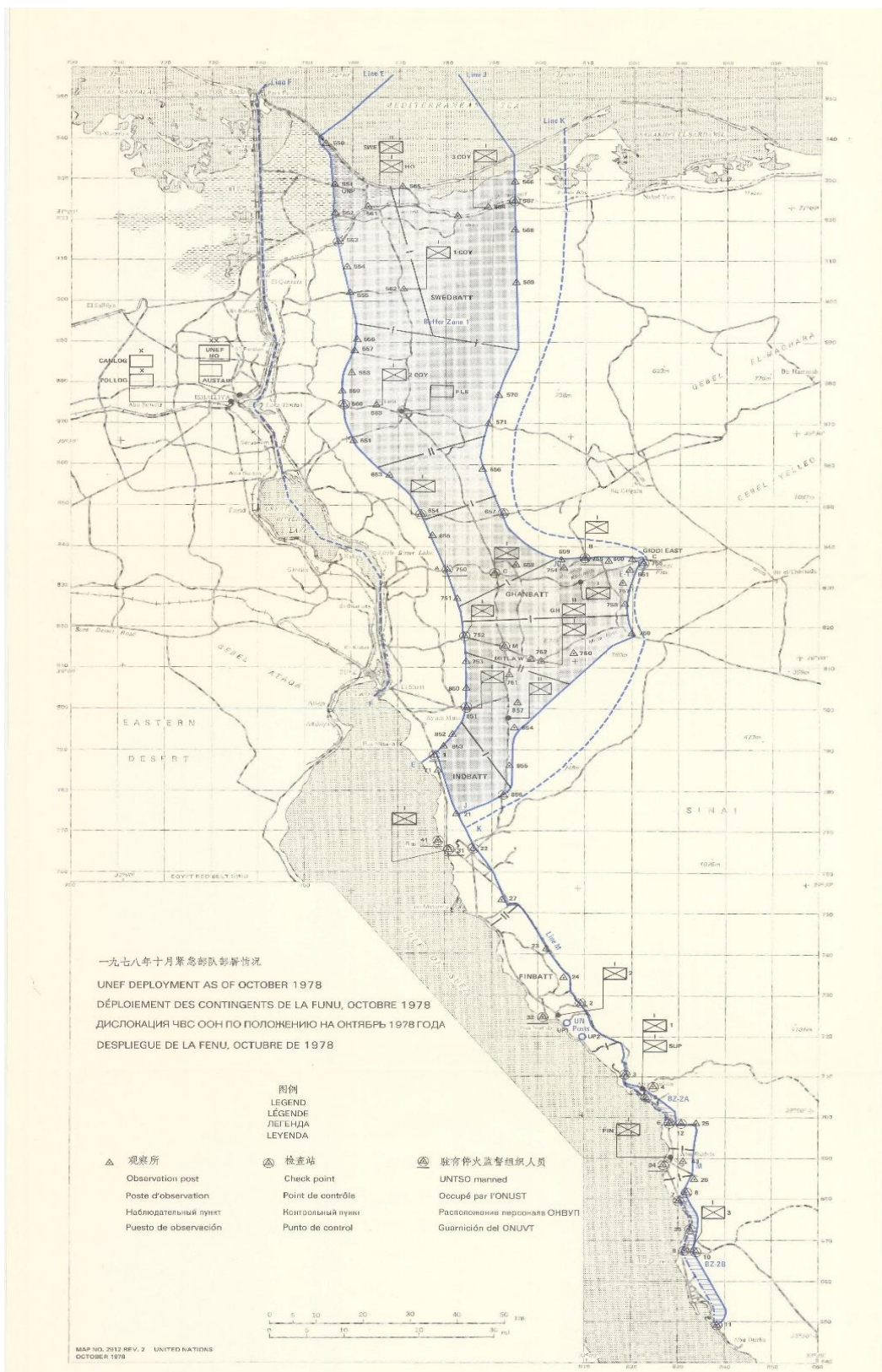


Figure 2. UNEF II Area of Operations as of 1978 (Source: UN Digital Library)

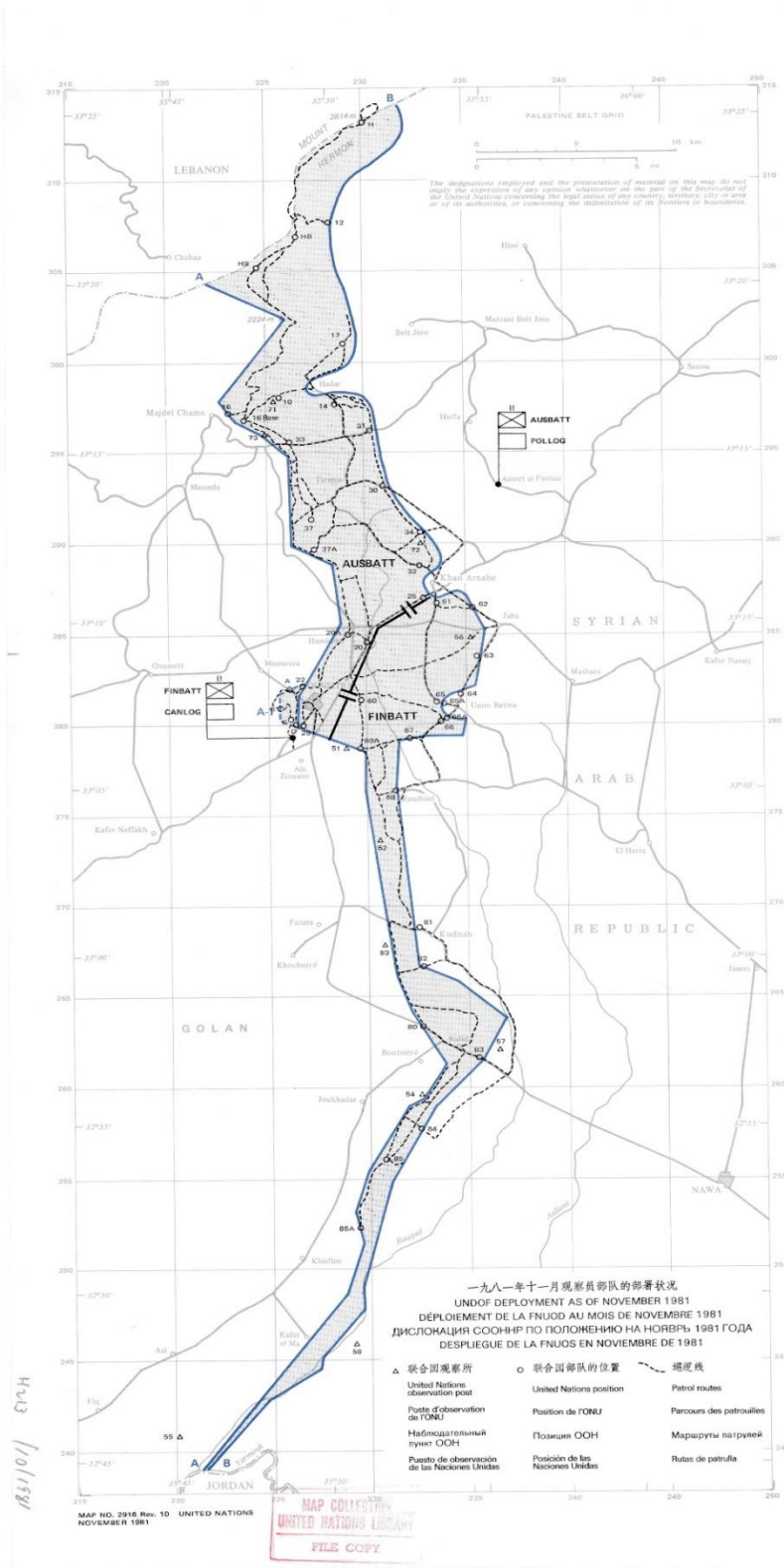


Figure 3. UNDOF Area of Operations as of 1981 (Source: UN Digital Library)

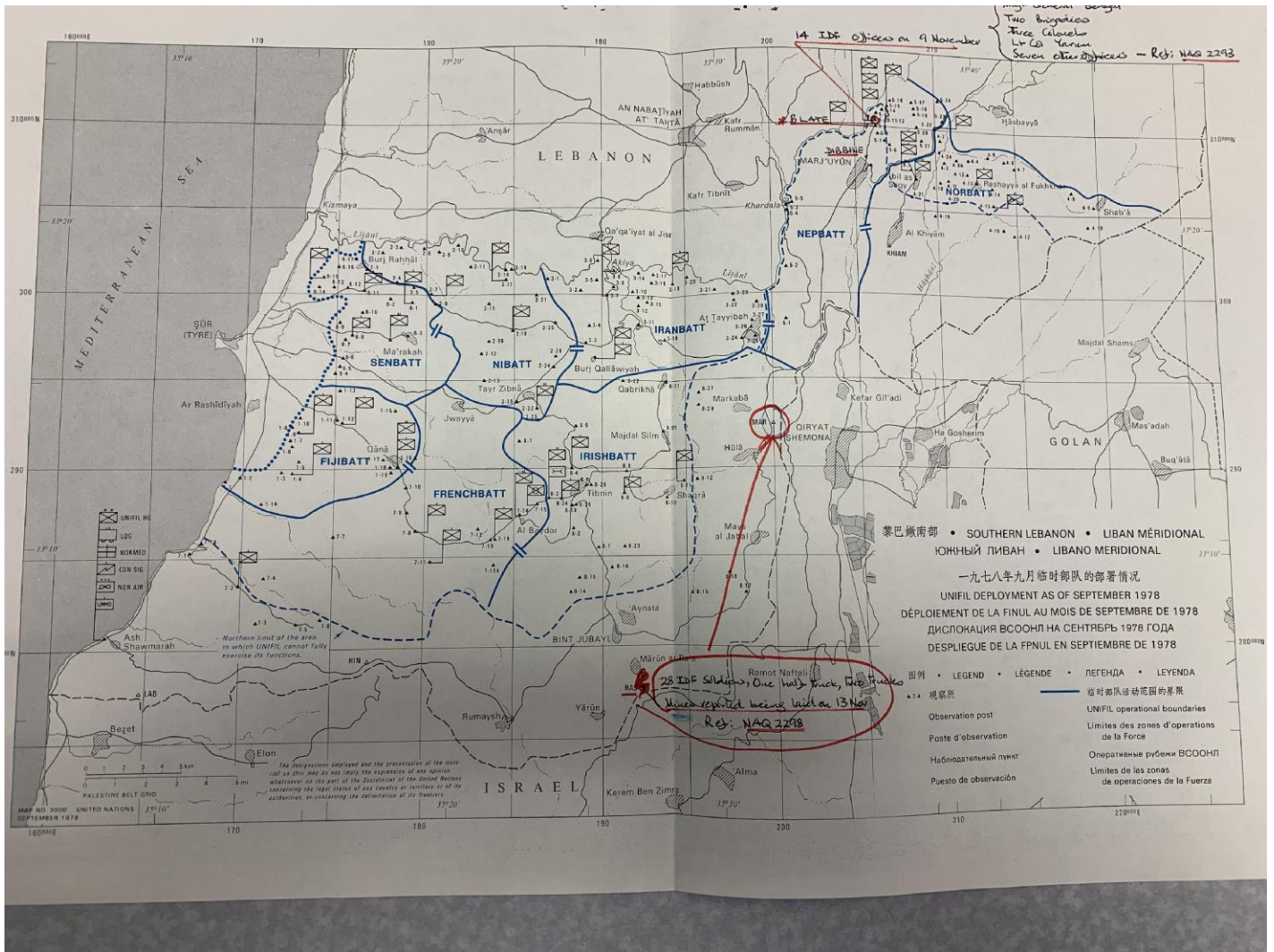


Figure 4. UNIFIL Area of Operations as of 1978 (Source: UN Archives)

List of Acronyms

AO	Area of Operations
CAO	Chief Administrative Officer
CoS	UNTSO Chief of Staff
FC	Force Commander
IDF	Israel Defence Forces
IOC	Inter-Operation Collaboration
MAC	Mixed-Armistice Commission
MFO	Multinational Force and Observers
MNF	Multinational Force
OGL	Observer Group Lebanon
OLG	Observer Group Golan
OP	Observation Post
OUSGSPA	Office of the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organisation
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
TCCs	Troop Contributing Countries
UN	United Nations
UNA	United Nations Archives
UNDOF	United Nations Disengagement Observer Force
UNEF I	First United Nations Emergency Force
UNEF II	Second United Nations Emergency Force
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNMO	United Nations Military Observer
UNPAC	United Nations Palestine Commission
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCO	United Nations Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process
UNSCOP	United Nations Special Committee on Palestine
UNSTO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation
USG	Under-Secretary-General