Twenty-First-Century Peace Operations

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Edited by William J. Durch

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and

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Foreword

e are pleased to introduce *Twenty-First-Century Peace Operations,* the most authoritative volume currently available on the most recent developments in peacekeeping. This is the third in a sequence of studies edited by William J. Durch that trace the evolution of UN peacekeeping and postconflict security. The study highlights the security tools developed over the past decade to help restore peace to war-ravaged lands and the lessons learned in applying them to six important and very different peace operations.

With a rising number of wars ending not in victory for one side but in stalemate, negotiated peace, or outside military intervention, many of the tools and lessons identified by Durch and the distinguished authors involve the deployment of international peacekeepers to help local parties get past the high-risk period that follows a decision to lay down arms. Indeed, as the international system grapples with the security challenges of the new century, peacekeeping has become an operational focus of more than just the United Nations: NATO, the European Union (EU), the new African Union (AU), and the Economic Community of West African States all have undertaken major operations. Regional peacekeeping is also newly on the agenda of the defense chiefs of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, while the states of South Asia—with many troops in uniform but no regional security organization to manage their deployment—provide more than half of the soldiers now serving in record numbers in UN operations in sub-Saharan Africa. With many current conflicts as yet unresolved—and many more on the horizon—demand for capable peacekeepers will remain high.

Through their structured case studies of operations in Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Democratic Republic of the Congo,

East Timor, Kosovo, and Sierra Leone, Durch and the authors place current peace operations in historical context, outlining the problems that have driven each conflict. They then examine the complex demands placed on the United Nations and other institutional managers of operations in these conflict zones, assessing how and why each operation succeeded, failed, or adapted to its environment. In so doing, Durch and the authors touch on a range of current policy concerns, providing constructive and practical guides for improving future interventions. Durch concludes this rich area of inquiry with reflections on how the nature of peace operations, their objectives, and their participants may change in ensuing years.

With a pragmatic rather than theoretical focus, the case studies and lessons offer some important insights. First, as this volume makes plain, today's peacekeepers often face formidable obstacles in complex environments where armed groups may splinter, coalesce, or change patrons and purposes with disorienting frequency. Indeed, the early success of impartial military cease-fire monitors—as envisioned by Lester B. Pearson, the father of the modern concept of peacekeeping—hung partially on the clear polarity of the Cold War and the clear-cut nature of most international boundaries. Today's peacekeepers do not share these advantages, but they do have the benefits of ever-growing field experience and a parallel body of peacekeeping scholarship. Unlike the first Pearson peacekeepers, today's forces can look to precedent and lessons learned from many recent operations—although each conflict environment is, like every other element of the human family, dysfunctional in its own way. As a much-needed contribution to this body of knowledge, *Twenty-First-Century Peace Operations* will inform tomorrow's peacekeepers and peacebuilders and serve as a critical guide in shaping their missions.

Second, peace operations are no longer simply about the provision of military and public security—although those remain primary goals—but also about political engineering and state building, sometimes without the consent of one or more conflicting parties. The decision of UN member states—at their September 2005 summit in New York—to endorse international responsibility for the protection of citizens from the worst excesses of their own governments portends future international interventions to stem genocide and other major crimes

against humanity. At this writing, the international community's conflicted and dilatory response to ongoing, slow-motion genocide in Darfur, Sudan, shows that international will to act still tends to trail such expressions of principle, but a decade hence that will to act may be more evident, with heavy implications not only for military forces but also for any institutions that aspire to be serial keepers of the peace.

Third, since the early 1990s, the United Nations, in particular, has often been judged in the media and in policymaking circles by its peacekeeping scorecard. It is generally found wanting in effectiveness. Visible failures in the 1990s included the genocide in Rwanda and the massacres in and around Srebrenica, in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The early years of the newer missions in Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of Congo raised other questions about the training and discipline of UN-deployed troops and the UN's ability to meet the demands of a new era of "robust" peace operations. While Durch and the case authors pull no punches in their criticisms of certain UN decisions and are quick to point out sometimes tragic mistakes, the reader is left with an unavoidable and obvious conclusion: contemporary peacekeeping is very hard work for any institution and for the troops that it manages. By offering precise details on mission funding, politics, force levels, and organization, *Twenty-First-Century Peace Operations* demonstrates clearly that the United Nations can only be as powerful or effective as the support provided by the Security Council and by the rest of its member states. Neither the United Nations nor the peacekeepers it deploys operate in a political vacuum; it is, rather, a political vortex, and one that is becoming more, not less, intense with each passing year.

Twenty-First-Century Peace Operations is the most recent in a growing list of important and influential books and reports published by the United States Institute of Peace and by the Henry L. Stimson Center, the cosponsor of this volume. We are proud of our record of providing reliable information, authoritative analysis, and breadth of coverage, and our ability to offer practical, hardheaded lessons while also promoting and elaborating the latest scholarship. These are hallmarks of the kinds of work that both our institutions support and develop. Past Institute volumes on the United Nations and peacekeeping, published under the Institute's general congressional mandate,

include *Angola's Last Best Chance for Peace*, by Paul Hare; *Council Unbound*, by Michael J. Matheson; *Mozambique*, by Richard Synge; *Peacemaking in International Conflict*, edited by William Zartman; and *The Quest for Viable Peace*, edited by Jock Covey, Michael Dziedzic, and Leonard Hawley.

The Stimson Center also has a distinguished record of publications in this field, including *The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping: Case Studies and Comparative Analysis* and *UN Peacekeeping, American Policy, and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s*, both volumes edited by Durch; *Training for Peacekeeping: The United Nations' Role*, by Barry Blechman and J. Matthew Vaccaro, a report whose recommendations formed the core of the United Nations' first troop contributor training program; and *The Brahimi Report and the Future of UN Peace Operations*, by William Durch, Victoria Holt, Caroline Earle, and Moira Shanahan. This volume marked the third anniversary—and scored the UN's implementation—of the landmark August 2000 *Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations*, an effort chaired by UN Undersecretary-General Lakhdar Brahimi, for which Durch served as project director.

In addition to its normal range of activities and publications, in 2005 the Institute formed—at the behest of Congress—a bipartisan Task Force on the United Nations to assess the efficacy of UN activities and to make actionable recommendations for UN reform. To date, the task force has published two reports on its findings: *American Interests and UN Reform* and *The Imperative for Action*. As the task force makes clear in these reports, the United Nations must undergo significant management reforms if it is to fulfill the purposes embodied in its charter and to meet the demands of the world's changing political realities.

In reading *Twenty-First-Century Peace Operations*, one is continually struck by one thought: despite the limitations and problems associated with its peace operations, the United Nations ultimately deserves more credit for what it has accomplished over the past decade in sometimes extremely adverse circumstances. As Durch and the authors lay out, UN peacekeepers often operate without sufficient funding, adequate or well-trained personnel, or even proper time to plan a fully formed strategy to stop violence or enforce peace. More significantly, the United Nations is often forced to undertake operations in hostile environments where "spoilers" seek to undermine the very peace it is

trying to maintain or secure. While it is only natural to focus on what the United Nations has done wrong in drawing lessons for the future, we should also ask ourselves, what if there were no UN peacekeeping or peace support operations at all?

We trust you will find this volume an important contribution to the peacekeeping literature. We are grateful to its editor, William J. Durch, and to all the contributing authors for their fine work.

Richard H. Solomon, President   **Ellen Laipson, President and CEO**
United States Institute of Peace   Henry L. Stimson Center

Preface

Since the early 1990s, the international community has been increasingly involved in rebuilding war-torn states and societies, a role that, in this century, has included temporary governance of territories that have suffered large-scale and violent human rights violations. Most international support for peace implementation, however, followed an invite from the erstwhile combatants, who, having inked an agreement to end a stalemated conflict, sought outside help to do so.

Peace support operations (PSOs)—internationally authorized, multilateral, civil-military efforts to promote and protect such transitions from war to peace—are the subject of this volume, which treats six recent cases—Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Dayton Accords, Kosovo, East Timor, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, and Afghanistan—in some detail. It does so using a common case structure that walks the reader into and through the problems that drive each case and the solutions derived to deal with them. The narrative and analytical focus, however, is specifically on the PSOs deployed in each case, on how they work and why they succeed, fail, drift, or recover. That particular, structured focus is this volume's principal contribution to the field, building on two similarly structured volumes that grew out of work at the Henry L. Stimson Center in Washington, DC.

Among the individuals whom I would like to thank for their contributions to this volume are, of course, the chapter authors, both for their research and writing and for their participation in an author's conference at Stimson following the first round of drafting. Their contributions reflect time borrowed from careers that take many of them into areas of conflict and conflict-transition routinely, some to analyze, report, and prod governments into action; others to provide

humanitarian aid; and still others to champion human rights. The cases are therefore leavened, in many instances, by first-hand experience of the situations about which they write.

I would like to thank the United States Institute of Peace, its president, Richard Solomon, and its vice president for conflict analysis and prevention, Paul Stares, for their unstinting support of this project. I would also like to thank Ellen Laipson, president of the Stimson Center, and Cheryl Ramp, its chief operating officer, for their continuing confidence and institutional support. I would like to thank all of the foregoing individuals for their patience, given this project's rather long gestation.

Comments from the anonymous reviewers made this a better book and I thank them for the investment of time and effort involved. I deeply appreciate the work of the Institute's editorial and production team, in particular editors Nigel Quinney and Kurt Volkan, whose skill and patience each step of the way were essential to realizing a quality product in the end.

For invaluable research support, for key segments of chapter one, and for much-appreciated help in updating some of the cases, I would like to thank my research associate, Tobias Berkman, whose writing and analytic abilities will be missed by the Future of Peace Operations program. He is presently off to Cambridge (Massachusetts) to learn international law and public policy, after which we expect no bad guy in the world to feel safe. I would also like to thank Katherine Andrews for her unerringly accurate data gathering, keen organizing ability, and intuitive analytic skills.

Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Jane, for her love, friendship, enduring partnership and exquisite critical judgment. Without your support and advice I would be quite lost.

W. J. D.
Washington, DC
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William J. Durch is a senior associate at the Stimson Center, with stints as project director for the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (2000) and scientific adviser to the U.S. Defense Threat Reduction Agency (1999, 2001). He has taught at Georgetown University (1989–90, 1999–2005) and at Johns Hopkins SAIS (1997–98). He was also assistant director of the MIT Defense Studies Program (1985–88); research fellow, Harvard Center for Science and International Affairs (1981–3); and foreign affairs officer at the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (1978–81). He is coauthor of "The Economic Impact of Peacekeeping" with Michael Carnahan and Scott Gilmore (Peace Dividend Trust, 2006) and *The Brahimi Report and the Future of Peace Operations,* with Victoria K. Holt and others (Stimson, 2003). He edited and contributed to two previous peace operations case books from St. Martin's Press, and holds a BSFS from the Georgetown School of Foreign Service and a PhD in political science from MIT.

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Glossary of Acronyms

Acronyms are generally based on an organization's name as expressed in the local language, which is translated into English for the glossary entry.

AACA	Afghan Assistance Coordination Authority (Afghan interim administration)
AAK	Alliance for the Future of Kosovo
AEC	Australian Electoral Commission
AFDL	Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (Laurent Kabila's coalition, 1997)
AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (ousted Sierra Leone government, 1997)
AID	Agency for International Development (U.S.)
ALIR	Army for the Liberation of Rwanda (Rwandan armed group, eastern Congo, included *génocidaires* from 1994)
AMF	Afghan Militia Forces
ANA	Afghan National Army (new national army, 2002 onward)
AOR	Area of responsibility
APC	All People's Congress (ruling party, Sierra Leone, 1967–92)
APC	Congolese Popular Army (armed wing of RCD-K/ML)
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation

Apodeti	Timorese Popular Democratic Association (pro-integration political movement)
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AU	African Union
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
BPK	Banking and Payments Authority of Kosovo (central bank)
CAT-A	Civil Affairs Team–Alpha (U.S. in Afghanistan)
CCP	Commission for the Consolidation of Peace (Sierra Leone)
CDF	Civil Defense Force (local militias, Sierra Leone)
CFA	Central Fiscal Authority (Kosovo budget, treasury, and tax office)
CFC-A	Combined Forces Command–Afghanistan (U.S. Coalition forces from June 2003)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (U.S.)
CIMIC	Civil-military cooperation
CIU	Criminal Intelligence Unit (UNMIK police)
CJCMOTF	Coalition Joint Civil-Military Operations Task Force (Afghanistan)
CJTF-180	Combined/Joint Task Force 180 (Coalition forces in Afghanistan, to June 2003)
CMOC	Civil-Military Operations Center
CMRRD	Commission for the Management of Strategic Resources, National Reconstruction, and Development (Sierra Leone)
CNRT	National Council for Timorese Resistance (pro-independence political group)
COMISAF	ISAF commander
COMKFOR	KFOR commander
CPU	Civilian Police Unit (UN)
DAC	Development Assistance Committee, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

DDR	Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (Australia)
DfID	Department for International Development (UK)
DPA	Department of Political Affairs (UN)
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN)
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EASC	Election Appeals Sub-Commission (Bosnia and Herzegovina)
EC	European Community or European Commission
EC TAFKO	European Commission Task Force for the Reconstruction of Kosovo (EU)
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EO	Executive Outcomes (private security provider)
EU	European Union
EUFOR	European Union Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina
EUPM	European Union Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
FAC	Congolese Armed Forces (army of Laurent Kabila's regime)
Falintil	Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor (pro-independence)
Falintil–FDTL	Defense Force of Timor-Leste (new national army, includes former Falintil)
FAR	Rwandan Armed Forces (Rwandan army, to July 1994)
FARDC	Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (new integrated army, post-2002)
FDLR	Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (Rwandan Hutu rebel group based in DRC; subsumed ALIR)
FIPI	Front for Integration and Peace in Ituri (splinter group of UPC)
FNI	Nationalist and Integrationist Front (Ituri armed group, Lendu)

Fretilin	Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (pro-independence)
FRY	Former Republic of Yugoslavia
G-8	Group of Eight
GDP	Gross domestic product
GPA	Governance and Public Administration (component of UNTAET)
HAER	Humanitarian Assistance and Emergency Rehabilitation (component of UNTAET)
HCIC	Humanitarian Community Information Center (humanitarian coordination mechanism, Kosovo)
HDZ	Croatian Democratic Union (nationalist Croatian political party)
HIRC	House International Relations Committee
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICFY	International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (1992 peace talks)
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
IDP	Internally displaced person
IEBL	Inter-Entity Boundary Line (separates Bosniac-Croat Federation from the RS)
IEMF	Interim Emergency Multinational Force (EU force in Bunia, DRC)
IFOR	Implementation Force (NATO force in Bosnia and Herzegovina)
IMATT	International Military Advisory and Training Team (British led, Sierra Leone)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMTF	Integrated Mission Task Force (UN)
INTERFET	International Force in East Timor (Australian-led multinational force)
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPA	International Peace Academy

IPC	Ituri Pacification Commission (interim Ituri government, DRC)
IPTF	International Police Task Force (UN, Bosnia and Herzegovina)
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force (Afghanistan)
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence (Pakistan's military intelligence agency)
JEMB	Joint Electoral Management Board (Afghanistan)
JIAS	Joint Interim Administrative Structure (Kosovo local governance structure)
JMC	Joint Military Commission (DRC)
JMG	Joint Monitoring Group (Sierra Leone)
JNA	Yugoslav People's Army
JPG	Joint Planning Group (UNMIK)
JVM	Joint verification mechanism (military officers from DRC and Rwanda)
KCB	Kosovo Consolidated Budget
KEK	Komitet Elektroprivredne Korporacije (Kosovo's electric company)
KFOR	Kosovo Force (NATO, Kosovo)
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army (ethnic Albanian nationalist military organization)
KOPASSUS	Indonesian Special Forces Command
KPC	Kosovo Protection Corps
KPS	Commission on Peace and Stability (East Timor)
KPS	Kosovo Police Service
KVM	Kosovo Verification Mission (OSCE)
LDK	Democratic League of Kosovo (pro-independence)
MDTF	Multi-Donor Trust Fund (for DDR in Sierra Leone)
Milob	Military observer
MLC	Movement for the Liberation of Congo (DRC rebel group backed by Uganda)
MLO	Military liaison officer

MNB	Multinational Brigade (KFOR, SFOR)
MND	Multinational Division (IFOR)
MONUC	UN Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MPR	People's Consultative Assembly (highest legislative body of Indonesia)
MPS	Military Planning Staff
NAC	North Atlantic Council (NATO)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCC	National Consultative Council (East Timor)
NCDDR	National Committee for Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (Sierra Leone)
NDP	New defensive position (DRC)
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
NLA	National Liberation Army (ethnic Albanian nationalist military organization in Macedonia)
NMG	Neutral Monitoring Group (Sierra Leone, oversees withdrawal of forces, disarmament, and repatriation operations)
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia (Liberian rebel group led by Charles Taylor)
NPRC	National Provisional Ruling Council (Sierra Leone)
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN)
OHDACA	Overseas Humanitarian, Disaster, and Civic Aid (U.S. Department of Defense)
OHR	Office of the High Representative (chief civilian peace implementation agency in Bosnia and Herzegovina)
OIOS	Office of Internal Oversight Services (UN)
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PCR	Postconflict reconstruction
PDK	Kosovo Democratic Party (main political successor of the KLA)

PDPA	People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (Communist, took power in 1978)
PEC	Provisional Election Commission (Bosnia and Herzegovina, chaired by OSCE)
PIC	Peace Implementation Council (created by Dayton Accords for Bosnia and Herzegovina)
PIFWCs	Persons indicted for war crimes
PISG	Provisional Institutions of Self-Government (Kosovo)
PNTL	East Timor Police Service (national police)
POE	Publicly Owned Enterprise (Kosovo)
POLRI	Polisi Republik Indonesia (Indonesian police)
PRRP	Priority Reconstruction and Recovery Program (Bosnia and Herzegovina)
PRT	Provincial Reconstruction Team (Afghanistan, Coalition or NATO led)
PSO	Peace support operation
RCD	Congolese Rally for Democracy (DRC resistance movement)
RCD-Goma	Congolese Rally for Democracy–Goma (supported by Rwanda)
RCD-K/ML	Congolese Rally for Democracy–Kisangani/Liberation Movement (Kisangani faction of the RCD-ML)
RCD-ML	Congolese Rally for Democracy–Liberation Movement (breakaway faction of RCD-Goma, originally backed by Uganda)
RENAMO	Mozambican National Resistance
RPA	Rwandan Patriotic Army (Tutsi-dominated Rwandan army, since July 1994)
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front (expatriate Tutsi rebel faction, to mid-1994; formed new government in July 1994)
RRTF	Reconstruction and Return Task Force (Bosnia and Herzegovina, OHR)
RS	Republika Srpska (Serb-dominated territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina)

RSLAF	Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces (new national army)
RUF	Revolutionary United Front (Sierra Leone, rebel group)
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander Europe (NATO)
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SBS	State Border Service (Bosnia and Herzegovina, new service trained by UNMIBH)
SDA	Party for Democratic Action (Muslim political party, Bosnia and Herzegovina)
SDS	Serbian Democratic Party (Serbian nationalist political party in Croatia)
SFOR	Stabilization Force (NATO force in Bosnia and Herzegovina, after December 1996)
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
S-G	Secretary-General (UN)
SLA	Sierra Leone Army
SLP	Sierra Leone Police
SLPP	Sierra Leone People's Party
SOE	Socially Owned Enterprise (Kosovo)
SPU	Specialized Police Unit (UN)
SRSG	Special representative of the secretary-general (UN)
SSR	Security sector reform
TNI	Indonesian military
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Sierra Leone)
UCPMB	Liberation Army of Presevo, Medvedje, Bujanovac (ethnic Albanian insurgents)
UDT	Timorese Democratic Union
UN	United Nations
UNAMA	UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
UNAMET	UN Mission in East Timor
UNAMSIL	UN Mission in Sierra Leone
UNDP	UN Development Programme
UNESCO	UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
UNHOC	UN Humanitarian Operations Centre
UNICEF	UN Children's Fund
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Angolan rebel movement)
UNITF	UN INTERFET Trust Fund
UNMEE	UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea
UNMIBH	UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
UNMIK	UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNMISET	UN Mission of Support in East Timor
UNOCHA	UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance to Afghanistan
UNOCI	UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire
UNOMSIL	UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leone
UNOPS	UN Office for Project Services
UNOTIL	UN Office in Timor-Leste (UN political mission)
UNPOL	UN police
UNPROFOR	UN Protection Force
UNSMA	UN Special Mission to Afghanistan
UNTAET	UN Transitional Administration in East Timor
UPC	Union of Congolese Patriots (Ituri armed group, Hema)
UPDF	Uganda People's Defence Force (national armed forces)
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization