

Praise for *The Quest for Viable Peace*

"*The Quest for Viable Peace* develops a simple and essential idea—that security is necessary for peace to become viable and that peace must pay for it to endure. The authors have much to share on how to plan intervention operations effectively; indeed, this volume will serve as a manual for establishing priorities in such operations. It should be read not only by planners and practitioners but also by U.S. policymakers who remain unconvinced that the effort is worthwhile and/or unaware of the steps to take in devising such operations."

—MARK BASKIN

Senior Associate, Center for International Development, SUNY

"*The Quest for Viable Peace* is a first-rate contribution to the literature on this vitally important topic. Thoroughly researched, it deserves to be widely read, discussed, and, indeed, acted upon."

—MATS BERDAL

Professor of Security and Development,
Department of War Studies, King's College London

"Taking international operations in Kosovo as its starting point, *The Quest for Viable Peace* broadens our understanding of the nationbuilding process as a whole and provides valuable guidelines for the conduct of future such missions. Campaign analyses of this sort, which look equally at the military and civil elements of an operation through its entire length, are essential building blocks in the development of a much-needed national and international doctrine for the conduct of such missions. Jock Covey, Mike Dziedzic, Len Hawley, and their coauthors move us closer to that goal, illuminating both the recent past and the near future as they do so."

—JAMES DOBBINS

Director of the International Security and
Defense Policy Center, RAND Corporation

“Success in any stability operation depends on weaving the various civilian and military lines of effort together like strands of a rope. The campaign plan needs to ensure that all dimensions are brought into play: not only security but also the political, economic, and humanitarian aspects. Peace support operations are a test of patience, understanding, and endurance; perhaps the most difficult task is to establish the rule of law where none previously existed. *The Quest for Viable Peace* captures all of this vividly and comprehensively, not least in its use of the hard-won lessons acquired by the British Army in Northern Ireland. I commend it to all those, civilians and soldiers alike, who have an interest in peace support operations.”

—GENERAL SIR MICHAEL JACKSON
Chief of the General Staff, British Army

“Presenting an excellent set of essential strategies for building durable peace by means of intervention, this volume is a prodigious, extremely high-quality, valuable work. It should occupy a prominent position in the literature of peace operations.”

—ROBERT B. OAKLEY
U.S. Ambassador (Ret.)

The Quest for Viable Peace

The Quest for Viable Peace

*International Intervention and
Strategies for Conflict Transformation*

EDITED BY JOCK COVEY,
MICHAEL J. DZIEDZIC, AND
LEONARD R. HAWLEY



UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE PRESS
Washington, D.C.

ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY
Arlington, Virginia

The views expressed in this book are those of the authors alone. They do not necessarily reflect views of the United States Institute of Peace. They also do not reflect the views of any government, any governmental agency, or any nongovernmental institution or organization.

UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE
1200 17th Street NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036-3011

© 2005 by the Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace. All rights reserved.

First published 2005. Third Printing 2008.

Printed in the United States of America

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standards for Information Science—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The quest for viable peace : international intervention and strategies for conflict transformation / edited by Jock Covey, Michael J. Dziedzic, and Leonard R. Hawley,
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-929223-67-6 (paper : alk. paper)

1. Peace-building. 2. Peace-building—Serbia and Montenegro—Kosovo (Serbia)
3. Peacekeeping forces—Serbia and Montenegro—Kosovo (Serbia) I. Covey, Jock, 1944-
- II. Dziedzic, Michael J. III. Hawley, Leonard R., 1947-

JZ5538.Q47 2005
327.1'72—dc22

2005043011

*To those who toil and sacrifice for the cause of peace,
and to the spouses of those who write books about it.*

Contents

Foreword	xi
<i>Richard H. Solomon</i>	
Preface	xv
Contributors	xvii
1. Introduction	3
<i>Michael J. Dziedzic and Len Hawley</i>	
2. The Historical Context of Conflict in Kosovo	23
<i>Michael J. Dziedzic and Sasha Kishinchand</i>	
3. Advance Political-Military Planning: Laying the Foundation for Achieving Viable Peace	37
<i>Len Hawley and Dennis Skocz</i>	
4. The Custodian of the Peace Process	77
<i>Jock Covey</i>	
5. Making a Viable Peace: Moderating Political Conflict	99
<i>Jock Covey</i>	
6. Securing a Viable Peace: Defeating Militant Extremists— Fourth-Generation Peace Implementation	123
<i>Ben Lovelock</i>	
7. Safeguarding a Viable Peace: Institutionalizing the Rule of Law	157
<i>Halvor A. Hartz and Laura Mercan, with Clint Williamson</i>	

8. Forging a Viable Peace: Developing a Legitimate Political Economy	205
<i>Stephanie A. Blair, Dana Eyre, Bernard Salomé, and James Wasserstrom</i>	
9. Linkages among the Transformation Strategies	245
<i>Michael J. Dziedzic and Len Hawley</i>	
10. Conclusion	267
<i>Michael J. Dziedzic</i>	
Index	283

Foreword

WE HAVE LEARNED THE HARD WAY that failed and failing states cannot be ignored without endangering the security of the international community. Neglect can too easily spawn regional instability; and weakly governed societies can become havens for terrorist groups with a global agenda. Nor does eliminating a weak, corrupt, or oppressive regime by itself create a more secure political environment. Throughout the 1990s and into the twenty-first century, we have watched as various interventions—some authorized by the United Nations, some conducted by NATO, some carried out by ad hoc coalitions under U.S. leadership—have demonstrated that international security is enhanced only if the initial use of military force is followed by a comprehensive and sustained effort to build a state capable of managing its affairs in a way supportive of international norms.

This is the central focus of *The Quest for Viable Peace*, a path-breaking work in the field of peace implementation and stability operations. The authors, drawing on their hands-on experience of trying to stabilize a society ravaged by internal conflict, are experts in different aspects of stabilization and reconstruction. Their collective message: Those who assume custody of a peace process must first of all seek to make it viable. Peace becomes “viable” when “the capacity of domestic institutions to resolve conflict peacefully prevails over the power of obstructionist forces. . . . Viable peace is the decisive turning point in the transformation of conflict from imposed stability to self-sustaining peace.”

Conceived and written by practitioners, *The Quest for Viable Peace* describes how such a viable outcome can actually be achieved. To forge a sustainable peace, the authors explain, one must transform the sources of violent conflict; the motivations and means for conducting a destabilizing insurgency must be recognized, confronted, and overcome.

The first step is an accurate assessment of the strategic challenge. All too often in the wake of an intervention, “peace” is but a state of continuing conflict by other violent means. Entrenched sources of opposition must be recognized and then transformed. The authors present four coherent and interdependent strategies that provide critical pathways for transforming conflict

- from zero-sum confrontations laden with incentives for continued violence into systems of governance where competition for power can be conducted through nonviolent means;
- from contexts dominated by armed groups willing and able to use violence into demilitarized societies where paramilitary formations have either been subordinated to legitimate authority, reintegrated into society, or defeated;
- from lawless and repressive regimes where political and criminal elites enjoy impunity into systems of justice that serve the public, preserve order, protect basic rights (especially for minority groups), and apply the law equitably; and
- from political economies where gray and black markets predominate and illicit wealth determines who wields power into functioning formal economies where the integrity of revenues required for essential state services is protected.

Achieving such a transformation is a tall order, one that calls for strategies that have been tested in the crucible of real world struggles. The lessons that the authors have culled from hard-won experience in the field are here orchestrated into a unified strategic framework of ends, ways, and means. Each strategy interlocks with the others to provide the dynamism and momentum needed to erode the power of violence-prone forces and propel the transformation process forward toward viable peace. Achieving this outcome in a reasonable timeframe, the authors explain, also requires rigorous advanced planning at the highest levels and accomplished statesmanship and integration of effort by the leadership of the mission.

Conceptual innovation is another hallmark of *The Quest for Viable Peace*. The seminal ideas of conflict transformation and the attainment of viable peace are intimately linked to concepts such as the primacy of the peace process and the role of the custodian of that process. Because the authors are active and prominent participants in ongoing operations and policy debates, these ideas have already begun to shape the way that specialists talk about and pursue the process of stabilization and peace implementation. They have given us a language that facilitates communication across the multiple disciplines that must be involved in an effective peace process.

Such efforts to bridge the gap between different disciplines—and among the policymaking, practitioner, and scholarly communities—have long been a trademark of projects supported by the United States Institute of Peace. Inspired by its congressional mandate to support and disseminate research into the ways that international conflicts can be peacefully prevented, managed, or resolved, the Institute has always sought to ensure that lessons learned in the field can inform decision-making processes in Washington, New York, and elsewhere, just as it has consistently worked to promote a wider appreciation of practical ideas developed in universities and think tanks.

The Quest for Viable Peace is also a welcome addition to the ranks of Institute publications because it builds on the already solid foundation of Institute-supported work on peace implementation. We have published volumes that focus on specific cases, ranging from Mozambique to Angola to Macedonia; volumes that examine particular components of effective implementation operations, including Robert Perito's study of the value of constabulary forces, *Where Is the Lone Ranger When We Need Him?* and Col. Garland Williams's analysis of the work done by engineering brigades in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Afghanistan, *Engineering Peace*; and volumes that explore, from very different perspectives, the dynamics of societies struggling to emerge from conflict, among them John Darby's *The Effects of Violence on Peace Processes*, Fen Osler Hampson's *Nurturing Peace*, and John Paul Lederach's *Building Peace*. The Institute has also published *A Guide to NGOs, IGOs, and the Military in Peace and Relief Operations*, a field manual designed to enhance mutual understanding among the main players in peace and stability operations. Aside from such books and a wealth of published reports, the Institute has also offered hands-on training in conflict resolution skills and support for the emergence of civil society in conflict zones ranging from the Balkans to Iraq.

I am pleased to recognize the vital role that the Association of the United States Army (AUSA) played in this work, especially during the project's conception and early development, through the generous support provided by its Role of American Military Power project. By contributing to a keener understanding of the multifaceted role of the military in peace implementation and of the importance of close cooperation between military and other components of a peace operation, *The Quest for Viable Peace* furthers the AUSA's well-deserved reputation for supporting all aspects of national security while advancing the interests of the U.S. Army and providing professional education and information programs.

I am confident that all readers—whether they are soldiers or civilians, policymakers or practitioners, seasoned veterans or newcomers to the challenging business of peace implementation—will consider the support given to the authors of

The Quest for Viable Peace to have been wisely invested. International intervention to protect global security and arrest human suffering will inevitably occur. When it does, we need practical approaches to transforming conflict and constructing viable peace in a manageable timeframe. *The Quest for Viable Peace* guides the way to achieving this national and international imperative.

Richard H. Solomon, President
UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

Preface

The inspiration for this book sprang from the final conversation between Jock Covey and Michael Dziedzic as the latter completed his duties as strategic planner for the UN Mission in Kosovo in October 2000. There clearly was much to learn from that experience. Uppermost in Jock Covey's mind was the need to capture the essence of the British military's approach to peace enforcement. This led to a conversation with Tom Leney, director of the Role of American Military Power (RAMP) project at the Association of the United States Army (AUSA). The result was the concept for a book sponsored by RAMP that would seek to depict both the civilian and the military roles in transforming internal conflict.

This book, therefore, is a product of the Role of American Military Power project. The editors are deeply indebted to the original director of that project, Tom Leney, for his vision, guidance, and financial support. RAMP provided funding for honoraria, expenses for the conduct of authors' workshops, staff support, and assistance with research. Most of the actual work on the book took place while Scott Feil ran the RAMP project. A consummate professional and accomplished scholar, Scott brought discipline to the process and rigor to the analysis. His able staff provided vital assistance. The research effort was skillfully spearheaded by Sasha Kishinchand, and planning for events was adroitly managed by Alex Daskalakis. Johanna Mendelson-Foreman, while organizing a parallel project on postconflict reconstruction, was always generous with her time, insights, and support.

Although AUSA provided the venue for most book-related events, two other organizations deserve special recognition. The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in London hosted both the initial authors' workshop, at which the framework for the strategy chapters was developed, and the final international conference, at which the draft chapters were presented for feedback from

prominent scholars and practitioners from the United States and Europe. Mats Berdal, director of Studies at IISS, was gracious in his hospitality and generous in his support for both of these sessions. Professor Richard Millett, Oppenheimer Chair of Modern Warfighting Strategy at the Marine Corps University, and Major General Donald R. Gardner, USMC (ret.), president of the Marine Corps University Foundation, were also lavish in their assistance, providing facilities and sponsorship for a workshop at Quantico on Ben Lovelock's chapter on the military strategy for defeating political violence. This forum was the occasion for an invaluable exchange of ideas among various doctrinal communities.

Michael Dziedzic began this project under the aegis of Dr. James Schear, director of Research at the Institute for National Strategic Studies, continued it while working under Dan Server, director of the Balkans Initiative at the United States Institute of Peace, and completed it under Paul Stares, director of Research and Studies at the United States Institute of Peace. Their backing, support, and encouragement were essential to sustaining the project and bringing it successfully to conclusion. Nigel Quinney provided an enormous infusion of critical thinking as Institute editor, nudging the volume editors to sharpen, clarify, and condense the manuscript. Nick Hovenstein was indefatigable in responding to research requirements that arose during the copyediting process.

Contributors

Jock Covey served as principal deputy special representative of the secretary-general at the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) from 1999 to 2001 and as senior deputy high representative in Sarajevo from the creation of the Office of the High Representative in 1995 to 1997.

A career Foreign Service officer, he also served twice as special assistant to the president at the National Security Council: first in 1985–86 for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs and again in 1997–98 for implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords.

Earlier, he served in Berlin, Cairo, Jerusalem, and Pretoria, participated in the Beirut cease-fire negotiations after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and negotiated military portions of the Israel-Egypt-U.S. Treaty implementing the Camp David Accords. He graduated from St. Lawrence University, was a distinguished visiting fellow of the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the U.S. National Defense University, and is currently a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Pacific Council on International Policy.

Michael J. Dziedzic was the strategic planner for UNMIK in 2000 and the principal drafter of UNMIK's "Standards for Kosovo," published in December 2003. During a thirty-year career in the U.S. Air Force, he served as a senior military fellow at the National Defense University's Institute for National Strategic Studies (1995–99), where he was director of the Peace Operations Team. In 1994 and 1995, he was a faculty member at the National War College's Department of National Security. He also served as air attaché in El Salvador from 1992 to 1994 and as a political-military planner on the Air Staff at the Pentagon in 1992. Prior to that he was a tenure professor in the Department of Political Science at the U.S. Air Force Academy and a visiting fellow at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London (1987–1988). Since June 2001, he has been a program

officer in the Research and Studies Program at the United States Institute of Peace. He holds a PhD in government from the University of Texas at Austin. Dziedzic is coeditor (with Robert Oakley) of *Policing the New World Disorder: Peace Operations and Public Security* and author of *Mexico: Converging Challenges*.

Leonard R. Hawley served as U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state (1999–2001) and supervised U.S. interagency planning for international support to the mission in Kosovo and to several other international missions designed to respond to regional crises. Previously, he served on the National Security Council staff as director of multilateral affairs, coordinating U.S. political-military planning for international interventions. In this capacity, he was responsible for implementation of Presidential Decision Directive 56, the Clinton administration's directive for integrated planning and coordination of multilateral contingency operations. Before this assignment, he acted as deputy assistant secretary of defense responsible for multilateral peacekeeping and humanitarian relief operations. He has also worked on the staffs of both the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate. He has several years of experience in ground combat units with overseas assignments in Vietnam and Germany and was a research fellow at the Naval War College and the National Defense University. He has mentored executive-branch civilian and military officials regarding interagency political-military planning for international intervention. He contributes to research efforts at a number of institutions, including the United States Institute of Peace. In 2004, he served on the policy team of the National 9/11 Commission.



Stephanie A. Blair served in Kosovo with the OSCE KVM as deputy director of human rights and then as OMIK's first head of field office. In 2000 she served as an UNMIK municipal administrator. Her book, *Weaving the Strands of the Rope*, is published by Dalhousie University. She is a doctoral candidate in the War Studies Department, King's College London, whose research has taken her back to Kosovo, including during the violence of March 2004.

Dana Eyre is now works in the U.S. Agency for International Development's Office of Iraq Reconstruction, having earlier served for fifteen months as senior advisor in the USAID Mission–Iraq. Prior to this, he was senior policy advisor to the deputy special representative of the secretary-general at UNMIK, working in the European Union–led Pillar IV economic redevelopment effort. He holds a

PhD in sociology from Stanford University; his research focuses on organizational learning and planning for conflict transformation missions.

Halvor A. Hartz has served for more than thirty years in the Norwegian Police Force and since 2001 has been police chief superintendent in Norway. His distinguished international police experience includes serving as chief of staff of UNCIVPOL/UNPROFOR in 1994–95, as police commissioner of UNPSG in 1998 and of UNMIK in the summer of 1999, and as police advisor/chief of CIVPOL Division at UN Headquarters in 1999–2000.

Sasha Kishinchand recently returned from Iraq, where she worked for more than a year on USAID's Monitoring and Evaluation program. Earlier, she spent three years with the Association of the United States Army as the research director for the joint CSIS-AUSA project on postconflict reconstruction. She has an MA in strategic studies and international economics from Johns Hopkins' School of Advanced International Studies. Her publications include articles on postconflict reconstruction and on child soldiers.

Colonel Ben Lovelock is a serving officer in the UK Royal Marines. He served in the OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission before and after the 1999 NATO air campaign. He later analyzed the lessons emerging from Kosovo and other operations while serving in the Peace Support Operations department of the UK Ministry of Defence's Joint Doctrine and Concepts Centre. Until recently a politico-military planner in the European Union Military Staff based in Brussels, he is currently serving in the Multi-National Security Transition Command—Iraq.

Laura Mercean was trained as a lawyer and also has an MSc in global security. She served in the UNMIK Department of Judicial Affairs from September 1999 to August 2001. In that capacity, she first dealt with issues related to the initial process of reestablishing the penal system; subsequently, she worked on reform of the judiciary and development of a strategic plan for issues related to the appointment and removal from office of judicial personnel.

Bernard Salomé is special representative of the director of the Library of Alexandria. He has a diverse professional background in a wide range of international environments, including serving as deputy director of the G-7 Support Implementation Group in Russia and as head of the Economic Policy Office in Kosovo for the United Nations. An economist by training, he is the author of eight books on development issues and seven World Bank reports.

Dennis Skocz is a U.S. career diplomat currently assigned to the Office of NATO Policy in the Pentagon. As director of the Office of Contingency Planning and Peacekeeping at the State Department (1999–2003), he participated in postconflict planning for Kosovo, Afghanistan, and East Timor. As political counselor of the U.S. Mission to the Organization of American States (1990–93), he joined in multi-lateral diplomacy to resolve governance crises in Haiti, Peru, and Guatemala.

James Wasserstrom founded and heads UNMIK's Office Overseeing Publicly Owned Enterprises. Before joining UNMIK in 2002, he was a vice president for international business development at American Express Corporation. Previously, he managed a variety of political and economic development programs of the UN system in Asia and Africa, with emphases on decentralization and governance. He is a graduate of Tufts University, holds an MA from its Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and speaks six languages.

Clint Williamson is the director for stability operations at the National Security Council. From April to July 2003, he served as the first CPA senior advisor to the Iraqi Ministry of Justice in Baghdad. Before being posted to the NSC in January 2003, he served as the director of the Department of Justice in the UN-administered government of Kosovo. From 1994 until early 2001, he was a trial attorney at the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia in The Hague, Netherlands.