History of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations
from Retrenchment to Resurgence: 1997 to 2006

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FOREWORD

The resurgence of peacekeeping in the early 21st Century can be traced to the failures in the first decade of the post-Cold War era. To understand the fundamental changes that occurred to United Nations peacekeeping missions after the disasters of the 1990s, it is relevant to deepen the knowledge and understanding of these events in the context of the missions between 1997 and 2006. By 2006, the retrenchment of the late 1990s had led to a growth in the size, scope, and complexity of new and some existing UN peacekeeping and peace-enforcement operations.

During this period, western nations became engaged in the U.S.-led War on Terror and other related military activities across the globe. As a result, the lead nations in UN peacekeeping increasingly came from developing nations. Peacekeeping obviously has not occurred in a vacuum, and thus, non-UN and related UN activities that went on during this period must also be considered in relation to actual UN peacekeeping operations to gain a full understanding of events.

It is important to gain a conceptual foundation and background in the history of UN Peacekeeping Operations by reviewing the historical, political, and diplomatic background that contributed to the evolution of peacekeeping operations in a general chronological order. Therefore, this course package begins with the political background to the failures of the 1990s that led to retrenchment in the late 1990s. The first lesson also covers smaller missions and their civilian follow-up missions that were initiated by the UN in light of the major peacekeeping failures of the early 1990s. The course then looks at missions as the financial crisis that faced the UN led to further retrenchment and how UN peacekeeping was restructured after the 50th Anniversary of UN peacekeeping in 1997. The next missions occur as the 1990s close and retrenchment ends as the Kosovo crisis and East Timor bring UN peacekeeping back to prominence. Subsequent lessons cover the missions going on into the 2000s. The focus then changes to a detailed look at the general issues that faced the UN as peacekeeping expanded in the early 2000s and how Africa became a focus of UN and regional peacekeeping missions. The lessons then look at further missions and the economic impacts of this new resurgence. Finally, the course concludes with a detailed review of SHRIBRIG and UNDPKO. Overall, the study guide will familiarise the student with the significance of individual UN Peacekeeping Missions and the overall evolution and functioning of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations from the late 1990s to 2006.

At the time of this writing, some of the missions were still ongoing. However, lessons have been written in the past tense, as mission mandates could be terminated by the time this course came to print. I hope that the student will find this course informative and interesting and that the knowledge gained will be of use in dealing with issues that face peacekeepers throughout the world.

Prof. Sunil V. Ram

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FORMAT OF STUDY

This course is designed for independent study at a pace determined by the student.

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STUDENT’S RESPONSIBILITY

The student is responsible for:

• Learning course material
• Completing the End-of-Course Examination
• Submitting the End-of-Course Examination

Please consult your enrolment confirmation email or the end of this course for examination submission instructions.
METHOD OF STUDY

The following are suggestions for how to proceed with this course. Though the student may have alternate approaches that are effective, the following hints have worked for many.

- Before you begin actual studies, first browse through the overall course material. Notice the lesson outlines, which give you an idea of what will be involved as you proceed.

- The material should be logical and straightforward. Instead of memorizing individual details, strive to understand concepts and overall perspectives in regard to the United Nations system.

- Set up guidelines regarding how you want to schedule your time.

- Study the lesson content and the learning objectives. At the beginning of each lesson, orient yourself to the main points. If you are able to, read the material twice to ensure maximum understanding and retention, and let time elapse between readings.

- When you finish a lesson, take the End-of-Lesson Quiz. For any error, go back to the lesson section and re-read it. Before you go on, be aware of the discrepancy in your understanding that led to the error.

- After you complete all of the lessons, take time to review the main points of each lesson. Then, while the material is fresh in your mind, take the End-of-Course Examination in one sitting.

- Your exam will be scored, and if you achieve a passing grade of 75 percent or higher, you will be awarded a Certificate of Completion. If you score below 75 percent, you will be given one opportunity to take a second version of the End-of-Course Examination.

- One note about spelling is in order. This course was written in English as it is used in the United Kingdom.

Note: The appendices located in the back of this course contain reference materials that may be useful to the student, including a list of acronyms used in this text, an acronym list of all peacekeeping operations, and mission data profiles of the missions discussed in this text, including basic facts, maps, and medals.
LESSON 1

THE PERIOD OF RETRENCHMENT 1995-1999

1.1 Peacekeeping in the Early 1990s
1.2 Retrenchment of Peacekeeping in the Mid-1990s
1.3 The Changed Face of Peacekeeping
1.4 Missions During the First Period of Retrenchment
1.5 United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH)
1.6 United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONUH)
1.7 United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA)
1.8 United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA)

Peacekeeping can no longer follow the path of unthinking neutrality.

– UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan
LESSON OBJECTIVES

Lesson 1 outlines the general political issues that faced UN peacekeeping initiatives in the wake of the major failures in Bosnia, Rwanda, and Somalia. This lesson will cover missions from the first period of retrenchment during 1997.

At the end of Lesson 1, the student should be able to meet the following objectives:

- Know the political background to the changing face of peacekeeping in the context of the failures of the 1990s;
- Understand why retrenchment in peacekeeping occurred;
- Learn the role and composition of UNTMIH;
- Learn the role and composition of MIPONUH;
- Gain a basic knowledge of MICAH;
- Learn the role and composition of MINUGUA;
- Learn the role and composition of MONUA; and
- Gain a basic knowledge of UNOA and UNMA.
1.1 Peacekeeping in the Early 1990s

The setbacks experienced by the United Nations (UN) in Somalia, Bosnia, and Rwanda were a backdrop to the reality of the changes in global conflicts. Conflicts were now in many cases intra-state or failed state scenarios where the conflicting groups did not necessarily represent traditional political actors. Somalia, Bosnia, Rwanda, and other missions to a lesser extent suffered from rapidly changing tasks in a complex multidimensional operation. Nonetheless, the UN continued to deploy the majority of its peacekeepers with only basic military skills required in traditional peacekeeping operations. UN peacekeepers for the most part lacked the training and skills to perform human rights, civil policing, electoral assistance, refugee relief, and post-conflict society building tasks.

It is worthwhile to remember that the term “peacekeeping” does not exist in the UN Charter. Dag Hammarskjold referred to it as “Chapter Six and a Half” of the Charter, placing it between traditional methods of resolving disputes peacefully, such as mediation and fact-finding (Chapter VI), and more forceful action, such as embargos and military intervention (Chapter VII).

Peacekeeping operations had traditionally involved the deployment of primarily military personnel from a number of countries under UN command to help control and resolve armed conflict between hostile parties who had mutually agreed to peace or at least a ceasefire. The Cold War model of peacekeeping generally dealt with inter-state conflicts. By the early 1990s, this simply was not the case. Conflicts of the 1990s frequently took place between multiple armed factions with different political objectives and fractured lines of command. In turn, irregular forces and militias in these conflicts ignored or wilfully violated humanitarian rights, while at the same time there were constantly shifting lines of confrontation. In this volatile and complex environment, peacekeepers found themselves in situations where ceasefire agreements were ignored, where consent to the UN’s presence was challenged, and where government and state institutions had ceased to function or had totally broken down. In effect, there was no peace to keep.

1.2 Retrenchment of Peacekeeping in the Mid-1990s

By the mid-1990s, the UN had begun to respond to the changed nature of peacekeeping. Peacekeeping missions now were characterised by complex operations composed of military, civilian police, and other civilian personnel. Many new mandates now included the creation or rehabilitation of political institutions, the provision of emergency relief, demobilisation of former combatants and their reintegration into society, clearing mines and unexploded ordinance (UXO), the organisation and conduct of elections, and the promotion of sustainable development practices.

Nonetheless, the spectre of the failures during the 1990s resulted in a retrenchment of peacekeeping in the second half of the decade. As peacekeeping grew in the early 1990s, so did the UN’s costs, and the largest missions, with the biggest costs, soon became the biggest controversies. Somalia and the former Yugoslavia were prime examples of the evolution of
peacekeeping into “nation-building” in failed state scenarios. But as these missions became obvious failures, there was a growing push in the mid-1990s, mainly by the United States (U.S.), to shift responsibility for peace operations from the UN to regional organisations and military coalitions. As NATO took over in the Balkans in the form of its Implementation Force (IFOR) and Stabilisation Force (SFOR), the U.S. essentially drove a contraction of UN-led peacekeeping.

In 1995, the numbers of peacekeeping personnel declined sharply, mainly as a result of the end of the mandates of UNOSOM II in March and UNPROFOR in December. As of January 1996, the total deployment of the military and civilian police personnel stood at approximately 29,000, less than half of its previous levels. These numbers continued to decline from 1996 until the middle of 1999 when they dropped to approximately 12,000. The trend was reversed towards the latter part of 1999 with the deployment of large missions in Kosovo, East Timor, and Sierra Leone. The total military and civilian police strength stood at approximately 38,000 at the end of 2000.
Another unforeseen impact of the tempo of peacekeeping missions was the effect it had on western military forces that had been at the forefront of such missions. These military organisations faced a crisis; whereas the political motivation to become involved in these types of missions grew in the first half of the 1990s, the soldiers who had to conduct them became less and less motivated to go on them. This situation was further exacerbated by the differences in social values and norms between those countries and their militaries that provided contingents and the societies in which they were operating.

Peacekeeping in the types of missions in the early 1990s required comprehensive training that was far greater than for war fighting, training that was not necessarily available or forthcoming. This level of complexity meant that troops had to draw on their own social values and education to access situations, which further created confusion and frustration among troops.

Added to this complex brew was that these were not war fighting missions, yet there was fighting going on and UN peacekeepers were taking casualties (see chart below). This further added to the growing unwillingness of soldiers to go on missions and conversely led to contributing western states to reconsider their commitments.

**UN Fatalities in the 1990s**

*Source: UN*

From 1991 to 2000, there were a total of 814 fatalities. From 1948 to 1990, there were 844 fatalities.

*Data as at 30 November 2000*
Peacekeeping costs also fluctuated significantly in the 1990s. From a $0.4 billion budget in 1991, the costs rose to an all-time high of $3.6 billion in 1993. Subsequently, peacekeeping budgets decreased in the latter part of the decade and dropped to 1.0 billion in 1998. The other trend that became apparent was the shift in troops contributions from developed countries to those of developing countries. For example, in early 1991, of the top ten troop contributors, only two were developing countries: Ghana and Nepal. By the end of 2000, eight out of the top ten contributors were developing countries: Bangladesh, Ghana, India, Jordan, Kenya, Nepal, Nigeria, and Pakistan.

1.3 The Changed Face of Peacekeeping

The goal of peacekeeping—to alleviate human suffering and to create conditions and build institutions for self-sustaining peace—has not changed, but the 1990s changed how it was done.

Peacekeeping operations now tended to consist of several components, including a military component, which might or might not be armed, and various civilian components encompassing a broad range of disciplines. Depending on the mission’s mandate, the following were the basic goals of the mission:

- Deploy to prevent the outbreak of conflict or the spill-over of conflict across borders;
- Stabilise conflict situations after a ceasefire to create an environment for the parties to reach a lasting peace agreement;
- Assist in implementing comprehensive peace agreements; and
- Lead states or territories through a transition to stable government based on democratic principles, good governance, and economic development.

1.4 Missions During the First Period of Retrenchment

In the aftermath of the major peacekeeping failures of the early 1990s, a number of smaller missions were initiated in the latter half of the 1990s. During 1997, the UN initiated four new, but small missions: United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH); United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONUH); United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA); and United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA). Where applicable, these missions’ follow-on civilian missions are covered in detail in the balance of this lesson.
LESSON 1
END-OF-LESSON QUIZ

1. What did UN peacekeepers for the most part lack on missions in the immediate wake of the Cold War?
   A. The training and skills to perform human rights, civil policing, electoral assistance, refugee relief, and post-conflict society building tasks;
   B. The appropriate equipment to complete their tasks;
   C. Political support for such complex missions;
   D. Appropriate training, skills, and equipment to fulfil their missions.

2. Dag Hammarskjold referred to peacekeeping operations as:
   A. A good idea;
   B. A pointless effort;
   C. “Chapter Six and a Half” operations in the context of the UN Charter;
   D. The true role of the UN, even if peacekeeping was not in the Charter.

3. What impact did the peacekeeping failures of the early 1990s have on the UN?
   A. There was no impact, and the status quo prevailed;
   B. The UN stopped doing peacekeeping;
   C. The UN expanded its peacekeeping into even bigger nation-building operations;
   D. It resulted in a retrenchment of peacekeeping in the second half of the decade.

4. What was the role of UNTMIH?
   A. To assist the Government of Haiti by supporting and contributing to the professionalisation of the HNP;
   B. To establish a stable, political environment in Haiti to allow for elections;
   C. To disarm and disband the various armed factions in Haiti;
   D. To assist in the rehabilitation of Haiti’s destroyed infrastructure and create a new Haitian armed forces.

5. Unlike the three previous peacekeeping missions to Haiti, MIPONUH did not include what?
   A. A military component;
   B. A CIVPOL component;
   C. A mandate from the Security Council;
   D. Financing from the UN.
6. In the context of the role of MIPONUH, the mission placed special emphasis on:
   A. Demining and disarming criminal organisations;
   B. Humanitarian relief and social rehabilitation;
   C. Assistance at the supervisory level and on training specialised police units;
   D. Electoral procedures and the holding of free and fair elections.

7. To whom did the UNMOs of MINUGUA turn over the URNG’s weapons, munitions, and equipment?
   A. They did not turn anything over as all items were destroyed;
   B. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General;
   C. An Explosive Ordinance Disposal team from UNHQ;
   D. The Ministry of the Interior.

8. What was one aspect of MONUA’s overall mandate?
   A. To assist the Angolan parties in consolidating peace and national reconciliation;
   B. To enforce the peace as required in maintaining stability;
   C. To assist the OAU peace force in keeping the peace;
   D. To stop all illegal activity in the country.

9. Why was the mandate of MONUA extended several times?
   A. It was requested by both parties to the peace accord;
   B. UNITA requested it as government forces were attacking it;
   C. It was required due to the continued instability in the country and the escalating violence;
   D. It was required by the initial SC resolution that established the Mission.

10. Why was MONUA eventually withdrawn?
    A. Angola collapsed back into a state of war, and MONUA could no longer carry out its mandate;
    B. It ran out of funding;
    C. Both parties in the conflict demanded its withdrawal;
    D. A renewal of the mandate was vetoed by the U.S.

**ANSWER KEY:**
1A, 2c, 3D, 4A, 5A, 6C, 7D, 8A, 9C, 10A