NOTES

1 Any ongoing field operation requires the periodic rotation of forces for rest, refit, and retraining. Most complex PSOs last for several years and therefore require ongoing rotations. The rule of thumb is that for every unit deployed there is one unit training to replace it and one unit in rest and refit. Assuming annual rotations, 135,000 troops in the field represents a total commitment of just over 400,000 troops to peace operations, globally. Since some countries rotate troops more frequently, at six to nine month intervals, the actual commitment level may be closer to half a million. This is the same order of magnitude as total US troop commitments to Iraq, 2003–05.

2 The United Nations will spend about US $5 billion for peacekeeping operations in 2005–2006, or about $59,000 per person deployed. Troop units cost the United Nations the least per capita, at about $24,000 per soldier per year (though UN reimbursement rates cover just 10-15 percent of wealthier troop contributors’ operating costs). Troop units are still the largest line item in the UN peacekeeping budget, because three quarters of all UN peacekeeping personnel are troops in units. Military observers and UN police are the next most costly elements, as they receive UN per diem while deployed, although salaries continue to be picked up by their national employers. International civilians are the UN’s most costly full-time personnel as the organization pays both their salaries and their per diem. Civilian staff hired locally by missions cost much less but requisite skills are often scarce. The costs of non-UN peace support operations are more difficult to estimate as most costs are borne directly by troop and police contributing states, which report these costs irregularly and inconsistently. A reasonable estimate for operations drawing troops from developed countries, however, is US $125,000–$250,000 per soldier per year; and for operations with troops from developing countries, about $13,000–$40,000. (See William J. Durch, with Tobias C. Berkman, “Restoring and Maintaining Peace: What We Know So Far,” in Twenty-first Century Peace Operations, edited by William J. Durch (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2006), ch. 1, annex. See also Michael Carnahan, William Durch, and Scott Gilmore, “Economic Impact of Peacekeeping” (Ottawa, Canada: Peace Dividend Trust for the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Best Practices Section, March 2006), www.un.org/Depts/dpko/lessons/.) The total estimated cost of non-UN peacekeeping in 2003 was just under $7 billion, and the non-UN level of effort was relatively stable in the following two years. Allowing for inflation and especially higher costs of fuel since 2003, the estimated real global cost of $11–12 billion for all peace operations 2005 is probably conservative.


4 See, Bruce Jones with Feryal Cherif, "Evolving Models of Peacekeeping, Policy Implications and Responses," paper prepared for the Best Practices Unit, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (New York: New York University Center on


6 The United Nations has maintained a small advisory cell at African Union Headquarters in Addis Ababa since 2004 and in mid-2006 won approval for a larger, permanent African Peacekeeping Capacity advisory team with military and police advisers, logistics and communications experts, one administrative/financial expert and two support staff. See United Nations documents A/60/727, para. 118; A/60/807 para. 56; and A/55/60/L.62, para. 6d–e.


12 Although the UN Operation in the Congo (ONUC) was authorized to use force beyond self-defense, and is therefore grouped with Chapter VII operations in Figure 1-2, the Council did not specifically invoke Chapter VII. ONUC’s mandate was embodied in Security Council resolutions 143, 145, and 146 (1960) and resolutions 161 and 169 (1961). See Rosalyn Higgins, *United Nations Peacekeeping, 1946–1967, Documents and Commentary: Volume III: Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

13 I am grateful to Birger Heldt for reminding me of the Sinai Field Mission’s use of contract personnel.
19 “Category 05 – Substantial and prolonged warfare. Technology of destruction is at a high level but goals are limited and often ill-defined. Impetus to warfare is often sustained by issue complexities that make negotiation and compromise difficult. Warfare is intense but mostly confined to particular regions. Population dislocations may exceed one million; deaths range from one hundred thousand to half-a-million.” Excerpted from Marshall, “Measuring the Societal Impact of War,” 71.
22 Ibid., 73.


30 An expeditionary military is one that is able to deploy a substantial fighting force some distance beyond national borders and sustain it there for an extended period of time.


32 UN, *An Agenda for Peace*, para. 20.


maintain a ceasefire or peace agreement where the level of consent and compliance is uncertain and the threat of disruption is high.” This translation is closest to how French doctrine defines *restauration de la paix* but the latter does not appear in the NATO lexicon. Should French and other NATO forces participate jointly in a future PSO, one would hope that any differences of interpretation will have been sorted out before commanders make a fatal misjudgment while transitioning from peacekeeping to peace enforcement. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), *Peace Support Operations*, AJP 3.4.1 (Brussels: 2001), 2–4. NATO Standardization Agency, *NATO Glossary of Terms and Definitions*, AAP-6 (2004) (Brussels: December 2003), www.nato.int/docu/standard.htm#AAP.


39 For definitions, discussion, and further links, see en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Powell_doctrine.


42 Ibid., paras. 53, 60.

43 Chapter VII was drawn up to facilitate the creation of international collective action with international forces against international aggressors but that intent, laid down at the moment of peak Allied collaboration against the Axis Powers of World War II, was always more than the post-war political market would bear. Indeed, the most that it would bear until the end of the Cold War was traditional peacekeeping. The main exception—the Congo operation—precipitated both political and financial crises within the United Nations and occurred at a time when East-West relations at large had reached their nadir, with East Germany building the Berlin Wall and the Soviet Union smuggling nuclear-tipped missiles into Cuba.


Ibid., chapter 2, paras. 3–4.

Ibid., chapter 3, paras. 1, 6, and 9.


Ibid., 1–17.


The language in the earlier draft was to restore “a viable market economy, and self determination in a healthy civil society.” US DoD Directive 3000.cc, January 2005, para. 4.2. Rule of law and democratic institutions are more specific—and much more directive of local politics—than is self-determination.


Ibid., 7, 9, 16, 26, 28, 40–45.

JWP 3-50, 2nd ed., 2–13 and n22.
Thus, while Security Council resolutions routinely authorize use of “all necessary means” to implement Chapter VII mandates, better language would mandate the use of “all appropriate and proportionate means” to achieve mission objectives. Since several prominent troop contributors possess nuclear weapons, the Council presumably does not really mean that all military means are to be used as needed.


UN, Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/2000/14, May 4, 2000. “The Security Council commends UNAMSIL forces and the Force Commander for the courage, resolve and sacrifice they have shown in attempting to bring this situation under control. It expresses its full support for their continued efforts to this end, and for the overall fulfillment of their mandate. It calls upon all States in a position to do so to assist the Mission in this regard.”


UN Joint Logistics Centre, “Brief Description,” www.unjlc.org/content/index.phtml/itemID/9639.


The UN secretary-general can, of course, launch diplomatic initiatives under his good offices function, using modest discretionary funds at his disposal; more substantial “special political missions” can be established with authorization from the Security Council or General Assembly and funding from the General Assembly. As of late 2005, some 2,300 UN personnel were serving in ten such “political and peacebuilding missions.” For further information, see the UN Department of Political Affairs, www.un.org/Depts/dpa/prev_dip/fst_prev_dip.htm.


75 Sixteen officers and four support staff were transferred in 2006 from the military division to DPKO’s new Integrated Training Service. United Nations, Financial performance report for [2004–05] and proposed budget for the support account for peacekeeping for [2006–07], Report of the ACABQ, A/60/807, April 20, 2006, para. 75.

76 The wet-lease policy grew out of the logistical nightmares of the mid-1990s, when the UN found itself procuring parts and supplies for hundreds of different types of vehicles, communications equipment and weapons for 80,000 troops.


81 The 23 current members of the Development Assistance Committee are: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, European Commission, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK, US. For listing and details see www.oecd.org/dac/memberswebsites.

82 There is little on the record as to why this is the case, perhaps because the answers would be embarrassing for the United Nations, for the demurring states, for Africa, or all of the above. The usual reason cited for developed state reluctance to work under UN command and control is experience with UN leadership in the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR, Bosnia, 1992–95). There is much finger-pointing in particular at the NATO-UN dual-key arrangement for summoning NATO close air support on
behalf of UNPROFOR. But while top UN civilian leaders were “deeply reluctant” to use air power lest it disrupt humanitarian operations, military officers in the UN’s Balkans chain of command who approved or denied requests for NATO close air support were largely seconded from European NATO countries, and their governments and militaries were also deeply reluctant to oppose Serb aggression in Bosnia by force of arms. They were, moreover, focused closely on protecting their forces in the field and on the domestic political repercussions of not doing so. When Srebrenica, in eastern Bosnia, was attacked in July 1995, the UN’s force commander in the Balkans and UNPROFOR’s deputy commander in Sarajevo were seconded French officers. The commander of UNPROFOR (out of Bosnia at the time of the Srebrenica crisis) was British. The force commander’s chief of staff, UNPROFOR’s chief of staff in Sarajevo, and the acting commander of UNPROFOR Sector Northeast (to whom the UN’s Dutch battalion in Srebrenica reported) were Dutch. Although the UN’s approval procedures for close air support were confusing and time-consuming, most of the requests for air support from the battalion never made it far enough up the chain to reach UN civilians. Owing to reporting and processing delays within UNPROFOR, a critical final request for air support made on the morning of the day Srebrenica was overrun did not reach the civilian Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) until noon. The SRSG approved the request 17 minutes later. NATO aircraft began bombing Bosnian Serb Army (BSA) targets two hours later. The BSA threatened to shell Srebrenica’s civilian population and kill the Dutch troops that it held hostage, whereupon the Dutch government launched a full-court, high-level diplomatic initiative to get the UN and NATO to call off the air action, which they did. Between seven and eight thousand men and boys in and around Srebrenica were subsequently massacred by Serb forces. European militaries’ and European governments’ reluctance to use force in a timely fashion appears, therefore, to have been at least as great a contributing factor to the debacle as were UN policies and decision-making.


86 The following summary of police deployment rates is based on data gathered from nearly 100 UN progress reports on each UN operation since 1989 that has deployed civilian police. For citations, please contact the author.


William J. Durch, “Strengthening UN Secretariat Capacity for Civilian Post-Conflict Response,” paper prepared for the Center on International Cooperation, New York University, for discussion at the conference on Strengthening the UN's Capacity on Civilian Crisis Management, Copenhagen, Denmark, June 8, 2004.


There is, of course, much more to be said about how to define peace operations’ impact on their operating environments and whether or not that impact is, on balance, positive, and for whom. For a good discussion, see Heldt and Wallensteen, “Success Rates of Peacekeeping Operations,” 33–37.


105 Birger Heldt, “UN-Led or Non-UN-led Peacekeeping Operations?” Draft of August 27, 2004, Stockholm, Folke Bernadotte Academy. For further discussion of relative success and how it is affected by situational or mission difficulty, see Durch and Berkman, “Restoring and Maintaining Peace.”


In June 1992, its Council of Ministers issued the “Petersberg Declaration,” which stated that military units of WEU states could be employed under authority of the WEU for “humanitarian and rescue tasks; peacekeeping tasks; [and] tasks of combat forces in crisis management including peacemaking.” Subsequently, WEU members mounted “Operation Sharp Guard” (1993–96) in the Adriatic Sea, in conjunction with NATO, to enforce the UN arms embargo on the Former Yugoslavia and set up riverine patrols on the Danube during the same period to help Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria enforce the same embargo. For the origins and a brief history of the Western European Union, consult its website, www.weu.int.


“Berlin-plus” built upon results of a 1996 WEU ministerial meeting in Berlin that arranged for NATO-WEU operational cross-support.
121 Flournoy and others, “European Defense Integration.”


124 Haine, "An Historical Perspective," 132. In addition to its primarily military operations, the EU has supported a number of smaller policing and rule of law missions. These include EUIJUST THEMIS in Georgia (to assist government of Georgia in reforming criminal justice system and improving legislative procedures), EUPOLE Kinshasa in the DRC (setting up and training an integrated police unit), EU COPPS Palestine (support to Palestinian police reform), EUSEC DRC (advice and assistance for security sector reform), support to AMIS II in Darfur (planning advice, training and assistance), and EUJUST LEX in Iraq (training officials to strengthen the criminal justice system on human rights issues). For details, see Giovanni Grevi, Dov Lynch and Antonio Missirolli, “ESDP Operations,” in *EU Security and Defence Policy*, ed. Gnesotto, ch. 9.


126 Peter Viggo Jacobsen, “The Emerging EU Civilian Crisis Management Capacity,” paper prepared for the Center on International Cooperation, New York University, for discussion at the conference on Strengthening the UN's Capacity on Civilian Crisis Management, Copenhagen, Denmark, June 8, 2004, 4, 7.


129 Ibid., 126.


140 In the context of Africa, “regional” refers to the northern, western, eastern, southern, and central sections of the continent. “Sub-regional” refers to elements of those regions. Thus, West Africa is a region; the Mano River Basin (encompassing Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone) is a sub-region.

141 Ero and Temin, "Sources of Conflict in West Africa", 112.


“NATO’s International Staff,” www.shape.nato.int/issues/international_staff/index.html.


Cousens and Harland, “Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina,” n. 93. Other relevant costs of international involvement in the Balkans since 1992 include: The UN operation, UNPROFOR (1992–95, in both Croatia and Bosnia), about $4.5 billion.


161 Suppressed during the final year of Taliban rule, poppy production has ballooned since the Taliban’s ouster in late 2001. According to survey data from the UN Office of Drugs and Crime, production of opium gum in Afghanistan soared to 3,600 tons in 2003 and 4,200 tons in 2004, accounting for 87 percent of total world production. Over [500,000] Afghan families participate in growing poppy, and cultivation has been spreading rapidly despite desultory government efforts to prevent it. Poppy is a very productive and drought-resistant weed and Afghan family farmers turn to it for want of other revenue-producing crops. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and Afghan Transition Government, Counter Narcotics Directorate, “Afghanistan Opium Survey 2004,” Kabul and Vienna: November 2004).


167 James Murphy, “An-124-100s Enter Service with NATO,” *Jane’s Defence Weekly*, March 29, 2006, 21. The initial three-year contract with Leipzig-based Ruslan SALIS GmbH (a German subsidiary of the Russian Volga-Dnepr Group), provides two aircraft on full-time charter, makes two available on six days notice, and a final two on
nine days notice. The cost of the initial contract in the first year was a reported €38 million, plus usage fees.


178 The United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1542, creating the UN Stability Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), in April 2004, authorizing deployment of 6,700 troops and 1,622 civilian police (including six formed police units of 125 each,
primarily for crowd control). As of May 2005, battalion-strength troop contributors included Brazil (1,200), Uruguay (772), Sri Lanka (750), Jordan and Nepal (748 each), Argentina (548), and Chile (533). Police units were contributed by China, Jordan (2), Nepal, and Pakistan (2). United Nations, Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, S/2005/313, May 13, 2005; and S/2005/313/add.1, June 23, 2005. Security Council Resolution 1608, June 22, 2005, increased troop strength by one battalion (750), plus 50 more staff officers, and increased police strength by 275, including a 7th formed police unit, anticipating the need for greater security in the run-up to elections and to ease the transition to the new government.


181 The next largest contributor, Thailand, sent 1,600 troops. Altogether, twenty-two states contributed troops to the coalition. Smith and Dee, “East Timor,” at note 61.


187 Stimson Center calculations based on data derived from The Military Balance (various years) and globalsecurity.org.


Singer, Corporate Warriors, 64.


Singer, Corporate Warriors, 47.

Ibid., 75


Deborah Avant, “Privatized Military Training,” Foreign Policy In Focus 7, no. 6 (May 2002).

International Peace Operations Association, Supporting the MONUC Mandate with Private Services (Alexandria, VA: IPOA, January 2003), IPOA Concept Paper. IPOA’s Brooks suggested that AirScan’s fees could be paid from part of the US contribution to the MONUC mission budget. This would be a wash for the United States but a net loss in funding for the UN, which would then also be working with a contractor taking its orders from Washington rather than one that the UN itself vets, hires, and directs.


Major Christopher D. Croft, Contractors on the Battlefield: Has the Military Accepted Too Much Risk? (Ft. Leavenworth: Army Command and General Staff College, 2001), 26.

See, for example, Lisa Myers and the NBC investigative unit, “Security contractors largely unregulated: Pentagon monitors conduct but doesn’t assist with hiring,” February 16, 2005.


Isenberg, A Fistful of Contractors, 24–25


See, for example, Robert Perito, Where is the Lone Ranger When You Need Him? (Washington, DC: USIP, 2005).
Clayton Hirst, “Dogs of war to face new curbs in Foreign Office crackdown: Regulations planned for security firms amid claims that ‘any Joe Public can get a Kalashnikov and work abroad,’” *The Independent*, March 13, 2005.


Singer, *Corporate Warriors*, 132. Such arguments, while self-interested, may also reflect market realities. Thus, US economic sanctions against Sudan, for example, have not prevented Chinese energy companies from stepping in to fill the void left by the absence of American companies.


The 1977 Additional Protocol to the Geneva Conventions denies mercenaries the right to be a combatant or a prisoner of war, and defines them as follows: A mercenary is any person who:

a. Is specially recruited locally or abroad in order to fight in an armed conflict;

b. Does, in fact, take a direct part in the hostilities;

c. Is motivated to take part in the hostilities essentially by the desire for private gain and, in fact, is promised, by or on behalf of a Party to the conflict, material compensation substantially in excess of that promised or paid to combatants of similar ranks and functions in the armed forces of that Party;

d. Is neither a national of a Party to the conflict nor a resident of territory controlled by a Party to the conflict;

e. Is not a member of the armed forces of a Party to the conflict; and

f. Has not been sent by a State which is not a Party to the conflict on official duty as a member of its armed forces.

The Organization of African Unity outlawed mercenaries in 1977 under the Convention for the Elimination of Mercenarism in Africa. The Convention borrowed almost verbatim the mercenary definition in Protocol I, but added:

The crime of mercenarism is committed by the individual, group or association, representative of a State or the State itself who with the aim of opposing by armed violence a process of self-determination, stability or the territorial integrity of another State, practices any of the following acts:

a. Shelters, organizes, finances, assists, equips, trains, promotes, supports or in any manner employs bands of mercenaries;
b. Enlists, enrolls, or tries to enrol [sic] in the said bands; [or]
c. Allows the activities mentioned in paragraph (a) to be carried out in any territory under its jurisdiction or in any place under its control or affords facilities for transit, transport or other operations of the above mentioned forces [my italics].


The 1989 International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries, drafted after nine years of negotiations, also attempted to outlaw mercenary behavior, but suffered from the same legal shortcomings as its predecessors. Its primary definition for mercenarism borrows the overly prescriptive language of Protocol I of the Geneva Conventions, while secondary definitions include references to the financial "motivation" of the actors in question, and the use of violence "aimed at...[o]verthrowing a Government or otherwise undermining the constitutional order of a State; or...undermining the territorial integrity of a State."


224 For discussion, see, for example, Schreier and Caparini, “Privatising Security,” 116.


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Note: UN-6 = UN-led without Chapter VII authority. UN-7 = UN-led, with Chapter VII authority. UN-7-A = Security-Council-authorized, under Chapter VII. UN-R = Security-Council-recognized or endorsed. Other = no recognition from UN Security Council. CSA = Central and South Asia. EUR = Europe. LAC = Latin America and Caribbean. MENA = Middle East and North Africa. PAC = Pacific Islands. SSA = Sub-Saharan Africa. For a glossary of mission acronyms, go to www.stimson.org/newpubs.cfm.
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Note to the Under Secretary-General for Management. Summary of the work of the Fifth Committee during the first part of the resumed 56th session. March 4–19, 2002.


