



**THE IMPOSSIBLE MANDATE?
MILITARY PREPAREDNESS,
THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT
AND MODERN PEACE OPERATIONS**

**Victoria K. Holt and
Tobias C. Berkman**

September 2006

Copyright ©2006
The Henry L. Stimson Center

ISBN: 0-9770023-0-6
Photos by Reuters and Antonio Dasiparu/AFP/Getty Images.
Cover design by Rock Creek Creative.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or
transmitted in any form or by any means without prior written consent from
The Henry L. Stimson Center.

The Henry L. Stimson Center
1111 19th Street, NW 12th Floor Washington, DC 20036
phone: 202-223-5956 fax: 202-238-9604 www.stimson.org

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acronyms.....	iv
Preface	viii
Acknowledgements.....	ix
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2: THE PROTECTION DEBATE: ORIGINS AND MOMENTUM	15
CHAPTER 3: MEANINGS OF “PROTECTION”: TOWARDS A UNIFIED CONCEPT.....	35
CHAPTER 4: INDICATORS OF CAPACITY: WILLING ACTORS AND OPERATIONAL CAPABILITIES.....	57
CHAPTER 5: FROM THE COUNCIL TO THE FIELD: NAVIGATING MANDATES AND RULES OF ENGAGEMENT	79
CHAPTER 6: TRANSLATING CONCEPTS: DOCTRINE	101
CHAPTER 7: PREPARING FOR THE MISSION: TRAINING	133
CHAPTER 8: PROTECTING CIVILIANS ON THE GROUND: MONUC AND THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO.....	155
CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION: FILLING GAPS, LOOKING FORWARD	179
ANNEX 1: UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS FOR MISSIONS INVOLVING ASPECTS OF CIVILIAN PROTECTION.....	201
Bibliography	225
About the Authors.....	241

ACRONYMS

ACOTA	Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance
ACRI	African Crisis Response Initiative
ALNAP	Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action
AMIB	African Mission in Burundi
AMIS	African Union Mission in the Sudan
AO	Area of Operations
APC	Armored Personnel Carrier
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
ASF	African Standby Force (AU)
AU	African Union
BMATT	British Military Advisory and Training Team
CIMIC	Civil-Military Cooperation
CMO	Civil-Military Operations
CMTC	Combat Maneuver Training Center
COB	Civilians on the Battlefield
CPKO	Canadian Peacekeeping Operations
CRO	Crisis Response Operation
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DDRRR	Disarmament, Demobilization, Repatriation, Resettlement and Reintegration
DES-PADS	(Office of) Deputy Executive Secretary for Political Affairs, Defense, and Security (ECOWAS)
DEXES	Deployable Exercise Support
DoD	Department of Defense (United States)
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN)
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
DSRSG	Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary General
EASBRIG	Eastern Africa Standby Brigade
ECOMICI	ECOWAS Mission in Côte d'Ivoire
ECOMIL	ECOWAS Mission in Liberia
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDA	European Defense Agency
ESDP	European Security and Defense Policy
ESF	ECOWAS Standby Force
EU	European Union
EUFOR	European Union Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina
FARDC	Forces Armées de la Republic Democratic du Congo
FDLR	Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda

FEWER	Forum for Early Warning and Early Response
FM	Field Manual
FNI	Forces Nationalistes et Integrationnistes (DRC)
GoS	Government of Sudan
GPOI	Global Peace Operations Initiative
HNP	Haitian National Police
IAPTC	International Association of Peacekeeping Training Centers
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IEMF	Interim Emergency Multinational Force
IFOR	Implementation Force (in Bosnia and Herzegovina)
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IRC	International Rescue Committee
IRIN	International Regional Information Network (UN)
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
ISD	Institute for the Study of Diplomacy
ITS	Integrated Training Service (previously Training and Evaluation Service, or TES)
JMETL	Joint Mission-Essential Task List
JRTC	Joint Readiness Training Center
JTF	Joint Task Force
JWP	Joint Warfare Publication (UK)
KAIPTC	Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center
KFOR	Kosovo Force
MAGTF	Marine Air Ground Task Force
MCDP	Marine Corps Doctrinal Publication (US)
MIFH	Multinational Interim Force for Haiti
MILOBS	Military Observers
MINURSO	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (Mission des Nations Unies Pour l'Organisation d'un Référendum au Sahara Occidental)
MINUSTAH	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (Mission des Nations Unies pour la Stabilisation en Haiti)
MLC	Mouvement pour la Libération du Congo
MNF	Multi-National Force
MONUC	United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Mission des Nations Unies en République Démocratique du Congo)
MOOTW	Military Operations Other Than War

MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MSC	Mediation and Security Council (ECOWAS)
MSF	Médecins sans Frontières (Doctors without Borders)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEO	Non-Combatant Evacuation Operations
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NRF	NATO Response Force
NTC	National Training Center
OAS	Organization of American States
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN)
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (UN)
ONUB	United Nations Operation in Burundi (Opération des Nations Unies au Burundi)
OSCE	Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe
PACOM	Pacific Command
PAE	Pacific Architects and Engineers
PKO	Peacekeeping Operation
PO	Peace Operation
POCI	Program of Correspondence Instruction (UN)
POI	Program of Instruction
PRT	Provincial Reconstruction Team
PSC	Peace and Security Council (AU)
PSF	Peace Support Force
PSO	Peace Support Operations
QDR	Quadrennial Defense Review
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
RCD	Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie
RECAMP	Reinforcement of African Peace-keeping Capacities (Renforcement des Capacités Africaines au Maintien la Paix)
RNLA	Royal Netherlands Army
ROE	Rules of Engagement
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
RRF	Rapid Reaction Force
RUF	Revolutionary United Front (Sierra Leone)
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SFOR	Stabilization Force (in Bosnia and Herzegovina)
SG	Secretary General
SGTM	Standard Generic Training Module
SHIRBRIG	Stand-by High Readiness Brigade
SOFA	Status of Forces Agreement
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary General
SSTR	Stability, Security, Transition and Reconstruction
STM	Standardized Training Module

TCC	Troop Contributing Country
TEPSO	Training and Education for Peace Support Operations (NATO)
TES	Training and Evaluation Service (now Integrated Training Service, ITS)
TOR	Terms of Reference
TTP	Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures
UJTL	Universal Joint Task List
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNAMA	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNFICYP	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
UNITAR	United Nations Institute for Training and Research
UNMEE	United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNMIS	United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNMISSET	United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor
UNOCI	United Nations Operation in Côte d’Ivoire
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UNSAS	United Nations Stand-by Arrangements System
UNSC	UN Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
UPC	Union of Congolese Patriots (Union des Patriotes Congolais)
UPDF	Uganda People’s Defense Force
URABATT	Uruguayan Battalion (of MONUC)
US	United States
USAREUR	United States Army Europe

PREFACE

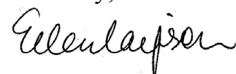
It is with great pleasure that I present a new Stimson Center publication, *The Impossible Mandate? Military Preparedness, the Responsibility to Protect and Modern Peace Operations*, by Victoria Holt and Tobias Berkman. This is an important study that provides new insight and policy ideas on an evolving concept in the peace operations world, the responsibility to protect. R2P, as it is known by the cognescenti, is a phrase that derives from a Canadian-led exercise in 2001, aimed at clarifying the relationship between state sovereignty and the international community's ability to respond to genocide and mass violence against civilians.

The particular focus of Tori Holt and Toby Berkman is moving from the lofty rhetoric of civilian protection to the practical issues for a military role, such as developing doctrine and training for forces deployed in peace operations. They explain why R2P, for all its compelling logic, actually falls through the cracks of planning and doctrine for peacekeeping missions, and offer some concrete suggestions for preventing such lacunae in the international community's responses to conflict. They also provide a useful guide to the range of concepts associated with civilian protection, and important insight into how military culture and practice translate the concept into actionable guidance to troops in the field. This book is a treasure trove of deep research about how peace operations actually work, and the ways national and international actors grapple with the complex and compelling challenge of civilian protection.

This new study is the latest contribution of our *Future of Peace Operations* program. The FOPO team has examined a wide range of topics relating to peace operations, and has been an important facilitator of communication between and among governments, NGOs, and the military and humanitarian communities working to bring peace and stability to post-conflict societies. We hope you will find this book of value, and encourage you to examine the larger body of work, at www.stimson.org/fopo.

This book could not have been produced without the generous support of the Human Security Program, Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, which sponsored the original research and work that led to this book.

Sincerely,



Ellen Laipson

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book benefited from the support of many individuals and organizations. First and foremost, I want to thank the Human Security Program, Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, for their generous support to our project and to the development of this study. In particular, I wish to thank Don Hubert, Heidi Hulan, Elissa Golberg, Ingrid Harder and Stephanie Power—they are colleagues of the highest order, rich with insights, expertise and encouragement.

Much of this research is based on interviews and discussion with individuals who gave generously of their time and wisdom. Meetings were usually conducted on a not-for-attribution basis, so I hope that those unnamed here accept my unprinted but sincere thanks. In particular, I appreciate those within the United Nations and its agencies—especially the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, as well as serving in missions in the field—who offered useful information, comments and viewpoints. I would also like to thank those within NATO, the European Union, the African Union and the Economic Community of West African States who contributed to our knowledge of modern operations and concepts. Many within the non-governmental community, research institutes, and civilian and military agencies further provided invaluable wisdom and data.

Special thanks are deserved by a few people who gave substantial time and knowledge, offered criticism and corrections to drafts, or contributed thinking and laughter (as appropriate) to this enterprise: Michael Bailey, Mark Bowden, Roberta Cohen, Timothy Cornett, Anthony Craig, Gareth Derrick, William Flavin, Peter Gantz, Peter Haindl, Stephen Henthorne, Paul Keating, Don Kraus, Iain Levine, Mark Malan, Francesca Marotta, Jim Terrie, John Otte, Richard Roy, Michael Larmas Smith, Pierre Trudel and Taylor Seybolt. Guy Abbate, Karl Farris and Bill Flavin kindly let me try these ideas out on the US and foreign military officers in their peacekeeping courses. Added recognition goes to Victoria Wheeler and Adele Harmer of the Humanitarian Policy Group at the Overseas Development Institute, who offered expertise and assistance in thinking about humanitarian action and concepts of protection. This book includes ideas first published in their HPG Research Report by the Overseas Development Institute in 2005. While this study is stronger for these contributions, I take responsibility for any errors.

My colleagues at The Henry L. Stimson Center enhanced this work substantially. My co-author, former Stimson research associate Toby Berkman, began this project with me in 2004 and contributed richly to its organization and writing. He proved to be a fine colleague with a journalist's talent for finding and deciphering data, as well as a passion for understanding difficult subjects such as Security Council resolutions and the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Stimson research associate Joshua Smith skillfully picked up the project after his departure and helped move the study into a final manuscript, doing so with knowledge, humor, and endless persistence, for which I am very grateful.

This book is a project of the *Future of Peace Operations* program at the Center. I thank my co-director, Bill Durch, for his endless insights during a productive and engaging collaboration since 2001, and my Stimson colleagues Ellen Laipson and Cheryl Ramp, for their abiding interest in this work. Thanks also go to research staff Katherine Andrews and Alix Boucher, who offered insightful comments and editing. Research, fact-checking and proof-reading were also provided by Daniel Levine, Michael Broache, and Brandon Hunt. Jane Dorsey made the production possible, with patience that is appreciated.

Finally, I would like to thank Sean Marrett, for his ever-lively mind and enduring support.

Victoria K. Holt
Washington, DC