
BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbott, Elizabeth. *Haiti: The Duvaliers and Their Legacy*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988.
- Adibe, Clement. *Disarmament and Conflict Resolution in a Stateless Society: The UN and Conflict in Somalia*. New York: United Nations; Geneva: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, 1995.
- African Rights. *Rwanda: Who Is Killing; Who Is Dying; What Is to Be Done—A Discussion Paper*. London: African Rights, May 1994.
- Allard, Kenneth. *Somalia Operations: Lessons Learned*. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1995.
- Almond, Mark. *Europe's Backyard War: The War in the Balkans*. London: Heinemann, 1994.
- Amnesty International. *Rwanda: Mass Murder by Government Supporters and Troops in April and May 1994*. London: Amnesty International, May 1994.
- Annan, Kofi. "Peace Operations and the United Nations: Preparing for the Next Century." Unpublished paper, February 1996.
- Barkey, Brett D. "Bosnia: A Question of Intervention." *Strategic Review* 21, no. 4 (fall 1993): 48–59.
- Basso, Vincenzo. "The WEU Danube Mission." In *The Report of the Copenhagen Round Table on UN Sanctions: The Case of the Former Yugoslavia, Copenhagen 24–25 June 1996 and Annexes*, 260–272. Brussels: European Commission, 1996.
- Berkowitz, Bruce D. "Rules of Engagement for UN Peacekeeping Forces in Bosnia." *Orbis* (fall 1994): 635–646.
- Boulden, Jane. "Rules of Engagement and Force Structure and Composition in UN Operations." In United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, *Managing Arms in Peace Processes: The Issues*. New York: United Nations, 1998.
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros. *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-Keeping*. New York: United Nations, 1992.
- . Comments at press conference, UN Headquarters, New York, 6 January 1995. Federal News Service transcript.
- . *Confronting New Challenges: 1995 Report on the Work of the Organization from the Forty-ninth to the Fiftieth Session of the General Assembly*. New York: United Nations, 1995.

- . "Empowering the United Nations." *Foreign Affairs* 71, no. 5 (winter 1992–93): 89–102.
- . *The 50th Anniversary Report on the Work of the Organization*. New York: United Nations, 1996.
- . *Further Report of the Secretary-General Submitted in Pursuance of Resolution 886 (1993), Reviewing the Options for the Future Mandate of UNOSOM II*, S/1994/12, 6 January 1994.
- . "Letter Dated 19 June 1994 from the Secretary-General Addressed to the President of the Security Council," S/1994/728, 20 June 1994.
- . "Letter of the Secretary-General to the Security Council," S/1994/518, 29 April 1994.
- . *Report of the Secretary-General*, S/24075, 6 June 1992.
- . *Report of the Secretary-General*, S/1994/555, 9 May 1994.
- . *Report of the Secretary-General*, S/1994/600, 19 May 1994.
- . *Report of the Secretary-General*, S/1994/828, 15 July 1994.
- . *Report of the Secretary-General*, S/1994/1389, 1 December 1994.
- . *Report of the Secretary-General*, S/1995/46, 17 January 1995.
- . *Report of the Secretary-General*, S/1995/305, 13 April 1995.
- . *Report of the Secretary-General*, S/1995/614, 24 July 1995.
- . *Report of the Secretary-General*, S/1995/922, 6 November 1995.
- . *Report of the Secretary-General*, S/1996/112, February 1996.
- . *Report of the Secretary-General*, S/1996/416, 5 June 1996.
- . *Report of the Secretary-General*, S/1996/813, 1 October 1996.
- . *Report of the Secretary-General*, S/1996/813/Addendum 1, 12 November 1996.
- . *Report of the Secretary-General on the Situation in Rwanda*, S/1994/640, 31 May 1994.
- . *Report of the Secretary-General on the Situation in Somalia, Proposing the Expansion of UNOSOM and the Creation of Four Operational Zones*, S/24343, 22 July 1992.
- . *Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to Security Council Resolutions 982 (1995) and 987 (1995)*, S/1995/444, 30 May 1995.
- . *Supplement to an Agenda for Peace: Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations*, A/50/60, S/1995/1, 25 January 1995.
- Brenner, Michael. *The United States Policy in Yugoslavia*. Ridgeway Papers, no. 6. Pittsburgh: Matthew B. Ridgeway Center for International Security Studies, 1995.
- [British Army]. *Wider Peacekeeping*. Army Field Manual. Wiltshire, England: Headquarters Doctrine and Training, 1994.

- Brookings Institution. *United Nations Peacekeeping in the Congo: 1960–1964*. Vol 3: *Appendices*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1966.
- Cardile, Angelo. "An Analysis on the Organization and Progress of the Joint Operation Carried out on the Danube by Police and Customs Forces of WEU Countries." In *The Report of the Copenhagen Round Table on UN Sanctions: The Case of the Former Yugoslavia, Copenhagen 24–25 June 1996 and Annexes*, 224–235. Brussels: European Commission, 1996.
- Carr, Edward Hallett. *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919–1939*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964.
- Central Intelligence Agency. *The World Factbook 1995*. Washington, D.C.: Central Intelligence Agency, 1995.
- Chernik, Marc W. "Peacemaking and Violence in Latin America." In *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*, edited by Michael E. Brown, 267–307. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996.
- Chomsky, Noam. "The Tragedy of Haiti." In *The Haiti Files: Decoding the Crisis*, edited by James Ridgeway. Washington, D.C.: Essential Books; Azul Editions, 1994.
- Chopra, Jarat. "The Space of Peace-Maintenance." *Political Geography* 15, no. 3–4 (1996): 335–358.
- Chopra, Jarat, Åge Eknes, and Toralv Nordbø. *Fighting for Hope in Somalia*. Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 1995.
- Claesson, Paul, and Trevor Findlay. "Appendix 1B: Case Studies on Peacekeeping: UNOSOM II, UNTAC, and UNPROFOR." In *SIPRI Yearbook 1994*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Clarke, Walter S. *SSI Special Report on Somalia*. Carlisle Barracks, Pa.: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 1992.
- Clarke, Walter, and Jeffrey Herbst, ed. *Learning from Somalia: The Lessons of Armed Humanitarian Intervention*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1997.
- Cohen, Eliot A. "The Mystique of U.S. Air Power." *Foreign Affairs* 73, no. 1 (January–February 1994): 109–124.
- Connaughton, Richard M. *Military Support and Protection for Humanitarian Assistance: Rwanda, April–December 1994*. The Occasional, no. 18. Camberley, England: Strategic and Combat Studies Institute, 1996.
- Cooper, Robert, and Mats Berdal. "Outside Intervention in Ethnic Conflicts." *Survival* 35, no. 1 (spring 1993): 118–142.
- Copenhagen Round Table on UN Sanctions. *The Report of the Copenhagen Round Table on UN Sanctions: The Case of the Former Yugoslavia, Copenhagen 24–25 June 1996 and Annexes*. Brussels: European Commission, 1996.
- Crosskill, Hugh. "Presidents in Poverty." *World Today* 52, no. 2 (February 1996): 37–39.

- Cusimano, Maryann K. *Operation Restore Hope: The Bush Administration's Decision to Intervene in Somalia*. Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy Publications, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, 1995.
- Daalder, Ivo. "Fear and Loathing in the Former Yugoslavia" In *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*, edited by Michael E. Brown, 35–67. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996.
- . "The United States and Military Intervention in Internal Conflict." In *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*, edited by Michael E. Brown, 461–488. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996.
- Dallaire, R. A., and B. Poulin. "UNAMIR: Mission to Rwanda." *Joint Force Quarterly* (spring 1995): 66–71.
- Dallmeyer, Dorinda. "National Perspectives on International Intervention: From the Outside Looking In." In *Beyond Traditional Peacekeeping*, edited by Donald C. F. Daniel and Bradd C. Hayes, 20–39. New York: Macmillan; St. Martin's, 1995.
- Daniel, Donald C. F. *Issues and Considerations in UN Gray Area and Enforcement Operations*. Research Memorandum 4–94. Newport, R.I.: U.S. Naval War College, Strategic Research Department, 1994.
- . *U.S. Perspectives on Peacekeeping: Putting PDD-25 in Context*. Strategic Research Report 3–94. Newport, R.I.: Center for Naval Warfare Studies, June 1994.
- Daniel, Donald C. F., and Bradd C. Hayes, ed. *Beyond Traditional Peacekeeping*. London: Macmillan, 1995.
- . "Securing Observance of UN Mandates through the Employment of Military Force." *International Peacekeeping* 3, no. 4 (winter 1996): 105–125.
- Daudet, Yves. "L'ONU et l'OEA en Haïti et le Droit International." *Annuaire Français de Droit International* 38 (1992): 89–101.
- De Soto, Alvaro. Letter to the Editor. *Foreign Affairs* 74, no. 1 (January–February 1995): 185–187.
- De Waal, Alex, and Rakiya Omaar. "The Genocide in Rwanda and the International Response." *Current History* (April 1995): 156–161.
- Dobbie, Charles. "A Concept for Post–Cold War Peacekeeping." *Survival* 36, no. 3 (autumn 1994): 121–148.
- Durch, William J. "Getting Involved: Political-Military Context." In *The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping: Case Studies and Comparative Analysis*, edited by William J. Durch. New York: St. Martin's, 1993.
- Dworken, Jonathan T. *Rules of Engagement (ROE) for Humanitarian Intervention and Low-Intensity Conflict: Lessons from Restore Hope*. Alexandria, Va.: Center for Naval Analyses, 1993.
- Ekwall-Vebelhart, Barbara, and Andrei Raevsky. *Managing Arms in Peace Processes: Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina*. New York: United Nations; Geneva: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, 1996.

- Fein, Helen, ed. "An Interview with Alison L. Des Forges." In *The Prevention of Genocide: Rwanda and Yugoslavia Reconsidered*. Working Paper of the Institute for the Study of Genocide, 1994.
- Fein, Helen, with Orlando Brugnola and Louise Spierer, eds. *The Prevention of Genocide: Rwanda and Yugoslavia Reconsidered*. New York: Institute for the Study of Genocide, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, 1994.
- Findlay, Trevor. "The Use of Force in Peace Operations." A report from the workshop organized by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute and the Australian Department for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Stockholm, 11 October 1995.
- George, Alexander. *Forceful Persuasion: Coercive Diplomacy as an Alternative to War*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1991.
- Glenny, Misha. *The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War*. London: Penguin, 1992.
- Goodpaster, Andrew J. *When Diplomacy Is Not Enough: Managing Multinational Military Interventions*. A Report to the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1966.
- Goulding, Marrack. "The Use of Force by the United Nations." *International Peacekeeping* no. 1 (spring 1996): 118.
- . "The Evolution of United Nations Peacekeeping." *International Affairs* 69, no. 3 (July 1993): 461–464.
- Haas, Ernst B. "Beware the Slippery Slope: Notes toward the Definition of Justifiable Intervention." In *Emerging Norms of Justified Intervention*, edited by Laura W. Reed and Carl Kaysen, 63–87. Cambridge, Mass.: Committee on International Security Studies, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1993.
- Hagglund, Gustav. "Peacekeeping in a Modern War Zone." *Survival* 32, no. 3 (May–June 1990): 233–240.
- Hammarškjöld, Dag. *Report of the Secretary-General: Summary Study of the Experience Derived from the Establishment and Operation of the Force*, A/3943, 9 October 1958. Reprinted in Robert C. R. Siekmann, ed., *Basic Documents on United Nations and Related Peace-Keeping Forces*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1989.
- . *First Report of the Secretary-General on the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 143 (1960) of 14 July 1960*, S/4389, 15 November 1960. Reprinted in Robert C. R. Siekmann, ed. *Basic Documents on United Nations and Related Peace-Keeping Forces*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1989.
- . *Second and Final Report of the Secretary-General on the Plan for an Emergency International United Nations Force Requested in Resolution 998 (ES-1), Adopted by the General Assembly on 4 November 1956*, A/3302/6, November 1956. Reprinted in Robert C. R. Siekmann, ed. *Basic Documents on United Nations and Related Peace-Keeping Forces*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1989.
- Hayes, Bradd C., and Jeffrey I. Sands. *Doing Windows: Non-Traditional Military Responses to Complex Emergencies*. Decision Support Department Research Report 97–1. Newport, R.I.: Center for Naval Warfare Studies, 1997.

- Hayes, Margaret Daly, and Gary F. Wheatley, eds. *Interagency and Political-Military Dimensions of Peace Operations: Haiti—A Case Study*. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University, Institute for National Security Studies, 1996.
- Helms, Jesse. "Saving the U.N." *Foreign Affairs* 75, no. 5 (September–October 1996): 2–7.
- Hines, Jay E., Jason D. Mims, and Hans S. Pawlisch. *USCENTCOM in Somalia: Operations Provide Relief and Restore Hope*. Tampa, Fla.: USCENTCOM, November 1994.
- Hirsch, John L., and Robert B. Oakley. *Somalia and Operation Restore Hope*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1995.
- Honig, Jan Willem, and Norbert Both. *Srebrenica: Record of a War Crime*. London: Penguin, 1996.
- Huldt, Bo. "Working Multilaterally: The Old Peacekeepers' Viewpoint." In *Beyond Traditional Peacekeeping*, edited by Donald C. F. Daniel and Bradd C. Hayes, 101–119. London: Macmillan, 1995.
- Human Rights Watch/Africa. *Genocide in Rwanda April–May 1994*. New York: Human Rights Watch/Africa, May 1994.
- Human Rights Watch/Americas–National Coalition for Haitian Refugees–Jesuit Refugee Service, USA. "No Port in a Storm." In *The Haiti Files: Decoding the Crisis*, edited by James Ridgeway. Washington, D.C.: Essential Books; Azul Editions, 1994.
- Ives, Kim. "The Coup and U.S. Foreign Policy: The Unmaking of a President." In *The Haiti Files: Decoding the Crisis*, edited by James Ridgeway. Washington, D.C.: Essential Books; Azul Editions, 1994.
- James, Alan. *Peacekeeping in International Politics*. Studies in International Security, no. 29. London: Macmillan in association with the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1990.
- Karhilo, Jaana. "Case Study on Peacekeeping: Rwanda." Appendix 2C in *SIPRI Yearbook 1995*. Oxford: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1995.
- Klemencic, Mladen, and Clive Schofield. "Calm after the Storm? Croatia's Strategic Outlook." *RUSI Journal* (February 1996): 37–44.
- Lasswell, Harold, and Abraham Kaplan. *Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950.
- Leitenberg, Milton. "Rwanda, 1994: International Incompetence Produces Genocide." *Peacekeeping and International Relations* 23, no. 6 (November–December 1994): 6–10.
- Lord, Christopher. *Intermediate Deployments: The Strategy and Doctrine of Peacekeeping-Type Operations*. Occasional Paper no. 25. Camberley, England: Staff College, Strategic and Combat Studies Institute, 1996.
- MacKenzie, Lewis. *Peacekeeper: The Road to Sarajevo*. Toronto: HarperCollins, 1994.
- Mackinlay, John. "Powerful Peacekeepers." *Survival* 32, no. 3 (May–June 1990): 241–250.
- Maguire, Robert, et al. *Haiti Held Hostage: International Responses to the Quest for Nationhood 1986 to 1996*. Watson Occasional Paper, no. 23. Providence, R.I.:

- Thomas J. Watson Institute for International Studies; Tokyo: United Nations University, 1996.
- Maingot, Anthony P. "Haiti and Aristide: The Legacy of History." *Current History* 91, no. 562 (February 1992): 65–69.
- . "Haiti: The Political Rot Within." *Current History* 59, no. 589 (February 1995): 59–64.
- Martin, P. "Practitioner's Questionnaire on: Weapons Control, Disarmament, and Demobilization during Peacekeeping Operations: Analysis Report: Haiti." In Sarah Meek and Mendiburo Marcos, *Managing Arms in Peace Processes: Haiti*, 51–99. New York: United Nations; Geneva: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, 1997.
- Maull, Hanns W. "Germany in the Yugoslav Crisis" *Survival* 37, no. 4 (winter 1995–96): 99–130.
- McCormick, Shawn H. "The Lessons of Intervention in Africa." *Current History* (April 1995): 162–166.
- Meek, Sarah, and Mendiburu Marcos. *Managing Arms in Peace Processes: Haiti*. New York: United Nations; Geneva: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, 1997.
- Minear, Larry, and Philippe Guillot. *Soldiers to the Rescue: Humanitarian Lessons from Rwanda*. Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1996.
- Mintz, Sidney W. "Can Haiti Change?" *Foreign Affairs* 74, no. 1 (January–February 1995): 73–86.
- NATO. *NATO's Role in Peacekeeping in the Former Yugoslavia*. NATO Basic Factsheet, no. 4, February 1996.
- . *NATO's Role in the Implementation of the Bosnia Peace Agreement*. NATO Basic Factsheet, no. 11, January 1996.
- Nicholls, D. V. "Bosnia: UN and NATO." *RUSI Journal* (February 1996): 31–36.
- Otunnu, Olara. "The Peace and Security Agenda of the United Nations: From a Crossroads into the Next Century." In *Peacemaking and Peacekeeping for the Next Century: Report of the 25th Vienna Seminar*, edited by Ameen Jan, Robert C. Orr, and Timothy A. Wilkins. New York: International Peace Academy, 1995.
- Owen, David. *Balkan Odyssey*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1995.
- Perusse, Roland I. *Haitian Democracy Restored: 1991–1995*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1995.
- Preeg, Ernest, H. *The Haitian Dilemma: A Case Study in Demographics, Development, and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Washington, D.C.: The Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1996.
- Prunier, Gérard. *The Rwanda Crisis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Ratner, Steven R. *The New UN Peacekeeping*. New York: St. Martin's, 1995.
- Reding, Andrew. "Exorcising Haiti's Ghosts." *World Policy Journal* (spring 1996): 15–26.

- Reed, Laura W., and Carl Kaysen, eds. *Emerging Norms of Justified Intervention*. Cambridge, Mass.: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1993.
- Ridgeway, James, ed. *The Haiti Files: Decoding the Crisis*. Washington, D.C.: Essential Books; Azul Editions, 1994.
- Roberts, Adam. "The Crisis in UN Peacekeeping." *Survival* 36, no. 3 (autumn 1994): 93–120.
- . "From San Francisco to Sarajevo: The UN and the Use of Force." *Survival* 37, no. 4 (winter 1995–96): 7–28.
- Rohde, David. *Endgame: The Betrayal and Fall of Srebrenica, Europe's Worst Massacre since World War II*. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1997.
- Rose, Gideon. "The Exit Strategy Delusion." *Foreign Affairs* 77, no. 1 (January–February 1998): 56–67.
- Ruggie, John Gerard. "Wandering in the Void: Charting the UN's New Strategic Role." *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 5 (November–December 1993): 26–31.
- Sahnoun, Mohamed. *Somalia: The Missed Opportunities*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1994.
- Sands, Jeffrey I. *The United States and the United Nations in Somalia: A Retrospective Overview*. Alexandria, Va.: Center for Naval Analyses, 1997.
- Schear, James. "Beyond Traditional Peacekeeping: The Case of Cambodia." In *Beyond Traditional Peacekeeping*, edited by Donald C. F. Daniel and Bradd C. Hayes, 248–266. London: Macmillan, 1995.
- Schelling, Thomas. *Arms and Influence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.
- Schulz, Donald E. *Whither Haiti?* Carlisle Barracks, Pa.: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, April 1996.
- Schulz, Donald E., and Gabriel Marcella. *Reconciling the Irreconcilable: The Troubled Outlook for U.S. Policy toward Haiti*. Carlisle Barracks, Pa.: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, March 1994.
- Siegel, Adam B. *Eastern Exit: The Noncombatant Evacuation Operation (NEO) from Mogadishu, Somalia, in January 1991*, CRM 91-211. Alexandria, Va.: Center for Naval Analyses, 1991.
- Siekmann, Robert C. R., ed. *Basic Documents on United Nations and Related Peace-Keeping Forces*. 2d ed. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1989.
- Silber, Laura, and Allan Little. *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*. New York: TV Books, Inc.; Penguin USA, 1996.
- SIPRI. *SIPRI Yearbook 1995*. Oxford: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1995.
- Smith, Gaddis. "Haiti: From Intervention to Intervasion." *Current History* 59, no. 589 (February 1995): 54–58.
- Smith, Leighton W., Jr. "The Pillars of Peace in Bosnia." *NATO Review* 44, no. 4 (July 1996): 11–16.

- Sutterlin, James. *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Security*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1995.
- Thant, U. *Aide-Memoire of the Secretary-General concerning Some Questions Relating to the Operation of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus, 10 April 1964, S/5653*, 11 April 1964. Reprinted in *Basic Documents on United Nations and Related Peace-Keeping Forces*, edited by Robert C. R. Siekmann. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1989.
- Tharoor, Shashi. *Peace-Keeping: Principles, Problems, and Prospects*. Strategic Research Department Report 9–93. Newport, R.I.: Naval War College, Center for Naval Warfare Studies, 1993.
- . "Should UN Peacekeeping 'Go Back to Basics?'" *Survival* 37, no. 4 (winter 1995–96): 52–64.
- . "United Nations Peacekeeping in Europe." *Survival* 37, no. 2 (summer 1995): 121–134.
- Note: For bibliographic details of materials issued by UN secretary-generals, see the respective individuals (Boutros-Ghali, Hammar-skjöld, etc.)*
- United Nations. *The Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peace-keeping*. 2d ed. New York: United Nations, 1990.
- . *The Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peace-keeping*. 3d ed. New York: United Nations, 1996.
- . *IFOR Report to the UN Security Council, S/1996/600*, 29 July 1996.
- . *IFOR Report to the UN Security Council, 9th report, S/1996/696*, 27 August 1996.
- . *IFOR Report to the UN Security Council, 10th report, S/1996/783*, 25 September 1996.
- . *Les Nations Unies et Haiti 1990–1996*. Série Livres bleus. New York: United Nations, 1996.
- . "Peace-keeping in 1996: Lessons Learned, Lessons Applied." In *Year in Review 1996, United Nations Peace Missions*. New York: United Nations, December, 1996.
- . *Report of the High Representative to the UN Security Council, S/1996/814*, 1 October 1996.
- . *Report of the Multinational Force in Haiti to the UN Security Council, S/1994/1148*, 10 October 1994.
- . *Report of the Multinational Force in Haiti to the UN Security Council, S/1994/1208*, 24 October 1994.
- . *Report of the Multinational Force in Haiti to the UN Security Council, S/1995/149*, 21 February 1995.
- . *Report of the Multinational Force in Haiti to the UN Security Council, S/1995/221*, 20 March 1995.

- . "Statement by the President of the Security Council," S/PRST/1997/34, 19 June 1997.
- . "UN Peace-keeping: Some Questions and Answers." New York: United Nations, September 1996. Fact sheet accessed on the UN Homepage.
- . *The United Nations and Human Rights, 1945–1995*. New York: United Nations, 1995.
- . *The United Nations and Rwanda, 1993–1996*. New York: United Nations, 1996.
- . *The United Nations and Somalia, 1992–1996*. New York: United Nations, 1996.
- . *The United Nations and the Situation in Rwanda*. New York: United Nations, April 1995.
- . *The United Nations and the Situation in the Former Yugoslavia*. New York: United Nations, July 1995.
- . *United Nations Peace-Keeping*. New York: United Nations, August 1996.
- United Nations Association of the United States of America. *A Report on the Fourth Annual Peacekeeping Mission, May 19–23, 1995: Republic of Haiti—UN Mission in Haiti*. New York: United Nations Association of the United States of America, 1995.
- Urquhart, Brian. "Beyond the 'Sheriff's Posse.'" *Survival* 32, no. 3 (May–June 1990): 196–205.
- Waldheim, Kurt. *Report of the Secretary-General on the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 340 (1973)*, S/11052/Rev. 1, 27 October 1973. Reprinted in Robert C. R. Siekmann, ed., *Basic Documents on United Nations and Related Peace-Keeping Forces*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1989.
- Westerman, Frank, and Bart Rijs. *Sbrenica: Het Zwartste Scenario*. Amsterdam, Antwerp: Uitgeverij Atlas, 1997.
- Wijnaendts, Henri. *L'Engrenage: Chroniques Yougoslaves, juillet 1991–août 1992*. Paris: Denoël, 1993.
- Woodward, Bob. *The Choice*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996.
- Woodward, Susan L. *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1995.
- Zametica, John. *The Yugoslav Conflict*. Adelphi Paper no. 270. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, summer 1992.

INDEX

Note: Page numbers in italics refer to charts or illustrations; page numbers in parentheses indicate the context for a reference that is not specifically named on the page.

Abdic, Fikret, 48, 50

Accord

Addis Ababa. *See* Conference, National Reconciliation

Dayton Peace, 42, 53–54, 71, 72–75, 77, 179

Addis Abba Accords. *See* Conference, National Reconciliation

Agenda for Peace, An (Boutros-Ghali), 15, 196 n. 33

see also *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace*

Agreement

Arusha, 117, 119, 120, 141, 143, 177, 219 n. 19, 221 n. 46

for Basic Principles for Peace (Bosnia), 70

Governors Island, 23, 154, 155, 158, 177, 196 n. 2, 228 n. 34

North American Free Trade, 168

Seven Point (Somalia), 90

Aideed, General Mohammed Farah

and Boutros-Ghali, 85, 104

cease-fire and, 105

manipulation by, 94, 101, 183

media campaign of, 175, 179–180

opposition of, to UNOSOM II, 102
as a self-appointed leader, 81, 84, 85, 102

support for, 103, 174

and UN intervention, 85, 86, 87, 89, 99, 108, 127, 216 n. 50

and UNITAF, 90, 91–92, 95, 96, 109, 111, 173, 181

vendetta against, 34, 74, 103, 104, 105, 170, 171, 227 n. 32

weapons and, 91, 94, 103, 174, 181

aid. *See* *individual countries*

air strikes

authorization of, 56, 57, 69, 171–172, 209 n. 85, 210–211 n. 110

in Bosnia

avoidance of, 60, 76

conducted, 48–53, 57–72

evaluation of, 206 n. 47

graduated, 71

opposition to, 47, 51, 67

threatened, 49, 58–59 (*table*), 205 n. 36

U.S. in favor of, 47, 51, 60, 67

evaluation of, 177–178

risks of, to ground troops, 47, 49, 52, 63, 65, 67, 76, 184–185

see also air support; hostages

air support, 56, 67, 70, 208 n. 66

Akashi, Yasushi, 60, 63, 67, 211 n. 115

Albright, Madeleine, 194 n. 16, 209 n. 87

Alliance for Progress, 149, 225 n. 9

- Angola, 12, 14, 97
- Annan, Kofi
 on coercive inducement, 4, 112, 169, 192
 on a “new paradigm” for peacekeeping, 32, 200 n. 32
 on UN’s moral obligations, 14–15
- Antigua, Haitian refugees and, 158
- appeasement, impartiality as, 28
- Argentina, Haitian embargo and, 157
- Aristide, Jean-Bertrand
 Cédras and, 154
 CIA and, 155, 227 n. 33
 election of, 151–152
 FAdH and, 161
 Governors Island Agreement and, 154, 196 n. 2, 228 n. 34
 junta and, 153, 227 n. 28
 ouster of, 147
 reinstatement of, 23, 147, 158, 160, 196 n. 2, 227 n. 28
 relations of, with the U.S., 165
 on solving the crisis, 155–156
 transfer of power from, 148, 165, 168
 UN and, 153–154, 227 n. 27
- arms
 availability of, in Bosnia, 205 n. 40
 embargo of
 in Bosnia, 48, 49, 50, 64, 72
 in Somalia, 84
- atrocities, in Bosnia, 46
see also Muslims, massacre of;
 Rwanda, genocide in
- Australia
 and Rwanda, 136
 troops supplied by, 217 n. 56
 and UNITAF, 97, 215 n. 24
- Austria, troops from, in Rwanda, 220 n. 29
- authority, moral
 coercive inducement and, 173–175
 UN, 16, 109, 173
- autonomy, declarations of, in Bosnia, 44
- Bahutu Manifesto, 218 n. 6
- Bakar, General Aboo Samah Bin-Aboo, 106
- Bakuramutsa, Manzi, 128
- Balkans, peacekeeping mandate in, 12
- Balladur, Edouard, 129, 134
- banditry. *See* Somalia, bandits in
- Bangladesh
 humanitarian assistance for, 86
 and Rwanda, 119, 124, 219 n. 18, 220 n. 29
 soldiers from
 in Bosnia, 65
 in Haiti, 229 n. 60
 in Somalia, 217 n. 56
- Baranja, 194–195 n. 16
- Barre, General Mohammed Siad, 79–80, 81, 85, 102, 214 n. 4, 215 n. 25
- Bazin, Marc, 151, 226 n. 19
- Belgium
 and Rwanda, 115, 124, 219 nn. 9, 13
 casualties among, 121, 124, 221 n. 44
 and evacuation of foreigners from, 121
 troops supplied by, 119, 220 n. 29
 and Somalia
 relief, 87, 92, 214 n. 13
 troops supplied by, 217 n. 56
 and UNITAF, 97, 215 n. 24
 and UNOSOM II, 97
 withdrawal, 217 n. 55
- Belgrade, trade embargo against, 30
- Bennett, Michèle, 225 n. 11
- Berdal, Mats, 34
- Biamby, Philippe, 157, 160, 229 n. 59
- bias
 and the implementation of mandates, 180–182, 233 n. 3
 in Somalia, 33–34, 181
 UN’s abhorrence of, 28
see also impartiality
- Biden, Senator Joseph, 205 n. 34 (47)

- Bihac. *See* Bosnia, Bihac enclave in
Bildt, Carl, 74
Bir, General Çevik, 97, 98, 100, 102,
106, 171
Bizimungu, Major General Augustin,
132
Bizimungu, Pasteur, 128
bluffing
 in Bosnia, 41
 coercive inducement as an incentive
 for, 34–35, 200 n. 41
Boban, Mate, 48
Booh-Booh, Jacques-Roger, 119, 120,
122–123, 128
Bosnia
 Banja Luka, 52, 71
 Bihac enclave in
 air strikes against, 210 n. 101
 control of, 48
 heavy-weapon exclusion zone
 and, 63
 lessons of, 66–67
 as a safe area, 56
 Serbs attack, 50–51, 65–67
 Tudjman and, 52
 cease-fire and, 51, 53, 60, 63–64,
 66–67, 70–71, 178
 command structure in, 171–172
 Croats in, 202 nn. 9, 10
 Dayton Peace Accords and. *See*
 Accord, Dayton Peace
 elections in, 53, 73, 74, 179, 207 n. 59
 ethnic conflict in, 43–45, 48, 202
 n. 13, 204 n. 30
 forces in, 208 n. 72, 209–210 n. 96,
 213 n. 132, 232 n. 96
 foreign allied, 73
 numbers of, 44, 46, 47, 53, 56,
 68, 75, 76, 178, 204 n. 26, 213
 n. 37
 Serbian, 31, 62, 64
Gorazde
 air strikes against, 62–65
 heavy-weapon exclusion zone
 and, 57
 lessons of, 64–65
 as a safe area, 49, 52, 56
 Serbs attack, 62–64, 67
 UN ultimatum on, 69
heavy-weapon exclusion zones
 in, 49, 55, 57, 60, 63, 64, 65,
 209 n. 78
 and Herzegovina, 43 (*map*)
humanitarian assistance for, 41, 46,
64, 68, 86, 203 n. 17
impartiality in, 28, 70, 81–82
independence for, 202 n. 15
lessons of, 74–78, 174
monitors in, 50
Pale, 209 n. 78, 210 n. 107
partition of, 43, 45, 48, 49, 52, 53, 54,
61, 71, 202 nn. 13, 14, 205 n. 31
peace plans for, 42, 46–50 *passim*,
53, 61–62, 64, 66, 204 n. 30,
205 nn. 31, 37, 38
 see also Accord, Dayton
politics in, 43–44, 202 n. 8
safe areas in. *See* safe areas
Sarajevo. *See* Sarajevo
Srebrenica
 heavy-weapon exclusion zone
 and, 63
 massacre at, 52, 69, 70, 77, 211
 n. 115, 212 n. 122
 as a safe area, 52, 56
 Serbs attack, 67, 69–70, 77
Tuzla, 51, 56, 62, 63, 67
UN forces in, 46, 47, 52, 53, 56, 65,
68, 75, 76, 178, 204 n. 26, 208
n. 72, 209–210 n. 96, 213 nn. 132,
137, 232 n. 96
UN intervention in, 3, 41–78, 170,
177, 178, 179, 181, 202 n. 11
war in, 42–55
Zepa, 52, 56, 63, 69, 206 n. 53, 212
n. 116

- Bosnia (*cont.*)
see also Implementation Force (IFOR); Rapid Reaction Force; Republika Srpska; safe areas; United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnia); United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)
- Bosniac, 207 n. 55
- Bosnia and Herzegovina, republic of, 201 n. 1
- Bosnian Republic, constituents of, 53
- Botswana, and Rwanda
 observers from, 219 n. 18
 troops from, 106, 215 n. 24, 220 n. 29
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, 18–19
 on Bosnia, 50
 on enforcement, 21, 23, 68, 196 n. 33, 199 n. 26
 on Haiti, 159
 on peacekeeping, 3, 10–11
 on the role of the UN, 13, 14, 109
 on Rwanda, 125, 138, 222 n. 56 (127)
 on Somalia, 84, 89, 96, 99, 100, 104, 185
- Brazil, and Rwanda, 219 n. 18, 220 n. 29, 222 n. 65
- Briquemont, General François, 16
- Britain. *See* United Kingdom
- Bucyana, Martin, 120
- Burundi, 119, 219 n. 11
 Rwandan refugees in, 114
- Bush, George, 86–87, 88, 152
- Cambodia, 12, 97, 144
- camp
 concentration, in Bosnia, 46
 Rwandan refugee. *See* Rwanda, refugees from, camps for
- Canada
 forces supplied by, 13–14
 and Haiti, 154, 156, 157, 165, 166, 232 nn. 97, 99
 and Rwanda, 136, 220 n. 29
 and Somalia, 87, 93, 97, 214 n. 13, 215 n. 24, 217 n. 56
- Caputo, Dante, 153, 154, 155, 226 n. 25
- CARE USA, 88
- Caribbean Community (CARICOM), troops from, in Haiti, 229 n. 60
- CARICOM. *See* Caribbean Community
- Carr, E. H., 16
- Carrington, Lord, 202 n. 11
- Carter Doctrine, 80
- Carter, Jimmy
 and Bosnia, 51, 66, 206 n. 48
 and Haiti, 150, 159
 and Somalia, 79–80, 216 n. 50
- casualties, 210 n. 98
 minimizing, 184–185
 Somali, 82, 84, 104
 tolerance of, 108, 141, 162, 180, 184, 191–192, 227 n. 32
 UN troops in Somalia, 102–107
 passim, 170
- catastrophe, coercive inducement as a response to, 23
- Catholic Church, in Rwanda, 113, 114
- CDR. *See* Coalition pour la Défense de la République
- cease-fire
 between Muslims and Croats, 49
 in Bosnia, 51, 53, 60, 63–64, 66–67, 70–71, 178
 in Croatia, 44, 70, 202 n. 12
 maintenance of, 18
 in Rwanda, 116, 132, 226
 in Somalia, 84, 85, 105
- Cédras, General Raoul, 152, 154, 157, 160, 173, 177, 229 n. 59
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 218 n. 2
 and Haiti, 155, 156, 227 n. 33, 230 n. 70
- Chad, troops from, in Rwanda, 222 n. 66
- Cheney, Dick, 88

- China
 and Rwanda, 222 n. 65
 and Somalia, 79
 and UN action in Haiti, 165, 232
 n. 94
 and the use of air strikes in Bosnia,
 61
- Chirac, Jacques, 69, 210 n. 109, 211
 n. 114, 212 n. 120
- Christopher, Warren, 104
- Churkin, Vitaly, 60, 63
- CIA. *See* Central Intelligence Agency
- CIMIC. *See* Civil-Military Coordination Organization
- civilians
 air strikes and, 71
 in Bosnia, 46, 64
 coercive inducement and, 31
 in Haiti, 160
 in Rwanda, 124, 126, 137
 in Somalia, 86–87, 103
- Civil-Military Coordination Organization (CIMIC), in Bosnia,
 172
- Civil-Military Operations Center (CMOC), in Somalia, 92, 101,
 172, 181
- Clarke, Walter, 96, 110, 111, 216 n. 48
- Clinton administration
 Bosnia and, 47, 61, 61–62, 66, 68,
 75, 207 n. 58
 Haiti and, 155, 157, 165
 Rwanda and, 126–127
- Clinton, Bill
 and Bosnia, 46, 66, 69, 72, 203 n. 22,
 211 n. 114
 and Haiti, 152, 154, 156, 158, 162
 and Rwanda, 136
 and Somalia, 100, 103, 105, 227
 n. 32
- CMOC. *See* Civil-Military Operations Center
- CNN, 108
- Coalition pour la Défense de la République (CDR), 118, 119, 219 n. 13,
 224 n. 102
- coercive inducement, 12, 111
 and coordination, 172
 and credibility, 110–111, 173–175
 criticism of, 18, 19, 30, 31, 32–35
 described, 21–24, 30–31, 95,
 189–190
 and disarmament, 185, 188
 distinguished from enforcement,
 31, 32, 36, 37
 distinguished from traditional
 peacekeeping, 36, 37
 duration of, 191
 and humanitarian operations, 51
 impartiality and, 180–182
 as the middle ground (third option),
 4, 18–19
 as a “new paradigm,” 32, 200 n. 32
 principles of, 38–39, 169–188
 chart of, 186–187
 purpose of, 23, 191, 215 n. 30
 in Rwanda, 142
 in Somalia, 90, 109
 UN authority and, 11, 159–160, 172
 and UN-controlled follow-on, 172
- commandos, Delta Force (U.S.), 103,
 104
- command, of peacekeeping forces, 8,
 12, 35–36, 98, 112, 136, 159, 166
 coercive inducement and, 169–173,
 180
 dual-key, 57, 171–172
 unity of, 170, 190
- communication, with factions, 93, 108,
 110–111, 175, 183
- conference
 donors’, 87
 EU-UN Peace, 64
 humanitarian (Addis Ababa), 89,
 105
 National Reconciliation, 98

- conference (*cont.*)
 peace (so-called), in Mogadishu, 101
 on Yugoslavia, 64, 202 n. 11
- Congo, the. *See also* Zaire
 enforcement in, 30, 199 n. 25
 troops from, in Rwanda, 220 n. 29, 222 nn. 55, 66
 UN Operation (ONUC) in, 8–9, 108
- Congress, United States
 Black Caucus of, 156, 157
 and Haiti, 155, 156, 163, 228 n. 39
 and Somalia, 87, 104, 105, 108, 214 n. 11, 227 n. 32
 and the UN, 97
- consent
 media campaign to assure, 178–180
 peacekeeping operations and, 24–25, 34, 37, 42, 44, 176–180, 201 n. 5
- Constant, Emmanuel, 162, 227 n. 33, 230 nn. 70, 71
- Consular Commission (Indonesia), 8
- Contact Group (Bosnia), 49–50, 64, 66, 210 n. 99
- Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951), 152, 226 n. 20
- Cooper, Robert, 34
- co-option, coercive inducement and, 178–179, 190
- Cot, General Jean, 208 n. 71
- Croatia, 51
 air strikes and, 210 n. 107
 cease-fire in, 44, 70
 the Krajina, 42, 51, 52, 55, 65, 70, 182
 Muslims and, 45, 48, 49, 50, 61, 71, 178, 212 n. 122
 sanctions against, 206 nn. 41, 44
 UN troops in, 44
 violations of the no-fly zone over Bosnia, 55–56, 182
 war in, 42, 51, 52, 67
- see also* United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation (UNCRO)
- Croats, in Bosnia, 202 nn. 8–10, 13
- Cuba, 168, 233 n. 106
- Daigle, Brigadier General J. R. P., 232 n. 95
- Dallaire, Major General Roméo, 119
 and genocide in Rwanda, 123, 124, 141, 220 n. 33
 on the lessons of Rwanda, 119–120, 140, 142
 Operation Support Hope and, 136
 Operation Turquoise and, 132, 181 and the RFP, 128
 and RTLMC, 126, 144
 and UNAMIR's mandate, 126, 222 n. 58
- Danube, WEU operations on the, 207 n. 62
- de Cuellar, Perez, 84
- Democratic Union, Croatian (HDZ), 202 n. 8
- diplomacy, coercive, 22–23, 200 n. 41
 and the war in Bosnia, 47, 48, 49, 51, 64, 75
- disarmament
 coercive inducement and, 185, 188
 in Haiti, 161, 162–163, 185, 230 n. 75, 231 n. 76
 in Rwanda, 118, 121, 124, 135, 139, 185
 in Somalia, 89, 91, 98, 99–100, 185, 216 n. 43
- Dobbie, Charles, 18, 200 n. 34 (32)
- doctrine
 British "Wider Peacekeeping," 200 n. 34
 UN peacekeeping, 9, 15
- Dole, Bob, 72
- Dominica, and refugees from Haiti, 158

- Dominican Republic, 155, 157, 168,
233 n. 106
- Durant, Michael, 105
- Dutch peacekeepers. *See* Netherlands, the
- Duvalier, François "Papa Doc," 149,
225 nn. 5, 8
- Duvalier, Jean-Claude "Baby Doc,"
149, 151, 225 n. 5
- EC. *See* European Community
- Egypt
and Somalia, 85
the Suez crisis in, 8, 27–28
troops from, in Rwanda, 220 n. 29
and UNITAF, 215 n. 24
and UNOSOM II, 106, 217 n. 56
- elections
in Bosnia, 53, 73, 74, 179, 207 n. 59
in Haiti, 148, 149, 151–152, 153,
165, 168, 225 n. 5
in Rwanda, 117, 119
in Somalia, 104
- Eliasson, Jan, 87, 89
- embargo
arms, in Bosnia, 50, 64, 66, 72,
210 n. 104
see also disarmament; Rwanda,
arms control in
trade. *See* sanctions
- enforcement, and peacekeeping, 4, 11,
33, 199 n. 25
as an option, 30, 37
and control of troops, 68
defined, 189, 197 n. 7
distinguished from coercive
inducement, 32
distinguished from humanitarian
assistance, 65
origins of, 30
principles of, 38–39
as war, 189
- engagement. *See* rules of engagement
(ROE)
- Ethiopia
and Rwanda, troops from, 135, 222
n. 55
and Somalia, 81
Somali refugees in, 86
Soviet Union and, 79
- ethnic cleansing, in Bosnia, 46, 48, 204
n. 30
- European Community (EC)
recognition of Bosnia by, 45, 202
n. 15
and Yugoslavia, 64, 202 n. 11, 203–
204 n. 23
- European Union (EU) Action Plans, 48,
205 n. 38
- Europe, Western
policies on Bosnia in, 64, 76
relations with the U.S. and, 66, 209
n. 87
- exit strategy, 75, 78, 180
- FAdH. *See* Forces Armées d'Haiti
- famine, in Somalia, 84, 86
- FAR. *See* Forces Armées Rwandaises
- Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY),
42, 70, 201 n. 3
- Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina,
53, 54
- Fiji, troops from, in Rwanda, 220 n. 29
- FNDC. *See* Front National pour le
Changement et la Démocratie
- food, as a source of power, 82–84
- force, peace support, 37, 42, 174–175
authority for using, 13, 69
credibility for, 173–175
distinguished from coercive
inducement, 22
half-measures and, 178, 183
limits to, 182–184
political authority and, 111
for self-defense, 26, 28–29, 174,
182–183, 184, 198 n. 18
tactical, 183

- force, peace support (*cont.*)
 as a threat, 177–179, 182–183
 use of
 in Bosnia, 55–72
 in Haiti, 147–148
 in Rwanda, 119–120, 142
- Forces Armées d’Haiti (FAdH), 149,
 161–162, 166, 233 n. 101
- Forces Armées Rwandaises (FAR), 116,
 124, 219 n. 21
- forces, military
 armed, 8
 in the Congo, 9
 contributing nations, 17, 217 n. 56,
 220 n. 29
 Australia, 215 n. 24, 217 n. 56
 Austria, 220 n. 29
 Bangladesh, 65, 119, 124, 217
 n. 56, 220 n. 29, 229 n. 60
 Belgium, 119, 217 n. 56, 220 n. 29
 Botswana, 106, 215 n. 24, 220
 n. 29
 Brazil, 220 n. 29
 Canada, 13–14, 165, 166, 217
 n. 56, 220 n. 29, 232 n. 99
 the Caribbean Community
 (CARICOM), 229 n. 60
 Chad, 222 n. 66
 the Congo, 220 n. 29, 222 nn. 56,
 66
 Egypt, 215 n. 24, 217 n. 56, 220
 n. 29
 Ethiopia, 135, 222 n. 55
 Fiji, 220 n. 29
 France, 97, 116, 206 n. 52, 209–
 210 n. 96, 212 n. 120, 213
 n. 132, 217 n. 56
 Germany, 217 n. 56
 Ghana, 124, 126, 138, 220 n. 29
 222 n. 55
 Greece, 217 n. 56
 Guatemala, 229 n. 60
 Guinea, 222 n. 66
 Guinea-Bissau, 222 n. 66
 Hungary, 220 n. 29
 India, 87, 106, 107, 217 n. 56
 Ireland, 217 n. 56
 Italy, 97, 102, 104, 106, 217 n. 56
 Kuwait, 217 n. 56
 Malawi, 220 n. 29, 222 n. 55
 Malaysia, 106, 217 n. 56
 Mali, 220 n. 29, 222 n. 55
 Morocco, 103, 106, 215 n. 24,
 217 n. 56
 Nepal, 229 n. 60
 the Netherlands, 52, 69, 206
 n. 52, 211 n. 115, 212 n. 117,
 220 n. 18
 New Zealand, 215 n. 24, 217 n. 56
 Nigeria, 222 nn. 55, 66
 Norway, 217 n. 56
 Pakistan, 97, 102, 106, 167, 217
 n. 56
 Poland, 220 n. 29
 Romania, 217 n. 56, 220 n. 29
 Russia (U.S.S.R.), 60, 61, 213 n.
 132, 220 n. 29
 Saudi Arabia, 215 n. 24, 217 n. 56
 Senegal, 220 n. 29, 222 nn. 55, 66
 Slovakia, 220 n. 29
 South Korea, 217 n. 56
 Sweden, 215 n. 24, 217 n. 56
 Togo, 220 n. 29
 Tunisia, 220 n. 29
 Turkey, 215 n. 24, 217 nn. 55, 56
 Ukraine, 64, 209 n. 96, 212 n. 116
 the United Arab Emirates, 217
 n. 56
 the United Kingdom, 206 n. 52,
 209 n. 96, 212 n. 117, 213
 n. 132
 the United States
 in Bosnia, 66, 68, 74, 75, 232
 n. 96
 in Haiti, 148, 154, 163, 166,
 232 n. 99

- forces, military (*cont.*)
- contributing nations
 - the United States
 - in Rwanda, 136–137
 - in Somalia, 88, 97, 105, 217 nn. 54, 56
 - Uruguay, 220 n. 29
 - Zambia, 222 n. 55
 - Zimbabwe, 106–107, 215 n. 24, 217 n. 56, 220 n. 29, 222 n. 55
 - deficiencies in, 13
 - foreign, in Bosnia, 73
 - functions of, 7–8, 178–179
 - in Haiti. *See* Haiti
 - importance of adequate, 177–178
 - IPTE, 53
 - Islamic, in Bosnia, 73
 - League of Nations and, 7
 - limitations imposed on, 169
 - protection for, 73, 184–185
 - reluctance to supply, 127, 202 n. 11, 221 n. 54
 - role of, 25, 68, 189
 - in Rwanda. *See* Rwanda
 - in Somalia. *See* Somalia
 - Suez crisis and, 8
 - traditional peacekeeping and, 27–30
 - in UN peacekeeping operations, 10, 14, 85
 - see also* paramilitary forces
- France
- and Bosnia
 - and the Bosnian arms embargo, 50, 64
 - heavy-weapons exclusion zones and, 65
 - as a member of the Contact Group, 49, 64, 210 n. 99
 - and military action in Bosnia, 47, 49, 51, 65, 69–70
 - and the partition of Bosnia, 61
 - troops from, 206 n. 52, 209–210 n. 96, 212 n. 120, 213 n. 132
 - and the use of air strikes, 60, 66, 67, 210 n. 109
 - and Haiti
 - aid for, 154
 - interests in, 225 n. 4
 - solutions for, 156
 - and Rwanda
 - and bias of, in favor of Hutus, 128, 129, 130, 133, 141, 180, 181
 - evacuation of foreigners from, 121
 - military aid for, 115, 116, 219 nn. 13, 15
 - troops from, 116
 - see also* Operation Turquoise
 - and Somalia
 - relief operations, 93
 - UNITAF, 215 n. 24
 - UNOSOM II, 97, 102, 217 nn. 55, 56
 - tolerance of casualties and, 192
 - and Yugoslavia, 46, 203–204 n. 23
- François, Michel, 157, 229 n. 59
- FRAPH. *See* Front pour l'Avancement et le Progrès Haitien
- Front National pour le Changement et la Démocratie (FNDC), 152
- Front pour l'Avancement et le Progrès Haitien (FRAPH), 156, 162, 166, 227 n. 33, 230 n. 70, 233 n. 101
- FRY. *See* Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
- gangs. *See* paramilitary forces
- Gatabazi, Félicien, 120
- genocide, possibility of, as a criterion for intervention, 191
- see also* Rwanda, genocide in
- George, Alexander, 200 n. 41
- Germany
- Haiti and, 149, 225 n. 4
 - and intervention in Yugoslavia, 203–204 n. 23

- Germany (*cont.*)
 as a member of the Contact Group,
 49, 64, 210 n. 99
 and Somalia, 87, 214 n. 13, 217
 nn. 55, 56
- Ghana, troops from, in Rwanda, 124,
 126, 138, 220 n. 29, 222 n. 55
- Goulding, Murrack, 29
- Gray, William H. III, 157
- Greater Serbia. *See* Serbia
- Greece, troops supplied by, 217 n. 56
- Grenada, and refugees from Haiti,
 158
- Group of 12 (Somalia), 214 n. 3
- Guatemala
 troops from, in Haiti, 229 n. 60
 UN observers in, 14
- guidelines, operational, for coercive
 inducement, 169–188
- Guinea, troops from, in Rwanda, 222
 n. 66
- Guinea-Bissau, troops from, in Rwanda,
 222 n. 66
- Gulf War, 47, 184
see also Operation Desert Storm
- Habyarimana, Major General Juvénal
 assassination of, 114, 120–121, 220
 n. 31
 coup by, 114
 French support for, 219 n. 15
 RFP and, 115–116
 and the transitional government
 in Rwanda, 119
- Haiti
 aid for, 149, 154, 165, 167, 225 n. 10
 army in, 160, 161, 228 n. 34
 boat people from, 151–152, 153,
 156, 157, 228 n. 38
 China's displeasure at, 165, 232
 n. 94
 civilians, armed (*attachés*), in, 154,
 156, 162
 coercive inducement in, 161, 196
 n. 2
 command of forces in, 68, 147
 corruption in, 150–151, 152, 225
 nn. 8, 11
 coups in, 147–148, 151–152
 demobilization in, 161–162, 230
 n. 67
 dictatorship, military, in, 147, 151–
 152, 153, 158, 159
 disarmament in, 161, 162–163, 185,
 230 n. 75, 231 n. 76
 economy of, 149, 150, 155, 167,
 225 nn. 8, 10
 elections in, 148, 149, 151–152,
 153, 165, 168, 225 n. 5
 emigration from, 151, 168, 225
 n. 7
 human rights in, 149, 150, 153, 155,
 225 n. 11
 intervention in, 158
 law enforcement in, 161, 164, 231
 n. 87
 lessons of, 174
 MNF in. *See* Multinational Force
 Operation Uphold Democracy, 12
 police in, 164, 165, 166, 230 nn. 63,
 64, 233 n. 105
 politics in, 148–153, 165
 population of, 168, 233 n. 106
 privatization in, 165, 167
 recognition of, 148, 224 n. 2
 refugees from, 152–153, 156–158
 sanctions against, 147, 153–157
 passim, 228 nn. 34, 37, 40, 229
 n. 41
 security void in, 159, 161–163,
 179
 terrorism in, 149, 155, 156
tontons macoutes in, 149, 151, 156,
 225 n. 6
 UN forces in, 148, 154, 160, 163,
 166, 229 n. 60

- Haiti (*cont.*)
- UN intervention in, 170, 178, 179
 - see also* Multinational Force; United Nations Mission in Haiti; United Nations Observer Group; United Nations Support Mission in Haiti
 - use of force in, 147–148, 159–162
 - violence in, 149, 155, 166, 224 n. 3, 233 n. 101
 - Volunteers for National Security, 225 n. 6
 - see also* Operation Uphold Democracy
- Haitian National Police, 161, 166, 230 nn. 63, 64, 233 n. 101
- Hammar skjöld, Dag, 8, 27–29
- HDZ. *See* Democratic Union, Croatian
- heavy weapons
- in Bosnia
 - air strikes and, 67, 71, 76
 - exclusion zone, 49, 55, 57, 60, 63, 64, 65, 209 n. 78
 - in Somalia, 91, 94, 99, 103
- Hemptstone Jr., Smith, 87
- Herce-Bosnia, 48
- Herzegovina, 14, 41, 43 (*map*)
 - see also* Bosnia; Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina; United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Hirsch, John, 101–102, 103, 107
- Hoar, General Joseph, 100, 103
- Holbrooke, Richard, 71, 207 n. 58
- hostages, UN soldiers as
- in Bosnia, 62, 210 n. 102, 211 n. 111, 212 n. 116
 - air strikes and, 49, 76, 171–172, 212 n. 120, 167
 - used as shields, 42, 52, 67, 184–185
 - in Somalia, 105
- Howe, Admiral Jonathan, 98, 100–101, 103, 216 n. 44
- humanitarian assistance. *See* mission, humanitarian
- human rights
 - observers, in Haiti, 158, 228 n. 35
 - and U.S. support of Somalia, 79
 - violations of, in Bosnia, 73–74
- Hundred-Day Plan for Accelerated Humanitarian Assistance, 87–88
- Hungary, and Rwanda
 - observers from, 219 n. 18
 - troops from, 220 n. 29
- Hussein, Saddam, 11
- Hutus
 - Belgian support for, 115
 - in Burundi, 119
 - extremists
 - and the Arusha Agreement, 119
 - and the assassination of Habyarimana, 120
 - and control of refugee camps, 126, 134, 135, 136, 138–140, 143–144
 - and genocide, 121–122, 124, 138
 - incitement by, 121, 130, 132–133, 135, 136, 180
 - and the RTLMC, 118, 126, 144
 - French support for, 115, 116, 128, 129, 130, 133, 141
 - and the Government of National Unity, 128
 - guerrillas, 139–140
 - and Operation Turquoise, 131, 134
 - plans for exterminating the Tutsi, 121, 219–220 n. 25
 - pogroms against Tutsis by, 114
 - political party of, 118
 - population of, 113
 - refugees, 132–133, 134, 136, 137

- Hutus (*cont.*)
 rule by, 114–115
 Zairean support for, 115, 134, 139
- ICRC. *See* International Committee of the Red Cross
- IFOR. *See* Implementation Force
- impartiality, in peacekeeping, 25, 27–28, 37, 70, 122–123, 124, 175, 180–182, 197 n. 5, 221 n. 40
 and coercive inducement, 190
- Implementation Force (IFOR)
 (Bosnia), 14, 72–75
 communication about, with local factions, 73, 181
 credibility of, 173
 evaluation of, 74, 170, 175, 176, 177
 military strength force of, 53, 173
 tasks of, 54, 72, 73, 179
 use of force and, 41, 42, 75, 77, 182
- India
 and UNITAF, 215 n. 24
 UN Military Observer Group in, 8
 and UNOSOM II, 97, 106, 107, 217 n. 56
- Indonesia, Consular Commission in, 8
- inducement. *See* coercive inducement
- Interim Public Security Force (IPSF)
 (Haiti), 161, 162
- International Civilian Mission in Haiti (MICVIH), 153, 155
- International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), in Somalia, 85, 89, 215 n. 17
- International Criminal Tribunal, 207 n. 58, 213 n. 129
- International Medical Corps, 85
- International Monetary Fund, and Rwanda, 115
- International War Crimes Tribunal, 205 n. 36
- intervention
 criteria for, 191
 peacekeeping operations as, 15
 intimidation, as a military operation, 26, 33
- IPSF. *See* Interim Public Security Force
- IPTF. *See* United Nations International Police Task Force
- Iran, 184
- Iraq
 enforcement in, 30, 184, 203 n. 18
 humanitarian assistance for Kurds in, 86, 189
 invasion of Kuwait and, 81
 UN endorsement of military operation against, 11
- Ireland, troops supplied by, 217 n. 56
see also Northern Ireland
- irregulars, Bosnian Serb, 31, 42, 44
- Italy
 and intervention in Yugoslavia, 203–204 n. 23
 and Somalia
 relief operation of, 93
 UNITAF, 215 n. 24
 UNOSOM II and, 97, 102, 104, 106, 216 n. 52, 217 nn. 55, 56
- Izetbegovic, Alija, 44, 45, 49, 202 n. 14, 204 n. 30, 206 n. 45
- Janvier, General Bernard, 67, 210–211 nn. 110, 115
- Japan, humanitarian assistance for Rwanda from, 136
- Jess, Colonel Ahmed Omar, 81, 94
- JNA. *See* Yugoslav People's Army
- Johnston, Lieutenant General Robert, 88, 90, 92, 94, 98, 100
- Johnston, Philip, 88, 92
- Joint Chiefs of Staff (U.S.), 100
- Jonah, James, 84
- Jonassaint, Emile, 158
- Joulwan, General George, 72, 136, 137
- journalists, murder of, in Somalia, 103
- Juppé, Alain, 66, 210 n. 104

- Kagame, Major General Paul, 115, 122, 128, 132, 140, 219 n. 14
- Kahn, Mohammed Shahryra, 129
- Karadzic, Radovan
 and Bosnia's secession from Yugoslavia, 45
 and a cease-fire in Bosnia, 51, 53, 71
 cooperation from, 173
 indictment of, 207 n. 58, 213 n. 129
 Jimmy Carter and, 206 n. 48
 and Serbs in Croatia, 51
- Kassenbaum, Nancy, 214 n. 11
- Kavaruganda, Joseph, 121
- Kayibanda, Grégoire, 114
- Kennedy, John, 225 n. 9
- Kenya, Somali refugees in, 86
- Kinzer, Major General Joseph, 163, 164
- Kittani, Ismat, 88, 90, 98
- Korea
 North, 31
 South, 4, 217 n. 56
- Kouyate, Lansana, 106, 216 n. 37
- Kozyrev, Andrei, 63
- Krajina, the. *See* Croatia
- Kunder, James R., 87
- Kurds
 Operation Provide Comfort and, 11, 189
 protection for, 30
- Kuwait
 Iraq and, 4, 11, 81
 troops supplied by, 217 n. 56
 and UNITAF, 215 n. 24
- Lafourcade, General Jean-Claude, 131, 132, 133, 138, 142, 180
- Lake, Anthony, 52, 209 n. 87
- Lasswell, Harold, 197 n. 7
- League of Arab States, 79
- League of Nations, 7–8, 12
- Lebanon, UN Interim Force in, 9
- Lee Teng-hui, 232 n. 94
- legitimacy, of peacekeeping actions, 8
 “lift and strike” strategy, in Bosnia, 47, 50, 205 n. 32
- Lincoln, Abraham, 224 n. 2
- Lindenmayer, Elisabeth, 200 n. 32
- Li Yuan-zu, 165
- Logiest, Colonel Guy, 114
- McCaffrey, Lieutenant General Barry, 204 n. 26
- McDonagh, Mike, 135
- Macedonia, 201 n. 1
- Mackinlay, John, 32
- Mahdi (Ali Mahdi Mohammed)
 alliance of, with Russia, 86
 as a leader, 81, 84, 214 n. 3
 UN intervention in Somalia and, 84, 85, 86
 UNITAF and, 90, 91, 96, 109, 111, 173
 weapons and, 92, 181
- Malary, Guy, 155
- Malawi, troops from, in Rwanda, 220 n. 29, 222 n. 55
- Malaysia, and UNOSOM II, 106, 217 n. 56
- Mali, troops from, in Rwanda, 220 n. 29, 222 n. 55
- Malval, Robert, 154, 155–156
- mandate, peacekeeping, 8, 75, 111–112, 178
 clarifying, for local interests, 181
 defense of, 26, 29, 33, 182–183
 enforcement of, 12
 fuzzy thinking on, 16, 111
- Marchal, Colonel Luc, 219–220 n. 25, 220 n. 26
- MDR. *See* Mouvement Démocratique Républicain
- Médecins sans Frontières, 85
- media campaign
 and the acceptance of casualties, 184
 to support peacekeeping missions, 132–133, 144, 178–180

- MICVIH. *See* International Civilian Mission in Haiti
- middle ground (third approach). *See* coercive inducement
- Milosevic, Slobodan, 44
 and Bosnia's secession from Yugoslavia, 45
 and France, 212 n. 120
 and Greater Serbia, 43, 201 n. 5
 and Karadzic, 207 n. 58, 213 n. 129
 and Mladic, 213 n. 129
 and the secession of Slovenia, 201 n. 3
 and Serbs in Bosnia, 52–53, 71, 178
 and Serbs in Croatia, 51, 52, 70
 and UN peacekeeping operations, 42, 44, 201 n. 4
 and the war in Bosnia, 50
- mission
 civilian police, 194 n. 14
 coercive, 11
 goodwill, to Rwanda, 116
 humanitarian
 in Bangladesh, 86
 in Bosnia, 41, 46, 64, 86, 207 n. 17
 in Haiti, 149
 in Iraq, 86
 in Rwanda, 129, 130, 133, 136–137, 219 n. 18
 in Somalia, 83–87 *passim*, 93, 97, 109, 214 n. 13
 monitoring, 50, 53, 56, 72
 observer, 8, 14, 85, 86, 87, 102
 in Haiti, 151, 153, 158, 228 n. 35
 in Rwanda, 116–117, 126, 129, 219 n. 18
 paramedic, 96
 peacekeeping
 functions of, 10–11
 manipulation and, 181
 preparation for, 175–176
 U.S. as leader of, 10
 rescue, 66
 mission creep, 74, 96–97, 137, 160, 179
 mission shrink, 97, 179
 Mitterand, François, 210 n. 109
 Mladic, Ratko, 212 n. 126
 cooperation of, 60, 61, 71, 173
 Gorazde and, 62
 Hostage-taking strategy of, 64, 211 n. 115
 indictment of, 213 n. 129
 MNE. *See* Multinational Force
 Mobutu, Sese Seko, 223 n. 82
 Mohammed, Ali Mahdi. *See* Mahdi (Ali Mahdi Mohammed)
- monitors, border. *See* mission, monitoring
- Monroe Doctrine, 225 n. 4
 Montenegro, 201 nn. 1, 3
 Montgomery, Major General Thomas, 97, 106
 Morgan, General Mohammed Hersi, 81, 94–95
 Morocco, and Somalia, 92, 103, 106, 215 n. 24, 217 n. 56
 Mouvement Démocratique Républicain (MDR), 219 n. 17
 Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement (MRND), 114, 119, 219 n. 17
 Mozambique, UN mission in, 97
 MRND. *See* Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement
- Multinational Force (MNF) (Haiti), 158–161
 communication about, with local interests, 181
 credibility of, 161, 173, 174, 177, 233 n. 2
 evaluation of, 170, 176
 mandate for, 12
 military strength of, 10, 173, 178
 numbers of, 160

- Multinational Force (MNF) (Haiti)
 (*cont.*)
 rules of engagement for, 11, 159–161, 163, 177
 tasks of, 179
 UN authorization of, 147, 158–159
 UNMIH and, 148, 172
see also Operation Uphold Democracy
- Muravchik, Joshua, 191
- Museveni, Yoweri, 115
- Muslims
 Bosnian, 202 n. 8
 alliance of, with the Croats, 45, 48, 49, 50, 61, 71, 178
 displaced, 48
 in Gorazde, 62
 massacre of, 52, 69, 70, 77, 211 n. 115, 212 n. 122
 and the partition of Bosnia, 43, 44
 Party of Democratic Action (SDA) of, 44
 peace plans and, 47, 204 n. 30
 and secession from Yugoslavia, 45
 support of U.S. for, 48–49, 66
 in Somalia, 79
- Mwinyi, Ali Hassan, 120
- NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- Nayumbua, General Michael, 106
- Ndadye, Melchior, 119
- Nepal
 troops from, in Haiti, 229 n. 60
 UNOSOM II and, 106, 217 n. 56
- Nerette, Joseph, 229 n. 48
- Netherlands, the
 and Haiti, 157
 and intervention in Yugoslavia, 203–204 n. 23
 peacekeepers from, in Bosnia, 52, 69, 206 n. 52, 211 n. 115, 212 n. 117
 and Rwanda
 observers from, 219 n. 18
 troops from, 220 n. 29
- New Zealand
 and Rwanda, 222 n. 65
 and Somalia, 215 n. 24, 217 n. 56
- NGO. *See* organization, nongovernmental
- Nigeria
 and Rwanda, 222 n. 65, 222 n. 66
 and Somalia, 95, 104, 215 nn. 24, 25, 217 n. 56, 222 nn. 55, 66
- no-fly zone
 in Iraq, 203 n. 18
 over Bosnia, 47, 55–56, 61, 204 n. 29, 205 n. 36
- non-alignment, countries professing, and UN intervention, 61
- non-refoulement*, principle of, 226 n. 20
- Noriega, Manuel, 158
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
 air strikes by, 57–72, 171–172, 184–185
 and the Clinton administration, 66
 North Atlantic Council of, 57
 peacekeeping by, 41, 42, 194–195 n. 16, 208 n. 74
 at sea, 207 n. 62
 in Bosnia, 47, 48, 49, 51–52, 55–78, 182
 in Yugoslavia, 14
 reputation of, 72, 175, 178
see also Implementation Force (IFOR)
- Northern Ireland, and British policy on intervention, 204 n. 25
- North Korea. *See* Korea
- Norway, and UNOSOM II, 217 n. 56
- Ntaryamira, Cyprien, 120, 219 n. 11
- Nunn, Sam, 159

- Oakley, Robert
 on Aideed, 101–102
 appointment of, 89, 105
 coercive inducement and, 106, 109, 110, 177
 on disarmament, 100, 188
 on the importance of communication, 93, 108, 110–111, 175
 importance of impartiality for, 181
 liaison of, with Somali factions, 94, 112, 181
 on Operation Turquoise, 135
 on opposition to UNITAF, 94
 on the UN's role in Somalia, 90, 92, 107
 on U.S. policy, 103
- OAS. *See* Organization of American States
- OAU. *See* Organization of African Unity
- O'Brien, Conor Cruise, 16
- observers. *See* mission, observer
- OFDA. *See* USAID, Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance
- Office of the High Representative for the Implementation of the Peace Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina (OHR), 53, 73
see also Bildt, Carl
- OHR. *See* Office of the High Representative
- ONUC. *See* United Nations Operation (ONUC) (Congo)
- ONUVEH. *See* United Nations Observer Group
- Operation Deliberate Force (Bosnia), 70–71, 170, 174, 178, 183, 184
- Operation Desert Storm (Kuwait), 15, 19, 90, 177, 189
see also Gulf War
- Operation Eastern Exit (Somalia), 214 n. 4
- Operation Gabriel (Rwanda), 136
- Operation Lance (Rwanda), 136
- Operation Provide Comfort (Kurds), 11, 30, 203 n. 18
- Operation Provide Relief (Somalia), 87–88
- Operation Restore Democracy (Haiti), 229 n. 52
- Operation Restore Hope (Somalia), 88
- Operation Sharp Guard (Bosnia), 207 n. 62
- Operation Support Hope (Rwanda), 133, 136–137, 144
- Operation Tamar (Rwanda), 136
- Operation Turquoise (Rwanda/eastern Zaire), 129–136, 170
 authority of, 11, 12, 173, 182
 credibility of, 141–142
 disarmament and, 131, 134, 135, 185
 evaluation of, 135, 141, 173, 174, 176, 177
 mandate of, 131, 142, 181
 military strength of, 130, 133, 178
 political will and, 108–109
 propaganda and, 180
 UN and, 129, 130
 withdrawal of, 134–135
- Operation United Shield (Somalia), 107
- Operation Uphold Democracy (Haiti), 12, 148, 163, 229 n. 52
see also Multinational Force
- operations
 gray-area, 12, 190
 hybrid, 12
 limited coercive, 26
 middle-ground, 12, 190
 offensive military, 26
 peace, 12
 peace support, 12
 second-generation, 12
 tourniquet, 142, 179, 191, 192
see also Operation Support Hope; Operation Turquoise
- option, third. *See* coercive inducement

- Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), 73
- Organization of African Unity (OAU), 84
 opposition of, to UN intervention in Somalia, 84, 85
 Rwanda and, 120, 125, 219 n. 19
- Organization of American States (OAS), and Haiti, 147, 151, 153, 226 n. 25, 227 n. 27
- Organization of Islamic Countries, 84
- organization, nongovernmental (NGO)
 communicating with, 181
 in Rwanda, 127–128, 134, 138, 143
 in Somalia, 88, 92, 101, 181
- OSCE. *See* Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
- Owen, David, 46, 50, 60–61, 64, 203 n. 22
- Pact, New York, 154
- Pakistan
 and Rwanda, 222 n. 65
 and Somalia
 observers from, 86, 87, 109
 and UNITAF, 215 n. 24
 and UNOSOM II, 97, 102, 104, 106, 217 n. 56
 and troops from, for Haiti, 167
 United Nations Good Offices Mission in (UNGOMAP), 10
 UN Military Observer Group in, 8
- Palestine, UN Truce Supervisory Organization in, 8
- Panama, and refugees from Haiti, 158
- paramilitary forces
 in Bosnia, 31, 42, 44
 in Haiti, 149, 151, 154, 156, 162, 225 n. 6
 in Rwanda, 113, 119, 121, 131, 139–140, 219 n. 25
 in Somalia, 81
see also Somalia, “technical” in
- Parti Démocrate Chrétien (PDC), 219 n. 17
- Parti Libéral (PL), 219 n. 17
- Parti Social Démocrate (PSD), 219 n. 17
- Party of Democratic Action (SDA), 44, 202 n. 8
- PDC. *See* Parti Démocrate Chrétien
- peace enforcement, 18–19
- peace implementation, 12
- peace imposition, 12
- peacekeeping, 3
 activist, 9–14
 aggravated, 12
 authority of, 11
 classic. *See* peacekeeping, traditional
 consent and, 24–25, 34, 37, 44, 176–180, 222 n. 59
 as containment, 107–108
 contracted out, 36
 criteria for instigating, 190–191
 and enforcement, 12, 21, 23, 33, 109, 196 n. 33
 impartiality and. *See* bias; impartiality
 multifunctional, 12
 muscular, 12
 the new, 12, 200 n. 32
 options for, 17–19, 37
 politics and, 110
 principles of, 38–39
 problems with, 15–17, 140
 public support for, 184
 redefinition of, 11–12, 16
 and self-defense, 26, 159
 tasks of, 9, 10–11, 179
 traditional, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18
 in Bosnia, 41
 defined, 27–28, 197 n. 7
 failure of, as a criterion for coercive inducement, 191
 forces for, 27–30
 in Haiti, 164

- peacekeeping (*cont.*)
 traditional
 in Rwanda, 120, 123, 126, 220
 n. 26
 in Somalia, 86, 106
 use of force in, 159, 182–183
 weapons for, 29
 wider, 12, 196 n. 30 (18), 200 n. 34
- peace restoration, 12
- Perry, William, 62, 206 n. 47
- Pezullo, Lawrence, 155, 157
- PL. *See* Parti Libéral
- Poland, troops from, in Rwanda, 220
 n. 29
- police force, international, 53
- policing, coercive inducement as, 23,
 189–190
- Powell, General Colin, 88, 103, 159,
 204 n. 26
- Presidential Decision Directive 25
 (USA), 126
- Préval, René, 148, 165, 167, 168
- propaganda
 for peacekeeping. *See* media
 campaign
 in Rwanda, 118, 121, 126, 132, 135,
 144, 180, 220 n. 34
- Protocol of Agreement on the Rule of
 Law (Rwanda), 115
- Prunier, Gérard, 129, 220 n. 34
- PSD. *See* Parti Social Démocrate
- QRF. *See* Quick Reaction Force
- Quick Reaction Force (QRF)
 in Haiti, 164
 in Somalia, 98, 102, 103, 104, 171,
 174
- Radio Muhabura, 118
- Radio Rwanda, 118
- Radio Télévision Libre des Mille
 Collines (RTLHC), 118, 121,
 126, 133, 144, 180
- Radio UNAMIR, 144, 180
- Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) (Bosnia),
 52, 68, 69, 206 n. 52, 211 n. 113
- Reagan administration, and Somalia,
 80
- Red Cross. *See* International Commit-
 tee of the Red Cross
- refugees
 action on behalf of, 3
 from Bosnia, 46, 53, 73, 203 n. 17
 camps of. *See* Hutu, extremists, and
 control of refugee camps
 from Croatia, 51
 from Haiti, 152–153
 internal, in Somalia, 84, 86
 Kurdish, 203 n. 18
 from Rwanda. *See* Rwanda, refugees
 from
 security for, 142
 Somali, 84, 86, 129
 from Yugoslavia, 203 n. 17
- relief, humanitarian
 distinguished from enforcement,
 65
 see also mission, humanitarian;
 organization, nongovern-
 mental
- Republika Srpska, 45, 53, 54, 73, 207
 n. 59
- ripeness, in peacekeeping, 34
- Roberts, Adam, 3–4
- Robinson, Randall, 228 n. 39
- ROE. *See* rules of engagement
- Romania, troops supplied by, 217 n. 56,
 220 n. 29
- Roosevelt, Franklin, 149
- Rose, Lieutenant-General Michael, 60,
 62, 63–64
- RPA. *See* Rwandan Patriotic Army
- RPF. *See* Rwandan Patriotic Front
- RRE. *See* Rapid Reaction Force
- RTLHC. *See* Radio Télévision Libre
 des Mille Collines

- Ruggie, John Gerard, 18, 32
- rules of engagement (ROE), 36, 57,
159, 198 n. 19
- for IFOR, 53, 72–73
- for MNE, 159–161
- for Operation Turquoise, 130–131,
133–134, 141
- for UNAMIR, 123–124, 126
- for UNITAF, 90–91, 107
- for UNMIH, 163–164
- for UNOSOM II in Somalia, 100,
107, 176
- for UNPROFOR, 56, 203 n. 21, 208
n. 71
- Russia (U.S.S.R.)
- and Bosnia, 178
- and air strikes, 60, 61, 62, 63,
209 n. 86
- and the arms embargo, 50
- as a member of the Contact
Group, 49, 64, 210 n. 99
- and a peace plan for, 49
- troops from, 60, 61, 213 n. 132,
220 n. 29
- and Ethiopia, 79
- and Haiti, 232 n. 93
- and Rwanda, troops from, 220
n. 29
- and Somalia, alliance with, 79, 86
- and UN actions, 9, 10, 232 n. 93
- Rwanda
- aid for, 115, 219 n. 13
- arms control in, 119–120, 126, 131,
134
- attacks on, by RPF, 115
- cease-fire in, 116, 132
- civil war in, 114, 122, 132
- coups in, 114
- disease in, 129, 137
- economy of, 115, 145
- effect of propaganda in, 220 n. 34
- elections in, 117, 119
- gendarmerie for, 118
- genocide in, 23, 121–125, 141, 191
- premeditated, 121, 220–221 n. 25
- toll of, 121–122, 127, 141, 218
n. 2
- Government of National Unity in,
128, 132
- guerrillas in, 113, 139–140
- history of, 113–114
- independence for, 114, 219 n. 9
- interim government in, 121, 122,
127, 130
- internal displacement in, 129
- judicial system in, 145
- land mines in, 145
- lessons of, 140–145
- as a member of the UN Security
Council, 128, 219 n. 24, 221
n. 46
- military strength of, 116, 118, 219
n. 21
- militias in, 119, 121, 131, 219 n. 25
- National Army of, 118
- observers in, 219 n. 18
- Operation Turquoise in, 11, 12
- peacekeeping mandates in, 12
- pogroms in, 114
- political parties in, 116, 219 n. 17
- population of, 113, 218 n. 2
- propaganda in, 118, 121, 130, 132–
133, 135, 144, 180, 220 n. 34
- property rights in, 145
- public institutions in, 145
- radio broadcasting in, 118, 130,
133, 135, 137, 138, 144
- recovery of, conditions for, 144–145
- refugees from
- camps for, 133–137 passim, 139,
143–144
- as guerrillas, 115, 139–140
- media campaign inciting, 126,
132–133, 135, 220 n. 34
- in neighboring countries, 114,
129, 132–133, 221 n. 47

- Rwanda (*cont.*)
- refugees from
 - numbers of, 125, 129, 219 n. 10, 221 n. 47
 - protection for, 142
 - and repatriation, 114, 117, 144
 - safe areas in, 131–135, 137, 142
 - transitional government for, 116, 118, 119
 - UN Charter, Chapter VII and, 11
 - UN forces in, 118, 119, 120, 124, 129, 130, 136, 137, 219 n. 18, 220 n. 29
 - UN intervention in, 170, 177, 178, 191
 - see also* United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda
 - UN military observers in, 116–117, 129, 219 n. 18
 - UN Security Council resolutions on, 116–120 *passim*, 124, 126, 127, 129, 130
 - use of force in, 119–120, 177
 - see also* Hutus; Tutsis; Zaire
 - Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA), 137–138, 140
 - Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), 115, 116, 118
 - attacks on Rwanda by, 115, 116
 - attitude of, toward the UN, 137, 138–139
 - as the government of Rwanda, 128–129, 137
 - and the Hutu massacre, 121, 122–123, 127–129
 - military strength of, 116, 119, 219 n. 16, 219 n. 21
 - and Operation Turquoise, 130–135, 174
 - opposition of, to UNAMIR II, 128
 - and UN observer mission, 117
 - Rwanda-Urundi, 219 n. 9
 - Rwigyema, Fred, 115
 - Saar, League of Nations mission in, 8
 - safe areas
 - in Bosnia
 - defense of, 17, 50–57, 76
 - establishment of, 42, 205 n. 36
 - Serb attacks on, 49, 57–71, 62
 - UN bias and, 182, 233 n. 3
 - UN mandates on, 16
 - vulnerability of, 17, 69, 178
 - withdrawal from, 52, 212 n. 117
 - Kurdish, 203 n. 18
 - in Rwanda, 131–135 *passim*, 137, 142
 - Sahnoun, Mohamed, 84, 85–86, 87–88, 108, 109, 110
 - sanctions
 - on Haiti, 147, 157, 228 n. 41
 - on Montenegro, 205 n. 36
 - on Serbia, 49, 71, 205 n. 36
 - trade embargo as, 30
 - Saravejo
 - air strikes against, 57, 60–62, 207 n. 54
 - fighting around, 67–69
 - heavy-weapons exclusion zone for, 57, 60, 62, 76, 183
 - Operation Deliberate Support in, 70–71, 183
 - safe area, 56
 - Serb attacks on, 45, 49, 51, 52–53
 - UN headquarters in, 44, 45–46
 - Saudi Arabia
 - and UNITAF, 215 n. 24
 - and UNOSOM II, 217 n. 56
 - Save the Children UK, 85
 - Schelling, Thomas, 22
 - Schroeder, Lieutenant General Daniel, 136, 137
 - SDA. *See* Party of Democratic Action
 - SDS. *See* Serb Democratic Party
 - Security Council, UN
 - and Bosnia, 47, 76, 203 n. 21, 204 n. 29, 205 n. 36, 207 n. 62

- Security Council, UN (*cont.*)
- control of peacekeeping missions and, 169
 - and Haiti, 154, 228 n. 37, 231 n. 81, 232 n. 98
 - resolutions, 13, 84–88 *passim*, 98, 102–106 *passim*, 116–120, 124, 126, 127, 129, 130, 203 n. 21, 204 n. 29, 207 n. 62
 - abstentions from, 222 n. 65
 - and Rwanda, 116–120 *passim*, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130
 - and Somalia, 13, 84–88 *passim*, 98, 102–106 *passim*, 110
 - self-defense, peacekeeping and, 26, 28–29, 90–91, 123, 198 n. 18
 - disarmament for, 185, 188
 - force for, 105
 - Senate, United States, and Bosnia, 72
 - Senegal, and Rwanda
 - observers from, 219 n. 18
 - troops from, 220 n. 29, 222 nn. 55, 66
 - Serb Democratic Party (SDS), 53, 202 n. 8, 207 n. 58
 - Serbia, 201 nn. 1, 3
 - economic sanctions against, 71
 - Greater, 43, 201 n. 5
 - Serb Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 45
 - see also* Republika Srpska
 - Serbs
 - Bosnian, 202 nn. 8, 13
 - cease-fire by, 60
 - and the Croat–Muslim alliance, 48
 - political affiliations of, 44, 206 n. 42
 - rejection of peace plan by, 50, 204 n. 30, 206 n. 43
 - war waged by, 41, 45–49, 50–53, 62, 65–67, 69–71
 - Croatian
 - in Bosnia, 65, 67
 - political affiliations of, 44
 - war of, with Croats, 42, 52
 - see also* Bosnia; Milosovic, Slobodan
 - SFOR. *See* Stabilization Force
 - Shakespeare, William, 107
 - Shalikashvili, General John, 62
 - Shantali, Umar, 105
 - Shelton, Lieutenant General Hugh, 160
 - Shermarke, Abdirashid Ali, 79
 - Simon, Paul, 214 n. 11
 - Sindikubwabo, Theodor, 121
 - Sirmium, 194–195 n. 16
 - Slavonia, 194–195 n. 16
 - peacekeeping in eastern and western, 42, 51
 - Tudjman attacks, 51, 67
 - Slovakia, and Rwanda
 - observers from, 219 n. 18
 - troops from, 220 n. 29
 - Slovenia, war in, 42, 201 n. 3
 - Smith, General Rupert, 67, 210 nn. 106, 110
 - SNA. *See* Somali National Alliance
 - SNE. *See* Somali National Front
 - SNM. *See* Somalia National Movement
 - Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 201 n. 3
 - Somalia
 - aid for, 79
 - Baidoa, 82, 92, 94, 107
 - Baledogle, 92
 - bandits in, 82, 83, 87, 92, 94
 - Bardera, 81, 82, 92, 94
 - Belet Weyne, 93, 94, 106–107
 - bribery in, 83
 - casualties in, 82, 84, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 170, 184
 - cease-fire in, 84, 85
 - civil war in, 81–86
 - clans in, 81–82, 83, 83, 87, 88
 - command of forces in, 68, 171
 - disarmament in, 89, 99–100, 185, 216 n. 43

- Somalia (*cont.*)
- elections in, 104
 - factions in, 91, 99, 105, 106, 108, 110, 181
 - famine in, 84, 86
 - food supplies in, 82–84
 - internal displacement in, 84, 86
 - Jalalaqsi, 93, 94
 - Kismayo, 81, 82, 92, 94, 106, 107
 - lessons from, 108, 109
 - map, 80
 - Merca, 93
 - Mogadishu, control of, 81, 84, 92, 107
 - Oddur, 92, 94
 - peacekeeping mandate in, 12
 - political parties in, 81
 - propaganda in, 144
 - rebel militia in, 81
 - refugees from. *See* refugees and relations with the UN, 85
 - relief work in, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 92, 93, 94, 101, 106
 - sub-clans in. *See* Somalia, clans in “technical” in, 83, 91, 94, 106, 177
 - Triangle of Death in, 82, 83 (*map*)
 - UN Charter, Chapter VII and, 11
 - UN forces in, 87, 89, 90, 98, 100, 105, 119, 171, 215 n. 14, 217 n. 56, 220 n. 29
 - UN intervention in, 170, 177, 178 *see also* Unified Task Force; United Nations Operation in Somalia
 - and the U.S., 79, 191
 - U.S. Army Ranger action in, 98, 104
 - withdrawal of peacekeeping forces from, 105, 227 n. 32
- Somalia National Movement (SNM), 81
- Somali National Alliance (SNA)
- Aideed’s control of, 94
 - challenges the UN, 101, 106–107
 - establishment of, 81
 - hostages held by, 105
 - UN attacks on, 102, 103, 104
- Somali National Front (SNF), 81, 94
- Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM), 81, 94
- Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), 81, 214 n. 2
- Somali Salvation Front (SSF), 81, 214 n. 2
- South Korea. *See* Korea
- sovereignty, and peacekeeping operations, 15
- SPM. *See* Somali Patriotic Movement
- SSDF. *See* Somali Salvation Democratic Front
- SSF. *See* Somali Salvation Front
- Stabilization Force (SFOR) (Bosnia), 55, 75, 170, 213 n. 137
- Stoltenberg, Thorvald, 64
- Suez crisis, 8, 27–28
- Supplement to An Agenda for Peace* (Boutros-Ghali), 14
- surprise, importance of avoiding, 33
- Sweden
- and UNITAF, 215 n. 24
 - and UNOSOM II, 217 n. 56
- Taiwan
- and China’s actions at the UN, 165, 232 n. 94
 - Haiti and, 165
- Tanzania
- Rwanda and, 219 n. 19
 - Rwandan refugees in, 114, 221 n. 47
- Thibaut, Colonel Didier, 131
- TNC. *See* Transitional National Council
- Togo, troops from, in Rwanda, 220 n. 29
- Tousignant, Major General Guy–Claude, 137
- Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Sirmium (UNTAES), 194–196 n. 16

- Transitional National Council (TNC) (Somalia), 98–99
- troops. *See* forces, military
- Tshombe, Moise, 30
- Tudjman, Franjo
 and the alliance with Bosnian Muslims, 49
 Bosnian independence, 45
 consents to UN intervention, 42, 201 n. 5
 and the Krajina, 51, 52
 and the partition of Bosnia, 43
 policies of, 44
 and UN troops in Croatia, 51, 67
- Tunisia
 troops from, in Rwanda, 220 n. 29
 and UNITAF, 215 n. 24
 and UNOSOM II, 217 n. 56
- Turkey
 Kurdish refugees in, 203 n. 18
 and Somalia, UNITAF, 215 n. 24
- Tutsis
 in Burundi, 119
 extremist, 119
 massacre of, 121–123, 218 n. 2
 Operation Turquoise and, 130–131, 174, 181
 pogroms against, 114
 population of, 113
 as refugees, 114, 115, 219 n. 10
see also Rwandan Patriotic Front
- Twa, in Rwanda, 218 n. 2
- Twagiramungu, Faustin, 128
- Uganda
 coup in, by Museveni, 115
 Operation Support Hope in, 136
 rebels in, 115
 Rwandan refugees in, 114
 UN military observers in, 116–117, 129
- Ukraine, troops from, in Bosnia, 64, 209 n. 96, 212 n. 116
- UNAMIR. *See* United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
- UNCRO. *See* United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation (UNCRO)
- UNEF (I and II). *See* United Nations Emergency Force
- UNHCR. *See* United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
- Unified Task Force (UNITAF) (Somalia), 11, 12, 33, 88–97, 112, 132, 170, 185
 coalition members of, 215 nn. 14, 24
 credibility of, 33, 109, 173
 disarmament and, 89, 91, 92, 94, 185, 216 n. 43
 enforcement and, 11, 94–95, 174–175, 182, 215 n. 26
 evaluation of, 112, 173, 174, 176, 191
 funding for, 97
 impartiality in, 181
 mandate for, 12, 111–112, 181
 military strength of, 178
 mission of, 89–90, 100
 political agenda of, 96, 108, 110, 132
 relief operations of, 92–93
 rules of engagement of, 90–91, 107
 shortcomings of, 96–97
 withdrawal of, 100
- Union of Three Republics peace plan, 48, 205 n. 37
- UNITAF. *See* Unified Task Force (UNITAF) (Somalia)
- United Arab Emirates, and Somalia, 215 n. 24, 217 n. 56
- United Kingdom
 and Bosnia, 65
 arms embargo, 50, 64
 heavy-weapons exclusion zones, 65
 as a member of the Contact Group, 49, 64, 210 n. 99

- United Kingdom (*cont.*)
 and Bosnia
 military action in, 46, 47, 49, 51, 62–63, 65, 204 n. 25
 partition of, 61–62
 troops from, 206 n. 52, 209 n. 96, 212 n. 117, 213 n. 132
 use of air strikes, 66, 67, 70
 and intervention in Yugoslavia, 203–204 n. 23
 military doctrine in, 18, 200 n. 34
 and relations with the United States, 64, 66
 and Rwanda, 136
 tolerance of casualties and, 192
- United Nations, 66
 air strikes and, 57, 58–58 (*table*), 61, 171–172, 209 n. 85
 in Cambodia, 12, 97, 144
 credibility of, 125, 142, 143, 168, 174
 Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 120
 economic sanctions by, 71, 157, 228 n. 41
 funding for, 14
 General Assembly, 88
 humanitarian missions of. *See* mission, humanitarian
 and members' domestic policy considerations, 16–17, 191
 see also China
 moral authority of, 16, 109, 173
 observers. *See* mission, observer
 peacekeeping operations of
 credibility of, 109–110
 developments in, 8–15
 numbers of, 10
 and political will, 140, 190
 problems with, 15–17, 127–128
 timing in, 108–109
 personnel, defense of, 56
 policy of, 69, 70, 208 n. 71
- Security Council. *See* Security Council
 Council
 use of force by. *See* force; peace-keeping, traditional
see also individual named operations; mission
- United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (first) (UNAMIR), 118–120
 consent for, 177
 credibility of, 135, 173
 evaluation of, 142, 170
 and genocide, 123–126
 mandate for, 118–119, 120, 141
 rules of engagement for, 123–124
 strength of, 120, 126
 UNOMUR and, 219 n. 19
 withdrawal of, 124, 141
- United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (second) (UNAMIR II), 126–129, 180
 evaluation of, 143–144, 170
 genocide and, 141
 government opposition to, 138–139
 mandate for, 139, 143, 222 n. 58
 and Operation Support Hope, 136
 and Operation Turquoise, 130
 rules of engagement for, 126
 strength of, 129, 137
 withdrawal of, 140
- United Nations Charter, 173
 Chapter VI, 8, 13, 196 n. 33
 and Haiti, 164
 and Rwanda, 143, 220 n. 26
 and the Suez Crisis, 8
 use of force and, 13, 196 n. 33
 Chapter VII, 11, 13, 35, 75, 194
 n. 5, 196 n. 33, 203 n. 21, 204 n. 29
 and Bosnia, 75, 203 n. 21, 204 n. 29
 and coercive inducement, 23
 and control of missions, 35

- United Nations Charter (*cont.*)
 Chapter VII
 and Haiti, 159, 163, 172, 173,
 194 n. 5
 and Rwanda, 126, 130, 142, 224
 n. 110
 and Somalia, 88, 98, 106, 170
 use of force and, 11, 13, 196 n. 33
- United Nations Confidence Restora-
 tion Operation (UNCRO)
 (Croatia), 51
- United Nations Emergency Force
 (UNEF I and II) (Egypt), 8,
 27–28, 29
- United Nations Good Offices Mission
 in Afghanistan and Pakistan
 (UNGOMAP), 10
- United Nations High Commissioner
 for Refugees (UNHCR), 46, 157,
 201 n. 17, 203 n. 17
- United Nations Interim Force
 (Lebanon), 9
- United Nations International Police
 Task Force (IPTF) (Bosnia),
 53, 73
- United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observer
 Mission, 11
- United Nations Military Observer
 Group (India and Pakistan), 8
- United Nations Mission in Bosnia and
 Herzegovina (UNMIBH), 194
 n. 14
- United Nations Mission in Haiti
 (UNMIH), 163–166, 194 n. 5
 achievement of, 148
 credibility of, 173
 deployment of, 147, 154, 157, 160,
 165
 evaluation of, 167, 170, 172–173,
 176
 forces of, 163, 165
 mandate for, 163, 164
 recall of, 155
 rules of engagement for, 163, 164
 tasks of, 231 n. 81
- United Nations Observer Group for the
 Verification of Elections in Haiti
 (ONUVEH), 151
- United Nations Observer Mission
 Uganda–Rwanda (UNOMUR),
 129, 219 n. 19
 mandate of, 117, 119
- United Nations Operation in the
 Congo (ONUC), 8–9
- United Nations Operation in Somalia
 (first) (UNOSOM; UNOSOM I),
 86–97, 109, 110, 170, 173, 215
 n. 14
- United Nations Operation in Somalia
 (second) (UNOSOM II), 97–
 108, 170
 consent and, 177
 credibility of, 109–110, 174
 disarmament and, 98, 99–100, 185
 failure of, 34, 97–98, 101, 108, 109,
 181
 lessons of, 19, 170, 176, 183–184
 mandate of, 98, 111–112
 rules of engagement for, 100, 107,
 176
 transition to, 97–100
 use of force and, 11, 13, 19
 withdrawal and, 105
- United Nations Protected Areas
 (UNPAs), 42, 51, 65
- United Nations Protection Force
 (UNPROFOR) (Bosnia), 41,
 42, 170
 air strikes and, 65, 171, 184–185
 consent and, 177
 credibility of, 173, 181–182
 deficiencies of, 13, 76–77, 178,
 183–184
 harassment of, 64
 and heavy-weapons control, 60
 mandate for, 56, 208 n. 71

- United Nations Protection Force
(UNPROFOR) (Bosnia) (*cont.*)
military strength of, 14
peace enforcement and, 19
use of force in, 11, 203 n. 21
withdrawal of, 45–46, 68–69
- United Nations Protection Force
(UNPROFOR) (Croatia), 44, 46
- United Nations Special Committee
(Balkans), 8
- United Nations Support Mission in
Haiti (UNSMIH), 148, 166–167,
170, 232 n. 98
- United Nations Temporary Executive
Authority/Security Force
(West Irian), 9
- United Nations Truce Supervisory
Organization (Palestine), 8
- United Nations World Food Program,
86
- United Somali Congress (USC), 81
- United States
Agency for International Develop-
ment, 162
Army Rangers, 93, 103, 104, 170, 171
Army Special Operations Com-
mand, 158
Atlantic Command, 158
and Bosnia
arms embargo in, 66, 72, 210
n. 104
intervention in, 42, 46, 47, 48–
49, 61–62, 64, 70, 76, 213
n. 131
as leader of peacekeeping oper-
ations, 10, 65–66
as a member of the Contact
Group, 49, 64, 210 n. 99
military doctrine in, 46
troops from, 66, 68, 74, 75, 232
n. 96
and the use of air strikes, 60, 66,
67, 171
and Western European allies, 64,
66, 209 n. 87
see also “lift and strike” strategy
- Central Command (USCENTCOM),
87, 98, 100, 103, 171
control of missions, 88, 97, 136,
166, 180
Delta Force commandos, 103, 104
European Command, 136
foreign policy of, 155
and Haiti
aid for, 154, 165, 225 n. 10
interests in, 148–149, 168
military intervention in, 158–59
see also Multinational Force
refugee policies of, 151,
152–153, 156–158
response of to coup in, 147
solutions for, 156
troops in, 148, 154, 163, 166,
232 n. 99
withdrawal from, 165–166
- Joint Task Force, 136
Liaison Office (USLO), 93
Marine Corps, 88–89, 90, 107, 149,
174
peacekeeping policy of, 126–127
and Rwanda, 126–127, 133
see also Operation Support
Hope
Secretary of Defense, Office of, 162
and Somalia
aid for, 79, 80–81
casualties and, 104, 108, 154,
227 n. 32
and disarmament, 99–100
human rights and, 79
policy, 104–105, 191
relief for, 86–87, 89, 92, 214 n.
13
scope of mission in, 99, 109
troops in, 88, 105, 217 nn. 54, 56
withdrawal, 106, 217 n. 55

- United States (*cont.*)
 and Somalia
 see also Unified Task Force;
 United Nations Operation
 in Somalia
 and the Soviet Union, 80
 Support Group (Haiti), 164
 tolerance of casualties and, 108, 162,
 180, 184, 191–192, 227 n. 32
see also Congress; Senate
- UNMIBH. *See* United Nations Mission
 in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- UNMIH. *See* United Nations Mission
 in Haiti
- UNOMUR. *See* United Nations Ob-
 server Mission Uganda-Rwanda
- UNOSOM (UNOSOM I). *See* United
 Nations Operation in Somalia
 (first)
- UNOSOM II. *See* United Nations
 Operation in Somalia (second)
- UNPAs. *See* United Nations Protected
 Areas
- UNPROFOR. *See* United Nations Pro-
 tection Force (UNPROFOR)
 (Bosnia); United Nations Pro-
 tection Force (UNPROFOR)
 (Croatia)
- UNSMIH. *See* United Nations Support
 Mission in Haiti
- UNTAES. *See* Transitional Adminis-
 tration for Eastern Slavonia,
 Baranja, and Western Sirmium
 urgency, and UN responsiveness, 15,
 175–176, 217 n. 64
- Urquhart, Brian, 12, 17
- Uruguay, troops from, in Rwanda, 220
 n. 29
- USAID, Office of Foreign Disaster
 Assistance (OFDA), 93–94
- USCENTCOM. *See* United States,
 Central Command
- USC. *See* United Somali Congress
- USLO. *See* United States, Liaison
 Office
- USS *Harlan County*, fiasco of, 154–
 155, 178, 227 n. 33
- U.S.S.R. *See* Russia
- Uwilingiyamana, Agathe, 121
- Vance, Cyrus, 42, 44, 202 n. 11
- Vance–Owen Peace Plan (VOPP), 47,
 48, 204 n. 30, 205 n. 31
- Venezuela, and Haiti, 156
- Vietnam War, effect of, on U.S. mili-
 tary doctrine, 46
- Voorhoeve, Joris, 211 n. 115
- VOPP. *See* Vance–Owen Peace Plan
- war
 civil, 46, 81–86, 114, 122, 132
 coercive inducement and, 22
 laws of, 41
 peacekeeping as, 26, 102, 189
 weapons, for peacekeeping, 29
see also disarmament; heavy-
 weapons exclusion zone
- Western European Union (WEU)
 Danube mission, 207 n. 62
 and intervention in Yugoslavia, 203
 n. 23
- West Irian, United Nations Temporary
 Executive Authority/Security
 Force in, 9
- WEU. *See* Western European Union
- Wijnaendts, Henri, 202 n. 11
- will, political, and international peace-
 keeping
 in Bosnia, 178, 183–184
 in Haiti, 147, 164, 167, 178
 in Rwanda, 128, 140, 141, 143–144,
 145
 in Somalia, 183–184
- World Bank, and Rwanda, 115
- Yeltsin, Boris, 60, 61

- Yugoslavia
 breakup of, 42
 refugees from, 203 n. 17
 republics of, 201 n. 1
 UN mission in, 97
- Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), 42, 44,
 45, 201 nn. 3, 4, 202 n. 12
- Zaire
 and attack on Rwanda, 115
 Operation Support Hope in, 137
 Operation Turquoise in, 134, 223
 n. 82
 Rwandan refugees in, 114, 129, 133,
 134, 135, 136, 139, 180
 support for Hutu government
 from, 115, 134, 139
 UN Charter, Chapter VII and, 11
 see also Congo, the; Rwanda
Zambia, and Rwanda, troops from,
 222 n. 55
- Zimbabwe
 and Rwanda
 observers from, 219 n. 18
 troops from, 220 n. 29, 222 n. 55
 and Somalia, 106–107, 215 n. 24,
 217 n. 56
- zone
 flight exclusion. *See* no-fly zone
 humanitarian protection. *See*
 Rwanda, safe areas in

Donald C. F. Daniel is the Milton E. Miles Professor of International Relations and Director of the Strategic Research Department of the Center for Naval Warfare Studies at the Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island. He was previously Professor of National Security Affairs at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California; a Ford Foundation Fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C.; a Research Associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London; and a researcher-in-residence at the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research in Geneva. He has received research grants from several entities, including the United States Institute of Peace. His previous books include *Beyond Traditional Peacekeeping* (coeditor with Bradd C. Hayes). Daniel received his Ph.D. in political science from Georgetown University, and is a former lieutenant commander in the U.S. Navy.

Bradd C. Hayes, a former Federal Executive Fellow at the RAND Corporation, is a research professor in the Decision Support Department of the Center for Naval Warfare Studies, Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island. His previous publications include *Beyond Traditional Peacekeeping* (coeditor with Donald C. F. Daniel), and several articles for books, journals, and magazines, among them "Securing Observance of UN Mandates through the Employment of Military Forces" (in *The UN, Peace, and Force*, ed. Michael Pugh) and "Non-Traditional Military Responses to End Wars" (with Jeffrey Sands, in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*).

Chantal de Jonge Oudraat is an Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Prior to that she was a Research Affiliate at Harvard University's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. From 1981 until 1994 she was Senior Research Associate at the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research in Geneva. She is currently writing a book, "The United Nations and Divided Nations: The Use and Misuse of Economic Sanctions and Military Force in Internal Conflicts."

United States Institute of Peace

The United States Institute of Peace is an independent, nonpartisan federal institution created by Congress to promote research, education, and training on the peaceful resolution of international conflicts. Established in 1984, the Institute meets its congressional mandate through an array of programs, including research grants, fellowships, professional training programs, conferences and workshops, library services, publications, and other educational activities. The Institute's Board of Directors is appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by the Senate.

Chairman of the Board: Chester A. Crocker

Vice Chairman: Max M. Kampelman

President: Richard H. Solomon

Executive Vice President: Harriet Hentges

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Chester A. Crocker (Chairman), Research Professor of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University

Max M. Kampelman, Esq. (Vice Chairman), Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Jacobson, Washington, D.C.

Dennis L. Bark, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University

Theodore M. Hesburgh, President Emeritus, University of Notre Dame

Seymour Martin Lipset, Hazel Professor of Public Policy, George Mason University

W. Scott Thompson, Professor of International Politics, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

Allen Weinstein, President, Center for Democracy, Washington, D.C.

Harriet Zimmerman, Vice President, American Israel Public Affairs Committee, Washington, D.C.

Members ex officio

Richard A. Chilcoat, Lieutenant General, U.S. Army; President, National Defense University

Ralph Earle II, Deputy Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

Phyllis Oakley, Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research

Walter B. Slocombe, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

Richard H. Solomon, President, United States Institute of Peace (nonvoting)

Coercive Inducement and the Containment of International Crises

This book is set in Minion; the display type is Univers. Hasten Design Studio designed the book's cover, and Joan Engelhardt and Day Dosch designed the interior. Pages were made up by Helene Y. Redmond. Graphics were prepared by Ken Allen. David Sweet and Wesley Palmer copyedited the text, which was proofread by M. Kate St. Clair. Frances Bowles prepared the index. The book's editor was Nigel Quinney.

