

LOGISTICAL SUPPORT TO PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF AIR SUPPORT



BY
Bukkan Amos Sani

A THESIS PRESENTED IN PARTIAL COMPLETION OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF
The Certificate-of-Training in United Nations Peace Support Operations



Peace Operations Training Institute®

Logistical Support to Peacekeeping Operations: Challenges and Prospects of Air Support

A Thesis

by


Wing Commander Bukkan Amos Sani

Nigerian Air Force

presented in partial completion of the requirements of

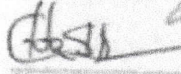
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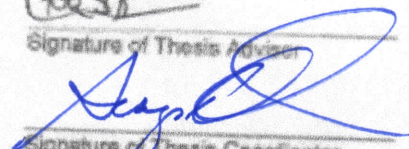
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Challenges and Prospects of Air
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BY

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE PEACE OPERATIONS
TRAINING INSTITUTE IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF CERTIFICATE OF
TRAINING IN PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS (COTIPSO)**

JULY 2010

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this work was carried out by Wing Commander Amos SANI under my supervision.

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JULY 2010

TABLE OF CONTENTS	Page
Title Page	i
Certification	ii
Table of Contents	iii–iv
Dedication	v
Abstract	vi
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Statement of the Problem	5
1.2 Significance of the Study	7
1.3 Objective of the Study	7
1.4 Research Methodology	8
1.5 Limitations	8
1.6 Notes and References	8
2.0 NATURE OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS	10
2.1 The UN Charter and Peacekeeping	10
2.2 Peacekeeping Operations During the Cold War	11
2.3 Regional Conflicts – Post Cold War period	12
2.4 Lessons from the Past and Present Challenges	14
2.5 The Concept of SHIRBRIG	16

2.6	Notes and References	19
3.0	LOGISTICAL SUPPORT FOR PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS	21
3.1	Definition and Principles of Logistics	21
3.2	Planning Phase	22
3.3	Deployment Phase	23
3.4	Sustainment Phase	25
3.5	Liquidation Phase	25
3.6	Levels of Logistics Support to Peacekeeping Operations	26
3.7	Strategic Level Logistics Support	27
3.8	Operational Level Logistics Support	28
3.9	Tactical Level Logistics Support	29
3.2.0	Peacekeeping Logistics Organisation	29
3.2.1	Notes and references	30
4.0	THE ROLE OF AIR SUPPORT IN PEACE KEEPING OPERATIONS	32
4.1	Air Support and Peacekeeping Operations	32
4.2	Air Support During the Post World War Two Period	33
4.3	Air Support for Humanitarian Relief Operations	37
4.4	Air Support for Reconnaissance	38

4.5 Deterrence and Coercion.	39
4.6 The Experience of USA in Afghanistan	40
4.7 How UN Contracts Aircraft	41
4.8 Notes and References	42
5.0 HOW AIR SUPPORT OPERATIONS AID UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN DRC	44
5.1 The Country, the Crisis and UN Mandate	44
5.2 Mission Requirement	47
5.3 Airports, Airfields and Air Support Units	49
5.4 Aviation Task	50
5.5 Regular, Non Regular Flights and Flight Hours	51
5.6 Notes and References	53
6.0 CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF AIR SUPPORT TO PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS	54
6.1 Challenges of Air Support	55
6.2 Prospects of Air Support	56
6.3 Conclusion	57
6.4 Recommendations	62
6.5 END NOTES	63

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this piece of work to the glory of the Almighty God, my beloved family and all peace loving people, the world over.

ABSTRACT

Aleksandr Solzhenistyn, the Nobel Peace winner once asserted that the line separating good and evil passes not through states, nor between classes, nor between political parties either, but right through every human heart, and through all human hearts. This altruism may not be faulted as one notes with increasing alarm, that failed and failing states today, pose perhaps the most potent threat to world peace and security than at any time in history. This stems from the fact that any event or crisis that occurs in any part of the world affects the whole world either holistically or in part. Unfortunately, the international community appears not to have yet found an effective way to build sustainable peace and development in many parts of the world so affected. The current panacea is the concept of peacekeeping, a model which the United Nations Organization (UN) had conceived to assist states torn by conflict to create conditions for some form of reasonable peace. Such conditions may come, either in the form of confidence building measures, power-sharing agreements, electoral support, military and law enforcement processes; including the building of economic and social development institutions to some of the affected states. However, the most important aspect of establishing an effective peacekeeping force is the ability to transport

the force from its location to the area of operation as quickly as possible. It would also aid in moving the required logistics for the support of the operation. Effective logistics support therefore allows the peacekeeping force to improve responsiveness, deplorability, and sustainability of the fielded forces. The efficiency and flexibility of an Agile Logistics Support will substitute responsiveness for massive deployed inventories. Consequently, this study seeks to stress and highlight the nexus between the art of peacekeeping, logistics and air support, and deduce how to derive their optimum use in either peacekeeping, peace-building, or peace enforcement operations. MONUC operation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is taken as a case study.

Chapter One

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The concept of peacekeeping evolved soon after the formation of the United Nations (UN) in 1945. It was not specifically mentioned in the Charter of the UN. The unanticipated Cold War and the forty-year standoff between the erstwhile Soviet Union and the West was a frustrating obstruction to the realization of the UN Charter's dream of a collective security system run by the Security Council (SC). The most common form of threat to international peace, apart from the overwhelming threat of breakdown of the East-West balance of terror, was a series of regional and intra-states conflicts, starting with Kashmir and Palestine (1948)¹, followed by the former Belgian Congo (1960)² – usually the legacy of rapid decolonization. This delicate early challenge to world peace produced the first experiments in what later became UN peacekeeping, as a practical solution in the early years of the nascent organization when it became clear that some of the provisions in the Charter relating to the maintenance of

¹ The Blue Helmets: A Review of UN Peacekeeping, Third Edition (New York: UN Department of Public Information, Dec 1996. P 17.

² Ibid. P 174.

international peace and security could not be implemented as envisaged. It has remained essentially one of the most practical mechanisms used by the UN to contain international conflicts.³ The original idea devised by the UN to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security are as outlined in Chapters VI and VII of the UN Charter. It was intended to provide a collective security system for member states.

Chapter VI of the UN Charter states that when a dispute arises between two States, the parties concerned are obliged to seek a solution by peaceful means, mainly through negotiations, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, and resort to regional agencies or arrangements⁴. On the other hand, if the peaceful means fail and the dispute escalates into an armed conflict, then Chapter VII comes into play. This chapter constitutes the core of UN collective security system. It provides that in case of a threat to peace, a breach of the peace and an act of aggression, the SC may take enforcement measures to restore the situation. These enforcement means may include arms embargo, economic sanctions, and the use of force, as the last resort.

³ Kamran Baig: Logistics Support to UN Peacekeeping Operations: An Introduction, UNITA POCI 2002. P 12.

⁴ Charter of the UN and Statutes of the ICJ (New York: UN Department of Public Information, Dec 2008. P 24.

This plan for the use of force however, must be made by the SC, with the assistance of UN Military Staff Committee. The 5 major powers who were instrumental to the creation of the UN are permanent members of the UN SC and they are each endowed with the right of a veto. These major powers are China, France, USSR (now Russia), UK and the United States of America (USA). Nevertheless, this principle of collective security was rendered impracticable by the Cold War of 1945 – 1989 between the Eastern and Western blocks. In addition, Chapter VIII, Articles 52 -54 of the Charter also provides for the regional as well as sub regional bodies to assist in peacekeeping operations (PKO), only with the consent of the UN SC. Nations are also encouraged to get involved in bilateral agreements for the same purpose. These three provisions have served as key strategies for maintaining international peace and security since the end of the Second World War. For instance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), since its formation in 1949, has maintained a policy of deterrence, which is essentially a defensive strategy that views an attack on any one member as an attack on all.⁵ The essence of NATO's deterrence policy is the provision of sufficient forces and

⁵ Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty Charter, Washington D.C. – 4 April 1949.

resources to ward off any acts of aggression against member states.

In line with NATO's concept of collective security the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now African Union (AU), which was established in 1963, mooted the idea of an African High Command for the collective defense of Africa. However the Charter of the OAU provided for non-interference in the internal affairs of member countries.⁶ This provision and the ideological differences of member states did not allow for appropriate political leadership for the management of conflicts in the region. Thus the OAU's response to crises has consisted mainly in the passing of resolutions without following same through. The OAU is thus known not to have done enough in this respect – taking cognizance of the fact that most of the world's conflicts occur in Africa.

This paper does not dwell on any regional organization but rather focuses on the logistical support required for the efficient conduct of peacekeeping operations generally. Emphasis will however be laid on the challenges and prospects of air support operations, which in recent times, have played a vital role in the conduct of peacekeeping and peace enforcement operations. The NATO Air operation in Kosovo in 1999 is a good example of how

⁶ Article III (2) of OAU Charter, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia 25 May 1963.

air support was successfully employed to enforce some measure of peace. In this operation, NATO launched an air campaign only as a last resort when it was clear that the diplomatic track would not deliver the needed peace.⁷ Furthermore, the humanitarian situation on the ground had deteriorated to such an extent that outside intervention became essential in order to avert a humanitarian catastrophe.

The military objective of this operation was to degrade and damage the military and security structure that the late President Slobodan Milosevic used to depopulate the Albanian majority in Kosovo. Thus, NATO air campaign, which started on 24 March 1999,⁸ was to be executed in three phases. Phase one was mainly strategic counter-air operations directed at gaining control of the air. Priority targets included Serbia's air defenses comprising Surface-to-Air Missiles network (SA-6 and SA-3), anti-aircraft guns, batteries and radar sites, C⁴I nodes. Aircraft and air bases were also prime targets in this phase. By the end of the first week, the objectives of phase one had been substantially achieved with the loss of only one aircraft – F-117 Stealth Fighter.

Having gained control of the air, phase two which was dedicated mainly to air interdiction missions was initiated. Priority

⁷ NATO'S Air War for Kosovo: A Strategic and Operational Assessment from U.S. AIR FORCE'S Strategy and Doctrine Program – Aug 2001. P 12.

⁸ Peter Rowe, Kosovo 1999: The Air campaign – An Article for International Review of the Red Cross on 31 March 2000. P 1.

targets like Serbian tanks and artillery, refineries, power stations, vital bridges, ammunition dumps, military industrial complexes and all other assets or resources that could help sustain Yugoslavia's war making capacity were attacked. After over twenty seven thousand sorties, out of which seven thousand were attack sorties in a spate of seventy-eight days of sustained bombardment, President Milosevic of Yugoslavia capitulated and agreed to NATO's terms. It became pointless therefore to proceed to phase three of the campaign, which was to be directed at Serbian ground forces in Kosovo.

In a peacekeeping or peace enforcement operation like the one illustrated above, the logistics required to realize the operational objective could be enormous. More so, the plans required to achieving an effective air support operations must be based on an optimum and realistic logistics capabilities. Thus, a good logistics support plans must aim at getting the right mix of forces and equipment to the right place as a complete system in serviceable condition and at the right time – to avert any gruesome situation in good time. Consequently, air support operations could provide the needed support promptly and to the right place when adequately utilized. The MONUC in the Democratic Republic of Congo is chosen as a case study on how air support plays a vital role in PKO.

1.1 Statement of the Problem. The sources of conflict and wars are pervasive and deep. To explore and find enduring solution to this intrinsic and inevitable aspect of human existence will require our collective and utmost effort, in order to enhance respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Conflict is known to be simply an expression of the heterogeneity of interests, values and beliefs that arise as new formations (or challenges) generated by social change come up against inherited constraints. The efforts of the UN therefore is to build peace, stability and security which must encompass matters beyond military threats in order to break the fetters of strife and warfare that have characterized our past. However, conflicts today, as they have been through the history of mankind, continue to bring fear, agony, horror and catastrophe to the human race. This therefore requires our collective and urgent involvement to try to prevent and/or contain in order to bring same to an amicable end. The speed and dexterity in which we deal with conflict to enhance durable, or at best, stable peace – it is reasoned – will further promote sustainable economic and social development for wider prosperity, thus discouraging the new but dangerous prevailing international security landscape, which may even cascade into abnormal use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), by disgruntled non-

state actors. It is against this backdrop that this study seeks answers to the following questions:

1. What is the nature of PKO?
2. What is the logistical support needed for the conduct of an effective PKO?
3. How does air support aid the conduct of PKO?
4. What are the challenges faced by the conduct of air support?
5. What is the prospect of air support in future peacekeeping operations?

1.2. Significance of the Study. The world and especially the African continent have been engulfed by series of crises, the root causes of which could be traceable to a number of factors, the most potent of which are: poverty, economic instability, ethnic, religious, but above all, by poor political culture and/or lack of democratic institutions and rule of law. It is significant therefore to highlight how the UN could help to identify at the earliest possible stage, situations that could result in conflict by providing diplomatic and other solutions in resolving such misunderstanding and where conflict erupts, to engage in peace

making by ensuring that the logistics required are provided promptly and swiftly to the entities required for maintaining the peace.

1.3 Objective of the Study. The purpose of this study is to establish the correlation between logistics support for PKO and air support. However, the specific objectives are to:

- a. Ascertain the nature of PKO.
- b. Identify the logistics needed for the conduct of an effective PKO.
- c. Show how air support aids the conduct of PKO.
- d. Highlight some of the challenges faced in rendering air support.
- e. Suggest a way forward for air support operations.

1.4 Research Methodology. The study adopted the descriptive and analytical method of research. The method of data collection employed in this research is through primary and secondary data. The primary data were obtained through interviews with military officers that served with some UN

missions, courses attended, UNITAR POCI chat room and Internet facilities. The secondary data were collated through library research, magazines, journals, books, and newspapers.

1.5 Limitations: Studies of this nature relying on interview and documentaries are prone to the biases of the interviewees and authors and equally specific to each operation. Besides, information on specific issues on some operations is highly classified. However, the personal experience of the researcher as a career military officer as well as experiences gathered in operations and courses attended were brought to overcome these limitations. Additionally, efforts were made through adequate use of primary data and with a lot of caution on the secondary data. It is therefore appropriate at this stage to briefly examine the nature of peacekeeping operations generally, through the mandate established by the United Nations.

Chapter Two

NATURE OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

2.1 THE UN CHARTER AND PEACEKEEPING

The UN Charter was drafted during the San Francisco Conference in 1945. Its first article states the main purpose of the UN which is “...to maintain international peace and security.”⁹ The Charter does not make a specific mention of PK, which evolved as a pragmatic response to a variety of mainly inter-state conflicts with which the UN has dealt. PK requires the consent of the parties and seeks to settle disputes through the medium of peaceful third-party initiatives and has often proved a valuable technique for the facilitation of peace accords and agreements following inter-state conflicts. Ideally, PK should be conducted as a Chapter VI pacific activity, although on some occasions it has been conducted under Chapter VII, which envisages the use of force. Yet, under certain circumstances, providing a PK mission with a Chapter VII mandate can help to demonstrate political resolve, or can authorise the use of all necessary force to protect itself and carry out the mandate in very difficult circumstances.

⁹ Charter of the UN and Statutes of the ICJ (New York: UN Department of Public Information, Dec 2008. P 3.

But it is well to keep in mind that in general, the peacekeeping force is a lightly armed one. And, in the long term, giving lightly armed PK force unrealistic objectives can undermine its credibility and eventually destroy the mission.¹⁰

2.2 Peacekeeping Operations during the Cold War

As we have stated earlier, the increased conflict of interests and hostility between East and West in the years following the Second World War affected the functioning of the UN. This therefore negates the purpose of establishing the UN that is to maintain international peace and security. During this period, the frequent lack of unanimity among the Super Powers meant that these provisions of collective peace and security were never fully achieved. Thus, because of recurrent tensions and disagreements between the United States and the Soviet Union, during those years, these foremost powers resorted to using their veto powers, which limited the executive functions of the SC. This was especially the case whenever an issue arose that was perceived to threaten the vital interests of either of these permanent members.

¹⁰ Nigerian Armed Forces Doctrine for Peace Support Operations, Prepared under the Direction of Gen ML Agwai CFR, psc(+) Feb 2005. P 27.

Consequently, during the Cold War years the executive functions of the UN were carried out within contexts of disagreement, strain, and often, impasse, among its permanent members. The UN therefore resorted to other measures to promote and preserve peace. These measures may include the good offices of the Secretary-General, conciliation, mediation and peacekeeping.¹¹

2.3 Regional Conflicts – Post Cold War Period

At the end of the Cold War, there was widespread hope that the world would enjoy “peace dividends”. In a notable case of euphoria, a leading American scholar, Francis Fukuyama, wrote a famous article titled “The End of History” – arguing that the end of the Cold War had signaled the final triumph of liberal democracy over totalitarianism and of free market economies over command economics.¹² The reality has turned out to be different as the world has witnessed the emergence of conflicts of unique complexity in view of their intra-state more than inter-state nature. Disputes over natural resources, identity and religious affiliations, as well as access to power, have fueled conflicts that involved

¹¹ The Blue Helmets: A Review of UN Peacekeeping, Third Edition (New York: UN Department of Public Information, Dec 1996. P 4.

¹² Gambari I, Professor: Challenges of Conflict Resolution and the Role of Nigeria in Regional and Global Peace and Security (National Defence College Abuja graduation Lecture Series) August 2008. P 3.

guerilla warfare, home-grown as well as foreign-sponsored militias, mercenaries, and forced recruitment of civilians, particularly children, as soldiers. In addition, they evolved in generally hostile environment where neighbours, as well as regional actors with vested interests, would support one, if not multiple parties to the conflicts.

Furthermore, some of these hostilities proved to have an impact beyond the concerned fighting areas, as refugees fled to neighbouring states, while armed guerillas found sanctuaries across the borders, and unfortunate induced economy of war created financial incentives that undermined any possible peace settlement.¹³ Despite progress made in resolving many conflicts in the world today, it is regrettable that the most looming and devastating conflicts with regional dimensions are still ravaging the continent of Africa, unabated. Central Africa and the Horn of Africa have particularly been two regions of chronic instability, resulting in several interconnected conflicts that transcend borders or specific territories, thus making them truly regional. This is particularly the case in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where the fighting involves militias from Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi, several rebellion groups, as well as their governments. It is also the case in the Sudan, where the crisis

¹³ Mial, Rambotham and Woodhouse, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999). P 99.

involves both the government in Khartoum, rebellion groups in Darfur, eastern and southern Sudan, as well as northern Uganda, eastern Chad, and northeastern Central African Republic.¹⁴

It is further regrettable to note that these conflicts have claimed millions of lives; left millions displaced, and deterred any possible economic growth and prosperity in a continent that is behind the rest of the world in socio-economic development. The chronic insecurity has put severe constraints on access to humanitarian aid for the millions in need. In these wars, civilians are not only victims, but have increasingly become targets. And women and children, in particular, bear the heaviest burden of the instability and fighting. From rape and displacement, to the denial of the right of education, food and healthcare, women and children bear the largest share of suffering.¹⁵ This should never be acceptable as it is the UN's responsibility and shared interest to bring these conflicts to an end and ensure that sufficient preventive measures are in place to prevent their resumption or emergence.

¹⁴ Kagame P. The Conflicts in the Great Lakes Area: Factors, Actors and Challenges (National Defence College Abuja Graduation Lecture Series) August 2002. P 7.

¹⁵ Garba J.N. Maj Gen (rtd), Nigeria: The Challenges of UN, (Ibadan Nigeria: Dokun Publishing House), July 1997. P 27.

2.4 Lessons from the Past and Present Challenges

The multitude of parties involved in conflicts, their divergent interests, and various patrons has made negotiating a peace agreement more complicated and complex, thus underlining the need of a multilateral, coherent, and coordinated engagement to achieve any sustainable settlement.¹⁶ In this context, previous and ongoing conflicts offer three main lessons that should guide the UN's engagement with regards to these crises and how to prevent them:

- a. Security is a collective responsibility and requires collective action.
- b. Peace and stability demands global solidarity.
- c. There cannot be peace, security, and development without respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law.

States therefore need to cooperate with each other in order to ensure their own security. This though had become apparent at the end of World War 2, it is suggested that it should have particularly strong resonance in today's world; a world in which armed conflict between or within States has political, military,

¹⁶ Adedeji A.G. Rear Adm (rtd), *The Armed Forces and Nigeria's Security in the 21st Century* (NDC Abuja Lecture Series) August 2003. P 5.

economic, humanitarian and environmental consequences far beyond the conflict zones. Furthermore, a world where deadly weapons, including WMDs, can be obtained not only by non-state actors but by extremist groups. Equally, a world where HIV/AIDS, SARS, avian flu, or H1N1 flu, can be carried across oceans and national border, in a matter of hours; a world where terrorism has no face or borders and harms without distinction and regardless to one's beliefs or background, and last but not the least, a world where the effects of climate change affects the lives of people everywhere. Against such threats, States share a responsibility for each other's security, and only by working together to make each other secure can we hope to achieve security for ourselves. Peace is thus indivisible and therefore, a threat to peace and security anywhere should be seen and treated as a threat to peace and security everywhere.¹⁷ Therefore, States are in some measures responsible for each other's welfare.

Without a measure of solidarity no society can be truly stable, and no one's prosperity is truly secure. It is not realistic to think that some can derive great benefits from today's progress while others are left permanently marginalized. As the second

¹⁷ Professor Ibrahim Gambari: Challenges of Conflict Resolution and the Role of Nigeria in Regional and Global Peace and Security (National Defence College Abuja graduation Lecture Series) August 2008. P 6.

Secretary-General of the UN, Dag Hammarskjold, succinctly put it: “no one can expect his garden to remain tidy by reserving a spot for weeds”.¹⁸ An example was the recent global recession; States need each other to correct this present economic menace by coming together to ensure that they jointly adopt measures in addressing it. Finally, peace, security and development ultimately depend on respect for human rights, democracy and rule of law. If our different communities are to live together in peace, we must stress what unites us: our common humanity, and our shared belief that human dignity and rights should be protected by law through a democratic system which is a vital tool for development. Both foreign investors and a country’s own citizens are more likely to engage in productive activity when their collective basic rights are protected and they can be confident of fair treatment under the law. A quote in Human Development Report 2002 captured the need for democracracic system thus “Globalisation is forging greater interdependence yet the world seems more fragmented, between rich and poor, between the powerful and powerless, and between those who welcome the new global economy and those who demand a different course.....For politics and political institutions to promote human development and safeguard the freedom and dignity of all people, democracy must widen and

¹⁸ Ibid. P 7.

deepen.”¹⁹ Happily, the UN reacted with rather unique concepts: of the Responsibilities of States to Intervene in Other States deteriorating human disasters, and the urgent need to have rapid deployment forces at the beckon of the UNSG, for dire emergency intervention.

2.5 The Concept of SHIRBRIG

On 15 December 1996 the countries of Austria, Canada, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland and Sweden, following the recommendation from the UN SG that the UN should consider the idea of a Rapid Deployment Force, signed the four documents on which Stand-by Forces High Readiness Brigade (SHIRBRIG) is based.²⁰ According to the recommendation this force should consist of units from a number of member states, trained to the same standard, using the same operating procedures and taking part in combined exercises at regular intervals. This should make the force available for deployment at short notice. By 16 November 2008, seven new countries (Argentina, Finland, Italy, Ireland, Lithuania, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia and Spain), became members of SHIRBRIG, while

¹⁹ Mial, Rambotham and Woodhouse, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999). P 258.

²⁰ www.shirbrig.dk/documents.

Chile, Croatia, Czech Republic, Egypt, Jordan, Latvia and Senegal were on observer status. Furthermore SHIRBRIG has developed a system that can be used as a model for African stand-by forces and provide planning and expert team assistance.²¹

SHIRBRIG's declared aim and mandate is to "provide the UN with a well prepared, rapidly deployable capability for peacekeeping operations mandated by the UN Security Council. Although SHIRBRIG is not a formal organ of the UN System, it was nevertheless developed in close coordination with the UN Secretariat and within the framework of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations' (DPKO), UN Standby Arrangement System (UNSAS). SHIRBRIG thus offers a committed pool of experts and forces which are extensively familiar with the UN DPKO's structures and needs and which share the same operational standards and level of training. SHIRBRIG has already deployed in five UN missions, undertaken planning assistance for the DPKO, and extensively engaged in the capacity-building of two of the five regional African Standby Forces of the African Union.²² These missions include:

²¹ Yurkusi HN, Wg Cdr: Harnessing the Logistics of Peacekeeping Operations, COTIPSO Thesis, Jan 2008.

²² www.shirbrig.dk/documents.

- a. United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE), November 2000 – June 2001.
- b. United Nations Mission in Cote d' Ivoire (UNOCI), February - March 2003.
- c. United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), September - November 2003.
- d. United Nations Advance Mission in Sudan (UNAMIS), July 2004 – February 2005.
- e. United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS), April – December 2005

The SHIRBRIG concept of operations is summarized as follows:

- Member countries decide on a case-by-case basis to participate on any given mission thereby preserving national sovereignty;
- Any deployment involving SHIRBRIG must be mandated by the UNSC
- Although originally envisioned for operations under Chapter VI of the UN Charter, SHIRBRIG nations are prepared to examine more robust operations on a case-by-case basis;
- SHIRBRIG forces will deploy for a maximum of six months following which, the mission is either terminated or replaced by non-SHIRBRIG forces.
- The Brigade's reaction time is 15 to 30 days following the

decision of participating countries.

- The availability of forces will be based on a brigade pool of resources that will include capabilities to carry out a peace support operation as well as provide for redundancies of these capabilities.
- SHIRBRIG units will be self-sufficient for 60 days.

Chapter Three

LOGISTICAL SUPPORT OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

“I don’t know what the hell this logistics is that Marshall is always talking about, but I want some of it”. – Fleet Admiral E.J. King USN (To a staff officer in 1942)²³

3.1 DEFINITION AND PRINCIPLES OF LOGISTICS

In broad terms, logistics is the art of transporting, housing, supplying and providing technical support to military troops or an organization. According to USAF Technical Report, logistics is defined as the science of planning and carrying out the movement and maintenance of forces and their equipment.²⁴ Similarly, the UK Institute of Logistic and Transport defines logistics more succinctly as the “The time-related positioning of resources”. It comprises the means and arrangement, which works out the

²³ Quoted in United States *Doctrine for Logistics Support of Joint Operations*, Joint Publication 4-0, Washington DC, 1995. P 6.

²⁴ www.afima.hq.af.mil/lgi/Afilhome.html

plans of strategy and tactics. Strategy decides where to act: logistics brings the troops and equipment to this point. In other words, it is the fundamental factor that makes for the effectiveness of forces, at tactical, operational and strategic levels. It provides the foundation of all combat power.²⁵ Collins, in his book, *Military Strategy*, defines logistics as the design, development, acquisition, storage, movement, distribution, maintenance, and evacuation of military materiel; the medical care of military personnel; the construction, maintenance, operation, and disposition of facilities; and the acquisition or furnishing of services.²⁶

However, in the context of UN operations, because support is often required for non-military personnel and circumstances, this definition is broadened. In the UN parlance therefore, logistics can be defined as the science of planning and carrying out the administration, movement and maintenance of forces and materials needed on a UN mission, and it includes activities related to communications, engineering and aviation services.²⁷

Thus, this UN definition of logistics covers not only the needs of military and police units, but also of related civilian personnel originating from different countries with widely diverse cultures.

²⁵ David Pasfield: *A Critical Dependence, providing Logistics Support to Air Operations*, 1996. P 13.

²⁶ Collins M. John: *Military Strategy, Principles, Practices, and historical Perspectives*, 1998. P 300.

²⁷ Kamran Baig: *Logistical Support of UN Peacekeeping Operations: An Introduction*, UNITAR POCI 2002. P 19.

This definition includes support to be provided to civilian police, staff, numerous UN agencies, as well as civilian specialists who serve on multi-role missions. Therefore, logistics covers all aspects of the needs and physical support for missions to be carried out. This covers finances, supplies, transportation, technical support and housing needs, as well as administrative, communications, engineering and aviation services.

There are 4 various phases of logistics support in a multinational operation.²⁸ These phases are as discussed below.

3.2 Planning Phase. Initial planning of a mission must address a broad range of factors, and also retain the flexibility to support the force's requirement. Planners must have a clear understanding of the operational objectives, format of operation, sources of supply available in the mission area, and the capabilities to build supply support. The objective of the planning phase is the production of a feasible, economic and realistically costed logistics plan for the deployment or expansion of a mission. There is always emphasis on the rapid and accurate collection of all the facts and data required for the preparation of the proposed concept of operation. This is essential in order to accurately identify the proposed mission's material requirements, together with the time scales for deployment. Throughout this

²⁸ Ibid. P 71.

phase it is fundamental that close liaison is maintained between the Military Planning Service, who produces the proposed concepts, the Office of Operations in DPKO, who provides the political direction and framework for the mission, and the logistics planners in OMS.

Therefore, after all the required data is available, a comprehensive and cohesive Logistics Plan is prepared for the proposed mission indicating airports and sea ports of entry, logistics base locations, equipment requirements, contractual requirements, and deployment timeline. The Logistics Plan is also used as the basis for identifying what resources may be redeployed from other locations to support mission deployment.

3.3 Deployment Phase. The objective of the deployment phase is the effective and economic deployment of a new mission, or expansion of an existing mission. This may involve a small numbers of individual personnel over relatively short distances or large numbers of troops and large quantities of equipment over great distances, in accordance with a timetable dictated by operational requirements. The deployment phase is based on the logistics plan previously developed during the planning phase of the operation, but it is often necessary to respond flexibly to unforeseen changes in circumstances or requirements.

There are various tasks that must be accomplished during this phase with many of the activities been concurrently run. These activities fall into two categories; those that need to be completed to deploy the basic infrastructure and support, which include the approval of the Mission Budget, provision of Mission living and working accommodation, establishment of the Mission UN Headquarters and its associated communications support, recruitment/transfer and deployment of UN Internal Staff, and recruitment of UN Local Staff to meet Staffing Table Requirements. The second category include the deployment of contingents/military observers/civilian police, forward deployment of contingents/military observers/civilian police to operational locations within mission area, establishments of “life-support“ contracts, and provision of mission’s transfer requirements and installation of Mission-wide communications system.

3.4 Sustainment Phase. The objective of the Sustainment Phase is to maintain the Mission’s capability to perform its mandated tasks. This phase involves both planned provision of continued support against specific, predictable requirements and rapid responses to unforeseen changes in circumstances or requirements. This phase requires that all the logistics and administrative needs required for the continued working of the Mission are met. Furthermore, during the Sustainment Phase

there must be close co-operation between the Mission's operational leadership, represented by SRSG, Force Commander, Chief Military Observer, or Chief Civilian Police Officer. Logistics Support Division (LSD) plays both directive and supportive role during this phase. It continues to support the mission by arranging to meet logistics support requirements that cannot be satisfied at mission level. In addition, OMS ensures that the general aims of the UN logistics policy continue to be met.

3.5 Liquidation Phase. Liquidation refers to all activities involved in the closure of a field mission. The Mission's liquidation phase therefore starts once the deployment phase has ended. A detail plan should be prepared to ensure a smooth exit. The liquidation guidelines will give detail instructions for the disposal of assets. The main objective of this phase is to close a mission on time, as economical as possible, while continuing to support its operation until the very end of its Mandate Period. The liquidation process generally comprises two distinct group of activities; the physical closure, and the withdrawal of equipment, supplies and personnel from the mission's area of operation, and the activities related to the completion of all residual administrative and support tasks such as the closure of accounts, finalization of property records and survey cases, settlement of claims among others.

3.6 LEVELS OF LOGISTICS SUPPORT TO PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

Commanders and their staffs must remember the importance of logistics to achieving the overall goal, for friendly forces as well as the enemy.

Furthermore, in military terms, a campaign plan that can not be logistically supported is not a plan but simply an aspiration. Therefore a commander needs to have a well balanced logistics back up in order to achieve his ultimate aim.²⁹ For instance, oil played a crucial, if not the key role, in the Japanese decision to go to war with the United States in 1941. Because of the deteriorating political situation with the United Kingdom and Netherland's East Indies, most of Japan's oil reserve and supply was exhausted. When diplomatic efforts failed to resolve the political impasse, Japan made plans to seize militarily what it could not achieve diplomatically. The decision of this military option was what led to war with the United States. With this in mind the Japanese planned to eliminate any short-term American threat quickly and seize needed oil by first launching the sea

²⁹ The Logician: A News Magazine of the Logistics Command, Nigerian Air Force, April 2007. P 7.

attack at Pearl Harbour.³⁰ Therefore, we can say without logistics the war effort can never be sustained. Sun Tzu stated that “The line between disorder and orderliness is logistics.”³¹ The logistics efforts at these three levels must be integrated to provide the requisite support for the smooth operation of the mission. The logistics activities performed at each of the levels should not be considered as separate or discrete activities. They should all merge into the continuous flow of support necessary to provide the most effective application of air support. I will now briefly discuss these Levels of Logistics support to PKOs.

3.7 Strategic Level Logistics Support

Strategic level logistics support involves the development and stocking of materials and their deployment from the stores holding area to the peacekeeping operations area. At this level of logistics support the logistics process provides link between the resources provided by the UN and the UN peacekeeping forces deployed in the field. The production of logistics resources is almost entirely a civilian commercial process. Once these resources are manufactured, their employment in support of peacekeeping force (consumer logistics) becomes a military

³⁰ David Pasfield: A Critical Dependence, Providing Logistics Support to Air Operations, 1996. P 19.

³¹ Giles Lionel: Sun Tzu, The Art of War, from Project Gutenberg E-line English Edition, 2003. P17.

function, albeit one dependent on civilian support. The integration of production and consumer logistics system takes place at the military-strategic level and is the responsibility of the DPKO. The determination of strategic requirements, planning of logistics aspects of regeneration capability, control storage and bulk distributions are all military- strategic logistics functions.

3.8 Operational Level Logistics Support

The operational level logistics support is the provision of support for UN peacekeeping operations from initial planning, through deployment, to the conduct of operations in the mission area and the eventual recovery of deployed forces. It serves as a link between strategic and tactical logistics support. In essence operational logistics is responsible for taking the resources provided by strategy and delivering them in the right quantity and time scale to the component commanders.

With its enhanced range and flexibility, air support remained the principal means of troop transportation and the deployment of time sensitive materiel required to support the force. The instance of this support was also exhibited during the first Gulf War codenamed "Operation Desert Storm". It was the support capability that enabled the rapid build-up of the Coalition's combat

aircraft. A total of 256 x KC-135 and 46 x KC-10 tankers flew more than 34,000 sorties and made over 85,000 air-to-air refueling stops that sustained the momentum of the force projection by combat aircraft as well as the numerous force sustainment sorties for the Coalition forces.³²

3.9 Tactical Level Logistics Support

Tactical level logistics support is the least but crucial level where actions actually take place. At this level, the highest tactical commanders are those on the ground. Tactical level logistics support therefore is the level which involves the employment of a peacekeeping force to achieve operational objectives. It is the logistics support directly given to the forces which are directly engaged in combat. The logistics support here could be for the forces on the Land, Maritime, Air and Special Forces. It could be referred to as the logistics of direct confrontation with the opposing forces. The logistics required for the predominant tactical operations of air-to-air refuelling, air transportation, surveillance and combat air patrols during Operation Desert Storm could also be likened to Tactical Level logistics Support.

³² Air Power in the Gulf: Nigerian Armed Forces Command Staff College Jaji-Kaduna, Group Presentation, March 2007. P 2.

3.1.0 Peacekeeping Logistics Organization.

Logistics planning of a UN mission can make the difference between its success and failure. There is therefore the need to have a well planned and articulated logistics plan if a successful mission is to be achieved. All UN field missions are carried out by a wide range of personnel which may include infantry units, military and civilian observers, military and civilian monitoring forces, civilian police etc. Because there is such a wide array of personnel to operate a varied range of missions, well-defined logistic procedures need to be in place for different kinds of missions. Additionally there should be the need for integration and coordination of these various sources and types of logistics support. The integration implies that the needs of all the concerned parties are considered as common to the mission as a whole. The peacekeeping logistics organisation is therefore the organization of the logistics set up for PKO. For example, in the Gulf War, the US and its willing allied forces seized the initiative by first enabling the rapid and unprecedented logistics build-up taking cognizance of parties involved in the operation.³³ This logistics build up helped in no small measure in making the operation successful.

³³ Ibid. P 24.

Chapter Four

THE ROLE OF AIR SUPPORT IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

4.1 AIR SUPPORT AS IT RELATES TO PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

Air support refers to the support rendered by an aircraft to the peacekeeping mission. This support ranges from the use of aircraft to airlift personnel from home base to the operational area; from one operational area to another; flights for disaster relief and civil aid operations; airlifting of logistics support materials to forces in the field; air reconnaissance; aero medical evacuation or airdrop. Air support could be provided by an “Air Unit”, an aviation unit which may comprise a variety of air assets to support a PKO. This unit may compose of liaison transport aircraft, heavy tactical transport, utility short take-off and landing transport aircraft and medium tactical transport helicopter. Others

may also include utility tactical transport helicopter and medical evacuation/air rescue fixed-wing planes and helicopters.³⁴ Air support could also be referred as air interception and bombing operations. Air support and air power are used interchangeably in this chapter.

4.2 Air Support during the Post-World War Two Period

The development of nuclear weapons in the post-World War 2 period and the attendant nuclear deterrence detracted from the development of air power doctrine. Thus, the lack of preparedness by the West in particular, for low intensity conflicts that ensued in both Korea and Vietnam. From Korea to Operation Iraqi Freedom, the world has learnt that political imperatives at the strategic level may restrict the effective employment of air support. We are equally aware that technology provides an edge in aerial warfare and indeed governs the growth of air power as a whole. Aspects of air power have gradually been transformed by technological advances, like precision guided munitions and stealth, and new theories of application. We may mention modern day advocates of the new air power theories as the 2 Johns – Boyd and Warden, both colonels and fighter pilots in the United

³⁴ Leslie Donald, Major: Operational Logistical Support of UN Peacekeeping Missions, 2005. P 89.

States Air Force. Boyd's Theory of Conflict and Warden's Theory of Strategic Attack dwell on the goal of defeating the enemy through strategic paralysis.³⁵ The theory of strategic paralysis is not exactly new – both John Warden and Liddel Hart envisioned a decisive role of air power in inducing strategic paralysis. Strategic paralysis of the enemy underpinned the strategic bombing concepts of early air power theorists. However, unlike these early theorists whose emphasis was on economic warfare, Boyd and Warden together talked about paralyzing the enemy command. The roots of their approach can be traced to Sun Tzu who wrote that “the general rule for the use of the military is that it is better to keep a nation intact than to destroy it, it is better to keep an army intact than to destroy it. Therefore, those who win every battle are not really skilful; those who render others' armies helpless without fighting are the best of all”.³⁶

According to Boyd, “Machines don't fight wars. Terrain doesn't fight wars, Humans fight wars. You must get into the mind of humans. That's where the battles are won”.³⁷ Stating that

³⁵ David S. Fadok, Major, *John Boyd and John Warden: Airpower's Quest for Strategic Paralysis* (Maxwell AFB, AL: Air University Press, September 1995). P 10.

³⁶ Giles Lionel: Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, from Project Gutenberg E-line English Edition, 2003. P 9.

³⁷ David S. Fadok, Major, *John Boyd and John Warden: Airpower's Quest for Strategic Paralysis* (Maxwell AFB, AL: Air University Press, September 1995). P 44.

rational human behaviour is processed through the OODA loop – a cycle of 4 distinct tasks; observation, orientation, decision and action – Boyd insists that a winner will be he who can process the cycle faster and more accurately than the enemy until a point that the enemy's action become totally inappropriate to the prevailing situation.³⁸ In other words, render the enemy powerless by denying him the time to mentally cope with the rapidly unfolding war situation. Boyd believed that the inherent characteristics of air power lend itself to the tempo and multiple tasking necessary to disorient and confuse the enemy and thus render him powerless.

Warden on the other hand stated that “real exploitation of airpower's potential can only come through making assumptions that it can do something we thought it couldn't do... We must start our thinking by assuming we can do everything with air power, not by assuming that it can only do what it did in the past”. Given airpower's inherent characteristics and the current capabilities of the aircraft, Warden insists that “we can now wage war in parallel as opposed to the serial operations that constrained us in the past”.³⁹ Viewing the enemy as a system of 5 strategic rings, he identified the innermost ring as the leadership and the most crucial component of the system. Following the

³⁸ Ibid. P 54.

³⁹ Ibid. P 68.

leadership were organic essentials, infrastructure, population and fielded forces in that descending order of importance to the overall functioning of the system. According to Warden, targeting the command element through decapitation was an effective and efficient means of incapacitating the system. If not feasible, perhaps due to political reasons, then strategic paralysis could be induced through attacks on the outer rings. The air campaign should, thus, be designed to selectively or simultaneously incapacitate the 5 rings in order to achieve system paralysis.

It is essential therefore to briefly outlined Philip Meilinger's Ten Propositions of employment of air power.⁴⁰ These principles are as follows:

- a. Whoever controls the air generally controls the surface.
- b. Airpower is an inherently strategic force.
- c. Airpower is primarily an offensive weapon.
- d. Airpower is targeting; targeting is intelligence and intelligence is analyzing the effects of air operations.

⁴⁰ Charles M. Westenhoff: Military Air Power, The CADRE Digest of Air Power Opinions and Thoughts, Compiled 2002.

- e. Airpower produces physical and psychological shock by dominating the fourth dimension – time.
- f. Airpower can simultaneously conduct parallel operations at all levels of war.
- g. Precision air weapons have redefined the meaning of mass.
- h. Airpower's unique characteristics require centralized control by airmen.
- i. Technology and airpower are integrally and synergistically related.
- j. Airpower is not made up of airplanes alone, but includes aerospace industry and commercial aviation.

It is worthwhile to state the characteristics of air power as *height, speed, reach, ubiquity, flexibility, responsiveness, and concentration.*

4.3 Air Support for Humanitarian Relief Operations

Humanitarian relief operations refer to the operations aim at protecting human rights, the recording of violations of such rights, justice and introduction of a self sustaining improvement in the

right direction through out the mission area.⁴¹ The monitoring and protection of human rights, the recording of violations, and support to displaced persons and refugees, though, is the principal role of such organizations as Amnesty International, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) respectively. Nevertheless, a peacekeeping force has inherent human rights responsibilities and protection of human life under International Law, and may be called upon to fulfil a variety of functions in close coordination with these specialist agencies and civilian police.

The abuse of human rights and the migration of displaced persons and refugees are common features of wars and complex emergencies. The numbers of such people needing help can range from individuals to entire ethnic groups. A peacekeeping force may therefore be tasked with a specific humanitarian operation during emergency relief when required to ensure the protection and delivery of aid against widespread opposition. In situations where relief materials need to be transported over long distances to remote areas to save lives, air transportation would enhance prompt delivery of such materials. If the areas where

⁴¹ Allied Joint Publications – 3.4.1, Jul 2001 Edition. P 103.

these help is highly sought are deep inside hinterland, then helicopters could be used to deliver such relief materials.

It is worthy to mention here that fixed-wing Air Transport (AT) aircraft will always be a fundamental adjunct to PSO as they can move significant amounts of personnel and materiel quickly into theatre, and may be exploited to move food and emergency aid, conduct aero medical, airborne and Special Forces operations, or evacuate nationals, aid workers and others caught up in the dispute.⁴² AT therefore offers a high profile demonstration of national commitment that attracts major media coverage.

4.4 Air Support for Reconnaissance

According to Joint Warfare Publication JWP 0 – 01.1, reconnaissance could be defined as a mission undertaken to obtain, by visual observation or other detection methods, information about the activities and resources of an enemy or potential enemy, or to secure data concerning the meteorological, hydrographic, or geographic characteristics of a particular area.⁴³ Air reconnaissance therefore, is the collection of information of

⁴² Joint Warfare Publication 3-50, Second Edition, Oct 2001.

⁴³ Joint Warfare Publication 0-01.1, Fourth Edition, Mar 2002.

intelligence interest either by visual observation from the air or through the use of airborne sensors. The primary objective of reconnaissance is to provide timely collection support and satisfy information/intelligence requirements. An example of how air support was used in a war situation for reconnaissance and surveillance was the Falklands war between Great Britain and Argentina. The Argentine Air Force initiated the pre-conflict air action with C-130 reconnaissance flights over the islands in March 1982. Later the Argentines used not only C-130's but B-707s, Lear Jets, Fokker F-27s and P-2 Neptunes all in a reconnaissance role unsuitable to the design of the aircraft. The Argentines used these aircraft through out the war for reconnaissance and path finding roles with the lost of one each of C-130 and Lear Jet through the Sea Harrier fire while attempting to survey the British fleet.⁴⁴

4.5 Deterrence and Coercion

Offensive air power can discourage disputants from using military force. This requires a clear and convincing political statement of intent, backed with the military capability to counter opposition effectively. Well publicized preparations at home bases, rapid

⁴⁴Walter F. DeHoust, Major: Offensive Air Operations of the Falklands War, United States Marine Corps Command and Staff College Publications, April 1984. P 4.

deployments to the area of unrest, and high visibility exercises, can all reinforce diplomacy and discourage conflict. If deterrence fails, offensive aircraft can reduce the non-combatants' will and ability to fight by destroying key elements of military potential or other high value assets. Selection of targets will be crucial for this, and will usually require political sanction. The first Gulf War serves as a good example where offensive air power was utilized to coerce and compelled Saddam Hussein's forces to leave Kuwait when Iraq invaded Kuwait on 02 August 1990. Within a period of 42 days in an operation named 'Desert Shield', Coalition Forces and USA poured into the theatre to deter further Iraqi aggression and to set the stage for offensive action. The attack on Iraq began in the early hours of 17 January 1991 with an independent air campaign and ended on 28 February 91 with Iraqi forces evicted from Kuwait.⁴⁵

4.6 The Experience of USA in Afghanistan

In the ongoing conflict involving the USA-led Coalition in Afghanistan, the multifaceted nature both of American political objectives and the conflict itself has made the effectiveness of air

⁴⁵ Robert L. Pfattzgraff, Jr., eds. *The Future of Air Power in the Aftermath of the Gulf War*, Maxwell AFB, AL: Air University Press, 1992. P 27.

support vis-à-vis airpower applications difficult to gauge. Those political goals might be listed as follows: firstly, destroying al Qaeda's current ability to conduct global terrorism, which includes denying al Qaeda sanctuaries for launching attacks; second, exacting retribution for the 11 September attacks - bringing those responsible to justice; third, preventing the expansion/future development of global terrorism; and fourthly, maintaining maximum support for American actions from the rest of the world, especially the Islamic world.⁴⁶ At first glance, the initial three goals could be deemed positive, while the fourth could be labeled negative. Yet, although the third objective likely requires lethal military force to destroy terrorist cells and prevent them from expanding, applying too much force is likely to produce collateral damage or the perception of indiscriminate destruction, either of which could serve as an al Qaeda recruiting vehicle and achieve the opposite of the desired results. Thus, the application of air power could serve both positive and negative roles. Regardless of how it is applied, especially during a peace enforcement operation, a key to success will be assuring that *all* concerned view its use in the best possible light.

⁴⁶ Mark Clodfelter, Dr: Air Power Versus Assymmetric Enemies: A Framework for Evaluating Effectiveness; Air & Space Journal, Aug 2002. P 9.

4.7 How UN Contracts Aircraft

Any aircraft under UN charter agreement shall be properly manned, equipped, fuelled and fully insured during the entire term of the charter.⁴⁷ The carrier shall be responsible for the professional and technical competence of its crew and will select for work reliable individuals who will perform effectively in the implementation of the contract. The personnel must respect the local customs and conform to a high standard of moral and ethical conduct.

The carrier must, among other things, ensure that all manufacturers' modifications are complete and the aircraft complies with the airworthiness requirements of the country of registration and is safe and airworthy and will be so maintained during the charter agreement. The aircraft must also be fit for the purpose for which it is being chartered. In addition, the aircraft crew should be qualified, competent and fully licensed in conformity with applicable national and international air navigation laws and regulations. There are however basically two kinds of aircraft charter currently employed by the UN for the air transportation of passengers and cargo. Short term aircraft agreement is used for the movement of troops and cargo on

⁴⁷ <http://www.uno.org>.

deployment, rotation, repatriation and redeployment of contingents between countries and mission area. Long term aircraft charter on the other hand is used to contract air services for the movement of personnel and cargo in support of a specific UN Mission. This contractual agreement is for tactical movement that is within the mission area, and is arranged by Air Transport Section.

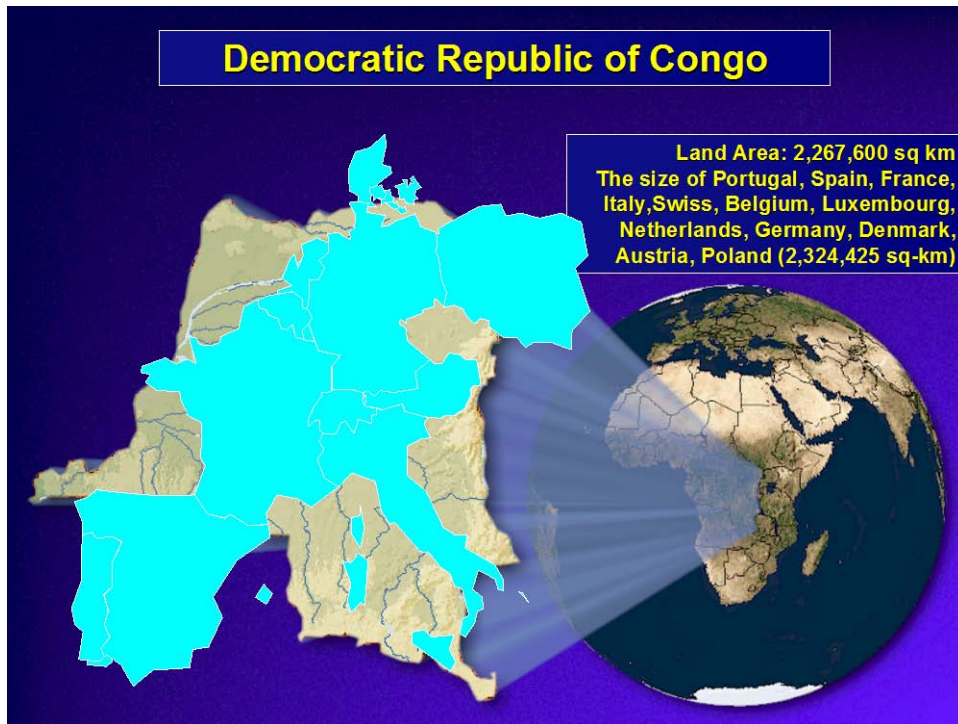
Chapter Five

HOW AIR OPERATIONS AID UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

5.1 THE COUNTRY THE CRISIS AND UN MANDATE

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is located in Central Africa. It lies between latitude 0' 00'N and longitude 25'

00'E of the Greenwich Meridian. It is the third biggest country in Africa after Sudan and Algeria. It has a surface area of 2,267,600 square kilometres, which can be compared to approximately the size of Western Europe. It covers the greatest part of the Congo basin in the very heart of Africa and therefore occupies a strategic position in the continent. The jungle covers most part of the country whilst numerous rivers and lakes cover the remaining surface. The country got its independence on 30 June 1960 from Belgium. At the time of independence, DRC had a population of about 14 million. The Belgian colonial administration practiced a policy of paternalism, which gave the indigenous population one of the highest living standards on the continent, but little political and educational advancement. Shown below is the geo-political map of DRC.



Source: Microsoft ® Encarta ® 2009. © 1993-2008 Microsoft Corporation. All rights reserved.

Figure 1: Map of the Democratic Republic of Congo

The UN Operations in the Congo, Mission de l'Operation des Nations Unies au Congo, (MONUC),⁴⁸ which took place in the Republic of the Congo from July 1960 until June 1964, marked a milestone in the history of the UN's peacekeeping. This responsibility is in terms of the responsibilities it had to assume, the size of its area of operation and the manpower involved. The UN had a peacekeeping force of nearly 20,000 officers and men,

⁴⁸ <http://en.wikipedia.org>

and an important Civilian Operations component.⁴⁹ After independence the political administration fell under the total and direct control of the mother country; however there were no democratic institutions. Few Congolese studied beyond the secondary school level and, at the time of independence, there were only 17 university graduates and no doctors, lawyers or engineers. Native curfews and other restrictions were not unusual. Following World War 2 some democratic reforms began to be introduced, but these were complicated by ethnic rivalries among the native population. Crises ensued barely one month after independence and on 12 July 1960, President Kasa-Vubu and Prime Minister Lumumba sent a joint telegraph to the Secretary General requesting UN assistance.⁵⁰

Therefore, during the night of 13/14 July 1960, the SC adopted resolution 143 (1960), by which it called upon the Government of Belgium to withdraw its troops from the territory of the Congo and decided “to authorize the Secretary General to take the necessary steps, in consultation with the Government of the Republic of the Congo, to provide the government with such military assistance as might be necessary until, through that Government’s efforts with UN technical assistance, the national security forces might be able, in the opinion of the Government, to

⁴⁹ The Blue Helmets, A Review of UN Peacekeeping, Third Edition, 1996. P 174.

⁵⁰ Ibid. P 174.

meet fully their tasks”.⁵¹ It requested the Secretary General to report to the SC as appropriate. The Council’s resolution was adopted by 8 votes in favour (including the USSR and the USA) to none against, with 3 absentions.⁵²

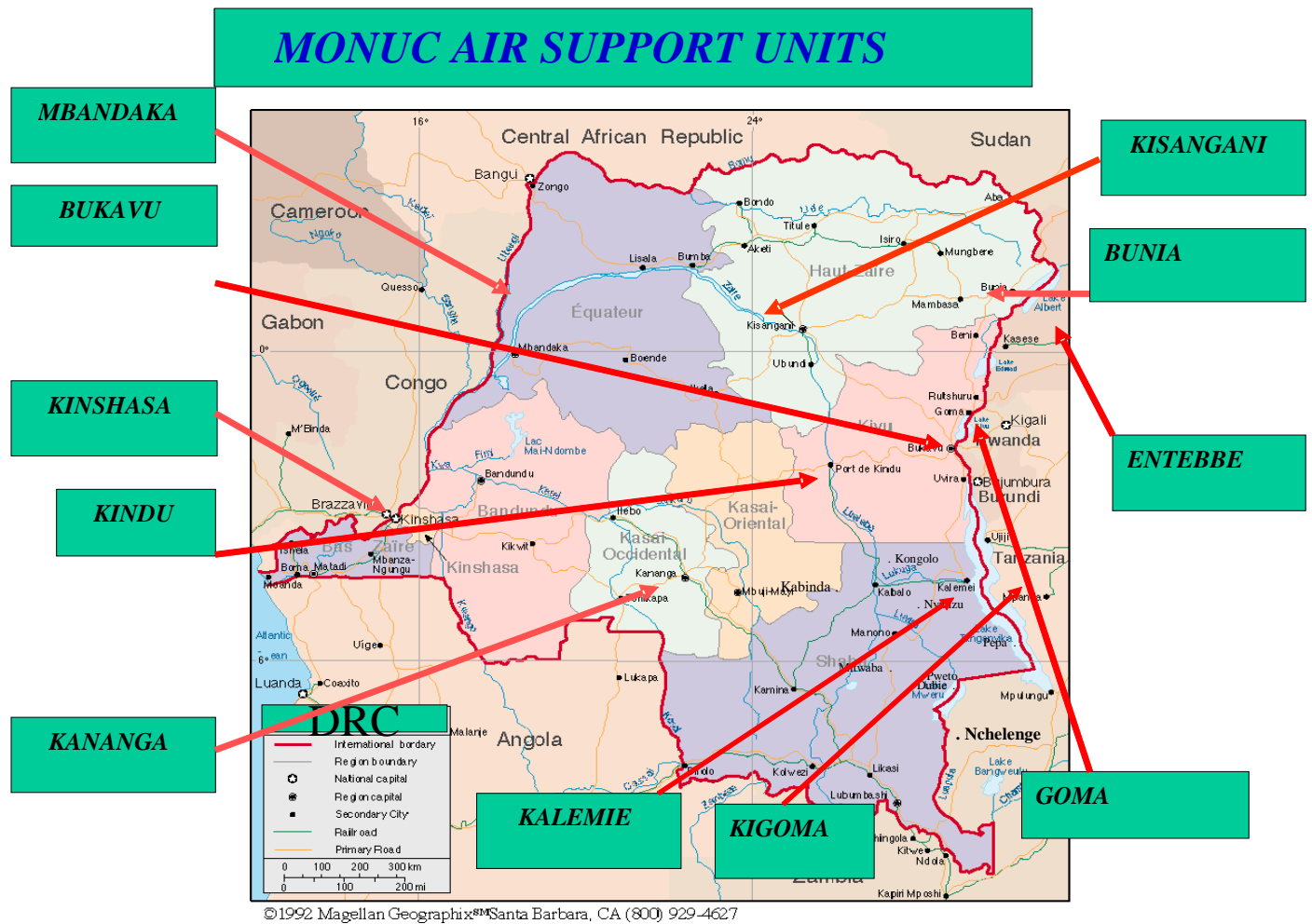
5.2 Mission Requirement

The DRC is divided into six aviation sectors namely, Mbandaka, Kisangani, Kananga, Kalemie, Kindu and Bunia. There are however four additional sectors which are also of significant importance in the deployment of MONUC air assets. These additional sectors include Entebbe, Kinshasa, Kigoma and Goma. One of the mission requirements of MONUC entails the coverage of the whole country by air and this is done through these aviation sectors.⁵³ The map of DRC showing these important aviation sectors is shown as Figure 2.

⁵¹ UN Resolution 143 (1960).

⁵² The Blue Helmets, A Review of UN Peacekeeping, Third Edition, 1996. P 177.

⁵³ MONUC Aviation, A Manual of Aviation Activities of MONUC from 1999 to 2007. P 2.



SOURCE: MONUC AVIATION MANUAL FOR 1999-2007

Figure 2: Map of the DRC Showing MONUC Aviation Sectors

As at December 2005 the aviation fleet of MONUC comprised 43 civilian and 28 military aircraft of different aircraft types. These aircraft fleets were adequate in undertaking the various aviation task of the mission. The logistical support is often carried out with C-130 and IL-76 aircraft. The C-130 is a very practical and rugged cargo ac for most destinations due to its dual

capability of contingent and their equipment and can also land on a short and rugged terrain. The IL-76 however operates between Kinshasa, Kisangani and some sector areas within the mission area. It can also be re-rolled to operate between contingent home country and mission area.⁵⁴

5.3 Airports, Airfields and Air Support Units

Generally, DRC territory is vast and lacking in basic infrastructure. Road infrastructure is almost non-existent and transport facilities are not well maintained and equipped. From West to East the distance is almost 2000 kilometres. Considering these long lines of communications and ever changing operational requirements, the most reliable means of transportation deem to be appropriate for these distances is air transportation. Aircraft therefore are used as a major means of transporting personnel and logistical support due to the massive area covered by the mission, the poor state of roads and water ways, and the general security problems. The mission though continues to expand the usage of river transportation however aviation sector is the backbone and force multiplier of the movement of passengers and goods. MONUC therefore operates

⁵⁴ Ibid. P 4.

in more than 60 airports and airfields and 150 landing sites in DRC. This mission epitomises the role and significance of air support to peace support operations.

5.4 Aviation Task

The aviation task of MONUC is enormous. This is because the road infrastructure is extremely poor and lack proper maintenance. The aviation task for this operation may be divided into:

- a. Operational Task. Operational task involves deployment of troops, military observers, civilian workers, aid workers, NGOs, Red Cross, other UN agencies personnel, etc. This deployment could be carried out within the theatre of operations or mission area. Other operational task missions may include; verification, reconnaissance, monitoring, and DDRRR missions.
- b. Logistics Task. The logistics tasks of MONUC are many and varied and range from:
 1. Food resupply to the contingents.
 2. Fuel drop to all the airfields.
 3. Supply of water, fuel and goods to team sites.

4. Carriage or transportation of passengers.
5. Medical evacuation (MEDEVAC) and casualty evacuation (CASEVAC).
6. Search and rescue operations.

c. General Support Task. General support task may include inter Congolese dialogue office, different agencies and embassies, special visitors, and political substantive unit.

5.5 Regular Flights, Non Regular Flights, Special Flights and Flight Hours

Regular flights are schedule flights for the day-to-day running of the mission. They allow for planning to distribute cargo and passengers in advance, improving the cost effectiveness in the utilization of the MONUC fleet of aircraft. The flights also improve the coordination between the sectors and MONUC departments with in the mission. They equally allow MONUC personnel to plan both business and leave trips both in and out of the mission area.

On the other hand the non-regular flights are unscheduled flights, which are used for immediate air operations, and any other

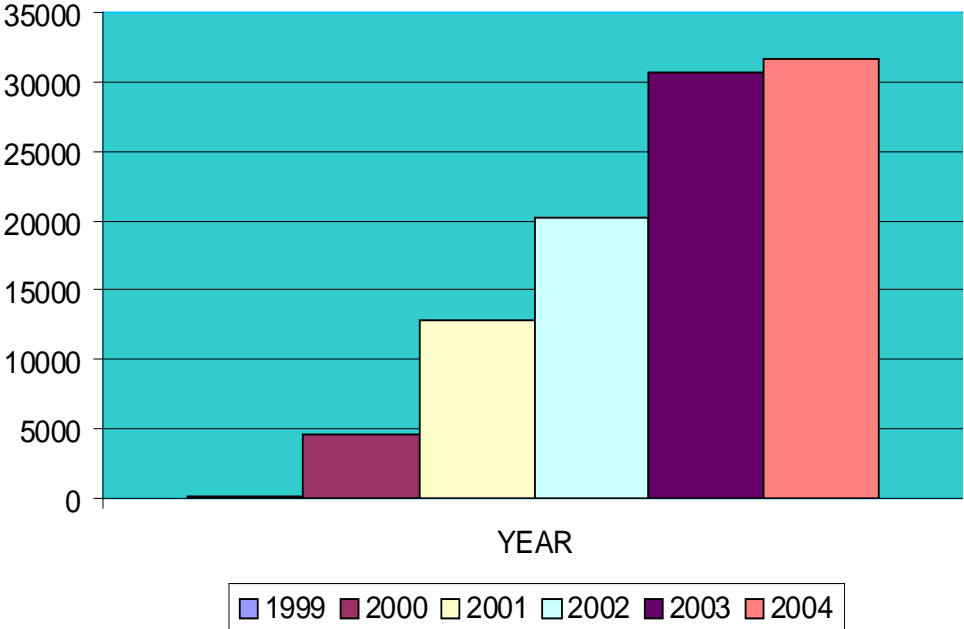
urgent flights like MEDEVAC and CASEVAC. SAR flights and aircraft on standby also formed part of non-regular flights. These non-regular flights also allow for effective responds to operational contingencies such as food, fuel, water, reconnaissance etc. In addition, it allows for stockpiling to make use of regular flights more effective.

Special flights are flights designed for immediate air operations and other urgent special required flights like special envoy, Special Representative to the Secretary General (SRSG), Very Important Person (VIP), Field Commander (FC), etc and any other special missions that incur financial implications.

Flight hours are the total hours flown by all the contracted aircraft for the mission. These hours include the hours for regular flights, no-regular flights and special flights conducted in respect of MONUC. Attached bellow is a bar chart showing the flight hours for MONUC for the period 1999-2004.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Ibid. P 7.

Total Flight Hours Per Year



SOURCE: MONUC AVIATION MANUAL FROM 1999 TO 2007

Figure3: Bar Chart Showing Flight Hours of MONUC for the Period 1999 to 2007

Chapter Six

CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF AIR SUPPORT TO PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 CHALLENGES OF AIR SUPPORT

Summarizing from our assessments above, the challenges that are often encountered by air support in any PKOs may include the following:

- a. Airfields may not be up to standard. For instance in DRC, the airfields from where all the ac operate range from isolated strips to international airports, which must have been destroyed during the course of the war.
- b. Obsolete and inadequate air traffic control and navigation AID equipment operations.
- c. Security situation always pose a great obstacles since the aircraft operates in hostile environment.

- d. Most of the air strips where some aircraft operate from lack apron space.
- e. Operational hours may also be inadequate since operational hours are between sunrise and sunset.
- f. Air support is very costly. Secure bases away from the disputed area usually result in long transit flights and therefore additional cost of the aircraft operation.

6.2 Prospects of Air Support

The prospects of air support to any peacekeeping operations include, but not exhaustive, to the following points:

- a. Air Support should be responsive to the mission's needs and also able to support all levels of anticipated utilization.
- b. It should be economical with regard to the lowest cost, consistent and in conformity with maintaining operational standards and effectiveness.
- c. It should be flexible so as to be able to respond to the rapidly changing dynamics of logistics, administrative and operational requirements of the mission.

d. It should be safe so as to satisfy the above stated requirements, without jeopardizing personnel, cargo and aircraft.

e. It should be secure by protecting air resources such as aircraft, fuel, spare parts, and equipment, from natural disasters, hostile actions, theft and misuse.

f. Finally, Air Support should, as a matter of paramount importance, have flight safety, which must never be compromised for any reason.

6.3 CONCLUSION

It is worthwhile to recall that, during the Cold War years the executive functions of the UN were carried out within the contexts of disagreements, strain, and often, impasse, among its permanent members, because of recurrent tensions and wanton hostilities between the Super Powers. The UN therefore resorted to other measures to promote and preserve peace. These measures may include the good offices of the Secretary-General, conciliation, mediation and peacekeeping. Peacekeeping has remained essentially one of the most practical mechanisms used by the UN to contain these international conflicts. The original idea devised by the UN to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security are

as outlined in Chapters VI and VII of the UN Charter. It was intended to provide a collective security system for member states. Peacekeeping though requires the consent of the parties and seeks to settle disputes through the medium of peaceful third-party initiatives and has often proved a valuable model for the facilitation of peace accords and agreements following inter-state conflicts.

In the recent past, at the recommendation of the UN SG, a Stand-by High Response Brigade was established to provide immediate response to any threat to peace in any part of the world. Although not a formal organ of the UN System, the SHIRBRIG was nevertheless developed in close coordination with the UN Secretariat and within the framework of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations' (DPKO) UN Standby Arrangement System (UNSAS). SHIRBRIG thus offers a committed pool of experts and forces which are extensively familiar with the UN DPKO's structures and needs and which share the same operational standards and level of training.

This paper tries to relate the operations of any peacekeeping with the logistics requirement and air support. Logistics activities as they relate to various organizations are now better understood as the key to the (un)successful attainment of set goals and objectives. This is because from time immemorial, human

existence has been characterized by wants. From the individual to organizations, the element of want is unending even though the resources to satisfy these wants are ever limited. Usually the provision of requirements to sustain an organization is referred to as logistics support. In the military, logistics comprises the means and arrangement, which works out the plans of strategy and tactics. Strategy decides where to act: logistics brings the troops and equipment to this point. In other words, it is the fundamental factor that makes for the effectiveness of forces, at tactical, operational and strategic levels. It provides the foundation of all combat power. The provision of logistics follows detailed planning for the timely positioning of resources as may be required in the face of other challenges.

Since inception, the United Nations has had to reorganize her missions periodically with attendant modernization of equipment to keep pace with global technological trend. Thus, UN logistics covers not only the needs of military and police units, but also of related civilian personnel originating from different countries with widely diverse cultures. This includes support to be provided to civilian police, staff, numerous UN agencies, as well as civilian specialists who serve on multi-role missions. Therefore, logistics covers all aspects of the needs and physical support for missions to be carried out. This covers finances, supplies,

transportation, technical support and housing needs, as well as administrative, communications, engineering and aviation services.

In a peacekeeping or peace enforcement operation the logistics required to realize the operational objective could therefore be enormous. More so, the plans required to achieving an effective air support operations must be based on an optimum and realistic logistics capabilities. Thus, a good logistics support plans must aim at getting the right mix of forces and equipment to the right place as a complete system in serviceable condition and at the right time. Consequently, air support operations could provide the needed support promptly and to the right place when adequately utilized.

Air support refers to the support rendered by an aircraft to the peacekeeping mission. This support ranges from the use of aircraft to airlift personnel from home base to the operational area; from one operational area to another; flights for disaster relief and civil aid operations; airlifting of logistics support materials to forces in the field; routine and emergency intra-theatre aero medical evacuation and intra-theatre logistics airlift. Other forms of air support to peacekeeping operations include; aerial deployment of quick reaction forces; aerial reconnaissance; intra-theatre airdrop; command and liaison transport; helicopter

slinging and hoisting; support to battalions, other UNMOs and all other components; and intra-theatre passenger flights. However, from Korea to Operation Iraqi Freedom, the world has learnt that political imperatives at the strategic level may restrict the effective employment of air support. These past campaigns also show that air support is not limited to air transportation of troops, civilian staff or police contingent alone but may include air interdiction and bombing operations.

The UN operation in the Congo, refers to as MONUC, depends largely on air support. This is because the territory is vast and lacking in basic infrastructure. Road infrastructure is almost non-existent and transport facilities are not well maintained and equipped. Considering these long lines of communications and ever changing operational requirements, the most reliable means of transportation deem to be appropriate for these distances is air transportation. Aircraft therefore are used as a major means of transporting personnel and logistical support due to the massive area covered by the mission, the poor state of roads and water ways, and the general security problems. The mission though continues to expand the usage of river transportation however aviation sector is the backbone and force multiplier of the movement of passengers and goods.

The DRC is divided into 6 aviation sectors namely; Mbandaka, Kisangani, Kananga, Kalemie, Kindu and Bunia. There are however 4 additional sectors which are also of significant importance in the deployment of MONUC air assets. These additional sectors include Entebbe, Kinshasa, Kigoma and Goma. One of the mission requirements of MONUC entailed the coverage of the whole country by air and this was done through these aviation sectors. MONUC therefore operated in more than 60 airports and airfields and 150 landing sites. This mission epitomizes the role and significance of air support to peace support operations and hence its choice as a case study for this thesis.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

It is therefore recommended that the United Nations should:

- a. Ensure that air safety must never be compromised during any of its missions involving the use of air assets, no matter the situation.
- b. Ensure the provision of mobile air traffic control and navigation AID equipment operations.

c. Join hands with host countries to construct standard airfields for common use of both.

d. Ensure that any aircraft to be chartered must have complete manufacturers' modifications and the aircraft complies with the airworthiness requirements of the country of registration and is safe and airworthy and will be so maintained during the charter agreement.

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