

## **PART IV**

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### **THE ALLIANCE'S ROLE IN PEACEKEEPING AND PEACE-SUPPORT OPERATIONS**

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# CHAPTER 13

## NATO'S ROLE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Since the end of the Cold War, NATO has become increasingly involved in peacekeeping and peace-support operations, deploying in support of the wider interests of the international community and working closely together with other organisations to help resolve deep-rooted problems, alleviate suffering and create the conditions in which peace processes can become self-sustaining. NATO's first three peace-support operations took place in Europe – in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Kosovo and in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia\* – yet the need for long-term peace-building is global. NATO foreign ministers recognised this at a meeting in Reykjavik, Iceland, in May 2002 agreeing that: "To carry out the full range of its missions, NATO must be able to field forces that can move quickly to wherever they are needed, sustain operations over distance and time, and achieve their objectives." This decision effectively paved the way for NATO to deploy for the first time outside the Euro-Atlantic area, in Afghanistan in 2003. Since then, the Alliance has also become involved in both Iraq and in Darfur, Sudan.

Bosnia and Herzegovina has been the scene of many firsts for NATO, and decisions taken in response to events in that country have helped shape the Alliance's evolution and develop its peacekeeping and peace-support capabilities. The Alliance carried out an air campaign in Bosnia and Herzegovina in August and September 1995 that helped bring the Bosnian War to an end and then led a peacekeeping operation there for nine years, from December 1995 to December 2004. Although NATO handed responsibility for ensuring day-to-day security in Bosnia and Herzegovina to the European Union in December 2004, the Alliance retains a residual military headquarters in Sarajevo to focus on defence reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina and prepare the country for membership of the Partnership for Peace programme.

The political basis for the Alliance's role in peacekeeping operations was established at an Oslo meeting of NATO foreign ministers in June 1992. At that meeting, the foreign ministers announced their readiness to support peacekeeping activities under the responsibility of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE, subsequently renamed the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, or OSCE) on a case-by-case basis and in accordance with their own procedures. This included making Alliance resources and expertise available for peacekeeping operations.

In December 1992, the Alliance stated that it was also ready to support peacekeeping operations under the authority of the UN Security Council, which has primary responsibility for international peace and security. Reviewing the peacekeeping and sanctions or embargo enforcement measures already being undertaken by NATO countries, individually and as an Alliance, to support the implementation of UN Security Council resolutions relating to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, NATO foreign ministers indicated that the Alliance was ready to respond positively to further initiatives that the UN Secretary-General might take in seeking Alliance assistance in this field.

Between 1992 and 1995, the Alliance took several key decisions which led to operations to monitor, and subsequently enforce, a UN embargo and sanctions in the Adriatic and to monitor and then to enforce the UN no-fly zone over Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Alliance also provided close air support to the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and authorised air strikes to relieve the siege of Sarajevo and other threatened areas designated by the United Nations as safe areas.

On 30 August 1995, NATO aircraft launched a series of precision strikes against selected targets in Serb-held positions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This heralded the start of Operation Deliberate Force, NATO's first air campaign, which lasted until 15 September. The operation shattered Bosnian Serb communications and, in conjunction with a determined diplomatic effort, helped pave the way to a genuine cease-fire; moreover, it prepared the ground for successful peace negotiations in Dayton, Ohio, United States.

## **Dayton Peace Accord**

Under the terms of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, commonly referred to as the Dayton Peace Accord (DPA), signed in Paris on 14 December 1995, a NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) of 60 000 troops was established for one year to oversee implementation of the military aspects of the agreement. The Force was activated on 16 December, and transfer of authority from the Commander of UN forces to the Commander of IFOR took place four days later, bringing all NATO and non-NATO forces participating in the operation under IFOR command.

By 19 January 1996, the parties to the DPA had withdrawn their forces from the zone of separation on either side of the agreed cease-fire line and by 3 February, all forces had been withdrawn from the areas to be transferred under the terms of the Agreement. The transfer of territory between the entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina was completed by 19 March and a new zone of separation was established. By the end of June, the cantonment of heavy weapons and demobilisation of forces required under the DPA had also been

completed. After more than four years of conflict and the repeated failure of international initiatives to end it, a basis for the future peace and security of Bosnia and Herzegovina had been established within less than six months.

IFOR contributed substantially to the creation of a secure environment conducive to civil and political reconstruction. It also provided support for civilian tasks, working closely with the Office of the High Representative (OHR), the International Police Task Force (IPTF), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and many other agencies, including more than 400 non-governmental organisations active in the area.

IFOR also assisted the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) in preparing, supervising and monitoring the first free elections in September 1996 and, following those elections, supported the OHR in assisting the entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina in building new common institutions. In addition, IFOR military engineers repaired and reopened roads and bridges and played a vital role in demining efforts, repairing railroads, opening up airports to civilian traffic, restoring gas, water and electricity supplies, rebuilding schools and hospitals, and restoring key telecommunication installations.

## **From IFOR to SFOR**

In November and December 1996, a two-year consolidation plan was established under the auspices of the Peace Implementation Council, an *ad hoc* group consisting of countries and international organisations with a stake in the peace process. On the basis of this plan and of the Alliance's own study of security options, NATO foreign and defence ministers concluded that a reduced military presence was needed to provide the stability necessary for consolidating peace in the area. They agreed that NATO should organise and lead a 32 000-strong Stabilisation Force (SFOR), which was subsequently activated on 20 December 1996 – the day on which IFOR's mandate expired – with a new 18-month mandate.

In accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 1088 of 12 December 1996, SFOR became the legal successor to IFOR, its primary task being to contribute to the development of the secure environment necessary for the consolidation of peace. A further follow-on force retained the name "SFOR" and continued to operate on a similar basis, in order to deter renewed hostilities and to help create the conditions needed for the implementation of the civil aspects of the DPA. At the same time, the North Atlantic Council projected a transitional strategy involving progressive reductions of force levels as the

transfer of responsibilities to the competent common institutions, civil authorities and international bodies became feasible.

As the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina became more stable, NATO restructured and reduced the size of the Stabilisation Force. By the beginning of 2002, it had been reduced from its original 32 000 troops to approximately 19 000 drawn from 17 NATO member countries and 15 non-NATO countries, including a Russian contingent. A large number of non-NATO countries, some of which have since become members, participated in IFOR and SFOR at different times, including Albania, Argentina, Austria, Bulgaria, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, Ireland, Jordan, Latvia, Lithuania, Morocco, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden and Ukraine.

SFOR was further reduced to 12 000 troops by January 2003, with the support of strategic reserve forces if required and a continuing mandate to help maintain a safe and secure environment in accordance with the DPA. Improvements in the overall security situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2003, including successful operations conducted by explosive ordnance disposal units to destroy large quantities of grenades, rifles, pistols, mines and other munitions, enabled NATO further to reduce SFOR's size to a residual deterrent force of some 7000 troops, once again backed by reinforcement possibilities, by mid-2004.

Simultaneously, the successful handover to the European Union of the NATO operation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia\* in 2003 opened the way for the deployment of an EU follow-on mission to succeed SFOR. Recognising the progress made in Bosnia and Herzegovina since the deployment of the NATO-led Implementation Force in 1995 as well as the subsequent positive role undertaken by the SFOR, Alliance leaders agreed to conclude the SFOR operation by the end of 2004.

On 2 December 2004, the European Union deployed a new force in Bosnia and Herzegovina, EUFOR, in Operation Althea. EUFOR benefits from ongoing NATO support in accordance with the Berlin-Plus arrangements made between the two organisations (described in Part VIII). Preparations for the transfer of responsibility for this mission were undertaken in the framework of these arrangements, drawing on NATO planning expertise and paving the way for the use by the European Union of the Alliance's collective assets and capabilities. In particular, the provisions enabled the Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Europe (DSACEUR) to become the Operation Althea Commander. These arrangements also enabled the transition of responsibility for the mission from NATO to the European Union to take place without interruption, which optimised the use of resources and avoided duplicating efforts.

Although NATO's role as the main provider of security in Bosnia and Herzegovina concluded with the completion of the SFOR mission, the Alliance's continuing commitment to the country manifests itself in other ways. On 2 December 2004, the Alliance established a military headquarters in the country as a residual military presence to help the national authorities as they tackle the problems of defence reform and prepare for possible future participation in the Partnership for Peace programme. The headquarters has also undertaken certain operational support tasks such as counter-terrorism; supporting the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), within the means and capabilities at the headquarters' disposal, with the detention of persons indicted for war crimes; and intelligence-sharing with the European Union.

NATO has continued to demonstrate its practical support for Bosnia and Herzegovina's efforts to join the Partnership for Peace (PfP) and the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council through activities organised in the framework of a concrete NATO Security Cooperation Programme with that country. Activities in the 2004 programme included workshops on the drafting of the government's 2005 defence budget and on preparations for its 2006-2007 defence budget. Similarly, in July 2004 an additional workshop was held at the NATO School in Oberammergau to consider ways to enhance practical cooperation and the newly established defence institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to select a list of potential PfP activities in which the country might already be able to participate. In 2005 a new programme of cooperation was established, tailored to the needs of the country and designed to familiarise military and civilian personnel with the possibilities and requirements of the PfP programme.



# CHAPTER 14

## THE KOSOVO CONFLICT AND THE ROLE OF KFOR

NATO has been leading a peacekeeping operation in Kosovo since June 1999 in support of wider international efforts to build peace and stability in the contested province. The NATO-led Kosovo Force, or KFOR, deployed in the wake of a 78-day air campaign launched by the Alliance in March 1999 to halt and reverse the humanitarian catastrophe that was then unfolding. That campaign, which was NATO's second, followed more than a year of fighting in the province and the failure of international efforts to resolve the conflict by diplomatic means.

Simmering tension in Kosovo resulting from the 1989 imposition of direct rule from Belgrade of this predominantly Albanian province erupted in violence between Serbian military and police and Kosovar Albanians at the end of February 1998. The international community became increasingly concerned about the escalating conflict, its humanitarian consequences and the risk of it spreading to other countries, as well as Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic's disregard for diplomatic efforts aimed at peacefully resolving the crisis and the destabilising role of Kosovar Albanian militants.

On 13 October 1998, the North Atlantic Council authorised activation orders for NATO air strikes, in support of diplomatic efforts to make the Milosevic regime withdraw forces from Kosovo, cooperate in bringing an end to the violence and facilitate the return of refugees to their homes. Following further diplomatic initiatives, President Milosevic agreed to comply and the air strikes were called off. Further measures were taken in support of UN Security Council resolutions calling for an end to the conflict, including the establishment of a Kosovo Verification Mission by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and an aerial surveillance mission by NATO, as well as a NATO military task force to assist in the evacuation of members of the Verification Mission in the event of further conflict.

The situation in Kosovo flared up again at the beginning of 1999, following a number of acts of provocation on both sides and the use of excessive force by the Serbian military and police. This included the massacre of 40 unarmed civilians in the village of Racak on 15 January. Renewed international efforts to give new political impetus to finding a peaceful solution to the conflict resulted in the convening of negotiations between the parties to the conflict in London and Paris under international mediation. These negotiations failed, however, and in March 1999, Serbian military and police forces stepped up the intensity of their operations, moving extra troops and tanks into the region, in a clear

breach of agreements reached. Tens of thousands of people began to flee their homes in the face of this systematic offensive. A final unsuccessful attempt was made by US Ambassador Richard Holbrooke to persuade President Milosevic to reverse his policies. All diplomatic avenues having been exhausted, NATO launched an air campaign against the Milosevic regime on 24 March 1999.

NATO's political objectives were to bring about a verifiable stop to all military action, violence and repression; the withdrawal from Kosovo of military personnel, police and paramilitary forces; the stationing in Kosovo of an international military presence; the unconditional and safe return of all refugees and displaced persons and unhindered access to them by humanitarian aid organisations; and the establishment of a political agreement for Kosovo in conformity with international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

Following diplomatic efforts by Russia and the European Union on 3 June, a Military Technical Agreement was concluded between NATO and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on 9 June. On the following day, after confirmation that the withdrawal of Yugoslav forces from Kosovo had begun, NATO announced the suspension of the air campaign. On 10 June, UN Security Council Resolution 1244 welcomed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's acceptance of the principles for a political solution, including an immediate end to violence and a rapid withdrawal of its military, police and paramilitary forces and the deployment of an effective international civil and security presence, with substantial NATO participation.

## **The NATO-led Kosovo Force**

The first elements of KFOR entered Kosovo on 12 June 1999. By 20 June, the withdrawal of Serbian forces was complete. KFOR tasks have included assistance with the return or relocation of displaced persons and refugees; reconstruction and demining; medical assistance; security and public order; security of ethnic minorities; protection of patrimonial sites; border security; interdiction of cross-border weapons smuggling; implementation of a Kosovo-wide weapons, ammunition and explosives amnesty programme; weapons destruction; and support for the establishment of civilian institutions, law and order, the judicial and penal system, the electoral process and other aspects of the political, economic and social life of the province.

KFOR was initially composed of some 50 000 personnel from NATO member countries, Partner countries and non-NATO countries under unified command and control. By the beginning of 2002, KFOR had been reduced to around 39 000 troops. Improvements in the security environment enabled NATO to reduce KFOR troop levels to around 26 000 by June 2003 and to 17 500 by the end of that year. A setback in progress towards a stable, multi-ethnic

and democratic Kosovo occurred in March 2004, when renewed violence broke out between Albanians and Serbs and KFOR troops were attacked. NATO contingency plans for such an eventuality enabled the rapid deployment of some 2500 additional troops to reinforce the existing KFOR strength.

Pending resolution of Kosovo's status, the Alliance's commitment manifested through KFOR is unlikely to undergo significant reductions. In the meantime, measures permitting the return of refugees, economic reform and other standards have been defined by the United Nations as the necessary conditions for normalisation. At the Istanbul Summit, NATO heads of state and government condemned the renewed ethnic violence that had erupted in March 2004 and reaffirmed NATO's commitment to a secure, stable and multi-ethnic Kosovo, on the basis of full implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244. They also reiterated their support for the agreed "Standards before Status" policy and the associated Standards Review Mechanism.

Ahead of the comprehensive review of the Standards Implementation Process scheduled for the end of 2005, NATO defence ministers agreed at their meeting in Brussels in December 2004 to maintain a robust KFOR profile during the year 2005. In the meantime, in August 2005, the North Atlantic Council decided to restructure KFOR, replacing the four existing multinational brigades with five task forces. This reform will be introduced gradually and will allow greater flexibility with, for instance, the removal of restrictions on the cross-boundary movement of units based in different sectors of Kosovo. The move from brigade to task force will also place more emphasis on intelligence-led operations, with task forces working closely with both the local police and the local population to gather information.

## **Support for neighbouring countries**

As a result of the conflict in Kosovo, the countries of the region faced major humanitarian, political and economic problems. At the height of the Kosovo crisis, more than 230 000 refugees had arrived in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia,\* more than 430 000 in Albania and some 64 000 in Montenegro. Approximately 21 500 had reached Bosnia and Herzegovina and more than 61 000 had been evacuated to other countries. Within Kosovo itself, an estimated 580 000 people had been rendered homeless. To help ease the humanitarian situation on the ground, NATO forces flew in many thousands of tons of food and equipment. By the end of May 1999, over 4666 tons of food and water, 4325 tons of other goods, 2624 tons of tents and nearly 1600 tons of medical supplies had been transported to the area.

In the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia,\* NATO troops built refugee camps, refugee reception centres and emergency feeding stations and moved hundreds of tons of humanitarian aid to those in need. In Albania, NATO deployed substantial forces to provide similar forms of assistance and helped the UNHCR with the coordination of humanitarian aid flights to enable the evacuation of refugees to safety in other countries, including many NATO countries. These flights were supplemented by aircraft supplied by NATO member countries. The Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC) established at NATO in June 1998 also played an important role in the coordination of support to UNHCR relief operations.

A NATO PfP Cell was set up in Tirana from 1998 to December 2002 to assist the government with PfP programmes and procedures. In June 2002, NATO nominated a Senior Military Representative to Albania, with headquarters in Tirana. The role of the Senior Military Representative is to advise Tirana on military aspects of security sector reform, including the restructuring of the Albanian armed forces, and on military aspects of the Membership Action Plan and PfP Planning and Review Process, in both of which Albania is a participant. NATO Headquarters Tirana includes a NATO Advisory Team which assists the Senior Military Representative in the implementation of these tasks. A further task assigned to NATO Headquarters Tirana has been to provide support for NATO-led operations in the region. A significant contribution to NATO operations is also made by Albania itself, through the authorisation of surveillance and reconnaissance flights over its territory as well as cooperation on border security issues between Albanian border police and military units and KFOR.

# CHAPTER 15

## NATO'S ROLE IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA\*

NATO became involved in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia\* at the request of the Skopje authorities to help defuse an escalating conflict between the government and ethnic Albanian rebels to head off what might have degenerated into a full-scale war.

In June 2001, President Boris Trajkovski of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia\* asked for NATO assistance to help demilitarise the National Liberation Army (NLA) and disarm ethnic Albanian groups operating on the territory of his country. In response, the North Atlantic Council took a double-track approach: it condemned the attacks and adopted measures in support of the government's action against extremist activities, while urging the government to moderate its military action and adopt constitutional reforms to increase the participation of ethnic Albanians in society and politics.

A political dialogue between both parties was engaged, leading to a peace plan and a cease-fire. The signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement on 13 August 2001 opened the way for the entry of NATO troops into the country on 27 August 2001 and for the introduction of internal reforms. The 30-day mission, code-named Operation Essential Harvest, was to collect and destroy all weapons voluntarily handed in by NLA personnel. The operation involved some 3500 NATO troops and their logistical support. Approximately 3875 weapons and 397 600 other items, including mines and explosives, were collected. Later in the year, the 15 constitutional amendments in the peace agreement were passed by the Parliament.

In September 2001, President Trajkovski requested a follow-on force to provide protection for international monitors from the European Union and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe overseeing implementation of the peace plan for the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia\*. Known as Operation Amber Fox, the follow-on mission involved some 700 troops provided by NATO member countries, under German leadership, reinforcing some 300 troops already based in the country. It started on 27 September 2001 with a three-month mandate to contribute to the protection of international monitors overseeing the implementation of the peace plan and was subsequently extended.

In response to a request from President Trajkovski, NATO agreed to continue supporting the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia\* with a new mission starting on 16 December 2002, known as Operation Allied Harmony.

The North Atlantic Council recognised that while Operation Amber Fox could now be concluded, a follow-on international military presence in the country was still required to minimise the risk of destabilisation. The mission consisted of operational elements to provide support for the international monitors and advisory elements to assist the government in assuming responsibility for security throughout the country.

The NATO-led Operation Allied Harmony continued until 31 March 2003, when responsibility for the mission was handed to the European Union. NATO has subsequently maintained both a civilian and a military presence in the country to assist and advise the national authorities on developing security sector reforms and on the country's participation in the Membership Action Plan (MAP).

NATO Headquarters Skopje, established for this purpose, consists of some 120 combined military and civilian personnel. It is a non-tactical headquarters under the command of a NATO Senior Military Representative. In the light of the damage and wear and tear on roads and bridges caused by increased military traffic and the use of the road network as military supply routes, NATO is also contributing to reconstruction and other civil engineering projects in the country. NATO Headquarters Skopje plays an important role in the coordination of these efforts, which are being undertaken in conjunction with the civil engineering department of Skopje University.

# CHAPTER 16

## NATO'S ROLE IN AFGHANISTAN

NATO has been leading international peacekeeping efforts in Afghanistan since August 2003, thereby helping to establish the conditions in which the country can enjoy a representative government and self-sustaining peace and security. This groundbreaking operation is NATO's first beyond the Euro-Atlantic area. Initially restricted to providing security in and around Kabul, the Alliance is now expanding the mission to cover other parts of the country via so-called Provincial Reconstruction Teams. Specifically, NATO is seeking to assist the government of Afghanistan in maintaining security within its area of operations, to support the government in expanding its authority over the whole country, and to help provide a safe and secure environment conducive to free and fair elections, the spread of the rule of law, and the process of reconstruction.

In the wake of the ouster of al Qaida and the Taliban, Afghan leaders met in Bonn, Germany, in December 2001 with international backing to begin the process of rebuilding the country. A new government structure was created in the form of an Afghan Transitional Authority, and an International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) was created under United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1386, 1413 and 1444 to enable the Transitional Authority itself and the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan to operate in the area of the capital, Kabul, and its surroundings with reasonable security. A detailed Military Technical Agreement between the ISAF Commander and the Afghan Transitional Authority provided further guidance for ISAF operations.

ISAF was initially led by the United Kingdom and then by Turkey. Germany and the Netherlands jointly took over leadership of ISAF in February 2003 and in doing so requested NATO support. In August 2003, the Alliance itself took responsibility for ISAF in such a way that the problem of identifying new countries willing and able to take over the leadership of the mission every six months was overcome.

The international composition of ISAF has varied but, since its establishment, has included forces or contributions from all 26 NATO Allies and from Albania, Azerbaijan, Croatia, Estonia, Finland, Georgia, Ireland, New Zealand, Sweden, Switzerland and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia,\* in addition to elements provided by Afghanistan itself.

ISAF's political direction is provided by the North Atlantic Council in consultation with non-NATO troop-contributing countries. NATO's Allied Command Operations (based at Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers in Europe located in Mons, Belgium), has responsibility for the operation's headquarters; Allied

Joint Force Command Brunssum, in the Netherlands, acts as the operational-level headquarters.

Initially, the core of the ISAF headquarters in Kabul was formed from the Joint Command Centre in Heidelberg, Germany, which provided the first NATO ISAF Force Commander. Subsequently, command passed to Canada, then to the Eurocorps under French command, then to Turkey and then Italy. Together with its civilian support elements, the overall strength of ISAF amounts to approximately 8 000 personnel. A rotation plan has been developed that provides for the longer-term support of the ISAF's mission headquarters at least until February 2008.

In January 2004, NATO appointed former Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin as its Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan, with responsibility for advancing political and military aspects of the Alliance's engagement in Afghanistan. The Senior Civilian Representative works under the guidance of the North Atlantic Council and in close co-ordination with the ISAF Commander and the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, as well as with the Afghan authorities and other international bodies present in the country.

## **ISAF expansion**

In October 2003, UNSC Resolution 1510 opened the way for a wider role for ISAF to support the government of Afghanistan in regions of the country beyond the confines of the capital. In December 2003, the North Atlantic Council authorised NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Europe to initiate the expansion process.

Provincial Reconstruction Teams, or PRTs, form the cornerstone of this process. They are teams composed of international civilian and military personnel structured as civil-military partnerships, the military elements of which are integrated into the ISAF chain of command. Their primary role is to help the government of Afghanistan extend its authority further afield and to facilitate the development of security in the regions. This includes establishing relationships with local authorities, enhancing security in their specific areas of operation, supporting security sector reform activities and using the means and capabilities available to them to help facilitate the reconstruction effort in the provinces.

The PRT concept is a new one which is proving to be an efficient and effective means of helping to create a secure environment and enabling lead countries, international organisations and non-governmental organisations to fulfil their own roles in assisting the government of Afghanistan to rebuild the country.

In December 2003, ISAF took over command of the German-led PRT in Kunduz as the pilot project and first step in the expansion process. By the end

of 2004, ISAF had taken command of the military components of five PRTs in the north of Afghanistan, located in Baghlan, Faizabad, Kunduz, Maymaneh and Mazar-e-Sharif. NATO also took responsibility for four PRTs in the west of the country – in Herat, Farah, Chagcharan and Qal'eh-Now – in mid-2005, bringing the total of NATO-led PRTs to nine, covering approximately 50 per cent of Afghanistan's territory. NATO has also decided to take over additional PRTs in the south and east of Afghanistan, which may necessitate greater synergy with the US-led Operation Enduring Freedom.

The composition and geographical reach of PRTs are determined by the NATO military authorities and the lead countries, in close consultation with the UN Assistance Mission to Afghanistan and the Afghan authorities and based on the specific situation in the provinces in which they operate. The specific objectives of individual PRTs take into account such factors as the local security situation, the status of reconstruction, and the presence of other international agencies.

## **Other components of ISAF**

In addition to the PRTs, there are three other main components of ISAF. These are:

- The ISAF headquarters, which commands the Kabul Multinational Brigade and conducts operational tasks in its area of responsibility, liaising with and assisting in the work of the United Nations, the Afghan authorities, governmental and non-governmental organisations and the US-led coalition forces in Afghanistan (Operation Enduring Freedom).
- The Kabul Multinational Brigade, which is ISAF's tactical headquarters and is responsible for the planning and conduct of patrolling and civil-military cooperation operations on a day-to-day basis; and
- Kabul Afghan International Airport, which is operated by the Afghan Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism with the assistance of ISAF. NATO has an additional role in relation to the rehabilitation of Kabul airport, together with representatives of the other national and international bodies concerned.

ISAF also supported the conduct of the Constitutional Loya Jirga, or grand council, of some 500 Afghan leaders, which was held from December 2003 to early January 2004, and assisted the Afghan authorities in providing security for Kabul throughout the process. The ratification of the new constitution agreed by the Loya Jirga laid the foundation for the creation of democratic institutions and opened the way for free and fair national elections. In response

to a request from Afghan President Hamid Karzai, ISAF also provided support during the presidential election period in autumn 2004 and the autumn 2005 parliamentary and local elections.

While primary responsibility for the conduct of the presidential elections rested with the Afghan government assisted by the UNAMA, additional forces were made available, including a Spanish Quick Reaction Force deployed to Marzar-e-Sharif and an Italian in-theatre reserve force located in Kabul. Additional Dutch and UK aircraft and helicopter support was also provided, and a US battalion was on hand for rapid deployment to the area if required. Close coordination took place throughout with other national and international agencies on the spot, including the United Nations, the European Union and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe.

The Bonn Agreement of December 2001 defines the institutional reforms required to lay the foundation for stability, peace and prosperity in five distinct spheres, namely counter narcotics; judicial reform; disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration; training of the Afghan National Army; and training of police forces. Lead donor countries from the G8 countries are assisting the Afghan authorities in carrying out security sector reform programmes in these spheres. Japan is the lead country overseeing the demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration process. The United States is leading international efforts to train the Afghan National Army. Germany has taken the lead in training the Afghan National Police. Italy is the lead country for judicial reform. The United Kingdom is leading international efforts to help combat the production of and trade in narcotics.

Within the framework of NATO-Russia cooperation, a joint pilot training project is also being developed to help build capacity in the region to more effectively tackle the trafficking in Afghan narcotics.

While the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration process is not part of ISAF's mandate, its implementation impacts significantly on ISAF operations, particularly in and around Kabul. In March 2004, a ceremony outside Kabul marked the successful cantonment in safe storage sites of heavy weapons such as tanks, artillery pieces, surface-to-surface missiles and rocket-launching systems held by different militias in the capital. Initiated by the Afghan Ministry of Defence, the cantonment operates under a dual-key system and prevents the removal of these weapons without the agreement of both the Ministry and the ISAF Commander. A similar initiative implemented in the Panjsher Valley and the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration process applied to armed groups in the country combine to form an integrated programme designed to bring the large number of weapons circulating in Afghanistan under control.

# CHAPTER 17

## NATO'S ROLE IN IRAQ

Since the end of the 2003 US-led campaign against Iraq and the ouster of the regime of Saddam Hussein, NATO has become involved in various ways in helping with Iraq's transition. The Alliance is training Iraqi personnel both inside and outside Iraq and supporting the development of security institutions to help the country build effective armed forces and provide for its own security. NATO is also coordinating equipment donations to Iraq and providing support to Poland to help it command a sector in Iraq.

In May 2003, the North Atlantic Council agreed to provide Poland with assistance in the form of intelligence, logistics, movement coordination, force generation and secure communications. The decision was taken on a similar basis to the decision that had been taken to provide comparable forms of assistance to the Netherlands and Germany when they jointly assumed leadership of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. It came into effect immediately.

A Force Review Conference took place at Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers in Europe (SHAPE) with the participation of Poland, other NATO member countries and Partner countries in June 2003 to discuss force requirements and conclude arrangements for implementation. The conference forms part of the normal military planning process for any NATO operation and gives contributing countries the opportunity to discuss details, provide offers and finalise the force generation process. In September 2003, Poland assumed command of the Multinational Division (MND) Central South as part of the stabilisation force in Iraq. This role was reinforced by NATO as a whole as well as by bilateral contributions (including forces and other forms of support) by a number of individual NATO and Partner countries.

Statements issued on behalf of the North Atlantic Council at the end of 2003 and at the beginning of 2004 emphasised that, without prejudice to subsequent decisions that might be taken in relation to the security situation in Iraq, the immediate operational priority for the Alliance remained the successful implementation of the role it had undertaken, from August 2003, in assuming command of the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan (ISAF). Ensuring effective implementation of this task would be a prerequisite for any subsequent decision relating to an enhanced Alliance role in relation to Iraq. However, the Alliance's role in relation to stabilisation efforts in Iraq would be kept under continuous review.

Sovereignty was formally transferred to an Interim Iraqi Government on 28 June 2004, the opening day of the NATO Istanbul Summit. In response to a request from the Iraqi Interim Government and following the unanimous adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1546 asking international and regional organisations to assist the Multinational Force in Iraq, NATO leaders agreed to assist the Interim Government with the training of its security forces and tasked the North Atlantic Council to develop ways to implement this decision. Following discussions with the Interim Government, including visits to NATO by the Iraqi Foreign Minister in July and the Iraqi President in September, it was also decided that NATO would provide further assistance with respect to the equipment and technical assistance for Iraq's security forces.

On 30 July 2004, the Council agreed to the establishment of a NATO Training Implementation Mission numbering some 50 military personnel to begin training selected military and civilian headquarters personnel. Unlike operational missions involving combat forces, this was a distinct NATO training mission under the political control of the North Atlantic Council, working closely with the Iraqi authorities as well as with the US-led Multinational Force in Iraq. The aim of the mission is to help the Iraqi Interim Government to develop adequate national security structures as soon as possible, to provide for the future security of the Iraqi people. Security and protection for the mission itself is provided in part by the Multinational Force and in part by NATO.

The specific tasks of the mission included establishing liaison arrangements with the Iraqi Interim Government and the Multinational Force; working with the Iraqi authorities to help them develop effective security structures, including training selected Iraqi headquarters personnel in Iraq; helping to identify Iraqi personnel for training outside Iraq; and working with the Interim Government and the Multinational Force to develop more detailed proposals for NATO training, advice and cooperation. Training and mentoring selected Iraqi personnel inside Iraq and developing a role in coordinating national offers of equipment and training began in August 2004.

The renamed NATO Training Mission is directed by an American general who is also in charge of the separate training programme led by the Multinational Force, thereby ensuring coordination while maintaining the distinct nature of the NATO programme. Overall responsibility for the programme rests with the Supreme Allied Commander, Operations, at SHAPE, who reports through the NATO Military Committee to the North Atlantic Council. SHAPE is supported by Allied Command Transformation in Norfolk, Virginia, United States, which is responsible for coordination of training efforts outside Iraq.

In September, based on the findings and recommendations of the NATO military authorities, NATO announced its intention to help create a NATO-supported Iraqi Training, Education and Doctrine Centre. Located near Baghdad,

the role of the Centre is to focus on leadership training for Iraqi security forces and provide NATO assistance for the coordination of training being offered bilaterally by different member countries, both inside and outside Iraq.

In October 2004, the North Atlantic Council approved the Concept of Operations for the enhancement of NATO's assistance to the Iraqi Interim Government with the training of its security forces and with the coordination of offers of training and equipment. The Concept of Operations provided the basis for a substantial practical enhancement of assistance within the framework of a distinct NATO mission and the development of a detailed Operations Plan which the North Atlantic Council approved in November 2004.

At the beginning of November 2004, 19 Iraqi security personnel participated in an eight-day training course at NATO's Joint Warfare Centre at Stavanger, Norway – the first such training activity to be conducted outside Iraq and in accordance with the above decisions. The participants included senior military officers and civilian staff from the Iraqi Ministries of Defence and of the Interior. The course was designed to focus on the functioning of an operational-level headquarters and served as a pilot project for follow-on training both inside and outside Iraq. Iraqi requests for further training by NATO or other organisations are coordinated by a NATO Training and Equipment Coordination Centre, which is working with a similar centre in Baghdad to coordinate the requirements of the Iraqi government for training and equipment with the support that is on offer by NATO as a whole and by individual NATO member countries.

When NATO foreign ministers met in Brussels in December 2004, they gave the formal go-ahead for the expansion of NATO's training assistance to Iraq. As a consequence, the NATO Training Mission was increased to some 300 training and support personnel, and the training and mentoring of senior Iraqi security personnel was stepped up.



# CHAPTER 18

## NATO'S ROLE IN DARFUR

Together with the European Union, NATO has been assisting the African Union in expanding its peacekeeping mission in Darfur, Sudan, since July 2005 in an attempt to halt continuing violence. The Alliance has been airlifting African Union peacekeepers and civilian police into the war-ravaged region and providing training in running a multinational military headquarters and managing intelligence.

In April 2005, the African Union asked NATO to consider providing logistical support to help it expand its operation in Darfur, the African Union Mission in Sudan, to halt ongoing violence. In May, the Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union, Alpha Oumar Konaré, became the first African Union official to visit NATO to provide details of the assistance sought by the African Union. In June, following further consultations with the African Union, the European Union and the United Nations, NATO formally agreed to support the African Union with airlift and training.

The NATO airlift began on 1 July and is coordinated from Europe. A special African Union Air Movement Cell at the African Union's headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, coordinates the movement of incoming troops on the ground. Both the European Union and NATO are providing staff to support the cell, but the African Union has the lead.

NATO is also providing staff capacity building workshops for African Union officers within the Deployed Integrated Task Force Headquarters in Ethiopia. The training is based on strategic-level planning and focuses on technologies and techniques to create an overall analysis and understanding of Darfur and to identify the areas where the application of African Union assets can influence and shape the operating environment to deter crises. Following a request made by the African Union on 16 September, NATO decided to extend its assistance in the area of airlift and capacity-building until end March 2006.