

# Fundamental Failings: Understanding the United Nations as an Organization and the Future of UN Peacekeeping Reform

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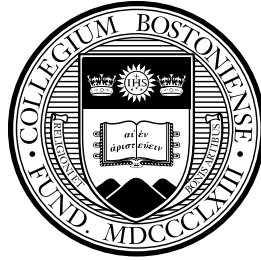
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FUNDAMENTAL FAILINGS: UNDERSTANDING THE UNITED NATIONS AS AN  
ORGANIZATION AND THE FUTURE OF UN PEACEKEEPING REFORM

by

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## Abstract

This paper is an attempt to study the United Nations through the lens of organizational theory, and in particular, the theoretical framework as outlined by Allison and Zelikow in *Essence of Decision*, in order to understand the implementation patterns of the UN in regards to the *Brahimi Report* as reported and analyzed by the Henry L. Stimson Center. The findings of this report conclude that the UN *is* capable of change as demonstrated by its ability to comply with certain *Brahimi Report* recommendations, but is *resistant* to change, due to the structure of the organization. This does not mean, however, that it is fundamentally *unable* to do so. Attempts at reform must be able to circumvent these obstacles through targeted, direct action, for the *Brahimi Report* recommendations which received the highest implementation ratings were those incremental organizational reforms that targeted specific aspects of peacekeeping operations. Resistance to change within the UN, be it on behalf of individuals, departments, or Member States, is a huge obstacle to change, further compounding the obstacles to reform that the UN faces simply as an organization. Future reforms must thus be framed in a way that specifically grasps the attention of the groups/members involved in the reform, making the issue as pertinent and sensitive to them as it is for the success of UN peace operations in general.

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## INTRODUCTION

The United Nations was created in 1945 with the intent of providing an international forum by which countries around the world could work together to maintain international peace and security and international economic and social cooperation. The name itself, United Nations, was created by Franklin D. Roosevelt and represents the idea of a world government working together towards common goals that benefit not only its member states, but all of mankind. However, since its creation, the UN has encountered many difficulties that have scarred its reputation as a capable, functioning institution, including several failed attempts to successfully intervene in world conflicts. In general, “failure” in regard to interventions means that the UN failed to encourage the developed world to act in a certain conflict, such as during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda; failed to effectively intervene or carry out the distribution of humanitarian aid, for example, during the Second Congo War and Somalia; or failed in an intervention to successfully protect designated “safe havens” for refugees, such as during the killings in Srebrenica. These failures have led many to judge the UN as weak, and question whether the organization will be able to fulfill the primary goals for which it was originally created, the maintenance of international peace and security.

The study of the United Nations’ ability to effectively intervene in international security conflicts is important when one remembers the legacies or consequences of failed peace operations, such as the Somalia intervention. The UN intervention in Somalia began in 1992, and fifteen years later, the world is no closer to establishing

peace and security in this war-torn country than ever before. It is important to remember what happens when the UN fails as an intervening force—not only is the actual structure of the state left in questionable condition, but the future of the state as well as the lives of its people are left at stake. It is absolutely necessary that the international community focuses on how to reform the UN in order to be able to avoid another Somalia, another Srebrenica, or another Rwanda, for human lives and the stability of the international arena depends on it.

The question as to whether or not the United Nations will be able to fulfill the ideals for which it was created, therefore, is extremely pertinent in today's increasingly unstable international environment. Thus, it is important to understand where the UN is faltering, and what exactly is happening in the situations where it has "failed," such as the 1992 intervention in Somalia. Somalia is a unique example of an intervention that steadily progressed from a strictly humanitarian peace operation (UNOSOM I), to a hard military intervention under a Chapter VII mandate of the UN Charter (UNITAF) and (UNOSOM II), providing an important lesson on the range of success and failure that an international intervention can experience when attempting to undertake international conflict management. One of the enduring legacies is the absolute necessity of the credibility of an intervening force, with Somalia highlighting exactly what happens when an intervention's credibility (i.e., UNOSOM II) is lost. One of the reasons that UNITAF was able to achieve its mission mandate in Somalia was due to the fact that the U.S.-led coalition was very capable of effectively using coercive diplomacy to deal with the warring factions involved—entailing that UNITAF was a credible, intervening force.



With the mission handoff between the two operations completed, when UNITAF pulled out of Somalia, the credible threat to the warring parties was out of the picture, and the warring clans were once again able to resume fighting. UNITAF, therefore, was able to effectively use coercive diplomacy and force the parties to come to the negotiating table, whereas UNOSOM II was not, and therefore, lost control of the situation.

Unfortunately, Somalia is not the only example of a “failed” UN operation that was not perceived as a credible, intervention force resulting in an operation that ultimately failed to protect the lives of civilians caught in the crossfire. The intervention in Yugoslavia, which commenced with the deployment of UNPROFOR in 1992, was designated to facilitate the return of refugees, interpose itself between the warring factions, slow and reduce the level of combat so as to allow for the progression of the peace process, as well as defend and monitor UN protection areas.<sup>1</sup> However, as Ziring, Riggs, and Plano state in *The United Nations*, UNPROFOR “could neither protect itself nor the victims of indiscriminate aggression and ethnic cleansing pogroms.”<sup>2</sup> One of the most notorious failings of the humanitarian mission took place in Srebrenica, a declared “safe area,” in July 1995, where an estimated 8,000 Bosnian males, ranging in age from teenagers to the elderly, were killed. The UN was unable to prevent the massacre despite the fact that over 400 Dutch peacekeepers were present at the time. The Srebrenica massacre was the largest mass murder in Europe since World War II and signified not

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<sup>1</sup> Lawrence Ziring, Robert E. Riggs, and Jack C. Plano, *The United Nations: International Organization and World Politics*, 4th ed. (Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2005), 240.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

only the failure of UNPROFOR, but also the failure of NATO, who failed to follow through on their threats regarding the use of NATO airpower.

Rwanda constituted a different kind of failure for the United Nations, but was a failure nonetheless. In this case, the failure to intervene in Rwanda is a legacy that will forever scar the UN's reputation as an effective, credible international force. Although many sources argue that one of the fundamental obstacles to an intervention in Rwanda was the lack of credible information and actual knowledge of what was taking place, it seems clear now that *knowing* exactly what was going on during the months of April and May of 1994 was not the real problem – it was rather, acting upon what *was* known, that was. In other words, although reports may have varied as to the extent of the killing, one thing was clear to all members of the Security Council – something was happening in Rwanda that required immediate attention. The problem, unfortunately, was a lack of political will on behalf of Security Council members to take action. As Kuperman states in “Rwanda in Retrospect,” “As reports of genocide reached the outside world starting in late April, public outcry spurred the United Nations to reauthorize a beefed-up UNAMIR II on May 17. During the following month, however, the UN was unable to obtain any substantial contributions of troops and equipment. As a result, on June 22 the Security Council authorized France to lead its own intervention, Operation Turquoise, by which time most Tutsi were already long dead.”<sup>3</sup>

The most recent failure of the UN to effectively act in the face of humanitarian crises and genocide is the developing tragedy in Darfur. The difficulty with this situation

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<sup>3</sup> Alan J. Kuperman, "Rwanda in Retrospect," *Foreign Affairs* 79, no. 1 (2000): 105.

is that while UN Member States seem more willing (and thus more likely) to commit troops for a traditional peacekeeping mission, the government of Sudan is unwilling to give its consent. This leaves the UN with the option of pursuing a Chapter VII intervention, i.e. without the government's consent, entailing the use of coercive force. However, the political commitment of the international community to pursue such an option has been lacking. The responsibility of securing the region, therefore, falls back to the African Union mission that is currently deployed in Sudan. Unfortunately, the African Union peacekeepers amount to only 7,000 troops, equipped with limited rules of engagement. These troops do not constitute enough force to bring security to the refugees themselves, let alone to secure the entire region. Although the UN is committed to the "Responsibility to Protect" doctrine which was passed at the UN Summit in 2005, the Darfur tragedy demonstrates the difficulty of turning this doctrine into action.

In order to answer why UN peace operations, particularly those requiring the use of coercive force are either not living up to expectations or are downright failing, it is important to understand where the UN is faltering and what exactly is happening in the situations where it has "failed."

One of the main factors contributing to the difficulties that seem to arrive with each security intervention lies in the foundational structure of the organization itself: the UN's management of military activities and actions, as well as its military capabilities, are not designed to support the complex military operations that peacemaking operations require. Military operations require, among other things, availability of forces, unity of command, as well as a clear command structure. These three fundamental characteristics

of military interventions, while necessary, are obviously not sufficient for a “successful” military operation to occur. However, the UN, which relies on member-states’ contributions, clearly cannot fulfill these three basic necessities. For example, mustering the political will necessary to back UN interventions has often doomed an attempted peace operation from the start, with Member States refusing to contribute forces or to agree to the political objectives at hand. In other cases, Member States who are willing to contribute troops are unable to compile meaningful force numbers equipped with the necessary equipment and logistical support. In regards to unity of command, some member-states, particularly the United States, insist upon maintaining control over their troops deployed in the field (i.e. an American force commander for American troops) regardless of who the designated Force Commander is for the particular peace operation. This leads to separate command and control centers outside of the United Nations’ own command and control structure for peace operations. This inefficient command arrangement results in a constant relaying and crossing of information, territorial turf battles, and inevitable confusion on the field.

A large part of the current literature and analyses of United Nations peacekeeping and peacemaking operations focus on the success and/or failure of the operations largely in terms of the situation on the ground, i.e., what conditions foster a successful intervention (e.g.: timing of an intervention, adequate force levels, legitimate consent of the involved parties, or full accord with cease-fire agreements), and what conditions have traditionally led to a particular intervention’s downfall. For example, in Michael Wesley’s *Causalities of the New World Order*, Wesley explicitly denies the possibility

that the UN's string of failures since the early 1990s is a result of the "ideological radicalization of the body, or from corruption and waste, or from an excessive and inefficient bureaucracy."<sup>4</sup> Rather, he argues that the failings of UN missions are instead due to the significant structural weaknesses of operations' missions as well as the method of dispatch by UN member-states. He continues by focusing on the frequent injection of UN peace forces into conflict-ridden civil war zones which simply exacerbate the mission failings of the operation.

In an address to the Austrian Parliament in 2000, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations Jean-Marie Guéhenno discussed the shift in nature and character of UN peace operations in the post-Cold War era, specifically highlighting the role of "spoilers" and the disastrous effect that they have had in previous peacekeeping operations. She describes that in this new post-Cold War era, UN peacekeeping operations have been increasingly deployed into intra-state conflicts having to deal with the demands and threats of various warring parties. She states that, "In some of these cases, we have seen the United Nations' resolve to carry out its mandate challenged by some parties to the conflict, who are either holding out for more favorable terms or have few interests to be served by ending the hostilities. These would-be spoilers of peace processes present the Organization and its membership with some fundamental questions which go to the heart of what peacekeeping is and how it should be conducted." Her specific focus on these so-called "spoilers" in this relatively short address to the Austrian

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<sup>4</sup> Michael Wesley, *Casualties of the New World Order: the causes of failure of UN missions to civil wars* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 273.

parliament, therefore, is quite indicative of her beliefs regarding what factors were most influential in the publicized UN failures of the 1990s.<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, in the Henry L. Stimson Center's *UN Peace Operations and the "Brahimi Report"* (October 2001 revision), William J. Durch and the Panel on UN Peace Operations explicitly address the absolute necessity of missions being able to defend against potential "spoilers" of accords that end civil wars.<sup>6</sup> The report goes even further to argue it is pointless to deploy an operation that can be "kicked around by local thugs."<sup>7</sup>

Beatrice Puligny, in *Peace Operations Seen From Below*, highlights the necessity of peace missions having adequate knowledge and understanding of the local contexts within which the operation is deployed.<sup>8</sup> She argues that is the local community's perception of the UN and the way in which UN officials communicate and interact with local communities that greatly influences an operation's chance of success or failure in any given situation. She believes, therefore, that one fundamental aspect of reform is for the UN Secretariat to overcome the material restraints imposed by Member States on peace interventions to allow for all involved members of an operation to have relevant tools of analysis to understand and monitor what is changing in the societies in which their particular peace operation has been deployed.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Jean-Marie Guéhenno, *Under Secretary-General Guéhenno Expresses Guarded Optimism for UN Peacekeeping in Austrian Parliament* (UN Information Service 2000 [cited April 2007]); available from <http://www.unis.unvienna.org/unis/pressrels/2000/usg1.html>.

<sup>6</sup> William J. Durch, "UN Peace Operations and the "Brahimi Report", " (Washington D.C.: Henry L. Stimson Center, 2001), 5.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Béatrice Pouligny, *Peace Operations Seen From Below: UN missions and Local people* (Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2006), 273.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

Andrea Talentino, in *Military Intervention after the Cold War*, argues specifically in regards to the UN's failed peacebuilding efforts in Somalia that the operation failed due to the fact that the involved militaries were, as he states, "not accustomed to pursuing reconciliation rather than conquest."<sup>10</sup> He argues that the operation's larger objectives could not be accomplished due to the fact that the intervention had no real strategy. This lack of strategy fundamentally inhibited the operation from succeeding, resulting in a peace intervention doomed by the UN's haphazard approach.<sup>11</sup>

The bulk of current literature, therefore, focuses on the situational ground factors of an intervention while failing to effectively address the issue of the structural and organizational problems these interventions face. It is necessary, however, to take a step back in order to analyze the intervention from the organizational side of the United Nations peacekeeping/peacemaking operation procedures.

In 2000, the *Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations* (commonly referred to as the "Brahimi Report") was released, signifying a turning point for the way in which peace operations were analyzed. The report was a study undertaken by the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations upon request by then-Secretary-General Kofi Annan. This report did not focus on the ground aspects of peace interventions, but rather focused entirely on the United Nations organization itself, recommending a broad array of specific changes to the UN in order to restructure the way in which peace operations and related activities are organized, planned, and executed. The report highlighted

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<sup>10</sup> Andrea Kathryn Talentino, *Military Intervention After the Cold War: the Evolution of Theory and Practice* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005), 126.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

specific areas in which the United Nations is failing organizationally and structurally, and helped to launch an institution-wide reform of the United Nations in order to improve its peace operation capabilities.<sup>12</sup>

The 2003 *Brahimi Report and the Future of Peace Operations* was a project by the Stimson Center to track the recommendations of the *Brahimi Report* as implemented and followed by the United Nations in the three years following its release. This report uses a grading system to assess the levels of UN compliance with the report's recommendations, and provides recommendations by which the UN can continue to improve.

Thus, both the *Brahimi Report* and *The Brahimi Report and the Future of Peace Operations*, by focusing on the organizational structure of the UN as a determining factor on the success and/or failure of peace operations, provide the foundational analysis necessary for readers to understand why the UN needs to reform its peace operation structures. On a fundamental level, the two reports recognize the inherent causal relationship between the physical interventions on the ground with the failings of the UN organizationally. This foundational analysis is necessary in order to help readers understand why the UN has had difficulty reforming some aspects of its intervention procedures which have been targeted for reform by the *Brahimi Report*, with the recommendations targeting the limitations of the UN's management and execution of military capabilities in peace interventions in the hopes of saving the credibility of peacekeeping and peacemaking operations as a viable solution to international conflicts.

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<sup>12</sup> William J. Durch et al., "The Brahimi Report and the Future of UN Peace Operations," (Washington, D.C.: Henry L. Stimson Center, 2003).



This thesis will thus focus on the structural problems within the UN's organization that inherently inhibit the UN's ability to effectively intervene in peace interventions. The approach is: first, discuss the relevant history to this analysis, i.e. the UN's development of peacekeeping and peacemaking operations, elaborating on the particular UN peace operation in Somalia and how the bulk of the current literature that exists examining the failures of this mission focus primarily on the ground issues of the intervention; second, outline a framework of organizational theory with which to understand the difficulties organizations typically experience in their functional capacities and how that relates to the structural setup of the particular organization; third, examine the *Brahimi Report* as well as *The Brahimi Report and the Future of Peace Operations* as a tool to identify the explicit areas the UN is having difficulty complying with; fourth, apply organizational theory as a framework to understand why the UN is having trouble implementing these particular recommendations, analyzing how this difficulty stems from the organization's structural set-up by focusing on the particular weaknesses and/or failures of international organizations as outlined in the second section; and finally, use the analysis of the United Nations within the organizational theory context to explore what lies ahead for the organization in terms of its peace intervention capabilities.

### *Research Design*

In the years following the release of the *Brahimi Report*, the question has been raised as to whether or not the UN will be able to adequately reform the design and practice of the organization's peacemaking activities in order to take into account the

UN's inherent military organizational weaknesses. It is, undeniably, an important question that must be answered, for if the United Nations ever hopes to be able to reassert itself as a credible, capable, intervening force within the international arena, the organization and its member-states must be able to prove to each other, as well as themselves, that the organization is not only willing to comply with the recommendations as provided by the *Brahimi Report*, but is also capable of doing so. In order to understand, therefore, whether or not the UN is organizationally capable of complying with these crucial recommendations, the reasons for which the UN has been *unable* to comply with certain recommendations thus far must be analyzed.

Outside of the *Brahimi Report* and the Stimson analysis that followed three years later, the bulk of the current literature that critiques UN peace interventions focus on the ground issues of a peace operation. It is important, however, to take a step back from this level of analysis in order to take a look at how the UN functions *internally* in regards to peace interventions. It is, of course, the organization itself, its internal functions and organizational capabilities that translate into and affect the ground situation of an intervention by affecting the way an intervention is organized, structured, and commanded militarily.

This approach, with the focus on the organization itself rather than on the situational variables on the ground once an operation has been deployed, attempts to approach the source of the problem – understanding the United Nations as an organization, not as an independent entity with capacities of its own, which consequently affects how the UN is studied in relation to its responsibilities. It is with the hope that by

studying the organizational problems that the UN currently faces, with a particular focus on *why* the UN is having these operational and structural difficulties, the organization will be better able to adapt in an attempt to rectify current problems in order to redesign itself for a better, more capable and functioning future.

This approach employs a small-*n* analysis, by first focusing solely on organizations in general through an organizational theory framework. That framework is then applied to the United Nations in order to understand the UN within the context of the successes and failures of organizations in theory, and using the Somalia intervention as a concrete example, to point out specific instances in which the organizational failings of the UN negatively impacted the degree of success of the three intervention phases (UNOSOM I, UNITAF, and UNOSOM II). Next, I use the analysis of the United Nations within the organizational theory context to analyze why the UN is having difficulty complying with the peace intervention reforms as recommend by the *Brahimi Report* and what lies ahead for the organization in terms of its peace intervention capabilities.

My approach will, therefore, be to conduct congruence tests in order to support my hypothesis that the UN's failings in peace interventions and its inability to adapt to specific reforms which could, hypothetically, enhance its performance within the realm of peace operations, is due to the inherent limitations present within organizations and their structures. This congruence test will thus be conducted in two parts: 1) examine the intervention in Somalia in order to understand the effects that organizational consequences have upon peace interventions, and 2) explore the United Nations as an

organization in order to understand why the UN is having difficulty complying with the *Brahimi Report* recommendations.

The data to be used in this analysis, therefore, includes the *Brahimi Report* recommendations, which specifically highlight particular failings of the UN, *The Brahimi Report and the Future of UN Peace Operations* (which will be referred to as the Stimson Center report) which outlines the recommendations the UN is having difficulty complying with, and Allison and Zelikow's organizational theory framework as a tool to understand why the UN is having difficulty reforming.

The case study that I will use to highlight the consequences of the UN's organizational failings on an intervention's ability to achieve success is the Somalia intervention that took place in the early 1990s. This operation was one of the most public and dramatic peace intervention failures of the 20th century. As a result, the Somalia episode had resounding consequences. The United States' involvement in Somalia became a permanent black mark on the Clinton administration's record, it ended the United Nations' career of the esteemed Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and it also had profound effects on the United States future intervention policies, as well as the United Nations' future intervention credibility.

The Somalia episode, however, is important not only due to the dramatic effects that it had upon the international community and its most prominent figures, but more importantly, the Somalia intervention is quite unique in the way that the operation progressed. The value of this particular peace operation is that it can be broken down into three connected and somewhat overlapping case studies: UNOSOM I, UNITAF, and

UNOSOM II; these studies can then be used to examine how the UN's organizational features negatively impacted certain aspects and phases of the intervention more than others. In particular, UNITAF, the US-led coalition, exemplifies how successful an intervention can be when it is not negatively impacted by organizational delays and inadequacies, as this particular phase of the operation was considered to be more or less successful in relation to its two counterparts. UNOSOM I and UNOSOM II in turn, are perfect examples of the UN's organizational failings necessarily hindering the effectiveness of intervening ground troops, i.e. the UN's reliance on previously established routines and standard roles of operation and its consequential inability to adapt to conditions on the ground, as well as how the UN's military organization and convoluted chains of command negatively affected its ability to effectively command the troops on the ground.

While this analysis focuses solely on the United Nations organization and does not analyze any other international institutions or organizations, it explicitly addresses the failings of the organization to effectively act in one crucial area of responsibility – the maintenance of peace and security as embodied by UN peace operations. This analysis, therefore, while applying solely to the UN, covers a multitude of responsibilities and organizational functions that apply to *every* peace operation as carried out by the United Nations. This analysis, in turn, then affects each member state of the UN, particularly the members of the Security Council, who are primarily responsible for passing the resolutions that affect and legitimize UN peace operations.

Due to the fact that this report is based upon the recommendations as made by the widely accepted and respected *Brahimi Report*, it is reasonable to assume that these recommendations are clearly specific areas within which the UN is having difficulty operating smoothly, and further, that it is reasonable that this report focuses primarily on these particular problem areas.

This approach is limited by the fact that I am not able to adequately compare my analysis and consequent conclusions to any other case studies – my examination of the UN as an organization focuses on applying the theoretical organizational framework to the UN in order to understand the entity and its failings within an organizational context, there is no element of comparison there. This analysis, however, becomes more stabilized when applied to the concrete example of the UN intervention in Somalia. Here the organizational failings of the UN become substantiated when applied to the analysis of the three parts of the peace operation (UNOMSOM I, UNITAF, and UNOSOM II).

The fact that the United Nations is an organization is undisputed, and thus the analysis of the UN as an organization through the lens of organizational theory is a reasonable approach. The analysis of the failings of the UN to comply with the *Brahimi Report* recommendations as examined through the lens of organizational theory, therefore, is a justified extension of this underlying foundation. The reliability of this report, however, once this analysis is then applied to the UN's failings as a capable intervention force is less clear. The fact remains, however, that once the analysis of the particular failings of an intervention are traced back to the main executing body controlling the intervention, it is difficult to ignore the causal relationship that exists

between the organization and its subsequent intervention. Put in other words, once the failings of the UN intervention in Somalia are illustrated within a context that necessarily shows how the decisions made by UN officials were translated into the intervention forces' mandate, troop structure, distribution, and chain of command, it is difficult if not impossible to acknowledge the findings of this report, i.e. that the UN's organizational failings (as understood through the context of organizational theory) necessarily hinder the effectiveness of an intervening force on the ground.

My approach and examination of the United Nations' as an organization builds off the work of previous scholars, primarily the *Brahimi Report*, the Stimson analysis, and Allison and Zelikow's theoretical organizational framework. This analysis studies the characteristics of organizational bodies in order to apply an analytical framework to the United Nations in order to understand why the UN is having difficulty complying with the reforms as recommended by the *Brahimi Report*. In this respect, my approach is partially based upon the foundational principle that underlies the *Brahimi Report* recommendations, i.e. 1) that the United Nations is failing to act as an effective and functioning international intervention force in order to secure peace and security for the international community, and 2) that there are specific organizational and bureaucratic functions of the organization that could be reformed in order to make the UN a more capable intervention force.

The applicability of organizational theory to the study of UN peace operations became particularly relevant with the release of the *Brahimi Report* in 2000, and the follow-up report *The Brahimi Report and the Future of Peace Operations* by the Stimson

Center in 2003. As became apparent in the Stimson Report, the United Nations has been unable to comply with a large number of the recommendations as made by the original *Brahimi Report*. The question then is raised as to why the United Nations is having such difficulty implementing the *Brahimi Report* recommendations, and perhaps even more important with regards to the future of peace interventions, whether or not the UN is capable of effectively reforming itself at all.

The structure of the thesis is as follows. Chapter two initially discusses the history of the United Nations, emphasizing the factors which were most influential upon the organization in its early years, while tracing the development of peacekeeping activities within the organization's history. Chapter three follows with an overview of the UN peace operation in Somalia, continuing with an analysis as to how the organizational structure of the United Nations negatively impacted several key components of the peace operations UNOSOM I and UNOSOM II. Chapter four focuses on organizations in general through the development of an organizational theory framework as laid out by Allison and Zelikow. The hypotheses of this theoretical framework are then applied to the United Nations in order to understand the UN within the context of the successes and failures of organizations in theory. Chapter five uses the analysis of the United Nations within the organizational theory context to analyze why the UN is having difficulty complying with the peace intervention reforms as recommended by the *Brahimi Report*, analyzing how this difficulty stems from the organization's structural set-up by focusing on the particular weaknesses and/or failures of organizations as outlined in the fourth chapter. Chapter six outlines what lays ahead



for the organization in terms of its peace intervention capabilities, using the United Nations' success and failures with particular reforms as indications of what the UN is capable of achieving in terms of reform. Finally, chapter seven concludes with a summation of the argument, reiterating the main points of the argument with a particular emphasis on reinforcing the importance of understanding and studying the United Nations as an organization rather than as an independent entity with capabilities of its own.

## CHAPTER 2: HISTORY

The creation of the United Nations following the end of the Second World War marked the beginning of a new phase in international politics. The victorious allied powers had emerged from the war with a newfound determination to pursue the creation of an international institution that would embody the concept of “collective security” as so greatly desired by its founding members. The United Nations’ primary purpose when conceived was to prevent the kinds of wars that had preceded it. This newly structured, reinforced organization, it was hoped, would succeed where the League had failed.

There were several important factors that shaped the UN’s creation and early involvement in international security. First, and most important in terms of the actual Charter of the United Nations, was the legacy of the League of Nations. The “legacy” of the League of Nations in the context of the creation of the United Nations refers primarily to the failure of the League to fulfill its primary purpose, which was to prevent any future world war. A second influential factor was the legacy of the World War II victors’ alliance, which refers in this context, to the alliance of the great powers (USSR, the UK, and the US) forged during World War II to defeat the Axis powers. The third influential factor that greatly affected the early involvement of the UN was the emerging Cold War. That is to say, whereas the actual inception and *creation* of the United Nations was motivated primarily by the legacy of the World War II alliance, and the victorious nations’ desire to create an international organization for collective security to prevent the horrors of another World War, the actual *Charter* of the United Nations was most greatly

influenced by the failure of the League of Nations, as the framing powers attempted to rectify what had previously failed by implementing various safety measures within the design of a different framework; The actual implementation and result of the collective security of the UN and the organization's early *involvement* in international security in turn, was most greatly affected by the emergence of the Cold War.

The legacy of the World War II alliance was unquestionably one of the most important influential factors regarding the actual creation of the United Nations Organization. As Ziring, Riggs, and Plano state, "The alliance that was eventually forged to defeat the Axis Powers and demand their unconditional surrender had assumed an identity as the United Nations. It was for the purpose of sustaining that alliance once the war was over that the UN organization was created."<sup>1</sup> It was believed at the time that it was the responsibility of the great powers emerging victorious out of the Second World War to maintain security and stability within the international arena in order to prevent any future world wars. This belief was the embodiment of FDR's world vision for the future as captured by the phrase, the "Five Policemen."<sup>2</sup> This dream entailed the great powers, together, policing the security situation of the world. The main goal of the United Nations, therefore in this sense, was the continuance of the wartime cooperation in order to provide a stable, international situation for the future.

The creation and structure of the Security Council, the executive organ of the United Nations, was also directly influenced by the legacy of the World War II alliance.

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<sup>1</sup> Ziring, Riggs, and Plano, *The United Nations*, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen Schlesinger, "FDR's Five Policemen: Creating the United Nations," *World Policy Journal* 11, no. 3 (1994): 88.

The five largest states in the World War II UN coalition were made permanent members of the Security Council, each consequently given permanent veto power.<sup>3</sup> The theory that informed the Charter's authors was the notion of aligning responsibility with capability, in the sense that only the great powers were capable of effectively addressing issues of international security and thus, should be the only states involved in the decisions of international security matters. The adoption of the veto itself reflected FDR's belief that the Security Council would "actually run the UN" and followed Washington's argument that there simply would not be a viable UN organization unless the five most powerful nations received veto rights (the five most powerful nations of course, coming out of World War II.)<sup>4</sup> The primary cause of the Security Council's decline over the years and since the creation of the United Nations can inevitably be traced back to the decline of the wartime alliance of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States, "the alliance whose continuation was the assumption upon which the idea of the Security Council was the guarantor of the peace constructed."<sup>5</sup> As Goodrich states in "The UN Security Council," contrary to the Charter-framer's hopes, "the Allied unity broke down soon after the disappearance of the common enemies, and from the outset the Security Council had to carry the burdens beyond its capacity."<sup>6</sup>

Following the end of the Second World War and the creation of the United Nations, the organization's founders were given the opportunity to fix what had failed in

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<sup>3</sup> Ziring, Riggs, and Plano, *The United Nations*, 93.

<sup>4</sup> Schlesinger, "FDR's Five Policemen," 89.

<sup>5</sup> Leland M. Goodrich, "The UN Security Council," *International Organization* 12, no. 3 (1958): 283.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

the League of Nations. In particular, the founders were given the chance to correct the structural problems that they believed had inherently inhibited the League's ability to act in any given situation by creating a UN Charter that specifically addressed these particular weaknesses. The main goal of the League of Nations as envisioned by President Woodrow Wilson was to prevent arbitrary aggression within the international arena by deterring states from attacking each other. The League thus represented the first attempt at an international collective security organization. The failure of the League of Nations, however, to respond to Japan's invasion of Manchuria and Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in the 1930s represented two abject failures of collective security in the years leading up to the Second World War. The outbreak of World War II represented the final blow to the organization and its ultimate failure to live up to the primary objective for which it was created, the maintenance of peace and security.

As Goodrich argues in "The UN Security Council," "The peace and security provisions of the Charter appear to have been based in part on conclusions that were drawn by their authors with respect to the causes of the failure of the League system."<sup>7</sup> He outlines four specific failures of the League as perceived by the UN Charter framers and then discusses how these failures were translated into and compensated for in the UN Charter. First, he argues that because the framers believed that the one of the major causes of the failure of the League was the organization's lack of universality, and in particular the absence of the United States, the first concern of the Charter-makers was to insure that all major powers, mainly the United States and the Soviet Union, were

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.: 273.

members of the international organization.<sup>8</sup> Second, the belief that the primary weakness of the League system was its provision that “sanctions should be applied against every aggressor, irrespective of whether or not it was a major power, and whether or not all major powers joined in applying them” led the Charter-framers to stress the need for agreement among the permanent members of the Security Council as a condition of enforcement action.<sup>9</sup>

Third, the Charter-framers were adamant that an effective military force be at the disposal of the Organization when necessary in order to account for another failure of the League system, which was the absence of any effective provision for the use of military force, and the unwillingness in particular, of certain member-states in agreeing to military action against aggressors.<sup>10</sup> Thus, under Chapter VI of the UN Charter, Member States are required to resolve their disputes peacefully, a rule enforceable under the provisions of Chapter VII, which give the Security Council the authority to enforce peace when faced with threats or breaches of peace or with acts of aggression. As the often quoted Article 39 states, “The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.”<sup>11</sup> In addition, the Charter also requires Member States to commit military support (including the contribution of military troops) to be ready for Security Council deployment. This extremely useful provision of the

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Dennis Dijkzeul, *Reforming For Results in the UN System: A Study of UNOPS* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

Charter, though still unfulfilled today, seems to have been a direct attempt at solving one of the fundamental obstacles the UN faces as an organization in regards to peace operations—troop contributions as supplied voluntarily by Member States.

Lastly, it was perceived at the time that the League was weakened by the failure of its Covenant to explicitly define the limits and responsibilities of its primary organs, thus the Charter authors sought to clearly define the limits of the UN's Security Council and General Assembly.<sup>12</sup> In this sense, the legacy of the League was extremely important in shaping the creation of the United Nations in that it directly influenced the Charter of the organization itself.

The emergence of the Cold War was the most important factor influencing the UN's early involvement in international affairs. As mentioned before, the United Nations' primary purpose when conceived was to prevent the kinds of wars that had preceded it. The UN, however, was not equipped to handle the new political realities of the Cold War. As Urquhart outlines in "The Next Secretary-General", "the Cold War and the nightmare reality of the US-Soviet 'balance of terror' [...] soon imposed new demands on the U.N.. Far from realizing the San Francisco dream of an organized peace – monitored and, if necessary, enforced by the major wartime Allies [...] the new organization became occupied with preventing a cataclysmic nuclear confrontation between its key members."<sup>13</sup> Thus, as Ziring, Riggs, and Plano state in *The United Nations*, the "collective security as envisioned by the Charter never became a reality, and

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<sup>12</sup> Goodrich, "The UN Security Council."

<sup>13</sup> Brian Urquhart, "The Next Secretary-General: How to Fill a Job with No Description " *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 5 (2006): 16.

even the voluntary version of military enforcement action has been attempted sparingly.”<sup>14</sup> Thus, in the sixty-years since its creation, the organization developed other ways to assert its presence as a relevant force in the realm of international violence, namely UN peacekeeping.

Traditionally, peacekeeping was seen as part of a UN strategy to prevent the escalation of local disputes or power vacuums from further escalating or aggravating the Cold War balances of power.<sup>15</sup> The foundational tenants of traditional peacekeeping missions required the consent of the involved parties, impartiality of intervening troops, and a minimum use of force doctrine entailing that force be used only in proportion to the threat faced and only in self-defense. These foundational tenants reflect the sanctity of state sovereignty as viewed at the time, and the idea that traditional peacekeeping was meant to keep the peace *between* states, and was not to interfere with a state’s sovereign right to manage its own internal affairs.

The realities of the Cold War also greatly affected the UN’s first exercise of collective security in the Korean War. Prevention of the spread of the Soviet Bloc was long a concern of US foreign policy, and greatly influenced the American’s decision to enter into the Korean War. Although considered the UN’s first “successful” peace operation, the only factor that enabled the initial Security Council decision in the first place was the absence of the Soviet delegate at the time of the vote. The Korean War later demonstrated, however, how a lack of consensus among its permanent members could prohibit the Security Council from taking decisive, collective action against an

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<sup>14</sup> Ziring, Riggs, and Plano, *The United Nations*, 213.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 214.



aggressor nation. With the return of the Soviet delegate in August of 1950, the United States managed to circumvent the Soviet bloc by invoking the Uniting for Peace Resolution, which was adopted by the assembly in early November that same year.<sup>16</sup> This resolution allowed the General Assembly to act in times when the Security Council could not. Although initially condemned as illegal by the Soviets, this resolution became increasingly important and was used more frequently by the Soviets in later years when America no longer had an overwhelming majority in the General Assembly.

The limited view of peacekeeping operations as seen as part of a UN strategy to prevent the escalation of local disputes or power vacuums from further escalating the Cold War balances of power did not fit well for the more complex situations that arose following the end of the Cold War.<sup>17</sup> Beginning in the early 1990s, the stabilizing tendencies which had characterized the previous forty years ended abruptly, causing the emergence of ethnic conflicts, lengthy civil wars, and failed states. Thus, the concept of preventive diplomacy, once so strictly defined, began to acquire a broader meaning into the 1990s as UN peacekeeping forces were sent into increasingly complicated areas of conflict. These operations were involved in the internal affairs of states, had unclear and disputed mandates, and were much more complex and costly than traditional peacekeeping operations. There was thus a shift, beginning in the early 1990s, regarding the sanctity of a state's sovereignty as states were no longer unconditionally protected from external interference. Instead, there was an increasing tendency to view issues of human security (and possible violations of a state's obligation to fulfill basic human

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 180.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 214.

securities and rights) as overriding a states' claim to internal sovereignty. It became, within this context, not only the international community's right to intervene, but also its legal obligation to intervene in situations of gross human rights violations.

This expansion of UN operations involved a redefinition or a proliferation of the terms used to describe their actions. Before 1990, the maintenance of peace by the United Nations was more restricted. These operations were more "traditional", i.e. in conforming with the definition as stated by Urquhart, "the use by the United Nations of a military force not to engage in fighting or restraining sides, but to intervene as a mechanism to put an end to the hostilities and act as a plug between hostile forces. In fact, the military force is an instrument of international legitimacy which facilitates the end of engagements and contributes to the maintenance of the cease-fire."<sup>18</sup> Indeed these operations were deployed whenever the three principles of operational procedures were clearly defined: assent, impartiality, and use of the force in the event of self-defense.

Beginning in the 1990s, however, the term "maintenance of peace" or peace keeping was used in a more general way. An action was described as peacekeeping when, as Liegeois states in *Maintien de la Paix et Diplomatie Coercitive*, "one uses the military tools of conquest to achieve ends other than objectives of conquest or objectives of national interest [... and ] that the armed force is not employed to destroy an adversary but aims to influence or coerce."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Michel Liegeois, *Maintien de la Paix et Diplomatie Coercitive: L'organisation des Nations Unies à l'épreuve des conflits de l'après-guerre froide*. (Bruxelles: Belgique Bruylant, 2003), 51-52 (translation by Lauren Chang).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

With regard to the interventions themselves, Liegeois outlines six characteristics which constitute a proper involvement. First, the “U.N.” character of the operation: peacekeeping forces act under the order and the control of the Secretary-General within the mandate of an operation as approved by the Security Council or General Assembly; second, the consent of the involved parties and the need for a preliminary cease-fire, two fundamental requirements that underlie the concept of operation peacekeeping; third, the impartiality of the force: blue helmet forces must be completely impartial and function without prejudice to the rights and aspirations of the involved parties; fourth, the composition of the UN forces must reflect the universality of the United Nations as an organization, i.e. there must be a multinational and balanced composition quota; fifth, the restriction of the use of the force except in self-defense; finally sixth, blue helmet forces take few risks and accept a minimum number of casualties.<sup>20</sup>

These principles, though well accepted at the beginning of the second or activist era (1988-1994), became increasingly stretched as the era unfolded. In particular, the operational applicability of three principles (consent, impartiality, and use of force only in self defense) was called into question in missions where UN contingents confronted recurring resistance to the implementation of UN mandates.

Over the past two decades, the UN has had numerous opportunities to experiment with these types of complex interventions. In terms of the organization’s response to humanitarian crises and potential genocides, however, the UN’s ability to act effectively

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<sup>20</sup> Donald C. Daniel, Bradd C. Hayes, and Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, *Coercive Inducement and the Containment of International Crises* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999), 9.; Liegeois, *Maintien de la Paix et Diplomatie Coercitive*.

and decisively has been disappointing. Nonetheless, it is important to study the context of these notorious failures, including Somalia, in order to understand whether we should be so quick to condemn the UN as fundamentally unable to respond to these types of crises, or perhaps more optimistically, discover important failings that exist within the organization that contributed to these recent failures, that if corrected, might enable the UN to act more effectively and successfully in the future.

### CHAPTER 3: MISSION TO SOMALIA

This chapter explores the UN intervention in Somalia as a concrete example to point out specific instances in which the organizational failings of the United Nations negatively impacted the degree of success of the three intervention phases (UNOSOM I, UNITAF, and UNOSOM II).

Somalia emerged from colonialism and first became a nation in 1960, when Britain and Italy granted independence to their respective sectors. The new, inexperienced government immediately faced difficulties when it failed to meet the expectations of the people. Had Britain or Italy adequately prepared the new government in order to prepare for a successful transition to democracy, it is unknown how the future of Somalia might have changed. As it was however, Somalia quickly escalated from a short-termed stable peace, to an unstable peace, with tensions within the populace rising.

In 1969, this unstable peace broke into a confrontation with the assassination of President Abdi Rashid Ali Shermarke and slid into crises as the army, led by General Mohamed Siad Barre, seized power, dissolved the legislature and arrested all government leaders. General Barre became the new president of the renamed Somali Democratic Republic until he fled the country in late January of 1991, having lost most of his army, tanks, and planes in the eight-month conflict with Ethiopia.

His departure left control of Somalia in the hands of feuding clan-based guerilla forces. The most powerful of the Southern groups was the United Somalia Congress

(USC), which was formed in 1989 by the Hawiye clan.<sup>1</sup> This clan then split in 1991 into sub-clan groupings, one group consisting of moderate businessmen and political leaders attempting to find a peaceful solution to the crises. One of these business men, Ali Mahdi Mohammed soon began contending for power with General Mohammed Farah Aideed, part of the Habr Gadir sub-clan faction. Once the rebel factions began fighting among themselves, the conflict in Somalia escalated into war. Tens of thousands of Somalis were killed while these conflicts spread across the country, particularly ravaging an area in Somalia known as the Triangle of Death.<sup>2</sup>

With the destruction of the local economy and the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Somalis, the situation in Somalia was further complicated by a two-year drought that hit east Africa.<sup>3</sup> Food became “a source both of power and of conflict, since it had replaced currency as the major source of wealth and exchange.”<sup>4</sup> It was at this point that the newly appointed secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali began encouraging the Security Council to take urgent measures to end the fighting. The council adopted Resolution 733 in January 1992, engaging in coercive diplomacy (the employment of threats or limited force to persuade an opponent to call off or undo an encroachment) by establishing a total arms embargo, urging “an immediate cease-fire [and] establish[ing] a humanitarian relief effort,” inviting interested parties to come to New York for discussions.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel, Hayes, and Jonge Oudraat, *Coercive Inducement and the Containment of International Crises*, 81.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

In February 1992, Mahdi and Aideed, who both laid claim to the presidency, agreed in principle to a cease-fire which was signed in March. The Security Council then authorized the deployment of fifty UN peacekeepers to Somalia, (UNOSOM I), to monitor the cease-fire and to help secure the passage of relief convoys. Peacekeeping missions, which require the consent of parties, consist of lightly armed military forces. As Mohamed Sahnoun states in *Coercive Inducement*, at the peak of its mission, UNOSOM I consisted of 500 peacekeepers who were “armed primarily with moral authority,” the UN mission relying to a large extent on “moral suasion to get things done. When belligerent cooperation did not materialize, the mission failed.”<sup>6</sup>

In December of 1992, the Security Council accepted the U.S. offer to lead a coalition force operating under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, to help secure delivery of relief supplies.<sup>7</sup> Thus the Security Council changed its mandate, transitioning from its earlier policy which consisted of, as Clarke and Herbst state in *Learning From Somalia*, “hamstrung Peacekeepers intervention force,” to a “large scale humanitarian Peacemaking intervention ‘in order to transform Southern Somalia into a secure environment.’”<sup>8</sup> Operation Restore Hope was thus launched in December 1992 in order to relieve the suffering and starvation of the Somali people.<sup>9</sup> The Unified Task Force intervention force was required to work closely with the humanitarian organizations that had been carrying out relief activities in Somalia since March of 1991.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 109.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 85.

<sup>8</sup> Walter S. Clarke and Jeffrey Ira Herbst, *Learning from Somalia: the Lessons of Armed Humanitarian Intervention* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997), 127.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

This mission, called UNITAF, was authorized to act forcefully and without local consent if necessary. They consisted of heavily armed combat forces whose mandate was to “establish a secure environment for the delivery of humanitarian aid, and then expand that environment into a framework that would allow turnover of the mission to a UN force.”<sup>10</sup> Due to its overwhelming military capabilities and subsequent advantages, UNITAF’s credibility was never questioned, and Ambassador Oakley took advantage of this military force to begin “using the implicit threat of coercion...as well as persuasion [and] pressure” with both parties.<sup>11</sup>

The UNITAF mandate did not call for the use of force. Coercive inducement was the method that worked in order to establish cooperation and a beginning to the end of the conflict. “From the U.S. perspective the mission was twofold: establish a secure environment for the delivery of humanitarian aid, and then expand that environment into a framework that would allow turnover of the mission to a UN force.”<sup>12</sup> Using coercive inducement as a method to deal with the parties, the United States took the initiative to try and bring order to Somalia with the idea that the UN would be following their footsteps when it came to dealing with Somalia.

UNITAF was politically and nationally accepted, because of its efficiency. Both sides of the conflict were working with UNITAF because UNITAF presented a credible threat and established trust with both sides. UNITAF pursued voluntary disarmament,

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<sup>10</sup> Daniel, Hayes, and Jonge Oudraat, *Coercive Inducement and the Containment of International Crises*, 89.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.



which is a factor that led the parties away from conflict. UNITAF was thus partial only to its mission, had a good reputation and was prepared for its mandate.<sup>13</sup>

Another factor that strengthened the legitimacy of the UNITAF operation was the existence of continuing cooperation between the U.S. forces in UNITAF, the humanitarian organizations, and the UN. For example, UNITAF created the Civil Military Operations Center which cooperated with the government and non-governmental organizations, and therefore produced unity. Also, UNITAF split forces into eight humanitarian relief sectors, demonstrating its delegation capabilities.<sup>14</sup> When UNITAF did decide to use force, they established committees and talked to the factions, explaining their actions and showing their impartiality.<sup>15</sup> With coercive inducement methods, UNITAF was handling the arguments presented by the war lords and their threats.<sup>16</sup> UNITAF, therefore, followed its mandate, which included the establishment of an environment conducive to humanitarian aid and a consequent turnover to the UN forces.

On March 3, 1993, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his recommendations for effecting the transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM II. He indicated that since the adoption of Council resolution 794 in December 1992, the presence and operations of UNITAF (UNITAF deployed some 37,000 personnel over forty percent of southern and central Somalia) had a positive impact on the security situation in Somalia and on the effective delivery of humanitarian assistance. However, there was still no effective government, police or national army, which resulted in serious

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 89.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 95.

security threats to UN personnel. It was for that reason that the Security Council, with Resolution 814, officially authorized the creation of UNOSOM II. It endowed UNOSOM II with the powers to establish a secure environment throughout Somalia, and to achieve national reconciliation so as to create a democratic state. Resolution 814 in particular, specified the need for disarmament and the demobilization of the militia units and warring factions. Complete disarmament was an important step that the UN had wanted UNITAF to fulfill, but that the United States had refused to do on account of the limits of their established mandate.

UNITAF was an unqualified success in regards to the first part of its mandate, however the problems began when UNITAF began handing off the operation to UNOSOM II. The creation of UNOSOM II was authorized under a chapter VII mandate, with a new mandate much broader than that of either UNOSOM I or UNITAF. The mandate stated that UNOSOM II was supposed to protect the delivery of humanitarian relief, as well as consolidate, expand, and maintain a secure environment for the advancement of economic assistance and the political reconciliation of the government.<sup>17</sup> This was a key moment in the operation, when the mandate shifted from delivering food supplies to nation building. In March of 1993, due to the fact that the United States felt that they had achieved their mission, there was a transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM II. However, despite the new mandate, the resources and international political support did not follow.

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 98.

UNOSOM II's attempts to implement disarmament led to violence. On June 5, 1993, twenty-four Pakistani troops in the UN force were killed in an ambush in an area of Mogadishu controlled by Aideed. Any hope of a peaceful resolution of the conflict quickly vanished. The next day, the United Nations Security Council issued Resolution 837 calling for the arrest and trial of those responsible for the ambush.

One of the terrible results of Resolution 837 occurred on July 12, 1993 during an operation carried out by the United States on a house in Mogadishu. This house was believed to have been the gathering place of the clan of Aidid Habr Gedir who were supposedly planning violent actions against the United States and the United Nations forces. Unfortunately, it is thought today that US intelligence reports were faulty, and the targeted house contained only the respected elders of the clan. According to UN officers, the agenda of the meeting (which was published in the local newspaper) was related to negotiations in order to solve the conflict between Aideed and the multinational working group in Somalia, and to perhaps even remove Aideed as leader of the clan.

On July 7, 1993, the military operation that proceeded took seventeen minutes of combat during which American helicopters fired sixteen TOW missiles and thousands of twenty millimeter cartridges. As the dust cleared and the firing had stopped, the dead bodies of fifty of the oldest, and most respected members of the clan and community lay buried in the debris. Many think that these events were crucial in unifying the Somalis against the United States and UN efforts. The angered mobs quickly attacked four American journalists who were reporting the event, dragging their lynched bodies

through the streets. At this point in time President Clinton decided to withdraw American forces.

As Daniel, Hayes, and de Jonge Oudraat state in *Coercive Diplomacy*, “UNOSOM II was challenged [...] because it appeared weak. Its contingents were feuding, its objectives were unclear, and it had not demonstrated the political will necessary to carry out a conflict against Aideed, even though it in effect declared war on him.”<sup>18</sup> UNOSOM II clearly did not have the credibility or the consequential effectiveness of UNITAF because it lacked the force to back up its declarations of war. The UNOSOM goal of assisting the process of political reconstruction became less feasible as time progressed, and in November of 1994, absent any political reconciliation and a deteriorating security situation, the UNSC ordered a total withdrawal of UNOSOM by March 31, 1995.<sup>19</sup>

#### *Aftereffects of the Somalia Intervention*

The effect that the Somalia intervention had upon UN peace operations was profound, particularly with regard to the United States’ attitudes towards participating in future interventions. Following the hasty withdrawal of American troops after the Black Hawk Down debacle in Mogadishu, the Clinton administration suffered heavy humiliation in regards to the failures it experienced in Somalia. And while the United States continued to deflect blame for the American deaths onto the United Nations, it became very clear that the United States would no longer be willing to engage itself in complicated humanitarian operations. The psychological aftereffects of the Somalia

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 108.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 107.

intervention and the subsequent doubts that plagued not only the United States, but also the entire international system in regards to the feasibility of massive multilateral humanitarian interventions, became known as the “Somalia Syndrome.” This syndrome is argued to be one of the main factors that contributed to the Clinton administration’s failure to intervene in the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. Any hopes that subsequent United States’ administrations might shift from this retreat in international peace operations was shattered when George Bush entered the Presidential office in 2001. President Bush made it clear that there was little desire in the new administration to operate U.S. foreign policy through the world organization.<sup>20</sup>

### *Organizational Failings*

In terms of the organizational factors that negatively impacted the chances of success for the UN peace intervention in Somalia, there were several problems.

### *Mandate*

First, perhaps most crucial to the potential success or failure of an operation, is the operation’s mandate. Michel Liegeois, author of *Maintien de la Paix et Diplomatie Coercitive*, recognizes the importance of a clearly interpretable mandate when he argues that the negative impact the mandate had upon the outcome of the Somalia mission was a main factor contributing to its failure. He specifies that, “at the strategic level, the divergences of interpretation of the mandate led to the rupture in the unity of the chain of command and led to the development of interferences between the UN command and the leaders of the major national states and their constituents, finally, at the operational level,

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<sup>20</sup> Ziring, Riggs, and Plano, *The United Nations*, 214.

the troops experienced the difficulty in executing a multiform and changing mandate, in the absence of honest cooperation of the parties.”<sup>21</sup>

Donald C.F. Daniel, Bradd C. Hayes, and Chantal de Jonge Oudraat argue that one of the final dooming factors of the Somalia intervention was the lack of a clear political objective as incorporated by the operation mandates. The authors argue that the diplomatic and political dimensions of a situation guide intervention forces and operations towards a common goal, stating that one of the lessons from Somalia is that, “whatever measure of success a force achieves, it will be short-lived unless it is guided by a comprehensive concept of operations and a clear political objective.”<sup>22</sup> The drive to enforce control over the warring parties at all costs is cited as an ultimate failure of the United Nations’ operation, which overly emphasized the military objectives of the operation while simultaneously failing to produce the adequate force needed to wrestle control of the situation away from the warring clans from the beginning.

As Jett states in *Why Peacekeeping Fails*, “The mandate can doom the PKO to failure if it sets objectives that cannot be achieved, especially if it is unaccompanied by insufficient resources to achieve those objectives. Mandates can also suffer from too much ambiguity or from leaving the parties themselves with too much to accomplish on their own.”<sup>23</sup> Thus, *weak mandates that lack a political objective and result in varied interpretations are often a result of the organizational structure of the United Nations, which requires not only the cooperation and agreement of all Security Council members,*

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<sup>21</sup> Liegeois, *Maintien de la Paix et Diplomatie Coercitive*.

<sup>22</sup> Daniel, Hayes, and Jonge Oudraat, *Coercive Inducement and the Containment of International Crises*, 79-112.

<sup>23</sup> Dennis C. Jett, *Why Peacekeeping Fails*, 1st ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 39.

*but also member state troop contributions as well.* As Jett states, “Security Council mandates, by their very nature, will continue to embody political compromises reflecting the competing interests of Member States. As such they are unlikely ever to satisfy a ground commander’s wish for an ‘unambiguous mission statement,’ a wish that in any UN-mounted peace-keeping operation is likely to be unfulfilled.”<sup>24</sup>

UNOSOM I, a strict Chapter VI peacekeeping operation under the UN Charter, had a limited mandate, and was designed only to uphold the existing ceasefire and assist in humanitarian relief efforts. In addition, although up to 3000 more troops were allotted to fulfill the UNOSOM I mandate, the remaining troops were never supplied and the mission failed to reach its optimal strength. When rebels continued to threaten the security situation by looting humanitarian relief supplies that were intended for starving Somalis, turning food that was intended for aid into a source of wealth and exchange in the country, the UN troops were not allowed to pursue or take any sort of action against the raiding Somalis.<sup>25</sup> Even worse, the Pakistani forces that comprised the UN mission became virtual hostages at the airport, unable to provide security to themselves, let alone others. As a result, the UN troops were ill-equipped to respond to the rapidly deteriorating situation.

The UNITAF operation was sanctioned under Chapter VII of the UN Charter and could subsequently act with force, if necessary, to fulfill the operation’s mandate. The mandate ordered that the intervening forces use, “all necessary means to establish as soon

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<sup>24</sup> Berdal quoted in *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>25</sup> Daniel, Hayes, and Jonge Oudraat, *Coercive Inducement and the Containment of International Crises*, 82.

as possible a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia.”<sup>26</sup> The ability of the troops to sufficiently act under these terms was never questioned as the UNITAF troops, though “lightly” armed by normal combat standards, were among the most heavily armed troops in Somalia.<sup>27</sup> What was problematic about the mission’s mandate, however, was its failure to address the issue of disarmament of the rebel forces in Somalia, an issue upon which the United Nations and the United States strongly disagreed. The United States did not feel that full-scale disarmament of the rebel forces in Somalia fell under the exact mission for which it was sanctioned, i.e. to establish a secure environment for the delivery of humanitarian aid and then to expand that environment into a framework that would allow for the turnover of the mission to a subsequent UN force.<sup>28</sup> Full-scale disarmament was never pursued by UNITAF to the dismay of the United Nations, and was left instead to the UN. This disagreement over a very particular yet fundamental component of the mission’s mandate had significant consequences for the success of the operation in the months to come. It is believed that if the force of UNITAF been used more effectively to pursue a sufficient disarmament in order to provide for long-term security, UNOSOM II would have been able to achieve its post-conflict peacebuilding objectives realistically. Instead UNOSOM II had to re-concentrate its efforts in peace enforcement activities, such as trying to forcibly bring the warring parties to peace, which is something the UN historically does not have a successful track record with.

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<sup>26</sup> Clarke and Herbst, *Learning from Somalia: the Lessons of Armed Humanitarian Intervention*, 127.

<sup>27</sup> John Hillen, *Blue Helmets: The Strategy of UN Military Operations*, 1st ed. (Washington [D.C.]: Brassey's, 1998), 191.

<sup>28</sup> Daniel, Hayes, and Jonge Oudraat, *Coercive Inducement and the Containment of International Crises*, 89.



UNOSOM II is a perfect example of what *not* to do in regards to an operation's mandate. The operation's mandate was first of all broader than that of either UNOSOM I or UNITAF. As Daniel, Hayes, and de Jonge Oudraat state in *Coercive Inducement*, "not only was UNOSOM II supposed to protect the delivery of humanitarian relief, it was also supposed to consolidate, expand, and maintain a secure environment for the advancement of economic assistance and the political reconciliation of the government."<sup>29</sup> The UNOSOM II mandate clearly bit off more than it could chew, equipped with fewer troops and greater responsibilities. In addition, the UNOSOM II mandate kept changing in an attempt to respond to situations on the ground. The mandate was expanded to investigate armed attacks on UNOSOM II personnel with resolution 814 (1993) and 837 (1993), authorized with a Commission of Inquiry with resolution 885 (1993), extended by resolution 878 (1993)<sup>30</sup> ...and so on, resulting, eventually, in six extensions of the duration of the operation in addition to reductions in size and mandate along the way.<sup>31</sup> As Jett states, "the operation's mandate was vague, changed frequently during the process and was open to myriad interpretations."<sup>32</sup> This greatly impacted the efficiency and effectiveness of the troops on the ground.

### *Force Structure*

Second, in terms of the force structures used for UNOSOM I and UNOSOM II, the *United Nation's reliance on member state contributions greatly restricted the UN's attempts to piece together a military force for the actual operation, let alone a military*

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 98.

<sup>30</sup> *Somalia - UNOSOM II* (Department of Public Information - United Nations, March 21, 1997 [cited April 2007]); available from <http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/unosom2b.htm>.

<sup>31</sup> Pouligny, *Peace Operations Seen From Below*, 9.

<sup>32</sup> Jett, *Why Peacekeeping Fails*, 40.

*force that had similar equipment, training, doctrine, and operational methods.*<sup>33</sup> By late 1992, the UN had become frustrated by Member States' inability and/or unwillingness to contribute the troops necessary to form what would have been an *active* intervention force – UNOSOM I. The key word here is “active,” meaning that the troops would have to have been sufficiently equipped and trained to deal with the deteriorating security situation, armed not only with the actual weaponry needed to take control and secure the delivery of humanitarian aid, but also with the accompanying mandate required to back the forceful coercion of the warring factions. The United Nations was then forced to subcontract out to the United States to undertake the next phase of the mission, UNITAF. The United Nations left all decisions about force structure, command and control, and military objectives of UNITAF to the United States and the other members of the multinational task force who were clearly not subjected to the same slow ad hoc mechanisms and improvised management procedures as those at the United Nations.<sup>34</sup>

UNOSOM II, created as a direct result of the U.S. plan for UNITAF, was intended to facilitate the transition from UNITAF to a long-term, more expansive UN operation. Whereas American leaders envisioned that UNOSOM II troops be as heavily armed and readily equipped as their UNITAF comrades, the resulting forces that eventually comprised the UNOSOM II operation consisted primarily of lightly armed Third World forces. The majority of the troops that were contributed by Member States were much better suited to perform traditional peacekeeping duties rather than the peace enforcement tasks that were at hand. In addition, as Hillen states in *Blue Helmets*,

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<sup>33</sup> Hillen, *Blue Helmets*, 198.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 185-7.

“UNOSOM II did not have the air mobility of UNITAF, which had predicated its operations on extensive aviation assets used for both transport and combat support...The ratio of combat troops to lightly armed peacekeeping or logistics troops was much lower for UNOSOM II in its crucial first months than for the combat-heavy UNITAF.”<sup>35</sup> Jonathan Howe, the special representative of the secretary-general to Somalia also noted that UNOSOM II, rather than being structured as based on a rational calculus of military planning considerations, was instead composed of the disparate leftovers from UNOSOM I, UNITAF, and “whatever volunteers the secretary-general could mobilize during UN peacekeeping’s busiest year.”<sup>36</sup> In addition, in contrast to nation-states or well-rehearsed military alliances with permanent planning bureaus (such as NATO), the United Nations was not equipped with the luxury of working off of prepackaged force structures and plans.<sup>37</sup> The UN was thus working from scratch instead of building off of force structures that had been executed before, and thus was unable to readily adjust these structures to changing situations on the ground.

### *Chains of Command*

Third, the chains of command as organized through the United Nations greatly impacted the success of the forces on the ground, particularly during the third phase of the Somalia operation. UNITAF, arguably the most successful phase of the entire Somalia intervention, had the advantage of being supported, controlled, and backed by the greatest military power in the world, the United States Armed Forces. UNITAF’s

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 192.

<sup>36</sup> Admiral Johnathan Howe quoted in Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 193.

operations and activities were based upon American procedures with, as Hillen states, “political and military command and control arrangements...rooted in the significant capabilities and rehearsed institutions of a major military power.”<sup>38</sup> UNITAF thus had the institutional advantage of clear-cut chains of command as based upon specific procedures that have never been available to the United Nations.<sup>39</sup>

UNOSOM II, however, the first UN-commanded mission with a Chapter VII mandate, lacked a trained and rehearsed chain of command and did not have a common set of control procedures.<sup>40</sup> The United Nations was thus forced to improvise whenever faced with a particularly difficult or confusing military situation. And though improvisation in the battlefield is not necessarily a dooming factor of an operation, the United Nations’ troops were not backed by a strong or legitimate military framework capable of adapting and responding to the changing conditions.<sup>41</sup> As a result, troops were often paralyzed by confusion in regards to conflicting orders and criss-crossing chains of command. This resulted in lack of credibility on the field, an element essential to the success of an intervening force. When UNOSOM II faced a significant military obstacle, these problems were greatly exacerbated and the frailty of an ad hoc coalition with no real command authority was exposed.”<sup>42</sup> As Chester Crocker states as cited in Hillen’s *Blue Helmets*, “The United Nation’s attempt at a militarily challenging ‘peace enforcement’ operation shows that it cannot manage complex political-military operations when its own structure is an undisciplined and often chaotic set of rival

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 199.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 200.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

fiefdoms that resist unified command and control in the field and at both civilian and military levels.”<sup>43</sup>

### *Concluding Remarks*

When contrasting the differences between UNOSOM I, UNOSOM II and the US-led coalition task force UNITAF, the organizational failings of the United Nations significantly impacted three fundamental components that affect an operations’ chance of success: the mandate, the force structure, and the command and control of an intervention. The story of the UN operations in Somalia thus helps to demonstrate the importance and relevance of this thesis, which is to understand 1) how the UN is failing organizationally in regards to peace intervention activities, 2) what attempts have been made to understand and fix these failings (i.e. the *Brahimi Report*), and 3) why the UN has been unable to comply with certain aspects of the recommended reforms thus far.

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER 4: ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY

### *The United Nations as an Organization*

As Ziring, Riggs, and Plano highlight in *The United Nations*, the emergence of international institutions in the early 19th century can be attributed to the need that existed for an innovative response to the problems of approaching common issues such as commerce, communication, and transportation.<sup>1</sup> With the rise of democracy in the western world and the growing acceptance of multilateral approaches and responses to international concerns, the stage was set for the emergence of modern international organization.<sup>2</sup> The creation of international organizations, which help to solve procedural and practical objectives, was actually facilitated by the growing numbers of emerging democratic states who were familiar with and privy to the fundamental element of international organizations which is the *consensual process*.<sup>3</sup>

As the development of international organizations progressed towards the end of the 19th century, new patterns of institutional arrangements arose that, while particularly unique in some respects to the individual organization, also contained common characteristics which resembled the fundamental setups of other organizations in general. These common characteristics included: each organization was created through the signing of a multilateral treaty, organizational membership was limited to sovereign states, the use of conferences as basic policy-making organs, an executive council with

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<sup>1</sup> Ziring, Riggs, and Plano, *The United Nations*, 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

limited membership designed to administer the broad policy decisions as laid down by the general members, financial support as provided by the contributions from member states, the designed focus of the organization as outlined in its founding constitution, consensus decision making by either drafting international treaties and submitting them to be ratified by member states or by creating resolution recommending action on behalf of member governments.<sup>4</sup>

These common elements as embodied by the newly created international organizations allowed scholars to pursue studies within organizational theory which included the study of the nature of organizations themselves, as well as the study of individual entities and group dynamics in an organizational setting. Organizational theory thus attempts to map, model and understand the factors that come into play whenever individual actors or groups of actors interact in organizations.

#### *Introduction to Organizational Theory*

Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow provide a particularly relevant examination of organizational theory in their book entitled, *Essence of Decision*. They argue that government behavior, traditionally analyzed as a unitary, rational decision maker, can be better understood by applying an alternative framework that realizes government actions and decisions more as “outputs of large organizations functioning according to standard patterns of behavior.”<sup>5</sup> They argue that organizational behavior operates according to pre-established routines, and that while organizations can and sometimes do change over

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>5</sup> Graham T. Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 1999), 143.

time, this adaptation is usually in response to a major disaster. They outline five points regarding international organization which explain: why organizations are created, what functions and roles organizations are involved in, the constraining behavior of organizations, how an organizational culture emerges from the creation of an organization, and lastly how organizations are less analogous to an individual, and more analogous to a technology or “bundle of technologies.”<sup>6</sup>

They refute the traditional rationalist or instrumental approach to organizations by arguing that simply studying the purpose(s) for which a particular organization was created does not necessarily explain the behavior of that organization. They argue that organizations must adapt, causing many to move away from the creator’s intended vision for the organization and become active participants in deciding how various goals or intended purposes will be realized in action.<sup>7</sup> They believe that organizations should be understood more as a process in which the “organizational objectives to perform a specific task also influences the organization’s culture.”<sup>8</sup> Thus, an organization affects the way in which a particular situation or action is interpreted by providing comparative past experiences that are consequently used by organization members to adequately respond to the situation.

The differences between the “paradigm of efficiency” and the “paradigm of culture” are outlined regarding several key aspects of organization, but the authors focus primarily on the key point where the two approaches converge, the mission of an

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 146.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 150.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 154.



organization, and in particular, “the creation of special capacities linked to operational objectives oriented toward performance of specific tasks, and reliance on associated routines.”<sup>9</sup> In this sense, the organizational logic is an independent variable that affects an organizations behavior which consequently, is not completely determined by previously established routines.

Particularly relevant to this analysis is the authors’ discussion of the potential for “dangerous dysfunctionality,” referring to the damaging results that occur when an organization attempts to superimpose new, unfamiliar tasks onto old, previously established routines.<sup>10</sup> The result, they argue, is that “the interactions defy ready understanding and can magnify the consequences of small failures, which are inevitable.”<sup>11</sup> The analysis concludes by outlining a context within which to analyze organizations and their behavior within the realm of international politics and foreign policy.<sup>12</sup> Relevant topics include their discussion of *Organizational Missions*; their discussion of *Action as Organizational Output* and in particular, the negative effects that a set of standard operating procedures can have upon the efficiency of an organization; their analysis of how dramatic performance failures affects organizational learning and change; as well as their discussion of the *Central Coordination and Control* of an organization; and the lack of feasibility in an organization’s ability to engage in *Directed Change*.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 157.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 159.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 163.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 163-85.

### *Propositions and Hypotheses*

In order to analyze the successes and failures of the United Nations in complying with the *Brahimi Report* recommendations, there are several important hypotheses as introduced by Allison and Zelikow in *Essence of Decision* that, when applied to the study of the United Nations, help to explain its behavior in regards to the report.

First, the current attempts towards reform within the United Nations can be explained by the dramatic performance failures that the UN peacekeeping missions experienced in the 1990s. When organizational bodies experience failures to perform in the capacity for which they were originally created, these failures radically affect the learning curve of the organization and its subsequent ability and desire to change. As Allison and Zelikow state, “Dramatic change occurs usually in response to major disasters. In these circumstances the organization’s culture can be so shocked or discredited that mission, operational objectives, special capacities are all redefined, creating a new culture.”<sup>14</sup> This applies quite clearly to the United Nations by explaining the motivation for the original *Brahimi Report* and subsequent attempts to reform the UN as a result of the failures of UN peacekeeping and peacemaking interventions in the 1990s.

Second, in regards to the UN Charter and the resulting structure of peace operations as managed organizationally and deployed in the field, the foundation of an organization and the consequential manner in which it was organized is extremely

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 172.

influential upon the ability of an organization to adapt to shifting conditions. As Allison and Zelikow state,

Whether missions are stated more formally or more vaguely, many organizations [...] have an explicit, brief mission statement that seeks to define for their members and customers what businesses they are in and what they seek to accomplish. Many government organizations have formal charters that specify their authorities, the arenas in which they are directed to operate, and activities that are forbidden. Organizations interpret mandates into their own terms. This is especially true when the broad goals conflict or offer little operational guidance. Morton Halperin thus adds the concept of organizational essence, defined as “the view held by the dominant group in the organization of what the missions and capabilities should be.”<sup>15</sup>

The United Nations’ Charter defines the purposes for which the organization was created, but did not explicitly lay out how peace interventions should be designed. Thus, with the expansion of traditional peace operations following the end of the Cold War, 2nd generation peacekeeping operations were being given increasingly ambitious mandates with UN leading officials interpreting the UN Charter as they saw fit at the time. The broad goals following the end of the Cold War were to become more involved in the emerging conflicts around the world coupled with the optimism for increased cooperation following the end of the Cold War. These goals were not matched with a set design for these increasingly ambitious interventions, thus setting the stage for the string of failed interventions in the 1990s.

Third, particularly relevant to this analysis is the author’s discussion of the potential for “dangerous dysfunctionality,” referring to the damaging results that occur when an organization attempts to superimpose new, unfamiliar tasks onto old, previously

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 167.

established routines.<sup>16</sup> The result, they argue, is that “the interactions defy ready understanding and can magnify the consequences of small failures, which are inevitable.”<sup>17</sup> This helps to explain the failure particularly of the attempted humanitarian operations that took place in Somalia and Bosnia, in which the foundational tenants of traditional peacekeeping were adapted in order to allow for UN interventions in increasingly complicated conflicts in which consent and/or impartiality of the intervening troops were not present.

Fourth, Allison and Zelikow outline the reality that an organization’s reliance on standard operating procedures necessarily inhibits an organization’s ability to change. Thus, in terms of the actual implementation and execution of peace operations, the central coordination and control of the United Nations translates into the implementation of an operation reflecting previously established routines.<sup>18</sup> In this sense, while standard operating procedures are useful in their ability to streamline the every day operations within an organization, as Allison and Zelikow state, “this regularized capacity for adequate performance is purchased at the price of standardization [...] Specific instances, particularly critical instances that typically do not have “standard” characteristics, are often handled sluggishly or inappropriately.”<sup>19</sup> In addition, standard operating procedures are rarely designed for the specific situation in which they are executed, and thus the resulting operation, although most appropriate for the required scenario, is not

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 159.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 178.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

necessarily the best to begin with.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, standard operating procedures are ingrained within the structure of an organization, and thus attempts to change these routines can be difficult. This particular reliance and dependency on standard operation procedures also helps to explain why the United Nations is having difficulty implementing the *Brahimi Report* recommendations. As Allison and Zelikow state, “the deeper the grounding, the more resistant SOPs are to change.”<sup>21</sup>

Fifth, and most relevant in terms of the United Nations’ failure to successfully implement specific recommendations as made in the *Brahimi Report*, is an organization’s inability to engage in “directed change.”<sup>22</sup> Allison and Zelikow highlight the fact that, “Major lines of organizational action are straight – i.e., behavior at one time,  $t$ , is marginally different from behavior at  $t-1$ . Straightforward predictions are a good bet: behavior at  $t+1$  will be marginally different from behavior at the present time.”<sup>23</sup> This limited flexibility in regards to an organization’s ability to change is due to the fact that :

- a) organizational budgets change incrementally;
- b) organizational culture, priorities, and perceptions are relatively stable;
- c) organizational procedures and repertoires change incrementally;
- d) New activities typically consist of marginal adaptations of existing programs and activities; and lastly
- e) a program, once undertaken, is not dropped at the point where objective costs outweigh benefits.<sup>24</sup>

This does not mean that an organization is forever unable to change, however it does indicate that attempts at reform must be

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 179.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 170.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 180.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

carefully targeted towards specific factors that support particular routines in order to effect major changes over time.<sup>25</sup>

Thus, the ability or inability of the UN to implement particular *Brahimi Report* recommendations was greatly influenced by the types of reform advocated by the Brahimi Report Panel. In correspondence with the above hypotheses we should therefore expect to see: H1) recommendations that directly involved large changes in funding structures receive low scores on the Stimson Report's implementation scale; H2) the greater the number of subdivisions involved in the reform, the less likely that the reform was to have been successfully implemented due to the fact that the culture, priorities, and perceptions of *each* targeted subdivision were required to adapt to the reform in order for the implementation to be successful; H3) incremental organizational changes, for examples changes requiring more money or technology, receive higher implementation scores than whole scale organizational changes, whereas recommendations focusing on whole scale organizational changes, which targeted major factors that support routines, such as personnel changes, rewards, information, or budgetary requirements, should be much more difficult to implement;<sup>26</sup> and H4) recommendations requiring implementation mainly on behalf of Member States receive much lower implementation scores, as the ability of Member States to develop new activities should be heavily impacted by their varying capabilities and willingness to build upon the uneven levels of organization that already existed between and amongst Member States.

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 181-2.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 182.

The recommendations as made by the Panel of the Brahimi Report will be categorized under the aforementioned hypothesis regarding an organizations ability to engage in directed change in the next chapter to explain why certain recommendations received higher implementation scores as graded by the Stimson Report than others.

CHAPTER 5: FROM RECOMMENDATION TO IMPLEMENTATION

The Stimson Report utilized a numbered system to assess the United Nations’ progress in the implementation of the *Brahimi Report* recommendations. The implementation scale ranged from zero to five, with zero indicating a complete failure of the UN to implement the recommendation, and five indicating that the UN’s compliance efforts exceeded the *Brahimi Report’s* recommendation.

**Implementation Scoring Criteria<sup>1</sup>**

Score	Definition	Score	Definition
<b>0</b>	Recommendation unimplemented.	<b>3</b>	Partly implemented (partial funding; partial staff; reduced concept).
<b>1</b>	Proposed by Secretariat; rejected by intergovernmental bodies.	<b>4</b>	Implemented, with capacity equivalent to Report recommendation.
<b>2</b>	Proposed by Secretariat; action deferred by intergovernmental bodies or is mission-specific and awaits application.	<b>5</b>	Implementation exceeds Report recommendation.

The chart scores, as broken down within the Stimson analysis, reflect the level of implementation for each recommendation as based upon the evaluation of each of the implementing actors’ actions, averaging their performance.<sup>2</sup> The Stimson Report thus analyzes each of the original *Brahimi Report* recommendations to see which recommendations applied to each individual department within the United Nations, with

<sup>1</sup> From Durch et al., "The Brahimi Report and the Future of UN Peace Operations," 117.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



responsibilities for implementation falling to the Secretary-General, General Assembly administrative approval, Security Council cooperation, General Assembly regular budget, General Assembly and Peacekeeping budgets, other UN Agencies, Security Council mandates, or UN and State implementation, with any possible combination of the aforementioned divisions.

Within the Stimson Report, the recommendations were broken down into eighty-one categories, with each given an implementation score. Of the eighty-one graded recommendations, the easier the recommendation was to implement, the higher the probability that the *Brahimi Report* recommendation was implemented; the harder the recommendation to implement, the less likely it was to be implemented. What exactly constitutes “easy” or “hard to implement,” of course, varied across the recommendations, with the applicable definitions getting at the core of the issue here; that is, the limitations of the United Nations, when examined organizationally. With the definitions of “easy” and “hard” to follow through further examination, it will suffice to say simply that in terms of the overall implementation of the *Brahimi Report* recommendations, ease of implementation was one of the overriding influential factors regarding the United Nation’s implementation compliance, with one exception clause: in cases where the recommendation was so important, despite the difficulties involved, the addressed issue was reformed.

This section looks at certain “easy to implement” recommendations that contained key words such as “encourage” and “endorse.” This includes, for example, *Brahimi Report* recommendation 1a, which involved the Secretary-General’s endorsement of

conflict prevention plans, and 1b, requiring the encouragement of Secretary-General fact-finding missions as listed in the table below.

### Responsibility for Implementation

Stimson No.	Brahimi Rec. No.	Abbreviated Recommendation	S-G	GA, admin approval	SC cooperation	GA, regular budget	GA, PK budgets	Other UN agencies	SC mandate	UN & States implement	States implement	Score
2.1	1a	Endorsement of Secretary General's (S-G's) conflict prevention plans	X	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.0
2.1	1b	Encourage S-G fact-finding missions	X	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.0

These recommendations received high implementation grades due to the fact that little hard action was needed to fulfill the recommendations' requirement, and instead a particular department was simply required to support or encourage a particular course of action. Both recommendations received a 4.0 on the implementation scale, indicating full compliance. In the case of recommendation 1a, it is stated within the *Brahimi Report* that the reporting panel wished to commend the United Nations' ongoing internal Task Force on Peace and Security for its work in the area of long-term prevention.<sup>3</sup> No recommendation was actually made; rather, the work of the Task Force was simply commended and encouraged to continue. Recommendation 1b, in turn, was addressed primarily towards Member States because the recommendation, though explicitly supportive of the Secretary-General's fact-finding missions in areas of concern, was meant to stress Member States' obligations under the UN Charter to give "every

<sup>3</sup> Lakhdar Brahimi, "Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations," (2000), 5.

assistance” to such activities. Given the standards required in the scoring criteria, it is easy to see how these were graded accordingly.<sup>4</sup>

*Hypothesis One: Funding*

In regards to recommendations that directly involved funding changes, as Allison and Zelikow state, “Organizational budgets change incrementally, both with respect to totals and with respect to intra-organizational splits.”<sup>5</sup> This section will analyze funding recommendations 14b, 14s1, and 2c as listed in the table below.

**Responsibility for Implementation**

Stimson No.	Brahimi Rec. No.	Abbreviated Recommendation	S-G	GA, admin approval	SC cooperation	GA, regular budget	GA, PK budgets	Other UN agencies	SC mandate	UN & States implement	States implement	Score
6.3	14b	Treat Headquarters peacekeeping support as core activity and shift to funding to regular budget	...	...	...	X	X	...	...	...	...	0.0
3.34	14s1	Set 5-year moving average as baseline cost of doing peacekeeping, add a percentage surcharge to average mission costs for Headquarters support	...	X	...	X	...	...	...	...	...	0.0
2.52	2c	Put disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) funding in 1st phase of assessed mission budgets	...	...	...	...	X	...	...	...	...	2.0

The United Nation’s compliance with regards to recommendations that involved funding changes fit this observation. For example, *Brahimi Report* recommendation 14b urged Headquarters peacekeeping support to be treated as a core activity and to shift funding to the regular budget. This recommendation was premised upon the belief that

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>5</sup> Allison and Zelikow, *Essence of Decision*, 180.

peacekeeping should no longer be treated as a temporary requirement and the DPKO as a temporary organizational structure; rather, in order to be successful, peacekeeping activities required a “consistent and predictable baseline of funding to do more than keep existing missions afloat.”<sup>6</sup> The *Brahimi Report* thus recommended that with the shift of peacekeeping to be treated as a core activity of the United Nations, the majority of the resource requirements should consequently be funded through the mechanism of the regular biennial programme budget of the UN.<sup>7</sup> As the Stimson Report points out, this particular aspect of the recommendation became a sensitive issue when taken in the context of the “no-growth” politics surrounding the regular budget.<sup>8</sup> This recommendation, which involved the General Assembly regular budget, the General Assembly, and peacekeeping budgets, received a 0.0 on the implementation scale.

*Brahimi Report* recommendation 14s1 advocated for setting a 5-year moving average as a baseline cost for performing peacekeeping activities, and then adding a percentage surcharge to average mission costs for Headquarters support. This funding recommendation, which involved General Assembly administrative approval and the General Assembly budget, also received a 0.0 on the implementation scale.

Recommendation 2c advocates putting disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) funding in 1st phase assessments of mission budgets in order to address the difficulties previously encountered with the voluntary funding used to support reintegration efforts. The *Brahimi Report* highlights the importance of reintegration

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<sup>6</sup> Brahimi, "Brahimi Report," 33.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>8</sup> Durch et al., "The Brahimi Report and the Future of UN Peace Operations," 62.

activities in halting the repetitive nature of the conflict cycle by outlining the importance of giving previous combatants alternate opportunities to pursue in society. The Report acknowledges the difficulties that the UN has experienced, however, in regards to the dozens of UN agencies and programs, as well as the international and local NGOs who fund these reintegration programs.<sup>9</sup> With funding coming from so many different sources, there is no central coordination point within the UN designed to handle contributions. Up until the fall of 2003, however, DDR funding remained voluntary, lacking any official assessments regarding reintegration activities. The recommendation, which demanded changes in both General assembly and peacekeeping budgets, thus received a 2.0 on the implementation scale.

*Hypothesis Two: Number of Involved Subdivisions*

Another factor influencing the ease in which recommendations were successfully implemented involves the number of subdivisions involved. As Allison and Zelikow state, “organizational culture, priorities, and perceptions are relatively stable.”<sup>10</sup> In other words, the greater the number of subdivisions involved in the reform, the less likely the reform was successfully implemented, due to the fact that the culture, priorities, and perceptions of *each* targeted subdivision were required to adapt to the reform in order for the implementation to be successful; the fewer subdivisions involved, the easier.

For example, recommendations in which only the Secretary-General was involved often received high implementation scores. This would be due to the fact that with the involvement of only one subdivision, only one particular department of the United

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<sup>9</sup> Brahimi, "Brahimi Report," 8.

<sup>10</sup> Allison and Zelikow, *Essence of Decision*, 180.

Nations was required to adapt and make efforts towards seeing the recommendation through to implementation. This includes recommendations:

### Responsibility for Implementation

Stimson No.	Brahimi Rec. No.	Abbreviated Recommendation	S-G	GA, admin approval	SC cooperation	GA, regular budget	GA, PK budgets	Other UN agencies	SC mandate	UN & States implement	States implement	Score
2.1	1a	Endorsement of Secretary-General's conflict prevention plans	X	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.0
2.1	1b	Encourage Secretary-General fact-finding missions	X	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.0
2.2	2d	Peacebuilding strategy should be developed by the Executive Committee on Peace and Security	X	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.5
3.2	14s2	Coordinate and integrate planning and training activities in DPKO	X	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.5
3.314	16s2	Designate a principal ASG	X	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.0
3.323	16s3	Rationalize tasks across departments	X	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0
-	18c	Use UN Office for Project Services (UNOPS) for smaller, non-military field missions	X	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0
-	21s1	Appoint senior official to oversee implementation of these recommendations	X	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.0
3.33	22s1	UN management culture has to change if reform efforts are not to be wasted	X	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0

### *Hypothesis Three: Incremental Organizational Changes*

As Allison and Zelikow highlight in *Essence of Decision*, organizational procedures and repertoires change incrementally.<sup>11</sup> As demonstrated by the Stimson Report's grading system regarding recommendation compliance, incremental organizational changes—for

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

example, changes requiring more money or technology—were easier to implement than whole scale organizational changes, which were much more difficult. Particularly relevant to this section are *Brahimi Report* recommendations 2a, 20b, 20c, 20e, and 2b as shown in the table below.

### Responsibility for Implementation

Stimson No.	Brahimi Rec. No.	Abbreviated Recommendation	S-G	GA, admin approval	SC cooperation	GA, regular budget	GA, PK budgets	Other UN agencies	SC mandate	UN & States implement	States implement	Score
2.51	2a	Quick impact projects (QIPs) funding in 1st year mission budgets	...	...	...	...	X	...	X	...	...	4.0
3.132	20b	EISAS and Information Technology and Services Division (ITSD) should enhance peace operations on the intranet/extranet	...	...	...	X	...	...	...	...	...	3.5
3.133	20c	Use more geographic information systems (GIS) technology	...	X	...	X	X	...	...	...	...	4.0
3.13	20e	Headquarters and missions should co-manage a website	X	...	...	X	X	...	...	...	...	4.0
2.53	2b	Need doctrinal shift in use of Rule of Law and Human Rights mission elements	...	...	...	...	...	X	X	X	...	2.0

*Brahimi Report* recommendation 2a stressed the importance of cooperating and working with looking local parties on the ground in order to make a “demonstrable difference in the lives of the people in their mission area, relatively early in the life of the mission.”<sup>12</sup> This recommendation, which required quick impact project funding in first year mission budgets, involved the General assembly and peacekeeping budgets as well as Security Council mandate, and was easily implemented, receiving a 4.0 on the implementation scale.

<sup>12</sup> Brahimi, "Brahimi Report," 7.

Recommendation 20b was a technological improvement that focused on the need to enhance peace operations on the intranet/extranet. The *Brahimi Report* focused on the invaluable addition a synchronized information network would be to peacekeeping planning, management, and execution activities by drawing together EISAS analyses, situation reports, geographic information systems (GIS) maps, and linkages to lessons learned.<sup>13</sup> Current major changes to the UN's Integrated Management Information System (IMIS) include new database architecture and a re-engineered user interface with Web-based access, which will remedy the system by providing 24-hour, web-based access to IMIS for UN missions and support offices.<sup>14</sup> Though these changes are part of a major re-engineering process that began in the 80s, the changes made have sufficiently conformed to *Brahimi Report* recommendations and received a 3.5 on the implementation scale.

Recommendation 20c was another technological improvement that stressed the need to use more GIS technology. The *Brahimi Report* recognized the wealth of untapped information regional actors, such as UN country teams, and grass-roots level groups, such as NGOs, have that could prove to be extremely valuable to incoming peace operations. The panel advocated the use of an electronic clearing house, therefore, managed by EISAS to share this data and to assist in mission planning and execution activities.<sup>15</sup> Despite smaller disagreements regarding specific staffing and restructuring concerns, the Secretariat and UN inter-governmental bodies were extremely enthusiastic

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>14</sup> Durch et al., "The Brahimi Report and the Future of UN Peace Operations," 44.

<sup>15</sup> Brahimi, "Brahimi Report," 43.



towards this recommendation, General Assembly administrative approval, General Assembly regular budget, and General Assembly and Peacekeeping budget departments receiving a 4.0 on the implementation scale.<sup>16</sup>

Recommendation 20a addressed the UN's need for a broader technological reform regarding IT and logistics support of peace operation activities by recommending that headquarters get a responsibility center for information technology strategy and training, with mission counterparts. The Report recommended that a headquarters-based responsibility center with a chief information officer (CIO) be created to supervise the development and implementation of IT strategy and user standards.<sup>17</sup> The DPKO has taken up this recommendation with its new director of change management serving as the chief information officer for the department.<sup>18</sup> Full implementation has yet to be achieved, however, due to varying results within the IT responsibility centers within each field mission. Each operation, though equipped with an electronics and communications technical staff, does not have the high-level direction as envisioned by the *Brahimi Report* to guide further IT applications.<sup>19</sup> The recommendation has thus received a 3.0 for its partial implementation on the grading scale.

Recommendation 20e was recommendation based on the need to improve the timeliness of internet-based public information by creating a website co-managed by headquarters and field missions. Headquarters, it was planned, would maintain oversight

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<sup>16</sup> Durch et al., "The Brahimi Report and the Future of UN Peace Operations," 45.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 42.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 43.

but individual missions would have staff authorized to produce and post web content.<sup>20</sup> Co-management of mission websites by headquarters and field missions has since been implemented, the recommendation receiving a 4.0 on the implementation scale.

*Brahimi Report* recommendation 2b, in contrast, required a doctrinal shift in the use of Rule of Law and Human Rights mission elements. This recommendation represented a whole scale change, and attempted to address the problem with UN operations in the 1990s in which CivPol was deployed as a sort of police force in situations in which other elements of the “rule of law” such as laws, courts, jails, and law officials, were not in place. As the Stimson Report states, “The Brahimi Report spoke to this reluctance to commit to the complete rule of law package in its call for the concerted teaming of police, judicial, legal, and human rights experts in future complex peace operations, which would amount to a ‘doctrinal shift’ in the way in which rule of law was pursued in such operations.”<sup>21</sup> This recommendation required a Security Council mandate, the cooperation of other UN agencies, as well as implementation by the UN and Member States. Steps have been taken in the right direction, though full compliance has remained illusory, the recommendation consequently receiving a 2.0 on the implementation scale.

#### *Hypothesis Four: Member State Implementation*

As Allison and Zelikow state, “New activities typically consist of marginal adaptations of existing programs and activities.”<sup>22</sup> Recommendations that involved

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<sup>20</sup> Brahimi, "Brahimi Report," 44.

<sup>21</sup> Durch et al., "The Brahimi Report and the Future of UN Peace Operations," 29.

<sup>22</sup> Allison and Zelikow, *Essence of Decision*, 180.

member state responsibility for reforms often received low to intermediary implementation scores due largely to the fact that the ability of Member States to develop new activities were heavily impacted by their varying capabilities and willingness to build upon the uneven levels of organization that each particular member state has in its capacity. This section will focus on recommendations 10a, 10b, 10c, 10d, 9a, and 22s5 as shown in the graph below.

### Responsibility for Implementation

Stimson No.	Brahimi Rec. No.	Abbreviated Recommendation	S-G	GA, admin approval	SC cooperation	GA, regular budget	GA, PK budgets	Other UN agencies	SC mandate	UN & States implement	States implement	Score
4.5	10a	Member States should establish national pools of civilian police (Civpol) for UN deployments	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	X	X	2.0
4.5	10b	Member States should train regionally for Civpol	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	X	2.0
4.5	10c	Member States should designate single point of contact for Civpol	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	X	3.0
4.5	10d	Create Civpol on-call list	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	X	X	2.5
4.5	9a	Member States should form brigade-size multinational forces for peacekeeping	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	X	X	2.5
-	22s5	Hope Member States can resolve Security Council representation issue	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	X	0.0

For example, recommendations involving improved recruitment and deployment of capable police and other criminal justice personnel received partial implementation scores ranging from 2.0-3.0, most likely due to the fact that better qualified personnel requires synchronized training procedures and recruitment mechanisms, both of which entail lengthy reform procedures that are still in process. *Brahimi Report* recommendations 10a, 10b, 10c, and 10d, all involve the improved recruitment and

deployment of CivPol personnel, with responsibility falling to Member States' implementation. The *Brahimi Report* placed a special emphasis on the importance of capable civilian police due to the important roles they play in UN peace interventions. The *Brahimi Report* states, "Civilian police are second only to military forces in numbers of international personnel involved in United Nations peacekeeping operations...The fairness and impartiality of the local police force, which civilian police monitor and train, is crucial to maintaining a safe and secure environment, and its effectiveness is vital where intimidation and criminal networks continue to obstruct progress on the political and economic fronts."<sup>23</sup>

Recommendation 10a encouraged states to establish a national pool of civilian police officers that would be ready for deployment to UN peace operations on short notice; 10b encouraged Member States to train regionally for Civpol according to UN training standards; 10c encouraged Member States to designate single points of contact for Civpol; and 10d encouraged the creation of Civpol on-call lists. As the Stimson analysis points out, while some Member States are committed to improving UN capacity for more capable Civpol teams, too few states have made any significant progress moving towards training programs or establishing national pools of candidates for international operations.<sup>24</sup> In addition, recommendation 10c, which called for a single point of contact for CivPol, caused immediate bureaucratic reactions from some permanent missions to the UN, who argued that they already served as focal points for police requests.<sup>25</sup> A more

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<sup>23</sup> Brahimi, "Brahimi Report," 20.

<sup>24</sup> Durch et al., "The Brahimi Report and the Future of UN Peace Operations," 80.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

fundamental problem includes the continued quality of personnel who apply for CivPol positions, with many failing to meet the UN's basic standards. And although the UN Secretariat has attempted to draft standardized CivPol rules and training procedures, their efforts have been hampered by a lack of member state feedback.<sup>26</sup>

Recommendation 9a encouraged states to form brigade-size multinational forces for peacekeeping, emphasizing the importance of having a readily-available military force of the United Nations comprised of a group of countries working together to develop common training and equipment standards, common doctrine, and common arrangements for the operational control of the force.<sup>27</sup> The formation of several of these brigades, it was thought, would enable full deployment to an operation within 30 days for traditional peacekeeping missions, and 90 days for complex operations.<sup>28</sup> This recommendation, which involved member state compliance, received a 2.5 or partial implementation score, due primarily to the fact that while Member States seem supportive of the idea, no state has stepped forward offering to form such forces.

Recommendation 22s5 of the *Brahimi Report* is a more general, idealistic recommendation that seems only to have been thrown in for good measure, and hopes that Member States can resolve Security Council representation issues. The *Brahimi Report* recognizes the fact that there are issues, such as this particular recommendation, which are critical to the success of UN peace operations that can only be addressed by UN Member States' cooperation and efforts to work together. Given the difficulty of

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 80.

<sup>27</sup> Brahimi, "Brahimi Report," 19.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

resolving Security Council issues in general, this recommendation unfortunately, though predictably, received a 0.0 on the implementation scale.

*Exception Clause*

In terms of the exception clause, there were several cases in which the recommendation was considered so important, that despite the difficulties involved (regarding the type of organizational change involved, the number of involved subdivisions, member state implementation, or funding) the addressed issue was reformed. This includes recommendations 3a, 3s1, 7a, and 24s1 as listed in the table below.

**Responsibility for Implementation**

Stimson No.	Brahimi Rec. No.	Abbreviated Recommendation	S-G	GA, admin approval	SC cooperation	GA, regular budget	GA, PK budgets	Other UN agencies	SC mandate	UN & States implement	States implement	Score
2.41	3a	Peacekeeping Doctrine and Strategy must include self-defense, robust rules of engagement (ROE)	...	...	X	...	...	...	X	X	...	3.5
2.41	3s1	ROE must be clear and robust	X	...	...	...	...	...	X	X	...	3.0
4.1	7a	Defining deployment timelines of 30/90 days for peace operations	...	X	X	...	X	...	...	X	X	3.5
4.4	24s1	Addressing HIV/AIDS	X	...	X	...	...	X	...	X	...	4.5

*Brahimi Report* recommendation 3a required that Peacekeeping Doctrine and Strategy include robust rules of engagement and self-defense. As outlined within the *Brahimi Report*, it was a fundamental premise of the report that the United Nations be able to respond effectively to operational challenges presented that concerned the consent

of involved local parties, impartiality and the use of force only in self-defense.<sup>29</sup> The report highlighted the absolute need for UN troops to be able to carry out their mandate “professionally and successfully,”<sup>30</sup> stating explicitly that troops must be therefore be capable of “defending themselves, other mission components and the mission’s mandate with robust rules of engagement.”<sup>31</sup> Despite the fact that this recommendation involved Security Council cooperation, a Security Council mandate, as well as implementation on behalf of UN and Member States, it was aggressively pursued and successfully reformed, receiving a 3.5 on the implementation scale. The related recommendation 3s1 involved clear and robust rules of engagement, also received a 3.0 on the implementation scale despite requiring cooperation on behalf of the Secretary-General, a Security Council mandate, as well as UN and Member States implementation, demonstrating how important these recommendations were considered to be to the success of peacekeeping initiatives.

*Brahimi Report* recommendation 7a defined deployment timelines of 30-90 days for peace operations, and involved the General Assembly, administrative approval, Security Council cooperation, GA and PK budgets, as well as UN and Member States implementation. This recommendation received a 3.5 on the implementation scale. As the Stimson analysis points out, prior to the *Brahimi Report*, standard procedures outlining the timely deployment of UN operations did not exist. It was well known among UN officials, however, that the first six-twelve weeks following the signing of a

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 10.

peace accord were the most crucial in determining an operation's local credibility.<sup>32</sup> Despite the fact that this particular recommendation required substantial changes in the way that Member States and the UN in general prepared for mission deployments, it received a 3.5 on the implementation scale, demonstrating the recognition among Member States as to how crucial this particular aspect of peacekeeping operations is.

Another recommendation which received a high score on the implementation scale despite the difficulties involved in addressing the issue was *Brahimi Report* recommendation 24s1, addressing HIV/AIDs. The *Brahimi Report* pointed out the fundamental importance of HIV/AIDS education and control as an essential component of an effective peace-building process.<sup>33</sup> This recommendation involved the Secretary-General, Security Council cooperation, other UN agencies, and UN and States implementation and fell under the umbrella of the need to recruit and deploy capable military forces. Despite the numbers of subdivisions involved, this recommendation received a 4.5 on the implementation scale, the highest implementation score that any of the eighty-one recommendations as graded by the Stimson Report received.

Thus, in analyzing the Stimson Center's grading of UN compliance with *Brahimi Report* recommendations, the perspective of organizational theory as outlined in the four hypotheses as explored above, gives some insight into the "how" and "why" aspects of the UN's implementation patterns. That is to say that in this section, the degree of success in regards to the UN's implementation of certain *Brahimi Report* recommendations could be explained, in part, by using a framework analyzing the

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<sup>32</sup> Durch et al., "The Brahimi Report and the Future of UN Peace Operations," 64.

<sup>33</sup> Brahimi, "Brahimi Report," 3.



behavior of organizations in general, and then applying that framework to the United Nations in particular. Certain recommendations were much easier to implement and thus received much higher implementation levels due to the fact that organizationally, the UN was able to respond to the demands at hand. Other recommendations were much more difficult due to the fact that these recommendations required more interdivisional cooperation, dramatic funding changes, or involved sweeping reforms that structurally would take time for any organization, particularly the UN which is composed of 192 Member States.

Thus, the organizational theory propositions and hypotheses which were used in this section to *explain* the UN's compliance with particular *Brahimi Report* recommendations as analyzed by the Stimson Center, could also have been used to *predict* the UN's ability to successfully implement certain *Brahimi Report* recommendations upon examination of the components of the original recommendations. Recommendations most suited to fit typical organizational patterns of change would be predicted to receive the highest implementation scores, with other recommendations predicted to receive much lower scores as dependent upon the degree to which the targeted reform goes against typical organizational behavioral patterns.

## CHAPTER 6: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Clearly, analyses regarding the UN's successes and failures in peace operations are not hard to come by. The publicized failures of major UN operations in the 1990s following the end of the Cold War sparked numerous debates regarding the future feasibility of the United Nations as the world rushed into the 21st century. While some scholars are optimistic, much of the current literature that exists, though reinforcing the importance of the existence of an international institution such as the United Nations, recognize not only the organization's ultimate failures in peace operations, but also its futility in the face of the world's major power, the United States. The United Nations, some even go so far to argue, as a capable, functioning organization has become obsolete.

That last conclusion, however, is unwarranted. Without diving into arguments regarding the importance of ideas such as world cooperation and international order that an organization like the United Nations represents, it is absolutely fundamental to recognize that the United Nations *is* capable of change, as demonstrated by its ability to comply with certain *Brahimi Report* recommendations. The United Nations, however, is *resistant* to change, due to the structure of the organization. This does not mean, however, that is fundamentally *unable* to do so.

### *Resistance to Change*

As highlighted in chapter four of this study, organizations are resistant to change. Allison and Zelikow's second proposition focuses on the fact that an organization's reliance on standard operating procedures necessarily inhibits its ability to change. Their

fifth proposition also specifically addresses an organization's inability to engage in "directed change" due to the fact that, among other things, organizational budgets change incrementally, organizational culture, priorities, and perceptions are relatively stable, and organizational procedures and repertoires change incrementally.<sup>1</sup> Looking at the United Nations simply as an organizational entity, therefore, it is evident that the UN faces obstacles in reform simply due to the functional, structural, and bureaucratic nature of its operations.

Attempts at reform within the United Nations specifically, however, are further compounded by several aspects of the structure of the organization itself. There are reasons why the UN functions the way that it does today, including the seemingly complex and inefficient methods by which it operates. The United Nations and all the subdivisions, departments, and positions that currently exist within the organization are a result of specific structure designs that were produced following the creation of the UN, or that have evolved from previous setups. That is to say, there are individuals and groups that benefit from the way the UN is currently structured, and are therefore resistant to change. Resistance to change within the United Nations, be it on behalf of individuals, departments, or Member States, is a huge obstacle to change, further compounding the obstacles to reform that the UN faces simply as an organization. Specifically in regards to peace operations, as Jett states in *Why Peacekeeping Fails*, "Even though reform might improve the chances for peacekeeping to succeed, the status quo serves someone's interest and that someone will see change as detrimental to those

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<sup>1</sup> Allison and Zelikow, *Essence of Decision*, 180-2.

interests. Protectors of the status quo can include the member states of the UN, the UN bureaucracy, or NGOs.”<sup>2</sup>

This does not mean, however, that the UN is *fundamentally* unable to change. What it does mean, however, is that attempts at reform must be able to circumvent these obstacles through targeted, direct action or must be framed in a way that the reform becomes uniquely important for all involved divisions and Member States. For example, the *Brahimi Report* recommendations which received the highest implementation ratings were those incremental organizational reforms that targeted specific aspects of peacekeeping operations, such as technological improvements enhancing peace operations on the intranet/extranet, improving GIS technology, and enhancing general IT and logistics support of peace operation activities. Other recommendations, such as the need to address HIV/AIDs in peacekeeping activities, the need for robust rules of engagement and self-defense, and the need for defined deployment timelines of 30-90 days, were reforms which involved the cooperation of all Member States and select subdivisions and should have been much more difficult to implement. However, these issues were important to Member States and the involved subdivisions, and were thus addressed and successfully reformed nonetheless. Future reforms must also be framed in a way that specifically grasps the attention of the groups/members involved in the reform, making the issue as pertinent and sensitive to them as it is for the success of peace operations of the UN in general. Framing the issues in a way that necessitates immediate action will jumpstart movements toward reform and should help to squash opposition.

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<sup>2</sup> Jett, *Why Peacekeeping Fails*, 170.

Though these are admittedly small improvements, they represent the success of targeted reform attempts nonetheless. Small steps can add up to giant leaps in the end.

There is also a dangerous aspect to large sweeping reforms that attempt to change the UN radically and quickly. One aspect of reform that almost never gets addressed in debates is the danger that if you take something apart in order to fix it, (i.e., the United Nations), you may never be able to put the organization back together, left in the end with broken parts and a “whole” that never works again. In regards to the United Nations, once people start throwing into question the hard-won elements of consensus that provides the foundational basis for the international organization, there will be systemic or ripple effects where other relationships and aspects of the organization are compromised.

#### *Peace Enforcement Activities*

In regards to peace interventions, the United Nations is best suited to perform traditional peacekeeping activities. In terms of the planning, logistics, and rapid reaction capabilities of the United Nations in peace enforcement operations as executed under Chapter VII mandates of the UN Charter, the United Nations has been unable to demonstrate its ability to design and execute these highly complex, combat heavy military operations. Jett, for example, cites other scholars who argue this point: “Our central contention is that the lack of functional political-military machinery within the UN, to assist in framing of resolutions under Chapters VI or VII and to manage any military aspects of their implementation and control, is a fundamental institutional gap

that must be filled if the use of collectively sanctioned military measures is to be effective.<sup>3</sup>

This does not mean, however, that the UN must avoid or turn its back on situations which demand coercive military forces to save lives and bring security to a specific region. It does mean, however, that until the UN is successfully able to implement *the majority of all Brahimi Report* recommendations to a satisfactory degree, the UN simply is not ready to handle these types of operations. This entails either increased efforts at re-framing reform issues that previously failed in order to capture the urgent attention of involved Member States and subdivisions in an attempt to implement all suggested reforms, or subcontracting out to privatized security forces or Member States (such as the US-led coalition force, UNITAF) that are capable of handling the situation both logistically, politically, and militarily.

#### *Standing UN force*

The creation of a standing, rapid reaction UN force as originally outlined in the UN Charter, a solution advocated by some, would not solve all of the UN's organizational failings in regards to complex peace interventions requiring the ability and will to use coercive force. A standing UN force would help to rectify the UN's current problems regarding the need for military forces with similar equipment, training, doctrine, and operational methods. However, even if such a force were to be created, a possibility that seems highly unlikely due to Member States' refusal (particularly the United States) to place domestic forces under foreign command, existing problems

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<sup>3</sup> Whitman and Bartholomew in *Ibid.*, 54.

regarding Member States' agreement as to where such forces would be placed, and the particular mandates to which these forces would operate under, would remain unresolved. In addition, a standing UN force would still be subject to the command and control structures of the United Nations, which, as illustrated throughout this study, remain ineffective as they currently exist in their capacities to run complex, combat-heavy military operations.

And though the *Brahimi Report* advocates the strengthening of the United Nations Stand-by Arrangement Systems (UNSAS) which is based on conditional commitments (military formations, specialized personnel, services, and/or material and equipment) by Member States within the agreed response times for UN operations, these stand-by forces are used exclusively for peacekeeping operations as mandated by the Security Council.<sup>4</sup> Thus, although reinforcing Member States' contributions of these stand-by forces is important in order to maintain the UN's ability to rapidly deploy troops for new peacekeeping missions or to reinforce existing ones, the reinforcement of the UNSAS would not help to solve the UN's problems vis-à-vis more militarily complex, combat-heavy peace interventions.

#### *Member State Attitudes*

Above all, the attitudes of Member States must change. The United Nations is both a bureaucracy and an organization predicated upon the cooperation and commitment of all 192 involved Member States. As a UN Press Release SC/6261 of August 30, 1996

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<sup>4</sup> *United Nations Standby Arrangements System (UNSAS)* (Department of Peacekeeping Operations April 30, 2005 [cited April 2007]); available from [http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/milad/fgs2/unsas\\_files/sba.htm](http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/milad/fgs2/unsas_files/sba.htm).

stated, “Improving the efficiency of the bureaucracy will amount to little if it is not accompanied by changes in the actions of the member states, including what they ask of the organization. Some are skeptical that changes can be made.”<sup>5</sup> These skeptical attitudes fundamentally hinder the organization’s efforts towards reform. After all, an organization is composed of parts, and it is impossible for the whole organization to reform if the parts are unwilling to try. The press release continued, in regards to peace operations specifically, “No amount of tinkering with procedures and machinery is enough. Only agreement on the scope of UN operations and commitment by member states to support them politically with feasible mandates and financially with the resources necessary will allow the UN to respond effectively to future distress calls.”<sup>6</sup> It is thus quite fitting that one of the most important and basic elements enabling any possible reform in the future relies on the very components for which the organization was created, the peace and stability of the international order as facilitated through the actions of Member States.

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<sup>5</sup> UN Press Release SC/6261 in Jett, *Why Peacekeeping Fails*, 170.

<sup>6</sup> UN Press Release SC/6261 in *Ibid.*, 173.



## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

There are many views regarding the utility of the United Nations and the feasibility that this international organization has in regards to the maintenance of international peace and security as the world progresses into the 21st century. Some views though cynical, represent a familiar refrain, arguing that the UN only works when you do not need it to, and never works when you do. Other views are more idealistic, perceiving the UN as a transcendent vehicle for human betterment, believing that the organization represents the fulfillment of human aspirations and the voice of the conscience of the world. More pragmatic views tend to argue that the UN has become indispensable before it has really become effective. More extreme and arguably paranoid views perceive the United Nations as an outside actor that threatens the sovereignty of states' internal affairs, perceiving UN actions towards reform as attempts towards establishing the organization as the central authority in international affairs.

A common thread throughout many of these views of the United Nations is the idea that the UN is an independent actor that has the capability of acting on its own. This is simply, however, not the case. It is absolutely fundamental to remember that the United Nations is a vehicle, funded and driven mostly by Member States, and particularly the United States. As such, attempts towards reform must be geared towards this setup, must understand the difficulties organizations face in general towards reform attempts, and adapt accordingly. After all, the purpose of organizational institutions is to provide stability over time, a structure that will stay unchanged as conditions change. Reforms

must thus compensate for this inherent resistance to change in order to better the organization as a whole, particularly in regard to peace operation activities. It is here that the relevance of this particular study comes in.

This study explored the primary question which had been raised following the publicized failures of the major UN peace interventions undertaken in the 1990s, mainly whether or not the UN will be able to adequately reform the design and practice of the organization's peace intervention activities in order to take into account the UN's inherent military organizational weaknesses. With the release of the *Brahimi Report* in 2000, there was widespread hope that this document represented a serious step toward meaningful reform of UN peacekeeping. In 2003, the Henry L. Stimson Center released a report entitled, *Future of Peace Operations* that analyzed and scored the UN's level of compliance and implementation with the *Brahimi Report* recommendations. The Stimson Center's grading of the UN's success and/or failure with compliance varied from the highest score of five, indicating that the implementation exceeds the *Brahimi Report's* recommendation, to the lowest score zero, indicating that the recommendation was unimplemented. Their findings and subsequent breakdown of the UN's specific successes or failures in complying with the *Brahimi Report* recommendations were the foundation of this analysis.

This study is thus an attempt to understand why the UN has enjoyed both success and failure in regards to the implementation of the *Brahimi Report* recommendations. More importantly in terms of the implications and broader applicability of this study, this report attempts to understand the United Nation's previous experiences in peacekeeping

and peace enforcement operations in addition to analyzing the UN's progress with reforms geared towards these kinds of complex interventions as explored within the context of organizational theory. The United Nations is, after all, an organization, and therefore should be studied as such. This study thus uses a theoretical framework by Allison and Zelikow to understand the obstacles the United Nations has faced and will continue to face in regards to combat-heavy military interventions and attempts towards reform simply due to the organizational structure of the UN. The findings were as followed:

The UN intervention in Somalia in the early 1990s is a perfect example highlighting the UN's inability, as an organization, to handle the complex militaristic and logistical demands of a complex combat-heavy operation, deployed under a Chapter VII mandate of the UN Charter. By providing a unique example of an intervention that steadily progressed from a strictly humanitarian peace operation (UNOSOM I), to a hard military intervention under a chapter VII mandate (UNITAF) and (UNOSOM II), Somalia as a case study, is an important lesson on the range of success and failure that an international intervention can experience when attempting to undertake international conflict management. The failure of UNOSOM I to adequately protect humanitarian relief supplies, and the ultimate failure of UNOSOM II to achieve its mandate which was to secure and essentially rebuild Somalia from the ground up, demonstrated that the foundational structure of the United Nations, in particular the UN's management of military activities and actions as well as its military capabilities, are simply not designed to support the complex military operations that peacemaking operations require.

In particular, the UN intervention in Somalia is a concrete example highlighting specific instances in which the organizational failings of the United Nations negatively impacted the degree of success of the three intervention phases (UNOSOM I, UNITAF, and UNOSOM II). When contrasting the differences between UNOSOM I, UNOSOM II and the US-led coalition task force UNITAF, the organizational failings of the United Nations significantly impacted three fundamental components that affect an operation's chance of success: the mandate, the force structure, and the command and control of an intervention. The story of the UN operations in Somalia thus helps to demonstrate the importance and relevance of this thesis, which is to understand 1) how the UN is failing organizationally in regards to peace intervention activities, 2) what attempts have been made to understand and fix these failings (i.e. the *Brahimi Report*), and 3) why the UN has been unable to comply with certain aspects of the recommended reforms thus far.

The organizational theories of Allison and Zelikow are particularly relevant to the study of the United Nations as an organization, providing a good framework to study how organizations in general are able to adapt to changing conditions and operational demands. Given particular focus in this study are five specific hypotheses, that when applied to the study of the United Nations, help to explain its behavior in regards to the *Brahimi Report*.

First, when organizational bodies experience failures to perform in the capacity for which they were originally created, these failures radically affect the learning curve of the organization and its subsequent ability and desire to change. Thus the current

attempts towards reform within the United Nations can be explained by the dramatic performance failures that UN peacekeeping missions experienced in the 1990s.

Second, the original principles upon which an organization was created and the consequential manner in which it was organized, are extremely influential upon the ability of an organization to adapt to shifting conditions. The United Nations Charter did not explicitly describe how peace interventions should be designed, and thus with the expansion of 2nd generation peacekeeping following the end of the Cold War, the ambitious goals of the UN were not matched with a set design or specific strategy for these increasingly ambitious interventions, thus setting the stage for the string of failed interventions in the 1990s.

Third and particularly relevant to this analysis is Allison and Zelikow's discussion of the potential for "dangerous dysfunctionality," referring to the damaging results that occur when an organization attempts to superimpose new, unfamiliar tasks onto old, previously established routines.<sup>1</sup> When taken in the context of the large-scale humanitarian and peacebuilding operations that took place in Somalia and Bosnia, in which the foundational tenants of traditional peacekeeping were adapted in order to allow for UN interventions in increasingly complicated conflicts in which consent and/or impartiality of the intervening troops were not present, the consequences of this "dangerous dysfunctionality" resulted in the magnification of the consequences of small failures, a result which Allison and Zelikow argue, is inevitable.

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<sup>1</sup> Allison and Zelikow, *Essence of Decision*, 158.

Fourth, an organization's reliance on standard operating procedures necessarily inhibits an organization's ability to change. In this sense, while standard operating procedures are useful in their ability to streamline the every day operations within an organization, as Allison and Zelikow state, "this regularized capacity for adequate performance is purchased at the price of standardization [...] Specific instances, particularly critical instances that typically do not have 'standard' characteristics, are often handled sluggishly or inappropriately."<sup>2</sup> The UN's particular reliance and dependency on standard operation procedures also helps to explain why the United Nations is having difficulty implementing certain *Brahimi Report* recommendations, particularly those recommendations that entail broad, sweeping changes. As Allison and Zelikow state, "the deeper the grounding, the more resistant SOPs are to change."<sup>3</sup>

Fifth, and most relevant in terms of the United Nations' failure to successfully implement specific recommendations as made in the *Brahimi Report*, is an organization's inability to engage in "directed change."<sup>4</sup> This limited flexibility in regards to an organization's ability to change is due to the fact that: a) organizational budgets change incrementally; b) organizational culture, priorities, and perceptions are relatively stable; c) organizational procedures and repertoires change incrementally; d) New activities typically consist of marginal adaptations of existing programs and activities; and e) a program, once undertaken, is not dropped at the point where objective costs outweigh benefits.<sup>5</sup> This does not mean that an organization is forever unable to change, however

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 178.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 170.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 180.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

it does indicate that attempts at reform must be carefully targeted towards specific factors that support particular routines in order to effect major changes over time.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, the ability or inability of the UN to implement particular *Brahimi Report* recommendations was greatly influenced by the types of reform advocated by the Brahimi Report Panel. Certain “easy to implement” recommendations contained key words such as “encourage” and “endorse.” These recommendations received high implementation grades due to the fact that little action was needed to fulfill the recommendation’s requirement, and instead a particular department was simply required to support or encourage a particular course of action.

Incremental organizational changes, for example technological changes requiring more money or technology, were easier to implement than whole scale organizational changes, which were much more difficult. This directly fit Allison and Zelikow’s observations that organizational procedures and repertoires change incrementally, helping to explain why recommendations that focused on whole scale organizational changes, targeting major factors that support routines, such as personnel changes, rewards, information, or budgetary requirements, were much more difficult to implement

The number of subdivisions and departments involved in the reform were also influential factors in the success of implementation. As Allison and Zelikow point out, the organizational culture, priorities, and perceptions of an organization are relatively stable. Thus the greater the number of subdivisions involved in the reform, the less likely that the reform was to have been successfully implemented due to the fact that the

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 181-2.

culture, priorities, and perceptions of *each* targeted subdivision were required to adapt to the reform in order for the implementation to be successful; the fewer subdivisions involved, the easier.

Recommendations that designated primary responsibility for the particular reform to Member States often received low to intermediary implementation scores. As Allison and Zelikow point out, new activities typically consist of marginal adaptations of existing programs and activities. Thus the low implementation scores were due largely to the fact that the ability of Member States to develop new activities were heavily impacted by their varying capabilities and willingness to build upon the uneven levels of organization that each particular member state has in its capacity.

Recommendations that directly involved funding changes were less likely to be implemented due to the underlying fact that organizational budgets in general tend to change incrementally, as Allison and Zelikow state, “both with respect to totals and with respect to intra-organizational splits.”<sup>7</sup>

Finally, in terms of the exception clause, there were several cases in which the recommendation was considered so important, that despite the difficulties involved (regarding the type of organizational change involved, the number of involved subdivisions, member state implementation, or funding) the addressed issue was reformed.

The findings of this study can thus be applied to future attempts towards reform, not only within the UN’s realm of peace operations, but also in regards to more general

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 180.



reforms that apply to the organization as a whole. As discussed in chapter six, the UN *is* capable of change as demonstrated by its ability to comply with certain *Brahimi Report* recommendations. The United Nations, however, is *resistant* to change, due to the structure of the organization. This does not mean, however, that is fundamentally *unable* to do so. Attempts at reform must be able to circumvent these obstacles through targeted, direct action that aim to reform one organization within the United Nations at a time rather than to change the inter-organizational relationships within which the subdivisions of the UN are embedded.<sup>8</sup> For if the United Nations ever hopes to be able to reassert itself as a credible, capable, intervening force within the international arena, the organization and its member-states must be able to prove to each other, as well as themselves, that the organization is not only capable of complying with the recommendations as provided by the *Brahimi Report*, but is also willing to do so.

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<sup>8</sup> Dijkzeul, *Reforming For Results in the UN System*, 219.



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