

Lessons From Kosovo:

The KFOR Experience

Larry Wentz
Contributing Editor



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The Command and Control Research Program (CCRP) has the mission of improving DoD's understanding of the national security implications of the Information Age. Focusing upon improving both the state of the art and the state of the practice of command and control, the CCRP helps DoD take full advantage of the opportunities afforded by emerging technologies. The CCRP pursues a broad program of research and analysis in information superiority, information operations, command and control theory, and associated operational concepts that enable us to leverage shared awareness to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of assigned missions. An important aspect of the CCRP program is its ability to serve as a bridge between the operational, technical, analytical, and educational communities. The CCRP provides leadership for the command and control research community by:

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- working to strengthen command and control research infrastructure;
- sponsoring a series of workshops and symposia;
- serving as a clearing house for command and control related research funding; and
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This is a continuation in the series of publications produced by the Center for Advanced Concepts and Technology (ACT), which was created as a “skunk works” with funding provided by the CCRP under the auspices of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (C3I). This program has demonstrated the importance of having a research program focused on the national security implications of the Information Age. It develops the theoretical foundations to provide DoD with information superiority and highlights the importance of active outreach and dissemination initiatives designed to acquaint senior military personnel and civilians with these emerging issues. The CCRP Publication Series is a key element of this effort.

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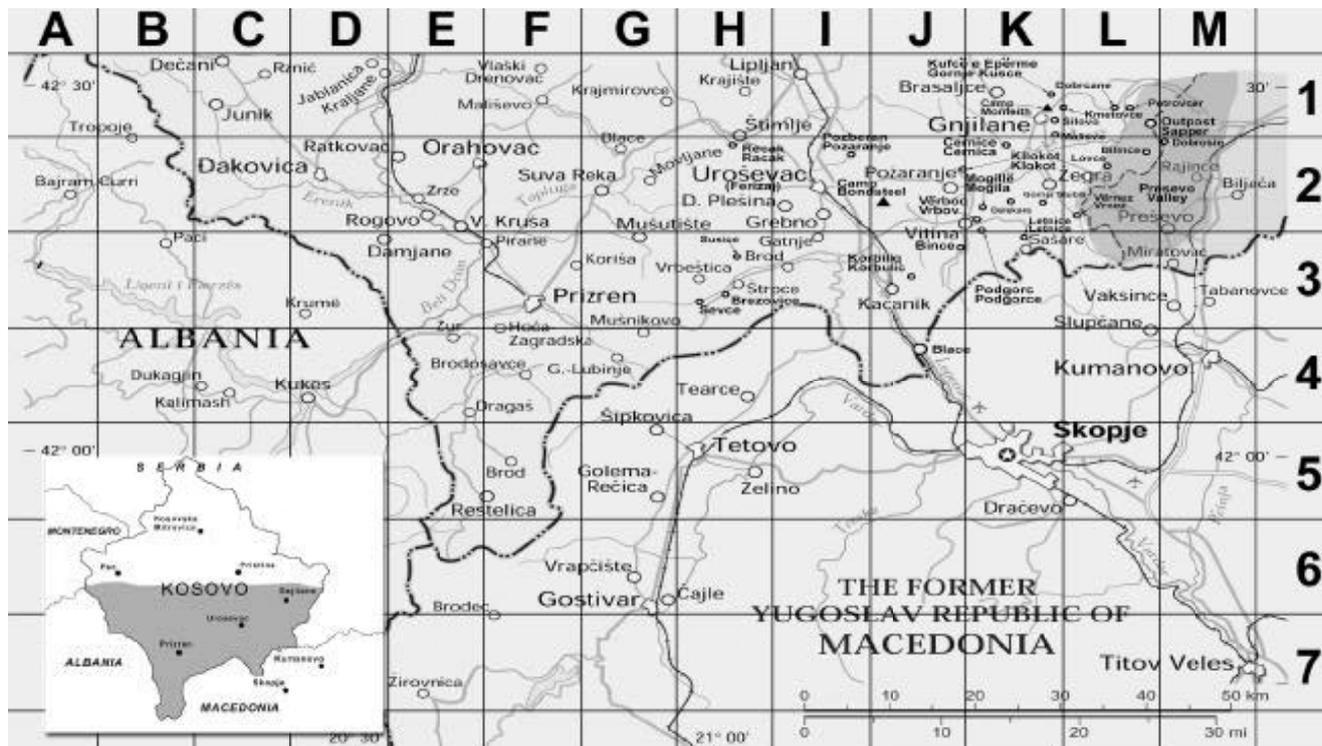


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FOREWORD

Civil-military unity of effort has been an essential yet frustrating elusive requirement for success in post-cold-war peace operations. The need to coordinate, collaborate, and share information between civilian and military entities is on the rise and deemed essential requirements for success. Today's information and communications technologies serve to facilitate the exchange of information among the disparate players of peace operations but the ability to actually realize open information sharing in real-world coalition operations remains problematic. The integration of relevant information and the timely dissemination of the processed information to interested parties in the field is well within the realities of today's technology.

Increased civil-military involvement in peacekeeping and humanitarian operations around the world is matched in part by the rise in the number and complexity of these situations. There are many more actors on today's peace operations landscape with competing as well as common interests and expectations. The need to improve cooperation, coordination, and more open information sharing is on the rise. Efforts to improve and facilitate more open working together and information sharing among the disparate participants must overcome a continuing lack of trust among the civil-military actors, obsolete national and international policies, unrealistic legal and funding constraints, and outdated organization cultural traditions and behavior patterns. Additionally, all actors need to better understand each other and the roles they can and should play in an increasingly complex operational environment. In order to obtain closure and improve the future situation, the actors must develop relationships based on mutual trust, and there must be a clear understanding that cooperation, coordination, and information sharing is a two-way street.

In reality, inefficiencies are inherent in any multilateral activity, and competing interests and fear of loss of power and prestige make unity of effort a desired objective, but also one that will be difficult to achieve. Furthermore, information is power and can be an effective means to an end, but only if it can be interpreted, shared, and used effectively for military, political, or civil use. Information can also help reduce

uncertainty and provide those that possess it a decided advantage in the decision making process. There continues to be a general lack of trust among the players, coupled with the lack of a shared understanding of the added value through more open and improved information sharing. Information sharing among the actors on the peace operations landscape continues to be largely a manual process. These obstacles need to be recognized and, to the extent possible, practical recommendations developed for ameliorating them. Application of new technology must go beyond simply modernizing existing practices and capabilities. The civil-military community needs to look at new ways of doing business and how the rapidly advancing information technology can be used to leverage the power of information to help achieve timely and appropriate success of peace operations.

The patterns of conflict for the post-cold-war environment are changing and so are the approaches to military command and control. Advances in information technology have enabled organizations and individuals to more effectively leverage the power of information; yet for coalition operations where information sharing is essential to meet mission needs, it continues to be problematic. The issue is not technology, but largely the will on the part of organizations and individuals to make it happen. There is also a number of policy, doctrine, C4ISR systems, cultural, and environmental challenges that influence the ability to achieve more open sharing of information in coalition operations.

The ASD (C3I) Command and Control Research Program (CCRP) performs an important role in bringing to the attention of DoD and international C4ISR communities an informed understanding and reality check of important focused research on C4ISR-related and civil-military issues. Its outreach program focuses on providing educational products that can be used by the professional military education program. Service and Defense universities and colleges use these products in their debates on real-world lessons and assessments of concepts for military support to future operations, such as the peace operations in the Balkans. CCRP research activities and publications can be found on the CCRP Web site at <http://www.dodccrp.org>

For the Balkans operations, CCRP led a study of the U.S. participation in the Bosnia operation, the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR). The use of Bosnia lessons learned roundtables, workshops, symposia, and CCRP publications such as *Lessons from Bosnia: The IFOR*

Experience, Target Bosnia: Integrating Information Activities in Peace Operations, and *Information Campaigns for Peace Operations*, allowed CCRP to make meaningful contributions to informing and educating the C4ISR community on the experiences and lessons from IFOR and early phases of the follow-on Stabilization Force (SFOR) effort. Focused research addressed IFOR issue areas such as C4ISR network interoperability and information operations. Kosovo offered another unique opportunity for CCRP to conduct additional coalition C4ISR-focused research in the areas of coalition command and control, civil-military cooperation, information assurance, C4ISR interoperability, and information operations. The Kosovo research effort was launched in the fall of 1999 and completed in the summer of 2001. Insights from the Kosovo experience documented in this book are part of the continuing effort of CCRP to educate the C4ISR community on the realities of military support to multinational peace operations.

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This book is the product of the OASD (C3I) Command and Control Research Program (CCRP) outreach policy to bring an informed understanding of important C2 and C4ISR systems issues to the attention of the DoD and International Civil-Military community. As the Kosovo study director and contributing editor of this book (and an earlier CCRP-sponsored study and book on Bosnia), I am in debt to Dr. David S. Alberts, the Director, Research OASD (C3I), for his support and affording me the opportunity to once again lead a most challenging and interesting undertaking in the Balkans— a unique and unforgettable personal experience.

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The photos in the book were taken from several sources. A majority were taken by me while in Kosovo and the rest from Combat Camera files and photos taken by Major Dan Cecil, USAF, and Captain A. Davis, USAF. The book cover is a photo I took while on mission with a Tactical PSYOP Team in the Kosovar Albanian town Zegra. The town had received substantial damage from Serb shelling during the conflict.

Finally, a special note of appreciation to my wife, Karen, for her support and for putting up with my seemingly endless weeks of travel that included 6 weeks in Kosovo during the summer of 2000, hours in front of the computer, the inconveniences, many lost weekends and quality time with her and the family— the book is dedicated to her and the family: Karen and Pat, Gregg, Mike, Miella, Sharon, Justin, Chelsea, Nicole, Tom, Sue, and Evan.

PREFACE

History has demonstrated that the future will always be dangerous and although demographics, economics, and natural resources are predictive indicators of potential problem areas, asymmetric threat-related potential problem areas are not that easily predicted, making it more difficult to prepare for such events. As a result, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) needs to maintain a flexible, effective, and responsive command structure supported by flexible, deployable, interoperable, and adaptable forces of its member nations. NATO and its member nations will also need to effectively employ rapid advances in technology in order to collectively modernize their forces and command structures and to continue to be perceived by their potential adversaries as a credible deterrent force.

The NATO Alliance security challenges of the 21st century include regional instability, weapons of mass destruction proliferation, transnational threats (refugees, terrorism, criminal activities, environmental issues, and competition for resources), and failure of democracy and reform. The military mission of the Alliance is collective defense, peacekeeping, promoting expansion and stability, and defense against weapons of mass destruction. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1990, NATO has been an Alliance in transformation. This transformation has included key initiatives such as:

- Revised Strategic Concept in 1991
- Engagement in Peace Support in 1992
- Partnership for Peace in 1994
- Combined Joint Task Force in 1996
- European Security and Defense Identity in 1996
- Relationships with Russia and Ukraine in 1997
- New Command Structure in 1998
- Enlargement, Revised Strategic Concept in 1999

These initiatives, along with proactive involvement in the Balkans, have transformed NATO from an organization mainly concerned with collective defense into a powerful player in the field of peace support in the European theater of operation.

The NATO Military Committee doctrine defines peace support operations to include conflict prevention, peacekeeping, humanitarian aid, peace enforcement, and peace building. Peace support operations tend to fall between Article 4 (consultation) and Article 5 (armed attack) of the North Atlantic Treaty. NATO use of military means to restore peace in an area of conflict would be in accordance with Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter. The NATO transformation to peace support operations introduced new military requirements and the need for a new doctrine. It forced the Alliance to start addressing issues such as impartiality, limits on the use of force, transparency of operations, and most importantly, civil-military coordination and cooperation. The purpose of the Combined Joint Task Force initiative was to improve NATO's ability to conduct complex peace support operations, and actions were initiated in the mid 1990s to begin improving the Alliance's military flexibility, mobility, and ability to rapidly deploy forces forward in support of such operations. The Balkans provided a sooner-than-expected live test of NATO's new doctrine, strategy, and evolving military capabilities, and many lessons have been learned and continue to be learned, but much remains to be done to build the NATO and national civil-military capabilities (including interoperable communications and information systems) necessary to meet the command and control demands of forward deployed Alliance forces involved in complex peace support operations.

The patterns of conflict for the post-Cold War environment are changing. The number of peace support and humanitarian operations requiring military intervention are increasing not only in frequency but also in complexity and situations involving human suffering. The traditional peace support operation environment where combatants signed an agreement in good faith and asked a world body like the United Nations (U.N.) to serve as a neutral observer have largely become a thing of the past. Many conflicts are now driven by the weakness of states rather than their strengths. Wars no longer take place between states that feel strong enough to conquer another, but rather within states that have become so weak they implode. "Wars of the Amateurs" occur where the state breaks down and the population

regroups into identifiable factions. Political groupings led by charismatic leaders play on minority fears and ancient grievances. Disintegration of law enforcement, the military, and other security forces occurs as well. The armed amateurs use the full range of conventional weapons for unconventional operations such as ethnic cleansing and scorched-earth actions.

New actors and expectations are challenging the traditional institutions supporting peace operations. Whereas earlier interventions were primarily military with possibly a small police contingent, more recent operations have involved larger police contingents and included relief and reconstruction teams, election supervision personnel, and multinational civil administration staffs as well. Instead of monitoring a cease-fire line, the intervention force is likely to have a much broader mandate. Actions are likely to include disarming belligerents and cantonment or destruction of their weapons, enforcing the rule of law, distribution, and protection of humanitarian aid, civil infrastructure reconstruction, nation building, assisting and protecting the resettlement of displaced persons, and arresting suspected war criminals. Although direct attacks against the intervening military have occurred, in most cases the military have been able to keep the attacks under reasonable control with limited casualties. On the other hand, non-military participants such as U.N. civilian employees, journalists, and NGOs are experiencing a rise in casualties in covering peace support operations. As a result, the need for a more integrated and cooperative civil-military involvement is on the rise in an operational environment that is becoming increasingly more difficult and dangerous for the peacekeepers and other participants.

In peace support operations, there are no clear front lines and rear areas. Instead, the front line is 360 degrees with fluid zones of conflict. Today's peace operation landscape is populated by a large number of different actors with their own agendas and there are those who will not be held accountable for their actions on the ground. The environment is complex and varied. There are wide extremes of weather and terrain, a mix of urban and rural, modern and primitive, and upscale and slum. Transportation routes are inadequate and massive problems arise from displaced persons and destroyed infrastructure such as roads, bridges, power, water, and telecommunications.

Understanding the relationships and motivators of the actors on the peace operations landscape requires an understanding of the complex

dynamics at work. The emerging need for stronger civil-military relationships and cooperation are influenced not only by the political context and conditions of the operations, but also by the shared moments of the participants on the ground. The decision to intervene in a conflict is political and the military mission in support of the intervention reflects the political process. Military support to such operations is just that, a military operation. The military are there to create a safe and secure environment. The military also provide assistance, as appropriate and necessary, to the International Organizations (IO) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO). They are, however, not there to do the jobs of these organizations—assumption of tasks beyond the agreed military mission is commonly referred to by the military as mission creep.

The complex peace support operations in the Balkans have employed U.S. military forces in both lead- and support-nation roles. For example, the United States provided the senior leadership for the IFOR and SFOR operations in Bosnia. In Kosovo, the United States played a lead-nation role for Operation Eagle Eye in support of the Kosovo Verification Mission and then led Task Force Noble Anvil in support of the NATO-led Operation Allied Force air war over Serbia. While supporting the air war, the U.S.-led Task Force Shining Hope provided humanitarian assistance in Albania in support of the NATO-led Operation Allied Harbour that provided humanitarian relief to Albanian refugees fleeing the province of Kosovo into Albanian and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. For the most recent NATO-led operation, Kosovo Force (KFOR), the U.S. military found itself in a support-nation role and this introduced some interesting command and control challenges for the U.S. forces. The KFOR command arrangements were complex and the variety of stovepiped independent C4ISR systems deployed by NATO and the participating nations created security disconnects and interoperability and information sharing challenges that needed to be dealt with in real time in the operational environment.

The KFOR U.S.-led Multinational Brigade (East) was under the command of COM KFOR, a non-U.S. NATO commander. For example, the initial deployment of KFOR was under the command of the UK-led Allied Command Europe Rapid Reaction Corps (ARRC). With the transition of command from the ARRC to LANDCENT, a German commanded KFOR, and then with the transition to EUROCORPS, the commander was Spanish, and in the fall of 2000, with the transfer

of command and to AF SOUTH, the commander KFOR was Italian. There were a number of non-U.S. national military elements assigned to MNB (E) and although MNB (E) was a multinational brigade, the command functioned mainly as a U.S. brigade with liaisons used to interface with assigned multinational units. By contrast, the other KFOR multinational brigades tended to operate as an integrated multinational command arrangement using non-lead nation officers in deputy commander and other key command-level positions. Operating in a support role as part of a multinational force was counterculture for the U.S. military. This required some difficult adjustments with each rotation of U.S. force elements. The United States was not in charge, and therefore it was no longer the Frank Sinatra do-it-my-way approach to doing business.

Information sharing is not a natural proclivity for any organizations and actors involved in coalition operations. Military and intelligence organizations are not accustomed to sharing data with international and non-governmental (NGO) organizations and vice versa. For operational security reasons, there is a continuing reluctance on the part of the military to share time-sensitive operational information with anyone other than military (especially multinational political bodies), and, even for military-to-military sharing, strict need-to-know rules are applied— it's a delicate balance between informing and operational security. Fears that data will be misused or that databases contain inaccuracies also militate against open information sharing. Even for military-to-military sharing, not all nations in a military coalition are treated as equals and many partners in today's peace operations were former enemies in the Cold War so there are differing need-to-know restrictions placed on sharing sensitive military-related information with them as well. NGOs and the media are concerned about maintaining the perception of neutrality and are therefore hesitant to work too closely with the military or be perceived as pawns of the military intelligence organizations in particular. In addition, they do not always share the same objectives and are suspicious of national government intentions. There is a need in peace support operations to bridge the trust gap and improve the ability to share information necessary to achieve both the civil and military needs without undermining the NGO and media neutrality— a fine line to walk, but one that can be walked if everyone is sensitive to each other's concerns. As a result, collaboration, coordination, and information sharing have

become important operational considerations that require real-time addressing by the civil-military actors on the ground.

The various NATO-led Kosovo operations have spanned the conflict spectrum from the air war to humanitarian assistance to peacekeeping and peace building. These operations represented a broad range of U.S. and NATO coalition command and control and C4ISR system challenges and presented some unique opportunities to gain real-world multinational force insights into asymmetric warfare and peace operation experiences and lessons. Operation Allied Force taught the European Allies, and the rest of the world, about U.S.-advanced C4ISR and weapon system capabilities and dependence on them in time of war. NATO and its member nations now more clearly realize the magnitude of the transatlantic technology gap and the reliance the United States places on the use of precision-guided weapons, satellite reconnaissance, and other advanced C4ISR technologies. Coalition partners were not equipped, nor were they trained, to fight in the same way as the United States in the air campaign and these differences required real-time training and innovative adjustments to overcome operational differences and limitations. While providing U.S. military support to SFOR in Bosnia and the air war over Serbia, the U.S. Army was directed to deploy Task Force Hawk, a brigade-sized combat team built around the Apache attack helicopter and multiple-launch rocket system, to Albania to conduct deep attack operations into Kosovo in support of the air war. The U.S. Air Force Europe (USAFE) was tasked to deploy a humanitarian assistance team, JTF Shining Hope, to Albania to deliver more than 3,400 tons of food, equipment, and medical supplies to the Kosovar refugees in Albania. The 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit was deployed to provide camp security for the USAFE operation. Headquarters for both of these operations were co-located (different sides of the airfield) at the Tiranas-Rinas airport and this created some U.S. command and control challenges since the commander who was in charge of the area of operation was never clearly defined. There was also duplication in the U.S.-provided communications and information services supporting the two operations.

During the air war, the era of the virtual commander and operations arrived. SAC EUR (USCINCEUR) and his commanders and key staff were geographically dispersed throughout Europe and the UK and included CONUS-based commanders and staff as well. Targeting involved not only the targeteers but legal and political elements as well.

who were geographically dispersed. Collaborative planning tools and simultaneous staffing were employed in order to meet the targeting process time lines. The U.S. strategy was to move functions and information— not the people— and the advanced C4ISR systems of the United States helped make this a reality. The senior U.S. commander's command and control systems of choice became U.S.-provided secure video teleconferencing, e-mail, and voice. NATO— provided secure video teleconferencing, e-mails, data networking, and voice became the means for tying multinational commanders and their staffs together and exchanging information. NATO secure voice and video teleconferencing also supported real-time political-military coordination activities with the NATO political leadership and national capitals. The NATO and U.S. secure data networks supported intelligence dissemination and collaborative planning for targeting and air tasking order preparation, approval, and dissemination. Video teleconferencing was used daily for decision making, battle damage assessment review, and for communicating the commander's intent to his subordinate commanders. The senior commanders used both NATO and national e-mail systems for exchanging information and coordinating actions— it became the de facto formal messaging system. For the United States, the highly secure SIPRNET and JWICS data networks provided an ability to reach back to anywhere around the world to get access to the information and expertise necessary to meet mission intelligence and assessment needs.

BG Charlie Croom, USAF, and EU COM J6, referred to Operation Allied Force and the subsequent KFOR operation as "The Age of the Video War" with the introduction of real-time UAV and P-3 video dissemination, handheld video camera, and digital camera dissemination, and the extensive use of video teleconferencing down to the tactical level in Kosovo. Video teleconferencing even supported MWR initiatives— a soldier on a mountaintop in Kosovo could have video teleconferencing with members of his family in Germany. Global TV with nightly newsclips of NATO air strikes, including gun camera video, and live, on-the-scene reporting of NATO air strike battle damage assessment from Belgrade and Kosovo and human rights violations and refugee movements on the ground in Kosovo, Albania, and Macedonia created challenges for informing and setting political and public opinions and expectations as well as neutralizing the effects of Serbia's use of the public broadcast media for propaganda purposes. Internet with multimedia presentation Web sites was a major player as well. Perceptions and managing expectations needed careful addressing

by the military, especially in their dealings with the politicians and media and informing the public. Milošević's propaganda actions were aimed at trying to divide the Alliance. The network of political-military information sharing established by NATO helped maintain the NATO Alliance unity of purpose throughout the air campaign.

Information operations came of age in the Balkans. The first-ever reported cyber attacks against Allied information systems were experienced. The new global awareness achieved through near real-time dissemination of information over the worldwide TV networks and the Internet placed increased demands on the military operations to share more timely information not only among the coalition forces but with the political structure, the media, and the population in general. The demands for information during the Kosovo air operation stressed the NATO and Allied military information networks to their limits and things did not get any better during the early phases of the Kosovo ground operation. In Kosovo, the KFOR truth project information campaign proved to be a major success in winning the support of the local populace. There were, however, some downside risks associated with more open sharing of operational information, especially during the air war. Releasing gun camera video showing the accuracy of precision weapons set public and political expectations that nothing can go wrong and had significant adverse public opinion and political reactions when something did go wrong such as the inadvertent bombing of a refugee convoy in Kosovo and the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade.

The NATO deployment into Kosovo presented a different set of challenges for the military. The roads were in disrepair and there were minefields everywhere. Unlike Bosnia, in Kosovo the civil infrastructure such as power, water, and telecommunications were not operating. The civil government was dysfunctional. The civil administration, law and order, and emergency services functions such as mayor, police chief, fire chief, and dial-911 services had to be temporarily assumed by the military. Emergency medical services needed to be restored. Bakeries and basic food services needed to be put back into operation to begin to help feed the people. There were criminal elements with whom the military had to deal. The Yugoslav military and Serbian special police (VJ/MUP) were not defeated on the battlefield so it was not clear if they intended to comply fully with the Military Technical Agreement. The UCK viewed itself as the liberating force and they were trying to fill the power vacuum left by

the VJ MUP departure and become the Army of Kosovo. They had to be dealt with, including disarming them and transforming them into a U.S. FEMA-like organization to help rebuild the Kosovo infrastructure. The U.N. had to reinvent itself as the surrogate government even as it sought to build the capacity for local rule. In so doing, it became responsible for maintenance of law and order but without a legal framework to do so effectively. Ethnic revenge violence—drive-by shootings and bombings—conducted mainly by the Albanians against the Serbs put KFOR soldiers in harm's way. The media were everywhere during the early phases of the operation and had to be accommodated. There were more than 300 uncoordinated non-governmental organization personnel trying to help provided humanitarian assistance. Refugees were returning in mass and it was necessary to prepare shelters for them for the winter. It was a complex and confusing environment and an extremely difficult job to bring some order to the chaos.

Much has been and continues to be written about the effectiveness of NATO's strategy of diplomacy backed by credible force (coercive diplomacy) in prosecuting the air campaign against Serbia. A companion topic, the role of high-tech C4ISR systems and aerospace power in future conflicts has received considerable literary attention as well. Numerous PowerPoint briefings have mysteriously entered and propagated on the Internet touting the alleged strengths and weaknesses of the U.S. and NATO command and control capabilities employed during the air war. Little has emerged, however, about military land force involvement in peace support operations such as Operations Joint Endeavor and Guard in Bosnia and Operation Joint Guardian in Kosovo, which just happen to be the major role of the military today. The adequacy of training, equipping, and then recognizing and rewarding the military for their participation in such operations has been more openly debated in the military community, but funding improvements and more open recognition of contributions have not yet been elevated to comparable warfighting priority levels.

Although peace support operations are frequently just as dangerous as warfighting, they are not glamorous, do not command the same level of media attention, and hence, receive less literary attention to inform and document the experiences and lessons. The intent of this book is to illuminate some of the command and control, collaboration, and information sharing challenges of peace support operations in order

to help establish a more informed understanding of, and the need for, focused attention on resolving the civil-military cooperation issues related to multinational coalition operations and to bring attention to the need of providing NATO and its military improved command and control capabilities and C4ISR systems in order to more effectively support peace operations in the future.

SECTION 1—INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Larry Wentz

The ASD (C3I) Command and Control Research Program (CCRP) performs an important role in bringing an informed understanding of important issues to the attention of the DoD and International C4ISR communities and in conducting focused research of C4ISR issues of interest to this community. Its outreach program focuses on providing educational products that can be used by the professional military education program. These products are also used by the Service and Defense universities and colleges in their debates on real-world lessons and assessments of concepts for military support to future operations, especially peace operations such as those currently supported in the Balkans. CCRP research activities and publications can be found on the CCRP Web site at <http://www.dodccrp.org>.

Kosovo offered another unique opportunity for CCRP to do some coalition C4ISR-focused research in areas such as coalition command and control, civil-military cooperation, information assurance, C4ISR interoperability, and information operations. A Kosovo research effort was launched in the fall of 1999; however, because of limited resources, the CCRP-led study of lessons from Kosovo needed to be more focused and less extensive than the one conducted for Bosnia and needed to leverage to the maximum extent possible relevant ongoing lessons-learned activities. In regard to the latter, there was a need to quickly identify and assess the relevant ongoing lessons-learned activities in order to gain a better feel for their breadth and depth and how CCRP might be able to leverage and integrate the findings into its Kosovo study. It is also viewed as important for CCRP to establish early on the appropriate collaboration, coordination, and cooperation arrangements with ongoing efforts as part of the overall study effort and to do so as soon as possible, including a visit to Kosovo to get some firsthand experiences.

There were a number of ongoing lessons-learned activities that were relevant to supplying the CCRP study with useful insights on experiences and early lessons. For example:

USEUCOM *Quick Look and Follow-on Lessons Learned*

Joint Staff Noble Anvil *Quick Look*

OSD *Report to Congress on Kosovo Lessons*

ASD (C3I) *Air War Flex Targeting Lessons*

ASD (C3I) *CCRP Lessons from Kosovo*

Defense Science Board *Kosovo Task Force*

USAFE/WPC/SA *Air War Over Serbia*

AC2ISRC *Kosovo Air Operations Lessons*

USAF *Kosovo Air Operations Lessons*

Center for Strategic and International Studies *The Lessons and Non-Lessons of the Air and Missile War in Kosovo*

Adm James Ellis, USN, *A View from the Top*

Air War College *Operation Allied Force Air Strategy Comments*

CSIS/USAF XP *The Lessons and Non-Lessons of the Air and Missile War in Kosovo*

Amory RAND *Kosovo Lessons*

ASD (C3I)/RAND *Use of Information in Kosovo Operations*

EU COM Historian *Kosovo Database—General Officer E-mails and VTCs*

USAFE Warrior Preparation Center *Air War Database*

USAREUR *Quick Look and Kosovo Lessons Learned Team*

5th Signal Command Task Force *Hawk and Task Force Falcon Lessons*

Center for Army Lessons Learned *Task Force Hawk Lessons*

Navy/Marines/Center for Naval Analysis *Kosovo Lessons*

Marines Quantico Battle Lab (Emerald Express 99— Kosovo After Action Review)

Raytheon *Kosovo Lessons Learned Study Group Final Report*

National Defense University Institute for National Strategic Studies

SHAPE Joint Analysis Team

ARRC Lessons Learned

NATO RTO SAS-031 *Air Operations Working Group*

EU COM J6 *Lessons from Kosovo Report*

USAFE/SC *Communications Supporting AFOR and JTF Shining Hope*

Army Magazine September 1999 issue

Marine Corps Gazette Magazine November/December 1999 issues

Task Force Falcon After Action Review

U.S. Army War College Kosovo After Action Review

In addition to the efforts noted above, the collection of Kosovo experiences and lessons also included participation in a number of U.S.- and NATO-led workshops that ranged from the air war to civil-military cooperation on the ground in Kosovo, extensive interviews of personnel who were there and those that supported them, a 6-week visit to Kosovo by the author and the support and dedication of military and civilian personnel who took the time to share experiences and lessons while in country and those who made additional contributions by documenting their experiences as chapters for this book.

Conflict in the Balkans

The NATO -led operations in the Balkans offered a unique opportunity to capture coalition command and control and C4ISR experiences and lessons for NATO and its membership's first-time ever involvement in out-of-area peace operations and limited war. The operations also provide a unique opportunity to collect C4ISR experiences and lessons for U.S. forces operating as a member of a multinational coalition force that consisted of NATO alliance members, Partnership for Peace members, and other nations such as the Russians. In regard to the latter, an added challenge for NATO, and the United States in particular, was the fact that the Russians required special and different command and arrangements for Bosnia and Kosovo. Their roles, missions, and participation differed for the two operations as well. The U.S. role in the Balkan operations has been as a lead nation and as a support nation and both of these roles introduced some unique and interesting coalition command and arrangements, C4ISR systems interoperability, and information sharing challenges. The globalization of information, extensive use of data networks and information system services, extensive commercialization of military communications and information systems, introduction of advanced technology capabilities in an operational environment, and the introduction of coalition information operations were added challenges. NATO and its coalition members had to address these additional challenges in what was already a complex command and control and C4ISR environment.

NATO's Balkan operations started as a peace enforcement mission with the deployment of Implementation Force (IFOR) into Bosnia in December 1995, but transitioned quickly to a peacekeeping mission in the early phases of the IFOR operation. With the deployment of Stabilization Force (SFOR) in December 1996 and transfer of authority from IFOR to SFOR, the military operation continued mainly as a peacekeeping mission. Over time, however, the SFOR activities shifted in emphasis and now are largely a civil-military cooperation operation.

World attention began to refocus on Kosovo in 1998 when open conflict between Serbian military and police forces and Kosovo Albanian forces resulted in the deaths of thousands of Kosovo Albanians and forced hundreds of thousands of people from their homes. The international community became gravely concerned about the escalating conflict, its humanitarian consequences, and the risk of it spreading to other

neighboring countries. With the threat of NATO airstrikes in late 1998, President Milošević agreed to cooperate and bring an end to the violence. The U.N. Security Council Resolution 1199 set limits on the number of Serbian forces in Kosovo and scope of their operation and UNSCR 1203 endorsed two missions aimed at observing the cease-fire. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) established and deployed a Kosovo Verification Mission (KVM) to observe compliance on the ground and NATO established and implemented an aerial surveillance mission, U.S. Operation Eagle Eye. In support of the OSCE, NATO also deployed the ARRC to Macedonia to assist with the emergency evacuation of members of the KVM if renewed conflict should put them at risk. The United States already had troops in Macedonia in support of the U.N.-sanctioned operation Task Force Able Sentry that was monitoring the Serbian border. The U.N. terminated the Able Sentry mission on 28 February and on 1 March operational control was transferred back to the United States to initiate the draw-down actions. On 28 March it was decided to modify the mission and rename the operation Task Force Sabre. The new mission was to maintain U.S. infrastructure in Macedonia that could be used as a forward staging and logistics area in case it became necessary for the United States to support a NATO-led deployment into Kosovo. On 22 April, operational control of Task Force Sabre was transferred to NATO.

Despite the U.N. and NATO efforts, the situation in Kosovo flared up again in early 1999. Renewed international mediation efforts in February and March at Rambouillet near Paris failed to get a Serbian delegation agreement and Serbian military and police forces stepped up their operations against the ethnic Albanians. Tens of thousands of people began to flee their homes. On 20 March, it became necessary to withdraw the OSCE KVM from Kosovo to Macedonia. Following several last-minute diplomatic efforts, the Secretary General NATO finally gave the order on 23 March to commence airstrikes. The initiation of the NATO airstrikes and a further escalation of ethnic cleansing by the Serbs resulted in massive movements of refugees into Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro. International organizations (e.g., UNHCR and ICRC), non-governmental organizations, and NATO member nations, such as the United States, became engaged in a massive humanitarian assistance operation. The ARRC in Macedonia became involved in relief operations and constructing refugee camps. The ACEM Mobile Force Land deployed Operation Allied Harbour into Albania in April to provide humanitarian assistance in support of, and in close coordination with, the UNHCR

and Albanian civil and military authorities. The U.S. deployed Task Force Shining Hope to support the Albania effort.

The Kosovo-related humanitarian assistance efforts introduced some interesting and somewhat unique command and control, integration, coordination, information sharing, and communication challenges. It is interesting to note that Secretary of Defense Cohen, Chairman of the Joint Staff General Shelton, and others became more public in their acknowledgment of the role the military needs to play in peace operations. As a result, humanitarian assistance and civil affairs activities and skills began to receive equal attention to warfighting skills.

With the start of air operations over Serbia and Kosovo in March 1999 under the NATO-led Allied Force, the Balkans operation took on a limited and short-lived wartime mission. In addition to supporting and leading the air operation, U.S. forces were also involved in humanitarian assistance and refugee operations in Albania and Macedonia. In Bosnia they continued to support SFOR peacekeeping and civil-military operations activities as well. The U.S. Army also deployed Task Force Hawk to Albania during this timeframe in preparation for possible use of the Apaches in support of the air operation and for a possible land operation into Kosovo. The 26th MEU was in Albania providing physical security protection for the USAF-managed refugee camp. After some 11 weeks of bombardment of Serbia and Kosovo, the air operation was suspended and the NATO-led ground force Kosovo Force (KFOR) deployed into Kosovo in June 1999 as a peace enforcement operation. Elements of U.S. Task Force Hawk (12th Aviation and an armored/mechanized task force from the 1st Armored Division's 1st Battalion) were relocated from Albania to Macedonia within hours after the Serbs accepted the terms to end the bombing and they, along with soldiers of the 82nd Airborne and the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit, who were also relocated from Albania to Macedonia, formed the basis of the U.S. enabling force supporting the initial KFOR deployment. With the arrival in Kosovo, this force was named Task Force Falcon, the U.S. contingent of KFOR. The 2nd Brigade, 1st Infantry Division, deployed as the initial brigade-sized component. Additional U.S. forces supporting Task Force Falcon were deployed from Europe and CONUS.

The United States was in the lead nation role for the IFOR, SFOR, and Allied Force operations. However, non-U.S. commanders led the

KFOR operation (initially the UK and then Germany, Spain, and finally Italy in the fall of 2000) with the United States in a support-nation role— a somewhat unique experience for the U.S. forces. This shift in role had interesting command arrangements, C4ISR systems and Services capabilities and interoperability, and information sharing implications that needed to be documented and understood in terms of implications for U.S. support in future coalition peace operations where the United States may not always have the lead-nation role.

There have been and there continues to be lessons-learned studies that capture pieces of the overall Bosnia and Kosovo story but none seem to be aimed at or charged with putting an integrated coherent Balkans coalition peace operation story together. The evolution of U.S. involvement in the Balkans is not being documented in a coherent manner either. In order to avoid lost experiences and lessons it is important to try to capture the U.S. and coalition experiences and lessons as they change over the course of events and missions supported. There are important experiences and lessons that need to be documented for not only each operation and its various phases but the transition between operations and the respective phases as well.

IFOR and the transition to SFOR were addressed by ASD (C3I) activities such as the CCRP-led Bosnia study and the resulting briefings, white papers, and CCRP-published books such as those noted earlier. These efforts looked at C4ISR experiences and lessons from NATO and national perspectives and included information operations and civil-military cooperation aspects as well. Other lessons learned reports from EU COM, USAREUR, and the Center for Army Lessons Learned tended to look at the IFOR and SFOR operations from a CINC and Army perspective respectively. From a NATO perspective, the NATO Joint Analysis Team documented NATO experiences for the IFOR operation and some of aspects of the transition to SFOR. There has been little evidence of a coherent effort to tell the story and share experiences and lessons for the follow-on SFOR operation. Integration of the Kosovo Verification Mission (KVM), Allied Force, humanitarian assistance operations in Albania and Macedonia, and KFOR deployment experiences into an overall Balkans story does not appear to have been addressed.

There is a need to put a more coherent and integrated story together on military involvement in the Balkans. Such a story should not only

address Kosovo air operations, but also address the broader aspects and evolution of the Balkans operations that include IFOR, SFOR, KVM, Allied Force, humanitarian assistance in Albania and Macedonia, Task Force Hawk, KFOR, and other related operations. Command arrangements, C4ISR interoperability, intelligence operations, information sharing, information assurance, information operations, civil-military cooperation, humanitarian assistance, dealing with the media, and international policing are examples of coalition operational areas requiring more informed insights on what works and what does not work as NATO and participating nations' activities change over the course of their participation in these events.

This book attempts to look at some pieces that have not yet received high visibility. Limited resources did not permit a broader treatment of the events leading up to and including the air war and the ground operation in Kosovo. The principle focus of the book is on the follow-on civil-military operations related to the use of military forces in support of peace operations in Kosovo with some limited treatment of air war-related activities.

About the Book

The book is divided into six sections that cover five themes: Kosovo is not Bosnia; NATO use of aerospace power to project political will; managing media relationships; dimensions of civil-military operations; and coalition command and control of peace support operations including some firsthand observations from on the ground in Kosovo.

Section 1 is a prelude to the deployment of the NATO-led ground force, the Kosovo Force (KFOR). Since Kosovo is a land of contrasts and differs from Bosnia, examples of how Kosovo is not Bosnia are covered. The section ends with an introduction to UNMIK and KFOR including views of the successes and failures after 1 year of operation. Section 2 explores some of the ethnic and political differences that made the Kosovo experience unique from Bosnia and examines the effects of the arrival of UNMIK and KFOR on Kosovo's political evolution. The primary effort of the military in Kosovo was to create a safe and secure environment that ensured freedom of movement and supported open and free elections. After a little more than a year in country, UNMIK decided the conditions were met to conduct voter registration and to hold municipal elections to establish a local

government administrative structure. A discussion of some of the civil-military activities leading up to the successful conduct of municipal elections in the fall of 2000 concludes this section.

Section 3 explores some of the operational challenges and frustrations related to waging the allied air campaign that supported the NATO-led air war over Serbia. In addition to conducting the offensive and combat air support operations over Europe, there was also an Alliance-led, large-scale humanitarian airlift operation ongoing at the same time and these air operations had to be deconflicted with civil aviation, placing added demands on the civil aviation air operations and urgent need for timely collaboration and cooperation. Some of the civil-military experiences related to dealing with EUROCONTROL and the civil air traffic authorities of affected nations are examined. During the air war, strategic intelligence was provided to the senior NATO political authorities by the NATO intelligence staff. This staff was not, however, trained or equipped for complex political-military crisis management and they struggled to cope with the demands of the high operational military campaign that had major political and economic dimensions as well. A discussion of some of the challenges faced by the so-called "forgotten echelon" is presented. The inevitable gap between expectations and reality fueled much of the media's anxieties regarding reporting on the air war and this section ends with a reflection of the NATO spokesperson and his dealings with the media and an examination of NATO and national media and public relations strategy and the ability of the NATO alliance to fight the so-called media war.

There were significant differences between the experiences, doctrines, responsibilities, and goals of the international humanitarian community and the military forces of KFOR that supported the aimed humanitarian intervention in Kosovo. Furthermore, the civil (UN, OSCE, EU, and NGOs) and military sides (NATO, KFOR, and national military) appeared to have spent little time prior to the operation attempting to understand how the other was motivated or how to operate together. The matter of mutual unintelligibility can be especially confusing, wasteful, and potentially dangerous, particularly if those differences are ignored during the planning stages of civil and military deployments to manage political-military-humanitarian crises such as Kosovo. Section 4 examines the complexities of civil-military relationships, conflicts of the civil-military culture, and ambiguities of conducting international humanitarian operations. When KFOR entered Kosovo

there was no criminal justice system nor law and order and this section also examines some of the difficulties faced by KFOR to enforce basic law and order and to help UNMIK establish a criminal justice system to assume the law and order mission. In addition to KFOR troops, there were more than 650 separate international, non-governmental, and private volunteer organizations in Kosovo— an area the size of the U.S. state of Connecticut. The issue wasn't that there was not enough presence, but that they were uncoordinated. This section addresses some of the difficulties related to achieving unity of effort among the actors supporting peace operations. Information operations is being actively employed to help shape the environment in peace support operations— largely a trust and credibility information campaign. This is a new concept for militaries and this section ends with a discussion of some of the coalition information operation challenges faced at the tactical level. The use of Task Force Falcon Kosovo experiences to influence the integration of information operations into U.S. Army tactical operations is examined as well.

There is a saying that in war, reporting stops when the military goes home and in peace operations, reporting stops when the media goes home. The story of military sacrifices and challenges of sustained peacekeeping operations rarely gets told and Section 5 is an attempt to tell a piece of the untold story. This section documents the on-the-ground, snapshot-in-time experience of the author's 6 weeks at Task Force Falcon and attempts to illuminate the challenges and difficulties faced by soldiers executing the peacekeeping mission. The demands for increased data services to support modern peacekeeping operations exceed the capabilities of today's military tactical systems, and therefore commercial products are being employed to enhance the military tactical system capabilities supporting the contingency operations. Commercialization of communications and information systems is also being used for sustained operations such as Joint Guardian in order to free up the limited military tactical asset for other possible contingencies. Modern information technology, such as the Internet and data networking, has been used to facilitate information sharing among the military for some time and now the non-military players are using such capabilities as well. Commercial products and services are being used more extensively by the civil organizations to support non-military needs. This section includes a discussion of the use of commercial products and services to support civil-military operational needs and, in particular, to support U.S. force deployments

in Kosovo and the challenges of commercializing the communications and information systems supporting MNB (E) sustained operations.

There are many more actors on the landscape of today's peace operations than have been present in the past. These actors have competing as well as common interests and expectations. The need to improve cooperation, coordination, and more open information sharing is increasing. Section 6 examines the challenges of achieving shared understandings and expectations and improved cooperation and coordination among the military and non-military participants. The section begins with a discussion of information sharing from a humanitarian assistance perspective and illustrates some of the substantial progress made in Kosovo by members of the non-military community, especially their use of Geographic Information Systems, Internet, and Web sites. Additionally, the idea of more open information sharing among actors supporting peace operations has been gaining favor for a number of years, but only recently has the technology become advanced, inexpensive, and widespread enough to make it feasible to be used by most non-military actors and this is discussed as well. The section ends with a broad discussion of cooperation, coordination, and information sharing challenges experienced by the military and civil participants in the Balkans peace support operations. The issues related to civil-military information sharing are covered and the use of commercial communications and information system capabilities to facilitate information sharing among the disparate players of peace operations is discussed as well. In the final analysis, however, information sharing is not a technology issue, it is an organization and political will issue. Technology is an enabler.

Finally, writing a book is certainly a unique adventure. I thought after my book *Lessons from Bosnia: The IFOR Experience* that I would never do another one again, but here I am. After more than a year of research and writing and twisting the arms of the other chapter contributors— who provided their inputs out of hide because of a personal interest to try to help make a difference— I am once again glad it is over. The words of Winston Churchill speaking in London on November 2, 1949, sum up my feelings.

Writing a book is an adventure. To begin with it is a toy and an amusement. Then it becomes a mistress, then it becomes a master; then it becomes a tyrant. The last phase is that just as you are

*about to be reconciled to your servitude, you kill
the monster, and fling him about to the public.*

I hope I meet the expectations of the reader. It certainly has been a wonderful but tiring adventure. The experiences and helpfulness of the people one meets cannot be adequately described in words. Who knows, I may revisit the Balkans or elsewhere some time in the near future and once again paint a picture in words of a new experience.

CHAPTER II

Background

Larry Wentz

The province of Kosovo lies in the central part of the Balkan Peninsula in the southernmost part of Serbia. It is a landlocked area covering about 11,000 square kilometers. It is slightly smaller than the U.S. state of Connecticut and consists of two lowland areas separated and surrounded by highlands. The lowest terrain is in the west-central part of the province and the highest elevations (2,600 meters and over) are found in the west and southwest along the Albanian and Macedonian borders. The province is bordered by the remainder of Serbia from the northeast through the east, by the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) on the southeast, Albania on the southwest, and Montenegro on the west. Pristina, the provincial capital and Kosovo's largest city, is approximately 240 kilometers south-southeast of Belgrade and 80 kilometers north-northwest of Skopje, FYROM. An ethnically mixed population of Albanians, Serbs, Romas, Turks, and Gypsies has inhabited the area for centuries. The estimated population of about 2 million people is overwhelmingly comprised of Albanians, about 90 percent. The province has the highest population density in the Balkans, 210 inhabitants per square kilometer. The average family size is seven. Poverty before the war was pervasive and remains so and the living standards are less than one-third the level of those in Serbia and Montenegro as a whole. The Albanians call Kosovo *Kosova* and the Serbs refer to the area as *Kosovo-Metohija* or *Kosmet*. The majority of Albanians are Muslims. Religions observed are Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic. The Serbs are Serbian Orthodox Christians. The Albanians are believed to be descendants of Illyrians, the aboriginal inhabitants of the western Balkan Peninsula, who were compressed into their present-day mountain homeland and compact communities by the Slavs. The Serbs are Slavic.

NATO forces have been at the forefront of the humanitarian efforts to relieve the suffering of the many thousands of refugees forced to flee

Kosovo by the Serbian ethnic cleansing campaign. In the Former Republic of Macedonia and Albania, NATO troops built refugee camps, refugee reception centers, and emergency feeding stations, as well as moving many hundreds of tons of humanitarian aid to those in need. NATO also assisted the UNHCR with coordination of humanitarian aid flights as well as supplementing these flights by using aircraft from member countries. The Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Center (EADRCC) established at NATO in May 1998 also played an important role in the coordination of support to UNHCR relief operations.

Of particular concern to NATO countries and to the international community as a whole, from the outset of the crisis, has been the situation of the Kosovar Albanians remaining in Kosovo, whose plight has been described by refugees leaving the province. All indications pointed to organized persecution involving mass executions; exploitation as human shields; rape; mass expulsions; burning and looting of homes and villages; destruction of crops and livestock; suppression of identity, origins, and property ownership by confiscation of documents; hunger, starvation and exhaustion; and many other abuses of human rights and international norms of civilized behavior. Cars and tractors were confiscated and prior to the Serbs departing Kosovo, vehicles were stripped of most working and valuable parts and left to rust along the border-crossing points.

Setting the Stage for Conflict

Until 1989, the Kosovo region enjoyed a high degree of autonomy within the former Yugoslavia even though the Albanians pressed for an elevation of the status of Kosovo to a republic within the federation. The conflict reached a new stage of intensity in 1989 when Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic forcibly altered the status of the region, removing its autonomy and bringing it under the direct control of Belgrade, the Serbian capital. The entire structure of regional administration was dismantled and practically overnight Albanians were dismissed from their jobs, denied education in their own language, and exposed to massive abuse of their human rights and civil liberties. Kosovo became a de facto Serbian colony where 90 percent of the population was Albanian and 10 percent Serbs.

The Kosovar Albanians strenuously opposed the move. They organized a referendum and opted for independence. Led by Ibrahim

Rugova, they conducted a non-violent campaign to win their right to self-determination. In the hope that the international community would deliver a just solution, the Kosovars built a parallel society with certain instruments and institutions of local and sovereign authority. The policy of non-violence was not, however, rewarded either by the Serbian authorities or the international community. Despite many warnings that the conflict in Kosovo would escalate into open and armed conflict, no steps were taken to prevent it. The emergence of the guerrilla movement, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) or *Ushtria Clirimtare E Kosoves* (UCK) in Albanian, was a predictable consequence. In June 1996, the KLA /UCK appeared publicly for the first time, assuming responsibility for a series of attacks against Serbian police stations in Kosovo. The KLA /UCK was not a unified military organization subordinated to a political party. Its strength, however, swelled from some 500 active members to a force of around 15,000. The KLA /UCK used mainly small arms to start with, but by 1998 its forces were armed with rocket-propelled grenades, recoilless rifles, anti-aircraft machineguns, and mortars. During 1998, open conflict between Serbian military and police forces and Kosovar Albanian forces resulted in the deaths of over 1,500 Kosovar Albanians and forced 400,000 people from their homes. The international community became gravely concerned about the escalating conflict, its humanitarian consequences, and the risk of its spreading to other countries. President Milosevic's disregard for diplomatic efforts aimed at peacefully resolving the crisis and the destabilizing role of militant Kosovar Albanian forces was also of concern.

On 28 May 1998, the North Atlantic Council, meeting at Foreign Minister level, set out NATO's two main objectives with respect to the crisis in Kosovo, namely:

- help achieve a peaceful resolution of the crisis by contributing to the response of the international community; and
- promote stability and security in neighboring countries with particular emphasis on Albania and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

On 12 June 1998 the North Atlantic Council, meeting at Defense Minister level, asked for an assessment of possible further measures that NATO might take with regard to the developing Kosovo Crisis. This led to consideration of a large number of possible military options and on 13 October 1998, following a deterioration of the situation, the NATO

Council authorized Activation Orders for air strikes. This move (diplomacy backed by threat–persuade) was designed to support diplomatic efforts to persuade the Milosevic regime to withdraw forces from Kosovo, cooperate in bringing an end to the violence and facilitate the return of refugees to their homes. At the last moment, following further diplomatic initiatives including visits to Belgrade by NATO's Secretary General Solana, U.S. Envoys Holbrooke and Hill, the Chairman of NATO's Military Committee, General Naumann, and the Supreme Allied Commander Europe, General Clark, President Milosevic agreed to comply and the air strikes were called off.

UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR 1199), among other things, expressed deep concern about the excessive use of force by Serbian security forces and the Yugoslav army, and called for a cease-fire by both parties to the conflict. In the spirit of the UNSCR, limits were set on the number of Serbian forces in Kosovo, and on the scope of their operations, following a separate agreement with Generals Naumann and Clark. It was agreed, in addition, that the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) would establish a Kosovo Verification Mission (KVM) to observe compliance on the ground and that NATO would establish an aerial surveillance mission. The establishment of the two missions was endorsed by UN Security Council Resolution 1203. Several non-NATO nations that participate in Partnership for Peace (PfP) agreed to contribute to the surveillance mission organized by NATO. In support of the OSCE, the Alliance established a special military task force to assist with the emergency evacuation of members of the KVM, if renewed conflict should put them at risk. This task force was deployed in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (Turkey recognizes the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name) under the overall direction of NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Europe.

Despite these steps, the situation in Kosovo flared up again at the beginning of 1999 following a number of acts of provocation on both sides and the use of excessive and disproportionate force by the Serbian Army and Special Police. Some of these incidents were defused through the mediation efforts of the OSCE verifiers but in mid-January, the situation deteriorated further after escalation of the Serbian offensive against Kosovo Albanians and in particular, the massacre of 45 ethnic Albanian civilians in Racak. Renewed international efforts were made to give new political impetus to finding a peaceful solution to the

conflict. The six-nation Contact Group (France, Italy, Germany, Russia, United Kingdom and United States) established by the 1992 London Conference on the Former Yugoslavia met on 29 January. It was agreed to convene urgent negotiations between the parties in the conflict under international mediation.

NATO supported and reinforced the Contact Group efforts by agreeing on 30 January to the use of air strikes if required, and by issuing a warning to both sides in the conflict. These concerted initiatives culminated in initial negotiations between the two sides (KLA representatives led the fragmented Albanian political parties and Yugoslavia sent a delegation approved by its parliament) in Rambouillet near Paris, from 6 to 23 February, followed by a second round in Paris, from 15 to 18 March. At the end of the second round of talks, the Kosovar Albanian delegation signed the proposed peace agreement, but the talks broke up without a signature from the Serbian delegation. Many felt the agreement itself was very advantageous to the Kosovars (the agreement called for a de facto protectorate, something the Albanians had been asking for a long time) and hence, they had little problem signing it. On the other hand, the Serbs considered the deployment of NATO forces as an assault on their sovereignty and therefore, refused to sign the peace deal. Immediately afterwards, Serbian military and police forces stepped up the intensity of their operations against the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, moving extra troops and tanks into the region in a clear breach of compliance with the October agreement. Tens of thousands of people began to flee their homes in the face of this systematic offensive.

NATO Takes Action

On 20 March, the OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission was withdrawn from the region, having faced obstruction from Serbian forces to the extent that they could no longer continue to fulfill their task. U.S. Ambassador Holbrooke then flew to Belgrade in a final attempt to persuade President Milosevic to stop attacks on the Kosovar Albanians or face imminent NATO airstrikes. Milosevic refused to comply, and on 23 March the order was given to commence airstrikes (Operation Allied Force).

From 24 March through 9 June NATO flew more than 38,000 sorties prosecuting the air war over Serbia. NATO's political objectives were to stop the killings in Kosovo, allow the refugees to safely return home,

and create conditions for a political settlement. From the outset, NATO planned to use aerospace power as a means to achieve its objectives while minimizing casualties among Alliance personnel and in targeted areas. Initially, U.S. national leaders and the North Atlantic Council prepared for a short conflict defined by limited objectives. This expectation of quick results shaped NATO and U.S. planning efforts. NATO forces began air operations over Serbia seeking to achieve air superiority and force Milosevic to cease aggression in Kosovo. While the initial attacks achieved tactical success, they did not have their desired political effect (diplomacy backed by force—coerce). NATO's effort grew in intensity until the end of the conflict. The U.S. Air Force, in support of NATO, flew 78 days of intensive aerial combat operations with the loss of only two manned aircraft and no casualties as a result of enemy action. It had committed resources and performed military operations at levels equivalent to a major theater war. The air campaign successfully allowed NATO to achieve its overall political objectives in the Serbian province of Kosovo. NATO's enduring strength, cohesion and resolve proved to be the most significant factors contributing to the successful prosecution of the air war.

During the Kosovo Crisis, highly charged political considerations precluded U.S. military planners from officially engaging in any ground campaign planning. Nonetheless, in April 1999 the U.S. Army Europe (USAREUR) was ordered to organize a force of ground support aircraft whose mission was to conduct deep attack operations into Kosovo in support of NATO's air campaign. This force was to strike at units of the Serbian Army, which were evading NATO airpower in Kosovo because of political constraints, weather, terrain and enemy air defenses. The force, named Task Force Hawk (TF Hawk), was deployed to Albania and established its headquarters on the Tirana-Rinas Airport. TF Hawk was a brigade-sized combat team built around the Apache attack helicopter and the Army Multiple Launched Rocket System (MLRS). Organized by USAREUR, it was eventually turned over to NATO command and control in May 1999.

During the course of the NATO air campaign, international organizations estimated there were some 800,000 refugees who fled Kosovo into neighboring Albania and Macedonia. Several hundred thousand of these refugees fled to Macedonia alone and settled into camps just south of the Kosovo-Macedonia border. An estimated additional 150,000 were internally displaced. Together, these figures implied that over 90

percent of the Kosovo Albanian population had been displaced from their homes. A n American Association for the Advancement of Science analysis suggested that the refugee flow patterns did not correlate positively with either the NATO bombing or mass killing patterns. The analysis concluded that the data did not support the theory that the refugees fled but was more consistent with the view that it was an organized expulsion.

The unprecedented influx of refugees into the Former Republic of Macedonia and the large number of ethnic Albanians forced from their homes and stranded in "no-man's land" overwhelmed the combined capacities of the government in Skopje, the UNHCR and various relief agencies. At the request of the UNHCR, NATO forces in the Former Republic of Macedonia were put to work around the clock to build a number of refugee camps to its specification and then turned them over to the control of designated NGOs. In a matter of days four major refugee centers were up and running. NATO continued to provide certain essential technical support for reception and onward movement of aid cargo until such time that the necessary civilian support capabilities could be brought on-line. NATO countries also responded to the appeals from the UNHCR and the Skopje government by offering to provide temporary asylum for more than 110,000 Kosovo refugees. They provided aircraft to move more than 60,000 people to all 19-member countries. Partner countries also provided asylum for some 10,000 refugees.

In Albania, the refugee challenge was even greater. Operation Allied Harbour was NATO's first humanitarian operation. Normally, such operations are almost exclusively the domain of civilian organizations, both international and non-governmental, but, in the case of the Kosovo crisis, by the end of March 1999 these agencies were unable to cope with the massive influx of refugees into Albania. Within a fortnight, over 200,000 refugees had arrived from Kosovo and NATO was the only organization quickly able to meet the expanding need. HQ AM F (L) was deployed within 5 days and much credit should be given to the nations and NATO HQs in deploying their forces and the augmentees so quickly. The soldiers and staff arrived on the run, setting to work within 24 hours of arrival, and within a few weeks, working closely with the civilian sector and the Albanian Government, the crisis was under control. Of course the crisis did not end there and by 15 June 1999 there were over 450,000 refugees in the country. But the provision by NATO of medical, engineer, transport, security, and staff support prevented

Milosevic from destabilizing Albania and proved instrumental in sustaining the refugees and in their eventual return to Kosovo.

In support of the NATO-led Operation Allied Harbour, Joint Task Force (JTF) Shining Hope, a USAFE-led operation, was established by USEUCOM on 4 April 1999 to help alleviate the suffering and provide immediate relief to more than 450,000 Kosovar refugees fleeing into Albania and the Macedonia. The JTF headquarters was located at the USAFE Warrior Preparation Center near Ramstein Air Base, Germany and orchestrated the humanitarian relief efforts through a small forward-deployed cell located in a series of tents on the Tirana-Rinas airport in Albania. The first U.S. built camp, named Camp Hope, opened on 12 May 1999 to accept the initial increment of Kosovar Albanian refugees. The 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit (MEU) provided security for Camp Hope. The United States worked closely with the UNHCR and other relief organizations to ensure a comprehensive and adequate response to the humanitarian crisis caused by the ethnic cleansing and atrocities that were conducted by Serbian forces. Never before had the U.S. military accepted such an massive humanitarian responsibility. During its first 50 days of operation, JTF Shining Hope delivered more than 3,400 tons of food, equipment, and medical supplies to those in need.

On 10 June 1999 NATO Secretary General Javier Solana announced that he had instructed General Wesley Clark, Supreme Allied Commander Europe, to temporarily suspend NATO's air operations against Yugoslavia. This decision was made after consultations with the North Atlantic Council and confirmation from General Clark that the full withdrawal of Yugoslav forces from Kosovo had begun. The withdrawal was in accordance with a Military-Technical Agreement (see Appendix A) concluded between NATO and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the evening of 9 June. The agreement was signed by Lt. General Sir Michael Jackson, on behalf of NATO, and by Colonel General Svetozar Markjanovic of the Yugoslav Army and Lieutenant General Obrad Stevanovic of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, on behalf of the Governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Republic of Serbia. The withdrawal was also consistent with the agreement between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the European Union and Russian special envoys, President Ahtisaari of Finland and Mr. Viktor Chernomyrdin, former Prime Minister of Russia, reached on 3 June.

The NATO Secretary General announced that he had written to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kofi Annan, and to the

President of the United Nations Security Council, informing them of these developments. The Secretary General of NATO urged all parties in the conflict to seize the opportunity for peace and called on them to comply with their obligations under the agreements that had now been concluded and under all relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions. Paying tribute to General Clark and to the forces which had contributed to Operation Allied Force, and to the cohesion and determination of all the Allies, the Secretary General stated that NATO was ready to undertake its new mission to bring the people back to their homes and to build a lasting and just peace in Kosovo.

On 10 June the U.N. Security Council passed a resolution (UNSCR 1244, see Appendix B) welcoming the acceptance by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of the principles on a political solution to the Kosovo crisis, including an immediate end to violence and a rapid withdrawal of its military, police, and paramilitary forces. The Resolution, adopted by a vote of 14 in favor and none against, with one abstention (China), announced the Security Council's decision to deploy international civil and security presences in Kosovo, under United Nations auspices.

Acting under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter, the Security Council also decided that the political solution to the crisis would be based on the general principles adopted on 6 May by the Foreign Ministers of the Group of Seven industrialized countries and the Russian Federation - the Group of 8 - and the principles contained in the paper presented in Belgrade by the President of Finland and the Special Representative of the Russian Federation which was accepted by the Government of the Federal Republic on 3 June. Both documents were included as annexes to the Resolution. The principles included, among others, an immediate and verifiable end to violence and repression in Kosovo; the withdrawal of the military, police, and paramilitary forces of the Federal Republic; deployment of effective international and security presences, with substantial NATO participation in the security presence and unified command and control; establishment of an interim administration; the safe and free return of all refugees; a political process providing for substantial self-government, as well as the demilitarization of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA); and a comprehensive approach to the economic development of the crisis region.

The Security Council authorized member states and relevant international organizations to establish the international security presence, and decided

that its responsibilities would include deterring renewed hostilities, demilitarizing the KLA and establishing a secure environment for the return of refugees in which the international civil presence could operate. The Security Council also authorized the U.N. Secretary-General to establish the international civil presence and requested him to appoint a Special Representative to control its implementation. Following the adoption of UNSCR 1244, General Jackson, acting on the instructions of the North Atlantic Council, made immediate preparations for the rapid deployment of the security force (Operation Joint Guardian), mandated by the United Nations Security Council.

The first NATO-led elements (force backed by diplomacy— seize and secure) entered Kosovo at 5 a.m. on 12 June. On this same day, a Russian convoy coming from SFOR, through Serbia, arrived at Pristina airport as well. As agreed in the Military Technical Agreement, the deployment of the security force— Kosovo Force (KFOR) — was synchronized with the departure of Serbian security forces from Kosovo that had started on 10 June. During the Kosovo entry, security capability was enhanced by the use of attack helicopters provided from Task Force Hawk. At 12 p.m. on 20 June, the Serbian withdrawal was completed (12 hours ahead of schedule) and KFOR was well established in Kosovo.

At its full strength KFOR would be comprised of some 50,000 personnel. It was a multinational force under unified command and control with substantial NATO participation. An agreement had been reached on the arrangements for participation by the Russian Federation. More than twelve other non-NATO nations also indicated their intention to contribute to KFOR. Also on 20 June, following confirmation by the Supreme Allied Command Europe (SACEUR) that Serbian security forces had vacated Kosovo, the Secretary General of NATO announced that, in accordance with the Military Technical Agreement, he had formally terminated the air campaign. On 21 June, the UCK undertaking of demilitarization and transformation was assigned by COM KFOR and the Commander in Chief of the UCK (Mr. Hashim Thaci), moving KFOR into a new phase of enforcing the peace and supporting the implementation of a civil administration under the auspices of the United Nations.

The NATO-led KFOR command has undergone a number of changes since its arrival in Kosovo on 12 June 1999. The initial KFOR deployment was under the command of the Allied Command Europe Rapid Reaction Corps (ARRC) and headed by British Lt General Sir Michael Jackson.

General Jackson handed over the command to German General Klaus Reinhardt of Allied Land Forces Central Europe (LANDCENT) in October 1999. After 6 months, April 2000, General Reinhardt handed over the command to Spanish Lt General Juan Ortuno, commander of the five-nation European military force, EURO CORPS. EURO CORPS was originally a Franco-German initiative, but today it consists of soldiers from Belgium, Luxembourg and Spain as well as France and Germany. A 1993 agreement between SACEUR and EURO CORPS specified that EURO CORPS would adapt itself to NATO structures and procedures for rapid integration into NATO if necessary and this was the basis for its use in KFOR. EURO CORPS assumed command of KFOR and placed some of its staff in key KFOR positions but did not replace all of the NATO-nations staffed KFOR Headquarters' elements. In October 2000, command of KFOR was turned over to Italian Lt General Carlo Cabigiosu from Allied Forces Southern Europe (AFSOUTH). KFOR commanders all came under SACEUR who, up until May 2000, was U.S. Army General Wesley Clark and was replaced then by U.S. Air Force General Joseph Ralston.

Kosovo Is Not Bosnia

There are some similarities between Bosnia and Kosovo. Slobodan Milosevic was responsible for both calamities and the calamities were in the same general geographical and cultural areas. The violence directed against the ethnic Albanian civilians in Kosovo by Serbian paramilitary groups was indistinguishable from that directed against Bosniaks and Croats in Bosnia. Although there were important lessons learned in Bosnia, there were also significant differences between the two operations that precluded directly applying all lessons from Bosnia. Considering the application without understanding the Kosovo uniqueness could have had particularly dangerous results, a mindset referred to as preparing to fight the last war. Kosovo was not Bosnia and most likely never will be. Some of the Kosovo differences the military had to understand and deal with follow.

Bosnia was a historical sideshow for Serbs whereas Kosovo was center stage. Technically, Bosnia was independent when it became subject to Serbian interference, but Kosovo was still internationally recognized as part of Yugoslavia. Kosovo is the mystical heartland of Serbian nationalism. It is central to the Serbian people's perception of themselves

and lies at the heart of the Serbian military, religious, and economic history. Three of the greatest battles in Serbian history took place in Kosovo Polje (near Pristina the capital of Kosovo) and all were against the Islamic power of the time. The Serbian vision of themselves as warriors and the defenders of Christendom are rooted in Kosovo. The rise of the independent Serbian church began there in the late 1300s and three of the greatest monasteries in the church's history lie in Kosovo—Decani, Pec, and Gračnica. Economically, Kosovo has always been a source of raw materials and hard currency because of its mineral wealth. The Trepça mine complex north of Mitrovica and its older and currently non-productive mine in Novo Brdo have been key drivers in the economy of the Former Republic of Yugoslavia for hundreds of years. As a result of its significant place in Serbian history, Kosovo was not just another province to be lost once again to the Islamic invaders, but rather a birthright for all Serbs.

Albanians living in Kosovo are culturally and socially similar to those living in Albania. They value their families and ethnic heritage, and personal honor is also important. A majority of Albanians honor a traditional institution called the *besa* (sworn truce). Adherence to the *besa*, family honor, hospitality, and a patriarchal order are considered the basis for successful relationships. In contrast to the situations in Croatia and Bosnia, little internecine warfare has occurred between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo. There are other Albanians who engaged in blood feuds, resisted governance by others, and distrusted outsiders. Among Albanians this behavior is referred to as the Kanun or Code of Lek Dukagjin (a system of customary law passed on through oral tradition through the centuries). The taking of blood for blood and head for head described in the code are only part of the numerous references regulating grazing rights, abandoned land, the hospitality extended to guests, the protection of religious property, and the working of mills and blacksmithies. The people of Kosovo have actively engaged in blood feuds for much of this century but unlike Montenegro and Albania, where the clan took vengeance, in Kosovo it was extended family (oldest male, usually the grandfather, resides as lord of the house and the household can extend to include second cousins) that was the main executor of retribution.

The international community did not view the conflict in Bosnia to be a catalytic war, but Kosovo was. All-out fighting in the province could have threatened to involve Albania and Montenegro to fracture

Montenegro, and possibly even involve Greece and Turkey. It, therefore, became necessary to be more careful about entering over Kosovo than was the case for Bosnia. A few NATO bombing runs helped bring Milosevic to the table over Bosnia in 1995 but this was not the case for Kosovo. Serbian capitulation only came after several months of a devastating bombing campaign that included not only Kosovo but also Serbia and the center of power, Belgrade. The Bosnian Serbs composed a motley and underpowered thuggerly while the Yugoslav military (VJ and air defense) and paramilitary (MUP) posed a much more serious threat to both NATO air and ground forces. To Moscow, Kosovo looked uncomfortably like Chechnya and to Beijing a bit too much like Tibet. In Bosnia, NATO policy was in harmony with the professed aim of the Bosnian state: security and independence for a multiethnic democracy. NATO policy was not in harmony with either moderate or militant Albanians who demanded not a re-established autonomy, but independence. As a result, European allies and NATO were somewhat reluctant to intervene militarily without an enabling UN Security Council resolution.

Overall responsibility for the implementation of the civil and military tasks agreed in the Dayton Peace Agreement for Bosnia was divided between the Peace Implementation Council Steering Board (not a standing internationally recognized political organization) through the Office of the High Representative (OHR) and the North Atlantic Council (NAC) through the NATO chain of command. The OHR was tasked to coordinate the activities of the civilian organizations and to remain in close contact with the IFOR commander. Initially, no formal mechanism existed to develop the unified political direction necessary to synchronize civil and military policy between these two bodies, and this was a significant shortfall that had ramifications across all issue areas. For Kosovo, the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1244 provided the political mandate including the role of the international security force. Specifically, UNSCR 1244 detailed the close relationship required between the civil authorities—United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK)—and the military authorities—Kosovo Force (KFOR). The resolution directed that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG), Dr Bernard Kouchner, coordinate closely with the international security presence (KFOR) to ensure that both presences operated towards the same goals and in a mutually supportive manner. Commander KFOR made it clear to his forces that the success of KFOR was inextricably linked to the

success of UNM IK. An extremely close liaison was maintained between UNM IK and KFOR including daily meetings between the SRSG and COM KFOR and command level staff support to UNM IK and UNM IK liaisons with KFOR and the Multinational Brigades to facilitate planning, coordination, and information sharing.

Deployment of the NATO-led Multinational Implementation Force (IFOR) into Bosnia was the culmination of years of international activity and negotiations to bring the warring parties to the negotiating table and to start the rebuilding process. Military deployment planning commenced more than two years prior to the Dayton Peace Accord being signed. The role of the military was to help the parties implement a peace accord to which they had freely agreed in an even-handed way. It was also believed that the warring factions were ready to quit fighting, at least for a while. Therefore, IFOR was not in Bosnia to fight a war or to impose a settlement on any of the parties. It was there to help create a safe and secure environment for civil and economic reconstruction. At the outset, the first task of the military was to separate the warring factions and create a Zone of Separation. The ZOS was 4 km wide, 2 km on either side of the agreed cease-fire line, between the Federation troops and the Bosnian Serbs. The second most important mission was to ensure that the former warring factions placed all units and equipment in designated barracks and cantonment areas. Following the successful separation of the forces, the military provided a secure environment to allow the rebuilding process to begin.

By contrast, in Kosovo KFOR primary tasks were to ensure the withdrawal of Yugoslav forces, establish law and order, establish a safe and secure environment, and demilitarize the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). The VJ and MUP withdrew without a major incident. There was no zone of separation in Kosovo, but a 25 kilometer wide Air Safety Zone and a 5 kilometer wide Ground Safety Zone were created that extend beyond the Kosovo province border and into the rest of the Former Republic of Yugoslavia. No military forces and equipment were allowed in this area, but verification overflight was permitted. In Bosnia, de facto partitioning occurred with the establishment of the Inter-Entity Boundary Line between the Federation and Serbian Republic and included the reunification of Sarajevo. In Kosovo, the major population groups were and still are mixed together and, while enclaves do exist, boundaries or security zones do not protect them. As a consequence, the ethnic populations mixed every day in a very

uneasy and tenuous truce. The Kosovo people were not war weary. Much of the population in Bosnia was tired of fighting after years of conflict. In Kosovo, the overt and truly violent conflict really only lasted less than a year and there was plenty of fight left in many of the former belligerents. Hence, a major challenge was keeping the lid on ethnic tensions and tackling crime. Demilitarization of the KLA was successfully implemented and it was transformed into the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC), civilian emergency organization under the UN interim administration. Its 5,000 members have sworn to abide by the instructions of legal authorities, to respect human rights and to perform all duties without any ethnic, religious or racial bias. It was intended to be a multi-ethnic organization and Albanians, Roma, and Turks have joined, but no Serbs yet.

Unlike Bosnia, where French and UK forces were already in place as part of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and a UN communications infrastructure existed in country that could be and was used by deploying elements of IFOR, there were no Allied forces in Kosovo and no communications infrastructure to support the deployment. Fortunately, during the last weeks of May, NATO nations built up KFOR force levels in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in anticipation of a possible ground deployment. Successful resolution of the Kosovo conflict demanded that the departing VJ and MUP forces be followed closely by arriving KFOR ground forces in order to avoid a power vacuum in the cities and countryside where attacks and reprisals by Serbs and Albanians needed to be kept in check by threat of the use of military force. The KFOR intent was to hug the VJ and MUP as closely as possible during their withdrawal.

Both Bosnia and Kosovo were multinational military operations and the respective countries were divided into sectors and a responsible lead-nation military was assigned to each sector under a single chain of command and under the authority of a NATO commander. In Bosnia there were three sectors: North, Southeast, and Southwest. Multinational Divisions were assigned to each under Commander IFOR: MND (North) under the United States, MND Southeast under the French and MND Southwest under the UK. Kosovo was divided into five sectors and multinational brigades led by France, Germany, Italy, the UK, and the United States were assigned to each under Commander KFOR.

Serious challenges faced KFOR upon arrival in Kosovo. The threat of conventional conflict was very real. Yugoslav military forces were still present in large numbers. The VJ was not defeated on the battlefield and it was not clear if they intended to fully comply with the MTA requiring its peaceful and complete withdrawal. Deploying KFOR forces had meeting engagements with withdrawing VJ operational forces, had convoys that intermingled and had to deal with a continuous stream of well-armed stragglers. The Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK), too, were well-armed and highly visible. They believed they won the war and ought to have a right to enjoy the fruits of their victory. Furthermore, the KLA (UCK) had its sights on becoming the Army of Kosovo, but KFOR had plans to disarm and demilitarize them. In fact, disarming some heavily armed KLA forces was necessary in earlier stages of the KFOR deployment. There were also splinter groups, the rogue warriors, who participated for personal gains that had to be dealt with. Fighting was still going on. There were far too few interpreters and linguists to help KFOR soldiers on the ground to deal with serious conflict situations. Sign language only goes so far in trying to deconflict fighting situations when one doesn't speak the language. Nearly a million people were refugees outside of Kosovo and many started to return in the middle of the KFOR deployment. Many of those who had remained in Kosovo lived in daily fear for their lives. Homes were destroyed, roads and fields mined, bridges down, schools and hospitals out of action. Radio and TV was off the air.

In Bosnia, even after years of civil war, there were still competent, functioning civil governments when IFOR deployed. In Kosovo there was no civil government, no law enforcement, no judicial system, no functioning banks, commerce was reduced to a barter system, and public services supporting transportation, water, power, telecommunications, and garbage collection were dysfunctional. Unemployment was widespread, exceeding 90 percent. Crime was flourishing. Ethnic violence and revenge killings were common occurrences. The military quickly found themselves in the position of becoming mayor, fire chief, police chief, dial 911 emergency services, and any other role necessary to bring stability and law and order to the towns and areas occupied. Ordinary life in Kosovo was suspended. Visions of the Wild West, Roaring 20s, Mafia and Organized Crime, and City Gangs all come to mind when one thinks of the Kosovo ground environment of the NATO-led Operation Joint Guardian.

In Bosnia, establishment of the OHR and other international organizations in country was significantly behind the NATO military force deployment. The OHR had to be created, funded, and staffed after the military had already arrived and was not given the overall authority that was required to direct and synthesize multiple civil and military actions. Furthermore, the OHR was not a UN Special Representative with UN authority and the United Nations was reluctant to play a lead role in Bosnia after its poor UNPROFOR experience. The NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) did not report to the OHR. IFOR reported to the North Atlantic Council (NAC) through the NATO chain of command and the OHR reported to the Peace Implementation Council Steering Board. Therefore, there was no internationally recognized political organization providing overall direction. This hampered synchronization of civil-military activities and actors operated autonomously within a loose framework of cooperation, but without a formal structure for developing unified policy.

In Kosovo, UNMIK tried to do better with the establishment of a four-pillar structure (UNHCR— Humanitarian Assistance; UN Civil Administration— Districts, UNIP, Judiciary; OSCE— Police Schools, Media, Elections; and EU— Reconstruction Investments) under its leadership, but this was a first-ever civil administration operation for them, procedures were not adequate to guide their actions and it was difficult to get qualified and experienced staff to fill key UN positions. Under the UNMIK construct, KFOR was employed to support the four-pillar structure by providing a safe and secure environment. The NATO-led KFOR had its own reporting chain and COM KFOR was not the UN Force Commander. Although KFOR proved not to be a paper tiger and the UNMIK approach showed good potential, there was a lack of a clear international vision and agreed strategy and plan for Kosovo. In some cases there was even a lack of UNMIK authority for directing and synchronizing activities of the civil-military actors and this added frustration.

For Kosovo, UNSCR 1244 gave KFOR full responsibility for Kosovo until the arrival of the UN Civil Authorities. KFOR provided law and order and began to rebuild the shattered infrastructure and prepare for a return to normalcy. KFOR troops cleared mines and unexploded munitions. Bridges, roads, and radio transmitters had to be repaired. Military engineers had to bring up the main Kosovo power station near Pristina, organize garbage collection, and generally restore vital community services with the priority being schools, hospitals, and

other public facilities such as power, water, and telecommunications. With the onset of winter in mind, emphasis had to be placed on repairing villages in the high mountains. These were not tasks ordinarily associated with classical soldiering. As a result, for both Bosnian and Kosovo operations, the military, in addition to providing security, had to fill gaps where there was an absence of credible civil agency capabilities to act and this raised expectations for continued military support for such actions (some times referred to as mission creep) and in some cases slowed the creation of the necessary civilian capabilities to meet the infrastructure reconstruction and nation-building needs.

Despite these frustrations and coordination challenges, including coordination of the efforts of over 250 non-governmental organizations (NGO) and an almost impenetrable tangle of international organizations jointly responsible for establishing a new civil order, the early collaborative efforts and close working relationship of UNMIK and KFOR resulted in some progress being made after 1 year, but achieving a stable civil administration in Kosovo remained a significant challenge.

Unlike the military that can act and react swiftly, thanks to its command structure, training, discipline, and capabilities on the ground, civil bureaucracies lack many of these qualities and capabilities and take far longer to act. UNMIK has begun to take over much of the work started by KFOR, most importantly the UNMIK police have begun to assume police responsibilities and have established and started training the civilian police, the Kosovo Police Service.

The end of one year of UNMIK presence complicated the civil administration situation in Kosovo due to the fact that at there was a pending turnover of some of the non-military organizations such as UNMIK police and UN Civil Administration staff. These changes could introduce continuity and coordination problems and loss of institutional knowledge that might add unneeded challenges to achieving and sustaining a stable operation. In Kosovo, UNMIK also suffered from an unusually high turnover of staff and lack of available skilled staff willing to fill key vacancies. The military exit strategy in Kosovo is directly tied to the success of UNMIK. Although some progress has been made to date, it has been limited and this suggests that the military and international organizations may be there for some time to come.

United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK)

The task before the international community is to help the people in Kosovo to rebuild their lives and heal the wounds of conflict.

— U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan

In Kosovo, the United Nations faced a sweeping undertaking that was unprecedented in its complexity and scope for any international institution. No other mission had ever been designed in which other multilateral organizations were full partners under United Nations leadership.

Mandate:

On 10 June, the Security Council authorized the Secretary-General to establish in Kosovo an interim international civilian administration under which the people of the war-ravaged province could enjoy substantial autonomy. The Council took its action by adopting resolution 1244 after NATO suspended its air operations following the withdrawal of security forces of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from Kosovo.

Two days later, Secretary-General Kofi Annan presented to the Council an operational concept of what since has come to be known as the *United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo* (UNMIK). On 12 July, in his follow-up report to the Council, the Secretary-General presented a comprehensive framework of the UN-led international civil operation in Kosovo.

Tasks:

The Security Council vested authority in the UN mission over the territory and people of Kosovo, including all legislative and executive powers, as well as the administration of the judiciary. Never before had the United Nations assumed such broad, far-reaching, and important executive tasks. As the Secretary-General said, the United Nations will have an immense task of restoring a semblance of normal life to the province.

Among its key tasks, the mission was to:

- promote the establishment of substantial autonomy and self-government in Kosovo;

- perform basic civilian administrative functions;
- facilitate a political process to determine Kosovo's future status;
- support the reconstruction of key infrastructure and humanitarian and disaster relief;
- maintain civil law and order;
- promote human rights; and
- assure the safe and unimpeded return of all refugees and displaced persons to their homes in Kosovo.

Operational Framework:

In a massive international effort to turn war-devastated Kosovo into a functioning, democratic society, four international organizations and agencies would work together in one operation under the leadership of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Dr. Bernard Kouchner (France), who assumed office on 15 July. He took over from the Secretary-General's interim Special Representative, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, who led the UN's advance team to Kosovo to immediately establish a UN presence on the ground, assess the situation, and finalize an operational concept for the UN mission in Kosovo.

As chief of mission, Dr. Kouchner presided over the four sectors involved with implementing the civilian aspects of rehabilitating and reforming Kosovo.

Those sectors, also known as the four pillars, were:

- **civil administration**, under the United Nations itself;
- **humanitarian assistance**, led by the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees;
- **democratization and institution-building**, led by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe; and
- **economic reconstruction**, managed by the European Union.

General Strategy:

The work of UNMIK was to be conducted in five integrated phases:

Phase I—The mission will set up administrative structures, deploy international civilian police, provide emergency assistance for returning refugees and displaced people, restore public services and train local police and judiciary. It will also develop a phased economic recovery plan and seek to establish a self-sustaining economy.

Phase II—The focus will be on administration of social services and utilities, and consolidation of the rule of law. Administration of such sectors as health and education could be transferred to local and possibly regional authorities. Preparation for elections will begin.

Phase III—UNMIK will finalize preparations and conduct elections for a Kosovo Transitional Authority.

Phase IV—UNMIK will help Kosovo's selected representatives organize and set up provisional institutions for democratic and autonomous self-government. As these are established, UNMIK will transfer its remaining administrative responsibilities while supporting the consolidation of Kosovo's provisional institutions.

Phase V—This concluding phase will depend on a final settlement of the status of Kosovo. UNMIK will oversee the transfer of authority from Kosovo's provisional institutions to institutions established under a political settlement.

Kosovo Force (KFOR)

KFOR consisted of 50,000 men and women. Nearly 42,500 were from over 30 countries and deployed in Kosovo and another 7,500 provided rear support through contingents based in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, in Albania, and in Greece. KFOR contingents were grouped into five multinational brigades and a lead nation designated for each multinational brigade. Although brigades were responsible for a specific area of operation, they all fell under a single chain of command and under the authority of Command and KFOR. This meant that all national contingents pursued the same objective to maintain a secure environment in Kosovo. They did so with professionalism and in an even-handed manner towards all ethnic groups.

In accordance with UNSCR 1244, the mission of KFOR was to:

Establish and maintain a secure environment in Kosovo, including public safety and order.

KFOR had the mandate to enforce law and order until the UN mission in Kosovo could fully assume this responsibility. This was achieved by patrols, air surveillance, checkpoints, responses to emergency calls, search operations, border control, investigation of criminal activities, and arrest or detention of suspected criminals. After just 3 months in Kosovo, KFOR troops arrested hundreds of suspected criminals, confiscated weapons and ammunition, and restored the overall security and stability of the province. KFOR presence allowed more than 775,000 refugees and displaced people to come back into Kosovo and feel secure again. A constant drop in the rate of murder, arson, and looting signaled a potential return to normal life might not be far ahead. Special attention was paid to the protection of minorities, who were often the victims of ethnic tensions and hatred.

Monitor, verify, and when necessary, enforce compliance with the conditions of the Military Technical Agreement and the UCK undertaking.

KFOR was actively involved in the demilitarization of Kosovo. With the arrival of KFOR, military and police forces from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia completed their withdrawal and met the final timelines of the Military Technical Agreement. Also KLA forces were compliant with the terms of the Undertaking of Demilitarization and Transformation. This Undertaking was a voluntary commitment for immediate cessation of hostilities and for a step-by-step demilitarization of the KLA, which was completed on 20 September 1999. Tons of weapons and ammunition were seized or handed to KFOR. These included thousands of pistols and rifles, hand grenades, anti-personnel mines, rocket launchers, artillery pieces, mortar bombs, rifle bombs, anti-tank mines, fuses, explosives, and even anti-tank rockets and missiles. The KLA was disbanded and all KLA weapons stored in secure weapons storage sites under the control of KFOR. The transformation of the former KLA was underway through resettlement programs, the creation of the Kosovo Police Service, and the stand-up of the Kosovo Protection Corps, which was to be an unarmed civil relief organization involved in the rebuilding of Kosovo's infrastructure.

Provide assistance to the UNMIK, including core civil functions until they are transferred to UNMIK.

KFOR and UNMIK were partners in an international effort to restore Kosovo and help the local population to transform the province into a free and democratic society open to all. Although KFOR's main responsibility was to create a secure environment, the multinational force provided resources, skills, and manpower to various organizations and agencies working under the UNMIK umbrella. Examples of KFOR involvement can be found in a variety of sectors such as: public works and utilities, construction, transportation, railway operations, mine clearance, border security, fire services, protection of international workers, food distribution, removal of unexploded ordnance, mine-awareness education, medical services, etc.

Nations Contributing to KFOR (KFOR HQ, Pristina)

Kosovo was divided into five sectors and a lead nation from the members of the NATO alliance was assigned responsibility for each sector. For each sector, a Multinational Brigade (MNB) was established under Command of KFOR. The United States was responsible for MNB (East), the French for MNB (North), the Italians for MNB (West), the Germans for MNB (South) and the British for MNB (Central). Nations contributing troops in support of KFOR and the MNBs were as follows:

NATO Nations

- Belgium
- Canada
- Czech Republic
- Denmark
- France (MNB -North HQ, Mitrovica)
- Germany (MNB -South HQ, Prizren))
- Greece
- Hungary
- Iceland
- Italy (MNB -West HQ, Pec)
- Luxembourg

The Netherlands
Norway
Poland
Portugal
Spain
Turkey
United Kingdom (MNB-CentralHQ, Pristina)
United States (MNB-EastHQ, Urosevac)

Non-NATO Nations

Argentina
Austria
Azerbaijan
Bulgaria
Estonia
Finland
Georgia
Ireland
Jordan
Lithuania
Morocco
Russia (North)— Russia (East)
Slovakia
Slovenia
Sweden
Switzerland
Ukraine
United Arab Emirates (North)— United Arab Emirates (East)

On the basis of the MTA and UNSCR 1244 agreement, the Greek Governmental Council on Foreign Policy and National Defense met on 11 June 1999 and decided to send a Hellenic Contingent of brigade level (34 M ech. BDE), in the framework of Operation Joint Guardian, under the name of GFSU (Greek Force Support Unit) whose task would be to create a safe environment for the inhabitants of Kosovo and to secure the safe return of refugees and those expelled. The tasks of the GFSU were as follows:

- Monitor, verify, and enforce as necessary the provisions of the Military Technical Agreement in order to secure a safe and secure environment;
- Establish and support the resumption of core civil functions;
- Provide combat support and combat service support throughout the KFOR area of operation in order to facilitate COM KFOR's mission;
- Assist in the movement and destruction of confiscated weapons, including EOD support;
- Assist UNMIK in the reestablishment of civil infrastructure;
- Provide response to traffic accidents and incidents;
- Provide convoy escorts as directed; and
- Perform medical exams and evacuation to population of Kosovo.

As a result of the successes achieved in Bosnia, a Multinational Specialized Unit (MSU) was assigned to COM KFOR and elements to his MNBs. The MSU is a military police force. The MSU in KFOR consists of a Regiment of Italian Carabinieri and a Platoon of Austrian Army. The MSU elements from the Italian Carabinieri have substantial experience in combating organized crime and terrorism. The MSU possesses human resource and dedicated investigative tools to analyze subversive and criminal organizations structure and provides prevention and repression resources to be used as a KFOR asset. MSU conduct general patrolling operations in order to maintain a regular presence within the KFOR AOR. Such operations are in support of KFOR routine patrol activity and allow the MSU to interact with the local community while deepening their overall knowledge of evolving criminal and security assets of each area. Each detachment in the KFOR AOR has a different strength depending on the public order and security situation of the area. The primary tasks of the MSU are:

- Maintenance of a secure environment;
- Law enforcement;
- Information gathering;

- Presence patrol;
- Civil disturbance operations;
- Counterterrorism ;and
- Criminal intelligence on organized crime.

KFOR Headquarters Rear in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has its Headquarters at the *Gazella* Shoe Factory in the capital Skopje. Headquarters Rear is responsible for sustaining the so-called Communications Zone (COMMZ) in the KFOR theater rear area. The KFOR COMMZ area of responsibility encompasses the sovereign independent nations FYR of Macedonia, Greece (COMMZ South), Albania (COMMZ West), and, to a certain extent, Bulgaria (COMMZ East). Personnel from 17 nations are present in the HQ Rear in Skopje. Seventeen of the 39 participating nations in Kosovo have National Support Elements (NSE) south of the border. There are approximately 4,000 troops in the FYR of Macedonia. The main mission of the headquarters is the reception, staging, onward movement, and integration of KFOR contingents moving through the COMMZ. KFOR Headquarters Rear is also the primary point of contact for the respective National Support Elements. At times, 1,000 military vehicles per day can cross the respective national borders in convoys.

KFOR is very aware of the fact that they are guests in the FYR of Macedonia and in Albania and therefore, cooperation and collaboration with the national authorities has highest priority. NATO has a liaison office in Skopje and has formed several working groups between KFOR and the host nation to address border issues, customs, and environmental protection issues. In regard to the latter, KFOR has concerns about environmental protection and continuous attempts are made to minimize the impact of operations on the environment or the local infrastructure. In such cases in which an impact on the environment was unavoidable and damages were caused, KFOR does its utmost to restore the environment to its original state or to compensate the host nation for damages. KFOR spends between \$500,000 and \$1 million (U.S.) per day in the FYR of Macedonia to purchase food, supplies, and services for the troops in Kosovo. The Headquarters Rear and the National Elements employ approximately 230 local civilians. Additionally, the guest nations donate to a variety of purposes and KFOR troops provide assistance in schools and participate in local community projects. KFOR Rear's Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) branch is

involved in a multitude of projects in close cooperation with the leaders in villages, schools and other institutions.

UNMIK and KFOR Successes and Failures After 1 Year

On 12 June 1999, KFOR arrived in the province where at least 900,000 people, mostly Kosovo Albanians, had either been evicted, or had fled in fear for their lives. Tens of thousands of Albanians were feared dead. Most cities, such as Pristina the capital, were ghost towns. The civil structures, economy, and administrative services were dysfunctional and there was no law and order. A lot has changed in a year and despite setbacks, lack of hope, and challenges for the future, UNMIK and KFOR can claim some accomplishments and successes in this war-torn province. The United Nations Special Representative Bernard Kouchner stated at a 1-year anniversary press conference, "The Kosovo mission is a success.. Technically, politically, in terms of administration, in terms of human rights, in terms of protection, we have achieved a lot."

Under KFOR's protection, the vast majority of Albanians have been able to return, albeit at a speed and in numbers much greater than predicted. The VJ/MUP forces withdrew without major incidents, although some looting and burning took place as they left. However, neither KFOR nor the United Nations anticipated the level of revenge violence against remaining Serbs that would accompany the return of Albanian refugees to Kosovo. The flow of ethnic cleansing suddenly reversed and KFOR priorities had to be shifted quickly towards the protection of minorities and prevention of reprisals. To prevent attacks, or acts of revenge, KFOR increased the number of troops on the ground at any one time. For example, in Multinational Brigade East alone, 190 security patrols were mounted every day, 65 checkpoints were manned and 64 facilities, such as Serbian patrimonial sites, were guarded. The growing UNMIK police presence throughout the province also helped to deter violence and maintain law and order. As a result of KFOR and UNMIK efforts, security improved in general but remained a significant challenge in the Serbian areas where KFOR continued to provide 24-hours-a-day, 7-days-a-week protection. UNMIK and KFOR continue to focus on trying to make the Serbs feel safe in Kosovo and to

encourage others who left the province to come back. Few Serbs have returned but efforts continue to be pursued to facilitate more returns.

Since KFOR arrival, the KLA has been demilitarized and transformed. Its former members are now contributing to the rebuilding of Kosovo as civilians, through their participation in the Kosovo Police Service or in the provisional Kosovo Protection Corps. In addition to the thousands of weapons voluntarily handed over as part of the demilitarization process, over 12,000 illegally held weapons have been confiscated and are now in the process of being destroyed. Some of the former illegal weapons owners are in custody and the amnesty campaign currently ongoing has resulted in many more weapons being voluntarily surrendered.

UNMIK alone employs some 70,000 local public workers and KFOR and contractors such as Brown and Root who support MNB (E) also employ a large number of locals. In fact, Brown and Root may be the largest company employing locals. It has been estimated that about 500,000 students have returned to school, many being ethnic Albanians who had not been allowed to attend classes for a decade. Reconstruction of political and financial structure was underway as well.

When KFOR arrived, there were an estimated 40,000 land mines in the province, laid either by Yugoslav forces or the KLA. KFOR Explosive Ordnance Disposal (EOD) teams cleared mines from all the major routes and population centers, and also marked the remaining sites known to contain mines or other unexploded ordnance. Mines and unexploded ordnance were cleared from more than 16,000 homes, 1,200 schools, and 1,200 miles of road. KFOR ran an extensive mine awareness campaign in the media and through visits to local schools. The work done by KFOR EOD was not without risk and unfortunately, it has taken its toll—two KFOR EOD personnel have lost their lives and three have been injured in clearing the mines.

Crime was out of control on the streets when KFOR arrived. UNMIK police crime statistics show a huge decline since the KFOR and UNMIK police arrived. There has been a decrease in murders, arson, kidnappings, and looting. Murder rates of about 50 per week have been reduced to an average of 6 per week.

In many other areas, KFOR has provided support to UNMIK and NGOs through its involvement in reconstruction and humanitarian projects.

KFOR has built or repaired 200 km of roads and reconstructed or repaired 6 major bridges. Key infrastructure such as schools and utilities have been repaired and brought back into service. KFOR doctors and other medical specialists have treated approximately 50,000 local patients and 13 military field hospitals have been set up. KFOR assisted UNMIK in importing and distributing humanitarian aid, including food, clothing, and building materials for houses. Key to this effort was the restoration of the region's aging power plant near Pristina and the province's transportation system, including the reopening of Pristina airport and starting to get the rail system working again through the repair of hundreds of miles of railroad.

The presence of crowds of people, largely Albanians, walking safely on the streets, doing their daily business or shopping, or simply buying a local newspaper printed without censorship, provides further testament to UNMIK and KFOR achievements. However, in spite of these positive accomplishments and the presence of KFOR soldiers, the international community has failed to stop a new wave of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. In fear of reprisals and their safety, the intellectual Serbs left during the air war and many of the other Serbs left as the Yugoslav army pulled out of Kosovo and none have returned. After the summer of 1999 less than half of the pre-air war Serbian population was left in Kosovo. The approximately 100,000 remaining Serbs lived in enclaves or divided cities and as noted earlier, were protected 24 hours a day, 7 days a week by KFOR soldiers. Moderate Serbian leaders, such as Bishop Ardanije, President of the Serbian National Council of Kosovo, has reported that during the first year of the KFOR operation more than 1,000 Serbs have been killed, some 1,200 have been kidnapped or disappeared, over 10,000 Serbian homes have been destroyed, some 80 Serbian churches have been destroyed, and the violence against Serbs continues. Serbs have been expelled from firms and institutions where they worked and the Albanians control the education and medical system. The Serbs no longer have freedom of movement and their civil and human rights have essentially been taken away. Although the violence and attacks against Serbs has decreased somewhat, it has not ceased. The remaining Serbs are barely surviving and there is a fear that they will eventually disappear from Kosovo.

A lot remains to be done, especially in restoring human rights and providing freedom of movement and opportunities for the Serbs. The violence must end before the peace process can move forward. KFOR

can only try to provide a secure and safe environment. Real peace must be built by the people in Kosovo themselves. Mutual acceptance of the different ethnic groups is key to the future.

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