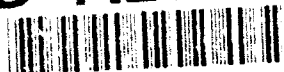


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**COLLECTIVE ENGAGEMENT,
PEACEKEEPING, AND OPERATIONS
OTHER THAN WAR**

BY

LIEUTENANT COLONEL JAMES M. WILLEY
United States Army

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ABSTRACT

Since the end of World War II, the use of military forces to help achieve peace, without resorting to violence, has gained wide acceptance. Most recently, the demise of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War have ushered in a new era of international cooperation and a surge of peacekeeping activity. United Nations peacekeeping operations are rapidly expanding. A stable, prosperous, and peaceful world is the best guarantee of our national security. Traditional ideas of how to achieve international security are being transformed in the face of an emerging new world order. Collective and cooperative security is based on two working premises: National security is virtually impossible without the active cooperation of others; and international institutions and regimes, entered into voluntarily by member states, must serve to manage conflict. Cooperative security emphasizes an international commitment to common values, human rights, peace, security, and stability.

The United States can no longer afford to police the world unilaterally. The reality of fewer resources (money, manpower, and equipment) within the Department of Defense will force the nation to seek alternative means to accomplish its objectives. The United States has a unique opportunity to provide world leadership and contribute in a meaningful way to global peace. No mechanism will prove more appropriate to this contribution than one in which this nation has participated and played a leading role for nearly forty years--peacekeeping.

What is peacekeeping? This study will provide a historical review of peacekeeping; establish terms, definitions, and principles associated with peacekeeping operations; and provide an assessment of three key issues--doctrine, operational concept, and legitimacy--relating to the United States Army's role in peacekeeping operations.

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COLLECTIVE ENGAGEMENT, PEACEKEEPING,
AND OPERATIONS OTHER THAN WAR

AN INDIVIDUAL STUDY PROJECT

by

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"We are now concerned with the peace of the entire world and the peace can only be maintained by the strong."

GENERAL GEORGE C. MARSHALL

Since the end of World War II, the use of military forces to help achieve peace, without resorting to violence, has gained wide acceptance. Most recently, the demise of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War have ushered in a new era of international cooperation and a surge of peacekeeping activity. United Nations peacekeeping operations are rapidly expanding. A stable, prosperous, and peaceful world is the best guarantee of our national security. Traditional ideas of how to achieve international security are being transformed in the face of an emerging new world order. Collective and cooperative security is based on two working premises: National security is virtually impossible without the active cooperation of others; and international institutions and regimes, entered into voluntarily by member states, must serve to manage conflict. Cooperative security emphasizes an international commitment to common values, human rights, peace, security, and stability.

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What is peacekeeping? This study will provide a historical review of peacekeeping; establish terms, definitions, and principles associated with peacekeeping operations; and provide an assessment of three key issues--doctrine, operational concept, and legitimacy--relating to the United States Army's role in peacekeeping operations.

INTRODUCTION

The Cold War is over. Democratic, independent, and free nations of the world are uniting to establish a New World Order; a global community of free and sovereign states promoting international peace and democracy. The United States must ensure its security as a free and independent nation while protecting its fundamental values, institutions, and population through a strategy of collective engagement, world leadership, and participation. The national military strategy must continue to focus on deterrence, military power, and promoting democracy as the nation witnesses the most significant transformation of its security environment in this century. The national senior leadership, political and military, must provide a coherent articulation of the national security strategy to usher this great nation into an era of peace and prosperity. This national security strategy must then be effectively translated into a cogent military strategy and valid operational tasks as the nation prepares for increased involvement in collective engagement and operations other than war. In the future, the United States may need less military capability; however, America won't need military capability any less!

What is peacekeeping? This study will provide a historical review of peacekeeping; establish terms, definitions, and principles associated with peacekeeping operations; and provide an assessment of three key issues--doctrine, operational concept, and legitimacy--relating to the United States Army's role in peacekeeping operations.

As the security environment of the world becomes more complex, and as the search continues for new roles for military forces, American foreign policy must focus on the issue of peacekeeping. As the nation enters an era of diminished resources, the capabilities-based force structure is becoming more dependent on adaptive, joint-force packages to maximize military capabilities and efficiencies. Joint, combined, interagency, and integrated operations will become more common as the nation continues to shape a combat force designed to defeat enemy forces while maintaining a collateral capability to participate in operations other than war. The peaceful use of military power is the most appropriate and elegant use of military capability in this new environment. The United States has the responsibility to shape and influence the international security environment and cannot afford to deny this capability to the world. The employment of military force as an instrument of power during peacetime engagement will continue to provide a major contribution to US national security and interests in the next decade. Clear national commitment, carefully articulated political objectives, a concise supporting military strategy, and the identification of military objectives in support of that strategy are key to the successful application of military force.

Before proceeding further, one must clearly understand and appreciate the unique and complex nature of peacekeeping operations. In order to provide a basic understanding, it is important to review the historical evolution of these operations.

HISTORY OF PEACEKEEPING

The United Nations (UN) was established by Charter on October 24, 1945, by the five permanent members of the Security Council--China, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom, and the United States--as an international organization with the following purpose: maintain international peace and security; develop friendly relations among nations; achieve international cooperation in solving economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining these common ends. There were 51 original signatories to the Charter. UN membership is open to all "peace-loving" states that accept the obligations of the UN Charter and, in the judgement of the organization, are able and willing to fulfill these obligations."¹ There are 166 members in the United Nations today.

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) has the "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security."² However, it recommends that states first make every effort to settle their disputes peacefully, either bilaterally or through regional organizations. Under the Charter, the Security Council has the power to make decisions which member governments must carry out. The basic authorization and justification for United Nations peacekeeping operations is covered under Chapter Six of the Charter, "Pacific Settlement of Disputes." The Security Council "may investigate any dispute, or any situation

which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute."³ Recommended procedures or methods of resolution, if determined that the situation may adversely affect international peace and security, are not binding on UN members.

Since its creation, the United Nations has assisted in the resolution of many outbreaks of international violence. "The first UN initiative to help keep the peace with deployed forces was the UN Temporary Commission in Korea in 1947."⁴ However, peacekeeping was first recognized and conducted as a military operation in 1948 when the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) was created and deployed in support of ending the first Arab-Israeli war. Interestingly, after 45 years in search of a peaceful solution to peace and stability in the Middle East, this peacekeeping operation continues today. This recognizes the fact that peacekeeping operations have brought a degree of stability to several areas of tension around the world. The term peacekeeping force first came into use in 1956 when the United Nations established the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) to supervise the disengagement of forces after the invasion of Egypt in the Suez War.

The fact that fourteen peacekeeping operations have been conducted in the last five years, more than the number conducted in the previous forty-year history of the UN, indicates the growing demand for these operations. The United Nations currently has nearly 50,000 troops deployed worldwide in support of peacekeeping operations. The leadership, management, support,

and training of these forces has been challenged recently, but the greatest strain has been financial.

The total costs of UN peacekeeping operations now exceed \$8.3 billion. The UN budget for peacekeeping operations has increased four-fold this year, from 700 million to nearly 3 billion dollars. The unpaid arrears towards them stand at over \$800 million, which represents a debt owed by the Organization to the troop-contributing countries.⁵ Most importantly, the increased demand for these operations is a direct result of greater acceptance of peacekeeping as a legitimate means for reducing violence and facilitating peacemaking.

The United Nations has been the most frequent sponsor of peacekeeping operations; however, they are not the only international organization involved in peacekeeping operations. Regional organizations such as the Organization of American States (OAS), the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and the Arab League have all acted to prevent, halt, or contain conflict in their respective regions. "There are numerous reasons why peacekeeping operations are sponsored and conducted by regional and political organizations, multinational groups, or even by a single state. This practice is not in contravention with the UN Charter, which was worded to encourage regional resolution of conflicts prior to bringing matters before the world body."⁶ Similarly, some nations have negotiated multilateral agreements to create peacekeeping missions independent of any international forum. A perfect example of these circumstances is the

Multinational Force and Observers operation in the Sinai. This mission was established through a peace treaty and eventually sponsored outside the UN because of Arab and Soviet opposition to the Camp David Accords. "Although there have been instances of other types of operations--such as the loose coalition of national units known as the Multinational Force (MNF) in Beirut--these operations have usually taken place with the tacit approval of a regional organization or the United Nations."⁷ Regardless of location or circumstances (Lebanon, Israel, Iraq, El Salvador, Angola, Cyprus, Cambodia, Morocco, Somalia, India/Pakistan, and the former Yugoslavia), there has been a significant increase in the demand for peacekeepers. These missions are not always simple and often involve roles not commonly associated with peacekeeping (i.e. programs to train political officers, human rights monitors, election organizers, election officials, relief workers, and civilian police officers).

Cambodia offers a good case study in the recent evolution of peacekeeping operations and the challenges associated with the force development, resourcing, training, and operational employment of peacekeeping forces. The peacekeeping operation in Cambodia is the largest in the history of the United Nations, with a budget approaching \$2 billion and with more than one hundred nations participating. The operation is using about 15,100 soldiers, 2,100 civilian police officers, and an additional 1,000 civilian administrative or support personnel. Cambodia has requested UN support for, and control of, five

functional areas: finance, defense, internal affairs, security, and foreign affairs and information. The United Nations is virtually running the national government. Other supported areas include human rights, election support, repatriation of refugees, border control, and economic mobilization. This represents a significant expansion of the traditional concept of peacekeeping and is unprecedented.

With this historical review of peacekeeping operations as a foundation, it is equally important to discuss the differences in terms, definitions, and principles associated with peacekeeping operations. This information will provide the basis for a more comprehensive review and assessment of the key issues relating to the Army's role in peacekeeping operations.

DEFINITIONS

The term peacekeeping has been used for nearly forty years without official definition. The recent increase in peacekeeping activity has renewed interest in the concept of, and created an increase in, military activity associated with the United Nations and peacekeeping operations. The United Nations defines peacekeeping as "an operation involving military personnel, but without enforcement powers, established by the United Nations to help maintain or restore peace in areas of conflict."⁸

A comprehensive definition, developed by the International Peace Academy (American, British, Canadian, and Australian (ABCA) Armies Combat Development Guide 2010), states the following:

Peacekeeping is the prevention, containment, moderation and termination of hostilities between or within states, through the medium of a peaceful third party intervention, organized and directed internationally, using multinational forces of soldiers, police and civilians to restore and maintain peace.⁹

In emerging US doctrine for operations other than war, the Joint Staff has defined peacekeeping as:

Efforts taken with the consent of the civil or military authorities of the belligerent parties in a conflict to maintain a negotiated truce in support of diplomatic efforts to achieve and maintain peace.¹⁰

In a recent address to a Summit Meeting of the United Nations Security Council, the United Nations Secretary-General provided clearly articulated and current definitions, which he documented and placed in the context of related activities:

PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY - action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur.

PEACEMAKING - action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations.

PEACEKEEPING - the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well. Peacekeeping is a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace.

PEACE ENFORCEMENT - the use of military force to maintain or restore international peace and security in the face of a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression.

POST-CONFLICT PEACE BUILDING - action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.¹¹

Preventive diplomacy seeks to resolve disputes before violence breaks out; peacemaking and peacekeeping are required to halt conflicts and preserve peace, once peace is attained. If successful, they strengthen the opportunity for post-conflict peace building, which can prevent the recurrence of violence among nations and peoples.¹²

At this point, it is important to expand these definitions and analyze operational and technical differences associated with peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peace enforcement. These terms are often used interchangeably and cause confusion, amplifying the evolutionary nature of peacekeeping and the various roles, missions, and scenarios which have been called peacekeeping. Peacemaking is the process of arranging an end to disputes and resolution of issues which led to conflict, primarily through diplomacy, mediation, negotiation, or other forms of peaceful settlement. Peacekeeping is the conduct of non-combat military operations (exclusive of self-defense actions) by outside forces with the consent of all major belligerent parties involved in a conflict (or impending conflict) in order to monitor and facilitate implementation of an existing truce agreement in support of diplomatic efforts to reach a comprehensive peace settlement. Peace Enforcement is a form of armed intervention (or threatened armed intervention) pursuant to international license, formal or informal, in which military force is used

coercively to compel compliance with internationally sanctioned resolutions or patterns of behavior, the primary purpose of which is the maintenance or restoration of peace under conditions broadly acceptable to the international community.

This study will remain focused on peacekeeping operations. In order to fully appreciate the complexity of these operations, one should examine the fundamental factors which characterize and form the parameters of peacekeeping and the employment of peacekeeping forces. Cited as fundamentals, essential elements, and most frequently as principles, the factors which characterize and form the parameters of peacekeeping operations must be carefully examined.

The UN's peacekeeping principles were first promulgated in the 1973 Security Council Resolution that established the second UN peacekeeping operation in Egypt. Further refined, they now form the prerequisites for any UN peacekeeping operation:

(1) deploy only with the full confidence and backing of the Security Council; and

(2) deploy only with full cooperation and consent of the host countries; and that once deployed the force itself was to:

- be under the command of the UN through the Secretary-General;
- enjoy complete freedom of movement in the host countries;
- be international in composition, comprising contingents from nations which were acceptable to the host countries;
- act impartially;
- use force only in self-defence;
- be supplied and administered under the UN arrangements.¹³

Emerging joint doctrine identifies the conditions that must be present at the time a peacekeeping force is established and during the term of its operations:

- (1) The consent, cooperation, and support of the parties to the dispute.
- (2) Political recognition of the peacekeeping force by a portion of the international community.
- (3) A clear, restricted, and realistic mandate or mission with specified and understood rules of engagement (ROE).
- (4) Sufficient freedom of movement for the force, or observers, to carry out their responsibilities.
- (5) An effective command, control, and communications system.
- (6) Well-trained, disciplined, impartial, and professional forces.
- (7) An effective and responsive intelligence capability.¹⁴

Because of its overriding influence, the principle of a clear mandate is the single most important factor in the employment of peacekeeping forces. "The mandate is the peacekeeping force's authority to act. It describes the scope of operations including constraints and restrictions."¹⁵

The UN and the US agree that a mandate should contain the following elements or component parts:

1. A clear mission statement.
2. The size of the force.
3. The contributing nations, forces, and support.
4. Duration of the operation.
5. Rights and immunities of the force.
6. Rules of engagement.
7. Appointment of the Force Commander.
8. Financing.¹⁶

With preliminary background information sufficiently documented, it is now appropriate to address the key issues relating to the Army's role in peacekeeping operations. These issues--doctrine, operational concept, and legitimacy--will be discussed sequentially.

DOCTRINE

Peacekeeping doctrine is becoming more controversial, and there is a growing debate among political, military, and academic institutions concerning the Army's role in peacekeeping operations. The new Administration has formulated a national security strategy oriented on collective engagement with increased emphasis and support for the United Nations and collective security arrangements. "The National Security Strategy of the United States has assigned the Department of Defense the mission of participating in the full spectrum of UN peacekeeping operations."¹⁷ The Department of Defense has designated the United States Army as its executive agent for peacekeeping doctrine, tactics, techniques, and procedures. The roles and missions for the armed services have evolved through the years to meet the needs of a changing society and nation based on political change; yet, the current strategy of collective engagement, incorporating peacekeeping in operations other than war, has not been factored into the roles and missions debate. It is now apparent that the United States must recognize and embrace peacekeeping as a likely mission for the future.

The Army organizes, trains, and equips to fight the nation's wars. The mission must not change; however, the leadership, organization, training, and equipment required for warfighting are also of utility to the nation in operations other than war. The United States must not only maintain its military capability, but also preserve its military authority and the will to use force decisively. The Army must continue to focus on deterrence but, more importantly, on the assurance that it has the overwhelming capability to impose its will on adversaries and destroy military forces that threaten vital interests. Consequently, the armed forces must be prepared to assume collateral roles and missions associated with operations other than war as the future witnesses greater multinational conflict and chaos over ethnic diversities. The spectrum of conflict will include a wider array of non-traditional roles and missions for the armed forces. A clear articulation of foreign policy and political objectives, coupled with a clear, concise definition of the military role in support of a national strategy, will provide cohesion and greater national purpose. Collective engagement and peacekeeping operations across the operational continuum will present some of the more challenging foreign policy issues to the new administration.

Most recent peacekeeping initiatives demonstrate the complexities and challenges associated with organizing, training, and equipping a military force to establish law and order, perform humanitarian assistance, and restore essential government

functions. To meet these challenges, senior military leaders are currently reviewing collateral roles, missions, and critical non-combat functions for the military. The challenge will be to translate and articulate, in military terms, a variety of these roles into credible military requirements and capabilities in support of the national military strategy. These roles include peacekeeping, security assistance, nation building, humanitarian and civil assistance, engineering and infrastructure support, border control, arms control, counternarcotics, education and training of foreign military forces, joint exercises, disaster relief, and population evacuation. The United States military has traditionally performed these missions well as a consequence of inherent capabilities and discipline, not as a result of specific doctrine, training, or preparation.

At this point, it could be argued that normal warfighting doctrine and training skills are adequate to perform peacekeeping operations. This implies that there are no unique dimensions to peacekeeping operations for which doctrine, training, and enhanced skills would better prepare forces for employment. Peacekeeping duty requires a patient, professional, and disciplined force skilled in the art of negotiation, persuasion, and conflict control. These complex operations require detailed planning and precise, decentralized execution. Additional training will only enhance military skills and better prepare forces for employment. A four-week preparatory training program might include the following military skills: mounted and

dismounted patrolling operations; techniques of investigation, reporting, and information collection; checkpoint operations; convoy operations; air mobility and slingload operations; emergency medical training and evacuation; mines and booby traps; and rules of engagement. The bottom line is that the armed forces must continue to maintain those inherent qualities which are essential to successful peacekeeping operations.

The United States has little experience on which to base peacekeeping doctrine, tactics, techniques, and procedures (DTTP) and, to date, has published little official doctrine. The President's recent address to the United Nations General Assembly, in view of the ongoing crises in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia, has created renewed emphasis and interest in peacekeeping. The most recent publication of the National Security Strategy of the United States (Jan 93) specifically addresses the need to "increase efforts to improve UN/regional conflict prevention, humanitarian assistance, peacekeeping, and post-conflict peace rebuilding."¹⁸ National military strategy, and the supporting doctrine for operations other than war, are being reviewed and revised to support these policies.

Finally, the operational doctrinal parameters must ensure that forces are only employed in the context of a truce or ceasefire and that they are acceptable to the belligerent parties. The force must be professional, disciplined, employed under the auspices of legitimacy, and mandated to use force as a last resort. A coalition of multinational partners which demonstrate

proficiency and impartiality through predictable behavior will best satisfy these requirements. In summary, the United States military institution continues to possess the capabilities and force structure to conduct successful peacekeeping operations.

The next issue for discussion is the operational concept--how forces will be organized and employed--for peacekeeping operations. There are a number of strategists and military experts that have proposed various employment concepts and options to support an expanded role in peacekeeping operations. This study will discuss three operational concepts: a UN Army, the US operating as an independent superpower, and participation on a case-by-case base under the auspices of the United Nations.

OPERATIONAL CONCEPT

The first operational concept, a United Nations Army, is considered by some politicians and academia to be the wave of the future. It captures the momentum of recent UN peacekeeping successes and supports increased and expanded UN capability. Former President Bush and President Clinton have endorsed this expanded military role for United Nations forces; however, neither has pledged US support, keeping their remarks and commitments general. Richard N. Gardner, a Clinton adviser on UN affairs and professor of international law at Columbia University, is perhaps the country's principal advocate. His plan envisions an army of 30,000 soldiers from the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. The United States, Russia,

Britain, France, and China would contribute about 2,000 men each, and about 30 other member nations would support with smaller units. Air and naval forces would augment this force, as required. This force would significantly enhance the ability of the United Nations to act as an instrument of collective security and could perform a number of missions to include conventional deterrence, crisis response, human rights, humanitarian relief, international peace, security, and counterterrorism.

Yet there are several objections to US participation in a standing United Nations Army. The UN Charter for joint military commands is too unwieldy, and many authorities are skeptical of the military competence of UN peacekeeping authorities. The likelihood that US national interests would coincide with those of a multinational military command, particularly one where China or Russia would play a central role, is questionable. With standing combat units at the disposal of the Security Council, a future Secretary-General could act militarily on his own initiative, evading the present safeguards designed to assure Security Council permanent members veto rights. The United Nations, the State Department, some academic institutions, and several Congressmen favor an experimental first step by creating an international army and identifying specific units for UN peacekeeping purposes. However, most politicians, the military, and the American people remain opposed to placing US soldiers under the command of foreign officers and are likewise leery of getting involved in combat interventions or protracted conflicts.

A second proposal, in which the United States remains as the world's superpower and participates as an independent actor, has been supported by conservative foreign policy advocates and several senior military leaders. This proposal is most clearly articulated by the Heritage Foundation. Its argument is that expanded UN peacekeeping operations resemble war more than peace, and the UN history in peacekeeping has not been successful. Additionally, it is believed that a standing UN army would be bureaucratic, ineffective, and may commit US forces to fight and die in places where the United States has little or no vital interests. This proposal does not support the current national security strategy and policy of collective engagement and security.

A third and final proposal, recommending retention of the current force structure and participation in peacekeeping operations on a case-by-case basis, is supported and recommended by this author. The current Administration, foreign policy, and national security strategy acknowledge that the United States cannot avoid a larger peacekeeping role with greater US military participation. This proposal supports an expanded and enhanced UN capability to plan, command, and control peacekeeping operations. As previously discussed, some preparation and training is recommended prior to the deployment of forces. This concept has minimal impact on force structure while supporting US national interests, strategy, and policy regarding collective engagement and cooperative security. Recommended American

participation in this proposal would be to identify a menu of military capabilities and, if possible, limit participation in peacekeeping operations to enabling forces, not combat units. Enabling forces are those combat support and combat service support units which might provide support and enhance the capabilities of deployed combat forces. The National Command Authority and Congress would retain the authority to disapprove US participation in those operations which were not in the best interests of the nation. American support for a greater UN role grows out of an evolving consensus among political leaders and foreign specialists that the United States involvement in overseas conflicts should be less automatic, and the United States should assume less dominant roles than in the past. American policymakers acknowledge how little influence they have globally with a limited capability to resolve ethnic, religious, and civil strife. In an era of diminished resources, the notion of intervention by a multinational force under a UN command offers a more politically attractive, legitimate, and acceptable resolution than unilateral intervention.

LEGITIMACY

Finally, one of the more important issues related to peacekeeping is legitimacy. Participation in peacekeeping operations is a military means to support a political end and apply measures short of war selectively but systematically in pursuit of an international strategic environment conducive to

peaceful relations in and among nations. The United States has never had an explicit, comprehensive policy for peacekeeping operations; nor has it addressed the issue consistently and comprehensively in major policy and strategy documents. Instead, the tendency has been to think of peacekeeping as a political-military problem within Cold War policies and strategies and to deal with them almost exclusively on an ad hoc basis. Now, in a radically changed security environment and with steadily declining resources, the nation must address the problem of legitimacy in a deliberate and systematic policy.

The United States participates in UN peacekeeping operations in accordance with the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 (Public Law #264), codified in Title 22, United States Code. It basically authorizes the President to negotiate with the United Nations Security Council for providing US national support and assistance, subject to congressional approval. It further states that when the decision is made for the United States to support a UN sponsored peacekeeping operation, the US may employ any element of national power--diplomatic, political, economic, or military--to conduct peacekeeping operations and assist the United Nations and the parties in conflict. This Act was amended in October, 1949 to clarify the legal basis for United States Armed Forces assistance to the UN. The amendment limited the number of US military personnel participating in peacekeeping operations to 1,000, clearly stated that military forces should be employed in non-combatant roles, and limited participation and

support to the peaceful settlement of disputes under the provisions of Chapter 6 of the Charter.

The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, codified in Title 22, U.S. Code, further expanded Presidential authority, allowing him to furnish assistance to friendly countries and international organizations for peacekeeping operations and other programs to further US national security interests.¹⁹ Charter obligations are binding under international law, essentially treating UN obligations the same as an international treaty. Therefore, the President has the duty to uphold these obligations; yet, under the UN Participation Act, Congress explicitly requires any agreement involving the UN Charter to be subject to approval. At this point, it is easy to see the challenges to legitimacy which might arise from the relationship between Congress, the President, and the United Nations. Still others wonder how the US Congress can fulfill its constitutional role if troops are deployed on the basis of decisions made by the UN Security Council. The practice of deploying troops without congressional assent may also violate the UN Participation Act.

Finally, if peacekeeping missions are accepted as legitimate military operations, what constitutes success, what equates to a decisive victory, and what determines when operations are terminated and forces disengaged? Success is largely a matter of perception, with military operations in a distinctly supporting role, and dependent on the larger diplomatic and political processes. It should be pointed out that the peacekeeping force

may have very little positive affect on the outcome. In fact, the peacekeeping force must ensure it never becomes the perceived cause or culprit in a breakdown of the truce or cease-fire. The media may provide invaluable assistance and a major role in shaping the image of the peacekeeping force. Essentially, success means never becoming part of the problem.

In most recent events, the President of the United States has directed the Secretary of Defense to place a new and added emphasis on peacekeeping operations. He specifically directed the training and preparation of US forces for peacekeeping operations; the conduct of joint and combined peacekeeping training, simulations, and exercises; and the establishment of a peacekeeping curriculum in the US service academies and schools. Additionally, the United States National Security Policy has directed "the creation of a new fund for peace and increased funding for peacekeeping."²⁰ These recent events have had a significant impact on how the Army views legitimacy and its role in peacekeeping. This has created unique challenges for the Army as it continues its greatest reduction of the past forty years.

Looking toward the future, an agenda of new issues and opportunities quickly emerges. It is apparent that the United States must increase efforts to improve regional and United Nations conflict prevention efforts, humanitarian assistance, and peacekeeping capabilities. Such initiatives will contribute to the early attenuation of conflict, rather than allowing it to expand into a threat to US national security interests. Together

with allies and friends, the US must develop multinational and combined capabilities necessary for peacekeeping, and thereby enhance the capability to contribute to monitoring, verification, and reconnaissance. Likewise, the United States must consider measures for peace rebuilding after conflict. These initiatives will demand innovative thinking and creative leadership.²¹

CONCLUSION

The United States has entered a period of global transition marked by uniquely contradictory trends. Regional and continental associations of states have entered into unprecedented cooperative ventures, thereby easing some of the contentious characteristics of sovereign and nationalistic rivalries. Peace is continuously challenged by those forces which undermine peaceful evolution and change through democratic means. It is easy to grasp the concept of international peace; however, international security is more complex. Progress will bring new risks to stability as we enter into a decade of transition. The United Nations has emerged as a central instrument for the resolution of conflict and preservation of peace. The UN Secretary-General has proposed these goals:

- To seek to identify at the earliest possible stage situations that could produce conflict, and to try through diplomacy to remove the sources of danger before violence results;
- Where conflict erupts, to engage in peacemaking aimed at resolving the issues that have led to conflict;

- Through peacekeeping, to work to preserve peace, however fragile, where fighting has been halted and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers;
- To stand ready to assist in peace-building in its differing contexts: rebuilding the institutions and infrastructures of nations torn by civil war and strife; and building bonds of peaceful mutual benefit among nations formerly at war;
- And in the largest sense, to address the deepest causes of conflict: economic despair, social injustice, and political oppression. It is possible to discern an increasingly common moral perception that spans the world's nations and peoples, and which is finding expression in international laws, many owing their genesis to the work of this Organization.²²

In the past, regional security arrangements were often created due to a lack of a universal system for collective security. In this new era of opportunity, the United States will witness greater emphasis on collective engagement, cooperative security, and regional participation in activities which are undertaken in a manner consistent with the principles and purposes of the United Nations. This action, as a matter of decentralization, delegation, and cooperation, will lighten the burden of the Security Council. It will contribute as well to a deeper sense of participation, consensus, and democratization in international affairs. Democracy and collective security are essential to attain international peace, prosperity, and justice.

In summary, US participation in the United Nations and its affiliated programs and agencies has provided important mechanisms for the advancement of US foreign policy objectives;

served as a powerful platform for the advancement of democratic values and ideals; facilitated large-scale humanitarian operations and multilateral efforts to deal with global problems; and served the cause of peace. In an international environment of diminishing resources, the UN can provide an internationally acceptable setting which will allow nations to move away from rigid negotiating positions and begin to seek peaceful resolutions to their problems. A conviction has grown, among nations large and small, that an opportunity has been regained to achieve the great objectives of the Charter--a United Nations capable of maintaining international peace and security, of securing justice and human rights and of promoting, in the words of the Charter, "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."²³

Today most nations fear the risk of military intervention and the escalation of conflict. Tomorrow smaller armies with smaller defense budgets will have little choice except to pool resources under the auspices of the United Nations flag. The US must take the lead in executing preventive diplomacy to diffuse potential civil wars, and in supporting collective United Nations peacekeeping efforts when diplomacy fails.

Finally, as peacekeeping becomes more widely accepted as an international and military means to support political ends and diplomacy, the legitimacy of these operations will be reinforced and doctrine will be developed to support accepted operational concepts. These are the key issues relating to the Army's role

in peacekeeping operations. The United States Army must anticipate the national military requirements generated by these emerging roles and missions, and respond with appropriate military capability. In this decade of democratic peace, the United States will have the opportunity to influence and shape the future through leadership and participation.

The United States seeks a world of cooperation and progress--a community of independent and interdependent free nations joined together by shared values. The senior political and military leadership must have the strategic vision to lead the nation peacefully into the next century. Not to do so could cost the Army its vote in shaping and influencing the future. The alternative is unconscionable. The United States could then have diffused the Cold War threat of global annihilation only to allow the world to face the uncertainty of endless regional strife and local destruction--a death of a thousand cuts!

ENDNOTES

¹United Nations, The Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peacekeeping (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1990), 5.

²Boutros Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace (New York: United Nations, 1992), 4.

³Ibid., 8.

⁴Charles M. Ayers, Peacekeeping Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures (Langley AFB: U.S. Army-Air Force Center for Low Intensity Conflict, 1989), 91.

⁵Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, 28.

⁶Indarjit Rikhye, The Theory and Practice of Peacekeeping (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), 146.

⁷Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Pub 3-07.3: Joint Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures for Peacekeeping Operations (Washington: Final Pub, 1992), I-3.

⁸United Nations, The Blue Helmets, 3.

⁹International Peace Academy, Peacekeeper's Handbook (New York: Pergamon Press, 1984), 22.

¹⁰U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Chiefs of Staff Pub 3-07: Doctrine for Joint Operations Short of War (Washington: Final Draft, 1993), GL-7.

¹¹Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, 5.

¹²Ibid., 10-11.

¹³John Mackinlay, The Peacekeepers: An Assessment of Peacekeeping Operations at the Arab-Israeli Interface, pp. 4 and 24.

¹⁴Joint Staff Pub 3-07, Doctrine for Joint Operations Short of War, IV-1--IV-2.

¹⁵U.S. Departments of the Army and Air Force, Field Manual 100-20/Air Force Pamphlet 3-20: Military Operations in Low Intensity Conflict (Washington: GPO, 1989), 4-2--4-4.

¹⁶JCS Pub 3-07, Doctrine for Joint Operations Short of War, IV-2 and in United Nations, The Blue Helmets, 4.

¹⁷National Security Strategy of the United States
(Washington: GPO, 1993), 7.

¹⁸Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, 1-2.

¹⁹Joint Pub 3-07.3, Joint Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures for Peacekeeping Operations, I-2.

²⁰National Security Strategy, 7.

²¹Ibid.

²²Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, 6-8.

²³Ibid., 1-2.

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