

THE AMERICANIZATION OF PEACEKEEPING

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PEACEKEEPING:
IMPLICATIONS FOR CANADA

Joel J. Sokolsky

Centre for International Relations, Queen's University
Kingston, Ontario, Canada
1997

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Sokolsky, Joel J., 1953–

The Americanization of peacekeeping : implications for Canada

(Martello papers, ISSN 1183-3661 ; 17)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 0-88911-743-8

1. United Nations – Armed Forces. 2. United Nations – United States.
3. International police. 4. United Nations – Armed Forces – Canada.
5. United States – Foreign relations – 1993– . I. Queen's University (Kingston, Ont.). Centre for International Relations. II. Title. III. Series.

JX1981.P7S64 1996 327.1'72 C96-932410-3

*For
Jared, Mark and Rachel*

The Martello Papers

The Queen's University Centre for International Relations (QCIR) is pleased to present the seventeenth in its series of security studies, the *Martello Papers*. Taking their name from the distinctive towers built during the nineteenth century to defend Kingston, Ontario, these papers cover a wide range of topics and issues relevant to international strategic relations of today.

Peacekeeping, and the role of both Canada and the United States, has become increasingly more important and controversial. The American determination to "Americanize" UN peacekeeping has profound implications for Canada — a country that has long viewed peacekeeping as the quintessentially Canadian international role. In this *Martello Paper*, Dr. Sokolsky reviews the foreign and security policies of the United States and the impact of these policies on peacekeeping — both for the United Nations and Canada.

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We are fortunate to have the advantage of the technical skills of Valerie Jarus of the School of Policy Studies Publication Unit and Marilyn Banting in producing the *Martello Papers*.

David G. Haglund
Acting Director
QCIR

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Canada-US Fulbright Foundation for making it possible for me to spend my Sabbatical leave at Duke University and the Canadian Studies Center at Duke for being such a gracious host. Further support was provided by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's Fellowship Program, the Royal Military College of Canada (RMC), the Security and Defence Forum of the Department of National Defence through the Queen's University Centre for International Relations. Louis Delvoie read the entire manuscript offering many helpful suggestions and Marilyn Banting saw the editorial process through from start to finish. Finally, and always, I wish to thank my wife Denise for her continued support, and our children to whom this work is dedicated.

The views expressed here are mine alone and not of RMC or any other agency of the Government of Canada.

Joel J. Sokolsky
1997

1. Introduction

In making his case for the dispatch of US troops to Bosnia as part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) mission, President Clinton assured the American people that “unlike the U.N. (United Nations) forces” they would have the “authority to respond immediately” to attacks. “America,” he warned, “protects its own. Anyone-anyone-who takes on our troops will suffer the consequences. We will fight fire with fire, and then some.”¹ Testifying before a US Senate Committee, Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman General John Shalikashvili stressed that any force sent into Bosnia had to be sized “sufficiently large so when they have to go in they are robust enough to take care of themselves.” He added that he wanted to ensure the force was not “pushed around” the way the U.N. troops had been.² Media reporting reinforced the view that for many Americans and their leaders, peacekeeping — as it has been practised by the United Nations in Bosnia and elsewhere has been “discredited.”³ Put more bluntly by *Washington Post* columnist Charles Krauthammer, “peacekeeping is for chumps.”⁴

For Canadians, whose troops have bravely, honourably, and usefully served with the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in former Yugoslavia for three years, these were surely inaccurate and indeed unfair assessments. Many resent that the United States, the world’s wealthiest and most powerful nation, is the largest debtor when it comes to paying its assessment for United Nations peacekeeping. The United States has also been near the bottom on the list of nations contributing forces. This so-called reluctance to bear a fair share of the burden along with replacement of UNPROFOR in Bosnia with the US-led NATO Implementation Force, (IFOR) seems to confirm that the Clinton administration, under pressure from the public and the Republican-controlled Congress, has abandoned UN peacekeeping.

There is little doubt that American support for UN peacekeeping has declined from the early days of the post-Cold War era. The tragedy in Somalia touched upon every raw nerve in the contemporary debate over the future of American

national security policy from the role of Congress to the purposes of the armed forces. The Republicans included criticism of UN peacekeeping in their *Contract With America* and once in the majority in Congress, pressed for funding cut-backs and restrictions on US involvement. They expressed support for the American soldier who was willing to accept a Court Martial rather than wear the UN insignia. In his speech accepting the Republican presidential nomination, Robert Dole assured the American people that “when I am President our men and women in our Armed Forces will know the president is his commander in chief — not Boutros Boutros Ghali, or any other U.N. Secretary General.”⁵ Peacekeeping, it appears, has become “un-American.”

But the United States has not turned its back on UN peacekeeping. Quite the contrary; the Clinton administration, while pulling back from its initial enthusiasm and now calling for limits on the number and scope of future peacekeeping operations, has devoted considerable attention to it. The White House has tried to sustain support for traditional peacekeeping by making it more responsive to American objectives. It has lent its support to what Canada’s Alex Morrison calls the “new peacekeeping partnership,” which brings together military, government and nongovernmental organizations.⁶ Moreover, as peacekeeping has moved closer to peace enforcement and the maintenance of internal order, the UN has had to rely increasingly upon America’s military capabilities and experience. The US, supported by its NATO allies, has lead UN authorized, but not commanded, coalitions to bolster more traditional peacekeeping missions. Increasingly, it appears that peacekeeping will be done the American way or not done at all.

The first part of this paper begins with a discussion of trends in American national security policy and multilateralism in the post-Cold War era. It then turns to an examination of how US financial and military contributions to UN peacekeeping are defined and measured, followed by a review of the constitutional issues involved. Next, it traces how Washington has used peacekeeping as a tool of US foreign policy, particularly in the post-Cold War era with an emphasis on the policies adopted by the Clinton administration. Part two looks at Canadian peacekeeping in the post-Cold War period. It begins with a discussion of trends in Canadian defence policy, highlighting the Department of National Defence’s (DND) 1994 White Paper and then focuses on the impact of the US policy toward peacekeeping.

The argument here is that it has been the “Americanization” of UN peacekeeping, not opposition or indifference to it by Washington, that has had, and will have, the most profound implications for Canada, a country that has long viewed peacekeeping as the quintessentially Canadian (indeed un-American) international role.

Notes

1. Text of president's remarks, *The New York Times*, 28 November 1995, p. A6.
2. Eric Schmitt, "As Prospects in Bosnia Brighten G.O.P. Doubts a Need for G.I.," *The New York Times*, 22 September 1995, p. A12.
3. Robert Burns, "U.S. troops in line to keep peace in Bosnia," *Herald Sun*, Durham, NC, 16 September 1995, pp. A1, A3.
4. Charles Krauthammer, "Peacekeeping is for Chumps," *Saturday Night*, November 1995, p. 73.
5. *New York Times*, 16 August 1996, p. A27.
6. Alex Morrison (ed.), *The New Peacekeeping Partnership* (Clementsport, NS: Canadian Peacekeeping Press, 1995).

2. *The United States and Peacekeeping: Inertia, Interests and Ideals: US National Security Policy and Multilateralism in the Post-Cold War Era*

American involvement with peacekeeping must be viewed in the context of overall US national security policy and conduct since the end of the Cold War — especially the fact that America did not come home. From the Persian Gulf to Somalia to Haiti and now to Bosnia, the United States has repeatedly used its unassailed military power to intervene in the disorderly world of the new world order. How can this be explained given that, as the world's sole superpower, the United States faces no immediate military threat to its national security?

Three interrelated factors can account for this. First, these interventions are the result of simple superpower inertia. The habits of 50 years are hard to break. No new overarching consensus or organizing principle similar to containment deterrence has emerged to guide Washington in the disorder of the new world order. Meanwhile, the predilection in favour of, and the capability for, intervention remains strong. This is especially the case when other powers and international organizations are unwilling or unable to resolve regional conflicts and turn to Washington for solutions.

Second, the United States does have interests in many parts of the world. Lacking a global challenge, these interests are less vital and more narrowly defined, but they span the globe nonetheless. Moreover, even if individual conflicts do not threaten US economic or military security, a mounting tide of regional instability combined with the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction could lead to a general breakdown in world order that would put vital American interests at risk.

Finally, there is the role of American idealism. Inertia and geostrategic interests cannot alone explain American intervention in places like Somalia, Haiti, and Bosnia. In attempting to build a domestic consensus in favour of multilateral intervention, both Presidents Bush and Clinton appealed to the deeply-rooted American belief in the uniqueness of the United States and its special responsibility for promoting its ideals around the world. Indeed, Stephen Stedman has complained about the emergence of a new interventionist doctrine driven by moral and humanitarian impulses.¹

In the media and academic journals, President Clinton and his advisors have been assailed for a lack of consistency, leadership and vision.² Because of the administration's early preoccupation with domestic issues and its inexperience, America was allegedly on the verge of losing the "unipolar moment."³ William Hyland has given the Clinton White House an overall grade of "C," noting that its "dismal" performance would be "enough to warrant a failing grade if it were not for a few bright spots and some mitigating circumstances." He places most of the blame for weakening America's international position and undermining its global credibility and influence upon Clinton himself.⁴ Michael Mandelbaum argues that the "seminal events of the foreign policy of the Clinton administration were three failed military interventions in its first nine months," in Somalia, Bosnia, and Haiti. He accuses the president and his advisors of adopting the Mother Teresa approach to world problems, treating "foreign policy as social work."⁵ Lawrence Korb hoped that the 1996 presidential campaign would help in this regard by clarifying the issues, promoting a consensus, and fostering the emergence of stronger leadership than has been evident over the past two years.⁶

The Clinton administration has pursued an eclectic approach to the regional and ethnic conflicts that have characterized the post-Cold War international security environment. Sometimes it has sent in substantial forces, in others it has supplied supporting logistic and communications functions, while in others it has relied on diplomacy alone. A range of unilateral and multilateral responses has been carried out along with a mixture of leadership and followership. Threats were made one day, only to be "clarified" on the next. The administration's July 1994 strategic statement, *A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement*, called for an active policy directed toward enlarging the number of democratic countries with free market economies, while sustaining security "with military forces ready to fight."⁷ The president's national security advisor, Anthony Lake, stressed the need to contain so-called "backlash" states that seem to be resisting the inevitability of the end of history.⁸ However, the Clinton administration's early embrace of Wilsonian liberal internationalism seemed to flounder in the hard realities of the global environment and domestic politics. It has now been replaced by what Lake calls "pragmatic internationalism."⁹

And yet in the autumn of 1994, the Clinton administration launched a risky, yet surprisingly successful intervention in Haiti. It has successfully dealt with the North Korean nuclear policy and presided over historic peace agreements in the

Middle East. During the summer of 1995, Washington assumed a leadership role in Yugoslavia, leading the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in an unprecedented show of force and then bringing about the cease-fire that had thus far eluded the European Community (EC) and United Nations (UN) mediators. By the end of 1995, Washington had brokered a Bosnian peace agreement, which was followed by the deployment of the multinational implementation force under NATO auspices. Richard Ullman has given the president, who "is now awake in class," a grade of "B" and argues that the administration is not being given enough credit for this "late recovery."¹⁰

The question raised by the plethora of criticisms of the Clinton administration's security policy during its first term is whether, given the current international and domestic realities, strong presidential leadership is possible. Further, will it make a substantive difference in ending the inconsistencies that seem to now attend American national security policy. Is "American defense policy and American leadership in managing international conflicts ... clearly in a state of confusion," as critics in Congress, the media and academe argue, or is it that the public is being led to believe so by the unrealism of analysts who place too much faith in the ability of Washington to "manage" the disorder of the post-Cold War era?

The character of the domestic environment has only contributed to the difficulty of shaping national security policy. Even before the Republican victory in the 1994 Congressional elections and attempts to carry out the *Contract With America*, the days of "President knows best" in foreign policy and defence were long gone. Without a global threat, and in view of the very tenuous link between US interests and many current conflicts, it takes much lobbying by the White House to obtain Congressional support for any policy or initiative. The present reality is that neither Democrats nor Republicans are prepared to give the Clinton administration the exclusive prerogative of deciding American national security interests. To this extent, Lawrence Korb was perhaps being too optimistic when he argued that: "Unless the candidates for president in 1996 enunciate clearly how and why they plan to deal with conflict in the international system, the confusion and inconsistency will continue." In the run-up to the election, there was little in the way of consensus and a great deal of confusion. Republicans in Congress intensified both their criticisms of the Clinton administration and their efforts to frustrate presidential leadership, particularly since the president had taken the lead by going out on a very shaky limb — the intervention in Bosnia.

Looming behind the Bosnian initiative is Vietnam. Despite the quick and decisive victory in Desert Storm, Americans have not kicked the Vietnam syndrome. As Ronald Spector suggested in his book *After Tet*, "In a world which has recently been made safer for conventional, regional and ethnic wars," Vietnam rather than the Gulf War "may be the pattern of the future."¹¹ A more vigorous role for the US in dealing with such conflicts, especially those of an internal nature, could lead to the type of quagmire America found itself in in Southeast Asia. As the Somalia experience vividly demonstrated, even the seemingly most selfless of

operations can draw the United States forces into the vortex of the very strife it was supposed to quell, entangling Washington in a series of “savage wars of peace” around the globe.

If US intervention is being viewed through the prism of Vietnam, it is also being judged on the lessons of the Gulf War. Desert Storm supposedly taught that the United States should intervene only where it was clearly justified and supported by Congress and the American people. Multilateral support should be sought where possible, but allies had to agree to American leadership. Above all, the Gulf War suggested both that maximum force would be brought against an enemy and that casualties could be minimized.¹²

This confusion and inconsistency is reflected in the public mood toward foreign policy, especially when it comes to the use of force and armed intervention. According to a 1994 Chicago Council of Foreign Affairs survey, the American public, along with their leaders, still favour an active — even a leadership — role for the United States in world affairs. At the same time, they want to stay out of other countries’ affairs and there is “little support for using troops in hypothetical crisis scenarios around the world.”¹³

This leads to what Barry Blechman has called the “intervention dilemma” of the post-Cold War era. The American urge “to export democratic and humanitarian values” encouraged the activist interventionist policies of the Bush and Clinton administrations, including involvement in UN peacekeeping operations. “But the traditional antipathy toward ‘overseas entanglements’ and, particularly, a distaste for military interventions, have diminished support for many individual expeditions, which implied a serious risk of U.S. casualties or even significant expenditures.” This was already evident in the American withdrawal from Beirut in 1983, after the bombing of the Marine barracks and was seen again in the withdrawal from Somalia after the attack on the Ranger units. “Popular support for military intervention,” observes Blechman, “seems to hinge on their brevity, bloodlessness, and their immediate-and-evident success.”¹⁴

A year ago, the Clinton administration was being assailed for its lack of commitment in Bosnia, now it is being warned about entangling the US in a Yugoslavian Vietnam. Perhaps it is time for so-called realists to be a little more realistic about what has been possible. For students and especially for former practitioners of foreign policy, it should not be so surprising that the Clinton administration has had difficulties responding to rapidly changing and unique international events. A Cold War was won and in its aftermath has come both order and disorder. Americans may look back to George Washington’s Farewell Address, Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points, the Truman Doctrine and the Nixon Doctrine for guidance, but there is little historical precedent for the situation in which the United States now finds itself. In defence of his foreign policy against his legion of critics, President Clinton declared that “there seems to be no mainframe explanation for the PC world in which we’re living ... We have to drop the abstractions and dogma and pursue, based upon trial and error and persistent experimentation, a policy that

advances our values of freedom and democracy and security.”¹⁵ As Ullman has observed: “Foreign policy these days is plain hard work. Certainly not in recent decades and arguably not since the early years of the American republic has it been more difficult to formulate and conduct foreign policy.”¹⁶

What seems striking about American interventionism in the post-Cold War era is that given the nature of the international environment, and the domestic scene, it has been as active as it has been. Even before the final collapse of the Soviet Union, Alan Tonelson was arguing that the end of the Cold War would bring about a new version of American isolationism, and predicted “the end of internationalism.” The “link between America’s well-being and a contented world,” previously accepted as a matter of course, was attenuating.¹⁷

Michael Clough argued that US foreign policy would increasingly respond to the grassroots. The fabled post-World War II foreign policy elite “based in New York, Washington ... and a handful of Eastern seaboard universities,” was able “to subdue the isolationist impulses of the hinterland and turn the nation of ‘no entangling alliances’ into both the world’s policeman and its banker,” through fear and prosperity. The threat posed by the Soviet Union and the “haunting memory of global depression” were used to “convince the public that it was necessary for the United States to assume the mantle of world leadership,” while the “rapid growth and productivity of America’s postwar economy convinced them that they could.”¹⁸ This is no longer the case. “In the eyes of most Americans the world is no longer so menacing-messy. Bloody and sometimes shockingly brutal yes, but a threat to our security and peace, no.”¹⁹

In his 1992 election campaign Clinton made a direct appeal to the American public’s concern with domestic issues, defeating a president whose foreign and defence policy credentials were impeccable. It seemed that US foreign policy would be driven more and more by the domestic economic agenda. In 1993, Christoph Bertram observed that those who “accuse President Bill Clinton of not having a foreign policy,” of “inconsistency” and “wavering” over issues such as Somalia and Bosnia “are missing the point.” There is a consistent line and it has been there since the beginning: “that there is no longer any distinction between domestic and foreign affairs, that America’s international connections must serve America’s internal interests and that the primary goal of both is to make America economically competitive again, at home and in the markets of the world.”²⁰ *Engagement and Enlargement* also calls attention to the necessity “to bolster America’s economic revitalization,” by “promoting prosperity at home.” However, while there is little doubt that American foreign policy has placed more emphasis on economic matters, except for the Gulf War, US interventionism in the post-Cold War era has had little to do with dollar diplomacy. Washington has not used its overwhelming military might to blast its way into the markets of the world.

It was unreasonable to expect Americans and their government to simply ignore 50 years of global leadership as if it never happened and retreat into some

mythical era of splendid isolationism. The habits of global leadership are hard to break. This superpower inertia has been reinforced by the nature of both the international and domestic environment and the result has sometimes been US interventions, particularly as a leader of multinational coalitions.

The alleged inconsistency and confusion in Washington is surely not matched by clarity and firm purpose in other world capitals or in the plethora of international organizations that now seem to clutter the diplomatic landscape. There does not appear to be any substantive effort by traditional allies to fill vacuums left by the contraction of American vital interests. In the Gulf War, in Haiti and Somalia, and now in Yugoslavia allies seem willing to await the exercise of American leadership before acting forcefully.

Although it can be argued that superpower inertia has carried America into interventions in the post-Cold War era, it is also the case that the United States has not acted as one might expect the world's sole remaining superpower to behave. Mandelbaum contends it was harder for American presidents during the Cold War to decide on when and where to intervene because of the "spectre of nuclear conflict with the Soviet Union hovering in the background."²¹ The collapse of the Soviet Union meant that Washington could intervene anywhere it wished, "without worrying that global rivals would back the other side and risk escalation into a global conflagration."²²

Yet the United States has not seized the "unipolar moment" to impose a new world order on allies and enemies.²³ It has sought to foster its security through international organizations or ad hoc coalitions. This is also a legacy of American Cold War policy. To be sure, the end of the Cold War meant that "automatic deference" to the United States has declined. Nevertheless, many more nations now share US policy goals, particularly in fostering regional stability, and "overseas acceptance of U.S. policy positions has increased."²⁴ This has contributed to the perpetuation of American dominance, creating favourable conditions for Washington leadership, particularly when the international community is seeking to intervene collectively with military force.

From the American public's standpoint, there is still strong support for this type of US leadership. Indeed, the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations poll indicated that:

Despite the heightened emphasis on domestic concerns, American opinion does not reflect a new isolationism. Almost half the public and leaders say the United States plays a more important role as a world leader today compared to 10 years ago — the highest numbers in the history of our survey. Almost three-quarters of the public believe that the United States will play a greater role in the next 10 years than it does today.²⁵

The polls also show that unilateral intervention is to be avoided. Americans are "reluctant to shoulder the burdens of international leadership alone, but are willing to share responsibility through participation in multilateral organizations."

Despite considerable Congressional opposition, especially after the debacle in Somalia, support for American intervention as part of a UN peacekeeping operation, including the placing of American forces under UN command is surprisingly high. The public is also more willing to support defence spending than it was at the end of the Cold War.²⁶

Simply because conditions are favourable for American military intervention when its interests are at risk does not answer the question of what those interests are or when they are sufficiently at risk to warrant the use of armed forces. If the "national interests were clear, then there would be little debate about national security policy. However, in the post-Cold War era the United States is having a difficult time identifying what its "long-run shared interests" are. In part, this accounts for the widely accepted criticism of the Clinton administration. Much of the frustration of now being the world's dominant power, yet being unable to identify which national interests require armed intervention, is being taken out on the current administration.

Nevertheless, it can be argued that a minimal consensus has emerged amongst the public and elites. The sphere of vital US national security interests has been narrowed. American national security policy, however fitfully, has been moving since 1989 in the direction of a more disciplined discretion in foreign and defence policy. Thus, the July 1994 strategic statement notes that "We can and must make the difference through our engagement; but our involvement must be carefully tailored to serve our interests and priorities."²⁷

There is general support for the notion that the United States has the "responsibility ... for preventing nuclear war and helping to preserve global stability." There is also an understanding that "a forceful response to regional aggressions, such as Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and its threat to critical oil resources, may still be necessary."²⁸ America has a long-standing commitment to the security of Israel. The United States still maintains the legitimacy of the Monroe Doctrine and thus the Caribbean, and Central and Latin America will always be of special interest. There are some so-called "rogue" states such as North Korea, Iran, and Libya which pose the threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and/or terrorism.

Yet, in reality, few countries present an immediate or even longer term indirect military threat to American interests and there are fewer areas of the globe where American vital strategic and economic interests are at risk. As a result, the United States now has the luxury of greater choice about when, where, and how it exerts its overwhelming military, diplomatic and, still, economic power. Contrary to what might have been hoped for at the end of the Cold War, this has made decisions about intervention more, not less difficult. As Michael Kramer has observed: "it was easier to justify ... messy interventions during the cold war as part of the ongoing struggle with communism. Today such interventions are a matter of preference rather than need."²⁹ Many of the inconsistencies associated with the Clinton administration are merely a reflection of the fact that, lacking an overwhelming

challenge, there is less compulsion to mobilize and marshal American diplomatic and military resources.

Thus, inertia and interests alone cannot account for American interventionism and multilateralism in the post-Cold War era. Even after the landing of American troops in Haiti, the public and leaders ranked that country's problems low amongst US "vital interests."³⁰ As Jonathan Howe has pointed out, in dealing with the "tangled ethnic struggles, civil wars and failed states spawned in a disorderly era" US obligations as a world leader and its interests are "less clearly defined and more open to question." "Americans are confronted with a kaleidoscope of confusing conflicts in which the U.S. interest is primarily humanitarian."³¹

President Clinton has come under heavy criticism for what some viewed as a too idealistic, Wilsonian approach. Somalia and difficulties in other peacekeeping missions tempered the earlier Bush and Clinton enthusiasm for the UN and multilateral solutions. Recent polls suggest that support for a humanitarian-based foreign policy is shallow and easily turned.³² But adjusting American idealism to harsh realities abroad is nothing new. To this extent, the Clinton administration's "pragmatic internationalism" represents the kind of approach that has always characterized US foreign policy, one of great ideals and uneasy compromises.

This combination of inertia, interests, and ideals has resulted in a post-Cold War American foreign policy that has fostered multilateralism. When Washington does feel itself "bound to lead" multilateral coalitions it will seek out followers, or as Sir Brian Urquhart has put it, "round up the posse." Multilateralism is a tool to be used when it can support the achievement of American interests. For Clinton, as for previous presidents, multilateralism has not meant the subordination of US objectives or control to the ad hoc coalition or international organizations but the assertion of both. Thus, the price of American leadership is frequently the acceptance of US command in the field and policy objectives at the negotiating table.

Defining and Measuring the American Contribution

One of the reasons why American support seems to be in decline is that measuring US contributions to UN peacekeeping on the basis of payment of assessments levied by the United Nations and the number of troops contributed to operations under UN command provides an incomplete picture. In part, this is the result of differing definitions of what constitutes UN peacekeeping operations.

For the purposes of this paper, UN peacekeeping will be taken to mean those operations authorized by the Security Council under Chapter VI of the UN Charter which deals with "Pacific Settlements of Disputes." The term "peacekeeping" is meant to apply to both unarmed observers or larger lightly armed forces dispatched to monitor an agreed upon settlement or armistice. Such deployments are to have the consent of the parties to a dispute. There is no expectation that the peacekeepers will enforce the peace by arms and the force is not authorized to

engage in combat except in self-defence. These are what may be referred to as “traditional” or “classic” peacekeeping missions.

In theory, these operations are distinguished from those that the Security Council may authorize under Chapter VII of the Charter, “Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression.” Article 42 authorizes military measures to “maintain or restore international peace and security.” This peace restoration or peace enforcement — as witnessed in Desert Storm — is war, coalition war by another name.

In practice, the last few years have seen operations that fall between Chapters VI and VII. These so-called six-and-half missions have the UN deploying “peacekeeping” forces where there is little or no consent and often no peace to keep. Here the troops find themselves having to assume enforcement duties in order to carry out humanitarian missions. Sometimes this has meant calling upon the support of forces not under UN command when more vigorous military actions are required, in some cases such as UNPROFOR, to protect the peacekeepers themselves.

Another trend is where a coalition of states acts at the request of the Security Council, but not under UN command, to more or less impose a peace, accompanied or followed by a classic UN peacekeeping operation. This was tried in Somalia and now in Haiti. It could be argued that these operations are more properly, and more familiarly called, armed intervention followed by military occupation. For however justified on international legal or humanitarian grounds, the imposition of the will of a group of countries onto another state or faction within that state is foreign armed intervention; and that using military forces to secure a political settlement and maintain internal order is similar to occupation, especially in the way the troops are employed and the duties expected of them — as in now evident in Bosnia.³³ While American troops may have had little experience in the old classic peacekeeping, the United States has had a great deal of Cold War experience in this “new peacekeeping,” which explains in part why the UN has increasingly turned to Washington for greater support.

It is fair to say that the definitional confusion is simply a reflection of reality and that increasingly the Security Council cannot specify what kind of mission it has undertaken — whether Chapter VI or VII or something in between — often until the operation begins. This in turn has made measurement of US contributions problematic.

Assessment rates for traditional UN peacekeeping operations are calculated as a percentage of regular budget UN assessment rates. Member states are divided into four groups according to national wealth, with group D assessed at 10 percent of regular rate, C at 20 percent and group B 100 percent. Group A includes the five permanent members of the Security Council and this group pays 100 percent plus an additional surcharge as a proportion of their share of the reductions for less developed countries. Prior to the dissolution of the Soviet Union this surcharge had been 22 percent, meaning that the United States paid 30.4 percent

of total peacekeeping charges. The surcharge is now 27 percent and the US assessment was set at 31.7 percent.

However, Washington continued to pay at a rate of 30.4 percent, "as agreed upon with the U.N. Controller, until a satisfactory review of peacekeeping assessments anomalies" was conducted. The *Foreign Relations Authorization Act* for fiscal years (FY) 1994 and 1995 required that American payments during those years "do not exceed 30.4 percent of all assessed contributions and, beginning in fiscal year 1996, do not exceed 25 percent."³⁴

The United States will not allocate funds for new or ongoing peacekeeping missions before receiving its assessment from the United Nations. As with all other elements of the US budget, the administration is dependent upon Congress to vote the funds necessary to meet American peacekeeping assessments. These are mostly included in the appropriation to the State Department's Contributions to International Peacekeeping Activities (CIPA). Because the Congressional funding cycle takes nearly a year, appropriations to pay peacekeeping assessments are very often tied up in Congress, resulting in the United States being chronically delinquent on its payments. In 1992 and 1993, Congress denied presidential requests for a contingency peacekeeping fund to start new operations before the completion of the legislative cycle.³⁵

Another implication of the fact that UN peacekeeping requirements arise out of sequence with the US budget cycle is that the president and congress "have had to devise extraordinary methods for acquiring initial U.S. funding for U.S. contributions to the operations." This has sometimes meant that funds had to be reprogrammed from other parts of the international affairs budget, such as the Economic Support Fund money obligated for specific countries but not disbursed. Sometimes, funds were transferred to the international affairs budget from the Department of Defense in order to fund UN peacekeeping operations. In 1994, President Clinton proposed that US-assessed contributions for peacekeeping operations "for which Chapter VII of the Charter is specifically cited in the authorizing Security Council resolution" be financed out of the DOD budget. In addition, Clinton wanted UN-assessed contributions for "any other U.S. peacekeeping operations for which a large U.S. combat contingent is present" to also be funded out of the Defense Department budget.³⁶ The administration viewed the proposal as the best way of making use of scarce defence and foreign affairs funding and as a means to improve peacekeeping.³⁷

However, Congress rejected the concept of funding foreign affairs functions out of the DOD budget. It was seen as a means to obtain funds for UN assessments which the administration was unable to secure under the foreign assistance budgets. Critics argued that the request "would have placed a significant additional financial burden on the DOD budget." While the administration conceded this point, it argued that it was "outweighed by a U.S. interest in providing funds to ensure that other nations deployed troops pledged to peace operations and that those troops are adequately equipped for combat in operations where U.S. troops

participate.” Nevertheless, the DOD Authorizations for FY1996, prohibited “the use of DOD funds to make a financial contribution to pay for any U.S. peacekeeping activity or for any U.S. arrearage to the U.N.”³⁸

Nearly US\$1.2 billion was appropriated in the fall of 1994 covering the period 1 October 1993 to 1 January 1995, when total UN yearly peacekeeping costs were about US\$3.5 billion.³⁹ However, by the end of 1995, the United States still owed US\$817 million.⁴⁰ During 1995, the US paid US\$407 million, based on a total assessment of just over US\$1 billion, a 59 percent drop in expected contributions, meaning that the US was covering only about 12 percent of UN peacekeeping costs. As President Clinton acknowledged, the United States had become “the biggest piker in the U.N.”⁴¹

In December 1995, the president vetoed spending measures for both the State and Defense departments, citing funding cuts and provisions that would have restricted his ability to contribute US troops to UN peacekeeping operations.⁴² The veto on the defence bill was sustained since the provisions were not included in the bill signed by the president. But several members of Congress have pledged to renew their efforts to limit the president’s ability to place US troops under the operational control of the United Nations until the president certifies to Congress that “it is in the national security interest of the United States to do so.”⁴³

Funds for peacekeeping were tied up in the protracted budget battle of 1995-96, since the State Department was being funded through continuing resolutions. As the United Nations Association of the United States observed, this had “important implications for U.S. assessed contributions to the U.N.” because the formulas adopted in the continuing resolutions “resulted in payments to the U.N. far below FY 1995 levels.”⁴⁴ In early 1996, continuing resolutions provided about US\$70 million toward outstanding peacekeeping assessments.⁴⁵ As of 15 April 1996, the United States owed \$764 million for past peacekeeping obligations and \$115 million for 1996.⁴⁶

The final FY 1996 budget contained \$359 million for peacekeeping. This was \$86 million less than had been originally requested, but more than the \$225 million contained in the State Department appropriations bill which the president vetoed in November 1995. Lower than expected costs for peacekeeping, made possible particularly by the ending of UNPROFOR, permitted the Clinton administration to reduce its expected requests. For FY 1997, the administration is requesting \$425 million, while Congress is reluctant to increase funding over FY 1996.⁴⁷ The situation for the UN is eased somewhat by the cutting of the overall UN peacekeeping budget by more than half from \$3 billion to \$1.3 billion for July 1996 to June 1997.⁴⁸

The US assessment for individual operations is sometimes reduced because of the reimbursement for the supply of equipment and logistical support — especially airlift. For example, in the Rwandan mission the United States claimed nearly US\$20 million for flying in contingents from Australia, Holland, and Germany. In other cases, the US sells or leases equipment to the UN. In 1993, UN

Headquarters purchased more than US\$250 million worth of goods and services from American sources, 36 percent of the total value of all its peacekeeping procurement.⁴⁹ The United States is also reimbursed for some of its troop contributions.⁵⁰

As of February 1996 there were 2,399 US military personnel serving with UN missions out of a total of 26,412 in all operations,⁵¹ making the United States one of the largest contributors at that moment even when compared to traditional contributors such as France and Pakistan. Some 1,820 of these were with the UN Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) and 569 with the UN Preventative Deployment Force (UNPREDEP) in Macedonia.⁵² In recent years, the United States has contributed less than 5 percent of the UN peacekeeping troops.

On the surface, the funding and troop contribution figures seem to support the view that the United States is not bearing its fair share of the burden for UN peacekeeping. However, these figures do not take into account the extensive land, sea, and air forces, as well as intelligence support, which Washington has provided United Nations peacekeeping indirectly. There are also the direct involvement of US forces in operations sanctioned by the UN Security Council. In general, funding for these operations is provided through the Department of Defense budget and is separate from the peacekeeping assessment payments made through the State Department.

During 1995, nearly 5,800 US personnel were involved in enforcing the No-Fly zone over Yugoslavia in support of UNPROFOR. Other, (unseen, especially by Congress) US personnel were assisting UNPROFOR as NATO headquarters units dispatched to assist the UN operation. That same year, 9,000 were deployed to provide protection for the withdrawal of UN forces from Somalia. Some 16,400 personnel were still involved in enforcing the No-Fly zones and embargo directed at Iraq and providing humanitarian assistance to the Kurds. With UN authorization, 6,000 US troops deployed to Haiti prior to the establishment of the UNMIH. According to a study by the Stimson Center, if the US assessment were calculated on the basis of all direct and indirect support for the UN (as many in Congress wanted to do) "the U.N. would probably owe money to the United States."⁵³

Indeed, a March 1996 General Accounting Office Study completed for then Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole, concluded that: "From fiscal years 1992 through 1995, the incremental cost reported by U.S. government agencies for support of U.N. peace operations in Haiti, the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Somalia was over \$6.6 billion dollars." Included in this amount is the expenditures for the US share of UN peacekeeping assessments, humanitarian and related assistance, and the cost of participation by the US military. Some \$3.4 billion or 51.2 percent was borne by DOD.⁵⁴ The United Nations had reimbursed the United States for only \$79.4 million of this amount.⁵⁵

Another argument put forth in Congress for deducting at least part of the additional costs borne by the United States from assessments is that much of the assessment funds paid to the UN are used to reimburse major contributing nations

such as the United Kingdom, France, and other better-off Western countries. Some Americans contend that these nations should be assuming more of the burden for maintaining global stability, especially where individual conflicts, such as in Bosnia, are in their regions.

During its first term, the Clinton administration was largely successful in blocking Congressional efforts to include indirect support in calculating US payments to the UN for peacekeeping. The administration has argued that the US “participates in operations to enforce sanctions, provide humanitarian relief and assist peacekeeping, when, and only when it is in our interest to do so.” Although such actions, taken alone or in non-UN coalitions,

may sometimes complement actions taken under the U.N. banner, they are distinct from them and provide no justification for avoiding our financial obligations. Moreover, if other countries were allowed to deduct indirect support for U.N. peacekeeping and contributions to U.N. sanctioned coalition operations from their assessments then peacekeeping would be in even greater financial straits than it is now. Japan for example could have deducted its financial contribution to the Somalia effort, or Russia could deduct the cost of its operations in newly independent states and others could deduct their contributions to Desert Storm.⁵⁶

While it would not be in the US interest for other countries to deduct these activities from their UN peacekeeping assessments, both Congress and the executive branch take into account all potential American support for UN peacekeeping in setting State and Defense department budgets. The major point is that assessment payments and the relatively small number of American troops formally under UN command provide only a limited measure of United States support for United Nations peacekeeping.

Presidential Authority and Peacekeeping

An important reason why American participation in peacekeeping has aroused so much controversy in recent years is that it touches upon one of the most fundamental and enduring constitutional issues — the division of foreign policy responsibility and war powers between the president and congress. In the twentieth century — as a result of World Wars, the Cold War, and the rise of the United States to superpower status — presidents have increasingly claimed the right to send American forces overseas without a declaration of war or even the approval of Congress. After Korea and especially Vietnam, Congress began to assert its authority in this area, particularly with the *War Powers Act* of 1974 which sought to limit the ability of the president to send troops into foreign hostilities.

In the post-Cold War era, the 1960s debate between “Hawks” and “Doves” has been turned on its head. It is now more likely that liberal internationalists will defend the right of the president to dispatch forces overseas in support of UN and other multilateral peace operations than conservative, former Cold War Hawks.

The latter have become more concerned as peacekeeping has started to look a lot like the interventions of the Cold War. Indeed, in 1994, then Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole, (in an interesting theatrical twist on the “War Powers Act”), sponsored a “Peace Powers Act of 1994” to limit the ability of the president to contribute US troops to peacekeeping operations.⁵⁷ But participation in peacekeeping is one of those grey areas where the law and the Constitution provide no clear guidance.

Section 7 of the *United Nations Participation Act* (UNPA) of 1945, as amended (PL 79-264) authorizes the president to provide up to 1,000 US service personnel as “observers, guards or in any non-combatant capacity.” Prior to the early 1990s, the United States provided goods and services to UN peacekeeping operations and some military personnel, but in small units or individually. However, the UNPA does not constrain the level of US participation in operations authorized under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.⁵⁸ Moreover, presidents have also used Section 682 of the *Foreign Assistance Act* of 1961, which allows US military personnel to be detailed or sent to provide “technical, scientific or professional advice or service to any international organization.”⁵⁹ Most importantly, all presidents have claimed the right as commander in chief to dispatch as many American troops to UN operations as may be necessary.

If it were only a matter of contributing forces to classic UN peacekeeping operations, then the authority of the president might not be seriously questioned. However, as noted below, the United States has been dispatching large numbers of combat forces in support of Security Council resolutions. Here the question of war powers becomes more difficult, since these forces may be expected to engage in hostile actions.

Some US scholars have argued that presidential authority to support the UN in any way derives from the fact that the United States is bound by the UN Charter which it signed and which, as a treaty, becomes the law of the land under the American Constitution. They contend that the Congressional power to declare war and the *War Powers Act* (whose constitutionality has never been affirmed in the courts) do not apply, since the United States is not going to war against a hostile power. This view also criticizes Congress for declaring its opposition or reservations to presidential actions, citing the *War Powers Act*, but “knowing that a wise president will be forced to go forward alone.” In this way, Congress is merely trying to protect itself in the eyes of the public if the operation encounters difficulty and casualties mount.⁶⁰

Others point out that because UN operations under Chapter VII of the Charter are like war, American participation is subject to the Constitutional provisions requiring Congressional support. Moreover, as Louis Fisher argues, presidents should not be allowed to base their authority on the UN Charter or NATO, but rather from Congress in order to obtain legislative and public support for what are clearly war-like actions. The fact that the credibility of American support for the

United Nations or NATO is at stake, is not enough to override the checks and balances of the Constitution.⁶¹

William Van Alstyne offers a middle ground. His view is that presidents may send US forces to participate in UN and other multilateral operations. However, if it is expected that these forces are likely to be met with armed resistance and become involved in sustained hostile belligerent action, then the president must seek Congressional approval.⁶²

In the absence of a conclusive resolution of the Constitutional issue, Congress has tried repeatedly to restrict the ability of the president to support UN operations and to require greater consultation with the legislative branch. For example, a recent House of Representatives resolution called for a restriction of funds for new or expanded operations unless the designated House and Senate committees were notified at least 15 days in advance, "or as emergency conditions permit," of a vote in the Security Council. The president would also have to notify Congress of the source of funding, the length of the mission, what "vital" national interests were at stake and of the "exit strategy." In addition, the resolution noted that the president would have to certify that American businesses were being given opportunities for procurement by the United Nations "equal to those being given to foreign manufacturers and suppliers."⁶³

While implicitly acknowledging that the president has the authority to dispatch US troops to UN operations, Congress has nonetheless tried to impose conditions on deployment, particularly with regard to command and control of American forces. Thus, on 1 May 1996, the House National Security Committee approved *The United States Forces Protection Act* of 1966. Overall, the bill sought to bar the use of DOD funds for placement of US armed forces under the operational or tactical control of the United Nations. This prohibition, which would not have applied to then current operations, could be waived if the president certified that the deployment was vital in the national interest. But the president would have been required also to certify, "the extent to which the United States forces will rely on the forces of other countries for security and defense and an assessment of the capability of those other forces to provide adequate security to the United States forces involved." In an emergency, the president could place US forces under UN control before meeting the certification requirement.⁶⁴

Responding to the incident when a US soldier accepted a Court Martial rather than wear the UN insignia, a provision of the bill would have required the certification to Congress on the extent to which United States forces involved in UN activities "will be required to wear, as part of their uniform, any badge, symbol, helmet, headgear or other visible indicia or insignia that indicates affiliation to or with the United Nations."⁶⁵

Ostensibly, these and similar proposals are meant to address Congressional concerns about the command and control of US forces. As one Republican member noted, the United Nations has not proven itself to be a "first class, professional

military organization. By contrast the armed forces of the United States are the best in the world. Under the circumstances, any President ought to have to justify the subordination of U.S. troops to a U.N. commander.”⁶⁶

Yet, the underlying motive is one of asserting a greater measure of Congressional control over American participation in UN operations. Despite provisions that provide the president with the ability to override them in an emergency, many of these proposals are viewed even in Congress as straying too far into the presidential powers over foreign and defence policy as commander-in-chief and were dropped as the legislation moved through Congress. Clinton has repeatedly rejected and even vetoed similar measures that would impose legislative restrictions on the president’s ability to participate in UN operations. But these moves reflect the continuing tension over presidential prerogatives with regard to peacekeeping and the Clinton White House has been compelled to adjust to Congressional concerns.

UN Peacekeeping: A “Tool” of US Foreign Policy

It is not money, the size of troop contributions, or the constitutionality of US participation that are central to an understanding of American involvement in UN peacekeeping. For it is not so much that Washington does or does not support UN peacekeeping, but that it is selective in its support, providing more funding and assistance to those missions most closely aligned with American interests such as the Middle East. In this, the Clinton administration’s approach has not been substantially different from its predecessors’ which have long viewed UN peacekeeping as a useful “tool” for promotion of American interests and values abroad.

From 1945 until 1989, the United Nations mounted 18 peacekeeping operations costing nearly \$4.8 billion; the United States contributed more than \$1.3 billion. During the Cold War, Washington sometimes used peacekeeping to fill a political vacuum and prevent Soviet intervention, to cool any conflicts between allies, to monitor agreements negotiated by US officials, and to serve “U.S. foreign policy goals of the moment.”⁶⁷ In the climate of the Cold War American troops did not participate directly in these missions in large numbers. Although individual American military personnel did take part, beginning with the earliest observer missions in the late 1940s. To this extent the 1,000 troop limit of the *United Nations Participation Act* was not significant, since relatively few US military were involved. But in addition to diplomatic and financial support, the United States supplied logistic support, lift, communications, and intelligence to UN peacekeeping operations.

Nevertheless, UN peacekeeping remained marginal to American global security relations; and between 1978 and 1988 no new missions were mounted. The United Nations in general fell into great disfavour with the Reagan administration as it appeared that the Soviets and Third World nations were using it as a tool

directed against American interests.⁶⁸ Significantly, the peacekeeping force which deployed into the Sinai following the US-brokered Camp David Accords, was the non-UN Multilateral Force and Observers.

But with the decline and fall of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union, and with the success of the Gulf War, the United States found that the United Nations could again serve American foreign policy interests. President Bush “argued for a more activist role for the United Nations and pushed to pay U.S. dues. He viewed the institution as capable of supporting American interests.”⁶⁹ Then Secretary of State James Baker declared that “we ought to recognize that we have spent trillions of dollars to win the Cold War and we should be willing to spend millions of dollars to secure the peace.”⁷⁰ Between 1988 and 1993, the United States voted in favour of some 20 new operations, providing logistic, intelligence, and financial support.

Within the foreign policy and military bureaucracies a major effort was undertaken to respond to the new salience of peacekeeping. The State Department created an “Office of Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Affairs, while DOD established the position of deputy assistant secretary of defense for peacekeeping and peace enforcement. Within the Strategic Plans and Policy Directorate of the Joint Staff, a new division was created to address UN issues.

America’s new-found, (or renewed) interest in peacekeeping appeared to be consistent with the greater discretion now allowed by the contraction of American national security interests which initially made multilateral solutions attractive. With the decline and fall of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact and the success of the Gulf War, the United States found that the UN could serve American foreign policy interests. UN peacekeeping was appealing since it held open the possibility that, with American vital interests contracting, other nations might be persuaded with some US financial and logistical support, to attend to regional conflicts and civil strife.

American proponents of greater US support for peacekeeping readily acknowledge that the situations that might call for UN missions would not be those where the vital interests of the United States are immediately at risk. Regional disorder and ethnic conflict pose less defined, possibly more long-term threats. These include the disruption of trade, proliferation and destabilization of friendly countries. On the one hand, such threats would not be compelling enough to elicit military action by the United States alone. On the other, the US may want to do something. Peacekeeping seemed to provide an alternative to having to choose between unilateral action and doing nothing.⁷¹

The argument that peacekeeping is cheaper than unilateral American intervention is compelling only if the alternative is war, that is, large-scale armed intervention by the United States. It cannot, though, always be argued that if the US had failed to lead the intervention into Somalia, or Haiti, then in the long run a more costly military effort would have been necessary. The alternative, given that vital American interests were not at stake, may have been to stay out and let

the stronger side win which “is often the most effective option” and “in fact the option the international community has traditionally taken.”⁷²

But in seeking to use peacekeeping as a tool of American foreign policy, the United States has been concerned with more than its own national interests. In 1992, Ronald Reagan called for a standing UN force supported by the US. This “Army of Conscience,” according to Reagan, would be tasked with carving out humanitarian sanctuaries in failed or oppressive states, by force if necessary.⁷³ In sending forces into Somalia, President Bush was acting in response to humanitarian concerns that had been aroused by media attention to the human suffering in the region. In Yugoslavia each new shelling of a marketplace increased calls for action on the part of Washington.

Yet, with Somalia and the Yugoslavian nightmare, support for traditional peacekeeping also began to erode, certainly within Congress. The United Nations was criticized for its poor financial management and bloated bureaucracies. Blame for the loss of American lives in Somalia was, erroneously, attributed to ineffective UN command arrangements.⁷⁴ Critics charged that the use of US troops and equipment for peacekeeping would undermine the military’s war-fighting capabilities, the preparedness of the forces, and their military ethos.

Above all, the United Nations and peacekeeping in particular, became a lightning rod for dissatisfaction with the Clinton administration’s foreign policy of “assertive multilateralism,” which even though in many respects carried on the Bush administration’s approaches came under intense criticism. As John Ruggie has observed, Clinton and his advisors came to be identified with “liberal internationalism,” which regards international organizations as being beneficial to American interests. This perspective came under increasing criticism from those identified with “conservative unilateralism,” a view associated with Republicans and which regards international organizations as “inevitably constraining rather than enabling the pursuit of US interests.” Finally, those who saw themselves as “practitioners of realpolitik” rejected “out of hand the idea that international organizations can make any significant difference in a world driven by self-seeking power politics.”⁷⁵

Hampered by its own inexperience and confusion and beset by a growing number of critics, it seemed to some analysts that the Clinton administration was moving to abandon the UN and peacekeeping. In 1994, Donald Puchala suggested that the United States would in the “foreseeable future provide neither leadership toward reforming the UN nor resources to underwrite the necessary structural changes and initiatives.” And since UN reform depended upon US leadership, and has floundered when it has not been supplied, “meaningful U.N. reform will not occur, and the organization will flounder leaderless again.”⁷⁶ But the Clinton administration was moving to change both its own approach to peacekeeping and that of the United Nations.

The Clinton Administration and PDD-25

In line with the new “pragmatic internationalism,” the White Paper set out to review peacekeeping while at the same time sustain domestic support for it by asserting a new leadership role for America in the United Nations in order to make peacekeeping more responsive to American concerns and interests. Such was the advice of former Reagan administration assistance secretary of defense, Richard Armitage, who argued in early 1994 that instead of lecturing the UN and saying “no,” the United States had to “bend the UN to our will.” Washington had to “make the UN work in accordance with its Charter and in a manner consistent with our national interests.” Specifically with regard to peacekeeping, the issue was not whether US forces would participate, but — by exercising US leadership — ensure that “no U.N. peacekeeping operation anywhere should go forward without our explicit approval and guidance.”⁷⁷

In May 1994, the White House issued Presidential Decision Directive 25, (PDD-25), *U.S. Policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations*.⁷⁸ As characterized by Ivo Daalder, the review that led to PDD-25 was a matter of “knowing when to say no.” The document

extended, but did not radically alter the conclusion reached late in the Bush administration. Rather than expanding and strengthening what had initially been portrayed as an essential element of U.S. security policy in the Post-ColdWar era, the objective of the new policy was to promote a “more selective and effective” approach to multilateral peace operations. In public explanations of the new policy, administration officials stressed that UN peace operations were but a limited, though sometimes useful tool, of U.S. foreign policy and that the circumstances under which the United States would participate in such operations would be guided by strict conditions designed to reduce the risk to American forces.⁷⁹

Then American Ambassador to the UN, Madeleine Albright, told a Senate Committee after PDD-25 was released that “Over the past year we have become acutely conscious, both of the value and the limits of U.N. peacekeeping.... We see it as a contributor to, not a centrepiece of, our national security strategy.” UN peacekeeping can help prevent or defuse breaches of the peace, “lend legitimacy to efforts to resolve disputes,” reduce “unwelcomed interventions by regional powers,” and “ensure that the cost and risks of maintaining world order fall less disproportionately upon the United States.”

However, Albright also stressed that, “The U.N. has not yet shown a capacity to respond decisively when the risk of combat is high and the level of local cooperation is low. The U.N.’s impartiality can be a key to diplomatic credibility, but is of less help when military credibility is what is required. The U.N.’s resources have been stretched thin. So peacekeeping is no substitute for vigorous alliances and a strong national defense.”⁸⁰

In PDD-25, the United States offered assistance for reform and strengthening of the UN's management of peacekeeping operations. At the same time, it confirmed that Washington would seek to reduce the US share of peacekeeping to 25 percent. It also imposed stricter criteria for US support of new peacekeeping operations. While reaffirming the availability of US troops, PDD-25 noted that the greater the anticipated US military role, "the less likely it will be that the U.S. will agree to have a U.N. commander exercise overall operational control over U.S. forces." And any large-scale peace enforcement involving combat "would ordinarily be conducted under U.S. command and operational control or through competent regional organizations such as NATO or ad hoc coalitions."⁸¹ As one National Security Council staff member explained, the meaning of PDD-25: "When force must be used against those who seek war, it is unlikely that America will rely on the United Nations."⁸²

The Clinton administration has applied the PDD-25 guidelines, withholding approval for some new operations and the expansion of others because of a scarcity of UN resources, ill-defined mandates, or a lack of progress toward a settlement. When the conflict in Rwanda escalated to genocide there was a delay in the UN response which some critics blamed on the American "hesitancy to endorse the mission or commit troops to the operation."⁸³ The same hesitancy and desire to subject UN plans to close scrutiny was evident in the American response to Canada's Zaire initiative in late 1996.

Since PDD-25, UN peacekeeping has declined recently, due in part to US policy and the ending of UNPROFOR and because the rapid and extensive expansion of missions in the immediate post-World War era now appears as an anomaly. By mid-1996 there were 14 missions with a total personnel of 26,000, down from the 70,000 of previous years.⁸⁴ This is to be compared with the nearly tenfold increase from approximately 8,000 to 80,000 troops in the early 1990s.⁸⁵

At the same time, Washington assumed a direct leadership role in Haiti, intervening to remove the junta and supported the establishment of a follow-on UN peacekeeping mission. In Bosnia, with the credibility of NATO at stake, the Clinton administration took advantage of the Croatian victories in the summer of 1995 and the weakening of the Bosnian Serb position to mount a NATO air campaign in support of Washington's diplomatic initiatives and then brokered a settlement now backed up by the NATO force. Yet, consistent with PDD-25, the United Nations and other multinational agencies continued to operate in the former Yugoslavia, with a new traditional peacekeeping operation in Slovenia and Croatia as well as a new International Police Task Force. And the United States is supporting and participating in a range of initiatives including the rebuilding infrastructure and a host of civic programs.

The Clinton administration has placed a high priority on "improving the way the UN does business." It promoted the appointment of an American as under-secretary general for administration and management. It supported the expansion and reorganization of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO),

including the establishment of a 24-hour Situation Center. A US military officer serves as the Center's director of information and research staff. The Clinton administration sought to increase the number and duration of secondment of US military and diplomatic personnel to the UN. During 1994, the Department of Defense's Defense Information Agency conducted a study for the DPKO on enhancing UN command control communication and information capabilities.

On the question of a standby force for UN peacekeeping operations, the Clinton administration has notified the United Nations that while it would not " earmark specific forces or units," it would provide "a listing of capabilities potentially available for peace operations." These include strategic airlift and sealift, logistics, communications support, intelligence support, and personnel for headquarters staff functions.⁸⁶

At the same time, the administration has not hesitated to deploy US forces to UN missions and in support of UN missions. For this, however, it has found some support. The Congressionally mandated Commission on Roles and Mission of Armed Forces endorsed the use of US troops for peacekeeping operations and called for more training.⁸⁷ A recent GAO study noted that while participation in peacekeeping operations can interfere with combat training cycles — especially of infantry units — the overall impact on preparedness is positive. This is even more the case for Navy and Air Force units who obtain valuable experience in lift.⁸⁸

In the past, the American military approached peacekeeping with a measure of scepticism, even disdain. In 1960, Morris Janowitz noted the "resistance of the professional military to the peacekeeping role because it sounds too much like police work to them." In 1983 he reported that although US troops had participated as individuals in UN observer missions and had been deployed in larger units in the Sinai and Lebanon, the American military "still rejected the peacekeeping concept."⁸⁹ As David R. Segal recently noted, this was "understandable" because peacekeeping was "an inherently ambiguous process" for America soldiers. In their "pre-service" socialization, they learned that the police keep domestic order and that the role of the US military is to project force overseas and to fight and win the nation's wars. And until the early 1990s, the US military did very little in the way of service training for peacekeeping.⁹⁰

A 1994 report by the inspector general of the US Department of Defense noted the lack of training and preparation for peacekeeping duties. It had been assumed that "well-trained, disciplined combat soldiers and the current combat planning, training, staffing and decision-making processes are sufficient to ensure adequate preparation for such operations." However, if the United States was going to engage in increasing numbers of peace operations then more was needed.⁹¹

In recent years, the US military has been incorporating peacekeeping into its doctrine and training. The US Army issued a field manual for "peace operations."⁹² *A Joint Task Force Commander's Handbook for Peace Operations* was issued by the Joint Warfighting Center.⁹³ The reconfigured US Atlantic Command

(USACOM) which, as the “joint force integrator” has the responsibility to prepare and dispatch forces abroad, was specifically tasked with supporting peacekeeping operations.⁹⁴ At Fort Polk soldiers train in “simulated peace operations,” at the Joint Readiness Training Center. Also used for training is the Combined Arms Manoeuvring Center in Europe. The Clinton administration has especially encouraged Partnership for Peace (PfP) nations to train for peacekeeping operations and in October 1995 US and Russian troops held a joint peacekeeping exercise in the United States.

At the US Army War College a Peacekeeping Institute (PKI) was established in 1993. Staffed by serving and retired officers with peacekeeping experience, the PKI has been involved in preparing US forces for peacekeeping duties, participating in the planning and sending of staff out to brief units prior to deployment.⁹⁵

Ironically, as the American military took steps to better prepare itself for classic peacekeeping operations, the nature of peacekeeping was changing. In Somalia and Yugoslavia, it took on the characteristics of armed intervention and military occupation, and the United Nations was calling upon the United States and NATO to apply direct military power in support of peacekeeping operations. All of these were activities for which the US military has traditionally been trained, but which nonetheless were unclear in the present circumstances. As summed up by the title of a recent article by Robert D. Warrington, a Central Intelligence official serving on the US National Intelligence Council, “The Helmets May Be Blue, but the Blood’s Still Red.”⁹⁶ Not surprisingly, in trying to cope with these ambiguous situations, the US military would tend to draw upon “their fund of knowledge of past situations.” Which was the case in Somalia. As Segal observed:

It should come as no surprise that soldiers who are trained and indoctrinated to believe that their mission is to prepare for, and if necessary to fight and win the nation’s wars, when they find themselves on foreign soil with angry iron flying through the air, define other people there, who are neither Americans nor allies, as enemies.⁹⁷

At the same time, some aspects of the American military tradition and training have been conducive to the “new peacekeeping,” particularly in areas of civil-military affairs. Within NATO’s Stabilization Force (SFOR), Combined Joint Civil Military Cooperation (CJCIMIC) has been implemented as the link between military and civilian organizations operating in the theatre. It is staffed by active and reserve civil affairs personnel from around the world. The 352nd Civil Affairs Command from Riverdale, Maryland, deployed its headquarters element to Sarajevo along with the 360th and 354th brigades to support the CJCIMIC within SFOR.⁹⁸

An Eclectic Policy

The United States has adopted an eclectic, multifaceted approach to UN operations reflecting the uncertainties of the post-Cold War era, the ambiguity of contemporary peacekeeping and, perhaps above all, the unavoidable complexities of American foreign policy.

Nowhere was this often changeable and confusing approach to UN peacekeeping more evident than in the case of Yugoslavia. The Clinton administration supported UNPROFOR by various direct and indirect means, particularly through NATO where US personnel participated in supplying air cover and also helped to operate allied headquarters units assisting the UN. Then there was Operation *Sharp Guard*, the multilateral naval effort to stop the flow of arms into the former Yugoslavia — an effort which the Clinton administration supported and in which US forces initially participated. From 22 November 1992 to 11 January 1996, 66,272 ships were challenged, 5,084 were boarded and inspected, and 1,415 were diverted and inspected in port.⁹⁹ Although a model how well multilateral naval cooperation can work, it was not evident that the embargo had any serious impact on the level of fighting, especially given the Croatian offensive during the summer of 1995 and the failure of NATO and the United Nations to provide protection for a number of “safe havens.”

More importantly, the case of *Sharp Guard* highlights how American participation in a cooperative effort is circumscribed by US interests that may diverge from those of other contributing countries. In late 1994 the Clinton administration, acting in response to Congressional pressure, ended the participation of the USN in the arms embargo against the Bosnian government. Thus, while American Admiral W. Leighton Smith Jr., acting in his NATO capacity as Commander-in-Chief South (CINCSOUTH) continued to “oversee the embargo,” he was not able to direct American ships to enforce the ban. And if he received American intelligence about weapons shipments he was not able to act upon that information.¹⁰⁰

Yet this was only half the story, while the combined NATO-Western European Union fleets were enforcing the arms embargo, the Clinton administration was giving the green light to Iran to ship weapons to the Bosnian government forces — weapons eventually used to launch the offensive in the summer of 1995 which paved the way for the Dayton Accords, but in the process ended UNPROFOR’s activities. The point is not whether the Clinton administration acted in bad faith, it clearly had reasons *both* to sustain allied cooperation *and* to covertly arm those fighting the Bosnian Serbs. This approach turned out to be essential to achieving the battlefield conditions that allowed Washington to broker a settlement. The point is that multilateral peacekeeping is often a political undertaking that can be manipulated to serve the interests of the larger coalition partner.

Finally, the Bosnian experience points to the double-edged nature of multilateralism peacekeeping as a political legitimizing tool for the United States. Securing the cooperation of a wide range of countries can enhance the acceptability of US intervention in the eyes of the international community. This “appearance” of broad support is also important if the administration is to secure the backing of the American people and especially of Congress. However, to be fully legitimate in the domestic context, multilateralism must also mean acceptance of US command in the field and policy objectives at the negotiating table by the contributing nations. This was why President Clinton was prepared to offer only limited support to UNPROFOR, and even adopt policies that seemed to undercut the United Nations, yet he all but staked the future of his administration on the success of IFOR.

It is not that American interests are necessarily at odds with those of other governments contributing to UN operations — all may wish victory over an aggressor or a settlement to a regional dispute or the provision of humanitarian relief. It is really a question of which nation’s approach to achieving these ends will prevail. Increasingly in the 1990s, it has been Washington’s view of how the shared political objectives are to be achieved by peacekeeping that has been crucial.

Where traditional, lightly armed forces under UN command can help resolve a conflict consistent with US interests, Washington will lend its diplomatic, financial, intelligence, and logistic support but will leave to other nations the burden of supplying forces. In instances of major breaches of the peace which fall under Chapter VII of the UN Charter and which threaten vital American interests and/or values, or are important for domestic reasons, as was the case with the problem of Haitian refugees, the United States will supply forces. In these instances, though, Washington will not accept UN control but rather will seek UN endorsement for a coalition effort in which Americans command in the field and set the policy objectives and the negotiating table.

Overall, the American approach to peacekeeping reflects the mixture of self-interest and ideals of multilateralism and unilateralism that has always characterized American foreign policy. In a 1995 report to Congress on peacekeeping, the Clinton administration declared that “it is in the U.S. interest to ensure that U.N. peacekeeping works ... U.N. forces have assumed roles that once had been performed by American troops ... They stand on the battlements in places of great importance to us.”¹⁰¹ In his speech to the nation explaining the sending of American troops to Bosnia, the president cited self-interest in ending a conflict that might spread and the importance of maintaining the credibility of the NATO alliance. But the focus of his address was an appeal to American idealism, its cherished belief in “liberty, democracy and peace,” and humanitarianism. The conflict in Bosnia has “troubled our souls” as well as “challenged our interests.” He invoked the deeply-rooted sense of American exceptionalism. The United States is a country singularly suited to making peace in the Balkans where others, including the United Nations, have thus far failed. “It is the power of ideas, even

more than our size, our wealth and our military might, that makes America a uniquely trusted nation."¹⁰²

The president is not without a measure of domestic support for his approach. As noted above, while public opinion polls show that the American public is wary of foreign entanglements, support for continued American global leadership, particularly at the UN remains surprisingly high. In an April 1995 survey, 89 percent agreed that "when there is a problem in the world that requires the use of military force, it is generally best for the U.S. to address the problem together with other nations working through the U.N. rather than going it alone."¹⁰³

The Clinton administration has been, nevertheless, aware that long-term public and especially Congressional support is dependent upon a change at the UN and an overall reduction in American obligations. It has proposed a "grand bargain," whereby the United States pays off its debt over a five-year period in exchange for the implementation of reform. In the late spring of 1996, administration officials were pointing out that progress had been made. Speaking to a forum sponsored by the United Nations Association of the United States, Richard Clark, Director of Global Affairs for the National Security Council, noted that, "in the past three years, the U.N. Security Council has attempted to control the rapid growth of peacekeeping and has established criteria for evaluating when to start and, as importantly, when to stop peacekeeping operations." During the same meeting Ambassador Albright observed that the changing nature of peacekeeping had led to "an evolution in thinking ... about what was doable," and that these lessons had "been absorbed by the international community." And Vice President Gore, "predicting an increasing debate over US/UN command and control relationships," declared that, "the chain of command is a hallowed line that runs from the President to every serviceman and servicewoman in every unit everywhere in the world, including those who are assigned to service in U.N."¹⁰⁴

The administration also announced that it would begin negotiations with other countries to lower the US assessment for the UN regular budget, (which would also lower its peacekeeping assessment) from 25 to 20 percent. In defending the move, Albright said that, "we do not think it is absolutely useful for the U.N. to be dependent on any one single contributor to the extent that it is upon us." She argued that it is better for Washington to pay fully at the lower rate than to not pay at 25 percent.¹⁰⁵

For a United Nations strapped for cash to keep peacekeeping missions functioning, and for major contributing nations such as Canada, the Clinton administration's efforts still fall short of what had been hoped for. There may well be some resentment that Washington is indeed trying to bend the United Nations to its will as the price that must be paid for continued American support. There may also be concern with the eclectic, multifaceted approach. American forces will go into trouble spots with sufficient power to temporarily impose a peace, then hand a still volatile and unresolved situation over to the traditional UN peacekeeping forces who will again lack adequate resources and mandates to maintain the peace.

These apprehensions are not without foundation. Member nations must be prepared to challenge Washington when it seeks to "bend" UN peacekeeping in ways that may fulfil immediate US interests but do not satisfy the UN's requirements or those of contributing governments. However, criticism of American policy must be tempered by an appreciation of current international and American domestic political realities. The United States faces no immediate major military threat to its national security and the kinds of intrastate conflicts with which the UN has been concerned are the very type that make Congress, still with a Republican majority, and the public wary of being drawn into another Vietnam.

Under these circumstances, the Clinton administration has had to work hard to sustain the present level of direct and indirect US contribution to UN peacekeeping. And it has by and large succeeded. Although withdrawing most of its own troops, Washington continues to support UN operations in Haiti. In Bosnia, the Clinton administration has helped sustain UN military and civilian efforts by pressing for the establishment of NATO's Stabilization Force to follow IFOR. And while there may be some criticism of American hesitancy over Zaire, the careful scrutiny of the Canadian proposal may have prevented a too hasty and ill-prepared deployment.

It therefore is of little use, and may be counter-productive for the UN and member nations to chastize loudly Washington for its slow payments and low level of troop contributions. If American conditions for supporting UN peacekeeping are repeatedly rejected, it may well be that the United States will define even more narrowly those instances in which it is prepared to join in UN or other multilateral peace efforts. It will not adopt an isolationist stance, but will move further toward unilateralism when its national interests are challenged and nonentanglement when they are not.

Notes

Parts of this section appeared in Joel J. Sokolsky, "Great Ideals and Uneasy Compromises: The United States Approach to Peacekeeping," *International Journal* 50 (Spring 1995):266-93; and "The Clinton Administration and U.N. Peacekeeping," *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 26 (Autumn 1996): 6-13.

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72. Maynes, "Relearning Intervention," p. 8.
 73. UN Ambassador Madeleine Albright ensured that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was aware of this in October 1993, during testimony given after the deaths of several American servicemen in Somalia. See *Department of State Dispatch* 4, 46.
 74. As John Ruggie notes, the only US troops that were ever under direct operational control of the UN in Somalia was a 3,000-strong logistic component. The Quick Reaction Force (QRF) remained under the command of the Commander-in-Chief, Central Command, "although for the raids on Mohamed Farah Aideed, the QRF come under the "temporary tactical control" of US Major General Montgomery who also served as deputy UN Commander to Lt. General Bir, the Turkish general commanding the UN operation. But the Army Rangers "remained entirely under the direct command of Special Operations in Florida, by-passing both the U.N. Command and control structure and General Montgomery, even in his U.S. role." Neither Montgomery nor Bir were informed of the ill-fated Ranger raid of 3 October 1993 until it was underway. This made it difficult for other peacekeepers to come to the Ranger's assistance. "In short, having U.S. troops in Somalia serve under U.S. command amid a U.N. operation whose own command and control structure was already cumbersome and tangled manifestly contributed to the problem." See John Gerard Ruggie, "Peacekeeping and U.S. Interests," *The Washington Quarterly* 17 (Autumn 1994):181-82.
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3. *Canadian Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era*

Trends in Canadian Defence Policy

Throughout the Cold War, Canadian national security policy rested upon four broad roles: support for NATO; collaboration with the United States in the defence of North America, especially through the North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD); national tasks such as sovereignty protection; and peacekeeping. While governments often stress the latter two roles for domestic purposes, the posture and weapons procurement decisions are primarily driven by NATO and NORAD.

A January 1995 government statement by Ottawa emphasized that “direct threats to Canada’s territory are diminished” and that future challenges to Canadian security are increasingly likely to be of a nonmilitary nature, that is: economic, environmental and demographic.¹ Drastic cuts have been made to the Canadian forces. By the end of the decade the regular force will drop to 60,000.

Although the NORAD agreement was renewed in 1996, North American security collaboration — its aerospace and maritime dimensions already a pale reflection of its Cold War manifestations — is likely to slip from marginality to obscurity. With regard to Canada’s role in NATO, the Cold War was scarcely over when the Canadian government announced in 1991 that the country’s two military bases in Europe, both located in Germany, would be closed and that the Canadian military presence in Europe would be reduced to a token force of 1,100 — to be stationed at a British or US base. A year later, Ottawa abandoned even this political symbolism. Canada’s two fighter squadrons and armoured brigade group would be brought home.

Nevertheless, the *1994 Defence White Paper* states that Canada will maintain “multi-purpose, combat capable armed forces able to meet the challenges to

Canada's security both at home and abroad."² It will continue to supply naval forces to the alliance, crews for the NATO Airborne Warning and Control aircraft and individual personnel for various allied staff positions. And it will retain in Canada air and ground forces which could be sent to Europe. Despite overall force reductions, some 3,000 personnel will be added to the land forces. In the event of a major overseas contingency, Ottawa would be prepared to send land, sea, and air forces simultaneously and "this could conceivably involve in the order of 10,000 military personnel."³

But this reconfiguration entails an even greater Canadian retreat from European defence than many realized. The White Paper does not earmark these potential expeditionary forces for NATO alone. Rather it states that they will be available for contributions to international security in general "within a UN framework, through NATO, or in coalitions of like-minded countries." As the White Paper acknowledges, a major crisis in Europe might find the very hard-pressed and undermanned Canadian forces deployed elsewhere requiring difficult and protracted redeployments.⁴

As the two central elements of the bilateral defence relationship — North American and NATO — diminish, attention is increasingly focused upon Canada-United States security links "out of area." Here there are two broad dimensions to collaboration, regional security arrangements, including ad hoc coalitions formed under US leadership, and United Nations peacekeeping operations. During the Cold War, Canada had very little involvement in American-led regional security efforts. Ottawa did not even join the Organization of American States (OAS) until 1989. Nor did Canada participate in any limited wars or interventions between the Korean War and the Gulf War.

There was, however, an implicit and sometimes explicit collaboration between Canada and the United States in the realm of UN peacekeeping and outside the UN, such as in the case of the MFO in the Sinai. This was based on a compatibility between Canada's desire to use peacekeeping partly as a way to project a more independent identity externally and US national security interests. While Canadians often viewed peacekeeping as a neutral activity in the context of the dominant East-West struggle, Washington welcomed and appreciated Canada's participation precisely because Ottawa was a loyal Western ally.⁵

Since the end of the Cold War the United States and Canada have collaborated in a range of multilateral operations from the peace enforcement of the Gulf War to efforts at peacekeeping in Somalia and Haiti. But it is premature to conclude that the two countries are about to engage in a new joint approach to international security threats despite the continuing commitment of both to multilateralism. For here too, the relationship is changing as each country adopts different approaches to regional conflicts and instability.

For the United States, multilateralism is a tool to be used when it can support the achievement of American interests or support US idealism. As Ambassador Madeleine Albright told a Senate Committee, "when threats arise, we may respond

through the U.N., through NATO, through a coalition, through a combination of these tools or we may act alone. We will do whatever is necessary to defend the vital interests of the United States.”⁶

For Canada, multilateralism has always been viewed as an attractive means to achieve broad foreign policy objectives. Under the current government, the prime Canadian interest abroad is economic, to promote trade and multilateral regimes favourable to its vulnerable, open economy. As one moves away from concrete matters of dollars and cents, Canadian internationalism tends to lack specific focus and simply equates Canada’s well-being with broad global stability and the belief that Canadians should help the international community foster that stability. As a recent parliamentary review of foreign policy concluded:

foreign policy matters to Canadians. They have deep-rooted values that they carry over into the role they want Canada to play—nurturing dialogue and compromise; promoting democracy, human rights, economic and social justice; caring for the environment; safeguarding peace; and easing poverty. And they can offer corresponding skills—mediating disputes; counselling, good governance in a diverse society; helping the less fortunate; and peacekeeping.⁷

What this approach often obscures is the reality that most cases of regional conflict or instability will not even indirectly affect Canadian economic or security interests. Ottawa is often simply looking to participate actively in global affairs. Lacking any solid basis in vital national security interests, Canada does not see a commitment to multilateralism as requiring it to assume a greater share of the military burden for regional security, especially where this could entail high intensity conflict as part of a coalition. Its involvement in the Gulf War, though militarily useful and fully supportive of the US-led coalition, reflected Ottawa’s modest assessment of what Canada could be expected to contribute.⁸ Ottawa may still believe that Washington is “bound to lead,” but it does not always hold that it is necessarily bound to follow. If, for Washington, multilateralism is a means of securing the support of allies for American objectives, Ottawa often views it as a means of restraining the unilateral exercise of American power, making it more amenable to allied objectives.

Canada is showing a new interest in the countries of the Far East and those of Latin America. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien’s most publicized trade missions have been to these two areas.⁹ Ottawa believes that as Canada seeks out new trading opportunities, there should be some commensurate augmentation in military links with regions and countries outside the traditional North Atlantic triangle. The 1994 White Paper reflects this state of affairs. It documents how Canadian interest in the security of the Asia Pacific region has become much more active — through the encouragement of regional security dialogues such as the ASEAN Regional Forum, the Council for Security Cooperation in Asia Pacific, and the Canadian Consortium on Asia Pacific Security. Canada will expand the current program of bilateral military contacts with a variety of Asian nations, including Japan, South Korea, and members of the Association of South East Asian Nations.¹⁰

Increased Canadian military ties in Latin America, the Pacific, and elsewhere might involve some cooperation with the United States. But this new interest cannot be equated with a Canadian commitment to the security of these regions; a commitment necessitating greatly expanded military operations. Thus it is unlikely that beyond staff talks, exchanges of information and the occasional port visit and participation in joint exercises, Canada is prepared to bind itself to concrete regional security arrangements. The emphasis upon naval ties is noteworthy since they are a relatively inexpensive way to maintain a nominal “global” presence. Just because forces exercise together does not mean they will fight together. Indeed, the attractiveness of these new links seems to rest for the most part in their relatively low political, and above all financial, costs.

In short, the key motivating factor behind expanding military ties is economic considerations, not those of traditional military security. Recently, a high-level Canadian military delegation went to China to establish contacts with the People’s Liberation Army and to explore opportunities for military exports.¹¹ A cruise by Canada’s newest warship into the Persian Gulf was likewise intended to promote Canadian defence products. To this extent, Ottawa and Washington might well find themselves in a competitive rather than cooperative situation overseas.

All this is not to argue that Washington does not welcome and appreciate Canadian support. The Bush administration was pleased with Ottawa’s backing for its Gulf War efforts and the Clinton administration was pleased to see Canada participate in IFOR and now SFOR. However, for the United States, Canadian involvement is not critical in military or diplomatic terms and does not afford Ottawa a great deal of influence over American policies. The US military knows full well that the Canadian forces lack the capabilities to make a significant military contribution out of area. Moreover, for the United States, promoting regional security will depend upon the cooperation with regional powers and, at times, powerful external actors such as France and Britain and even Russia. If Washington cannot get these other nations to follow its lead, then it will either act alone, if its vital interests are deemed to be at stake, or it will not act at all.

Canada, Washington and Peacekeeping

With NORAD, NATO, and ad hoc coalitions waning in importance for Canada, UN peacekeeping has emerged for the first time as the *de facto* top priority in Canadian defence policy. And, as Dennis Stairs has observed, the 1994 parliamentary reviews of defence and foreign policy “established beyond any doubt that there was massive support in the country at large” for peacekeeping.¹²

In the early post-Cold War years, Canada-US compatibility in peacekeeping seemed to grow and hold greater potential as the Bush and then Clinton administrations embraced UN peacekeeping as a useful tool. The “Canadianization” of American defence policy seemed to be at hand. With US diplomatic

support in the Security Council and logistic backing in the field, peacekeeping forces fanned out across the globe and with them, Canadian troops. The government of former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney was particularly anxious to use peacekeeping in order to cut a distinct international figure and to support President Bush. At the end of 1993, Canada had nearly 5,000 peacekeepers in UN operations, nearly half of them in Yugoslavia.

But Canada, like the United States, found the promise of peacekeeping to be far from reality. It too, experienced frustration in Somalia and a scandal when it was found that Canadian forces were discovered to have beaten to death a Somalian youth. In Yugoslavia, Ottawa backed into a quagmire thinking that it would be like other "classic" UN operations in which Canadian forces have been involved and which entailed the deployment of lightly armed multinational forces between combatants who had already stopped fighting. In Croatia and Bosnia, of course, there had been precious little peace to keep. At first, Canadians took pride in the prominent role their blue berets were playing. But as the fighting continued and when Canadian troops were taken hostage, Canadians back home grew increasingly frustrated. It was also frustrating for them to see their country excluded from the high-level contact group of countries attempting to broker a peace. On several occasions, Ottawa resisted the strong temptation to pull out lest it be seen as reneging on a commitment and undermining the United Nations efforts.

For its part, the government of Jean Chrétien, elected in the fall of 1993, was less enthusiastic about the Yugoslavian role. It continually sought to block and then only grudgingly accepted American-sponsored demands that air strikes be used to punish the Serbs for not respecting safe areas. "The pattern has been one of ... seizing every opportunity to reduce the size and exposure of Canadian troops."¹³ After the 1995 summer offensive, Canada joined other UN forces leaving Croatia. Then, following NATO's massive air assault on the Bosnian Serbs and the US brokered cease-fire, the prime minister announced "with pleasure" that the Canadians would be withdrawn from Bosnia by November 1995 because "the mission was over."¹⁴ With the end of the UN operation in Yugoslavia, Canada had only 900 peacekeepers, nearly all in two UN operations — on the Golan heights, dating back to 1974 and in Haiti.¹⁵

The problem for Ottawa was that the mission in Yugoslavia was not over. President Clinton had made a major commitment of American power and prestige, and, it appeared, his own reelection, on being able to lead NATO in securing the 21 November 1995 settlement in Bosnia. The alliance had likewise put its credibility to European security on the line. Thus, as much as the Chrétien government would have liked to leave Bosnia behind, the Clinton initiative put Ottawa in a difficult position.

On the one hand, as NATO's 60,000-person force for Bosnia was to have a war-fighting capability, here was the opportunity for Ottawa to redeem itself in the eyes of its allies as well as live up to the stated objective contained in the White Paper and deploy a sizable combat-capable force in support of the alliance.

This would also have been consistent with the White Paper's call for NATO to take a more active role in peacekeeping.

On the other hand, given defence department budgets and personnel cuts, the heavy peacekeeping commitments of recent years and public opinion, Canada was in no position to send a major force back into Bosnia, particularly one that may well have to wage war against violators of the peace agreement. Moreover, the Chrétien government could have claimed that Canada had done more than its share in the Balkans and done so when the Europeans proved themselves incapable of solving the problem on their own, and the United States was reluctant to become more heavily involved.

Not surprisingly, therefore, the reaction in Ottawa to the American call for support was ambivalence. The foreign minister spoke in Washington, at first saying that Canada would participate in the NATO force, then both he and the prime minister backed away from a pledge to send combat forces, saying that Canada would participate, "only if absolutely necessary."¹⁶ Canada was the last NATO country to decide on the size of its commitment. While attending the December 1995 NATO meeting, the foreign minister noted that although Canada was a staunch supporter of peacekeeping, "this is not a decision like those in the past on the subject of real traditional peacekeeping of the United Nations it is something else ... We could spend much more money in the reconstruction element of the package than on the military package. But obviously we will have to consider the needs of NATO, the demands in regards to troops, how much has been already contributed by others."¹⁷

On the latter point, Ottawa noted that although the United States, Britain, and France were sending sizable forces, other contributors, even Russia with 1,500 troops, were dispatching more modest units. Thus, while deliberating, Cabinet considered a range of options prepared by the military, including the dispatch of some 2,000 combat troops,¹⁸ there was little likelihood that such a force would be sent.

Ottawa's eventual decision to send a force of 1,000 reflected its ambivalence toward the operation and the domestic constraints. The bulk of the force would be support as opposed to combat troops and Ottawa also made clear that the deployment would only be for one year. Canada provided a headquarters and commanding general of the 2,200-strong Canadian Multinational Brigade which includes Canadian, British, Czech, and Malaysian troops assigned to the British sector in northwestern Bosnia.¹⁹

About 750 Canadians were deployed at the headquarters in Coralici and the rest at a supply depot supporting the headquarters located at Velika Kladusa on the Croatian border. Canadian troops were to be responsible for demilitarizing and removing mines along part of the border between the Muslim Croat federation and the Serb-controlled area of Bosnia.²⁰ Given the nature of the mission and the dangers, the force was more heavily armed than previous Canadian units in

the former Yugoslavia and had the authority to defend themselves under the more “robust rules of engagement” that will applied to other NATO forces.

There were indications that the Canadian military, while proud of its UNPROFOR service, was happy to be serving under (familiar) NATO command and that many shared the American view that IFOR constituted a more effective approach to peace in Yugoslavia. As one Canadian veteran of UNPROFOR, who served with IFOR, summed up the “differences between the two missions, I ‘used to survive on my good looks, my charm and my smile. Now I have a gun’.”²¹

In justifying the small size of the force, former Minister of National Defence David Collenette cited Canada’s three-year participation in UN peacekeeping in Yugoslavia. “This is what Canadians would expect us to do.”²² The government also pointed out that Canada would be contributing to rebuilding efforts in Bosnia, to UN efforts to establish police forces, and to working with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe to set up free elections and national human rights institutions.

In making this commitment, Ottawa was trying to mend fences with NATO. As Collenette noted, Canada had a “moral obligation” to support the alliance²³ at this “historic time for NATO.”²⁴ Thus, despite the initial hesitation, it was unlikely that Canada would have chosen not to participate in the Bosnian effort at all. The decision can be explained simply by the continuing Canadian desire not to be entirely left out of a major American-led Western undertaking.

Critics in Canada charged that this was the “least of what we can get away with.”²⁵ They allege that the “embarrassingly small” size of the force and its predominantly noncombat composition, was unworthy of a member of the Group of Seven (G7) major industrial nations and would undermine Canada’s influence in Europe.²⁶ This criticism is both unfair and unrealistic, not only in terms of what Canada could reasonably be expected to contribute but with regard to the broader international context.

While the Canadian contribution was less than Washington had hoped for, it did compare favourably with those of other countries and performed useful roles for IFOR. No doubt the size of the force and the delay in deciding upon it were viewed in Europe and Washington as further evidence of a desire to distance Ottawa from the alliance’s new role in coping with Europe’s ethnic instability. Yet this is an accurate assessment of the direction of Canadian policy as contained in the 1994 White Paper. While allies might complain, it really did not make much of a difference what the size of the Canadian contribution was. It was far more consequential for the Clinton administration to garner West European contributions and the participation of some of the PFP countries — especially that of Russia. Should the US-brokered settlement on Bosnia flounder on the killing fields of Yugoslavia or in Congress, then little importance will be attached to Ottawa’s reluctance to become involved or the size of Canada’s commitment. Above all, it was fallacious to link the size and role of the Canadian contribution to IFOR to

expectations of influence. After the experience of the last few years in Yugoslavia and the dominant American role in the NATO initiative, there should now be no illusions in Ottawa about having any influence over the Bosnian peace process or major NATO decisions.

The more the UN's velvet glove takes advantage of NATO's iron fist, there is little doubt whose hand holds the leash on what former Defense Secretary Perry assured Congress would be "the biggest, toughest, the meanest dog in town."²⁷ United Nations operations that are contracted out to American-led coalitions because they hold the potential for high intensity combat will increasingly be beyond Canada's capacity. Former chief of the defence staff, General Jean Boyle, acknowledged in February 1996 that the Canadian army lacks the equipment to fight in a "high-intensity combat theatre."²⁸

Yet, Even as Ottawa was pulling its troops out of Yugoslavia, and hedging on whether to participate in NATO's peace enforcement efforts there, the government was launching new foreign and defence policy initiatives designed to strengthen the United Nation's peacekeeping capabilities and to augment Canada's contribution to them. Moreover, the 1994 Defence White Paper noted that in addition to "genuine threats to international peace and security," multilateral missions should also address "emerging humanitarian tragedies (such as in Somalia and Rwanda)."²⁹ To a certain extent, this constituted an enlargement of the kind of situation which would legitimate UN action and Canadian participation.

In early September 1995, Collette announced that as many as 3,000 additional members of the Canadian Forces (CF) would be available for peacekeeping operations, putting the total number at more than 20,000 of the combined armed forces of soon-to-be 60,000. He also stressed that the United Nations, not NATO, "should take the lead in setting the broad context for all security initiatives and in giving direction for multilateral operations."³⁰

Later that month, Canada tabled a report at the UN entitled *Towards A Rapid Reaction Capability For the United Nations*.³¹ Based upon the idea of the "Vanguard Concept," the report called for nations to maintain an enhanced multinational standby force of up to 5,000 troops to be assembled and deployed on short notice under the operational control of small permanent operational headquarters units of 30-50 civilian experts. This force would "buy time for diplomatic efforts and prepare the ground work for a longer-term traditional peacekeeping operation." The report also contained proposals for other improvements to the UN's approach to crisis management in the area of early warning and logistics.³² "This report," Collette stated, "illustrates the Government's commitment to ensuring a vigorous and effective United Nations at a time of increased demand for peacekeeping."³³

Any major reform of peacekeeping, whether American ground forces participate in specific operations or not, will require American backing as Washington makes major changes in New York a condition of its continued support for peacekeeping. The new UN operational headquarters and rapid reaction force, along the lines Canada has proposed, has been supported by the United States, although

the Clinton administration has notified the United Nations that while it would not “‘ earmark’ specific forces or units,” it would provide “a listing of capabilities potentially available for peace operations.” These include strategic airlift and sealift, logistics, communications support, intelligence support, and personnel for headquarters staff functions.³⁴

To a certain extent, Canada’s proposal for new UN peacekeeping headquarters and vanguard rapid reaction capability could be a source of future problems in Canada-United States relations. The UN would only adopt the proposal with US support. But for Washington to back it, the United States will expect that other countries, including Canada, will not only supply staff to the headquarters but will respond positively, substantially, and quickly to a Security Council resolution calling for the deployment of the vanguard force. Given Washington’s influence at the United Nations, and its predilection to use peacekeeping as a tool of American foreign policy when its interests are involved, acceptance of the Canadian proposal could actually reduce rather than enlarge Ottawa’s influence in New York. It would, in a sense, be giving the United States, under the cover of supporting the UN, the kind of *a priori* global commitment of troops that Canada had ceased to give to the British Empire after World War I.³⁵

At same time, Ottawa remains rightly concerned about the lack of resources allocated to peacekeeping operations. In December 1995, the Security Council unanimously decided to renew the UN mission in Rwanda but to reduce the size of the force. Canada complained that this made it virtually impossible to fulfil the mandate and threatened to withdraw its troops.³⁶ Unable to change the Council’s policy Ottawa announced, in January 1996, the early withdrawal of the remaining 100 Canadians from the Rwandan mission.³⁷

Still, there remains a role for classic peacekeeping, and this is where Canada, with declining yet highly skilled forces can continue to make a contribution to regional stability; and where American and Canadian approaches to peacekeeping can continue to mesh. Washington does not need Canada to contribute combat troops to possible Chapter VII-authorized US-led coalition enforcement efforts. It is more in the US interests for Washington to continue to look to Canada to supply more lightly armed troops for traditional peacekeeping. These troops go into areas where all parties consent to the deployment, or where prior American intervention has eliminated opposition by force and ensured that there is a peace to keep.

This is the case in Haiti. At the same time as Ottawa announced its withdrawal from Rwanda, it was responding positively to a request from Washington that Canada assume command and increase the Canadian contingent as US forces withdraw. In this instance, in contrast to Rwanda, the UN peacekeeping mission serves American interests and thus Ottawa was assured by Washington that the resources will be available to implement the mandate.³⁸ When, however, China threatened to veto the force in the Security Council unless it reduced the size of the force from 1,900 troops and 300 police officers to 1,200 Canadians offered to

dispatch and pay for an additional 700 troops who would not be formally under the UN command. This saved the mission.³⁹

The United States will no doubt wish to encourage Canada to sustain its interest in peacekeeping. Canadian support is always welcome in Washington, particularly when multilateralism is needed to secure support for US action within the international community and within Congress. The American military feels comfortable with highly professional and experienced Canadian officers occupying key positions in peacekeeping operations — more than with those from other countries.⁴⁰ But in the post-Cold War era many governments can now be called upon to contribute peacekeeping forces. This includes former Warsaw Pact nations and former Soviet republics whose participation might carry more political significance for the United States than Canada's.

All of this should give Ottawa cause to evaluate peacekeeping in a more rigorous way than was done during the recent parliamentary and DND reviews. These essentially reaffirmed the traditional Canadian role in support of the UN operations while calling for UN reform yet left the door wide-open for future involvement on grounds of threats to international peace or humanitarian disasters.

A promising start was made in this direction in a recent report by the auditor general on both Foreign Affairs and DND involvement in peacekeeping. The report noted that the cost of peacekeeping had risen sharply in recent years from CDN\$47 million in 1991-92 to CDN\$240 million in 1995-96 — an increase of 410 percent. Participation in IFOR and the new Haitian mission will add further to costs.⁴¹ While DND has been able to cope with increased participation in terms of personnel levels, despite force reductions, “peacekeeping duty in the last few years has revealed serious problems in the Land Force's ability to generate multi-purpose forces.” These included failure to complete normal training plans, lack of proper equipment such as armoured vehicles, and inadequate resources to deploy a field hospital to support Land Force's operational plans. There were also concerns expressed about the suitability of using large numbers of reservists.⁴²

The report also criticized the Department of Foreign Affairs for not establishing a procedure to “carry out evaluations or ‘lessons learned’ exercises in the area of peacekeeping from a foreign policy perspective,” thus increasing “the risk of not benefiting fully from previous experience.” Echoing the concerns expressed in the US Congress about American participation, the report noted that “informed decisions on peacekeeping matters would be enhanced by greater transparency and accountability.” Particular attention was drawn to the amount of money owed Canada by the United Nations, estimated to be CDN\$92 million by March 1996. It also drew attention to the “high priority” Canada attaches to reform at the UN.⁴³

And, as if in response to those Canadians who chide the United States Congress for its influence on US peacekeeping policy, the auditor general placed special emphasis upon the need to heighten parliamentary oversight of peacekeeping. In particular, it called upon the government to report “annually to Parliament on all important aspects of Canadian participation in peacekeeping.” Specifically it called

for information on “all significant costs, implications and benefits to Canada,” for “additional ways, if any, that were considered for participation in UN peacekeeping,” and for “efforts made toward UN reform related to peacekeeping and the results achieved.”⁴⁴

Notes

Parts of this chapter have appeared in Joel J. Sokolsky, *Canada, Getting It Right This Time: The 1994 Defence White Paper* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 1995); Joel J. Sokolsky and David Detomasi, “Canadian Defense Policy and the Future of Canada-United States Security Relations,” *The American Review of Canadian Studies* 24 (Winter 1994):337-559; Joseph T. Jockel and Joel J. Sokolsky, “The End of the Canada-United States Defense Relationship,” *Policy Papers on the Americas VII*, Study 2, (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, Americas Program, 1996).

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3. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
4. *Ibid.*
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4. *Conclusion*

While the United States owes the most to the United Nations for peacekeeping, while Washington remains reluctant to place American soldiers under UN command, and while support has weakened recently, the post-Cold War era has witnessed the “Americanization” of UN peacekeeping. More than in the past, the United States is taking a direct role in the when, why, and how of traditional peacekeeping operations, and is obtaining UN authority for peace-enforcement efforts under its leadership when the objectives largely support American interests or ideals.

For Ottawa, the Americanization of peacekeeping has been a decidedly mixed blessing. On the one hand, few countries know better than Canada how UN peacekeeping depends upon a broad range of American support, beginning with its vote in the Security Council and continuing with the kind of logistic aid only the United States can supply. To the extent that Washington has viewed UN peacekeeping as a useful tool in dealing with certain regional problems, the Canadian predilection for multilateralism, has been satisfied and Canada has, through peacekeeping, been able to maintain an active role in post-Cold War international security relations.

On the other hand, the more attention the United States devotes to UN peacekeeping, especially those operations for which it has misgivings and which it may block or curtail, the less likely it will be that Canada will be able to shape the missions, even though it may be a troop contributor. This was evident in the Canadian proposal to send forces into Zaire when General Baril spent much time in Washington trying to obtain American support. And the more that Washington seeks Security Council approval for coalition enforcement efforts it leads, the more limited will be the scope for Canadian initiatives and diplomatic influence. It is perhaps a sign of the times that just when Canada’s proposal for Zaire was fading away (for justifiable reasons), Ottawa was accepting participation in the US-sponsored NATO SFOR in Bosnia.

Finally, there is also the less tangible problem of Canadian national identity. During the Cold War, Canadians and their governments were caught between

their support for collective defence — which made military cooperation with the United States essential — and popular fears that national sovereignty and independence would be compromised by too close an association with the nuclear-armed giant to the south. While polls indicated that most Canadians supported the broad lines of defence policy — with its propositions for containment and deterrence — critics, particularly in English Canada, were sometimes able to combine anti-nuclear sentiment with nationalism by playing upon the fear of “annihilation without representation.” Should not Canada’s real role in international affairs be that of a “peace-maker” and not a “powder monkey” on the American national security ship of state, and an ally of the weak and not a “partner to a behemoth”?¹ Peacekeeping, however much it was consistent with US interests, offered the perception of an international role separate from containment and deterrence. Nothing could be more Canadian.

The end of the Cold War seemed to bring relief for Canada’s international identity crisis. Canadians and the government in Ottawa need no longer agonize over the threat to their independence and sovereignty as a result of the close military collaboration with the United States. Above all, Canada is free to pursue its only truly distinctive international security role, that of peacekeeping.

However, with the Bush and Clinton administrations’ peacekeeping policies, Canada is once again responding to US initiatives and policies. From Somalia to Haiti and, in the end, in Yugoslavia, it has been placed in the uncomfortable position of having to go along with Washington, accepting American command in the field and political objectives or appearing to turn its back on multilateralism. Thus, while Canada will no doubt continue to participate, the Americanization of peacekeeping has diminished Ottawa’s ability to use activity to cut a distinct international figure, at least in the eyes of its own citizens. For a country now so sorely in need of reaffirming confidence in its national identity, this may seem to be the most unsettling implication of all.

Yet the fact that the United States now exercises a great influence over UN peacekeeping — for its own reasons and in its own particular and exceptional way — does not alter the reality that it is an activity that remains well suited to Canada’s interests, its capabilities, and its values. Peacekeeping was never really un-American or uniquely Canadian. It nevertheless was, and still is, something Canadians do well. And, despite all that has happened, it is something of which they may be justifiably (indeed un-Canadianly) proud.

Note

1. See, for example, James Minifie, *Peacemaker or Powder Monkey: Canada’s Role in a Revolutionary World* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1960); and John W. Warnock, *Partner to Behemoth: The Military Policy of a Satellite Canada* (Toronto: New Press, 1970).

Glossary

ASEAN	Association of SouthEast Asian Nations
CF	Canadian Forces
CINCSOUTH	Commander-in-Chief South
CIPA	Contributions for International Peacekeeping Activities
CJCMIC	Combined Joint Civil Military Cooperation
DND	Department of National Defence
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
EC	European Union
IFOR	NATO Implementation Force
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NORAD	North American Aerospace Defence Command
OAS	Organization of American States
PKI	US Army War College Peacekeeping Institute
QRF	Quick Reaction Force
SFOR	NATO Stabilization Force
UN	United Nations
UNMIH	UN Mission in Haiti
UNPA	<i>United Nations Participation Act (1945)</i>
UNPREDEP	UN Preventive Deployment Force
UNPROFOR	UN Protection Force
USN	US Navy

Joel J. Sokolsky

Dr. Sokolsky is Professor of Political Science and Head of the Department of Politics and Economics at the Royal Military College of Canada (RMC) as well as Senior Fellow at the Centre for International Relations at Queen's University. For the period of 1995-96 he was the Canada-US Fulbright Fellow at the Canadian Studies Center, Duke University.

