

Evaluation of United States of America Influence in Post 9/11 United Nations Peacekeeping Missions

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Abstract

Influence is the ability of a state to condition, profile and control the authoritative decisions and dealings of those who possess the formal-legal authority to take these decisions and actions. Descriptive analysis of United States of America (USA) influence in post 9/11 United Nations (UN) peacekeeping missions is desirable as most of the literature showed the magnitude of US in UN peacekeeping missions in terms of strategic decisions but not characteristics of influence. The present study aimed to assess the characteristics having apparent influence in terms of funding and participation while the extended influence include the support to political process, protect civilians, assist in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, organization of elections, protect and promote human rights and in restoring the rule of law. A well-established, simply worded English-language questionnaire was established to assess the US influence in UN peace keeping missions. Total 150 respondents were recruited on the bases of purposive sampling from Pakistan Army served in UN peacekeeping mission post 9/11. The instrument was structured to extended US influence in UN peace keeping missions. While asking the question that the US influence on UN peacekeeping is good or not. 14 % of the total respondents were agreeing; 27 % remained neutral and 59 % were against, according to them US influence on UN peacekeeping is not good especially after 9/11. While discussing whether the US influence is in line with the interests of the local area. It was found that 21 % of the total respondents agreed, while 63 % were totally against and they reported that the US influence is not in line with the interests of the local area. About 47 % of the respondents agreed that US funding is sufficient for the peacekeeping, however, 41 % were against and found that it can be increased. On promotion and protection of human rights in part to UN peacekeeping missions was surveyed and results were found in a negative value. It may be because of violation of human rights by US itself mainly in self-generated wars like in Afghanistan and Iraq. 74 % were against this and according to them US has not shown any concerns for promotion and protection of human rights in conflict hit zones especially after 9/11. The ground facts reveals that US is contributing for UN peacekeeping missions in terms of funding which also remained satisfactory throughout the tenure of conceptual working of UN. While in other aspects the influence remained to protect self-interests whether they are economic, social or even political.

Keywords: US influence, UN Peacekeeping Missions,

1. Introduction

“The United Nations (UN) wasn’t created to take mankind into paradise but rather to save humanity from hell.” The President UN is authorized to use all essential and suitable force aligned with those nations, organization, or persons he assesses that planned, allowed, committed, aided, or facilitated the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2011, or harbored such organizations or persons in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or person¹. In post 9/11 scenario, US established supremacy in the world political system. In international conflict arena it took independent stance. It corroborated the international institutions in its vision particularly in the premises of peacekeeping in conflict areas. US is a permanent member in UNSC which gives it a veto power, it contributes financially therefore it influences UN organizational lobby. This relationship is sometimes seen as that of convenience especially in the post 9/11 era where more than UN resolution at the general assembly and Security Council, the decisions made in US congress is more influential. UN is bound to follow this lead as it will be pushed to the background otherwise. Following is a brief account of this relationship in the background of some conflicts in post 9 /11 era².

In the new millennium, the global population is in a progressively highly interconnected world. Collaboration is required to create and preserve safety and security for all. Divergences and instability anywhere can imperil the world. International peacekeeping undertakings prove effective in restoring calm in zones of war and hostility, allowing societies to rebuild, communities to mend, and economies to flourish once again. International peacekeeping is coordinated international action taken to support an established peace process. This international coordination and effort for peacekeeping is one of the agendas of the United Nations as it gathers collective force of countries from around the world to restore peace and stability to war hit zones. Although all member countries do have the liberty to voice their opinions regarding any and all peace undertakings of the UN, but the United States enjoys considerable influence over the decisions made by the Security Council³. Since its establishment in 1945, the United Nations has conducted 69 peacekeeping missions. 118 countries have contributed police and military to different missions led by the UNO across the globe⁴. The peace keeping missions get influenced by the Security Council members. The United States is a constant supporter of international peacekeeping for two basic reasons. First, it is the correct thing to do and secondly peacekeeping serves as an efficient tool in the interests of the US. The efficacy of peacekeeping demonstrated in the growing requirement for peacekeepers. As central stakeholders in the organization, Americans are vested in a UN that embodies values of honesty, civility and fair play. An honest, decent, and just nerve center for efficient multilateralism will dole out the American people well, not because they expect the UN to turn into a world government, but primarily it can serve as a significant means for fostering their concepts of global governance. Influence is the ability of a state to condition, shape and control the authoritative decisions and actions of those who possess the formal-legal authority to take these decisions and actions.

USA, Post 9/11, adopted a strategy of convening with other member states of UNSC for the sake of multilateral actions either military or non-military. It has been reported that, US policy is better looked after by having bondages and alliances with nations and multilateral organizations through international agreements⁵. Since January 2002, UNSC has passed 54 resolutions which directly relate to peacekeeping. These resolutions were either moved singularly by US or more than one country including US. Countries concerning which these resolutions were passed include Sudan, Afghanistan, Iraq, and North Korea. It is worth mentioning that except for the Darfur (South Sudan) conflict where US did not move, 9 out of 29 UNSC resolutions and all UNSC resolutions concerning conflict hit regions, passed post 9/11, were all moved by US. There have been concerns from certain quarters regarding the efficacy of such resolutions, since passing a UN Security Council resolution puts a principled binding on all belligerents as well as UN to act on the contents passed. However, concrete action on UNSC resolutions has rarely been observed. Only those resolutions safeguarding interests of EU and especially US recognize a response on a ground⁴. UN has been reluctant to grant Peacekeeping Missions to those conflict zones where US does not want them to be kept. Iraq, Afghanistan, Indian Kashmir, Syria, and Libya are prominent examples. Reduction in peacekeeping forces was done in Afghanistan and Iraq and having no interest in Indian Kashmir, US has never supported the mission in this region. The study has been formulated in such a manner that it gives an opportunity and platform to common masses to analyze and think on the real US influences on the peacekeeping on various aspects and also correlate it to various studies already conducted. It is also an effort to depict the real strategy of US which has remained hidden from a common reader.

The findings are also deduced by analyzing the facts and figures obtained through various sources. Similarly its utility may be assessed on three prongs; study facilitates UN administration to assess the US influence on the subject and also to analyze whether it is in accordance with the policies rendered by the UN and also the interests of conflict zones or otherwise. It also provide a platform to donor countries of UN peacekeeping missions whether in terms of funding or physical participation to evaluate US interests on peacekeeping missions, and to describe the US extended influence in UN peace keeping missions by highlighting its support in various facets of conflict hit areas. Keeping in view all above facts, the aim of this study was to assess the characteristics having apparent influence in terms of funding and participation while the extended influence include the support to political process, protect civilians, assist in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, organization of elections, protect and promote human rights and in upholding rule of law.

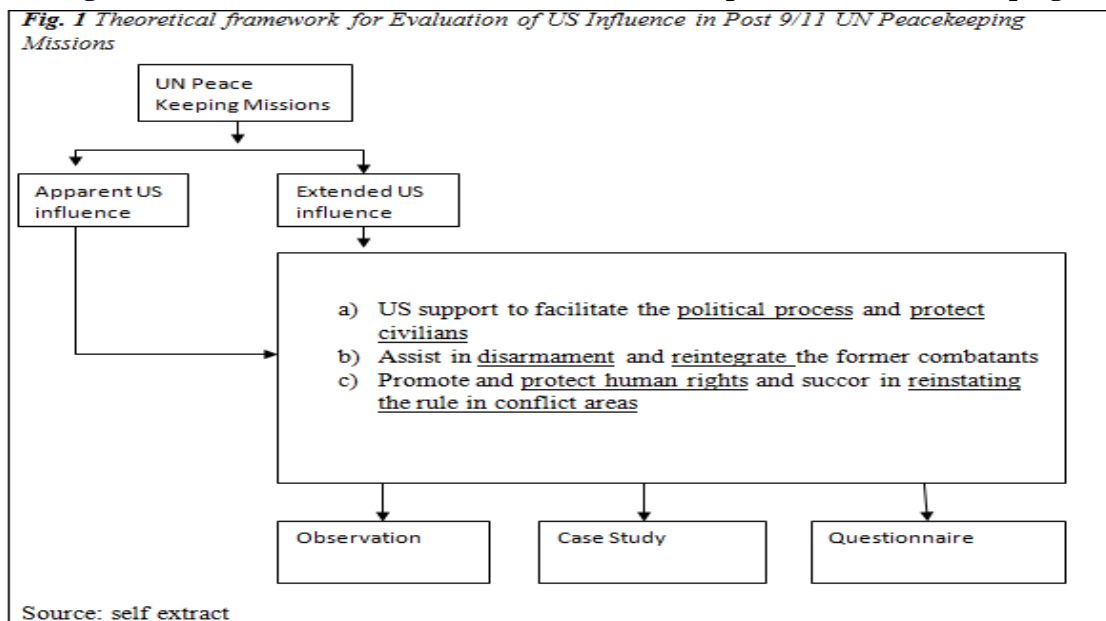
2. Research Methodology:

2.1 Study design and settings:

The present questionnaire based observational study was conducted in the Department of Peace and Conflict studies, National Defense University, Islamabad, Pakistan during the period Aug 2015 to Jan 2016.

The objective of this study was to evaluate the despising and aspiring evidences for effective peacekeeping. In this study, we discussed on ground forces support matters to achieve the objectives of UN peace keeping missions linked to peace making processes. The evaluation of US Influence in Post 9/11 UN Peacekeeping Missions in this study has two themes [1] Apparent influence - US support including to fund for UN peacekeeping missions and to physical on ground participation [2] Extended influence - US support including to facilitate the political process and protect civilians, to assist in disarmament and reintegrate the former combatants and to promote and protect human rights and succor in reinstating the rule in conflict areas. The theoretical framework of this study describes the apparent and extended influence for effective peace keeping.

Fig. Framework for the evaluation of US influence in post 9/11 UN Peacekeeping



2.2 Data collection: The scheme of this study was to evaluate despising and aspiring evidences for effective peace keeping. The author's personal experience of serving as a Military Observer in UN Mission in Sierra Leone was a value addition. The survey activity was organized from Aug 2015 to Jan 2016. A well-established English-language questionnaire was established to extend the US influence in UN peace keeping missions. The information sought via this questionnaire was not found in the secondary data. All questions were worded simply and clearly as possible and the options provide an opportunity for easy and unambiguous response. The questions relate to characteristics of extended influence. The total, 150 respondents were selected on the bases of purposive sampling from Pakistan Army served in UN peace keeping missions particularly post 9/11. The instrument was structured referred to extended US influence in UN peace keeping missions.

2.3. Ethics statement: The Institutional Review Board, National Defense University, Islamabad, Pakistan approved the study protocol.

2.4. Statistical analysis: The data were descriptively analyzed by using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Inc Chicago, IL, USA, software version 18. Purposive sampling was used to collect data and data were analyzed by using mode (frequency distribution).

3. Results:

3.2 Apparent US influence

Apparent US influence has two dimensions, one is the US funding for UN peacekeeping missions and the other is physical participation. Since 1948 to 2010, US funding to UN peacekeeping remained satisfactory and average of 32.03% of total peacekeeping budget was allocated by US during the said duration but when UN administration demanded \$2.182 billion⁽⁹⁾ from her largest donor, US for UN peacekeeping missions alone for FY 2011, the monetary requirement of UN remained unfulfilled and UNPKMs remained practically unsupported from the donor (Table 1).

Table 8: UN Peacekeeping Missions / US Funds and Physical Participation

Mission Name	Acronym	Country	Troop Level	US Share of Assessed Budget	Year	Remarks
UN Truce Supervision Organization	UNTSO	Middle East	148	1,64,75,282 (22.17 %)	1948	
UN Military Observer Group in India & Pakistan	UNMOGIP	India and Pakistan	38	43,82,024 (22.30 %)	1949	
UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus	UNFICYP	Cyprus	920	1,57,96,632 (30.06 %)	1964	
UN Disengagement Observer Force	UNDOF	Syria	1036	1,37,12,783 (26.52 %)	1974	
UN Interim Force in Lebanon	UNIFIL	Lebanon	12,349	148,040,720 (29.23 %)	1978	
UN Mission for the Referendum	MINURSO	Western Sahara	228	17,157,718 (32.25 %)	1991	
UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo	UNMIK	Kosovo	16	12,189,876 (30.45 %)	1999	
UN Mission in Liberia	UNMIL	Liberia	9,200	142,651,294 (41.38 %)	2003	
UN Operation in Cote d'Ivoire	UNOCI	Cote d'Ivoire	10,443	132,097,545 (32.79 %)	2004	
UN stabilization Mission in Haiti	MINUSTAH	Haiti	12,252	215,360,540 (56.62 %)	2004	
UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste	UNMIT	Timor-Leste	1,227	53,215,433 (22.21 %)	2006	
African Union-UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur	UNAMID	Sudan	22,596	458,477,513 (41.59 %)	2007	
UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo	MONUSCO	Democratic Republic of the Congo	18,997	385,358,255 (28.92 %)	2010	
UN Interim Security Force in Abyei	UNISFA	Sudan	N/A		2011	No budget allocated by US for mission
UN Mission in the Republic of South Sudan	UNMISS	South Sudan	N/A		2011	No budget allocated by US for mission

Source: Don Kraus & Robert A.: From Aspiration to Implementation¹⁰

3.2. Survey findings:

Table 1-6 demonstrates the frequency and percentage of 150 respondents who were involved in the study to assess the prospect of US influence on peacekeeping post 9/11. While discussed that the US influence on UN peacekeeping is a good thing or not? About 14 % of the total respondents were agreeing on this aspect which may be basing on their experience or may be due to various studies which we find about the issue. About 27 % remained neutral and about 59 % of the respondents were against and according to them US influence on UN peacekeeping is not good thing especially after 9/11. Serving personally in conflict hit zone it has been learnt that US influence on UN peacekeeping missions may create resentment amongst local populace of the effected country.

Second point was to analyze whether the US influence is in line with the interests of the local area and almost same results were found. After compilation of surveyed data it was found that 21 % of the total respondents agreed to it while 63 % were totally against and they say that the US influence is not in line with the interests of the local area. Ground based analysis coupled with general public perception, mostly the US influence in UN peacekeeping missions is not in line with the interests of local area as it is perceived by the local populace of the affected areas where US troops are deployed that US influence is based on their own interests. Then the point of US funding to UN peacekeeping missions made to discuss. As the study also reflects the US comforting role in the funding for peacekeeping since the inception of UN, the results of the survey were also in line with the facts described in the study. US is the largest donor for the peacekeeping with some of its limitations and arrears. About 47 % of the respondents were agree to the fact that the US funding is sufficient for the peacekeeping, however, 41 % were against this and were of the view that it may or can be increased in terms of paying its arrears in time and by also increasing the funding. Generally, the US is allocating huge percentage of their budget for peacekeeping missions and on forces operating in various countries. Experience by serving personally under the UN also seconds this aspect.

Fourth and the sour point of the US ground participation in UN peacekeeping were questioned. As US has shown least interest regarding this aspect since the killing of its 18 soldiers in Somalia and the ratio went on decreasing in the succeeding years. 60 % of the respondents were of the view that US ground participation is really desirable for the peacekeeping as maximum of the peacekeeping missions are already in progress with the consent of US and 20 % showed no interest and remained disagree to this issue. It has also been learnt that US is the only country whose troops are not being a part, actively in any of the peacekeeping missions while US has the major influence on every peacekeeping mission headed by UN. About the influence of US in supporting political process about 22 % were of the view that it is constructive for the peacekeeping and US role in this regard remained effective. But majority of respondents about 48 % said that US has not played a constructive role on supporting the political process in conflict hit zones. Personal experience has also generated a feeler that US influence to support political process is not constructive as it is desired in all conflict zones.

US assistance in DDR was surveyed and results were compiled. According to 25 % of the respondents it was concluded that US assistance to disarmament and reintegration of the former combatants in sequence to UN peacekeeping missions is reductionist approach for international conflict management. 43 % were totally disagreed to it. To some extant US assistance to disarm and reintegrate the former combatants is desired and is solely a project of praising self-interests of US while it needs to be more impartial than practice on ground.

Lastly, impartiality of US on promotion and protection of human rights in part to UN peacekeeping missions was surveyed and results were found in a negative value.

It may be because of violation of human rights by US itself mainly in self-generated wars like in Afghanistan and Iraq. 74 % were against this and according to them US has not shown any concerns for promotion and protection of human rights in conflict hit zones especially after 9/11. It has been experienced by serving under influence of UN that US has failed to support and protect the values of human rights by defaming the basics of it. While it is also being considered that this influence of US may be enhanced in upcoming tenures which totally negate the fundamentals of protection of human rights.

Table 1: Do you think US influence in UN peace keeping missions is good thing for international conflict Management?

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Agree	21	14 %
Neutral	40	26.66 %
Disagree	89	59.33 %

Table 2: Do you think US influence in UN peace keeping missions is in line with the interests of local area for international conflict Management?

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Agree	32	21.33 %
Neutral	23	15.33 %
Disagree	95	63.33 %

Table 3: Do you think US funding in UN peace keeping missions is sufficient for international conflict management?

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Agree	70	46.66 %
Neutral	19	12.66 %
Disagree	61	40.66 %

Table 4: Do you think US on ground participation in UN peace keeping missions is desirable for international conflict management?

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Agree	90	60 %
Neutral	30	20 %
Disagree	30	20 %

Table 5: Do you think US support to political process in sequence to UN peace keeping missions is constructive for international conflict management?

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Agree	33	22 %
Neutral	45	30 %
Disagree	72	48 %

Table 6: Do you think US assistance to disarmament and reintegration of the former combatants in sequence to UN peace keeping missions is reductionist approach for international conflict management?

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Agree	38	25.33 %
Neutral	47	31.33 %
Disagree	65	43.33 %

Table 7: Do you think US promotion and protection of human rights in part to UN peace keeping missions is impartial for international conflict management?

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Agree	18	12 %
Neutral	21	14 %
Disagree	111	74 %

4. Discussion:

In the present study, the ground facts reveals that US is contributing for UN peacekeeping missions in terms of funding which also remained satisfactory throughout the tenure of conceptual working of UN. While in other aspects the influence remained to protect self-interests whether they are economic, social or even political.

The contributions by the US to the UN peacekeeping showed a multiple bumps from just over \$200 million in FY 1999 to over \$800 million in FY 2001. This trend overturned the debility in peacekeeping obligations and signaled a more unrestrained presence for the UN in particular areas of the world. Most of the surge in peacekeeping costs and deployments resulted from the Security Council's launch or amplification of key peacekeeping missions in Sierra Leone, Kosovo, East Timor and Lebanon. The United States backed these arrangements by the Council, because they served US interests. By 2008, circumstances had changed dramatically, the UN Security Council with the influence of US backed a significant expansion of UN peacekeeping, tripling the number of missions and greatly increasing the budget. They supplement this increase as they acknowledged the key role UN peacekeeping in promoting stability in the region⁽¹¹⁾.

More recently, Obama's administration renews its financial commitment to UN peacekeeping. In 2009 a supplemental appropriations bill included providing back dues to missions and raising the peacekeeping capacity to 27.1% for 2005-2009⁽¹²⁾, permitted US to clear \$721 million in arrears amassed during that time span. In addition, Congress provided funding for the UN regular and peacekeeping budgets during the year 2010-11. These indicate that defaulting on dues ultimately does not effect in any cost savings. On the contrary, delay enhances the sums which have to be cleared later. The total budget that United Nation allocated in 2015 to peacekeeping missions was \$8.27 Bn. This amount however is less than one per cent of total world military expenditures (estimated at \$1,747 billion in 2013)⁽¹³⁾. United States of America is the fore runner among the major contributors to UNPKM reaching 28.38 % of the overall budget. To understand the status US enjoy in United Nations general assembly let's look back to pre 9/11 missions like in Somalia.

Since the Somalia incident in 1993, there was a considerable decrease in the US troops that served in UN operations. However, till 2006, there were thousands of US military personnel serving or supporting the peacekeeping missions. There are approximately 28 members of US service serving in five UN controlled operations i.e. Iraq, Afghanistan, Haiti, Timor-Leste, and Sudan. About 1,800 troops from the US serve in the Balkans, alongside the NATO KFOR (Kosovo Force). In 2006, almost 35,000 additional members were in support or serving in the South Korean peacekeeping operations, while almost 700 are deployed in the Sinai⁽¹⁵⁾.

4.1 Extended US influence in UN peace keeping missions:

US establishment, in line with US foreign policy, has played an active role in conflicts throughout the world. US role in conflicts does not culminate in merely getting a UNSC resolution passed, the influence extends till the stage comes where an environment is created in the conflict hit area, that US interests, both military or other, are safe. This influence may be in the form of regime change, creating a new state, dismemberment of armed group's etcetera. US influence on some aspects like DDR, promoting rule of law in conflict hit areas, protection of human rights needed to be dilated as these are important issues. The future form of government and sustainable peace is directly proportional to the correct steering on these aspects. Post 9/11 incident, the US influence on UN peacekeeping became more focused on demilitarizing and restoring internal security for countries inflicted by war and terrorism. Observance of human rights became a prime objective. As UN peacekeeping was directed more towards upholding the rights of civilians and promoting the electoral process by empowering the respective governments against miscreants and combatants to restore peace on a global level. The US extended considerable support to all post 9/11 UN peacekeeping missions to primarily protect its own personal interest and contribute to the global peace agenda.

The events of September 11 posed enormous challenges to the human rights agenda. As the German Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs outlined in the speech that "11th September and its consequences have reoriented the world's politics and this is not without implications for human rights policy". Actually, the US government saw the United States as a military power and therefore opted for a clear 'military reaction' or 'repression strategy' to curb terrorism and promote its own interest. Basic human rights are being molested to a level of great concern. Promoting human rights, democracy, and the rule of law is in the long term the surest foundation for peace and stability. Thus there is a good reason to believe that greater respect for human rights, along with human rights and social justice, will in the longer run prove to be the only true remedy for terrorism-even though there are undoubtedly some 'hardcore terrorists' whose minds are beyond our reach⁽¹⁷⁾.

4.2. Post 9/11 contribution / influence:

4.2.1. Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)⁽¹⁸⁾:

US has played a key role in Congo whereby its special envoys in collaboration with the Congolese government defeated the M23 rebel group. US policy makers, including in Congress, persist to debate the effectiveness of policy paraphernalia in Congo. This included support, civic sponsorship and sustains multilateral organization commitments.

4.2.2. United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)¹⁸:

US proposed a UN Security Council draft resolution in 2003, aimed to authorize the deployment of a multi-national stabilization force in Liberia. It also dispatched 200 marines and warships along its coast in spite of International concerns. Overall, US dedicated \$ 1.16 billion to Liberia from 2004 to 2006.

4.2.3. United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI)⁽¹⁹⁾: US contributed more than quarter of the financial support for UNOCI mission. In terms of support for democracy and combating the HIV/AIDS, the US support remained modest. In 2007, \$85 million was approved, the largest US assistance program in Ivory Coast.

4.2.4 United Nations/African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID)⁽²⁰⁾:

In case of Sudan, US remained very active. It welcomed the January 9, 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the May 5, 2006 Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA). Passing of the Resolution 1769 in 2007, allowing the quick employment of a hybrid peacekeeping force to Darfur, had a considerable US backing.

4.2.5. United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). As Haiti's geo-strategic location affects US, it quickly dispatched the US military to Haiti on numerous junctures and recently in 2010 where under the UN forces it played a crucial role⁽²¹⁾.

Conclusions & Recommendations

After a thorough research and compilation of results the ground facts reveals that US is contributing for UN peacekeeping missions in terms of funding which also remained satisfactory throughout the tenure of conceptual working of UN. While in other aspects the influence remained to protect self interests whether they are economic, social or even political. As US has always shown a reluctant attitude towards participation of its troops in any peacekeeping mission. Influence created on the protection of human rights was not even according to the resolutions of the UN. Disarmament of combatants and their reintegration into the society is a hall mark for the presence of the UN forces in the conflict zones but US has not supported the campaigns to desirable standards. Promotion of political process in war hit areas is also equally important which needs to be taken into consideration by the international community especially by US being holding a veto power but somehow this aspect also went in denial mode. Keeping in view all the agendas, following recommendations are proffered:

International community needs to voice their concerns for on ground participations of US troops for peacekeeping missions as it will greatly assist in reducing the conflict and supporting the conflict management.

In terms of funding, US pay the arrears to UN which may help in procurement of various modern gadgetries and also improving upon the administration of UN peacekeeping forces. US needs to be more proactive for restructuring the political process in conflict hit countries as it will also facilitate in rebuilding of confidence of locals in those areas. The recent historical data clearly substantiate that US has not contributed enough for protection of human rights in war tone countries. International community needs to raise their concerns and voice in UN to ensure equal protection of human rights around the globe especially in those conflict hit zones. UN needs to devise various means to disarm and reintegrate former combatants into the main stream as it will greatly contribute towards long lasting peace in conflict zones. Support of major troops contributing countries especially Pakistan, Bangladesh and India should be acknowledged at international forum to give a boost to their morale and efficiency of their support. Concerns of major participating countries in peacekeeping missions should be addressed by the UN and US in spite of undermining their abilities and treating them unequally at the international forum.

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