Operationalizing the Impossible: The Responsibility to Protect Movement

A Monograph

by

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14. ABSTRACT

Since R2Ps inception in 2001, it has gained political momentum both domestically and internationally pushing the concept further towards a norm. However, the complex phenomenon of genocide or mass atrocity has carried on in human history to the present. Because it possesses both complexity and a rich yet dark history, it has survived many linear political solutions that seek its demise. The durability of this violent social interaction begs the question: will R2P work? This work examines the military intervention aspect of R2P through one simple question: what are the operational challenges associated with military interventions under R2P? Answering this question is accomplised through observations derived from the political, moral, and philosophical underpinnings of R2P, and a comparative case study of the Rwandan and Bosnian interventions.

Ultimately, this monograph suggests that the greatest operational challenge associated with military interventions under R2P is in fact the concept itself. R2P removes the state's right to choose when faced with an intervention into a complex and uncertain environment. As such, states tend to avoid acknowledging ongoing atrocities due to the legal obligations inherent in the language of R2P. This means that a concept designed to bring primacy to genocide prevention is actually pulling political focus further away from it through risk aversion. So, is R2P operationalizing the impossible or is there another way to rid the world of the all too often occurrence of genocide and mass atrocity?

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Abstract

Operationalizing the Impossible: The Responsibility to Protect Movement, by MAJ Todd L. Poindexter, 57 pages.

Genocide is a complex phenomenon that has a long and dark history. The contemporary concept of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) seeks to rid the world of this murderous practice through prevention and in some cases military intervention. It seeks to accomplish this monumental task by changing the language of intervention and prevention from "right" to "responsibility." Since R2Ps inception in 2001, it has gained political momentum both domestically and internationally pushing the concept further towards a norm. However, the complex phenomenon of genocide or mass atrocity has carried on in human history to the present. Because it possesses both complexity and a rich yet dark history, it has survived many linear political solutions that seek its demise. The durability of this violent social interaction begs the question: will R2P work?

R2P is a holistic concept. This means that any weakness in a part of the concept calls the idea's feasibility into question. This monograph examines the military intervention aspect of R2P through one simple question: what are the operational challenges associated with military interventions under R2P? First, this work examines the phenomenon of genocide and the history of political, moral, and philosophical thought that underpin R2P. Second, is a comparative case study of the Rwandan and Bosnian interventions utilizing naturally paired elements of operational art in order to gain an understanding and appreciation for operational challenges associated with interventions into mass atrocities. Finally, a comparison between the case study findings and observations from the examination of the phenomenon of genocide and the exploration of the political, moral, and philosophical underpinnings of R2P provide relevant conclusions to the primary research question.

Ultimately, this monograph suggests that the greatest operational challenge associated with military interventions under R2P is in fact the concept itself. R2P removes the state's right to choose when faced with an intervention into a complex and uncertain environment. As such, states tend to avoid acknowledging ongoing atrocities due to the legal obligations inherent in the language of R2P. This means that a concept designed to bring primacy to genocide prevention is actually pulling political focus further away from it through risk aversion. So, is R2P operationalizing the impossible or is there another way to rid the world of the all too often occurrence of genocide and mass atrocity? This researcher suggests that in order to answer this question much more discourse is required before normalizing R2P.

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Acronyms

ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
JP	Joint Publication
MARO	Mass Atrocity Response Operations
MG	Major General
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
RGF	Rwandan Government Forces
ROE	Rules of Engagement
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
UN	United Nations
UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force

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Introduction

Genocide has been a moral and ethical dilemma for humanity since biblical times. In particular, the 20th century has experienced the most instances of genocidal acts in recorded history.[1] Theories of morality and war have attempted to both explain and prevent this phenomenon with little result. Of particular importance, failed attempts to prevent genocide throughout the 1990s caused the international community to re-address this dark topic. In 2001, the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) presented a concept called the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) as the way forward in this moral and ethical struggle.[2]

The premise of this 21st century framework for genocide prevention lies in two principles and three pillars. The basic principles establish genocide prevention as an international priority that is the responsibility of all nations using the following language:

1. State sovereignty implies responsibility, and the primary responsibility for the protection of its people lies with the state itself.
2. Where a population is suffering serious harm, as a result of internal war, insurgency, repression or state failure, and the state in question is unwilling or unable to halt or avert it the principle of non-intervention yields to the international responsibility to protect.[3]

The three pillars, which consist of the responsibilities to prevent, to react, and to rebuild provide further guidance for escalated response and eventual recovery from genocide.[4] Taken together, the principles and the pillars of R2P are designed to offer a new framework for dealing with thi s ancient problem. The concept has gained support by many in the United Nations (UN),

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[1] John Heidenrich, *How to Prevent Genocide: A Guide for Policymakers, Scholars, and the Concerned Citizen* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2001), 5-19.

[2] International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa: International Development Research Center, 2001).

[3] Ibid, XI.

[4] Ibid.

including the United States ambassador to the UN, Samantha Powers.[5] This level of political traction for R2P has led the UN to hold conferences and form committees to oversee its adoption into common international practice. The increasing political popularity of these concepts regarding genocide prevention also appears in United States strategic documents such as the National Security Strategy and the Quadrennial Defense Review.[6]

The adoption of R2P by the UN could mean the direct application of military force, for the sole purpose of halting genocide, with little regard to sovereignty. The ongoing US military intervention in the conflict between the Islamic State, Syria, and Iraq provides an example of both the principles and the pillars of R2P in action. Although, national interest in this conflict is attributable to many things, a publically acknowledged interest in both Iraq and Syria has been the reduction of human suffering at the hands of others. While the moral foundations of this concept are indisputable, it does beg the question of whether or not the use of military force to prevent genocide is feasible. The concept of R2P also addresses operational principles for the application of force, however at first glance these principles appear to be lacking in the requisite detail required to conduct successful military operations in such challenging human terrain.[7] The complex nature of genocide and the unintended, often controversial, consequences of intervention only further add to the ambiguity of intervention. These facets are not readily apparent and generally manifest themselves at the point of execution versus at the policy or planning level.

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[5] Samantha Powers, *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2002).

[6] See for example. Office of the Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide, "The Responsibility to Protect," United Nations Website, accessed August 2, 2014, http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/adviser/responsibility.shtml; Department of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review Report* (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 2010), 15; The White House, *National Security Strategy* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 2010), 22.

[7] The operational principles of R2P are as follows: clear objectives, unity of command, acceptance of limitations, rules of engagement that fit the operational concept, acceptance that force protection cannot become the principle objective, and maximum coordination with humanitarian organizations. International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect*, XIII.

Therefore, the translation of strategic objectives into the application of force to stop the violence provides the best point of examination for the feasibility of military intervention in this context. In military terms, this is the operational level of war. R2P's broad operational principles coupled with the complex and nonlinear nature of genocide highlight challenges and put into question the feasibility of the use of military force within the framework of this concept. This logic leads to the main question driving this research effort: What are the operational challenges associated with military interventions under the concept of R2P?

The military intervention aspect of R2P is important because it has sparked a great deal of academic debate.[8] It is an interconnected and complex concept in which a weakness in any of the elements implies a weakness in the concept as a whole.[9] By this logic if the use of military force proves to be unfeasible due to significant challenges at the operational level, then it puts the entire concept of R2P in question. However, this monograph does not intend to prove or disprove the validity of R2P in total. This research effort does intend to add to the discourse surrounding interventions to halt genocide from a distinctly military perspective.

Something that does complicate this study is the level of passion and controversy surrounding the study of genocide and mass atrocity. Many scholars attempt to refer to genocide with subjective terminology to give the appearance of reducing bias within their work. This monograph recognizes the impacts of genocide with truth by using adjectives such as horrendous, murderous, and horrific to describe genocide and mass atrocity. Furthermore, this monograph recognizes that genocide is a serious issue that requires deliberate thought and seeks to emphasize

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[8] See for example. Claire Applegarth and Andrew Bloch, "Acting Against Atrocities: A Strategy for Supports of the Responsibility to Protect." *Discussion Paper #09-03 Belfer Center Student Paper Series, The Harvard Kennedy School* (March 2009); Andy Knight and Fazer Egerton ed., *The Routledge Handbook of the Responsibility to Protect* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012); Alan J. Kuperman, "Rawanda in Retrospect," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2000); Samantha Power, *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2002).

[9] Knight and Egerton ed., *The Routledge Handbook of the Responsibility to Protect,* 1.

the operational challenges associated with military interventions to assist others. This is not an argument for isolationism. Ultimately, given the strong moral underpinning and gaining strategic traction of R2P coupled with the possibility of extensive loss of life for both sides in the case of military intervention there is a distinct need to move towards a collaborative and unbiased discussion of the implementation of R2P as a policy for the use of force. That is the intent of this work.

While R2P is a topic that is broad in scope, this monograph will only focus on the military intervention aspect to examine challenges at the operational level of war. Chapter 2 will begin this process by examining the complex and nonlinear nature of genocide in order to establish a common understanding of the problem. Next, this chapter will trace the evolution of thought regarding military intervention for humanitarian purposes. This discussion will include ancient philosophical thought, the beginnings of the UN and the Geneva Convention, the concept of humanitarian intervention, and a review of literature surrounding R2P. This level of research is necessary to establish the context behind the operational issues resident in the concept of R2P, and establish causality between the complex problem of genocide and humanity's proposed linear solution.

Chapter 3 will examine the operational challenges associated with military interventions under the concept of R2P through the controlled comparison of the Rwandan and Bosnian genocides that occurred in the mid-1990s.[10] These cases are valid to this research effort because military force was either present or applied by the UN in hopes of halting wholesale murder. Both cases also serve to highlight the complex and nonlinear nature of genocide and its effect on strategic and operational actions. Some may question the validity of these cases to this study

[10] In controlled comparison, the investigator explores paired observations in two or more cases, asking if the values on the pairs are congruent or incongruent with the test theory's predictions. Stephen Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 56.

because they occurred prior to the introduction of R2P. However, these cases prove to be the best for comparison due to several factors. First, both of these interventions present the use of ground forces in completely different manners. A comparison of two different operational approaches attempting to achieve similar objectives provides broader insight into challenges across the breadth of the topic area, and can assist in eliminating some challenges that are not applicable to the concept of intervention as a whole. Furthermore, this diversity in similar end states reduces bias and strengthens the comparison of the two cases. Second, the geographic separation of the cases provides for comparison of a wide range of operational environment factors, which mitigates coming to biased conclusions with regards to either culture or geography. This is important since if adopted, R2P would be international in nature ultimately requiring military commitment to many regions around the globe. Third, these cases lay at the heart of this controversial topic. The issues resultant from these interventions birthed the concept of R2P. Therefore, examination of them should both address challenges at the operational level and assist in drawing conclusions regarding this aspect of R2P. Finally, these cases are the most cited by both R2P supporters and critics. In summary, these unique cases present sufficient examples of both large and small-scale military interventions, which can assist in drawing some broad conclusions regarding R2P and detailed conclusions regarding specific operational challenges.

Operational challenges are determined by applying four of the ten elements of operational art to each case. The elements of operational art serve as the best lens to analyze these interventions because they are the military's framework for linking strategic objectives to tactical actions.[11] However, an in depth analysis of every element of operational art with regard to each case is not within the scope of this research project. The elements of operational art selected for

[11] Department of the Army, *ADRP 3-0 Unified Land Operations* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 2012), 4-1-4-3.

inclusion in this case study are phasing and transitions, end state and conditions, center of gravity, and risk.[12] These elements of operational art prove valid because of their close relationship with the operational principles of R2P. These elements also prove valid because they form natural pairs. For example, end state and conditions naturally link to the strategic objective, which is oriented on the center(s) of gravity. Each of the four selected elements of operational art compliments the others and is largely driven by decisions at the strategic level that have operational impact. The qualitative analysis from the case study comparison identifies operational challenges specific to these aspects of operational art, and these challenges assist in either supporting or refuting the hypothesis. Confirmation or denial of the hypothesis ultimately provides conclusions regarding the operational challenges and feasibility of military interventions under the concept of R2P.

The final chapter will offer an analysis regarding the case study, provide recommendations for further research, and possibly a way forward for the application of R2P in future cases of mass atrocity. As previously stated, the purpose of this monograph is not to prove the feasibility of R2P but to highlight operational challenges created by this controversial strategic concept. This work is in no way isolationist in nature and seeks informed solutions rather than shallow criticisms. In the case of R2P, the operational level of war is the lynchpin that translates part of this strategic concept into tactical actions when an intervention is required. That is what makes this monograph an important contribution the vast amount of literature on this topic. Specifically in the case of military interventions, grand strategic ideas and moral philosophies rule the debate and there is very little emphasis placed on operational challenges associated with the narratives. Identifying the cognitive tension between the strategic interpretation of reality and reality itself at the operational level is necessary to both further the

[12]Ibid, 4-3.

discourse and seek solutions that are feasible, suitable, and attainable for this complex moral and political issue.

Literature Review

In order to analyze the impacts of R2P at the operational level of war there is a need to establish the appropriate context to create a better understanding the current state of affairs regarding this emotionally charged issue. First, it is necessary to understand the nature of the phenomenon at the center of this issue, which is genocide or mass atrocity. An understanding of the nature of the root problem is essential to understanding the many approaches that humanity has adopted to deal with these horrendous acts of violence. The next step that is paramount to establishing context is an examination of the evolution of thought regarding military intervention to halt genocide. This discussion traces academic, philosophical, and political discourse from 400 A.D. to the present and specifically focuses on the subject of military interventions for humanitarian purposes. This level of detail is critical in order to understand the line thought that birthed the concept of R2P. Finally, this chapter utilizes the nature of genocide, coupled with the evolution of thought regarding military interventions to gain insight into some commonalities surrounding this complex issue. However, like any issue it is necessary to examine the nature of the problem.

What is Genocide?

It is essential to have a rudimentary understanding of the phenomenon of genocide in order to comprehend the operational and strategic challenges associated with the use of military force to prevent it. Genocide and mass atrocity at first seem very straightforward. One ethnic or political group has a grievance against another and mobilizes resources available completely eradicate, punish, or displace the opposing group. These acts are anything but straightforward. Atrocity and genocide occur throughout history, are highly destructive and passionate, and are nonlinear in nature. Therefore, it is difficult for the international community to come to a consensus on the appropriate means and methods to prevent or stop it. Despite the recent

emphasis on genocide prevention by various national strategic documents and the concept of R2P, this phenomenon has been a complex problem for humanity throughout history.

Consensus among historians is that the first genocide occurred 20,000-30,000 years ago between homosapien and Neanderthal tribes and has continued to be a black mark on human society through antiquity and into the present day.[13] In fact, throughout the course of history it is likely that every religious or ethnic group can point back to some form of victimization from either a governing apparatus or another ethnicity.[14] Therefore, the history of genocide engrains itself in the memory of any ethnic group affected by the phenomenon, thereby creating reciprocal cycles of violence that extends over periods of time.[15] Previous and ongoing ethnic struggles between the Hutus and the Tutsi's in Rwanda provide an excellent example of the historical and psychological power of mass atrocity. Belgian colonization of Rwanda in 1919 acted as a catalyst to the ethnic inequality of the region, which resulted in civil conflict (1959-1973).[16] It was during this period that both ethnicities transitioned from the abused to the abusers in a consistent cycle of violence.[17] Their story highlights the effect of memory and history on the phenomenon. Furthermore, memory creates statements such as, "we cannot sit idly by while another Holocaust

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[13] See for example The Auschwitz Institute for Peace and Reconciliation, *"Raphael Lemkin Seminar on Genocide Prevention"* (lecture series, Aushwitz-Birkenau, Poland, 2010); Donald Boxam and Dirk Moses, *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies* (Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010), 21.

[14] Heidenrich, *How to Prevent Genocide: A Guide for Policymakers, Scholars, and the Concerned Citizen*, 18.

[15] Ibid.

[16] During this conflict, the first genocide in Rwandan history occurs between the Hutu and Tutsi starting a perpetual cycle of atrocity that still looms over the region. Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: A History of Genocide* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1995), 39; Kingsley Moghalu, *Rwanda's Genocide: The Politics of Global Justice* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 10-13; *Jason Stearns, Dancing in the Glory of Monsters: The Collapse of the Congo and the Great War of Africa (New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2012),* 17-24.

[17] This suggests that the genocide that occurred in Rwanda during the 1990s is not a unique event, but a continuation of an ongoing cycle of violence between the Hutu and Tutsi fueled by history and memory.

occurs" which elicits strong passions amongst populations further leading to political or military action without great consideration for the complexity of the situation.[18] Genocide has a long history and every occurrence elicits passions that carry over into the next generation making one facet of these murderous acts long and continuous memory. However, further complicating the phenomenon is its nonlinear nature.

Non-linearity implies that variables within the phenomenon cannot be isolated from each other or their context; furthermore, one of the defining characteristics of non-linearity is the dynamic interaction between variables that make causality difficult.[19] Scholars have attempted to explain the causes of genocide through its relationship to various academic disciplines, its connection to national interest, memory and passions, ideology, or the common interactions of ethnic groups. [20] Others have attempted to understand the phenomenon through an examination of indicators, political conditions, international law, or cognitive models.[21] In *Dancing in the Glory of Monsters*, Jason Sterns provides what is perhaps the best encapsulation of the phenomenon of genocide through his description of the Rwandan genocide that occurred in the early 1990s:

> The search of heroes and villains is complex … the conflict involves 20 different rebel groups and the armies of nine nations … it is a small country with one of the highest population densities in the world … the genocide is organized by elites and executed by the population … the seeds of the conflict were rooted in ideology expressed in both civil

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[18] Larry May, *Genocide A Normative Account* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 228.

[19] Alan Beyerchen, "Clausewitz, Nonlinearity, and the Unpredictability of War," *International Security 17, No 3* (Winter 1992/93), 59-90.

[20] See for example May, *Genocide a Normative Account*, 231; Wendt Anton Weiss, "The State and Genocide," in Boxam and Moses, 83-84; Donald Boxam and Dirk Moses, *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*, 22-25, 144-235; Benjamin Lieberman, "Ethnic Cleansing v/s Genocide," in Boxam and Moses, 56.

[21] See for example Heidenrich, *How to Prevent Genocide: A Guide for Policymakers, Scholars, and the Concerned Citizen*, 85;May, *Genocide a Normative Account*, 1,9,103; Hugo Slim and Deborah Mancini-Griffoli, *Interpreting Violence: Anti Civilian Thinking and Practice and How to Argue Against it More Efficiently* (Geneva, Switzerland: Center for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2007), 7-10.

> and military education … atrocities have occurred between both groups from 1962-1994 … over the course of 100 days in 1994 over 800000 people were killed.[22]

Stearn's description of this horrific sequence of events either directly or indirectly touches on facets of any of the numerous methodologies utilized by scholars to both understand and explain genocide. Comparing the multiple approaches highlighted in the literature to the description offered by Stearns suggests that it is difficult to isolate, classify, understand, or explain genocide. Therefore, genocide is a dynamic phenomenon in which variables cannot be isolated or causality established to provide a holistic explanation. This assertion fits the first part of the definition of nonlinearity establishing the phenomenon of genocide as unpredictable and often times not attributable to a single group.

Yet another aspect of nonlinearity is that micro causes can have macro effects leading to diminshed predictability within the phenomenon.[23] The results of genocide or mass atrocity serve as further evidence of the nonlinear nature of the phenomenon. For example, who would have thought that the Jewish Holocaust during World War II would have led to the creation of the state of Israel, or that the 1994 genocide in Rwanda would have led to the collapse of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).[24] These examples show how the phenomenon of genocide (the micro cause) can both create and de-stabilize nations (the macro effect).[25] A final aspect of nonlinear phenomena is that they are difficult to define. Genocide fits here as well because it

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[22] Stearns, *Dancing in the Glory of Monsters: The Collapse of the Congo and the Great War of Africa*, xxiii-19.

[23] Beyerchen, "Clausewitz, Nonlinearity, and the Unpredictability of War," 65.

[24] See for example May, *Genocide a Normative Account*, 97-200; Tom J Farer, "Humanitarian Intervention before and after 9/11," in *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal, and Poltical Dillemas*, ed. by J.L. Holzgrefe and Robert O Keohane (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 86.

[25] In comparison to the destruction and loss of life throughout the DRC over a twenty-year period the Rwandan genocide presents itself as a micro event with macro effects in the context of a much broader conflict.

currently possesses at least twelve different definitions from various sources.[26] Despite the cognitive tension surrounding the term, the definition of genocide as stated by Raphael Lemkin serves this research effort better than most and will be used throughout this research effort: acts committed with the intent to destroy in whole or in part a national, ethnic, or religious group.[27]

The evidence presented regarding the nature of genocide suggests that it is nonlinear and that it elicits great passions founded in long histories of violence. Variables within the phenomenon cannot be isolated, making it difficult to both define and understand. Furthermore, causality is difficult to establish and atrocities can have far-reaching strategic effects beyond the immediate humanitarian crisis. In a military context, the nonlinear and unpredictable nature of genocide parallels the nature of war as identified by the Prussian military theorist Carl von Clausewitz.[28] However, Clausewitz also describes war, or military action, as an extension of politics driven by the interactions between violence (military), hatred (people), and the enmity (the government).[29] It is within and between these three elements, that genocide presents significant political, philosophical, and ethical challenges to the international community especially in cases involving military intervention.

From St Augustine to R2P: Just War and Punitive Action in the Name of Humanity

[26] See for example The Auschwitz Institute for Peace and Reconciliation, *"Raphael Lemkin Seminar on Genocide Prevention"*; May, *Genocide a Normative Account*, 1, 4, 9, 53-54, 105; Dirk Moses, "Raphael Lemkin, Culture, and the Concept of Genocide," in Boxam and Moses, 21.

[27] May, *Genocide a Normative Account*, 53.

[28] In chapter one, book one of *On War* Clausewitz identifies war as an unpredictable phenomenon in which fog, friction, and chance reign supreme. He further identifies war as an extension of politics which is metered through the constant interaction of violence, hatred, and enmity. Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. and trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 75-89.

[29] Ultimately, Clausewitz determines that interactions within the trinity drive the policy that defines war. However, he also notes that sometimes war likewise effects interactions within the trinity. In other words war and the trinity interact based on the circumstances in the environment (this is especially in civil conflict). Ibid, 75-89, 479-483.

The use of military force to create peace or intervene for humanitarian reasons is not a concept solely encapsulated in the modern concept of R2P. In fact, military interventions for humanitarian purposes have developed from the coupling of philosophy and international political action beginning as far back in history as 300 AD. This next section will trace the evolution of thought regarding the use of military force to halt wanton violence from the philosophy of St. Augustine of Hippo and Hugo Grotius to R2P. Explaining the philosophical, moral, and political issues inherent in interventions is not only necessary to understand how R2P came into existence, but it also explains the cognitive tension at the strategic level, which effects the application of force at both the operational and tactical level. The use of war to create peace, punish, or relieve human suffering began with the philosophies of St Augustine of Hippo and Hugo Grotius.

St. Augustine of Hippo was a Christian philosopher that lived from 354 to 430 AD.[30] This period was one of massive upheaval. Barbarian raids across Europe ripped apart the foundations of society.[31] It is in his work, *The City of God*, that St Augustine presents the idea of the utilization of military force to restore peace and order.[32] Furthermore, Augustine stresses that the use of force is a deliberate decision, which must always have just cause.[33] He also asserts that there is no more serious a justification for war than the defense of others.[34] Collectively, these

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[30] Gordon Leff, *Medieval Thought St Augustine to Ockham* (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1958), 33.

[31] Ibid, 33, 45.

[32] See for example Mark Evans ed., *Just War Theory A Reprisal* (New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 3; Saint Augustine, *The City of God*, Great Books of the Western World (Chicago, IL: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952), 517.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Augustine, *The City of God*, 525

ideas present the first body of thought regarding the moral and just use of military force to restore order and protect humanity.[35] Medieval Europe would give way to the era of the nation state and despite the societal advances, the debate of international order and the use of military force continued. It is during this period that the Dutch philosopher Hugo Grotius would further develop and codify St Augustine's theories regarding the use of force.

Grotius captured his ideas regarding the just use of military force in his seminal work, *The Rights of War and Peace*. In the book, he bases his theories of military intervention in the philosophy of natural law.[36] Within this construct, he asserts that private wars (the use of force for economic reasons) undertaken for punitive reasons are legitimate.[37] At the time, this was a revolutionary concept regarding the interactions between states and their colonies. However one question remained; what acts constitute the authority to wage a just punitive war? According to Grotius, natural law dually informs us of what is wicked, and all men have a right to live peacefully.[38] Therefore, he concludes that war in the defense of life is lawful and just which legally obligates sovereigns to respect the rights of those they rule for fear of punitive action.[39] This part of his philosophy is distinct in that it attributes justification more to legal right than moral good and that it limits punitive actions to circumstances where the sovereign has violated the rights of his subjects.[40] Given those assertions, Hugo Grotius justified the use of force for

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[35] Evans, *Just War Theory A Repraisaal*, 3.

[36] Hugo Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace*, ed. Richard Tuck (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2005), 154.

[37] Ibid, xxviii.

[38] Ibid, 154.

[39] Ibid, 397.

[40] Simon Chesterman, *Just War or Just Peace* (Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 2001), 14-15.

punitive reasons outside of sovereign borders, a concept understood in contemporary times as military intervention.[41]

Despite their progressive nature, the philosophies of both St Augustine and Grotius did not gain immediate recognition from the larger philosophical community. The most ardent adversaries, Thomas Hobbes and Christian Wolff, contended that sovereignty and legality rather than moral right should dictate just cause.[42] Ultimately, the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia re-arranged the power structure in Europe from monarchial or theocratic to one reliant on state sovereignty. This political act placed the importance of legality over that of morality and created an era of non-intervention.[43] Furthermore, this philosophical debate provided the foundations for the Christian doctrine of Just War Theory a concept in which sovereignty is supreme and foreign invasions are generally wrong.[44] This point in history establishes the tension between legality and moral obligation concerning human suffering, and begins the debate that would shape the controversy surrounding humanitarian intervention especially regarding contemporary concepts such as R2P.

The Treaty of Westphalia and Just War Theory would rule the use of force through the Napoleonic age; however, the Geneva Convention would shift the debate regarding warfare and morality back to a more humanitarian focus. The Geneva Convention was an international

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[41] Evans, *Just War Theory a Reappriasal*, 4.

[42] Chesterman, *Just War or Just Peace*,16-17.

[43] Ibid, 11-12.

[44] Just War Theory outlines six preconditions for war (Jus ad Bellum) which are: just cause, cause sufficient to warrant war, reasonable confidence of success, war is the last resort, moral standing is not compromised (legitimacy), and the reason must not have an ulterior motive. The theory also provides guidance for moral conduct in war (Jus in Bello) such as: discrimination, proportionality, and the just treatment of noncombatants. Heindereich, *How to Prevent Genocide: A Guide for Policymakers, Scholars, and the Concerned Citizen*, 135.

humanitarian effort from its inception in 1864 when it established the International Committee of the Red Cross to mobilize people to assist wounded soldiers.[45] The convention also established the first international laws of war, which reinforced the core ideals of Just War Theory particularly regarding moral action during war.[46] However, it was in 1949 after both World Wars and the Holocaust that the convention would have its greatest impact on the moral application of force. Over the course of four meetings in 1949, the convention affirmed the prohibition of genocide and the protection of populations in areas of conflict both within and between states.[47] Although the Geneva Convention did not challenge the supremacy of sovereignty, it did bring the issue of morality and mass atrocity back into the international debate. Another event that would assist in bringing the moral debate to the forefront was the establishment of the UN in 1945.

The establishment of the UN in 1945 was a measure taken by the international community to promote international cooperation and replace the failed League of Nations.[48] As early as 1946, the UN established the Commission on Human Rights and conducted the Nuremburg Trials officially bringing German leaders to justice for atrocities committed during the Holocaust.[49] These initial actions firmly established the UN as an engine for human rights and a governing body that could facilitate the debate regarding any military action for humanitarian purposes. In fact, some scholars have gone as far to claim that the founding of the UN is the renunciation of war and the affirmation of human rights.[50] However, despite the initial

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[45] Ibid, 50.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid, 50-51.

[48] Adam Roberts and Benidict Kingsbury eds., *United Nations Divided World: The UN's Roles in International Relations* (New York, NY: Clarendon Press, 1993), 244.

[49] Ibid, 244, 248.

[50] See for example Chesterman, *Just War or Just Peace*, 45; Heidenrich, *How to Prevent*

humanitarian actions of the UN, its Charter reinforces the supremacy of state sovereignty constraining its ability to intervene within state jurisdiction and putting decision authority squarely in the hands of the Security Council.[51] Essentially the humanitarian actions of the UN combined with the legalistic affirmation of sovereignty in its charter was a reflection of the continued tension between legal and moral right with regards to the use of force for humanitarian means. This debate would continue with the UN holding center stage for action or inaction on behalf of the international community.

Helping to shape this debate in 1977 was the influential political theorist Michael Walzer. In his work *Just and Un-Just Wars,* he asserts a state that is capable of stopping mass atrocity has a right to do so, and that military intervention is an appropriate response to acts that shock the world.[52] Furthermore, he is intensely critical of both the UN and individual states as lacking the political or moral will to apply military force to halt humanitarian crisis.[53] In many ways Walzer resurrected the philosophy of punitive war for humanitarian purposes put forward by Hugo Grotius in the 1600s and placed it back in the forefront of international debate. However, there is a key difference between the thoughts of Walzer and Grotius on this matter. Grotius based his philosophy in common morality therefore implying the obligation to intervene regardless of politics. Whereas, Walzer affirms punitive intervention but maintains it as a right implying that there is a political option under these circumstances.[54] Despite Walzer's efforts, the

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Genocide: A Guide for Policymakers, Scholars, and the Concerned Citizen, 51.

[51] Roberts and Kingsbury, *United Nations Divided World: The UN's Roles in International Relations*, 501, 510-511

[52] Michael Walzer, *Just and Un-Just Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (New York, NY: Persus Books, 1977), 107-108.

[53] Ibid, 106, 107, 101-102.

[54] Walzer, *Just and Un-Just Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*, 13, 135, 137;

ongoing balance of power required by the Cold War forced the UN to respect the supremacy of sovereignty in order to avoid nuclear war. These conditions created a standing international policy of non-intervention.[55] When the Cold War ended in the early 1990s the debate regarding military intervention for humanitarian purposes would move from one of sovereignty and morality to one of military action.

Humanitarian intervention is defined as an operation undertaken in a foreign country to alleviate suffering caused by natural disaster or a man-made emergency such as war or genocide.[56] From its resurgence into international lexicon after the Cold War, it has been a topic of much debate and controversy. Some scholars debate the feasibility of short versus long-term military operations to halt human suffering (the tension between military occupation and intervention), while others debate the legality of military intervention into a sovereign nation on moral grounds.[57] Despite this intense debate, it seemed as if the paradigm of UN non-intervention was shifting. For example, in the first forty four years of its existence the UN security council entertained only twenty four resolutions for military intervention, by 1993 it was voting on that many per year.[58] Among these many actions, were the mid-1990s UN interventions into ongoing

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Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace*, 907, 955.

[55] See for example Roberts and Kingsbury, *United Nations Divided World: The UN's Roles in International Relations*, 453; Chesterman, *Just War or Just Peace*, 235.

[56] Heidenrich, *How to Prevent Genocide: A Guide for Policymakers, Scholars, and the Concerned Citizen*, 131.

[57] See for example Richard Falk, "Intervention Re-Visited: Hard Choices and Tragic Dillemas," *The Nation* (20 Dec 1993): 755-64; Chester A Crocker, "The Varieties of Intervention: Conditions for Success," in *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict*, Crocker and Fen Osler Hampon eds. (Washington DC: US Institute for Peace, 1996), 183-95; Chesterman, *Just War or Just Peace*, I, 110; Roberts and Kingsly, *United Nations Divided World: The UN's Roles in International Relations*, 468-474

[58] Chesterman, *Just War or Just Peace*, 121.

mass atrocities in Rwanda and Bosnia (the case study focus in this monograph). Deemed failures due to lack of will, indiscipline of the intervening force, or lack of operational flexibility both of these operations would provide the catalyst for the contemporary concept of R2P.[59] Furthermore, the results of these interventions suggest that the Clausewitzian trinity is not only applicable to military planners in times of general war but also during humanitarian interventions. In each case, either the popular support, political policy, or military capability were found to be lacking which in one way or another contributed to their failure.[60] Those who were supporters of humanitarian intervention saw these operations as small steps forward, whereas denouncers continued to use the primacy of sovereignty and the difficulty in determining intervening force intentions as cases against the practice.[61] In particular, this pro-sovereignty argument of right intention gained traction after the unilateral North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) bombing of Yugoslavia for humanitarian purposes in 1999. The international community saw the bombing as largely ineffective and in pursuit of NATO interest vice humanitarian.[62] This event ultimately caused the language of humanitarian intervention to be unacceptable to the international community because of the perceived use of humanitarian intervention for fulfillment of ulterior interests.[63] However,

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[59] See for example Roberts and Kingsbury, *United Nations Divided World: The UN's Roles in International Relations,* 35, 256; Crocker, "The Varieties of Intervention: Conditions for Success," 183-95; Chesterman, *Just War or Just Peace,* 222.

[60] Clausewitz, *On War*, 75-89.

[61] See for example Roberts and Kingsbury, *United Nations Divided World: The UN's Roles in International Relations,* 35, 256; Crocker, "The Varieties of Intervention: Conditions for Success,"183-95; Chesterman, *Just War or Just Peace,* 222.

[62] Nicholas J.Wheeler and Tim Dune, "Operationalizing Protective Intervention: Alternate Models of Authorization" in Knight and Egerton, 87.

[63] Ibid.

in accordance with its previously described nature, the memory of genocide in Rwanda and Bosnia advanced the moral obligation to intervene despite the controversy.

Kofi Annan was secretary general of the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations during the 1994 Rwandan genocide, and eventually became the UN Secretary General in 2000. He addressed criticisms of humanitarian intervention by posing the following question to the international community:

> If Humanitarian intervention is, indeed, an unacceptable assault on sovereignty, how should we respond to a Rwanda, to a Srebrenica—to gross systematic violations of human rights that offend every precept of our common humanity?[64]

That same year the Canadian Government founded ICISS answered the challenge leveled by Secretary General Annan in their 2001 report entitled, *The Responsibility to Protect*.[65] A statement from one of the report's authors, Gareth Evans, best sums up the general idea behind the ICISS answer to Secretary General Annan's question:

> We sought to turn the whole weary-and increasingly ugly-debate about "right to intervene" on its head and re-characterize it not as an argument of "right" of states to do anything but rather about their "responsibility."[66]

One of the two basic principles of R2P make these changes in language abundantly clear by stating, "State Sovereignty implies responsibility and the primary responsibility lies within the state itself."[67] R2P further expands this foundational principle and presents it as applicable to all

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[64] Kofi Annan, *We the Peoples: The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century* (New York, NY: UN Department of Public Information, 2000), 48.

[65] International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect*.

[66] Gareth Evans, *The Responsibility to Protect: Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and For All* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2008), 39.

[67]International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect*, XI.

nations to protect the basic rights of all people worldwide regardless of sovereignty.[68] In essence, if a state is unwilling or unable to prevent mass atrocity within its borders then its sovereignty is forfeit. The concept's foundation lies in its three pillars: the responsibility to prevent, to act, and to rebuild.[69] These pillars present the concept as a gradual process to address either ongoing or emergent human suffering, however of specific interest to this research effort is the responsibility to act which includes, as a last resort, military intervention.[70]

Although the authors of R2P see the protection of humanity as a peaceful global effort, they do acknowledge military intervention as a last resort. However, the discussion concerning military intervention is limited and leaves room for valid criticism especially from a military planner's point of view. The figure below summarizes the considerations outlined in R2P concerning military interventions under the second foundational pillar.

Principles for Military Intervention and Operational Principles under R2P

Principles for Military Intervention

-Meets the Just Cause Threshold

-Precautionary Principles

- **-Right Intention**: primary purpose of intervention, whatever other motives intervening states may have must be to halt or avert human suffering…the right intention is better assured through multi-lateral operations.
- **-Last Resort:** Intervention only justified when all other means have been exhausted.
- **-Proportional Means:** Scale, duration and intensity of the planned military intervention should be the minimum necessary to secure the defined human protection objective.
- **-Reasonable Prospects**: There must be a reasonable chance of success in halting or averting the suffering which has justified the intervention, with the consequences of action not likely to be worse than the consequences of inaction

-Right Authority

- -UN Security Council is the primary authority for use of military force
- -If this fails intervention cannot be ruled out

Operational Principles

-Clear Objectives
-Common Military Approach among Partners
-Acceptance of Limitations, Incrementalism, and Gradualism
-Rules of Engagement that Fit the Operational Concept
-Acceptance that Force Protection cannot become the Principle Objective
-Maximum Possible Coordination with Humanitarian Organizations

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

Figure 1. Principles for Military Intervention and Operational Principles under R2P. Modified from: International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect* , XI.

As outlined, the principles of military intervention represent nothing more than *Jus Ad Bellum* and *Jus In Bello* in the tradition of Just War Theory.[71] Furthermore, right authority implies that some international legal authority must approve of the intervention, which is an affirmation of sovereignty in a concept that questions it for the greater moral good. The operational principles although common to most military doctrines, fail to account for the friction in conflict as annotated by Clausewitz and the nonlinear and protracted nature of genocide as asserted in the previous section. Therefore, R2P provides a loose framework for military operations under the concept, but fails to address the operational challenges or feasibility of military intervention to halt atrocities in enough detail. Despite this lack of detail, the change in language from "right" to "responsibility" was enough for the UN to codify its three foundational pillars in 2009 without complete endorsement of the entire concept.[72] Regardless of its recent fame and partial acceptance by the international community, R2P has not been without challenge from the academic and political community. The debate falls within three distinct camps: those that say national interest cannot be divorced from humanitarian intervention, those that claim R2P is not a divergent concept from humanitarian intervention, and those that assert that the military must assume a broader role and operationalize R2P.

First, is the continual question of national interest versus humanitarian cause. There are those that have asserted that mass atrocities provide distinct threats to national interest.[73] Other

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[71] Heindrich, *How to Prevent Genocide: A Guide for Policymakers, Scholars, and the Concerned Citizen*, 135; also see footnote 42.

[72] Paul Williams, Trevor Ulbrich, and Jonathan Worboys, "Preventing Mass Atrocity Crimes: The Responsibility to Protect and the Syrian Crisis," *Western Journal of International Law* (Forthcoming), 10.

[73] Dalliare, Matthews, and Chalk distinguish four threats to national interest, which all revolve around regional instability. Romeo Dalliare, Kyle Matthews and Frank Chalk, "The Responsibility to

authors contend that military intervention under R2P can be divorced from national interest and that it can actually help strengthen the sovereignty of the affected state.[74] However, there is evidence that indicates that despite the academic debate, humanitarian interventions will continue to fulfill ulterior national interest. For example, the recent Russian use of R2P to conduct military operations in Georgia in 2008 and the deployment of questionable "humanitarian" aid convoys into the Ukraine in 2014 are both attributable to Russia's need for territory and strategic advantage against NATO versus the actual protection of threatened populations.[75]

The second argument is that despite its "progressive" nature R2P is still not distinguishable from the doctrine of humanitarian intervention. These scholars attack the change in language from "right" to "responsibility," and assert that despite this specific change in language that the principles and concepts are fundamentally the same in R2P as they are in the practice of humanitarian intervention.[76] Additionally, this argument contends that changing the language does not get to the central issue of protecting populations through military intervention, which is public will and consensus for the use of force.[77]

React," in Knight and Egerton, 43.

[74] Jennifer Welsh, "Who should act? Collective Responsibility and the Responsibility to Protect," in Knight and Egerton, 104.

[75] See for example Dalliaare, Matthews and Chalk, "The Responsibility to React," in Knight and Egerton, 39-40; Lionel Beehner, "For Russia Death by a Thousand Aid Convoys." *Cicero Magazine*, August 26, 2014, accessed August 27, 2014, http://ciceromagazine.com/opinion/in-russia-death-by-a-thousand-aid-convoys/.

[76] See for example Dr. Halil Rahman Basaran, "Identifying the Responsibility to Protect," *World Affairs, Vol 3* (Winter 2014), 209; Wheeler and Dune, "Operationalizing Protective Intervention: Alternative Models of Authorization," in Knight and Egerton, 87.

[77] See for example Williams, Ulbrich, and Worboys, "Preventing Mass Atrocity Crimes: The Responsibility to Protect and the Syrian Crisis," 2; Joshua Muravick, "Protection Racket: R2P becomes a Doctrine," *World Affairs* (July/August 2011), 33.

Finally, is the issue of expanding the role of the military in R2P and the lack of specific military doctrine to guide interventions under the concept. In summary, this argument contends that the military has applicability under all three foundational pillars of R2P and that the framework for military intervention within the concept is not sufficient to guide operations on the ground.[78] Regardless of the debate, the United States has asserted its strategic position on genocide through the National Security Strategy and the 2010 Quadrennial Defense Review placing the Department of the Defense in a position to provide options to the president specifically regarding contingencies for mass atrocities.[79] This recent emphasis in US strategic documents triggered the creation of Mass Atrocity Response Operations (MARO) in 2010.

The most important thing to emphasize at this point is that MARO is an operating concept that attempts to provide a common military approach to the prevention of atrocities and is not military doctrine.[80] The authors affirm that this operating concept has direct connections to R2P and focus on three specific areas: development of a concept and planning tools, tabletop exercises, and awareness.[81] Furthermore, MARO contends that mass atrocity response is different from standard military operations because of multiparty dynamics, the need to maintain the illusion of impartiality, and the escalatory dynamics of genocide all of which imply that both the operating environment and the phenomenon are complex.[82] This suggests that the central

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[78] See for example Muravick, "Protection Racket: R2P becomes a Doctrine," 34; Robert Murray, "The Challenges of Facing R2P Implementation" in Knight and Egerton, 71; Dalliare, Matthews, and Chalk, "The Responsibility to React," in Knight and Egerton, 36-47.

[79] Department of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review Report*, vi; The White House, *National Security Strategy*, 17.

[80] Sara Sewell, Dwight Raymond, and Sally Chin, *MARO Atrocity Response Operations: A Military Planning Handbook* (Harvard, MA: Harvard Kennedy School, 2010), 9.

[81] Ibid, 10.

[82] Ibid, 17-18.

argument for the adoption of MARO is that mass atrocity interventions are so complex that standard military doctrine does not sufficiently address the contingency. However, it is important to note that contemporary military doctrine recognizes that all operating environments are complex, and provides operators with tools such as Army Design Methodology to understand how to apply military force in complex situations.[83] Another example of where military doctrine is sufficient to address "unique" challenges presented by mass atrocity situations lie in MAROs recommended operational approaches. MARO suggests seven specific operational approaches that are useful in responding to mass atrocities: oil spot, separation, saturation, safe areas, partner enabling, containment, and defeat perpetrators all of which fall within the range of military operations described in detail in Joint Publication (JP) *3-0, Operations*.[84]

From a doctrinal perspective, dealing with complexity requires collaboration along with critical and creative thinking, however MARO with its emphasis on mission analysis and exhaustive lists tends to constrict rather than enable these processes.[85] The comparative doctrinal evidence suggests that current military doctrine is likely sufficient to deal with the complexity of these types of operations as long as they are identified and military force authorized, which calls into question statements such as the following in the *MARO Handbook*:

> The US does not recognize mass atrocities as a unique operational challenge and there is no operational concept or doctrine that might help commanders understand the dynamics and demands of responding to mass atrocities.[86]

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[83] Department of Defense, *JP 5-0, Joint Operation Planning* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 2011), III-8; Department of the Army, *ADRP 5-0, The Operations Process* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 2012), 2-6.

[84] See for example Department of Defense, *JP 5-0, Joint Operation Planning*, V1-V64; Sewell, Raymond, and Chin, *MARO Atrocity Response Operations: A Military Planning Handbook*, 20.

[85] See for example Department of the Army, *ADRP 5-0, The Operations Process*, 1-10-1-11; Sewell, Raymond, and Chin, *MARO Atrocity Response Operations: A Military Planning Handbook*, 20, 21, 18, 19, 63-69.

[86]Herb Hirsch ed., "Symposium on MARO: Mass Atrocity Response Operations," *Journal of the International Association of Genocide Studies,* Vol 6, No 1 (Spring 2011): 4.

However, based on the evidence presented, contemporary military doctrine is sufficient for a planner to arrange tactical actions in time, space, and purpose in order to meet strategic objectives oriented on responding to mass atrocities. This assertion makes statements such as the one above and the recommendation to adopt separate doctrines such as MARO to deal with mass atrocities a moot point.

The international community and humanity writ large has cognitively struggled with the issue of genocide since antiquity; specific to this ongoing debate is the use of military force to halt these horrendous acts. The research presented to this point presents the phenomenon of genocide as non-linear, and briefly traces the history of thought regarding military intervention for humanitarian purposes. There are several observations that are relevant to studying the operational challenges posed by R2P. The use of force to halt genocide would and often has involved direct lethal engagement between forces on the ground or from the air. The debate surrounding R2P discussed earlier in this chapter exemplifies the interaction between popular, political, and military actors, which further suggests Clausewitz's theoretical model to be applicable.[87] Therefore, military interventions to halt wholesale murder are in essence a form of conflict, which makes military theory applicable to analysis of this problem.

The research presented suggests that genocide is a nonlinear phenomenon with a long history and memory, which has greatly affected the strategic decision-making regarding military interventions to halt these atrocious acts. This inability to predict or determine causality within acts of genocide presents a particular challenge to either political or military forces attempting to deal with them, and genocide's nonlinear nature prevents complete understanding. Furthermore, the memory of genocides such as the Holocaust, Rwanda, and Bosnia have fueled the passions of the discourse and in some cases driven international law and policy thereby making the debate

[87] The trinity consists of hatred (the people), violence (the military), and enmity (the government). Clausewitz, *On War*, 88-89.

cyclical. This indicates that the debate regarding the use of force to halt genocide between policymakers and the people will also be continuous due to difficulty in establishing a common understanding due to the complexity of the phenomenon. Therefore, the nonlinear nature of genocide has created a moral, philosophical, and political debate that is both constant and cyclic. The figure below compares the two core principles of R2P with the philosophical conclusions of Hugo Grotius and provides evidence supporting this assertion.

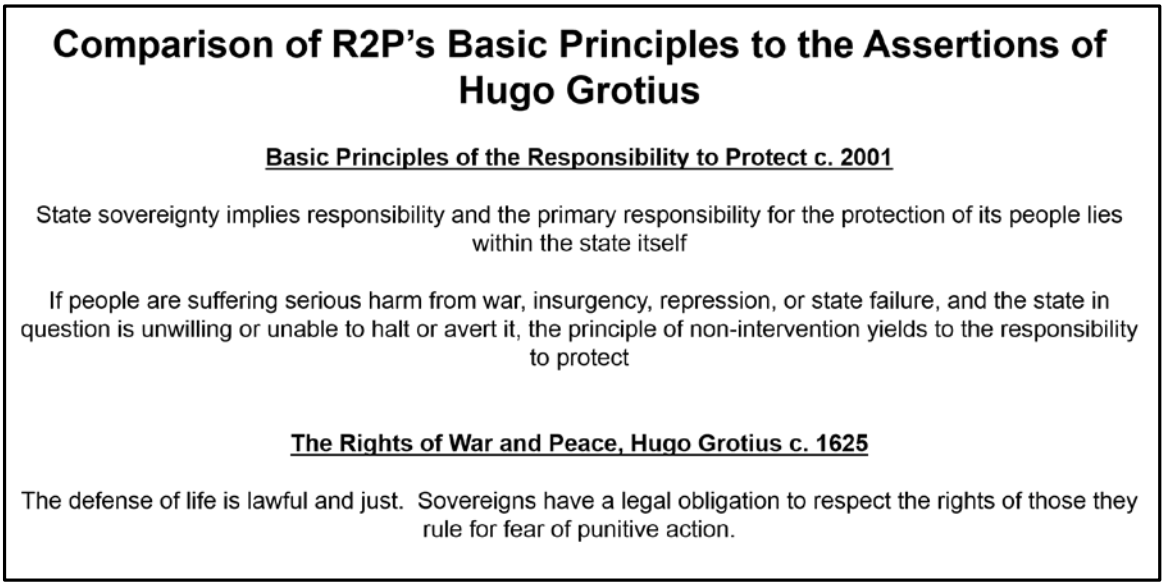

Figure 2. Comparison of R2P's Basic Principles to the Assertions of Hugo Grotius. Source: Modified from: International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect* , XI; Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace*, 397.

As presented, both of these concepts are the same; only the language differs slightly. This suggests that the debate regarding military action for humanitarian purposes has travelled full circle from the inception of the idea in 1625. These combined assertions indicate that there will be a constant and circular passionate tension regarding how to deal with genocide between policymakers and the people. Furthermore, this observation supports the concept of counter intuitiveness resident in complex problems as outlined by Jamshid Gharajedaghi in his work, *Systems Thinking: Managing Chaos and Complexity, A Platform for Designing Business Architecture*. In his book, Gharagedaghi asserts that a defining characteristic of counterintuitive

complex systems is the circular relationship of cause and effect.[88] This tension between the government and the people within Clausewitz's trinity indicates great difficulty at the strategic level regarding the application of military force to the complex phenomenon of genocide.

As previously mentioned, analysis of the issue indicates that any military intervention to halt a genocidal event is in essence a conflict; therefore, military doctrine is an acceptable tool for application of force to this problem. The military has established that there are three distinct yet connected levels of war: strategic, operational, and tactical.[89] These levels of war are the military's means of connecting national objectives to tactical actions.[90] Key to this system is the operational level of war, which establishes the aforementioned link and accomplishes the linkage through the application of operational art.[91] The comparison of MARO to contemporary military doctrine shows that contemporary doctrine is sufficient to address the challenges of a military intervention under the auspices of R2P at the tactical level. However, analysis of the current state of affairs indicates a dynamic tension amongst the world audience and policymakers regarding the issue of military intervention on behalf of others. Doctrine allows military planners to examine any complex military problem presented. The problem is that it becomes almost impossible to intervene as there is no linearity to the violence and the solution of reforming and rebuilding a society is likely too onerous for the small number of troops sent to deal with the atrocity in the first place. In simpler terms, the tension surrounding strategic decision-making indicates a difficulty in linking tactical actions to strategic objectives regarding the use force

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[88] Jamshid Gharajedaghi, *Systems Thinking: Managing Chaos and Complexity, A Platform for Designing Business Architecture* (Burlington, MA: Elsevier Inc., 2006), 49-55.

[89] Department of Defense, *JP 3-0, Joint Operations* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 2008), I-12.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Department of Defense, *JP 3-0, Joint Operations,* II-3; Department of the Army, *ADRP 3-0, Unified Land Operations,* 4-1.

under these circumstances. This leads to the primary purpose of this monograph, which is to determine the operational challenges associated with military interventions under the concept of R2P.

Case Study

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the operational challenges associated with military interventions to halt mass atrocity. The previous chapter provided context and discusses the tension resident at the strategic level specifically regarding the use of force to halt mass murder. The observations from chapter two are extremely important to keep in mind because of the distinct connection between the strategic, operational, and tactical levels of war as presented in US military doctrine.[92] This connection provides an opportunity to establish causality between strategic events created by a nonlinear phenomenon (genocide) and the military actions undertaken within the confines of time and space in attempts to change conditions within the environment. Any causality established assists in determining the feasibility of military interventions under the concept of R2P with specific consideration to the strategic and operational levels of war. With the strategic challenges in mind, it is now necessary to examine problems resident at the operational level through the comparison of two historical cases of military intervention to halt mass atrocities.

As previously discussed in the first chapter, the cases of the Bosnian and Rwandan mass atrocities serve as sufficient examples for analysis at the operational level. A quick summary of each case will precede analysis through the lens of four distinct elements of operational art.[93] The figure below specifically defines each element of operational art used in this case study in order to provide clarity of language throughout the rest of this chapter.

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[92] Unites States Joint doctrine notes that there are no finite limits or boundaries between the strategic, operational, and tactical levels of war. Department of Defense, *JP 3-0, Joint Operations*, II-1-II-2.

[93] Both cases contain a summary and through the lens of end state and conditions, phasing and transitions, center of gravity, and finally risk. Sequenced examination of both cases is the same.

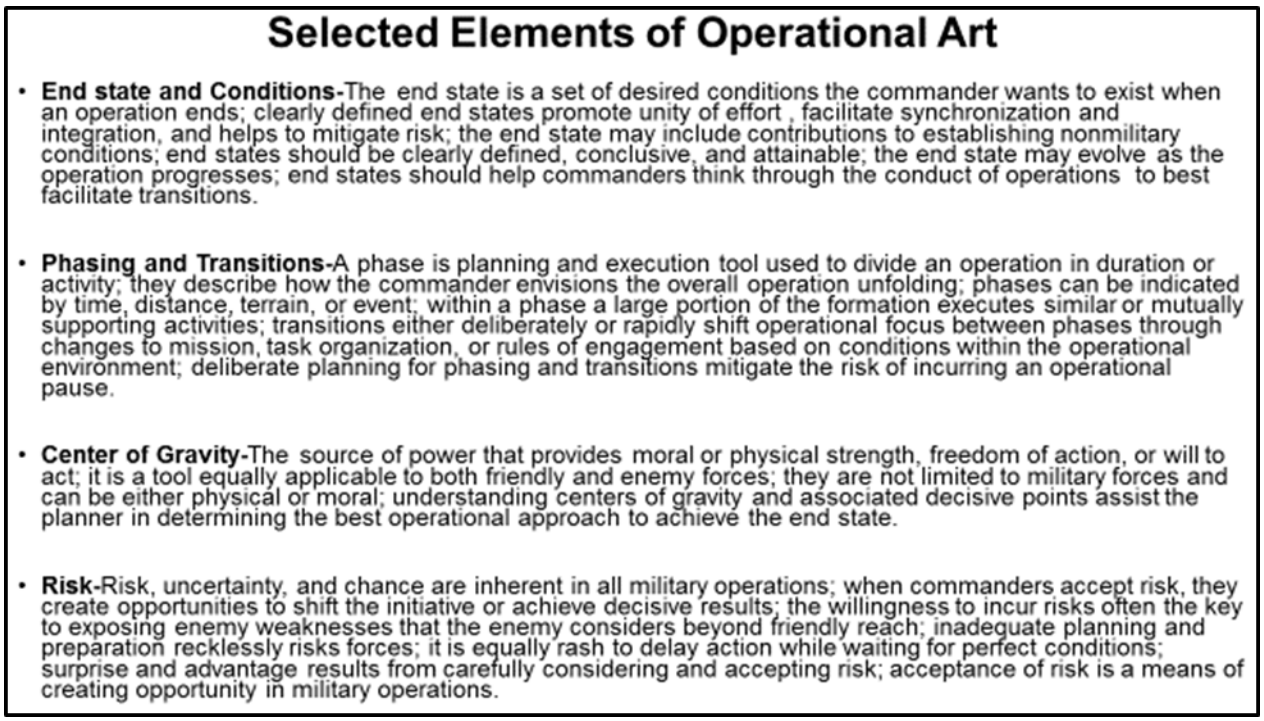

Figure 3. Selected Elements of Operational Art. Modified from: Department of the Army, *ADRP 3-0, Unified Land Operations*,4-3-4-9.

The reason for selection of these criteria in the case study analysis is two-fold. First, these four elements of operational art mutually supportive, or they present natural pairs. For example, considering the definitions in Figure 3, a clear end state is largely reliant on the identification of center(s) of gravity, the phasing of an operation drives the achievement of this end state and transitions outlined by the planner, and risk affects every planning consideration associated with the other three. Second, these four elements directly relate to the synchronization or de-synchronization of ends, ways, and means at the strategic level. This assists in establishing causality between the strategic tension annotated in Chapter 2 and the operational challenges outlined in this chapter, thereby providing the requisite insight to answer the question at the heart of this monograph. However, before arriving at conclusions, this problem requires examination at the operational level through the lens of the events in Rwanda and Bosnia.

Rwanda: The Intervention that was Incapable of Intervening

"Where elephants fight, the grass is trampled."
—Paul Rwarakabije, *Dancing in the Glory of Monsters*

Rwanda is a country roughly the size of the state of Massachusetts with one of the highest population densities in the world divided between two primary ethnicities: the Hutus and the Tutsis.[94] Rwanda has never been completely peaceful however; the events that provided the roots of mass murder between the Hutus and Tutsis did not begin until the Belgian colonial occupation of Rwanda in 1919.[95] Belgian colonials established the Tutsis as the ruling class over the Hutu to support Belgian colonial interest in Rwanda, which resulted in a civil war (1959-1973) which liberated Rwanda from Belgium and established a new government dominated by the Hutu and under the leadership of Habyarimana.[96] Although the new Hutu led government avowed ethnic equality, its policies often supported outright racism and heavily restricted Tutsi educational and property rights.[97] These policies would lead to a second civil war for control of Rwanda in 1990 between the Rwandan Government Forces (RGF) under the Hutu and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) a Tutsi led resistance movement.[98] International pressure combined with RGF military gains and the introduction of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) brought the conflict to an uneasy peace under the Arusha Peace Accords in 1993.[99]

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[94] Ibid, 13.

[95] Moghalu, *Rwanda's Genocide: The Politics of Global Justice*, 9-10.

[96] It is during this conflict that the first genocide in Rwandan history occurs between the Hutu and Tutsi. Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: A History of Genocide*,39; Moghalu, *Rwanda's Genocide: The Politics of Global Justice*, 10-13; Stearns, *Dancing in the Glory of Monsters: The Collapse of the Congo and the Great War of Africa*, 17-24.

[97] Moghalu, *Rwanda's Genocide: The Politics of Global Justice*, 13.

[98] Ibid.

[99] UNAMIR was established in order to ensure conflict resolution under the Arusha accords, which called for refugee return, political power sharing between the Hutu and Tutsi, and shared command

The evidence suggests that UNAMIR was far under resourced with too restrictive a mandate to keep peace between the warring factions while ensuring compliance with the Arusha accords, this resulted in both factions using this ceasefire period to re-arm, create militia movements, and consolidate their power bases.[100] Events culminated on April 6, 1994 when the Hutu president's plane crashed near Kigali beginning the wholesale murder of 800,000 men, women, and children perpetuated largely by a racist government and some estimated 200,000 military, militia, and normal citizens.[101] The ethnic violence and rhetoric cultivated over protracted colonial rule and four years of civil war combined with an intervening force incapable of keeping the peace resulted in quite possibly the fastest mass murder through conventional means in human history.[102] The lack of ability to intervene in 1994 on the part of UNAMIR is the focus of this analysis.

End State and Conditions

The UN Security Council clearly outlined UNAMIR's end state: enable a sustainable peace in Rwanda in order to provide space and time for a peaceful transition, through the Arusha Accords framework, to a democratic government.[103] Furthermore, UNAMIR's mandate strictly

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of the armed forces**.** Moghalu, *Rwanda's Genocide: The Politics of Global Justice*, 14; Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: A History of Genocide*, 194-195.

[100] See for example Moghalu, *Rwanda's Genocide: The Politics of Global Justice*, 17; Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: A History of Genocide*, 204-206; United Nations, *The United Nations and Rwanda 1993-1996, In The United Nations Blue Book Series, Vol. X* (New York, NY: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1996), 259, 264, 326-327; Romeo Dallaire, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda* (New York, NY: Carrol and Graf Publishers, 2005), x-xiii.

[101] See for example Stearns, *Dancing in the Glory of Monsters: The Collapse of the Congo and the Great War of Africa*, 24; Moghalu, *Rwanda's Genocide: The Politics of Global Justice*, 17.

[102] The genocide itself occurred over 100 days resulting in 800000 casualties, roughly 333 lives per hour or 5.5 lives each minute**.** Moghalu, *Rwanda's Genocide: The Politics of Global Justice*, 17.

[103] United Nations, *The United Nations and Rwanda 1993-1996*, 223-224.

defined eight tasks to enable the achievement of this end state.[104] In essence, the end state and conditions for UNAMIR were surprisingly clear (as recommended in United States military doctrine). However, the means with which to accomplish the ends were either limited or restricted, and there was little to no account or outright denial that atrocities would continue if the Arusha Accords failed. For example, prior to the deployment of UNAMIR the operational commander, Major General (MG) Romeo Daillere, and his planners estimated that it would require roughly 5,000 to 6,000 combat troops in order to achieve the UN prescribed end state in this volatile region.[105] However due to the prioritization of the mission by the UN, and domestic politics within the troop contributing nations MG Daillere settled on a force totaling 2,548 soldiers with limited command and control capability in order to possess a greater number of combat troops.[106] Means to meet a prescribed strategic objective (or end state) are not solely limited to men and material there are also legal constraints that are placed on peacekeeping forces that drastically limit the operational commander's ability to respond to conditions on the ground.

In the case of the tragedy in Rwanda, the single most restrictive measure on UNAMIR was the enforcement of their mandate under Chapter VI of the UN charter, which limits the operational commander' s ability to exercise the use of force to defensive purposes or force protection only.[107] Despite acknowledgement of the potential for continued fighting and

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[104] The tasks were as follows: secure the city of Kigali; monitor the cease fire agreement; monitor the security situation during the transitional government period; assist in mine clearance, investigations regarding government corruption and inhumane activity; monitor the repatriation and regarding government corruption and inhumane activity; monitor the repatriation and resettlement of refugee; and provide any assistance required to support humanitarian relief missions. United Nations, *The United Nations and Rwanda 1993-1996*, 232; Moghalu, *Rwanda's Genocide: The Politics of Global Justice*, 15.

[105] See for example. Dallaire, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, 72-82; Moghalu, *Rwanda's Genocide: The Politics of Global Justice*, 15.

[106] Dallaire, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, 72-82.

[107] Although the rules of engagement are ultimately set by the Security Council, peacekeeping operations undertaken by UN forces under Chapter VI of the UN charter tend to have extremely restrictive

massacres in Rwanda prior to the deployment of UNAMIR, and the recommendations of MG Daillere to amend the rules of engagement (ROE) under Chapter VI the UN insisted on strict adherence to Chapter VI ROE to govern the actions of UNAMIR.[108] In fact, after the resumption of hostilities and the drastically increased pace of massacres in April of 1994 MG Daillere requested guidance regarding or amendments to their mandated ROE no less than nine times in six days in order to account for the rapidly and violently changing conditions in the environment.[109] The combined shortage of men and material coupled with highly restrictive ROE resulted in a force tasked with enabling the peace that had neither the manpower nor the ability to use force to do so. Therefore, the clarity of UNAMIR's political objective (or end state) is a moot point because commanders lacked the means at the operational level to either pursue that objective or react to rapidly changing conditions on the ground.

Phasing and Transitions

Much similar to end state and conditions, phasing and transitions were relatively clear for UNAMIR upon initial deployment, however after the collapse of the Arusha Accords and resumption of hostilities in April of 1993 this framework quickly fell apart.[110] Effective use of phasing and transitions assists in prioritizing the utilization of limited resources in order to

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rules regarding the use of lethal force. Roberts and Kingsbury, *United Nations Divided World: The UN's Roles in International Relations*, 509-513; Dallaire, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, 72.

[108] Likewise, before the resumption of hostilities between the RPF and RGF intelligence gathered by UNAMIR was strongly indicating that the Arusha Accords were failing and that the conflict along with the genocide would continue. Dallaire, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, 72-74, 233-252.

[109] Ibid, 166-67, 229, 260, 269, 273, 289, 307-308.

[110] UNAMIR established four distinct phases along with transitions nested within the UN mandate. Ibid, 87-89.

provide a certain amount of operational and tactical flexibility in pursuit of strategic objectives. This means that resource availability or unavailability greatly effects the element of phasing and transitions. The UNAMIR commander and staff deliberately planned for a mobile reserve and search and seizure operations in order to adapt to the growing threat of mass atrocity in Rwanda, however in each case resources were either completely unavailable or restricted by the constraints placed on the commander by the headquarters of peacekeeping operations in New York.[111] Once again, it is the combination of limited means and internationally dictated ROE that defined UNAMIR's role as armed witnesses of wanton violence.

Center of Gravity

The UN's most important centers of gravity were maintaining the ability to influence RPF and RGF leaders to ensure the implementation of the Arusha Accords (security) and the ensured protection of UN forces on the ground.[112] However, from the perspective of UNAMIR the militias (on both sides) that began to appear in early 1994 represented an emergent center of gravity that provided both RGF and RPF the capability to act well outside of the Arusha Accords and international law while maintaining plausible deniability.[113] These opposing views regarding centers of gravity put UNAMIR priorities in direct odds with UN priorities for Rwanda and the

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[111] Dallaire, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, 96, 146-147, 181, 135; Thomas P. Odom, *Journey Into Darkness: Genocide in Rwanda* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2005), 109.

[112] These centers of gravity are very clear in both the mandate for UNAMIR and the highly restrictive nature of its mission. United Nations, *The United Nations and Rwanda 1993-1996*, 223-224, 232.

[113] It is estimated that the militias in 1994 possessed a rough troop strength of 50,000 personnel, which was 20 times larger than the entirety of the UNAMIR force. It is also important to note that these troop numbers do not represent either RGF or RPF forces within UNAMIR's area of operations. Stearns, *Dancing in the Glory of Monsters: The Collapse of the Congo and the Great War of Africa*, 19-27; Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: A History of Genocide*, 239-44; Dallaire, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, 141-144.

original mandate governing their presence.[114] Ultimately, the ensured protection of UN forces would take priority over the need to either stabilize Rwanda or protect those in the direct path of either the RGF or RPF militias.[115] In effect, UNAMIR is a force with a clear end state which is constrained by resources, lacks flexibility to react, and is restricted from the use of force except in self-defense operating in an environment of total war. The reason that despite a relatively clear understanding of the situation between the operational and strategic levels of what is required on the ground in Rwanda that nothing occurs is all a matter of acceptable and unacceptable risk.

Risk

To the international community Rwanda represented a small nation in what was mostly a forgotten colonial corner of the globe. In other words, Rwanda held no strategic interest for the nations that would be contributing troops to the efforts to stabilize the country, therefore any of the troop contributing nations would only support the mission if the risk were minimal.[116] For example, the Bangladeshi contingent within UNAMIR possessed explicit orders (from their government) to willingly disobey any UN orders that placed their soldiers at increased risk, and after the killing of several Belgian soldiers during the initial outbreak of violence the country completely withdrew all of its forces from the UN mission bringing UNAMIR efforts to a

[114] The wholesale building and arming of militias by both the RGF and RPF coupled with intelligence confirming their intent to conduct massive atrocities created what was deemed by MG Dalliare as a need to conduct pre-emptive operations of an offensive nature prior to the ceasefire breakdown in April. However, UN headquarters in New York would not allow UNAMIR to conduct such pre-emptive operations based on the need to maintain a neutral status and utilize force only in a defensive manner as outlined in the ROE established by the Security Council. Dallaire, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, 96, 135, 146-147, 181; Odom, *Journey Into Darkness: Genocide in Rwanda*, 109.

[115] Dallaire, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, 96, 135, 146-147, 181.

[116] See for example Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: A History of Genocide*, 239-244; Dallaire, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, 274; United Nations, *The United Nations and Rwanda 1993-1996*, 259; Moghalu, *Rwanda's Genocide: The Politics of Global Justice*, 15.

standstill.[117] Even after the UN approved a French intervention with more liberal ROE, the French government placed heavy caveats on their forces (due to a lack of political will to accept risk) essentially placing it under the same restrictions as UNAMIR.[118] Gerard Prunier captures the result of this type of risk aversion in the case of Rwanda in his work, *The Rwandan Crisis*, "the French intended to carry out humanitarian operations in a country involved in open war while avoiding an armed confrontation."[119] These examples highlight how a strategic unwillingness to put ground forces at risk, despite high moral or political implications, places the operational level in a position, which makes the achievement of humanitarian objectives an impossibility in environments such as Rwanda. The consideration of risk driven by a lack of strategic interest or action explains much of what went wrong during the Rwandan crisis, and the significant operational challenges in these types of interventions.

Bosnia: The Ongoing Intervention

"Events in Bosnia have changed the way we understand the use of force…"
—General Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force*

In 1992, the UN deployed the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to stabilize parts of Eastern Europe after the collapse of Yugoslavia.[120] The collapse of this formerly communist nation immediately resulted in the creation of the nations of Slovenia and Croatia who

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[117] See for example. Dallaire, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, 273; Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: A History of Genocide*, 274; United Nations, *The United Nations and Rwanda 1993-1996*, 259; Odom, *Journey Into Darkness: Genocide in Rwanda*, 153.

[118] The French government placed five conditions upon their intervening force: it must possess a UN mandate, there must be a clear timetable for withdrawal, all operations are restricted to the border regions of Rwanda, all operations will be purely humanitarian and not exclusively military, and the intervention will not be unilateral. Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: A History of Genocide*, 287; Stearns, *Dancing in the Glory of Monsters: The Collapse of the Congo and the Great War of Africa*,24-25.

[119] Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: A History of Genocide*, 288.

[120] Ibid, 337.

claimed sovereignty under the concept of self-determination.[121] This pattern of claiming independence would continue with Bosnia Herzegovina, however a resurgence in Serbian nationalism (also stemming from the collapse of Yugoslavia) would turn this claim into another civil conflict threatening stability in Eastern Europe.[122] Conflict would begin between Serbia and Bosnia in June of 1992 and not end until September of 1995; it was highly ethnic and territorial involving Croatians, Slovenians, Serbians, and every ethnicity of Bosnian. The conflict would ultimately kill hundreds of thousands and displace millions.[123] Much as in the case of Rwanda, all sides in the conflict utilized loosely associated ethnic militias (some in conjunction with general purpose forces) to seize territory through any means necessary in order to maximize the limited military capacity possessed by both sides.[124] To add more complexity to the issue, the United States formally recognized the sovereignty of Bosnia in April of 1992, thus making Bosnia both an issue of humanitarian crisis and sovereignty.[125] UNPROFOR officially intervened in the Bosnian war in June of 1992 under a Chapter 6 peacekeeping mandate, which emphasizes neutrality and restricts the ability to utilize force other than in a defensive manner.[126] NATO

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[121] Self determination states that nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and equal opportunity have the right to freely choose their sovereignty and political status without external compulsion or interference. Susan L. Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1995), 143.

[122] Ibid, 143-144.

[123] See for example Norman Cigar, *Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of Ethnic Cleansing* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 23; Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War*, 271-273, 289; Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, 373.

[124] See for example Cigar, *Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of Ethnic Cleansing*, 49-55; Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War*, 198; Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, 351-352.

[125] Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War*, 283.

[126] Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, 337-339.

airpower would augment UN forces in February of 1994 in attempts to stabilize region and contain the conflict.[127] This intervention would spend three years caught between the warring parties, the strategic aims of the contributing nations and NATO, and the requirements to protect the international norms of sovereignty and human rights.[128]

End State and Conditions

The collapse of Yugoslavia interrupted the Cold War "peace dividend" and the resultant conflict in Bosnia threatened both European security and many standing western alliances.[129] This point of view created instability in policy objectives between the contributing nations of UNPROFOR and eventually the contributing nations of NATO.[130] NATO viewed the strategic aim of operations in Bosnia as containment of the conflict and protection of Bosnia's sovereignty, whereas the UN viewed their operations through the lens of standard Chapter VI peace keeping.[131] This tension at the strategic level greatly affected operations, desynchronized cooperative efforts between the UN and NATO campaigns, and in some cases assisted either Bosnian or Serbian efforts in the conflict.[132] In fact, the adjustment of the UNPROFOR mandate 98 times from September 1992 to the end of the conflict in 1995 highlights the many attempts to

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[127] Ibid, 347.

[128] Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War*, 11.

[129] Ibid, 2-4.

[130] In many cases forces within UNPROFOR were likewise members of NATO, which only further exacerbated the establishment of objectives at the operational level. Roland Paris, "Understanding the Coordination Problem in Postwar Statebuilding," in *The Dillemas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace Operations*, ed. Roland Paris and Timothy D. Sisk (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009), 58-59; Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, 336.

[131] Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, 335-339.

[132] Ibid, 340, 342, 343, 348.

resolve the issues inherent with ever-changing objectives and end states.[133] This made any planning or synchronization of effort at the UNPROFOR level almost impossible because the end state or strategic objective assists in driving the phasing and transition of operations.

Phasing and Transitions

When two operational forces are working towards differing and constantly changing yet related objectives within the same theater of operations, attempting to sequence or synchronize those operations towards a common goal or framework becomes almost impossible. For example, UNPROFOR attempted to establish "safe zones" throughout Bosnia to protect Bosnian Muslims from encroaching Serbian forces; however, NATO airstrikes targeted Serbian military formations (which equally served to protect Bosnian Muslims) inside of these "safe zones" placing the UNPROFOR mandate of neutrality in question.[134] This combined strategic and operational dilemma created an environment in which any operational planning on the part of UNPROFOR was largely reactionary versus deliberately sequenced towards the achievement of a combined objective.[135] Ultimately, forced reactionary planning and execution only acted as an additional constraint to UN and NATO efforts to stabilize the region and often contributed directly to elongating the war.[136] Defining end states and attempting to phase and transition operations in Bosnia proved itself to be an almost impossible task. However, there were some well-defined centers of gravity that if properly addressed could have assisted greatly in mitigating conflict within the region.

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[133] Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War*, 406-424.

[134] See for example Cigar, *Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of Ethnic Cleansing*, 159-162; Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, 360, 348, 344.

[135] Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, 345-346.

[136] Ibid, 340, 342, 349.

Center of Gravity

As with the case of Rwanda, the UN's center of gravity in Bosnia was to stabilize the conflict, in a neutral manner through access to the militaries of both warring parties with as little risk to UN forces as possible, which makes it both friendly and enemy oriented.[137] Again much like Rwanda, emergent Serbian militias provided the opposing forces with the flexibility and strength to meet their strategic objectives.[138] However, even as the conflict developed and the UN gained the cooperation of NATO airpower the most important center of gravity proved yet again to be the friendly ground force (UNPROFOR) in order to maintain political will to continue the intervention.[139] The over emphasis on protection of UN ground forces is proven through the refusal of the UN to broaden UNPROFOR's Chapter VI mandate despite the escalation of military action and militia driven atrocities in Bosnia.[140] In fact, UN directives in May of 1995 place the execution of the UNPROFOR mandate (stabilization) secondary to the security of UN personnel which highlights the shift to emphasis on protection of the friendly force at the strategic level.[141] Once again, risk aversion kept UNPROFOR from addressing emergent opposition centers of gravity. Assuming the operational risk and addressing these centers of gravity could have shortened the conflict, stabilized the region, or prevented humanitarian suffering.

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[137] See for example Cigar, *Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of Ethnic Cleansing*, 139; Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, 341, 351-353, 360; Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War*, 6-9.

[138] See for example Cigar, *Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of Ethnic Cleansing*, 34,49; Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, 341, 351-353.

[139] Ibid.

[140] See for example Cigar, *Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of Ethnic Cleansing*,123; Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, 341, 351-353, 360; Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War*, 294-295, 307.

[141] Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, 354.

Risk

The preponderance of the evidence in the Bosnian intervention suggests that despite the combat power possessed by UNPROFOR, the mutual interest of the international community in stabilizing Eastern Europe, and the mass atrocities that were broadcast worldwide that all of the troop contributing nations were unwilling to put ground forces at risk. This risk averse behavior greatly restricted the use of force even more than the Chapter VI peacekeeping mandate that UNPROFOR operated under for three years.[142] An analysis of the UN mandate regarding the establishment of safe zones (just one of the 98 mandates) by UNPROFOR sums up the impact risk aversion at the strategic level had on the operational level:

> The language requires the parties to treat them as "safe," however it imposes no obligation on the inhabitants, defenders, or deployed UN forces in them … it is expected that their mere presence will deter attacks…the mandate also carefully avoided asking the peacekeepers to defend or protect these areas, but authorized the use of airpower in defense only … the mandate is a masterpiece of diplomatic drafting that is impossible to implement as an operational directive …[143]

Mandates such as this made any threat of the use of force to intervene at the operational level essentially "empty" due to risk aversion and restriction at the strategic level.[144] Hostilities in Bosnia ended in 1995, however there are both NATO and UN missions still active in the region. General Rupert Smith, an operational commander in UNPROFOR from 1994-95, best sums up the many issues inherent in the intervention:

> You can't be a little bit pregnant and you can't be a little bit interventionist either…if you stand in the middle of someone else's fight you must expect to be pushed around…if you

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[142] See for example Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, 360-361; Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War*, 319-320.

[143] Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, 344.

[144] See for example Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, 360-361; Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War*, 322-323.

> do decide to fight for one or all sides then you must be prepared to risk the forces allocated to achieve the objective.[145]

This chapter examined two cases of internationally mandated military interventions intended to maintain the peace in unstable regions and protect the populations within them. The interventions either failed, are part of ongoing operations to monitor the region in question, or in some cases inadvertently assisted in the human suffering. The cases of Bosnia and Rwanda are vastly different yet strikingly similar. The similarities between these cases assist in examining the feasibility and the operational challenges associated with military interventions under R2P. That is the focus of the next and final chapter.

[145] Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, 362.

Conclusion

This chapter concludes this monograph and addresses the complex question regarding military interventions under R2P in a deliberate manner. First, the chapter synthesizes the case study information in order to draw observations that assist in answering the question at the center of this research effort. Second, along with answering the research question this section will likewise offer possible recommendations as a "way forward" for military interventions undertaken to halt mass atrocities. Finally, this chapter will provide suggestions and recommendations for future research efforts in this field prior to closing comments. It is first necessary to derive synthesized observations from the case studies in the previous chapter to determine trends or similarities that may assist in determining the operational challenges associated with military intervention under the concept of R2P.

As stated in the previous chapter, the cases of Bosnia and Rwanda are vastly different yet strikingly similar when examined. The figure below assists in visualizing some of these similarities, which are essential to answering the question at the center of this research effort.

Case Study Analysis

Element of Operational Art	Bosnia	Rwanda
End State and Conditions	Multiple interests of troop contributing nations complicates determination of the strategic objective and therefore the operational end state and conditions.	Strategic objectives are clearly outlined in the UN mandate, however the intervening force is not resourced properly (either materially or legally) to pursue the operational end state.
Phasing and Transitions	The instability of the strategic objectives among troop contributing nations made any phasing and transitions planned or executed by UNPROFOR purely reactionary.	As the situation develops UNAMIR planners make valid recommendations through contingency planning to adjust the campaign plan, however the strategic level is unwilling to resource or enable said recommendations.
Center of Gravity*	The center of gravity in the conflict emerges as the local militias utilized by both warring factions, however from the strategic perspective the most significant center of gravity is the protection of UN forces through risk reduction.	The center of gravity in the conflict emerges as the local militias utilized by both warring factions, however from the strategic perspective the most significant center of gravity is the protection of UN forces through risk reduction.
Risk*	Chapter VI mandate of defensive use of force and neutrality is maintained throughout conflict despite drastically changing conditions on the ground.	Chapter VI mandate of defensive use of force and neutrality is maintained throughout conflict despite drastically changing conditions on the ground

*** Denotes Similarities in Case Study**

Figure 4. Case Study Analysis. Author created.

In the analysis of the interventions in Bosnia and Rwanda, the two categories that had the largest impact on operations are center of gravity and risk. This is true because of the naturally paired nature of these elements of operational art and the interrelationship between the levels of war. For example, the refusal at the strategic level to risk the use of force outside of UNAMIRs Chapter VI mandate limited the operation's means with which to achieve its prescribed operational and strategic objectives. The refusal to risk the lives of soldiers to assist others and the refusal to risk the use of force to protect the legitimacy of the UN's Chapter VI mandate at the strategic level greatly constrained the operational commanders in both cases. Because the element of risk naturally pairs with the other three elements of operational art in the case study there are secondary and tertiary effects of risk aversion at the strategic level, which severely limit the operational level. Both cases show that risk aversion at the strategic level limited the operational commander's ability to address emergent centers of gravity with appropriate means or force. Furthermore, both cases show that strategic risk aversion greatly constrains campaign planning ultimately limiting the ground forces ability to achieve either operational or strategic objectives. Therefore, the lack of strategic will to assume the level of risk required in military interventions for humanitarian purposes suggests that from an operational perspective these missions present themselves as incredibly complex if not impossible.

So, why does a collective society that espouses such moral creeds as, "no one has greater love than this, that someone would lay down his life for his friends," not possess the collective will to intervene in cases of mass atrocity?[146] The evidence presented in chapter two combined with the observations from chapter three offer an explanation. The international norms of sovereignty coupled with the Just War tradition create an international political environment where consensus rules. This means that there must be a collective will to both intervene and

[146] John 15:12-13 (Holman Christian Standard Bible).

assume the requisite risk inherent in military interventions to halt mass atrocities. The domestic politics of contributing nations to these efforts also play a role regarding the amount of risk assumed at the policy and strategic level.[147]

The nature of genocide and mass atrocity suggests that it is a violent and complex phenomenon, which burns itself onto the memory of those affected thereby evoking great passion over extended periods. The element of passion weighs heavily in both cases; there is an overwhelming domestic need to "do something."[148] Furthermore, the complex and non-linear nature of mass atrocity creates a level of uncertainty regarding military intervention that makes acceptance or consensus under the Just War tradition difficult at best. This creates a tension, based on uncertainty, at the strategic level between the passions of the people and the norms and standards of international policy governing interventions. Uncertainty is often associated with risk. Risk in these cases presents itself as the need to directly intervene into a complex ongoing conflict, while maintaining neutrality and restricting the use of force to defensive actions to uphold international norms and institutions. The Prussian military theorist Carl von Clausewitz acknowledges this tension between uncertainty and risk as a root cause of the suspension or delaying of action.[149] Therefore, the operational impact of this strategic tension manifests itself in the element of risk, which spurs restriction or inaction as shown through the case study. In theory, the concept of R2P exists to change this paradigm.

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[147] Robert Putnam recognizes that domestic politics effects most if not all national foreign policy decisions. Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two Level Games," *International Organization, Vol 42, No 3* (Summer 1988), 427-460.

[148] Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War*, 294-295; Moghalu, *Rwanda's Genocide: The Politics of Global Justice*, 18.

[149] Clausewitz, *On War*, 216-219.

The purpose of R2P, as stated by one of its founding members, is to change the language of military intervention.[150] While the change in language from right to responsibility may spark debate, the evidence presented suggests that it does not fundamentally change action even if the language implies or legally obligates one to action. In fact, the international political community has adopted a policy of avoiding the utilization of language such as "responsibility" and "genocide" due to the legal obligations to intervene now associated with the language.[151] This political phenomenon of inaction further supports Clausewitz's conclusions and is indicative of the uncertainty caused by the complexity of the problem. Furthermore, when dealing with complex non-linear problems, such as genocide, uncertainty reigns and small actions tend to have large effects.[152] In the case of R2P, this indication of complexity manifests itself where the concept attempts to change the language from "right" to "responsibility" (the small action) in order to bring primacy to the prevention of genocide. The avoidance of legal obligation to intervene shows that international governing bodies are actively working to mitigate risk in the face of uncertainty. Furthermore, this type of avoidance protects their military forces and the legitimacy of their actions. This means that rather than bringing primacy to the prevention of genocide that the radical change in language and obligation resident in the concept of R2P has actually pushed strategic debate regarding genocide further from the topic (the big effect). This suggests that the greatest operational challenge associated with military interventions under the concept of R2P is the confusion the concept itself creates at the strategic level between moral obligation and the uncertainty inherent in any military operation in a complex environment. The

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[150] Evans, *The Responsibility to Protect: Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and For All*, 39.

[151] Luke Glanville, "The Responsibility to Protect Beyond Borders," in The Oxford Journal of Human Rights Law Review (January 24, 2012), accessed January 16, 2015, http://hrlr.oxfordjournals.org/content/early/2012/01/23/hrlr.ngr047.full.

[152] Gharajedaghi, *Systems Thinking: Managing Chaos and Complexity, A Platform for Designing Business Architecture,* 29-55.

strategic reticence to intervene means that a half-hearted response is likely. By adding a little energy to a complex system, the result will not be atrocity mitigation but, more likely, a prolongation of the violence R2P proponents seek to address. In essence, R2P is its own worst enemy.

The Rwandan case can help to explain this assertion. In this case, the strategic level overshadowed the need to protect those threatened by the machete with the need to protect UN ground forces and the legitimacy of UN peacekeeping operations. This reaction highlights inaction due to increasing uncertainty and complexity in the environment. Ultimately, the will to maintain the legitimacy of the intervention outweighed the need to intervene, resulting in an operational intervention force neutered by strategic risk aversion. In theory R2P halts this prioritization of interest over moral good, which in this case created an operational intervention force with no real ability to intervene. However, if one was to look at the case of Rwanda through the lens of R2P then a full-scale Chapter VII intervention should have occurred regardless of the strategic interest or situation of the collective troop contributing nations. In other words, it removes the state's right to make strategic choices regarding the application of force and runs counter to the inaction created by this degree of uncertainty and complexity. Advocates of R2P would claim that this is necessary to stop the wholesale slaughter of innocents. However, it is the very threat of removal of the state's choice that only serves to complicate things and delay action at the strategic level.

Back to the case of R2P applied to Rwanda, if a full-scale chapter VII intervention occurred regardless of the troop-contributing nation's choice then it is likely that each nation would heavily restrict their militaries through various caveats due to the high degree of complexity and uncertainty inherent in the situation. This suggests that despite the application of R2P to Rwanda the outcome would likely be the same. The operational commander would end up with disparate forces all serving under different caveats or resource constraints, ultimately

restricting the commander's ability to accept the risk necessary to apply the amount of force required in the intervention. This means the only recourse to the action demanded by "responsibility" is the restriction, either legally or materially, of the forces contributed to the intervention effort. Some may argue with the logic that R2P is in and of itself its own operational challenge, because the basis of comparison lies within cases that occurred prior to the creation of the concept. However, multiple interventions have occurred recently that hold to this same strategic logic ultimately results in risk averse operations.[153]

The evidence presented in this monograph suggests that R2P only exacerbates the historic moral and political tension regarding military interventions to halt mass killing. The evidence presented in the case study also shows that this tension manifests itself at the operational level in the form of resource and legal constraints applied in the name of risk mitigation. Furthermore, this method of risk mitigation in these interventions ultimately denies the operational level the ability or authority to use force to meet the ultimate end state of halting the violence. Nothing in the research actually determines the feasibility of military interventions under R2P. Given the appropriate means and authority, any military solution is possible. However, the assertion that the concept places states in a position that denies them strategic choice suggests that future interventions will likely continue in the pattern of risk aversion. This means that regarding military interventions R2P fundamentally changes nothing and actually pulls attention away from efforts to prevent genocide or mass atrocity.

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[153] R2P premised the 2011 intervention into Libya to oust the violent dictator Omar Ghadaffi. This intervention manifested itself as little more than the enforcement of a no fly zone with very limited use of ground forces to halt the violence. Once again, strategic risk outweighed the moral purpose. Human suffering and mass atrocities continue in the country to the present day. Other examples include the ongoing violence in Syria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the Sudan. Robert Murray, "Accepting R2P's Failure," *Canadian International Council* (November 2013), accessed February 3, 2015, http://opencanada.org/features/the-think-tank/comments/accepting-r2ps-failure/.

So how does one change this vicious cycle of morality, interest, complexity, and risk? Unfortunately changing the paradigm is not the focus of this effort; however, there are areas for future study that can assist in solving this complex issue of intervening into mass atrocities. The first one deals with the risk aversion in both cases created by the need to maintain the legitimacy of UN neutrality under Chapter VI of the Charter. Analyzing the historical success of UN Chapter VI operations specifically in cases involving mass atrocities from both a legal and military perspective could prove to be one way of resolving some of the tension resident at the strategic level. Observations derived from a study of this nature could yield recommendations that can assist in reforming international law in a manner that allows the operational commander more freedom in the application of force. The other area for future study would be to examine the feasibility of military interventions under R2P from a resource standpoint. This research shows that state interest in multinational intervention tends to default to the safety of their military forces vice the broader purpose of the intervention. Therefore, any evidence that suggests that multiple interventions under the concept to R2P are strategically unfeasible due to the resources available to the troop contributing nations could further call the entire concept into question.

Samantha Power was right; genocide is a problem from hell.[154] These atrocities incite passions, further confuse the mixture of morality and politics, and openly challenge international norms. R2P does not provide a magical answer to utilizing military force under these conditions; in fact, many of the historical norms surrounding this topic continue to be norms.[155] This monograph has identified that risk aversion created by complexity and uncertainty at the strategic level creates interventions that are unable to choose a side in the conflict or exercise the use of

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[154] Samantha Powers, *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide.*

[155] Robert Murray, "Accepting R2P's Failure," *Canadian International Council* (November 2013), accessed February 3, 2015, http://opencanada.org/features/the-think-tank/comments/accepting-r2ps-failure/.

force in a manner that halts suffering. Perhaps rather than turning to new concepts that attempt to adjust established norms and shift paradigms it is best to turn to historical advice for the moral use of force. The narratives laid forward by both MG Daillere and General Rupert Smith yield three very simple lessons. First, the people in danger must be worth saving or presented to the international community as such (will to pursue an end state). Second, the intervening body must choose a side in the intervention (center of gravity). Finally, if military intervention is the decided method of stabilizing the situation then the formation must have the appropriate resourcing and authority to use the force required to meet the objective as quickly as possible (acceptance of risk in a military campaign). These observations are not new revelations. In the 19th century, Carl Von Clausewitz recognized the need to mobilize political will to utilize the amount of force required to attack a center of gravity in order to achieve strategic objectives.[156] Given these simple lessons, it is necessary to understand that military interventions, even those for the most highly vaunted moral causes, are deliberate strategic decisions that should consider numerous complex factors. These are conflicts in which uncertainty reigns and risk to force and mission is high. R2P further complicates the prevention of genocide in its quest to simplify it through the removal of choice. The suffering of humans at the hands of others is a serious and complex issue that simplicity cannot solve. It is a black mark on the history of humanity. However, it is a black mark that is worth attempting to erase. R2P courageously attempts to do this through a subtle change in thought. However, this monograph suggests that its attempt to do so is actually pushing political effort away from the issue. Perhaps the best question to explore in order to seek a viable solution is the following: is R2P the operationalization of the impossible or is there another way?

[156] Clausewitz, *On War*, 595-600.

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