

large-scale crises without outside assistance. This means that the U.S. military, acting in conjunction with nongovernmental relief organizations, international organizations like the United Nations, and other states, will probably become involved in future African disasters. We must, therefore, push our competence one step ahead of rising demands.

When the United States joins a disaster relief operation in Sub-Saharan Africa, our objectives must be limited. "U.S. strategic interests in Africa," according to Assistant Secretary of Defense Charles W. Freeman, Jr., "are very modest."<sup>33</sup> Our concerns are primarily moral and symbolic. That does not automatically make them less relevant, but does help define the parameters of strategic feasibility. The limits of our interests must shape our goals: when we do become involved, the immediate objective should be to ameliorate catastrophe and meet basic human needs. The U.S. military's long-term objective should be to establish or reestablish civilian control that meets minimum standards of human rights. This control may be by national authorities or an international organization. Critics who argue that such an approach leaves the root causes of disaster unchanged and that the ultimate solution is establishing viable democracies and stable economies are correct but misguided. The limits of our interests and the extent of our global commitments simply will not allow sustained, expensive engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa. Memories of Somalia are still fresh. We will often *support* long-term solutions, but seldom if ever assume sole responsibility. Commenting on Rwanda, Secretary of Defense Perry said, "We're there for emergency humanitarian aid, and as soon as the operation is up and running, we want to get out and turn things over to the relief agencies."<sup>34</sup>

Increasing efficiency and effectiveness requires sound thinking. A number of key strategic decisions must be made before engaging in disaster intervention:

*When to Intervene.* No decision is harder yet more central to ultimate success than the timing of an intervention. Many analysts take a "sooner is better" approach. To limit suffering, they argue, we should preempt disasters. If that is impossible, we should intervene as early as possible.<sup>35</sup> President Clinton,

for instance, stated, "We should help the nations of Africa identify and solve problems before they erupt."<sup>36</sup> According to J. Brian Atwood, administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development, a mission he undertook to East Africa in 1994 to organize international efforts to prevent a drought from triggering famine probably saved more lives than his parallel exertions in Rwanda.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, Pentagon relief coordinator Patricia L. Irvin said, "The most important thing for all of us is to get better at creating an early-warning system, not just for famines but man-made regional conflicts. We have to be able to respond to them before they become so critical."<sup>38</sup>

However rational this "early is better" position, it underestimates the severe constraints faced by U.S. strategists and policymakers. We did not, after all, delay our involvement in Rwanda because of amorality or stupidity. In the absence of a clear, unmitigated disaster, it is often impossible to generate a consensus among the American public and Congress for anything more expensive than diplomatic action. However much they were moved by the suffering in Rwanda, few Americans would have supported sacrificing U.S. troops to stop it when many Rwandans seemed to want it to continue. Furthermore, the notion of a conflict being "ripe for resolution" is relevant when contemplating intervention.<sup>39</sup> As morally painful as it may be, there are conflicts where hate must be exhausted before resolution can begin. Just as the horrors of World War II made the problems of Western Europe ripe for resolution, the bloodbath in Rwanda may set the stage for an ultimate solution to that nation's conflict. If the United States or a multinational force had stopped the war before the RPF victory, a stockpile of hate may have remained and festered, only to explode again in the near future.

U.S. policy will generally be clear when a disaster falls at either end of the controlled/uncontrolled continuum. At the controlled end, we should pressure the regime engineering the disaster either directly or by mobilizing international support. If the regime changes its policy, the United States should support multinational relief efforts. When a regime does not respond, the United States might attempt to put together a coalition for

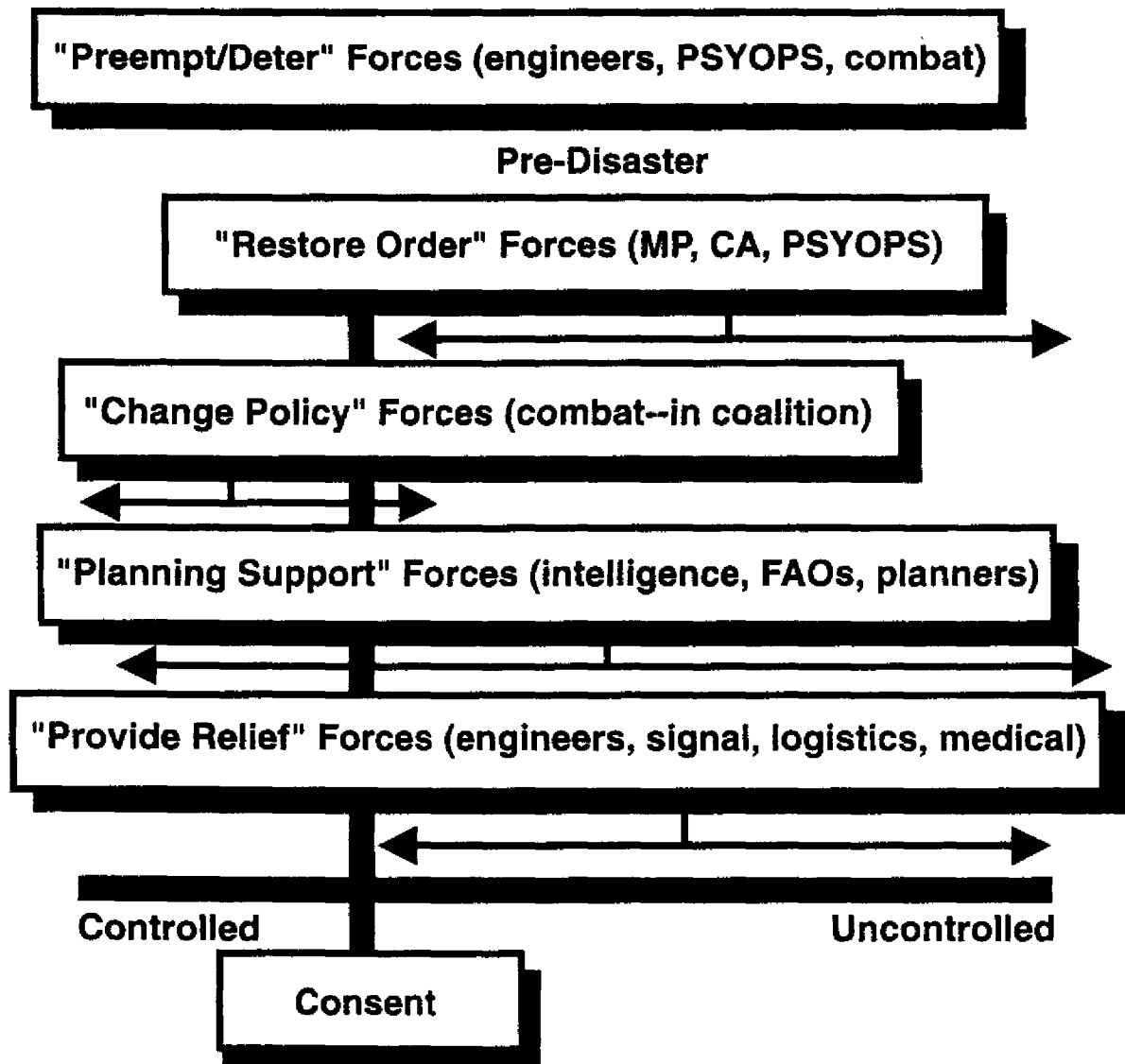
coercive intervention and relief and even contribute military support forces and airpower, but will not, in peripheral areas, take such actions alone. For clearly uncontrolled disasters, relief must come first and political efforts to hand over control to civilian authorities second. The greatest problem, though, will come from disasters falling between the controlled and uncontrolled ends of the continuum. As always in strategy, the "gray areas" are the most complex. When they occur, we must decide on a case-by-case basis whether political pressure or relief should take priority. But American policymakers and strategists must realize that the decision to intervene is not made in a strategic vacuum. Intervention in Somalia must be understood within the wider framework of attempts to construct a "new world order"; the decision to intervene in Rwanda may be related to our frustrations with Haiti. Similarly, in a perfect world, transitory public opinion should not determine policy. That may hold in areas where we have clear and tangible national interests, but in peripheral regions such as Sub-Saharan Africa, public opinion often will be a primary determinant of policy. Astute policymakers and strategists will accept this.

*Force Mix and Authority Relationships.* Because time is so precious when responding to disasters, the proper chain of authority will probably only be clarified as an operation progresses. It would be both immoral and politically damaging to argue over authority relationships while innocents died. Force mixture requires somewhat greater attention. The more underdeveloped the infrastructure and the more unstable the region where a disaster occurs, the greater the role of the U.S. military. This is especially true when there is a threat of violence against the relief efforts. As a general rule of thumb, civilian agencies should bear the absolute maximum degree of responsibility possible. This will minimize the diversion of military resources from other tasks and reflects the fact that civilian agencies are better suited to the sorts of sustained efforts required to bring a disaster-ridden area to some semblance of normalcy. Within the U.S. military, combat forces in particular should be at the lowest possible level. Combat forces would play a major role during coercive intervention to forcibly stop a controlled disaster and a fairly important role in

establishing security in volatile situations, but when there is little threat of violence, only combat support and combat service support forces would be involved.

*Exit Strategy.* All coherent military planning depends on a clear notion of the desired end state or outcome. This certainly holds for military involvement in human disasters. Most often, success will be defined as bringing the disaster under control and turning responsibility for relief operations over to civilians, either multinational or national. Defining indicators of unresolvability is more difficult. Once military forces are in place, there is a tendency toward "mission creep." In all disasters, a multitude of tasks, some directly connected with relief operations and others subsidiary, need to be done. The U.S. military's desire for effectiveness and efficiency lead it to assume these tasks rather than leave them undone or in what is perceived as less efficient hands. Establishing security is especially tempting. Disasters are, by definition, disorderly. Armed men abound, whether military forces, members of militias, or simple gangsters. In fact, the three categories often overlap in Sub-Saharan Africa. But when security degenerates, the operation becomes *peace enforcement* rather than *disaster relief*. At that point, the rules change. In peripheral areas like Sub-Saharan Africa, then, it is vital for the U.S. military to avoid mission creep and for American policymakers to be able to admit unresolvability and resist any urge to assume full responsibility for peace enforcement. We should not rigidly eschew all involvement in peace enforcement in areas where our national interests are minimal, but should allow the United Nations or Organization of Africa Unity to lead and limit our contribution to airpower, transportation, logistical support, and intelligence. Finally, delineating specific procedures for the hand-off of responsibility for relief activities to civilians is a vital strategic decision that must be made early in an operation.

*The Army Contribution.* If national policymakers decide to attempt to preempt a potential disaster in Africa, the Army can play a vital role. Intelligence experts and Foreign Area Officers could help identify states susceptible to disaster and analyze the causes of the problem. Psychological operations forces



**Figure 3.**

could help ease tensions and increase the legitimacy of the government. Engineers could support nation assistance and infrastructure development which also increase government legitimacy and economic development, thus eroding some of the conditions that contribute to conflict and disaster. And, when a conflict with the potential to spawn disaster seems imminent, the Army could, if national leaders decide to pursue peace operations, provide combat forces.

Once a disaster occurs, the specific role of the U.S. Army will vary according to the extent the disaster is controlled (see Figure 3). For a controlled disaster like southern Sudan, the

primary American effort must be mobilizing multinational political and economic pressure to force the government to allow relief. If the world community and the U.S. National Command Authorities decide to forcibly end a controlled disaster, Army combat forces, particularly light infantry and Special Forces, would play an important role. These can be called the "change policy" element of an Army force package. The "restore order" element of an Army force package would include military police, civil affairs, and psychological operations forces. These units would help establish a suitable degree of civic order for hand-off to civilian authorities. In a controlled disaster, their job would only begin once local authorities consent to the relief operation, whether willingly or unwillingly. This also holds for what can be called the "provide relief" element of an Army force package such as engineers, logistics, medical, and signal units. Their primary task would be the actual distribution of relief supplies. Finally, the "planning support" element of an Army force package would play a vital role whether a disaster was controlled or uncontrolled by providing intelligence, political, social, and economic information, and planning expertise.

## **Conclusions.**

Care must be taken in extrapolating lessons from Rwanda. With the exception of neighboring Burundi, few other states in Africa have precisely the same combination of caste conflict, overpopulation, refugee flows, and regional intrigue. Still, the disaster in Rwanda does offer evidence to support long-standing ideas or conclusions, all of which are important to American policymakers and strategists.

*Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa is multidimensional.* When Americans attempt to understand African conflicts, they often overemphasize the primal dimension. Tribes, castes, clans, and cliques are important, but are not the sole determinant of conflict and often not even the most important one. In African conflicts primalism often begins as a secondary consideration and only increases in importance when it is manipulated. Since this also happened in the American South during the 1950s and 1960s when some politicians fanned racial hatred to propel

their careers, Americans should understand it. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the tendency to manipulate group differences for personal gain is even more pronounced precisely because the stakes of politics are so high. The winners of political competition not only have the right to govern, but also control the economy and the distribution of jobs, contracts and other resources. To lose a political struggle is often to lose all. This makes political competitors willing to stoop to any level, even the manipulation of tribal distrust, to win the game.

Regional elements are equally important. African disasters are shaped, perhaps even caused, by what goes on outside the nation. Conflict in neighboring states, for instance, often creates refugees. With political boundaries bearing little resemblance to ethnic or tribal divisions, and violence endemic, refugees have become a permanent fact of life for many African states. No conflict is strictly internal. Events in Rwanda were shaped when bloodshed and repression in Burundi and Uganda led to new refugee flows and altered the status of existing refugee communities. Furthermore, conflicts in neighboring states sometimes create antagonisms that generate external support for insurgents or rebels.<sup>40</sup> Two decades of war in Uganda provided valuable military experience to the senior leadership of the RPF. It also created a political debt which helped the RPF during its struggle. While Museveni denied supporting the RPF's invasion of Rwanda, it is unlikely that he was unaware of the training and preparation that preceded it. The massacre of Hutus in Burundi as recently as 1993 generated refugees who brought word of Tutsi repression, thus flaming hostility and fear in Rwanda. And even events in Somalia probably affected Rwanda by leading Hutu hardliners to conclude that there would be no effective international response to their massacre of Tutsis and moderate Hutus. Primal schisms, then, shape conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa, but do not cause them. It is a *combination* of high-stakes political machinations, economic stagnation, population pressure, ecological decay, refugees, the absence of peaceful means for conflict resolution, and primal violence that spawns human disasters.

*In African politics, personalities are vital.* Americans, accustomed to thinking in terms of organizations, institutions, forces, parties, and movements, sometimes overlook the importance of personalities in Sub-Saharan Africa. African politics, according to Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Rosberg, "are most often a personal or factional struggle to control the national government or to influence it: a struggle that is restrained by private and tacit agreements, prudential concerns, and personal ties and dependencies rather than public rules and institutions."<sup>41</sup> Juvénal Habyarimana was powerful enough to build and sustain a very fragile truce between the various conflicting forces tearing at his nation, at least partially regulating the hatred, distrust, manipulation, and paranoia that formed the currency of Rwandan politics. Eventually, his ability to control Hutu hardliners while attempting a Tutsi-Hutu rapprochement and economic structural reform might have borne fruit, but his death doomed Rwanda to violence. By the same token, the personalities of the new regime will play a major role in determining whether Rwanda's future holds reconciliation or simply spasmodic episodes of disaster. American policymakers must therefore frame their approach to Rwanda in terms of key personalities rather than using oversimplified notions of tribal conflict.

*In areas of limited direct or tangible national interests, the United States is unlikely to intervene to stop a war.* Rwanda suggests that the United States will stop natural disaster but not halt armed conflict. There is no public consensus in the United States supporting military intervention in an ongoing war. The American public can tolerate death by violence in peripheral areas (or, at least, considers the costs of stopping it too great). We have grown accustomed to human evil. But the public cannot tolerate suffering from natural and, presumably, preventable causes. Likewise, preemption is difficult in peripheral areas like Sub-Saharan Africa. Successful preemption of complex conflicts requires astute, sustained, and often expensive engagement. As with deterrence, the preemptor can never gain full satisfaction since it cannot be conclusively known whether the preemption prevented an escalation of the conflict or whether it would have subsided naturally. In areas of intense national interest, the United



States might pursue preemption in spite of this uncertainty. In peripheral areas, we will not. We must also be aware of the political complexities of preemption. Since it will often entail augmenting stability by supporting a regime, the United States will be seen as taking sides in the conflict. This could lead to attempts by disgruntled parties to target Americans, perhaps by terrorism within the United States. It is a lamentable but clear fact that disaster relief seldom creates hostility or antagonisms, while early involvement or attempted preemption does. Given the pitfalls of preemption, we are probably doomed to react to African disasters rather than prevent them.

*The United States needs to help develop better multinational mechanisms to respond to African disaster before crises happen.* Because we have limited tangible or direct national interests in Sub-Saharan Africa, we must respond as efficiently as possible. There are two ways to do that: first, preempt crises or intervene early; and, second, organize (and perhaps lead) a multinational and multi-agency response once a disaster does occur. Both of these would be aided by a concerted American effort to develop the ability of multinational organizations like the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations to preempt and respond to disasters with limited U.S. assistance.<sup>42</sup> Empowering other agencies could lead to a strategic level division of labor freeing the United States for other tasks. The more the OAU and UN can do, the less we will have to do. Similarly, the United States should lead an initiative to coordinate NATO responses to African disasters, including pre-disaster training, crisis identification, and planning.

*For the U.S. military, there is no substitute for experience at disaster relief in Sub-Saharan Africa.* The U.S. military is getting better, but much remains to be done. Stepped-up training and exercising of noncombat joint task forces configured for humanitarian relief could speed up the learning process and thus should be pursued, even at some cost to combat training. None of the U.S. military services should consider humanitarian relief a primary mission. As Defense Secretary William J. Perry put it, "We're an army, not a Salvation Army."<sup>43</sup> Disaster relief will, however, remain an

important secondary function for the U.S. military. The goal should be to provide the appropriate amount of time and money to training and planning for these sorts of operations—neither too much nor too little.

*The Army/Air Force team will bear the brunt of future disaster relief efforts in Sub-Saharan Africa.* The Marines have done a superb job at disaster relief in Somalia, Bangladesh, and elsewhere, but in future African disasters, the Army will probably play the central role. The Marines are currently even harder pressed to maintain warfighting proficiency and other commitments than the Army. In addition, the Army has some resources the Marines lack, particularly for sustained inland operations. And as we pay greater heed to the perceptual component of relief operations, Army psychological operations forces will be essential. The "first team" for most African disaster relief operations, then, will combine the Air Force's strategic and intra-theater airlift capabilities with the Army's ground resources. Disaster relief in Africa will be multi-service, but not joint in the full sense of the term. Planning and implementation of African disaster relief will, of course, be the primary responsibility of EUCOM, but the fact that such operations are multi-service rather than joint should lead to an increased role for the Army and Air Force staffs in prediction, preemption, and response.

*Disaster relief strains Army Active Component combat support and combat service support resources.* For the Army, the likelihood of future engagement in wide-scale disaster relief requires a serious, zero-based rethinking of some key force structure issues. Active Component combat support and combat service support forces are very limited. In wartime, the Reserve Component makes up this shortfall. In operations other than war such as humanitarian relief, the Army is forced to choose between overtaxing already strained Active Component forces or seeking mobilization of reserve units which also has long-term costs in terms of retainability and recruitment. While the Army Reserve has most of the assets needed for human relief, there are serious problems with relying on volunteerism rather than a unit call-up. There are no easy and obvious solutions to this conundrum, but if the Army

is to increase its proficiency at humanitarian relief, such force structure issues must be raised and examined. The only ultimate solution may be moving at least some support capabilities back to the Active Component.

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It would be easy for the Army to consider humanitarian relief in Sub-Saharan Africa a distraction. There is no question that such operations are costly to an organization already hard-pressed to retain proficiency in its primary warfighting missions. But three facts are clear. First, human disasters born of armed conflict will continue to plague Sub-Saharan Africa. Burundi, for instance, mirrors Rwanda and is currently teetering on the edge of disaster.<sup>44</sup> The Tutsi-dominated regime there apparently rebuffed a UN attempt to preempt further conflict.<sup>45</sup> Many other nations have all or most of the preconditions for disaster. Most deadly of all would be human disasters in Africa's giants, especially Nigeria or Zaire. Second, the American people will sometimes demand U.S. engagement in African disasters. While a number of factors including media activity and the extent to which political leaders mobilize attention determine whether a particular disaster captures public concern, when one does, the U.S. response must be effective and efficient. And third, only the U.S. military, particularly the Army/Air Force team, can muster the full range of capabilities to respond quickly and effectively to a human disaster where order has collapsed or local authorities resist relief efforts. The goals of the Army and the U.S. military in general should be, in order, to preempt, predict, and respond efficiently and effectively when preemption fails.

Because human disasters are often dramatic, highly-publicized events, the success with which the U.S. Army responds will affect its broader public support. The better that Army planners and leaders understand the nature of African conflict and the better they've prepared before disasters occur, the greater the likelihood the Army can fulfill the public's expectations at minimum cost to other efforts.

## ENDNOTES

1. David Keen, "In Africa, Planned Suffering," *New York Times*, August 15, 1994, p. A15.

2. This section is based on Filip Reyntjens, "Rwanda: Recent History," *Africa South of the Sahara 1992*, London: Europa Publications, 1992, pp. 813-816.

3. Catharine Watson, *Exile from Rwanda: Background to an Invasion*, Washington, DC: U.S. Committee for Refugees, 1991, pp. 2-3. While the notion that the Tutsi-Hutu difference is based on caste is becoming increasingly accepted, the traditional notion was that the two represented different tribes, with the Tutsi a pastoralist people of Nilotic origin who emigrated to Rwanda relatively recently, and the Hutu an agricultural Bantu tribe (for example, Alan C.G. Best and Harm J. de Blij, *African Survey*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1977, p. 467.)

4. Watson, *Exile from Rwanda*, p. 3.

5. Charles Onyango-Obbo, "Rebellion Adds Momentum to Rwanda Reform," *Africa News*, April 26-May 9, 1993, p. 3.

6. Quoted in Alex Shoumatoff, "Rwanda's Aristocratic Guerrillas," *New York Times Magazine*, December 13, 1992, p. 44.

7. *Ibid.*; and Catharine Watson, "War and Waiting," *Africa Report*, November-December 1992, p. 53.

8. Watson, *Exile from Rwanda*, p. 5.

9. "Why Rwanda?" *West Africa*, June 27-July 3, 1994, p. 1126.

10. Alan Rake, *Who's Who in Africa: Leaders for the 1990s*, Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1992, pp. 263-264

11. Reyntjens, "Rwanda: Recent History," p. 815.

12. Watson cites the 7,000 figure and claims 4,000 had deserted from Uganda's National Resistance Army (*Exile from Rwanda*, p. 2). Charles Onyango-Obbo agrees on the number 7,000 ("Rebellion Adds Momentum to Rwanda Reform," p. 3). The 10,000 figure is from Reyntjens, "Rwanda," p. 815.

13. Paul Kagame, head of the rebel army, was representing **Uganda** as a student at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College at the time of the invasion. According to Watson, Kagame was acting head of the Ugandan National Resistance Army's military intelligence from November

1989 to June 1990 (*Exile from Rwanda*, p. 13). He was at Fort Leavenworth, KS from June 1990 until his return to Rwanda when the invasion began.

14. William E. Schmidt, "Rwanda Puzzle: Is Uganda Taking Sides?" *New York Times*, April 18, 1994, p. A6.

15. Watson, *Exile from Rwanda*, pp. 13-14.

16. Onyango-Obbo, "Rebellion Adds Momentum to Rwanda Reform," p. 3. There were rumors that Rwigyema was murdered by opponents within the RPF (Watson, *Exile from Rwanda*, p. 14; Shoumatoff, "Rwanda's Aristocratic Guerrillas," p. 46).

17. Lindsey Hilsum, "Settling Scores," *Africa Report*, May/June 1994, p. 14.

18. Watson, "War and Waiting," p. 51.

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21. See Scott Stearns, "An Uneasy Peace," *Africa Report*, January/February 1994, pp. 32-35.

22. Watson, "War and Waiting," p. 55.

23. Hilsum, "Settling Scores," p. 14; Jane Perlez, "Under the Bougainvillea, Hutu Litany on the Tutsi," *New York Times*, August 15, 1994, p. A6.

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