# PERSPECTIVES OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA FOR GREATER PARTICIPATION IN UNITED NATIONS-LED PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

WOR A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE **General Studies** MILE DONEVSKI, MAJOR, MACEDONIAN ARMY B.S., Military Academy, Skopje, Macedonia, 2001 BELLUM ACE PARA Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

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## ABSTRACT

# PERSPECTIVES OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA FOR GREATER PARTICIPATION IN UNITED NATIONS-LED PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, by MAJ Mile Donevski, 115 pages.

The United Nations, having faced new challenges in the operational environment (OE), has transformed itself from a traditional peacekeeping organization into a multidimensional peacekeeping organization. The efforts of the member states in the international community to preserve peace and assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers are disproportional. This disproportionality manifests itself in a group of member states committing a substantial number of peacekeepers on one side and, on the other side, a group of member states contributing only a few peacekeepers. These states are usually referred to as token contributors.

Since its independence in 1991, the Republic of Macedonia has progressively built the capabilities of the Army of the Republic of Macedonia and guided its development according to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) standards. In contrast to the Army of the Republic of Macedonia's significant contribution in NATO-led peacekeeping operations, its participation in UN-led peacekeeping operations is minor. The aim of this research is to identify how the Republic of Macedonia can become a more committed contributor of troops for UN Peace Operations.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | Page     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE THESIS APPROVAL PAGE                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | iii      |
| ABSTRACT                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | iv       |
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | v        |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | vi       |
| ACRONYMS                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | viii     |
| ILLUSTRATIONS                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | X        |
| TABLES                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | xi       |
| CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 1        |
| Historical Background of the Republic of Macedonia and the Army of the Repu<br>Macedonia<br>Purpose of the Research.<br>Research Question<br>Importance<br>Definitions<br>Scope<br>Assumptions.<br>Limitations<br>Delimitations<br>Conclusion/Summary.                                |          |
| CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 14       |
| Macedonian Authors and Strategic Documents<br>United Nations Peacekeeping<br>International Authors                                                                                                                                                                                    | 20       |
| CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |          |
| Analysis of UN Military Personnel Standards<br>Identifying Procedures for Participation in UN Operations<br>Analysis of Macedonian Army Capabilities for UN Operations<br>Analysis of Other Countries' Experiences and Analysis of Advantages and<br>Disadvantages of UN Peacekeeping | 31<br>31 |
| ······································                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |          |

| CHAPTER 4 ANALYSIS                                              | 35 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Introduction                                                    | 36 |
| UN PKO Standards and Procedures (DOTMLPF-P)                     | 38 |
| Doctrine                                                        | 38 |
| Personnel and Organization                                      | 39 |
| Training                                                        | 45 |
| Material                                                        | 48 |
| Leadership and Education                                        | 49 |
| Facilities                                                      | 50 |
| Policy                                                          | 51 |
| Force Generation in UN-led PKO                                  | 52 |
| ARM Current Capabilities (DOTMLPF-P)                            | 56 |
| Doctrine                                                        |    |
| Personnel and Organization                                      | 58 |
| Leadership, Training, and Education                             | 64 |
| Material                                                        |    |
| Facilities                                                      | 66 |
| Policy                                                          | 66 |
| Shortfalls                                                      | 67 |
| Other Countries' Experience in UN-led PKO (Slovakia and Serbia) | 70 |
| Slovakia                                                        |    |
| Serbia                                                          |    |
| Advantages and Disadvantages of Participating in UN-led PKOs    |    |
| Possible Solutions                                              |    |
| CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS                       | 87 |
| Conclusions                                                     | 87 |
| Recommendations                                                 | 87 |
| Proposed Action                                                 | 88 |
| Additional Research Questions                                   | 90 |
| Personal Learning Reflection                                    | 91 |
| APPENDIX A CLOTHING AND EQUIPMENT GUIDE LIST FOR UNMEM          |    |
| PERSONNEL                                                       | 93 |
| APPENDIX B COMMITTEE NOTES                                      | 94 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY                                                    | 98 |
| Books                                                           | 98 |
| Reports                                                         |    |
| Government Documents                                            |    |
| Online Sources                                                  |    |

# ACRONYMS

| AOR  | Area of Responsibility                  |
|------|-----------------------------------------|
| ARM  | Army of the Republic of Macedonia       |
| COA  | Course of Action                        |
| COE  | Contingent Owned Equipment              |
| CRO  | Crisis Response Operations              |
| DFS  | Department for Field Support            |
| DPKO | Department for Peacekeeping Operations  |
| EAPC | Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council       |
| EU   | European Union                          |
| ICG  | Infantry Company Groups                 |
| ISAF | International Security Assistance Force |
| KFOR | Kosovo Force                            |
| MAP  | Membership Action Plan                  |
| MOU  | Memorandum of Understanding             |
| MS   | Member State                            |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization      |
| OMA  | Office of Military Affairs              |
| PEO  | Peace Enforcement Operations            |
| PfP  | Partnership for Peace                   |
| РКО  | Peacekeeping Operation                  |
| PKTI | Peacekeeping Training Institutions      |
| TCC  | Troop Contributing Country              |
| TOE  | Table of Organization and Equipment     |
|      |                                         |

| UN     | United Nations                             |
|--------|--------------------------------------------|
| UNIFIL | United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon    |
| UNMEM  | United Nations Military Experts on Mission |

UNPREDEP United Nations Preventive Deployment Forces

# **ILLUSTRATIONS**

|                                                                                                                                                          | Page |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Figure 1. Research Design                                                                                                                                | 30   |
| Figure 2. Organizational Structure of the Base Model UN Infantry Battalion                                                                               | 45   |
| Figure 3. Sequence of Generating Units                                                                                                                   | 54   |
| Figure 4. Organizational Structure of the ARM                                                                                                            | 59   |
| Figure 5. Future Structure of the Army of the Republic of Macedonia                                                                                      | 61   |
| Figure 6. ARM Contribution to International Operations 2002-2017                                                                                         | 62   |
| Figure 7. Level of Participation of East European Countries in UN-led PKOs Base<br>their Population and Number of Active Military Personnel in UN-Led PK |      |

# TABLES

|                                                | Page |  |
|------------------------------------------------|------|--|
| Table 1. Evaluation Criteria                   | 33   |  |
| Table 2. COA Comparison Weighting Template     | 34   |  |
| Table 3. COA Comparison Weighting              | 85   |  |
| Table 4. Advantages and Disadvantages Analysis | 86   |  |

#### CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the reader with a short introduction of the modern history of the Republic of Macedonia after declaring its independence and its road toward Euro-Atlantic integration.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the study will briefly describe the creation of the Army of the Republic of Macedonia (ARM), its development, and contribution to peace operations. The third and fourth subchapters will explain the purpose of this research in order to obtain essential facts for developing appropriate recommendations and to outline the primary and secondary research questions. The rest of this chapter will explain the importance of conducting this research and the limitations, delimitations and, scope of this study.

# Historical Background of the Republic of Macedonia and the Army of the Republic of Macedonia

The Republic of Macedonia gained its independence in 1991 after the disintegration of former Yugoslavia. Consolidation and development of the independent republic was hampered by an unstable regional environment and the refusal of neighboring Greece to recognize the new republic under its constitutional name, which influenced the Republic of Macedonia's entrance into international organizations and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> According to Prespa Agreement from 17 June 2018 the Government of the Republic of Macedonia on February 12, 2019 has changed its constitutional name into the Republic of North Macedonia. During the Studies at Command and General Staff College (CGSC) at Fort Leavenworth, the author, according to the official national orders and CGSC policy was officially representative of the Republic of Macedonia; therefore, both names are used in this thesis.

further economic development. In 1993, the Republic of Macedonia, despite difficulties in gaining international recognition, became a member of the United Nations (UN.) Even though independence was declared, there were still units of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) in the country. To avoid confrontation with the Yugoslav People's Army and to peacefully split from the Yugoslav federation, Macedonian leadership agreed with the Yugoslav People's Army to withdraw all weapons that were located in the country, practically leaving the country with no weapons.<sup>2</sup> The first United Nations preventive mission, United Nations Preventive Deployment Forces (UNPREDEP), was established on the northern and western borders. The purpose was to monitor and report any developments in the border areas which could undermine confidence and stability in Macedonia or threaten its territory, and to help prevent the spillover of former Yugoslav crises into Macedonia.<sup>3</sup> The existing poor economy, which followed the declaration of independence, was further exacerbated in the years ahead. In 1992, Greece imposed an economic embargo toward Macedonia; furthermore, the financial stability of Macedonia was additionally worsened by the embargo imposed by the United Nations Security Council toward neighboring Serbia, which indirectly affected Macedonia, economically isolating it from the Yugoslav market in general.<sup>4</sup> Since its declaration of independence

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> "APM Ретро: Пред 25 Години JHA ја напушти Македонија," *MP Mak Press,* accessed 01 December 2018, https://makpress.mk/Home/PostDetails?PostId=194916.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> "United Nations Preventive Deployment Force," United Nations Peacekeeping, accessed 02 December 2018, https://peacekeeping.un.org/mission/past/unpred\_p.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Dejan Marolov, *Republic of Macedonia Foreign Policy: Diplomacy in the Middle of the Balkans* (NewCastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), accessed 01 December 2018, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/carl-ebooks/reader.action? docID=1731966&ppg=1&query=dejan%20marolov.

in 1991, the Republic of Macedonia has declared its desires and aspirations to join the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and has enjoyed continuous support toward that goal from the majority of the country's population. The challenges the Republic of Macedonia faced in the early years of its development after the proclamation of independence affected the development of the army.

The Army of the Republic of Macedonia (ARM) was created in 1992, after the peaceful withdrawal of the JNA. Because the Yugoslav People's Army withdrew all major army equipment in the Republic of Macedonia in March 1992, the ARM began the development and training of members with a core of Macedonian officers that left the Yugoslav People's Army and joined the ARM. In the years ahead and with the weapons and equipment of the Republican Territorial Defense Forces, the ARM started gradually to equip and modernize its forces. The Territorial Defense Forces were formed in 1969 as an integral part of the Yugoslav Total National Defense doctrine in order to mobilize civilian males and females to participate in guerrilla warfare for the national defense. These units were organized and funded by the party and governments in the republics.

In 1995, the Republic of Macedonia became a member country of the NATO peace initiative, "Partnership for Peace" (PfP.) Within the PfP framework, the Republic of Macedonia established a military co-operation program with countries in the region, primarily its neighbors. The soldiers of the Macedonian Army have participated in several NATO-sponsored exercises together with the soldiers of the Republic of Albania, the Republic of Bulgaria, the Republic of Greece, the Republic of Slovenia, and Romania, as well as with soldiers of the USA, Turkey, and Italy.<sup>5</sup> In 1996, an ARM unit participated for the first time in a multinational exercise "Peaceful Eagle '96" in the Republic of Albania and in 1997, was the host of the first multinational exercise "Rescuer 97" conducted in the Republic of Macedonia. The ARM began its participation in the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) operation in 2002 by sending two officers. This contribution increased in the following years and, in 2014, ended with one company of 150 ARM members and five staff officers assigned to duties in RC North. In June 2003, the ARM participated in the Iraqi Freedom Mission by initially sending a special task platoon that executed missions as part of the 4th Infantry Division of the Multi-National Force Iraq. In 2008, ARM participation in the Iraqi Freedom Mission was increased by an additional platoon.<sup>6</sup> Systematic reforms of the armed forces, from the foundation of the army to the present, have transformed the ARM into a modern and NATO-interoperable Army that is expected to gain a deserved full NATO membership in the year 2019-2020.

Despite the Republic of Macedonia's remarkable commitment and involvement in NATO-led operations, participation in UN-led peacekeeping operations remains insignificant. The efforts of the Republic of Macedonia to improve its profile as an active and responsible international partner manifests itself in its participation in the UN-led peacekeeping mission in Lebanon-UNIFIL, beginning in 2007 to present day. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> "Republic of Macedonia and NATO," Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, accessed 29 December 2018, http://morm.gov.mk/?page\_id=5208&lang=en.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> "Participation in 'Iraqi Freedom' Mission," Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, accessed 29 December 2018, http://morm.gov.mk/?page\_id=695&lang=en.

participation consisted of sending one staff officer to the Joint Operations Center (JOC) in Lebanon.<sup>7</sup> This participation increased in 2018 with two additional service members in the Italian contingent of UNIFIL.<sup>8</sup> Even though the contribution was increased it is still considered, according to UN literature, as insignificant or "token" contribution.

#### Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this research is to examine factors which have influenced the Republic of Macedonia since its independence in 1991, despite its commitment to participate in UN-led peacekeeping operations (PKO), to only provide minor contributions. This commitment has been stated by Macedonian political leaders such as the Macedonian defense minister Zoran Jolevski, who during the peacekeeping summit in 2015 at the UN stated, Macedonia will seriously consider the possibility of increasing its contribution to UN peace missions. The options considered were, (1) as a part of a mutual contribution with Southeast European countries; (2) as part of an Italian contingent, the largest European contributor to UN peace missions; and, (3) to serve jointly with the national guard of the state of Vermont as well as with Senegal.<sup>9</sup> The Macedonian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> "Participation of the Republic of Macedonia in the Peace Mission of the United Nations in Lebanon, UNIFIL," Army of the Republic of Macedonia, accessed 24 March 2019, http://www.arm.mil.mk/missions/unifil/?lang=en.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> "Enhancing Cooperation between the ARM and the Italian Armed Forces," Army of the Republic of Macedonia, accessed 24 March 2019, http://www.arm.mil.mk/ general-staff-of-arm/zbogatuvanje-na-sorabotkata-na-arm-so-vooruzhenite-sili-narepublika-italija/?lang=en.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> "Jolevski: 'Macedonia will examine ways to increase its UN peacekeeping participation'," Macedonian Information Agency, accessed 05 April 2019, https://mx.mia.mk/EN/Inside/RenderSingleNews/79/132823153#.

President Ivanov during his annual speech in the Macedonian Assembly in 2017, as a supreme commander of the armed forces, stated the future mission of the ARM would consist of four tasks. The first of the Army's four tasks will be the protection of territorial integrity and borders against illegal migration and participation of the ARM in UN-led peacekeeping operations in the regions from where these threats originate.<sup>10</sup>

In addition, the intent of this research is to develop an argumentative thesis that will identify potential capabilities to increase its participation and describe how and why the Republic of Macedonia should be more proactive in UN-led PKOs. Throughout this research, other aspects will be analyzed; particularly, what is the current policy of the Macedonian government regarding peace operations? How is this policy shaped by resources (funding, military capability, and domestic vs foreign policy priorities?) Does the Macedonian Army have the right organization, manning, and training to support both defense of homeland, and contribute to NATO and UN PKO? This research also includes an analysis to determine what kind of forces the UN needs in order to execute its PKOs, and to establish how the Republic of Macedonia can respond with its forces. Furthermore, based on current rules and procedures in the UN environment and international community, a roadmap with a set of measures and actions will be presented for increased participation in UN-led PKOs. Finally, a brief analysis from the countries who are participants in UN-led operations, and the advantages and disadvantages of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> "Annual Address by the President Ivanov in the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia," President of the Republic of Macedonia, accessed 07 April 2019, http://www.president.mk/en/media-centre/speeches/4677-godisnoobrakanjesobranie.html.

being participant in these operations, will be displayed with the intent to present a broader picture to appropriate decision authorities before choosing the course of action.

#### **Research Question**

Since the Republic of Macedonia declared its independence in 1991, various Macedonian political leaders consistently declare they are committed to participate in international efforts to build and preserve peace. The Republic of Macedonia participates in UN-led PKOs with three officers in UNIFIL (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon), thus taking the 118th place on the list of 124 troop-contributing countries in UN-led peacekeeping operations (as of 30 November 2018.)<sup>11</sup> The Republic of Macedonia, even though it is committed to participate in UN-led peacekeeping, shows a low level of contribution or has what is usually referred to as *token* contribution.

The primary research question is: Although the Republic of Macedonia is a member of the United Nations and aspires to play a more active role in international peacekeeping efforts, can it sustain support to United Nations peacekeeping operations beyond its current commitment?

Secondary questions are:

- 1. What kind of military force does the UN require for its PKOs?
- 2. What steps must the Republic of Macedonia take in order to increase its participation in UN-led PKOs?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> "Troop and Police Contributors," United Nations Peacekeeping, accessed 31 December 2018, https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/troop-and-police-contributors.

- 3. What capabilities does the ARM possess to support UN-led PKOs? What types of missions can the ARM perform? and, What is the policy of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia toward UN-led PKOs?
- 4. What is the scale of national contributions of other countries similar to the Republic of Macedonia and their lessons learned?
- 5. What are the advantages and disadvantages of increased participation of the Army of the Republic of Macedonia in UN-led PKOs?

#### Importance

The American people hope that one day soon the United Nations can be a much more accountable and effective advocate for human dignity and freedom around the world. In the meantime, we believe that no nation should have to bear a disproportionate share of the burden, militarily or financially. Nations of the world must take a greater role in promoting secure and prosperous societies in their own regions.<sup>12</sup>

It is worth mentioning, in current PKOs there are several countries acting as major

troop contributors which are capital-poor and labor-rich.<sup>13</sup> Rather than the top

contributors being thoroughly emblematic of the UN's ideals of promoting peace and

human rights, it is these less stable, lower-capability states that accounted for nearly 61

percent of all troop contributions to PKOs in 2010. Many of these states have faced their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> "Remarks by President Trump to the 72nd Session of the United Nations General Assembly," White House, accessed 08 October 2018, https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-72nd-sessionunited-nations-general-assembly/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Vincenzo Bove and Leandro Elia, "Supplying Peace: Participation in and Troop Contribution to Peacekeeping Missions," *Journal of Peace Research* (2011): 9 accessed 03 January 2019, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/227353581\_Supplying\_ peace\_Participation\_in\_and\_troop\_contribution\_to\_peacekeeping\_missions.

own recent, often severe, security challenges.<sup>14</sup> Although this fact represents a potential theme, it is questionable. What if hypothetically, due to various reasons, some of the major troop-contributing countries decide to significantly decrease their participation in UN-led PKOs. In such a case an immediate request to UN member countries will be sent for urgent deployment to troubled areas in the world. As a result of this request and knowing that contributions to UN-led PKO are a voluntary commitment as part of an international effort, it is important and desirable that the majority of UN member states participate on an equal scale.

The former United Nations Under-Secretary-General Hervé Ladsous, in 2014, in his remarks regarding peacekeeping operations, and new challenges and priorities for UN peacekeeping, highlighted six critical priorities to strengthen peacekeeping.<sup>15</sup> One of those priorities for UN PKOs is the expansion of the base of major contributors to peacekeeping while deepening the engagement of current contributors. With this approach, peacekeeping retains its universal character, and with a broad involvement of the UN members putting boots on the ground, it also sends a critical political signal to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Jacob D. Kathman and Molly M. Melin, "Who Keeps the Peace? Understanding State Contributions to UN Peacekeeping Operations," *International Studies Quarterly* (2017): 152, accessed 02 January 2019, https://www.whitehouse.gov/ briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-72nd-session-united-nations-generalassembly/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> "Remarks by the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations on New Challenges and Priorities for UN Peacekeeping at the Brookings Institution," United Nations Peacekeeping, accessed 17 February 2019, https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/ remarks-under-secretary-general-peacekeeping-operations-new-challenges-and-prioritiesun/.

conflicting parties of the international community's resolve and determination to see peace maintained.

The importance of this research can be observed on many levels and from multiple perspectives, the perspective of the Republic of Macedonia; the perspective of other countries like the Republic of Macedonia with similar circumstances and aspirations, and from the perspective of the United Nations and the overall international community. In general, this research will contribute to the professional body of knowledge on the commitment to international cooperation and the obligation to be a part of the international efforts for the promotion of peace.

#### **Definitions**

<u>Peacebuilding</u>. Measures aimed at reducing the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict, by strengthening national capacities for conflict management, and laying the foundations for sustainable peace.<sup>16</sup>

<u>Peace Enforcement</u>. Coercive action undertaken with the authorization of the United Nations Security Council to maintain or restore international peace and security in situations where the Security Council has determined the existence of a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> United Nations, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines* (New York: Department of Peacekeeping Operations United Nations Secretariat, 2008), accessed 02 January 2019, https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/capstone\_eng\_0.pdf, 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<u>Peacekeeping</u>. Action undertaken to preserve peace, however fragile, where fighting has been halted and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers.<sup>18</sup>

<u>United Nations-Led Peace Operation</u>. A Peace operation authorized by the United Nations Security Council and conducted under the direction of the United Nations Secretary-General.<sup>19</sup>

#### <u>Scope</u>

The scope of this research is on UN-led PKO as peace operations and on ARM participation with UNMEM personnel, staff officers, and infantry units in UN-led PKO. Peace Operations include peacekeeping operations (PKO), peace building, peacemaking, conflict prevention, and peace enforcement operations (PEO.) They may be conducted under the sponsorship of the United Nations (UN), another international organization, within a coalition of nations, or unilaterally.<sup>20</sup> UN peacekeeping is made of the country's contribution of troops, police, and civilian personnel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> United Nations, United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines, 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibid., 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> U.S. Department of Defense, Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), Joint Publication (JP) 3-07.3, *Peace Operations* (Washington, DC: Government Publishing Directorate, 2018), accessed 09 April 2019, http://pksoi.armywarcollege.edu/default/assets/File/ jp3\_07\_3%20Peace%20Operations%201Mar18.pdf, vii.

#### Assumptions

The recommendations provided will be considered feasible, based on the following assumptions. There will be no change in the policy of the Republic of Macedonia toward its commitment to participate in UN-led PKOs. There will be no significant transformation or reduction of the size of ARM units in the future.

#### Limitations

The research uses the available literature from the Republic of Macedonia that can be accessed by internet. The limitation is not all books, reviews, and journals are published and accessible in the Macedonian digital libraries. Another limitation imposed throughout this research is a usage of only unclassified information. Time available for conducting the research is limited to the period of studies at Command and General Staff College.

## Delimitations

During the Cold War, the UN's ability to engage in collective action was seen to have been impeded by East-West divisions which effectively limited the possibility of cooperation in the UN Security Council.<sup>21</sup> At some point, the end of the Cold War represented a turning point of authorized PKO. In the period from the year 1948 to 1991, there were 18 PKOs authorized in comparison to 53 authorized PKOs from 1991 to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> John Terence O'Neill and Nicholas Rees, *United Nations Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 1.

2018.<sup>22</sup> The period of this research will include the years after the end of the cold war from 1991 to 2018.

## Conclusion/Summary

The United Nations, as an organization with its foundational objectives to preserve peace and help build a better world, needs the active involvement of all its participating members. Proactive participation, even by small countries such as the Republic of Macedonia, can be beneficial for the country itself as well as for the United Nations. This commitment and working side by side with other countries can provide an example that can motivate other countries to work on common interests, which is to preserve peace and security in the world.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> "List of Peacekeeping Operations 1948 – 2018," United Nations Peacekeeping, accessed 07 January 2019, https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/180413\_unpeacekeeping-operationlist\_2.pdf.

#### **CHAPTER 2**

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

Consulting existing literature that explores historical aspects of the problem is a critical step in the process of finding answers to the research question. In this chapter, literature will be evaluated that covers the primary and secondary questions. In general, the literature can be divided in the areas of research. These areas are Macedonian Authors and Macedonian Strategic Documents, United Nations Peacekeeping Doctrine, and International Authors. Information from the reviewed literature will provide evidence to answer the primary research question, which is: Although the Republic of Macedonia is a member of the United Nations and aspires to play a more active role in international peacekeeping efforts, can it sustain support to UN peacekeeping operations beyond its current commitment?

#### Macedonian Authors and Strategic Documents

Peacekeeping operations led by the United Nations have been the subject of many books, journals, articles, and research papers in the international community. In contrast to world literature, the Republic of Macedonia has little or no research on this theme in available literature. This conclusion is based on the lack of existing literature surrounding the research questions, which imposes a conclusion there is a literature gap in addressing this issue. Therefore, the literature reviewed in this chapter doesn't address the previous research on Macedonian involvement in UN-led PKOs, but indirectly provides information in clarifying the problem.

Lidija Levkovska and Shane Thomas Franklin's article Constructivist Approach to Western Balkans' Contribution Towards Peace and Stability, provides insight on Macedonian involvement in peace and stability operations abroad. This article primarily explains why the Republic of Macedonia became more focused on NATO-led operations. According to the authors, after the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the resulting fragile security environment, the international community became more involved to bring stability to the region. The effort of the international community was seen as a socializing power to encourage the governments in the region to develop democratic societies. NATO had a major role in this effort by initially providing peacekeeping forces, followed with support to military and security sector reform initiatives, and later with partnership and integration efforts. NATO introduced several mechanisms as tools to enhance the integration of NATO-aspirant countries, such as the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), Partnership for Peace (PfP), and Membership Action Plan (MAP.) The Republic of Macedonia, since its independence, has declared that its objectives are to become a NATO and EU member, and these efforts greatly contributed to the process of reforming and transforming its army. As the Macedonian Army built capabilities and aligned its standards to its NATO allies, it started gradually contributing to peace and stability operations led by NATO. This contribution was perceived as beneficial, desirable, an instrument to gain experience, and showed commitment to become a NATO member country.

Macedonian strategic documents, for defense and employment of the ARM outside the borders of the Republic of Macedonia, are shaped by the legislative power of the assembly, the president as supreme commander of the ARM, and the executive power the government of the Republic of Macedonia. The main documents that provide insight on Macedonian policy toward UN-led peacekeeping operations are the *National Conception for Security and Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, Defense Strategy of the Republic of Macedonia, Strategic Defense Review 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia* and *White Paper on Defense 2012.* In comparison to the United States, the Chief of General Staff of ARM does not issue national military strategy.

*The National Conception for Security and Defense of the Republic of Macedonia* from 11 June 2003, written by the assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, is a core document in the area of security and defense of the Republic of Macedonia. This document is based on the evaluation of the international situation and position of the Republic of Macedonia and dangers to its security. It defines the country's national interests, its security environment, aims, directions, and instruments for its achievement. This four-chapter document outlines the Interests of the Republic of Macedonia, the Security Environment, the National Security Policy, and Defense of the Republic of Macedonia. In its introduction, the document states "strategic determination and goal of the Republic of Macedonia and its national conception for security and defense is permanent determination of the Republic of Macedonia is to build its future as a part of European family and as a member of NATO and EU."<sup>23</sup> In defining the permanent, vital, and important concerns, a vital interest is noted: "political and defense integration in NATO, and political, economic and security integration in EU as well as in other systems

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, *National Conception for Security and Defense of the Republic of Macedonia* (Skopje: Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, June 2003), accessed 07 April 2019, http://morm.gov.mk/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/ Nacionalna-koncepcija-za-bezbednost-i-odbrana.pdf, 1.

of collective security."<sup>24</sup> In the same chapter, Interests of the Republic of Macedonia, an important concern is noted, "participation in building peace and stability in the region, Europe, and in the world as well as prevention and building instruments for early warning for tensions and crises with aim of timely and efficient resolution in peaceful way."<sup>25</sup>

The Defense Strategy of the Republic of Macedonia from 1 March 2010 is a presidential policy directive issued according to the Constitution, Law on Defense, and the National Conception for Security and Defense of the Republic of Macedonia. This document provides strategic direction for the development and functions of the defense system of the Republic of Macedonia, up to 2015. It is important because it is the last document that deals with aspects of the Republic of Macedonia's defense forces. This eight-chapter document focuses on the Values and Interests of the Republic of Macedonia (Permanent, Vital, and Important), Security Environment, Strategic Missions of the Defense System, Development of the System of Defense, Restructuring of the Processes in the Ministry of Defense, Restructuring of the ARM, and Financing the Defense. This publicly-accessible document represents a base for the continuation and improvement of planning process for the development of the defense system in the long term. Following guidance presented in the National Conception for Security and Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, Defense Strategy of the Republic of Macedonia, vital interest is defined as "political and defense integration in NATO, political, economic and security integration in the European union and active participation in other forms of international

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, *National Conception for Security and Defense of the Republic of Macedonia*, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ibid.

cooperation."<sup>26</sup> Further, important interest is defined as "participation in efforts for preserving and promoting peace and stability in the world, Europe and in the region."<sup>27</sup>

*The Strategic Defense Review 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia* is a document issued by the Ministry of Defense. It provides guidance for the future development and continued transformation of the defense forces, with the goal of establishing a modern and flexible army that can undertake mandated defense missions and make a positive contribution to NATO. It also determines the future size and shape of the Ministry of Defense and the ARM according to the concept "Future Force 2028." This document has three parts: Contemporary Macedonian Defense, Future Macedonian Defense, and Strategic Defense Review Implementation and Defense. This document describes the entire defense reform agenda, which is a precondition for NATO membership, but it also implies modernization of the defense of the country.<sup>28</sup> In relation to this thesis, the Strategic Defense Review 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia outlines two primary defense objectives. These defense objectives are

Strengthening regional security and stability and membership of Euro-Atlantic collective security systems. We will create new partnerships, strengthen existing partnerships and implement burden-sharing as part of cooperative

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Ministry of Defense of the Republic of North Macedonia, *The Defense Strategy of the Republic of Macedonia* (Skopje: President of the Republic of Macedonia, 1 March 20100, accessed 08 April 2019, http://www.mod.gov.mk/?attachment\_id=39384& lang=en, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, *Strategic Defense Review* 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia (Skopje: Republic of North Macedonia accessed 08 April 2019, http://morm.gov.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/SDR-Paper-dated-05-July-2018,pdf, 3.

defense. On attaining full membership of NATO and the EU we will participate fully in their collective defense and security policies.

Participating in international efforts to build and preserve peace. We will develop forces and capabilities in accordance with our national security interests and international commitments.<sup>29</sup>

White Paper on Defense 2012 follows the outline as in the Strategic Defense

*Review 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia* and presents the security and defense policy of the Republic of Macedonia from 2012 to 2018. It contains details regarding important programs, projects, and activities contained in the 10-year Long-Term Defense Development Plan 2011-2020 and emphasizes the current (as of 2012) and future efforts for transformation of the defense. This document provides information on the current status and processes of the ARM that were projected and planned for execution by this document in 2012.<sup>30</sup>

Since Macedonian Army doctrine, in general, is not unclassified and open for public distribution, a great portion of information for the ARM will be obtained from the official site of the ARM and Ministry of Defense along with news, journals, and periodicals pertaining the ARM capabilities for UN-led PKO.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, *Strategic Defense Review* 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia, 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Ministry of Defense of the Republic of North Macedonia, *White Paper on Defense*, 2012, accessed 09 April 2019, http://www.morm.gov.mk/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/WHITE-PAPER-OF-DEFENCE.pdf, 13.

#### United Nations Peacekeeping

Primarily, United Nations documents from the Department for Peacekeeping Operations (UN DPKO),<sup>31</sup> the Department for Field Support (UN DFS), and other United Nations capstone documents provide information on the processes of accepting a member states' requests for troop contributions until deploying forces can meet military requirements. These documents include *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines*; *Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations*; *United Nations DPKO / DFS UNMEM Manual: Selection, Deployment, Rotation, Extension, Transfer and Repatriation of United Nations Military Experts on Mission in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*; *United Nations Peacekeeping Battalion Manual Volume I and II*; and, other UN training manuals and guidelines.

The United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines is a key peacekeeping policy and guidance core document issued by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, United Nations Secretariat. It focuses only on UN-led PKOs authorized by the Security Council, conducted under the direction of the UN Secretary-General, and planned, managed, directed, and supported by the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and the Department of Field Support

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> With the General Assembly resolution, A/RES/72/262 C, from 1 January 2019, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) become the Department of Peace Operations (DPO). DPKO will be used throughout the thesis because this acronym is used in the reviewed literature. "UN Reform: Two New Departments for the Peace and Security Pillar," United Nations Permanent Missions, 23 August 2018, accessed 15 May 2019, https://www.un.int/news/un-reform-two-new-departments-peace-and-security-pillar.

(DFS).<sup>32</sup> It introduces the evolution of UN-led PKOs and guidance for planning, deployment, and sustaining UN-led PKOs. As a capstone document of DPKO and DFS, it serves as a basis for developing further directives, guidelines, standard operating procedures, manuals, and training materials issued by DPKO/DFS. It reflects the multidimensional nature of contemporary UN-led PKOs and serves as a guide for all UN personnel as well as to those who are new to UN peacekeeping and are training and preparing to serve in UN-led PKOs. This document may also serve as reference for developing troop contributing countries (TCC) doctrine, training, and pre-deployment programs.

*The Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations* is another capstone document for UN-led PKOs. It is intended to provide field personnel who are new to the United Nations, or who are being deployed to one of the UN multidimensional PKOs for the first time, with general background on the responsibilities of each component of PKOs and how these fit together to form the whole.<sup>33</sup> This document provides an in-depth discussion on roles, responsibilities, and relations of key leaders and organizations in UN-led PKOs supported with examples from recent experiences in PKOs. As PKOs continue to evolve from traditional to multidimensional peacekeeping, this handbook provides a deeper understanding of other components of PKOs. These include as civilian police, political, civil affairs, rule of law, human rights,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> United Nations, United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines, 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> United Nations, *Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations*, Foreword, accessed 09 April 2019, https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/peacekeeping-handbook\_un\_dec2003\_0.pdf.

humanitarian, reconstruction, and public information, which though it does not have a military component, supports UN mandates alongside a regional or multinational peacekeeping force. It also provides an explanation of the types of military personnel that can be employed in UN-led PKOs and what type of military tasks forces can expect to execute during operations. According to this document, military personnel in UN-led PKOs can participate as military advisers, military observers, military liaison officers, and formed military units.

*The United Nations DPKO / DFS UNMEM Manual: Selection, Deployment, Rotation, Extension, Transfer and Repatriation of United Nations Military Experts on Mission in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations* contains general information on various administrative aspects relating to the selection, deployment, rotation, transfer, and repatriation of all United Nations Military Experts on Mission (UNMEM.)<sup>34</sup> UNMEM personnel, according to this manual, are categorized into three primary roles: UN Military Observers (UNMOs), UN Military Liaison Officers (MLOs), and UN Military Advisers (MILADs.) The aim of this manual is to provide information to the respective governments of UN Member States to enable them to select suitable officers to serve as UNMEM in UNPKOs and finalize their pre-deployment preparations. In addition, it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> United Nations, United Nations DPKO / DFS UNMEM Manual: Selection, Deployment, Rotation, Extension, Transfer and Repatriation of United Nations Military Experts on Mission in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, 2012, accessed 09 April 2019, http://dag.un.org/bitstream/handle/11176/89516/2010.30%20UNMEMManual. pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y, 5.

provides standardized administrative procedures for the selection, deployment, rotation (replacement), extension, and transfer of UNMEM in UNPKOs.<sup>35</sup>

*The United Nations Infantry Battalion Manual Volume I and II* are UN doctrinal manuals that provide UN member states all the necessary information for preparation and execution of UN-led PKOs with military infantry units. Volume I of the UNIBAM focuses on peacekeeping-oriented conceptual aspects pertaining to various UN policies, battalion capability standards, tasks in general, organization, evaluation, and training requirements. Volume II covers in greater detail, tasks, capability standards, and self-evaluation checklists along with various templates and annexes as practical guidelines for execution of the functional responsibility.<sup>36</sup>

UN training manuals and guidelines include *Guidelines Roles and Training* Standards for UN Military Staff Officers, Introduction to UN Peacekeeping Pre Deployment Training Standards-Specialized Training Modules for Military Experts on Mission, Introduction to UN Peacekeeping Pre-Deployment Specialized Training Materials for Staff Officers, and SOP Training Recognition. These UN doctrinal papers provide procedures, requirements, and standards that need to be met in order for deployed personnel to be fully ready to perform the assigned tasks.

The UN DPKO and UN DFS have developed in recent years an appropriate amount of doctrine and reference material for PKOs. These policies, guidance materials,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> United Nations, United Nations DPKO / DFS UNMEM Manual, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> United Nations, United Nations Infantry Battalion Manual Volume I, 2012, accessed 09 April 2019, https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/peacekeeping/en/UNIBAM.Vol.I.pdf, 8.

manuals, and standard operating procedures contribute to clarifying processes, regulations, and standards in the UN PKOs.

## International Authors

In their report *Looking to Contribute - a Guide to the UN Force Generation System for Prospective Troop Contributors*, Claes Nilsson & Cecilia Hull Wiklund provide a description and analysis of the UN force generation system. The report primarily aims to support member states that are new to the system or have contributed to UN peacekeeping in the past but lack recent experience in the process.<sup>37</sup> It is based on interviews with staff at the UN and at the permanent missions of its member states, it outlines formal and informal steps in the process of force generation and it is designed for the prospective TCC to facilitate this process. This report provides additional knowledge and understanding of the force generation process from the perspective of the representatives of the UN staff and permanent missions of UN member states.

As criteria for comparing other countries' experiences in UN-led PKOs, Slovakia and Serbia were selected as countries from the former Eastern European bloc. Like these countries, the Republic of Macedonia, one of the six republics of the former Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, shares similar heritages and experiences as young democracies with a common socialist past. These eastern European countries have the largest contribution in UN-led PKOs based on their population and number of active military

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Claes Nilsson and Cecilia Hull Wiklund, *Looking to Contribute-a Guide to the UN Force Generation System for Prospective Troop Contributors Looking to Contribute - a Guide to the UN Force Generation System for Prospective Troop Contributors*, June 2014, accessed 09 April, 2019, https://www.foi.se/report-search/pdf?fileName= D%3A%5CReportSearch%5CFiles%5C794e6b75-87b5-4440-9fda-fc0761da2e11.pdf, 9.

personnel in UN-led PKOs (as of 28 January 2019.) This literature provides insight into these countries' experience in UN-led PKOs.

In her doctoral dissertation *Contribution of the Serbian Armed Forces to Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping in the World*, author Mileva M. Zotovic provides a comprehensive history of Serbian armed forces participation in UN-led PKOs and their experiences. At the beginning of the discussion, the author discusses the system of national and international security, classification and characteristics of United Nations peace operations, and the security policy of the European Union. Further, she explains factors and principles of the foreign policy of the Republic of Serbia and principles and prerequisites for engagement of the Serbian army in multinational operations. Zotovic, in her next chapter describes the contribution of the Serbian army in building and preserving peace in the region and the world. In this chapter, she lists the multinational operations where the Serbian Army participated and some experiences of its forces. Finally, the author discusses the involvement of female participants in multinational operations and their experiences.

Zdenek Kriz and Jana Urbanovska in their article, *Slovakia in UN Peacekeeping Operations: Trapped between the Logic of Consequences and Appropriateness*, analyze the participation of Slovakia in UN PKO's. Their analysis is focused on the motivation for participating, specifically, its participation in the logic of consequences or in the logic of appropriateness. They explain participation, from the perspective of the logic of consequences as a tool through which states endeavor to achieve their goals and maximize their profit as much as possible. They continue to explain logic of appropriateness as a moral duty and a way of meeting to protect international peace and
security that states accepted upon entering the United Nations.<sup>38</sup> In their conclusion, they present the findings based on their analysis of past participation, national and security policy, and the interests of Slovakia.

*Broadening the Base of United Nations Troop- and Police-Contributing Countries* by Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams is a thematic report of "Providing for Peacekeeping", an independent research project established to broaden the understanding of the factors and motivations that encourage or discourage states from contributing to UN peacekeeping operations.<sup>39</sup> With this report, the goal is to support the effort of broadening the base of troop contributing countries and at the end of the report, they provide a recommendation to UN organizations for achieving this goal.

The literature from Macedonian authors and Macedonian Strategic Documents support this research by providing information on the current capabilities of the ARM, the future plans for the employment of the ARM, and Macedonian policy in relation to UN-led PKOs. UN peacekeeping doctrinal documents provide information that supports this research, in defining the required standards and procedures to become UN peacekeeper. The literature from international authors provides additional information

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Zdenek Kriz and Jana Urbanovska, "Slovakia in UN Peacekeeping Operations: Trapped between the Logic of Consequences and Appropriateness," *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies* (2013): 373.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams, *Broadening the Base of United Nations Troop- and Police- Contributing Countries*, Providing for Peacekeeping No. 1, International Peace Institute, August 2012, accessed 09 April 2019, https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/publications/ipi\_pub\_broadening\_the\_base.pdf.

and insight, in relation to increased participation in UN-led PKOs that was not obtained from Macedonian and UN literature.

## CHAPTER 3

# RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research conducted in this thesis has an aim to provide recommendations, guidance, and solutions in solving the problem, based on facts and assumptions, to appropriate decision makers for achieving improvements in the professional domain. The method that is most appropriate in solving the problem in this thesis and answering the primary and secondary research questions is the applied professional case study research method (Long, 2016.) It describes the steps for investigating the problem, analysis of the collected data, and developing approaches for solving the problem. This method follows the staff study process for solving problems. It starts with a problem, issuing initial recommendations, presentation of short brief on the background of the problem, presentation of facts and assumptions, developing criteria to avoid biases, identifying possible solutions, conducting analysis and, at the end, developing a conclusion and recommendation.<sup>40</sup>

An applied professional case study method belongs to the Qualitative research tradition and the subset of case studies. According to John W. Creswell,

Qualitative research begins with assumptions, a worldview, the possible use of a theoretical lens, and the study of research problems inquiring into the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. To study this problem, qualitative researchers use an emerging qualitative approach to inquiry, the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study, and data analysis that is inductive and establishes patterns or themes. The final written report or presentation includes the voices of participants, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Dr. Kenneth E. Long, "Emerging Best Practices from Applied Professional Case Study Research," (Blackboard Presentation, Department of Logistics and Resource Operations U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 2016).

reflexivity of the researcher, and a complex description and interpretation of the problem, and it extends the literature or signals a call for action.<sup>41</sup>

Qualitative research is the most appropriate because it explores a problem or issue and enables it to be understood in detail.<sup>42</sup> Analysis of the obtained data and answering the research questions will be performed according to the research design in figure 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2007), 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Ibid., 39-40.



Figure 1. Research Design

Source: Created by author.

# Analysis of UN Military Personnel Standards

It is crucial to determine in the early phase of analysis, the factors that will serve as benchmarks that are part of the end state, the increased participation of the ARM in UN-led PKOs. These benchmarks will be defined by using the framework of Doctrine, Organization, Training, Material, Leadership and Education, Personnel, Facilities and Policy (DOTMLPF-P) analysis of the types of military personnel engaged in UN-led PKOs by roles, functions, and capabilities. This analysis will determine the performance standards to be a "Blue Helmet" and will answer the first secondary question: What kind of military force does the UN need for its PKOs?

# Identifying Procedures for Participation in UN Operations

An analysis of UN doctrinal documents will provide an answer to the prescribed steps for increased participation as a TCC in UN-led PKOs. This analysis will provide insight in identifying the needed steps that should to be undertaken at the strategic and operational level. Based on the findings, identified shortfalls, and available resources, courses of action will be developed. This analysis will answer the secondary question, What steps does the Republic of Macedonia need to undertake in order to increase its participation in UN-led PKOs?

# Analysis of Macedonian Army Capabilities for UN Operations

Using the DOTMLPF-P framework enables a more detailed analysis for determining the capabilities of ARM units for participation in UN-led PKOs. In order to identify gaps and shortfalls, these determined capabilities of ARM units will be compared with the needed criteria to be a UN "Blue Helmet." Further, the identified capability gaps, shortfalls, and recommended non-materiel or materiel approaches will serve to develop solutions for resolving those shortfalls. This analysis will answer the third secondary question: What capabilities does the ARM possess to support UN-led PKOs? What types of missions can the ARM perform? What is the policy of the ministry of defense of the Republic of Macedonia toward UN-led PKOs?

# <u>Analysis of Other Countries' Experiences and Analysis of</u> Advantages and Disadvantages of UN Peacekeeping

A comparative study of countries similar to the Republic of Macedonia that have already participated or are currently participating in UN-led peacekeeping operations, and their lessons learned will provide additional input and evidence to make a recommendation for a possible course of action. Another consideration to the appropriate decision makers that will be presented, before making their decision, is an analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of participating in UN-led PKOs. This analysis will answer the fourth and fifth subsidiary question, which are: What is the scale of national contributions of other countries similar to the Republic of Macedonia and their lessons learned? and What are the advantages and disadvantages of future enlarged participation of the Army of the Republic of Macedonia in UN-led PKOs?

Measurement of the relative effectiveness and efficiency of one course of action (COA) relative to other COAs, developed in Chapter 4, will be according to the evaluation criteria, as shown on Table 1.

| Table 1. Evaluation Criteria                   |                                                                                     |        |  |  |
|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|--|--|
| Title/Definition                               | Measure/Benchmark/Formula                                                           | Weight |  |  |
|                                                |                                                                                     |        |  |  |
| Title: Economic burden for the national budget | Unit of Measure: Relative costs<br>Formula:                                         |        |  |  |
| Definition: All annual                         | - small relative costs per function per                                             | 3      |  |  |
| financial costs associated with                | army member/unit is an advantage;                                                   | 5      |  |  |
| participation in UN-led PKOs.                  | - significant relative costs per function<br>per army member/unit is a disadvantage |        |  |  |
| Title: Simplicity                              | Unit of Measure: Procedures                                                         |        |  |  |
| Definition: Number of                          | - small number of procedures is an                                                  |        |  |  |
| procedures associated with                     | advantage;                                                                          | 1      |  |  |
| participation in UN-led PKOs                   | <ul> <li>significant number of procedures is a<br/>disadvantage</li> </ul>          |        |  |  |
| Title: Advantages of                           | Unit of Measure: Advantages                                                         |        |  |  |
| peacekeeping                                   | - higher is an advantage;                                                           |        |  |  |
| Definition: Advantages                         | - less is a disadvantage                                                            | 2      |  |  |
| associated with participation in               |                                                                                     |        |  |  |
| UN-led PKOs                                    |                                                                                     |        |  |  |
| Scores 1-3 (1 lowest, 3 highest)               |                                                                                     |        |  |  |

Source: Created by author.

Economic burden for the national budget, as evaluation criteria, has the highest weight because every country's leadership hesitates to make a decision when that decision is accompanied by certain financial costs. Relative costs per function, per army member and unit includes costs for training (individual, collective, and mutual with other nations), costs for equipment (individual and collective), costs for education (home and abroad), and costs for transportation, sustainment of deployed units, etc. The advantages of peacekeeping is a relative benefit for the accomplishment of a country's national interests. Simplicity, as evaluation criteria, has the least weight because all needed procedures, even if complicated, with gaining experience in UN-led PKOs can be overcome.

After the analysis of each course of action, the results will be compared according to Table 2, and the advantages and disadvantages will be determined for each course of action as shown in Table 3.

| Table 2. COA Comparison Weighting Template |        |       |       |       |  |
|--------------------------------------------|--------|-------|-------|-------|--|
| Evaluation Criteria                        | Weight | COA 1 | COA 2 | COA 3 |  |
| Economic burden for national budget        | 3      |       |       |       |  |
| Simplicity                                 | 1      |       |       |       |  |
| Advantages of peacekeeping                 | 2      |       |       |       |  |
| Total                                      |        |       |       |       |  |

Source: Created by author.

An analysis and development of possible courses of action will be performed in the next chapter, using the methodology described in this chapter and the information obtained in chapter two. With the findings on the current state and desired end state, an operational approach and possible courses of action will be developed.

## **CHAPTER 4**

## ANALYSIS

This chapter provides the analysis and findings from the literature review on the research questions outlined in chapter one. Subchapter one, Introduction, will describe the evolution from traditional to multidimensional peacekeeping. In subchapter two, UN PKO Standards and Procedures (DOTMLPF-P), findings will be presented on what is required to be a military member of UN-led PKOs, by conducting DOTMLPF-P analysis, with an intent not to identify shortfalls but to identify standards that will serve as objectives to be met. Then, in third subchapter, Force Generation in UN-led PKOs, based on UN doctrine, analysis and findings will be presented on the prescribed procedures for becoming a troop contributor in a UN-led PKO. Further, in the fourth subchapter, ARM Current Capabilities (DOTMLPF-P), an analysis will be made on the ARM capabilities for UN-led PKOs and, based on the identified standards in subchapter two, analysis will be performed to identify shortfalls in ARM's capabilities. In the fifth subchapter, Other Countries' Experience in UN-Led PKOs, an analysis of other countries' experience in UN-led PKOs will be presented to provide another perspective in this research and their lessons learned. In the sixth subchapter, Advantages and Disadvantages of Participating in UN-Led PKOs, benefits and possible disadvantages will be presented before developing courses of action. In the last subchapter, possible courses of action will be developed based on the performed analysis.

## Introduction

UN PKOs have evolved as a commitment of the international community to help nations or involved parties in a conflict to end hostilities, help the process of reconciliation, and foster building trust and friendship. According to United Nations peacekeeping operations principles and guidelines, peacekeeping is an action undertaken to preserve peace, however fragile, where fighting has been halted and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers.<sup>43</sup> Joint Publication 3-07.3 Peace Operations defines peacekeeping as military operations undertaken, with the consent of all major parties to a dispute, designed to monitor and facilitate implementation of an agreement (cease fire, truce, or other such agreement) and support diplomatic efforts to reach a long-term political settlement.<sup>44</sup> Even though it is not mentioned in the UN Charter, UN-led PKOs serve as an instrument to manage crises that impose a threat to international peace and security.<sup>45</sup> Since the first UN-led PKOs in 1948, when the first United Nations military observers were deployed to the Middle East, UN-led peacekeeping has been growing in size and complexity. From its beginning to the present day, UN-led PKOs by the scope of conducting its operations, serves as traditional and multi-dimensional peacekeeping operations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> United Nations, United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines, 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> JCS, JP 3-07.3, GL-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> United Nations, United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines, 13.

Traditional peacekeeping, mainly practiced in the era of the cold war was characterized by maintaining cease-fires and stabilizing situations on the ground. Most common types of tasks for UN-led peacekeepers involved monitoring the borders or demilitarized zones, monitoring ceasefire, and interposition as a buffer and confidencebuilding measure. It was not normally mandated to work on settling political disputes between the parties to resolve the conflict, which in turn resulted in some UN-led PKOs being deployed for decades. With the end of the cold war, a change in the operational environment required a change in the approach to conducting UN-led PKOs.

Multi-dimensional United Nations peacekeeping operations are used as one part of a much broader international effort, to help countries emerging from conflict make the transition to a sustainable peace.<sup>46</sup> As a result of the changed environment and an increase of conflicts in the world, multi-dimensional peacekeeping emerged as a need to address a wide spectrum of peacekeeping activities. In their report, *Blue Helmets and Grey Zones: Do UN Multidimensional Peace Operations Work?*, Louise Riis Andersen and Peter Emil Engedal, based on UN Security Council resolution 2086, stated multidimensional United Nations peacekeeping outlines a wide range of issues that it may be mandated to address, including "basic safety and security, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, security sector reform, demining, peace consolidation and inclusive political processes, humanitarian assistance, human rights and protection of civilians."<sup>47</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> United Nations, United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Danish Institute for International Studies, *Blue Helmets and Grey Zones: Do UN Multidimensional Peace Operations Work?* 2013, accessed 09 April 2019,

These complex tasks are executed by UN military, police, and civilian personnel in cooperation with other actors in the crisis region.

# UN PKO Standards and Procedures (DOTMLPF-P) Doctrine

A description of doctrine is provided in ADP 1-02 *Terms and Military Symbols*. According to this document, Army doctrine is "Fundamental principles, with supporting tactics, techniques, procedures, and terms and symbols, used for the conduct of operations and which the operating force, and elements of the institutional Army that directly support operations, guide their actions in support of national objectives."<sup>48</sup>

According to United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines, UN peacekeeping doctrine framework is divided into six major guidance "series" (1000– 6000.) These series are:

- 1. 1000-Series: Capstone Doctrine,
- 2. 2000-Series: Headquarters Support to Operations,
- 3. 3000-Series: Management and Integration of Operations,
- 4. 4000-Series: Multi-dimensional Operations,
- 5. 5000-Series: Field Operations Support, and
- 6. 6000-Series: Headquarters Management and Administration.

https://www.diis.dk/files/media/publications/import/extra/rp2013-29\_lan\_blue-helmets\_web.pdf, 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Headquarters, Department of the Army (HQDA), Army Doctrine Publication (ADP) 1-02, *Terms and Military Symbols* (Washington, DC: Government Publishing Directorate, 2018), 1-6.

Each series is further subdivided into specific thematic and functional areas.

UN member states military personnel participating in UN-led PKOs must conduct their mission in accordance to the principles defined in the *Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations*. These principles are impartiality, consent and cooperation, appropriate use of force, unity and international character, respect for principles of international humanitarian law, and respect for local laws and customs.<sup>49</sup> This handbook, further defines the military tasks UN peacekeepers should conduct in peacekeeping operations. These tasks provide support to peacemaking and political negotiations, providing a secure environment, observation and monitoring, interposition, preventive deployment, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration. Additional tasks are demining, enforcement of sanctions, security sector reform and training, restoration and maintenance of law and order, human rights monitoring, support to humanitarian activities, and protection of civilians.

UN doctrinal policy and guidance documents can be accessed at the United Nations Peacekeeping Resource Hub and United Nations Dag Hammarskjold Library.

# Personnel and Organization

*The Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations* defines the following types of military personnel in a peacekeeping operation:

 Military advisers. Military officers assigned to advise the special representative or envoy on military issues in situations where a peacekeeping

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> United Nations, *Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations*, 55.

operation has not been authorized or in situation where political or peacebuilding UN presence remains after a peacekeeping operation has withdrawn but it retains military advisers to provide expertise on military tasks.<sup>50</sup>

2. Military observers. UN military observers are unarmed military officers generally deployed to monitor and supervise any military arrangements that parties to a conflict may have agreed to, such as a ceasefire or armistice, withdrawal of forces or the preservation of a demilitarized or neutral buffer zone.<sup>51</sup>

3. Military liaison officers. Military officers deployed to maintain link between the largely civilian UN PKO and the non-UN military force in peacekeeping environments where security is being provided by a military force not under UN command, such as a regional peacekeeping force or a coalition force of allied States.<sup>52</sup>

4. Formed military units. Member States also contribute formed military units, which correspond to traditional military formations, such as companies, brigades or battalions. Each contribution is called a contingent.<sup>53</sup> Military forces can be combat forces, combat support forces and logistic and service support forces.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> United Nations, *Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations*, 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Ibid.,59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Ibid.

 Staff Officers. United Nations Peacekeeping internet site states that contribution to UN PKOs can be achieved either as individual Staff Officers, as Military Observers, or as part of a formed unit from an individual Troop-Contributing Country.<sup>55</sup>

*The Guidelines Roles and Training Standards for UN Military Staff Officers* defines Staff Officers as "those Contingent Personnel who are generated, deployed and traveled in an individual capacity upon nomination by a TCC and selection by the Office of Military Affairs (OMA) to perform specialized functions at the FHQ or integrated military, civilian or police structure."<sup>56</sup>

The UN DPKO/DFS UNMEM Manual from 2012, defines UN Military Observers (UNMOs), UN Military Liaison Officers (MLOs) and UN Military Advisers (MILADs) as United Nations Military Experts on Mission (UNMEM). Selection criteria for these personnel are described in chapter four of this manual and more details on roles and skills of UNMEM are provided in the UN Guidelines on Roles and Training Standards for UN Military Experts on Mission.<sup>57</sup>

According to this manual, in order to be a UNMEM personnel member state (MS), personnel must be citizens of the MS he or she is representing, must be an active serving member of the MS defense forces, and should have a minimum of five years of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> "Military Getting Involved," United Nations Peacekeeping, accessed 16 March 2019, https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/military.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> United Nations, *Guidelines Roles and Training Standards for UN Military Staff Officers*, 2011, accessed 09 April 2019, http://dag.un.org/bitstream/handle/11176/89494/ 2009.9%20GL\_for\_SOs\_final.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> United Nations, United Nations DPKO / DFS UNMEM Manual, 5, 15-18.

regular military service as an officer. The UN normally asks the MS to nominate their officers in the rank of Captain or Major to serve as UNMEM. Also, depending upon the nature of the task, at times, senior officers such as Lieutenant Colonels and Colonels may also be assigned as UNMEM. Age of nominated personnel should be between 25 and 55 years of age, except for senior UNMO appointments (ranks equivalent to colonel and above) and must have female representatives as well. UNMEM should be in excellent physical condition and must meet established UN medical criteria outlined in the Medical Support Manual for United Nations Field Operations.<sup>58</sup> Officers also must have the essential competencies and expertise including previous unit experience in his or her national armed forces, knowledge of infantry and operations at company and battalion level, experience or training in light and medium weapons, support equipment, and a common weapon. UNMEM also need to have knowledge of basic skills in dismounted and vehicle patrolling, knowledge of basic negotiation, mediation and conflict resolution skills and basic interviewing techniques, and knowledge of basic first aid and stress management techniques. All UNMEM should have working level English language skills (French skills are desirable in Francophone missions), be able to drive 4x4 vehicles, communicate on radio, use maps and GPS, and a personal computer. They need to complete the UN Basic and Advanced Safety in the field training on-line training, and Code of Conduct, Integrity, and Prevention of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SEA) on-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> United Nations, United Nations DPKO / DFS UNMEM Manual, 15.

line training. Detailed criteria are outlined in UN manual *Guidelines on Roles and Training Standards for Military Experts on Mission.*<sup>59</sup>

UN Staff Officers are expected to perform staff procedures in the mission including drafting formal military orders, situation reports, military correspondence, military planning procedures, as well as UN SOPs, staff procedures, rules, and regulations. Additional skills they need to possess, besides being proficient in staff work, are same as for UN MEM personnel.<sup>60</sup>

The scope of analyzing formed military units in this thesis is limited to infantry units. The primary role of a UN Infantry Battalion is to restore and maintain a stable and secure environment in the battalion Area of Responsibility (AOR.)<sup>61</sup> The core capabilities necessary for the UN Infantry Battalion, in order to perform its role, responsibilities and mission essential tasks as per mandate and concept of operations are command, control and communications (C3), firepower, mobility, force protection, tactical information, sustainment, interoperability, and civil interaction.<sup>62</sup> The tasks the UN Infantry Battalion will execute in its AOR will depend largely on the mandate of the mission. The following sixteen tasks have been identified as peacekeeping-related tasks from which mission-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> United Nations, United Nations DPKO / DFS UNMEM Manual, 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> "Military What kind of Blue Helmets are needed?" United Nations Peacekeeping, accessed 19 March 2019, https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/military.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> United Nations, United Nations Infantry Battalion Manual Volume I, 67.
<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 68-70.

specific essential tasks could be drawn for a particular mission based on its particular mandate and operational environment.<sup>63</sup> They are divided as:

1. Primary Tasks: patrolling, observation post, check point, outreach and engagement, situational awareness, cordon and search, convoy and escort, and operation base.

2. Support Tasks: disarmament and demobilization, critical infrastructure and assets protection, crowd management and detention.

3. Other Tasks: buffer zone, joint operations, reinforce/relief, and extract/evacuate.<sup>64</sup>

An example of the organizational structure of the base model UN Infantry Battalion is shown in Figure 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> United Nations, United Nations Infantry Battalion Manual Volume I, 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Ibid.



#### 8.3.3.1 : UNITED NATIONS INFANTRY BATTALION ORGANIZATION - BASE MODEL

Figure 2. Organizational Structure of the Base Model UN Infantry Battalion

*Source*: United Nations, *United Nations Infantry Battalion Manual Volume I*, 2012, accessed 09 April 2019, https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/peacekeeping/en/UNIBAM.Vol.I.pdf, 129.

The UN infantry battalion's organization is centered on four self-sustained Infantry Company Groups capable of operating independently to implement the mandate. Companies that can execute static and mobile operations from defensible, independent and logistically self-sustaining positions.<sup>65</sup>

# Training

Training for UN peacekeepers consist of pre-deployment training and training in

the mission area. Core pre-deployment materials organized in 3 modules and 27 lessons,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> United Nations, United Nations Infantry Battalion Manual Volume I, 77.

along with guidance for MS, course directors, and instructors are accessible at United Nations Peacekeeping Resource Hub and should be used as a core resource for any UN pre-deployment training course.<sup>66</sup>

Training for UNMEM personnel and staff officers before deployment, consists of pre-deployment training and specialized training in order to meet UN peacekeeping predeployment training standards. UNMEM Pre-deployment Training is delivered by regional or national peacekeeping training institutes over a minimum period of three weeks.<sup>67</sup> Staff Officers Pre-deployment Training is delivered by regional or national peacekeeping training institutes over a minimum period of two weeks.<sup>68</sup> If the MS decision is to have training in national training institutions, courses must be developed according to UN training guidelines and need to have official training recognition by the DPKO.<sup>69</sup> In the mission area, training priorities and assignments will be set out by the Head of Military Component (HOMC) and in-mission training for UN MEM will be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> "Core pre-deployment Training Materials," United Nations Peacekeeping, accessed 16 March 2019, http://research.un.org/revisedcptm2017/Introduction.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> United Nations, Introduction to UN Peacekeeping Pre Deployment Training Standards, Specialized Training Modules for Military Experts on Mission, 2010, accessed 05 April 2019, http://repository.un.org/handle/11176/89584, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> United Nations, *Introduction to UN Peacekeeping Pre-deployment Specialized Training Materials for Staff Officers*, 2011, accessed 05 April 2019, http://repository.un.org/handle/11176/89583, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> United Nations, *SOP Training Recognition*, 2009, accessed 05 April 2019, http://dag.un.org/bitstream/handle/11176/90519/Standard%20Operating%20Procedure% 20Training%20Recognition.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y, 3.

coordinated by the Integrated Mission Training Centre.<sup>70</sup> UN Military Staff Officers must have completed a course based on the UN core pre-deployment training materials, as well as specialist training. Core pre-deployment training materials are accessible at United Nations Peacekeeping Resource Hub and specialist training materials for UN Military Staff Officers are provided by the Integrated Training Service (ITS.)

Training of infantry battalions is a national responsibility. Member states need to train the infantry units within the parameters set by ITS/DPKO, to be capable of undertaking a full range of tasks and to operate in a peacekeeping operational environment. Peacekeeping training for infantry battalion is divided in three phases, predeployment training, induction training, and ongoing training. Pre-deployment training is conducted in home country, where in coordination with ITS, an infantry battalion reorientates itself from conventional training to peacekeeping training to achieve a high degree of readiness to be deployed in a peacekeeping mission.

Induction training refers to training delivered to military personnel on arrival in peacekeeping missions. It is intended to supplement the pre-deployment training and consists of a short orientation training of 1 to 2 weeks duration. Induction training is delivered by selected battalion training officers or key leaders who have already undergone a Training of Trainer course organized by the Integrated Mission Training Cell prior to induction training.

Ongoing training is the training activity of the military peacekeeping personnel undertaken during their duty assignment, subsequent to induction training. The Force

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> United Nations, *Guidelines Roles and Training Standards for UN Military Staff* Officers, 6.

Commander Training Directive is issued annually and provides mission-specific operational training guidance to deployed infantry battalions on how to address possible gaps and to reinforce existing capabilities.<sup>71</sup>

## Material

UNMEM personnel deploy in UN PKO mission areas with their national uniform, personal and protective equipment, and other equipment as stated in Annex R of DPKO / DFS UNMEM Manual (see Appendix A.)

The United Nations Infantry Battalion Manual Volume I provides the TOE for a UN Infantry battalion and is used as a reference. It lists what types and pieces of equipment the battalion should have. The list involves armaments and accessories, electronic equipment, signal equipment, transportation assets, engineer equipment, generators and electrification equipment, crowd and riot control equipment, water storage public treatment equipment, fuel oil and lubricants storage, and miscellaneous stores. Equipment the participating nations deploys in the mission area is called Contingent Owned Equipment (COE.) A detailed table of equipment and actual force configuration will be based on the "Statement of Unit Requirements." During the discussions and conclusions in the MOU, TCC will decide if it will provide maintenance of its equipment, called "wet lease," or maintenance will be the responsibility of the UN, called "dry lease." Based on the agreed type of lease, respective reimbursement rates will apply, per rates adopted by the General Assembly.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> United Nations, United Nations Infantry Battalion Manual Volume I, 169-171.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> United Nations, Manual on Policies and Procedures concerning the Reimbursement and Control of Contingent-Owned Equipment of Troop/Police

In order to develop capacity to deploy missions rapidly, DPKO has established several mechanisms. Initially the United Nations Stand-by Arrangements System (UNSAS) with Member States was used. In July 2015 the system was replaced with the Peacekeeping Capability Readiness System (PCRS), which maintains strategic deployment stocks (SDS) at the UN logistics base in Brindisi, Italy, and uses the authority of the Secretary-General to commit needed funds before a peacekeeping operation has actually been authorized.<sup>73</sup>

# Leadership and Education

Since UN PKOs are multinational in nature, the leaders need to consider the tenets of multinational operations as respect, rapport, knowledge of partners, patience, mission focus, trust, and confidence to enable mission success.<sup>74</sup> Leaders need also to adhere to the principles of UN peacekeeping as consent of the parties, impartiality, and non-use of force except in self-defense and defense of the mandate.

For the purpose of education, United Nations Peacekeeping Resource Hub provides training material for conducting pre-deployment training for the TCCs. Courses for pre-deployment training must be conducted by member states or associated peacekeeping training institutions (PKTI.) If conducted by member states, they should

*Contributors Participating in Peacekeeping Missions*, 2017, accessed 09 April 2019, https://police.un.org/sites/default/files/fpu\_coe\_manual\_2017.pdf, 6-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> United Nations, *Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations*, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> U.S. Department of Defense, Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), Joint Publication (JP) 3-16, *Multinational Operations* (Washington, DC: Government Publishing Directorate, 2013), I-3, 4.

send a request to Undersecretary General for peacekeeping operations to get a training recognition of the course.<sup>75</sup> Also, there are numerous training institutions in different countries in the world offering training courses. The list of peacekeeping training institutions and training courses offered can be accessed at United Nations Dag Hammarskjold Library.<sup>76</sup>

# Facilities

During the deployment, UNMEM personnel, after initial days in the mission area may be required to make his or her own arrangements for accommodations. In some cases, the UNMEM could be housed in field accommodations (e.g. tents.)<sup>77</sup>

Military units in the first six months of arrival are expected to be self-sustainable in the category of tentage as per *Contingent Owned Equipment (COE) Manual.*<sup>78</sup> Normally, the UN will provide hard walled/semi-rigid accommodation to all contingents. However, the TCC may elect to provide this self-sustainment capability to their contingents themselves. To receive the accommodation reimbursement rate, the TCC must purchase or construct permanent rigid structures to accommodate the contingent's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> United Nations, SOP Training Recognition, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> "List of Peacekeeping Training Institutions," Dag Hammarskjold Library, accessed 22 March 2019, http://dag.un.org/handle/11176/90517.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup>United Nations, United Nations DPKO / DFS UNMEM Manual, 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> United Nations, *Generic Guidelines for Troop Contributing Countries Deploying Military Units to the United Nations Peacekeeping Missions*, 2008, accessed 09 April 2019, http://dag.un.org/bitstream/handle/11176/387419/CopyofTCCGeneric GuidelinesApprovedsigned7March2008.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y, 22.

personnel, fixed with heating or air conditioners, lighting, flooring, sanitation and running water, and furniture where necessary for eating facilities and office and workspaces.<sup>79</sup>

Staff officers are responsible for their own boarding and lodging. Depending upon the security situation and availability of local resources staff officers may be required to live and eat in UN provided accommodation and catering facilities.<sup>80</sup>

# Policy

The United Nations has established peacekeeping as a tool used by the international community to manage complex crises that pose a threat to international peace and security. UN DPKO and UN DFS with the major reform effort, "Peace Operations 2010," aimed at strengthening and professionalizing the planning, management and conduct of United Nations peacekeeping operations.<sup>81</sup> The latest initiative from UN Secretary-General, "Action for Peacekeeping (A4,)", launched on 28 March 2018, is to establish a shared understanding of the achievements and challenges of peacekeeping, as well as to renew the individual and collective commitments of MS to strengthen peacekeeping operations on the ground.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>80</sup> United Nations, Generic Guidelines for Troop Contributing Countries Deploying Military Units to the United Nations Peacekeeping Missions, 22.

<sup>81</sup> United Nations, United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> United Nations, United Nations Infantry Battalion Manual Volume I, 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> "GA73 High-Level Meeting on Action for Peacekeeping," United Nations Peacekeeping, accessed 17 March 2019, https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/ga73-high-levelmeeting-action-peacekeeping.

## Force Generation in UN-led PKO

Preparation for participation in UN-led PKOs starts early in the process of establishing a peacekeeping operation. When the Security Council passes a resolution to establish a peacekeeping operation, UN member states are asked to contribute military troops and civilian police, if required, as well as supplies, equipment, transportation, and logistical support.<sup>83</sup> Deployed military personnel remain members of their own national establishments but serve under the operational control of the UN, wearing its national uniform and UN blue helmets or berets and the UN insignia.<sup>84</sup> As the UN General assembly has set a goal to establish a peacekeeping mission within 30 days and a complex mission within 90 days of the authorization of a Security Council mandate, UNSAS allows DPKO to know ahead of time what types of contributions countries are willing to make on short notice.<sup>85</sup> Force generation in UN peacekeeping occurs as new missions are established, but also as ongoing missions rotate, downsize, or reconfigure.<sup>86</sup>

The process for deployment of UNMEM personnel begins during the planning phase of a new peacekeeping mission when the OMA informally contacts the Permanent Mission of MS to seek their contribution to the proposed UNPKO. If an agreement is reached, the OMA will forward a Note Verbale to concerning countries to provide

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> United Nations, *Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations*, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> United Nations, *Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations*, 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Nilsson and Wiklund, *Looking to Contribute - a Guide to the UN Force Generation System for Prospective Troop Contributors*, 15.

UNMEM, stating the number of UNMEM personnel needed, required ranks, qualifications, and additional requirements.<sup>87</sup> UNMEM personnel, when all selection criteria is met, must be ready for deployment on short notice. Administration and logistic preparations are similar to other deployments on a mission, that consist of obtaining travel documents, visas, medical documents, travel arrangements and preparation of clothing and equipment.

The process of deployment for formed military infantry units follows a similar path as for UNMEM personnel. The Security Council passes a resolution authorizing the operation's deployment, and determines its size and mandate. As part of the CONOPS, military capabilities and composition of the force is stated in the Statement of Force Requirements (SFR.) Following the SFR, the Statement of Unit Requirements (SUR) is produced for each unit of the force. The SUR includes mission, tasks, organization, equipment, and personnel.<sup>88</sup> Sequence of force generation process is shown in Figure 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> United Nations, United Nations DPKO / DFS UNMEM Manual, 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> United Nations, United Nations Infantry Battalion Manual Volume I, 48.



Figure 3. Sequence of Generating Units

Source: United Nations, United Nations Infantry Battalion Manual Volume I, 2012, accessed 09 April 2019, https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/peacekeeping/en/UNIBAM.Vol.I.pdf, 49.

Based on MS interests to participate in the mission, DPKO/OMA starts the generation through the UNSAS database, where an updated record of pledges, made by interested TCCs, is maintained. If selected, the TCC submits a Table of Organization and Equipment (TOE) and staff-list and DPKO confirms the acceptance of the pledge/offer.<sup>89</sup>

In the planning and generation phase, DPKO with TCC representatives will conduct a TCC reconnaissance visit in the mission area. The purpose of a TCC reconnaissance is to determine how the ground directly affects the contingent's capability

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> United Nations, United Nations Infantry Battalion Manual Volume I, 49.

to undertake the tasks given in the mission CONOPS.<sup>90</sup> Detailed procedures for planning, implementing, and reporting of a contributing country reconnaissance visit in the mission area is described in *Planning and Implementing Contributing Country Reconnaissance Visit.*<sup>91</sup>

Next in the generating the forces phase are discussions and preparation of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the TCC and UN DFS. Signing the MOU prior to deployment, the TCC and the UN specify the obligations of each party with regard to personnel, major equipment, and self-sustainment. The UN has provided a generic model of MOU in chapter nine in their *Manual on Policies and Procedures concerning the Reimbursement and Control of Contingent-Owned Equipment (COE) of Troop/Police Contributors Participating in Peacekeeping Missions*.<sup>92</sup> Before the TCC deploys in the mission area, UN DFS representatives perform a pre-deployment visit to the TCC. A pre-deployment visit is undertaken in order to ensure that Member State contributions meet the operational requirements of the mission and deployment timings, but it also helps TCC to evaluate its readiness and identifies issues to be solved before the contingent has deployed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> United Nations, Generic Guidelines for Troop Contributing Countries Deploying Military Units to the United Nations Peacekeeping Missions, 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> United Nations, *SOP Planning and Implementing Contributing Country Reconnaissance Visit,* 2005, accessed 09 April 2019, https://police.un.org/sites/default/ files/fpu\_sop\_recce\_2005.pdf 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> United Nations, Manual on Policies and Procedures concerning the Reimbursement and Control of Contingent-Owned Equipment of Troop/Police Contributors Participating in Peacekeeping Missions, 174.

The final step before deployment is the organization of movement of the COE and personnel from their home country into the mission area and respective AOR. The Movement Control Section of DFS is in charge of the coordination of transportation for deployment, rotation, and repatriation. The normal mode of transport will be air for personnel, and sea for equipment. Field Mission Movement Control Sections is responsible for movements within the mission area between the airport or seaport of disembarkation and the unit's AOR.<sup>93</sup>

## <u>ARM Current Capabilities (DOTMLPF-P)</u>

Primarily, the *White Paper on Defense* from 2012 and the *Strategic Defense Review 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia* provide sufficient information for conducting DOTMLP-F analysis of the ARM capabilities for UN-led PKOs. The Macedonian Army has a significant contribution in NATO-led Non-article 5 Crisis Response Operations (CRO.) Non-Article 5 CRO are operations that cover all military operations conducted by NATO in a non-Article 5 situation.<sup>94</sup> A "crisis response" or "peace-support operation" are generic terms that may include conflict prevention, peacekeeping, peacemaking, peace building, peace enforcement, and humanitarian operations. These are multifunctional operations conducted in support of a UN Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) mandate or at the invitation of a sovereign government. These involve military forces and diplomatic and humanitarian agencies and are designed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> United Nations, Generic Guidelines for Troop Contributing Countries Deploying Military Units to the United Nations Peacekeeping Missions, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> "Crisis Management," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, accessed 24 March 2019, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics\_49192.htm.

to achieve long-term political settlement or other conditions specified in the mandate.<sup>95</sup>

The Macedonian Army's previous contribution was in these operations, and has

developed capabilities across the DOTMLPF domain for these operations.

## Doctrine

The Doctrine of the Macedonian Army, mentioned previously, is classified, so reasonable assumptions will be presented supported with facts. Doctrine is being developed to enable accomplishment of the mission tasks of the ARM. The mission of the ARM is:

As an armed force of the Republic of Macedonia, it is being organized, trained and prepared to conduct armed combat, military and other actions to achieve its constitutional role and function of defense of the Republic of Macedonia, as well as protection of the territorial integrity and independence, fulfils all national and international commitments, contributes to the global security systems, international missions and protection of wider national interests.<sup>96</sup>

ARM mission last tasks, "contributes to the global security systems, international missions and protection of wider national interests" indicates that, ARM has developed doctrine for conducting operations in the international environment. Also, previous participation in NATO-led CRO, indicates that Macedonian Army doctrine is developed to support execution of peace operations. Furthermore, current participation with one staff officer and two service members as a part of the Italian contingent of UNIFIL is an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> "Crisis Management," North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> "ARM Mission," Army of the Republic of Macedonia, accessed 19 March 2019, http://www.arm.mil.mk/generalshtab/?lang=en.

indication Macedonian doctrine has been developed for participation with staff officers in UN-led PKOs.

## Personnel and Organization

As of June 2018, over 4,000 Macedonian Army personnel have participated in ongoing or completed international operations and activities. These participations include over 2,700 personnel in ISAF mission, around 490 personnel in Operation Iraqi Freedom, more than 280 personnel in the EU-led Operation ALTHEA in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and others in UNIFIL, and Resolute Support in Afghanistan.<sup>97</sup>

The Macedonian Army's current structure follows the guidance set by the "White Paper on Defense" issued by the Ministry of Defense in 2012.<sup>98</sup> The Joint Operational Command (JOC,) the Training and Doctrine Command, the Special Operations Regiment, Honours Battalion, and the Electronic Warfare Centre are under direct command of the ARM General Staff.<sup>99</sup> The JOC commands the following units: Mechanized Infantry Brigade, Air Force Brigade, Logistics Brigade, Military Police Battalion, Signal Battalion, and Active Reserve Forces. The First Mechanized Infantry Brigade is the main combat force of the ARM and provides forces prepared to execute

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, *Strategic Defense Review* 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia, 18-20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> "Структура на Армијата" ("Structure of the ARM"), Army of the Republic of Macedonia, accessed 24 March 2019, http://www.arm.mil.mk/struktura-na-arm/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Ministry of Defense of the Republic of North Macedonia, *White Paper on Defense*, 36.

the Army mission. It participates in peace operations and fulfils the international obligations abroad.<sup>100</sup> Organizational structure of the ARM is shown in Figure 3.<sup>101</sup>



Figure 4. Organizational Structure of the ARM

*Source*: Ministry of Defense of the Republic of North Macedonia, *White Paper on Defense*, 2012, accessed 09 April 2019, http://www.morm.gov.mk/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/WHITE-PAPER-OF-DEFENCE.pdf, 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Ministry of Defense of the Republic of North Macedonia, *White Paper on Defense*, 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Ibid., 37.

As envisioned in the *White Paper on Defense* from 2012, the ARM by 2015 will have a more efficient organizational structure, be more mobile, and will comprise 50 percent of deployable interoperable military capabilities.<sup>102</sup> *Strategic Defense Review 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia* has projected the new organizational structure "Future Force 2028" to be reduced from 8,167 to around 6,800 active personnel.<sup>103</sup> A Motorized Infantry Brigade of 4 Infantry battalions with integral combat support and combat service support, will provide the primary combat and maneuver element of the ARM. Only a single active company will be retained for armor and artillery.<sup>104</sup> Based on the current and future projection of the personnel and organizational structure of ARM, it can be assumed that there will be no reduction of personnel and capabilities in the infantry units. Organizational future structure of the ARM is shown in Figure 4.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Ministry of Defense of the Republic of North Macedonia, *White Paper on Defense*, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, *Strategic Defense Review* 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia, 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Ibid., 54.



Figure 5. Future Structure of the Army of the Republic of Macedonia

*Source*: Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, *Strategic Defense Review* 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia (Skopje: Republic of North Macedonia, June 2018), accessed 09 April 2019, http://morm.gov.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/SDR-Paper-dated-05-July-2018.pdf, 51.

According the *White Paper on Defense* from 2012, one of the current and planned ARM priorities, missions, and tasks is "Contribution to the broad spectrum of peace support operations led by the UN, NATO, EU or friendly coalitions."<sup>106</sup> In the *Strategic Defense Review 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia* one of the six primary defense

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Ministry of Defense of the Republic of North Macedonia, *White Paper on Defense*, 36.
objectives is "Participating in international efforts to build and preserve peace. We will develop forces and capabilities in accordance with our national security interests and international commitments."<sup>107</sup> Execution of these goals manifested itself with the ARM's participation in international peace operations as NATO led: ISAF, Resolute Support, and KFOR with its Host Nation Support Coordination Centre; EU-led: ALTHEA; and UN-led: UNIFIL. ARM also participated in the US-led coalition in Iraqi Freedom. Level of participation with personnel in these operations is shown in Figure 5.



Figure 6. ARM Contribution to International Operations 2002-2017

*Source*: Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, *Strategic Defense Review* 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia (Skopje: Republic of North Macedonia, June 2018), accessed 09 April 2019, http://morm.gov.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/SDR-Paper-dated-05-July-2018.pdf, 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, *Strategic Defense Review* 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia, 15.

With an intent to follow the obligations and responsibilities that come with NATO membership, the Republic of Macedonia has outlined a plan in the *White Paper on Defense* from 2012, and acknowledged in the *Strategic Defense Review 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia,* to develop and sustain the following army units and capabilities for NATO led operations:

1. One Medium Infantry Battalion, to be transformed into a Medium Infantry Battalion Group, by the beginning of 2015;

2. Two transport helicopters;

3. One Military Police Company;

- 4. One Long-range Reconnaissance Company;
- 5. One Role 2 Medical Treatment Facility, as of 2014;
- 6. One Engineering Platoon;
- 7. One Engineering Demining Team; and,
- 8. Two Special Operations Teams.<sup>108</sup>

In addition, in the Strategic Defense Review 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia,

the Ministry of Defense declared the following units to be available for EU-led

operations:

- 1. One Light Infantry Company;
- 2. One MP platoon; and,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Ministry of Defense of the Republic of North Macedonia, *White Paper on Defense*, 40.

3. Medical Team (Role 1.)<sup>109</sup>

Furthermore, the Ministry of Defense has committed to participate in South-Eastern Europe Brigade (SEEBRIG), which is the military element of the South Eastern Europe Defense Ministerial (SEEDM) process. This brigade is designed to be available for possible employment in UN or OSCE-mandated conflict prevention or peace support missions, led by the NATO or the EU. The Macedonian contingent is comprised of a mechanized infantry company, an engineer platoon, combat service support, and staff elements.<sup>110</sup>

Participation in UN-led PKOs, remains a goal, and in 2018 participation was increased with two additional members in the UNIFIL mission, thus participating with three military members.

# Leadership, Training, and Education

As an essential requirement, set by the Ministry of Defense, for establishing and maintaining modern and capable armed forces is the recruitment and retention of high quality and motivated personnel, with appropriate terms and conditions of service, and provided with necessary training and equipment.<sup>111</sup> With regard to training and education, the Military Academy General Mihailo Apostolski, provides a range of accredited courses for ARM officers. The Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, *Strategic Defense Review* 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia, 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Ibid., 40.

provides training for NCOs and enlisted personnel and also offers a range of courses.<sup>112</sup> Individual and collective training also benefits from NATO support and guidance and includes training courses and exercises offered by both NATO HQ and individual NATO countries.<sup>113</sup> As a part of the NATO Defense Education Enhancement Program (DEEP), the Ministry of Defense expects this program to improve the quality of the defense education institutions, particularly the Military Academy. A Training Needs Analysis (TNA) of the Military Academy and TRADOC will be conducted by June 2019, with a focus on the structure, courses, curricula, and will include their relevance to current and future needs of defense and the future structure of the ARM.<sup>114</sup>

## Material

Much ARM equipment was inherited from the former Yugoslavia or donated by partners. As a result, much of the equipment is obsolete and incompatible with NATO and requires modernization. The extensive range of combat and especially non-combat vehicles within the Defense inventory is impractical, especially for the purposes of maintenance, and the acquisition and storage of spare parts.<sup>115</sup> Replacement of current equipment and necessary updates will be conducted after the General Staff submits a proposal for future material needs of the ARM, and their related priority to the MOD,

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, *Strategic Defense Review* 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia, 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Ibid., 42.

which is scheduled by the end of September 2018. Priority will be accorded to those units and capabilities declared available for NATO, particularly infantry fighting vehicles and armored personnel carriers, tactical communications systems, engineer equipment, improved cyber-defense capabilities, military transport vehicles, and an enhanced indirect fire capability.<sup>116</sup>

# Facilities

ARM facilities and infrastructure are used for a variety of functions and includes garrisons with troop accommodations and working areas, and sites and facilities for training, storage, maintenance, border protection, and a variety of other tasks.<sup>117</sup> The ARM utilizes the training area at Krivolak to execute different types of tactical exercises and live shooting. The area is used for pre-deployment training of the units participating in international operations.<sup>118</sup>

# Policy

As NATO and EU membership are stated as vital interests in strategic documents, much of the focus for involvement in international operations is on NATO- and EU-led operations. Moreover, according to the *Strategic Defense Review 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia*, the greatest number of units and personnel are declared for NATO-led

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, *Strategic Defense Review* 2018 of the Republic of Macedonia, 43-44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Ministry of Defense of the Republic of North Macedonia, *White Paper on Defense*, 39.

operations and lesser number for EU-led operations. Even though it is of great interest that Macedonia participates in international operations to build and preserve peace, it is not clearly defined in what kind of operations. One of the latest government documents that supports greater involvement in UN-led PKOs is the *Annual National Programme of the Republic of Macedonia for NATO Membership 2017/2018*. This document states "The Republic of Macedonia makes efforts to increase its contribution to UN peace operations, as well as its capacities for providing humanitarian and development assistance."<sup>119</sup> A decision for sending ARM units in operations abroad are brought by the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia.<sup>120</sup>

# Shortfalls

A comparative analysis across the DOTMLPF-P domains of the UN standards and the current state of the Macedonian Army suggests the following shortfalls exist and must be resolved in order to create conditions for greater participation in UN-led PKOs.

<u>Doctrine</u>. Previous experience in NATO-led CROs and engagement with UN staff officers suggests that certain guidance, principles, and procedures have been developed for this type of engagement. Based on that, it can be assumed doctrine has to be developed and existing doctrine must be revised to include engagement with other types

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of North Macedonia, *Annual National Programme of the Republic of Macedonia for NATO Membership 2017/2018* (Skopje: Republic of North Macedonia, November 2017), accessed 09 April 2019, http://www.mfa.gov.mk/images/stories/GNP/GNP-2017-2018-MNR-web.pdf, 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, *Закон за Одбрана* (Law on Defense), Article 7, Paragraph 7, 27 December 2011, accessed 26 April, 2019, http://morm.gov.mk/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Zakon-za-odbrana-Precisten-tekst-fev-2017.pdf.

of UNMEM personnel and formed military units, in order to align with the requirements of UN-led peacekeepers.

<u>Personnel and Organization</u>. There are no shortfalls identified, based on the fact the Macedonian Army has staff officers and infantry units in its organizational structure, that can be assigned as UNMEM personnel or as a UN infantry unit. The structure of the declared (identified for deployment) infantry units for UN-led PKOs should be based on the UN's recommended infantry unit structure. Based on the force generation model for UN-led PKOs and procedures for TCC, there is a need to assign appropriate departments in the Ministry of Defense and General Staff of ARM to be responsible for UN-led operations. These departments, with supporting policies, guidance, and manuals, will facilitate and lead the processes of deployment, sustainment, and redeployment of Macedonian contingents in UN-led PKOs.

Leadership, Training and Education. Previous Macedonian Army members' experiences in multinational environments assumes there are no shortfalls in the leadership domain of DOTMLPF-P analysis and leaders are prepared to lead the assigned mission. UNMEM personnel and staff officers may have pre-deployment training in national or regional training institutions. If the decision is to have training in national training institutions, courses must be developed at the Military Academy "General Mihailo Apostolski" or at TRADOC, according to UN training guidelines and needs to receive official training recognition by the DPKO. Based on previous experience in NATO-led CRO and because the training of UN infantry battalions is a national responsibility, it can be concluded that training manuals and plans must be revised to meet the parameters set by ITS/DPKO. In coordination with ITS/DPKO, in the preparation phase, prior to deployment, training can be adjusted to meet specific mission requirements.

<u>Materiel</u>. Based on UN material requirements for UNMEM personnel, consisting of national uniform, and personal and protective equipment, it can be concluded there are no material shortfalls for UNMEM personnel. Regarding UN infantry units, material requirements are stated in the TOE for UN Infantry battalions. The types and pieces of equipment the infantry unit requires should be acquired or allocated to the units identified to participate in UN-led PKOs and be part of their TOE.

<u>Facilities</u>. In the domain of DOTMLPF-P analysis, shortfalls will be addressed on the required facilities to support all activities in home country for allocation, preparation, and deployment of national contingents to UN-led PKOs. In the mission area, staff officers and UNMEM personnel can be accommodated by their own arrangements, or in field accommodations. Deployed infantry units can be accommodated in hard walled accommodations provided by UN or in field accommodations. Based on ARM DOTMLPF-P analysis, it can be concluded that there are no shortfalls in this domain. In the home country, existing installations can be used for accommodation of the declared units and personnel for UN-led PKOs and the existing training area Krivolak can be used for conducting training activities.

<u>Policy</u>. Increased ARM participation in UN-led PKOs is aligned with current country policy for involvement in international operations, however it is a lower priority than NATO and EU. As an important national interest, Macedonia will participate in international efforts to build and preserve peace, but it is not clearly stated in what kind of operations. Commitment to participate in NATO-led and EU-led PKOs is clearly

69

declared with units are assigned operations; but on the other hand, the commitment to contribute to UN-led PKOs is not clear. Based on that, a shortfall exists in there is no developed national strategy for participation in UN-led PKOs. Enhancing ARM capabilities with participation in UN-led PKOs, can be beneficial to increase the ARM readiness and achieve the goals for NATO and EU.

<u>Force generation</u>. The Republic of Macedonia and ARM have made significant contributions to NATO-led operations and experiences in the force generation process in the past. Differences in the force generation process exist between the NATO and UN systems. NATO-led force generation relies on so-called force generation conferences while UN-led force generation relies on a system in which contributions are negotiated individually with each TCC. This indicates diplomatic and military departments at the strategic and operational level need to have a solid understanding of the processes for planning and generating forces in UN-led operations.<sup>121</sup>

## Other Countries' Experience in UN-led PKO (Slovakia and Serbia)

As it was mentioned in chapter two, Slovakia and Serbia were selected as countries from the former Eastern European bloc, that have the largest contribution in UN-led PKOs based on their population and number of active military personnel in UNled PKOs. The level of participation in UN-led PKOs of the countries from the former Eastern European bloc is shown in Figure 5, as of 28 January 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Nilsson and Wiklund, *Looking to Contribute - a Guide to the UN Force Generation System for Prospective Troop Contributors*, 8.





*Source*: Created by author using data from Central Intelligence Agency, "Country Comparison: Population," The World Factbook, accessed 28 January 2019, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2119rank.html; United Nations, "Contributions by Country," accessed 28 January 2019, https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/1\_summary\_of\_contributions\_10.pdf.

An analysis of these countries' contribution, motives to participate, and lessons

learned in UN-led PKOs helped inform this research.

## Slovakia

Slovakia became a NATO member country in 2004 and joined the European

Union in the same year. Slovakia's current defense efforts are on course to develop

Slovakian armed forces capabilities for national defense, by taking part in joint rapid

reaction forces, and contributing to NATO-led missions, EU military missions, and

operations abroad.<sup>122</sup> In UN-led PKOs, Slovakia has been involved as a part of the former

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic, *White Paper on Defense of the Slovak Republic*, 2016, accessed 19 April 2019, https://www.mod.gov.sk/data/WPDSR2016\_HQ.pdf.

Czechoslovakia and after its disintegration in 1993, it continued participating in these operations. As part of Czechoslovakia, its participation started with monitoring the ceasefire in Korea, continued with the mission to observe the election process in Namibia, participation in the UN mission in Somalia, and participation in UNPKOs in former Yugoslavia.<sup>123</sup> The commitment to participate in UN-led PKOs continued after Slovakia gained its independence. Slovakian soldiers were involved in Liberia, Uganda, Rwanda, Middle East, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Cyprus, and East Timor.<sup>124</sup> As of 31 March, Slovakia's contribution to UN-led PKOs consisted of 233 contingent troops and 8 staff officers in the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNIFCYP) and two experts on mission in the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO.)<sup>125</sup>

The motivation for Slovakia to participate in UN-led PKOs arose from its strategic documents and is perceived as a tool for implementing its security policy. Furthermore, the Defense Strategy from 2005 confirms the engagement of Slovakia in settling conflicts in unstable parts of the world is in accordance with the country's security interests. As claimed in the Security Strategy from 2005, "prevailing regional conflicts threaten not only the regional stability but also security in the Euro-Atlantic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Kriz and Urbanovska, "Slovakia in UN Peacekeeping Operations," 376-377.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Ibid., 377-380.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> "Troop and Police Contributors," United Nations Peacekeeping.

space."<sup>126</sup> Doctrine states the decision to make the contribution is affected by evaluating the benefit of such a step from the national political and military perspective.<sup>127</sup>

These benefits are reflected as gaining experience in multinational operations, increasing language skills, experiences and qualification of personnel, and increasing the quality of implementing operation tasks in the armed forces. Further benefits include establishing contacts with members of the armed forces from cooperating countries, and testing soldiers' psychological traits to fulfill tasks in combat conditions.<sup>128</sup> In addition, to creating a positive image of Slovakia abroad, Slovak participation in UN peacekeeping has affected national economic interests, by establishing economic relations between Slovakia and the countries in which peacekeeping operations with Slovak participation are conducted.<sup>129</sup> Due to its dedicated contribution in UN-led PKOs, Slovakia gained the status of non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for years 2006–2007. A lesson learned from its participation is the need to have forces deployed in lesser parts of the world. The excessive geographic broadness of the Slovak Republic's involvement led to the deployment of a great number of small troops, which imposed extraordinary demands on their maintenance in operations, preparation, staff recruitment, and their logistic support.<sup>130</sup> Lastly, it can be deduced that Slovakia with its participation in UN-

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., 390.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Kriz and Urbanovska, "Slovakia in UN Peacekeeping Operations," 382.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Ibid., 382-383.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Ibid., 383.

led PKOs, aimed to improve its image in the world, gain economic interests, and enable a multinational experience of its armed forces.

#### Serbia

Serbia, like Slovakia, aspired to continue its involvement in UN-led PKOs as a successor of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a founding country of the UN and active contributor in UN-led PKOs until its disintegration in 1991.<sup>131</sup> The Republic of Serbia is an EU candidate country and it declared itself militarily neutral with a resolution brought by the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia in 2007.<sup>132133</sup> As militarily neutral Serbia doesn't aspire to become a NATO country, but has established cooperation with NATO and in 2006 joined the Partnership for Peace (PfP) program and the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC.)<sup>134</sup> Serbian strategic documents define the mission of the Serbian Army and one of the tasks is to participate in building and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Mileva M. Zotovic. "Допринос Војске Србије Изградњи и Очувању Мира у Свету" ("Contribution of the Serbian Armed Forces to Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping in the World"), University of Belgrade, Faculty of Security Studies, Belgrade, 2018, accessed 10 April 2019, https://uvidok.rcub.bg.ac.rs/bitstream/handle/123456789/2773/ Doktorat.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y. 110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Ibid., 103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> "Candidate Countries and Potential Candidates," European Commission, accessed 27 April 2019, http://ec.europa.eu/environment/enlarg/candidates.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> "Relations with Serbia," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, accessed 27 April 2019, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics\_50100.htm.

preserving peace in the region and in the world, with an emphasis on UN-led PKOs and EU-led PKOs.<sup>135</sup>

Participation in UN-led PKOs began in 2002 as a part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with sending military observers.<sup>136</sup> As of 11 March 2017, Serbia was involved in eight UN-led PKOs, in Ivory Coast, DR Congo, Liberia, Cyprus, Lebanon, Middle East, Central African Republic, and Haiti.<sup>137</sup> As of 27 April 2019, Serbia participated with 3 staff officers, 2 experts on mission, and 68 contingent troop members in the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA.) In addition, Serbia contributed 1 staff officer in the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO,) 2 staff officers in the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP,) 2 staff officers and 175 contingent troops members in the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and 2 experts on mission in the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO.)<sup>138</sup>

Motivations for involvement in UN-led PKOs originate from the country's interests to establish itself in the international community as a country that contributes to the security in the region and the world. Determination to be an active contributor led in establishing a Peacekeeping Operations Center (PKOC) in 2003 and changing and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Zotovic, "Contribution of the Serbian Armed Forces to Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping in the World," 130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Ibid., 113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> "Troop and Police Contributors," United Nations Peacekeeping.

approving legal acts in support of PKOs in 2004.<sup>139</sup> The PKOC is an organization directly subordinated to the Joint Operations Command of the Serbian Armed Forces General Staff. The organization is charge of the training, selection, equipping, preparation, and deployment of individuals and units from the Ministry of Defense and the Serbian Armed Forces to multinational operations outside the borders of the Republic of Serbia. The PKOC is a full member of the European Association of Peace Operations Training Centers (EAPTC) and the International Association of Peacekeeping Operations Training Centers (IAPTC.)<sup>140</sup> Conditions for increased participation in PKOs were established in 2009, after approving a package of laws. These laws include the Strategy for National Security of the Republic of Serbia, Strategy for Defense of the Republic of Serbia, a modified Law on Defense, and most important was the adoption of the Law on the use of the Serbian Army in Multinational Operations.<sup>141</sup> Serbian armed forces are deployed in PKOs based on an approved annual plan for participation of armed forces, prepared and executed by the Ministry of Defense.<sup>142</sup> Besides training conducted in national training centers, there were preparations executed in partner countries in UN operations. Examples include preparations of infantry platoons by key personnel in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Zotovic. "Contribution of the Serbian Armed Forces to Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping in the World,' 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> "Peacekeeping Operations Center," Serbian Armed Forces, accessed 27 April 2019, http://www.vs.rs/en/units/serbian-armed-forces/general-staff/DCHOD/joint-operations-command/peacekeeping-operations-centre.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Zotovic. "Contribution of the Serbian Armed Forces to Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping in the World,' 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Ibid., 140.

Hungary and Slovakia for UNFICYP missions and preparations of key personnel in Spain for UNIFIL missions.

For the purpose of this thesis, it is valuable to mention the experiences the Serbian Army had on their path to increased participation in UN-led PKOs. These experiences can be taken into consideration in developing COAs for increased participation of the Macedonian Army in UN-led PKOs.

Participation in UNFICYP started in 2010 with the deployment of seven members (staff officer and infantry squad) in Hungary's part of the Slovakian-Hungarian Contingent. In 2011, participation was increased with military observers and an infantry platoon. In 2017, there were 46 army members in this mission, 37 in an infantry platoon, 6 patrol members, 2 military observers, and 1 staff officer.<sup>143</sup>

Participation in UNIFIL missions started in 2010, with 5 staff officers based on a technical agreement between the Ministries of Defense of the Republic of Serbia and Kingdom of Spain. In 2012, participation was increased with an infantry platoon, preparing and training in Serbia with additional training in Spain for two months. In 2013, an infantry platoon was substituted with an infantry company and in 2014 an additional staff officer and 1 force protection platoon were deployed as part of a national contingent in this operation. This contingent, in 2018, counted 177 army personnel, 130 in an infantry company, 33 in a force protection platoon, 9 staff officers and 5 army members as part of the national support element.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Zotovic. "Contribution of the Serbian Armed Forces to Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping in the World," 227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> Ibid., 232-233.

Participation in UNTSO started in 2012 with a military observer after signing a bilateral agreement with Austria, that temporary turned over to Serbia one of the six positions for military observers.<sup>145</sup>

Based on previous experiences, it can be concluded that Serbian participation in UN-led PKOs started with significant participation as part of a leading nation. This participation, throughout the years, has gradually increased in numbers and functions executed in deployed UN-led PKOs, making it be one of the major TCC from Europe.

# Advantages and Disadvantages of Participating in UN-led PKOs

The commitment to be a part of an ongoing effort, such as UN peacekeeping, is normally aligned with the interests of the participant country but on the other hand it assumes the risks emerging from that particular participation and support. Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams in their thematic report, *Broadening the Base of United Nations Troop- and Police-Contributing Countries*, provide several rationales why countries decide to participate in UN-led PKOs. They are political, economic, security, institutional, and normative rationales.

Political rationales for contributing to UN peacekeeping can be in different forms. Peacekeeping contributions may be perceived as a means of enhancing the country's "national prestige." Participation also provides access to privileged information about a particular mission.<sup>146</sup> For countries as the Republic of North Macedonia, that have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Zotovic. "Contribution of the Serbian Armed Forces to Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping in the World," 237-238.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Bellamy and Williams, *Broadening the Base of United Nations Troop- and Police- Contributing Countries, Providing for Peacekeeping No. 1*, 3-4.

benefitted from hosting peacekeeping operations like UNPREDEP, providing peacekeepers might represent a way of repaying international society for those earlier efforts. Greater ARM involvement in UN-led PKOs will certainly bring the Republic of North Macedonia greater respect and authority in international institutions, especially the UN.

Economic rationales stem from the desire to benefit or even profit financially from the activity in UN-led PKOs. This benefit can be gained by UN compensation payments for the involved forces and individuals, and by national companies from the UN procurement contracts. The Republic of North Macedonia with a commitment to engage small units in UN-led PKOs cannot expect to have significant financial benefits. These benefits however can be gained by personnel involved in UN operations. Currently, the Republic of North Macedonia has an average monthly net salary per employee of 24,192.00 Macedonian Denar or \$431.51 USD (as of 05 May 2019.)<sup>147</sup> The UN reimburses the TCC for their engaged personnel with \$1,410 USD per person per month.<sup>148</sup> These financial assets, if the TCC decides to allocate to each engaged person in the operation, can contribute to the motivation of army personnel to participate in UN-led

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> "Average Monthly Net Wage Paid per Employee," State Statistical Office of the Republic of North Macedonia, accessed 05 May 2019, http://www.stat.gov.mk/ PrikaziSoopstenie\_en.aspx?id=40&rbr=2947.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> "Deployment and Reimbursement," United Nations Peacekeeping, accessed 05 May 2019, https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/deployment-and-reimbursement.

PKOs. UNMEM will receive mission subsistence allowance (MSA) for their living expenses incurred in the field.<sup>149</sup>

Security rationales for contributing to UN peacekeeping include the assessments made by countries when they believe it is "decidedly in their national security interests." Thus, the level of perceived threat posed by a particular conflict or crisis is assumed to be a major driver of decisions to provide peacekeepers.<sup>150</sup> As an example, Macedonian President Ivanov during his annual speech in the Macedonian Assembly in 2017, recommended that one of the tasks of the ARM should be participation in UN-led peacekeeping operations in regions where threats originate from illegal migration.

As an explanation for institutional rationale, contributing to peacekeeping operations is perceived as attractive because it provides "invaluable overseas experience" for the personnel concerned. Normative reasons include the countries commitments to portray themselves in the international community as "good international citizens."<sup>151</sup>

Despite the rationales for participation in UN-led PKOs, other factors influence potential TCC unwillingness to contribute to these operations. The ARM as a participant in NATO-led operations, conducted operations in the NATO mission area. Often, UN standards do not meet the requirements for mission support; for example, in many western states an often mentioned concern was the access to medical care. Other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> "Mission Subsistence Allowance," United Nations Salaries, Allowances, Benefits and Job Descriptions, accessed 05 May 2019, https://www.un.org/Depts/OHRM/ salaries\_allowances/msa.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> Bellamy and Williams, *Broadening the Base of United Nations Troop- and Police- Contributing Countries, Providing for Peacekeeping No. 1*, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Ibid.

important areas where UN standards may not live up to TCCs' expectations include command and control, logistics, and communications.<sup>152</sup> The UN's decentralized chain of command that is perceived as diffuse and, at times, unreliable has been identified as one of the reasons countries are reluctant to be UN PKO TCC. The combination of this factor and the possibility of casualties in mission areas where the TCC has a low level of strategic interest makes it increasingly difficult for political leaders to justify participation in UN PKO to domestic voters.<sup>153</sup>

## Possible Solutions

Courses of action, as possible solutions for increased participation of ARM units in UN-led PKOs, will be developed based on facts obtained in the analysis previously performed.

Following the sequence of national permanent, vital, and important interests, according to *The National Conception for Security and Defense of the Republic of Macedonia,* "NATO and EU integration" is defined as of vital interest and "participation in building peace in the world" is defined as of important interest. Respectively, for to fulfill these interests there is a medium infantry battalion plus other smaller units declared (identified for deployment) for NATO-led operations, an infantry company plus additional smaller units for EU-led operations, and beside three Macedonian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> Nilsson and Wiklund, *Looking to Contribute - a Guide to the UN Force Generation System for Prospective Troop Contributors*, 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> International Peace Institute, *Being a Peacekeeper: The Challenges and Opportunities of 21st-Century Peace Operations*, 2011, accessed 09 April 2019, https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/publications/ipi\_epubmeetnote\_being\_a\_peacekeeper.pdf, 3.

peacekeepers, a commitment for greater participation in UN-led PKOs. Even though ARM participates in SEEBRIG with an infantry company plus additional smaller units, that are declared to conduct UN or OSCE-mandated NATO-led or EU-led peace operations, it is not solely declared to be led by the UN. Based on the previous information, analysis, and logic of assigning forces in fulfillment of national interests it can be concluded that the largest unit, which can be declared for UN-led PKOs can be up to a company level. Furthermore, based on the declaration made in the *White Paper on Defense* from 2012 to have 50 percent deployable interoperable military capabilities, and the size of the already-declared units in NATO, EU, and SEEBRIG, there is space left for an engagement of up to a company size unit in UN-led PKOs.

Another fact that can be taken into consideration, in developing courses of action, is the experience of other countries in UN-led PKOs. Based on their previous engagement, it can be concluded it is possible to participate in UN-led PKOs with smaller units than company size elements with a previously established cooperation with another UN partner nation already involved in UN-led PKOs.

The size of the declared (identified for deployment) unit for conducting UN-led PKOs will depend largely of the size of units in the pool of unassigned deployable forces, which, for the ARM, is estimated to be one infantry company. If the commitment is to have continuous contribution, then a rotational cycle needs to be established with one third of these forces deployed in the mission area, another third in train/ready phase in preparation to be deployed, and the last third in reset phase after redeployment from the mission area.

As a result of the analysis, the following courses of action can be developed.

<u>COA 1 (Staff Officer and UNMEM Personnel)</u>: Participation with increased numbers of staff officers and military observers.

#### COA 2 (UNMEM Personnel and Staff Officer plus Infantry Platoon):

Participation with staff officers and UNMEM personnel and continuous participation with one infantry platoon, either as part of an infantry company from a leading European country partner nation involved in current UN-led PKOs, or deployed by the UN.

#### COA 3 (UNMEM Personnel and Staff Officer plus two Infantry Platoons):

Participation with staff officers and UNMEM personnel and continuous participation with two infantry platoons, either as a part of an infantry companies from a leading European country partner nation involved in current UN-led PKO, or deployed by the UN.

These courses of action will be evaluated by the screening criteria and the evaluation criteria. In order to confirm the courses of action can solve the problem; each course of action will be evaluated by the following screening criteria.

- 1. Is it suitable? Does it solve the problem and is it legal and ethical?
- 2. Is it feasible? Does it fit within available resources?
- 3. Is it acceptable? Is it worth the cost or risk?
- 4. Is it distinguishable? Does it differ significantly from other solutions?
- Is it complete? Does it contain the critical aspects of solving the problem from start to finish?<sup>154</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> Headquarters, Department of the Army (HQDA), Field Manual (FM) 6-0 C2, *Commander and Staff Organization and Operations* (Washington, DC: Government Publishing Directorate, 2016), 4-4.

Evaluation of the courses of action according to the screening criteria is as follows:

<u>COA 1 (Staff Officer and UNMEM Personnel)</u>: Partially solves the problem, because the number of deployed staff officers and UNMEM personnel will not present a significant number. It is feasible and can be achieved after the assigned personnel conclude the required courses and preparations. This COA is acceptable and will not demand significant costs.

<u>COA 2 (UNMEM Personnel and Staff Officer plus Infantry Platoon)</u>: It solves the problem in a greater manner, because the number of deployed staff officers, UNMEM personnel and an infantry platoon, will present a substantial number. Execution will depend on if a European country partner nation agrees to have a Macedonian platoon in its UN infantry organization or on the decision for deployment made by the UN when such a need emerges. It is feasible, and can be achieved after the assigned units and personnel conclude required courses and preparations. This COA is acceptable, because it solves the problem for the invested financial expenditures.

<u>COA 3 (UNMEM Personnel and Staff Officer plus two Infantry Platoons)</u>: It solves the problem completely, because of the size and number of deployed personnel. It is not completely feasible, because of the lack of previous experience in UN-led PKOs with formed military units, and because it can be estimated that it will strain the national sustainment capabilities. Even though, deployed units are reimbursed by the UN, the time to get reimbursed and occurrence of unexpected costs may deem this course of action to be unacceptable. It is not complete, because even though it solves the problem, there is an uncertainty associated with initial costs, mainly because of the lack of previous experience. All courses of action are distinguishable by the size of planned personnel for deployment in UN-led PKO.

The relative effectiveness and efficiency of one COA relative to other COA will be measured using the previously developed evaluation criteria defined in chapter 3.

| Evaluation Criteria                                                                                                                                                                                               | Weight | COA 1 | COA 2 | COA 3 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|-------|-------|-------|
| Economic burden for national<br>budget<br>- small relative costs per function<br>per army member/unit is an<br>advantage;<br>significant relative costs per<br>function per army member/unit is<br>a disadvantage | 3      | 3(9)  | 2(6)  | 1(3)  |
| Simplicity<br>- small number of procedures is an<br>advantage;<br>significant number of procedures<br>is a disadvantage                                                                                           | 1      | 3(3)  | 2(2)  | 1(1)  |
| Advantages of peacekeeping<br>- higher is an advantage;<br>less is a disadvantage                                                                                                                                 | 2      | 1(2)  | 2(4)  | 3(6)  |
| Total                                                                                                                                                                                                             |        | 14    | 12    | 10    |

*Source:* Created by author.

The weighting of each COA according to the previously established evaluation criteria, shows that COA1 is the best followed by COA 2 and COA 3 as the least desirable. On the other hand, evaluation performed according to the screening criteria,

determined that COA 3 entirely solves the problem, and other COA partially solves the problem.

In table 4 are listed the advantages and disadvantages of each COA in regard to the screening and evaluation criteria.

| Table 4.         Advantages and Disadvantages Analysis |                                                                                                                        |                                                        |  |  |
|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|--|--|
| Course of                                              | Advantages                                                                                                             | Disadvantages                                          |  |  |
| Action                                                 |                                                                                                                        |                                                        |  |  |
| COA 1                                                  | Less costs                                                                                                             | Not complete solution for solving                      |  |  |
|                                                        |                                                                                                                        | the problem.                                           |  |  |
| COA 2                                                  | Contribution and gaining<br>experience under leading UN<br>partner nation that assumes much<br>of the responsibilities | Partially solution to the problem                      |  |  |
| COA 3                                                  | Resolves the problem<br>Improves national image in UN<br>Multinational experience                                      | Greater financial burden for supporting deployed units |  |  |

*Source:* Created by author.

This chapter provided analysis and findings from the literature review defined in chapter 2, using the methodology explained in chapter 3, to provide answers to the research questions outlined in chapter 1. The next chapter will provide conclusions and recommendations for further actions.

#### CHAPTER 5

#### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

After searching for the specific information noted in the previous chapter to answer the research questions, in this chapter, obtained findings and arguments will be summarized and assessed on how they support this thesis and the previously given initial recommendation. This chapter consists of four subchapters, the conclusion, recommendation, additional research questions, and personal learning reflection.

#### Conclusions

This research was conducted to obtain answers to the questions regarding greater participation of ARM in UN-led PKOs. The answer to the primary research question "Although the Republic of Macedonia is a member of the United Nations and aspires to play a more active role in international peacekeeping efforts, can it sustain support to UN peacekeeping operations beyond its current commitment?" is positive. The option for increased participation of ARM in UN-led PKOs is supported by the national policy and also ARM possesses capabilities for conducting this type of operations. The main requirements to achieve this goal are setting this issue higher on the priority list of the Ministry of Defense and a need to initiate the process for greater participation in UN-led PKOs.

# Recommendations

The recommendation for further action is not solely based on one of the developed courses of action, but a progressive and encompassing approach that consists of all possible courses of action. Initially increased participation can be realized by initiating COA 1 with simultaneous preparation, and setting conditions for executing COA 2. A subsequent increase in participation can be initiated when the conditions for COA 2 have been met with simultaneous preparation for the execution of COA 3. Lastly, if conditions allow, participation in UN-led PKO may be increased according to COA 3.

# Proposed Action

A recommended plan for achieving the goals, previously stated in the recommendation, will be presented with tasks and priorities. The plan will include tasks for short term (1-2 years) long term (3-5 years), and priorities A-B-C (must do, should do, nice to do.)

Short term (1-2 years):

(A) Must do:

- Develop and issue a strategy for participation in international operations (1st year.)
- Update doctrine, training manuals, and other regulations and policies in support of conducting UN-led PKOs (1st year.)
- Develop training plans and programs for pre-deployment training and establish departments in training command or military academy in charge of pre-deployment training (1st<sup>-</sup>2nd year.)
- Allocate departments accountable for force generation and sustainment of deployed personnel and units in UN PKOs (1st year.)
- 5. Survey the interest of European countries involved in UN-led PKOs for establishing cooperation and setting conditions for mutual preparation and

deployment in UN-led PKOs (1st year and continue until the task is achieved.)

- (B) Should do:
  - 1. Allocate infantry platoon and personnel (staff officers and UNMEM personnel) for preparation and deployment in UN-led PKOs (1st year.)
  - Train and educate assigned personnel and units for UN-led PKOs (2nd year.)
  - 3. Identify necessary material and equipment that needs to be acquisitioned for the infantry platoon (1st year.)
  - Start the acquisition process for identified material shortfalls (1st<sup>-</sup>2nd year.)
  - 5. Estimate and plan medium-term annual financial resources in support of the strategy for participation in international operations (1st year.)
- (C) Nice to do:
  - 1. Allocate facilities for accommodation, training, and storage of declared units and equipment for participation in UN-led PKO (1st year.)
  - Conduct mutual training with a leading European country partner nation (2nd year.)

Long term (3-5 years):

(A) Must do:

- Inform DPKO of the availability of ready UNMEM personnel for contribution to the United Nations Peacekeeping Missions, or deploy them to UN-led PKO as a part of leading European country partner nation (3rd year.)
- 2. Acquisition identified material and equipment for the declared infantry platoon and conduct collective pre-deployment training with the declared infantry platoon (3rd year.)
- 3. Submit a Note Verbale to the UN, OMA/DPKO, to make a pledge of the availability of ready infantry platoon to contribute in UN PKOs if and when requested by the United Nations Secretariat or to deploy them to UN-led PKO as a part of a leading European country partner nation contingent (3rd<sup>-</sup>4th year.)
- (B) Should do:
  - 1. Conduct estimation for possibilities of increased participation beyond participation with an infantry platoon (4th year.)
- (C) Nice to do:
  - 1. Develop a plan for the acquisition of additional material and equipment for an additional infantry platoon.

# Additional Research Questions

Based on the performed analysis, the following list of additional research questions that are beyond the scope of this thesis or have not been analyzed would be beneficial to be researched to clarify, enhance, and contribute to the process of increased participation of the Republic of North Macedonia in UN-led PKOs.

- 1. What are the opportunities for employment of other ARM units with specialist functions needed by the UN, other than infantry units?
- 2. What are the opportunities for mutual cooperation, preparation, and deployment with national civilian police units in UN-led PKOs?
- 3. What are the advantages and disadvantages from a mutual preparation and deployment with a partner nation from Europe?
- 4. Which current UN-led PKOs are most desirable to participate in, based on the interests of the Republic of North Macedonia?

#### Personal Learning Reflection

As stated in this research, Macedonian participation in UN-led PKOs wasn't sufficiently studied in the existing national literature. Without having previous experience in UN peacekeeping, this research enabled the author to gain valuable knowledge in this domain. This research required an analysis of the national strategic policy and documents, which enabled the author to gain needed additional knowledge on the processes at the national strategic level, which every organizational leader has need. Another positive experience from this work is the application of the knowledge gained throughout the Command and General Staff Officers' Course during this research. Working on the Military Masters of Art and Science Thesis set demands and improved the author's capacities on effective writing and formatting, a valuable experience for future application in the area of military science. Finally, after conducting research and recommending a solution to a problem, it provides an additional fulfillment for the time and efforts invested in concluding this thesis.

# APPENDIX A

# CLOTHING AND EQUIPMENT GUIDE LIST FOR UNMEM PERSONNEL

#### <u>Anner R</u> Manual for UNMEM

| Service dress for staff officers (required)                                        | Raincoat/rain dress (required)                                                |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Field service uniform (recommended)                                                | Gloves (required; additional working<br>gloves)                               |
| Combat dress (required)                                                            | Boots (rubber)                                                                |
| Combat fatigues (required)                                                         | Pullovers (required)                                                          |
| Field working uniform                                                              | Undershirts and shorts (required)                                             |
| Ties (when part of the uniform)                                                    | Shorts (required)                                                             |
| Shoes (service uniform)                                                            | Socks (cotton, nylon, wool) (required)                                        |
| Boots (good leather) (required)                                                    | Pyjamas (recommended)                                                         |
| Bush shirts (khaki or green drill)                                                 | Towels (required)                                                             |
| Sleeping mat                                                                       | Toiletries (required)                                                         |
| Sleeping bag (with liner) (required)                                               | Sports clothes and shoes                                                      |
| Mosquito net and repellent<br>(recommended)                                        | Flashlight with spare batteries (required)                                    |
| Web belt and haversack (required)                                                  | Water bottles (thermos type)                                                  |
| Binoculars (absolute necessity)                                                    | Sun glasses                                                                   |
| Compass (required)                                                                 | Torch (battery operated)                                                      |
| Protractor (1:50,000 inches) (required)                                            | Survival kit (whistle, mirror, recommended)                                   |
| Map case (required)                                                                | First-aid kit (required)                                                      |
| Permanent/ washable ink markers, fine<br>point (to work overlays) (recommended)    | Hearing protection (required)                                                 |
| Combat helmet (required)                                                           | Dust goggles and dust mask (required)                                         |
| Armoured vest (required) Protective Body<br>Armour/Fragmentation jackets/vests (1) | Sun glasses (required)                                                        |
| Respirator (gas mask) and suit                                                     | Civilian clothes, including sports jacket and<br>slacks, are also recommended |

#### CLOTHING AND EQUIPMENT GUIDE LIST

(1) All UNMEM are to be fully equipped in accordance with Annex R and their national scales of issue, including helmets and protective body armour/fragmentation jackets/vests. All UNMEM should be equipped with a blue helmet, or provided with a blue helmet cover. This is a national responsibility. The appropriate range of items of clothing should be provided for the prevailing and anticipated weather conditions.

Source: United Nations DPKO / DFS UNMEM Manual: Selection, Deployment, Rotation, Extension, Transfer and Repatriation of United Nations Military Experts on Mission in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, 2012, accessed 09 April 2019, http://dag.un.org/bitstream/handle/11176/89516/2010.30%20UNMEMManual.pdf?seque nce=1&isAllowed=y23 April 2010), Annex R, 66.

#### APPENDIX B

#### COMMITTEE NOTES

**Memorandum for record:** Thesis appendix document **Subject:** Research supervisor commentary for MAJ Donevski, 23 May 19

Purpose: To document the professional discourse between researcher and committee during the conduct culminating in the successful thesis defense, for the record.
Author: Dr. Kenneth E Long, D.M. (on behalf of the committee)
Date: 23 May 19
Organization: US Army Command & General Staff College, Ft Leavenworth KS 66027

## STANDARD INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMITTEE'S MEMO FOR RECORD

A feature of the Applied Professional Case Study (APCS) is the iterative nature of the research. The researcher and the committee go through a series of iterative check-ins that allow for a review and an update of the research questions the preliminary findings, initial insights, and the possibility for other excursions for the research to follow. This is typical of the experience of action researchers in a similar way, for example. Based on cross-talk between multiple researchers and committees we have collaboratively decided that it would be a good idea to add an appendix at the end of an APCS thesis to document the socialized experience of the professional dialogue without intruding into the researcher's privileged spaces within chapters one through five.

In this way, we believe we can capture some of the dynamics and synergies that arise from the professional discourse on these focused inquiries. This is similar to the idea of military scouts departing on a reconnaissance patrol with certain specific things to look for and then reporting back on what they found, which might cause a change in both strategies and tactics after a dialogue between scouts, planners and leaders. We will start documenting the insights from these dialogues which are often summarized during the actual thesis defense in an appendix to the theses with this standard introduction.

This is important because what has emerged from this APCS method is what we describe as two objectives: Objective Near and Objective Far. This resonates with our professional doctrinal language on the importance of objectives as seen in the idea that military campaigns are a series of linked objectives that have logical, geographical and operational connections in a series of continuous efforts. We describe Objective Near as the researcher's effort to get good answers to the specific research questions. This is the explicit purpose of the thesis after all. We describe Objective Far as the development of a broader professional skill set that will support the researcher/officer's future independent research and professional staff work. We think this could be combined with the ability to act as a project manager supervising the professional staff work of a team of action officers collaborating on a more complex problem. Integrating the two skill sets of direct research and project management creates a broad professional skill set we seek to develop in our professional officers and which is a feature of the application of this method.

In the action research tradition, this process could manifest as a series of memorandums for record which document essential checkpoints along the iterative research journey. Similarly, we offer this memo as an important component of this evolving method which surfaced in part during this thesis. Our collective professional thanks to the researchers and committee members who contributed to these emergent insights and provided important critical thinking and creative insights to our deeper professional understanding of the potential of this method.

# Important insights from the committee that surfaced during our professional dialogue:

MAJ Donevski's research insights and impact summary:

1. The potential solution space for policy development at the strategic level is never a blank canvas but rather a rich contextual opportunity space.

2. The importance of developing mature assumptions that are important, necessary, relevant and reasonable are amply displayed in the stage setting chapters of this thesis. 3. An important tension of competing values between regional stability and security and the internal satisfaction of multiple demographics with the direction of national policy had a fractal quality to it. This is an area for future development as well as in item of professional interest. It will feature in our curriculum in the year 2020 in our military college because of the power of the insight. We consider this to be an important finding and artifact.

4. The use of multiple mental models in this thesis approach reflects the sense of much of the community of practice associated with complexity theory which treat the triangulation and mutually supporting effects of multiple mental models to be an appropriate strategy to respond to complexity. This thesis demonstrates an advantageous and practical implementation of that approach.

5. The campaign plan and timeline for implementation of the recommendations reflect strongly the notion that problems don't stand still and that the ground moves under our feet. This illuminates the sense of urgency which informs all professional military officers about their bias for action.

6. The literature review reflected the broad and deep dimensions of such a complex environment and the stage setting chapters met the standards of a case study's purpose to inform policymakers of the broad context they will encounter in the search for solutions. 7. The researcher did not shrink from the challenges of this complex problem, and we

observe that if it were easy, then even the committee members could do it. We applaud his intellectual courage and curiosity in pursuing this difficult line of inquiry.

8. The blending of methods tools and concepts from diverse disciplines seemed comprehensive and properly integrated into a useful narrative.

9. The analysis models chosen were properly selected and applied in a way that a Chief Decision Maker would find persuasive and compelling.

10. The APCS method offers two formal opportunities for the committee to evaluate the critical thinking skills and preferences of the researcher. In R1 we asked the officer to establish the pre-research position and then we compare that position to the R2 position which is produced after a thorough review of literature in the first round of analysis. If the officer researcher applies critical thinking, we would not be surprised if there was a

change in position due to the cognitive effort. In fact, no change in the R1 and R2 positions is suggestive that the research was simply an effort to confirm pre-existing biases. A normal result is to see an evolution and sometimes a revolution of the officer's position. It's even more difficult for the officers to change their mind when going from R2 to R3, when they must supply the different professional perspectives to their newly found position. This is even harder than shifting from R1 to R2 because normal human practice is to be more convinced of your new position after deep reflection. Kahneman and Tversky talk about this in their work on human biases. When the officer properly applies these new perspectives we can then see that they can step outside of their personal opinion and adopt a truly broad-based professional perspective which is crucial to the development of senior staff officers and commanders in the broad military profession. This thesis is an example of a successful demonstration of critical thinking in both dimensions, and we applaud the researcher for his efforts in this area.

11. An important insight was the researcher's conclusion that actions taken in the interest of the defense of the nation which do not lead to improved stability in the region in a calm and balanced relationship among stakeholders are actually destabilizing and therefore not in the nations self-defense interest. This emergent constraint is an important nuanced position for a military officer to take since the military experts are often asked only to comment on direct action solutions which can often exacerbate a delicate political, economic environment. That the researcher discovered this insight speaks well of his future potential as a senior level strategist.

12. A list of future research questions suggested by this effort could include:

a. How to improve the clarity and completeness of the national security documents to provide actionable, nested guidance to the armed forces.

b. Consider extending the case study approach to Kazakhstan and Moldova to extend the insights

c. Reflect on how the secondary research questions and some of the detailed investigations followed after a set of preliminary analyses and conclusions which shaped subsequent rounds of research and analysis. The iterative approach was useful and professionally developed.

d. reverse engineer the findings and recommendations to establish impact statements on the elements of national generating force organizations to study 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> order effects for stakeholders.

e. Seek clarification on itemize national priorities if the competing mission sets should present limitations to the nation's ability to resource.

f. Consider the use of your thesis as an educational artifact for your peers as a way to become aware of UN style doctrine, missions and processes.

g. Explore how binding UN guidance and doctrine may be on your national forces

h. Explore methods of conducting combined arms training for your active military forces with your reserve artillery and armored formations.

i. Examine the COAs for specializing forces for separate missions in support of SEEBRIG, NATO and UN missions.

j. Develop a template for a national support element that can provide tactical support to platoons and companies as part of your UN TCC mission. Consider international partnering as an alternative solution. k. Compare and contrast your multiple simultaneous mission support to the Serbian model of focused concentration on a support mission aligned with their national interest.

13. The thesis defense surfaced the idea of the Cameron and Quinn competing values model as a possible method to explore for broader application at the strategic level since it is a useful way to discover win-win situations among commercial organizations. If it is an effective way of finding common ground for mutual support among organizations perhaps it can be applied at the regional and national level.

14. The officer's demonstrated deep understanding of diplomacy, information, military and economic domains, also known as the DIME model, suggests an opportunity for him as a strategist in the future.

16. In conclusion, we think these discussions deserve to be documented as part of the thesis, as spin-offs and professional insights suggested by the thesis and serve as an illustration of the emerging insights available from the application of this APCS method. We offer this as evidence to further demonstrate the relevance and utility of the method to members of our military profession and to other professions concerned with integrating the practical needs of a profession with a bias for action and the academic interests of research rigor, quality, validity and transparency.

17. The insights from this discourse are solely the responsibility of the research supervisor who made an effort to fairly represent the views of the committee members. Responsibility for any error in transmission or misconstrual of insights is strictly the research supervisor's (Dr. Long), whereas all useful insights derive from the due diligence and professional excellence of the researcher, whom we congratulate on a job well done.

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