Support for Conflict Resolution
and the Role of Military Power

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Introduction

The end of the Cold War signifies not merely an end to ideological confrontation, but also a clear departure from traditional concepts of security and the emergence of a new perception of security. Military power has traditionally been closely related to national security, and recognized as a means to cope with direct military threats. Even though the Cold War has ended, there are still countries such as rogue states enhancing their military capabilities. Thus, the original role of military force as a means to counter military power has not yet vanished.

In today's international community, with its broad range of interdependent relationships, the concept of security is no longer limited to ensuring the security of one's own country. The new concept of security in contemporary society includes supporting activities for restoring international peace and security, such as the maintenance of the international order and the rebuilding of failed states, and military force has played an important role in these activities.

In this way, in contrast to the traditional role of military power of imposing one's will upon another state through the use of force, the new role of military power is to make the other state understand the will of the international community without resorting to the use of force. In other words, military power has assumed a nontraditional role. In this essay, I will examine the expansion of the concept of security and support for conflict resolution, as well as the role of military power in relation to modern peacekeeping. In this context, I will also comment on specific activities to encourage regional cooperation in East Asia.

1   Armed Conflict and the Traditional Role of Military Power

(1) Conflict Resolution Measures

The international community is a place where the national interests of sovereign states come into conflict. International law has evolved as a set of rules to reconcile these differences in advance, but in the event that an international conflict emerges, conflict resolution measures have been developed to deal with such a conflict. Namely, conflicts can be settled through peaceful measures. When a conflict cannot be resolved through peaceful measures, it is instead resolved through the use of force.

The international community lacks an effective coercive system for reacting to violations of

the international order. This means that conflicts between states must ultimately be resolved by one state imposing its will upon another state through its own measures. Military power has played a critical role as an important means in this process. Various countries have possessed military power primarily because they recognize the importance of this traditional role of military power.

He ultimate point of this traditional role of military power is the waging of war. When conflicts are resolved through coercive measures, the use of military power has at times expanded to warfare. Warfare was recognized as a legal act during the age of the "principle of equal application of the laws of war to the warring countries." Based on the outcome of war, the victorious country was able to conquer the other country and cede or absorb its territory. Accordingly, countries were always greatly concerned about their security policies in order to ensure their survival in the international community and maintain their territorial integrity.

In the coercive resolution of a conflict, there is no guarantee that the just side will prevail, and in due time, war became an illegal activity in terms of international law, and the peaceful settlement of international disputes was encouraged. Despite this, the relevant framework was not complete at the moment, and the traditional role of military power of imposing one state's will upon another state was preserved as an indispensable part of national defense and security.

With each country responsible for guaranteeing its own security, the need to maintain military superiority vis-à-vis hostile countries or hostile military alliances contributed to a tendency toward limitless arms races. Independent security required the existence of a balancing nation to maintain long-term peace. During the second half of the 19th century in Europe, peace could certainly have not been maintained in this balance of power era without the existence of England as a balancer. Nevertheless, this framework was unable to avoid the outbreak of World War I, because England could no longer act as a balancing nation.

(2) Expanded Role of Military Power

Following the League of Nations, the United Nations was established in the mid-20th century. The UN adopted a collective security system as a method superior to an individual security system. The UN Security Council has the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, and in the event of a breach of the peace or threat to the peace, recognizes that the military forces of member states acting collectively can take punitive measures. This represents "peace enforcement" by the UN.

In these instances, military power has assumed the role of ensuring and maintaining the peace and security of the international community. In other words, even without a direct military threat to oneself, military power can be expected to contribute to peace enforcement activities in accordance with a Security Council resolution.

However, it is widely known that this system is not workable and that the new role for the

use of military power has not been fully utilized. When member states have used armed force based on the right of self-defense, military power has still assumed its traditional role.

During the Cold War era, the UN was unable to decide on peace enforcement measures that used military power, but when armed conflict was suspended, the UN sought to cool hostilities by placing the military forces of third states between the two conflicting parties. These actions represent traditional peacekeeping. Military forces in peacekeeping assumed new roles of monitoring ceasefires and providing humanitarian assistance, rather than the traditional role of waging war. In other words, the world community has realized a nontraditional role for military power by seeking to use the military power of third-party countries to cool hostilities without the use of force immediately following consent to a cease-fire between two conflicting countries.

2   Expanded Concept of Security

The end of the Cold War, as symbolized by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, has resulted in a betrayal of the expectations for lasting peace, and brought about a security environment that is different from the past. That security environment has undergone tremendous changes, including the emergence of rogue states and international terrorists, frequent outbreaks of intra-national conflict, and expansion of global issues. Amid these changes, to face the military threat arising from rogue states and international terrorists, we look to the traditional role of military power. In this sense, military power is still required to cope with direct military threats from the outside.

Soon after the Cold War ended, the UN adopted three documents suggesting a security concept for the 21st-century — An Agenda for Peace,[1] An Agenda for Development,[2] and Agenda 21.[3] These documents addressed regional conflict in the post-Cold War era, contending that peace, development, and the environment were closely interrelated, and that the resolution and prevention of conflicts required international cooperative efforts.

An Agenda for Peace expressed an ambitious commitment to the necessity of comprehensive efforts involving "conflict prevention," "peacekeeping," and "peace building," for the purpose of establishing permanent peace in the international community. The document cautioned that in developing countries that had failed, unless the society could maintain law and order (i.e., peace), their meager funds would be used to purchase weapons for self-defense rather than to invest in economic activity. Securing peace is essential to economic development and democratization in developing countries.

An Agenda for Development highlights the necessity of economic development and the

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[1]   UN Document, *An Agenda for Peace*, A/47/277-S/241111 (June 17, 1992).
[2]   UN Document, *An Agenda for Development*, A/48/935 (May 6, 1994).
[3]   *Earth Summit Agenda 21- The UN Programme of Action from Rio* (June 3-14, 1992).

importance of sustainable economic growth in developing countries. It argues that resolving these problems is essential to maintaining international peace and security. The document also explains that sufficient consideration must be given to avoiding environmental destruction and pollution when aiming for economic development. Agenda 21 asserts the importance of minimizing environmental pollution and destruction caused by economic activity, and the necessity of international cooperation in activities to restore environments that have already been destroyed.

The three UN documents are related to a 21st-century conception of security as follows. Developing countries that emphasize military interests remain undeveloped, and development prospects deteriorate in societies where a major proportion of economic endeavors are geared toward military production. Societies that devote a majority of their budgets to their militaries, rather than to development demands in terms of insurance, education, and housing, are frequently not at peace. This lack of economic development contributes to the generation of international tension and circumstances requiring military power. This increases tensions further, and as the UN documents point out, societies in this type of vicious cycle are unable to avoid confrontation, armed strife, and all-out war. In addition to the close relationship between "peace" and "development," the concepts of "development" and the "environment" are not mutually exclusive, but rather must be dealt with together to achieve a successful outcome.

In this way, when considering security in the 21st century, we know that simply restraining armed conflict between countries is not enough. Should an intra-national conflict break out, it is important to make every effort to resolve the problem of ensuring law and order, which forms the basis of economic development and democratization, while at the same time resolving the problems of development and the environment. It must be recognized that by expanding the concept of security, we also expand the role of military power. At this point, with respect to military power, in addition to the role of imposing one's will upon the other party through the use of force, a new role of conveying the will of the international community without the use of force has gained currency.

3   Conflict Resolution and the Support of the International Community

(1) General Trends in Intra-national Conflicts

There have been many intra-national conflicts affecting existing states and state frameworks in the post-Cold War period. Moreover, these conflicts can be attributed to a diverse set of reasons. Traditional conflicts between states are generally caused by resource and territorial disputes, but intra-national conflicts have arisen as a result of inciting differences between ethnic groups, religions, and tribes that were not apparent during the Cold War. In several examples,

intra-national conflicts have grown beyond demands for autonomy and developed into protracted struggles by an ethnic group exercising its right to self-determination with a view to establishing an independent state. Such conflicts are difficult to resolve through international arbitration and mediation.

Intra-national conflicts have traditionally been viewed as domestic problems, and the respective states dealt with these conflicts independently. The international community avoided interfering in internal affairs.[4] Moreover, for global issues such as environmental destruction, which is not related to military power, the international community has traditionally viewed these issues as outside the scope of support through the use of military power. Nevertheless, with changes in the security environment in the post-Cold War period, support through the use of international military power has also become necessary for issues that were previously left to individual states. In this sense, the nontraditional role of military power in helping to maintain and ensure international peace and security, in contrast to the traditional role of military power, has taken on greater importance.

The international community has provided support as soon as intra-national conflicts ended, using military power to rebuild failed states. It is important to recognize the general trends and characteristics of these intra-national conflicts. With the end of the Cold War, many marginal states lost the various supports that were provided by both the eastern and western camps and that were needed for them to survive. Many of these countries embarked on brutal wars.[5] After losing economic support, the domestic economies of these countries began to deteriorate, and the collapse of currencies, loss of markets, and surging unemployment gave rise to social instability. The decline in domestic economies contributed to the decay of roads, ports, bridges, hospitals, schools, and other public facilities, and to an unstable supply of electricity, gas, and other sources of energy. At the same time, their education, health care, legal, and other social systems began to collapse.

With the collapse of national social systems, inhabitants who had previously lived together splintered into smaller groups based on ethnicity, tribe, religion, etc. Relatively small matters could prompt one group to take up arms against another group. This type of armed conflict does not use high technology of heavy weapons such as fighter jets, submarines, and tanks, but rather generally employs small weapons, light mortars, landmines, and other such weapons that can be obtained at low prices from the international community in the post-Cold War period.

In armed fighting by private militias, warlords, bandits, organized criminals, thugs and common criminals, differentiating between military actions and criminal actions is difficult, and in terms of the scope of responsibility, the categories of military and police become unclear. In

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4 Article 2 (7) of the United Nations Charter prohibits the UN and member countries from interfering in the internal affairs of another member country, with the exception of peace enforcement measures by the UN.

5 *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations*, A/50/60-S/1995/1, January 3, 1995, paras. 8-10.

this environment, the distinction between combatants and noncombatants is obscured, and the general population comprises an overwhelmingly high percentage of casualties. It is said that during the 1990s, noncombatants, especially women and children, accounted for more than half of total casualties. Moreover, residents are confined to their homes as conflicts intensify, and outbreaks of contagious diseases, environmental disasters, famine, drought, and other humanitarian emergencies may arise. Frequently, large numbers of residents flee the country and become refugees, while internally displaced persons migrate to urban areas.

(2) Nontraditional Role of Military Power

The international community, facing the grave situations of failed states, has provided support to the extent possible. Support using military power has not been uncommon. Intra-national conflicts have often subjected general inhabitants to human rights abuses and life threatening dangers, including genocide, ethnic cleansing, and group rape. The international community has not ignored these situations, and has carried out support activities including the use of military power.

The UN has adopted a variety of resolutions and assumed a central role in these support activities. Modern peacekeeping forces mandated to provide support in establishing a government when rebuilding failed states, and multinational forces based on Security Council resolutions when armed conflicts were likely, have carried out activities based on the will of the international community under the authority of the UN. Military power has played an integral role for the international community in these modern peacekeeping efforts.

UN member states are fundamentally prohibited from the use of force as a result of their own decision-making.[6] However, when humanitarian or human rights problems in intra-national conflicts have expanded to a level that threatens the lives of general inhabitants, the Security Council has adopted resolutions authorizing the use of force that always clearly stipulate the so-called set of four points. That is to say, the Security Council has adopted resolutions after determining that a "breach of peace," as stipulated in Article 39 of the UN Charter, has occurred, stating that the activities of a multinational force are considered "acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter," and the said multinational force was "authorized to take all measures" necessary "to restore international peace and order."

On the basis of a resolution authorizing the use of force, a multinational force can use any means necessary, including military power. This represents a nontraditional role using the military power of member states. The use of military power, regardless of whether or not one is confronting a direct military threat, is authorized within a certain range in order to resolve a

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[6] Article 2 (4) of the United Nations Charter prohibits any threats through military force, or the use of military force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the UN.

major human rights or humanitarian problem. Support activities using military power on the basis of a Security Council resolution authorizing the use of force have become well established as a common practice in a short period of time. The Gulf Coalition, which contributed to maintaining the international order in the Persian Gulf region, was an exception in terms of the intention to use force coercively. Other multinational forces, including the Unified Task Force (UNITAF), Multinational Stabilization Force (SFOR), Multinational Implementation Force (IFOR), International Force for East Timor (INTERFET), and Kosovo Force (KFOR), have used force coercively only on rare occasions.

Multinational forces, though authorized to use force in the event of a cease-fire agreement violation or humanitarian crisis, generally carry out support activities for the international community in order to prevent such occurrences. Moreover, the Security Council, following an intra-national conflict cease-fire agreement, has adopted resolutions establishing modern peacekeeping forces within countries that have lost the ability to govern themselves. The UN uses multinational forces in order to facilitate the deployment of modern peacekeeping and the fulfillment of its mandate.

Modern peacekeeping forces fulfill their mandate by supporting the process of establishing a legitimate government through elections, and during this time, by monitoring whether or not local police and other government agencies operate democratically, and by temporarily governing a failed state. Accordingly, staffing numbers for modern peacekeeping efforts have increased dramatically. They include military personnel for military observer groups and peacekeeping forces, and civilian personnel as civilian police officers, election monitors, government monitors, etc. The UN Secretary General's Special Representative is in charge of all peacekeeping personnel, who are deployed and operate within one country.

Military peacekeepers have restrictions on the use of force. They are basically responsible for curbing and gradually reducing the violence of intra-national conflicts, and for creating a basic infrastructure for democratization. Specific duties include cease-fire monitoring, disarmament inspections, monitoring the exchange of prisoners of war and other traditional peacekeeping activities, as well as road and bridge repair and other activities to stabilize the society. In addition to cease-fire monitoring units, military forces have assumed peace cooperation roles, with military peacekeepers forming communications, logistics, hospital, facilities, and other units. The mandate of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET),[7] the most recent modern peacekeeping effort, has expanded peace-building operations in terms of providing development support as requested by the East Timor government, as well as local governments.

Multinational forces and modern peacekeeping forces work in close cooperation and have

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[7] The United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor was newly established by the UN as an organization to support the government of East Timor after it gained independence on May 20, 2002, and the mission of the previous UNTAET came to an end.

assumed responsibility for resolving intra-national conflicts. To cite some examples, in the case of Somalia, the multinational force UNITAF was deployed following the withdrawal of the UNOSOM modern peacekeeping effort, and the UNOSOM II modern peacekeeping force was established after that. In Bosnia, the IFOR multinational force was active after the UNPROFOR modern peacekeeping force, and this was followed by the simultaneous deployment of the multinational SFOR force and UNMIBH modern peacekeeping force. In Kosovo, the UNMIK modern peacekeeping force and KFOR multinational force were deployed simultaneously from the start. In East Timor, the INTERFET multinational force was followed by the UNTAET modern peacekeeping effort and then by UNMISET. Accordingly, there are many examples of modern UN peacekeeping and multinational forces working together to provide support in resolving conflicts.

4   Duties of Military Forces in Modern Peacekeeping

(1) Main Duties of Military Peacekeepers

In general, armed forces are organized to enable self-sufficiency without placing an economic burden on the country in which they are deployed. They include ample means of transport and communications, as well as personnel with a wide range of skills in transportation, maintenance, health care, communications, and other areas. Above all else, their personnel are trained to execute the duties required by their mandate, which are inherently fraught with life-threatening dangers. Personnel in multinational forces and peacekeeping efforts are an internationally organized military power. These military units are primarily engaged in providing security. A typical national contingent is a battalion comprised of 600 to 1,000 personnel. Soldiers came in "package" sections, platoons, companies, and battalions, and they can take on multiple tasks over a large area.

Military peacekeepers in modern peacekeeping operations are primarily involved in security, namely the control and de-escalation of violence. Specific duties include achieving cease-fires, separating armed groups, disarmament, bringing concerned parties to the negotiation table, and restoring relations of mutual trust. Separating and stabilizing the armed forces of the belligerent parties generally achieves safety and security in a failed state. However, in order for modern peacekeeping efforts to be effective, it is not enough to simply separate armed groups. Effective peacekeeping requires the control and de-escalation of violence. Depending on the circumstances of the deployment location, the duties of military peacekeepers can also expand to include the maintenance of law and order. In such cases, there is a further threat from armed inhabitants, criminal organizations, armed thieves, and other sources.

Modern peacekeeping is not combat action, and the enemy is violence itself. While there are

some basic similarities between the combat actions and peacekeeping activities of armed forces, there are also clear differences. For military peacekeepers in modern peacekeeping, communications and deployment are the same as weapons training and maneuvers for combat personnel.

In warfare, weapons are used to force an enemy to surrender. Maneuvers are executed to increase the effectiveness of weapons, and weapons are used in order to enable the execution of maneuvers. In modern peacekeeping efforts, the deployment of personnel and equipment is intended to enhance the effectiveness of communications, and communications are required to enable more effective deployment. A key point in modern peacekeeping is how to curb and gradually reduce violence through a combination of accurate deployment and effective communications.

The skills required of military peacekeepers include both combat and contact skills. Combat skills are those commonly held by well-trained general purpose combat soldiers, including such competencies as driving, map using, first aid, weapons handling, mine awareness, observing, patrolling, reporting, and using radios. Because peacekeeping is not war fighting, successful military peacekeepers require an additional contact skill set.

Contact skills entail investigation, liaison, negotiation, and "go-between" mediation. Investigation is a skill required in all activities of armed forces. For example, when an incident occurs, enlisted personnel gather evidence by talking with local inhabitants and make a determination about what happened in incidents. Officers use liaisons to improve communications. The simplest form of negotiation is to establish a forum for straightforward discussion in order to resolve differences of opinion between hostile parties. "Go-between" mediation involves separate discussions with the respective parties. All of these techniques can and are used frequently with no preparation or training, although formal training in these skills makes a more effective peacekeeper.

The basic duties of military peacekeepers involve observation missions. Monitoring personnel carry out their duties in accordance with commands from commanding officers. Activities include monitoring of cease-fire lines, liaison and communication between hostile parties, patrolling and reporting on territory separating armed forces, investigating incidents, inspection and surveillance in accordance with weapons arrangements, and assisting in the exchange of war dead and prisoners of war.

Military peacekeepers deployed along cease-fire lines and in buffer zones provide assistance with cross-border movement. In other words, they play a role in bridging local communities that are physically separated by aiding the migration of refugees, cross-border family visits, etc., along established safe passageways and roadways. They also help maintain communication channels between the belligerent parties. In some cases, modern peacekeeping activities deny access to certain areas that are important to both of the belligerent parties in an effort to stabilize the situation.

(2) Ancillary Duties of Military Peacekeepers

Military peacekeepers perform ancillary duties when conditions in the deployment location are stable. Specifically, they provide support to civilian policing, election monitoring, human rights monitoring, and other such activities. Depending on the circumstances, however, military personnel may also be required to perform policing duties until a civil police force can be organized and deployed.

Civil police are comprised of a mix of police officers dispatched from several countries, and they are responsible for rebuilding a collapsed local police organization and providing leadership to police officers. Local police organizations, even if they have not collapsed, generally require monitoring. Monitoring of police activities toward ethnic minorities in local communities, and of their methods for dealing with human rights problems, are especially important. Civil police generally do not have primary jurisdiction in terms of rights of investigation, seizure, apprehension, etc. But there are rare cases when they actively assist actual police operations or step in to provide policing functions, as in East Timor, which lacks a local police organization.

Military peacekeepers are responsible for organized armed forces, while civil police personnel handle general criminals, persons involved in traffic accidents, and so forth. However, there is often a gray area occupied by brigands, warlords, organized criminals, road warriors, urban gangs, etc. In such cases, it is not clear whether military or civil police peacekeepers should respond. When responding with joint units comprised of a mix of military and police peacekeepers, joint operating procedures must be established in advance.

Modern peacekeeping, as explained earlier, is mandated to support the process of establishing a government, including the election of members of a congress, the adoption of a constitution by newly elected congressional members, and the launch of a new government. During this process, a secretary-general's special representative in modern peacekeeping operations temporarily governs the state. Election monitors watch for improprieties in vote casting and counting performed at polling and vote-counting stations established by local inhabitants. In other words, they bear the important responsibility of monitoring whether elections are free and fair.

It is extremely rare for military peacekeepers to be directly involved in elections as election observers or monitors. However, traveling to and from polling stations is often problematic, and military peacekeepers are used to assist elections by opening up the roads and keeping them safe and secure. Specific support services include the reconnaissanc of polling stations and routes, de-mining, facilitating the return of refugees, providing logistics for election monitors, and other services.

A large number of human rights advocacy groups are active in areas where modern peacekeeping forces are deployed, owing to an expectation of human rights abuses in a variety

of forms. Examples include UN organizations such as the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR), international NGOs, international civil police forces, and so forth. There are a variety of categories of human rights abuses, but military power can intervene only when circumstances are life threatening and involve organized human rights abuse, wide-reaching physical abuse, or actions targeted at a specific group.

Individuals facing an imminent threat in areas where modern peacekeeping forces are deployed may request protection from military peacekeepers. To prepare for such circumstances, commanding officer as well as enlisted peacekeepers need to understand the scope of their peacekeepers' responsibility in protecting human rights. Observation posts and stations are established to monitor areas in which major human rights abuses are anticipated, and passageways and safe terminus areas are established in order to move groups facing danger.

Military peacekeepers can protect weaker inhabitants, but military protection here means only ensuring their physical safety. When the military peacekeepers are not sufficient to protect general inhabitants, as seen in the example of Srebrenica, atrocities have occurred despite the presence of military personnel. Consequently, we must bear in mind that when such a situation occurs, not only does military peacekeepers' performance of their duties become extremely difficult, but they also could also become completely powerless to protect human rights.

A large number of humanitarian aid organizations are active in areas where modern peacekeeping is employed, owing to a variety of humanitarian problems that may arise. Examples include UN organizations such as the UN Office for the Coordinator of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the humanitarian aid organizations of individual countries, such as the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), humanitarian NGOs such as Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) and Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE), and other organizations such as the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.[8]

Military power can assist with humanitarian problems through a variety of activities, including defending safe areas, providing security at camps for internally displaced persons, escorting rescue and relief groups, providing logistical support for humanitarian organizations, and providing direct humanitarian support activities. Providing security at camps for internally displaced persons requires security both inside and outside the camps.

Modern peacekeeping efforts provide development assistance, and military peacekeepers also participate in these activities. Relief activities protect the lives of inhabitants in imminent danger, and development activities try to improve inhabitants' lives over the long-term. We must keep in mind that without inadequate development, there is a risk of sliding into a disaster cycle, in which each natural or man-made disaster sets the conditions for the next. The key to

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[8] Currently, 1,003 NGOs have cooperative relations with the UN and are engaged in various peace support activities. (*Supplement to An Agenda for Peace*, para. 89).

development is promoting a level of development in local communities that allows basic human necessities to be met.

Post-conflict development assistance covers a wide range of areas, including rebuilding physical and social infrastructure, re-creating judicial and police systems, and promoting economic development, disarmament, demobilization, and the reintegration of education, and health programs, etc. Within these areas, the potential development duties of military personnel include the rebuilding of physical and social infrastructure, morale building initiatives, logistic support of development activities, security of development projects, and so forth.

5   Regional Security Cooperation in the East Asian Region

(1) Establishment of an Education and Training Center and Standby Forces

When looking at the possibility of regional security cooperation using military power from the perspective of security in East Asia, we need to consider the complex security environment. Stated differently, if we choose to establish cooperative regional security relationships in order to identify and deal with states or military threats in the region, numerous arguments will perhaps arise at the identification stage. On the other hand, aiming for abstract security cooperation to face an abstract threat will likely end with mere discussion and a lack of specifics. The important point is that security cooperation in the region requires regional security cooperation to cope with a common threat to countries in the region.

The role of military power, as stated thus far, has expanded beyond the traditional role of countering a direct military threat, and into the nontraditional roles of preventing the destruction of the regional and international order and dealing with obstacles to rebuilding failed states. East Asian countries have an especially high interest in peacekeeping and have actively contributed to these operations with military power. Obstacles that prevent the rebuilding of a failed state certainly represent a common threat to East Asian countries.

Nevertheless, there are no institutions for conducting research into defining rules of engagement and clarifying the concept of impartiality and other matters, nor are there any institutions for training commanding officers and enlisted personnel to perform their peacekeeping duties. Military peacekeepers require education and training to perform complex and varied duties not related to combat action, including the provision of security, election support, civil police support, human rights protection support, humanitarian aid, and so forth. Establishing an education and training institution for this purpose is an urgent task.

The education and training of military personnel as peacekeepers in an international environment could represent a specific activity as part of an East Asian security framework. Scandinavian countries have established an education and training institution in each country, and these institutions provide education and training for specific standby forces, including

personnel for peacekeeping forces and military observer groups. Perhaps an education and training center similar to Canada's Pearson Peacekeeping Centre could be established in an East Asian country to provide education and training to the military personnel, especially commanding officers, of East Asian countries.

Another possibility is to establish a comprehensive international peacekeeping education and research center in an East Asian country. This center would prepare an education curriculum for researchers and military personnel of East Asian countries and provide education and training to military personnel, especially commanding officers. Given the complex mandate of modern peacekeeping, in addition to peacekeepers, for civil policing, election monitoring, human rights monitoring, and government monitoring, this center should also develop curricula and provide education and training geared toward the humanitarian, human rights, and development personnel of various international organizations and NGOs.

The center should undertake comprehensive research with a view to establishing an East Asian standby high readiness force for UN peacekeeping. The Supplement to An Agenda for Peace recommends that in order to promptly deploy personnel following the adoption of a Security Council resolution to establish modern peacekeeping, consideration should be given to an emergency deployment force comprised of contingents dispatched from several countries that are trained based on the same standards, use the same operating procedures and interoperable equipment, and regularly participate in joint training.[9] Implementing this recommendation in East Asia would be a very significant step.

The Scandinavian countries, Canada, Austria, and other countries with a broad range of experience and advanced level of sophistication in the area of peacekeeping, established a research group to consider an emergency deployment force, and in 1996, drew up the Multinational Stand-by High Readiness Brigade for United Nations Operations (SHIRBRIG)[10] initiative. This brigade performs peacekeeping as well as humanitarian duties. The initiative emphasized a fixed capability to ensure the safety of its own personnel, as well as the personnel of related international organizations and NGOs, the capability to carry out operations in an environment lacking in basic infrastructure, and consideration of the need to enhance logistics cooperation among countries, including the possibility of establishing joint logistics bases.

Creating an East Asian standby high readiness force for UN peacekeeping backed by a comprehensive international education and research institution in the region will perhaps become a cornerstone for security in East Asia. Until then, we should consider registering Japanese civil engineering troops as part of SHIRBRIG.

(2) The Expanding Role of Military Power

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[9] *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace*, paras. 44-45.
[10] *SHIRBRIG (Multinational Standby High Readiness Brigade for United Nations Operations)*, published by Presidency, SHIRBRIG Steering Committee, Ministry of Defense, Norway.

Naval power, in addition to countering a direct military threat, could potentially assume a completely new role of preventing ocean-related conflicts.[11] The three UN reports expand the concept of security from the survival of the state to the survival of humankind. Regional cooperation is an essential premise in this concept of security. The idea of Ocean-Peace Keeping (OPK) is a specific example of regional cooperation.

The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which entered into force in 1994, establishes a basis for effectively using the oceans for the future of humankind. In particular, protecting and managing biological resources, and conserving marine environments, requires the cooperative efforts of all countries, and the Convention clarifies the rights and obligations of the contracting parties. The Convention provides an exclusive economic zone of 200 nautical miles, and though it recognizes that coastal states have sovereign rights to resources in these waters, it also mandates that these states assume responsibility for conserving and managing these resources and protecting marine environments, and enact national laws for this purpose in accordance with international standards.

OPK involves international cooperation between regional navies and maritime policing organizations in surveillance activities intended to protect and manage marine resources and conserve marine environments. These activities represent an effort to promote the stable use of the oceans. OPK in the Asian region, based on the view that obstructions to the sustainable use of the oceans are a common threat, are intended to prevent armed conflict in Asian waters. Asian OPK, unlike UN peacekeeping efforts, which assume the existence of cease-fire and require a Security Council resolution, are activities based on a regional arrangement between two or more Asian countries.

Establishing a comprehensive multilateral marine research and development center for the purpose of sustainable development in Asian waters, and creating Asian maritime vessel patrols in order to promote the fulfillment of obligations under the Convention, as well as the stable use of Asian waters, would likely contribute to the stabilization of political and military affairs in the Asian region. In particular, international patrol vessels comprised of navy and maritime police from Asian countries could perhaps play an important role in stabilizing Asian waters and represent a practical step toward regional security cooperation.

Conclusion

The original role of military power was to remove a direct military threat to one's country. However, with the establishment of the UN following World War II and the frequent outbreak of

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[11] For details, see Takai, "Conflict prevention and OPK – new actions for the stable use of oceans," in "*Shin Boei Ronshu" (*Theories of New Defense), Vol.25-No.2 (September 1997).

intra-national conflicts in the post-Cold War period, in contrast to the traditional role of exercising military power coercively, the non-coercive roles of military power have expanded. In particular, in today's world, international conflicts that are not addressed can result in major humanitarian and human rights crises. Resolving these situations requires the support activities of an international military power.

"The changed face of conflict today requires us to be perceptive, adaptive, creative and courageous, and to address simultaneously the immediate as well as the root causes of conflict, which all too often lie in the absence of economic opportunities and social inequities. Perhaps above all it requires a deeper commitment to cooperation and true multilateralism than humanity has ever achieved before."[12] These are the words of former UN Secretary-General Butros Butros-Ghali, who focused on quickly implementing non-traditional roles for military power.

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[12] *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace*, para. 103.