STUDENT’S DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college, institution or university other than the United States International University –Africa, in Nairobi for academic credit.

Signed: ___________________________ Date: ______________________

Eliud Kamicha Gachoki

Student ID No. 644372

This thesis has been presented for examination with my approval as the appointed supervisor.

Signed: ___________________________ Date: ______________________

Mr. Dan Odaba

Supervisor

Signed: ___________________________ Date: ______________________

Prof. Angelina Kioko, Ph.D

Dean, School of Humanities & Social Sciences

Signed: ___________________________ Date: ______________________

Amb. Prof. Ruthie C. Rono, HSC

Deputy Vice Chancellor, Academic Affairs
COPY RIGHT

© Copy Right 2017

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED
ABSTRACT

This study aimed to analyze the effectiveness of the UN peacekeeping missions, with a case study of the DRC Congo. The objectives of the study included examining the effectiveness of the mission in adhering to its mandate, the protection of civilians, influence of the peacekeepers in fostering peace agreements amongst the conflicting parties, and the mission’s effectiveness in protecting natural resources and rebuilding the country. The study engaged a secondary research that examined relevant literatures that have covered the DRC conflict and the general effectiveness of the UN peacekeeping missions. The researcher relied on journal articles, reports from NGOs, credible news reports, and UN publications to analyze the DRC peacekeeping mission. The findings of the study established that MONUC/MONUSCO was not effective in ending the 20 years old DRC conflict. However, the uniqueness of the Congo conflict made it impossible for the finding to represent other UN peacekeeping missions around the world.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to all who helped me in completing this thesis. I am appreciative to my supervisor, Mr. Dan Odaba, who supported me during the time spent conceptualizing and composing this thesis. I am additionally appreciative to United States International University for giving me a chance to conduct my studies. Most importantly, I am thankful to the Almighty God for giving me sound personality and great well being without which I would not have accomplished this thesis.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

STUDENT’S DECLARATION .................................................................................................................. ii
COPY RIGHT.......................................................................................................................................... iii
ABSTRACT........................................................................................................................................ iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT...................................................................................................................... v
TABLE OF CONTENTS..................................................................................................................... vi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS & FIGURES............................................................................................ ix
LIST OF ACRONYMS.......................................................................................................................... x
DEFINITIONS OF OPERATIONAL TERMS ................................................................................... xi

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION ........................................................................................................ 1

1.2 Statement of the Problem............................................................................................................. 4
1.3 Objectives of Study....................................................................................................................... 5
  1.3.1 General objective .................................................................................................................. 5
  1.3.2 specific objectives ............................................................................................................... 5
1.4 Research Questions....................................................................................................................... 6
1.5 Significance of study..................................................................................................................... 6
1.6 Scope of the Study......................................................................................................................... 7
1.7 Limitations and Delimitations...................................................................................................... 7
  1.7.1 Limitations .......................................................................................................................... 7
  1.7.2 Delimitations ....................................................................................................................... 7
1.8 Assumptions of the study............................................................................................................. 7

Chapter 2: LITERATURE REVIEW .................................................................................................. 9

2.1 Introduction.................................................................................................................................. 9
2.2 Execution of UN Mandate .......................................................................................................... 9
2.3 Protection of Civilians ............................................................................................................... 13
2.4 Enforcing of Ceasefire Agreements in Peacekeeping Missions .................................................. 17
2.5 Protecting Natural Resources and Nation Building .................................................................... 20
  2.5.1 Stopping illegal exploitation of Natural Resources .............................................................. 20
  2.5.2 Restoration and extension of state Authority ................................................................. 22
5.2.1 Effectiveness of UN peacekeepers in DRC in adhering to their mission mandate as provided by the UN Security council resolution for their deployment in the DRC. ..... 66
5.2.2 Effectiveness of the UN peacekeepers in the protection of civilians................. 67
5.2.3 Restoration and Extension of State Authority ........................................ 67
5.2.4 Effectiveness of UN peacekeepers in protecting natural resources and nation building. ........................................................................................................ 68
5.3 Discussion of Findings.................................................................................. 68
5.4 Conclusions..................................................................................................... 70
5.5 Recommendations........................................................................................... 70
5.6 Suggestions for Further Research ................................................................. 71
References........................................................................................................ 72
Appendices........................................................................................................ 81
Appendix 1: Mapping Armed Groups Location in DRC................................. 81
Appendix 2: MONUSCO human rights violation fact sheet ......................... 82
Appendix 3: MINUSCO at a glance ................................................................. 83
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS & FIGURES

Figure 2.0 Conceptual Framework of the Study

Figure 3.0 Map of the Eastern Provinces in the DRC

Figure 4.0 Conflict movement in the second Congo war

Figure 4.1 MONUSCO personnel distribution in the DRC

Figure 4.2 Map showing mineral reserves locations in DRC

Figure 4.3 Chart Showing Trends in Human Rights Violations in the DRC

Figure 4.4 Map showing mineral reserves locations in DRC

Figure 4.5 DRC exports trends from 2006 to 2016

Figure 4.6 Transport infrastructure in DRC

Figure 4.7 DRC’s economic indicators and major events from 1960-2012

Figure 4.8: Key prosperity indicators of DRC compared to UK and the World
LIST OF ACRONYMS

CNDP- National Congress for the Defense of the People
DRC- Democratic Republic of Congo
DPKO- Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DDRRR- Disarmament, Demobilization, Repatriation, Reintegration and Resettlement
FARDC- Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo
FDLR- Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda
FIB- Force Intervention Brigade
JMC- Joint Military Committee
LRA- Lord’s Resistance Army
MLC- Movement for the Liberation of Congo
MONUC- United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
MONUSCO- United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
PSO- Peace Support Operations
RCD- Rally for Congolese Democracy
SPLA- Sudan People’s Liberation Army
UNSC- United Nations Security Council
UNTSO- United Nations Truce Supervision Organization
UNITA- National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UN- United Nations
DEFINITIONS OF OPERATIONAL TERMS

Mandate- the authority to carry out a policy or course of action, regarded as given by an authority. In this case, the UN mandate given to peacekeeping mission is the legal authority to execute stipulated objectives.

Cease-fire Agreement-It is a temporary suspension of fighting between conflicting parties so as to negotiate or allow a mediating party to intervene.

Disarmament- the process of reducing, limiting, or eliminating weapons through cooperation, treaties, and oversight

Rebels/Militias- a military force that engages in fighting activities, typically in opposition to a regular army. Militias or rebels can be ex-military officers or can be recruited from the population for the purpose of fighting other groups or the government

UN Resolution-they are legal texts accepted by United Nations bodies. In most cases, Resolutions are issued by either the General Assembly or the Security Council after a consultative meeting.
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The United Nations (UN) was established in 1945 with the core function of maintaining international peace and security (Hilmarsdóttir, 2012). The lessons learned after the first and second world wars made the world acknowledge the need to have a powerful international organization to check individual states. Ghoniem (2003) points that one of the main objectives of the UN is “to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security.” However, the UN is focused more on the prevention of war as opposed to resolving or restoring peace in areas experiencing conflicts (Hilmarsdóttir, 2012). Therefore, after the Second World War, the UN was involved in a few peacekeeping missions where the contributing nations had control of their military as opposed to the UN secretariat. According to Dobbins (2007), this was a risky approach to peacekeeping because the contributing countries could play partisan roles in the operations. More so, the UN was prone to facing the same challenges as the defunct League of Nations that failed to stop World War II.

In 1956 the UN established its first fully fledged peacekeeping force to respond to the Suez crisis (Mehta, 2008). The invasion of Egypt by France and Britain prompted the then UN Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjold, to establish a multinational peacekeeping force comprising 6000 soldiers (Gorur, 2016). Osmançavuşoğlu (1999) notes the creation of the UN peacekeeping unit initiated a new phase in global security maintenance system commonly known as the “traditional peacekeeping.” The UN peacekeeping troops served under a set of principles and specific terms that included having consent from conflicting parties, direct support from UN Security Council, direct UN command of troops, troops from different nations, political impartiality of UN troops, and non-use of force (Howard, 2008).
During the cold war era however, the UN peacekeeping operations did not accomplish much mainly because of the deep rooted ideological differences that existed amongst the UN permanent members. The United States and Russia were not on the same page ideologically, and the same hostile situation was latent to other permanent members such as China and Britain (Bratt, 1996). Therefore, the countries therefore relied on alternative regional alliances for purposes of peace and security. For instance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Multinational Force and Observers (MFO), and Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF) all played roles in different peacekeeping missions around the world (Dobbins, 2007).

The end of the cold war saw a significant shift in world politics and a new breed of conflicts. Howard (2008) explains that the fall of the USSR triggered several conflicts in Asia as some countries such as Kosovo and Bosnia sought sovereignty. In Africa, several states also went to war as post-colonial regimes rose up against long serving dictatorial regimes using well organized and funded rebels. Lipson (2007) notes that in 1988, UN peacekeepers had only five missions but by 1993, the figure had reached eighteen. By the end of the cold war in 1989, the UN had only 9,950 troops in peace missions around the world but the number had hit 80,000 troops by 1993 (Tarus, 2010). The increased number of conflicts called for the attention of the UN peacekeeping units. The post-cold war operations required a new approach to peacekeeping because of the complexities involved in conflicts. Shraga (2000) asserts that the UN peacekeepers required new skills such as policing, administration, Information dissemination, conducting elections, human rights monitoring, amongst many other functions provided in their respective mandates.

A critical issue of the UN peacekeeping missions remained their ability to protect civilians from aggression and harm in a conflict prone environment. Initially, the UN did not
allow the peacekeepers to use any force against the aggressors unless it was in self-defense. This policy proved challenging because the presences of the UN forces in “safe areas” did not prevent civilian attacks by the warring factions. For example, the UN peacekeepers in Bosnia faced a huge challenge because the Serbs continued to attack the safe areas created for civilian protection. The Rwanda genocide of 1994 was also blamed on the inability of the UN peacekeepers to use significant force to stop the aggressors from harming innocent people (Osmançavuşoğlu, 1999). Therefore, it became imperative for the use of force policy to be reviewed such that the UN peacekeepers can have the power and capacity to repeal violent attacks during in executing their mandates.

From the early 1990s, Africa has been a major beneficiary of UN peacekeeping missions. Almost a half of all operations by the UN has focused on African conflicts. Tarus (2010) notes that in 2010, 81% of the total 54,000 UN peacekeeping soldiers serve in Africa. Some of the countries where the UN soldiers have been deployed include Somalia, Eritrea, Namibia, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Liberia, Mozambique, Central African Republic (CAR), Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). In some countries, sustainable peace has been achieved while in others, conflict is ongoing. The UN has received support from member countries as well as other regional associations such as NATO, African Union (AU), European Union (EU), and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). However, there is still need to improve the operations of the peacekeeping force (Howard, 2008).
1.2 Statement of the Problem

From 1945, the UN has been mandated to ensure peace and stability across the world (DPKO, 2005). However, several armed conflicts have been witnessed in many parts of the world affecting billions of people over the last seven decades. According to Mehta (2008), there are more than 50 conflicts taking place in different parts of the world and over 100,000 troops drawn from 119 countries engage in at least 17 peacekeeping missions. Dobbins (2007) insists that the UN peacekeeping forces have done well in restoring peace in volatile countries but some cases are beyond their capacity. The peacekeeping missions cost the UN billions of dollars every year, and in cases of casualties continue being reported in the conflict infested regions. Therefore, peacekeeping is an expensive exercise that requires clinical execution to prevent both financial and human loss.

As such, there is need to conduct empirical research that will help in streamlining the operations of the UN peacekeepers in view of their mandate. Holt and Taylor (2009) assert that different comparative studies have been carried out to assess the effectiveness of peacekeeping missions around the world. Even though the UN peacekeepers more often than not have the same mandate, each conflict is unique. Comparative research will only help in establishing the differences in peacekeeping missions but not the intricacies that causes either success or failure in executing their mandate. Therefore, there is need to conduct a case study that will focus on a single mission and identify the factors that contributed to its success or failure.

A critical look at the policies, operational decisions, and capacities of the UN peacekeeping missions can help identity gaps in past failures and develop strategies that would be effective in the future. Currently, most of the peacekeeping operations still rely on the post-cold war tactics developed more than 25 years ago. With the new millennium, empirical
research will help detect changes in conflict trends in different parts of the world and recommend appropriate peacekeeping strategies (Lipson, 2007). The findings of such studies will particularly help peacekeepers assigned to African countries that have been experiencing conflicts for over two decades.

Democratic Republic of Congo is one such country where it is imperative to re-examine the effectiveness of the peacekeeping mission in the Eastern provinces that suffer the most conflict. Even though the country has made commendable progress since the 1990s, some improvement in the peacekeeping operations would help the country move to the next stage of political and economic prosperity (Tarus, 2010). The UN forces in the country are bound to play an essential role as DRC moves towards conducting a census and subsequent general elections, that is likely to introduce a new regime. Most importantly, the study examines the past operations of peacekeepers in the Eastern provinces of the DRC that will fill the existing gap in literature in the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping missions around the world.

1.3 Objectives of Study

1.3.1 General objective

The study aims to investigate the effectiveness of UN Peacekeeping missions, with specific attention to the Eastern Provinces of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

1.3.2 specific objectives

The following will be the specific objectives guiding the study

i) To assess the effectiveness of UN peacekeepers in DRC restoration and extension of state Authority.
ii) To analyze the effectiveness of the UN peacekeepers in the protection of civilians.

iii) To assess the effectiveness of UN peacekeepers in protecting natural resources and peace building.

1.4 Research Questions

The study will seek to answer the following research questions;

i) How effective are the UN peacekeepers in DRC in restoring and extending state authority?

ii) How effective are the UN peacekeepers in the protection of civilians?

iii) How effective are the UN peacekeepers in protecting natural resources and nation building?

1.5 Significance of study

The essence of the study is to analyze the operations of UN peacekeeping missions and assess their effectiveness in restoring peace in conflict afflicted environments. The study will use the case of the Eastern provinces of the DRC to study how effective the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) has been in its operations.

The study will help policy makers, diplomats, and military strategists in understanding the intricacies of peacekeeping missions. Since the MONUSCO mission is the largest and oldest peacekeeping missions in the world, it would be interesting to understand some of the factors that have contributed to its success and failures. More so, the findings of the study will
help in championing for new peacekeeping tactics that will serve the modern types of conflicts taking place in Africa and other parts of the world.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study will analyze the operations of the UN peacekeepers in the Eastern provinces of DRC from 1999 to 2016. According to MONUSCO (2017), the conflict in the DRC intensified in 1999 and the violence was majorly in the eastern parts of the country. Therefore, the deployment of peacekeepers is focused more on the Eastern region of the country as opposed to the whole country as evidenced in Appendix 1.

1.7 Limitations and Delimitations

1.7.1 Limitations

The study is limited to the study of the peacekeeping mission in Eastern provinces of the DRC and that may have biased implications on the achievements of UN peacekeeping missions across the world.

1.7.2 Delimitations

The use of a case study of the Eastern provinces of the DRC will allow the research to focus on the operations of a single unit with specific mandate. The approach will allow the researcher to test the effectiveness of the mission objectives against the results.

1.8 Assumptions of the study

The researcher will make the following assumptions in the study:
i) The UN peacekeeping force (MONUSCO) was the only international organ responsible for restoring peace in DRC.

ii) MONUSCO and MONUC are the same organization with a largely similar mandate and structure. Thus, the change of names from MONUC to MONUSCO did not affect its operations.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This section reviews literatures concerning the general objectives of UN peacekeeping missions. The research examines literature touching on each of the identified objectives of the study. The first section of the chapter is an empirical review of literatures guided by the thematic areas of the study. The chapter then develops a theoretical and conceptual framework that would guide the collection and analysis of data.

2.2 Execution of UN Mandate

A mandate refers to the obligations bestowed upon the peacekeeping mission by the UN Security Council. Each mission has its unique mandate based on the nature of the conflict. Therefore, the fulfillment of the mandate points to a successful completion of the mission, and thus, termination. Doyle and Sambanis (2006) note that there is often a disconnect between the perception of the mandate drafters in New York and the reality on the ground where a conflict exists. The misunderstanding often results in the development of different targets between those who receive the peacekeeping service and those who mandate the peacekeeping units. Mégret and Hoffmann (2003) assert that the formulation of each mandate for a peacekeeping mission should be done after thorough research on the needs of the conflict area. Shraga (2000) also agrees that the drafting of the mandate should be a well-thought exercise such that it would help the peacekeepers and the benefiting community achieve their mutual objectives.

Peacekeeping units have the responsibility to execute their mandates with guidance from the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) in collaboration with the UN Security Council. Ghoniem (2003) believes that the individuals responsible for commanding
peacekeeping missions determine the success of the operations. However, the complexity of the conflict and the mandate also dictates the effectiveness of a peacekeeping unit. However, the UN Security Council has the authority to change the mandate in the process of peacekeeping to accommodate the dynamics of the conflict (Doyle & Sambanis, 2006). For example, the council had to change the MONUSCO’s mandate, including the change of the name in view of the conflict dynamics in the DRC. Barnett (2002) points out that the observation team on the ground plays an important role in gathering crucial information about a conflict and sharing the data with the UN Security Council.

In the Bosnia and Herzegovina conflict that started in the early 1990s, the United Nations managed to conduct a successful peacekeeping operation. The United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) was established in 1995 with a clear mandate to carry out the following functions; i) law enforcement and policing, ii) humanitarian relief, iii) human rights protection, iv) demining, v) elections, vi) rehabilitation of infrastructure, and v) economic stimulation (Mehta, 2008). UNMIBH operated amidst many challenges but managed to fulfill its mandate after about six years and the mission ended in 2002. According to the then UN secretary general, Koffi Annan, “Through UNMIBH, the United Nations has demonstrated its ability to complete a complex mandate in accordance with a strategic plan and within a realistic and finite time frame” (UN 2002, p 8). Thus, the success demonstrated that having an ideal mandate for peacekeeping missions is instrumental in ensuring success.

The United Nations also demonstrated effective peacekeeping mission in East Timor. Initially, the UN Security Council established the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) to oversee a referendum that would decide if East Timor will become an autonomous province of Indonesia or a sovereign state (Mehta, 2008). The vote went in favor
of independence and this triggered violence from some Indonesian militias. The United Nations worked closely with International Force East Timor (INTERFET) to protect civilians and ensure UNAMET completed its mandate. Later on, after relative peace was restored, the UN changed the mandate of UNAMET and renamed it to United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) in 1999. The new mandate included maintaining security, setting up administrative structures for self-governance, provide humanitarian assistance, and create an environment conducive for sustainable development (Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), 2017). UNTAET worked closely with the leadership of East Timor and ensured that it fulfilled its mandate in the shortest time possible. By 2002, East Timor had drafted its constitution, formed its first parliament, renamed the country to Timor-Leste, and joined the UN as an independent state. The Security Council changed the mandate of the mission and renamed it United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET). UNMISET was terminated in 2005 after accomplishing all its objectives (DPKO, 2017).

A mandate is only as good as it is interpreted and implemented. MONUC was authorised under Chapter VII to use force to prevent civil war, prevent inter-tribal warfare and expel mercenaries. By some this was regarded as a strong mandate but the mission was regarded as ineffective for a long time. This disparity was regarded by some as poor implementation but also by a lack of resources to match the mandate’s objectives (Findlay, 2002). Since the 1990s mandates have been expanding to include reform, rehabilitation, political and social development. These missions did not just try to stop conflict but also tried to address its root causes. An increase in internal conflicts led to an expansion of focus on enforcement and the implementation of peace agreements (Talento, 2004). In peace enforcement, the mission requires enough resources to enforce compliance with the mandate;
no matter how much the parties may object (Peace Support Operations, 2000). The warring parties do not need to agree with the mandate. A peace keeping force must avoid becoming a party to a conflict but this is difficult if one party is regarded as the threat to the civilian population.

However, not all UN peacekeeping missions have been successful in accomplishing the mandate set by the Security Council. A classic example is the Somali conflict that remains unresolved to date. According to Philipp (2005), Somalia is a special case that cannot be studied as one of the success stories of UN interventions in international and national conflicts. The UN first intervened in 1992 by mandating UNOSOM I to facilitate ceasefire agreement and allow humanitarian aids to reach the population (DPKO 2005). However, the mission was aborted and the Unified Task Force, led by the United States, was given the responsibility of securing Somalia and protecting the humanitarian efforts (Williams, 2013). The United Nations reintroduced more peacekeepers in 1993 under UNOSOM II but they also failed to accomplish their mandate, forcing a premature withdrawal in 1995 when the country was still in conflict. Philipp (2005) believes the complexity of the Somalia conflict is majorly to blame for the failure of the peacekeeping missions to succeed. Unlike in most parts of the world where conflict is by organized rebel groups, the Somali war is sustained by clan warlords that have no clear administrative structures. Therefore, the execution of the peacekeeping mandates became a challenging task for the UN forces.

Traditional peacekeeping operations are usually succeeded by conflicting parties agreeing to a cease-fire or a withdrawal, and then consenting to the presence of a force on their soil. Consent is usually attained from legitimate governments involved (Shraga, 2000). This procedure is rather straight forward when dealing with an inter-state conflict, as was the case
of the establishment of United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG) following the Iranian and Iraqi governments consent of a cease-fire called for by the Security Council (Hilmarsdóttir, 2012). But when dealing with intra-state conflict, e.g. the conflict among the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus in 1964-1974, it may be argued that consent from all factions should be attained, although that is not always possible and consent is only attained from the government, which was the case in Cyprus. Chesterman (2004) believes that this has caused problems in intra-state peacekeeping operations such as United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) in Southern Lebanon, where placement of the peacekeeping force was gained at the request of a very weak Lebanese government, without the consent or cooperation of the many groups that controlled Southern Lebanon. Because of this UNIFIL was very ineffective.

2.3 Protection of Civilians

The primary function of peacekeeping missions is the protection of civilians. Willmot and Sheeran (2014) argue that “the peacekeeping mandate is at risk of being diluted, and the potential focus and effectiveness of the use of force to protect civilians undermined” (p 518). The statement reflects the contention that surrounds the modalities of protecting civilians by peacekeeping military forces in different parts of the world. While all agree that civilians must be protected from the threat of violence, the method used to protect them differ. Brown (1994) explains that a section of international diplomats still believe that the UN peacekeepers do not have the authority to proactively engage in combat as a strategy to protect civilians. However, lessons from past operations reveal that it is imperative for the peacekeeping units to have the capacity to fight with an aim of protecting civilians from aggression (DPKO 2003).
The United Nations learned a critical lesson in 1995 during the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. In 1992, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) went in to protect Bosnian civilians and provide humanitarian aid. UNPROFOR worked closely with NATO and created six “safe areas” in Bosnian territory where fighting was prohibited. The UN mandate made it clear that peacekeepers were not allowed to use force unless it was strictly self-defense. However, NATO forces went on to bomb areas occupied by the Serb rebels until when 350 peacekeepers were captured by the rebels and NATO forced to abandon all attacks (Dimitrijević & Milanović, 2008). The rebels went ahead and attacked one of the safe areas and killed over 200,000 civilians in Srebrenica (Mehta, 2008). The massacre became a critical turning point for the UN peacekeeping operations as they realized the need to use unlimited force in protecting civilians from attacks.

Another mission that taught the world critical lessons on civilian protection was that of the Rwanda conflict. Barnett (2002) explains that United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) was established in 1993 to implement the Arusha Peace Agreement after violence broke out in Rwanda. However, UNAMIR did not receive adequate support and mandate to protect the civilians who were under serious threat of attack. Mehta (2008) asserts that “the peacekeepers of the Council’s mission to Rwanda were abandoned during the genocide and … efforts to these UN personnel to ease the suffering of the Rwandan people were ignored by the Great Powers” (p 4). The failures of the UN Security Council to make decisive actions during the Rwandese conflict led to the death of over 800,000 civilians (Barnett, 2002).

Among the first targets of the genocide were Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana and 10 Belgian members of 2nd Commando Battalion, the Paracommando
Regiment operating as part of UNAMIR (Barnett, 2002). These troops were murdered after handing over their weapons to Rwandan government troops. They were advised to do so by their battalion commander who was unclear on the legal issues with authorizing them to defend themselves, even though they had already been under fire for approximately two hours.

Following the death of Habyarimana, UNAMIR Force Commander, Roméo Dallaire, liaised repeatedly with both the Crisis Committee and the RPF, in an attempt to re-establish peace (Jones, 2002). He addressed the government forces during the night of 6 April, expressing regret at Habyarimana's death but urging them to restrain the killings that had commenced; he also urged Kagame not to resume the civil war, to avoid escalating the violence and to give UNAMIR a chance to rein in the killings. Neither side was interested in a ceasefire, the government because it was controlled by the genocidaires, and the Rwandan Patriotic Front rebels because it considered it necessary to fight to stop the killings. UNAMIR's Chapter VI mandate rendered it powerless to intervene militarily, and most of its Rwandan staff were killed in the early days of the genocide, severely limiting its ability to operate. UNAMIR was therefore largely reduced to a bystander role, and Dallaire later labelled it a "failure." Its most significant contribution was to provide refuge for thousands of Tutsi and moderate Hutu at its headquarters in Amahoro Stadium, as well as other secure UN sites. UNAMIR also assisted with the evacuation of foreign nationals; a group of Belgian soldiers, who had been sheltering 2,000 Rwandans at the École Technique Officielle, were ordered to abandon their station to assist in the evacuation. After the Belgians left, Hutu militants entered and massacred everyone inside (Jones, 2002). DPKO (2003) believes the lessons learnt from both the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda established the foundation for subsequent strategies by peacekeepers to protect civilians.
Apart from protecting civilians from physical harm, the UN peacekeeping missions have the responsibility of preventing human rights violation from the conflicting parties. Shraga (2000) points out that during war, children and women suffer most because they lack the capacity to protect themselves. While the men take up arms and fight, the women have to protect their children and the few belongings they own. In most cases, children are forced into the battlefield while the women are raped and forced to work for the fighters as slaves. Mégret and Hoffmann (2003) agrees that the dignity of all people must be protected during and after the war. Gorur (2016) believes the UN peacekeepers have been largely effective in pointing out human right abuses during their missions and ensuring the warring parties respect international laws protecting human dignity.

The Darfur conflict in Sudan resulted in the death of over 300,000 people and displacement of millions of civilians from the region (Tarus, 2010). Although the conflict started in 2003, the United Nations went in to assist the African Union troops in 2007 under the banner of United Nations African Mission in Darfur (UNAMID). Rebels from the southern part of Sudan were fighting forces from the government and the Arab Janjaweed militias, who were also supported by the government (Williams, 2013). Mégret and Hoffmann, 2003 indicate that the government forces abused human rights by executing, displacing, imprisoning, and torturing thousands of people from the Darfur region. Apparently, President Omar Al Bashir of Sudan used his Minister of state for Interior to carry out violations against human rights on the millions of black African Sudanese protesting the oppression from the Arab dominated North. UNAMID could do little to stop the abuse of human rights by the government forces but the United Nations issued economic sanctions to the country and both
the President and the Interior Minister were indicted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for various counts of human rights violations (Tarus 2010).

2.4 Enforcing of Ceasefire Agreements in Peacekeeping Missions

Besides protecting the civilians, peacekeepers also have a responsibility to ensure the parties involved in the conflict stop armed engagement. Potter (2004) states that negotiating ceasefire agreements is the first step towards restoring security in a conflict area. Without the fighting, humanitarian organizations can deliver aid to the affected populations and the civilians can also get an opportunity to move to safer areas. More so, Brown (1994) believes that ceasefires are the first step towards achieving sustainable peace. The UN peacekeepers are also often mandated to either negotiate for ceasefire, monitor ceasefire agreements, and restore truce in case the agreement is broken. However, for the role of the peacekeepers to be effective, they must have the consent and respect of the conflicting parties.

For instance, in 1978, Israel invaded Lebanon after Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) attacked Tel Aviv (Brown, 1994). The united Nations established the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) to negotiate a ceasefire and subsequent withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Lebanese territory. However, both Israel and Lebanon were not willing to corporate with UNIFIL. Therefore, fighting continued and UNIFIL did not have any capacity to stop the two sides. Even when Israel withdrew from their positions, they did not involve the UN peacekeepers but allowed armed militias to control the region and continue fighting with PLO. Consequently, the peacekeeping operations in the area failed because UNIFIL did not have the consent and support of the parties involved in the conflict.

Nonetheless, the success story of Sierra Leone proves that ceasefire agreements are instrumental in the process of maintaining peace. Olonisakin (2008) narrates that the situation
in Sierra Leone was bad when the UN intervened by establishing the UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL). The peacekeeping team negotiated a ceasefire agreement with the warring parties but it was soon broken in 2000 by the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), who attacked the peacekeepers and their rivals. Tarus (2010) indicates that the UN pressured the rebels to honor the ceasefire by placing sanctions on their financiers. UNAMSIL negotiated for a new ceasefire agreement and received help from the United Kingdom military in protecting the civilians. Soon another lasting ceasefire was achieved and UNAMSIL managed to disarm over 75,000 fighters including around 7,000 children who were engaged in the war (Olonisakin, 2008). Hultman, Kathman and Shannon (2013) note that the dedication of the UN peacekeepers and other international players helped in achieving sustainable peace in Sierra Leone. Negotiating and monitoring the ceasefire agreement was an important part towards attaining a secure nation. After the disarming process, UNAMSIL supported the government in organizing the police and the national army.

In Somalia, a cease-fire was agreed upon on 3 March 1992 between the two main opposing rivals; Mogadishu General Mohamed Farah Aideed, who led the United Somali Congress/Somali National Alliance (USC/SNA) and controlled south Mogadishu and Ali Mahdi Mohamed who controlled the north (Elmi, & Barisen 2006). The then UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali used this opportunity and asked the Security Council to dispatch a small military troop to monitor the cease-fire and provide security for humanitarian agencies. Møller (2009) explains that The UN Security Council responded and in April 1992 United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) was established (Thakur, 1994). At first the troop consisted of 50 unarmed, uniformed military observers that monitored the cease-fire. The Security Council also agreed to deploy a 500-strong but lightly armed infantry unit that was to provide
UN relief convoys with a sufficiently strong military escort to deter attack and to fire effectively in self-defense if deterrence would not prove to be sufficient. Peace zones were to be established as to facilitate the delivery of aid (Murphy, 2007).

Theobald (2015) explains that due to the confusion regarding the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), some regard UNTSO to be the first real UN peacekeeping mission. UNTSO is important as a peacekeeping mission as it was the predecessor to six other operations set up in the Middle East during the Cold War. It is identified as an observer mission, and it is responsible for the observing and monitoring of the cease-fire between Israel and its neighbors. One significant function that UNTSO has attempted to fulfill was its mandate to investigate local disputes as well as attempt to defuse situations along the cease-fire lines which may have developed into violence (Theobald, 2015).

Pelcovits (1993) asserts that the Jewish immigration into Palestine before World War II set the scene for long-lasting hostility between Arabs and Jews and war between them resulted in the creation of UNTSO in 1948; established by the Security Council with the main function to supervise a truce called for by the UN. The UN’s initial proposals, made by the UN Special Commission on Palestine (UNSCOP), to partition Palestine into an Arab state and a Jewish state were rejected by the Arabs. Palestinians questioned the legality of the UN to recommend the partition of their ancestral home and UNSCOP was consequently relieved of its responsibilities. The UN’s proposal prompted two things; Jewish authorities proclaimed the creation of Israel and a number of Arab neighboring states invaded Palestine/Israel in May 1948. The Security Council demanded truce and called for international supervision of that demand. Jews eventually won the war and were able to force the Arabs into a series of Armistice Agreements in 1949. This led to a drastic change in UNTSO’s functions: which
included assisting with prisoners’ exchanges and supervising demilitarized zones in accordance with the Armistice Agreements that had been set up (Theobald, 2015). The Security Council authorized military personnel associated with UNTSO to assist the parties in supervising the application of the Agreements.

2.5 Protecting Natural Resources and Nation Building

2.5.1 Stopping illegal exploitation of Natural Resources

The UN Security Council also requires the peacekeepers to help in peacebuilding efforts by restoring the economies of countries in conflict. After stopping the violence, the next task for the peacekeepers is to create an environment that will enhance economic growth and nation-building. Le Billon (2001) asserts that in addition to economic development, the peacekeepers also have the responsibility to protect the economic resources found in the conflict regions such as oil and minerals. Matthew, Brown and Jensen (2009) note that in some conflicts, resources such as oil and minerals have been used as fuel for the conflict by providing arms and mercenaries to the fighting groups. For instance, the violence in Sudan in the early 2000s was concentrated around the oil producing regions. The southern Sudanese rebels were opposed to the exploitation and discrimination perpetrated by the Khartoum government, especially with regards to the revenues collected from oil exportations (Le Billon, 2012). Therefore, the United Nations had to control the effect of oil in the Darfur conflict by introducing economic sanctions that would stop the Sudanese government from taking advantage of the economic resource. The information gathered by the UN peacekeepers on the ground helped in enforcing the sanctions.

The same applies to the conflicts in West Africa where rebels used revenues collected from smuggling diamond to fund their activities. Jensen and Lonergan (2013) explains that
the conflict in Angola, Liberia, and Sierra Leone were fueled by the proceeds of illegal diamond sales. In the early 1990s, Jonas Savimbi of Angola used The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) to wage war against the government after losing the 1992 presidential elections (Le Billon, 2001). UNITA relied on the proceeds of illegal oil production and diamonds to support its activities against the government. In 1993, the UN Security Council passed resolution 864 that prohibited trading with the Angolan rebel groups (Ferreira, 2006). It was the duty of the peacekeepers to ensure that no external party buys oil or diamond from the rebel groups in exchange for weapons. In 1998, the financial sanctions targeting the rebel groups were increased and all diamonds from Angola were supposed to have a Certificate of Origin to prevent the rebels from exploiting the resource for weapons (Paris, 2004). Ferreira (2006) believes the economic sanctions imposed on UNITA were instrumental in stopping the conflict in Angola. The same approach was taken to reduce the financial muscles of rebels in both Liberia and Sierra Leone. Former Liberian President, Charles Taylor, was prosecuted by the International Criminal Court for using civilians as slaves in the mining of “blood” diamonds used to fuel the conflict in the country. The UN peacekeepers ensured that all the regions where the rebels used to mine the diamonds were in control of government authorities to avoid illegal mining and trading in exchange for arms (Matthew, Brown, & Jensen, (2009).

Governments that send troops to UN peacekeeping missions view resource control not only as a high-risk option, but as a distraction from, or even as counterproductive to, peacekeepers’ principal political and humanitarian mandates. “Robust” peacekeeping—entailing combat operations in mining or logging areas, for example—is thus unlikely, in part because of the risk of casualties among both civilians and UN troops (Shraga, 2000).
Nevertheless, in some cases, the deployment of UN troops in resource rich areas has been viewed as a necessity. Where such efforts have been undertaken, however, they have occasionally met with determined resistance from armed groups, and the resource-rich areas have often been the last ones to come under UN control. Carnahan (2007) asserts that one of the most pressing issues is whether intervention will make a substantial contribution to a speedier end to the conflict, without creating harmful consequences in the future—loss of livelihoods, for example, or abuse by rebel groups. When armed groups’ access to conflict resources is curtailed, they sometimes turn on the local populations, either to obtain funding through extortion and illegal taxation or simply for revenge—events for which the UN would bear some responsibility. There is another perspective on this problem, however: Weinstein (2006) has found that rebel groups that emerge in resource-rich environments tend to commit worse abuses against civilians. This behavior appears to be associated with a membership pool of “consumers” rather than “investors”—that is, combatants who are drawn to the rebellion by short-term, opportunistic economic objectives rather than by long-term political objectives (Le Billon, 2012).

In the short term, UN military interventions in resource sectors may risk exacerbating abuses by rebels against civilian populations; but in the long term, such interventions may not only reduce the capacity of rebel groups but may also help focus rebel movements on political objectives—and therefore on negotiations, rather than on survival and profiteering. Thus, intervention needs to be carefully considered from a number of perspectives, including ethical, military, political, and economic.

2.5.2 Restoration and extension of state Authority
Besides restoring peace and security, the UN peacekeepers also have the mandate to help in facilitating the exercise of authority of governments in conflict environments. Raszka and Krč (2013) believe that peacekeeping missions have both direct and indirect impacts to economic development of the regions they operate in. The presence of thousands of peacekeeping personnel in a country helps in improving the economy of the country through the spending of the mission. While the local impact represents a small share of expenditure compared to the overall level of expenditure, in some cases it makes a significant contribution to the gross domestic product (GDP) of the host country (Carnahan, Gilmore & Durch, 2007). In four of the nine missions the local impact was over 6 percent of GDP and in two cases it was over 10 percent (Beber, et al. 2016). In Kosovo, this was mainly due to the relatively high local impact, whereas in Timor-Leste, Liberia and Burundi, the high local impact as a share of GDP had more to do with the relatively low level of GDP compared to other countries where the mission was operating (Carnahan, Gilmore & Durch, 2007). The breakdown of the local impact into three categories of expenditure: expenditure associated with spending of allowances; local staff salaries and wages; and local content of procured goods and services. Overall spending of allowances by international staff makes the largest overall contribution to the local impact; over half of the impact in four missions and between 40 and 50 percent in four others (Carnahan, 2007). The local content of procurement also makes up more than 40 percent of the impact in four missions. The three missions with the lowest share of impact from procurement were in Timor, Kosovo and Cambodia. These missions all involved large civilian administrations, requiring the presence of a large contingent of international staff spending their allowances and a large national staff presence. Despite long mission durations in the case of Kosovo and Timor, the impact of local procurement was relatively small. That said, in the
case of Kosovo, there was a greater local impact from procurement than in Timor, primarily because of the more developed economy and greater capacity to source locally.

Rwanda underwent a major institutional reconstruction process after the civil war and genocide of 1994. Jones (2002) explains that the country was devastated by wide scale conflict, no infrastructure was intact and there were no available supplies. The ruined economy was non-operational and many societal structures collapsed. The production capacity of the private sector declined, and at the same time the public sector witnessed considerable reduction of its capacity to direct the economy. National, prefecture and local administrative structures were weakened or quite simply destroyed in the wake of the war in 1990 and with the genocide of 1994 (Hilmarsdóttir, 2012). Human resources were depleted either by the mass killings or by exile. The majority of public servants and the skilled professional workforce either were killed or fled along with two million other citizens to refugee camps in surrounding countries.

United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) was mandated to help stop the civil conflict in Rwanda, protect the civilians, facilitate humanitarian aid, and support the establishment of a transitional government. Nonetheless, the work of UNAMIR after the genocide was critical in the restoration of economic prosperity in Rwanda. According to Williams (2013), the mission was instrumental in helping the transitional government led by President Kagame to gain legitimacy and support from the country. This helped build the confidence of the millions of Rwandese who had fled the country to return and help in rebuilding the economy of the country. UNAMIR ensured that the country was secure and the political system is reset such that it was possible for the population to start engaging in economic activities (Jones, 2002).
2.6 Theoretical Framework

Despite the fact that much has been written on the peacekeeping process, few scholars have examined the theoretical foundations that justifies or rebukes the process. However, the works of Fortna (2004) create a credible theoretical framework that can be used to explain the peacekeeping process. According to Fortna (2004), peacekeepers can achieve sustainable positive outcomes using four key steps that include the following;

1. Ensure the conflicting parties see the benefits of peace by making war look more expensive
2. Remove the uncertainties and fear that drive the taking up of arms by negotiating for ceasefire.
3. Control the actions of rogue groups that can easily result in more fighting after the cease fire.
4. Control the political actions of the powerful side, often the government, that can easily trigger more fighting by the opposing side.

Fortna (2004) believes that if the warring sides are motivated to secure peace, the work of the peacekeepers is only to mediate the negotiation between them. However, peacekeeping can become complex if the conflict benefits one or more sides of the conflicting parties.

A neo-Grotian approach to normative development has also gained ground to rationalize the Peace Support Operation (PSO)–humanitarian nexus. According to Pugh (2004), since the end of the Cold War, the reasoning behind the legitimation of intervention has shifted towards humanitarian claims and justice rather than the maintenance of order through the principle of non-intervention. Contrary to the neorealist view that states use regimes as arenas for competition and establish norms to reflect power and interests, powerful
states are restrained by such norms and the humanitarian outcomes of action are as important as the motives, which may include economic and strategic goals (Fetherston, 2000). The solidarist case contends that states have a moral duty to express solidarity with abused groups by using force against state perpetrators of massive rights violations, regardless of legal criteria for determining legitimate humanitarian intervention, is an influential one that has been echoed by the UN Secretary-General (Findlay, 2002). The minimum ethical requirement, solidarists agree, is that the means used must adhere to recognized *jus in bello* criteria such as prohibiting civilian targets. Complementary practical steps include strengthening international law, shaming financial defaulters, and regulating the principles and practice of intervention. This is still some distance from a radical cosmopolitan framework since it remains firmly within the foundations of statism. Individuals within states will be offered external protection, but it will be states that do the protecting. It assumes that states, or governments, can be divided into ‘abusers’ and ‘protectors’ of rights, and expects the latter to abide by their own standards. It highlights the ethics of military engagements to protect rights rather than deep-seated structural problems which give rise to the urge to police and engineer.

Although foundational theories are prominent, the issue can also be understood through alternative frameworks and by probing beyond the mere exposure of statist hypocrisy (Chesterman, 2004). From a critical theory perspective, PSOs and humanitarian missions illustrate the disempowering effects of statist sovereignty and globalization. Rich and powerful states and institutions are the sources of key decisions about policing and riot control and provide the vast bulk of humanitarian experts and assistance (Pugh, 2003). PSOs and humanitarian missions are manifestations of stresses in the international system for which corporations, states, and the international financial institutions are largely responsible. In
promoting the globalization of a capitalist manifest destiny – the ‘Washington consensus’ of neoliberal market economy and its human face ‘poverty reduction strategies’ – advance a top-down socio-economic model that constrains state spending on social benefits in the periphery (Fetherston, 2000).

2.7 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework illustrates the relationship between the identified variables of the study. The study identifies the independent variables as the execution of protection of civilians, restoration of state authority, negotiating, controlling, and prevention of minerals related conflicts. The dependent variable is the effective execution of peacekeeping missions by the United Nations forces consisting of multinational troops. The following diagram, (Figure 2.0), show the relationship between the two sets of variables.

Figure 2.0 Conceptual Framework of the Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variables</th>
<th>Dependent Variable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protection of Civilians</td>
<td>Effective UN peacekeeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restoration and extension of State authority</td>
<td>mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevent mineral resource related conflicts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Description of Study Site

The study site was the Eastern provinces of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), which consist South Kivu, North Kivu, and Hautele provinces. Focus was on the operations of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO). DRC is a central African country sharing borders with Republic of Congo-Brazzaville, Angola, Zambia, Burundi, Sudan, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, and the Central African Republic (CAR). It is the 2nd largest African country after Algeria. The country has an estimated population of about 70 million people, but an official census is due soon before a general election (Gambino, 2011). The current conflict in the country has been going on since 1998, pitting the government of President Joseph Kabila and several rebel forces in various parts of the country.

Focus of the study was the eastern provinces of DRC that include North Kivu, South Kivu, Uturi, Orientale, Katanga, and Maniema. Over 70% of all the UN peacekeeping troops are located in the eastern provinces where there is intense conflict. The dense region holds around 52% of the country population. Since the conflict started, over 3 million have died in the region and there are currently more than 2.7 million internally displaced persons in the region. There are also hundreds of thousands of refugees from the neighboring countries (Council on Foreign Relations, 2016).
MONUSCO started its operations in 1999 under the name United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC). This was changed to MONUSCO in 2010, after the UN Security Council revised its mandate. Currently, the mission has about 17,000 peacekeepers (United Nations Security Council, 2017).

3.2 Research Design

The research adopted a descriptive design using a case study approach. According to Babbie and Mouton (2004), the descriptive design investigates and collects information regarding an existing condition. They describe events and studies aimed at discovering inferences or causal relationships. The descriptive method of research aims to describe how a situation is without judging (Babbie and Mouton, 2004). Therefore, in most cases, observation or survey methods are employed in gathering data. However, since this is a secondary research,
the observation was based on literature available on the role of international community in peace keeping missions.

The research employed secondary research to achieve its objectives. It was challenging to gather primary data for this study because of the magnitude of the peacekeeping mission involved several countries and organizations. Relevant literature on the subjects of the UN peacekeeping missions in various parts of the world will be analyzed. A descriptive method of research can be used with both qualitative and quantitative data, thereby enabling the researcher to be flexible in the process of gathering data (Denscombe 2007). Different instruments can be used to gather the data and in this case, the researcher opted to use secondary instruments that include books, journals, newspapers, magazines, online articles, and publications (Creswell 2007).

On the other hand, in interpretivism, the research had the freedom to incorporate personal values (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). As such, there is room for personal interpretation of the subject under discussion (Saunders et al 2009). According to Patten (2004), positivism approach calls for an objective testing of the research truth and is linked to quantitative research methods. The use of a qualitative design called for an interpretivism approach to data analysis. Creswell (2007) describes this approach to research as one influenced by the researcher’s perception. There is more room for the researcher to employ individual perspectives during the interpretation of the data (Saunders et al, 2012). Therefore, the use of a triangulation research design would enable the researcher to have multiple approaches to the research topic. This would be manifest in the interpretation of data, which would consider the quantitative and qualitative data (Booth and Williams, 2003).
According to Kumar (2005), postgraduate students that lack the time and financial resources to conduct elaborate primary research have used secondary research method widely. However, the use of secondary research must not be considered an inferior research method because some research topics are best undertaken using secondary research exclusively. For instance, the research to be undertaken, analyzing the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping operations, requires wide array of data from the different organizations that took part in the missions. The data is best gathered using a secondary research approach where the researcher was at liberty to gather data from different sources at comparatively lower cost than primary research.

Nevertheless, the research was aware of the challenges posed by the use of secondary research method. Creswell (2007) believes that secondary research is not specialized to the research topic; therefore, it gathered generalized data that may not be relevant. The other challenge that the researcher strived to overcome in the use of secondary research is getting up to date data. In some cases, there were no current data available from the secondary sources and this may compromise on the validity of the research findings (Ghuari, & Gronhaug, 2005). However, since the particular research targeted event that occurred recently, the researcher will not face the challenge of irrelevant materials due to time differences.

### 3.2.1 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research methods present data using verbal or literal information and not numerical figures like quantitative research (Babbie and Mouton, 2004). Qualitative research makes use of inductive reasoning in which the content of the research findings including the literature review are holistically analyzed in order to provide better understanding (Ghuari, & Gronhaug, 2005). Mack et al further say that qualitative research is more concerned with the
human touch affecting the research subject. Qualitative research was able to bring out intangible factors that may affect the subject of the research such as human perceptions or attitudes. This made the qualitative research appropriate for the research topic because the issue about charity is engraved in people’s cultural practices and personal beliefs.

Qualitative research is flexible and not as an empirical study (Coxon, 2005). However, it is best for providing the human touch and reasoning into the research (Creswell, 2007). The qualitative approach in the synthesis of the quantitative data and gives a more comprehensive finding for the research.

3.3 Data Analysis

The research focused more on qualitative data for analysis. The analysis of the data will hold on to the interpretivism philosophy where the views of the researcher was incorporated in the interpretation of the secondary data reviewed. The quantitative data gathered from the secondary sources would also be qualitatively analyzed by the researcher to provide insight into the topic of research in a bid to answer the research question and fulfill the set objectives. The data gathered was from different researches and trusted sources from the internet. Some of the data are expected to be numerical while other was discussed findings of assertions by researchers and theorists. According to White (2000), qualitative research dwells more on the intangible factors that emanates from human activity.

3.4 Reliability and Validity

Further and most importantly, the question of validity and reliability was critically sensitive. According to Bryman and Bell (2007), “reliability, replication and validity are the core criteria for assessing the quality of any business research, where the latter entails an
assessment in terms of ... measurement validity, internal validity, external validity and ecological validity”, (p. 39). The proposed research study was liable to the risk of biased data collection and analysis since the findings was generated from a qualitative data collection and analysis. The researcher could easily allow a level of bias to interfere with the research process either consciously or unconsciously, thus contravening internal validity.

Nonetheless, the researcher enhanced the level of objectivity of the research process particularly in the qualitative data collection and analysis stages of the research, as a measure of improving internal validity of the findings. The secondary data research was used to ensure a high external validity of the findings generated. The data was analyzed using simple thematic processes. Rather than employ huge margins of error, significance level of each response will be calculated in a manner that can easily be replicated and confirmed.

3.5 Ethical Consideration

This research made use of copyrighted literature; therefore, the researcher had to observe high level of ethical research practices. The researcher ensured that proper citation and referencing was done for all the secondary sources used in the research (White, 2000). More so, there was a deliberate attempt to avoid using of non-academic sources in the study. The research focused on books, academic journals, and credible publications to provide data for the study. The information to be obtained from the secondary research was presented accurately and objectively without any intentional alterations. According to Rolfe (2006), integrity in secondary research is paramount as researchers are likely to be selective in the use of secondary literature.
3.6 Limitations of the study

The use of secondary research only to collect data was the major limitation of the study. According to Patten (2004), secondary research is limited in guaranteeing comprehensive research since it depends on availability of data. Some of the data on the military and diplomatic activities that took place during the period was not readily available from books and previous research and this limited the effectiveness of the research method. The scope of the research was also quite wide to be thoroughly covered. It may be challenging to identify the responsibilities of all the international actors involved in the peacekeeping missions. Therefore, the researcher only relies on the information available from credible sources on the major actor’s roles.

3.7 Chapter Summary

The methodology used in this research will seek to overcome the limitation of using secondary research only as opposed to primary research only or a combination of the two. The use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches would ensure that the research topic is covered comprehensively. The research would collect data from literature available from the University library and from online academic journals. The research methodology heavily depends on being able to collect the relevant data on the UN peacekeeping operations in the Eastern region of the DRC. The data gathered from the research will be analyzed using both quantitative and qualitative analysis to provide in depth information on the topic.
CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the secondary research conducted on the peacekeeping mission in the Eastern provinces of the DRC. The study examines the operational effectiveness of both MONUC and MUNUSCO as the core peacekeeping units that have dealt with the conflict. The first part of the chapter explains the background of the DRC conflict and defines the operational scope of the UN peacekeepers. The second part then examines the effectiveness of the missions based on the variables identified by the objectives of the study.

4.2 Background Information of The DRC Conflict

The war in DRC is one of the worst in the world having been going on for the last 20 years. There are several motivations that have sustained the conflict for such long including political differences, social inequality, regional interference, scramble for natural resources, and ethnicity (Doss, 2014). However, experts believe that the current situation in the DRC traces its roots to the colonial era when the country was under the Belgian rule. According to Cammaert (2010), the social-political problems in Congo started during the colonial period when King Leopold II ruled the country like his private land. The king exploited natural resources in the country and forced the locals to work for the Belgium imperialists for many decades with minimal returns from their ancestral land. Bernath and Edgerton (2003) believe that the colonial rule set the precedence for natural resources exploitation and poor governance. Therefore, when Congo gained its independence in 1960, it was not easy for the post-colonial government to consolidate unity across the vast central African country.
The first African Prime Minister of Congo, Patrice Lumumba, started experiencing political problems a few months after taking power from the Belgians. Many colonialists who controlled the country left after independence leaving the new administration with the burden of controlling the divided provinces with minimal resources. The was an immediate revolt by the military as well as some provinces in the Kivu region that wanted to be separated from Congo. Doss (2014) indicates that Prime Minister Lumumba sought help from the Soviet Union and this complicated issues in the country as the western countries found the motivation to remove him from government and install a “friendly” regime. Thus, by 1965 General Mobutu Sese Seko carried out a successful coupe and installed himself as the president.

For the 32 years President Mobutu ruled DRC the situation became worse as he focused on personal interests as opposed to the citizens. He changed the name of the country to Zaire and used the natural resources to enrich himself and his loyalists. The country was further driven into economic problems despite its abundant natural resources. According to Perry (2012), by the early 1990s, the Zairean government was unable to pay its civil servants and soldiers. The leadership of the country had looted the country’s coffers with no effort to improve the economy of the country. President Mobutu allowed the soldiers to reward themselves by plundering private and the natural resources available in the country. By this time, rebel groups had emerged from the marginalized regions as well as from within the military.

The poor governance of the DRC meant that the military did not have the capacity to protect the borders from foreign invasion. Therefore, rebel groups from the neighboring countries, including Rwanda, Uganda, Angola, Central African Republic, and Sudan found their way into DRC and harassed the locals. MONUSCO (2017) asserts that Eastern DRC was
particularly porous as thousands of militias entered the country, especially during the Rwanda conflict. The rebels harassed the locals and planned for attacks in their respective countries with minimal restriction from the DRC soldiers or government.

Therefore, in 1996 Laurent Kabila used a section of the Congolese military, and the help of Rwandese and Ugandan rebels, to overthrow the Mobutu government. The failures of President Mobutu made it difficult for him to marshal support from both internal and external parties forcing him to surrender and flee the country in 1997. Laurent Kabila became the president and changed the name from Zaire to the Democratic Republic of Congo. It was expected that the new regime would change the fortunes of the country but that was not the case. People soon realized that President Kabila was not different from his predecessor. His interest was not with the Congolese people but his tribe and the rebel groups that helped him gain power. More so, both the Ugandan and Rwandese governments lost faith in president Kabila despite helping him ascend to power. Consequently, in 1998 a war broke out to remove Kabila’s regime from power. This time, Uganda and Rwanda were against the government while the southern African countries, that included Zimbabwe, Namibia and Angola, backed President Kabila. Millions of people were displaced while hundreds of thousands died in what is termed as “Africa’s First World War.” Apart from the government forces, several rebel groups also took part in the conflict such as the Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democratie (RCD), Movement for the Liberation of Congo (MLC), Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA), Sudanese SPLA, and Angolan UNITA (Moloo, 2016). Figure 4.0 shows the general conflict movement in the second Congo war that involved several countries and rebel groups.

Figure 4.0 Conflict movement in the second Congo war
After several interventions from regional and international bodies a ceasefire agreement was signed in 1999 in Lusaka. The agreement allowed the UN security council to deploy peacekeepers; the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), to observe the ceasefire agreement between the parties involved. This was the start of UN’s most extensive peacekeeping mission.

4.3 Scope of MONUC and MUNUSCO operations in the DRC

4.3.1 MONUC mandate
The United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo was officially established on 30th November 1999 by UN Resolution 1279. Its main mission was to restore peace in the DRC by observing the ceasefire agreement signed by the conflicting parties and push for rebel disarmament. The following are the specific tasks of the mission as set out in the UNSC Resolution 1279 of 1999 (MONUC 2017).

(a) To establish contacts with the signatories to the Ceasefire Agreement at their headquarters levels, as well as in the capitals of the States signatories;

(b) To liaise with the JMC and provide technical assistance in the implementation of its functions under the Ceasefire Agreement, including in the investigation of ceasefire violations;

(c) To provide information on security conditions in all areas of its operation, with emphasis on local conditions affecting future decisions on the introduction of United Nations personnel;

(d) To plan for the observation of the ceasefire and disengagement of forces;

(e) To maintain liaison with all parties to the Ceasefire Agreement to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance to displaced persons, refugees, children, and other affected persons, and assist in the protection of human rights, including the rights of children.

As time progresses the mandate of the mission changed to accommodate the dynamics of the conflict. For instance, in 2001, President Laurent Kabila was assassinated and his son, Joseph Kabila, took over the leadership of the country. According to Olaopa and Ojakorotu (2016), the young Kabila was more willing to establish a democratic country and end the war in the country. Therefore, the responsibilities of MONUC also shifted to include other roles
such as protection of civilians and helping the transitional government to restore peace in the country.

In October 2004, the UN Security Council revised the mandate of MONUC and increased the number of personnel by 5,900. The initial deployed personnel were 5,537 soldiers and 500 civilian observers. Therefore, the number of peacekeepers doubled. The revised mandate included the following tasks as stipulated in Resolution 1565 of the Security Council (2004).

1. To deploy and maintain a presence in the key areas of potential volatility in order to promote the re-establishment of confidence, to discourage violence, in particular by deterring the use of force to threaten the political process, and to allow United Nations personnel to operate freely, particularly in the Eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

2. To ensure the protection of civilians, including humanitarian personnel, under imminent threat of physical violence.

3. To ensure the protection of United Nations personnel, facilities, installations and equipment.

4. To ensure the security and freedom of movement of its personnel.

5. To establish the necessary operational links with the United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB), and with the Governments of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi, in order to coordinate efforts towards monitoring and discouraging cross-border movements of combatants between the two countries.
6. To monitor and inspect, as it deems it necessary and without notice, the cargo of aircraft and of any transport vehicle using the ports, airports, airfields, military bases and border crossings in North and South Kivu and in Ituri.

7. To seize or collect, as appropriate, arms and any related materiel whose presence in the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and dispose of such arms and related materiel as appropriate.

8. To observe and report in a timely manner, on the position of armed movements and groups, and the presence of foreign military forces in the key areas of volatility, especially by monitoring the use of landing strips and the borders, in particular on the lakes.

Besides the above tasks, MONUC was also required to assist the Government of National Unity and Transition in restoring order across the country. Hence, the following additional roles were included in the mandate of the mission.

1. Actively take part in the securing and protection of the government officials in Kinshasa before a police unit is in place to perform the role.

2. To help the government in offering humanitarian support to the displaced persons and offering voluntary return services to the refugees.

3. Help the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to disarm foreign members of armed groups.

4. To assist in demobilization and repatriation of the disarmed foreign members of armed groups.

5. To participate in the national program of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of Congolese rebel fighters and their families.
6. To facilitate the electoral process in the country by ensuring a secure environment for a fair exercise to take place.

7. Assist the government in the protection and promotion of human rights, especially women, children, and vulnerable persons (MONUC 2017)

MONUC served in the DRC from 1999 to 2010, when the mission changed to MONUSCO. Towards the end of MONUC mission, the number of personnel had reached 20,586. The military personnel were from over 60 different countries, while the police were from over 30 countries spread across the world. MONUC spend $8.73 billion in the ten years of operation and incurred a total of 161 fatalities (MONUC 2017).

4.3.2 MONUSCO Mandate

The changes that took place in the DRC from 2000 to 2010 forced the UN Security Council to restructure the functions of MONUC and rename it to MONUSCO. Under the leadership of President Joseph Kabila, DRC had made considerable steps in the process of restoring peace in the country. Vogel (2013) believes that even though MONUC played a key role in the disarmament process and keeping off the foreign militias, Kabila played a bigger role of trying to restore public confidence. The 2006 democratic election was an important step as well as the constitutional reforms. However, the government and many other stakeholders felt that MONUC was ineffective in the peacekeeping process. After ten years of operations, eastern Congo was still ungovernable and many civilians were exposed to harm from the rebel groups that still controlled vast regions of the country. Consequently, the Congolese government requested the UN Security Council to withdraw the MONUC peacekeepers before the 2011 elections in the country (Cammaert, 2010).
In July 2010, the UNSC formed the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) to replace MONUC. Actually, MONUSCO was a reformation of MONUC in a bid to reflect the progress made by the Congolese government in restoring order. The specific mandate of MONUSCO included the following as included in Resolution 1925 of 2010.

1. To protect civilians.
2. To assist the government of DRC in Stabilization and peace consolidation.

The specific objectives of the mission included the following three core tasks;

(i) The completion of the ongoing military operations in the Kivus and Orientale Province, resulting in minimizing the threat of armed groups and restoring stability in sensitive areas.

(ii) An improved capacity of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to effectively protect the population through the establishment of sustainable security forces with a view to progressively take over MONUSCO’s security role.

(iii) The consolidation of State authority throughout the territory, through the deployment of Congolese civil administration, in particular the police, territorial administration and rule of law institutions in areas freed from armed groups.

MONUSCO was also required to withdraw from areas that had been stabilized such as the western and northern parts of the country. This would allow the government to take control gradually as the UN reduces the number of peacekeepers in the DRC. Therefore, in 2010, MONUSCO reduced the number of troops by 2000.
The figure below (Figure 4.1), shows the current distribution of MONUSCO personnel across the DRC. It is clear from the map that the mission is concentrated across the eastern part of the country where the conflict continues to range.

**Figure 4.1 MONUSCO personnel distribution in the DRC**

4.4 The effectiveness of UN peacekeepers in DRC in adhering to their mandate

4.4.1 MONUC effectiveness

The initial mandate of MONUC was to observe the Lusaka Ceasefire agreement, to facilitate disarmament, demobilization, and ending the foreign forces involvement in the conflict. According to Reynaert (2011), MONUC managed to achieve this mandate despite the
fact that it was a secondary need in the conflict. Apparently, the UN did not participate in the Lusaka talks that led to the drafting of the Ceasefire Agreement. Therefore, the mandate provided to the mission did not reflect the needs on the ground. MONUC comprised a large contingent of non-combat military observers, who had no powers to stand against that rebel groups. This made the work of MONUC difficult as they could not use political powers to convince the conflicting parties to drop their weapons in accordance to the agreement. However, subsequent revision of the mandate increased the combat powers of the mission and made it more authoritative in enforcing a truce.

Besides, the number of MONUC personnel was not sufficient to cover the entire country. Human Rights Watch. (2014) notes that some countries, such as Uganda, had over 6,000 troops in the DRC. They felt that their presences in the country was important to prevent a power vacuum that could be exploited by some ruthless rebel groups. Therefore, it was not easy for MONUC to convince the parties involved that their small number of personnel had the capacity to hold the entire country together after withdrawal of foreign forces. From 1999 to 2006, the Congolese soldiers did not have the numbers and ability to control the country (Doss 2014). It was clear that the few members of the UN peacekeepers could only help in the less volatile areas of the country near the capital Kinshasa and not in the eastern parts where the fighting was intense.

MONUC senior officials believed that they did their best in the mission despite the ambiguity and complexity of the mandate. Reynaert (2011) argues that UN peacekeeping commanders have a tough task of abiding by the mandate and reporting to the DPKO in New York, while at the same time serving the divergent interests of locals on the ground who have no idea about the content of the mandate. For instance, many Congolese expected MONUC to
play a key role in the protection of civilians but the peacekeepers were more focused on the wider picture of the conflict that included maintaining the ceasefire agreement and neutralizing the fighters through disarmament and demobilization.

In its defense against accusations of being ineffective, Senior MONUC officials asserted that;

“despite many skirmishes, and some regrettable massacres, the ceasefire between the signatories to the Lusaka Agreement is holding…The Disengagement is a reality. All parties are indeed back to their new defensive positions. The withdrawal of all foreign troops, except for Uganda, has taken place. We have started, although we have not had enormous success at it, the DDRRR process” (Bernath, & Edgerton, 2003, p.12).

From the above statement, it is clear that MONUC believes it did well to abide by the mandate despite the many challenges it faced in controlling the violence. The mention of “some regrettable massacres” points to the fact that civilians were exposed to the fighting despite the presences of peacekeepers in the country. Chapter VII of the mandate allowed the UN peacekeepers to use any means to protect civilians under the threat of physical violence. However, the mission did not have the capacity to use force and match the offensive by the rebels. Therefore, MONUC continued to operate as “observers” with an aim to ensure the peace agreement prevailed in toning down the violence. Williams (2013) believes that the initial mandate was not the best to end to the conflict in DRC. However, the UN Security Council did well to revise the mandate and give more responsibilities to the peacekeepers to protect the civilians and ensure they receive humanitarian support.
The amendments made by Resolution 1565 of 2004 were instrumental in redefining the role of MONUC in the DRC. The resolution expanded the scope of MONUC and also recognized the role of the transitional Congolese government. More so, it doubled the number of peacekeepers in the country such that it was possible to cover the critical areas affected by the conflict. The Phase I mandate was instrumental in scaling down the conflict from regional to a civil conflict. The UN peacekeepers managed to push off most of the foreign combatants that were threatening to make the war an African affair. By 2004, it was possible for the peacekeepers to focus on reducing the activities of the rebel groups concentrated around the eastern part of the country while at the same time strengthening the legitimacy and capacity of President Kabila’s government (Tarus, D. K. (2010)).

It was critical that the revised mandate of MONUC recognized the need to work with the DRC transitional government and also set the stage for the first electoral process in the country. According to United Nations Security Council, (2017), it was imperative for the transitional government to win the trust of the entire country and stop the rebel movement that propelled the conflict. President Kabila realized that the issue of dictatorship is what brought down both his father’s and Mobutu’s leadership. Therefore, with the help of the UN peacekeepers, President Kabila proved to the country that he is willing to share his powers democratically and allow his rival to vie for political offices as provided by the constitution.

On their part, MONUC did a good job to ensure that the elections were democratic and fair. Even if some parts of the country were still ungovernable, the rest of the country participated in the elections that was presided over by the peacekeepers and other international observers. Cammaert (2010) believes that MONUC played a key role in the success of the elections, especially in neutralizing possible rebel threats early before the election dates.
Apparently, in 2004 MONUC faced serious threats around Bunia and Bukavu where the rebels were openly attacking civilians, raping women, and taking children as soldiers (Reynaert, 2011). Therefore, for the first time the UN peacekeepers adopted a proactive role of attacking possible rebel threats instead of being reactive to their attacks. They realized that the many civilian attacks were damaging the credibility and reputation of the mission. Hence, it was important to use necessary force to not only defend against, but also attack the possible threats where necessary.

4.4.2 MONUSCO effectiveness

With an elected government in place, the mandate MONUSCO shifted from that of peacekeeping to that of stabilization and peace consolidation. United Nations Security Council, (2017) asserts that the DRC government felt that the responsibility of protecting civilians and the country’s borders should be entrusted to them and not the peacekeepers. Therefore, from 2010, MONUSCO was supposed to help the government stabilize and not take up all the responsibilities of running the country. Nevertheless, it was clear that conflict was far from over, especially in the eastern parts of the country. The new government would still require the services of MONUSCO in keeping off the rebels and negotiating for peace where necessary. Withdrawing from the country was not an option as the DRC government had proposed earlier.

Ideally, MONUSCO’s mandate was to work with the elected government in restoring peace to the country. They were given the responsibility of securing key government installations and increasing the administrative capacities of the Kabila’s regime. The mission was supposed to continue with the military operations started by MONUC in Kivus and Orientale province. The two regions are situated in the eastern regions where rebel groups refused to recognize the newly elected government. United Nations Security Council, (2017)
notes that just like MONUC, the renamed mission had the key responsibility of protecting civilians. The long term goals of disarming and demobilizing the fighters continued as the peacekeepers also reacted to several sporadic attack by the militias.

Also, MONUSCO still had to develop the capacity of the country’s security forces such that they could effectively take over the role of peacekeeping across all the provinces. Bernath, and Edgerton (2003) believe that the peacekeepers tried their best in assisting the Congolese military and police force to improve their capacities. However, in some cases, close association with the corrupt DRC security forces tainted the reputation of MONUSCO personnel. Some DRC security forces participated in acts that contravened human rights and it was not easy for MONUSCO to condemn them without appearing critical of the ruling regime. Furthermore, the many years of fighting also drained the country’s economy. It was not possible for the government to employ enough security officers, both military and police, to patrol the vast country (Reynaert, 2011). Therefore, the rebels continued controlling some parts of the country despite the efforts of MONUSCO to improve the abilities of the local security agencies.

Ultimately, most observers of the DRC conflict believe that MONUSCO has done a commendable job in minimizing the effects of the rebel groups operating in the country. According to Perry (2012), the situation could have been worse if the UN peacekeepers were not present in the country. The media has been quick to point at the few flaws of the mission making it appear ineffective in the eyes of the public. MONUSCO (2017) believes there are many instances when the peacekeepers prevented harm to civilians but the press has always highlighted the instances of failure. The UN Security Council realized the need of MONUSCO to be actively engaged in fighting the rebels and established the Force Intervention Brigade (FIB), whose core responsibility is to neutralize the rebels. However, from 2013 to date, the
unit has not been able to wipe off the dangers posed by the militias in eastern Congo. Perry (2012) points that there are over 40 different rebel groups operating in DRC making it a tough job to disarm and demobilize them.

4.5 Protection of Civilians

It did not take long for the UN Security Council to realize that protection of civilians was the core responsibility of the peacekeepers in DRC. The lessons learnt from the Rwanda genocide in 1994 was enough to raise a red flag over the possibility of the same happening in Congo. Vogel (2013) explains that many of the militias who carried out the Rwanda genocide fled to the eastern region of DRC and established rebel groups. Therefore, when MONUC started its mission in 1999, it soon became clear that observing ceasefire agreement was not the most important activity for the peacekeepers. According to Moloo (2016), the rebel groups had developed a barbaric attitude such that raping women and killing innocent civilians was part of the war strategy. Consequently, the UN Security Council made it clear that protection of civilians will remain a priority mandate for the peacekeepers and the use of force was allowed in achieving that end.

Nonetheless, in many instances, the UN peacekeepers were found unprepared by the rebels who went ahead and harmed civilians on many occasions. Human Rights Watch (2014) reports that both the DRC government and the public protested the inability of MONUC/MONUSCO to protect innocent people from the rebels. In some instances, the UN mission admitted their poor capacity to deal with rebel groups that had dominated the eastern provinces of DRC. However, critics still argues that the UN peacekeepers were reactive to attacks instead of being proactive. Reynaert (2011) also notes that some countries that supplied personnel to mission were more concerned about the financial gain and were not willing to risk
their people by engaging the rebels directly. The following cases are examples of instances where UN peacekeepers in the Eastern DRC succeeded or failed to protect civilians.

According to a report by the International Rescue Committee (IRC) (2009). 5.4 million people died in the DRC between 1998 and 2007. From the figure, 10% died violently from the conflict while 90% of the deaths were caused by the indirect effects of war. The following table shows the trend of fatalities in the DRC and other conflict regions.

Table 4.2: Comparing fatalities in the DRC other conflict regions
By 2003, the efforts of MONUC had managed to force out most of the foreign troops out of DRC. The Ugandan soldiers were among the last to leave the Ituri province located in eastern Congo. As soon as the Ugandan military left, the rebel groups in the region got a chance to harass the locals. MONUC send the Uruguayan battalion to cover the vacuum left by the Ugandan soldiers. The Uruguayan soldiers set their camp in Bunia, the capital of Ituri. According to MONUC, “the mandate of the Uruguayan troops was to support the Ituri pacification process and the administrative bodies formed to try to end the hostilities” (Bernath & Edgerton, 2003, p12). Therefore, when the rebels attacked civilians in Bunia, the Uruguayan soldiers did not react. Doss (2014) narrates that many people were kidnapped and killed outside the MONUC compound, where they had gone to seek refuge from the rebels. Over 400 people were massacred in Bunia over just two weeks. Apparently, the Uruguayan soldier were not prepared for combat. An internal MONUC report stated that the peacekeepers assumed they...
were not supposed to use force and had tried to request permission from their government instead of the force commander. The poor co-ordination and communication delayed the response of the soldiers and costed civilians lives. Nevertheless, MONUC reacted in other parts of Ituri province and saved over 11,000 civilians from possible attack by protecting them in the Bunia airport (Rufanges & Aspa, 2016). In further response to the Bunia massacre, the UN security Council, in partnership with the European Union, sent the International Emergency Multinational Force (IEMF), codenamed Artemis, to fight the rebels in Bunia. The Artemis unit comprised of 1850 soldiers who had the capacity to fight the rebel groups in the region (Vogel, 2013). This was a good gesture by the international community but it only focused on a small area of the country.

4.5.2 Bukavu killing

In 2004, the city of Bukavu, the capital of South Kivu, was under attack by thousands of rebels. The UN peacekeepers had only 800 soldiers and a few attack helicopters, plus the backing of the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (FARDC) soldiers. However, when the rebels entered the city, the Congolese soldiers fled while the UN peacekeepers retreated to their compounds, allowing the rebels to kill 88 people and displace over 25,000 civilians (Rufanges & Aspa, 2016). Reports of the situation indicated that the MONUC military commanders in DRC were willing to fight back the rebels but orders from DPKO required them to stand down and not engage the rebels.

The poor reaction of the peacekeepers triggered the first major anti-MONUC protest in the DRC because the civilians realized they were not safe. The killings also revealed the disjointed nature of the mission between the commanders on the ground and the mission leadership in New York. Perry (2012) argues that the DPKO is often guided by political
perspectives of the conflict. It is inclined to follow agreements made in political meetings. However, the commanders on the ground have a different perspective of the conflict. They understand the dangers civilians face but are often not in a position to help because of lack of resources and authorization from the headquarters.

4.5.3 The pre-election MONUC offensive

The international community realized that it was not possible to have the 2006 elections if the rebels are not neutralized. The United Nations and the Congolese authorities acknowledged the fact that MONUC needed to be more offensive in its approach to peacekeeping. Therefore, under the leadership of Force Commander Patrick Cammaert, the UN peacekeepers started to target rebel hideouts and at the same time protecting civilians in the high risk areas. The peacekeepers launched several attacks in the eastern regions between 2005 and 2007. In particular, MONUC fought the Congress for the Defence of the People (CNDP) that was led by Laurent Nkunda and killed over 400 rebels in November 2006 (Human Rights Watch, 2014). The aggressive nature of the MONUC prevented the rebels in North Kivu from reaching the capital town Goma. Rufanges and Aspa (2016) explains that the UN peacekeepers used Cordon and Search tactics (CASOs) in all the hotspot areas to prevent possible attacks on civilians. The offense nature of MONUC also helped in repelling Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) in South Kivu.

However, the tactics engaged by Force Commander Cammaert started facing criticism from both the local and some human rights groups. Apparently, whenever the peacekeepers attacked the rebel groups and destroyed their camps, the rebels would organize revenge attacks targeting civilians. Hence, in most cases, the civilians suffered as the number of revenge attacks by the rebels increased. Furthermore, DPKO demanded the end of the offensive tactics since
there were reports of civilian causalities in the fight between MONUC and the rebel groups. According to DPKO, “it was not the peacekeepers’ role to go on the offensive and take out the militias preying on civilians. We are not engaged in war” (DPKO, 2007, p5). Therefore, it was clear that the peacekeepers had to rely on the ineffective reactionary methods in protecting civilians.

### 4.5.4 Protection of Human Rights

A critical analysis of the situation in DRC reveals that the UN peacekeepers have been pre-occupied with direct civilian threats and humanitarian aid and neglected the protection of basic human rights. MUNUSCO (2017) argues that apart from the threat posed by rebel groups, the DRC security forces remains the greatest violator of human rights in the country. The FARDC does not have the mechanism to vet and discipline its officers who violate human rights by raping women and looting private property as they pursue rebels. In some cases, the Congolese soldiers work closely with the UN peacekeepers making MONUSCO appear ineffective in stopping human rights abuses. Since the current government was democratically elected, MONUSCO cannot do much to dictate government operations. United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (2015) states that the judiciary system of the country is still under-developed making it almost impossible for civilians to get justice when their rights are violated. Human rights groups operating in the country have complained of extra-judicial killings by the government, unlawful detention, rape, and other acts of war crimes. However, MONUSCO is more concerned with preventing civilian attacks, empowering the government security forces, disarming the militias, and stopping foreign invasions. The following graph shows the trend in human rights violation in the DRC from 2014 to 2016.

**Figure 4.3: Chart Showing Trends In Human Rights Violations in the DRC**
4.6 Restoration of State Authority

The UN peacekeeping missions required a multilevel dimension in the process of developing a sustainable solution to the DRC conflict. United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (2015) argues that engaging in military action and humanitarian assistance only serve to treat the symptoms of the conflict and not the causes. Therefore, for over 15 years, the United Nations have funded MONUC/MONUSCO to the tune of $1billion annually with little success (Vogel, 2013). Apparently, the solution to the peacekeeping mission does not rest on the capacity of MONUSCO to neutralize the rebel groups but on its ability to push for lasting
peace agreements between the conflicting parties. Since 199, a number of agreements have been signed between the parties involved in the conflict but none has been sustainable.

The 1999 Lusaka agreement was instrumental in controlling the fighting in Congo by introducing a much needed truce. Even though the United Nations did not participate in the talks, MONUC played a key role in the implementation of the ceasefire agreement. The UN peacekeepers also helped in driving out the foreign troops from Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Angola, Zimbabwe, and Namibia (Doss, 2014). MONUC had the mandate to disarm and repatriate foreign fighters arrested within DRC. However, the conflicts continued and the international community tried to push for a peace agreement in the Inter Congolese Dialogue that took place in Sun City, South Africa. MONUC played an important role in convincing the rebel groups to take part in the talks and maintain ceasefire as the talk commenced in 2002. However, violence continued and to make it worse, the Kisiangani massacre took place while the talks was going on and 160 civilians were killed. Laurent Nkunda’s group, RCD-Goma took part in the killing yet their leader was part of the talks. This triggered further violence across Eastern Congo. The signing of the Global and All Inclusive Agreement in 2003 was a commendable step in the Sun City talks as some of the major players agreed to share power with President Kabila. The government of national unity consisted of four vice presidents, drawn from the major rebel groups, under the leadership of Joseph Kabila as the president (Tarus 2010). The Global and All Inclusive Agreement did not hold for long as the rebel groups evolved and continued fighting even after the 2006 elections.

Another notable peace agreement was the Goma conference that took place in January 2008. The government and 22 rebel groups agreed to cease-fire that was to be monitored by MONUC. The agreement opened the way for Amani process that was to negotiate a lasting
peace solution in the eastern provinces of DRC. However, the agreement was not honored by all the parties and the conflict continued. In March 2009, there was another agreement brokered by the UN peacekeepers that saw several rebel groups integrated into the national army as a way to control the violence. Unfortunately, that did not help in keeping off the attacks and fallouts (Moloo, 2016).

Even after the 2011 elections, the conflicting parties could not agree on the way forward. The opposition accused President Kabila of rigging the elections and this fueled more violence across the country. Cammaert (2010) believes that since the UN peacekeepers have failed in stopping the violence or influencing a lasting peace agreement, the Congolese should be left to solve their crisis. Most recently, religious leaders in the country tried to mediate a peace agreement but failed. Therefore, it is unlikely that MONUSCO has the capacity to bring all the stakeholders together and agree on lasting peace in the country.

4.7 Effectiveness of UN peacekeepers in protecting natural resources and nation building

Even though protection of natural resources are not included in the UN peacekeeping mandate in DRC, they are critical to the path of lasting peace. Experts agree that the genesis of the Congo conflict is partly because of exploitation of natural resources by the ruling elite in the country, and some foreigners. According to Olaopa and Ojakorotu (2016), the “resource curse” is largely to blame for the sustained conflict in the mineral rich central African country. Dictator Mubutu Sese Seko followed the path of colonialism by exploiting the resources of the country without benefiting the locals. His predecessor, Laurent Kabila, also used his position to enrich himself and those around him. Therefore, most of the rebel groups in the eastern provinces feel they need to be part of the country’s leadership so that they
could control the resources found in their respective areas. The map below (Figure 4.2) shows the areas where the major mineral reserves are located in the country.

Figure 4.4 Map showing mineral reserves locations in DRC
It is not a coincidence that the areas with a lot of mineral reserves are the same that experience high levels of conflict. The map shows that the eastern provinces have more mineral reserves compared to the western region of the country. According to United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (2015), the UN peacekeepers acknowledged most of the rebel groups funded their operations from the illegal trade of minerals. According to Rufanges and Aspa, (2016), “All the armed actors benefited from the illegal exploitation of natural resources of the east of the DRC, as well as a bunch of local firms and transnational ones that
operate through intermediaries in the country, as has been signaled by the UN. However, this has triggered little reaction from the international community to put a halt to this plunder” (p, 20). The UN and other international bodies such as the EU and OECD tried to develop a “Due Diligence Guidance on Responsible Supply Chains” that would help identify corporations benefiting from the illegal trade in DRC (Rufanges and Aspa, 2016). Trading Economics (2017) notes that DRC’s exports are raw materials that include oil and minerals. Efforts of peacebuilding has helped increase the legal exports of the country as shown in the graph (Figure 4.3) below.

**Figure 4.5: DRC exports trends from 2006 to 2016**

![Congo Exports Graph](image)

Source: Trading Economics (2017)

Without a doubt, the UN peacekeepers on the ground play a critical role in identifying smuggling routes and reporting specific players in the illegal mineral products. For instance,
in the early 2000s, it was clear that both Ugandans and the Rwandese were exploiting the minerals in the eastern part of the country. Moloo (2016) explains that during the time the troops of the two countries were in the DRC, their cooper and Diamond exports tripled. However, as noted before, MONUC/MONUSCO were more concerned with civilian protection and did not focus on protecting the mineral resources from exploitation. Furthermore, reports indicate that even the government forces were directly responsible for the exploitation of minerals. Therefore, such actions continued to trigger conflict because those not in government felt shortchanged.

To make matters worse, the Congolese government did not make a significant effort to develop the country’s economy and infrastructure. Raszka and Krč (2013) assert that in other countries where conflicted has destroyed the economy, peacekeepers actively participate in nation building, directly and indirectly. They build roads, equip hospitals, develop schools, and ensure trade goes on peacefully. However, little economic development can be said of DRC for the last 17 years of peacekeeping. The renamed MONUSCO had a mandate to ensure “stabilization” of the country by working closely with the national government. However, much of the focus of both the peacekeepers and the national government have been on neutralizing the rebel groups operating in the country. The figure below shows that DRC’s road transport infrastructure is poorly developed.

Figure 4.6 Transport infrastructure in DRC
The map above shows that DRC has very poor transport infrastructure. Only a few areas have tarmacked roads. Perry (2012) notes that some residents are pained by the fact that the UN peacekeeping mission uses over a billion dollar annually on unproductive ventures while the same money could be used to develop the country’s economy.

Nonetheless, DRC’s economic indicators have been on a steady rise since Joseph Kabila took over leadership after his father’s assassination. The presences of the UN peacekeepers in the country allowed the government to protect key installations in the capital
Kinshasa, and other major towns in the country. The graph below shows that the country’s GDP per capita has improved considerably since President Kabila took over.

**Figure 4.7 DRC’s economic indicators and major events from 1960-2012**

![Graph showing GDP per capita and major events from 1960-2012]

MONUSCO has played an important role in securing some parts of the country and empowering the security forces of the government. More so, the money used to fund the over 19,000 MONUSCO officers finds its way to the country’s economy directly and indirectly. Therefore, the peacekeeping mission has played a part in the growth of DRC’s economy. The following figure shows the propensity indicators of the country in 2014.

**Figure 4.8: key prosperity indicators of DRC compared to UK and the World.**
Given its size and resources DR Congo should be a prosperous country, but years of war, corruption and economic mismanagement have left it desperately poor. In 2011 it lags far behind in many key development indicators, with average life expectancy increasing by only 2 years since 1980, after a period when it actually fell during the mid 1990s.

source: BBC (2014)
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The aim of the research was to examine the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping missions in the Eastern provinces of the DRC. This chapter offers a summary of the findings, discusses the findings, gives conclusions and some recommendations.

5.2 Summary of Findings

5.2.1 Effectiveness of UN peacekeepers in DRC in adhering to their mission mandate as provided by the UN Security council resolution for their deployment in the DRC.

The study establishes that both MONUC and MONUSCO were relatively effective in adhering to their respective mandates. However, the UN peacekeepers failed in achieving their core mandate of protecting civilians despite the efforts they made. The study acknowledged that the mission commanders faced many challenges such as lack of resources to execute their mandate efficiently. For instance, MONUC was understaffed and could not carry out its mandate effectively across the vast country of DRC. The ability of executing their mandates were also hampered by the disjointed perspectives between the DPKO leadership and the commanders on the ground. The study noted that some of the mandate items did not reflect the needs of the target population in DRC. Nonetheless, the mission put in effort to ensure the mandates are accomplished despite the many challenges the faced on the ground. MONUSCO is still on the ground trying to achieve its core mandates of stabilizing the country and consolidating the peace efforts.
5.2.2 Effectiveness of the UN peacekeepers in the protection of civilians

Protecting civilians stands as a key failure of the UN peace mission in DRC. Since MONUC started its operation in 1999, there have been numerous massacres, mass rape, physical injuries, and displacement of civilians. The study noted that the UN peacekeepers did a good job in pacifying the other parts of the country except the eastern provinces where the civilians continued to face the rebels’ brutality. In several instances, civilians were attacked a few kilometers from the UN mission military camps but the peacekeeping troops did not have the necessary authorization to repulse the attackers using force.

The study also noted that both the rebels and the Congolese army perpetrated human rights violations. In a few cases, the UN peacekeepers were also accused of breaking their code of ethics. However, the biggest challenge for the UN peacekeepers was stopping the rogue government security officers from committing crimes against humanity such as torture and raping civilians. Some NGO workers and journalists also faced the wrath of the rebels and government forces when they tried to protect innocent civilians from harm.

5.2.3 Restoration and Extension of State Authority

The findings establish that the UN peacekeepers were not influential in enforcing peace agreements amongst the conflicting groups. Apparently, there were several peace agreements that were signed by a section of the conflict stakeholders but none provided lasting solution for peace. The UN peacekeepers were given the role of maintaining the cease-fire agreement signed by the party. However, the rebel groups always disregarded the authority of the peacekeepers and engaged in violence. The study established that it was almost impossible for the UN mission in DRC to maintain or influence peace agreements because of the dynamic nature of the fighting groups (Tarus, 2010). Firsts, over 40 rebel groups operate in the DRC.
and each has its unique interest, leadership, and area of operation. Secondly, the rebel groups keep evolving with new leaders coming up and groups merging such that it is not easy to identify a few individuals or groups that can guarantee peace if their needs are met on the negotiating table (Rufanges & Aspa, 2016).

### 5.2.4 Effectiveness of UN peacekeepers in protecting natural resources and nation building.

The UN peacekeepers were not effective in protecting the natural resources found in the country. The research established that the rebel groups and other foreign militias in the DRC were generating revenues from the illegal mineral trade in the country. The United Nations tried to convince the international community not to accept minerals or products from the DRC. However, it was not easy to block off the illegal trade routes that also supplied fire arms to the militias. The UN peacekeepers only observed and reported on the illegal dealing on the natural resources found in the country but did not have the capacity to stop the exploitation. Furthermore, the DRC government was also involved in the misuse of the natural resources and that is why some rebel groups were fighting to overthrow the Kabila regime.

Both MONUC and MONUSCO were not able to engage in direct nation building as an objective. MONUSCO only engaged in training and equipping the government security forces but not in direct economic activities. However, the large amounts of money used to operate the UN Mission found its way to the economy of the country and helped improve the country’s economy.

### 5.3 Discussion of Findings

There is no doubt that the UN peacekeeping mission in the DRC is the largest and longest in the world. While there have been many successful missions carried out by DPKO,
the same cannot be said for MONUC/MONUSCO. Since 1999, the situation in the DRC is still not stable despite the mission using over $10 billion in its peacekeeping operations. Whilst the mission report point to the few high points of the mission, critics and some DRC residents believe MONUSCO is a failure and should be disbanded. Dobbins (2007) argues that it is not right to compare the DRC conflict with others in Africa such as Sierra Leone, Sudan, and Rwanda. The DRC conflict is complex and extends over a large area. The parties involved in the fighting form a matrix structure that keeps on evolving with time. When MONUC was starting its mission in 1999, the conflict involved seven countries. However, today, the conflict has collapsed to the national level but the complexities remain the same.

The study notes that MONUSCO has focused much on the military aspect of the mission because of the threat faced by civilians. The rebel groups target innocent people including women and children who are raped, killed and kidnapped. The world perceives the UN peacekeepers as ineffective when reports massacres emerge from the media. However, few people understand the political and economic needs of the militias. For instance, in Sudan, it was clear the African Southerners were against the northern Arabs who had marginalized the south economically. Therefore, a secession agreement between the two sides was enough to end the Darfur conflict (DPKO, 2003). In Rwanda, the conflict was leadership issues between the two main tribes of the country. When a government was installed with the help of the UN peacekeepers, the Rwandese Hutus and Tutsi agreed to observe peace and the country was restored (Ghoniem, 2003). However, the military actions of the UN peacekeepers in DRC have not helped in neutralizing the threats from the many rebel groups that are still not easy to define.
Therefore, in addition to the military actions, the Congo conflict requires a well thought political approach that would ensure most of the fighters are satisfied. The Somali conflict is an example of an African conflict that has taken long to resolve. Just like the DRC conflict, the war in Somali was also complex involving several warlords and clans. Regional bodies such as the AU, AGLR, and IGAD also have done a commendable job in contributing to peace in the Africa Great Lakes Region. Therefore, there is hope that a solution can be found in the DRC.

5.4 Conclusions

Ultimately, the fact that the UN peacekeeping mission is ongoing in the Eastern DRC implies that it has not been effective in achieving its objectives. The DRC government does not have the capacity to protect the country while the militia groups are still armed and willingly attack civilians. With elections around the corner, MONUSCO has to reconsider its role in the DRC because it has not been effective in protecting civilians in Eastern parts of the country. The best option is for the mission to spend time empowering the national security agencies and allow the Congolese and other regional bodies such as the African Union, IGAD, and AGLR to be more involved in conflict resolution and management in the DRC.

5.5 Recommendations

Based on the objectives and findings of the study, the researcher recommends the following as some of the options available for MONUSCO to improve its operations in the Eastern DRC.

1. A mandate that gives military commanders on ground more latitude to make decisions in the mission should be drafted after consultation with the DRC government, the mission commanders, regional representatives, and representatives from the people of
Congo. This will ensure that the peacekeepers are in tandem with the needs of the conflict.

2. The UN should mandate MONUSCO to cut off all the minerals smuggling channels in the country as a way to reduce the funding of the rebel groups.

3. The AU, AGLR, and IGAD should appoint a special envoy to negotiate peace talks in the country and avoid violence before or after the scheduled elections.

4. MONUSCO should develop an exit strategy to allow regional forces to secure the volatile areas in the eastern part of the country.

5.6 Suggestions for Further Research

The study noted that many studies focus on analyzing the effectiveness of the UN peacekeepers in the Eastern DRC and other regions of the world. In future, it is recommended for researchers to analyze the motivation of the rebel groups and establish why the DRC conflict has taken long to resolve compared to other countries where international peacekeepers have participated.
REFERENCES


Boulden, J. (1999). The United Nations and Mandate Enforcement: Congo, Somalia, and Bosnia. Centre for International Relations, Queens Univ..


Findlay, T. (2002). The use of force in UN peace operations. SIPRI.

Findlay, T. (2002). The use of force in UN peace operations. SIPRI.


Gorur, A. (2016). Defining the boundaries of UN Stabilization Missions. Stimson Center


Le Billon, P. (2012). Bankrupting peace spoilers: Can peacekeepers curtail belligerents’ access to resource revenues?. *High-value natural resources and post-conflict peacebuilding.*


APPENDICES

Appendix 1: mapping armed groups location in DRC
Appendix 2: MONUSCO human rights violation fact sheet

Human Rights

Main perpetrators
- Armed groups – 43%
- Congolese army and Congolese police – 57%

Child protection
- 241 children (18 girls) recruited in armed groups and forces
- 1030 children (57 girls) separated from armed groups and forces

Response
- 61 individuals detained, among which 58% were convicted and received sentences.
- 34 Joint Protection Team missions to assess protection needs and human rights abuses
- 2291 screenings of FARDC officers and 195 of PNC officers for observance of human rights

Sexual violence
- 697 reported cases of sexual violence in 2014
- 206 children (2 boys) victim of sexual violence
- 61 state agents (including 33 FARDC) were convicted of rape charges in 2013, while 117 (including 76 FARDC) in 2014.
Appendix 3: MINUSCO at a glance

**Early Warning Mechanisms:**
- 25 MONUSCO Offices
- 1,890 Early warning alerts received on imminent threats to civilians through our Community Alert Network
- 117,019 Military patrols and escorts to protect civilians and deter negative forces
- 49 Local community protection plans established for efficient assistance to the most vulnerable persons

**Human Resources – 2015**
- 19,108 Military personnel
- 658 Military observers
- 1,112 Police personnel
- 872 International civilian personnel
- 451 UN Volunteers
- 2,711 Local civilian staff

**1999**
- First deployment of MONUC peacekeepers

**10 billion USD**
- Total spent since 1999-2014

**UNSC 2211 (2015)**
- Current Mandate

**1.38 billion**
- Current Budget 2014-15

**Key Troop Contributing countries:**
- India, Pakistan and Bangladesh

**Force Intervention Brigade**
- 2973 military personnel
- (Tanzania, Malawi, South African Republic)