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## An analysis of the United Nations: Two peace operations in the Congo

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An Analysis of the United Nations:  
Two Peace Operations in the Congo

by

Sofia Fargo

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
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AN ANALYSIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS:  
TWO PEACE OPERATIONS IN THE CONGO

Sofia Fargo

ABSTRACT

This thesis studies the peacekeeping, peace enforcement and peace-building efforts undertaken by the United Nations (UN) in the Congo. Part one investigates the UN mission in Congo 1960 to 1964 and the second part looks at the current mission that started in 1999 which is currently ongoing. The final part makes a comparative analysis of the two case studies.

Peacekeeping, peace enforcement and peace-building are some of the approaches the UN uses in order to manage and settle conflict. While these concepts are often related to one another, they possess certain characteristics making them distinguishable. I solemnly use these concepts when conducting the two case studies and the comparative analysis. I study the mandates as well as the activities in the field. My main argument is that while the mandates differed between the two peace operations, the actual activities in the field shared many common features. I will show that the first peace operation in the Congo deviated from all others undertaken by the UN thus far.

The Congo crisis in the sixties took place at the height of the Cold War. What commenced as a traditional peacekeeping operation eventually turned into a mission of peace enforcement. These enforcement measures were never supported by a Chapter VII

mandate. There were also elements of peace-building efforts such as trying to install functioning governmental institutions. As such, it deviated from other peace operations during that time. Although these are considered as pioneering for many current peace-building missions, they cannot be considered as broad as today's efforts.

The current peace operation in Congo also started as a peacekeeping operation. As the conflict escalated, a Chapter VII mandate was provided to use force. Similarly to the peace operation during the Cold War, it also went from a peacekeeping operation to one of peace enforcement. However, the ongoing peace operation is provided with much clearer and less arbitrary mandates. The peace-building efforts are also much broader. Central to the mission is to aid in the implementation of a democratic system that will survive once the peace operation has ended. These forms of efforts are quite typical since the end of the Cold War.

## Chapter 1 Introduction

At the time of writing, the United Nations (UN) is celebrating its 50th Anniversary. The international organization was born at the end of the World War II with the hope to prevent wars and conflicts of such large magnitudes. Its record is varied including both notable successes as well as less achieved triumphs. For the first forty years, the Cold War affected the way the UN operated. Since the world was divided into two hostile blocs, the West and the Soviet Union, the envisaged global collective security never materialized. The UN was instead involved in trying to prevent a major clash between the two power blocs, although they at times succeeded in bringing smaller conflicts to an end. Despite the status quo the Cold War brought, peacekeeping during this time still evolved, changing with every conflict at hand. Depending on the conflict, the UN used mediation between parties, monitoring of ceasefires and at times deploying lightly armed forces in trying to settle conflicts.

The Cold War also coincided with many countries gaining independence. These decolonization efforts were often marked with hostilities stemming from multi-ethnic demands in which the UN intervened. Many of these ethnic hostilities flared up as the support by the major power blocs ended. Yugoslavia is just one example where civilians were victims of ethnic cleansing. However, the last decade has also seen conflicts over territory and resources, as in Somalia, and conflicts over political control as in Rwanda.

The UN is currently in high demand. However, the complicated conflicts and wars it tries to settle have put the UN under great pressure. Many of these wars take place in countries with no functioning state, so called failed states. It means that consent and respecting the sovereignty of a state, often crucial before intervention during the Cold War, is abandoned. In effect, peacekeeping has lately moved towards peace enforcement. Although the latter is inscribed in the Charter, it is costly both in terms of money and lives. And while the numbers of UN's missions have exploded in recent years, many countries are unwilling to pay the bill or to send troops to a zone of conflict.

### ONUC and MONUC – A Comparative Approach

The UN has been engaged in sixty peace operations since its first inception. This thesis looks at the peacekeeping, peace enforcement and peace-building efforts in two of those missions. Both of them were launched in Congo, now the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The first, called ONUC (Opération des Nations Unies au Congo) was launched at the height of the Cold War, between 1960 and 1964. The second, MONUC (Mission de l'ONU en RD Congo), is currently ongoing although the war that began in 1998 officially ended in 2003.

The purpose of this study is to first examine and then compare the two UN peace missions in Congo from the perspectives of peacekeeping, peace enforcement and peace-building. There are two central questions; what are the differences and similarities between the two operations? A case study is dedicated to each of the two peace operations. This approach includes studying the mandates as well as how the mandates were carried out in each operation. I have followed a structured, focused comparison as developed by Alexander George (George 2005). It is structured insofar I ask the same

questions for each case study, what mandates were provided and how were they carried out in the field. This method is focused in that it only deals with certain aspect of the cases examined. The focused part of this thesis is the investigation into the peacekeeping, peace enforcement and peace-building of the two peace operations.

The last part of the thesis compares the two peace operations making the study comparative in nature. The concepts described below are crucial in revealing the similarities as well as the differences between them. I am interested in studying UN's approach in peace operations. Any evaluation of the missions as successful or failed has thus not been undertaken. This had also been fruitless since one peace operation is still on-going. My inquiry into MONUC ended on December 31, 2005.

The analysis would not be complete unless attention is also given to how peace operations have evolved since its first initiation. A review on this is therefore appropriate. There is a vast amount of literature on this subject. Traditional peacekeeping operations during the Cold War were often deployed to mere monitoring cease fires (Richmond 2004). They have lately moved beyond this task to include a variety of activities that often intersect with other concepts such as peace-building (Dreyer 1995, 148; Hill, Malik 1996). Reviewing this literature will allow us to analyze the conceptual questions derived from the changes in UN's peace operations (for a similar approach, see Thakur, Thayer 1995).

My main argument is while the mandates provided for the two peace operations differed, they still resemble one another in how they were carried out in the field. This is perhaps striking since peace operations have evolved and fundamentally transformed during the past forty years. The two missions started as traditional peacekeeping

missions, both in their mandates and how they were carried out in the field. Similarly, they had their peacekeeping activities turn into enforcement actions. In the area of peace-building there are similarities as both has undertaken efforts to build strong governmental institutions. As such, the Congo peace operation in the 60's deviated from almost all other missions that had until then been embarked upon.

The background to UN's intervention is similar as the phenomenon of state collapse occurred in both instances. As Zartman has argued, collapse means that the state can no longer perform the basic functions required to pass as a state. He bases his definition on the state as sovereign, the state as an institution and the state as the security guarantor for a populated territory (Zartman 1995). The collapse of Congo in the 1960's was an exception as most countries in Africa had a relatively smooth transfer to independence. Occurrence of state collapse in the nineties was much more common (Zartman 1995). The wars in themselves also resemble one another. International and regional actors were involved then as they are now. While UN's involvement in intrastate conflicts has become very common, this was more of an anomaly in the Congo crisis of the 1960's.

However, there are also vast differences between the two missions. Because of the Cold War, the Security Council provided ONUC with very unclear and arbitrary mandates. This caused disarray in the field as how to read the mandates. When the Security Council authorized the use of force, they did it without referring to Chapter VII. Instead, the interpretation of the mandates of the Secretary General guided the mission.

Invoking enforcement has been repeated today in the DRC. But in contrast to ONUC, the current peace mission operates under much clearer and specific mandates.

This holds true for its peacekeeping, enforcement and peace-building activities.

Enforcement is authorized by a Chapter VII mandate. Peace-building efforts are specified in the mandates, something that was nearly omitted forty years ago. Building a longstanding peace is one of the main goals of today's mission so that the state can function once the mandate has expired. This was never the goal for ONUC. The Cold War and the prevention of a major power conflict loomed over the mission from the very beginning. Today there are attempts to find the root of the conflict so a permanent peace can be achieved. Assisting the transitional government is crucial for MONUC so free and fair elections will lead to a democracy.

Throughout this study the terms conflict and war will be used intermittently. They both refer to a prolonged armed conflict between states and/or intrastate. A similar approach is used for the terms mission and operations. Both terms refer to UN's organized intervention in areas of conflict. The first part of the thesis is allocated to a brief description of the Charter of the United Nations. This document serves as the guiding principle for how to settle conflicts. Two Chapters of the Charter will be dealt with in detail, Chapter VI and Chapter VII, as they contain provisions for activities intended to maintain peace. The second part reviews UN's peace operations during the Cold War as well as during the Post-Cold War era. This is followed by the empirical inquiry of UN's missions to Congo, including a brief overview on the wars that led up to UN's involvement. The study will conclude with the comparative analysis of the two peace operations.

## Clarification of Concepts

The UN has several approaches at its disposal to prevent and managing conflicts.

Studying these can be confusing. Almost every mission shows variations between them as the conflicts that the peace operation is trying to settle differ. In addition, the confusion surrounding the conceptual definitions has proven challenging, to say the least. In recent years these concepts sometimes intersect with one another both theoretically and in practice.

While peacekeeping is the most widely term used, is just one tool used in trying to cope with a conflict at hand. It is a concept problematic to define as it is not mentioned in the UN Charter. This chapter will clarify these concepts that include *peacekeeping*, *peace enforcement*, *peace making*, *preventative diplomacy*, and *peace building*. Although I have not included preventative diplomacy and peace making in my study, they are crucial in understanding the historical development of peace operations and how the two operations under study were carried out.

First, these concepts must be put within an analytical boundary. This is particularly important for this study since many current UN missions include all of the above. Secondly, although these concepts are often linked to one another, they show their own characteristics. They are also often applied at different times during a mission. However, there is a symbiotic relationship between these tools; they all depend on each other when carrying out a peace operation.

## Peacekeeping

There are as many peacekeeping operations as there are types of conflict (Uesugi 2004, 103). In addition, peacekeeping is often adjusted to fit each circumstance. It is adjusted ad hoc, as conceptualization has followed its practice (Uesugi 2004, 103). However, peacekeeping shows certain characteristics separating it from other UN approaches. Peacekeeping is the use of a multinational force, usually including military and/or civilian personnel in a field of conflict. It also operates under consent; the host country must provide permission for the peacekeeping force to operate on its territory. Sovereignty of states is thus recognized by the peacekeeping operations and as soon as the permission is withdrawn the force must leave. Peacekeeping has also typically involved lightly armed military personnel. Use of force is used only in self-defense. In effect, peacekeeping is sometimes termed as a Chapter VI ½ peace operation, residing somewhere between the peaceful resolution of conflicts (chapter 6 of the UN Charter) and enforcement (chapter 7) (Ruggie 1996, 67). Neutrality and impartiality are crucial for a peacekeeping operation. The nationality of the troops is also important, as members of aligned nations can be regarded as taking sides. Countries such as Canada and Norway have traditionally been involved in peacekeeping operations whereas the deployment of American troops must be deployed carefully, especially in Middle East where they can be perceived as siding with Israel. Equally important is that the peacekeeping force does not support one warring faction over the other. This has become a difficult task since many peacekeeping missions have recently become involved in intrastate conflicts with apparent tribal hostilities.

Tasks of the peacekeeping force include but are not limited to implementing and monitoring peace agreements or ceasefires, separation of forces and to protect the delivery of humanitarian assistance (Mingst, Karns 2000, 76; Uesugi 2004, 101; Thakur 1995, 7). While this definition can be attributed to peacekeeping throughout much of its history, peacekeeping became much more complex and multifaceted after the end of the Cold War. Alan James has called this “prickly peacekeeping” (James 1995, 267-269). I will account for these changes in peacekeeping in each definition in the following subchapters. By putting peacekeeping in contrast to each concept we will be able to understand what separates it from other tools.

## Peace Enforcement

Unlike peacekeeping, peace enforcement operations are applied when Chapter VII of the Charter is invoked. It is needed when achieving a peaceful settlement has failed. Armed force may be necessary if the Security Council sees the situation as a threat to peace, a breach of peace, or an act of aggression (UN Charter 1945). In effect, a peacekeeping operation can quickly turn into a peace enforcement mission if the situation is called upon. Peace enforcement troops are in contrast to peacekeeping forces in that they are actively militarily involved in trying to end a conflict. Peacekeepers on the other hand can only use force in self-defense. While many peacekeeping operations in the last decade have been labeled peacekeeping operations, they have in fact been both peacekeeping and peace enforcement missions (Christie 1995, 256). Yugoslavia is one example where these two concepts were integrated together with peacemaking (Ghebali 1995, 14).

## Peace Making and Preventative Diplomacy

At first glance, these two concepts seem almost identical. Both are concerned with making peace. There are those who are proponents of putting both of these concepts under the same rubric (Allan 1996, 5-10; Bertrand 1995, 164). While the same method of diplomacy is often applied to these tools, the time frame it is used is entirely different. Preventative diplomacy serves to prevent the outbreak of hostilities in the first place. An effort to achieve this is done before the deployment of peacekeepers. Peace making is on the other hand used to dealing with conflicts that are ongoing (Maley 1995, 239). More importantly, peace making is concerned with aiming for a peace that is capable of lasting once the peacekeepers have withdrawn (Maley 1995, 239-240; Norton, Weiss 1991, 25). Peacekeeping is often linked to peacemaking in that peacekeeping is concerned with stopping or containing conflict so peacemaking can take place (Maley 1995, 239).

## Peace-Building

Peace-building is relatively new, as it was first defined by the UN in the early 1990's. In an Agenda for Peace, then Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali defined peace-building as the construction of a new environment that fosters economic and social cooperation with the purpose of building confidence among previously warring parties. By developing the social, political and economic infrastructure it is possible to prevent future violence and laying the foundations for a durable peace. The UN has an obligation to strengthening new democratic institutions (Boutros Ghali, Chapter VI, 1992).

The international organization has thus moved beyond just settling conflicts to embrace a more wholesome approach to transform countries that have experienced conflict and war. This broadly defined concept raises the question of what is included in

peace-building operations. Roland Paris includes a wide variety of functions such as the administration of elections; the retraining of police officers, the nurturing of political parties, the design and implementation of economic reforms; the reorganization of governmental institutions; the promotion of free media; and the delivery of emergency humanitarian and financial assistance (Paris 2004, 38-39). There are others, who for instance stress that a definition of peace-building must also include a gender perspective (McKay 2002, 129), or that public health must be included since it can add to the sustainability and stability of a community (Mori, Meddings, Bettcher 2004). Peace-building encompasses programs ranging from micro-level changes of conflicting communities to macro-level institutional changes that address the structural causes of conflict (Lilly 2002). I use this very broad definition of peace-building. I thus take the approach that peace-building efforts must be targeted in many areas in order to prevent the recurrence of violence and achieve a sustainable peace.

There is one more issue on peace-building that need to be addressed. It concerns at what point peace-building missions are launched. An Agenda for Peace called it “post-conflict peace-building”. Similarly, Roland Paris defined peace-building as an operation that is deployed when hostilities have ended (Paris 2004, 39). I use what Jeong calls short-term and long-term peace-building (Jeong 2002, 6). The first is launched during a conflict and includes short-term objectives that are regarded as important to reach long-term goals. For example, a program that disarms and repatriates soldiers is usually regarded as important in order to reach a long-term political stability. Potentially, these programs of former combatants constitute one such activity, and within the context of the war-to-peace transition, it can have a number of important effects upon the wider

transitional process (Knight, Ozerdem 2004). I have put these short- and long-term efforts into the same rubric of peace-building.

In sum, the above concepts possess their own characteristics while simultaneously being linked to one another. They are often in reality interconnected in order to achieve peace and security. In the Post-Cold War era security has become more focused on human security as compared to national security which was more concerned with conflict between states. Human security means protection of fundamental freedoms that are the very essence of life (Shinoda, Jeong 2004). Freedom from poverty, environmental degradation, ethnic cleansing is just but a few of these fundamentals. While this is no easy task for the UN's peace approaches, it has nevertheless become an element in its overall goal to achieving peace and security.

### Charter of the United Nations

The end of the World War II opened up discussions that the League had failed to prevent aggressions from countries such as Germany and Italy (Diehl 1993, 20). Steps were taken to create a stronger international organization so that wars could be prevented. Several conferences were held before the final adoption of the UN Charter in San Francisco on 26 June, 1945.

There are nineteen so called Chapters in the UN Charter. The first five Chapters describe the principles and purposes of the UN, membership of the UN followed by how it is organized including the Security Council and the General Assembly.

Chapter VI and Chapter VII are the most important for this study. Chapter VI includes articles regarding the "peaceful settlements of disputes" and Chapter VII includes guidelines regarding "action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace,

and acts of aggression” (UN Charter 1945). These two Chapters represent the two means in how to achieve international peace and security.

Nations wanting to join the UN have to sign the Charter. By doing so, they must adhere to certain standards and acceptable conduct. One article outlines what acceptable conduct should be: “The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice” (UN Charter, Chapter VI, Article 33). Any member of the UN may bring attention to a dispute as well as a non-member as long as they are part of such a dispute (UN Charter, Chapter VI, Article 35). In contrast, Chapter VII only allows the Security Council to deal with actual breaches to peace. It states: “The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security”. (UN Charter, Chapter VII, Article 39). Article 41 states that actions can be taken to interrupt economic relations while Article 42 states that it may take action by air, sea, or land forces if previous action have proven inadequate to maintain or restore international peace and security.

At least on paper, the Security Council is here given an enormous amount of power. However, the veto power of the permanent members often stifled the UN during the Cold War. This had two effects. First, it prevented the Security Council from taking any action against any of the major powers. Second, the escalation of the Cold War meant that few

states found themselves outside of the bipolarized international system. Many conflicts around the world were of the interest of the major states (Diehl 1993; 24). Disagreement between the major powers made the notion of collective security superficial. During the Cold War, only once was the Article 42 formally proposed. The Soviet Union wanted the UN to provide naval, air and ground forces to assist the Egyptians. But, as described below, the action taken was different from the one outlined in Article 42. The first execution of Chapter VII did not take place until after the Cold War when Iraq was thrown out from Kuwait in 1990-1991. The end of the Cold War had opened up new expectations for what the international community could do to ensure international peace.

The Security Council consists of five permanent members; China, Russia, the United States, the United Kingdom and France. There are also ten non-permanent members that are elected by the General Assembly for a two-year period. All members have one vote. There is however differences in how these votes are carried out. Matters that concern *procedures* such as adoption of new rules and creation of new organs are taken if nine of the fifteen members vote affirmatively. *Substantive* matters also require nine votes, but if any of the permanent members use their veto a resolution fails. Matters such as decisions on ending disputes and application of sanctions are regarded as substantive matters (Hill, Malik 1996, 12-13).

One of the crucial functions for the Secretary General is found in Article 99 in the Charter. It states that “the Secretary General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security”. Although the Secretary General does not possess the same amount of power as the Security Council, his role has at times been at the forefront in conflicts. One

example is Dag Hammarskjöld, the Secretary General during the Congo crisis in early 1960's, who himself negotiated with a leader of a Congolese province who was seeking independence (Young 1965, 324). Javier Perez de Cuellar also held several meetings with the foreign ministers from both Iran and Iraq to bring about a ceasefire during the war (Thakur 1995, 31).

## Chapter 2 The United Nations During the Cold War

The signing of the UN Charter in San Francisco in 1945 expressed hope that a new global security arrangement could prevent major wars and achieve peace. Despite their differences, the United States, the Soviet Union (now Russia), Great Britain, France, and China, became key players in the founding of the UN. The discussions regarding the founding of the UN included careful optimism. Although many believed the international organization would be limited in creating a completely peaceful world, there was simultaneously a belief that it could prevent human misery on such scale as seen during the World War II (Wang 2004, 207-209). However, as tensions grew between the major powers, optimism was quickly replaced by pessimism. The Cold War and the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union would become to prevail for forty years. Simply speaking, the Cold War was a conflict between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. The Americans wanted to protect the Western civilization, claiming it was the only system that protected individuals' freedom. The Soviets were proponents of creating a world where international socialism was the ideology (Kalb 1982). The clash over these two ideologies took place in an unprecedented military build-up including arsenals of nuclear weapons (Bernstein 2004). The military build-up in both countries reached enormous proportions. Some argue that the massive allocations to the military-industrial complex drove the economy of the Soviet Union into oblivion (Bernstein 2004, 127).

The UN's main role during this time was to prevent the superpowers and their allies to engage in direct conflict (Allan 1996, 12; Thakur 1995, 4; Cousens 2004, 102). States attempted to prevent aggression by uniting through the UN. This concept, collective security, was not supposed to be based on the interests of individual countries but on a collective effort to prevent aggression wherever it occurred. However, during the Cold War, world peace was regarded only as threatening if there was a clash between major states. The failure of collective security became obvious since any enforcement against any such power could result in war (Thakur 1995, 4). Another problem with the concept of collective security is what Johnson calls "quasi-states" (Johnson 1990). He argues that the very existence of many African states is supported more by the international community than by the efforts and abilities of their governments and people.

The Cold War and Truman's declaration on containing Communism would limit the UN's potential achievements. Diplomatic, economic and military support was given to African leaders who allied themselves with either of the two superpowers (Taylor, Williams 2004, 6). Cold War terror in Latin America supported in one way or another by the United States, enhanced intolerant forces, militarized societies, and broke the link between freedom and equality. In the 1950's, the US undertook two operations unilaterally that completely disregarded the UN Charter. The first in Guatemala by overthrowing the democratic government (Johnson 2004, 256) followed by the CIA sponsored re-installment of the Shah in Iran (Wang 2004, 214).

During part of the Cold War era there was also a process of decolonization. Many UN operations took place in countries where European powers had withdrawn. In 1945, more than 750 million people lived in non-self governing territories. By 1990, fewer than 2

million people remained in such territories. The UN was often directly or indirectly involved in the decolonization process of these areas (Baehr, Gordenker 1994, 116). Although the power politics between the United States and the Soviet Union played a central role during the Cold War, opinions were raised from smaller nations in the world. Although many of them criticized UN's part in many of its missions, such as in the Middle East, there was still a belief that the UN could uphold the principles laid out in the Charter (Wang 2004, 220). In the 1960's former colonies formed Group 77, an organization within the UN that promoted social and economic development. This became known as the North-South issues, dividing the more developed countries with those less developed (Mingst, Karns 2000, 5).

### The Evolution of Peacekeeping

The UN's principal tool of maintaining peace during the Cold War was through peacekeeping (Hill, Malik 1996; Richmond 2004). Peacekeeping grew out of the failure of the collective security arrangement (Diehl 1993; Richmond 2004). It became a tool that substituted collective security (Hill, Malik 1996, 14). During the Cold War, the UN did not provide a definition of the term. It is not until recently that attempts have been given to put it into a separate category, both in content and in context. It would be to simplify the matter by stating that peace operations during the Cold War were one of uniformity. They all differed from each other and the UN showed various levels of assertiveness. Peacekeeping efforts during the Cold War are often referred to by many as first generation approaches (Richmond 2002; Mingst, Karns 2000). These efforts were not however uniform and were instead tailored to each specific situation. There are however certain characteristics that can be accounted for.

Peacekeeping during this time was not focused on human security; it was colored by the interest of the states (Richmond 2004). Preventative diplomacy and formal communication were used in trying to maintain order in the international system (Richmond 2004). The UN's missions were based on consent between the warring parties. The host country had to provide its consent to the UN to be able to operate on its soil (Thakur 1995, 7; Abi-Saab 1995, 3). In addition, it included consent from the opposing party in the conflict. Otherwise there would have been little possibility of disengagement and a peaceful deployment of the UN force. The political consent of the two superpowers was important to prevent a conflict from becoming spread world wide

Impartiality was crucial for the engagement of peacekeeping missions. The task was and still is completely international, trying to ensure the impartiality. The UN thus served as a third party trying to negotiate. If negotiations could achieve a ceasefire, the Security Council could decide to send international observers (Baehr, Gordenker 1994, 61). Peacekeeping missions were often placed in buffer zones to prevent further escalation of conflict. Use of force was considered the last resort. Preventative diplomacy and negotiations were tools that were favored as opposed to military action. The UN thus operated under a mediatory capacity, trying to settle conflicts through peaceful means (Thakur 1995; Richmond 2004).

The term conflict-management is often used to describe how conflicts were dealt with (Richmond 2004, 41; Christie 1995, 252). There were perhaps agreements on how to end conflicts but peacekeeping often became a tool to freeze the conflict. Very little attention was paid to resolving the underlying cause to conflict. Many peacekeeping efforts were also launched in countries that went through processes of decolonization (Rikhye 1984).

Although many conflicts were old they had been suppressed during the era of colonization (Rikhye 1984; Kaldor 2001).

Peacekeeping was and still is an evolving concept (Uesugi 2004; Richmond 2004; Thakur 1995; Hill, Malik 1996). The term peacekeeping did not come into general usage until after the Suez Crisis in the late 1950's. Up to the end of the Cold War UN's peace efforts were not as uniform as one may anticipate. For this reason there is some danger in treating the entire Cold War era as one analytical period. To avoid generalization this chapter will briefly describe some peacekeeping operations that have, according to the literature, been important in how peacekeeping has evolved.

### Peacekeeping Missions during the Cold War

The UN's mission to the Balkans (UNSCOB) between 1947 and 1951 was the first time the UN used impartial military personnel as observers. These two elements; impartiality and observation, became important elements of UN's formula for peacekeeping during much of the Cold War (Richmond 2004; Thakur 1995, 7). The mission, that took place in Greece, was responsible for investigating whether Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria were responsible for providing assistance to guerilla groups acting to overthrow the Greek government. Germany's occupation of Greece during the Second World War had given rise to liberation groups that included both communists and non-communists. Disagreements of the groups finally led to a civil war where the neighboring countries aided groups on the communist side.

What is important to note in this conflict is the tension between the two power blocs. The Security Council was deadlocked because of the Soviet Union's veto which forced the issue off the table. This illustrates the inactive role the Security Council had in its role

of maintaining peace. And although UNSCOB had problems, such as being accused of bias and Yugoslavia and Albania refusing to allow observers on their ground, the UN had learned the difficulties of influencing other states (Hill, Malik 1996, 29.) Indeed, this still pose a challenge to the UN when intervening with peacekeeping efforts. But the element of impartiality in peacekeeping was an important lesson the UN learned.

Perhaps no other conflict has been more prevalent since the end of the World War II than the Arab-Israeli conflict. The UN has launched several missions to this area and many are still active. The first UN intervention came in 1948 and is still ongoing. Jewish immigration into Palestinian territory after the war created hostility that is still prevalent today. When Israel proclaimed its independence, neighboring countries invaded Israel in May 1948. Although Israel came out as the victors, United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) was set up to by the demands of the Security Council. The Arab countries were forced into a series of agreements that the UNTSO was in charge of supervising. UNTSO also carried out its own investigations and became more proactive in resolving violent incidents. UNTSO was the first UN peacekeeping observer mission (Thakur 1995, 49-50). However, the mission has been largely powerless in resolving conflicts between the two sides (Richmond 2004, 44; Hill, Malik 1996, 30). The region has experienced several wars since the creation of UNTSO. But UNTSO has played an important role in serving as a point of contact between states without diplomatic relations. Many observers remained on the cease fire lines providing both humanitarian and political assistance (James 1990, 154-156).

Perhaps the biggest disappointment for the UN's involvement in the Middle East has been the continuing Israeli distrust of the international organization. The UN had

proposed a partition of the Palestinian territory in 1947. But some African countries, the Soviet Union and other non-aligned countries had supported the Arabs which led to the General Assembly's adoption of a resolution that Zionism was racism. This led to the Israeli's view on the UN as a dishonest and partial mediator. Even after the Cold War had ended, and the resolution on Zionism was repealed, Israel continued to distrust the UN (Richmond 2004, 47).

If peacekeeping efforts were to prevent and resolve conflicts, as Diehl has suggested (Diehl, 1993), the first years of UN's mission must be regarded as relatively small successes. But as stated earlier, peacekeeping was not defined within the UN. More importantly, the UN operated within the framework of state-centrism where power politics and states' strategic interests steered the Security Council to act unassertively. In effect, UN's interest and level of commitment was often the interests of the dominant states.

The challenges the UN had faced in its early years of peacekeeping efforts were taken into account in the years that followed. Its experiences led the way to a formalization of UN's peacekeeping efforts. Starting in 1956 with the case of the Suez Canal, the UN took a large step towards peacekeeping as an essential tool in its international operations (Hill, Malik 1996, 33). The UN's peacekeeping operation in the Suez Crisis turned out to be unprecedented (Baehr, Gordenker 1994, 83). President Nasser of Egypt announced in July 1956 that the Suez Canal would be nationalized. In response to the rejection of American financial aid to build the Aswan Dam, Nasser decided to make the Suez Canal a national property and charge dues to cover the expenses of the Aswan Dam project. The announcement led Israel to attack Egypt. The tension between the two countries was

already in full bloom mainly because of Egypt's assistance to Palestinians raids on Israel. Britain and France also became involved in an effort to secure their national interests. The Suez Canal was not only the shortest sea route to the Far East but also served as point of entry for the majority of crude oil. Potential closure of the Canal could have had serious implications to their economies. In addition, Egypt's nationalistic movement and Nasser's rhetoric was regarded as a serious threat to the whole region.

The General Assembly proposed a resolution in November 1956 that called for an immediate ceasefire and the withdrawal of Israeli, British and French troops. The Secretary General at the time, Dag Hammarskjöld, was called upon to set up a United Nations Command. Shortly thereafter the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I) was established to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities (Hill, Malik 1996, 33). What makes the UNEF I important is that it set up some principles that were later to be used in several peacekeeping operations. UNEF I was set up to supervise the withdrawal of foreign troops, patrolling border areas and securing the ceasefire. The latter was a remarkable step forward from previous operations where UN missions had only served as to observe ceasefires (Hill, Malik 1996, 33). Israel did withdraw its troops, also a crucial accomplishment for UNEF I. Since Egypt had to give consent to the UN mission to operate within its borders, UNEF I was forced to convince the Egyptian government that Egypt's sovereignty was not compromised and that the fate of the Suez Canal would be negotiated without any intimidation. The consent given by the Egyptian government gave legitimacy to UNEF I and the United Nations in general. The UNEF I stayed in position until 1967 when another war broke out.

The limitations of UNEF I to maintain a lasting peace became obvious when Nasser withdrew the consent of UN troops on Egyptian soil (Thakur 1995, 49). But what is important is that for eleven years UNEF I was able to maintain peace in an area filled with hostility. Regarded as the first peacekeeping operation it also contributed to some valuable lessons later applied in other peacekeeping operations (Hill, Malik 1996, 35). However, the limitation of the UN's peacekeeping efforts in the area was obvious. Wars continued and the UN did not manage to eliminate the causes of the origin of the wars.

The last two decades of the Cold War saw very few peacekeeping initiatives from the UN. The UN undertook two missions in the Middle East during this timeframe; UNEF II and UNDOF (United Nations Disengagement Observer Force). When Egypt insisted on the withdrawal of the UN forces in 1967, UNEF I had to comply. In 1973 Israel was attacked by both Syria and Egypt. Considered one of the biggest threats to the world peace, and a potential clash between the two superpowers, UNEF II was created to pose itself in the middle between Israel and Egypt. Observation posts and investigative complaints were its main tools at hand. Israel and Egypt both accepted UN's presence and in effect reduced the tension between the superpowers (Hill, Malik 1996, 47-48). UNDOF was similarly constructed as UNEF II. Its mandate started in May of 1974 to set up posts in the Golan Heights to supervise the disengagement agreement between Israel and Syria. Although tensions remained high between the two countries, UNDOF managed to keep the area relatively calm. The Golan Heights were divided into two zones and a buffer zone between them was patrolled by UNDOF personnel. This UN mission was successful in the sense that from 1974 and on, this part of the region has been relatively quiet (Hill, Malik 1996, 48).

Nicaragua and El Salvador are two other countries that saw tumultuous events unravel in the 1980's. Nicaragua experienced tense confrontations between the Reagan administration and the Sandinista government. The Contadora Group was established on a Latin American initiative to prevent a military intervention by the U.S. This group operated outside the realm of the UN. The peace process began in the early 1980's and gained support from the U.S and the Soviet Union. Although the Cold War was still in effect, the bilateral cooperation between the superpowers was aided by the President Gorbachev's openness. The UN was eventually invited to become part of the peace process, mainly through its regional organization, the Organisation of the American States (OAS). They managed to disarm the U.S supported Contras in Nicaragua and put an end to the civil war. When elections were held in 1990, OAS and the UN were invited to observe and a small force was also established to monitor the peace process throughout the country. The case of Nicaragua is important because it was the first peace operation in Latin America. And although there continued to be civil unrest in parts of the region, the mission was considered relatively successful. Cooperation between the two superpowers made the negotiations easier for all parties. Mikhail Gorbachev's new openness hinted the end of the Cold War (Smith, Durch 1993).

### Chapter 3 The United Nations in the Post-Cold War World

As the tensions of the superpowers began to fade, optimism grew that the UN would take on a larger role in preventing conflicts and war. From the mid eighties cooperation between the US and the Soviet Union emerged, a case in point are the negotiations that took place in resolving conflicts in Central America as briefly described above. These approaches, often referred to as *second generation approaches*, became the principal tool in peacekeeping operations during this time (Richmond 2004). The consensus in the Security Council, aided by Mikhail Gorbachev, meant that the UN's peacekeeping efforts became facilitated. As the Cold War came to an end, the UN embraced the task of going beyond just being a neutral third party. Second generation approaches attempted to understand the root of conflict. Resolving these conflicts still took place in a state-centric approach, although human security became more important (Richmond 2004, 99). Second generation approaches became part of a larger parcel. Goals were set to aiding in the implementation of peace accords and the long-term settling of conflicts (Ghebali 1995, 13). Examples of these efforts could be seen in Cambodia and Central America.

Although the United Nations evolved as an international organization during the Cold War, the last decade has expanded the role of the UN. Peacekeeping missions have more frequently been deployed in areas experiencing intrastate conflict. Since 1989 the United Nations only set up three peacekeeping operations to deal with conflicts between states. Over ninety percent of UN's peacekeeping has been established to intervene in

intrastate conflicts or conflicts in so called failed states (Uesugi 2004, 96-97). Out of 111 armed conflicts in the world from 1989 to the year of 2000, as many as 104 were intrastate conflicts (Wallenstein, Sollenberg 2001, 632). Intrastate conflicts are increasingly the most prevalent form of violence today (Maley 1995, 242; Diehl 1995, 223; Kaldor 2001). The civil war in Somalia took hundreds of thousands peoples lives. The conflict in former Yugoslavia during the nineties is another example (Kaldor 2001). Many of UN operations are now engaged in disarming internal factions, although they may still have support from various states. In the Cold War era, most conflicts were interstate. Armed conflict is today best understood as intrastate conflict (Shinoda, Jeong 2004, 2). Civilians constitute the majority of the victims (Kaldor 2001). Millions have been reported dead in the DRC since the war broke out in 1998. However, the majority of the casualties were not killed in battle but died as a result of starvation and diseases that resulted from the war (Vick 2001). In effect, the humanitarian aspect of modern conflicts is becoming increasingly important (Ghebali 1995, 13).

The United Nations is an organization just as the name states; an international organization joined by nations. It was founded on the principle of sovereignty. Since most conflicts are internal the UN faces problems on how to deal with them (James 1995, 263-280). In addition, many so called failed states have no government to invite the UN to try to intervene in an internal conflict. Consent was crucial for most peacekeeping effort during the Cold War. Many conflicts in the past decade have involved UN's involvement without consent. Consent by warring parties is therefore difficult to obtain (Thakur 1995, 11). Peacekeeping forces are at times forced to operate in conflict where sporadic or partial consent has been given (Berdal 1995, 133). While the conflict in

Congo during the 1960's deviated from the norm of peacekeeping operations, this method has become more the rule than the exception in the post-cold war environment (Abi-Saab 1995, 7). This is in complete contrast to the peacekeeping efforts during the Cold War. The demise of the Cold War and the superpowers termination of aiding smaller nations often led to conflict. (Hill, Malik 1996; Kaldor 2001; Duffield 2002). The wars in Somalia and former Yugoslavia showed that the disengagement of the superpowers left a political vacuum. In addition, historical hostility combined with religious and nationalistic competition for power triggered these regions into war (Hill, Malik 1996, 93).

Although the United Nations have substantially increased its members in the last decade, the number of conflicts has escalated. During the Cold War there were attempts to manage conflicts, not to resolve them to achieve lasting peace. Lately there have been attempts by the UN to develop strategies trying to do just that. These *third generation approaches* have moved beyond previous attempts to end conflict (Richmond 2004). They are multilevel and multidimensional. Roots of conflict are not only considered, there has been an increased role in trying to build peace.

### An Agenda for Peace

Boutros Boutros Ghali, the former General-Secretary, wrote a report stating a new approach for the UN to achieve its ultimate goal of achieving peace. It was published in 1992. The report, *An Agenda for Peace –Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping*, was an unprecedented document in that peacekeeping is mentioned as a tool to reach just and long-term political solutions (Boutros Ghali 1992).

The first part of the document lists some of the changes that have taken place since the end of the Cold War. While the report affirms the UN as an organization of sovereign states, it continues by stating that it must not be crippled by the rivalry that existed during the Cold War. Positive changes are mentioned such as increasingly democratic forces that have replaced authoritarian regimes. States have joined to form associations, making national boundaries blurred. Increased communication and trade have deepened cooperation between states and individuals. At the same time, the report also asserts a simultaneous opposite trend. Technological advances have altered the nature and expectations of life. Progress has brought instability such as ecological damage, disruption of family and community and the rights of individuals. New assertions of nationalism are threatening the state. Ethnic, religious, social, cultural or linguistic frictions have increasingly become more brutal.

An Agenda for Peace takes on these issues in its largest sense. Roots of conflict must be addressed in order to achieve peace. Economic despair, social injustice and political oppression must also be dealt with to ensure lasting peace. Peacekeeping in the nineties is, both in context and content, part of a larger parcel. They go beyond being a neutral third party between interstate conflicts. Quite often they have had to secure implementation of agreements between guerilla movements and a government. Examples of these have been in Angola between 1990 and 1991 and in Central America 1989 to 1992.

Humanitarian intervention is playing a much larger role in today's peace operations. Humanitarian intervention can be equally, and at times more important, than the military action (Christie 1995, 261). Civil war in Yugoslavia and Somalia were two

regions where UN forces, at times with military assistance, aided the population with humanitarian assistance. The military aspect of peace missions has changed dramatically since the end of the Cold War (Berdal 1995, 132). Very often, peacekeeping missions turn into ones of peace enforcement. The case of Somalia also shows another dilemma for peacekeeping missions. Since many conflicts are internal, the UN has to communicate and negotiate with many actors (Maley 1995, 242). In addition, the UN sometimes has to negotiate with groups who do not have popular support. In effect, the UN can give its support to an undeserving group (Maley 1995, 243). Impartiality is also threatened. The UN was heavily criticized in Somalia for siding with one of the warring factions.

### Peace Operations in the Nineties

The peacekeeping mission in Cambodia in the early nineties was understood as an important element in forming a completely new government (Baehr, Gordenker 1994; 152). The UN became engaged in securing implementation between warring factions and the State of Cambodia (SOC), the established government. In 1990 negotiations had failed to bring an end to Cambodia's 20 year long war. The permanent members of the Security Council negotiated an unprecedented role for the UN, implemented by UNTAC, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (Ratner 1995, 41-42). Pressure from the Security Council finally forced the warring factions, the Khmer Rouge, Prince Sihanouk and the forces backed by the Han Sen government of Vietnam, to support a ceasefire. The UN undertook a number of activities. It supervised the ceasefire, disarmed the forces, promoted human rights and oversaw the return of refugees. It also undertook an unprecedented mission in that they administered the country during the transition period. At its peak there were 22,000 UN personnel in Cambodia, both civilian and

military. Elections were held in 1993 leading to the return of civil authority. The mission in Cambodia was not however carried out without fault. While the repatriation process went relatively smooth, proof was uncovered that the biggest party had intimidated individuals and opposition leaders. UNTAC failed to provide a neutral political environment (Ratner 1995, 51; Thayer 1995, 138). The promotion and protection of human rights remained an issue as hundreds of political prisoners did not receive a trial. The Khmer Rouge continued attacks on civilians and the State of Cambodia murdered opposition leaders. Despite these failures, the peacekeeping mission was instrumental in bringing peace to Cambodia. However, in 1997 there was another coup. The UN's mission illustrates the complexity and the multi-functional operation of its approach.

One of the reasons Cambodia did not receive the fullest international attention was due to the ongoing crisis in former Yugoslavia and Somalia (Ratner 1995, 47). These two regions faced a humanitarian crisis that was shocking to the outside world. By the end of 1995, only 13,000 Muslims had survived ethnic cleansing in Northern Bosnia, out of an original population of 350,000 (Kaldor 2001, 53). The Security Council also reacted in 1992 to the situation in Somalia, where 1,000 people were dying every day because of starvation due to the civil war (Mingst, Karns 2000, 92).

Somalia became one of the most controversial peacekeeping efforts in the nineties. Since its independence in 1960, Somalia had struggled with internal fighting among various groups. UN's involvement in 1992 started as an attempt to safeguard food and medical supplies to a starving population. However, soon a mandate was given to set up another mission, the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) to deal with the

continuous warring factions in the country. It was adopted the day after 26 Pakistani peacekeepers had been killed. The mission quickly turned into a bloody confrontation with General Aideed, a Somali warlord (Patman 1995, 85). The war did not end however and a number of Somalis lost their lives. Fighting escalated between the UN's force, mainly made up by troops from the United States, and Aideed's group. The televised images of the American soldier dragged through the streets of Mogadishu put an end to UNOSOM II (Hill, Malik 1996, 176-177).

The case of Somalia shows the difficulties of peacekeeping. First, peacekeeping efforts and peace enforcement merged into one operation (Berdal 1995, 134). Consent, an important element found in most peacekeeping missions during the Cold War, was replaced by little or no consent from the warring parties (Allan 1996, 143). Second, impartiality was violated as the UN had declared war on Aideed's Haber Gedr's sub clan, although it just represented one of fourteen fighting groups (Hill, Malik 1996, 177). Finally, UNOSOM II did not receive more military power; it was ill-equipped and had fewer troops than UNITAF. The case of Somalia is one example where peacekeeping rapidly transformed into peace enforcement. The Security Council can deny the consent of a host state and may forcefully place troops in a country or part of a country (James 1995, 264). Also, troops may be equipped to engage in military actions and thus departing from traditional peacekeeping operation to enforcing peace (James 1995, 264). The Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission in 1991 is one example where jurisdictional sovereignty was curbed (James 1995, 268). Neither country de facto gave consent to the presence of UN troops on their territory.

The war that raged former Yugoslavia was another challenge for the UN. The collapse of the country led to the surfacing of suppressed ethnic, religious and political differences (Durch 1993, 468). The country had been the scene for competing interests between the superpowers during the Cold War (Mingst, Karns 2000, 97). Fighting started as Yugoslavia disintegrated with the proclamation of independence for both Croatia and Slovenia in 1991. The European institutions failed to prevent the escalation into the multi-ethnic Bosnia-Herzegovina. The UN became involved later in 1991 stating primarily humanitarian reason after heavy discussions whether to intervene (Gheballi 1995, 27-29). When Bosnia-Herzegovina declared its independence in 1992, nationalistic factions fuelled ancient hostilities through military forces. Serbs who lived in both Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia were against the new independent states and wanted to maintain the unity of Yugoslavia. Ethnic cleansing took place, in particular in Muslim areas occupied by the Bosnian Serbs. Since the UN Protection Force for Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) mandate included using limited force, preventing ethnic cleansing became difficult. Individual countries, acting under NATO, were deployed to conduct air strikes against Bosnian Serbs. This was the first time that the UN cooperated with a military regional alliance (Mingst, Karns 2000, 99). As atrocities continued, bombings escalated. In 1995, the Serbs finally accepted a ceasefire that led to the Dayton Peace Agreement (Richmond 2004, 164).

The UN operations in former Yugoslavia and Somalia were much more multidimensional than previous peacekeeping efforts. The boundaries between peacekeeping and peace enforcement became blurred as the UN tried to intervene in these intrastate wars. The multilevel cooperation between regional and global

organizations became crucial in trying to end conflict. Humanitarian assistance was on a large scale and served as one of the main reason to intervention. These three operations were also involved in trying to rebuilding the states during a time when various actors had territorial claims. UN's intervention in intrastate conflicts has escalated in the past years and peacekeeping has become linked to building state institutions and human rights.

With no reference to the UN Charter, peacekeeping has emerged from experience. The above description of peacekeeping missions and other efforts undertaken by the UN shows that peacekeeping is a concept difficult to put into a neat definition. It emerged from being applied to mere observation of ceasefires and positioning of forces between warring factions to a more wholesome effort to prevent and resolve the root of conflicts. During the Cold War, peacekeeping became a tool to prevent a clash between the two superpowers. It often tried to maintain a non-coercive and neutral approach to conflicts. As the Cold War came to an end, the international community turned to the UN to settle an increasing number of intrastate conflicts. While many of these conflicts are not new, they were uncovered as major powers withdrew from supporting repressive regimes that had kept hostilities "under control". The UN's approach has become more multifaceted, often including peacekeeping, peace enforcement and peace building in trying to end and resolve conflicts and wars.

## Chapter 4 The Congo Crisis 1960-1964

The events that were enacted in Congo during this time were complex. It is not the intention to account for every detail of the conflict. Excellent descriptions have already been made (see Young 1965; Kalb 1982). A brief account of the crisis must however be included. After more than seventy years of brutal Belgian colonialism (Hochschild 1998), the Republic of Congo gained independence in 1960. Within two weeks the euphoria of independence was swiftly dampened as Katanga, Congo's richest region, declared independence and the Armée Nationale Congolaise (ANC) mutinied against its all-Belgian officers. The effect of the break-down of law and order led Belgium to intervene stating security reasons for its citizens residing in Congo. It was in this context the Security Council adopted its first resolution on the Congo. The resolution was adopted in a rare moment of consensus (Lefever 1968, 4). Congo faced particular problems in dealing with its independence. The Belgian colonial authority had put ethnicity at the heart of the political and economical structure. Some groups of people were favored over others. Belgium also refused to provide a political adjustment for the Congolese to deal with independence (Young 1965, 203). There was also a severe shortage of Congolese who had a university degree; there was neither a single Congolese engineer nor a medical doctor.

One day after the arrival of Belgian troops, the provincial leader of Katanga, president Tshombe, declared the province independent. He appointed several Belgians to

the civil administration as well as to the army. Belgium supported the Katanga secession, an action that went beyond their presence as pure humanitarian. It was obvious Belgium had other interests in Katanga than simply providing aid to the white Belgians (Young 1965, 318). Besides the secession of Katanga, the mutiny of the army against its entire officer corps was the important element in the crisis. It began almost immediately after independence (Young 1965, 316). Soldiers were discontent with the slow acceleration of promotion as no Congolese could be found among its officer corps. Resentment escalated as Belgian officers were still in charge. Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba answered the soldiers' demands by dismissing all Belgian officers, replacing them with Congolese. The Belgian white community in Leopoldville panicked and started to escape. Belgium decided to intervene to impose order despite a lack of invitation from the Congolese government. Citing humanitarian reasons for its intervention, Belgium stated they respected Congo's independence (Kalb 1982, 6). Belgian troops were deployed throughout the country but their presence in the province of Katanga caused many Congolese to question their presence as humanitarian (Young 1965, 318). The mineral rich province generated 80% of the Congo's export revenue and half of its total income. The Belgian company Union Miniere du Haut Katanga had exclusive mining rights (Durch 1993, 316).

In early July of 1960, Lumumba and President Kasavubu asked the UN for military intervention to end the Katanga secession. Specifically, the Congolese government asked for the United States to provide troops under the auspices of the UN. While the UN debated on what action to pursue, matters deteriorated in the Congo. Belgian troops took over the airport in the capital Leopoldville (now Kinshasa) and began

to restore order in the European part of the city. Lumumba and Kasavubu decided to contact the Soviet Union asking them to keep a close eye on the events that unfolded in the Congo and what they viewed as the Western plot against its sovereignty (Young 1965, 319). Congo thus became an open and covert Cold War battleground (Durch 1993, 319). During this time, the Soviet leader Khrushchev tried to convince many African countries that the Soviet offered an alternative to the dependence of imperialists. He forcefully argued that the Soviet Union supported an end of colonialism and spoke of trade in a fair manner (Kalb 1982, 115). The United States position was to prevent the spread of Communism. Many countries that insisted or had already gained independence were viewed by the West as vulnerable to the influence of Communism (Wang 2004, 216).

### The Establishment of ONUC

On Dag Hammarskjöld's initiative, the Secretary General at the time, the first resolution on Congo came on 14 July 1960, only two weeks after independence. The resolution was very vague as no article in the UN Charter was referred to (UN Security Council resolution 143, 1960; hereafter SC Res.). It simply called for the withdrawal of the Belgium troops, without any mentioning of a deadline, and authorized the Secretary-General to take necessary steps to provide the Congolese Government with military assistance. The Secretary-General wanted pacific procedures to guide the UN Force, similar to those during UN's Emergency Force in the Middle East. He did not want the UN to interfere in any internal conflicts as he had a strict policy of political neutrality (Durch 1993, 315)

## ONUC and Peacekeeping

The UN and Lumumba did not share the same objective regarding the peacekeeping forces goal in Congo. Lumumba wanted to restore the national territory and viewed Katanga as having been invaded by the Belgian forces. The UN wanted to prevent the crisis in Congo from escalating to a larger world conflict (Young 1965, 323). As the first resolution was adopted, Lumumba thought there would be no need for assistance from the Soviet Union (Kalb 1982, 33). In a rare moment of agreement, the resolution had been supported by both the Soviet Union and the United States. However, as ONUC did not take any active measures to end the secession and Belgian troops still present, Lumumba again asked for Soviet's assistance (Kalb 1982, 14-15). He delivered an ultimatum to the UN saying that unless all Belgian troops were removed by midnight of July 19 1960, the Soviet Union would be asked to intervene (Kalb 1982, 24).

### The Mandates

It was in this context the second resolution came on 22 July 1960. The Security Council could not just dismiss the question of the presence of Belgian troops in Katanga (Abi-Saab 1978, 25). The resolution was more specific in that it called for Belgium to *speedily* withdraw its troops and authorized the Secretary General to use all necessary actions to achieve this goal. Mentioned was also a request for all states not to intervene in Congo. The resolution also invited specialized UN agencies to provide assistance to Congo as requested by the Secretary General (SC Res. 145, 1960).

The second resolution basically emphasized what had been stated earlier. The request for *all states* not to intervene did not only mean Belgium. France and Great Britain also used methods which made it more difficult for the UN to operate. France permitted the

recruitment of mercenaries for Katanga on its territory and never paid its assessment to ONUC. Similarly, Northern Rhodesia (A former British colony, now Zambia) granted refuge for Tshombe at one point during the crisis. British authorities in Uganda also delayed flight and fueling rights for UN troops (Durch 1993, 324). Tshombe responded to the second resolution with a promise to use force if the UN entered Katanga. In effect, Hammarskjöld decided to stop the UN entry as it may have been viewed as an occupying force (Bunche 1965, 130). He went back to the Security Council for a more specified and enlarged mandate.

A third resolution was adopted on August 9 calling for the UN to enter Katanga (SC Res. 146, 1960). Although the question of Katanga was crucial in the crisis it was the first time the province was mentioned in a resolution. The resolution also included references to Article 49, Chapter VII of the Charter that states *the Members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council*. Although there was a slight insinuation, the use of force was still not being authorized by the UN. Hammarskjöld had advised the Security Council to include Katanga in the resolution although he still adhered to his principle that the UN should not use force to a dispute he viewed as an internal affair of Congo (Kalb 1982, 43-44). The language of the resolution was successful insofar that Tshombe allowed ONUC to enter Katanga, although the UN had to accept a set of conditions (Abi-Saab 1978, 36-45).

## Peacekeeping in the Field

Within two days of the adoption of the first resolution, approximately 3,500 peacekeepers were deployed in Congo. After two months, shortly after the adoption of the third resolution, the number of peacekeepers had increased to almost 15,000. It became the largest peacekeeping operation ever mounted during the Cold War. During the first two months the peacekeepers were tasked to oversee the withdrawal of Belgian paratroops and to serve as an impartial force for public order (Durch 1993, 342). The vague and general nature of the mandate caused disarray in the field of who was in charge of the peace operation (Lefever 1967, 35). For example, Ralph Bunche who was in Congo to oversee the UN aid program was appointed to control military matters (Durch 1993, 337). He hastily deployed troops to parts of the Congo before any communication had been set up. They were thus left without few means to communicate with the headquarters in Leopoldville.

The initial understanding of ONUC's role in carrying out the mandate was to assist the Government in maintaining law and order (Abi-Saab, 1978, 17). However, it was not equipped to do so until the mandate had expanded (Durch 1993, 342). According to military leaders, principles of war and basic tactical conceptions were deliberately ignored by ONUC's civilian leadership in the control and deployment of the Force (Dorn, Bell, 1995, 14). They also had no direct function in relation to the withdrawal of the Belgian troops. The peacekeepers were not authorized to use any force against the foreign troops. ONUC's mandate covered a traditional peacekeeping operation such as the interposition between hostile parties and the maintenance of neutral zones (Dorn, Bell 1995). The UN personnel were not immune against violence. ONUC forces operated in a

volatile political environment, in which their relations with various factions frequently changed from amicability to animosity (Dorn, Bell 1995).

The first three resolutions only called upon the Government of Belgium to withdraw its forces. They never included any language on the use of any enforcement in this regard. Hammarskjöld interpreted the resolutions as the secession of Katanga was a domestic affair and that the UN must remain impartial. He also did not interpret the mandate as authorizing the use of force (Boulden 2001, 25-26). The third resolution did not change the mandate but it was the first to mention Katanga and for “Belgium to immediately withdraw” (SC Res. 146, 1960). It also stressed the impartiality of the UN force in a separate chapter saying “the United Nations force in the Congo will not be a party to or in any way intervene in or be used to influence the outcome of any internal conflict, constitutional or otherwise” (SC Res. 146, 1960).

In effect, the first three resolutions contained elements of my definition of a peacekeeping operation; impartiality and neutrality, the consent of the host state (in this case both from the central Congolese government as well as from Katanga), and no use of force by the peacekeeping troop.

After two months ONUC had largely achieved its two goals as law and order was largely restored and Belgian troops had withdrawn from most parts of Congo. However, this success could not be applied to Katanga where paratroops were still present and Tshombe still claimed the province independent. It turned out ONUC was just at the beginning of a very complicated peace operation.

## The Constitutional Crisis

Lumumba and the Soviet Union shared a view contrary to that of the UN; the Belgian support of the Katanga secession should not be viewed as an internal matter. Making matters worse, part of the neighboring province of Kasai had at this time proclaimed its independence. This proved too much for Lumumba and the Soviet Union who proceeded with their own military campaign. Lumumba and his forces attacked South Kasai in late August where approximately one thousand Baluba people were massacred (Durch 1993, 320). The Secretary-General viewed this as a potential conflict between the two superpowers. The Soviet Union's military aid to Congo was in violation of the resolutions as it intervened in Congo's internal affairs without the consent of the UN (Abi-Saab 1978, 54-55). President Kasavubu openly blamed Lumumba for the massacre in Kasai and dismissed him. This was followed by Lumumba's action to discharge Kasavubu as president. A constitutional crisis became a fact and ONUC found itself in a situation few had anticipated.

## ONUC and Peace Enforcement

The mutual dismissal of President Kasavubu and Lumumba should perhaps not have come as a surprise. The two men had never had a close relationship, before or after independence. All along, potential conflict had loomed over the duality of the constitution of which Lumumba was the Prime Minister and Kasavubu the Head of State (Young 1965, 322-323). The legality of Lumumba's dismissal was heavily debated (see Young 1965, 326-328). The UN finally sided with Kasavubu who had already appointed Joseph Ileo as the new Prime Minister. In effect, the UN departed from its position as a neutral organization. Ileo never obtained a parliamentary majority for his new

government. Instead, Colonel Joseph Mobuto, a pro-Western Chief of Staff of the Congolese army, took control of the government although Kasavubu remained as the supposed president. Meanwhile, Lumumba resided in his house in Leopoldville, guarded by forces from ONUC. Both Mobuto and representatives from South Kasai, holding him responsible for the massacre, wanted him arrested. Lumumba managed to escape and tried to reach Stanleyville where many of his supporters were. He was however captured and on February 13, 1961, it was announced he had been killed.

### The Mandates

Lumumba had been a proponent for using force to end the secession of Katanga. It is perhaps ironic the Security Council on February 21 1961 adopted a resolution authorizing the use of force after Lumumba's death. It declared that use of force, if necessary and in last resort, be taken to prevent the occurrence of civil war (SC Res. 161, 1961). It thus became the first peace operation that used Chapter VI ½ as a disguise for enforcement (Månsson 2005, 386). The same resolution also urged to take measures to withdraw all Belgian and other foreign military, paramilitary personnel and mercenaries not acting under UN command. A majority of the Belgian troops had left Congo after the deployment of ONUC, however some were still present in Katanga supporting Tshombe (Durch 1993, 324-325). The reason why a more forceful mandate was taken is that Stanleyville, under the leadership of a man named Gizenga, experienced revolt in response to Lumumba's death. Attacks on UN personnel also intensified. Also, Tshombe seemed unlikely to settle the conflict in a peaceful manner. Faced with a constitutional crisis, the UN pressed Congolese leaders to find a solution so the Parliament to reconvene. The Gizenga regime finally ended its opposition but Tshombe refused to

attend the mediation process. The Parliament reconvened on 19 July 1961 and Cyrille Adoula was named the new Prime Minister (Ohaegblum 1982, 49-50). The Constitutional Crisis had thus come to an end.

The final Security Council resolution came in November 1961. It included language more forceful than any previous resolution calling for the use of force, if necessary, for the immediate apprehension of all foreign military, paramilitary and political advisors not under UN command. In contrast to the February resolution, it specifically authorized the Secretary-General to use force to implement the mandate (SC Res. 169, 1961). Although Chapter VII was not referred to, there was no room for any particular interpretation of the mandate by the Secretary-General (Abi-Saab 1978, 164). In addition, U Thant, the new Secretary-General, was not as reluctant to use force as his predecessor (Durch 1993, 329).

### Peace Enforcement in the Field

The February resolution granted ONUC with far more authority to use force than in any previous peace operation conducted by the UN (Diehl 1993, 51). Violence rose in Katanga, with Tshombe attacking the Baluba people in the northern part of the province. The UN force managed to push Tshombe back and also captured several foreign mercenaries. Belgium still supported Katanga and some military officers that served with the secessionist forces. During the summer of 1961 the UN faced both cooperation and hostility from Katanga (Franck, Carey 1963, 35). Weapons were provided from Belgium via a Sabena flight to the province as late as in September of 1961 (Vaccaro 1998, 80-81). The UN was still not capable of stopping the violence in Katanga.

It took the United Nations almost two years to end the secession of Katanga. Specifically there were two attempts to expel foreign troops from Katanga. Operation Rumpunch was launched in August followed by Operation Morthor in September. The first was met by surprise by the Katangese and ONUC managed to take control over the gendarmeries' headquarter. Some foreign mercenaries were captured although several remained at large after the operation had ended. Operation Morthor was launched under somewhat different circumstances. The aim this time was not only to expel the foreign mercenaries but also to end the very secession of Katanga (Abi-Saab 1978, 139-140). The operation did not go according to plans as the UN force was met by heavy resistance. Tshombe managed to escape as ONUC failed to seal off his residence.

These two operations were not authorized by the Secretary General. The decision was made by the director of UN's civilian operation in Congo and the regional civilian director for Katanga. They both interpreted the mandate as to include the forceful expulsion of foreign soldiers and to use force to end the secession (Durch 1993, 340-341). The Secretary General tried to end the status quo by asking to meet with Thsombe to arrange a ceasefire. On his way to the meeting, Dag Hammarskjöld was killed in a plane crash in September 1961. His efforts to reach a cease fire were continued and an agreement was reached upon in mid-October. Thsombe violated the agreement by continuing the build-up of arms. Expelled mercenaries were filtered back into Katanga openly helping Tshombe. The Congo Government became more impatient with the inaction of the UN and started its own military campaign against Katanga. They were quickly forced to retreat by Thsombe's military strength. The ANC succeeded in creating nothing but disorder for the civilian population and ONUC. The chaos culminated in an

attack on several Italians under UN command who were brutally killed (Abi-Saab, 1978, 162). It was not until the adoption of the final resolution in November 1961 that ONUC could end the secession of Katanga and fulfill its mandate. The new General-Secretary in combination with a functioning Congolese government led the UN to perform more forcefully. In its campaign against Katangese mercenary forces, ONUC carried out air attacks, the only UN peacekeeping operation to do so to date (Dorn, Bell 1995). After increased UN military actions in Katanga, Tshombe finally signed a declaration ending the secession on February 15, 1962. ONUC also managed to disarm mercenaries and other military groups. The peace operation had in effect abandoned all its pretense of staying neutral in the conflict by supporting the Central Government (Dobbins et al. 2005, 15). After the secession had ended ONUC gradually started to withdraw from Congo. They stayed until June 1964, ending a four year presence.

### ONUC and Peace-Building

A proponent of preventative diplomacy, Hammarskjöld did send a UN representative to Congo before independence. He was concerned that Congo would have problems with the transition towards an independent state (Abi-Saab 1978, 6). Because of the rapid events immediately following independence, he was not given another chance to act on this approach. The transformation from a colonial state to a functioning independent African led state had failed, and quite rapidly so (Young 1965, 307).

Instead, ONUC became the organization that would try to prevent the Congo from falling into complete disintegration. It was the first peace operation that combined civil and military functions in what is now referred to as a “multi-component” operation (Durch 1993, 337). ONUC became engaged in activities that tried to strengthen the

state's institutions, so called "state-building" (Jacobson 1964, 75). These activities are considered pioneering for today's state-building missions (Ruggie 1996, 68). Never before had the international organization become so involved in trying to build a country's administration. These efforts took place through ONUC's Civilian Operations and included a variety of tasks. As many as 2,000 experts were tasked to assist the Congolese government in administrative and humanitarian matters (Månsson 2005, 386).

### The Interpretation of the Secretary General

The mandates on peace-building were very vague. No mandate was ever adopted that authorized any *specific* peace-building effort. Instead the General-Secretary's interpretation of the mandates laid down the basis of what some scholars refer to as an un-traditional peacekeeping force (Paris 2004, 18). Through ONUC's Civilian Operation the United Nations undertook functions that involved elements of peace-building.

In October 1960 the Security Council determined that to preserve the unity, territorial integrity and political independence of the Congo, it would be essential for the UN to assist the Central Government of the Congo. The protection and advancement of the welfare of the Congolese people were also included (Lefever 1967, 193). The Security Council thus endorsed the agreement already reached by Hammarskjöld and Lumumba in July the same year (Lefever 1967, 198).

Hammarskjöld immediately began to develop a plan that would include numerous tasks for ONUC beyond the military operations. Initially he asked several countries as well as UN's specialized agencies to aid in emergency type activities. This invitation was formally included in the second resolution. Several countries responded positively to the request, including the Soviet Union and the United States. The United Nations Children's

Fund (UNICEF) and The World Health Organization (WHO) also became involved to coordinate the relief efforts and to supply medical personnel (Jacobson 1964, 84).

Beyond this, the General-Secretary outlined a much more comprehensive plan for Congo. He based it on the very broad resolution the Security Council had adopted in July, 1960 where ONUC was authorized to provide technical assistance to the Congolese government (SC Res. 146). He saw the political role of ONUC as one to fill the vacuum in Congo caused by the breakdown of law and order (Abi-Saab 1978, 18). The General Secretary discussed an unprecedented plan that would call for a range of civilian responsibilities (West 1961, 603). It also called for placing UN personnel in significant posts.

Throughout ONUC's four years presence they operated in the following areas:

- Administrative. ONUC coordinated a Consultative Group consisting of experts in agriculture, communications, education, finance, foreign trade, health, instruction, labor markets, law, natural resources, industry and public administration (Jacobsson 1964, 84). The General-Secretary wanted UN officials to receive a new and so far untried status that would serve at the request of the Government.
- Humanitarian. ONUC were instructed to protect civilians and to provide emergency food shipments to the population. In addition, ONUC coordinated medical training and launched vaccination programs.

There was one resolution that noted, although not specifying, the severe violation of human rights. It is found in the resolution adopted in February 1961 where it is stated; *Noting with deep regret and concern the systematic violations of human rights and*

*fundamental freedoms and the general absence of rule of law in the Congo* (SC Res. 161, 1961). The interpretation of this resolution instructed the peacekeepers operating in Congo to give protection to all civilians threatened by violence (Månsson 2005, 388). Hammarskjöld had envisaged other programs as well. However, the Cold War rivalry affected ONUC's mission considerably. For instance, it stopped the envisaged training of the Armee National Congolais (ANC). It never materialized as they could not agree on who would be responsible for the training (Månsson 2005, 394). The Soviet Union also criticized the Civilian Operation because it did not include one single person from the Eastern Bloc, while employing several from the United States. But more fundamentally, the Soviet Union did not interpret any mandate as to give the UN the right to interfere in the domestic affairs of a state (Jacobson 1964, 87-88). Hammarskjöld's interpretation of the mandate was never supported by the Soviet Union and the schism between them widened considerably.

Democratization was also not a principal goal of ONUC. The territorial integrity of Congo and avoiding a direct conflict between the super powers served as the priorities for the UN (Dobbins et al. 2005, 21). Despite these international influences, ONUC still managed to coordinate and execute several activities.

### Peace-Building in the Field

ONUC's Civilian Operations performed many tasks in various categories. They reactivated the ports and railway system and supplied most of the technical staff to improve the transportation system. Because of the high unemployment rate, a modest public works was initiated by ONUC in order to create jobs (West 1961, 603). Beside these emergency type activities, ONUC was also involved in trying to build institutions

that would survive once they had departed. The Consultative Group played a significant role in the administrative field. In the area of reforming and protecting governmental institutions the UN played a noteworthy role (Jacobson 1964). From September 1960, a few months after independence, to August 1961 there was no legally instituted Congolese government. As the government reconvened, the Consultative Group assisted in policy advice and also served in executive capacities. Formal organizational structures were developed for the different ministries to strengthen the bureaucratic power of the government (Dobbins et al. 2005, 19-20). There were also UN experts involved in the drafting of a new constitution. ONUC was also instrumental in revising the education system. The Consultants in education redirected attention from the classics, such as Latin and Greek, and put an emphasis on vocational training. At the end of 1963, they were also supplying over 800 secondary school teachers (Jacobsson 1964, 92).

In order to deal with the severe financial crisis, ONUC collaborated closely with Congolese ministers in order to diminish the complete administrative collapse after the Belgians had left. The essential tasks were to stop the decline in economic activity and to provide a temporary administration until a permanent institutional organization was in place (West 1961, 608-609). In the humanitarian field, ONUC took on an unprecedented role. Although resolution 161 included language on human rights, there was no explicit mandate to protect civilians. However, the interpretation of the mandate by Hammarskjöld included the deployment of troops for their protection. For example, ONUC employed an entire battalion to protect a refugee camp in Kasai where 40,000 refugees had sought UN protection (Månsson 2005, 389).

Despite these efforts, the civilian government did not survive as Mobuto Sese Seko seized control of Congo in 1965. Mobuto managed to hold the country together despite efforts from rebel movements to overtake parts of Congo. He was aided by Western governments and as late as 1997 France allegedly sent mercenaries to Congo to avoid Mobuto's fall from power (Lemarchand 2001). At the end of the Cold War, Mobuto's corrupt regime and Congo's poor economic performance made him more marginalized. However, it was the turmoil in neighboring Rwanda that eventually led to his fall.

## Chapter 5 Back to Congo

The war that started in 1998 is often referred to Africa's First World War. The complexity of the war, with several actors involved, has claimed millions of lives. International Rescue Committee (IRC) reported that 4 million people have lost their lives in this conflict that is regarded as one of the most devastating wars in recent history (IRC 2004). The war in Rwanda is directly correlated to what would become the war in Congo. Rwanda had experienced fighting between the Hutus and the Tutsis since 1990. It escalated when Burundi's and Rwanda's presidents were shot down in an airplane in 1994. To this date it is unclear who is responsible for the attack but the Hutus soon began a systematic genocide of the Tutsi minority. Rwanda's president was himself a Hutu. Almost one million people were killed in a period of just a few months. Many Hutus, fearing revenge from the Tutsis and the new Tutsi dominated government, fled the country and settled in the nearby provinces of Congo. Mobutu saw an opportunity to become a player on the international arena and agreed to host the refugees. More importantly, Mobutu used the Hutus to increase hostility towards the Banyamulenge, people of Tutsi origin who had inhabited eastern Congo for generations. In 1996 the Banyamulenge were ordered to leave the area and sought help from the Tutsis in Rwanda. The Hutu population in the Kivu provinces, aided by Mobutu, continuously attacked the new Rwanda government. In the fall of 1996, the Rwandan government, the Banyamulenge and several anti-Mobuto forces attacked the Hutus in Congo and fought

the government forces. Laurent Kabila was the leader of the Alliance of the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (ADFL). He had served as the Lumumba faction but had gone into hiding in the Kivu region since Mobuto came to power. Kabila's army and other Tutsi movements were well-trained and Mobuto's weak forces, unpaid and divided among themselves, withered away as Kabila killed hundreds of thousands of Hutu refugees. In 1997 Kabila and his forces managed to seize power over Kinshasa (former Leopoldville), the capital of Congo, and Mobuto had to escape.

Kabila was initially seen as the bearer of democracy and economic growth, especially by Western countries. In time, however, he turned out to be just as corrupt as Mobuto (Kassimir, Latham and Callaghy 2001). He appointed many Tutsis, both Rwandan and Congolese, in political and military positions. For many Congolese this was regarded as illegitimate since the Tutsis were regarded as foreign occupiers. Sensitive to the political message, Kabila dismissed the Tutsi chief of staff for the Congolese armed forces and also dismissed several other Tutsis and Banyamulenge members of the administration. Preventing a potential coup, Kabila sent his forces back to Rwanda in the summer of 1998. Several rebellions started in both Kinshasa and Goma and although they failed to overthrow the government, a line of countries deployed troops in Congo (Olsson, Fors 2004). Claiming security reasons, Uganda and Rwanda who had helped Kabila oust Mobuto, entered Congo in August 1998. Rwandan troops later tried to take over Kinshasa with the help from Uganda. However, Angola and Zimbabwe intervened on behalf of Kabila. Although Zimbabwe does not share any border with Congo, it stated economic reasons for the interventions since both the government and Zimbabwean businesses had financial investments in Congo. Angola's intervention was mainly due to it was fighting

its main rebel force UNITA, who used parts of Congo as training grounds. Kabila's team was later helped by Namibia, Chad and Sudan although the latter two withdrew their forces quite early. Namibia had no immediate security concern over the situation in Congo but may have feared the war would spill over into neighboring Angola (Olsson, Fors 2004)

### The Establishment of MONUC

The Lusaka accord was signed in July 1999 by Congo, Angola, Namibia, Rwanda, Zimbabwe and Uganda. It was brought about by diplomatic negotiations facilitated by the Organization for African Unity (OAU). The peace accord called for a cease fire, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Congo, a dialogue between Kabila and the armed opposition groups, disarmament of all civilians, militias and groups, the creation of a national army and the re-establishment of a state administration (Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement 1999). The Security Council established MONUC, after its French acronym, in November 1999. Its initial purpose was to aid and monitor the implementation of the Lusaka accord (Smith 2004, 233).

### MONUC and Peacekeeping

While all parties signed the Lusaka peace accord, it was ignored by most of them. The rebel groups in eastern Congo did not disarm, Rwanda and Uganda stated security concerns for their continued involvement and Kabila claimed the needed support from Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia to protect Congo from its invaders (Wren 2000). In effect, the Lusaka peace accord provided little progress for ending the war.

## The Mandates

Although the Security Council adopted its first resolution on DRC in April 1999, MONUC was not deployed until November, one year after the war had commenced. The resolution stated a consideration to use the active involvement of the United Nations and to assist in implementing a cease fire agreement (SC Res.1234, 1999). The Council thus made it clear not to involve the UN unless the warring parties had signed a peace accord. The signing of the Lusaka peace accord offered the UN an opportunity to finally get involved. However, based on a recommendation by the General-Secretary, Kofi Annan, the deployment of any UN personnel should be deployed in three phases. First, military liaison officers would be deployed to areas of the signatories of the ceasefire agreement. Second, up to 500 military observers would be based inside the DRC and third, the full deployment of a peacekeeping force (Cilliers, Malan 2001).

Based on these recommendations, the Security Council adopted two more resolutions that year, specifying the activities MONUC would undertake. In August it authorized to deploy up to 90 military liaison personnel for three months (SC Res.1258, 1999), and in November the deployment of 500 military observers (SC Res.1279, 1999). This initial phase of MONUC looked like a traditional peacekeeping mission. The aim was after all to monitor the ceasefire. However, the Lusaka accord was constantly being violated putting the UN mission in a difficult situation. The number of UN staff was not sufficient to oversee such a large territory as the DRC. The mission was also not able to deploy throughout the country because of lack of security guarantees (Cilliers, Malan 2001)

In resolution 1291, adopted in February 2000, the Security Council authorized MONUC to take necessary action under Chapter VII of the Charter to protect its personnel and civilians under imminent threat of physical violence (SC Res.1291, 2000). However, this authorization was postponed as the UN did not regard the situation as adequately secure (Cilliers, Malan 2001). MONUC also increased its personnel to approximately 5000 peacekeepers. At this time, forces backed by Uganda, Rwanda, Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia kept fighting in the eastern part of the DRC. Despite continued violence, no resolution had called for the withdrawal of foreign troops. In addition, MONUC had not deployed any contingents to the eastern part of the DRC, by far the most volatile area in the country.

In June 2000, the Security Council adopted a resolution that finally called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces on Congolese territory (SC Res. 1304, 2000). The resolution fell however on deaf ears as no troops withdrew. In January of 2001, Laurent Kabila was assassinated in Kinshasa. His son, Joseph Kabila, took over the office as the Head of State. In contrast to his father, Joseph Kabila was more eager to negotiate a peace agreement. He supported an Inter-Congolese Dialogue (ICD) based on the Lusaka peace accord aimed at establishing a new political dispensation for the DRC (Apuuli 2003, 69). The dialogue officially started in the fall of 2001. Most parties in the conflict showed defiance and disbelief during the peace process. It would take nineteen months before a true peace agreement was reached in April 2003, called the Sun City II agreement. During the time of peace negotiations, the Security Council authorized a few more resolution. As far as peacekeeping is concerned, they more or less reiterated previous resolutions. The exception was one resolution adopted in February 2001 which

stated a deadline for the disengagement and redeployment of warring parties (SC Res.1341, 2001). They were given two weeks to withdraw with a deadline of the complete withdrawal of all troops by May 15, 2001.

Between the initial deployments of MONUC in 1999 to the spring of 2003, the peacekeepers tried to implement the mandates the Security Council had authorized. These efforts were not easy as the mandates could not prevent that many military factions continued to fight. Civilians were naturally the victims. Atrocities were uncovered and waves of mass refugees continued.

### Peacekeeping in the Field

The peacekeepers did not thus have a mandate to use force or to disarm the different militia members. Fighting in the east continued with the peacekeepers watching atrocities being committed without means to interfere. MONUC's main task was to aid in the delivery of humanitarian aid and to protect civilians. Initially, there were no peacekeepers present in the Kivu and Ituri regions. Although the Security Council had authorized 5,537 troops, it took years before MONUC forces reached this level. Many Western governments would not contribute troops and African countries were also hesitant in sending troops to such a dangerous area. The situation was so explosive that groups on all sides were said to be preparing new massacres (Human Rights Watch 2003). But the small size of the mission and its limited mandate led some people to suggest that the international community was getting very late to its African peacekeeping obligations and arriving with too little (Fleshman 2000).

It was not until March 2001 that MONUC deployed its first contingents to the eastern part of DRC. They could do little to settle the conflict. They operated under a

traditional peacekeeping mandate and were also outnumbered by the many military factions. The mandate from February 1961 that provided a deadline for the foreign troops to withdraw was completely ignored. Rwanda, just one of many countries involved, had at this time as many as 30 000 troops in the DRC. In 2002 the Rwandan president signed a peace accord with the DRC including the withdrawal of all its troops. In exchange, the DRC would disarm and repatriate all soldiers affiliated with the ALiR who were responsible for the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Uganda also followed suit a few months later, promising to withdraw all its troops from the DRC. The glimmer of hope was short lived as violence continued. In April of 2003, Bunia was the scene of fierce violence. Approximately 700 peacekeepers had set up camp in this small town. Thousands of refugees were seeking their protection. When as many as 20,000 militias, from various rebel groups, tried to take control of the town, two peacekeepers were killed. The mandate given to the peacekeeping force was to protect themselves and civilians. Such a small force was not able to do either. In addition, the resolution 1445 from December 2002 only stressed the importance of the voluntary nature of the disarmament, demobilization, repatriation, reintegration or resettlement (DDRRR) of the armed groups according to the Lusaka peace accord (SC Res. 1445, 2002). Needless to say, the rebel groups had not disarmed and the UN force did not have the mandate to enforce any disarmament. They were only allowed to use fire in self-defense.

In the summer of 2003, the Hema militia controlled the city while its rivals, the Lendu, lingered in the outskirts of Bunia. Clashes between the two led to massacres in Bunia and in other parts of the Ituri region (Sengupta 2003). Even four years after the first resolution on the DRC, the situation in the eastern part of the country deteriorated.

The Ituri district was particularly vulnerable. Relief workers uncovered mass graves of bodies, many of them women and children. In just two weeks, approximately 400 people had been killed in Bunia alone. The situation was deemed so dangerous that an account of slaughters outside of Bunia could not be investigated (Maharaj, Masciarelli 2003).

### MONUC and Peace Enforcement

The signature of the “Final Act” in April 2003 demonstrated a will by most warring factions to put an end to the war. Officially, this date also marks the end of the war. The two biggest factions, the UPDF (The Uganda People’s Defence Forces), and the MLC (Mouvement de Liberation Congolaise) signed the peace accord. The Lendu militia and the UPC (The Union of Patriotic Congolese) abstained. Meanwhile, many of these units had also split into other factions destabilizing the situation in eastern Congo even further. Some also switched sides, for example the UPDF, who now received support from Rwanda. Although both Rwanda and Uganda signed the peace accord, they continued supporting various factions (Itano 2003). All parties involved violated the peace accord and it was not until Joseph Kabila, the son of the assassinated president took over and showed some eagerness to end the war. Several agreements have been signed and foreign troops have largely been withdrawn. However, the eastern part of the country is still plagued by violence. As violence and atrocities continued, the Security Council met in July 2003 where its members unanimously adopted a Chapter VII mandate (SC Res. 1493). MONUC’s operation went from focusing on monitoring the situation to “use all necessary means” to fulfill its mandate. Peace enforcement thus became a reality.

## The Mandates

Despite a shaky peace accord, the Security Council gave an International Emergency Military Force (IEMF) the mandate to use “all necessary means” in response to the grave situation in the DRC. The resolution 1484, adopted on May 30, 2003, allowed the mainly French-led military force to take on a military enforcing role in the Ituri (SC Res. 1484, 2003). It was clear that the IEMF was only to be deployed temporarily as the Security Council gave MONUC until mid-August take over the role as the peace enforcers. On July 28, 2003 MONUC inherited the Chapter VII mandate. Resolution 1493 was adopted unanimously by the members of the Security Council. MONUC was allowed to enforce peace by interposing peacekeepers between the parties in conflict making the mission more responsive and influential (Boshoff 2004, 136). The resolution also entails a yearlong arms embargo on all foreign and Congolese armed groups (SC Res. 1493, 2003). The new mandate increased the number of military personnel from 8000 to 10,800. As an effect of criticism of having such a relatively small troop size, the number of MONUC’s personnel was increased a year later to 16 700 (International Crisis Group, 2004). Approximately half are stationed in the troubled Ituri region. This increased number of personnel makes MONUC the largest peace operation currently in the world.

MONUC still operates under a Chapter VII mandate. The latest, at the time of writing, was adopted in December, 2005 (SC Res. 1649, 2005). The enforcement measures now also apply to any political or military leader who impedes the disarmament efforts and who receives military equipment to be used for the purpose of war. The reason for this enlarged enforcement mandate can be attributed to what Lawrence Smith

has called a “chicken and egg situation” (Smith 2004, 243). Without stability, DDRRR programs cannot take place. On the other hand, uncontrolled armed forces also contribute to instability. The Security Council has also made it clear in nearly all its resolutions that the situation in the eastern part of DRC is a threat to international peace and security.

### Enforcement in the Field

With such an enlarged mandate, MONUC has been able to act more robustly. Although the Chapter VII mandate was adopted to include the entire country, the enforcement strategy has mainly taken place in the eastern part of the country. The presence of foreign and local armed forces in this region has a deteriorating effect on the entire DRC. The peace and democratic process cannot take place unless the issue of the Ituri is resolved. Although the majority of the militias disarmed at the time of UN’s deadline on April 1, 2005, some have been determined to continue the war.

Reviewing some of the incidents that have occurred since the enforcement mandate was adopted reveals that MONUC has moved from being a bystander of slaughters of civilians to embrace a more forceful approach. As a response to the murder of nine UN peacekeepers in October of last year, MONUC killed approximately sixty members of the militia group responsible for the act (Jordan 2005). However, the enforcement action was slow off the ground. Very few countries have been willing to send their forces to such a volatile area. It also takes time before the troops are on the actual ground. For example, MONUC could not stop a massacre of approximately sixty-five Hemas. Despite a Chapter VII mandate, MONUC could not prevent another spree of ethnic violence in the troubled Ituri province (Raghavan 2003).

UN personnel have also been targeted. Even when MONUC increased its forces, armed militiamen still continued attacking them. In one incident a United Nations boat convoy in northeastern Congo was attacked, forcing the peacekeepers to abandon a mission checking reports on the killing of more than one hundred people (New York Times 2004). However, with the increased number of MONUC troops, the situation in eastern Congo has improved within the last year. The city of Bunia, the capital of Ituri, was the scene of atrocities ever since the war started. Bunia is now slowly reemerging to a functional city with schools and the local court open (Sengupta 2004). But the largest peace operation in the world is still unable to protect civilians, despite the mandate to use all necessary means to do so. Kofi Annan, the Secretary-General, stated in 2005 that MONUC was understaffed to perform its task of protecting as many as six million civilians (Wax 2005). In May 2005 the peacekeepers were blamed for their inaction during an attack in the city of Bukavu, where a faction of the army briefly took over the airport despite the presence of U.N. forces. More than 100 Congolese were killed in the crisis.

### MONUC and Peace-Building

For the first time since 1960, the DRC is planning to hold democratic elections in 2006. The preparations have not been easy and they are still on-going. A majority of the population voted yes in December of 2005 to a referendum adopting a post-war constitution. These were the first national elections in over forty years.

The peace-building efforts undertaken by MONUC have been quite extensive. It can be considered as a peace-building effort typical of the post-Cold War era. These efforts did not begin immediately after MONUC had been set up. Initially it started with a

general humanitarian assistance project. This mandate was adopted by resolution 1291 back in February 2000, the same resolution that allowed military observers to be deployed. The resolution stated that MONUC should facilitate humanitarian assistance and human rights monitoring as deemed within its capabilities and under acceptable security conditions (SC Res. 1291, 1999).

In the past three years, the mandates have been enlarged to include a number of peace-building efforts. MONUC now operates in four core areas in trying to promote a longstanding peace (Swing 2003). These include:

- *Peace and Security.* MONUC is focusing on the Ituri region and The North and South Kivu to end the violence; ensuring effective disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of armed forces and to support disarmament, democracy, development and reconciliation programs (DDDR).
- *Facilitating the Transition,* leading to fair and free elections. The vote on the referendum was just the beginning of the path towards democracy. MONUC is currently assisting the Congolese to hold nationwide elections.
- *Establishment of the Rule of Law and Human Rights,* to end impunity and to build stable institutions. Training of police and criminal justice professionals is currently ongoing in the east of DRC as well as in Kinshasa. MONUC is also assisting in the establishment of a Human Rights Observatory and Rule of Law Taskforce.

- *Improve Human Conditions for Sustainable Peace.* MONUC is focusing on programs that address the devastating effects of war; child soldiers, HIV/AIDS; sexual violence.

Gender is another element not specifically mentioned in these four core areas of operation. However, the importance of gender is stated in a resolution adopted by the Security Council on October 31, 2000. The resolution, that not only applies to the UN's mission in the DRC, states that *civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and recognizing the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation. Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution* (SC Res. 1325, 2000). Gender thus became recognized as an important issue for peace-building efforts, an effort MONUC has adopted both in its mandates and in practice.

## The Mandates

The first resolution that touched upon the elements of Peace and Security and the role of Rule of Law came on June 15, 2001, two years before the official end of the war. Much of the authorization provided was based on the eighth report by the Secretary-General such as the creation of a civilian police component and of an integrated military/civilian section to coordinated DDRR operations (SC Res.1355, 2001). The resolution also requested that the civilian component of MONUC must be expanded to include civilian political affairs personnel. The Security Council also stressed the importance of establishing United Nations radio stations to promote public awareness of the peace process as well as the role of MONUC. In November the same year, the Security Council authorized the launching of programs of DDR in yet another resolution (SC Res.1376, 2001). It was based on recommendations to include a more wholesome approach to peace-building (Swing 2001). The main role for MONUC in its peace-building efforts was to coordinate the demobilization, repatriation, resettlement and the reintegration of the ex-combatants. Facilitating the transition has been an extremely important endeavor for MONUC. As soon as the Sun City agreement was signed, efforts were targeted towards setting up the transitional government that has been in power since 2003. The resolution that put MONUC under a Chapter VII mandate also stresses the importance of supporting the transitional government (SC Res. 1493, 2003). The government is headed by President Joseph Kabila and four vice-presidents. This political formula is now being abandoned as the new constitution has been adopted.

Emphasis on human rights was adopted in a resolution from 2004 (SC Res.1565, 2004). MONUC tasks are to assist the Transitional Government in the promotion and protection of human rights, with particular attention to woman, children and vulnerable persons. In addition, the importance of the protection of children in armed conflict is found in resolution 1379 (2001).

The importance of including a gender perspective was also adopted specifically for MONUC (SC Res. 1493, 2003). It called for MONUC to be actively involved in this issue as well as the need to address the violence against women and children. Resolution 1493 from 2003 did thus not only authorize the use of force under a Chapter VII mandate. It also called for a number of peace-building efforts in order to facilitate the process of democracy. The Security Council took the position that enforcement cannot take place without simultaneously putting efforts into promoting such issues such as democracy and human rights. Peace-building and enforcement have become dependent on each other.

### Peace-Building in the Field

Initially, the rhetoric of many mandates did not translate into action. MONUC faced serious problems deploying to Kisangani and Kindu, in eastern DRC. Many combatants had not repatriated and many of the countries with foreign forces stationed in the country had not withdrawn their support. Uganda, who had withdrawn from the DRC, announced its intention to send troops back into the north-eastern part of the country. With only 5.537 UN peacekeepers deployed, the task seemed overwhelming. At the end of 2002, MONUC's staff was increased to approximately 8,000. Considering the number of armed combatants, this number was not sufficient.

The signing of the Final Act in April 2003 signaled a new commitment to the peace process. A transition period of two years was agreed upon that would culminate in democratic national elections. The transitional government was in place by June 2003, which allowed MONUC to rejuvenate its efforts to peace-building. In a keynote address, UN Special-Representative to the DRC, Ambassador William Lacy Swing, stated that the peace process had arrived at what he termed “the Kinshasa Phase”, where the Transitional Government was expected to lead the process of peace-building in the entire country (Swing 2003). The fact that the Security Council also adopted a strong Chapter VII mandate during this time facilitated the efforts of building peace. In effect, MONUC was again expanded to a force level of almost 11,000.

MONUC’s role in securing Peace and Security is still challenged by the continuing violence in the east. For example, Rwanda has insisted that Rwandan armed groups be disarmed, but U.N. officials have reported a pattern of non-cooperation by Rwandan and RCD-Goma soldiers over disarmament efforts over a period of years. However, MONUC has managed to coordinate the disarmament of many soldiers. The Security Council strengthened the MONUC mandate in October 2004, authorizing the MONUC to use of all necessary means to carry out the disarmament (SC Res. 1565). More than 12,000 armed soldiers have been forced to join disarmament programs, leaving less than 2,000 at large (The Economist, June 9, 2005).

In the area of improving human conditions for sustainable peace, MONUC has not undertaken any significant programs. It does, however, have the largest Child Protection Section in any peacekeeping mission, with staff based in the regions as well as in the mission’s HQ. But the number of staff is quite small. Throughout the country there

are only 22 people deployed. In the area of HIV/AIDS, MONUC collaborates with other UN agencies and non-governmental organizations. MONUC's HIV/AIDS Office has no funds or budget to provide financial support to awareness building projects in the country. In response to the resolution on women and children, a Gender Unit was set up to integrate a gender perspective within MONUC. It also works with the Congolese population to bring the conflict's effect on women to the attention of decision makers. MONUC is engaged in various activities to increase the awareness of gender such as capacity-building for women leaders, advocacy, monitoring and evaluation of women's participation in the peace and transition process (SC Press Release 7908, 2003).

The peace-building efforts embarked upon by MONUC were severely undermined last year. In a report, the UN wrote of sexual abuse by its employees in the DRC. The investigation entailed about 150 allegations of sexual abuse by UN civilian staff and soldiers in the Congo. It found that the worst of the cases included pedophilia, prostitution and rape of war refugees, including both women and children. One case included a UN soldier who had raped a girl under gunpoint (Colum Lynch 2004).

## Chapter 6 MONUC and ONUC - A Comparative Analysis

The two peace operations in Congo took place during two completely different time periods. The Cold War and its global influence certainly affected ONUC. However, the personal decision-making style of the leaders was a huge factor in determining the course of the crisis (Namikas 2002). The interpretation of the mandates by the Secretary-General had a big impact on how ONUC operated in the field. In effect, ONUC's actions sometimes resembled the tasks the current peace operation although much also differs. These similarities and differences are accounted for below.

### Peacekeeping

A clear mandate is one of many elements of a successful peacekeeping mission (Durch 1993, 345). ONUC did not enjoy clear mandates throughout its peacekeeping mission. The resolutions were colored by each government's own interest in the Congo. The Soviet Union wanted a socialist revolution in Central Africa while the West wanted to curb chaos that could lead to the adoption of Communism (Lefever 1968, 4). The Security Council was also slow in calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops and addressing the secession of Katanga, although these two issues were central to the conflict.

In contrast, MONUC has been endowed with more lucid mandates. The Security Council made it clear not to intervene until a ceasefire had been signed. However, that is not to say much criticism was mounted during this initial phase of MONUC. Many viewed

the situation as calling for a more forceful mandate since there was no peace to keep. Few of the signatories paid much attention to the Lusaka peace accord. When the Security Council adopted a Chapter VII mandate, no such forces were deployed since the eastern part of the country was not adequately secured. It took two years before any troops were deployed in the east, even though it was at the center of the conflict.

The two peacekeeping operations resemble one another more in how they operated in the field. Both ONUC and MONUC were deployed to monitor the withdrawal of foreign troops. However, the warring factions had no intention of leaving. Both missions also operated in a failed state. ONUC had at the time to central government to cooperate with. The ANC was also in disarray making the upholding of law and order almost impossible. Similarly, MONUC was deployed when Laurent Kabila was president. The combined looting by him and the previous president, Mobuto, had put the DRC into the category of a failed state. Both peacekeeping missions had no authorization to use force. They were merely deployed to monitor and observe the withdrawal of foreign troops and in MONUC's case, also to monitor the ceasefire. It was not until the assassination of Lumumba and Laurent Kabila respectively that peace seemed to have a chance. Shortly after Lumumba's death, the Security Council adopted a more forceful resolution. In MONUC's case, the death of Joseph Kabila initially led to hopes that peace could be attained.

## Peace Enforcement

MONUC is in its third year under a Chapter VII mandate. ONUC never received such a forceful authorization. The Security Council was careful in adopting such a mandate for ONUC. Initially, when the use of force was authorized, Hammarskjöld's interpretation of the mandate excluded any such measures. He adhered to the strict policy of non-intervention. He was determined the mandate adopted in February 1961 did not mean to wage war in Katanga. His view was it only authorized ONUC to expel all foreign military and para-military personnel (Urquhart 1972, 555). At the time of the adoption of the November resolution, the situation had changed dramatically. Hammarskjöld had been replaced by U. Thant. The unity of the central government was threatened as its forces waged its own military campaign in Katanga. In addition, ONUC had failed in its military operations to end the secession in Katanga. The November resolution differed from any other mandate in that it authorized the Secretary General to use force to end the secession (Abi-Saab 1978, 164). In effect, there was no other interpretation available than to use force. Again, unclear and arbitrary mandates guided ONUC in its enforcement efforts. It took the peace mission over two years to finally end the secession of Katanga and settle the conflict.

While MONUC has been authorized with clearer mandates, it took a long time before enforcement was implemented in the field. Once a military force was deployed in the east, it was not enough to end the violence. There are still warring factions operating in the Ituri region and they seem adamant not to put down their arms. It is still uncertain whether MONUC will be able to bring peace to the region.

## Peace-Building

There was no mandate that specifically authorized ONUC to undertake any peace-building efforts. This was not the goal of the peace mission. The focus was to prevent the escalation of the conflict. As such, any democratization process was not included.

MONUC, on the other hand, embarks upon a process that specifically includes democratization that can survive once the peace operation comes to an end. This can be seen in both its mandates and how they are implemented in the field. It is a peace mission typical of the post-cold war era. However, as demonstrated, ONUC undertook activities that were unprecedented making it an atypical peace mission at the time. It contained elements of today's peace-building missions such as efforts to build strong institutions and enhancing the education system. The Secretary General launched these pioneering programs since he anticipated Congo would have difficulties in coping with its decolonization efforts. Hammarskjöld set up the mission including both a military and civilian component since he viewed them both as crucial in trying to deal with the acute situation. As such, it resembles many current peace operations; the civilian components are just as important as the military.

However, although there were elements of today's peace-building efforts, they cannot be considered as broad as MONUC's undertakings. Important issues such as the inclusion of gender in the current peace process are found in both the mandates and the activities in the field. Furthermore, reintegrating ex-combatants are crucial for a longstanding peace. MONUC's support of the transitional government which will hopefully lead to free and fair elections is central to the mission. The very goal is to leave the DRC as a democracy.

## Chapter 7 CONCLUSIONS

The first peace operation in Congo lacked strong and clear mandates. The circumstances surrounding the conflict and the interpretation of the mandates would steer the mission into unknown territory. ONUC initially operated as a peacekeeping mission typical of the Cold War. As the situation deteriorated, the Security Council finally adopted a strong mandate although Chapter VII was never invoked. The peace operation finally ended the secession of Katanga and did prevent the outbreak of a civil war, but only with the use of force. The mandate was thus fulfilled. This achievement came at a high cost as all pretenses of the UN remaining neutral had to be abandoned.

In contrast to ONUC, the current peace operation acts under much clearer mandates. Initially it was also set up as a regular peacekeeping operation. As violence in the eastern part of the country escalated, the Security Council adopted a Chapter VII mandate. The international organization made it clear MONUC must enforce peace. In contrast to ONUC, the current peace mission has not been forced to operate under any interpretations of mandates.

In the area of peace-building, ONUC took on efforts that were unprecedented. Never before had the UN embarked on such a large scale effort to build strong institutions. However, there were no mandates supporting these activities and again the recommendations of the Secretary General served as the guiding hand. In stark contrast to the current peace mission, ONUC never had the goal to develop a strong democracy.

Shortly after the departure of ONUC, the country fell into the hands of Mobuto who never tried to democratize the Congo.

The UN's current mission in the DRC has as its goal to leave the country as a democracy. Its support of large-scale programs such as supporting the democratic process and the transitional government reflects this view. They are also involved in micro-level programs such as providing information on the importance of gender in the democratic process. In both its mandates and activities MONUC is taking on a peace-building role quite typical of this era. These activities are closely linked to its enforcement capacity as building a long-term peace cannot be sustained as violence is still occurring in the eastern part of the country. Whether the mission will succeed in attaining its goals remains to be seen. Hopefully the UN will leave the DRC in a better state than it did in the 1960's. Naturally, the responsibility does not only lie in the hands of the international organization but also on the Congolese themselves. The high turnout in the referendum supports the notion that democracy may be instated in the country after such a long time of suppression.

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