AN EXAMINATION OF TYPES OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS AND THEIR EFFECTIVENESS

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ABSTRACT

The current scale and scope of peacekeeping missions is unprecedented and with this increasing reliance on peacekeeping as a tool to manage threats to peace and security come questions about *who* should keep the peace. Is it, as many assume, the United Nations? Is it a regional organization, such as the African Union? Or is it an individual state? Each of these different types of peacekeeping operations have different strengths and weaknesses associated with them in terms of legitimacy, institutional capacity, local and regional awareness, resources, and military effectiveness. This dissertation analyzes types of peacekeeping operations to determine which is the most effective in restoring peace and stability and why. I use a structured, focused comparative case study methodology to examine eight cases of peacekeeping, across two countries, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sierra Leone, each of which has been subject to all three types of peacekeeping operations. This approach allows me to hold a number of control variables constant, providing a clear test of the impact of the type of intervention. I found that the type of PKO makes a difference to the success or failure of that mission. PKOs run by lead states are more likely to be successful because they are more willing to use force and they are more likely to have the resources and capabilities necessary to implement that force. Further, I found that two types of PKOs working together can use their strengths to compensate for each other's weaknesses. I also present a quantitative study with a larger sample size that both substantiates my findings and allows me to generalize them to a wider universe of cases.

This dissertation is dedicated

with love

to my children, Luke and Lena Grace.

As much as I sometimes wanted to give up,

I wanted to teach you perseverance more.

I hope you always pursue your dreams

– even when the path

is difficult.

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I dedicated my dissertation to my children, Luke and Lena Grace, because I wanted them to remember the importance of perseverance in life. There is no other role that I cherish more than mother and they were the source of my motivation in so many big and small ways.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (Sierra Leone)
AU	African Union
CDF	Civil Defense Force (Sierra Leone)
DDR	Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EO	Executive Outcomes
EU	European Union
FIB	Force Intervention Brigade
ICC	International Criminal Court
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IEMF	Interim Emergency Multinational Force (EU force in Bunia, DRC)
JMC	Joint Military Commission
MONUC	UN Organization Mission in the DRC
MONUSCO	UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the DRC
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
PKO	Peacekeeping operation
RSLAF	Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces (new national army)
RUF	Revolutionary United Front (Sierra Leone)
SADC	South African Development Community
SLA	Sierra Leone Army
UN	United Nations
UNAMSIL	UN Mission in Sierra Leone
UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UNOMSIL	UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leone

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The current scale and scope of peacekeeping missions is unprecedented and with this increasing reliance on peacekeeping as a tool to manage threats to peace and security come questions about *who* should keep the peace. While peacekeeping is generally associated with the United Nations (UN), as the number of non-UN missions has increased since the late 1990s, there has been a corresponding intensification in the debate over which type of peace operation is the most effective (Fortna and Howard, 2008). Is it, as many assume, the UN? Is it a regional organization, such as the African Union (AU)? Or is it an individual state? Instead of focusing solely on UN peacekeeping as is most commonly found in the literature, this study examines and compares all three of these types of peacekeeping operations (UN, regional and lead state). Each of these types of peacekeeping operations (PKOs) have different strengths and weaknesses associated with them in terms of legitimacy, institutional capacity, local and regional awareness, resources, and military effectiveness.

Thus, this dissertation analyzes types of PKOs to determine which is the most effective in restoring peace and stability and why. I use a structured, focused comparative case study methodology to examine eight cases of peacekeeping, across two countries, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Sierra Leone, each of which has been subject to all three types of peacekeeping operations. This approach allows me to hold a number of control variables constant, providing a clear test of the impact of the type of intervention. I also present a quantitative study with a larger sample size that

both substantiates my findings and allows me to generalize them to a wider universe of cases. It is also useful for suggesting new opportunities for research.

In order to understand why one type of PKO is more successful than another, I look for explanations across five key categories associated with the strengths and weaknesses of the various PKO types as identified by the literature on peacekeeping. These five categories include mandate, resources and capabilities, willingness to use force, consent and cooperation, and great power involvement. Each type of PKO represents a combination of these categories or factors. For example, UN PKOs tend to be strong in terms of consent and cooperation, including the legitimacy of the operation; however, they tend to be weaker when in comes to the willingness to use force. My analysis of these categories as applied to my eight case studies sheds light on why one type of PKO is more successful than another.

The major conclusion that I take from the case studies is that type does matter, and that a particular type of PKO can complement another type if used concurrently. The lead state is the most effective type of PKO due to its strengths in four of the five categories, but it can also strengthen or back-up UN PKOs to compensate for their lack of resources and unwillingness to use force. Likewise, UN PKOs are able to compensate for a lead state PKO's typical weakness in neutrality and legitimacy in order to accomplish other peacekeeping goals, often related to diplomatic efforts or state building, more effectively.

I have classified peacekeeping operations into three types: UN, regional organization, and individual lead state. UN peacekeeping is sanctioned by the UN Security Council and is directed by the UN peacekeeping office. Regional organization

peacekeeping is led by any one of a number of regional organizations, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the European Union (EU), the African Union (AU), the South African Development Community (SADC) or the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). In the case of individual lead state peacekeeping, a neighboring country intervenes or alternatively a former colonial power (such as the United Kingdom in Sierra Leone) may assume responsibility for intervening in the conflict. This dissertation will focus on eight case studies in two states: Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Each state has had all three types attempt to bring peace to their country and both states have also had two separate UN missions. Each of these types will be tested as the independent variables to determine which type of PKO is the most likely to achieve the dependent variable, success, in a weak or failed state. This will be explained in greater detail in the methodology section in Chapter 2.

The case studies are located in Africa for a number of reasons. First, nowhere have threats to peace and security been more critical than the continent of Africa. According to *Foreign Policy*'s 2014 Fragile States Index, the annual ranking of the world's most vulnerable countries (prepared by the Fund for Peace), the top six states are all African.[1] Between 1990 and 2009, there have been over two hundred armed conflicts in Africa (Williams, 2011). Consequently, Africa provides significant variation in the independent variable (the type of peace operation). In addition to considerable regional intervention, the United Nations has pursued several peacekeeping operations in Africa since the end of the Cold War (see Appendix 1). In fact, almost half of the fifty UN PKOs in the post-Cold War era were in Africa and over half of the current UN PKOs are

[1] The top five most vulnerable states on the 2013 Failed States Index include : 1. South Sudan, 2. Somalia 3. Central African Republic, 4. Democratic Republic of Congo, 5. Sudan, 6. Chad, (*Foreign Policy*, 2014).

there as well (Adebajo, 2011:3 and UN, 2013).[2] Neighboring countries and former colonial powers have also intervened, adding more variation to the study (see Appendix 2). Secondly, as noted above, due to the importance of using similar cases in order to determine the significant differences affecting the outcome, spurious cultural and socio-economic factors, which may affect the dependent variable, can be reduced.

Three Peacekeeping Operation Types and Competing Hypotheses

The United Nations

The United Nations is typically seen as the most appropriate organization to intervene in matters of conflict and human rights abuses.[3] One view of peace operations, then, is that UN peacekeeping is the most effective and in the long term, non-UN peace operations will undermine international peace and security. As a worldwide international organization, the UN's peacekeeping operations are built upon the will and values of the international community as a whole. As a result, its actions generally command a high level of respect and it is also the only security organization that can claim universal legitimacy for its actions. Thus, my first set of hypotheses tests whether the UN conducts the most effective type of peace operations in Africa.

Hypothesis 1:

Peace operations run by the United Nations are the most likely to achieve success.

[2] As of May 14, 2015, ten out of a total of seventeen current UN operations are in Africa - Western Sahara, Central African Republic, Mali, DRC, Darfur, South Sudan, Abyei (Sudan), Liberia, South Sudan, and Cote d'Ivoire.

[3] Quantitative studies in the current peacekeeping literature are divided on the issue. Some find no difference in the success rate of UN and non-UN missions (Heldt, 2004), while others find UN operations to be much more effective than non-UN missions (Sambanis and Schulhofer-Wohl (2007). In a review of the field, Fortna and Howard note that this is a topic that clearly requires more research (Fortna and Howard, 2008).

However, despite the UN's view that it has a duty to intervene in states that can't or won't protect their people from gross violations of their human rights, the UN itself even admits that the "'Security Council so far has been neither very consistent nor very effective in dealing with these cases, very often acting too late, too hesitantly or not at all'" (UN Panel Report in Slaughter, 2005). UN mandates that reflect the desired outcomes of an intervention are often ambiguous or tempered by the competing views of a multilateral institution. UN mandates tend to be more cautious or even lacking a decisive will to intervene. Thus, the great expectations and trust placed on the United Nations are often not fulfilled. The mass genocide that took place in Rwanda in the spring of 1994 is but one glaring example of its shortcomings.

There are several reasons that the United Nations may not always be the most suitable organization to intervene in failed states. First, there is an institutional lag associated with UN operations that prevents prompt and decisive action, which is often critical at the onset of a crisis. Consequently, this is a common refrain in numerous articles regarding UN performance: In "Somalia in 1993, Rwanda in 1994, and Bosnia in 1995, the UN action taken (if taken at all) was widely perceived as too little too late, misconceived, poorly resourced, poorly executed, or all of the above" (Evans and Sahnoun, 2002). A significant part of the problem is organization. Peacekeeping operations are re-invented for each and every operation, and such operations are very dependent on the good will and contributions of donor countries often resulting in logistical nightmares and collective action problems.

Second, each UN intervention requires the will of the international community, particularly the more powerful members of the UN Security Council. The use or threat of the veto by any of the Permanent 5 members in the Security Council has prevented the UN from acting at times. Just the threat of the veto on resolutions still in the drafting stage can definitively alter not only final decisions, but even what is being heard by other members of the Council (Murithi, 2005). Thus, even though the end of the Cold War liberated the UN Security Council from its East-West stalemate and ushered in a flurry of UN-sponsored peacekeeping activities throughout the 1990s, the veto remains a significant obstacle. For example, China has been blamed for preventing the Security Council from taking any serious action in regard to Sudan. Critics believe that because China gets most of Sudan's oil in exchange for providing the Sudanese government with the majority of its arms, China was threatening to use its veto to block tougher UN Security Council resolutions (*Economist*, 2007). Non-Security Council members can also affect the will of the international community. Members of the Group of 77 (G-77) countries provide the lion's share of troop contributions to UN peacekeeping operations, but because of the limited resources available to the UN, some G-77 states believe that peacekeeping operations divert valuable funds away from economic development programs (Fearon and Laitin, 2004). Further, G-77 states resent that despite the use of their troops, they have limited input in the Security Council deliberations that devise and manage the UN peace operations. Several ambassadors have threatened to stop supplying troops if reforms are not implemented (UN, 2011).

Thirdly, UN missions are more likely to be watered down and less focused so as to pacify the many interests voiced in the United Nations. One of the criticisms offered

by the Brahimi report, which was ordered by the UN Secretary-General in 2000 to assess failures of UN peacekeeping operations, was that the "Security Council often approved mission mandates that were overly vague and optimistic about the situation on the ground, leading to inadequate deployments with unclear objectives" (quoted in Fearon and Laitin, 2004:18). Indecisiveness can be detrimental to the outcome of missions prompting some to suggest that major powers or regional actors are more effective lead actors or coordinators of peacekeeping operations (Fearon and Laitin, 2004).

Regional Organizations

There are a number of regional organizations that have led or have been involved with peace operations in Africa. They include the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which is now the African Union (AU), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Maghreb Union, the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) and the Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC).

While there are many regional organizations in Africa, the AU is the largest in Africa. Its membership almost spans the entire continent with 53 members.[4] This means that the AU provides region-wide legitimacy. It replaced the so-called "Dictator's Club" or the OAU in 2001/2002. While the OAU did accomplish one of its goals – to eradicate colonialism on the African continent – it was increasingly dismissed as a corrupt and useless organization. Delphine Djiraibe, president of the Chadian Association for the

[4] Only one state, Morocco, refuses to join because it opposes the membership of Western Sahara as the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic. However, Morocco does have a special status with the AU and is still able to access all of the services available to AU members.

Promotion and Defense of Human Rights, described it as an organization that only "preserves the interests of African heads of state instead of addressing the real problems that are tearing apart Africa" (Onishi, 2001). In contrast to the OAU's unwillingness to intervene in conflicts between or within its member states, the AU has committed itself to the promotion of democracy and human rights (see Bassett and Straus, 2011). In fact, the Constitutive Act of the AU empowers the AU to intervene in internal conflicts if states are not able to fulfill their responsibility to protect their citizens (Miruthi, 2005). In other words, by becoming members of the AU, states have in effect given the AU permission to intervene in their state should a serious crisis arise. Thus, the AU represents itself as an "African solution to Africa's problems" (Apuuli, 2012).

This is particularly important in Africa as a result of its colonial past. One of the benefits of regional organizations generally, but even more so in Africa, is that they can typically avoid charges of imperialism that are often directed at Western nations or even the UN because it is believed by some to be a mere pawn of its most powerful members. For example, Jan Pronk, the United Nations envoy for Sudan, reported that:

> Sudan's government was portraying a United Nations entry as a precursor to a Western takeover of the country…They speak about recolonization, imperialism, they speak about Iraq and Afghanistan, they speak about conspiracy against the Arab and Islamic world…It's easy to get heated opposition to the U.N. even among people who don't like the government (quoted in Hoge, 2006:10).

Thus, while the Sudanese government has been extremely resistant to *any* forces in Sudan, the AU was able to establish a presence there because it wasn't possible for Sudan to argue that their neighbors were colonial invaders.

Therefore, a second view of peace operations suggests that regional organizations are likely to be more effective than the UN has been because they will "have a greater

understanding of the causes and nature of security problems affecting the region; because the incentives for managing conflict are likely to be higher and because there will be a greater degree of consensus over basic values" (Hurrell, 1992; see also Nathan, 2012). In fact, the UN Charter encourages the establishment of regional organization and specifically states in Chapter VIII, Article 52: "The members of the United Nations… shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council." As UN peacekeeping has become increasingly overstretched, the UN has strongly supported the trend for regional organizations to "lighten the burden" of the UN (Nathan, 2012:2). This leads to a second set of alternative hypotheses which will test whether regional organizations are more likely to carry out the most effective peace operations in Africa.

Hypothesis 2:

> Peace operations run by regional security organizations, such as the AU, ECOWAS, or SADC are the most likely to achieve success.

One of the biggest criticisms of regionalization is that their existence implies that the region is responsible for itself and therefore people should only get whatever level of peace operations that their own region is capable of providing. While the concern that increased regionalization will erode the UN's commitment to "assist all the world's regions, not just those that are strategically important to Western states" is valid, it is important to recognize that regionalization has become necessary to fill gaps in the UN's uneven coverage (Bellamy and Williams, 2005:195).

However, a lack of resources is a real problem for regional organizations in Africa. They lack training, equipment, experience, and of course, funding. Critics of regional PKOs assert that the "sustainability of these operations is questionable, given that regional organizations, or 'coalition of willing states' undertaking peacekeeping activities, are largely weak states, with underdeveloped and cash-strapped economies" (Francis et al, 2005:5). Nevertheless, much the same has been said about the resources available to the UN. Either way, both organizations require international support. When the Nigerian president and Chairman of the AU, Olusegun Obasanjo, announced that the AU had decided to send troops and monitors to help limit the violence in the Darfur region of Sudan, he addressed this predicament: "Let us lead in solving African problems, in providing solutions for African problems…But please give us the wherewithal, give us the tools and we will do the job" (quoted in Hoge, 2004).

Another common concern with regionalization is that regional security organizations are not neutral and can be expected to be pursuing their own interests. Thus, their legitimacy can be questioned. More powerful states have more influence. In any case, supporters of regional organizations argue that they still provide more legitimacy than peace operations led by single states, but yet maintain similar advantages to unilateral operations, such as greater rapidity, political commitment and efficiency (Bellamy and Williams, 2005).

Although operational impartiality may seem like an asset for an organization like the UN, Betts argues that the UN's impartiality is actually counterproductive. He contends that peace operations have "often unwittingly prolonged suffering where they meant to relieve it by following a principle that sounds like common sense: that

intervention should be both limited and impartial, because weighing in on one side of a local struggle undermines the legitimacy and effectiveness of outside involvement" (Betts, 1994)[5]. Likewise, Fearon and Laitin claim that the "UN ethic of 'impartiality'" is not realistic in many civil wars today: "Counterinsurgency often requires tactics of intimidation and threat" (Fearon and Laitin, 2004: 23). In other words, they are making the argument that real force is necessary to make peace today. It is not effective to just draw a line in the sand and put blue or green helmets between the opposing sides until they are willing to concede.

Thus, a number of scholars argue that military might and decisive force are essential ingredients for a successful peace operation, and organizations – no matter whether they are the UN or a regional organization – may not have the resources or the political will to follow through with their mandates. Individual states, on the other hand, often have more at stake, particularly if the state shares a border with a weak or failed state. Collapsed states can have an immediate impact on the national security of an individual state and some states will take matters into their own hands rather than wait for the bureaucratic machinery of the UN or a regional organization to kick in. Additionally, powerful states often share a special relationship with their former colonies in Africa which compels them to act when they are in trouble. Thus, some authors suggest that individual lead state interventions are swifter and more effective.

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[5] The UN does make a "doctrinal distinction between neutrality, or equidistance from all parties, and impartiality, meaning that a UN PKO seeks impartial implementation of the mandate and thus possible action against forces that are undermining a peace agreement. See United Nations, *Report of the Panel of Peace Operations,* par. 50. Given the UN system's inherent bias in favor of recognized governments, it is not clear whether it can really be impartial between government and rebel spoilers" (Fearon and Laitin, 2004:31, footnote 66).

Individual Lead States

Individual lead state peace operations refer to intervention in a weak or failed state by a neighboring country or a former colonial power. However, it could also refer to a peacekeeping operation led by any great power. These lead states may or may not be acting completely unilaterally, but they are the force behind the operation, both strategically and militarily. According to Fearon and Laitin, lead states are more likely to engage in peace operations when the "results are linked to their security interests, or when past relations imply a 'special responsibility'" (Fearon and Laitin, 2004: 28).

Individual lead state operations are advocated by those who contend that regional organizations suffer from most of the same problems as the UN. For example, like the UN, the ability of a regional organization to achieve its mission also depends on its capacity to mobilize the political will of its member states (Murithi, 2005). In addition, regional organizations have to deal with their own bureaucratic obstacles and decision-making problems. Further, this third group's claim is bolstered by a UN Institute for Disarmament Research (UNDIR) study that found that "actions coordinated or conducted by individual states could enhance the overall effectiveness of an operation and improve operational efficiency" (Bellamy and Williams, 2005:168). This leads to a third set of alternative hypotheses which will test whether individual lead states are more likely to conduct the most effective peace operations in Africa.

Hypothesis 3:

Peace operations run by individual lead states are the most likely to achieve success in war-torn African states.

There are, however, some obvious difficulties with operations run by individual lead states. First, they are most likely going to evoke cries of neocolonialism in the case of former colonial powers. The accusation that these states are just trying to further their own political or economic interests could affect the legitimacy of the operation and as a result, its effectiveness. Second, the intentions of neighboring states are not necessarily trustworthy either. If they behave too self-interestedly without regard for the people they are supposedly there to help, their actions will likely prolong the fighting and cause further human suffering (Bellamy and Williams, 2005). In 2002, the *Economist* expressed these very concerns in regard to Africa:

> Only one African nation, South Africa, has the power to wield significant and disinterested armed force at a distance. Although it has shown some willingness to do so, for example in Burundi, it cannot police the whole continent. Usually, when African nations intervene in each other's conflicts, they do so in those of neighbouring states, and they do so for selfish reasons. The Rwandan, Ugandan and Zimbabwean troops in Congo, for example, are plundering the place, not pacifying it (*Economist*, 2002).

Thus, neighboring states can often be viewed as rivals and invaders rather than peacekeepers, which makes their task much more difficult. Ethiopian troops in Somalia are a current example of this problem. While the Ethiopian government contends that their presence in Somalia is a result of a direct threat to their national security, "[m]any Somalis consider their Horn of Africa neighbor as a historic enemy and do not trust the motive for its presence" (Warsameh, 2007; see also Gettleman, 2011). This can also be the case for troops under the command of regional organizations. For instance, the Ugandan troops under AU command in Somalia are also viewed "as nothing more than interfering foreigners." However, at least "they have the legitimacy associated with that regional organization" (*Economist*, 2007). Therefore, although individual lead states may

be "particularly adept at responding to immediate crises" and better at dealing with determined "spoilers," in the long term these operations require the "resources, expertise, and commitment that few states could invest alone" (Bellamy and Williams, 2005: 184; see also Fearon and Laitin, 2004).

Criteria for Determining Peacekeeping Success

Peacekeeping success is defined in the literature in varying ways and there is little consensus over what criteria should be used to determine if a mission was successful (See Pushkina, 2006; Bures, 2007; Heldt and Walensteen, 2007; Fortna, 2008; Martin-Brülé, 2012). Part of the issue is how peacekeeping is being defined. At a minimum, the term peacekeeping refers to "the deployment of international personnel to help maintain peace and security" (Fortna and Howard, 2008). However, there are a variety of different forms of peacekeeping. Traditional peacekeeping[6] is less relevant for my purposes because almost all of my cases are intra-state conflicts as opposed to inter-state conflicts and the operations involve much more than just setting up a buffer zone on a border and monitoring ceasefires.

Generally, I am talking about multidimensional PKOs in this dissertation – this reflects what most UN missions are currently. According to the UN, "[t]oday's multidimensional peacekeeping operations are called upon not only to maintain peace and security, but also to facilitate the political process, protect civilians, assist in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants; support the

[6] Traditional peacekeeping typically refers to observation missions that simply observe and report their findings, to missions that are primarily limited to maintaining ceasefires or to missions that assist with political stabilization after a conflict. Some traditional PKOs are only concerned with one of these tasks and others may combine all three. (See UN, 2015c).

organization of elections, protect and promote human rights and assist in restoring the rule of law" (UN, 2015c). Put simply, multidimensional PKOs "endeavor to rebuild the basic institutions of the post-civil war state" (Howard, 2008:1).

Some scholars prefer the term peacebuilding. For example, Jakobsen defines a successful "peace support operation" in terms of "post-conflict peace-building involving the (re)building of civil society, state institutions and democracy" (Jakobsen, 2002:275). Doyle and Sambanis define peacebuilding success in a similar fashion, albeit somewhat more simply, "as an end to fighting, uncontested sovereignty, and a modest measure of political openness" (Sambanis, 2002:225).

Multidimensional PKOs are technically different than peacebuilding missions, but in many respects, they are essentially the same. The main difference is more a matter of degree and at least for the UN, peacebuilding missions take place only after the conflict is over. Thus, peacebuilding is actually considered "the continuum of strategy, processes and activities aimed at sustaining peace over the long-term with a clear focus on reducing chances for the relapse into conflict" (UN, 2013b).

The notion of peacebuilding, particularly when it is conflated with a much more minimalist idea of peacekeeping, is not without its critics. They argue that the most important goal of peacekeeping should merely be the end of violence and a self-enforcing peace. Anything more ambitious only leads to "frustration and failure" (Cousens, 2001; Stedman, 2001; and Diehl, 1993). However, this argument is problematic. It implies that if stability is all that is reached for, an oppressive autocratic outcome is as useful as any other (Durch, 2006).

The other issue is that the literature often differentiates multidimensional PK missions from peace enforcement missions, although Fortna and Howard note that even by the mid-1990s, the line separating peacekeeping and peace enforcement missions had blurred considerably (Fortna and Howard, 2008). Nevertheless, it is an important difference and particularly in terms of UN missions, it is the difference between a Chapter VI and Chapter VII mission.[7] That said, for the purposes of this dissertation, I am looking at different types of PKOs and attempting to determine which is the most effective. One of the differences between the types is that certain types are more or less likely to use force and further, if they do resort to using force, certain types are believed to be more effective at employing it than others. In other words, my definition of peacekeeping must be more inclusive to allow for the use of force as it may be the determining factor that makes one type of PKO more effective than another. Thus, I use a broad definition of peacekeeping that includes any UN or non-UN operation that is either consent-based or considered an enforcement operation.

Obviously the way peacekeeping is defined is going to affect what constitutes successful peacekeeping. Heldt and Wallensteen succinctly list the criteria that are most often debated in the literature: "It has been discussed whether a short- or long-term perspective should be used, whether resource limitations or even the recalcitrance of the conflict parties should be considered, and whether mandate fulfillment,[8] facilitation of

[7] Chapter VI of the UN Charter deals with the "Pacific Settlement of Disputes" while Chapter VII contains provisions related to "Action with Respect to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace and Act of Aggression" (UN, 2015d). These terms have become the common shorthand to differentiate between PKOs that are consent-based missions, authorized to use force solely for self-defense purposes and peace enforcement missions (Howard and Fortna, 2008).

[8] Determining the success of a PKO by how well it fulfilled its mandate is quite a common method and is viewed as the "simplest approach" and the most "straightforward" (Bures, 2007; Pushkina, 2006:133; Adebajo, 2011:7). Bures notes that this "criterion is useful to the extent that the mandate is clear but clarity itself is often used also as a criterion of success" (Bures 2007).

conflict resolution, conflict containment, limitation of casualties, war proneness during deployment, or even the establishment of democracy should be used as criterion" (Heldt and Wallensteen, 2007). In the end, Heldt and Wallensteen opt for a minimalist definition of success, but one based on what they view as the main goal of peacekeeping operations – an "absence of war during deployment" (Heldt and Wallensteen, 2007).

Scholars that have more comprehensive criteria include Sarah-Myriam Martin-Brûlé. She contends that a binary outcome of success or failure is insufficient and proposes intermediate outcomes, partial success and partial failure based on two dimensions: first, the accomplishment of the mandate and secondly, the establishment of order within and by the state (Martin-Brûlé, 2012). Similarly, Pushkina classifies peacekeeeping missions as successes or failures using a set of four criteria that includes "not only the fulfillment of a mission's mandate but also its contribution to the broader goals of limiting violence, reducing human suffering, containing the conflict, and promoting conflict resolution" (Pushkina, 2006: 145). Pushkina's criteria are comprehensive, yet succinct and clearly operationalized. For my research, I have chosen to adopt her four criteria for determining if a PKO has been successful. The purpose of using the same framework as Pushkina is to provide continuity for the case studies and it will allow me to determine where the PKO may have been successful and where it may not have been.

Five Categories for Understanding Successful PKOs by Type

In addition to the primary question of my dissertation regarding which of the three types of peace operations is the most effective or successful, I am also concerned with

questions that address *why* one type of peace operation is more effective than another. As highlighted in the section above, the current peacekeeping literature pinpoints a number of strengths and weaknesses associated with each type of PKO. I have identified five key categories that incorporate these strengths and weaknesses based on the literature review (See Table 1). These categories contribute to the outcome of a PKO and help explain why one type of PKO is more successful than another. They include mandates, resources and capabilities, willingness to use force, level of cooperation among warring parties, and great power involvement.

Table 1: The Relative Strengths and Weaknesses of the Types of PKOs in Five Key Categories

PKO	**Mandate**	**Resources and Capabilities (including Institutional Lag)**	**Willingness to Use Force**	**Consent and Cooperation (including Neutrality and Legitimacy)**	**Great Power Involvement**
UN	Weakness	Weakness	Weakness	Strength (Strongest)	Strength
Regional	Strength	Weakness (Weakest)	Strength	Strength	Weakness
Lead State	Strength (Strongest)	Strength	Strength (Strongest)	Weakness	Strength (Strongest)

I have chosen to focus on the *type* of PKO and not simply one or more of these categories or factors because they do not occur independently of one another in a vacuum – they are interrelated. Given that we know that these are the strengths and weaknesses associated with specific types of PKOs from the literature review, the question of why one type is more successful is best answered by looking at how these categories are interrelated and how strength in one category may compensate for weakness in another

area. Thus, each category is not associated with only one type of PKO exclusively, despite the fact that some are definitely considered the strengths of one type over another. The current consensus in peacekeeping is that more robust PKOs that are willing to use force are more effective than those that do not[9] and the fact that the lead state is the strongest in this category went a long way to making them the most successful type of PKO. However, the willingness to use force is also a strength of the regional PKO and yet I found that it is not as successful as the UN. The reason for this is because the regional PKO is also the weakest in terms of resources and capabilities and it is less likely to garner support from a great power to compensate for this weakness. On the other hand, the willingness to use force is actually a weakness of the UN and it is also weak in resources and capabilities, but not as weak as the regional PKO in this area. In addition, it compensates for these weaknesses by being the strongest in terms of consent and cooperation and it is much more likely to receive support from great powers.

In other words, while it is certainly not inconsequential, I don't think it is enough to say that the use of force or resources or any other single factor is the most important factor differentiating the most successful type of PKO from the other types. The peacekeeping literature recognizes all of these factors as having a significant impact on PKOs. The different types of PKOs have different combinations of strengths and weaknesses and this dissertation examines which type, on an overall basis, is the most

[9] In 2000, the UN issued what became known as the Brahmi Report. The purpose of the report was to assess UN shortcomings in peacekeeping and make recommendations for change (Durch et al, 2003:xv). The report called for "robust" forces and rules of engagement in complex operations in order to "meet the critical 21st century peacekeeping and peacebuilding challenges presented by its member states" (Durch et al, 2003:xv-xvi). As a result, it became generally accepted that forces willing to use force would be more effective (Fortna and Howard, 2008).

successful and why. This will be particularly helpful in terms of policy implications, including resource allocation and efficiency.

The first factor examines the formal authorization for a PKO to intervene. The *mandate* outlines the scope and breadth of the mission or the range of tasks assigned to the PKO (UN, 2015d). A strong mandate will be "clear, credible and achievable" (Stock, 2011). Of the three types of PKOs, UN PKOs generally do not have strong mandates relative to lead state and regional PKOs. Building a consensus on the objectives and scope of an operation is a tenuous process in a multilateral body like the UN and the final result may be watered down and delayed. The veto power of the P-5 adds yet another dimension that can limit the scope of an operation. However, a regional organization is likely to have a greater incentive to act decisively and quickly to contain the threat from spreading. While it is true that regional organizations also have to mobilize the political will of its member states, not only are the number of actors involved reduced in a regional organization but they will generally have a better understanding of the conflict and be more fully prepared to act. Lead states, especially those with a particular vital national interest at stake, can act authoritatively and efficiently either in cooperation with other regional/global bodies or unilaterally.

The second factor focuses on the *resources and capabilities* of a lead state, regional organization, or the UN. This involves a timely response and adequate logistical commitments made in terms of the manpower, equipment and supplies allocated to a given PKO. One of the most common critiques of peacekeeping operations is that they lacked the necessary resources or that the resources weren't provided in a timely manner.

A lack of training, equipment, experience, and funding has been particularly associated with both the UN and regional organizations in Africa.

In the case of the UN, PKOs often suffer from a collective action problem. PKOs are cobbled together from available resources, including those countries willing to contribute peacekeeping troops. Each PKO essentially starts from scratch, as there is no UN standing army to mobilize. UN PKOs are totally dependent on the resources of its member states. Regional organizations in Africa do not fare any better, even though many have an organizational structure in place, because they simply lack the resources and equipment. The combined defense budgets of the entire continent of Africa remain but a fraction of total US defense spending. On the other hand, this is a strength of lead state PKOs. They are able to respond more quickly and effectively to a crisis with trained troops and the necessary equipment.

The third factor is based on the contention that the *willingness to use force* is an essential element for a successful peace operation. According to a 2008 review of the literature on peacekeeping, these views are indicative of the "current conventional wisdom" which "holds that more robust peacekeeping missions mandated under Chapter VII are more effective at keeping peace than are Chapter VI missions" (Fortna and Howard, 2008:297).

However, Fortna notes that she has not uncovered a significant difference between the two types in her research and states that the literature remains inconclusive about the conditions under which force may be most effective in the context of keeping

peace" (Fortna and Howard, 2008).[10] Based on my case studies, I am not surprised that a quantitative study does not find a significant difference between Chapter VI and Chapter VII missions. The reason for the lack of variance is because even when UN missions are given a Chapter VII mandate, the troops on the ground are still conducting their operations as if they are acting under a Chapter VI mandate. One of the weaknesses associated with the UN is that there is a disconnect between the UN's mandate and how the Troop Contributing Countries (TCC) understand the mandate and are performing the required tasks. This will be discussed in greater detail in the case study chapters and the conclusion.

Nonetheless, other scholars also make the claim that the use of force is not effective. Pushkina agrees with Fortna,and extends her argument to include not only the UN, but also other PKOs that incorporated "strong enforcement" capabilities (Pushkin, 2006:145). Bratt takes this position a step further and contends that the use of force by peacekeepers has not only been inefficient, but "in many cases, it has worsened the situation" (Bratt, 1997).[11]

The backlash against the use of force is particularly strong when discussing UN peacekeeping. The UN's legitimacy has always been viewed as one of its greatest strengths and many believe that the UN will lose that advantage if it resorts to the use of force. Adebajo cautions against UN peace enforcement on the basis that it compromises UN impartiality and in turn, effectiveness (Adebajo, 2011:242). Arthur Boutellis, advisor

[10] Fortna believes that this is because peacekeeping works through nonmilitary means, having to do with political and economic leverage, signaling intentions and preventing accidental escalation among other things (Fortna and Howard, 2008).

[11] Similar to Fortna, Bratt points to nonmilitary explanations for peacekeeping success, in particular the importance of the consent and cooperation of the parties (Bratt, 1997). This implies that peacekeeping is not possible unless the parties to the conflict are willing to work for peace.

to the Peace Operations and Africa Programs at the International Peace Institute, warns that if peacekeepers engage in combat operations they become a "party to the conflict" and legitimate targets in the conflict (O'Reilly, 2013). There is also the concern that using "too much force can lead to militias' retaliation towards local civilians because of MONUC's actions" (Holt and Berkman, 2006, 175).

Yet, Holt and Berkman also point out that using "too little force can lead to loss of control of the situation and incapability to protect civilians" (Holt and Berkman, 2006, 175). And, indeed, the UN is heavily criticized for allowing atrocities to occur on its watch. This, too, obviously affects their legitimacy and credibility. Howard advocates a compromise position that encourages the division of labor between the UN and either regional organizations or lead state PKOs on the use of force. Howard contends that this would allow the UN to avoid using force and maintain their moral authority (Howard, 2008:339). Francis et al disagrees and makes the argument that if the UN concedes its enforcement responsibilities, it "risks a corresponding loss in its political power and authority. Moreover, where a UN mission has followed highly controversial military intervention by a different body…such posthumous UN involvement can suggest retrospective UN approval for the original intervention and so compromise UN neutrality and legitimacy" (Francis et al, 2005:72).

Overall, the UN has generally been much less willing to use force and this is considered one of their weaknesses. In contrast, both regional organization and lead states are more likely to use force to fulfill their mandates. The lead state, in particular, is believed to be more effective at dealing with spoilers.

The fourth factor assesses the *consent and cooperation of the warring parties* with the PKO. This factor is often stressed as being vital to a PKO (See Durch, 1993 or Adejabo, 2011). Most of the literature on consent and cooperation assumes a UN PKO. For example, Howard identifies consent as one of three *necessary* factors for successful UN operations (Howard, 2008). Pushkina concludes from her research "the higher the level of warring parties' consent and cooperation with the UN mission, the more likely the UN mission will succeed" (Pushkina, 2006:142). However, regardless of the type of PKO, Bratt contends that "the parties to the conflict have two key responsibilities: to provide consent to the establishment and mandate of the operation, and to cooperate with the peacekeepers" (Bratt, 1997). Further, he maintains that it is the difference between cooperation, non-cooperation and interference that distinguishes successful operations from failures (Bratt, 1997). Ideally, a PKO would have the consent of all the warring parties initially, "but it should be able to work with partial absence of consent and should be prepared to deal with decayed consent" (Durch, 2006:599). However, while Durch maintains that combat should not be a PKO's "baseline stance," he does point out that there are times when an "imposed peace," in contrast to an "invited peace," is necessary and would have been preferable to the alternative, such as in Rwanda in 1994 or Darfur in 2004 (Durch, 2006:598).

Prominently featured within the UN charter is a recognition of and respect for member states' sovereignty. To ignore a state's sovereignty is tantamount to a violation of international law. Of course, there has been some movement away from this absolute interpretation of state sovereignty beginning with the passage of the responsibility to protect (R2P) doctrine by the General Assembly in 2005, but nevertheless, it is a rare

occasion when the UN will intervene without the consent and cooperation of the warring parties. In fact, the United Task Force in Somalia (UNITAF) in 1993 mandated to establish a safe environment for humanitarian assistance has been the only instance of a UN PKO being deployed without the consent of the main parties (UNA-UK, 2015). The ever-present potential threat of a Russian or Chinese veto looms large whenever the UN Security Council appears to push the envelope in the internal affairs of a state. Regional organizations and lead states are more likely to face accusations that they are pursuing their own national interests and to have their neutrality and legitimacy questioned.

Lastly, the *involvement of a great power* (e.g. P-5) is the fifth factor that can enhance the chances for a PKO's success. This support can be translated in a number of ways. First, great powers can draw attention to an ongoing PKO and apply political pressure for its success. They can also advocate and lobby for an aggressive mandate in the UN Security Council. Great powers can help make resources available. They may even play a more direct role by becoming a lead state involved in a PKO.

This factor is often a strength of both UN and lead state PKOs. By definition, a UN PKO will at least need the assent of several great powers; however, the extent of their involvement can vary significantly. African regional organizations will be less likely to include a great power but will often include a regional power (e.g. Nigeria or South Africa). A lead state PKO can include a great power (e.g. France or Britain), but they can also include a regional power (South Africa in Burundi). It is important to note that great power involvement is not limited to military support alone. Great powers can provide humanitarian or international political support for a particular PKO.

Conclusion

This dissertation contributes to the broadening definition and understanding of security in the field of international security studies. Assisting and/or preventing failed states is a growing priority for the international community – not only from a humanitarian point of view but increasingly from a national interest perspective. From the numerous peacekeeping operations undertaken in Africa since 1996, this dissertation collects and analyzes data in order to assess the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations in selected case studies. In particular, the primary research question that is answered in this dissertation is which type of PKOs – those led by a lead state, a regional organization, or the United Nations – is most likely to achieve success?

I was able to limit my research to Africa because it has been plagued by a number of weak or failed states which provided my dissertation with significant variation in the independent variable (the type of peace operation). Additionally, in both states, the DRC and Sierra Leone, all three types have intervened at some point in their conflict, further increasing the variation while controlling for a broad range of potential competing variables. Thus, these case studies provide an excellent basis for determining how to improve the efficacy of PKOs. Clearly, the international community can and needs to do a better job when the decision to intervene in failed states is made (see UN, 2000). This dissertation contributes to the debate over how best to respond to the increasing problem of conflict in weak or failed states by focusing on the different types of PKOs as the explanatory variable for the restoration of peace and stability in war-torn African states.

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter that presents the central research question being examined. It highlights how this

dissertation contributes to a body of knowledge on peacekeeping, which has frequently focused on histories of single case studies – most often limiting those cases to only UN PKOs (Fortna and Howard, 2008). It has only been more recently – in the last decade – that the literature has begun to look more closely at other types of PKOs and to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of these different types of PKOs (Fortna and Howard, 2008). Similarly, it has only been in more recent years that the focus of some research has turned to the question of the effectiveness of peace enforcement.

In a 2008 review of peacekeeping literature, both of these issues, regarding who should keep the peace and the use of force, are identified as two of five issues that require future research in the field (Fortna and Howard, 2008). In this dissertation, I am looking at not only which type of PKO is more likely to be successful, but why it is more likely to be successful. My dissertation provides a unique contribution in that I accept the strengths and weaknesses of each type of PKO as a given and compare the combination of factors attributed to each of the three types of PKOs to see how and why they have led to a more effective outcome. The findings could result in policy changes as types of PKOs learn from the successes of each other – as well as past mistakes – and adapt to changing circumstances.

My starting point – and my independent variable – is the type of PKO, which includes UN, regional, and lead state PKOs. In this chapter, I outline my three hypotheses followed by a discussion of the criteria for analyzing the success or failure of a PKO. Furthermore, I construct a framework for understanding successful PKOs by type.

In Chapter 2, I outline the methodology in greater detail. I explain how I use a structured, focus comparative study approach to determine which type of my eight case studies was most successful. I also explore the theoretical literature on civil war and peacekeeping. There are many variables associated with peacekeeping that could explain outcomes. However, because I want to focus on the effect of the type of PKO, I have to find ways to mitigate competing variables. There are two ways that I address this possibility. First, I explain why I chose to analyze eight cases in two countries: DRC and Sierra Leone. Several of the variables that have been used in the past to explain outcomes were present in both countries, thereby controlling for some factors such as lootable resources and economic development.

In addition, I wanted to address the possibility that certain types of PKOs would only be used for "easy" cases, while another type may tend to be employed for "harder" cases. I created a formula to measure and compare the level of difficulty among my eight cases studies. I argue while the DRC is a much more difficult situation overall, there are not significant differences in the level of difficulty between the four cases in each country which include all three types of PKOs; however, there is variation among the dependent variables, which is the overall success of the PKO. This helps me to isolate causal factors attributed to a particular type of PKO being more effective than the others.

In Chapter 3, I begin with a brief overview of the conflict that has plagued the DRC for almost two decades. The DRC has had a turbulent past since it became independent in 1960. A dictator, Joseph Mobutu, who essentially ran his country as a "kleptocracy", since 1965, undoubtedly exacerbated the situation in the DRC. The further destabilization of the DRC began following the 1994 Rwandan genocide and the

refugee crisis that ensued. Initially, a regional response to the crisis was employed in 1998. A UN PKO, MONUC, joined ECOMOG in 1999, which was later replaced by another UN PKO, MONUSCO, in 2010. A lead state PKO, led by the French, also intervened directly in the conflict in 2003. MONUSCO continues its operation in the DRC to this day.

I analyze the success of each of the four PKOs using Pushkina's criteria to assess whether or not the PKO resulted in decreasing conflict-related deaths, lessening of human suffering, broadening the conflict to other countries, and promoting conflict resolution. Following this analysis, I examine the types of PKOs according to the five categories associated with the strengths and weaknesses of each type. In the case of the DRC, I found that although none of the PKOs were successful overall, the limited success of the French operation demonstrated what factors were necessary for success and that the recent successes of the new Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) that MONUSCO has established may provide the means to achieve peace and stability in the DRC.

I apply a similar framework to Chapter 4, which focuses on Sierra Leone. As in the case of the DRC, there are four cases studies in Sierra Leone, representing all three types of PKOs. The situation in Sierra Leone also began with the intervention of a regional PKO, ECOMOG, in 1997. By applying Pushkina's criteria systematically, I found that of the three types of PKOs, the lead state and UN types were the most successful. Understanding why they were successful is just as important as identifying them. Thus, I examined each of the cases studies in the context of five categories: mandate, consent and cooperation, willingness to use force, resources, great power involvement. Each type of PKO has different strengths and weaknesses in these

categories, and it is this different combination of strengths and weaknesses that leads to their success or failure.

Finally, I conclude my dissertation in Chapter 5 by providing a summary of my findings and an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the different types of PKOs. I found that the type of PKO does make a difference to the success or failure of that mission. PKOs run by lead states are more likely to be successful because they are more willing to use force and they are more likely to have the resources and capabilities necessary to employ that force. Further, I found that two types of PKOs working together can use their strengths to compensate for each other's weaknesses. I also present quantitative analysis of all of the PKOs that have been employed in Africa since 1996. This analysis both bolsters my qualitative finding that lead state PKOs are the most likely to be successful and provides new avenues for future research.

CHAPTER 2

PEACEKEEPING THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

Since the first peacekeeping mission was established in the Middle East in 1948, PKOs have been cobbled together by various actors in valiant attempts to assist with peaceful settlements to conflicts around the world. The UN alone has authorized 71 peacekeeping missions and there are currently 16 UN missions ongoing (UN, 2015e). According to Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, regional organizations are encouraged to take the lead in solving regional breaches of the peace, and this has also led to numerous regional attempts at peacekeeping. Additionally, in several instances, lead states –in some cases, former colonial powers – have intervened to restore peace in embattled nations. Studies have shown that peacekeeping missions are effective at promoting peace (Fortna, 2004). However, there is no standing force to deal with international conflict so peacekeeping missions are created on an ad hoc basis. The late statesman Richard Holbrooke once compared diplomacy to jazz – "endless variations on a theme." To an extent, the same can be said for peacekeeping.

There will always be some peculiar and unique circumstances attributed to every peacekeeping situation. However, given the significant body of peacekeeping missions to date, it is possible to learn from both the successes and failures. A fundamental question about peacekeeping is who should lead the operation? The composition of a PKO is a significant variable among PKOs. This dissertation uses the type of PKO as an explanatory variable to compare and contrast the effectiveness of PKOs. Furthermore, it analyzes five factors associated with all three types of PKOs to explain these outcomes.

By understanding why certain types of PKOs are more likely to be effective than others, this dissertation contributes to a body of literature on peacekeeping and international security that policy makers can utilize to make more poignant and efficient decisions in matters where time and resources are of the essence.

In this chapter, I survey the civil war and peacekeeping literature and discuss several variables that have been used in past studies to explain outcomes. A number of these variables, such as the presence of lootable resources and a low level of economic development, are shared in all of my cases studies. This is important to note because these shared variables will help to control for intervening variables.

To test my hypotheses on the effectiveness of the types of PKOs, I focus on eight case studies. For each of these case studies I employ a structured, focused comparative study approach, whereby I apply the same criteria to each case to measure success. In order to mitigate spurious variables, I have selected two countries where all three types of PKOs – UN, lead, and regional – have been implemented. To further isolate my independent variable, I have also created a formula that measures the level of difficulty of my cases. It could be argued that a certain type of PKO tends to be more successful because they only intervene when the situation is less violent or complex, and thus, taking on "easier" cases makes them appear more successful. To account for this possibility, I incorporated several variables taken from Fortna and Downs and Stedman and compared them to all eight of my case studies. After compiling the data, I found that there is not a significant degree of difference in the level of difficulty among the four case studies in each country.

I conclude this chapter by acknowledging that there are some variables that are not shared by my cases. For example, the number of factions involved in the conflict varies significantly between the DRC and Sierra Leone. I will have to pay particularly close attention to these differences.

Theories of Civil War and Peacekeeping and Competing Variables

Much of the civil war literature focuses on which theories best explain the onset of a conflict. This literature includes economic theories that concentrate on variables such as economic growth, economic development, and greed.[12] It also incorporates rational choice theories that are more concerned with collapsing institutions, system transition, informational problems, or grievance resulting from political oppression (Sambanis, 2002:223). Theories of civil war onset have been used to try to explain civil war duration and post-conflict peacebuilding, however, scholars have found that "none of the variables that are significant for predicting war onset can significantly predict war duration" (Sambanis, 2002:222l see also Collier, Hoeffler and Soderbom, 2001 and Fearon, 2001). Thus, they contend that "civil war onset and duration are distinct processes that should be studied separately" (Sambanis, 2002:222).

While there is significantly less literature on the duration of a conflict, there are nevertheless, a number of variables that have been positively correlated with the duration of civil war and peacebuilding. All of these variables are potential competing variables

[12] The literature that focuses on greed asserts that civil wars are more likely to be motivated by opportunities of economic profit or greed than by political and social dissatisfaction or grievance (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004).

or, in other words, variables other than the type of PKO that could explain the success of the PKO. These include the military outcome of the war, whether there is a signed treaty, ethnic conflict, the cost of war or the death toll, the war weariness hypothesis, number of factions, economic development, lootable goods and the level of democracy.

Military outcome of the war

Decisive military victories make the resumption of war much less likely. On the other hand, if a conflict ends in a stalemate, both sides will be more capable of resuming the fight and still uncertain about which side could ultimately prevail. Fortna notes that this is "the most consistent finding of the literature on the durability of peace after both civil and interstate conflicts" (Fortna, 2004:273).

Treaty

Signed treaties are thought to enable a more stable peace than an informal truce because they "entail a political commitment to peace that invokes audience costs, both internationally and domestically" (Fortna, 2004:273). Doyle and Sambanis (2000) also emphasize the importance of treaties when they contend that United Nations multidimensional peacekeeping operations "which are predicated on the parties' signing of a treaty that outlines the parameters of a settlement" are the only type of peace operation capable of "higher-order peacebuilding," or in other words, capable of rebuilding the regime with a minimum standard of democratization (Sambanis, 2002:237). Additionally, Downs and Stedman (2002) include a missing peace accord as one of the factors that makes peace more difficult to implement. However, based on

Fortna's work on peacekeeping after civil wars, while formal treaties have a "stabilizing effect" on peace, this effect is not statistically significant (Fortna, 2004:286).

Ethnic Conflict

There are a number of interesting findings related to ethnicity. One might expect that greater ethnic diversity would lead to a greater risk of civil conflict, but it may have the opposite effect. According to Collier and Hoeffler (2000), ethnic dominance is more likely to increase the risk of war than ethnic diversity. Sambanis explains that "[s]ocieties dominated by two large groups may be inherently more dangerous than extremely diverse societies, where the risk of war is reduced by the high coordination costs of rebellion" (Sambanis, 2002:229).

However, this is another case where the risks for the onset of war differ from duration because ethnic fragmentation will make negotiating a peace agreement more difficult. Sambanis notes that the "more ethnically fragmented the society, the more complicated the collective action problems, since the negotiation of the rebellion's cost-sharing is harder, as is the monitoring and enforcement of contracts between rebels and their leaders" (Sambanis, 2002:228). Reconciliation can even be difficult in states where diversity was well managed prior to the outbreak of the war because the war solidified ethnic identities (Sambanis, 2002:231. Also see Kaufmann, 1996 and 1998). This is an intriguing finding because it makes the dispute over whether the roots of ethnic conflict are found in ancient hatreds or whether elites are manipulating the masses to further their own interests less relevant in terms of its significance for peacekeeping. At this stage in the conflict, it no longer matters how ethnic identities were constructed in such a way to

mobilize people to go to war because they have become rigid and once people have become targeted for retaliation based on their identity, it will only serve to further solidify that ethnic identity (Sambanis, 2002).

It is no surprise, then, that identity conflicts are believed to be "particularly intractable" (Fortna, 2004:273; see also Mearsheimer and Pape, 1993 and Kaufmann, 1996). However, Fortna determined that even though the "risk of another war [is] estimated to be more than twice as high for conflicts between competing identities than for non-identity wars," the finding was not statistically significant (Fortna, 2004:287). Pushkina also reported that her analysis did not support the theory that "ethnic conflicts are more resistant to peacekeeping" (Pushkina, 2006).

Cost of War (Death Toll)

Doyle and Sambanis (2000) and Dubey (2002) both found that more costly civil wars in terms of higher death tolls are more likely to resume than less deadly conflicts. Fortna concurs and points out that a high death toll likely "fuels animosity and makes post-civil war reconciliation harder" (Fortna, 2004:287). Additionally, one might assume that the higher the death toll, the more intractable the conflict, making it more likely to resume (Fortna, 2004:274).

War Weariness Hypothesis

This hypothesis is based on the premise that longer wars result in a more stable peace because the participants are simply exhausted and dejected by the thought of any more conflict and as a result, support for continued war erodes (See Fortna, 2004;

Hartzell et al, 2001; Mason and Fett, 1996). However, once again there is disagreement in the literature: Dubey (2002) found no significant correlation and Doyle and Sambanis (2000) only found weak support for it.

Factions

Doyle and Sambanis (2000) contend that a "large number of hostile factions reduce the likelihood of successful peacebuilding after civil war" (Sambanis, 2002:225. Also see Doyle, 2001; Downs and Stedman, 2002). Yet, Fortna (2004) was surprised to find no support for this view in her data.

Economic Development

As noted above, most of the economic theories of civil war are only applicable to the risk of the onset of war. However, there are some studies that tie economic development to peace. For example, Fortna finds that "peace is easier to maintain in countries with higher levels of economic development" (Fortna, 2004:287). Walter (2004) explains this finding by arguing that the likelihood of a return to war is affected by economic development because those who would fight assess the opportunity costs of rebellion (Fortna, 2004:275).

"Lootable Goods"

There has been quite a bit of work in this specific area. It is generally accepted in the literature that "excessive dependence on easily lootable natural resources increases

the risk of conflict" (Sambanis, 2002:229).[13] Obviously, access to natural resources allows rebel groups an opportunity to finance themselves and sustain their movements. In some cases, it has been suggested that the looting of natural resources is the true ultimate objective of the rebellion. Most importantly for the purposes of this dissertation, Doyle and Sambanis (2001) contend that "countries with a high dependence on natural resources face greater difficulties in post-war peacebuilding" (Sambanis, 2002:231; see also Collier and Hoeffler, 2004; Downs and Stedman, 2002; Doyle and Sambanis, 2000; Elbadawi and Sambanis, 2001; Dubey, 2002). Likewise, Stedman (2001) finds that these countries have more difficulty implementing peace agreements. Fortna only finds weak support for this hypothesis, and this is "much less pronounced (and no longer significant) after the Cold War" (Fortna, 2004: 287).

Level of Democracy

Like many of the other factors discussed above, much of the literature relating to the level of democracy is focused on how it affects the risk of civil war onset. For example, one interesting study finds that "countries at the middle of the autocracy-democracy spectrum are most at risk of civil war because they are neither autocratic enough to preclude the opportunity of rebellion, nor democratic enough to prevent significant grievance" (Sambanis, 2002:223). However, there is also some work that is being done on democratization and peacebuilding. This literature examines how different democratic institutions, including power-sharing arrangements and elections, can be helpful in solving post-war transition problems, but may also lead to further problems.

[13] Interestingly, a positive significant relationship does not exist between natural resource dependence and civil war duration (See Collier, Hoeffler and Soderbom, 2001; Fearon 2001).

Overall, though, both Dubey (2002) and Walter (2004) find that higher levels of democracy after the war is positively correlated with peace, but it is also significant to note that Fortna did not find that there is any relationship between "prior levels of democracy and the durability of peace" (Fortna, 2004:287).

The civil war literature provides a number of variables other than the type of intervention that could account for why intervention in one state was more successful than in another. The issue of controlling for these competing variables will be discussed in more detail in the methodology section.

Methodology and Case Study Selection

This dissertation examines the independent variable, the type of PKO, to determine which is the most successful type and why. I will use a structured, focused comparative case study methodology to analyze eight cases of peacekeeping in two countries, the DRC and Sierra Leone. This method reduces the number spurious of cultural and socio-economic factors, which may affect the dependent variable. There are three different types of PKOs – UN, regional and lead state – and all three types have been employed in these two countries. In addition, both the DRC and Sierra Leone have had two separate UN missions. I have grouped the four case studies from the DRC in Chapter 3 and the remaining four case studies from Sierra Leone in Chapter 4. For each country, a summary of the events leading up to the authorization of the first PKO is presented. This is followed by applying the same organizational structure to all of the

case studies to allow for consistent comparisons to be made. According to George and Bennett:

> The method and logic of structured, focused comparison is simple and straightforward. The method is "structured" in that the researcher writes general questions that reflect the research objective and that these questions are asked of each case under study to guide and standardize data collection, thereby making systematic comparison and culmination of the findings of the cases possible (George and Bennett, 2005:67).

Thus, the dependent variable, success, is evaluated systematically based on a standard set of criteria that is applied to each case study in that country. Following the work of Darya Pushkina, the four criteria used are whether the PKO: 1. limited violence, 2. reduced human suffering, and 3. contained the conflict, and 4. promoted conflict resolution (Pushkina, 2006).

There are clearly variables other than the type of PKO that could account for why peacekeeping in one state was more successful than in another. For example, as discussed above, the potential for a successful PKO has been linked to several things such as the target country's level of economic development, the level of democracy and the cost and duration of the conflict. Thus, it will also be necessary to control for these competing variables as well as a number of others. This will be discussed in more detail below.

It is also evident that the type of intervention a state receives is not assigned randomly, but depends on a number of factors not the least of which is the willingness of other states or organizations to intervene. This fact could mean that one type of PKO is more likely to take on the most difficult cases while another avoids them, thus, making it appear that the latter is more successful than it really is. This possibility is controlled for by determining the level of difficulty of each case in order to confirm that one type of

PKO was not responsible for all of the most challenging cases. At the same time, many of the other competing variables listed above can be addressed. This will also be examined in more detail below.

Once it has been established which type of PKO was the most successful and in which specific aspects of peacekeeping it was most successful, the question becomes *why* is that type of PKO more likely to be successful? The three different types of peacekeeping operations (PKOs) all have different strengths and weaknesses associated with them in terms of legitimacy, institutional capacity, local and regional awareness, resources, and military effectiveness among others. In order to answer the question of why one type of PKO is more likely to be successful, the strengths and weaknesses that are typically associated with each type of PKO were employed to generate five categories. The different types of missions are compared systematically on the basis of their mandate, resources and capabilities, willingness to use force, as well as their ability to achieve the consent and cooperation of the warring parties and garner the support of a great power. I seek to understand the significance of these factors in terms of how certain types of PKOs generally combine them.

Case Study Selection

Quantitative studies are useful, particularly when looking for broad patterns in the available large-n data. As noted above, in Chapter 5, I will be presenting a quantitative analysis of types of PKOs that includes a sample size of over twenty UN PKOs, fifteen regional PKOs and five lead state PKOs in eighteen different states in Africa since 1996 (see Appendix 1 and 2). This analysis will be based on existing World Bank data and

will both bolster my findings and guide future avenues of research. However, quantitative studies are also limited in important ways. One of the methodological issues with studying civil wars generally is that most quantitative studies of civil war rely on panel data, but "much of the potentially useful explanatory power of panel estimators is lost due to the fact that many important explanatory variables are time-invariant" (Sambanis, 2002:239). For example, it is very challenging to amass the data required, particularly for a specific year. Most indices are measured once per year (such as ethnic diversity and democracy) and even more problematic, "annual data on deaths and displacements are not available for most civil wars, making it difficult to study conflict escalation and impossible to study conflict intensity" (Sambanis, 2002:239). Another issue is that the correlations produced require context or they may mask the true underlying causes. Challenges such as these highlight the advantages of combining quantitative and qualitative studies to produce a more accurate assessment.

Thus, it is necessary to also look at individual case studies, to understand how and why one type of PKO is more successful than another. Out of more than forty PKOs in eighteen different states in Africa since 1996, the three different types of PKOs – UN, regional, and lead state – were all employed in only four of those states: Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, and Sierra Leone. Of these four states, the DRC represents the most difficult case and it continues to experience violent conflict. None of the three different types of PKOs have been able to establish peace and stability in the DRC. In contrast, Sierra Leone was a more moderately difficult case and is now considered a model for successful peacekeeping. In order to determine how the type of PKO affects the success of a mission in different types of cases, I chose two countries

with different levels of difficulty. I will show the real differences in the level of difficulty in more concrete terms in the discussion below.

Level of Difficulty

It is particularly important to determine the level of difficulty of each operation to avoid misleading findings whereby that type of intervention appears to be more or less effective when there is so much overlap between the different types of PKOs. A number of authors have produced a list of factors that can help gauge the potential difficulty of a given peace operation (see King, 1997; Blechman et al, 1997; Doyle, 2001; Downs and Stedman, 2002 and Fortna, 2004).

Virginia Page Fortna's work has proved particularly helpful. Fortna (2004) examines whether peacekeeping generally is an effective tool for promoting the duration of peace. Her data set consists of 115 civil wars that occurred between 1944 and 1997. Of these, peacekeepers were sent in 41 cases (34 since 1989). Fortna determines that peacekeeping does help maintain peace (Fortna, 2004:285). This is particularly evident after the end of the Cold War. She reports that after peacekeepers have been deployed "the risk of another round of fighting drops by almost 70%" (Fortna, 2004:282). In addition, Fortna finds that "[n]on-UN missions appear to have a larger effect (smaller hazard ratio) than UN missions, but because of the smaller number of such missions, our estimates are less precise" (Fortna, 2004:282).

While it is important to note that she finds that peacekeeping makes a significant contribution to the stability of peace or in other words, that it really works, what is just as important for my purposes is her discussion regarding the relative difficulty of different

PKOs. She notes that "peacekeeping is not applied to cases of civil war at random like treatments in a laboratory experiment" (Fortna, 2004:273). She is mainly concerned with how the level of ease or difficulty would impact a tendency to either overestimate or underestimate the effectiveness of peacekeeping. Fortna points out that "[a]lmost as clichés, analysts of peacekeeping argue that the international community should deploy only 'when there is peace to keep' and when the parties exhibit 'political will' for peace" (Fortna, 2004:273). However, while this implies that peacekeepers are more likely to deploy when the circumstances are less challenging or, in effect, where they are least needed, according to Fortna's research, peacekeepers actually tend to get sent to the hard cases or where they are most needed.[14]

In order to determine both the level of difficulty of the mission as well as the prospects for a durable peace, Fortna's review of the literature suggests a number of factors that need to be taken into account if the effects of peacekeeping are going to be assessed accurately (Fortna, 2004:275):

- military outcome of the war
- whether a treaty was signed (also see Downs and Stedman, 2002)
- whether it was an ethnic conflict
- its cost and duration
- how many factions were involved (see Doyle, 2001; Downs and Stedman, 2002)
- levels of economic development
- availability of easily ''lootable'' resources (also see Downs and Stedman, 2002)

[14] It should be noted that this tendency comes with a caveat: Fortna acknowledges that there is not a "highly predictive model of peacekeeping deployment. But to the extent that there is a pattern, we can see that, in several respects at least, consent-based peacekeepers tend to get sent to the hard cases rather than the easy ones" (Fortna, 2004:281).

- the country's level of democracy

While a number of Fortna's factors overlap with those provided by Downs and Stedman (2002), they also include a few she does not:

- likelihood of spoilers (also see Stedman, 1997)
- collapsed state
- more than 50,000 soldiers involved in the war
- presence of hostile neighbors
- secession demands on the part of one or more belligerent parties

Downs and Stedman assert that the more of these factors that are present, the greater the level of difficulty. Three of the eight variables they highlight are believed to be particularly important in determining difficulty – the likelihood of spoilers, the availability of disposable natural resources and the presence of hostile neighbors (Downs and Stedman, 2002).

As noted above, Fortna does not directly address the impact of spoilers or hostile neighbors, but in contrast to Downs and Stedman, she contends that there is only weak statistical support for the theory that easily lootable commodities (or the availability of disposable natural resources) affects the durability of peace or the level of difficulty of the mission. Further, she finds that even this weak support is no longer statistically significant after the Cold War (Fortna, 2004:287). Additionally, she does not find statistically significant relationships in the post-Cold War era for any of the following factors either: military outcome of war (but "peace tends to be quite stable after wars that end in a victory"); whether a treaty was signed (but findings suggest a "stabilizing effect" on peace); identity conflict (but it does appear to be harder to keep peace in identity

conflicts); number of factions; level of democracy; and size of military force (but states with large forces seem less prone to recurrence of war).[15] Fortna does, however, find statistically significant relationships for the remaining factors: cost[16] and duration[17] and level of economic development.[18]

Nevertheless, given the number of caveats or at least hedging that accompanies Fortna's conclusions and the contrary contentions by Downs and Stedman, it would be difficult to dismiss outright many of these potential factors. Thus, based on the Downs and Stedman's contention that the more factors that are present, the greater the level of difficulty, I combined Fortna's list of factors with that of Downs and Stedman and coded the indicators as follows (with 0 representing a lesser level of difficulty and 1 representing a greater level of difficulty):

If a treaty was not signed prior to the intervention, it was assigned a 1 and if there was a treaty in place, it received a 0. Similarly, other indicators were either present or absent and they received a 1 if they were present and a 0 if they were not. These included whether or not it was an ethnic conflict, if there were lootable resources, if there were spoilers, hostile neighbors, secession demands or if the state had collapsed. The remaining indicators yield a range of responses. For the level of democracy, all of the cases had received a designation of either "partly free" or "not free" according to Freedom House's surveys for the year prior to the intervention (none of the case studies attained a "free" status). "Not free" was assigned a 1, and "partly free" a 0. When

[15] Fortna, 2004:286-7.
[16] "A high death toll apparently fuels animosity and makes post-civil war reconciliation harder" (Fortna:2004:287). Fortna also finds that the opposite relationship exists in wars between sovereign states.
[17] This finding supports the war weariness hypothesis – "those who have endured particularly drawn-out wars have, if anything, less of a tendency to fight again" (Fortna, 2004:287).
[18] Peace is "easier to maintain" in countries with higher levels of economic development (Fortna:2004:287).

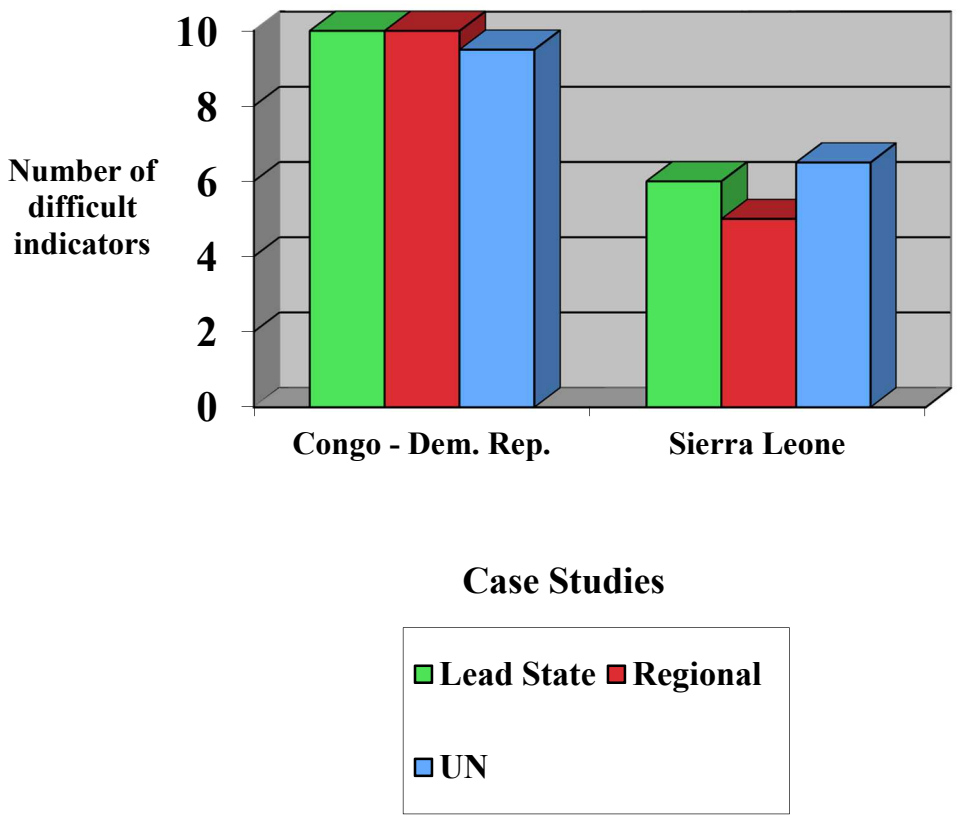
coding the cost of the conflict, or in other words, the death toll, it seemed reasonable to follow the standard 1,000 death threshold that most studies in the civil war literature have used to determine if a conflict should be classified as a civil war (Sambanis, 2002:238). Thus, if there were 1,000 or more deaths in the year prior to the intervention, a 1 was allocated, anything less received a 0. The level of economic development was determined by comparing the GDP per capita for the year prior to the intervention with that same year's UN classification for least developed countries. If the GDP per capita was lower than the UN classification, it received a 1, and if it was higher it received a 0. Thresholds were also used for both the number of factions and for duration, or the number of years the conflict had been ongoing prior to the intervention. If there were 3 or more factions, it was coded 1, and 2 or less a 0. And lastly, if the war had been ongoing for 5 or more years prior to the intervention, a 0 was assigned, and 4 years or less a 1.

The results for the level of difficulty of each of the cases are provided in detail in Appendices D and E. The overall results are listed in Table 2 and are converted into a bar graph to make comparisons easier in Figure 1. The average of the two UN missions in both countries was used for the bar graph so that the UN as a type of PKO would be represented. The most obvious pattern that emerges is that the level of difficulty does not vary considerably within the same case study regardless of when the different types of intervention began their respective operations.

Table 2: Level of Difficulty

Case Study	Type of Intervention	Level of Difficulty
DRC	REG – SADC (1999-2002)	10
	UN – MONUC (1999-2010)	10
	LS – France/UN (2003)	10
	UN – MONUSCO (2010-present)	9
Sierra Leone	REG – ECOMOG (1997-2000)	5
	UN – UNOMSIL (1998-1999)	7
	UN – UNAMSIL (1999-2005)	6
	LS – (UK 2000-2005)	6

Figure 1: Level of Difficulty (Bar Graph)



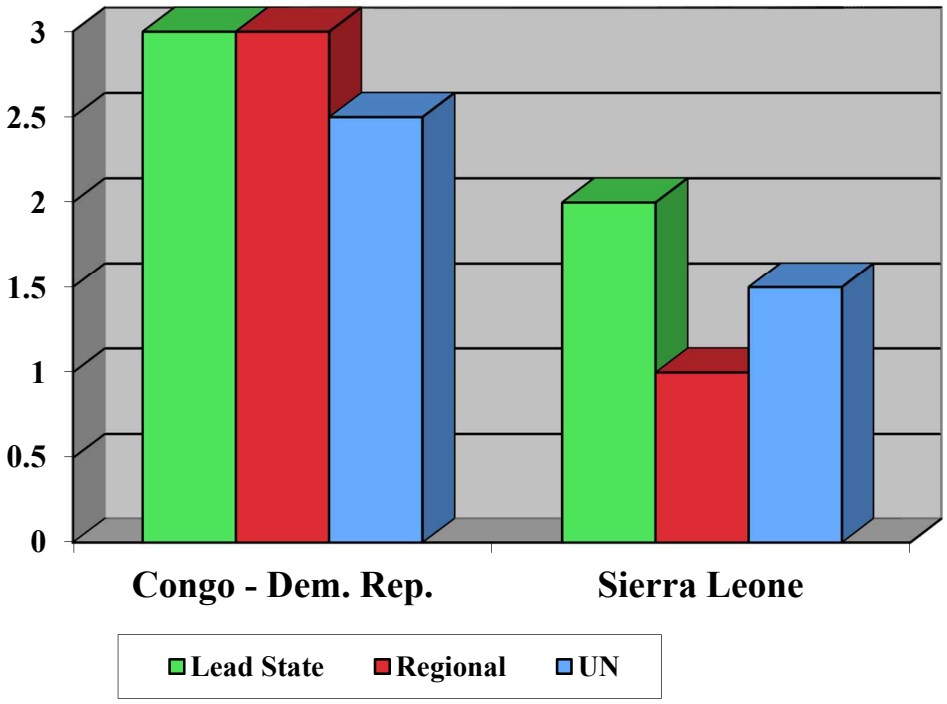
This does not necessarily mean that the previous peacekeeping operations were totally ineffective, but, rather, that a number of the indicators that are positively correlated with civil war duration and peacebuilding are static ones. In other words, some of the indicators that are used to assess the level of difficulty are likely to remain the same throughout the conflict. For example, the presence of variables such as ethnic conflict or of lootable resources is not likely to change significantly over time. Other indicators that are less likely to change until after the conflict has been resolved and did not in fact vary for any of the case studies include whether or not it is a collapsed state, whether there are spoilers, hostile neighbors, or secession demands and the level of economic development.

However, more variance was observed on indicators such as cost (death toll), duration, the number of factions and the level of democracy. For example, in the DRC, MONUSCO has a lower level of difficulty than the other PKOs because the duration changed from the first three PKOs to the last one as only MONUSCO began its PKO over 5 years after the conflict started. UNOMSIL has a higher level of difficulty because the number of rebel groups was higher than for other years and the level of democracy was lower (it received a "not free" ranking as opposed to a "partly free" one from Freedom House). The level of democracy reverted back to "partly free" for UNAMSIL and the UK's lead state operation, but the death toll increased canceling out the effect. It is particularly important for the purpose of this dissertation that most of the indicators are constant within each case study because they are also competing variables. This makes the task of controlling for competing variables that much easier.

The other important finding is that based on the average difficulty score for all the different types of PKOs, there does not seem to be a pattern that would suggest that any

one type of intervention always or even usually takes on less difficult operations. The average difficulty score for all the different types of PKOs was as follows (out of a possible high score of 12): UN PKOs, 8; regional PKOs, 7.5; and lead state PKOs, 8. A pattern in terms of any particular type of intervention being saddled with the most difficult cases or only being willing to take the easiest cases also does not emerge if just Fortna's statistically significant indicators are incorporated: cost, duration and economic development (see Figure 2). And, as noted above, of the three indicators, both cost and duration varies within each case study. The average difficulty score for all the different types of PKOs using Fortna's indicators was as follows (out of a possible high score of 3): UN PKOs, 2; regional PKOs, 2; and lead state PKOs, 2.5.

Figure 2: Level of Difficulty
(using only Fortna's statistically significant indicators - cost, duration and level of economic development)



The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is by far one of the most difficult peacekeeping cases there has ever been (bringing in 10 of the possible 12 indicators for level of difficulty assessed). However, while it was a more moderately difficult case, Sierra Leone was a similar case based on a comparison of variables that the literature in peacekeeping positively correlates with the duration of civil war and peacebuilding. Neither of the states had to deal with secession demands. Of the remaining 11 characteristics, Sierra Leone and the DRC shared six. In all eight of the PKOs in both states, they had a treaty signed before their PKO began, the cost of war (death toll) in the previous year was high, their level of economic development or GDP per capita was lower than the UN classification for least developed countries in the year prior to their PKO, they were both collapsed states and finally both of the cases had both lootable resources and spoilers. Clearly, none of these similar variables can explain different outcomes. Thus, these similarities are very useful as a control for at least these six potential competing variables with the type of PKO.

The DRC and Sierra Leone did not match up on variables regarding the duration and whether it was an ethnic conflict. It had mixed results in terms of the number of factions and the level of democracy with some of the cases coinciding and others not.
Both ethnic conflict and duration are very strong competing variables in terms of the explanation for why the DRC has not reached a peaceful outcome to their conflict while Sierra Leone has. The DRC had significantly more factions and spoilers. When one faction was defeated another one took its place. In terms of duration, it is interesting that MONUSCO, a PKO that began 11 years after the first PKO intervened, is the one that may succeed. Also, in terms of level of democracy, the DRC has been more repressive

and has maintained a "not free" (NF) ranking from Freedom House, even after the elections in 2006, while Sierra Leone has generally maintained a "partly free" (PF) ranking except for a NF ranking prior to UNOMSIL's PKO. In fact, the DRC has never had anything but a NF ranking since Freedom House began ranking countries in 1972. Sierra Leone has historically always received PF rankings except for 5 years – 1992-1995 and 1997. Sierra Leone has continued to be ranked PF even after their conflict ended, except for one "free" ranking in 2012. It is important to be aware of these potential competing variables and to consider their impact in my analysis.

Conclusion

Theories on civil war duration and peacekeeping have provided a number of potential variables that could help explain the success of two of the types of PKOs in Sierra Leone and the failure of at least three of the PKOs in the DRC. One of the UN missions in the DRC, MONUSCO, is still ongoing. All three types of PKOs have intervened in both of these states with the UN conducting two separate operations in both the DRC and Sierra Leone, providing a total of eight case studies. This increases the variation of the study while limiting additional competing variables. As discussed above, the two states share a number of similarities, effectively eliminating over half of the potential competing variables. Close attention will need to be paid to the remaining competing variables – the duration of the war prior to intervention, if it was an ethnic conflict, the number of factions and the level of democracy – in order to establish that the type of PKO is significant.

CHAPTER 3

PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is a difficult and complex case. Four PKOs have endeavored to bring peace to the DRC without success. First, a regional organization, the South African Development Community (SADC) was in the DRC between 1998 and 2002. They were joined by a UN PKO, United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), in 1999. A third PKO, led by France, helped MONUC very briefly in 2003 after the SADC had withdrawn. And finally, the fourth PKO is another UN PKO, the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), which replaced MONUC in 2010 and is still in the DRC currently. Based on my research, although all four cases of peacekeeping failed according to Pushkina's criteria for success, the lead state PKO demonstrated that it was capable of success if it's mandate had been expanded to include all of the DRC and since the intervention of the Force Intervention Brigade, MONUSCO has provided some hope for peace.

In 1998, the SADC was able to respond to the crisis in the DRC quickly and initially hold off the rebels, but as is common with regional organizations, they lacked the logistical as well as command and control capacities to attain peace (Berman and Sams, 1998). Likewise, MONUC began their PKO in 1999 hindered by a lack of resources, particularly in terms of troop strength. Yet, even after troop strength was increased and despite having the mandate to use force, MONUC was slow to engage the rebels

(Howard, 2008; see also Hatcher, 2012). The lead state PKO, France, also responded quickly to a request for help and was both willing to use force and successful in their battles with the rebels, but their assistance was so limited that they made a minimal/negligible impact on the overall peace effort. Lastly, MONUSCO replaced MONUC in 2010. Both MONUC and MONUSCO have been heavily criticized for their ineffectiveness and their unwillingness to intervene to protect civilians (Hatcher, 2012; see also Adebajo, 2011; Howard, 2008).

The continuing violence in the DRC, particularly in the eastern part, led to the establishment of the Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) within MONUSCO to strengthen the PKO "to carry out targeted offensive operations" (UN, 2013c). This was the first time in UN peacekeeping history that the UN engaged an offensive force and it was newsworthy when they "fired the opening shots of the first ever direct attack on rebel forces" on August 28, 2013 (Olivier, 2013). The FIB has only been operational for two years so while it has been credited with some success, that success is still being weighed against potential drawbacks for UN peacekeeping.

This chapter will include three sections. First, I will offer a brief background on the conflict. Second, I will apply Pushkina's criteria for success to each of the respective PKOs in the DRC. And lastly, I use the five factors that help explain why a PKO achieves success or ends in failure to analyze what went wrong in the DRC and what is currently providing a glimmer of hope.

Africa's World War

The conflict in the DRC has been called the "deadliest war in the world" since World War II (Robinson and Walt, 2006). According to the aid agency International Rescue Committee (IRC) an estimated 5.4 million people have died as a result of the conflict, either directly from the fighting or indirectly from disease and malnutrition (BBC, 2010).[19] It has also been referred to as "Africa's World War" because it involved as many as nine African nations at one time.[20]

However, even before the current conflict, the history of the DRC was tumultuous. From 1877-1908 the Congo Free State, as it was called, was essentially the private property of the Belgian king. It later became an official Belgian colony from 1908-1960. The Belgian regime at times was ruthless and exploitative, especially in regard to producing rubber. "Colonists brutalized the local population to produce rubber," making a fortune for King Leopold. In gruesome foreshadowing of tactics used by the rebels, the army enforced rubber quotas by making "a practice of cutting off the limbs of the natives a matter of policy" (Fage, 1982:748).

The Congo was granted independence in 1960. However, as in many newly independent countries, political upheaval ensued. Patrice Lumumba, the first Prime Minister, instigated violence against white Belgians who held government and military positions. Furthermore, secessionist revolts were taking place in the southern part of the country. The Belgians immediately intervened "for the declared purpose of restoring law

[19] The Human Security Report Project disputes this number arguing that at least 2 million of those deaths would have occurred anyway due to the extremely difficult living conditions in the DRC ("Human Security Report 2009: The Shrinking Costs of War," Human Security Report Project at the School for International Studies, Simon Fraser University, January 20, 2010).

[20] Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, Chad and Sudan came to Kabila's aid against Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi.

and order and protecting Belgian nationals" (UN, 2015). The presence of Belgian troops exacerbated the situation in the Congo, and soon thereafter, the UN Security Council authorized a peacekeeping force to replace the Belgians. The mandate of the UN peacekeeping force, ONUC, included "maintaining the territorial integrity and political independence of the Congo, preventing the occurrence of civil war and securing the removal of all foreign forces" (UN, 2015). ONUC lasted from 1960-1964 and "marked a milestone in the history of United Nations peacekeeping in terms of the responsibilities it had to assume, the size of its area of operation and the manpower involved" (UN, 2015).

The UN intervention in the Congo led to controversy over peacekeeping missions, especially in the context of the Cold War. Instead of being a neutral and impartial observer force, ONUC engaged in direct firefights with Katangese insurgents who were fighting against the Congolese government in order to secede. During this tense time, the Soviet Union and the United States sparred for influence in the Congo, especially after the Soviets sent advisors to assist the Lumumba government, which some suspected to be communist. In addition, the well-respected UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold was killed after his plane crashed in September 1961 on his way to broker a cease-fire agreement in the Congo. After ONUC completed its mission by neutralizing the Katangese secessionist movement, some believed that the mission had gone too far in overstepping its impartiality. It was a lesson that future peacekeeping missions would heed for the next twenty-five years. To top it off, in the wake of the UN intervention, a dictator emerged. Joseph Mobutu, who was the chief of staff of the army, took over the country in a coup in 1965 and would rule the country until 1997 (Thierry, 2004).

The immediate cause of the current conflict stems from the Rwandan Genocide in 1994 when Hutu death squads massacred more than half a million Tutsis. After a Tutsi-led rebel group took control of the government, 1.2 million Hutu refugees flooded into the DRC, which at the time was known as Zaire (UN, 2013a). Many of the refugees included members of the Interahamwe and government officials who had carried out the genocide. They used the refugee camps that were set up in Zaire as a base to launch attacks against the new government in Rwanda (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:234-5).

Additionally, these Hutu forces began targeting the Tutsis that were living in eastern Congo in the same region as the camps. President Mobutu, demonstrated support for the Hutus by publicly calling for the expulsion of one of the Tutsi groups, the Banyamulenge, in 1996 (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:235). The Banyamulenge responded by initiating a revolt against Mobutu that was joined by others leading to the formation of the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of the Congo (ADFL). The rebel forces were led by Laurent Kabila and were backed by Rwanda, Uganda, Angola and Burundi. Rwanda, in particular, was motivated to see Mobutu overthrown for supporting the Interahamwe in eastern Congo, so in addition to sending their forces to attack refugee camps controlled by the Interahamwe militias, they "provided tactical support, military supplies, and troops" to the rebels (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:235). Rwanda defended its invasion of the DRC by "arguing that it needed to crush Hutu militias on the Congolese side of the border" as a matter of self-defense (Gettleman, 2009).

After Kabila's forces ousted Mobutu in May 1997, Kabila declared himself president and renamed Zaire the Democratic Republic of the Congo. By 1998, Kabila

faced an insurrection backed by his former allies, Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi. Ironically, Kabila had repeated the same mistakes as Mobutu and a new rebel group formed based on accusations that Kabila was corrupt and had failed "to bring about democratic reforms, ethnic harmony and regional stability" (Project Ploughshares, 2014). In a very short time, he had alienated almost all of his former allies including the Rwandan government when he expelled Rwandan forces from eastern Congo in late July 1998 (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:235-6). In fact, Roessler and Prendergast make the argument that while on "the surface, the new insurgency was a coalition force composed of Kabila's former Tutsi allies in the ADFL, old Mobutu elites and other officials who had become frustrated with Kabila's dictatorial rule, in reality…it was a narrow group supported and instigated by Rwanda in direct retaliation for the expulsion of the RPF" (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:236).

Within weeks of the start of the rebellion, the Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD) supported by Rwanda and Uganda, had seized large areas of the country (UN, 2013). However, they were not able to capitalize on their initial success because unlike in Mobutu's case, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) was willing to come to Kabila's aid when he requested their help. The SADC PKO was spearheaded by Zimbabwe, but also included military involvement by Angola and Namibia. Within days of the request over 5,000 Zimbabwean and Angolan troops arrived in the DRC (Coleman, 2007:121). Eventually, Zimbabwe supplied an estimated 11,000 – 12,000 troops, Angola provided between 2,000 – 2,5000 troops, and Namibia contributed between 1,600 – 2,000 troops to the SADC force (ICG, 2000:4 and Johwa, 2004).

Not all of the SADC members supported military intervention and South Africa in particular objected, arguing in favor of a negotiated settlement instead (HRW, 1999a:17). The lack of unity hampered their effectiveness and combined with the economic gains that the troop contributing SADC members received as payment for assisting the Kabila regime contributed to reservations regarding their legitimacy (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:242; see also HRW, 1999a:17).

For example, Zimbabwe's President Mugabe "secured one of the largest timber concessions in the world, gaining rights to exploit more than eighty million acres of forests in the Congo; a 37.5 percent share in the Congo's state mining company, Gecamines; and ventures in other industries including electricity, agriculture and civil aviation. Though the Zimbabwean state as a whole found itself in the red with its investments in the Congo, Mugabe cronies who allied with Congolese elites profited enormously. UN investigators determined that Zimbabwean and Congolese elites transferred $5 billion of mining assets from the Congolese state to private companies from 1999 to 2002. In essence, this amounted to stealing from the state the equivalent of the Congo's entire gross domestic product (GDP) for the year 2000" (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:242). Beyond the economic angle, Angola also had a strategic interest in the DRC. They viewed the DRC as a second military front in their war against Jonas Savimbi and the rebel group, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) (Francis, 2006:199). They wanted to put a stop to UNITA smuggling diamonds from the DRC to support their cause as well as to dismantle UNITA military bases within the DRC (Francis, 2006:199; see also IRIN, 2001).[21]

[21] After Savimbi was killed by Angolan government forces in 2002, Angola "had little strategic imperative to keep its troops in the Congo" (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:255).

The SADC was able to protect Kabila and keep the rebel forces from overtaking the capital, but they could not conquer the rebel forces and by mid-1999, Kabila faced "the threat of imminent military defeat" (ICG, 2000:3). Kabila's position on a negotiated settlement with the rebels softened and as a result the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement was signed in July, 1999 (BBC, 2015a). One of the conditions of the Lusaka Agreement was that all foreign troops were to be withdrawn within 180 days (ICG, 1999). The implementation of the agreement – in particular, the DDR – was to be handled by the UN or as Roessler and Prendergast phrased it, it was to be pawned "off on an unprepared and reluctant United Nations" (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:246). Nevertheless, the UN did agree to monitor the ceasefire in the DRC and MONUC was established in November 1999.

Regrettably, the Lusaka Agreement never stopped the fighting (ICG, 1999). While Kabila signed it under military duress – and likely in bad faith in an attempt to buy time to improve his fighting position – he was not the only one to renege on his commitments; none of the signatories fulfilled their pledges (ICG, 1999). The ICG argued that the failure of the Lusaka Agreement was "due to an absence of leadership," because according to the agreement, prior to UN deployment, it was to be the belligerents themselves that were responsible for policing the agreement which would be verified by a Joint Military Commission (JMC) composed of representatives from each signatory (ICG, 2000:iii and 1). However, instead of cooperating with one another and abiding by the agreement, the parties to the conflict used their lack of trust in one another to justify their own duplicity (ICG, 2000:iii).

As a result of the continuous cease-fire violations and increased fighting, the UN refused to deploy its troops (Ploughshares, 2015). Ninety military liaison officers had already been deployed by the end of 1999 to work with the JMC, but it wasn't until February 2000 that the UN Security Council even passed a resolution authorizing 5,537 troops and only 4,386 of those were actually deployed by February 2003 (Adebajo, 2011:81 and UN, 2015a). The UN was heavily criticized for this decision, particularly by SADC member states who accused the Security Council of "neglect and overcautiousness in expecting more stable conditions in the DRC than required elsewhere before deploying a substantial UN force" (Adebajo, 2011:81).

In January 2001, Laurent Kabila was assassinated and succeeded by his son Joseph Kabila after a unanimous vote by the Congolese parliament (BBC, 2001). Whereas the elder Kabila "systematically obstructed MONUC's deployment from day one," Joseph Kabila supported the revitalization of the Lusaka Agreement and was willing to be more cooperative with MONUC which "opened the door for political reconciliation" (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:254). The "Inter-Congolese dialogue" held in Sun City, South Africa resulted in a partial agreement in April 2002. The parties to the conflict approved the formation of an interim government, but were not able to agree on the composition of that transitional government (ICG, 2002b). However, the Sun City talks "mark the beginning of a real regional discussion on the security and economic issues at the heart of the Congolese conflict" and paved the way for a number of side agreements (ICG, 2002b). By the end of July 2002, President Joseph Kabila and President Kigame from Rwanda signed the Pretoria Accord that required "Rwandan forces to withdraw from the DRC once former Interhamwe militia and former Rwandan

Armed Forces were disarmed and repatriated" (Ploughshares, 2015). Kabila signed the Luanda Accord with Ugandan President Museveni for the withdrawal of Ugandan troops from eastern DRC the following month (Ploughshares, 2015). Zimbabwe, Angola and Burundi also started withdrawing their troops in 2002 and Namibian troops had already left (Adebajo, 2011:82).

However, when 7,000 Ugandan troops withdrew in May 2003, they left a security vacuum that different militias rushed to fill as they fought for control of Bunia, the capital city of the province of Ituri (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:281). This included "slaughtering hundreds of civilians and threatening the beleaguered UN compound"(Adebajo, 2011:83). The UN had a total of 4,700 troops deployed in the DRC by April 2003 and only 700 in the Ituri district (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:281). The Secretary General of the UN requested that a strong force provide emergency relief and deal with the intense violence that was taking place in Bunia. In June 2003, France agreed to lead an Interim Emergency Multinational Force (IEMF) which was also sanctioned as an EU military operation – Operation Artemis. The French-led operation deployed more than 1,000 troops in Bunia (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:285). Almost all of the soldiers were French, but the contingent also included sixty Canadians and a dozen Belgian soldiers (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:285). Three hundred and fifty German troops stationed in Uganda also provided logistical and medical support (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:285). France did not intend to establish a long-term PKO, but had a very narrow mandate to secure the city and to protect civilians in Bunia until UN reinforcements could arrive. The short-term French PKO successfully stabilized the situation until they were replaced by MONUC peacekeepers in September 2003.

The power-sharing deal and transitional government agreed to by Kabila and the main belligerents who were signatories of the Global and All-Inclusive Agreement on the Transition in the DRC in December 2002 was "marred by two coup attempts" and the withdrawal of one of the rebel groups from government (Ploughshares, 2015). Nevertheless, in 2006, the DRC was still able to hold its first democratic elections in over 40 years. Kabila won the run-off election with 58 percent of the vote (Adebajo, 2011:87). The two years of transitional governance leading up to the elections had been relatively more peaceful, but in 2007, there was "renewed violence throughout the country" (Ploughshares, 2015). By 2007, MONUC had 17,342 peacekeepers in the DRC, but they were still stretched very thin across such a large territory (Adebajo, 2011:88). The Goma Peace Accord was signed by 22 armed groups in January 2008, but once again it failed to bring an end to the fighting (HRW, 2008).

In 2010, MONUC was replaced by MONUSCO as a result of pressure from the DRC government for MONUC to be withdrawn before the 50th anniversary of Congo's independence (HRW, 2011). When that wasn't possible, the government pushed for MONUC to leave before elections planned for 2011 (BBC, 2015a). Some critics argued that Kabila wanted the UN to be gone before the elections so that he could prevent international oversight of them (Faul, 2010). Given that the elections that reelected Kabila in 2011 were "marred by violence and allegations of fraud," this may have been one motivating factor (Ploughshares, 2015). However, others state that it was the "widespread frustration at the mission's continued presence" as a result of MONUC's "ineffectiveness in establishing security in the eastern Congo" (CCR, 2010:16). Congolese officials had pointed to a number of incidents reflecting MONUC's failure to

protect citizens such as the attempted mutiny in Kisangani in May 2002 that led to "indiscriminate killings of civilians, summary executions of military personnel and civilians, numerous rapes, beatings, and widespread looting" while over 1,000 MONUC troops were present in the city and aware of the crisis, yet none of them were sent out on patrol to protect civilians (HRW, 2002). Similarly, MONUC never took any military action to prevent rebel commanders from taking control of Bukavu in 2004 (HRW, 2004). Rather, MONUC's reputation was that "at the first sign of trouble, blue-helmet peacekeepers habitually barricade themselves into their bases, leaving crowds of several thousand refugees who tend to gather outside to fend for themselves" (Hatcher, 2012). Information Minister Lambert Mende publicly "accused the UN of pretending 'to help a people while trampling its dignity,'" and concluded that the DRC doesn't need the UN to do anything for them: "'We will do it ourselves,'" (Faul, 2010). As a result of the government's insistence, the UN withdrew approximately 1,500 peacekeepers and "pledged to conduct a joint security assessment with the government to determine future drawdown" (HRW, 2011).

In spite of this, the DRC government ultimately agreed to replace MONUC with a "stabilization" mission in order to "reflect the new phase reached in the country" implying that it was important to signify that substantial progress had been made in terms of peace in the majority of the country (UN, 2015). MONUSCO was established in July 2010 with about 18,000 troops and at its current budget of $1.4 billion per year is the UN's most expensive PKO (Dixon, 2012 and UN, 2015). Initially, MONUSCO didn't fare any better than MONUC. In 2012, they allowed the city of Goma to fall to rebels while they "simply stood and watched" despite being "far better armed and more

numerous than the rebels" (Hatcher, 2012). MONUSCO's credibility was so damaged that critics on Twitter gave it the hashtag #MONUSELESS (Vogel, 2013).

As a result of the criticism, the UN set up a specialized "intervention brigade" to strengthen MONUSCO in March 2013 (UN, 2015). It deployed 3,069 troops into the eastern DRC in July 2013 and is "equipped with attack helicopters, long-range artillery, armored personnel carriers, special forces, snipers, and even drones" (Sheeran and Case, 2014). Although there have been a number of concerns associated with the Force Intervention Brigade (FIB), particularly in terms of how the potential for it to be viewed as an active belligerent will affect the UN's legitimacy and ability to perform its other peacekeeping duties beyond peace enforcement, its success in defeating the M23 rebel group by November 2013 silenced many of the critics (Sheeran and Case, 2014).

In the following section, I will examine all four of the PKOs that were employed in the DRC and use Pushkina's criteria to measure how successful each of them have been.

Measuring Peacekeeping Success in the DRC

Pushkina classifies peacekeeping missions as successes or failures using a set of four criteria that includes "not only the fulfillment of a mission's mandate but also its contribution to the broader goals of limiting violence, reducing human suffering, containing the conflict, and promoting conflict resolution. (Pushkina, 2006: 145). In the following section, I consider the record of each of the PKOs for all four of Pushkina's criteria.

Criterion #1: Was Violent Conflict in the DRC Limited by the PKO?

The first of four criteria advanced by Pushkina to judge whether a PKO is considered successful is if violent conflict in the host state was limited; she also labels this objective as the primary goal of peacekeeping (Pushkina, 2006:134). She operationalizes it by incorporating a number of related elements including "whether a mission succeeded in curbing large-scale violence, sustaining ceasefire agreements, reducing the number of conflict-related casualties and supervising demobilization, and by assessing the progress of disarmament" (Pushkina, 2006: 134).

Curbing Large-Scale Violence and Reducing the Number of Conflict-Related Casualties

An estimated total of 350,000 people have been killed directly since 1998, the year before the UN PKO began (Project Ploughshares, 2014). Overall, if people who have died indirectly from the conflict as a result of malnutrition and disease are also included, the number is somewhere between 3 million and 5.4 million depending on which study is cited[22] which means that the DRC has the unfortunate distinction of being the most deadly conflict in the world since World War II (Bavier, 2008). Further, there are also other types of widespread violence. For example, rape has become a common "instrument of war" even against children Howard, 2008: 306). Violence of this nature will be discussed in greater detail in the following section that concentrates on human suffering.

[22] Human Security Report Project or International Rescue Committee (IRC), respectively.

The violence in the DRC during the SADC-led peacekeeping operations from 1998 – 2002 did not subside. In fact, reports suggest that the violence even escalated during this time. The number of deaths did not significantly decline during the first several years of MONUC's PKO either. MONUC has been heavily criticized for observing the massacres rather than intervening to defend the civilians it was mandated to protect (Adebajo, 2011:93; see also Hatcher, 2012 and Faul, 2010). It is estimated that between 3,000 to 5,000 people, mostly civilians, were killed in both 1998 and in 1999 when the SADC and MONUC began their PKOs, respectively (see Table 3 below). In 2000, the estimate was lower – perhaps less than half as many lost their lives – but the progress was short-lived as "unsubstantiated reports suggested thousands were killed" in 2001 (Ploughshares, 2014).[23] It is often the case that high numbers of fatalities likely go unreported due to minimal access to areas of heavy fighting. In 2002, the last year of the SADC PKO, the estimates ranged from 1,000 to 4,000.

As would be expected given the urgent crisis that preceded France's involvement, their very brief PKO intervened during a high point of violence – according to a U.S. State Department report more than 8,000 civilians were killed in 2003 (Ploughshares, 2014). Although the French were able to help stabilize Bunia, they did not intervene outside of the city. One could argue that the French occupation lessened the violence in the immediate vicinity of the operation, but it would be disingenuous to suggest this limited the violent conflict in the DRC as a whole. Violence continued to be a problem as many of the violent perpetrators relocated beyond French-occupied Bunia. For example, the Forum for Early Warning and Early Response (FEWER) "counted at least

[23] "Conflicts in remote areas and limited media access made precise fatality figures impossible to obtain" (Project Ploughshares, 2014).

sixteen massacres outside of Bunia between June and August 2003 (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:285-6). After the French left, intense fighting in eastern Congo, including Ituri carried on. The humanitarian situation had not improved in 2003 either, and in addition to killing civilians, both the government and armed groups continued to recruit children as combatants (Project Ploughshares, 2014). Furthermore, many armed groups persisted in using "sexual violence to terrorize local populations" (Ploughshares, 2014). Thus, the French operation was successful in a limited way, but did little to make a lasting difference for the DRC as a whole.

Table 3: Number of Estimated Conflict-Related Deaths in DRC by Year:

PKO:	Year:	Number of conflict-related deaths:
	1996	(1,389)
	1997	(4,591)
SADC 1998-2002	1998	5,000, mostly civilians (3,356)
MONUC 1999-2010	1999	>5,000, mostly civilians (3, 282)
	2000	>1,200 (1,473)
	2001	Thousands (unsubstantiated reports) (486)
	2002	>1,000 – 4,000 (76)
France 2003	2003	>8,000 civilians
	2004	330
	2005	300
	2006	200 – 300 rebels, 150 government soldiers and 500 civilians (177)
	2007	900 civilians, 400 rebels,100 government troops, 8 UN peacekeepers (632)
	2008	1,500 civilians and 300 government and rebel fighters (767)
	2009	2,661 civilians, 500 rebels and 58 Congolese soldiers (1,978)
MONUSCO 2010-present	2010	800 (300)
	2011	>100, most in electoral violence (242)
	2012	490 – 610 (737)
	2013	335 – 1,337 (1,530)
	2014	408, mostly civilians

Sources: Project Ploughshares, June 2015, based on reports from the International Crisis Group (ICG), Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED), Human Rights Watch, United Nations, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), US State Department, and the International Rescue Committee. Numbers in brackets are from World Bank Data, Battle-Related Deaths (Number of People), 2015.

The number of deaths markedly decreased in 2004 and 2005 during the transitional government phase leading up to the first democratic elections in forty years in 2006 (see Table 3 above). This was a huge improvement from 2003, but again there was minimal access to areas of heavy fighting so it is still likely that high numbers of fatalities went unreported. There was another upsurge in the number of deaths from 2006 through 2009. In 2010, MONUSCO replaced MONUC and there was another marked decrease in the number of deaths in 2011. However, from 2012 through 2014, MONUSCO's record has only been marginally better than MONUC's.

Sustaining Ceasefire Agreements

The SADC arrived in the DRC in August of 1998 and while they attempted to lead peace talks, they were not productive due to the divisions within the SADC. On one side, the Kabila government distrusted South Africa and on the other, Rwanda and Uganda opposed Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia because they were not viewed as neutral parties (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:244). Nevertheless, the first ceasefire agreement, the Lusaka Accord, was signed in 1999. However, the impetus for the agreement is believed to be a result of the enormous military pressure that Kabila was under after Rwandan forces made significant gains in early 1999 (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:244). The advance of the Rwandans was thwarted when Kabila committed to a political solution because the subsequent "international pressure compelled Rwanda and Uganda to sign the Lusaka Agreement and retreat to defensive positions on the battlefield" (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:245). Kabila then used the time to rearm and reorganize in order to "regain the military balance and survive

politically" (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:245). As such, the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement obviously did not represent a genuine commitment and "brought no peace. In fact, violence worsened when Rwanda and Uganda broke their alliance and became battling rivals for influence in eastern DRC" (Coleman, 2007:121). Thus, fighting continued despite the ceasefire agreement and by the end of the year, the government had lost control of more than half of the country to rebel groups (Project Ploughshares, 2014). Further, despite efforts by SADC members to encourage the government to comply with the peace process over the next couple of years, the fighting persisted (HRW, 2001). When the SADC left in 2002, the humanitarian situation had further deteriorated and all parties were guilty of continuing to incite violence, and attack and brutalize civilians (Project Ploughshares, 2014).

The SADC was eager to shift responsibility to the UN in November 1999. The SADC was experiencing internal conflict over how to handle the crisis in the DRC and one way to resolve it was to push the burden onto the UN despite the latter's reluctance to accept it. However, MONUC was ill equipped to assume such an ambitious mandate: one of the weaknesses of the Lusaka Agreement was that the provisions "imposed onerous obligations on the UN but were formulated without adequate consideration of the operational and resource implications" (Rogier 2004:89).

As noted above, the Lusaka Agreement did not lead to peace and all sides were accused of violating the ceasefire. More peace agreements followed during MONUC's PKO including the Sun City Agreement signed on April 19, 2002, the Pretoria Accord signed on July 30, 2002, the Global and All-Inclusive Agreement on the Transition in the

DRC signed on December 17, 2002, and the Goma Peace Accord signed on January 23, 2008.

Part of the problem with these peace agreements is that they were either only between two parties, such as the Pretoria Accord which was an agreement between the DRC and Rwanda wherein Rwanda agreed to withdraw all of its troops from DRC territory if the DRC promised to take "effective" security measures against the ex-FAR and Interahamwe. Or, if they were intended to be comprehensive, it never seemed possible to get all of the different factions to sign them. For example, one of the main armed rebel groups at the time, the *Rassemblement congolais pour la democratie* (RCD-Goma) as well as a number of unarmed opposition parties refused to sign the Sun City Agreement (Rogier 2003:32). Another armed group, the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), was not a party to the Goma Peace Accord. Concerns that hold-outs to the various peace agreements would result in continued violence were not unfounded. However, the hold-outs were not the only offenders. For instance, within months of the Goma Peace Accord, UN officials documented hundreds of ceasefire violations that were attributed to a number of rebel groups (HRW, 2008). This will be discussed in greater detail in the section on consent and cooperation below. Thus, despite signed peace agreements, the continued level of violence demonstrates that MONUC was not able to help uphold the agreements successfully.

The lead state PKO, run by France in 2003 was brief and geographically limited in scope compared to the other PKOs. Once it became clear that MONUC would not be able to suppress the extreme violence that was taking place in Bunia, the capital of the province of Ituri, the Secretary General of the UN requested that a strong force provide

emergency relief and France agreed to lead the operation. The security vacuum that was created after the Ugandan forces left in May of 2003 resulted in a bitter struggle between different factions fighting for control of the city. France did not intend to establish a long-term PKO in support of a specific ceasefire agreement, but had a very narrow mission to protect the civilians in Bunia.

MONUSCO was established in July 2010 and due to continued violence, particularly in the eastern part of the DRC, 11 countries in the region signed the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the DRC on February 24, 2013 which among other things pledged a renewed commitment to not interfere in each other's internal affairs or to provide assistance to any armed groups (UN, 2013). In March 2015, the Secretary-General reported on the implementation of the Framework agreement and acknowledged that it has been hindered by meaningful progress in disarming rebels and "the persistent mistrust between signatories" (UN, 2015). The MONUSCO's FIB started off by successfully defeating the M23 rebel group, but progress has slowed down (Vogel, 2015). It is not yet certain whether the outcome will be peace or "cyclical instability" (UN, 2015).

The prevalence of violence in the DRC despite several peace agreements indicates that this criterion was not met fully by any of the different types of PKOs. The SADC made minimal progress, if any. The French PKO, although it achieved its goals and was proven to be a capable force, only curbed violence in a very limited area. While it doesn't register as a meaningful improvement using Pushkina's criteria, it is generally considered to be a successful operation when it is evaluated on its own terms. Certainly, MONUC has been credited with "restoring peace to more than two-thirds of the country"

and MONUSCO has also made some progress, but there continues to be numerous armed groups that carry out brutal attacks on civilians, including sexual violence, particularly in eastern DRC (CCR, 2010:6).

Criterion #2: Was Human Suffering Reduced?

Pushkina's second criterion is the reduction of human suffering.[24] She points out that this is another primary goal of PKOs and that it is determined by "estimating the extent of any reduction in human rights abuses and the mission's success in resettling refugees" (Pushkina, 2006:134).

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) 2005 Statistical Yearbook, the number of refugees from the DRC has been steadily climbing throughout the years and the different PKOs – starting at 158,833 in 1998 when the SADC first began their PKO and up to 255, 950 when MONUC began their PKO a year later (see Table 4 below). The number of refugees had increased to 421,362 in 2002 by the time the SADC left and had further risen to 453,465 in 2003 when the French operation took place. By 2010, when the UN operation, MONUC ended and was replaced by MONUSCO, the number of refugees had fallen slightly to 444,054, but in 2013, was higher than ever at 509,396 (UNHCR, 2010a).

It is possible to ascertain more improvement –albeit only temporarily – by looking at both the number of internally displaced persons (IDP) and the returned refugee statistics. According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), in 1998 when the SADC began their PKO, the number of IDPs had more than tripled from the year before to 500,00 as a result of the outbreak of the war. That number continued to

[24] Also see Johansen, 1998 and Bures, 2007.

increase until it reached a high of 3.4 million in 2003 during the Ituri Crisis when the French were required to step in. The number of IDPs then fell steadily over the next few years reaching a low of 1.1 million in both 2006 and 2007 during the later half of MONUC's PKO. This number reflected the relatively more stable environment that accompanied the first election in four decades.

Table 4: A Comparison of Refugee, Returned Refugee and IDPs in the DRC by Year

PKO:	Year:	Refugees:	Returned Refugees:	IDPs:
SADC 1998-2002	1998	158,833	66,209	500,000
MONUC 1999-2010	1999	255,950	17,284	960,000
	2000	371,713	14,000	2,000,000
	2001	392,146	1,139	2,050,000
	2002	421,362	13,489	2,700,000
France 2003	2003	453,465	3,169	3,400,000
	2004	462,208	13,843	2,330,000
	2005	430, 929	39,050	1,660,000
	2006		41,228	1,100,000
	2007		59,835	1,400,000
	2008		54, 043	1,250,000
	2009		44,296	1,900,000
MONUSCO 2010 - present	2010	444,054	16,631	1,680,000
	2011	476,693	21,081	
	2012			
	2013	509,396	71,924	2,700,000

Sources: Data up to and including 2005 from the "2005 UNHCR Statistical Yearbook Country Data Sheet" (April 30, 2007); returned refugee data from individual statistical yearbook annexes, 1998-2011; 2011 data from "Statistical Snapshot" on country homepage (January, 2011); 2013 data from "Statistical Snapshot" on country homepage (January, 2013).

Similarly, according to the UNHCR statistical yearbooks, the number of refugees returning to the DRC dwindled from 66,209 in 1998 to 17,284 just a year later in 1999 when MONUC arrived, and all the way to 1,139 in 2001. In 2003, the year of the Ituri Crisis requiring the assistance of the French PKO, the number of returned refugees stayed

low at 3,169, down from a brief resurgence to 13,489 in 2002 when the SADC withdrew. By 2006, the year that the first free elections were held in the DRC in forty years, the number of returning refugees was up to 41,228. These improvements led Refugees International to assert in 2006 that the DRC, "one of the world's worst humanitarian crises" is no longer "an intractable quagmire: it has arrived at a moment of hope that must be seized" (Refugees International, 2006). Also, parts of the DRC were becoming more stable than other areas. Many of the returning refugees were relocating to safer, more stable provinces. It is important to keep in mind, too, that the DRC is receiving a large number of refugees from neighboring countries every year that adds to the instability. This is one of the reasons why the UNHCR points out that "a long-term solution for the DRC will require stability in neighboring countries and throughout the region" (UNHCR, 2006).

However, that "moment of hope" was relatively short-lived and the number of refugees returning in 2010 when MONUC was replaced by MONUSCO was back down to 16,631. The number of internally displaced people inside the country has followed a similar pattern and since 2012 the renewed violence in the east and north-east of the DRC has resulted in the number of IDPs ballooning to 2.7 million in 2013 (UNHCR, January 2013). This is, of course, in addition to the more than 500,000 Congolese refugees that remain outside of the DRC as of January 2013 (UNHCR, 2013).

The human rights situation has been "deteriorating" since the beginning of the war in the DRC. Every year there are reports of civilian killings, ethnic violence,[25] sexual violence, including rape as a weapon of war and the continued recruitment of

[25] Some analysts characterized this ethnic violence as rising to the level of genocide in 2003 during the Ituri Crisis (IRIN, 2003a).

children as combatants (HRW, 1998-2015). In addition, there are numerous reports every year of government repression of civil and political rights. During the SADC's PKO, from 1998 – 2002, Human Rights Watch (HRW) repetitively listed on an annual basis all of these different ways that "civilians bore the brunt of the conflict" (HRW, 1999. See Appendix #5). Not unexpectedly, the human rights situation remained in this deteriorated state throughout 2003 as the humanitarian crisis was the impetus for the French PKO. Again, the French PKO was very successful at reducing human suffering in the city of Bunia, but despite its achievement, such a limited goal does not register as a meaningful improvement using Pushkina's criteria that measures the reduction of human suffering in the DRC as a whole.

MONUC was active from 1999 – 2010 and overlapped with both of those PKOs. The main development that occurs during MONUC's PKO is that from 2004 through the present, HRW specified that most of the combat human rights abuses took place in the eastern DRC, implying a more stable environment in the rest of the DRC. Nevertheless, throughout MONUC's PKO, the DRC has earned some loathsome titles; for example, in 2006, the DRC held the dubious distinction of having "the highest concentration of children involved in conflict in the world" (Project Ploughshares, 2014) and in 2007, John Holmes, the UN Undersecretary General for Humanitarian Affairs, described the prevalence and brutality of sexual violence in the eastern DRC as the "worst in the world" (Gettleman, 2007). In 2008, the UN reported that sexual violence continued to be on the rise and according to the United Nations Population Fund, 6,693 new cases of sexual violence were recorded in the DRC in the just the first half of 2008 (UN, 2008). There were 2,200 cases of rape reported in the province of North Kivu in the month of

June alone (IRIN, 2009b). Violence and brutal human rights abuses increased throughout 2009 with the number of cases of sexual violence nearly double what they were in 2008 (HRW, 2010).

The year that MONUSCO replaced MONUC, 2010, did not prove to be a better year. Civilian attacks and other human rights abuses "continued with disturbing frequency in 2010" and there was no signs that the alarming rate of sexual violence was decreasing (HRW, 2011) leading one UN official to refer to the DRC as the "rape capital of the world" (BBC, April 2010). According to Amnesty International, between July 30 and August 2, 2010, more than 300 women, girls, men and boys were "rounded up and prevented from fleeing before being raped by armed men acting under the orders of their commanding officers" (Colucci, 2010). In addition, the violence occurred only 30 kilometers from a UN peacekeeper base and is one of the incidents that have led to criticism of both MONUSCO and the DRC government.

Conflict related attacks against civilians did not let up in 2011, but there was also a significant amount of violence linked to the election, which was eventually judged to be lacking in both credibility and transparency (HRW, 2013). In response to the humanitarian crisis in the DRC and in an attempt to better protect civilians, MONUSCO added an "intervention brigade" in 2013 that is authorized to carry out offensive operations designed to "neutralize" rebel groups. However, some human rights NGOs warn "any military offensive in the DRC, regardless of who leads it, will have significant humanitarian consequences" (Refugees International, 2013). The concern is based on previous campaigns that may have disarmed hundreds of rebels, but also resulted in thousands more civilians being killed, raped or displaced (Refugees International, 2013).

Some of those casualties were a result of unintended "collateral damage," but the vast majority were "revenge" killings or rape used as a "punishment" against civilians that were presumed to have collaborated with the enemy (HRW, 2010). In any case, "despite renewed regional and international initiatives to end the violence," widespread human rights abuses by all the parties to the conflict continued in 2013 (HRW, 2013). After one of the particularly abusive rebel groups, the M23, were defeated by the FIB, there was a period of optimism that violence against civilians might decrease in the eastern DRC, but numerous armed groups remain active and continue to carry out brutal attacks on civilians (HRW, 2015). Sexual violence has not diminished and a recent study has found that "48 women are raped in the DRC every hour," earning the DRC another title: "the worst place in the world to be a woman" (Marie Claire, 2014).

The main perpetrators have varied over the years and in the different regions. However, sexual violence related to the armed conflict has been the most prevalent in eastern DRC in the provinces of North and South Kivu, Orientale, Maniema, and Katanga. Most recently, rebel groups such as the M23, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the FDLR were notorious for committing grave human rights abuses, including summary executions, rapes, and forced recruitment of children (HRW, 2010-2013). DRC government troops (FARDC) were also often accused of committing the worst human rights abuses, including sexual violence (Refugees International, 2013b; Project Ploughshares, 2013; Human Rights Watch, 2013). Regrettably, it has included MONUC personnel in cases of both prostitution and rape as well (Washington Post, 2004). Dijkzeul notes how much these actions have harmed the credibility and the legitimacy of the UN: "In particular, the fact that young girls, some only 14 years old,

prostituted themselves raised opprobrium.[26] Was this how the international community supported a war-torn society?" (Dijkzeul, 2010:324). The UN established a "zero tolerance" policy in 2005 after these scandals first began to surface.

One area that has improved during MONUSCO's PKO is the total impunity war criminals previously enjoyed throughout the conflict until 2012 when HRW reported "mixed progress" (HRW, 2013). In previous years, not only were the perpetrators not brought to justice, some were "promoted to senior positions in the army or the government" (HRW, 2008). The most infamous example of this was the case of Bosco Ntaganda. He was indicted for war crimes and crimes against humanity by the ICC in 2006 (Dale, 2013). However, rather than arrest him, the DRC government made him a general and integrated him and his men into the army to help them fight against another rebel group in 2009 (Dale, 2013). At the time, MONUC received considerable criticism for providing logistical and operational support to DRC military operations and particularly to specific army units that were known to have committed serious human rights violations thereby implicating itself in the abuses (HRW, 2010). However, the UN denies providing support to any of Ntaganda's units (Davis, 2013). Ntaganda eventually mutinied in 2012 and taking his loyal men with him, became the leader of a new rebel group, the M23. When the M23 was defeated by the FIB, Ntaganda, presumably fearing for his life, surrendered to the ICC where he is currently on trial (Dale, 2013). As far back as 2005, HRW had warned that the "pervasive culture of impunity is one of the greatest obstacles to lasting peace as well as to ensuring civil and political rights in the

[26] While there was some limited "poverty-induced prostitution" previously, it became much more widespread after 2002.

DRC" and furthermore, while "integrating abusive commanders into a new army may buy their compliance with the transitional process in the short term" it will eventually lead to further instability (HRW, 2005).

In sum, there was no specific period of time when there was a marked improvement in human security throughout all of the DRC. Human rights improved in a limited area during the French PKO and in the majority of the DRC part way through MONUC's PKO which was then maintained by MONUSCO, but a high level of human suffering has been present during all of the different types of PKOs.

Criterion #3: Did the Conflict Spread Beyond the DRC's Borders?

Pushkina's third criterion focuses on ensuring regional security by preventing the spread of conflict beyond the object state's borders. This is an acknowledgement of the significance of spillover effects. She specifically notes that refugee flows can cause competition for resources, leading to further conflict in neighboring countries (Pushkina, 2006:134). This criterion is evaluated by assessing "the extent to which the integrity of neighbouring countries has been kept intact" (Pushkina, 2006:134).

As discussed above, this conflict has been regional in nature from the very beginning. The roots of the conflict trace back to the flood of Rwandan refugees that poured over the border into the DRC following the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Both the Rwandan and Ugandan governments pursued Hutu militia members into the DRC. Both states then backed Laurent Kabila, the ADFL rebel leader, in his bid to take over the country. Kabila took control of the government and declared himself president in 1997. However, in 1998, the conflict became even more complicated after Kabila, Rwanda and

Uganda all turned against one another. At this point, Rwanda and Uganda each backed different rebel groups and Kabila requested assistance from other neighboring countries. Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia established the SADC PKO and came to Kabila's aid against Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi. Chad and Sudan eventually arrived to provide assistance to Kabila as well. The involvement of as many as nine African nations at one time triggered the label, "Africa's World War."

Rwanda, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola and the DRC signed the Lusaka Peace Agreement in 1999, but a number of the states were still unwilling to leave. The official reasons were typically related to security concerns, particularly for states with shared borders, but Dijkzeul contends that "over time, these different warring factions and their international supporters became more interested in economic extraction and exploitation of natural resources like diamonds and coltan, than in ending the war" (Dijkzeul, 2010:319). The International Crisis Group concurs: "The states that have intervened in the Congo all have unsatisfied political and security 'shopping lists' and want to retain access to the country's resources" (ICG, 2013). Dijkzeul describes the resulting shifting alliances and confusion over who was fighting whom as "dozens of overlapping micro-wars" (Dijkzeul, 2010:319). However, after MONUC was established in 1999, it was at least able to persuade Namibia and Chad to pull their forces out completely, while having more limited influence on Burundi and Uganda and even less on Zimbabwe and Rwanda (Dijkzeul, 2010:320).

In 2002, Joseph Kabila, who had succeeded his father after his assassination, was able to sign separate peace accords with both Rwanda and Uganda stipulating that they would withdraw their troops. Also in 2002, the Sun City Agreement was reached

between the DRC and the main rebel groups, which gave rebels positions in the transitional government in return for peace. Most foreign forces had left the DCR by the end of 2002, including the soldiers of the SADC. The last Ugandan troops left the DRC in May 2003 – which immediately prompted the Ituri Crisis and the need for the French PKO. The war came to a formal end when the transitional government was inaugurated in July 2003. The DRC even held its first election in forty years successfully in 2006, reelecting Kabila.

However, the war didn't end in any real sense and the violence persisted. After MONUSCO replaced MONUC in 2010, there continued to be a lack of progress. Neighboring states, particularly, Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi have all been accused of continuing to intervene in the DRC (Times, 2012). In February 2013, 11 countries in the region signed the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the DRC which among other things pledged a renewed commitment to not interfere in each other's internal affairs or to provide assistance to any armed groups (UN, 2013). Later the same year, a UN Group of Experts Report recommended tough sanctions against Uganda and Rwanda for supporting the DRC's M23 rebel group (IRIN, 2013a). In March 2015, the Secretary-General reported on the implementation of the Framework agreement and acknowledged that it has been hindered by "the persistent mistrust between signatories" (UN, 2015).

Adebajo (2011) points to a number of issues that have prevented the PKOs in the DRC from being more successful, such as insufficient peacekeeping capabilities and the exploitation of lootable mineral resources. However, he particularly focuses on regional divisions, noting that some neighboring countries supported the Congolese government while others supported rebel forces. He concludes that the "international community

must finally recognize that it cannot succeed in the DRC unless it provides massive and sustained support and continues to adopt a regional approach to the conflicts in Central Africa that prioritizes peace in Burundi and Rwanda as well as the DRC" (Adebajo, 2011:96).

The conflict in the DRC has been and continues to be a regional conflict. Despite the presence of the SADC, MONUC, and France, neighboring states intervened in the DRC with minimal consequences other than sanctions. The conflict was not contained within the DRC borders, and clashes between the DRC and its neighbors were a common occurrence. The Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the DRC signed by 11 countries in the region during MONUSCO's PKO still offers some hope for improvement, even if that progress seems slow presently.

Criterion #4: Did the PKO Promote Conflict Resolution Effectively?

Finally, Pushkina's fourth criterion to evaluate the success of a PKO is how effective it was at promoting conflict resolution. She argues that "it requires the creation of a stable environment that is capable of preventing the recurrence of hostilities after the peacekeeping mission withdraws" and this is determined based on "the extent to which the environment fostered by peacekeepers inhibits future violence" (Pushkina, 2006:135).

Obviously, none of the PKOs succeeded in preventing future violence. Conflict in the DRC has been maintained throughout all of the different PKOs. And, in fact, despite the UN changing its mission in 2010 from MONUC to MONUCSO in order to reflect its changing mandate and emphasize the protection of civilians, the conflict continued to escalate in 2012 and 2013. Both the Framework Agreement signed in 2013

and the FIB, authorized the same year with an unprecedented mandate to "neutralize" rebel groups, provided some hope, especially after the FIB was able to defeat the M23 rebel group. Unfortunately, throughout 2014 and 2015, the cooperation among the DRC government, the region, and the international community has "increasingly dissipated" and the "stabilization strategy for the region, outlined by the [Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework] agreement has progressed in 'slow motion'" (ICRtoP, 2015). DDR has also stalled (ICRtoP, 2015). It remains to be seen if MONUSCO will be more effective.

While the DRC holding its first election in forty years in 2006 was a highlight of the peace process and held the most promise for a stable environment, even it was "fraught with irregularities" (Freedom House, 2013). Unfortunately, the 2011 election was even more flawed, leading Freedom House to the evident conclusion that the DRC is not an electoral democracy (Freedom House, 2013). Furthermore, instability, insecurity, corruption, foreign interference, and government suppression all culminated in a predictable "Not Free" status from Freedom House with a freedom rating of 6, on a scale of 1-7, with 7 being the least free (Freedom House, 2013).

Similarly, the DRC ranks second on the Fragile States Index, ranks 186th (tied with Niger for last) on the UN Human Development Index, 229th out of 229 in GDP per capita, 160th out of 176 on Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index, and 171st out of 177 countries on the Heritage Foundation's Index of Economic Freedom (Herbst and Mills, 2013:79). Herbst and Mills, reflecting on these rankings, argue that it is time to acknowledge that the "Congo is not a failed state; it is a nonstate, incessantly at war for the last 17 years, and home to some of the world's worst violence" (Herbst and

Mills, 2013:79). They note that despite receiving an enormous amount of development assistance, "the state remains mostly irrelevant outside Congo's capital…at least in part because donors have continually rewarded the central government's failure to rule, ignored corruption, and dismissed concerns about questionable elections" (Herbst and Mills, 2013:79). The fourth criterion has not been met either, and thus, none of the peacekeeping missions in the DRC have achieved success, according to Pushkina's four criteria. The table below summarizes the application of Pushkina's criteria to all four PKOs in the DRC (see Table 5).

Table 5: Pushkina's Criteria for Success Applied to PKOs in the DRC

Pushkina's Criteria for Success:	Regional Organization: SADC (August 1998 – 2002)	UN: MONUC (November 1999 – 2010)	Lead State: France (June – Sept 2003)	UN: MONUSCO (2010 – present)
Violent conflict limited?	PROGRESS – DETERIORATION Progress in 2000, but then similar number of deaths in 2002 as 1998	PROGRESS – DETERIORATION Progress followed by another upsurge in violence	PROGRESS Limited progress - stabilized Bunia only	PROGRESS Relative progress – marginally better record than MONUC
Reduction of human suffering?	DETERIORATED Increased number of refugees, number of IDPs, and number of returning refugees as well as reports of civilian killings, ethnic violence, sexual violence, including rape as a weapon of war and the continued recruitment of children as combatants	PROGRESS In most of the country – continuing reports of civilian killings, ethnic violence, sexual violence, including rape as a weapon of war and the continued recruitment of children as combatants, but mostly contained in eastern DRC after 2004	PROGRESS Limited progress affecting Bunia only, human rights violations continued to occur in the just outside the city	DETERIORATED Number of refugees and number of IDPs at all time-high as of 2013 and continuing reports of civilian killings, ethnic violence, sexual violence, etc, but mostly contained in eastern DRC *PROGRESS on achieving justice for victims
Conflict spread beyond borders?	PROGRESS Most foreign forces left the same year that the SADC did	PROGRESS Persuaded Namibia and Chad to leave in 2000 and most foreign forces had left by end of 2002 including SADC, Uganda left in 2003. However – some states in the region continued to intervene covertly	No change	PROGRESS Some states in the region continued to intervene covertly but 11 countries signed Peace, Security & Cooperation Framework for the DRC in 2013 and pledged a renewed commitment to not interfere
Effective conflict resolution?	FAIL Fighting continued	PROGRESS Fighting continued, but was mostly limited to the eastern Congo	FAIL Fighting continued	PROGRESS Fighting continues, but is mostly limited to the eastern Congo and FIB has made progress

Factors Affecting PKO Outcomes in the DRC

Based on my comprehensive survey of the PKO literature (see Chapter 1), I have identified five factors that can help us understand the outcome of a PKO, and ultimately, why one type of PKO is more effective than another. The five factors include mandate, resources and capabilities, the willingness to use force, consent and cooperation, and great power involvement. In the following sub-sections, each of these factors will be applied to the various PKOs in the DRC. Some of these factors will highlight a few of the strengths of the different PKOs, but others emphasized their even greater weaknesses, which ultimately explains the failure of all of the types of PKOs.

Mandate

Mandates charge an organization and its forces to intervene in a country to restore peace and security. Essentially, mandates set the barometer for legitimate and authorized action. In 1998, the SADC mandated Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe to deploy in the DRC against rebel groups backed by Rwanda and Uganda in defense of the government of the DRC. However, this mandate was undermined from the beginning by disputes among the leaders of the SADC, particularly between Zimbabwe's president, Robert Mugabe and South Africa's president, Nelson Mandela. In addition, Tavares assessed the decision-making processes of the SADC before it intervened in the DRC and concluded that the leaders of the SADC chose to militarily intervene "for reasons of national and personal interests rather than humanitarian reasons or out of a primary interest in preserving regional stability" (Tavares, 2011:145).

For example, Zimbabwe's motives for spearheading the SADC PKO were suspected to have more to do with an attempt to "rally domestic support for its leaders in a context of falling standards of living and 'gross mismanagement of the economy, unchecked public expenditure, corruption and one-party rule'" than concern for the DRC (Nathan, 2012). Furthermore, while it is true that the war was a drain on the intervening states' economies, it "appears to have been highly profitable for members of their ruling elites who secured lucrative mining and other commercial contracts in the Congo" (Nathan, 2012). "Accusations of profiteering and illegal exploitation of natural resources, regarded as motives for the continuation of the war" were leveled primarily at Zimbabwe and the foreign invaders, Rwanda and Uganda (Nathan, 2012). In sum, the SADC did fulfill their mandate in terms of defending Kabila's leadership. However, they did very little else in terms of bringing a peaceful resolution to the DRC conflict as a whole and some SADC states may have even hindered the process for their own gain.

The UN did not intervene in the DRC until after the Lusaka Agreement of 1999, which was negotiated without the UN, but "requested" that the UN "implement the peace agreement" and "'track down all armed groups in the DRC'" (Van Osch and Soeters, 2010:82). It could be said that the UN did not pursue intervention in the DRC but rather its services were requested after there was a failed regional attempt to resolve the situation. According to some analysts, "there was a lack of strategic interest in the DRC, and the absence of the UN in designing the Lusaka Ceasefire made the Security Council cautious about initiating support," which resulted in a reluctant UN Security Council authorizing "'a peacekeeping force with a far too modest observation mandate,

inadequate resources, a halting deployment, and little diplomatic follow-up or leverage in support of implementation'" (Van Osch and Soeters, 2010:82).

Thus, MONUC's original mandate is commonly blamed for the ineffectiveness of the UN in the DRC. The main elements of the original mandate of MONUC in 2000 included monitoring the implementation of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, supervising and verifying the disengagement and redeployment of the parties' force, facilitating humanitarian assistance and human monitoring and finally, acting under chapter VII of the UN Charter, MONUC "may take the necessary action…as it deems within its capabilities….[to] protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence" (S/RES/1291, 2000). On October 1, 2004, the Security Council revised the mandate (and authorized an increase of 5,900 personnel). It also reemphasized its intent to ensure the protection of civilians, to help with demobilization and disarmament, to assist in the promotion and protection of human rights and additionally, to contribute to the security of government institutions and the protection of officials as well as to assist in "the establishment of a secure environment for free, transparent and peaceful elections to take place" (S/RES/1565, 2004).

Over the years, MONUC, followed by MONUSCO has gradually become one of the largest UN missions in the world in terms of troop strength and budget. On December 22, 2008, the Security Council authorized up to 19,815 military personnel as well as other military observers and police and prioritized its mandate to, first, ensure the protection of civilians, including humanitarian and UN personnel; second, to disarm and demobilize foreign and Congolese armed groups; third, to provide military training for the Congolese National Army (FARDC) and to assist them with security sector reform;

and fourth, to use their intelligence capabilities to help provide territorial security S/RES/1856 (2008). By 2009-2010, MONUC's operational costs were $1.4 billion a year (un.org, 2015b). However, despite "being one of the most expensive peacekeeping missions in UN history," it "lacked adequate human, financial and logistical support" (CCR, 2010). Even the large number of troops compared to other UN operations is insufficient for a territory as vast as the DRC. This led to a number of incidents, such as the ones in Kisangani in 2002, in Ituri in 2003, and Bukavu in 2004 that generated extensive criticism of MONUC for being unable to protect the civilians under their watch. These limitations will be discussed in greater detail below in the section on resources and capabilities. Nevertheless, MONUC managed to make some progress in executing its mandate, particularly in terms of helping to conduct the country's first free and fair national elections in forty years that took place in 2006-2007 and "restoring peace to more two-thirds of the country" (CCR, 2010).

The United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) took over from MONUC on July 1, 2010. No significant changes were made to the mandate. However, once again MONUSCO's mandate emphasized that the new mission was authorized to use all necessary means to carry out its mandate relating, among other things, to the protection of civilians, humanitarian personnel and human rights defenders under imminent threat of physical violence and to support the Government of the DRC in its stabilization and peace consolidation efforts (UN, 2015). Yet, MONUSCO endured the same criticism that MONUC did for failing to protect civilians, especially after the incident in Goma in 2009.

As a result of the surge in conflict in eastern Congo, the Security Council created an "intervention brigade" on March 28, 2013. It operates "under direct command of the MONUSCO Force Commander, with the responsibility of neutralizing armed groups" (S/RES/2098, 2013).

The controversy surrounding the recent authorization of the intervention brigade, the UN's first-ever "offensive" combat force, is indicative of another reason that the UN has been ineffective. Although the UN declared that this was the first time a UN unit had been tasked to carry out offensive operations and it was accompanied by heated debate over how this development would impact UN legitimacy, other scholars point out that MONUC and MONUSCO were already authorized to conduct offensive operations under their original Chapter VII mandate to protect civilians (Blyth, 2013). Nevertheless, both MONUC and MONUSCO reverted to behaving as though they had been given a Chapter VI mandate for a traditional UN peacekeeping mission that only permitted its troops to fight back in self-defense. For example, in Ituri in 2003 after the Ugandan soldiers left and other militias arrived, fighting to take control of the area, "several thousand civilians…converged on the UN compound, scaling walls and fences to do so, but not being turned out once inside" (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:283). Yet, "the Uruguayan troops on hand functioned under stringent orders from home not to shoot except in self-defense" (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:283). Thus, both MONUC and MONUSCO "forces lacked a common understanding of the mandate" and as a result they demonstrated a consistent unwillingness to "engage in offering physical protection to those at risk…It took years for able, well-trained forces to be deployed in respectable numbers…and to operate with a concept of their protection responsibilities" (Holt and

Berkman, 2006, 157). While the FIB may not have represented a true change in mandate, it may have been necessary to shift the mindset of troop contributing countries.

In contrast, the French-led PKO has been praised for being "prepared, willing and able to operate in a hostile environment" and for quickly establishing security in its limited area of operations (Holt and Berkman, 2006, 157). It successfully achieved its mandate in part because it was a narrow mandate[27] with a clear exit strategy in a short specified time frame. However, although the French PKO was able to stabilize Bunia, critics claimed that it merely relocated the violence outside of the city and furthermore, that the short predetermined time frame allowed rebels to simply bide their time until the PKO had left before resuming their previous behaviors. This will be discussed in more detail below.

All four of these PKOs show the importance of mandates. The SADC PKO demonstrates the problems associated with vague mandates that can deteriorate into intervening on behalf of one's own national interests at the expense of the peace process. The French PKO reveals that even if a mandate is successfully accomplished, it is of limited significance if the mandate is so restricted that its success is largely irrelevant to the overall goal of ending the conflict and attaining peace. MONUC's mandate shows how ineffective inadequate mandates are as well as how difficult it is to recover, despite repeated attempts to strengthen the mandate. In the end, MONUC was able to fulfill its

[27] On May 30, 2003, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the UN, the Security Council authorized the "deployment, until 1 September 2003, of an Interim Emergency Multinational Force in Bunia in close coordination with MONUC…to contribute to the stabilization of the security conditions and the improvement of the humanitarian situation in Bunia, to ensure the protection of the airport, the internally displaced persons in the camps in Bunia and, if the situation requires it, to contribute to the safety of the civilian population, United Nations personnel and the humanitarian presence in the town" S/RES/1484 (2003).

"mandate of protecting civilians in some places, but its limited numbers and capacities prevented the force from providing effective protection in many situations" (HRW, 2009). A similar statement could be said of MONUSCO prior to the authorization of the FIB in 2013. While the FIB has had some success, civilian violence is still significant and it is unclear whether MONUSCO can be counted on for protection.

Resources and Capabilities

One of the most common critiques of peacekeeping operations is that they lacked the necessary resources or that the resources weren't provided in a timely manner. A lack of training, equipment, experience, and funding has been particularly associated with both the UN and regional organizations in Africa. In the case of the DRC, the SADC acted first in response to President Kabila's request to the UN, OAU, and the SADC for help in the midst of a revolt. President Kabila had recently replaced Mobutu in May 1997. After the SADC pledged their assistance, "Within days, 2,800 Zimbabwean troops were airlifted to Kinshasa while around 2,500 Angolan troops entered the DRC from Angola's Cabinda enclave" (Coleman, 2007:121). Namibia also pledged to deploy troops to the DRC on behalf of the SADC. As a group, they referred to themselves as the SADC Allied Forces in the DRC and "justified their deployment as an act of collective defence against the 'invasion' of the DRC by Rwanda and Uganda" (Nathan, 2012:87).

Initially, it seemed that the SADC PKO was a serious operation with a high level of commitment. However, it became immediately apparent that the SADC was not acting as a cohesive group. While President Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Chair of the Organ on Politics, Defense and Security Cooperation for the SADC announced that the

SADC had made a unanimous decision to support Kabila, President Mandela of South Africa, who was the Chair of the SADC at the time, made it clear that he was not even invited to the meeting where appropriate responses were supposed to be discussed and openly challenged Mugabe's authority to send troops on behalf of the whole organization (Nathan, 2012:86).[28] In contrast, South Africa, backed by Botswana, Mozambique and Tanzania, championed a diplomatic solution. From the start, the commitment of the SADC was undermined by political fractures within the organization.[29] The SADC did not have the approval of the UN Security Council either: On August 31, ten days after the Pretoria Summit, the UN Security Council came to a similar conclusion as the Summit and called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces (Nathan 2012:88).

Early estimations of SADC intervention in the DRC were mostly focused on the internal disputes[30] and the anticipated long-term harm that they will cause to the "SADC as a potential instrument for promoting regional peace and security" (Berman and Sams, 1998). Unfortunately, recent assessments only confirm these earlier fears:

> In short, the promise of peace and security in Southern Africa has not been realized and SADC has been distinguished less by its peacemaking endeavours than by its fractious quarrels. Of great significance and irony is the fact that many

[28] In order to put this into context, some reports state that Mandela and Mugabe were engaged in a power struggle for regional leadership, at least from Mugabe's perspective who is portrayed as being very jealous of Mandela's regional and international stature (Wakin, 1998). Part of this struggle was playing out through the SADC and their dispute over the DRC stemmed from a Summit meeting the previous month when Mandela had threatened to resign as the SADC Chair if the Organ on Politics, Defense and Security Cooperation was not made accountable to the Summit. However, Mugabe continued to insist that the Organ should be independent from the Chair of SADC (Nathan, 2012:86).

[29] In order to resolve this issue, an emergency Summit meeting in Pretoria was held where it was concluded "military action was an unacceptable way of addressing the problems that had given rise to the war and called for an immediate ceasefire and a peaceful process of political dialogue to solve the problems" (Nathan, 2012:88). Additionally, it was determined that as a result of the division within the SADC, it would be necessary for the Organization of African Unity (OAU – the precursor to the AU) to step in and take over the peace process (Nathan, 2012:88). Despite this, by the beginning of September, the intervention in the DRC received a retroactive endorsement by the SADC, "but the approval is best understood as a face-saving measure for presidents Robert Mugabe and Nelson Mandela" (Berman and Sams, 1998).

> of the major disputes among member states have been around the orientation and strategies of peacemaking and regional security…Perversely, a vehicle intended to ease tension and enhance unity and confidence had exactly the opposite effect (Nathan, 2012:5).

In terms of how the SADC performed militarily, there is no denying that they effectively "thwarted the initial rebel advance on Kinshasa," but logistical as well as command and control capacities were regarded as inadequate (Berman and Sams, 1998). Most troubling, the legitimacy of the SADC was in question not only because of the internal strife, but because it was believed that the intervening states were "primarily motivated by parochial and business interests" (Berman and Sams, 1998). Unfortunately, even in retrospect, President Mugabe's duplicitous method to establish a SADC mission in the DRC only added to this perception.

As noted above, MONUC was also hampered by insufficient resources. MONUC got off to a bad start after the Lusaka Agreement shifted the responsibility for implementing the agreement to the UN without any input from the UN: "One of the weaknesses of the Lusaka negotiations was that these provisions imposed onerous obligations on the UN but were formulated without adequate consideration of the operational and resource implications" (Rogier, 2004). Regrettably, the UN wasn't willing or able to send a large enough force (Durch, 2006; Adebajo, 2011). The UN initially determined in February 2000 that it would be possible to accomplish its mandate with an authorized strength of 5,537 military personnel (UN, 2015b). This was particularly problematic for a case like the DRC, not only because of the high level of difficulty, but due to its large size; 5,537 soldiers are spread pretty thin in a country that is roughly the size of Western Europe. Roessler and Prendergast point out that the Ituri crisis in 2003 "finally forced the Security Council to concede that MONUC's mandate

and capabilities, relatively static since February 2000, were wholly incommensurate with the changing conditions on the ground" (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:231).

As stated above, MONUC grew incrementally to become one of the largest UN missions in the world. By 2008, the UN had authorized up to 19,815 military personnel as well as other military observers and police (UN, 2015). However, a number of scholars have pointed out that while the UN PKO in the DRC was the largest peacekeeping force at the time, "MONUC is still a relatively small operation in comparison to the huge problems it confronts, such as the country's vast size, the weakened local institutions, the daunting logistical challenges of a deteriorated infrastructure, and a scattered population of IDPs]" (Dijkzeul, 2010:338; see also Adebajo, 2011:92 and 228). Another observer noting the failures in the DRC commented that "the demand for peacekeeping is out-pacing capacity and resources; the UN has undertaken massive commitments without the means to carry them out" (Pushkina, 2006:139).

In contrast, the lead state PKO run by the French in response to the Ituri crisis was well-equipped and trained. The Ituri crisis was a result of the power vacuum that was created after the last of the Ugandan troops left the area on May 6, 2003. MONUC was aware of "the risks associated with the withdrawal of foreign forces generally, as well as the particular volatility and insecurity of Ituri" (UN, 2004:4). However, they did not have the resources to provide the security that was necessary. After two UN military observers were murdered on May 13 and the humanitarian situation continued to grow increasingly dire, the Secretary-General called for the rapid deployment "of a highly

trained and well-equipped multinational force, under the lead of a Member State, to provide security…and to protect the civilian population" (UN, 2003).

The French government responded immediately to the Secretary General's request and on May 30, the Security Council authorized the deployment. This operation was codenamed "Operation Artemis" and although it was almost solely a French operation, it was under European Union auspices, and was considered the EU's first autonomous military operation outside Europe.[31] Once the deployment was authorized, a little over 1,000 troops were on the ground within seven days (Özveri (2011).

Thus, in regard to the commitment shown by a lead state PKO, France responded to the Ituri Crisis in a very timely manner. In fact, a UN study that was intended to draw lessons for future UN missions from Operation Artemis, highlights how much deployment times can vary depending on the PKO. The report warned that by establishing a strict exit date that allowed Operation Artemis only 3 months, "could have ended in failure if the delays often encountered in the deployment of troops to UN missions had prevented the Ituri Brigade from taking over on time" (UN, 2004:16). In other words, when it comes to deployment, the expected UN timetable is significantly behind that of a lead state or regional organization.

The UN report also listed a number of other resources that the lead state PKO had at its disposal that the UN was lacking, including the use of special forces, excellent intelligence capabilities (both human and communications), and the use of air assets for surveillance and reconnaissance which was viewed as beneficial as a show of strength or for the intimidation factor as well (UN 2004:13).

[31] "Lead states" may or may not be acting completely unilaterally, but they are the force behind the operation, both strategically and militarily.

The specific nature of the request leading to the geographically limited scope of the French PKO explains the relative success of this PKO in terms of resources and level of commitment. A similar level of commitment and resources to the broader goals of securing peace in the entire DRC may have resulted in a different outcome. Instead, the resources and level of commitment were below what was needed to affect positive change in the DRC as whole. The lessons cited in the UN Report are useful for its acknowledgement of the importance of resources for the successful accomplishment of PKO missions.

Initially, MONUSCO faced the same difficulties as MONUC did, despite starting its PKO with significantly more troops. MONUSCO began its PKO with an initial authorization for 19,815 troops which is the same number as MONUC's maximum authorization (UN, 2015). Presently, the number holds steady with a current troop strength of 19,292 as of March 2015 (UN, 2015). However, MONUSCO's resources and capabilities improved considerably after the FIB was established in July 2013. It deployed 3,069 troops into the eastern DRC and is "equipped with attack helicopters, long-range artillery, armored personnel carriers, special forces, snipers, and even drones" (Sheeran and Case, 2014). Its swift success against the M23 rebel group speaks to the importance of a mobile force that is well-equipped and trained over sheer numbers. In this way, the FIB is emulating one of the strengths typically associated with lead state PKOs. And as a result, it is also facing one of the weaknesses that is often linked with lead state PKOs: a concern that the use of these resources for offensive operations or peace enforcement will impact its legitimacy and its ability to carry out other

peacekeeping tasks. This will be discussed in greater detail in the related section regarding the willingness to use force.

Willingness to Use Force

The SADC was certainly able to employ the necessary force to successfully protect Kinshasa from rebels attempting to overthrow Kabila in 1998; however, in the face of so much division within the SADC and despite the retroactive approval by the SADC of the PKO in the DRC, it has been viewed as an intervention by a few states[32] that were "primarily motivated by parochial and business interests" (Berman and Sams, 1998). This affected their legitimacy and their perceived trustworthiness which diminished the likelihood that the rebels would ever rely on them to oversee a peace agreement fairly and bring lasting peace to the region. The failure of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement and the resulting blame game among all of the different belligerents[33] in the aftermath clearly demonstrates how important it is for a PKO to maintain its legitimacy even when the use of force is necessary. One scholar concluded that the "SADC's early intervention…certainly tainted its reputation and credibility in dealing with the DRC" which not only hindered its own success, but prevented it from being a "reliable partner for the UN in the region" (Ancus, 2011:146). In addition, the SADC has been assessed as lacking "logistical as well as command and control capacities" (Berman and Sams, 1998). Even aside from their issues with legitimacy, the SADC was not in a position to defeat the rebels with overwhelming force. They were

[32] Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe.
[33] See the ICG report, "The Agreement on a Cease-Fire in the Democratic Republic of Congo – An Analysis of the Agreement and Prospects for Peace" for a discussion of how each belligerent party blamed the others for their non-compliance (ICG, 1999).

able to protect Kabila in the short term, but it was due to their imminent defeat that Kabila felt pressured into signing the Lusaka Agreement.

The SADC has not contributed much in the intervening years since ending their PKO in 2002. For example, Nathan states, "It would be an exaggeration to say that SADC has completely ignored this crisis and the outbreaks of violence in the DRC in 2008-2010 but it has not devoted anything like the attention required by so severe a catastrophe in a member state" (Nathan, 2012:91). Yet, the states in the region have been generally critical of the UN's performance and in particular, the hesitancy of the UN to use force beyond self-defense. In more recent years, there have been reports of the SADC offering to send peacekeepers to the DRC. Specifically, the SADC suggested setting up an intervention brigade under the condition that it would have a "mandate to engage the rebels rather than simply enforcing peace" (Business Day, 2013). In the end, the UN created its own intervention brigade in 2013, but it is made up of over 3,000 troops from SADC states including Tanzania, South Africa and Malawi (Gberie, 2013).

The purpose of the French-led PKO was to restore security and to improve the humanitarian situation in Bunia and the troops used force to accomplish these goals. "According to accounts, the IEMF[34] used the threat or the use of force in a convincing manner, managing quickly to establish its presence and stabilize the area of its deployment" (UN, 2004:12). During its deployment, the French PKO had a few skirmishes as well as more serious clashes that left 20 militiamen dead. These encounters "left no doubt as to its willingness to use force, not against one party in particular but

[34] An IEMF (Interim Emergency Multinational Force) is a highly trained and well-equipped force, under the lead of a Member State of the UN. The force deployed was actually under the auspices of the European Union (EU) with France as the "framework nation" and main contributor of military personnel (UN, 2004:4).

against any challenges to its authority or threats to the security of the population" (UN, 2004:12-3).

However, although often considered to be a successful operation (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:286; IRIN, 2003b; UN, 2004), The French PKO has also been criticized by several NGOs "for its short duration and limited geographical scope" (Ulriksen, Gourlay and Mace 2004:520). While the operation was able to restore security in the town of Bunia, it did very little for the rest of Ituri. Some analysts argue that they merely relocated the problem, "driving the militiamen out of town, not by disarming them and disbanding their units…The fighters were simply displaced into the surrounding countryside, taking their weapons with them" (Ulriksen, Gourlay and Mace 2004:521). In fact, during the operation's deployment, a number of massacres occurred not far from where the force was on the ground: one assessment counted at least sixteen outside of Bunia between June and August of 2003 (Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:286).

The French PKO has been defended by some on the basis that given "the limited nature of the IEMF, both in scale and in scope, it is perhaps difficult to have expected a wider area of operations" (UN 2004:14). Yet this presents a problem almost by definition: if emergency forces are brought in for pre-specified limited time periods in specific areas, rebel forces merely need to retreat out of their mandated areas of operation and wait them out (UN 2004:14). Nonetheless, Operation Artemis is credited with putting an end to the immediate crisis and providing an opportunity for the UN "to deploy a capable and robust brigade to take over and extend beyond Bunia" (UN, 2004:16). For the record, Ituri hasn't fared much better or worse than the rest of eastern Congo. The situation slowly improved through 2008 with the last militia in the area

turning over its weapons and demobilizing in May 2007 (IRIN, 2007 and 2008a). But by August 2008, "pockets of resistance by militia groups" were still causing tension in the region (IRIN, 2008b). And as was the case throughout the eastern Congo, the situation deteriorated rapidly in 2012 and 2013, leaving thousands displaced in Ituri (IRIN, 2012 and 2013).

The UN has gradually increased the use of force that it has been willing to employ in the DRC. While MONUC's mandate has always included the protection of civilians, it did not have the capacity to actually do it. Adebajo describes UN effectiveness in these terms: "Though the UN's peacekeepers often tried their best under very difficult circumstances and took more robust military action from 2007 onward, for the most part, MONUC observed the decade-long slaughter in the Congo rather than intervened decisively to stop it" (Adebajo, 2011:93). For example, one of the incidents that led to the French PKO in Ituri in 2003, involved hundreds[35] of people attempting to "break into the compound of a lightly armed UN observer mission, which was unable to help them" while "tens of thousands of others fled into the forests" to avoid being massacred by rebels (Steele, 2003). Similarly, in 2008, "100 peacekeepers barricaded themselves in their base on the outskirts of the north-east town of Kiwanja, keeping the gates locked against civilians begging for refuge while rebels massacred at least 150 civilians just a mile away" (Faul, 2010).

As the humanitarian crisis continued to escalate and the UN received increasing criticism for its inaction, it slowly enlarged its PKO. Troop levels have more than tripled from when MONUC was first established in 1999. UN rhetoric placed a higher priority on the protection of civilians and later mandates were a reflection of that priority. After

[35] Some reports say thousands of people. See Roessler and Prendergast, 2006:283.

MONUC was replaced by MONUSCO in 2010 , there was even more emphasis that the new mission had been "authorized to use all necessary means to carry out its mandate," demonstrating its increased commitment to the use force (UN, 2013a). The "intervention brigade" authorized in 2013 and given the responsibility of "neutralizing armed groups" is another indication of their intent (UN, 2013a).

As noted above, the FIB is a much better equipped and trained force. They have proven their willingness to use force – and to do so effectively – when they defeated the M23 rebel group in late 2013. There have been concerns that the FIB has slowed its progress and may not be the silver bullet that some hailed it. However, current MONUSCO Force Commander, Major General Jean Baillaud, reinforced the message of the FIB after a successful mission against a rebel group in January 2015: "We are prepared to fight all armed groups and protect civilians. This military success clearly shows FARDC and MONUSCO's capacities to conduct joint actions and their common determination to neutralize all armed groups," (MONUSCO, 2015).

In sum, both the SADC and, in particular, the French-led operation both effectively used force in the DRC. However, the SADC did not have the capability to use it effectively throughout the whole of the DRC. The French were able to accomplish their goals, but those goals were limited. MONUC struggled with the use of force, despite troop reinforcements and strong mandates empowering it to "neutralize" armed groups. MONUSCO also struggled until the FIB was established in 2013. The FIB has proven its effectiveness, but whether it will prove to be sufficient to bring peace to the DRC as a whole is uncertain.

Consent and Cooperation

One factor that is often stressed as being vital to a PKO is the consent and cooperation of the warring parties (See Durch, 1993 or Adejabo, 2011). Pushkina concludes from her research "the higher the level of warring parties' consent and cooperation with the UN mission, the more likely the UN mission will succeed" (Pushkina, 2006:142).

Consent and cooperation did not vary by type of PKO in the case of the DRC. None of the PKOs were able to obtain consent and cooperation from all of the different parties and in each case an "imposed peace" was necessary. Peace agreements were signed, but never abided. One of the biggest obstacles is the sheer number of parties to the conflict. According to Project Ploughshares (2014), they include:

Government and government-related elements

1. the government of the DRC and the armed forces of the DRC (FARDC)
2. Mai Mai militias – militia fighters formed from Congolese communities to protect themselves, while maintaining local customs. They have fought both in opposition to and alongside the FARDC. According to the Human Rights Watch, they represented 22 different groups with 8,000 to 12,000 combatants in 2009.
3. National Council for the Defense of the People (CNDP) – a Rwandan-backed armed group that seeks to protect and promote the Congolese Tutsi community.
4. Nyatura – made up of deserters from the FARDC that were concerned about marginalization due to the integration of the CNDP into the national army. They have a total of 550-700 mainly Hutu forces.

VERSUS:
Armed rebel factions:

5. March 23 Movement (M23) – formed in April 2012 after former CNDP troops that had signed the March 29 Peace Accord with the government defected because they claimed President Kabila wasn't holding up his end of the bargain.
6. Kata Katanga – the militant wing of a secession movement in the Katanga province.

7. Nationalist and Integrationist Front (FNI) – an armed group established in 2002 in the Ituri province, the FNI protects the interests of the ethnic Lendu group. Uganda supports this group and Ugandan troops helped carry out joint military operations with the FNI.
8. Patriotic Force of Resistance in Ituri (FRPI) – consists of Ngiti militia, known as the Lendu from the south. The FRPI was previously part of the FNI until leadership disputes split the group in 2004.
9. Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD) – the main rebel group that controlled most of the eastern DRC during the five-year civil war.
10. Union of Congolese Patriots (UPC) – an armed group situated in the Ituri province, the UPC protects the interests of the ethnic Hema group.
11. Patriotic Forces for the liberation of the Congo (FPLC) – the military wing of the UPC.
12. People's Armed Forces of Congo (FAPC) – established in 2003 with support of the Ugandan government, this is an armed Ituri group situated in northeastern Congo.
13. Forces des Défenses des Intérets du Peuple Congolais (FDIPC) – a small defence group of armed Hutu youth formed in April 2013 to expel M23 forces from the country.
14. Raia Mutomboki – operates mainly in North and South Kivu, and in Maniema provinces and its main goal is to protect its communities and expel the FDLR.

Foreign Armed Forces:

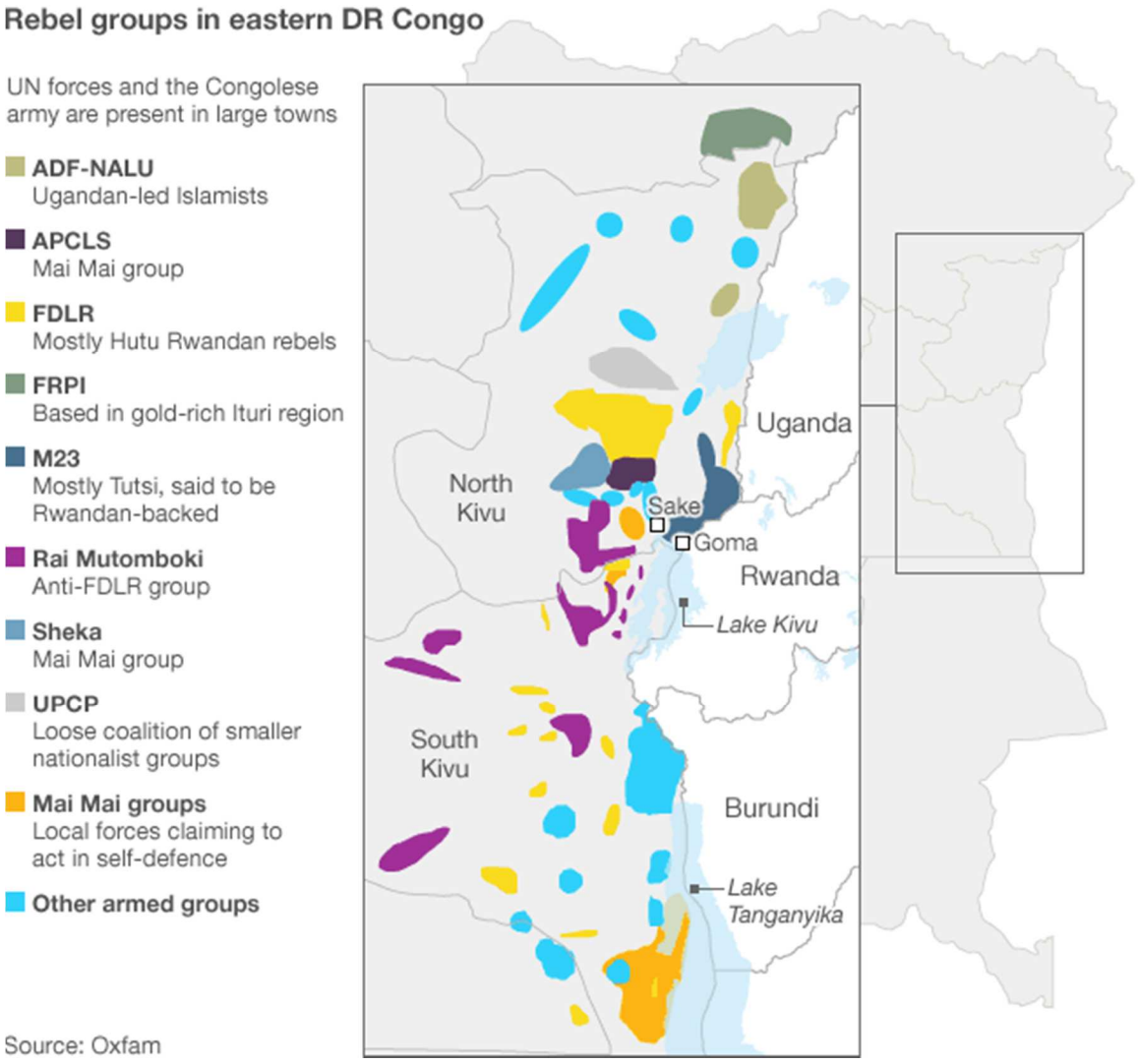
15. Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) – emerged in 2000, with the majority of FDLR rebels coming from refugee camps in eastern Congo. They are composed of Rwandan Hutu, some of whom were active in the 1994 genocide in Rwanda.
16. Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) – founded in Uganda to oppose the Ugandan government, the ADF came to the DRC in the mid-1990s. It is estimated to have between 1200 to 2500 fighters.
17. Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) – a Ugandan rebel group that had fought a guerrilla war against the government in Uganda for decades. LRA operates primarily in eastern DRC.
18. Forces Nationales de Libératoin (FNL) – the FNL has approximately 300 combatants who are recruited from Burundi. It has collaborated with the FDLR and has attacked the DRC government and MONUSCO.

International Actors

19. Government of Rwanda - in 2012, the UN Security Council reported that Rwanda had provided M23 rebels with troop reinforcements, tactical advice and advanced military hardware.
20. MONUSCO, UN PKO established in 2010.

Oxfam published a map in late November 2012 that "was probably out of date almost as soon as it was published," but demonstrates how difficult it would be to achieve any kind of a consensus with such a large number of factions (Doyle, 2012; see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Map of Rebel Groups in the DRC



Typically, the DRC government has resorted to making side agreements with individual states or rebel groups. Peace agreements that were intended to be comprehensive have all

been plagued by holdout groups unwilling to acquiesce. Furthermore, all parties, including the government, have been guilty of violating the agreements. A number of scholars contend that these factions no longer have any interest in peace because exploiting the country's national resources and other economic benefits of war has become too profitable (Dijkzeul 2010); Van Osch and Soeters, 2010; Doyle, 2012). The other big issue that both the government and the UN are having is that because their troops are spread so thin over such a large territory when they move their troops to deal with one uprising, other factions move in, causing further destabilization (Doyle, 2012).

Great Power Involvement

The support of great powers can enhance the chances for a PKO's success. This support can be translated in a number of ways. First, great powers can advocate and lobby for an aggressive mandate in the UN Security Council. Second, great powers can play a more direct role by becoming a lead state involved in a PKO. Finally, great powers can draw attention to an ongoing PKO and apply political pressure for its success. In the case of the DRC, no single great power was a huge advocate of establishing peace. During the SADC's PKO, from 1998 – 2002, both the EU and the US provided humanitarian aid, although at one point the EU revoked it to protest human rights abuses, but that was the extent of their involvement (HRW, 1998-2002).

As pointed out earlier, the mandate authorizing the establishment of MONUC came about with some reservations on the part of the UN Security Council. MONUC was mandated to uphold an agreement that they did not participate in negotiating. Unlike peacekeeping operations in Sierra Leone and the Cote d'Ivoire where the former colonial

powers assumed a strong role in establishing PKOs, the Belgians did not step forward to assume a direct role in mediating peace in the DRC, especially after their recent experience in Rwanda in 1994. Just prior to the Rwandan genocide, several Belgian peacekeepers were killed, which prompted the Belgians to immediately evacuate their remaining forces. In addition, the UN was already dealing with existing missions in Bosnia and Kosovo that demanded significant resources as well as having just recently established the mission in Sierra Leone. Thus, the mandate authorizing MONUC was not particularly strong as no great power took an interest in assuming responsibility.

Durch claims that because the UN Security Council lacked any "strategic or political interest in the conflict" they "developed a peacekeeping strategy that linked the deployment of peacekeepers to the actions of the parties themselves" (Durch, 2006:249). Consequently, officials such as the US Ambassador to the UN, Richard Holbrooke, recommended a phased approach that started with a small observation force. If the "parties demonstrated their commitment to peace, the UN force could expand, reflecting a parallel commitment by the international community" (Holt and Berkman, 2006:159). This incremental approach was not received well by the African leaders of the countries involved in the conflict. Joseph Mutaboba, Rwanda's UN envoy, argued that "5,000 troops was 'a meaningless number' for a country the size of the Congo" (Roessler and Prednergast, 2006: 252). African leaders had hoped for 15,000 to 20,000 UN troops to be deployed immediately and even France argued for 10,000 peacekeepers on the basis that "a comprehensive cease-fire would remain elusive without the presence of UN troops" (Roessler and Prednergast, 2006: 250). In the end, it took 3 years for MONUC to even reach its initial authorized capacity of 5,537 peacekeepers, and much longer to begin to

fulfill its mandate to protect civilians "within its capabilities" from the imminent threat of violence (Roessler and Prednergast, 2006: 230). The Washington Post predicted the result in February, 2000: "the U.N. presence will prove too small to accomplish much in the way of facilitating a peace, but too big to escape the blame when, say, civilians are massacred in the vicinity of blue helmets. The United Nations then would be attacked as ineffectual, when the fair question would be whether the major powers inside the U.N. sought credit for an operation that they were reluctant to support in a meaningful way" (Washington Post, 2000).

It was not until the UN Secretary General specifically asked the French, under EU auspices, to intervene during the Ituri crisis in 2003 that a major power became directly involved. As stated previously, the French intervention was noteworthy for its limited geographical mandate and use of force. "In coming to the assistance of the UN mission, the IEMF [Interim Emergency Multinational Force] proved its effectiveness. But, at the same time, it was only a very short-term expression of international support while MONUC is the long-term commitment of the United Nations and must be made to work" (UN 2004:17). Clearly, the involvement of the French played a critical role in the limited objective of securing the provincial capital town of Bunia and giving MONUC time to send reinforcements and regroup.

During MONUSCO's PKO, a number of diplomats from the EU, the AU and the US all began to express increasing concerns about the dire human rights situation in the DRC. In 2011, the United States deployed 100 special forces personnel to help rid the DRC of one of its most deadly rebel groups, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). The pattern of humanitarian aid being given and revoked continued throughout the conflict.

For example, in 2012, President Obama withheld military financing because of the DRC army's continued recruitment and use of child soldiers (HRW, 2013).

The absence of significant great power involvement except for a short mission by the French in 2003 might explain why instability in the DRC has lingered for over a decade. Although it is encouraging that the P-5 in the UN Security Council has not vetoed resolutions on the DRC, Adebajo points out "while the formal use of the veto by the P-5 has declined, it is still effectively used in the closed-door consultations of the council, which is where the serious business occurs" (Adebajo, 2011: 2).

Conclusion

As a whole, the PKO interventions in DRC are not considered a success. Over a decade and a half after the first PKO intervention in 1998, a Foreign Policy report assessed it as dead last (tied with Niger) on the 2013 Failed State Index. The fighting destroyed what was left of the DRC's infrastructure "after decades of corruption under President Mobutu, and brought the already moribund economy to a standstill" (HRW, 2001). Holt and Berkman lament, "In some sense, the DRC may be in the 'too hard' category for civilian protection—peacekeepers face an environment where consent is partial, governance is limited, spoilers are rife, and the political commitment to peace is low. One UN official aptly called the DRC mission not peacekeeping but 'conflict peacebuilding'"(Holt and Berkman, 2006:156). The DRC certainly constitutes one of the hardest challenges in the world for any PKO, so it is not surprising that three of the four cases failed to bring peace and stability to the whole country and that the remaining PKO is still struggling. Nevertheless, by utilizing the five factors to help explain the level of

effectiveness of each of the cases, I extrapolated data that substantiates my overall findings (see Table 6 below).

For instance, while according to Pushkina's criteria, none of the PKOs could be labeled a success, the French PKO in 2003 demonstrated what could be achieved when a PKO was willing to use force and had adequate resources and capabilities. In this case, the resolve of the French PKO and their military presence helped to secure Bunia while saving thousands of lives in an urgent situation until the UN could provide a replacement force. However, its achievement was so constrained that while demonstrating how success could potentially be attained, it did not alter the DRC's general situation. If the operation had been expanded geographically and temporally, there would likely have been the promise of greater success. Nevertheless, it reveals that the combination of the willingness to use force supported by sufficient resources and capabilities that is particularly associated with lead states often results in success.

In the case of MONUSCO, it suffered from the same deficiencies as MONUC, its predecessor, including insufficient resources and capabilities and an unwillingness to use force. Unlike the case in Sierra Leone, which will be discussed in the following chapter, there was no great power involvement to augment its mission, other than the brief – and geographically limited – French operation. However, this began to change when the UN Security Council authorized the creation of the FIB, a robust force that was well equipped. The FIB was established for the specific purpose of conducting offensive operations against rebel groups in the eastern DRC where it was continuing to be "plagued by recurrent waves of conflict, chronic humanitarian crises and serious human rights violations, including sexual and gender-based violence" (UN, 2013a). This is a

very interesting development because it represents a first for the UN and it has resulted in a lot of backlash regarding how such a brigade will affect their legitimacy. In lieu of a great power being willing to step in and assist their PKO by providing the force in the DRC, it also represents a move toward attempting to emulate lead state PKOs and the combination of willingness to use force backed by suitable resources and capabilities that has proven successful for them. It is not yet clear if the FIB will be the silver bullet for MONUSCO, but the fact that this weakness of the UN PKO was addressed offers some hope.

Ultimately, I want to explain why the type of PKO matters and the five factors were used to discern important differences among the types of PKOs and to highlight modifications that could have produced more positive outcomes (see Table 6 below). In the following chapter, I turn to Sierra Leone, a case with many similar variables, but where two of the PKOs achieved a successful outcome.

Table 6: A Comparison of PKOs in the DRC in Five Key Categories

Factors:	Regional Organization: SADC (August 1998-2002)	UN: MONUC (November 1999-2010)	Lead State: France (June- Sept 2003)	UN: MONUSCO (2010 – present)
Mandate	HIGH Fulfilled mandate in terms of defending Kabila's leadership.	LOW - MODERATE Made some progress in executing its mandate, (elections and peace in majority of the country) but general ineffectiveness protecting civilians	HIGH Fulfilled mandate, but it was a very narrow mandate so critics claimed it was of limited usefulness	MODERATE Has made some progress, but still criticized for not protecting civilians sufficiently
Resources and Capabilities	LOW Responded in timely manner and effectively "thwarted the initial rebel advance on Kinshasa," but overall inadequate logistical, command and control capacities	LOW Hampered by insufficient resources – lack of equipment, delayed deployments and too few troops – only 5,537 initially, but up to 19,815 by 2008	HIGH Responded immediately with 1000 troops which included special forces, excellent intelligence capabilities, and air assets for surveillance and reconnaissance	MODERATE - HIGH Initial authorization for 19,815 troops; after FIB was established in 2013 with 3,069 troops, equipped with attack helicopters, long-range artillery, armored personnel carriers, special forces, snipers, and even drones
Willingness to Use Force	HIGH But lacked legitimacy and capability to use it throughout the DRC	LOW Technically permitted according to mandate, but not actually employed effectively – observed more than intervened	HIGH Used force or the threat of it in a convincing manner, managing quickly to establish its presence and stabilize the area of its deployment"	MODERATE – HIGH The FIB has demonstrated willingness, but other MONUSCO troops have continued to hold back
Consent and Cooperation	LOW Due to large number of factions	LOW	LOW	LOW
Great Power Involvement	LOW	LOW	HIGH	LOW

CHAPTER 4

PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN SIERRA LEONE

The conflict in Sierra Leone and the ensuing peacekeeping missions that took place there between 1997 and 2005 simultaneously bring to mind some of the greatest setbacks and failures associated with peacekeeping as well as one of its greatest success stories. The first of four PKOs in Sierra Leone was led by a regional organization, ECOWAS, from 1997 – 2000. It has been credited with "holding back rebel advances in several places, including [the capital] Freetown, and was a credible and feared military force" (UNPBPU, 2003:13). However, the regional organization was unable to bring peace to the country as a whole. ECOWAS was briefly joined by a UN observer mission, UNOMSIL, between 1998 and 1999 until it became necessary to evacuate all UN personnel due to increased fighting. UNAMSIL, a much larger mission, took over for UNOMSIL in 1999 and successfully completed it's PKO in 2005. However, UNAMSIL was also assisted by a lead state PKO, which was run by the UK from 2000 – 20002. By the time the last PKO in Sierra Leone, UNAMSIL, was drawing to a close in 2005, the UN viewed it as "a model for successful peacekeeping, as well as a prototype for the UN's new emphasis on peacebuilding" (UN, 2005. See also Van de Walle, 2008,). Similarly, the UK's lead state operation is considered "a successful example of how relatively small numbers of well-trained troops can play a decisive role in bringing a longstanding war to an end" (Williams, 2010:768).

After applying Pushkina's criteria for success, two of the PKOs were found to be successful: UNAMISIL and the UK. When analyzing the PKOs in the context of the five

categories for explaining PKO success, I found that the willingness to use force combined with a high level of resources and capabilities was a particularly effective combination. In the case of ECOMOG and UNOMSIL, this combination was lacking. Initially, UNAMSIL was not very successful in lessening conflict-related deaths or human suffering; however, when the UK intervened providing muscle along with a credible threat to use force, the UNAMSIL benefitted as well. One of the major findings from this study was the positive effects to be gained from a UN PKO that worked in conjunction with a lead state PKO.

For this chapter, I will follow the same outline for these case studies as with the previous case studies in the DRC. I will begin by providing a brief background on the conflict. Second, I will apply Pushkina's criteria to each of the respective PKOs in Sierra Leone and determine their level of success. And lastly, I will use the five factors that have been identified as contributing to a successful PKO outcome to explain why the UN and the lead state were the most effective PKOs in Sierra Leone.

Background

Sierra Leone is a small country on the coast of West Africa, bordered by Guinea and Liberia. It currently has a population of less than six million.[36] The capital city, Freetown, was originally established as a settlement for freed slaves in 1787. These included the "Black Poor" living in London and the "Black Loyalists" who had agreed to serve on the side of the British during the American War of Independence in exchange for freedom, also known as the "Nova Scotian Settlers" because they had been evacuated

[36] As of July 2014 according to the World Factbook: Sierra Leone, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/sl.html

to Nova Scotia, Canada prior to migrating to Sierra Leone. While the abolitionists who had convinced the British government to help repatriate the freed slaves intended for it to be a self-governing state with a constitution, a number of difficulties, especially those relating to security, convinced the British to declare Freetown a Crown Colony in 1808 (Gberie, 2005:18). Sierra Leone declared independence in 1961.

Some have portrayed "the era immediately before and after Sierra Leone's independence as one of near-idyllic peace and prosperity," but this is misleading and ignores the protests and riots directed against government corruption at various levels during those time periods (Gberie, 2005:20). Corruption was a particularly endemic issue under Siaka Stevens. Stevens was elected in 1967 as prime minister and after a series of coups and countercoups, he ultimately retained control of Sierra Leone. Subsequent elections were "marked by violence and vote rigging" (Gberie, 2005:28). The corruption was not limited to consolidating his power, but also included personal gain. Eventually, Stevens established a one-party state in Sierra Leone, effectively making all opposition illegal and declaring himself president-for-life in 1978.

Diamonds had been discovered in Sierra Leone in the 1930s. They dominated the economy very quickly and accounted for three-fifths of the country's export earnings by the time of independence (Gberie, 2005:23). Gberie states that Sierra Leone's "wholly extractive" economy was "virtually condemned to 'underdevelopment'" and worse, "a parasitic local comprador class that would be even more mercenary and exploitative than the colonial state it replaced" was created (Gberie, 2005:23). Gberie points to Siaka Stevens as the "embodiment of this class" and makes the case that he "criminalised and destroyed" Sierra Leone's economy (Gberie, 2005:23 and 32).

Stevens handed over the presidency to his army commander, Major-General Joseph Momoh in 1985. The "tradition of acute political corruption"[37] continued under President Momoh and this corruption combined with "extreme poverty resulting from decades of economic underdevelopment and mismanagement"[38] as well as a large population of unemployed and uneducated youths[39] all merged to create a hostile environment that was ripe for civil war. However, while conditions within the country may have made Sierra Leone disposed to civil war, the regional context is essential for understanding how the match that ignited it – and kept it burning – was lit.

In 1989, in neighboring Liberia, Charles Taylor led the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) in an attempt to overthrow Liberia's president, Samuel Doe. At that time, Taylor had requested that President Momoh allow the NPFL to use Sierra Leone as base of operations for his insurgency, which Momoh refused (Gberie, 2005:54). Later, President Momoh further provoked Taylor when he sent Sierra Leonean troops to participate in ECOMOG's peacekeeping operation in Liberia and allowed them to use Sierra Leone as a base. Taylor retaliated by providing support to the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), a Sierra Leonean rebel group, led by Foday Sankoh (Olonisakin, 2008:12). Thus, it was the indispensible assistance that Taylor and the NPFL provided to the RUF that enabled the RUF to begin their incursion into Sierra Leone in March of 1991.

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[37] Olonisakin, 2008:11.

[38] Berman and Labonte, 2006:141.

[39] A number of scholars point to the rampant corruption and mismanagement in Sierra Leone since shortly after it became independent and the resulting economic failure in addition to the destruction of the educational system which left hundreds of thousands of young people without access to basic education (Olonisakin, 11-12. Also see Gberie, 2005). This "generation of uneducated and unemployed but functional illiterates" left to roam the streets became a "formidable social class with the potential for mobilization against the state, forming a ready pool of recruits available to the highest bidder" (Olonisakin, 2008:12).

Sankoh was a former corporal in the Sierra Leone Army (SLA) who had received a dishonorable discharge after a coup attempt against Siaka Stevens in 1971 (Olonisakin, 2008:12). Gberie goes out of his way to dismiss these rebel "credentials" by pointing out that Sankoh joined the army at a time when it was a highly disregarded institution that attracted uneducated individuals who couldn't get any other job, and yet despite that, after almost twenty years in the army, Sankoh had only managed to achieve the rank of corporal (Gberie, 2005). In Gberie's opinion, Sankoh was an unimpressive leader who likely only received Taylor's support because he was convenient and easy to manipulate, furthering Taylor's ambitions to control West Africa as well as providing Taylor with access to Sierra Leone's diamonds (Gberie, 2005).

Both Sankoh and the RUF as an organization, have been criticized for simplistic aims. For example, according to Abdullah:

> The RUF has defied all available typologies on guerilla movements. It is neither a separatist uprising rooted in a specific demand, as in the case of Eritrea, nor a reformist movement with a radical agenda superior to the regime it sought to overthrow. Nor does it possess the kind of leadership that would be necessary to designate it as warlord insurgency. The RUF has made history; it is a peculiar guerilla movement without any significant national following or ethnic support. Perhaps because of its lumpen social base and its lack of an emancipatory programme to garner support from other social groups, it has remained a bandit organization solely driven by the survivalist needs of its predominantly uneducated and alienated battle front and battle group commanders. Neither the peasantry, the natural ally of most revolutionary movements, nor the students, amongst whose ranks the RUF-to-be originated, lent any support to the organization during its…years of fighting (Abdullah, 1998:223).

In 1992, President Momoh was ousted in a military coup by the junior Sierra Leone Army (SLA) officers led by Captain Valentine Strasser on the grounds that Momoh's government had failed to quash the RUF rebellion (Olonisakin, 2008:14). Disputes over political strategy led to another coup and Strasser was replaced by his

deputy, Brigadier-General Julius Maada Bio in January 1996. An election had already been scheduled for February 1996 and it proceeded as planned despite Bio's preference to postpone it and Ahmad Tejan Kabbah of the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) was elected President. There was close to 70% voter turnout[40] for the presidential election in spite of the deliberate action the rebels took to prevent it, "carrying out a campaign of terror from its bases in the countryside that involved the murder and torture of innocent civilians – toddlers, youths, and adults alike" (Olonisakin, 2008:17).

The civil war in Sierra Leone became widely known for the atrocities committed by all the parties, but is particularly associated with the RUF's practice of terrorizing civilians by amputating their limbs. The extensive use of child soldiers also garnered international attention as did the term "blood diamonds" which was used to describe diamonds that are mined in a war zone and then sold to fund armed conflict and civil war (AI, 2015).

Three different types of PKOs attempted to bring peace to Sierra Leone: the regional PKO, ECOWAS, (ECOMOG) from 1997-2000; the UN's two peacekeeping operations, UNOMSIL, 1998-1999 and UNAMSIL, 1999-2005; and a lead state, the UK, from 2000-2002. The war was officially declared over and disarmament completed by President Kabbah on January 18, 2002. In May 2002, elections were held that international observers deemed to be "as free and fair as possible given the circumstances" and Kabbah was re-elected, winning more than 70% of the vote (Olonisakin, 2008:112-3).

[40] International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, "Voter Turnout Data for Sierra Leone," Last updated October 5, 2011. http://www.idea.int/vt/countryview.cfm?CountryCode=SL

Measuring Peacekeeping Success in Sierra Leone

For my case studies, I use four criteria for determining if a PKO has been successful. These have been taken from Pushkina's research which classifies peacekeeping missions as successes or failures based on "not only the fulfillment of a mission's mandate but also its contribution to the broader goals of limiting violence, reducing human suffering, containing the conflict, and promoting conflict resolution. (Pushkina, 2006: 145).

Criterion #1: Was Violent Conflict in Sierra Leone Limited by the PKO?

The first of four criteria advanced by Pushkina to judge whether a PKO is considered successful is if violent conflict in the host state was limited; she also labels this objective as the primary goal of peacekeeping (Pushkina, 2006:134). She operationalizes it by incorporating a number of related elements including "whether a mission succeeded in curbing large-scale violence, sustaining ceasefire agreements, reducing the number of conflict-related casualties and supervising demobilization, and by assessing the progress of disarmament" (Pushkina, 2006: 134).

Curbing Large-Scale Violence and Reducing the Number of Conflict-Related Casualties

The conflict in Sierra Leone was plagued by widespread violence. Overall, Project Ploughshares estimates that the total number of deaths during the conflict range from 20,000 to over 50,000 (Project Ploughshares, 2002). It is a large range, but it speaks to how difficult it is to obtain exact figures[41] and is representative of the varied

[41] The following excerpt from an Amnesty International report describing the destruction of entire villages and mass burials helps to illustrate the difficulty of obtaining precise totals: "Although the exact number of

numbers found in the literature. For example, Gberie states that over 50,000 died in the conflict (Gberie, 2013:6). A report by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) acknowledges that there are no accurate statistics, but states that conservative estimates suggest 70,000 casualties (UNDP, 2006:6). Other sources are intentionally vague and note that the conflict resulted in "tens of thousands of deaths" between 1991 and 2002 (Human Rights Watch, 2012 or also see CIA World Factbook, 2014).

It is important to note that in addition to the deaths that are attributed to the conflict, there was also a high level of violent behavior aimed at controlling the civilian population through fear in Sierra Leone during that time period. A tactic that was mostly employed by the rebels, but also by government forces left approximately 30,000 civilians, including children, with limbs hacked off (Project Ploughshares, 2002). Furthermore, an estimated 215,000 to 257,000 women were victims of sexual violence during the civil war (Project Ploughshares, 2002). This will be discussed in more detail in the following section that focuses on whether human suffering was reduced during the PKO.

In any case, it is clear that ECOWAS (1997-2000) and even more certainly, UNOMSIL (1998-1999) were unable to curb large-scale violence and it actually increased during their PKOs (World Bank, 2015 and Ploughshares, 2002). The first year of UNAMSIL's PKO in 1999 (1999-2005) began with the highest recorded number of conflict deaths, however after the UK joined them in 2000, the violence significantly

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those killed is unknown, it is likely to be several thousand. Most survivors of attacks described hundreds of bodies lying in the bush where they had fled and of several members of their families and communities being killed. More than 200 people were killed during an attack on one village, Yifin, in Koinadugu District, in late April 1998. More than 650 bodies, many of them women and children, were reported to have been buried following fighting in the area around Koidu in mid-June 1998" (AI, 1998).

decreased through 2002 when the UK left (World Bank, 2015 and Ploughshares, 2002). Between 2002 and 2005, UNAMSIL began withdrawing by reducing its troop strength and preparing to exit once it met a number of benchmarks that included building the capacity of the police and army, the reintegration of former combatants, the consolidation of state authority throughout the country, and the restoration of effective government control over diamond mining (Olinisakin, 2008:123). This is another instance when the role of the UK "was vital for the drawdown phase" as they provided training and technical assistance to the military, police and other security agencies (Olinisakin, 2008:124). By 2003, "there was every indication that the armed conflict had entirely stopped" (Olinisakin, 2008:123).

Table 7: Number of Estimated Conflict-Related Deaths in Sierra Leone by Year

PKO:	Year:	Number of conflict-related deaths:
	1995	(1,472)
	1996	(570)
ECOMOG 1997-2000	1997	(747)
UNOMSIL 1998	1998	>1,300, mostly civilians (2,901)
UNAMSIL 1999-2005	1999	>5,000, mostly civilians (2,644)
UK 2000-2002	2000	Thousands, mostly civilians (382)
	2001	>50 (50)
	2002	None reported
	2003	None reported

Source: Project Ploughshares, September, 2002, based on reports from Reuters, BBC News, and IRIN. Source for numbers in brackets, World Bank Data: Battle-Related Deaths (Number of People), 2015.

Sustaining Ceasefire Agreements

Cease-fire agreements in Sierra Leone were notoriously disregarded by all of the parties involved in the conflict, but particularly the rebels. Overall, there were six peace agreements: the Abidjan Peace Agreement signed in 1996, the Conakry Peace Plan of 1997, a ceasefire agreement signed in 1999, the Lomé peace agreement also of 1999,

another ceasefire agreement signed in Abuja in 2000 after violence had re-erupted and another "Communiqué on the Cessation of Hostilities" signed in 2001. It wasn't until the UK PKO intervened and the Abuja Agreement in 2000 that real progress toward peace began.

According to Solomon E. Berewa, Vice-President of Sierra Leone from 2002-2007, rather than indicating a genuine interest in peace, these peace agreements are best viewed as a tactic or strategy used by the AFRC/RUF junta to provide itself with an "opportunity to regroup, rearm and consolidate its position" (Berewa, 2011:125). The International Crisis Group asserts the same claim in no uncertain terms:

> ICG believes the international community needs to take a radically different approach to that in which it has engaged so far. There should be no further negotiations with the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) other than for its complete disarmament and demobilisation. The RUF has blatantly used negotiations for the purpose of rearming. It has consistently shown bad faith in the string of agreements it has signed in Abidjan, Conakry, Lomé and Abuja. The RUF has no meaningful political constituency. Its main backer is Charles Taylor, the president of Liberia, who uses it as a proxy army to pursue his drive for regional hegemony: not for nothing is Taylor known widely as the Milosevic of West Africa. And, of course, the RUF has committed heinous atrocities qualifying as war crimes (ICG, 2001).

Similarly, Olonisakin links the rebels' willingness to abide by the peace agreements to the rebels' calculations regarding how strong their opponents were at any given time. If the rebels saw weakness, they were going to capitalize on it. If the rebels felt weak, they were more likely to agree to terms for peace while they still believed that they had some leverage. Likewise, Olonisakin also points out that Kabbah and the government were motivated by their need for "significant help to pacify Sierra Leone," particularly because they had "essentially no presence or authority" anywhere in the country outside of Freetown (Olonisakin, 2008:37).

The government under Kabbah and the RUF signed the Abidjan Agreement on November 30, 1996. It was negotiated by "key individuals" from Cote d'Iviore, the OAU, and ECOWAS, but ECOWAS as an organization was not "directly involved" in the negotiations (Berman and Labonte, 2006:146). At that time, the RUF had been put on the defensive by the success of Executive Outcomes, a mercenary firm engaged by Strasser in 1995. Consequently, Sankoh insisted that the Abidjan Agreement require all foreign mercenary groups to leave the country and this was agreed to by the government. The RUF was then able to regroup and rearm, which was what many suspected was Sankoh's "main objective all along" (Olonisakin, 2008:21). Amnesty reported that less than a week after the Abidjan Agreement was signed, more than 150 civilians were "brutally mutilated and killed" (Amnesty, 1996):

> Days after the peace accord was signed, the villages of Kubehuna and Magbenka, in Tonkolili District, Northern Province, were attacked by armed men. The villagers, forced to flee their villages because of the conflict, had begun to return to their homes. According to eye-witnesses, the attackers entered the villages and began firing at civilians or attacking them with machetes. Some villagers – mostly women and children – died after being forced to enter a house which was then set alight. Other victims had arms and legs cut off (Amnesty, 1996).

Prior to leaving Sierra Leone, Executive Outcomes was aware of an impending coup and had warned the government. However, the government yielded to pressure from the international community as well as financial pressures and terminated their contract with Executive Outcomes anyway. Within a few months of Executive Outcomes' departure, President Kabbah was overthrown by Major Johnny Paul Koroma, head of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) in May of 1997. Koroma then invited the RUF, the very forces the government had previously been fighting, to join the AFRC.

Following the May 1997 coup d'état, there had been "near-universal support for President Kabbah" – including statements from the OAU and the UN as well as ECOWAS and UN sanctions (Berman and Labonte, 2006:148). Additionally, the coup prompted the first PKO when Nigerian-led forces attempted to reverse it in June 1997. Nigeria tried to pass off its initial unilateral response as an ECOMOG operation, but ECOWAS did not technically approve the PKO until August 1997. In any case, the ECOMOG PKO and the "wide array of sanctions" led to Koroma signing the Conakry Agreement in October 1997, which stipulated that President Kabbah was to be reinstated by April 1998 and that the ceasefire would be monitored by ECOMOG and UNOMSIL (Berman and Labonte, 2006:149). In keeping with the pattern, Koroma soon reneged and began talking of a "longer transition to democracy" which has been attributed to him having lost his influence on the "hardliners in his coalition" (Berman and Labonte, 2006:149).

In February 1998, when Koroma refused to implement the Conakry peace agreement, Nigerian-led ECOMOG peacekeepers "took advantage of what it called an 'unprovoked attack' to launch an offensive on Freetown," recapture the capital and reinstate President Kabbah (Olonisakin, 2008:23). By July 1998, the second PKO, UNOMSIL, was established with an authorized strength of 70 military observers. The purpose of unarmed UNOMSIL teams under the protection of ECOMOG, was to document "reports of on-going atrocities and human rights abuses committed against civilians" (UN, 2000). This established a UN presence in order to provide international support and quell the international outcry over the human rights abuses taking place in

Sierra Leone. It was hoped that the tokenism of UNOMSIL would satisfy international public opinion while keeping the costs of the mission low (Olonisakin, 2008:25).

However, by the following year, in January of 1999, AFRC/RUF forces invaded Freetown once again and overpowered ECOMOG peacekeepers. UNOMSIL personnel were all evacuated. ECOMOG regained control of Freetown by the end of the month, but this attack had led to some of the most bitter fighting of the war, killing 5,000 in just a few weeks. In an effort to finally bring an end to the killing and pressured by the international community, President Kabbah agreed to sign the Lomè Peace Agreement in July of 1999. It was negotiated by a committee of representatives from the OAU, the UN, ECOWAS and the Commonwealth of Nations (Olonisakin, 2008:35). Given the pressure on the government to come to an agreement, the terms of the Lomé Peace Agreement were favorable to the rebels despite Kabbah's attempts to retain some leverage by strengthening ECOMOG to counter rebel threats (Olonisakin, 2008:35). For example, it gave the rebels amnesty for any war crimes that had been committed and even the leader of the RUF, Foday Sankoh, who had received a death sentence for treason was granted a pardon. It also permitted the RUF to be transformed into a political party and in a power-sharing arrangement with the government, some of the rebel leaders were given government posts. Initially, the AFRC was not included in either the negotiations or the final Lomé Agreement, which resulted in continued fighting until they were eventually brought into the power-sharing arrangement in October.

Originally, the Lomé Agreement was supposed to be monitored by both ECOMOG and the UN in a combined effort. UNAMSIL was established for this purpose in October 1999 and replaced UNOMSIL. It included 6,000 troops and had a much

broader mandate. However, once it became clear that the UN was willing to expand their role in Sierra Leone, ECOWAS took the opportunity to withdraw. The biggest reason for this was because ECOWAS had relied almost entirely on Nigeria to both provide troops and finance the mission (Berman and Labonte, 2006:151). When Nigeria's military dictator, General Sani Abacha, suddenly died in June 1998 and was replaced by an interim military government under Abdusalam Abubakar, the resulting domestic instability in Nigeria made Sierra Leone much less of a priority (Olonisakin, 2008:30-1). In May 1999, Olusegun Obasanjo was elected President of Nigeria and Obasanjo informed the UN in December 1999 that due to domestic and financial pressures, he would be withdrawing Nigerian troops (Olonisakin, 2008:44). The loss of Nigerian support effectively brought an end to the ECOMOG PKO.

At this point, the UN had committed to Sierra Leone and had already begun its first troop deployments the previous month in November 1999. ECOMOG completed its withdrawal allowing UNAMSIL to fully take over in April of 2000. ECOMOG had barely left, having concluded its withdrawal on May 2, 2000, when UN troops began to be taken hostage. By the end of the first week of May, almost 500 UNAMSIL peacekeepers had been abducted (Olonisakin, 2008:57). UNAMSIL was clearly not prepared to deal with the rebels if they chose not to abide by the peace agreement – particularly when it came to troop strength and confusion regarding the mandate. In retrospect, the UN hostage crisis can be traced back to two assumptions that "proved disastrously wrong" – first, that the rebels would actually abide by the Lomé Agreement despite all past evidence to the contrary and second, that the UN force could cope with ECOMOG's withdrawal on their own (Olonisakin, 2008:61). As mentioned above, in the

beginning only 6,000 UN troops replaced the 13,000 ECOMOG force – a force that had proven unable to secure peace. This was increased to 11,100 in February 2000, but it took several months for the full number to be deployed (Olonisakin, 2008:46 and 62). Howard contends that UN "dysfunction inspired both sides to renege on commitments made in the peace accords" (Howard, 2008:304).

Prompted by the abduction of UN peacekeepers and as a result of having troops in Freetown for an evacuation mission, the British assumed an enforcement role aiding the UN PKO in May 2000: "London did not believe that a Nigerian-led ECOMOG could restore peace and instead promoted a UN peacekeeping force for Sierra Leone. When UN peacekeepers ran into trouble, London responded militarily within days with a noncombatant evacuation operation, Operation Palliser, which quickly developed into a separate, if short-term, peace operation working alongside UNAMSIL (Berman and Labonte, 2006:163). Even after Operation Palliser ended in mid-June 2000, residual British forces remained behind to provide further training and assistance.

The presence of British troops facilitated a critical juncture in peace talks that led to the final peace agreement signed in Abuja on November 10, 2000.[42] According to the International Crisis Group, "the UK intervention became the key factor in altering the military balance in favour of the government and encouraging the RUF to sign a ceasefire agreement in Abuja in November 2000" (ICG 2001). The fact that the British "maintained an offshore presence and conducted frequent, highly visible military patrols in Freetown" was a less than subtle reminder that the British were willing to use force (Berman and Labonte, 2006:181).

[42] Another document was also signed in Abuja on May 2, 2001, but its purpose was for the RUF to renew its commitment to the peace plan with an updated timetable for disarmament.

Thus, the only time a cease-fire agreement was sustained and eventually led to the war being officially declared over in January 2002 was when the British gave credibility to the possibility that a mandate to use force would actually be used. As ECOMOG General Khobe observed based on his experience in the Liberian Civil War, "Rebels will ever be rebels. Even though they sign documents one hundred times, they can always renege on such accords" (Olonisakin, 2006:46). This was the very pattern the rebels in Sierra Leone followed as well: peace agreements were signed when the chips were down, but as soon as the rebels' tactical position appeared to improve, they quickly reneged.

Overall on the question of sustaining cease-fire agreements, ECOMOG proved unable to sustain the show of force necessary allowing the collapse of both the Conakry Peace Plan of 1997 and the Lomé Agreement of 1999. The presence of UNOMSIL did not have a stabilizing effect nor did it deter the rebels as evidenced by the fact that it had all of its personnel evacuated in January 1999 when fierce fighting resumed. UNAMSIL, in conjunction with ECOMOG, was also unable to prevent the breakdown of the Lomé Agreement of 1999. While UNAMSIL was present and working with the lead state PKO for the final peace agreement signed in Abuja in 2000 which allowed UN troops to "deploy peacefully in rebel-held territory for the first time" in March 2001 and for disarmament to begin in May 2001, ultimately leading to the end of the war in January 2002, the evidence does not point to UNAMSIL's efforts alone resulting in the divergent outcome (BBC, 2015).

Rather, it was the UK that provided the only thing different that led to a sustained peace agreement. The UN and the UK had been at odds because the UN wanted to continue emphasizing diplomatic solutions while the UK believed that the use of force

was the only way to bring the rebels under control (Olonisakin, 2008:66 and 100). UNAMSIL already had the opportunity to rely on diplomacy when they were taking over from ECOMOG and attempting to monitor the Lomé Agreement in 1999. In that situation, ECOMOG was withdrawing and UNAMSIL had minimal capacity for force. The result was a broken peace agreement and 500 UN peacekeepers taken hostage. In contrast, when UNAMSIL pursued diplomatic solutions backed by the UK's credible use of force, the Abuja Peace Agreement was sustained and led to the end of the war.

Demobilization and Progress of Disarmament

As would be expected, disarmament followed the same pattern as sustained peace agreements. Prior to the updated plan for disarmament also signed in Abuja in May 2001, timetables for disarmaments outlined in previous peace agreements were met with resistance and never followed through. Indeed, the primary focus of the UN operation was "the disarmament of more than 70,000 fighters on both sides of the conflict (the RUF and the government-supported Civil Defense Force, also known as Kamajors), which was largely accomplished by 2002, and completed in early 2004" (Howard, 2008:305).

In sum, on the question of whether any of the PKOs were able to limit violent conflict in Sierra Leone, it is clear that in terms of curbing large-scale violence, sustaining ceasefire agreements, reducing the number of conflict-related casualties, demobilization and disarmament, UNAMSIL in conjunction with the lead state UK intervention were the two most effective PKOs.

Criterion #2: Was Human Suffering Reduced?

Pushkina's second criterion is the reduction of human suffering.[43] She notes that this is another primary goal of PKOs and that it is determined by "estimating the extent of any reduction in human rights abuses and the mission's success in resettling refugees" (Pushkina, 2006:134).

Human Rights Abuses

The conflict in Sierra Leone was "characterized by extreme brutality and widespread human rights abuses against civilians" (HRW, 2012). The AFRC and the RUF were responsible for the majority of the abuse, but serious violations were also committed by the government, through the Sierra Leone Army (SLA) and the Civilian Defense Forces (CDF). The abuse most commonly associated with the civil war includes limb amputation, sexual violence and the use of child soldiers. The other defining feature of the war was that civilians were intentionally targeted in what became a "campaign of violence" (AI, 1996). The rebels spread terror among civilians by leaving people "as living, limbless symbols of its savage power. The campaign worked." (Onishi, 1999). One double amputee who lost both his arms recalls being told by the rebels that now he would never be able to use his hands to vote for Tejan Kabbah again (Onishi, 1999).[44]

In 1998, under ECOMOG and UNOMSIL's watch in Sierra Leone, the number of victims in this campaign increased significantly as a result of the AFRC/RUF losing

[43] Also see Johansen, 1998 and Bures, 2007.

[44] Olonisakin notes that the RUF "became notorious for its practice of mutilating and amputating limbs, without discrimination" just prior to the election in February 1996 (Olonisakin, 2008:18). He further explains that the "massive amputations of arms and hands were cruelly symbolic, in that they were meant to sabotage the election process by rendering civilians physically incapable of voting. The campaign slogan of SLPP leader Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, which urged Sierra Leoneans to give their 'hands' for peace, acquired a particularly gruesome double meaning" (Olonisakin, 2008:18).

political power (AI, 1998). In their attempt to regain power and to either punish civilians for their perceived cooperation with the government or to terrorize civilians in an effort to eliminate any future cooperation with the government, the rebels raped, deliberately mutilated, or killed several thousand civilians including children in 1998 alone. (AI, 1998 and HRW, 1999a).

In January 1999, rebel forces gave the name, "Operation No Living Thing" to their attack on the capital, Freetown. Again, this was under the watch of ECOMOG and was what triggered the evacuation of UNOMSIL personnel. It "marked the most intensive and concentrated period of human rights violations in Sierra Leone's eight-year civil war" (HRW, 2000). Estimates for the number of people killed during the January offensive alone ranged from 5,000 (BBC, 2015 and Olonisakin, 2008:33) to over 7,000, at least half of which were civilians (HRW, 1999b). In addition, more than 3,000 children and 570 adults were reported missing (HRW, 1999a). Some estimates place the number of missing children closer to 4,800 (Berman and Labonte, 2006:189). The AFRC/RUF used the mostly women and children they abducted for combatants, forced laborers in diamond mines or in camp, or sexual slaves (HRW, 1999a or Berman and Labonte, 2006:189). Overall, between 7,000 and 10,000 child soldiers fought in Sierra Leone (Berman and Labonte, 2006:188).

However, the rebels were not the only groups abusing human rights. The CDF was also responsible for human rights abuse, "including indiscriminate killings and torture, but on a significantly smaller scale than those carried out by the AFRC/RUF" (HRW, 1999a). Children were recruited as combatants by the CDF as well (HRW, 2000). President Kabbah created the CDF in 1998 formally combining the Kamajors and

other civil militias under the leadership of Chief Sam Hinga Norman, the deputy minister of defense (Olonisakin, 2008:24). The Kamajors, "the largest and most powerful" of the militia groups were "responsible for the majority of abuses committed by those fighting on behalf of the Kabbah government" and in addition to killings and torture, were particularly known for looting, extorting money or other payment at roadblocks and obstructing humanitarian assistance (HRW, 1999a and 2000).

ECOMOG was not only unable to keep these atrocities from happening, they were, in fact, guilty of committing human rights abuses themselves. The abuse was the most prevalent during the January 1999 offensive when ECOMOG and the CDF retaliated and "routinely executed RUF prisoners and their suspected collaborators or sympathizers. There were at least 180 such executions" (HRW, 2000). ECOMOG was also criticized for their use of air strikes and cluster bombs against rebel forces in civilian areas without regard for the lives of those civilians (Amnesty, 1998 and Olonisakin, 2008:34). However, it is noteworthy that "there was sympathy for such tactics in some quarters of the population and government, and even in UN circles the behavior of ECOMOG and the CDF was largely blamed on RUF provocation" (Olonisakin, 2008:34).

As mentioned previously, UNOMSIL was present in Sierra Leone when the rebels overran Freetown in January 1999. However, they were not much assistance during this period either: UNOMSIL only had an authorized strength of 70 military observers who were almost all evacuated (UN.org and Olonisakin, 2008:33).

UNAMSIL was plagued by scandal due to the human rights abuses they perpetrated as well. It was reported in 2002 that some UN peacekeepers (along with other aid workers) used "the very humanitarian aid and services intended to benefit the

refugee population as a tool of exploitation," trading food and supplies for sex with girls mostly between the ages of thirteen to eighteen (Olonisakin, 2008:117; see also BBC, 2002 and HRW, 2003). The UN reacted swiftly to these accusations and set up investigations in order to hold guilty UN peacekeepers accountable (Olonisakin, 2008:117).

Nevertheless, UNAMSIL did a great deal to improve human rights in Sierra Leone. In addition, they helped Sierra Leone take steps to rectify past wrongs. A Special Court for Sierra Leone was created in January 2002 to hold those responsible for war crimes and atrocities (Olonisakin, 2008:119; see also UN, 2015). In March 2003, the first of 13 indictments were brought against leaders of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), and the Civil Defence Forces (CDF), as well as then-Liberian President Charles Taylor (RSCSL.org, 2015). The Special Court for Sierra Leone was the first international tribunal to try and convict persons for the use of child soldiers, for forced marriage as a crime against humanity, and for attacks directed against United Nations peacekeepers (RSCSL.org, 2015). It was also the first modern international tribunal to indict, try and convict a sitting head of state when President Charles Taylor was found guilty and sentenced to 50 years in prison in 2012 (Brumfield, 2012). Furthermore, A Truth and Reconciliation Commission was also established to start the healing process between the victims and perpetrators of war crimes in July 2002 (Olonisakin, 2008:120; see also UN, 2015).

Before the UK even established a PKO in Sierra Leone, it had been one of the "largest providers of humanitarian assistance to Sierra Leone" contributing millions every year for training, equipment and the DDR program (HRW, 2000; see also HRW, 1999).

During the two years that both the UK and UNAMSIL both had PKOs in Sierra Leone, the gross human rights abuses associated with the conflict gradually subsided and by the end of 2002, there was a "dramatic improvement in prospects for peace, security, and respect for human rights" (HRW, 2003. See also Appendix #6 for a detailed comparison of human rights in Sierra Leone by year).

Refugees

Between 1991 and 2002, over 2 million people or over one-third of the population of Sierra Leone was displaced (Howard, 2008:304; also see CIA, 2015). The number of refugees steadily rose from the beginning of the civil war through 1999 when ECOMOG and UNOMSIL directed their PKOs (see Table 8). The number of refugees then dramatically declined from over 400,000 to less than 200,000 between 2000 and 2001 after UNAMSIL and the lead state established their PKOs. By the time UNAMSIL left in 2005, the number of refugees had dwindled to 40,477.

The number of IDPs follows a similar pattern (see Table 8). According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), the total IDP population was 1.2 million or about one-fourth of the total population by the end of 1999 when UNAMSIL took over (IDMC, 2015). When the IDMC quit actively monitoring the situation in mid-2004, the National IDP Resettlement Programme had been officially completed in December 2002, all IDP camps had been closed in early 2003, over 225,000 IDPs had returned within the framework of the government's resettlement strategy □□□□□□further 245,000 IDPs returned home spontaneously without assistance (IDMC, 2015).

Table 8: A Comparison of Refugee, Returned Refugee and IDP in Sierra Leone by Year

Year	Refugees	Returned Refugees	IDP
1992	253,600		
1993	311,200	2,889	532,000
1994	275,300	113	782,000
1995	379,500	-	654,600
1996	375,104	504	654,600
1997	329,327	1,800	670,000
1998	406,077	194,639	670,000
1999	490,061	3,502	500,000
2000	402,807	40,900	300,000
2001	179,113	92,330	-
2002	141,475	75,978	-
2003	70,580	33,255	
2004	41,802	26,271	
2005	40,477	210	-
2006	42,863	134	-
2007	32,127	364	-
2008	32,536	321	-
2009	15,417	227	-
2010	11, 277	-	-
2011	8,002	-	-
2012	6,202	-	-
2013			
2014*	5,309	0	0

*as of July 2014

Source: UNHCR Statistical Yearbook: Sierra Leone.

Thus, during the years of both ECOMOG and UNOMSIL's PKOs, the number of refugees and IDPs continued to rise substantially, but there was a marked improvement in human security, measured by both a reduction in human rights abuses and the number of refugees after 1999 when UNAMSIL and the lead state began their PKOs.

In sum, ECOMOG was not able to reduce human suffering in Sierra Leone and

even contributed to it. UNOMSIL was also ineffective and their presence did nothing to curtail the human rights violations. However, the human rights situation markedly improved during the PKOs of UNAMSIL and the UK. UNAMSIL and the UK have also both taken steps to bring justice to the victims of human rights abuse and hold the perpetrators accountable.

Criterion #3: Did the Conflict Spread Beyond Sierra Leone's Borders?

Pushkina's third criterion focuses on ensuring regional security by preventing the spread of conflict beyond the object state's borders. She specifically notes that refugee flows can cause competition for resources, leading to further conflict in neighboring countries (Pushkina, 2006:134). This criterion is evaluated by assessing "the extent to which the integrity of neighbouring countries has been kept intact" (Pushkina, 2006:134).

In the case of Sierra Leone, neighboring countries played a significant role in the onset of civil war. In particular, Liberia's President, Charles Taylor, instigated conflict within Sierra Leone. As well as wreaking havoc and civil war in his own country, Taylor has actively fomented instability in his neighbors: Sierra Leone, Guinea and even Côte d'Ivoire (GPF, 2003). Susan Rice, former US assistant secretary of state for African affairs, described Liberia as "sort of the cancer that has infected the rest of the subregion…destabilizing all of West Africa" (CNN, 2003).

In addition, while "the armies of Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone have largely remained confined to their national territories, militias such as the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) – effectively Liberian President Charles Taylor's foreign legion – the Sierra Leonean Kamajor 'hunter' militias and a range of Liberian dissidents have battled with

little regard for national borders" (ICG, 2002). Many members of these militias have caused instability in other countries, such as in Côte d'Ivoire where former RUF militia members and Liberian soldiers were part of a failed coup in 2002 (Gberie, 2005:200).

Thus, Liberia was a party to the conflict from the very beginning: "Taylor had been a factor in the Sierra Leone conflict from the start – in many ways the fourth party alongside the RUF, the AFRC, and the Sierra Leone government" (Olonisakin, 2008:71). Taylor is believed to have been motivated to support the RUF in retaliation for President Momoh's support for ECOMOG's intervention in Liberia in 1990 (Olonisakin, 2008:12; see also Conteh-Morgan, 2006). In addition, an "equally important factor related to the incursion became Taylor's need to obtain diamond resources to finance his insurgency and pay off his supporters against Liberian President, Samuel Doe" (Conteh-Morgan, 2006:100). Olonisakin contends that the "Taylor-Sankoh alliance was fundamentally an economic partnership, with Sierra Leone diamonds at its core…Taylor sustained the RUF lifeline by keeping the flow of arms constant" (Olonisakin, 2008:73). It has been estimated that the RUF "made an approximate profit of 200 million dollars a year between 1991 and 1999 through the illicit diamond trade" (Collier and Sambanis, 2005:321).

Burkina Faso and Libya also supported the rebels in Sierra Leone, providing weapons. Libya "sent weapons to them through Burkina Faso which were then transshipped overland through the Ivory Coast, through Liberia, into Sierra Leone" (GlobalSecurity.org, 2012). The supply of arms was ubiquitous among Sierra Leone's neighbors, and one of ECOWAS's first responses to the situation in Sierra Leone was to impose economic embargos. However, ECOMOG was unable to effectively enforce this

embargo and arms continued to stream into Sierra Leone. One effect of this external support for the RUF was that it "'reduced the RUF rebel's incentives to rely upon popular support in Sierra Leone to survive', and it allowed, at least in part, the RUF's atrocious behaviour against its own civilians during the war" (Jang, 2012).

The international community was slow to recognize the regional dimensions of the conflict and, in fact, were later even blamed for legitimizing the RUF.[45] However, once Taylor's full involvement became apparent, the UN increased its efforts to neutralize his influence. The UK also continued to support Sierra Leone politically and militarily. In June 2000, the UK along with the other EU members, suspended aid to Liberia because of its support for the rebels (HRW, 2001). By 2003, Taylor was formally indicted by the Special Court for Sierra Leone – a court that UNAMSIL had helped to establish. He was found guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity and sentenced to 50 years in prison (Brumfield, 2012).

In sum, the conflict in Sierra Leone unquestionably had regional roots and spillover effects from the conflict in Liberia were certainly a major factor in Sierra Leone's civil war. ECOMOG and UNOMSIL were unable to contain Taylor and these spillover effects, but UNAMSIL and the UK with the backing of the international community proved more effective.

Criterion #4: Did the PKO Promote Conflict Resolution Effectively?

Finally, Pushkina's fourth criterion to evaluate the success of a PKO is how

[45] According to Gberie, not only did the international community give the rebels legitimacy that they didn't deserve, at early peace conferences, they even "interpreted" their dialogue into a more coherent platform that didn't really exist (Gberie, 2005).

effective it was at promoting conflict resolution. She argues that "it requires the creation of a stable environment that is capable of preventing the recurrence of hostilities after the peacekeeping mission withdraws" and this is determined based on "the extent to which the environment fostered by peacekeepers inhibits future violence" (Pushkina, 2006:135). The problem of countries relapsing back into civil war once the peacekeepers left has been a chronic shortcoming of many PKOs.

In numerous cases, countries had yet to fully develop the necessary security apparatus and an established rule of law. Sierra Leone benefited from a timely UN report by the High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change in 2003, which found that "international support to such countries was often too short-term, poorly coordinated, and insufficiently focused on building the capacity of core institutions" (Olonisakin, 2008:126). A Peacebuilding Commission was established in 2005, and it chose Sierra Leone as one of its first case studies.

Obviously, ECOMOG and UNOMSIL had withdrawn before peace was even achieved and had no part in conflict resolution. However, UNAMSIL and the UK did much to contribute to a stable environment. For instance, UNAMSIL put a series of goals in place before their PKO officially ended. The key security benchmark was to make progress in building the capacity of the police and army while "others included completing the reintegration of former combatants, consolidating state authority throughout the country, and restoring effective government control over diamond mining" (Olonisakin, 2008:123). The meticulous planning for the eventual cessation of UNAMSIL which included several six-month extensions, proved to be very valuable. For example, the withdrawal took place over a period of two years and security

was handed over zone by zone[46] with exercises being conducted "to test the readiness and capacity of the government security agencies to take over" before the handover took place (Olonisakin, 123).

Sierra Leone has held regular elections every five years that have been judged "free and fair" by international observers in 2002, 2007, and most recently in 2012 (Freedom House, 2007, 2008 and 2013). As a result of these free and fair elections that "operated with transparency" Sierra Leone's status was finally changed from Partly Free to Free in 2012. However, that status reverted back to Partly Free in 2014 due to rampant corruption "in all sectors of Sierra Leone's government and economy" (Freedom House, 2014).

Sierra Leone ranked 35th on the Fragile States Index in 2014, up from 6th in 2005, the year of the first index (Fund for Peace, 2014). However, in 2014 Sierra Leone still only ranked 183 out of 187 countries on the UN Human Development Index (UNHDR, 2014), 208 out of 228 in GDP per capita (CIA, 2013), 119 out of 175 on the Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (Transparency International, 2014) and 147 out of 178 on the 2015 Index of Economic Freedom (Heritage Foundation, 2015).

There were also deliberate efforts on the part of UNAMSIL and the British to promote conflict resolution and prevent future conflicts by institution building. The UK provided a significant amount of training and technical assistance – their role "in supporting several years of security-sector reform was vital for the draw-down phase" (Olonisakin, 2008:124). Although significant progress was made, the statistics noted above suggest that Sierra Leone remains a fragile state.

[46] Sierra Leone had been divided into four zones which corresponded to provinces.

From the table below that summarizes the successes and the failures of the different PKOs in Sierra Leone, it is clear that ECOMOG and UNOMSIL were unable to stabilize the conflict and satisfy any of Pushkina's four criteria for success (see Table 9). On the other hand, both UNAMSIL and the lead state PKO, headed by the UK, met all four criteria and not only was peace achieved, it has been sustained for the last ten years since the last PKO, UNAMSIL, completed their mission. The following section identifies the factors that I believe are important for understanding how UNAMSIL and the UK achieved their goals.

Table 9: Pushkina's Criteria for Success Applied to PKOs in Sierra Leone

Pushkina's Criteria for Success:	Regional Organization: ECOMOG (1997 – 2000)	UN: UNOMSIL (1998 – 1999)	UN: UNAMSIL (1999 – 2005)	Lead State: UK (2000 – 2002)
Violent conflict limited?	DETERIORATED Deaths increased and no peace agreements sustained	DETERIORATED Deaths increased and peace agreements ignored	PROGRESS/ SUCCESS Initial crisis period followed by success after UK provided assistance	PROGRESS/ SUCCESS Helped sustain Abuja Agreement and curb violence through a credible use of force
Reduction of human suffering?	DETERIORATED Increased refugees and IDPs as well as increased HR violations, some even committed by ECOMOG soldiers	DETERIORATED Rebels launched "Operation No Living Thing" – worst HR disaster of the conflict and led to UNOMSIL's evacuation	PROGRESS/ SUCCESS Refugees and IDPs drastically declined and steps were taken to hold HR perpetrators responsible	PROGRESS/ SUCCESS Refugees and IDPs drastically declined and steps were taken to hold HR perpetrators responsible
Conflict spread beyond borders?	DETERIORATED Unable to enforce embargo and arms continued to stream into Sierra Leone	DETERIORATED Unable to enforce embargo and arms continued to stream into Sierra Leone	PROGRESS/ SUCCESS Slow to recognize the regional dimensions, but worked to neutralize Liberia after it became aware	PROGRESS/ SUCCESS Suspended aid to Liberia because of its support for the rebels
Conflict resolution?	FAIL Conflict escalated	FAIL Conflict escalated	SUCCESS Established a framework, including a series of goals, to implement before the PKO officially concluded.	SUCCESS Much of UK humanitarian assistance focused on training and technical assistance

Factors Affecting PKO outcomes in Sierra Leone

Based on my comprehensive survey of the PKO literature (see Chapter 1), I have identified five key categories or factors that can help us understand the outcome of a PKO, and ultimately, why one type of PKO is more effective than another. The five factors include resources (level of commitment), mandates, capabilities and the willingness to use force, consent and cooperation, and great power involvement. We have seen that, simplifying somewhat, UNAMSIL and the lead state PKO were most successful, and in contrast, ECOMOG and UNOMSIL were very ineffective. In this section, I look more closely, examining how each of these five factors played out in different UN, regional, and lead-state PKOs.

Mandate

Mandates charge an organization and its forces to intervene in a country to restore peace and security. Essentially, mandates set the barometer for legitimate and authorized action. Immediately following the military coup in May 1997, the OAU appealed to ECOWAS to assist Sierra Leone (AI, 1998). With the strong support of the OAU, ECOWAS provided ECOMOG with a mandate in August 1997 "to stabilize the country and included tasks such as conducting patrols to help establish government authority, disarmament and the protection of refugees and IDPs" (Berman and Labonte, 2006:150). ECOMOG's mandate was updated in July 1999 as part of the Lomé Agreement and included "reconstruction; disarmament; demobilization; integration of the citizenry;

training of the Sierra Leonean Armed Forces; and a provision of security for VIPs in the post-war country" (Africa News, 1999).

According to Amnesty International, ECOMOG was initially welcomed by the majority of Sierra Leoneans and generally considered to be a disciplined force that saved many lives by evacuating victims of amputations and other injuries to safety and to medical facilities if necessary (AI, 1998). However, in the following months, reports of "human rights violations committed by ECOMOG forces, including illegal detention of civilians, and torture and ill-treatment of civilian detainees and captured combatants" began to be received (AI, 1998).

There were also concerns raised that ECOMOG was not doing enough to minimize risks to civilians during their operations against rebel forces, particularly air strikes (AI, 1998). For example, Hough contends that in 1997, "its initial shelling of Freetown ECOMOG managed to cause more harm to civilians than to the RUF, and for the next six months failed to force any change in the *status quo*" (Hough, 2007:12).

UNOMSIL was established in July 1998 with an authorized strength of 70 military observers. Its mandate was to monitor the country's overall military and security situation as well as to monitor the disarmament and demobilization process (UN.org). It was "intended to complement – but not supplant – ECOMOG" (Berman and Labonte, 2006:150). The observers were unarmed and relied on ECOMOG for their protection. UNOMSIL didn't have much of a chance to carry out its mandate before it had to be evacuated after the rebels overran Freetown. It was then replaced by UNAMSIL.

The Security Council established UNAMSIL in October 1999. Its mandate included helping to implement the peace agreement, to assist with disarmament,

demobilization and reintegration, and to facilitate humanitarian assistance. It was also the "first UN force to have the protection of civilians explicitly included in its mandate" (Olonisakin, 2008:42). Furthermore, it was given a Chapter VII peace enforcement mandate, authorizing it to take whatever action was necessary to protect its personnel as well as the civilians of Sierra Leone (UN.org).

As discussed above, UNAMSIL got off to a very rocky start and while that was in part due to "a lack of communication, coordination and military training and equipment," it was also due to "'a serious lack of cohesion within the Mission,'" as a result of a lack of understanding of UNAMSIL's mandate and rules of operation (Olonisakin, 2008:91-2). In what became known as the "Jetley report" after the original UNAMSIL Force Commander from India, he complained that UN troops had not been properly briefed in their country about the application of chapter VII (Olonisakin, 2008:88). Improper briefings also extend to a typical problem in UN missions for troops to follow orders from their home country rather than their UN commanders, particularly when it comes to the issue of engagement.

In May 2000, when the UK first arrived in Sierra Leone, their initial mandate was only to protect the Lungi airport and evacuate British citizens, but became a broader mission to bolster UNAMSIL and to stabilize the violent situation in Sierra Leone (Evoe, 2008:60).

For the most part, this factor is not the most significant in terms of affecting the success or failure of the different types of PKOs. The failure of ECOMOG is not due to a weak mandate, but to a lack of resources and capability to carry it out. UNOMSIL was so limited that it had no chance of achieving its mandate in the adverse circumstances it

encountered. UNAMSIL's mandate was eventually "strengthened" by the UN, but this is viewed more accurately as a detailed reiteration of the original mandate intended to make its intentions regarding the use of force and expectations clear rather than as something new. The UK's PKO began with a limited mandate, but it was quickly expanded once they were on the ground in Sierra Leone and it became clear that more was required of them.

Resources and Capabilities

One of the most common critiques of peacekeeping operations is that they lacked the necessary resources or that the resources weren't provided in a timely manner. A lack of training, equipment, experience, and funding has been particularly associated with both the UN and regional organizations in Africa while it is generally considered a strength of lead state operations. In the case of Sierra Leone, as with many PKOs in Africa, peacekeepers were inadequately prepared and equipped for the task. ECOMOG was the first to respond to the crisis in Sierra Leone in 1997 and their troop strength eventually reached 13,000. Their first intervention did help to liberate Freetown from rebel control, but ECOMOG "could not (and would not) support the sort of large, multifaceted peace operation needed to pacify the entire country" (Berman and Labonte, 2006:205). A January 1999 offensive by ECOMOG made clear that the "military and logistical capability that ECOMOG lacked" would keep them from ever successfully winning the war (Olonisakin, 2008:34).

UNOMSIL was established in July 1998 with an authorized strength of 70 unarmed military advisors that were under the protection of ECOMOG. They were there

to monitor the security situation as a whole and in particular to oversee disarmament and demobilization. Obviously, they were in no way prepared to deal with the continued fighting and were evacuated as a result of the January 1999 offensive that overtook Freetown.

Clearly UNAMSIL was also not prepared for hostile forces when they began their PKO in Sierra Leone with an initial authorization of 6,000 troops in October 1999. Five hundred UN peacekeepers were taken hostage in May 2000, within six months of when UNAMSIL troops began trickling into Sierra Leone. When asked to explain the May debacle, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan admitted that the mission "suffered from poor communication, inadequate logistics, bad planning and no support" (Maykuth, 2000). For example, many contingents even lacked basic maps of the terrain (Olonisakin, 2008:87). Inadequate equipment and training were also blamed for instances of UNAMSIL soldiers fleeing when RUF troops attacked, enhancing "the perception that troop-contributing countries placed greater premium on the benefits received than the ability to perform" (Olonisakin, 2008:68). However, in 2001, equipment shortfalls were addressed by providing UNAMSIL with UN-owned equipment (Olonisakin, 2008:98).

Another issue was troop strength. As noted above, only 6,000 UN troops replaced ECOMOG, a force of 13,000 that had proven ineffective in their attempt to bring peace to Sierra Leone. Troop strength was eventually increased up to 11,100, then to 13,000 and finally to 17,500 by March 2001, making it the largest and most expensive UN mission up to that point. However, troop strength alone is only one indicator of resources and capabilities: "While UN missions have advantages over African regional forces, Sierra Leone showed that strength levels are, in and of themselves, poor indicators of likely

performance. Proper equipment and the will and ability to use it are crucial factors in a peace operations success" (Berman and Labonte, 2006:205).

For example, the British are often credited with "saving the day" for supplying the much needed force that was necessary to allow UNAMSIL to regroup as well as a British naval presence offshore that "left no doubt that the British were prepared to unleash maximum damage should the rebels test their resolve" (Olonisakin, 2008:64). This was accomplished with a total of "4,500 British soldiers, sailors, and marines" participating in the mission, on land and offshore (Berman and Labonte, 2006:180).[47] Sierra Leone's existing 14,000-strong military was never capable of such action. The military weaknesses of many sub-Saharan African countries are a major factor in making insurgencies possible" (Seegers, 2010:19). The importance of "will and ability" will be discussed in greater detail in the section discussing willingness to use force.

In sum, both of the PKOs that failed – ECOMOG and UNOMSIL – lacked the necessary resources and capabilities necessary. UNAMSIL was also lacking in resources and capabilities in the beginning of its mission, but was given a second chance due to the British intervention. Clearly, this factor was one of the lead state's strengths.

[47] Similarly, when the Sierra Leone government hired Executive Outcomes (EO) in 1995, they achieved significant success[47] with only 200 mercenaries to train the SL army and provide logistical assistance as well as combat support: "The speed and scale of EO's military success was truly stunning, with the RUF retreating more than 100 kilometers in but a few days. "In less than two years EO managed to secure the capital, oust the RUF from the peripheral districts of Freetown, stabilise the area around the diamond mines, and destroy the RUF headquarters" (Hough, 2007:9). President Kabbah asked EO to leave in January 1997 despite their success because Sierra Leone was no longer able to meet their costs and Kabbah assumed Sierra Leone was on the road to peace after signing the Abidjan Agreement in November of 1996 (Olonisakin, 2008:21).

Willingness to Use Force

By the mid-1990s, the UN began to "wonder about the extent to which weak peacekeeping missions might actually enable, rather than prevent, mass killing" (Howard, 2008:300). These weak missions were "used as tools of war by the parties" because they "allowed combating forces time to rest, regroup, train, and organize for more concerted battle" (Howard, 2008:300-1). Given the tendency for the rebels in Sierra Leone to renege on any agreements and commitments they made when they believed they had the upper hand militarily as outlined above, this concern is particularly applicable to the conflict in Sierra Leone.

ECOMOG was certainly willing to use force, and as is mentioned above, was often criticized for employing excessive force or for trampling human rights in the process of trying to defeat the rebels. While ECOMOG won many battles against the rebels during their PKO, they were not able to "win the war." It was not the will to use force that ECOMOG lacked, but as noted above, military and logistical capabilities.

UNOMSIL had neither the mandate nor the resources and capabilities to engage the rebels meaningfully so this factor is not applicable to their PKO. However, it is an important factor for UNAMSIL. It is a testament to the battles won by ECOMOG despite their inability to achieve peace that the people of Sierra Leone were dreading the day that ECOMOG was going to withdraw their troops: "ECOMOG's impending withdrawal led to a sense of panic within Sierra Leone's government and civil society alike. They were sure that the RUF would test UNAMSIL to its limits, and did not trust that the mission would be able to maintain security" (Olonisakin, 2008:47). After 500 UN peacekeepers

were taken hostage within days of ECOMOG's departure, their fears did not appear unfounded.

Invariably, the mandate of the PKO is usually blamed in such circumstances. However, as discussed above, UNAMSIL was given a Chapter VII peace enforcement mandate, authorizing it to take whatever action was necessary to protect its personnel as well as the civilians of Sierra Leone right from the beginning. Thus, the problem was not UNAMSIL's mandate itself, but of UN troops not understanding their enforcement role. For example, the Jordanian contingent "were even accused of looking away while people were held at gunpoint" (Olonisakin, 2008:88).

Jordaan attributes the ineffectiveness of UNAMSIL compared to the swift results achieved by the British military[48] as an indication of the inadequacy of multinational organizations such as the United Nations to deal with insurgency. He points out that UN and other African regional forces are "'coalitions of the willing', and they struggle to balance the competing priorities of maintaining peace, protecting civilians, using minimum force, providing humanitarian support and remaining impartial. The UN rarely allows a robust and offensive approach. Significant progress against insurgents is made in UN/[regional] operations often only when mission headquarters staff, commanders at various levels as well as troop-contributing countries are willing to risk the lives of their troops and push the boundaries of the use of force along the lines of counterinsurgency" (Jordaan, 2010:227-8). Similarly, Berman and Labonte contend that in the aftermath of the UN hostage crisis, "UN peacekeeping as a whole faced a critical choice: learn to use force effectively against those who violently disrupt the peace, or find another line of work" (Berman and Labonte, 2006:141).

[48] Or Executive Outcomes - see footnote #45 above.

Due to the overlapping time periods of the remaining two PKOs, it is almost impossible to discuss the willingness to use force by UNAMSIL without also considering the willingness to use force by the lead state, the British. There are two prevailing narratives about which PKO is responsible for peace in Sierra Leone: one is that the British intervened and bailed out the "hapless UN mission" through an impressive show of force (Hough, 2007:13) and the second is that the role of the British in saving UNAMSIL has been highly exaggerated and it was UNAMSIL's diplomatic efforts that made the crucial difference (Berman and Labonte, 2006:202 and Olonisakin, 2008:65).

The UK believed that it was pointless to negotiate with the rebels because they had proven that they weren't trustworthy and so it was necessary for them to be militarily defeated. Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) Adeniji disagreed and argued in favor of continuing diplomatic efforts because he didn't think UNAMSIL was "in a position to launch a military campaign against the RUF….Its troop strength, logistical capacity, and coordination had been too poor to resist RUF attacks, let alone launch counteroffensives" (Olonisakin, 2008:101). In addition, he thought it would "reduce the mission's capacity to take on the role of a credible peacemaker" (Olonisakin, 2008:101).

In the end, UNAMSIL continued to implement a strategy of negotiation with the RUF and the British continued to project power through displays of military strength. Regardless of which PKO is given the lion's share of the credit, they both participated in their own ways in what is becoming a general practice in newer multidimensional PKOs: "non-UN, militarily robust, peace-enforcement troops often intervened to stop the fighting and enforce the peace, followed by (or in the midst of) more standard UN

multidimensional peacekeeping missions" (Howard, 2008:300). Furthermore, according to Howard, it is both "logical and legitimate" that an international division of labor of the use of force is emerging where peace will be enforced by single states and regional organizations while multidimensional peacekeeping or statebuilding is conducted by the UN (Howard, 2008: 327).

Consent and Cooperation

Another factor that is often stressed as being vital to a PKO is the consent and cooperation of the warring parties (See Durch, 1993 or Adejabo, 2011). Pushkina concludes from her research "the higher the level of warring parties' consent and cooperation with the UN mission, the more likely the UN mission will succeed" (Pushkina, 2006:142).

It is safe to conclude that ECOMOG did not have the consent and cooperation of the RUF. The Nigerian troops that made up the bulk of the ECOMOG forces may have been feared by the rebels, but they certainly weren't viewed as an objective neutral party that was solely concerned with peace for Sierra Leone. Rather, ECOMOG appears to have been viewed as merely an extension of the SL army and an agent of President Kabbah and the government. For example, when rebels attacked and amputated civilians, "survivors were often taunted by rebel forces to go to ECOMOG and tell them that the AFRC and RUF were there or to go to President Kabbah to ask for a new limb. One was given a letter and told to deliver it to President Kabbah. Victims who had one or both ears cut off were told that without their ears they could no longer listen to the government or ECOMOG" (AI, 1998).

The short-lived UNOMSIL obviously didn't engender much in the way of consent and cooperation either as they had to be evacuated within a few months of arrival. Likewise, UNAMSIL certainly didn't receive much cooperation initially as evidenced by the UN hostage crisis when 500 peacekeepers were taken by RUF rebels. Even the general public had a poor image of UNAMSIL in 2000, referring to the PKO as "U-NASTY" "UNAMSILLY."

Meanwhile, the public treated the UK troops "like heroes who had come to rescue them from the RUF and to clean up a UNAMSIL mess" (Olonisakin, 2008:65). This was in no small part because the British were the first to do what no other PKO that came before it could – compel lasting consent and cooperation from the rebels. The British were capable of a show of force that the rebels respected enough to finally abide by the peace agreement.

Great Power Involvement

The involvement of the UK in the Sierra Leone conflict was vital for several reasons. First, although ECOMOG had the mandate and the troop strength, they did not have the same capacity and resources as the British. Second, if the UK had not intervened when it did, the UN mission, UNAMSIL, may have collapsed which would not only have been disastrous for Sierra Leone, but would have also been a huge blow to UN peacekeeping in general. Third, the British brought a more credible threat to use force to the table than any of the other operations. Their displays of force along the coastline certainly had an impact on compelling more compliance from the rebels.

Finally, after British troops were engaged militarily in Sierra Leone, more Western nations began paying attention and offering support.

As a former colonial power, Britain had offered diplomatic assistance off and on since the beginning of the conflict in 1991, but had not deployed any troops until May 2000. The effect of British involvement reverberated to other Western powers. For example, after the crisis, the UK was prepared to invest more in Sierra Leone and its interest galvanized US action as well: "Whereas in 1999, the United States had played an active role in limiting UNAMSIL's troop strength, now it worked with the United Kingdom to mobilize Council support and encourage contributing states to provide more troops" (Olonisakin, 2008:95). The spigot of foreign aid and assistance only started to flow after the involvement of the British. A Trust Fund to Support United Nations Peacekeeping-Related Efforts in Sierra Leone had been established in March 1998, but only the UK and Japan had contributed by the end of 1998. However, after 1999, the number of contributing countries increased to include Canada, Italy, the Netherlands, and the US[49] (Berman and Labonte, 2006:152).

As mentioned previously, there is some debate about whether it was the diplomatic efforts of UNAMSIL or the brawn of the UK that ultimately led to peace in Sierra Leone. However, it is also worth noting that even after the war was declared over

[49] One interesting historical note regarding US assistance centers on Senator Judd Gregg who was a New Hampshire Republican and chairman of the Senate appropriations sub-committee that controlled the State Department's budget. He had been so disgusted by the concessions offered to the RUF in the Lomé Agreement that he blocked the transfer of close to $400 million in funding for four UN peacekeeping operations, including UNAMSIL (Olonisakin, 2008:95). It was only after Gregg had been convinced that the "administration was serious about defeating the RUF, addressing the role of diamonds in Sierra Leone, and holding Foday Sankoh and Charles Taylor responsible for their roles in the conflict," that he released the money in June of 2000. (Olonisakin, 2008:96).

in January of 2002, the UK committed itself to 10 years of development assistance in addition to funding security-sector reform.

Conclusion

This chapter examined four case studies in Sierra Leone over an eight year period. All three types of PKOs were employed and two of them, the UN and the lead state, working in conjunction, achieved peace in Sierra Leone. An analysis of how they achieved success confirms the importance of the strengths associated with both types of PKOS. Similarly, an examination of the failure of ECOMOG is valuable for establishing how the weaknesses associated with the regional organization type of PKO are more difficult to surmount. A summary of how the five key categories measured up to the four types of PKOs is presented in the table below (Table 10) followed by an explanation for why a particular PKO was successful or not.

The regional organization, ECOMOG, was the first PKO in Sierra Leone. For ECOMOG, the mandate to intervene was clear; however, they did not have the required resources and capabilities to accomplish their goals. While they certainly demonstrated a willingness to use force against the rebels, they also "often disregarded human rights law and acted with partiality, which brought their legitimacy into question" (Pugh and Sidhu, 2003). Generally, consent and cooperation is a strength of regional PKOs; however, in this case, it turned out to be a weakness. There was a low level of support for the ECOMOG troops in Sierra Leone. The regional PKO gained an unfavorable reputation among locals who disparagingly interpreted the acronym for ECOMOG to mean 'Every Car Or Moving Object Gone' (Pugh and Sidhu, 2003). Finally, during its PKO, a great

power was not directly involved nor directly supported ECOMOG, which was primarily supported by regional powers, Nigeria in particular, and left to its own devices. Although it was ultimately unsuccessful, it did pave the way for the UN to intervene.

Table 10: A Comparison of PKOs in Sierra Leone in Five Key Categories

Factors:	Regional Organization: ECOWAS (1997 – 2000)	UN: UNOMSIL (1998 – 1999)	UN: UNAMSIL (1999 – 2005)	Lead State: UK (2000 – 2002)
Mandate	HIGH The failure of ECOMOG is not due to a weak mandate, but to a lack of resources and capability to carry it out.	LOW UNOMSIL's PKO was so limited that it had no chance of achieving even its minimal mandate in the adverse circumstances it encountered	LOW – HIGH Weak mandate that was eventually "strengthened"	HIGH Fulfilled limited mandate and expanded it to assist UNAMSIL
Resources and Capabilities	LOW First to respond, but lacked military and logistical capability ; 13,000 troops	LOW 70 unarmed military advisors under the protection of ECOMOG	LOW – MODERATE But regrouped and improved; 6,000 troops in 2000, increased up to 17,500 by 2001	HIGH Only 4,500 troops, but also included Commandos, helicopters, aircraft carriers, etc
Willingness to Use Force	HIGH But lacked legitimacy and the capability to use it throughout the country	N/A	LOW Troops didn't understand their enforcement role and UN continued to favor diplomatic efforts	HIGH The British projected power through displays of military strength and used deadly force when necessary
Consent and Cooperation	LOW Viewed as a party to the conflict and an agent of Kabbah and the gov't	LOW Forced to evacuate for its own safety	LOW Hostage crisis in the beginning of the operation, but improved by end	LOW Although rebels were finally compelled to cooperate through show of force
Great Power Involvement	LOW	LOW	HIGH The UK helped directly and indirectly by encouraging other great power support (esp. US)	HIGH Once the UK was prepared to invest more -its interest galvanized US action as well

The UN PKO, UNOMSIL, was sent to assist ECOMOG but it was a small unarmed UN observer mission, and it did not "have the political weight or the training capacity to make ECOMOG a better-behaved or more professional force" (Berman and Labonte, 2006:205). Berman and Labonte conclude that at best, regional organizations at a comparable phase of development can supply only short-term fixes to security problems" (Berman and Labonte, 2006:205). UNOMISIL was also under-supported and not prepared to deal with the continued fighting, resulting in its evacuation during the January 1999 offensive by the rebels that overtook Freetown.

The UN PKO, UNAMSIL, did achieve success in Sierra Leone. In fact, the UN touts it as a "model for successful peacekeeping, as well as a prototype for the UN's new emphasis on peacebuilding" (UN, 2005). UNAMSIL did successfully accomplish its mandate: it helped to disarm tens of thousands of soldiers, organize elections, and rebuild the police force and more. However, in its early stages, UNAMSIL suffered from all of the problems that are typically associated with the UN, such as "low troop numbers, overstretched support from headquarters, problems of command and control, the existence of 'spoilers' and the ease with which UN troops were being attacked" (Olonisakin, 2008:92). Fortunately, the UK intervened before UNAMSIL collapsed and it was able to buy UNAMSIL the time it needed to regroup, bring in more troops and adequately equip them.

While some scholars argue that the role of the UK in saving UNAMSIL and creating peace in Sierra Leone is often given greater significance than is warranted (Berman and Labonte, 2006:202), others point out that "the British appeared to do something that ECOMOG had struggled to achieve over its three-year intervention – to

shift the balance of military and political power into the government of President Kabbah" (Pugh and Sidhu, 2003). It is certainly not clear that the UN would have been able to accomplish its mandate if it had not been for the UK's assistance, particularly in terms of maintaining a credible show of force that compelled the rebels to comply for the first time.

Considering how tenuous the situation was for UNAMSIL in the beginning of its mission, Olonisakin points out that the "irony of UNAMSIL's legacy is that the peacebuilding community has come to see Sierra Leone as its 'easy' case, a country in which there was a successful peacekeeping mission and a lot of international assistance" (Olonisakin, 2008:130). In truth, nothing about Sierra Leone was easy – and life there continues to be difficult. As noted above, corruption is still rampant as is unemployment and the country as a whole is economically struggling. In addition, the region is still not stable and Sierra Leone remains vulnerable to spillover effects. Under these circumstances, despite all of the continued developmental assistance from the UN and the UK, Sierra Leone remains a fragile state.

What stands out from these four case studies is the fact that two of the PKOs, UNAMISIL and the UK worked concurrently to achieve success. One of the weaknesses associated with UN PKOs from the literature is their lack of resources and capabilities in addition to its low propensity to use force. The UK compensated for these weaknesses and the two PKOs worked effectively to turn the tide of the conflict around.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This dissertation seeks to explain whether or not a specific type of PKO is more likely to lead to a more successful outcome. It is also concerned with the question of why it is more likely to be successful. In order to answer that question, I rely on a systematic analysis of each of the case studies according to five key categories derived from the common strengths and weaknesses of the different types of PKOs in the peacekeeping literature. I put forth three hypotheses applying them to eight case studies:

H1: Peace operations run by the United Nations are the most likely to achieve success.

H2: Peace operations run by regional security organizations, such as the AU, ECOWAS, or SADC, are the most likely to achieve success.

H3: Peace operations run by individual lead states are the most likely to achieve success.

I found that the composition of a PKO is ultimately an important consideration that can affect the likelihood of success or failure. My specific findings for each hypothesis are explained in the following section. In short, the type of PKO does matter. In particular, the lead state PKO has many attributes that are more likely to lead to a

successful outcome, including a willingness to use force, strong mandate, high levels of resources and capabilities, and in many cases, by definition, the involvement of a great state.

However, it is also the case that when PKOs are employed concurrently with one another, they can work in tandem very effectively by compensating each other's weaknesses. This finding supports the work of Howard who argues that PKOs can effectively complement each other in ways that a single PKO cannot.

Findings

H1: Peace operations run by the United Nations are the most likely to achieve success.

In each of the two countries that I studied there were two UN PKOs authorized by the UN Security Council: UNOMSIL and UNAMSIL in Sierra Leone and MONUC and MONUSCO in the DRC. After applying Pushkina's criteria for peacekeeping success, only UNAMSIL was successful in all four of the criteria and helped to restore peace and stability to Sierra Leone. MONUSCO's PKO is still ongoing and based on it's improved performance since it established the FIB in 2013, it appears more likely to be capable of helping to achieve a stable peace in the future.

In terms of failures, the only total failure across the board in all four of Pushkina's criteria was UNOMSIL in Sierra Leone. It was a small mission with only 70 military observers and they had barely arrived when the conflict escalated to the point that they needed to be evacuated. The very existence of this mission illustrates how poorly the UN understood the Sierra Leone conflict at the time.

In the other three cases, the UN missions were able to make limited progress or at least periods of progress during their PKO even if it didn't result in overall success for the PKO. For example, in terms of curbing conflict related deaths, minimizing human suffering, and promoting effective conflict resolution, MONUC was able to make significant progress in the majority of the country and MONUSCO was able to maintain it, but in the eastern part of the DRC, killings and human rights violations were increasing. As noted above, UNAMSIL was successful along all of these criteria after an initial crisis period that the UK PKO assisted them in overcoming.

In general, the literature on UN PKOs suggests that their greatest strengths are consent and cooperation and great power involvement, while their weaknesses are mandates, resources and capabilities, and a willingness to use force. Not surprisingly, given the complete failure of UNOMSIL, it did not register as having a high value in any of these areas. However, both UNAMSIL and MONUC, in line with the literature, initially had weak mandates, insufficient resources and capabilities, and were unwilling to use force, despite a Chapter VII mandate that required the protection of civilians. This has been attributed to a lack of understanding of the mission's mandate and rules of operation by the troops on the ground. For example, in Sierra Leone, the Jordanian contingent "were even accused of looking away while people were held at gunpoint" (Olonisakin, 2008:88). Likewise, MONUC was depicted as observing "the decade-long slaughter in the Congo rather than interven[ing] decisively to stop it" (Adebajo, 2011:93).

Nevertheless, the difference in their overall effectiveness is because contrary to what is expected in the literature, MONUC did not have high values in either the category for consent and cooperation nor great power involvement. Thus, MONUC did not have

any strengths to compensate for these other weaknesses while UNAMSIL was able to rely on the UK. The UK provided a credible use of force that ultimately compelled the rebels to cooperate.

MONUSCO had a stronger mandate that emphasized the protection of civilians even more clearly and they began their operation with approximately 19,000 troops already in place so they were in significantly better shape than MONUC when it started its PKO. In addition, MONUC had already managed to stabilize the majority of the country. Nevertheless, MONUSCO only had a marginally better record than MONUC in terms of curbing violence and human rights violations had increased. However, when the FIB was established in 2013, their mandate was strengthened, their resources and capabilities improved tremendously and they demonstrated a willingness to use force. In just a few months, they were able to defeat one of the main rebel groups, the M23. The changes they made and the new hope that they brought for the mission are similar to the strengths that UK brought to its concurrent mission with UNAMSIL. It remains to be seen how well the FIB can emulate the strengths of a lead state. It also remains to be seen if MONUSCO will also be as effective at its other peacekeeping duties once the rebels have been defeated. The concern is based on the possibility that the UN is trading its legitimacy for force.

H2: Peace operations run by regional security organizations, such as the AU, ECOWAS, or SADC, are the most likely to achieve success.

The two regional PKOs, the SADC in the DRC and ECOMOG in Sierra Leone, ultimately withdrew unsuccessfully and were replaced by UN missions. ECOMOG's

record was particularly bad according to Pushkina's criteria for success. They did not curb violent conflict, or reduce human suffering and they allowed conflict to continue spreading beyond the borders of Sierra Leone. The SADC fared a little better. They made some initial progress in curbing violence, but by time they left, the violence had returned to the same levels as when the SADC had arrived. They also didn't make any progress in regard to the reduction of human suffering. However, they did see progress in terms of spillover effects as most of the foreign forces in the DRC left in 2002, the same year they did. This wasn't a coincidence as the SADC was viewed as a party to the conflict and required to leave as part of the Lusaka Peace Agreement.

The literature on peacekeeping indicates that their typical strengths are their mandate, the willingness to use force and consent and cooperation. Their weaknesses are resources and capabilities and garnering the support of a great power. Both of the regional organizations performed in accordance with their expected strengths and weaknesses in all of the categories except one, consent and cooperation. While this is often a strength of regional organizations because of their likelihood to have a better understanding of the conflict and to be considered more legitimate than a lead state might be, in the case of ECOMOG in Sierra Leone, they were not considered a neutral peacekeeping force, but another party to the conflict in league with President Kabbah, serving their own political and economic interests. In the case of the SADC in the DRC, there was such a large number of factions fighting the government and each other that achieving consent and cooperation was extremely difficult.

In terms of expected strengths, both of the regional organizations had high values in the categories of mandates and the willingness to use force. They were the first PKOs

in their respective countries and as predicted in the literature, they responded to requests for their assistance in a very timely manner. In regard to fulfilling their mandates, the SADC successfully defended Kabila's leadership and kept the rebels from seizing Kinshasa and likewise, ECOMOG was able to protect President Kabbah and prevent the rebels from overtaking Freetown. Both PKOs were willing to use force to accomplish these goals. However, as expected in the literature, they both had limited resources and capabilities. Generally, this is an even greater weakness for regional organizations than it is for the UN. As a result, neither of the regional organizations was able to restore peace in the whole country. Similar to MONUC and MONUSCO's PKOs, these weaknesses were exacerbated by the lack of great power involvement.

H3: Peace operations run by individual lead states are the most likely to achieve success.

The case studies also included two lead state PKOs. The French PKO was a short operation that took place in the DRC from June to September, 2003. The UK's PKO lasted from 2000 through 2002 in Sierra Leone. The French PKO could be considered successful if it is judged by its own goals rather than by Pushkina's criteria for success in the larger sense of bringing a sustained peace to the whole country. The French PKO was able to limit violent conflict and reduce human suffering in Bunia, the city that the UN asked them to protect until MONUC reinforcements could be brought in. Unfortunately, serious human rights violations continued to occur just outside the scope of their mission. In the case of the UK PKO, the UK was able to bring about a sustained peace and successful confliction resolution to Sierra Leone by working collaboratively with UNAMISIL. The UK limited violent conflict, reduced human suffering and helped

contain the conflict within the borders of Sierra Leone. Its efforts resulted in a sustained peace and a successful conflict resolution.

The success of the UK PKO and the limited success of the French PKO are in line with their expected strengths. The literature points to lead state strength in four of the five categories, including mandate, resources and capabilities, willingness to use force and great power involvement. The only area of weakness is consent and cooperation. As anticipated by the literature, both the UK PKO and the French PKO received high values in all categories, except for consent and cooperation. In many ways, the French operation was a model mission, in that it arrived within a week of its help being requested, it fulfilled its mandate to protect Bunia, it had excellent resources and capabilities at its disposal and it used force in a convincing manner. In fact, in a UN report tasked with determining why the French operation was so successful, it listed a number of resources that the lead state PKO had at its disposal that the UN was lacking, including the use of special forces, excellent intelligence capabilities (both human and communications), and the use of air assets for surveillance and reconnaissance which was viewed as beneficial as a show of strength or for the intimidation factor as well (UN 2004:13).

The only issue with the French PKO was that it was of such small scope that it was of limited usefulness to the overall goal of bringing peace to the DRC. However, it is significant nonetheless, for demonstrating that enforcing peace – even in a difficult case like the DRC – is possible.

The UK is given much of the credit for restoring a peaceful stable environment in Sierra Leone. It also shared high values in all of the categories, including mandate, resources and capabilities, willingness to use force, consent and cooperation and great

power involvement. In addition, it was able to compel the rebels to cooperate through a continued show of force, projecting its power through displays of military strength in "military exercises" along the coast. Further, through its own involvement in Sierra Leone, the UK was also able to galvanize other great power involvement, particularly the US. It should be pointed out that the UK's partner, UNAMSIL, made important contributions to reestablishing peace in Sierra Leone as well.

Discussion

For the purposes of this dissertation and determining which type of PKO is most successful, the evidence does not point to the UN as being the key to why there was failure in the DRC and success in Sierra Leone. Rather, it would seem that the contribution of the British is the determining factor. The UNAMSIL case can be viewed as a within-case variation "because of the change in outcome over time…[c]onsidering the case longitudinally…suggests that any factors that changed over time may have contributed to the change in outcome" (Kreps, 2010).

As noted above, UNAMSIL was not prepared nor equipped for the hostile forces when they began their PKO in 1999. By May 2000, only days after the regional organization, ECOMOG, left, five hundred UN peacekeepers had been taken hostage. Not only was UNAMSIL failing, it was failing so spectacularly that there was concern it would be the last nail in the coffin for UN peacekeeping generally. However, when the British stepped in and supplied the much needed force that allowed the UN to regroup, this was a crucial factor that changed the outcome in Sierra Leone and allowed for both types of PKOs – UN and lead state – to be successful.

Prior to the British intervention and their intimidating displays of military strength the rebels had never upheld their end of a peace agreement. ECOMOG had been willing to use force during its PKO, but it never had the capability or the resources to bring peace to the entire country simultaneously. It is important to point out that capability is not necessarily just troop strength, but it also includes equipment and training. The British were able to achieve success with a total of "4,500 British soldiers, sailors, and marines" participating in the mission, on land and offshore (Berman and Labonte, 2006:180).[50]

In sum, after systematically comparing all of the different types of PKOs, I have found that the factors that are most significant for explaining success and failure in a PKO relate to the willingness of a PKO to use force combined with the resources and capabilities that a PKO has to exercise that force. These factors are most strongly associated with PKOs run by a lead state and support my third hypothesis.

Nevertheless, these cases do not speak to the issue of how the lead state would fare without the UN. The UN also has its own strengths and one of them is its legitimacy which many believe makes it particularly well suited to accomplish other tasks, such as those related to political efforts and state building. One of my corollary findings is that when two PKOs work in partnership with one another, one PKO's strengths can compensate for the other's weaknesses and vice versa. Similarly, in response to the burgeoning general practice in newer multidimensional PKOs for lead states or regional organizations to enforce the peace, followed by or in the midst of more standard UN multidimensional peacekeeping missions, Howard contends that this international

[50] This was also the case when the Sierra Leone government hired Executive Outcomes (EO) in 1995. They achieved significant success with only 200 mercenaries to train the SL army and provide logistical assistance as well as combat support.

division of labor of the use of force is both "logical and legitimate" (Howard, 2008: 300 and 327). More research is necessary to determine if the lead state would be equally successful alone or if the lead state and the UN are most successful as a team effort.

Competing Variables

The cases in the DRC and Sierra Leone are alike in a number of ways that the literature on peacekeeping contends correlates with the duration of civil war. In all eight of the PKOs in both states, a treaty had been signed before their PKO began, the cost of war (death toll) in the previous year before their mission began was high, their level of economic development or GDP per capita was lower than the UN classification for least developed countries in the year prior to their PKO, they were both collapsed states and finally all of the cases had both lootable resources and spoilers. Clearly, none of these shared variables can explain the different outcomes, and they help to support my finding that the type of PKO employed makes a difference.

The case studies shared other similarities as well. For instance, both the DRC and Sierra Leone had the largest UN missions to date when they peaked at their maximum deployment – UNAMSIL had 17,368 military personnel in Sierra Leone as of March 31, 2002 and MONUC had 20,586 military personnel in the DRC as of June 30, 2010. The number of military personnel in the DRC as part of MONUSCO has held steady with 20,878 as of March 31, 2015.

Secondly, all of the case studies were characterized by widespread human rights abuses against civilians, particularly sexual violence and the use of child combatants. The DRC had "the highest concentration of children involved in conflict in the world"

(Project Ploughshares, 2014). Further, the prevalence and brutality of sexual violence in the DRC was described by John Holmes, the UN Undersecretary General for Humanitarian Affairs, as the "worst in the world" (Gettleman, 2007). It was also a defining feature of the war in Sierra Leone as an estimated 215,000 to 257,000 women were victims of sexual violence during the civil war (Ploughshares, 2002).

While sexual violence and other violence that intentionally targets civilians, such as limb amputation, is not listed as a variable that would increase the level of difficulty of a case, one could assume that it would following the same logic that applies to a high death toll or cost of war. If a high death toll likely "fuels animosity and makes post-civil war reconciliation harder" (Fortna, 2004:287), it follows that a campaign of violence aimed at terrorizing civilians and that includes killing, mutilating and raping family members in front of one another would have the same effect. The case studies certainly demonstrate that it promotes a vicious cycle of violence. In recognition of these concerns, the UN prioritized both the creation of a Special Court for Sierra Leone to hold war criminals responsible and the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to start the healing process between the victims and perpetrators of war crimes (UN, 2015).

A third similarity is that while all of the cases did have signed treaties in place before their PKO began, none of the cases had fully inclusive peace agreements except for the first PKO in Sierra Leone led by the regional organization, ECOMOG. When ECOMOG first intervened in 1997, there was only 1 rebel group, the RUF. By the time UNAMSIL and the lead state intervened, there were two rebel groups, the RUF and the AFRC. The fact that the AFRC was not included in either the negotiations or the final

Lomè Agreement in 1999 led to continued fighting. Likewise, a number of rebel groups in the DRC either refused to sign peace agreements or were not included in the process resulting in continued fighting as well. However, the DRC had significantly more factions to deal with – at least 10 armed rebel factions, not including a number of foreign armed forces.

It is also important to note that in all of the cases, these disregarded rebel groups were not the only groups violating the peace agreements. All the parties, including the governments of the DRC and Sierra Leone have been guilty of cease-fire violations. It is apparent through the comparison of the case studies that the most serious issue with the peace agreements had more to do with compliance than inclusion. The rebel groups in both Sierra Leone and the DRC did not demonstrate a real interest in peace, but rather, in using the agreements merely as a tactic to rearm and consolidate their position. As long as the rebels believe they have more to gain by continuing to fight, they will carry on fighting. These gains may be in the form of political power or because both Sierra Leone and the DRC have lootable resources,[51] the economic benefits of war may deter the rebels from ever truly seeking peace. For example, according to the UN Group of Experts, 98% of the gold produced in the DRC is smuggled out of the country and two rebel groups in the DRC, the FRPI and the NDC, were believed to be financed by the exploitation of gold (Ploughshares, 2014). It was the same story in Sierra Leone where it has been estimated that the RUF "made an approximate profit of 200 million dollars a year between 1991 and 1999 through the illicit diamond trade" (Collier and Sambanis, 2005:321).

[51] "Blood diamonds" or "conflict diamonds" are terms used to describe diamonds that were mined in war zones and sold to finance a rebel army. They became almost synonymous with the war in Sierra Leone. Exploiting resources in order to fund rebel groups is also a major problem in the DRC, a country rich in diamonds, gold, coltan and other natural resources.

This leads to a fourth similarity related to the issue of enforcement. As noted above, a systematic comparison of the cases with the five key categories that help explain why one type of PKO is more successful certainly supports the importance of the willingness to use force. The case studies in Sierra Leone and the DRC are also similar in that none of the cases had consent and cooperation from all of the warring parties and they all had spoilers. Thus, all of the cases were in a situation when peace needs to be "imposed" and this is when the type of PKO makes a big difference. In these situations, the lead state is more likely to be willing to use force *and* it is also more likely to have the capability to do so credibly.

There are also a few ways that the DRC and Sierra Leone differ from one another in regard to other competing variables. For example, in terms of duration – the conflict in Sierra Leone had been underway for a much longer period of time before the PKOs intervened (ranging from 6-9 years from the time the regional organization went in to when the lead state arrived). In comparison, the conflict in the DRC had only been in progress for one year (ranging from 1-4 years for the first three PKOs, until MONUSCO's PKO was established 11 years after the first PKO). This does support the war weariness hypothesis that longer wars result in a more stable peace because the participants are simply exhausted and dejected by the thought of any more conflict and as a result, support for continued war erodes (See Fortna, 2004; Hartzell et al, 2001; Mason and Fett, 1996).

I do acknowledge that the citizens of Sierra Leone were undoubtedly weary of the war and yearning for peace; however, through my analysis of the case studies, it is apparent that the RUF was not supported by the people and did not represent them in any

real sense. Rather, the RUF has been heavily criticized for not having any kind of platform or goals and they are described as a group of young uneducated men with no prospects that are fighting for spoils and are being manipulated by a greedy duplicitous leader, Sankoh, who is in turn being manipulated by Taylor, another greedy leader with regional ambitions. The rebel group demonstrated time and time again that they were not really interested in peace by violating every peace agreement they signed. War weariness is less likely to apply to a group that is profiting from the war itself.

For three of the four cases in Sierra Leone, it received a "partly free" ranking from Freedom House (it ranked "not free" the year before UNOMSIL intervened in 1998). The DRC received a "not free" ranking in all of the years prior to a PKO. Of all the dissimilar variables this one probably has the least significance. As the background information on both Sierra Leone and the DRC demonstrates, neither country had a meaningful experience with democracy prior to their conflicts.

The DRC also was an ethnic conflict while Sierra Leone was not. In addition, the DRC had significantly more factions than Sierra Leone as well. More factions also mean more spoilers. While I agree that these variables make the DRC case more difficult, this increased difficulty only accentuates the need for a forceful PKO that has the capability to impose peace.

As noted in this section, there are a number of potential competing variables that could have detracted from the causality of my independent variable, the type of PKO. However, I chose my eight cases studies in these two countries to mitigate potentially spurious effects on the outcome. The case studies in the DRC and Sierra Leone, shared a wide range of similar variables, which allowed my analysis to focus more clearly on the

effects of PKO types. In the next section, I test my findings across a wider universe of cases using quantitative data from the World Bank to examine other PKO operations in Africa.

Generalizing to a Wider Universe of Cases

Given that one of the most significant findings from comparing all of the case studies in the DRC and Sierra Leone is that the lead state PKO is the most likely to achieve success, an important question for future research is to determine if this finding can be applied to a larger group of cases. The World Bank data on human rights and accountability and political stability and absence of violence may provide a broad measure of the effectiveness of different types of PKOs. While it is only through case studies that these relationships can be examined directly in order to obtain a complete picture, quantitative studies can help identify correlations and make inferences.

Using available data from the World Bank, I created figures that show all of the peace operations that took place in Africa since 1996 (see Figures 4, 5 and 6 as well as Appendix C). It would have been ideal if it had been possible to look at all peace operations since the end of the Cold War, or from 1990 through the present, but the data is only available from 1996. These figures are broken down by type of PKO, according to whether I coded it as a UN (Figure 4), regional organization (Figure 5) or lead state operation (Figure 6). They represent the net change in political stability and human rights and accountability from when the peacekeeping operation began to when it ended.

Following Jones et al (2006) and their work on US security assistance to repressive regimes, for human rights and accountability, World Bank codings for the

variable *voice and accountability* were used. Human rights and accountability refers to the "extent to which a country's citizens are able to participate in selecting their government, as well as freedom of expression, freedom of association, and a free media" (Kaufmann et al, 2010:4). The basis for human rights (voice) and accountability comes from data measuring concepts like civil liberties, political rights, freedom of the press, freedom of association, freedom of assembly and demonstration, the electoral process, accountability of public officials, and human rights.[52] Many of these concepts are measured a number of different times from different sources.

For political stability and absence of violence, World Bank codings for the variable *political stability and absence of violence* were employed. Political stability and absence of violence measures the "likelihood that the government will be destabilized or overthrown by unconstitutional or violent means, including politically motivated violence and terrorism" (Kaufmann et al, 2010:4). Examples of the kind of data that they obtained for political stability and the absence of violence include the frequency of political killings, tortures, disappearances, violent demonstrations, social unrest, armed conflict, and terrorist threats.[53] The World Bank's "Governance Matters" data set is widely believed to be the "most comprehensive and well-respected system for evaluating state performance" (Patrick, 2006). The World Bank indicators are "based on several hundred individual variables measuring perceptions of governance, drawn from 37 separate data sources constructed by 31 different organizations. The indicators include a margin of error for each country" (Jones et al, 2006).

[52] http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/pdf/va.pdf
[53] http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/pdf/pv.pdf

The variables were measured at the time the PKOs began and ended their missions, rather than at an arbitrary point in the future. This was mainly due to necessity based on the amount of overlap that exists for almost all of the cases – when one type of PKO was leaving, another was often arriving. However, this decision can also be defended on the basis that while selecting a period of time, such as either two or five years after the operation ended is a common practice[54] and perhaps might help determine the more lasting effects of the mission, there is an alternative point of view that contends that "the passage of time dilutes the causal impact of any action on subsequent events" and thus, once too much time passes, "it is increasingly difficult to sort out the impact of a peace operation from the effects of any other number of variables that continue to operate long after the PSO [Peace Support Operation] has shut down" (Durch, 2006:16). Thus, Figures 4, 5, and 6 reflect either the progress or lack thereof that each individual PKO made during its time in the country as well as an overall total average for each of the three different types of PKOs.

[54] For example, see Doyle and Sambanis (2000) who use a two-year cut-off period.

Figure 4: UN PKOs in Africa, 1996-present, Difference in Political Stability and Human Rights over period of PKO

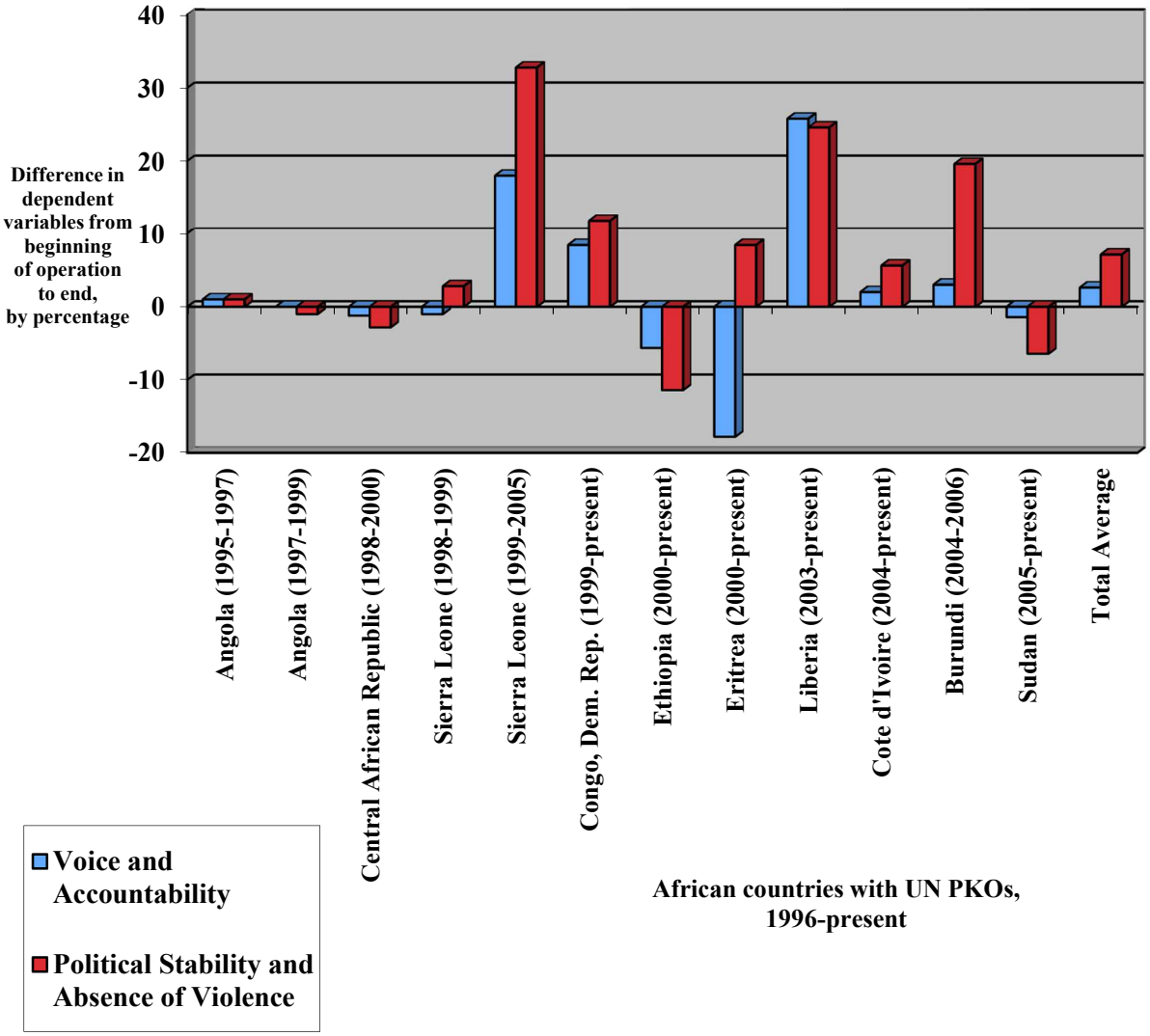


Figure 5: Regional PKOs in Africa, 1996-present, Difference in Political Stability and Human Rights over period of PKO

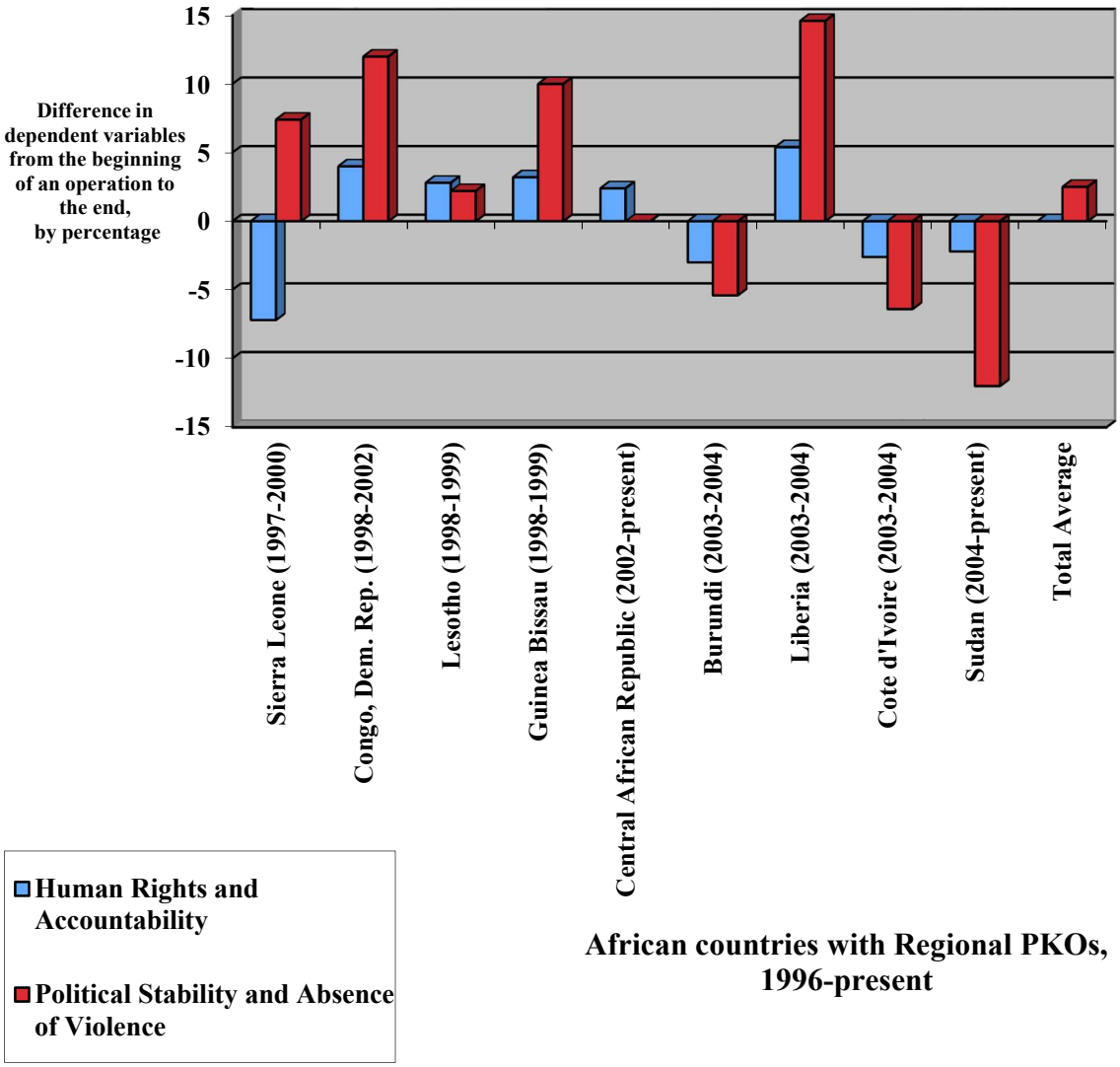


Figure 6: Lead State PKOs in Africa, 1996-present, Difference in Political Stability and Human Rights over period of PKO

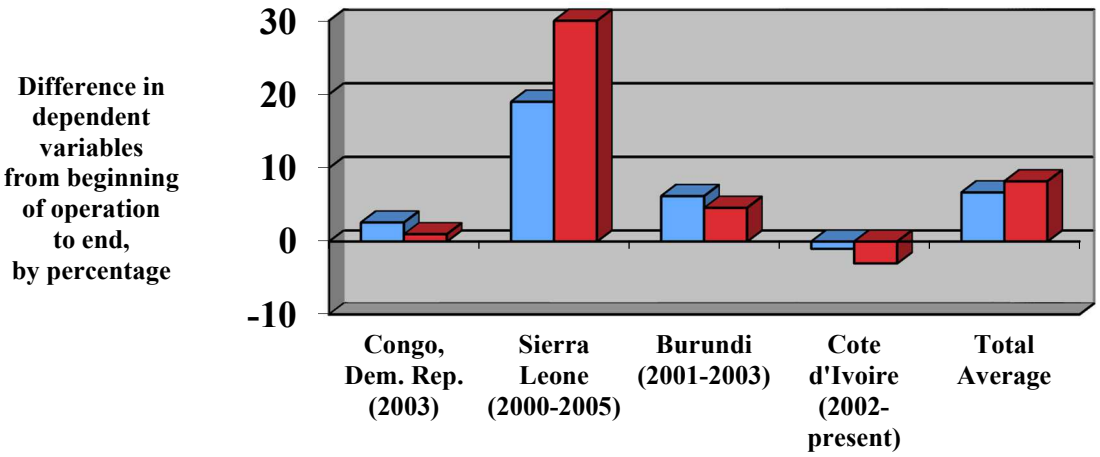
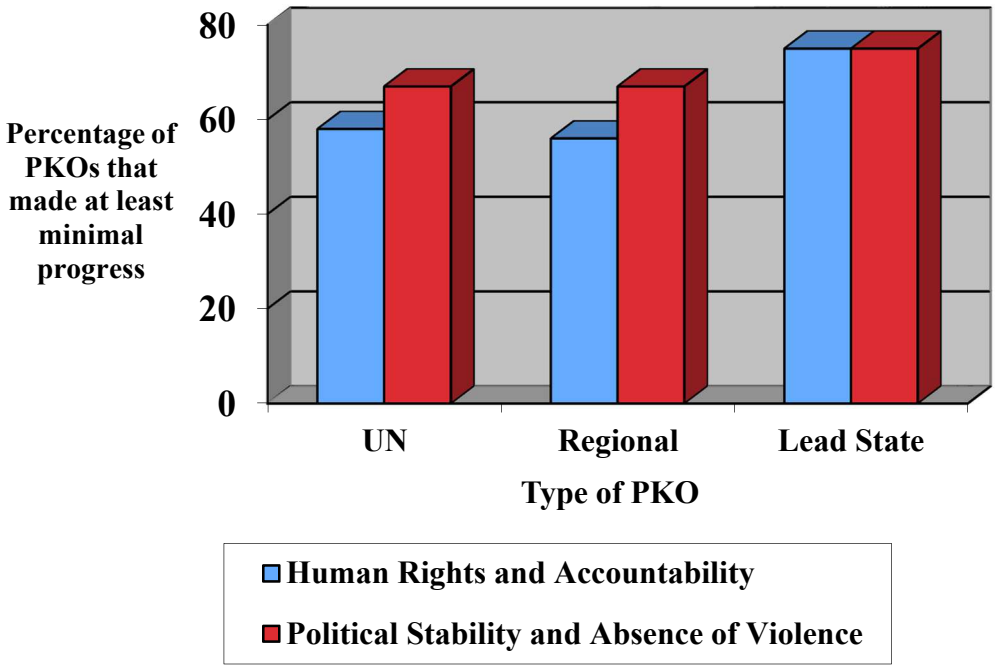
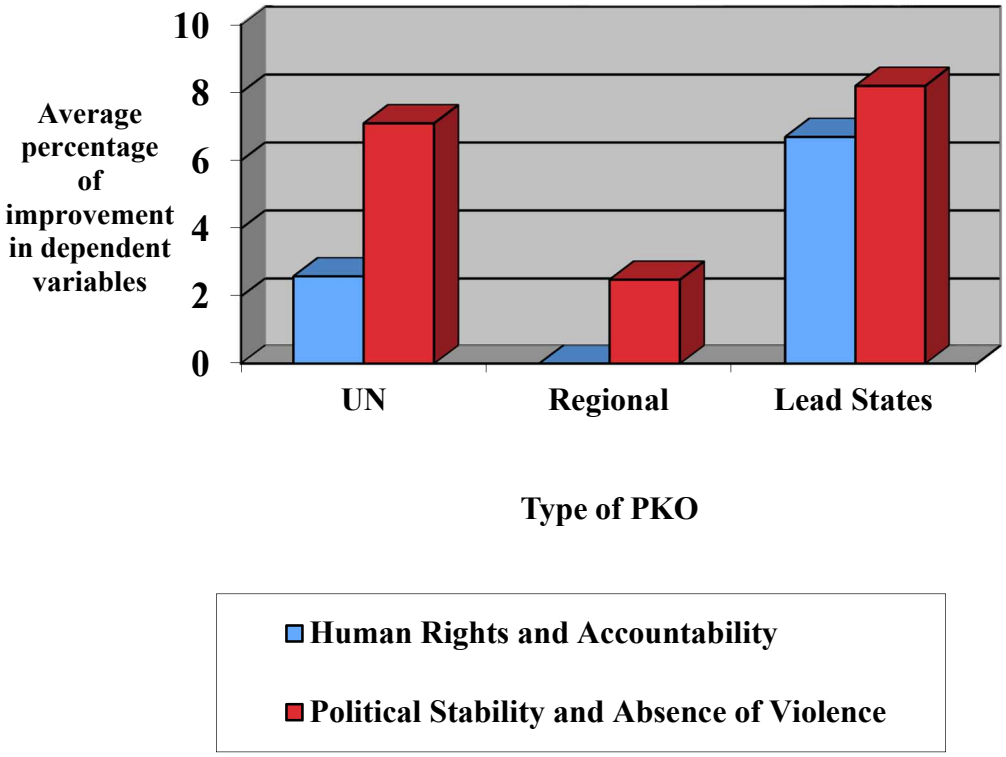


Figure 7:
Peacekeeping in Africa, 1996-present:
"Progress Rate"
***operation shows at least minimal progress**



The results of the data make it appear that regional organizations are more effective at peacekeeping than they are generally given credit for (see Figure 7). Their "progress rate" is equivalent to the UN's rate. The term "progress" is used loosely here and is based on at least minimal progress being made during the time the peacekeepers conducted their operation. This data paints an optimistic picture of peacekeeping generally and is consistent with the widely accepted theory in peacekeeping literature that finds that "peace lasts substantially longer when international personnel deploy than when states are left to maintain peace on their own" (Fortna, 2004:517).

Figure 8:
Average Percentage of Improvement
by UN, Regional, and Lead State PKOs in Africa,
1996-present



However, when one measures the average percentage of improvement in those categories, the UN fares much better (see Figure 8). Taking into account both successes and failures, voice and accountability improves by an average of 2.6% when the UN is present compared to a less than 1% improvement by regional organizations. Additionally, political stability improves by an average of 7.1% when the UN is present

compared to 2.5% by regional peacekeepers.[55] Nevertheless, it is the lead states that perform the best, according to these data. Lead-state PKOs have an overall "progress rate" of 75% in both categories and when they are in attendance voice and accountability improves by an average of 6.7% while political stability also improves by an average of 8.2%. It should be noted that there are fewer lead state cases (only 4, compared to the 12 UN operations during the same time period). Thus, the World Bank data confirms the finding based on the case studies in Sierra Leone and the DRC that lead states are likely to be the most successful PKOs.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that the World Bank data alone does *not* indicate if the PKO was a "success" (in terms of Pushkina's criteria) – only that the country in question improved or made progress during the period of the PKO. For instance, the World Bank data shows that the regional organization and the UN made significant progress in the DRC, especially compared to some of the other PKOs. However, it is crucial to recognize that the starting point for the DRC was so low that the progress does not equate success by any other reasonable standard. In addition, the World Bank data makes it appear that of the four PKOs in the DRC, the lead state made the least progress, which implies that it was also the least successful. However, the case study makes it clear that the lead state was actually the only PKO to fulfill its mandate. Regrettably, the mandate of the French was so limited that it didn't affect the overall

[55] Even the UN's percentages may seem generally low, but it is important to keep in mind that they are averages – sometimes a mission may help to improve the situation by as much as 25% as the UN did in Liberia and other times, it may permit a decline by as much as 18% as was the case with the UN in Eritrea. Also, it is difficult to extrapolate from this study alone whether or not peacekeeping is a worthwhile endeavor because I am not comparing these results with conflicts in other states that did not receive any peacekeeping intervention to determine if they would have fared as well or better, although that would make for an interesting study as well (see Fortna, "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War," 2004).

outcome for the DRC, but the lead state did demonstrate that it had the most promising potential.

These examples highlight the importance of being wary of overreliance on quantitative datasets as well as the value of qualitative studies being used as a check on quantitative data to determine where and how the quantitative data may be misleading. This is particularly important to keep in mind when the number of potential cases is so few. Obviously such a small N puts a lot of pressure on the data. Thus, while the World Bank data can help identify correlations and make inferences, it is only through case studies that these relationships can be examined directly in order to obtain a complete picture.

Conclusion

In sum, I compared PKOs in two cases, the DRC and Sierra Leone to determine which type of PKO was the most successful and why. Using a comparative case study methodology, I found that the type of PKO makes a difference to the success or failure of that mission. PKOs run by lead states are more likely to be successful because they are more willing to use force and they are more likely to have the resources and capabilities necessary to implement that force. Further, I found that two types of PKOs working together can use their strengths to compensate for each other's weaknesses.

In addition, the World Bank data on human rights and accountability and political stability and absence of violence provided broad measures of the different PKOs effectiveness and corroborated my finding that lead state PKOs are the most likely to be successful. The World Bank data has proven to be helpful in the study of peacekeeping,

and is a promising avenue for future research with the caveat that the data is open to misinterpretation without additional work that assesses its limits.

Aside from the obvious contribution to the literature on peacekeeping and peacebuilding, this dissertation also adds to the literature on international security studies and human security as it grapples with the connection between state security, national interest and human security and civil war duration literature as it examines the indicators believed to be positively correlated with conflict duration.

Furthermore, there are a number of potential valuable policy implications of this research. First, this research could be used to dispel myths/preconceptions of peacekeeping operations, which are often criticized as expensive, unorganized, and ineffective. Peacekeeping operations are also often associated exclusively with the UN and my research sheds light on the diverse range of the various types of PKOs and the associated strengths of each. Current conflicts tend to be intra-state rather inter-state and are becoming increasingly complex and diverse, requiring multidimensional PKOs, that are capable of assisting with a wide variety of issues, including peace enforcement.

Second, and most importantly, understanding whether or not a particular type of intervention is more effective than others could result in more efficient responses and better utilization of resources. When faced with a crisis, time is typically of the essence, and although the UN has yet to get to the point whereby a standing army or reactionary force can act decisively and timely, the knowledge that a certain type or combination of types of PKOs is the best utilization of resources will be beneficial.

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Appendix A: United Nations Peace Operations in Africa, 1996-present*

Operation	Duration	Location
MINURSO	1991 – present	Western Sahara
UNOMIL	1993 – 1997	Liberia
UNAVEM III	1995 – 1997	Angola
MONUA	1997 – 1999	Angola
MINURCA	1998 – 2000	Central African Republic
UNOMSIL	1998 – 1999	Sierra Leone
MONUC	1999 – 2010	Democratic Republic of Congo
UNAMSIL	1999 – 2005	Sierra Leone
UNMEE	2000 – 2008	Ethiopia-Eritrea
UNMIL	2003 – present	Liberia
MINUCI	2003 – 2004	Cote d'Ivoire
UNOCI	2004 – present	Cote d'Ivoire
ONUB	2004 – 2006	Burundi
UNMIS	2005 – 2011	Sudan
UNAMID	2007 – present	Darfur, Sudan
MINURCAT	2007 – 2010	Chad & Central African Republic
MONUSCO	2010 – present	Democratic Republic of Congo
UNISFA	2011 – present	Abyei Area, Sudan
UNMISS	2011 – present	South Sudan
MINUSMA	2013 – present	Mali
MINUSCA	2014 – present	Central African Republic

*present refers to ongoing operations as of May 2015.

Source: UN Peacekeeping, Past Operations and Current Operations, Retrieved 2015. http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/index.asp

Appendix B: Non-UN Peace Operations, 1996-present*

Operation	Duration	Location	Authorizing Body	Operational Command
	1997 – 2000	Sierra Leone	ECOWAS	Nigeria
Sovereign Legitimacy	1998 – 2002	Congo, Dem Republic	SADC	Zimbabwe and Angola
Operation Boleas	1998 – 1999	Lesotho	SADC	South Africa
	1998 – 1999	Guinea-Bissau	ECOWAS	
Operation Palliser	2000 – 2005	Sierra Leone	United Kingdom-Sierra Leone	United Kingdom
SAPSD	2001 – 2003	Burundi	South Africa-Burundi	South Africa
Unnamed	2002 – 2008	Central African Republic	CEMAC	FOMUC
	2008 – present	Central African Republic	ECCAS/ CEEAC	MICOPAX
Operation Licorne	2002 – present	Cote d'Ivoire	France	France
Operation Artemis	2003	Congo, Dem Republic	UN	France
AMIB	2003 – 2004	Burundi	AU	AU
ECOMIL	2003 – 2004	Liberia	ECOWAS	ECOWAS
ECOMICI	2003 – 2004	Cote d'Ivoire	UN-ECOWAS	ECOWAS
AU Monitors and Protection Force	2004 – 2008	Darfur, Sudan	AU	AU
AMISOM	2007 – present	Somalia	AU/UN	AU
AU/UN hybrid operation (UNAMID)	2008 – present	Darfur, Sudan	AU-UN	AU and UN
ECOMIB	2012 – present	Guinea-Bissau		ECOWAS
EUCAP Sahel Niger	2012 – present	Niger		EU
AFISMA	2012 – present	Mali	AU-ECOWAS	ECOWAS
EUTM	2012 – present	Mali		EU
	2013	Mali		France

*present refers to ongoing operations as of January 2014.

Sources: Bellamy and Williams (2005); Meyer (2009); CIA World Fact Book, https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html; and UN Peacekeeping, Past Operations and Current Operations, http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/index.asp; and Annual Review of Global Peace Operations (2013), http://cic.nyu.edu/content/annual-review-global-peace-operations-2013.

Appendix C: Peacekeeping Operations in Africa, 1996-present*

Type of Peacekeeping	Operation	Location	Duration	Voice and Accountability	Political Stability
UN:	MINURSO	Western Sahara	1991-present*	no data	no data
	MONUA	Angola	1997-1999**	0%	-1%
	MINURCA	Central African Republic	1998-2000	-1.2%	-2.8%
	UNOMSIL	Sierra Leone	1998-1999**	-1%	2.8%
	UNAMSIL	Sierra Leone	1999**-2005	18%	32.8%
	MONUC	Democratic Republic of Congo	1999**-2010	8.4%	11.8%
	UNMEE	Ethiopia and…	2000-2008	-5.6%	-11.4%
		Eritrea	2000-2008	-17.8%	8.4%
	UNMIL	Liberia	2003-present*	25.8%	24.6%
	MINUCI	Côte d'Ivoire	2003-2004		
	UNOCI	Côte d'Ivoire	2004-present*	2%	5.6%
	ONUB	Burundi	2004-2006	3%	19.6%
	UNMIS	Sudan	2005-2011	-1.4%	-6.4%
	MINURCAT	Central African Republic and Chad	2007-2010		
w/ AU	UNAMID	Darfur	2007-present*		
	MONUSCO	Democratic Republic of Congo	2010-present*		
	UNMISS	South Sudan	2011-present*		
	UNISFA	Abyei Area, Sudan	2011-present*		
	MINUSMA	Mali	2013-present*		
	MINUSCA	Central African Rep	2014-present*		

*As of May 14, 2015

** Prior to 2002, the data was only available for even years beginning in 1996. Therefore, I've made estimates for the missing values with a linear interpolation. See Landman, 2005:53.

Sources: un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations

Peacekeeping Operations in Africa, 1996-present* cont.

Type of Peacekeeping	Operation	Location	Duration	Voice and Accountability	Political Stability
REGIONAL:					
ECOWAS		Sierra Leone	1997**-2000	-7.2%	7.4%
SADC		Democratic Rep of Congo	1998-2002	4%	12%
SADC		Lesotho	1998-1999**	2.8%	2.2%
ECOWAS		Guinea-Bissau	1998-1999**	3.2%	10%
CEMAC		Central African Republic	2002-present*	2.4%	0%
AU		Burundi	2003-2004	-3%	-5.4%
ECOWAS		Liberia	2003-2004	5.4%	14.6%
ECOWAS		Cote d'Ivoire	2003-2004	-2.6%	-6.4%
AU		Sudan	2004-present*	-2.2%	-12%

*As of 2008

** Prior to 2002, the data was only available for even years beginning in 1996. Therefore, I've made estimates for the missing values with a linear interpolation. See Landman, 2005:53.

Peacekeeping Operations in Africa, 1996-present* cont.

Type of Peacekeeping	Operation	Location	Duration	Voice and Accountability	Political Stability
LEAD STATE:					
UK-Sierra Leone		Sierra Leone	2000-2005	19%	30%
South Africa-Burundi		Burundi	2001** -2003	6.2%	4.6%
France		Cote d'Ivoire	2002-present*	-1%	-3%
UN-France (EU)		Democratic Rep of Congo	2003	2.6% (compared to 2002)	1% (compared to 2002)

*As of 2008

** Prior to 2002, the data was only available for even years beginning in 1996. Therefore, I've made estimates for the missing values with a linear interpolation. See Landman, 2005:53.

Appendix D: Level of Difficulty in the DRC

Level of Difficulty Indicators:	1999-2002 **SADC**	1999-2010 **MONUC**	2003 **France/UN**	2010-present **MONUSCO**
treaty signed	Y =0 (1999)	Y (1999) =0	Y (2002) =0	Y (2008) =0
ethnic conflict	Y =1	Y =1	Y =1	Y=1
cost (death toll)	5000 (1998)/5000 (1999) =1	5000 (1998)/5000 (1999) =1	1000-4000 (2002)/8000 (2003) =1	1975-2661 (2009) =1
duration (prior to intervention)	1 year ('98 - '99) =1	1 year ('98 - '99) =1	4 years ('98 - '02) =1	12 years (’98-’10) = 0
# of factions	>10 =1 (at least 4 rebel groups including 2 main ones, plus 6 states with troops in DRC	>10 =1	>10 =1	>10 =1
level of economic development (GDP per capita)	128 (272 - 1998) =1	128 (272 - 1998) =1	103 (283 - 2002) =1	302 (690 – 2009) =1
lootable resources	Y =1	Y =1	Y =1	Y =1
level of democracy	0/7-6-NF (1998) =1	0/7-6-NF (1998) =1	0/6-6-NF (2002) =1	NF (2009) =1
spoilers	Y =1	Y =1	Y =1	Y =1
collapsed state	Y =1	Y =1	Y =1	Y =1
hostile neighbors	Y =1 (Angola, Burundi, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda and Zimbabwe)	Y =1	Y =1 (Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia left in Oct 2002, the other 3 made promises to leave with Ugandan troops being the last to leave in April 2003)	Y =1
secession demands	N =0	N =0	N =0	N =0
TOTAL	10	10	10	9

Appendix E: Level of Difficulty in Sierra Leone

	1997 - 2000 **ECOMOG**	1998 – 1999 **UNOMSIL**	1999 – 2005 **UNAMSIL**	2000 – 2005 **UK**
Level of Difficulty Indicators:				
treaty signed	Y =0 (Abidjan Accord, Nov 1996)	Y =0 (the Conkary Peace Plan, 1997)	Y (1999 - Lome Accord) =0	Y (1999 – also see Abuja Ceasefire Agreement, 2000) =0
ethnic conflict	N =0	N =0	N =0	N =0
cost (death toll)	570 (1996) = 0	747 (1997) = 0	1300+ (1998) =1	5000+ (1999) =1
duration (prior to intervention)	6 years ('91 - '97) =0	7 years ('91 - '98) =0	8 years ('91 - '99) =0	9 years ('91 - '00) =0
# of factions	1 rebel group (RUF) and 1 pro-gov't militia (Kamajors) in '96 =0	2 rebel groups (AFRC and RUF) and 1 pro-gov't militia (Kamajors) (1997) =1	1 main rebel group (RUF/AFRC) and 1 pro-gov't militia (Kamjors) (1998) =0	1 rebel group (RUF) and 1 pro-gov't militia (Kamjors) (1999) =0
level of economic development (GDP per capita)	236 (268 - 1996) =1	212 (278 - 1997) =1	166 (272 - 1998) =1	162 (268 - 1999) =1
lootable resources	Y =1	Y =1	Y =1	Y =1
level of democracy	4/4-5-PF (1996) =0	0/7-6-NF (1997) =1	0/3-5-PF (1998) =0	0/3-5-PF (1999) =0
spoilers	Y =1	Y =1	Y =1	Y =1
collapsed state	Y =1	Y =1	Y =1	Y =1
hostile neighbors	Y =1	Y =1	Y =1	Y =1
secession demands	N =0	N =0	N =0	N =0
TOTAL	*6	*8	6	6

Appendix #F: Human Rights in DRC by Year

PKO:	YEAR:	LEVEL OF HUMAN RIGHTS:
SADC – 1998-2002 MONUC – 1999-2010	1998	-Civilians bore the brunt of the conflict as both sides resorted to extrajudicial executions and arbitrary detentions, with their perceived ethnic adversaries the main victims. -Government and rebels systematically recruited child soldiers into their armies. -Escalation of the government's repression of the civil and political rights of the Congolese.
SADC – 1998-2002 MONUC – 1999-2010	1999	-The government's attempts to intimidate the political opposition, the free press, and the country's dynamic civil society and human rights movements led to severe restriction on the freedoms of expression and association. -Forces of the Congolese Rally for Democracy on several occasions massacred scores of civilians. -Extensive recruitment of child soldiers throughout the country. -Abuses against women by all parties were rampant, and they were frequently the target of sexual violence including rape.
SADC – 1998-2002 MONUC – 1999-2010	2000	-Rebel factions and their foreign backers and government troops showed little inclination to respect basic norms of international human rights and humanitarian law in their treatment of civilian populations. -Indiscriminate attacks, extrajudicial executions of civilians, rape, and large-scale destruction of civilian property characterized the conduct of the belligerents. -Collective punishment for suspected loyalty to rival antagonists generated many of the civilian killings, as did localized interethnic strife fueled by the broader war. -Perpetrators from all parties enjoyed total impunity. -By midyear, upward of 1.3 million Congolese were displaced, and another five million completely or partially separated from their traditional supply routes, mainly because of the generalized insecurity. --Those uprooted by the war were deprived of access to humanitarian services by the same factors that caused their flight and isolation. -The human rights situation throughout the country continued to deteriorate.

SADC – 1998-2002 MONUC – 1999-2010	2001	-During the four years of war, all parties routinely attacked civilians, killing, raping, and maiming thousands. -Hundreds of thousands of civilians died of hunger, diseases, or exposure as a result of the war. -All parties to the war abducted and recruited children to be trained and deployed as soldiers, as members of local militia or civil defense forces, or as workers attached to military units. -Throughout eastern DRC armed men from various governmental and rebel forces have raped and otherwise sexually tortured thousands of women and girls.
MONUC – 1999-2010 FRANCE – June-September 2003	2002	-The catastrophic five-year war pitting the Congolese government against ever-splintering rebel groups continued through most of the year with belligerents killing, raping and otherwise injuring thousands of civilians -Gives numerous examples of hundreds of civilians killed in attacks by various factions (ie. One attack by RCD-ML forces and predominantly Ngiti militia (ethnic group) in the town of Nyankunde killed hundreds of civilians, including hospital staff and patients, the latter slaughtered in their beds.) -Combatants from all sides raped and otherwise sexually assaulted women and girls in the October fighting, as throughout the year. -In some cases, victims were abducted and held for weeks or months to provide sexual and other services.
MONUC – 1999-2010	2003	Not available (special report)
MONUC – 1999-2010	2004	-After eighteen months in power, the transitional government of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) remains fragile -In eastern Congo, soldiers of the national army and combatants of armed groups continue to target civilians, killing, raping, and otherwise injuring them, carrying out arbitrary arrests and torture, and destroying or pillaging their property
MONUC – 1999-2010	2005	-In 2005, combatants from armed groups as well as government soldiers deliberately killed, raped, and abducted civilians and destroyed or looted their property in repeated attacks, particularly in eastern Congo. -A feeble justice system failed to prosecute these recent crimes and did nothing to end impunity for war crimes and crimes against humanity committed during the previous two wars.
MONUC – 1999-2010	2006	Not available (Only covered North Africa and the US)

MONUC – 1999-2010	2007	-Despite widespread optimism following the 2006 elections, violence against civilians, political repression, and impunity has continued during Joseph Kabila's first year as the newly elected president of the Democratic Republic of Congo. -All sides in the conflict commit atrocities against civilians, especially women, and a further 350,000 people joined the hundreds of thousands already displaced. In western Congo, soldiers and police killed more than 100 persons protesting corruption in the Bas Congo provincial elections -Persons suspected of grave violations of international humanitarian law continued to enjoy near total impunity. Only a handful were arrested and prosecuted while dozens of others were promoted to senior positions in the army or the government -The judicial process continued to be characterized by political interference and corruption.
MONUC – 1999-2010	2008	Violence, impunity, and horrific human rights abuses continue in the Democratic Republic of Congo, two years after historic elections were expected to bring stability. -During the year, hundreds of civilians were killed, thousands of women and girls were raped, and a further 400,000 people fled their homes, pushing the total number of displaced persons in North and South Kivu to over 1.2 million. -In western Congo, state authorities used violence and intimidation against political opponents, killing over 200 protestors and others in Bas Congo and arresting scores of supposed opponents, many of them from Equateur province, on charges of plotting against the government. -Officials harassed press and civil society critical of the government.
MONUC – 1999-2010 MONUSCO – 2010-present	2009	-Violence and brutal human rights abuses increased in the Democratic Republic of Congo throughout 2009. -At least 2,500 civilians were slaughtered, over 7,000 women and girls were raped, and more than 1 million people were forced to flee their homes. -Attacks in northern Congo by the Ugandan rebel group Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) also caused immense harm to Congolese civilians. -The military operations in eastern Congo were accompanied by brutal rape. In a region already labeled "the worst place in the world to be a woman," the situation deteriorated further. -An estimated 7,000 cases of sexual violence against women and girls were registered at health centers across North and South Kivu in the first seven months of 2009, nearly double the number of cases in 2008.

MONUSCO – 2010-present	2010	-Attacks on civilians and other human rights abuses continued with disturbing frequency in 2010 -As in the past, all sides targeted civilians, who were killed, raped, arbitrarily arrested, pressed into forced labor, and looted. -The ongoing violence left nearly 2 million people displaced and a further 145,000 as refugees in neighboring countries. -Attacks on civilians by the army and armed groups were rampant. Hundreds were killed and raped as each warring party accused local populations of supporting its enemies. -The level of sexual violence in Congo continued at an alarming rate. Over 15,000 cases of sexual violence were reported in 2009. -In 2010 there were no signs that the trend was decreasing. For the first six months of the year 7,685 cases were reported. More than half of the victims were under 18 years of age. -The vast majority of crimes committed in Congo have gone unpunished and, in many cases, perpetrators are rewarded rather than brought to justice.
MONUSCO – 2010-present	2011	-The human rights situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) remained grave. -All sides in the country's ongoing armed conflicts continued to attack civilians and commit other serious human rights abuses -The east and the north of the country remained volatile and were marked by frequent attacks on civilians, particularly sexual violence against women and girls. -Nearly 1.7 million people are displaced, including the newly displaced, and a further 476,000 are refugees in neighboring countries. -As in the past, government soldiers frequently killed and raped civilians and pressed them into forced labor or looted their belongings. - There was mixed progress in the government's efforts to hold perpetrators of serious violations to account. -The months before the elections were marked by threats and physical attacks against opposition members, media, and human rights defenders. -In late 2011, opposition party members and supporters, human rights activists, and journalists were threatened, arbitrarily arrested, and killed during presidential and legislative election periods (from 2012 report.
MONUSCO – 2010-present	2012	-State security forces and Congolese and foreign armed groups committed numerous and widespread violations of the laws of war against civilians in eastern and northern Democratic Republic of Congo (Congo).

MONUSCO – 2010-present	2013	-Armed conflict continued in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, with Congolese security forces and non-state armed groups responsible for serious abuses against civilians. -The Rwandan-backed M23 armed group committed widespread war crimes, including summary executions, rapes, and forced recruitment of children. -As the military focused attention on defeating the M23, many other armed groups also attacked civilians. -In the capital, Kinshasa, and elsewhere, government authorities have sought to silence dissent with threats, violence, and arbitrary arrests against human rights activists, journalists, and opposition political party leaders and supporters who were critical of government officials or participated in anti-government demonstrations. -Few efforts have been made to curb abuses by these armed groups or to investigate, arrest, and prosecute those responsible. -Elements of the Congolese army have in some cases collaborated with and provided support to armed groups responsible for serious abuses, including the FDLR and Nyatura.
MONUSCO – 2010-present	2014	-In late 2013, there was a period of optimism that armed violence and attacks on civilians might decrease in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, following the defeat of the abusive M23 armed group, and the subsequent surrender of combatants from other armed groups. -But in 2014, the government made little progress in capitalizing on these opportunities to improve security for civilians in the east. -Numerous armed groups remain active and their fighters continue to carry out brutal attacks on civilians. -Government security forces also committed serious abuses against civilians. -Political tensions increased with protests across the country against proposals to change Congo's constitution and allow President Joseph Kabila to run for a third term.

Source: Human Rights Watch Annual World Reports, 1999-2015
https://www.hrw.org/previous-world-reports

Appendix #G: Human Rights in Sierra Leone by Year

PKO:	YEAR:	LEVEL OF HUMAN RIGHTS:
ECOMOG – 1997-2000 UNOMSIL – 1998-1999	1998	For the past seven years a vicious civil war has engulfed Sierra Leone, characterized by atrocities against civilians….widespread human rights abuses and a complete breakdown of the rule of law…between February and June 1998 alone, thousands of Sierra Leonean civilians were raped, deliberately mutilated, or killed outright by rebels.
ECOMOG – 1997-2000 UNOMSIL – 1998-1999 UNAMSIL – 1999-2005	1999	Marked the most intensive and concentrated period of human rights violations in Sierra Leone's eight-year civil war…Government and ECOMOG forces also carried out serious abuses
ECOMOG – 1997-2000 UNAMSIL – 1999-2005 UK - 2000-2002	2000	Despite hopes that the [Lomé] peace process would bring an end to the atrocities that characterized this brutal nine-year war, abuses continued unabated… The nine months following the signing of the agreement brought about a relative reduction in abuses and few cases of the RUF signature atrocity-limb amputation-were documented. However, sexual assault against women and girls continued unabated. The collapse of the peace process in May, after the capture of some five hundred United Nations peacekeepers serving with the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), reversed this trend. Renewed conflict ushered in increases in human rights abuses by the RUF and rebel militias, including limb amputation, and a disturbing intensification of abuses by pro-government forces.
UNAMSIL – 1999-2005 UK - 2000-2002	2001	Improvement in the human rights situation, including the release of over 3,000 child soldiers, abductees, and separated children by the RUF and by pro-government civil defense militias…However, serious violations, which often involved victims and perpetrators not only from Sierra Leone but also from neighboring Liberia and Guinea, were persistent and served to highlight the region's conflicts
UNAMSIL – 1999-2005 UK - 2000-2002	2002	Significant progress in 2002… the decade-long civil war had ended… elections were largely peaceful, though there were a few reports of violence and intimidation… While there were very few complaints of abuses by the army, there were frequent complaints of corrupt, unprofessional, and in some cases violent practices by the Sierra Leone Police.
UNAMSIL – 1999-2005	2003	Not Available
UNAMSIL – 1999-2005	2004	The human rights situation has vastly improved since Sierra Leone's devastating civil war was officially declared over in January 2002… Despite the disarmament of some 47,000 combatants, and the successful completion of presidential and parliamentary elections in 2002 and local elections in 2004, the deep rooted issues that gave rise to the conflict—endemic corruption, weak rule of law, crushing poverty, and the inequitable distribution of the country's vast natural resources—remain largely unaddressed by the government.
UNAMSIL – 1999-2005	2005	Government still doing little to address the issues that gave rise to the conflict—endemic corruption, weak rule of law, and the inequitable distribution of the country's vast natural resources.

Source: Human Rights Watch Annual World Reports

Appendix H: DRC Timeline

1960 June – Congo becomes independent with Patrice Lumumba as prime minister and Joseph Kasavubu as president.

1965 – Joseph Mobutu leads a coup and takes over power

1971 – Joseph Mobutu renames the country Zaire and himself Mobutu Sese Seko

1997 May – Tutsi and other anti-Mobutu rebels, aided principally by Rwanda, capture the capital, Kinshasa; Zaire is renamed the Democratic Republic of Congo; Laurent-Desire Kabila installed as president.

1998 August – Rebels backed by Rwanda and Uganda rise up against Kabila and advance on Kinshasa. Zimbabwe, Namibia send troops to repel them. Angolan troops also side with Kabila. The rebels take control of much of the east of DR Congo.

1999 – Rifts emerge between Congolese Liberation Movement (MLC) rebels supported by Uganda and Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD) rebels backed by Rwanda.

July – The six African countries involved in the war sign a ceasefire accord in Lusaka. The following month the MLC and RCD rebel groups sign the accord.

2000 – UN Security Council authorises a 5,500-strong UN force to monitor the ceasefire but fighting continues between rebels and government forces, and between Rwandan and Ugandan forces.

2001
January – President Laurent Kabila is assassinated. Joseph Kabila succeeds his father.

May – US refugee agency says the war has killed 2.5 million people, directly or indirectly, since August 1998. Later, a UN panel says the warring parties are deliberately prolonging the conflict to plunder gold, diamonds, timber and coltan, used in the making of mobile phones.

2002
April – Peace talks in South Africa: Kinshasa signs a power-sharing deal with Ugandan-backed rebels, under which the MLC leader would be premier. Rwandan-backed RCD rebels reject the deal.

July – Presidents of DR Congo and Rwanda sign a peace deal under which Rwanda will withdraw troops from the east and DR Congo will disarm and arrest Rwandan Hutu gunmen blamed for the killing of the Tutsi minority in Rwanda's 1994 genocide.

September – Presidents of DR Congo and Uganda sign peace accord under which Ugandan troops will leave DR Congo.

September/October – Uganda, Rwanda say they have withdrawn most of their forces from the east. UN-sponsored power-sharing talks begin in South Africa.

December – Peace deal signed in South Africa between Kinshasa government and main rebel groups. Under the deal rebels and opposition members are to be given portfolios in an interim government.

2003
April – President Kabila signs a transitional constitution, under which an interim government will rule pending elections.

May – Last Ugandan troops leave eastern DR Congo.

June – French soldiers arrive in Bunia, spearheading a UN-mandated rapid-reaction force.

President Kabila names a transitional government to lead until elections in two years time. Leaders of main former rebel groups are sworn in as vice-presidents in July.

2004 December – Fighting in the east between the Congolese army and renegade soldiers from a former pro-Rwanda rebel group. Rwanda denies being behind the mutiny.

2005
March – UN peacekeepers say they have killed more then 50 militia members in an offensive, days after nine Bangladeshi soldiers serving with the UN are killed in the north-east.

May – New constitution, with text agreed by former warring factions, is adopted by parliament.

September – Uganda warns that its troops may re-enter DR Congo after a group of Ugandan Lord's Resistance Army rebels enter via Sudan.

November – A first wave of soldiers from the former Zairean army returns after almost eight years of exile in the neighbouring Republic of Congo.

December – Voters back a new constitution, already approved by parliament, paving the way for elections in 2006.

International Court of Justice rules that Uganda must compensate DR Congo for rights abuses and the plundering of resources in the five years up to 2003.

2006
July – Presidential and parliamentary polls are held - the first free elections in four decades. With no clear winner in the presidential vote, incumbent leader Joseph Kabila and opposition candidate Jean-Pierre Bemba prepare to contest a run-off poll on 29 October. Forces loyal to the two candidates clash in the capital.

November – Joseph Kabila is declared winner of October's run-off presidential election. The poll has the general approval of international monitors.

December – Forces of renegade General Laurent Nkunda and the UN-backed army clash in North Kivu province, prompting some 50,000 people to flee. The UN Security Council expresses concern about the fighting.

2008
January – The government and rebel militia, including renegade Gen Nkunda, sign a peace pact aimed at ending years of conflict in the east.

April – Army troops clash with Rwandan Hutu militias with whom they were formerly allied in eastern Congo, leaving thousands of people displaced.

August – Heavy clashes erupt in the east of the country between army troops and fighters loyal to rebel leader Laurent Nkunda.

November – Campaign by Tutsi rebel leader Laurent Nkunda to consolidate control over east prompts new wave of refugees.

UN Security Council approves temporary increase of troops to bolster the strained UN peacekeeping effort.

December – Uganda, South Sudan and DRCongo launch joint assault on Ugandan Lord's Resistance Army bases in north-east DRCongo. Hundreds of civilians are killed in backlash attacks.

2009
January – Launch of joint DRCongo-Rwandan military operation against Tutsi rebels led by Laurent Nkunda. Campaign lasts five weeks.

April – Hutu militia re-emerge after end of joint DRCongo-Rwanda campaign in east, prompting thousands to flee.

May – Kabila approves law giving amnesty to armed groups as part of deal meant to end fighting in east.

June – International Criminal Court orders ex-vice president Jean-Pierre Bemba to stand trial on charges of war crimes for his troops' actions in Central African Republic between 2002 and 2003.

December – UN extends mandate of MONUC for shortened five months, as a step to full withdrawal by mid-2010.

2010
May – Government steps up pressure for UN peacekeepers to quit before elections in 2011. UN's top humanitarian official John Holmes warns against premature departure.

July – $8 billion debt relief deal approved by World Bank and IMF.

June-August – Operation Rwenzori against Ugandan ADF-NALU rebels prompts 90,000 to flee in North Kivu province.

July-August – Mass rapes reported in North Kivu province. UN envoy Margot Wallstrom blames both rebels and army.

October – UN report into killing of Hutus in DR Congo between 1993 and 2003 says they may constitute "crimes of genocide". It implicates Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, Zimbabwe and Angola.

November – UN agencies report widespread rapes during mass expulsion of illigal migrants from Angola to DRCongo.

UN report accuses networks within army of promoting violence in east to profit from mining, smuggling and poaching.

Ex-DRCongo vice-president Jean-Pierre Bemba goes on trial at International Criminal Court accused of letting his troops rape and kill in Central African Republic between 2002 and 2003.

2011
January - Constitution changed, which some say boost President Kabila's election chances.

November – Presidential and parliamentary elections. Mr Kabila gains another term. The vote is criticised abroad and the opposition disputes the result.

2012 October – The UN Security Council announces its intention to impose sanctions against leaders of the M23 rebel movement and violators of the DRC arms embargo. A UN panel says Rwanda and Uganda are supplying M23 with weapons and support, which both countries deny.

2013
February – Representatives of 11 African countries sign an accord in Ethiopia pledging to help end the conflict in DR Congo. The M23 rebel group declared a ceasefire ahead of the talks.

July – 3,000-member UN Intervention Brigade deployed to fight and disarm rebels in the east.

December – M23 rebel group signs peace deal with government after army captures last of strongholds in east.

2014 February – UN accuses rival Mai Mai militias of killing more than 70 civilians in Masisi area of North Kivu, in east of country.

Source: BBC News, 2015a, "Timeline."

Appendix I: Sierra Leone Timeline

1787 – British abolitionists and philanthropists establish a settlement in Freetown for repatriated and rescued slaves.

1808 – Freetown settlement becomes crown colony.

1961 – Sierra Leone becomes independent. Having led the country to independence, Sir Milton Margai becomes head of the postindependence government following elections.

1967 – Siaka Stevens wins elections, leading to a power tussle and coup d'ètat

1968 – Countercoup reinstates Siaka Stevens

1977-78 – Under Stevens, Sierra Leone becomes a one-party state. Stevens declares himself president-for-life.

1985 – Stevens retires and hands over power to the commander of the armed forces, General Joseph Momoh.

1989 – Outbreak of civil war in neighboring Liberia in December.

1991 – March - Start of civil war. Former army corporal Foday Sankoh and his Revolutionary United Front (RUF) begin campaign against President Momoh, capturing towns on border with Liberia. An ECOWAS force is deployed to counter the RUF rebellion, which slowly spreads across the country.

1992 – President Joseph Momoh ousted in military coup led by Captain Valentine Strasser, apparently frustrated by failure to deal with rebels. Under international pressure, Strasser announces plans for the first multi-party elections since 1967.

1995 – Berhanu Dinka from Ethiopia is appointed Special Envoy of the Secretary-General to work in collaboration with the OAU and ECOWAS to negotiate a settlement to the conflict.

To make up for a weak military, Strasser's government recruits the mercenary firm Executive Outcomes to assist traditional hunting militias, most notably the Kamajors of the Mende group, in waging the war against the rebels.

1996
January – Strasser ousted in military coup led by his defense minister, Brigadier Julius Maada Bio.

February – Ahmad Tejan Kabbah of the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) is elected president

November – Abidjan Peace Accord signed by the government and the RUF

1997
January – Executive Outcomes departs Sierra Leone early, as the government is unable to meet the mercenary firm's rising costs

May – President Kabbah deposed by army. The Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) assumes power led by Major Johnny Paul Koroma. President Kabbah goes into exile in neighboring Guinea.

June – Nigeria-led forces attempt to reverse the coup, without success.

August – ECOWAS members gathered at the Heads of State summit in Abuja agree to impose a total embargo on all supplies of oil and weapons to the AFRC, as well as a travel ban on AFRC leaders.

September – Francis G. Okelo of Uganda replaces Dinka as Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Sierra Leone.

October – The UN Security Council imposes an oil and arms embargo and authorizes ECOWAS to ensure its implementation.

Conakry Cease-Fire Agreement between ECOWAS and the AFRC, to be monitored by ECOMOG and UN military observers. The AFRC also agrees to withdraw and allow the restoration of Kabbah's government within six months, but reneges and the agreement is never implemented.

1998
February – Following fierce fighting in January, Nigerian-led West African intervention force ECOMOG retake the capital, Freetown.

March – President Kabbah's government is reinstated in Freetown.

Kabbah formalizes the Kamajors and other civil militias fighting alongside ECOMOG into the Civil Defense Forces (CDF).

July – The United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL) is established, consisting of seventy observers and with an initial six-month mandate

1999
January – AFRC/RUF forces overwhelm ECOMOG troops in Freetown. UNOMSIL personnel are evacuated and Kabbah's government again goes into exile. After weeks of bitter fighting they are driven out, leaving behind 5,000 dead and a devastated city.

April – ECOMOG confirms involvement of the Liberian and Burkinabe governments in delivering weapons to the rebels. The ECOMOG commander threatens air strikes into neighboring Liberia and Burkina Faso unless the flow of weapons stops.

May – Cease-Fire Agreement

July – Lomè Peace Agreement is signed by President Kabbah and Sankoh, assisted by international mediators from the UN, the OAU, ECOWAS, the Commonwealth, the UK, and the US, under which the rebels receive posts in government and assurances they will not be prosecuted for war crimes.

October – UNAMSIL is established and replaces UNOMISL.

November – Oluyemi Adeniji of Nigeria is appointed Special Representative of the Secretary General for Sierra Leone, replacing Okelo and becomes head of UNAMSIL. UNAMSIL begins deploying (authorized at 6,000 troops at this point)

2000
February – UNAMSIL's mandate is revised and the number of military personnel is expanded to 11,100.

April – The UN takes over control of peacekeeping operations from ECOMOG.

May – ECOMOG completes its withdrawal by May 2.

Nearly 500 UN peacekeepers are kidnapped in the first week.

As rebels close in on Freetown, 800 British paratroopers supported by navy ships and air force planes are sent to Freetown to evacuate British citizens. They retake control of the Freetown airport and subsequently deploy in defensive positions around the capital, providing logistical support to peacekeepers.

July – The UN Security Council adopts British-proposed sanctions on illegal diamond exports from Sierra Leone.

August – Eleven British soldiers taken hostage by a renegade militia group called the West Side Boys.

November – Abuja Ceasefire Agreement is signed by the government and the RUF.

2001
January – Government postpones presidential and parliamentary elections that had been set for February and March because of continuing insecurity.

March – The UN Security Council bans Liberian diamond exports, strengthens the arms embargo, and bans Liberian regime members from international travel.

UN troops begin to deploy peacefully in rebel-held territory for the first time.

May – Disarmament of rebels begins, and British-trained Sierra Leone army starts deploying in rebel-held areas.

2002
January – War declared over. UN mission says disarmament of 45,000 fighters is complete. The UN and the Sierra Leone government formally agree to establish a Special Court to try war crimes.

March – UNAMSIL reaches nearly 17,500 peacekeepers in Sierra Leone, making it the largest and most expensive UN peacekeeping operation at the time

March/April – The Special Court for Sierra Leone indicts former RUF leaders Foday Sankoh, Issa Sesay, Morris Kallon, Sam Bockarie, and Augustine Gbao as well as AFRC leaders Johnny Paul Koroma and Alex Timba Brima, and CDF leader Sam Hinga Norman. The Special Court also indicts Charles Taylor for his involvement in the Sierra Leone conflict.

May – Kabbah wins a landslide victory in elections. His Sierra Leone People's Party secures a majority in parliament.

July – British troops leave Sierra Leone after their two-year mission to help end the civil war.

Rebel leader Foday Sankoh dies of a heart attack while awaiting trial for war crimes.

August – President Kabbah tells truth and reconciliation commission that he had no say over operations of pro-government militias during war.

December – Daudi Mwakawago of Tanzinia is appointed Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Sierra Leone, replacing Adeniji, and becomes head of UNAMSIL until the termination of the mission

2004
February – Disarmament and rehabilitation of more than 72,000 civil war combatants, including over 6,800 child soldiers officially completed.

September – UN hands control of security in capital over to local forces.

2005
December – The last UN peacekeeping troops leave Sierra Leone, marking the end of a five-year mission to restore order.

2006
January – The United Nations Integrated Office in Sierra Leone (UNIOSIL) begins its work, addressing the root causes of the conflict (helping the country consolidate peace, strengthening the capacity of state institutions, rule of law, human rights, and the security sector; accelerating the Millennium Development Goals; improving transparency; and building capacity to hold free and fair elections in 2007).

December – President Kabbah says 90% of the country's $1.6bn (£815m) debt has been written off after negotiations with international creditors.

2007
June – Start of former Liberian president Charles Taylor's war crimes trial in The Hague, where he stands accused of instigating atrocities in Sierra Leone.

Sierra Leone's special war crimes court in Freetown delivers its first verdicts, finding three militia leaders guilty.

August – Presidential and parliamentary elections. Ernest Bai Koroma wins the presidency and his All People's Congress, formerly in opposition, wins a majority in parliament.

2009
April – Three former senior leaders of the rebel Revolutionary United Front (RUF) sentenced to long jail terms for civil war atrocities.

2012
April – The UN-backed Sierra Leone war crimes court in The Hague concludes its work with the conviction of former Liberian leader Charles Taylor of aiding and abetting war crimes in the Sierra Leone civil war.

November – First elections since the end of the civil war held without UN oversight. President Koroma wins a second term.

*Sources: Olonisakin, 2008, "Chronology of Sierra Leone and the Conflict," and BBC, 2015b, "Timeline."