

THE PEACEKEEPERS

SPECIAL EDITION DVD SET



STUDY GUIDE

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Dr. Walter Dorn
Colonel M.E. Hanrahan, OMM, CD

PRODUCED IN COLLABORATION WITH THE PEARSON PEACEKEEPING
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THE PEACEKEEPERS

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In memory of Glyn Berry, Canadian diplomat killed in Afghanistan, January 2006.

Bitter lessons such as those of Rwanda and Srebrenica have shown us in tragic terms that there are situations where the international community must take collective action, using all the means available through international law.

In today's world, sovereignty is no longer exclusively about rights, it is about responsibilities.

The primary responsibility of a government to protect its own people is integral to the very concept of sovereignty. When that responsibility is not or cannot be exercised in the face of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, including ethnic cleansing, there can be no realistic option but for the international community to take collective action, including, as a last resort, the use of force. . .

Glyn Berry - 2005

Dr. Walter Dorn

Dr. Walter Dorn, a professor at the Royal Military College and the Canadian Forces College, teaches peacekeeping and international organization to military officers and civilians from Canada and abroad. He has served in UN field missions in Africa and Asia as well as at UN Headquarters in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO). His Web site, which includes many of his publications on peacekeeping, is <www.cfc.dnd.ca/dorn>.

Colonel M.E. Hanrahan, OMM, CD

Colonel Hanrahan has served in a wide variety of posts since joining the Canadian Armed Forces in 1970. He has held command and staff appointments in NATO, the United Nations, the British Army as well as the Canadian Armed Forces. He has over ten years' international experience including field deployments with the United Nations in Egypt, Cyprus, Rwanda and the NATO Stabilization Force (SFOR) in Bosnia.

Colonel Hanrahan has a bachelor's degree in Engineering and Management (RMC) and a master's in Business Administration (Queens). He is a graduate of the Army Staff College in Camberley (UK) and the National Security Studies Course at Canadian Forces College Toronto.

Colonel Hanrahan was appointed Military Adviser to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations in July 2002. He provides military and police advice to the Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations. He coordinates United Nations requirements with Canada's Department of National Defence, Foreign Affairs and Solicitor General. He also represents Canada on the Special Committee for Peacekeeping Operations, which is charged with evolving UN peacekeeping policies. He participated in the UNNY activities to resolve the Bunia, Ituri crisis.

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OBJECTIVE

This Study Guide was written to accompany the film *The Peacekeepers* and the *Key Issues DVD* in order to assist in professional development and training. It addresses the challenges faced by the United Nations and the international community in promoting peace in conflict-ridden areas, using the UN's Congo operation as a case study.

Suitable for: military personnel, police officers and civilians studying or preparing for deployment in peacekeeping operations; adults interested in international affairs; university students examining the UN and peacekeeping; senior high students learning about peacekeeping.

INTRODUCTION

Keeping the peace in the Congo, a wartorn country the size of Western Europe, is no easy task. The soldiers and civilians deployed under the flag of the United Nations face many difficulties and dangers as they try to prevent massacres, promote reconciliation and help rebuild a fragmented nation. One of the toughest areas is in the Northeast — the Ituri region, where rival tribes, rag-tag militias and foreign invaders all seek to gain from instability and violence, and to exploit the region's rich mineral wealth. What can the UN do to bring peace and stability to the region? *The Peacekeepers* provides many insights into UN activities both in the field and at UN headquarters in New York. The way the UN wrestled with the Ituri crisis in 2003 illustrates many of the roles, responsibilities, challenges and risks in peacekeeping and nation-building. An analysis of the UN's experience in Ituri will deepen the viewer's insight into the major issues and dilemmas of peacekeeping in wartorn areas.

FILM DIRECTOR PAUL COWAN'S COMMENTS

"The United Nations, which had established a mission in the Congo in 1999 called MONUC, was trying desperately to hold the Congo together, to create a long-term viable peace. It was also trying to save itself. The UN had been heavily criticized for its handling of the Iraq question [in 2003]; its role as the world's peacekeeper was being questioned. Memories of the disastrous failures of Somalia and Rwanda were still fresh...

"Peacekeeping is an imperfect art. It is fraught with pitfalls— political, military, financial and cultural. *The Peacekeepers* is an honest, sometimes painful look, at just how difficult peacekeeping is today. But, as *The Peacekeepers* makes clear, there are no alternatives; the cost of doing nothing is simply too high.

"*The Peacekeepers* is particular to one country — to one region — at a turning point in that country's history. It focuses on a small group of peacekeepers in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations as they struggle with an almost impossible situation. (The Department of Peacekeeping Operations has never before permitted filming of its internal operations.) But is also a look at peacekeeping in general — the difficulty of finding troops for dangerous missions, the political debates, the enormous money involved, the logistic nightmare of running a failed state. In many ways the story would be similar if the country were Bosnia, Afghanistan, Haiti, Côte d'Ivoire, Burundi or the Sudan."



GEOGRAPHY

From a map of the Congo you will be able to identify the country's neighbours on all sides, including some of the most conflict-ridden nations in a continent that has endured great conflict and suffering. The Great Lakes region of Africa, on the Congo's eastern edge (see map inset), includes Rwanda, the site of the 1994 genocide, and Uganda, whose military forces play a major role in the drama that unfolds in *The Peacekeepers*.

After viewing *The Peacekeepers* and the *Key Issues DVD*, you should be able to examine and discuss the following questions, dilemmas and quotes to help stimulate thinking and understanding about peacekeeping. Instructors can choose from the following sections, the issues that are most appropriate for the discussion.

QUESTIONS ON THE DRC

1. The Ituri region can be said to be a place “where being rich makes you poor.” Explain this contradiction.
2. What are some of the methods and tools that the UN can use to prevent mass killings and to build peace and order, for example, in Ituri?
3. Specifically, what “carrots and sticks” (incentives and disincentives) can be used to deal with warlords?
4. What are the various risks for the UN in engaging in a conflict-ridden area like Bunia?
5. What is an “exit strategy” and why was it needed?
6. Why did the presence and assistance of Ugandan troops in Bunia pose a difficult dilemma for the UN?

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS

1. What tensions naturally exist between UN headquarters and the field?
2. How can the UN motivate countries to provide troops for difficult missions like the Congo?
3. Why was it important to have the US supportive of the envisioned Ituri Brigade?
4. What are the possible risks for the UN of forcibly disarming the militias in Ituri?

DILEMMAS OF PEACEKEEPING

Explain the following dilemmas and how the UN can deal with them:

1. In order to prevent the use of force (fighting) by belligerents, the UN has to employ force. What level of force should be used in peacekeeping? What are the pros and cons for the UN of applying military force?
2. The “responsibility to protect”: how far can the UN go? How can the UN protect a civilian population when even self-protection is a problem?
3. What is the value of “purely symbolic” initiatives (e.g., graduating a Bunia police force after only a short period of training)?
4. Should ex-combatants who have disarmed be given special treatment?



QUOTABLE QUOTES

The following comments, made in the film, reveal some significant issues for the UN, both at its headquarters and in the field, as well as for the international community as a whole. Choose several of these quotes for discussion.

At UN Headquarters (strategic level)

1. “If the UN is going to save the Congo, it will have to first save Ituri.”
2. “A mission in a place like Congo that is only an observer mission — that’s a very dangerous proposition politically, because the gap that you open between the expectations of the people and what you can actually deliver is just unsustainable.” MONUC was an observation mission at first but later gained other roles. Discuss the need for such an evolution.
3. “We will try to make the situation [in Ituri] as public as possible.” Why would the UN’s peacekeeping department adopt such a strategy?
4. “The Congo needs everything but [some things are] not ‘mission critical’ in the sense of a peace process.” What objectives could be considered “mission critical” for the UN in Ituri in the summer of 2003?
5. “How do you establish the connections so that the international community does not perceive us [the UN] as a sort of a new colonial power [in the Congo].”
6. “The best, perhaps the only chance of stabilizing the region, is something called the Ituri interim administration.” Why was it important to create and develop the Ituri interim administration in the summer of 2003?

7. “What we needed as quickly as possible was for the local police, even if it was symbolic, to begin working.” Why was the establishment of a local police force important, even if the force was only symbolic?
8. “Finding First World troops for any dangerous mission is difficult; for dangerous African missions, it’s almost impossible.” Discuss the possible reasons for this.

In the Field (operational level)

1. “MONUC’s frontline troops are military observers, milobs. Milobs don’t carry guns. They do get shot at.” What are the pros and cons of arming UN military observers?
2. “The ruling warlords refuse to surrender their weapons. They crave instability; it’s good for business.” Discuss the possible motives and methods of warlords.
3. “Investigation is the first step in ending impunity in the Congo.”
4. “As they travel about the countryside, the UN investigators are protected by Ugandan troops. The Ugandans, it is suspected, helped the village of Zumbe attack Drodoro.” Explain how this dilemma arose.
5. “The Security Council wanted Uganda out.” Why did the Ugandan troops need to leave the DRC? What problems were feared when the Ugandans were to leave? How did the UN “solve” this problem?
6. “The killers are not a massive force; they are thugs on drugs who can be scared and stopped by a relatively small professional force.” Discuss the truth of this statement.
7. “In peacekeeping, you are confronted with a kind of dilemma: to look the other way and have to live for the rest of your life with maybe the notion that if you had really moved in, you would have made a big difference. Or to move in, but maybe with the risk of failure.”

8. “In Bunia, unhampered by UN rules of engagement, the French confront the warlords.” What are the pros and cons of robust rules of engagement?
9. DPKO officer Meg Carey asks: “If we ‘name and shame’ [the warlords], will that put MONUC individuals in any danger for reprisals?” The response from the field officer is: “I don’t think so. If it is done correctly at the level of the Security Council.” What is the value and what are the risks of naming and shaming warlords?

KEY ISSUES DVD

This DVD provides bonus material for a more in-depth discussion of the issues and challenges in peacekeeping. The following issues are dealt with in the DVD:

1. Heads of Mission on UN Peacekeeping

Special Representatives of the Secretary-General (SRSG), appointed under the authority of the Security Council, are delegated overall responsibility for the successful conduct and management of UN peacekeeping missions. In the 21st century, UN peacekeeping missions have become very complex, large and expensive, involving military, police, human rights, logistics, gender, development, rule-of-law and humanitarian assistance. Capturing the lessons learned and experiences of SRSGs allows the UN to develop best practices and doctrinal guidelines so future missions can be better led and managed.

2. Conduct of Peacekeepers

A UN peacekeeping operation may have up to five different categories of peacekeepers: 1) UN international civilians, 2) UN local civilians, 3) experts on missions who can be civilians, military observers and/or police advisers, 4) UN volunteers and 5) formed nation contingents of military or police forces. Each of these categories is governed by different rules and disciplinary procedures because they each have a distinct legal status. The problem of poor conduct and discipline in peacekeeping operations can only be solved by joint action — action by UNNY that implements code-of-conduct policy, by the troop-contributing

countries that maintain legal control of their formed contingents, the General Assembly that approves code-of-conduct policy and by field managers and leaders in peacekeeping operations on the ground.

3. Repatriating Rwandan Rebels

The disarmament and repatriation of Rwandan rebels is a complex political issue facing DRC and Rwanda; there is no military solution. There is fear and mistrust by the rebels about how they would be treated on their return to Rwanda. As a result, few rebels disarmed and accepted the repatriation package.

The Rwandan Commission for Demobilization Reintegration Program (MDRP) reintegrated ex-combatants into their home communities after the individuals spent some time in solidarity camps. At the camps, ex-combatants were provided housing, food, and medical care and underwent a retraining program to facilitate their reintegration. They also received US\$80 upon leaving the camp and could apply for a US\$200 grant to start a business. Those that went through the program were surprised by the warm welcome and the way they were treated by the MDRP.

4. Protection of Civilians

The last seven UN Security Council-mandated missions each included specific provisions allowing peacekeepers to utilize force to protect civilians under imminent threat of attack in the areas of deployment. In addition, the Security Council regularly includes language related to human rights and humanitarian law. The global endorsement of the Responsibility to Protect concept by the UN World Summit in September 2005 reinforces the need for the protection of civilians. Robust pre-emptive actions against spoilers should be considered a normal tool of peacekeeping operations.

5. Food for Guns (DDR)

Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of ex-combatants and others associated with armed groups is one of many post-conflict stabilization interventions undertaken by the UN. DDR programs must take a comprehensive approach towards disarmament and weapons control and management. These initiatives must also promote sustainable reintegration of ex-combatants into normal society by linking to the broader processes

of national reconstruction and development. It is essential that DDR programs promote trust and confidence and address the root causes of the conflict. If root causes are not addressed, then the DDR and the peacekeeping mission will likely fail.

6. Appropriate Use of Force

Consent is a basic principle under which the UN operates. If there is no consent of the parties to the conflict, then there is no peace to keep and therefore no value of having a UN peacekeeping mission. The increased precarious security environments that face UN peacekeepers today are a major challenge, particularly in the case of internal wars where some armed elements are only partially under control of those who consented to the UN deployment. These spoilers can derail very expensive peacekeeping missions after years of international effort. There must be shared understanding for the need for robust peacekeepers capable of using force and maintaining the initiative if challenged by spoilers. It is essential that peacekeepers defend and accomplish all tasks within the UN Security Council mandate.

Chapter VI and Chapter VII of the UN Charter establish the ways in which the Security Council can pursue the peaceful settlement of disputes. Chapter VI deals with situations that may lead to a breach or threat to international peace and security. Chapter VII deals with the existence of such threats, breaches of peace or acts of aggression. Under Chapter VII, the Security Council can authorize the use of force to deal with a peace and security issue. Troop-contributing countries must be prepared to apply robust military/police actions to ensure the success of a Chapter VII-mandated mission.



FURTHER RESEARCH

- How was the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 linked to the conflict in the Congo?
- Examine the present status of peace in the Congo and the Ituri region (see Web sites below).
- What is the current size of MONUC (i.e., number of troops)? How much is it costing the UN? Is it money well spent?
- Where is the Bunia warlord Thomas Lubanga now?
- Distinguish between the following terms: peacemaking, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and peace enforcement.

CHRONOLOGY

Basic DRC Chronology

1885-1960	Congo ruled as a Belgian colony. Independence on June 30, 1960.
1960-64	UN's first operation in the Congo (ONUC) helps establish order and prevents the secession of the Katanga province.
1965	Col. Joseph Mobutu stages coup and declares himself president. Renames country Zaire in 1971. Corruption and other factors lead to decline in human welfare and state power.
1994	Civil war and genocide in neighbouring Rwanda result in a massive migration of Hutus into Eastern Zaire.
1996-97	Starting in Eastern Zaire, rebels led by Laurent Kabila and backed by Rwanda sweep across the country, facing little resistance. Mobutu resigns. Rebels enter Kinshasa.

1997	Zaire is renamed the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Laurent Kabila installed as president.
1998 August	New rebel groups backed by Rwanda and Uganda rise up against Kabila, seizing most of eastern DRC and advance towards Kinshasa. Zimbabwe, Namibia and Angola send troops to help Kabila repel them.
1999	Lusaka Peace Accord is signed by the six African countries and the two main rebel groups: the Uganda-supported Congolese Liberation Movement (MLC) and the Rwanda-supported Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD).
2000	UN Security Council establishes a UN force (MONUC) to monitor the ceasefire but fighting continues.
2001 January	President Laurent Kabila killed by a bodyguard. Joseph Kabila, his son, assumes the presidency.
February	Rwanda, Uganda and the rebels agree to UN-sponsored plan for withdrawal of foreign forces.
2002	In Pretoria Peace Accord, Kabila agrees to share power with rebel groups. Uganda and Rwanda agree to withdraw troops from DRC.
2003 April	Formal end of Congo war. President Kabila signs transitional constitution. Rebel group leaders become vice presidents under the interim government, pending elections.
May	Ugandan troops leave eastern DRC.
June	French soldiers arrive in Bunia, spearheading UN-mandated Multinational Force (MNF).
August	Interim parliament inaugurated.
September	Hastily created UN Ituri Brigade takes over from MNF.

2005 March	After Bangladeshi soldiers are killed in the north-east, UN takes offensive action against militia, killing more than 50 members.
May	DRC parliament adopts new constitution.
December	Voters back a new constitution, already approved by parliament. The charter paves the way for elections in 2006.
	International Court of Justice rules Uganda must compensate DRC for rights abuses and the plundering of resources in the five years leading up to 2003.

Chronology of events in *The Peacekeepers* (2003)

March	UN sounds alarm about possible massacres in Ituri.
April 3	Village of Drodoro, near Bunia, is attacked. UN launches an investigation.
May 1	5,000 Ugandan troops pull out of Ituri. 750 Uruguayan troops replace them.
May	Two weeks of fighting in Ituri. Bunia is ransacked by militias. Refugee camps swell at UN compound and Bunia airport, which are subject to mortar attacks.
May 10-13	Two milobs are killed in Mongualu. High level UN investigation held.
May 30	Security Council calls for a French-led multinational force.
June 1	French-led MNF deploys for three months. Achieves weapons-free area in Bunia only.

September 1	UN Ituri Brigade takes over from MNF.
Fall	Parliament of reconciliation convenes in Kinshasa.
October	First class of Bunia police graduates.
October	Kachele attacked — 65 killed.
Fall	Uneasy calm with intermittent outbursts of violence but no sustained process of ethnic cleansing or killing.

Sources

“Timeline: Democratic Republic of Congo”:

http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/country_profiles/1072684.stm

“DRC: Chronology of Events 2003,” IRIN

http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=38718&SelectRegion=Great_Lakes&SelectCountry=DRC



REFERENCES

Glossary

Bunia	capital of the Ituri district
Chapter VII	section of the UN Charter that authorizes the use of force
CIVPOL	Civilian Police, either in MONUC or local officers
DDRRR	Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration, Reinstallation and Repatriation of ex-combatants
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations (of the UN)
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
Ex-FAR	former Forces armées rwandaises during Hutu rule
Hema	ethnic group in eastern DRC
Ituri	region in northeast DRC, bordering Uganda
Ituri Brigade -UN	unit that oversees Bunia after 1 September 2003 after MNF departure
Kinshasa	DRC capital
Lendu	ethnic group found in eastern DRC
Mai-Mai	ethnic group found in eastern DRC
Milobs	Military Observers
MLC	Mouvement de libération du Congo, a Uganda-backed rebel group
MNF	Multi-National Force, in Bunia led by France
MONUC	Mission des Nations Unies au Congo (UN Mission in the Congo)
RCD-K-ML	Rassemblement congolais pour la democratie-Kisangani-Mouvement de libération
RCD-N	Rassemblement congolais pour la democratie-National
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary-General, head of the UN mission
UPDF	Ugandan Peoples' Defence Force
UPC	Union des patriotes congolais (UPC), Rwanda-backed rebel group, led in 2003 by Thomas Lubanga

Web sites for more information

AllAfrica Global Media

www.allafrica.com/congo_kinshasa/

Amnesty International

www.amnesty.org

Canada and Peacekeeping

www.international.gc.ca/peacekeeping

Canada and the United Nations

www.international.gc.ca/canada_un

Children and armed conflict in the DRC

www.un.org/special-rep/children-armed-conflict/index.html

Congo Without Borders

www.lecsf.org

Human Rights Watch

www.hrw.org

MONUC

www.monuc.org/Home.aspx?lang=en

Pearson Peacekeeping Centre

www.peaceoperations.org/en/home.asp

Radio Okapi

www.radiookapi.net/

Timeline of Events in the DRC

www.monuc.org/news.aspx?newsID=884

United Nations

www.un.org

United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo

www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/monuc/

United Nations Peacekeeping

www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/index.asp

United Nations system

<http://www.un.org/aboutun/chartlg.html>

United Nations Peacekeeping operations

www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/bnote010101.pdf

