The Challenges of UN Peacekeeping Mission in Finding a Solution to Rebel Groups in the East of the Democratic Republic of Congo

Tantangan Misi Penjaga Perdamaian PBB dalam Menemukan Solusi Terhadap Kelompok Pemberontak di Timur Republik Demokratik Kongo

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Abstract

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is a country with the longest rebel conflict of the 21st century. This article analyzes the causes of the UN's difficulties in finding a solution to the crisis of rebel groups which threaten security in the DRC, particularly in its eastern part. Most of the existing work on the subject under study state that the failure of peacekeeping missions in the DRC are due to various factors such as mandate, strength, complexity of violence, etc. However, existing studies have not analyzed the work of MONUSCO as a regime and why this regime is not effective. In approaching the theory of the international regime, this article uses the internal and external factors of the regime to analyze the causes of this ineffective peacekeeping mission in the DRC. Research applies qualitative research methods with data from primary and secondary data obtained from official MONUSCO documents, books, journals, and online news. This article shows that the rebel crisis in the DRC is due to various internal problems and that the MONUSCO principles and rules are ineffective in eradicating the rebel groups which cause insecurity hence deterring peace in the DRC.

Keywords: *Congo; MONUSCO; Peacekeeping; International Regime; Rebels' Groups.*

Abstrak

Republik Demokratik Kongo (DRC) adalah negara dengan konflik pemberontakan terpanjang pada abad ke-21. Artikel ini menganalisis penyebab kesulitan PBB dalam mencari solusi atas krisis kelompok pemberontak yang mengancam keamanan di DRC, khususnya yang terjadi di wilayah bagian timurnya. Sebagian besar tulisan yang sudah ada mengenai subjek yang diteliti menyatakan bahwa kegagalan misi penjaga perdamaian di DRC disebabkan oleh berbagai faktor seperti mandat, kekuatan, kompleksitas kekerasan, dll. Namun, penelitian terdahulu belum pernah menganalisis MONUSCO sebagai rezim dan mengapa rezim ini tidak efektif. Dengan pendekatan teori rezim internasional, artikel ini menggunakan faktor internal dan eksternal rezim untuk menganalisis penyebab tidak efektifnya misi pemeliharaan perdamaian di DRC. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dengan data primer dan data sekunder yang diperoleh dari dokumen resmi MONUSCO, buku, jurnal, dan berita online. Artikel ini menunjukkan bahwa krisis pemberontak di DRC disebabkan oleh berbagai masalah internal dan bahwa prinsip dan aturan MONUSCO tidak efektif dalam memberantas kelompok pemberontak yang menyebabkan ketidakamanan sehingga menghalangi perdamaian di DRC.

Kata kunci: Kongo; MONUSCO; Penjaga Perdamaian; Rezim Internasional; Kelompok Pemberontak.

Introduction

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is a country that is experiencing a repetitive rebel and security crisis. Since its independence in 1960, the DRC has experienced repeated political and security crises. Shortly after independence, the country experienced trouble known as the "Katanga Succession," which affected the country's territorial integrity.[1] The Congolese government has requested assistance from the United Nations to help it manage this crisis. The United Nations deployed the first United Nations peacekeeping mission to the Congo with the aim of helping the Congolese government prevent the succession of Katanga province and maintaining territorial integrity. It is a conflict that has alerted several world leaders. The third Secretary of the United Nations and Nobel Prize winner Dag Hammarskjöld died in a plane crash on his way to the DRC to resolve the Congo conflict. The UN mission existed from 1960 to 1964.[2]

The situation of insecurity that DRC is facing today began in the 1990s. Between 1996–97 and 1998–2003, the DRC experienced two great wars known as the First and Second Congo Wars. The First Congo War was a war that occurred in 1996, with rebellion caused by the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDL) led by Laurent Desire Kabila to drive out the power of Mobutu, which they considered to be a dictator government.[3] In this conflict, other country actors like Rwanda and Uganda supported the Congolese rebels. In May 1997,

Kabila chased away Mobutu's power and took power. The Second Congo war was known as the First African World War because of its damage to property and humans. It dates from 1998 to 2002, when Desire Kabila turned his back on his supporters and changed allies. Rebel groups supported by Rwanda and Uganda took some territories, and Kabila appealed to other countries like Angola, Namibia, and Zimbabwe for help. These countries made a counterattack against the Congolese rebellions and their supporters. In 2001, Laurent Desire Kabila was assassinated by his guard and replaced by his son Joseph Kabila.[4]

Several initiatives have been put in place by the international community to find a solution to this crisis. On November 30, 1999, by resolution number 1279, the United Nations decided to deploy a United Nations Organization Mission in the DRC (MONUC). With around 5,000 soldiers and observers mandated to observe the ceasefire. The workforce grew to more than 8,000 agents in 2002 and more than 18,000 members in 2008. Between 1999 and 2007, MONUC notably made it possible to organize and secure the constitutional referendum and the elections, which gave birth to the Third Republic.[5] On July 1, 2010, MONUC became the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO). In 2021, MONUSCO is still in the DRC, and today, MONUSCO is one of the main UN peacekeeping missions in the world with an annual budget of over $ 1 billion and a staff of more than 16,000 people from different countries.[6]

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1   Alan James, "Britain, the cold war, and the Congo crisis, 1960–63." *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, Vol.* 28, No. 3 (September 01, 2000): pp. 152-168.

2   Esref Aksu, *The United Nations, intra-state peacekeeping and normative change*, (New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 100-111.

3   Stein Sundstøl Eriksen, "The Congo war and the prospects for state formation: Rwanda and Uganda compared." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 07 (October 2005): pp. 1097-1113.

4   Colette Braeckman, "The death of Kabila: A new deal in the war in the RDC." *Politique africaine, Vol.* 82, No. 02 (2001): pp. 151-159.

5   Denis M. Tull. "Peacekeeping in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Waging Peace and Fighting War." *International Peacekeeping, Vol.* 16, No. 02 (April 2009): pp. 215-230.

6   Robert U. Nagel, Kate Fin, and Julia Maenza, *Case Study: United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission*

In 2013, UN Security Council resolution 2098 created a mission known as the Force Intervention Brigade (F.I.B) with an offensive mandate. This mission is composed of 3000 personnel. This special brigade is authorized to warn by force in an offensive manner to neutralize and disarm armed groups threatening the authority of the state and the safety of civilians in eastern DRC. This brigade participated, alongside the Congolese army, in defeating the March 23 Movement (M23) in November 2013. The various authors who worked on the analysis of the creation of the FIB concluded that FIB played a major role in the recovery of the province of Kivu, which was taken by the various rebel groups. However, they showed that the FIB needs to be supported by other UN efforts in order to be enough to eradicate rebel groups in eastern DRC.[7]

Despite the UN's efforts, today, 20 years after the deployment of peacekeepers in the DRC, the peace is not yet restored. In 2002, a peace agreement was reached between the foreign countries participating in this conflict after several negotiations, but the rebel groups did not stop destabilizing Congolese population.[8]The actors in this crisis are the many rebel groups that now operate, especially in the east of the country. The rebel groups operating in this country fall into three categories. The first is characterized by Congolese rebel groups, and the second category is transnationals.[9] These rebel groups from neighboring countries are taking refuge in eastern DRC due to the instability of this region. So, they destabilize the countries of their origins but with bases in the DRC. The third category is the inter-communal self-defense groups against rebel violence. These groups were created after government forces, and UN peacekeepers failed to protect them.[10]

Previous studies that worked on the DRC peacekeeping mission can be divided into three different groups. The first category of study is characterized by thinkers who have worked in the field of law. For a peacekeeping force to be deployed in any country, there is a legal mandate that is voted on by the Security Council or by the United Nations General Assembly in the event of a lack of a Security Council resolution. Studies in these categories have worked on the difficulties of peacekeeping in the DRC, focusing on issues relating to the mandate or a legal text held by peacekeeping forces. The second study group is characterized by studies done by thinkers who are in the field of international security. International security thinkers who worked on the challenges of peacekeeping in the DRC have worked on the various factors that cause the failure of peacekeeping in this central African country. The third category of study was carried out on the humanitarian crisis in the DRC. Studies in this category focus on the problem of the protection of civilians in the DRC and they propose strategies to improve this challenge by deploying peacekeepers and law enforcement in the DRC.

Based on previous studies of researchers who have worked on challenges relating to the mandate of peacekeepers in the DRC. The authors analyze three kinds of challenges for a peacekeeping mission in the DRC in relation to its mandate. On first analysis, the mandates of peacekeeping missions in the

in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), (Canada: GIWPS, May, 2021), pp. 05-06.

7   Denis M. Tull, "*The limits and unintended consequences of UN peace enforcement: the Force Intervention Brigade in the DR Congo.*" *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 25, No. 02 (March 15, 2018): pp. 167-190.

8   Luca Jourdan. "Mayi-Mayi: young rebels in Kivu, DRC." *Africa Development*, Vol. 36, No. 03 & 04 (January 12, 2011): pp. 89-111.

9   Pierre Jacquemot, "The dynamics of instability in eastern DRC." *Forced Migration Review*, No. 36 (November 2010): pp. 06-07.

10   Stephanie A. Barbour, and Zoe A. Salzman. "The Tangled Web: The Right of Selfdefense Against Non-State Actors In The Armed Activities Case." *New York University Journal of International Law And Politics*, Vol. 40, No. 53 (2008): pp. 40-53.

DRC are not clear. The lack of a clear mandate disrupts the mission of a peacekeeping force.[11] The peacekeepers do not carry out certain interventions to secure the country because these tasks are not in their respective mandates. Second analysis on the meaning of the stabilization mandate: there are several missions with this task, but there is a lack of interpretation of this mandate. Different missions with the same stabilization mission can interpret it in different ways.[12] The third analysis concerns the challenges of the POC, or protection of civilian mandate using force. The authors show that a mandate that allows a robust response (use of force) is a trap. So, if the peacekeepers participate in these conflicts using force, they become one of the conflicting parties instead of being the solution.[13]

Literature in the category of security studies deal with the security situation in the DRC. Researchers have identified the various factors that hinder the work of peacekeepers in the DRC. Literature in this category is classified into different groups. The first group of articles worked on various remarks relating to the security situation in the DRC despite the efforts of the UN peacekeepers.[14] Most researchers agree that the security situation in the DRC is not yet fulfilled. Peacekeeping is very important in the DRC. For example, in 2013, peacekeepers helped drive out rebels from the M23 group that had stormed the town of Goma . The second constant is the robust response or force of arms to aintain peace in the DRC.[15] The use of force by peacekeepers makes them one of the actors of violence in the conflict and cannot solve the problem. Instead of reducing it, they aggravate it.[16] The third constant is that the factors causing the crisis in the DRC. Among the factors, there are the external factors as existence of rebels groups operate in Congo but have the origins from neighbors countries of Congo. Example of a Rwandan rebel group known as the FDRL from Rwanda and ADF from Uganda.[17]

The third category of study was carried out on the humanitarian crisis in the DRC. Studies in this category focus on the problem of the protection of civilians in the DRC and they propose strategies to improve this challenge by deploying peacekeepers and law enforcement in the DRC. The crisis affects the unarmed civilian population. In the first place, the researchers found the problem of protecting the population in the structure of the peacekeeping mission in the DRC. The number of blue helmets is not sufficient to protect the population in different places of the DRC. They recognize that MONUSCO as one of the main UN missions in terms of number but is not sufficient when compared with the situation in the DRC. The more the number of soldiers and police, the more the number of crimes. against the declining population.[18] In second position, the researchers in this section assessed the factors that cause a negative toll in

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11 Christine Gray. "Peacekeeping after the Brahimi Report: Is there a Crisis of Credibility for the UN?." *Journal of Conflict and Security Law, Vol. 06*, No. 02 (December 2001): pp. 267-288.

12 Alexander Gilder. "The Effect of 'Stabilization' in the Mandates and Practice of UN Peace Operations." *Netherlands International Law Review, Vol. 66*, No. 01 (March 19, 2019): pp. 47-73.

13 Ray Murphy. "UN Peacekeeping in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Protection of Civilians." *Journal of Conflict and Security Law, Vol. 21*, No. 02 (Summer 2016): pp. 209-246.

14 Theo Neethling, "From MONUC to MONUSCO and Beyond: Prospects for Reconstruction, State-building and Security Governance in the DRC." *South African Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 18*, No. 01 (April 01, 2011): pp. 23-41.

15 Alberto Barrera, "The Congo trap: MONUSCO islands of stability in the sea of instability." *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development, Vol. 04*, No. 1, p.Art. 52 (November 03, 2015): pp. 01-16.

16 Denis M. Tull, "Peacekeeping in the Democratic Republic of Congo: waging peace and fighting war." *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. *16*, No. 02 (April 01, 2009): pp. 215-230.

17 Séverine Autesserre, "The Trouble with Congo-How Local Disputes Fuel Regional Conflict." *Foreign Affairs, Vol. 87*, No. 03 (May/June 2008): pp. 94-110.

18 Lisa Hultman, Jacob Kathman, and Megan Shannon. "United Nations peacekeeping and civilian protection in civil war." *American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 57*, No. 04 (October 2013): pp. 875-891.

the protection of non-military civilians. There are various factors inside MONUSCO that cause it to fail in the protection of civilians.[19] There is the organizational factor such as the geographic distribution of MONUSCO's resources. In third position, the researchers take the peacekeepers as the actors of violence against civilians in the DRC. Reports show that the MONUSCO and MONUC missions commit several rapes compared to other UN missions.[20] The conflict in the DRC affects civilians a lot. Certain parts of the country are more threatened, such as North and South Kivu.[21]

In the first category of studies, the authors find that MONUSCO's failure is due to the lack of a clear mandate to carry out its mission. However, none of the authors of this study have shown an ideal type of mandate that can end all the challenges that prevent peacekeepers from performing well. In the second category of studies that have been carried out by researchers for security studies, they all agree that stability has not yet returned to the DRC. The authors of this category leave at least two gaps in previous studies discussing MONUSCO's mission. The first gaps concern the lack of clarification on the origin of the failure of the peacekeepers. In this part, the authors are divided into two categories: those who worked on MONUC (1999-2010) and those who worked on MONUSCO (2010-2020). Those working with MONUC have shown that the mission needs permission to use force to eliminate the rebel groups at the root of this crisis. Those who worked

for MONUSCO show that the task is not compelling despite some rights to use force. Among all these categories of researchers, none have recommended a straightforward way to resolve the conflict of a definite time. The second shortcoming concerns the lack of factors that determine the failure of MONUSCO. All the authors try to show this failure in the environment operated by the blue helmets. Still, no one analyzes this challenge due to the creation of MONUSCO or the standards of this institution.

Based on this gap, this research offers two main novelties. First, the research will provide an analytical study of the failure of MONUSCO in eradication of rebel groups based on its norms. Second, at the end of this study, we will know the factors causing this failure through the help of the theory of the international regime. From this point of view, this article wishes to pose a question: why MONUSCO has not yet found a solution to the crisis caused by rebel groups which threaten peace in Eastern part of Congo despite its efforts for more than two decades.

Analytical Framework

The primary approach used in this research is the international regime theory. Countries or international organizations have established various forms of agreements which serve as ground rules for relations between them, a one form of agreement that is used as a basic rule is the international regime. In the study of international relations, international regime is one of the essential topics of researchers of neoliberal institutionalists. However, there is no common or acceptable definition of the international regime for all researchers. Many scholars define international regime definitions from different angles.[22] Stephen D. Krasner defined international regimes as the

19   Danielle N. Allyn, "The Promise of Peace: UNSC 2098 and 2147 and the Protection of Congolese Civilians." *Global Africana Review, Vol. 01,* No. 01 (Spring 2017): pp. 14-23.
20   Bonnie Kovatch, "Sexual exploitation and abuse in UN peacekeeping missions: A case study of MONUC and MONUSCO." *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, Vol. 7, No. 02 (April 2016): pp. 157-174.
21   Julie Reynaert. "MONUC/MONUSCO and Civilian Protection in the Kivus." *International Peace Information Service*, (2011): pp. 01-47.

22   Stephan Haggard, and Beth A. Simmons. "Theories of International Regimes." *International Organization, Vol. 41*, No. 03 (Summer 1987): pp. 491-517.

sets of principles, norms, rules, and implicit or explicit decision-making procedures that facilitate international relations actors' coming to an understanding in a given field. Krasner also explains that the regime focuses on agreements that allow us to work together on subjects and issues considered complex and causing interdependence.[23] For Dirk Pulkowski, he defines the regime as a structure (institution), not an actor. States, inter or non-governmental organizations create regimes for integration on the international scene. This integration facilitates the regulation of common principles and standards that facilitate the achievement of mutual interests. Plan participation can encourage the same standard of behavior when faced with a problem. The international regime is formed by states, while the existence of a regime can also alter and shape the behavior of the state through its engagement within the regime itself.[24]

The factors of the international regime effectiveness according to Levy et al (1995) will be applied in the analysis of the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the UN in the DRC in its mission of eradicating or demobilizing rebel groups in the DRC. These authors dive into the mechanisms by which regimes succeed or fail in their operation. The effectiveness is analyzed by comparing it to the success or failure of the problem that motivated its creation. Effectiveness is linked to the contributions institutions make to solve the problems that motivate the actors who create them.[25]In the theory of the international regime, there are three characteristics that can explain the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the international regime. First, the exogenous factor or external factors that are interested in the groups of three factors such as the patterns of interests in the field concerned, the distribution of influence between actors and the role of structural constraints. Second, endogenous factors, or internal factors, are the other factors used to vary the effectiveness of international regimes. They seek sources of effectiveness in elements internal to international regimes such as rules, procedures, or programs. The third method of analyzing the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of a regime is based on work aimed at identifying behavioral mechanisms linked to institutional characteristics and collective results.[26]

Research Methods

To operationalize the above-mentioned theory, this article will use qualitative research methods with data from primary and secondary data. By referring to Neumann (2014), the qualitative research method of this work will explain the causes of the failure of MONUSCO in the DRC. The authors collect data on the establishment of MONUSCO by the UN in 1999. Primary data is collected from the public speeches and reports from peacekeeping force officers and members of Congolese civil society who are involved in the analysis of the execution of MONUSCO in the DRC. We also use official documents such as MONUSCO reports and other information published by MONUSCO in the DRC. The authors collect secondary data from written academic documents, current affairs research and online media concerning the maintenance of peace keeping operation in the DRC during a period from 1999 to the year 2020. All the data in this text has been

23 Stephen D. Krasner. "Structural causes and regime consequences: regimes as intervening variables." *International organization*, Vol. 36, No. 02 (1982): pp. 185-205.

24 Dirk Pulkowski, *The law and politics of international regime conflict*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 81-90.

25 Marc A. Levy, Oran R. Young, and Michael Zürn, "The study of international regimes." *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 01, No. 03 (September, 1995): pp. 267-330.

26 Marc A. Levy, Oran R. Young, and Michael Zürn, "The study of international regimes." *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 01, No. 03 (September, 1995): pp. 267-330.

selected manually to avoid certain errors and to facilitate the verification of the sources of this data. Consequently, this study took as object of analysis several data composed of data found on the MONUSCO website, media data and academic data. Once the data has been determined, a triangulation will be carried out in order to test the accuracy of the research result. Triangulation is done by checking the validity and reliability of data by comparing data sources collected from books, journals, online and articles according to research questions.[27]

Discussion

Exogenous or externals factors of UN in DRC Interest and power of UN in resolution of Congolese

In this part of this article, we will analyze the theory of the international regime to find out why the regime responsible for keeping the peace in the DRC is ineffective. We will see if the factors of the theory of an effective international regime from the perspectives of Levy et al (1995) have been met. Thus, as the initial reason for forming an international regime is to solve an international problem, we will see the elements which prevent the MONUSCO from fulfilling its mission of maintaining peace in the DRC. In addition, it will be explained according to the causes of the failure of the peacekeeping forces to eradicate the rebel groups in the DRC crisis. With a more detailed explanation of the factors or causes relating to the theory of international regime, we will assess in the next part, the challenges of MONUSCO in resolving the rebel crisis in the DRC.

In analyzing the factors of the effectiveness of the UN mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) by endogenous factors, the models of interest and power are very important elements to consider. Since there is no common interest and people focus on the difference between their performance and others, there are fewer opportunities for successful conflict management. Regimes facilitate the sharing of a common interest and the distribution of power.[28] To prevent states from contributing to selfish interests, the role of the UN is to facilitate the DRC's achievement of peace and the defense of national sovereignty.[29]

The patterns of interest come first. On the other hand, interest is an important point which has been addressed by several approaches in the studies of international relations. The interest of the countries intervening in the crisis in the DRC is firstly global stability. In the realism approach, there is this debate of intervention according to geostrategic and economic interests. However, several countries in the DRC intervention do not have a geographic relationship with the DRC and some do not even have economic relations with this country which is still underdeveloped due to instability. Soldiers, police, or other personnel coming from the five continents of the world take part in the maintenance of peace in the DRC. The common interest of peacekeeping in the DRC is to coordinate the behavior of the actors in this conflict in such a way that they can prevent the effects of the conflict in the DRC from crossing the country's borders to neighboring countries or being imported either at the continental level or even at the global level.[30]

27 W. Lawrence Neuman, *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches, 7th Ed*, (England: Pearson New International Edition, 2014), pp. 477-513.

28 Marc A. Levy, Oran R. Young, and Michael Zürn, "The study of international regimes." *European Journal of International Relations, Vol. 01,* No. 03 (September, 1995): pp. 267-330.

29 Mark Malan, and João G. Porto. "Introduction, Challenges of Peace Implementation: The UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (eds)." *Institute for Security Studies,* December 01, 2003: pp. 87-102.

30 Séverine Autesserre, "The Trouble with Congo-How Local Disputes Fuel Regional Conflict." *Foreign Affairs, Vol.* 87, No. 03 (May/June 2008): pp. 94-110.

The security of countries is threatened by several causes. Amongst those causes, terrorism around the world is seen as a global threat. For decades the world has decided to eradicate terrorism from the world. The UN and other partners like NATO, African Union is intervening in different countries to eradicate radical groups.[31]These radical groups consist of those who have "narrow religious perspective (closed, textual, fanatic) accompanied by an attitude of feeling the truest form in their believing of norms and law, and condemnation of other groups, which is accompanied by the belief that those outside their group can be fought with violence.[32] In the DRC crisis, there is a rebel group that is considered a terrorist group and has a special relationship with other terrorist groups such as the Islamic State. Originating in Uganda with radical Islamic ideas, the ADF operates in the DRC and is ranked among the main actors of violence in eastern DRC. In various reports from the UN and local and international human rights organizations, ADF is responsible for crimes such as massacres, looting, rapes, recruitment of children and various other human rights violations[33]. In March, the US government listed the ADF group, and a Mozambique rebel group known as Madina at Tauheed Wau Mujahedeen on the list of terrorist groups that threaten world security. The State Department shows that these groups have special relations with the Islamic State.[34]

Terrorist or separatist groups may receive funding or training from a country or a foreign group. This gives strength to these groups and renders the governments powerless in the fight against these groups. Governments and other partners are eradicating these groups using all means.[35] Rwandan President Paul Kagame explained that the Islamic groups that have taken Mozambique's Cabo Delgado province hostage are collaborating with other terrorist groups that threaten African countries and are among the Islamic militants. Paul Kagame has justified that this is one of the reasons which motivated the rapid intervention of Rwandan soldiers in a conflict in Mozambique.[36]

The changes in behavior that international regimes try to promote have negative consequences for the interests of certain groups. The configuration of interests negatively or positively influences and limits the ability of international institutions to influence behavior. The sustainable construction of peace requires a good understanding of the environment to use different techniques for solving a local problem.[37] Some authors agree that UN failed to resolve the crisis in this country because the nature of the problem is complex. The nature of the problem is another one that is used to assess the effectiveness of a regime, so some institutions may be more successful than others because of the nature or environment in which they operate. This element of the nature of the conflict as a success factor is important in analyzing MONUSCO's

31 Tim Murithi, "The African Union's evolving role in peace operations: The African Union Mission in Burundi, the African Union Mission in Sudan and the African Union Mission in Somalia." *African Security Review, Vol. 17,* No. 01 (2008): pp. 69-82.

32 Muhammad Adnan, and Anita Amaliyah, "Radicalism VS Extremism: The Dilemma of Islam And Politics In Indonesia." *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Volume,* Vol. 20, No. 01 (2021), pp. 24-48.

33 Tara Candland et.al., *The Islamic State in Congo,* (George Washington University: Program on Extremism The George Washington University, 2021), pp. 05-50.

34 United States of America The Department of State, "State Department Terrorist Designations of ISIS Affiliates and Leaders in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Mozambique," *U.S. Department State,*

March 10, 2021, accessed on June 20, 2021, https://www.state.gov/state-department-terrorist-designations-of-isis-affiliates-and-leaders-in-the-democratic-republic-of-the-congo-and-mozambique/

35 Yandry Kurniawan, *The Politics of Securization in Democratic Indonesia,* (New York: Springer International Publishing, 2018), pp. 103-132.

36 Antonio Cascais, "Rwanda's military intervention in Mozambique raises eyebrows," *African Times,* August 24, 2021, accessed on September 20, 2021, https://www.dw.com/en/rwandas-military-intervention-in-mozambique-raises-eyebrows/a-58957275.

37 Muhammad W. Kharisma. "The Philosophical Worth of Liberal Peacebuilding." *Global: Jurnal Politik Internasional, Vol. 19,* No. 01 (2017): pp. 01-15.

challenges in resolving rebel crises in eastern DRC. The armed groups operating in the DRC have different origins and different objectives. We can classify the existence of these groups because of three reasons. The first reason is the reason for the ease of operation and the wealth in the DRC. The soil of DRC contains a large quantity of the various mineral sources. On the other hand, for the functioning of a rebel group, they need the financial means to buy the ammunitions, the food and other products for the good functioning of their operations. So, in the DRC, some rebel groups are accused of the illegal exploitation of minerals to finance their operations.[38]

The second element of the external factors that one examines to assess the effectiveness of institutions is the distribution of power among participants. The distribution of power affects the ability of an institution to influence changes in behavior. Ideally, such an institution should be able to establish and maintain an ideological commitment to fundamental human rights.[39] To spread the influence well, there is hegemonic power or a powerful member who helps in following the norms and procedures of the regime.[40] In 1999, UN through MONUSCO, it intervened in the DRC with the mission of creating stability in the DRC. MONUSCO's intervention in the DRC was authorized by Security Council resolution 1279 of November 30, 1999, with the aim of facilitating the Lusaka ceasefire signed between the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and five other countries, such as Angola, Namibia, Uganda, Rwanda,

and Zimbabwe. For the follow-up of this engagement, the Council gives the mandate of MONUC to the control of the application of the agreement of cease-fire. By its resolution 1279 of November 30, 1999, UN demanded the withdrawal of the foreign forces from Congo and these countries have respected the call of UN by withdrawing from the Congolese soil.[41]

One of the main motives that pushed the intervention of MONUSCO in the crisis in the DRC, there is the fact that the crisis had become a regional crisis and with the participation in this conflict by actors of external actors in this conflict. In the first Congo war, Rwanda and Uganda played a central role in funding a rebellion led by Desire Kabila. In fact, after the genocide in Rwanda, the executants in Congo relied on the border with Rwanda and the government of the Congo did not disarm them and Uganda detained rebel groups which destabilize the country and then moved back to the Congo. For this, Rwanda and Uganda have interfered for reasons of national security.[42] This AFDL rebellion conquered the country until ousted the then president of the Congo. Thus, with the fall of the president of the Congo, the leader of the rebels who took power has deflected the ancient partners. After Desire Kabila came to power, he changed the partners by turning his back on his former partners Rwanda and Uganda, thus generating the second war in the Congo which raised awareness in other countries of Central and Southern Africa. Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Chad etc.[43]

38 Alberto Barrera, "The Congo trap: MONUSCO islands of stability in the sea of instability." *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development, Vol. 04,* No. 01, p.Art. 52 (November 03, 2015): pp. 01-16.

39 Putti Ananda Hiswi. "The Increase of Vietnam Military Capability in the South China Sea Dispute: Arms Race or Status Quo?." *Global Strategis, Vol. 14,* No. 01 (June, 2020): pp. 97-108.

40 Marc A. Levy, Oran R. Young, and Michael Zürn, "The study of international regimes." *European Journal of International Relations, Vol. 01,* No. 03 (September, 1995): pp. 267-330.

41 Clifford Bernath, and Anne Edgerton, *MONUC: Flawed Mandate Limits Success,* (Washington DC: Refugees International, May 2003), pp. 07-25.

42 Séverine Autesserre, "The Trouble with Congo-How Local Disputes Fuel Regional Conflict." *Foreign Affairs, Vol. 87,* No. 03 (May/June, 2008): pp. 94-110.

43 Henning Tamm. "In the balance: External troop support and rebel fragmentation in the Second Congo War." *Journal of Strategic Studies,* (November 24, 2019): pp. 01-28.

The Complex Causes of the Rebel Crisis in the DRC

The nature of the conflict or problem is one of the factors that can drive the effectiveness or failure of an international regime. Some regimes may fail than others because they operate in a very difficult environment. Then, some international problems are difficult to solve because of their nature. The nature of the crisis in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is very complex and the factors driving the expansion of rebel groups are very varied. This element of the nature of the conflict as a success factor is important in analyzing MONUSCO's difficulties in resolving rebel crises in eastern DRC. The origin of the crisis in the DRC can be traced to the independence of the DRC. This country, colonized by Belgians, gained independence in 1960 thanks to the leadership of Patrice Lumumba and his companions. Within less than two weeks of its independence, the Congo experienced an internal crisis known as the Katangaise succession. Under the leadership of Moise Tshombe, the province of Katanga declared its independence from the Congo. The successionists have requested support from several countries, including Belgium, on the grounds that this province had Belgian nationals.[44]

The existence of several rebel groups in eastern DRC is due to the country's geographical position. The DRC shares the eastern border with countries like Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, and Tanzania, which are in the Great Lakes region. This region is known for its succession of wars and more deadly crises such as the genocide in Rwanda, border crises and internal political crises.[45]

The DRC hosts certain foreign rebel groups coming from the Great Lakes countries, such as the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) and the Uganda National Liberation Army (Uganda National Liberation Army/NALU), united since 1995 and thus forming the ADF/NALU, the Democratic Liberation Forces of Rwanda (FDL) of Rwanda and the National Liberation Forces (FNL) of Burundi[46]. The third category of explanation for the existence of these rebel groups for a long time relates to internal factors. The DRC is a country with a vast inhabited area, drawn from various ethnic groups. Certain groups of the population feel threatened or not represented. For this, there are also self-defense or ethnic militias.[47]

Congo President Joseph Kasavubu and his government did not leave this succession and they called for help from the United Nations. Thanks to the forceful collaboration of the Congolese order and the peacekeepers of the UN Mission known as the ONUC, on January 15, 1964, they succeeded in reuniting the Congo.[48] On November 24, 1965, Mobutu Sese Seko came to power and became President of the Congo. The name of the country is changed to become Zaire, the name that remained until the end of Mobutu's power in the 90s.[49]

The Cold War era did not leave the Congo upside down. This country has known movements of a Marxist character that advocate revolution. Marxist movements created the People's Republic of Congo from the newly captured cities of Kisangani and Katanga. The great revolutionary Che Guevara even took

44 Esref Aksu, *The United Nations, intra-state peacekeeping and normative change*, (New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 100-121.

45 Séverine Autesserre, "Local Violence, National Peace? Postwar "Settlement" in the Eastern D.R. Congo (2003-2006)." *African Studies Review, Vol. 49*, No. 03 (December 2006): pp. 01-29.

46 Henning Tamm. "The Origins of Transnational Alliances: Rulers, Rebels, and Political Survival in the Congo Wars." *Quarterly Journal: International Security, Vol. 41*, No. 01 (Summer 2016): pp. 147-181.

47 Tony Karbo, and M. Mutisi, *Ethnic conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), In Handbook of Ethnic Conflict,* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii, 2012), pp. 383-400.

48 Ibid

49 Shawn H. McCormick. "Zaire II: Mobutu, Master of the Game." *Current History, Vol. 93*, No. 583 (May 1994): pp. 223-227.

part in the revolutionary struggle in Zaire. Che Guevara, with a group of Cuban fighters, supported a group of Zairian revolutionaries led by Laurent Desire Kabila and Pierre Mulele. However, these Marxist groups did not persist in the fight for the revolution and, later, Che Guevara left Zaire. [50] However, Grace helped capitalist governments like the United States and Mobutu's government to wipe out Marxist groups.[51]

From 1960 to the 90s, Mobutu's government managed to have the support of the international community, especially the capitalist countries. The current insecurity situation began in 1996 when some countries bordering the Congo, like Rwanda and Uganda, supported a coalition of rebels led by Desire Kabila, who had been a Mobutu power fighter for years. At the head of the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (AFDL), Laurent Desire Kabila ousted Mobutu from power in May 1997. Less than fifteen months after entering Kinshasa, Laurent-Désiré Kabila broke with those who had been the main architects of his victory by freeing himself from their tutelage through a series of measures taken on August 2, 1998, against mainly the Rwandan soldiers who behaved in Kinshasa as in a conquered country. The rupture, for which the various protagonists were preparing, was followed by the immediate formation of a rebel movement, the Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democratie (RCD), behind which acted Rwanda and Uganda, now resolute adversaries of their former protectors. Very quickly, the eastern and northern regions were under the control of the rebellion.[52] Since the

second Congo war, the country has failed to control the security situation. Rebel groups have multiplied in the country despite the presence of peacekeepers who have the role of stabilizing the Congo. The crisis caused by rebel groups has put the Congo among the most dangerous countries in the world and development in regions where there is a crisis has slowed down.[53]

The armed groups operating in the DRC have different origins and different objectives. We can classify the existence of these groups because of three reasons. The first reason is the reason for the ease of operation and the wealth in the DRC. The soil of DRC contains a large quantity of the various mineral sources. On the other hand, for the functioning of a rebel group, they need the financial means to buy the ammunitions, the food and other products for the good functioning of their operations. So, in the DRC, some rebel groups are accused of the illegal exploitation of minerals to finance their operations.[54]

Endogenous or Internal Factors: Principles and Mandate as Challenge

The endogenous factor is another factor used for variation in the effectiveness of international regimes. They are by factors internal to an institution. Endogenous factors use the set of rules, procedures or programs that facilitate in the success of an international institution tasked with solving an international problem.[55] In the DRC crisis, the UN under the supervision of its DPO

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50 Benoît Verhaegen. "Guevara au Congo 23 avril - 22 novembre 1965." *Bulletin des séances = Mededelingen der zittingen, Vol. 46,* No. 02 (2000): pp. 101-111.

51 Taylor B. Seybolt. "Appendix 1B: The war in the Democratic Republic of Congo." *SIPRI Yearbook,* January 01, 2000: pp. 60-68.

52 Filip Reyntjens. "Briefing: The Democratic Republic of Congo, from Kabila to Kabila." *African Affairs, Vol. 100,* No. 399 (April 01, 2001): pp. 311-317.

53 Lars-Christopher Huening. "Making use of the past: the Rwandophone question and the 'Balkanisation of the Congo'." *Review of African Political Economy, Vol. 40,* No. 135 (March, 01, 2013): pp. 13-31.

54 Alberto Barrera, "The Congo trap: MONUSCO islands of stability in the sea of instability." *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development, Vol. 04,* No. 01, p.Art. 52 (November 03, 2015): pp. 01-16.

55 Marc A. Levy, Oran R. Young, and Michael Zürn, "The study of international regimes." *European Journal of International Relations, Vol. 01, No.* 03 (September, 1995): pp. 267-330.

department is a dominant actor helping in the execution of these peacekeeping operations. As an organization, the UN is considered a recognized authority to put in place norms, rules, and procedures which facilitate the conduct of peacekeeping missions in the DRC.[56]

The researcher shows that MONUSCO's mandate does not facilitate it to achieve success in maintaining peace in the DRC. The UN mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is regulated by a renewable mandate which is voted by the UNSC.[57] This mandate is a legal and official document which dictates the laws and the tasks the personnel to respect it in the execution of this mission which allows the execution of the task of the peacekeepers. In 2021, MONUSCO's mandate contains two priorities which are the protection of the population and the stabilization of the Congo through various activities to maintain security.[58] However, the people that the peacekeepers are supposed to protect are not benefiting from the protection. The population is instead a victim of several human rights violations despite the presence of peacekeepers in their locality.[59]

The protection of civilians is one of the main tasks of UN blue helmets in the DRC. For more than 20 years of presence of blue helmets in the DRC, the mandates that govern them underline the importance of protecting civilians who are not involved in the war[60]. However, in eastern DRC, the civilian population are victims of different kinds of human rights violations. Thus, the civilian population of localities in the east of the country are the first victims of the crisis in the DRC. On many occasions the rebel groups attack localities where there is the presence of blue helmets. For example, the locality of Beni is a locality that is threatened by rebel groups.[61] The population of this locality accuses the UN of being ineffective in their protection. The bases of the UN soldiers are in their locality and when they are attacked by the rebels, the helmets hear the sounds of the armies but these soldiers do not intervene directly.[62]The population of this locality does not benefit from the protection of these blue helmets and some of them advocate for the withdrawal of the blue helmets in the locality of Beni.[63]

In recent years, various civil society groups in eastern DRC have increased demands for the withdrawal of peacekeepers in the DRC. These civil society groups which work for the protection of human rights show that the situation is degenerating in different localities despite the presence of the blue helmets. These activists call for the immediate and unconditional closure of the UN mission.

56 Stephen Ryan. "United Nations peacekeeping: A matter of principles?." *International Peacekeeping, Vol. 07,* No. 01 (March 2000): pp. 27-47.

57 Duane Bratt, "Assessing the success of UN peacekeeping operations." *International Peacekeeping, Vol. 3,* No. 04 (1996): pp. 64-81.

58 MONUSCO, "The UN Security Council adopted, on December 18, 2020, the Resolution 2556 renewing MONUSCO's mandate for a year and, including, on an exceptional basis, its Intervention Brigade," *MONUSCO Press,* December 18, 2020, accessed on June 20, 2021, https://monusco.unmissions.org/en/mandate.

59 Masrur Mahmud Khan, Samwat Naiear Ahona, and Subiggo Chakma. "Human Rights Protection in UN Peace Operations: A Case Study of the Democratic Republic of the Congo." *Chinese Journal of International Review, Vol. 03,* No. 01 (2021), pp. 21-53.

60 MONUSCO, "The UN Security Council adopted, on December 18, 2020, the Resolution 2556 renewing MONUSCO's mandate for a year and, including, on an exceptional basis, its Intervention Brigade," *MONUSCO Press,* December 18, 2020, accessed on June 20, 2021, https://monusco.unmissions.org/en/mandate.

61 Kristof Titeca, and Daniel Fahey. "The many faces of a rebel group: the Allied Democratic Forces in the Democratic Republic of Congo." *International Affairs, Vol. 92,* No. 05 (September, 2016): pp. 1189-1206.

62 Masrur Mahmud Khan, Samwat Naiear Ahona, and Subiggo Chakma. "Human Rights Protection in UN Peace Operations: A Case Study of the Democratic Republic of the Congo." Chinese Journal of International Review, Vol. 03, No. 01 (2021), pp. 21-53.

63 John Kanyunyu, "Les habitants de Beni de nouveau dans la rue contre la Monusco," *African Times,* November 26, 2019, accessed on June 20, 2021, https://www.dw.com/fr/les-habitants-de-beni-de-nouveau-dans-la-rue-contre-la-monusco/a-51426357.

They accuse MONUSCO of being unable to protect the population.[64] For example, in the three months between December and February, in the town of Ituri, MONUSCO reports show 54 people killed in violence between rebel groups. Among the victims are women and children. MONUSCO official documents show that the humanitarian and security situation in the DRC is still alarming.[65]

Apart from the mandate, which is not clear on how to protect the population in presence of the rebel groups, there is the question of the neutrality of these peacekeepers. In the work of the peacekeepers, they keep their neutrality in the execution of their mission except in the case of a special warrant which authorizes not to be neutral for the purpose of resolving a conflict. In the rebel crisis in the DRC, MONUSCO respects the three principles of consent of the parties to the conflict, impartiality and the use of force only in self-defense. The genesis of the intervention is that there was consent between the Congolese government, which is the guarantor of sovereignty, and the UN.[66]

Most UN peacekeeping missions send soldiers, sometimes well armed, but they are not allowed to use these weapons against the danger of security in the places where they operate because of their impartiality. Some researchers show that a robust solution is the only solution that can help protect the population or stabilize the DRC even if it goes against the principles of the UN peacekeepers. Despite this, this solution makes MONUSCO one of the actors in the conflict, but some researchers find it a good solution. For example, in 2013, a special unit of blue helmets known as the Brigade intervention force (FIB) they pushed the M23 rebels from the city of Goma.[67]

Conclusion

From the description above, this article shows that the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has experienced the longest conflict of the 21st century. The rebel groups that operate in this country, particularly in the east, are the main perpetrators of various crimes against humanity that the Congolese population is suffering from. Since 1999, the UN has deployed thousands of peacekeepers to facilitate peacekeeping in the DRC. This MONUSCO mission has significant financial and material resources at its disposal. However, more than 20 years after this deployment, the humanitarian situation is deplorable in Eastern of DRC.

The article uses the theory of the international regime to analyze the causes of the ineffectiveness of the rebel groups eradicated by MONUSCO. We used factors that influence the effectiveness of international regimes from the perspective of Levy et al (1995). The authors stressed that the true measure of the effectiveness of an international regime lies in a comparison with what would have happened if the regime had never existed. This regime theory shows that three factors, including exogenous or external factors to institutions, endogenous or internal factors of efficiency, and factors identifying behavioral mechanisms, all play a role.

The results of this study indicate that the ineffectiveness of the UN in finding a solution to the rebel crisis in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is due to various

64 Joseph Kay, "DR Congo: Dozens detained in Beni during anti-UN protests," *Aljazeera*, April 08, 2021, accessed on June 20, 2021, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/4/8/dr-congo-dozens-detained-in-beni-during-anti-un-protests.

65 United Nation Security Council, "United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo: Report of the Secretary-General," *MONUSCO Press*, September 17, 2021, accessed on September 20, 2021, https://monusco.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/s-2021-807_-_sg_report_on_monusco_in_english.pdf.

66 Kate Grady. "Sexual exploitation and abuse by UN peacekeepers: A threat to impartiality." *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 17, No. 02 (2010), pp. 215-228.

67 J. Arthur Boutellis. "From Crisis to Reform: Peacekeeping Strategies for the Protection of Civilians in the Democratic Republic of the Congo." *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development*, Vol. 02, No. 03, p.Art. 48 (September, 2013): pp. 01-11.

problems including challenges external and internal to the UN. This article finds that the expansion of rebel groups is due to the various internal crises in the DRC and its neighboring countries. Thus, these local and regional rebel groups illegally exploit the mineral resources that are abundant in the DRC. At the internal UN level, UN mandates and principles such as neutrality and non-use of force except under a special offensive mandate prevented blue helmets from eradicating rebel groups. As a recommendation, it would therefore be important for the UN to vote for a specific mandate on the environment of the conflict. In the case of the DRC, it would be favorable when the UN votes for a mandate that favors the UN blue helmets in the fight against the rebel groups who sow terror in the East of the DRC.

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