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**“The Role of Pakistan in the United Nations Peacekeeping
Operations: Case Studies of the Democratic Republic of Congo
(DRC), Liberia and Somalia”**

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YASIR KHAN

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Abstract

Pakistan is one of the longest-serving and the largest contributor to the United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations. As of August 2020, Pakistan is the sixth-largest contributor of uniformed personnel to the UN peacekeeping operations with more than 4400 men and women serving in several missions under the UN flag in various countries. In international politics, the military is considered hard power, but it is regarded as a soft power in peacekeeping. The international community considers the role of Pakistan's military crucial in dealing with dangerous conflicts.

This thesis explores Pakistan's role within the UN peacekeeping operations (UNPKO) specifically in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Liberia and Somalia. Pakistani troops have delivered peace and security during and after the conflict in these three war-torn countries regarding following the UN mandate designated by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). The UNSC designate missions with several duties: protecting civilians, availing food, protecting human right, building infrastructure, maintaining rule of laws and security, training of police, and providing health and education.

In the first part of this study, the researcher reviews the literature related to UN peacekeeping and Pakistan's role using the lens of realism, which explains the role of power and national interest and considers privilege and morality as factors influencing foreign policy decision-making. In the second part of the thesis, Pakistan's commitments to the international community for sustaining peace and security using the lens of constructivism is explored. Constructivism is based on social beliefs and norms and argues that reality is subjective. Based on this theory, this thesis examines how social ideas and examples influence international relations. The findings of this dissertation intend to potentially contribute to ongoing research on the UN peacekeeping and the role of Pakistan by analysing the factors, interests and efforts of Pakistan's military and other skilled contingents

serving within the UN peacekeeping operations in current Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and past two missions in Liberia and Somalia.

Kurzfassung

Pakistan ist einer der ältesten Vertragspartner der friedenserhaltenden Missionen der Vereinten Nationen (UN Peace Keeping Operations). Im August 2020 ist Pakistan der sechstgrößte Beitragszahler von uniformiertem Personal für die Friedenssicherungseinsätze der Vereinten Nationen mit mehr als 4400 Männern und Frauen, die in mehreren Missionen unter der UN-Flagge in verschiedenen Ländern dienen. In der internationalen Politik wird das Militär als "hard power", im Kontext der Friedenssicherung jedoch als "soft power" betrachtet. Die internationale Gemeinschaft betrachtet die Rolle des pakistanischen Militärs für die Bewältigung gefährlicher Konflikte als entscheidend, was auf nationaler und internationaler Ebene anerkannt und erforscht worden ist.

In dieser Arbeit soll die Rolle Pakistans im Rahmen der UN-Friedenssicherungseinsätze - speziell in der Demokratischen Republik Kongo (DRK), in Liberia und Somalia - untersucht werden. Es wird aufgezeigt, welchen Beitrag die pakistanischen Truppen in diesen drei kriegszerrütteten Ländern im Rahmen des vom Sicherheitsrat der Vereinten Nationen (UNSC) festgelegten Mandats der Mission vor und nach dem Konflikt geleistet haben. Der Sicherheitsrat der Vereinten Nationen betraut Missionen mit verschiedenen Aufgaben, die vom Schutz der Zivilbevölkerung über die Bereitstellung von Nahrung, die Gewährleistung des Menschenrechts auf Infrastruktur und die Sicherstellung von Rechtsstaatlichkeit bis hin zur Sicherheit und Ausbildung der Polizei sowie der Bereitstellung von Gesundheit und Bildung reichen.

Im ersten Teil dieser Studie recherchiert der Forscher die Literatur zur UN-Friedenssicherung und zur Rolle Pakistans unter dem Blickwinkel des Realismus, der die Rolle von Macht und nationalem Interesse erklärt, aber auch Privilegien und Moral als Faktoren betrachtet, die die außenpolitische Entscheidungsfindung beeinflussen.

Im zweiten Teil der Arbeit werden Pakistans Verpflichtungen gegenüber der internationalen Gemeinschaft zur Aufrechterhaltung von Frieden und Sicherheit aus Sicht des Konstruktivismus untersucht. Der Konstruktivismus basiert auf gesellschaftlichen Überzeugungen und Normen und argumentiert, dass die Realität subjektiv ist. Auf der Grundlage dieser Theorie wird in dieser Arbeit untersucht, wie soziale Überzeugungen und Normen die internationalen Beziehungen beeinflussen.

Die Ergebnisse dieser Dissertation sollen potenziell einen Beitrag zur laufenden Forschung über die friedenserhaltenden Maßnahmen der Vereinten Nationen und die Rolle Pakistans leisten. Der Beitrag besteht in der Analyse von Faktoren, Interessen und Bemühungen des pakistanischen Militärs und anderer pakistanischer Akteure der Friedenssicherung, die im Rahmen der friedenserhaltenden Maßnahmen der Vereinten Nationen in einer aktuellen Mission (Demokratische Republik Kongo) dienen, respektive in zwei vergangenen Missionen (Liberia und Somalia) gedient haben.

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Nomenclature

AMISOM	African Union Mission to Somalia
AU	African Union
CCF	Congestive Cardiac Failure
CDC	Congress for Democratic Change
CIMIC	United Nations Civil-Military Coordination
CIPS	Centre of International Peace and Security
CJTF-HOA	Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa
CNDP	National Congress for the Defence of the people
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DFS	Department of Field Support
DFS	Somali Salvation Democratic Front
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
FARDC	Armed Forces of Democratic Republic of the Congo
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FDLR	Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda

FIB	Force Intervention Brigade
GHQ	General Headquarters
IDPs	Internally Displaced People
IFOR	The implantation Force
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO's	International Non Governmental Organizations
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence
ISPR	Inter-Services Public Relations
JMC	Joint Military Commission
LCL	Load Logistic Company
MINURSO	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara
MINUSCA	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central Africa
MINUSMA	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MONUC	The United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MONUSCO	The United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MSD	Medical Service Division
MSU	Medical Support Unit
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NESPAK	National Engineering Service Pakistan
NGO	Non Governmental Organization

NS	National Support
NUST	National University of Science and Technology
OIC	Organization of Islamic Conference
ONUC	United Nations Peace Operation in Congo
OROSLI	Office of Rule of Law and Security Institution
PAKBAT	The Pakistani Army Contributed an Infantry Group
PLAN	People Liberation Army of Namibia
PMAD	Pakistan Military Accounts Department
PNC	Peopls National Congress
PWO	Palaung womens organization
RCD	Rally for Congolese Democracy
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SGRG	Special Representative of Secretary-General
SKB	South Kivu Bridge
SNA	Somali National Alliance
SNM	Somali National Movement
SSDF	Somali Salvation Democratic Front
SSET	Support for student Exposed to Trauma
TB	Tuberculosis
TCC	Troops Contributor Countries
TTP	Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan
UN	United Nations
UNCT	United Nations Country Team
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
UNFICYP	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	United Nation High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Childrens Fund
UNICP	United Nations Commission for Pakistan and India
UNIKOM	United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission
UNITAF	Unified Task Force
UNMID	United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
UNMOGIP	United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNPKO	United Nations Peacekeeping Operation
UNPOL	United Nations Police
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNSOS	United Nations Support Office in Somalia
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
UNTAES	United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization
UNYOM	United Nations Yemen Observation Mission

US	United States
USC	United Somali Congress
USC	United Somali Council
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
VOA	Voice of America
VRS	Army Republika Srpska
WFP	World Foos Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

Chapter 1

Introduction

“Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We believe in the principle of honesty, and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to contribute to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter”.¹

1.1 Description of the Problem

The issue of conflicts around the world has inundated the international community for decades. The world has adopted various approaches to handle the conflicts, the more significant is the increasing role of national and international organizations. For decades, international organizations have adopted the tool of international peacekeeping for the settlement of disputes around the world. The role of international organizations to intervene in the conflicts started with the League of Nations to settle them in 1920. The League of Nations addressed the collective security system to introduce the political, economic and military sanctions against the invaders. The failure of this organization resulted in the Second World War. After the failure of the collective security system introduced by the League of Nations in 1920, the United Nations (UN) was established in 1945. Following article 43 of the UN Charter which addresses all member states to contribute military troops to

¹(Jinnah,M 1948) Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a founder of Pakistan.

undertake collective action to address the conflicts around the world. Adopting the other methods for conflict resolution, such as imposing economic, political, diplomatic sanctions has less influence than military presence against any aggression. (Diehl, 1988)

The literature on UN peacekeeping has developed to a large extent in the last few decades due to the increasing demand for UN peace operations in conflict regions around the world. The termination of the Cold War brought a great change in the UN system including peacekeeping. Much of the literature on UN peacekeeping is written to support the policy-making demand for establishing new missions and define peacebuliding, peacemaking, peacekeeping and particularly humanitarian interventions. Policymakers in contributing member states and the UN have to measure the effects of the conflicts to plan and establish new peace missions. (Peou, 2002)

According to Roland Paris, the study of peacekeeping operations still remains disconnect from the rest of political science. The new development in the literature of peacekeeping particularly focused on policymaking, decision making, procedures on establishing missions, but failed to create a strong link between the study of peacekeeping missions and larger theoretical debates within the field of political science. (Paris, 2000)

According to Laura, UN rolates have limitations for the contributions of peacekeeping troops as it depends on approval from foreign policy objectives of each participating country. Such limitations may reduce the expectations from the UN Charter to address the international issues. If the UN continues to intervene in the conflicts, then there is a legal aspect of dealing with the sovereignty of the states, recently we have examples of Iraq, Libya and Afghanistan. The powerful states have dominated the world order and influence the decision-making process while establishing new UN peace operations. Dr. Laura (Neack, 1995) asked the question, why do states contribute to UN peacekeeping missions? Why Pakistan is interested in UN peacekeeping? Whether the participation is based on commitments with the international community or member states contribute to protecting their national interests. This study about peacekeeping focused on the same lines in the case of Pakistan. However, I am convinced that realism theory gives a better explanation to answer this question. (Neack, 1995)

Geopolitics is competition among major powers around the world. Americans consider Russia as one of the geopolitical competitors. But currently, China has become a significant power against the US and Europe has been increased as an international actor, as UN peace missions achieved some successes from last decades particularly after the termination of the Cold War and attained collective support from the global community for the settlements of disputes. The UN provides a system of collective support from almost all member states to sustain global peace and security after the Cold War. The influence of the US as a global power may continue to reduce as China and Russia raising their influence in international affairs. The increasing power of developing states are leading the world system to be more multipolar. Such debates refer to establishing new blocks of emerging powers such as India, Brazil and South Africa. The changing of the geopolitical system has a strong influence on the procedures of deployment of troops, design, decision making, and mandate of the designated UN peacekeeping mission. (Paris, 2014)

Geopolitics is not a struggle of influence by UN peacekeeping, but resources based wars have increased the expansion of globalization. Conflict in DRC and Sierra Leone are the best examples. The world needs high-quality raw materials to continue industrial production to maintain international trade. Transnational companies are eager to invest or searching new doors for trading and establishing links with political actors. Such relationships provide an opportunity for trading and consider as an important factor of geopolitics. (Silberfein, 2004)

However, UN peace operations theoretically depends on the concept of the collective human security system. The concept refers to positive peace and created a new framework for the peace movements from the 1980s. The Brahimi Report (2000) gave a further rise to world peace based on idealistic thinking. It is important to highlight that the recent conceptualization of human security defined by the UN is different from the national security system of the state. Human security cannot be achieved on individual action but collective participation of all stakeholders through legal intervention. (Peou, 2002)

The primary mandate of the UN is to preserve global peace and security, to gain international cooperation among the nations, create long lasting positive relations among member states and serve a central point of contact to coordinate with the actions and activities of the nations. (Nations, 1945c)

The statement above expresses Pakistan's constant dedication to the world by playing a crucial part in sustaining global peace and security. Considering article, 2(4) of the UN Charter was signed on 26 June 1945 and all member states shall resolve their conflicts in peaceful manners and abstain from using force against each country's sovereignty.([Nations, 1945b](#))

As of October 2019, Pakistan is one of the leading and oldest contributor to the UN peacekeeping operation in DRC (MONUSCO) with 2,694 peacekeepers (military, police and civilians) deployed([Nations, 2009](#)).

For example, Pakistan contributed almost 3000 military troops in Liberia to dealing with one of the strong rebels group called Liberian United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD). The occupied area by this group was considered to be as most risky places in the world. Pakistani troops provided support to the UNMIL with process of DDR (Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration) and 3500 fighters to withdraw their weapons in front of the military of Pakistan.([Relief, 2005](#))

The UN has established more than seventy-one peacekeeping missions, including 1 million men and women from different countries. These peacekeeping missions have been vital in the conflict management strategy to preserve global peace and security since 1948. The UN peacekeeping is continuously growing the scope and complexity of the mandates and operations conducted in different parts of the globe. It requires more efficiency in using resources and professionalism approaches to accomplish its objectives.([Nations, 1948b](#))

Researchers and scholars have mentioned the history of peacekeeping connected to the C However, the Delian League, for example of proto- peacekeeping by British in Ottoman Macedonia (1904-1905), represented ordinary alliances with little to do with ethical issues relating to peace. In the coming centuries, Europe made efforts to establish peace agreements includes the peace of Westphalia treaty in 1648, Utrecht in 1713, and Paris in,1763 and in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars. ([Peace, 2006](#))

The founders of the UN did not expect to engage in peacekeeping. The concept of peacekeeping came later and was not initially part of the UN Charter. Peacekeeping operations are practical tools to preserve global peace and security in the conflict areas globe. However, during the Cold War, the tension between the USA

and the USSR highlighted the importance of peacekeeping operations.([Nations, 1945d](#))

Following article 25 of Charter of the UN, member states of the UN acknowledged to acquire, and execute the finding taken by the UNSC. Therefore, the UNSC (United Nations Security Council) has the power, authority and the core responsibility to preserve peace and security. Hence, peacekeeping follows both chapters VI and VII of the Charter of the UN.([Nations, 1948a](#))

In the early years of peacekeeping creation, the UN peacekeeping missions were mandated to preserve ceasefire agreements and stabilize conflict situations. However, the Cold War paralyzed the UNSC. The UNTSO (United Nations Truce Supervision Organization) and UNMOGIP (United Nations Military Observer Group In India and Pakistan) were first two-observer peacekeeping operations deployed respectively in 1948 and 1949.([Nations, 1948b](#))

The UN Charter, signed in 1945, presents the foundation of all the work emanating from the UN. According to this document, the UN was generated to protect future generations from the threat of war and sustain global peace and security.([Nations, 1945c](#)) Also, the UN charter allows the UNSC to use force to preserve global peace and security.([Nations, 1945f](#))

In other words, the UNSC establish 15 (permanent and non-permanent) member states were to act in place of all other UN member states. The UNSC has the power to decide on enforcement measures, which include economic and military sanctions.([Nations, 1945f](#))

I have interviewed 35 people from relevant departments such as the UN, research institutes, experts, analysts and professors from various Universities to collect data. I used background information about UN peacekeeping to answer these questions. UN peacekeeping is military activity therefore, I had signed a consent to all relevant departments not to share their personal information, names of the institution and their exit statements. The central role of the UNSC is described in article 51 and 53 of the UN Charter. Article 51 describes that member states may act in self-defence if a military attack occurs against them.([Nations, 1945c](#))

Chapter VII, actions concerning danger to the peace, violations of the peace and acts of belligerence .([Nations, 1945c](#)) Article 53 states that the UNSC may utilize the regional agencies to enforce actions under its authority, but should not use any

enforcement measures without the authorization of the UNSC.(Nations, 1945c)
The UN Charter authorizes the UNSC to oversee and take a comprehensive range of global peace and security, including the UN peacekeeping mission's deployment. Nevertheless peacekeeping concept is not part of the UN charter.(Nations, 1945c)

Chapter VIII of the UN charter focuses on regional positioning authorizing regional stakeholders to resolve disputes through agencies like the African Union (AU). In other words, the UN Charter promotes third party solutions by involving regional stakeholders before presenting it to the UN. For example, in South Sudan, the UN peacekeeping operation involved building every life sector for this young population. In this sense, the UN peacekeeping has made many positive contributions towards sustaining global peace, security, cooperation among member states. Only through international collaboration could meet the changes in the regional and global level. Peacekeeping is one approach the UN uses as part of its strategy. Peacekeeping is a different UN activity and contribution towards what the UN Charter describe to support in maintaining global peace and security. Blue helmets are globally recognized due to their many achievements, but many experts often neglect peacekeepers' efforts and instead have criticized them.(Nations, 1945c)

Peacekeepers are deployed to conflict situations to protect civilians following the UN mandate approved by the UNSC. UN peacekeepers contribute after analyzing the nature of conflict. It is necessary to see the rules of engagement of an individual state.(Nations, 2021b) The UNSC determines the deployment of new UN peacekeeping operations through standard procedures and principles. When conflict worsens, the UN frequently involves several stakeholders to determine community's efforts. These stakeholders involve.(Nations, 1945e)

1. UN Agencies
2. Government hosts and stockholders
3. Member states including those who can supply soldiers to peacekeeping operations
4. Regional and other inter-governmental organizations
5. Other related key external stakeholders.

As of October 2020 total of 82594 military, troops, and civilians experts from 121 countries are engaged in 13 UN peacekeeping missions to bring peace in the conflict world's areas.(Nations, 1945e)

1.2 Significance of the Research

The study of UN peacekeeping has grown, but still, there is a need to explore more the aspects such as why Global South countries are interested? and how to measure their performance. Professor of political science Duane Bratt explained following ways to assess the success of a UN peacekeeping mission. 1) Performance of troops according to the mandate: means how the UN peacekeeping troops deliver their job following points of designated mandate, 2) facilitation of conflict resolution, member states contributors involvement in conflict resolution, 3) conflict containment and numbers of fatalities. However, these indicators are implemented to measure the collective success of a UN peacekeeping mission: how to measure the success of an individual member state. This questions has not been explored yet. In this study, we will be exploring the interest and motivations of Pakistan's contribution in three case studies, DRC, Liberia and Somalia.(Bratt, 1996)

The first importance of this study refers to the gap of literature on UN peacekeeping. The UN peacekeeping literature has developed in three phases, one is before the Cold War, the second after the Cold War and the third one is increasing because of recent interest in exploring UN peacekeeping. Indeed, many missions were deployed between 1988 to 1993 as compared to previous ones. A huge gap appeared in the literature of UN peacekeeping during the missions deployed in Somalia, Rwanda, Angola and Bosnia, despite various success stories.(Fortna & Howard, 2008)

The second importance of this research is to find out, why Pakistan contributes to UN peacekeeping? The answer is based on a great deal. Pakistan has deployed thousands of troops in UN peacekeeping, it is important to explore whether those thousands of troops to what extent they succeeded and then it was necessary to understand what motives Pakistan has had to deploy a sizable number of troops. UN decided to set a mandate for UN peacekeeping troops to deal with intra, and interstate conflicts to protect civilians and mainly the furtherance of human rights

and rule of law. What goals force Pakistan to deploy troops out side of the country rather than providing security to their people(Kathman & Melin, 2017)

As discussed above, the third importance of this research there is a big gap of research in UN peacekeeping on various aspects as a whole and also as a role of an individual member state. Pakistan is one of the case studies where there is still a lack of interest on peacekeeping research exists. The reasons are simple, peacekeeping has been considered as a military activity and has had less projection around the world. There are following notable reasons behind this issue. 1) Lack of research interest on the military side of Pakistan. 2) Access to the literature is almost impossible because of the hardcore behaviour of the Pakistan military. However, it is changing now because of less participation of the military in politics in the last decade. 3) Lack of proper media coverage and national debates on UN peacekeeping and less coordination among policymakers and academics.

There is a need for the contribution of peacekeeping literature because Pakistan has extensive experience with UN peacekeeping. Otherwise, the existing literature will be lost forever, if not translated and published properly. It will be a national loss. My thesis is an effort to make a substantial contribution to the literature on Pakistan's role in UN peacekeeping. My research will be probably the first Ph.D. published work at the international level on Pakistan's role in UN peacekeeping. It contributes to saving some of the knowledge and experiences of former Pakistani military, police and civilians officers. My study is crucial for the decision-makers deciding procedures of deployment of troops. In addition, it would encourage young researchers to do further research such topics.(Yamin, 2018) Logically speaking, there is almost no serious scholarly work has been done, except one story has been written on Somalia. There a was need to build a substantial and meaningful corpus of literature on Pakistan's contribution to peacekeeping and an analysis of the work on Pakistani troops in three UN peacekeeping missions.

The findings of research should make an essential handout to the field of UN peacekeeping. This study enhances the knowledge and conception of analyzing the performance of an individual member state contributor to UN peacekeeping and demonstrates the Pakistani troops contribution in the UN peacekeeping missions of DRC, Liberia and Somalia. It offers some vital insight into the motivations of Pakistan's deployment to different UN peacekeeping. The study about the performance of an individual state's contribution to UN peacekeeping has been not favourably considered neither by concerned member states nor by the UN.

The fourth importance of research is UN peacekeeping does not share the daily challenges undertaken by Pakistani men and women troops deployed in conflict zones. This would not be fair to highlight the contributions and challenges they faced to maintain global peace and security while serving in the dangerous regions of the world. I highlighted the contribution of Pakistani male and female peacekeepers served in DRC, Liberia and Somalia. (Yamin, 2018)

The fifth importance of study is to contribute the Department of Peace Operations (DPO) in research while analyzing an individual state in peacekeeping operations. It would contribute to the literature of the UN peacekeeping published by the New York to provide insight of evaluation and performance of peacekeepers belongs to Pakistan.

1.3 Research Question

Why Pakistan is interested in UN peacekeeping and what Pakistani troops have been doing in DRC, Liberia and, Somalia?

1.3.1 Hypothesis

1 -Pakistan follows the various motivations behind contributing troops in UN peacekeeping. Developing states such as Pakistan are a leading state and ranked in the top ten UN peacekeeping troops contributor. On the other hand, developed states such as the USA support UN peacekeeping financially. For these reasons, UN peacekeeping faces challenges in resolving conflicts effectively. It is hypothesized, “if the developing states and developed states contribute troops and budget on an equal level, UN peacekeeping could perform better.” 2-Currently, the UN analyses the work of the whole mission but not about an individual state contribution. It is hypothesized that

“if the UN analyze the performance of an individual member state it could support in future policymaking and implementation of the mission mandate effectively in the field”.

1.4 Research Design and Methodology

Political Science is a unique field of study. Researchers and scholars have taken various methods to investigate their research questions in this discipline. However, it is sometimes not easy to decide about the proper method and approach for reliable results. This is the same problem with the study of peace operations. Some researchers have adopted the quantitative method approach to investigate the rules of engagements and conditions of peace in the conflict regions, there are very little statistical data is available. However, qualitative investigations have become the central method to operate research in the field of peace operations. In this study, we have adopted qualitative methods to investigate the role of Pakistan in UN peacekeeping.

Research is conducted in many divergent ways in the field of political science. The objective of the study is either primary or applied research. Basic research is called pure or theoretical and related to theories and questions of what, why and, when. An example of basic research is studying dinosaurs, which existed millions of years ago. This type of research focuses on theory building rather than applying methods to find solutions. The theory that could arise from this kind of research could be about why dinosaurs disappeared. Applied research is related to developing theories to understand why something might have happened and a causal relationship. They hope the research to be able to predict whether it will happen again in the future. Political science research is applied research. However, pure research plays a significant role in this field of social science particularly political science involves both basic and applied approaches using the same methodologies, following similar research designs and applies scientific rigour, ethics, validity, and reliability.(McNabb, 2015)

Most scholars and researchers, such as Alex Bellamy agree with Alan James, who argues that peacekeeping is an international politics aspect.(Bellamy, 2004) However, to explore this unique type of conflict resolution we need to understand other factors, namely, diplomatic, historical, psychological, military, and legal aspects of peacekeeping.(Bryman, 2008)

These factors apply to the study of UN peacekeeping operations. This includes time, the duration, the waiting period, the preparation time, the number of military troops, police and civilians experts, the number of countries contributing troops, the percentage of great powers involved, and the region of deployment.(Bryman,

2008) A case study to analyze the role of Pakistan in UN peacekeeping missions of DRC, Liberia, and Somalia is presented to respond the research question. The literature of this chapter presents different variables and articulate two hypothesis between independent and dependent variables to rationalize the case selection based on research question. (Choi, 2013) It covers the debate on collection of data and method of research adopted to assess and analyse information. (Bryman, 2008)

My research question emerged during my master study in international relations in Pakistan. I wish to write my master thesis on UN peacekeeping and the role of Pakistan, unfortunately, I could not get access to the published material because of the hardcore behaviour of the military of Pakistan. However, I kept my research question wish to write a PhD thesis. The first and foremost task was to discover which methodical approach support the investigation of my research question. I decided to pick two theories, realism and constructivism from the political science discipline, on the other side as discussed above the issues of qualitative and quantitative methods techniques with UN peacekeeping research. Indeed, the qualitative method approach convinced me to adopt to gather information and processing data to answer my research question. In the first phase, I would like to explain how the realism theory and qualitative method approach are helpful to investigate the first part of my research question. In the second phase, I would like to explain the second part of my research question how constructivism and the qualitative method approach support the second part of my research question. Realism puts the limitations introduced and imposed by the egoistic nature of human beings in absence of central power. Combing both produce a strong link between power and interest. (Donnelly, 2000) I consider the theory of realism in the first phase to strongly support my research question. Why states are interested to participate in UN peacekeeping? The realist position on state interests describes that states do whatever they can to protect their national interests. Powerful and democratic states encourage and support to promote democratic norms in weak states, on the other hand, to preserve their national interest powerful states raise no objection to dictatorship rule. For example, the US encourage and support Pakistan to sustain democracy, on the other hand, they raised no questions on military rules on Pakistan for four decades to preserve their regional interests. International organizations particular the UN takes the main benefit from such kind of support. (Neack, 1995) The qualitative research approach incredibly contributes to the discipline of political science and the field of international relations. (Bennett and Elman 2007a, 2007b; Mahoney 2007). I used the qualitative research method

for this study. Qualitative research consisted of many methods and provide details and a rich explanation of insight into the topic.(Nye, Melendez-Torres, & Bonell, 2016) Firstly,I am convinced with the case study type of qualitative research to investigate my research question. A case study may be one of the important fields of qualitative type of research in social sciences. What we have insight knowledge of social sciences such as political science and international relations drawn from case studies.(Starman, 2013) The qualitative method of research allows us to explore the decisions making process of any topic.(Barrett & Twycross, 2018) I have chosen three case studies to analyze the role of Pakistani troops in DRC, Liberia and Somalia. The qualitative method provides me insights into the motivations of Pakistan contributing to UN peacekeeping and in the second phase, the evaluations of Pakistani troops work in DRC, Liberia and Somalia. The issues with UN peacekeeping has already been discussed above and explained how the qualitative method of research is suitable for such type of study. I selected 35 people for interview, officials from the UN, Peace and Conflict Professors from different Universities and officers from the military of Pakistan who are engaged directly or indirectly with UN peacekeeping activities. I had to face a big challenge to talk with military and UN officials because of the limitations of their services. It prepared me to refine the questions for the next interviews. The role of my research is to investigate, Pakistan 's role in UN peacekeeping is based on self-interest or to oblige international norms. Secondly, with other technical questions, I wanted to know, allegations on Pakistani troops for rapping children, women of the local community while serving with the UN peacekeeping missions in Africa are true? Whether those culprits brought to justice or not? Many Pakistani soldiers found in doing smuggling of Gold particular from DRC? Every interview lasted between 1-2 hours.I conducted research interview very carefully.The type of interview A qualitative research design consisted of an interview approach provides a full insight and scrutiny of social processes. Indeed, I allowed all respondents to be open and should interpret their experiences wisely, with the consent not showing their names and including their interviews in my own words. 75% of respondents have direct experience with UN peacekeeping missions and 30% have conducted research and teaching on the subject of peace and conflict studies particularly have interest in peace operations. To accommodate the baseness of respondents, I used multiple methods to gather the information. However, in my study, the interviews provided me significant support to answer my question but relied also

on the evaluation of analysing contents analysis, available published literature, reports of UNSC, mission reports, media reports, various books and articles written on this topic. A sampling of respondents was facilitated by UN officials in Vienna, however, the final decision was undertaken by me. The selection procedure for the participants was adopted on basis of their qualification and experience serving with the UN peace operations. Almost 70% had served for many years with UN operations. One of the other challenges I faced was inter viewing female participants from Pakistan. Pakistani female troops have played a significant role in various UN peacekeeping. They were not ready to talk to me without permission from their families and military headquarters. Many of them served for the engineering and medical department of the Pakistan military and were appointed in conflict regions with UN peace operations. The time of inter views lasted between 1 to 2 hours discussion. Interviews were taken in Islamabad, Vienna, Rawalpindi, DRC, Liberia and New York. (Bridges & Horsfall, 2009)

1.4.1 Non-Participant Observations

Observation is one of the tools we adopt in everyday life during our social interactions with each other. We evaluate the behaviour of others through observation. Observation is also one of the ways to answer a qualitative research question in social science.(Ciesielska, Boström, & Öhlander, 2018)

Interviews, survey and various other methods are common tools for qualitative research to answer the question in the discipline of political science. This type of technology helps and should continue to play a significant role of understanding and deal with the various issues of political science.(Gillespie & Michelson, 2011)

Observation is an efficient tool for a researcher and used for searching the answer of the research question. It involves the details and considerations of validity, reliability and ethics. There are two types of observation, participants and non-participant. In participants the researcher should be the part of agenda and activity and observe on a larger scale. Non-participation observation, researcher is not part of agenda and activity but observe on small scale.(Pinder et al., 2015)

I attended various meetings and conferences held at the UN headquarters Vienna while serving with the United Nations Vienna, Diplomatic academy, National Defence Academy of Austria to gain knowledge about UN peacekeeping from discussions of several experts. I also joined high-level meetings on UN peacekeeping in New York. I was formally introduced by delegates from Pakistan to UN peacekeeping officials in Vienna and New York. I took permission from the UN department of information Vienna to participate and record the discussions due to the limitations of the organizations.

It is interesting that Austria provided reasonable numbers of troops to UN peacekeeping and active since 1960, recorded 90,000 military and civilians contributed to UN peace operations over 50 conflict regions around the world. Austria has established a peacekeeping association of people served for UN peacekeeping. I have participated in events organised by this association in Vienna. (Policy, 2013)

In 1965, UN established a special body on peacekeeping missions (C-34) under the General Assembly Fourth Committee in order to evaluate the provide recommendation for future of UN peacekeeping operations. This compromises on 147 Member States contributing in peacekeeping operations including observer members from other INGO'S such as the International Criminal Police Organization. (Choi, 2013)²

1.5 Review of Documents

Data collected by first-hand experience is called primary data. Data has not been published printed and electronically have high degree of reliability and validity. Data has changed by human beings has less portion of reliability. Primary data collection is significant, however research can be done with using secondary data but following the secondary data is least reliable because of data already used by various researchers. Primary data collection is difficult, as in many cases it is restricted or lack of cooperation. (Kabir, 2019)

Documents analysis remains a significant method of research in political science. Political scientists introduced three types of document analysis. The first method is a rhetorical analysis, a researcher has to explore the message author wants to

²United Nations, Special Committee on peacekeeping operations, retrieved from <https://www.peace-women.org/content/special-committee-peace-keeping-operations-c34>.

deliver and which method is used to discover the outcomes. The second type of documents analysis research is called discourse analyse, which investigate the issues in broader values, norms and factors described in the document. The third approach of document analysis is narrative analysis, in political science focused on the reality of content, origin and impacts of the messages.(Kaal, Maks, & van Elfrinkhof, 2014)

I used the narrative analysis approach during analyzing relevant UN documents. For example, in UNSC resolutions, I investigated the contents, and impacts of decisions undertaken by UNSC for deploying UN peace operations in conflict regions. Indeed, UNSC adopted various resolutions after deploying peace operations to update the mandate and to evaluate the performances. In my three cases studies, I used narrative analysis and investigated the resolutions and evaluated the performances of contributors particularly Pakistani troops in DRC, Liberia and Somalia.

In addition, I used agendas reports, meetings reports, charters, background papers, books and diaries, newspapers. including electronic types such as radio and television programs, speeches and various public records, online libraries, historical society offices.(Bowen et al., 2009)

Preliminary data sourced from official documents is essential for analyzing Pakistan's cooperation with the UN peacekeeping operations because it reveals the vibrant communications during the conciliation process.(Kabir,2016) This is relevant for analyzing UN negotiations such as UNSC resolutions and session documents, such as the United Nations General Assembly UNGA session and meeting on peacekeeping, progress reports, and newspaper articles.(Kabir, 2019)

Pakistan's military contains information about contribution to UN peacekeeping missions but are restricted to share the literature and strategies adopted by Pakistan in many cases. However, a wide range of official reports is primary sources to gain information. Researcher used secondary information to add the major documents to overcome the restricted access to prior documentations.(Kabir, 2019)The secondary data collection is reviewing the data which is already published. It is not collected by another person for different objectives but could be used by another person for a purpose. The types of secondary data include organizational records and data collected by qualitative methods of research. The types include books, records, newspapers, internet articles, etc. It is significant to gather data from

secondary sources, because sometimes it is difficult to collect data from primary sources, e.g. information about a conflict, in these cases investigator has to rely on secondary data sources. Reviewing the secondary data is important to know the background of the research being done already and it is helpful to check the reliability and validity of the literature available already.(Kabir, 2019)

1.5.1 Case Studies

Case studies are one of the essential and oldest methods for presenting research in political science. The case study method has been used for analogical and illustrative purposes.(Jocher, 1928) Devour(2005) argues that case studies are being used for both a method and as a tool of research in social sciences. It is not limited to a particular individual but a specific idea. The case study is prevailing for qualitative study and includes a careful and comprehensive reflection of a case or research interest phenomenon.(Jocher, 1928)

This method of research concentrates on analysing of a numbers of events and their correlation with each other. So the case study is mainly used for an investigation of a particular case. It requires a personal observation with objective methods.(Devare, 2015)

A case study has been recognized as an important research design, particularly if there is a need to explain the set of events or an in-depth explanation of a phenomenon. Zainal (2007) discuss that the case study method of research directed an analyst to inspect the data within a detailed perspective closely.(Zainal, 2007)

"Yin defines the case study as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident, multiple sources of evidence are used. The use of this method depends on the type of research question."(Yin,R.1984)

Yunmi Choi discussed suppose the research question emphasizes initially on what, who or where two prospects emanate : descriptive and experimental or archival and survey research tactics. However, why and under what conditions, questions are more descriptive and may expected lead to the use of case studies and experimental methods of research.(Choi, 2013) Case studies are phenomenon or events above the researcher has minimum or no control. The case study delivers a valuable

instrument to detect explicit aspects that may uncover a causal link and analyse a primary driving force behind the phenomenon studied.(Yin, 1984)

Yunmi discussed in his thesis about Zainal arugment, that case study research led to more exploration and a deeper acknowledgment of complex issues.(Zainal, 2007) It can be examined a robust method of research in social sciences, specially when a holistic, in-depth investigated results are required. The case study method of research has become essential in phenomena within education, sociology, and issues related to community such as people suffering from poverty, unemployment, addiction of drugs, and lake of education.(Yin, 1984)

Interviews are one of the systematic ways to collect research data to answer our research question. It is referred to as qualitative study work with other research methods e.g. mixed methods approach. In case, the investigator has pre-defined research questions and topics is called a semi-structured interview. In this case, the investigator can collect a powerful insight into the topic being investigated.(Peter et al., 2017) In semi-structured interview, questions should be formulated with relation to what interviewees have expressed previously. Researcher should formulate such questions to create a free-ranging talk on the prescribed topic that are directed what participation has to say.(Flick, 2017)

Each respondent assured secrecy and promise were set concerning discretion. When the respondent did not request secrecy, this work quote their names. However, most of participants denied permission to print their and workplace names. To accumulate qualitative information about Pakistan 's interest in UN peacekeeping operations, interviews were organized at the National University of Science and Technology (NUST) Islamabad ,the Military Head Quarters (GHQ) Rawalpindi, and the United Nations Head Office in Vienna. Officials and professionals from the Pakistani army and the United Nations Secretariat and from DPKO, (Department of UN peacekeeping operations)were interviewed.

Researcher interviewed from different Pakistani military officers deployed with peacekeeping missions, defence analysts, diplomats and politicians shared worthy data about the topic. They shared their work experience gained from international organizations such as UN and countries priorities on issues of peacekeeping missions. Additionally, detailed interviews were organised with high profile people such as experts from UNSC, heads of UN peacekeeping missions, DRC, Liberia and Somalia. Data collected from the UN and other international organizations

were very productive and supported to collect important sources of evidence for this research work.

In spite of the interview information that may offer critical proof, the researcher was well informed of the interview's possible weakness as a source of information. Interviewees could be convinced to share information about their designated role and not to share the accurate information about specific proceedings. The researcher was critical in assessing and assuring the quality of interview data. However, it was difficult to test the quality of the interviews.(Choi, 2013)

To prove the indispensable claims made by respondents, the information collected from interviews was used as an additional source of literature. The investigator made efforts to decrease the propensity to follow individual information uncritically and adopted a balancing technique in contradictory data and literature gained from various sources through evaluation of different documents.(Rosenthal, 2016)

1.5.2 Case Selection

Case selection is one of the complicated processes in political science research. Someone has to create criteria for selecting case studies. I adopted the random sampling method for the selection of case studies. However, scholars such as Freedman are not convinced with this selection process and focused more on observational studies for the selection of case studies. I selected cases based on my research questions and dependent and independent variables. After the literature review, I explored a common factor behind Pakistan's motivation to deploy troops to improve its image within the international community. My research focused on the critical analysis of my research question of whether Pakistan deploy troops for self-interest or to obliged norms set by the international community.(Gerring, 2008) During the literature review, I investigated, what has been done in the field of UN peacekeeping and the role of Pakistan in developing three case studies. The outcomes of the literature review convinced me to do further research in two phases: first to evaluate and analyse the motivations of Pakistan contribution to UN peacekeeping and second, I chose three case studies to evaluate the performance of Pakistani troops in DRC, Liberia and Somalia. I discovered that there is a dare need to work on the motivations of Pakistan's in UN peacekeeping along with evaluation of their work.(G. Thomas, 2021)

Cases studies refer to explore the questions concerning issues with states, international organizations, non-governmental organizations, political parties and even individuals. A case study is needed when there is a desire to investigate a question on a larger scale. For example, to make a difference between the study of Y and the case study of Y. In this research, I focused on what makes a difference between the three case studies and the motivations of Pakistani troops and their work.(Gerring, 2016)

- The DRC (MONUSCO) 1999- 2020 (Open)
- Liberia (UNMIL) 2003-2018 (Closed)
- Somalia (UNSOM) 1990-1995(Closed)

According to the Yunmi,regarding possible problems related to case-selection, the researcher selected the cases by asking specific questions and looking at dependent variables.(Choi, 2013) I adopted the first primary research approach asking questions from experts about Pakistan's role in the UN peacekeeping. I found a gap of research and developed a problem and selected appropriate case studies how Pakistan's contribution in UN peacekeeping is influenced by variables mentioned above. In the process of the case selection and measuring the mandate, performance, and rules of engagements of missions, it was revealed that there is one variation across all cases.

Pakistan is a member state of the UN and provides troops for the UN peacekeeping operations. Pakistan's military establishment decides on the terms of cooperation and collaborates with the UN peacekeeping. The leadership is often top military bureaucrats who decide on the numbers of troops and their deployment location. Three cases were selected from a pool of seventy peacekeeping operations deployed in Africa for the following reasons.(Yin, 1984) There are four reasons for selecting the DRC,Liberia and Somalia.

First, the reasons behind the contribution of Pakistani troops in each mission are based on nature of the conflict, and stakeholders involved the dispute, diplomatic relation with the host country, economic, defence and political motivations in that region. Second, how the international community see the conflict and UN response to that issue. The reasoning of the case selection should be associated with distinctions acknowledged by the hypotheses to enlighten and anticipate the

FIGURE 1.1: Reasons for selecting case studies

Reasons for selecting case studies		
Democratric Republic of Congo	Liberia	Somalia
The DRC is one of the oldest mission in the history of UN peacekeeping.	Liberia is one of the successful examples of UN peacekeeping where Pakistani troops played a significant role in establishing peace.	Pakistan was the first country to contribute military troops to peacekeeping operations in Somalia during the conflict of 1990s.
Pakistan has been contributing troops since it began the conflict in the DRC.	Pakistan considered Liberia as one of its favourite countries for trade and improving relations with one of the richest in minerals resources nation of West Africa.	Pakistan and Somalia are Muslim majority countries. It is important because both nations share common values, religion and traditions. Commonalities in culture, religion, often support UN peacekeeping in the process of conflict resolution.
Peacekeeping missions in the DRC are still operational and Pakistani troops have a strong presence there. Pakistan's support to take part in keeping global peace and security.	The contribution in UN peacekeeping mission in Liberia helped Pakistan improving relations with US. Pakistan's keen interest in resolving complex and difficult conflicts to support the mandate of the UN.	It has the highest numbers of Pakistani peacekeepers killed since 1963. The question of external pressure on the middle powers by super powers in deploying troops. Somalia is a particular case study where Pakistan deployed troops on the willingness of the US.

Source: MONUSCO, UNMIL, UNSOM

indispensable factors and motivation behind the Pakistani contribution to UN peacekeeping.

1.6 The Case Study of the Democratic Republic of Congo

DRC gain freedom from Belgium on 30 June 1960. The Congolese army revolted against its European officers and Belgium left Congo in anarchy.(Zhou, 2012)

After the independence of Congo from Belgium, the country remained under continuous political instability that led to making it a difficult situation for internal security, killings of political leaders and the interference of the military resulted in one million died. UN deployed its first mission in 1960-66.(ISPR, 2018)

Considering the DRC example, this conflict reflects the importance of UN intervention for TCC states. Pakistan has been part of the UN peacekeeping mission deployed in the DRC since 1964. Since then Pakistani troops have provided support in various sectors such as logistical support for missions, humanitarian assistance, and training to the local force to maintain law and order. Pakistan provided one aviation unit, 54 infantry battalions, and thousands soldiers. (ISPR, 2012)

TABLE 1.1: Chart of Pakistani Troops in MONUSCO.

Column 1	Column 2
Brigade/Sector Headquarter	1
Infantry Battalions	3
Aviation Unit	1
Field Personnel	2678

Source: <https://monusco.unmissions.org>

The reasons behind Pakistan's decision to deploy troops are most common in DRC, one of the richest countries globally; however, due to colonialism; corruption has

turned DRC into one of the poorest country. According to the BBC report, It is a country where five million people have died due to continuous conflict, and thousands of women have been raped.([BBC, 2018](#)) UN peacekeeping operation in Congo is one the expansive mission with more than 16,000 military and police. According to table 1.1, Pakistan contributed by establishing one sector headquarter, three infantry battalions, one aviation unit, and 2678 personnel, including military, police, and civilians contingents.([ISPR, 2012](#))

Pakistan has deployed troops to establish its image as a peace-loving country. The timing of deploying Pakistani troops in DRC is critical. As discussed above, Pakistan tries to pick every possible advantage from the contribution of UN peacekeeping. Pakistan faced dictatorship started in 1999, and then in 2011 the war started against terrorism.

Pakistan's military came under severe criticism by the global community due to overthrown the selective government and supporting the Taliban's rule in Afghanistan. Pakistan's army decided to increase troops in DRC, which latterly supported to answer international criticism. Pakistan military also has been involved in the smuggling of gold, and I discussed this issue in the next chapters.

Pakistan wants to keep its substantial presence in Congo due to one of the wealthiest countries in the world and latterly serving for Congolese people could support to establish strong bilateral relations. The trade graph between Pakistan and DRC is currently not too high due to the conflict and uncertainty. However, Pakistan exported the following products, e.g. netting, matches, and non-Knit men's suits with a total worth of \$9.73m in 2018. Indeed, in the last two decades, the trade between Pakistan and Congo have increased.([OED, 2014](#))

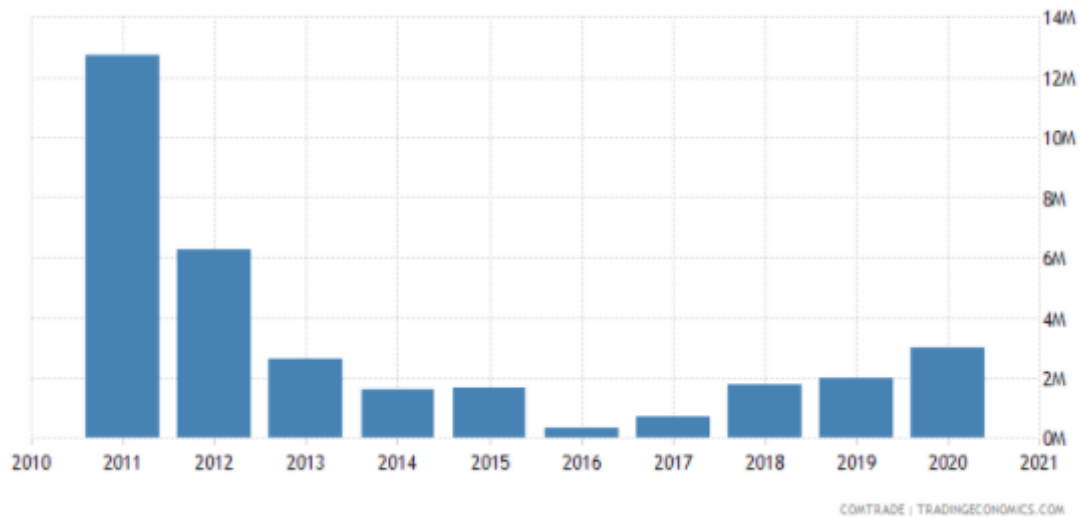
1.6.1 The Case Study of Liberia

A conflict broke out in Liberia in 1989, which caused the death of 150,000 people and a total crumble of law and order. Thousands of civilians were internally and externally displaced. The UN requested all its members states to come together and discuss the matter. Liberia needed protection for its civilians and urgently required humanitarian assistance.([Nations, 2003b](#))

The UN decided to deploy 15,000 peacekeeping troops on a phase-by-phase basis, with up to 250 observers in military capacity, 160 staff personnel, and 1,115

civilian police officers.(Nations, 2003b) Pakistan contributed by providing infantry brigade, a signal company, one engineering battalion, military observers, police officers, and medical teams. Pakistan also contributed more than 2,000 military troops in Liberia during 2005-2015, and 3,000 Pakistani troops served in Liberia until the mission ended in July 2018.(ISPR, 2012)

FIGURE 1.2: Chart of trade between Pakistan and Liberia



Source: <https://tradingeconomics.com>

Pakistan has been suffering from internal and external security threats such as the rise of Islamic extremism, which negatively affect its image at the international level. Pakistan's role in Afghanistan for peace-building could be appreciated. Still, the challenge of terrorism and fundamentalism, human rights violations appeared to be the most critical and concerning country issues at the international level.(Khan, 2005) Pakistan's contribution to UN peacekeeping helps to create a positive image against these issues at the international level. Economic and political instability, the Pakistan military's continuous role in politics also damage its reputation. However, peacekeeping supports economically and counter the narrative of Pakistan military involvement into politics at the international forums.(Kiani, 2004b)

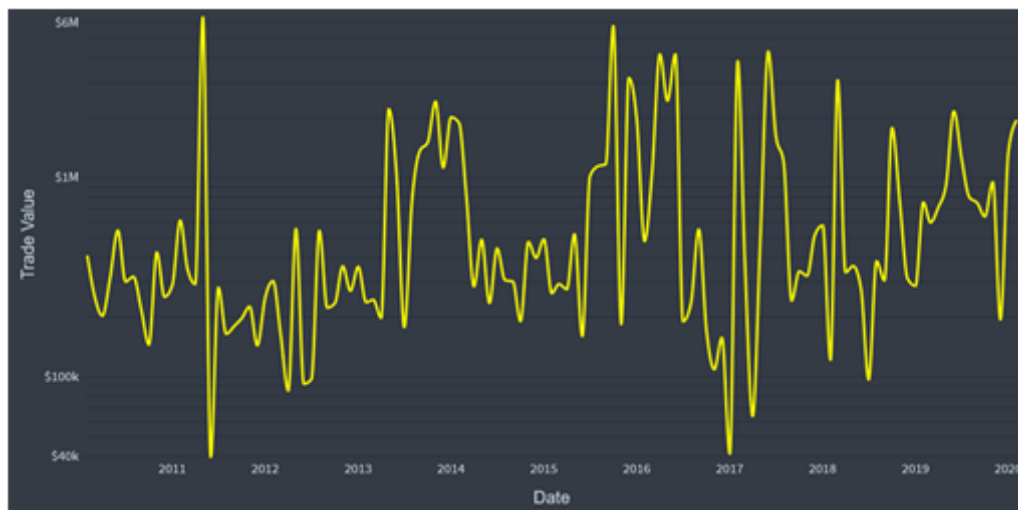
It is essential to discuss why Pakistan agreed to deploy troops in Liberia. Pakistan has several reasons for deploying troops to protect the small West African nation. Pakistan is a peace-loving country, so always supports UN peacekeeping missions. Liberia is one of the favourite governments of the US and helped in consolidating democratic progress, improving capacity, transparency etc.(Nations, 2007) Due to

the strong partnership between the US and Liberia when the conflict started, the US express a desire to Pakistan to deploy troops.

Pakistan and the US also have strong partnerships such as the war against terrorism and Afghanistan's current peace process. The US supports Pakistan's military economically and providing new technological weapons to armed forces. (Soherwordi, 2010)

Pakistan decided to send troops to Liberia to improve its partnership with the US and examined the economic factor. Pakistan export to Liberia several items, e.g. beverages, sugar, and article of iron, etc. (Trade, 2020) The trade economy shows that Pakistan increases its export to Liberia in 2011 while Pakistani peacekeepers were severing there. Above figure and chart shows, Pakistan increased export in 2011 and 2013. It was a time of the presence of Pakistani peacekeepers in Liberia.

FIGURE 1.3: Chart of Trade between Pakistan and Congo



Source: <https://tradingeconomics.com/congo/exports>

1.7 Case Study of Somalia

Civil war started between two caretaker President Ali Mahdi Mohamed and General Mohamed Farah Aidid in 1991, after the decline of President Siad Barre. The UN began to find the solution to the conflict with regional organizations' cooperation, e.g. African Union. UN deployed an envoy with the consent of all parties to express its role for peace. UN also started a humanitarian relief; the war resulted

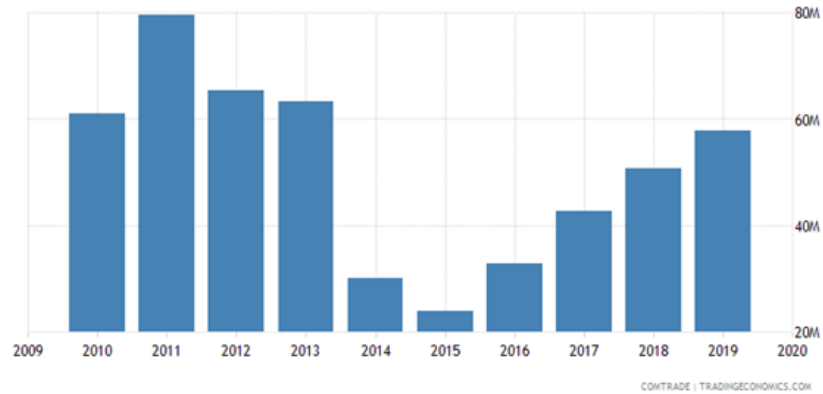
in about 1 million internally displaced and 5 million people threatened by hunger and diseases. The UNSC imposed armed sanctions against Somalia in 1992 and deployed a mission called United Nations operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I) to overlook the ceasefire in capital Mogadishu and provided security for the safe delivery of humanitarian relief and supplies. UN deployed 3,000 military troops to provide security for humanitarian aid transfer, but the situation remained too fragile, and 1.5 million people's lives were at risk. The US offered to provide troops to protect the humanitarian aid workers.([Nations, 1992](#))

Later the UNSC deployed a new UN peacekeeping operation in Somalia called (UNOSOM II) and permitted to use of force if needed to ensure the mandate and delivery of humanitarian aid. Pakistan deployed troops to Somalia and became the first country to respond to the international community call. However, Pakistan lost 24 soldiers during an operation in Mogadishu. In October, US soldiers lost their lives in the street of Mogadishu, and after this incident, the USA decided to withdraw their troops.([Nations, 1992](#)) However, Pakistan announced to keep their troops to support UN peacekeeping operation in Somalia. This case study is considered to analyze Pakistan's interest in Somalia during the conflict and later what Pakistan has achieved from its contribution to Somalia.

I have discussed in detail in the next chapters, but the reasons could be economic, political, and diplomatic. During the conflict, the ex-military officer from Pakistan who served in Somalia has authored a book called "UN peacekeeping operations in Somalia 1992-1995, A Pakistani Perceptive."([Yamin,2019](#)). He described that Pakistan deployed troops to protect US military during the conflict, but the USA never acknowledged Pakistan's efforts. However, the USA played a significant role during the deployment of Pakistani forces in Somalia due to close cooperation between two countries in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union.The contribution of Pakistan's military in the UN mission of Somalia opened doors for Pakistani troops to establish good relations with Indian, Bangladeshi, and US troops.([Belal, 2019a](#)) The contribution of Pakistan facilitated the country with a chance to survive from keeping away global isolation and to make a permanent position in the UN peacekeeping missions.([Naqvi, 2019](#)) Pakistan and Somalia have strong bilateral relations, and Somalia first opened its embassy in 1976. Pakistan always provided possible support to the Somalian people. Chart (1.1) shows the trade graph between Pakistan and Somalia, which continuously increased in the first decade of the 21st century. Somalia exports several items from Pakistan.

According to an economic trading report, Pakistan's exports to Somalia were US\$ 57.87 million during 2019. Pakistan export plastics, flour, milk preparation, and products.

FIGURE 1.4: Chart of trade between Pakistan and Somalia.



Source: <https://tradingeconomics.com>

If we look at the above chart, the export increases from 2010 to 2013 and 2017 to 2019. For example, Somalia's major export to Pakistan is based on lives stock sector, and according to available data it has reached to \$3.190 million in raw hides and skins, 1.044 million of mutton and lamb skin leather. Pakistan increased its export to Somalia during 2010-2013. Pakistan contribution to Somalia, the economic motivation plays a significant role.(Trading, 2016)

1.7.1 Structure of Thesis

This research is composed of the following main chapters, which are briefly summarized below.

1.7.2 Chapter 1

The first chapter outlined the research issue, introduction, and background, significance of the research. It underlines the research question, hypothesis and methods used in carrying out this research, and the overall approach.

1.7.3 Chapter 2

The second chapter analyses the theoretical framework needed to address the research question and operationalize the theory. The definition of critical aspects related to theory and their relationship is defined. An explanation in regards to the hypothesis and its link with ideas is provided. Realism theory and constructivism theories are used to support this research; however, the variants of realism, such as defensive and offensive realism are provided. UN peacekeeping is briefly summarized, and realism and constructivism theories are operationalized in the role of Pakistan and troops' performance in the DRC, Liberia, and Somalia.

1.7.4 Chapter 3

This part provides an explanation of concepts of intervention to the other countries and current challenges to UN peacekeeping. This chapter underlines the motivations of Global South Countries particularly India and Pakistan deploying troops to UN peacekeeping missions.

1.7.5 Chapter 4

This part of the research provides information on the role of peace operations in world politics. It elaborate theories of political science and international relations used to support global politics. This part shares explanation of the main objectives, nature of UN peacekeeping missions, types of peacekeeping operations, the process of deploying UN peacekeeping operations.

1.7.6 Chapter 5

This part of the research elaborates the role of Pakistan in UN peacekeeping, the process of decision making, motivations behind the troop's contribution and detailed information about completed UN peacekeeping missions with the cooperation of the Pakistani military.

1.7.7 Chapter 6

This chapter explains the UN in the DRC and the Role of Pakistani troops. It elaborates the history of the conflict of DRC, the founding of the UN peacekeeping mission, and the work of the Pakistani military in the DRC.

1.7.8 Chapter 7

This chapter provides an analysis of the troop's contribution of Pakistan in the UN peacekeeping mission in Somalia during the conflict. It provides an explanation of the activities of the Pakistani forces during their stay in Somalia under the shadow of the UN mission. It underlines even a single action done by Pakistani troops for the people of Somalia.

1.7.9 Chapter 8

This chapter underlines the case study of Liberia and the role of Pakistan. It provides information about the history of the conflict in Liberia and, more importantly, the UN and Pakistani troops' contribution to maintaining peace and security in Liberia. It answers many critical questions about Pakistan's role and motivations to deploy forces in the UN peacekeeping mission in Liberia.

1.7.10 Chapter 9

This chapter provides the impacts contribution of Pakistan to the UN peacekeeping operations and underlines the domestic and international effects.

1.7.11 Chapter 10

The main finding of the research is briefly presented in this chapter to answer the research question. Furthermore, This chapter provides the conclusion of the whole thesis with a recommendation to improve future research.

1.7.12 Chapter 11

This chapter provide conclusion in German language.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Debate: Realism vs Constructivism

2.0.1 Concepts and Issues of Peacekeeping

This part of the study explains the issues and concepts to understand the peace operations in world politics. After the Cold War, the numbers of UN peacekeeping operations has steadily increased with the various theories and concepts followed to understand them. However, the process of globalization has shifted world politics from uni-polar to multi-polar, which means increasing the involvement of international organisations to develop a relationship among the states. The theoretical framework and practice of UN peacekeeping have been affected by changing of the new world order. Primarily, UN peacekeeping started to discover peaceful settlement among the conflict parties. According to the professor of political science, Alex J Bellamy, the concept of peacekeeping is linked closely to the Treaty of Westphalia. However, the creation of a new liberal peace approach supports the concepts of peace operations. States having liberal democracies deliver peaceful relations with other states. Currently, a debate is continued on the nature and mandate of the peace operations with two opposite concepts of world order and the role of each mission is different from each other. There are different theories and concepts which support UN peacekeeping in the political science discipline. Kenneth Waltz introduced the new realist theory in the field of international relations. Various scholars have made divisions the units and levels of peacekeeping into three points, the world system, states and individuals. Indeed, UN peacekeeping is a military activity that follows the military structure to act against any

interference and dependents on three levels. During war and conflict: strategic (means the decision-making process or policy-making), operational (the mandate and procedures of the mission) and tactical (the direction and components of a single mission). I have elaborated on the issues relating to the UN peacekeeping research. Alex J Bellamy argues that the study of the UN peacekeeping operation is conducted on the state level or operational level, but this left gaps on various significant aspects of peacekeeping that should be analyzed. He argued, peace operations should be studied at the five-level. (Bellamy et al., 2021) In other meanings, the multi polar system of the world primarily has changed the direction of peacekeepers for their operations and affecting the images they achieved from the role played in world politics. Scholars have described three approaches to explain the concepts of peacekeeping literature. 1) to follow an approach which deals with case study, 2) The approach which is based on aspects, obligations and varieties of peacekeeping. 3) The intervention of third-party mediation approach. Many scholars have supported the case study approach such as (William, 1993) (Durch, 1997) (James, 1996) (Skogmo, 1989) (Weiss, 1995) (Wolfgang & Vadset, 1998) and recently influenced by the writings of (A. Adebajo, 2002) (Chesterman, 2002) (Chopra, 2002) (Dallaire, 2009) (Ginifer, 2002) (Goldstone, 2004) (Martin & Mayer-Rieckh, 2005) (Rogie, 2003) (Olonisakin, 2008) (I. Badmus, 2015) (I. A. Badmus, 2017), because of its need base response to any conflict, and the best approach to study peacekeeping is a case study. The case study approach elaborate the statement of the problem and provide an opportunity to analyse the research question. This approach also helps to deal with biased respondents in the research. Case studies provide lessons learned from the previous missions and reforming the planning and procedures for the next missions. However, a case study does not provide the opportunity to understand the changing roles of peacekeeping in global politics. On the other hand, Diehl, Druckman and wall criticised this approach, falling in developing theory and providing a concrete ground for the future policy-making for peacekeeping. I understand after a literature review of peacekeeping, a case study is the best approach to explain my research question however, I do not agree with Diehl, Druckman and Wall, it fairly explains the lesson learned of Pakistani troops during their deployment in DRC, Liberia and Somalia. The ending of the Cold War brought a great change in the peacekeeping area, many scholars introduced new concepts of peacekeeping. Gouliding (1993) argued, that peacekeeping consisted of three generations but Thakur (2005) explained five generations, 1) traditional peacekeeping 2) Non- UN expanding, 3) peace enforcement, 4) peace

restoration by developing alliances and 5) multinational peace restoration. Other scholars divided peacekeeping into two generations, traditional peacekeeping in the Cold War periods and second generation after the Cold War. (I. A. Badmus & Jenkins, 2019)

2.0.2 Explanation about Theoretical Framework and UN Peacekeeping

After dissolution of USSR, the literature on UN peacekeeping grown, many political scientists and international relations experts started writing about the peace operations. (Barnett 1995; Bellamy, Williams and Griffin 2010; James 1990; Pugh 2003). The post-Cold War period opened new doors and opportunities for peace operations. John Stone described three reasons of increasing in peacekeeping literature after the Cold War. (1) various missions were established by the international organizations and the UN in 1999. (2) the issuance of the Brahmi report, (3) the incident of 9/11, created a new concept of threats and insecurity in the international system. Johnston (2005) further elaborated attack on the US in 2001 brought a changed trend led to explore peacekeeping in a wider context in global politics and international theory. Paris (2000) stressed more to work on theories relevant to peacekeeping operations. He argued there is a dare need to study peace operations to conceptualize their particular operational issues instead of evaluating peace operations from a single window to create a possibility to research a larger context linked with global politics. Bellamy, William and Griffin (2004) debated that even with increasing interest in the research on UN peacekeeping after the Cold War, there has been little attention to analyze critically the role of peace operations in global politics. Many scholars have suggested various theories to explain concepts and issues of the peace missions in political science. According to Pugh (2004), various researchers and students support problem-solving theory to conceptualize peace operations he argued this theory limits the role of peace operations while analysing the great work they performed in the conflict regions. He refers to a different framework to study peace operations in a wider context. However, there is a need to work to develop a more reliable theoretical framework, as Bellamy, Williams and Griffin (2010) argued without a proper theoretical framework we limit our capabilities and techniques to understand operational issues and

the role of peace operations in the field of international relation and political science. Scholars have mentioned liberal peace theory, critical theory, global culture theory and peace operations, but none of them explains broadly the concepts and role of UN peace operations in world politics.([I. A. Badmus & Jenkins, 2019](#))

This chapter identifies the link between UN peacekeeping and realism and constructivism. Theoretical debate on UN peacekeeping has changed in recent years because of increasing interest to analyse various peacekeeping missions performance.([Oksamytna et al., 2020](#)) Most of the scholars started to follow the conflict resolution and international relations, but these theories have failed to support the concept and analysis of UN peacekeeping.([Bures, 2007](#))

Any contribution of military troops to any UN peacekeeping operation is a decision that require to be taken by the top military and the civilian government. It is difficult for some countries political leadership to understand the importance of the contribution of military troops following the mandate of the missions and the goals that need to be achieved. Perhaps it is important not to involve civilian institutions in deciding whether to deploy troops to the UN peacekeeping operations because the decision-making process requires more military expertise. However, the issues should be discussed in the parliament to share the information with people.([Bellamy et al., 2012](#))

This study attempts to understand the motivations behind Pakistan's drive to contribute troops at the UN request. To identify these motivations, this part of the research work provides the examination of hypothetical variables discussed in detail in the next sections extract from two important theories of international relations: realism and constructivism.([Choi, 2013](#)) Waltz argued that the reason why there is conflict among member states is that there is no central power, and the international system is anarchic.([Waltz, 1990](#))

For these reasons, states are looking to increase their influence and power to survive. In this context, Bellamy highlights the idea of cooperation between states within peacekeeping to maintain their international influence. Bellamy A, Williams P. (2009) From a realist perspective, this thesis hypothesizes that Pakistan has multidimensional interest for contributing troops which are strategic, political, economic, trade, and diplomatic.([Bellamy et al., 2012](#))

The social constructivism theory refers that Nicholas Onus highlights the basic idea of constructivism, that states are much same as the human being living in this

world that without interaction, humans could not be part of social constructivism and interaction and cooperation is mandatory among the states to survive in the international community once these norms and rules are incorporated within institutions and are recognized by the world. Alexander Wendt believes that norms, learning, and culture can change its citizens behaviour and interests. Constructivism argues that anarchy is produced by the state and can be ended by the state. (Zhan, 2019)

2.1 Foreign Policy and The Theory of Realism

UN peacekeeping is military activity and refers to the theory of Realism. It explains the competition among states to preserve their interests. Realism has been a popular concept in the field of political science and global relations before the collapse of the USSR. The paradigm of Realism had been largely used due to the struggle between the UN and USSR during the Cold War. The struggle for power between two states almost disabled the UNSC to take timely decisions to establish peace operations. Scholars have designated Realism as a theory of war and conflicts. Often peacekeepers of designated missions have rarely strong bounding with the host country and important for the conflict states to recognize the presence of the troops from various countries. Consent of the host states is primarily necessary before deploying troops in any conflict zones. UN missions in Rwanda and Somalia were designated in the absence of any government. (Andersson, 2000)

After the Cold War, scholars advocated alternative theories of international relations to answer the questions about wars and conflicts. Why do states participate in UN peacekeeping? Idealists and liberalist explain the field of international relations by using the polity to elaborate the foreign policy objectives of states. Scholars argue, democratic states do not attack other democracies, but democratic country attacks non-democratic entities. On the other hand, states following the international norms led to creating a peaceful environment around the world. This may refer to the theory of “democratic peace” promoting democracy in the field of international politics. (Andersson, 2000)

Laura Neack argues, states participate to gain more and more power in the international system. However, she argues about the participation of powerful states to

preserve their national interests. Since, last few decades, powerful states have reduced their physical presence with UN peace operations and increased their financial contributions. Currently, developing states follow the model of powerful states developed for the contribution to UN peacekeeping in the last decades. Developing states like Pakistan are now leading states to contribute to UN peacekeeping. What is called balancing of the system in world politics? States contribute to preserving their foreign policy objectives.([Andersson, 2000](#))

Political realism often called power politics, has a long historical roots originating from a great Greek historian Thucydides in the fifth century BC. The co-relation between realism and international relations is based on the global system's structure, which shows anarchism elements, with no central power to control states' behaviour. However, the realism approach dominated during the Cold War period. On the other side, non-state players challenged classical realism in 1970 with liberalism, which focused on interdependence and transnational relations. The critical concept of realism, such as egoism and self-interest, has been considered essential factors are determining state behaviour.([Choi, 2013](#)) The realism offers countries as the major stakeholders in the international system. The state has more power than other bodies such as individuals and organizations. The state always follows their national interests with no compromise especially in certain conditions such as in the time of war or economic crisis, domestic security issues by interfering external elements. Decision-makers play a dominant role to pursue the national interests of the country. According to realism, all leaders no matters with their political attachment follow to protect their national interest.([Sandrina et al., 2018](#))

Waltz replaced the challenge of classical realism, a most critical theory behind international politics (1979), which offered an amended work called neo-realism.([Choi, 2013](#)) Waltz highlighted the importance of the global system's structure and its role as a primary factor determining state behaviour. Waltz has been clear that neo-realism does not reflect foreign policy theory, but rather neo-realism linked to foreign policy. Neo-realism assumes that all states have their preferences and that state behaviour differs from state to state. Most states use their capabilities to achieve their interests. Waltz mentioned that the distribution of capabilities of forms is part of the state's structure. States' external preferences must go beyond self-preservation.([Waltz, 1990](#))

The first idea about realism refers to that a state is a significant factor in international relation but have minimal power. A state always serves its interest and decision-makers are rational actors because rational decisions are purist national interest. Considering actions may create a severe threat to the state would not be appropriate. The realism theory believes that all political leaders, apart from their party affiliation, know they need to address their state affairs to survive in a competitive market. Finally, states have no central power to control them. There are always different institutions that support state concerns like security, justice, the courts, the military, and the police. (Sandrina et al., 2018)

There is a clear indication in the literature of international relations that states can be dependent on themselves. Realism uses the example that humans are bound to their repetitive behaviour determined by their nature, such as they are egoistical and keep the desire for power. Realists believes that keeping desire for power leads to predictable outcomes. (Bab k, 2013)

Realist thinkers were often male who usually influence the realist side of politics. In the 1532, Machiavelli emphasize that the primary responsibility is to provide security to his state. (Mathuar et al., 1991) To achieve this goal, leaders have to be aware and deal with internal and external threats that require power and diplomacy. Power and diplomacy are two essential tools to develop the foreign policy of any state. Machiavelli's view on the head of states follows the ethics of responsibility and conventional religious ethics that guides the average citizen of a state. This means that citizens should behave like good people when they can and should also adopt violence when there is a need for the survival of the state. (Mathuar et al., 1991)

After the second World War, Hans Morgenthau (1948) emphasize that politics is like a community in general that has its roots in human nature. Most of his work reflects the insight of scholars such as Thucydides and Machiavelli. Morgenthau set out the rule that believes on power over ethics.

Morality considered not be included in drafting of policy making. According to Morgenthau, a single political activity refers to keep, increase, or express potential. Indeed, policies placed on ethics that can refer to weaknesses and possible the dismantling of state. (Padelford, 1949)

Kenneth Waltz developed IR theory by moving realism away from its provable in the theory of international politics 1979. Hans's work highlighted the new

approach, called neo-realism with two notions; the first state is based in an archaic and seconds any course of action which follows is the use of power when the circumstances are against the state. Therefore, Waltz offered a new version of realism different from the UN'provable (albeit persuasive) assumptions about nature. Realists believe that realism is more important than world politics. (Topper, 1998)

For this cause, realists often think preparing a policy draft of states is influenced by the Machiavellian idea of writing a manual guide for national and international leaders. However, critics of realism argue that realists can become violent and lead to a more violent confrontation worldwide. Realists encourage other states for uncooperative and egoistic nature in the absence of central power to other states. Realism is often seen as an act directed towards power and force. Realists argue that the possibility of change is limited, and leaders cannot trust outcomes. Realism is, however, has not been able to offer any prediction or explanation on the recent significant transformations within the geopolitics system. The finishing of the Cold War opened more doors of cooperation between states. This undermined realist thinking. Realism is also criticized for focusing on states as a solid entity, leaving other actors and forces within the state, and ignoring the global system. (Topper, 1998)

Scholars concentrated on constructivism to expand knowledge of UN peace operations. However, there is still a big gap to cover the areas where constructivism is relevant to analyse peacekeeping. Heeding Paris focused on the research which investigates the factors at macro and micro level study of UN peacekeeping operations. (Paris, 2014) Does the state participate in UN peacekeeping to promote international norms and values? We consider, states like Pakistan and other developing countries show their willingness to contribute to peace operations with argument, our country support UN peace operations to promote international peace and security. However, in our arguments, UN peacekeeping is being exploited based on promoting norms and values. On other hand, the self-interest element is considered the top priority before any national-level decision making to participate in the peace operations. (Oksamytna et al., 2020)

2.1.1 Variants of Realism Theory

After the finishing of the Cold War, scholars raised serious queries about the future of the theory of realism. (Choi, 2013) William Carter (1994) mentioned that most scholars attempted to understand the Cold War's international environment. They considered the finishing of the Cold War as a single case study in international relations theories; which can predict patterns of behavior, but it is impossible to make predictions based on only one case study. (Sandrina et al., 2018)

Realists can make various predictions of the issue depending on the core assumptions and logical belief about conditions of real world. Taliaferro suggested a new version of neo-realism utilizing defensive and offensive realism. What causes a state to adopt specific tools for international cooperation to maintain peace and security? This part of the thesis will highlight different kinds of realism. (Taliaferro, 2001)

2.1.2 Defensive Realism

Defensive realism is about the behaviour of one state towards another during security threats. When one state increases its security, it may worry about the other state. On the other hand, states may cooperate with allies and neighbours to ensure collective safety. When states detect an external threat, they may try to enlarge their military power. (Taliaferro, 2001) In case of Pakistan's deployment with UN peacekeeping offers to gain more military power to deal with regional threats, such as India and Afghanistan. When India increase its military power through buying new technological weapons, it worried Pakistan.

2.1.3 Offensive Realism

According to the realists, states prefers to maintain their security by achieving maximum standards of power. Thus, states pursue to gain control by developing military force to influence other states to protect their sovereignty. In addition, states proceed from time to time offensively because of the absence of central power. (Snyder et al., 2015) Pakistan tries to keep maximum military power and sometimes deliver successful missile tests to show the regional and external enemies about keeping enough to deal with any threat to its sovereignty.

Marshier highlights that states always pursue strong security policies to increase their power and decrease the level of control of other states. In this regard, states always try to increase their power as much as they can. Offensive realism offers to understand the behaviour of a state in a specific way by measuring other states power capabilities.(John, 2014)

2.1.4 Realist Premise

The answer to why Pakistan has become the leading contributor of troops to the UN peacekeeping operations especially from a realist perspective maybe that realists argue that states act based on their foreign policy, keeping their gain for power in mind. According to Thomas and Giovanna, the primary motives of South Asian states like Pakistan where the military is linked to the political interests to increase their power at an international and national level.The US contribution in the UN peacekeeping mission in Somalia in 1990 can be an excellent example to support concept of theory of realism.

Pakistan has been an ally of the US and to improve their relations, Pakistan agreed to contribute its troops to many other conflicts states. The realist view is enormously enriched by Wohlforth, who reflects on the importance of promoting states' relative power to increase capacity at the international level using its military as a tool. If a condition is down scaling its influence and power in a region, it can use the military to regain its influence. This agreement seems to follow the realist stance.(Choi, 2013) Bellamy and Williams argued that peace operations are based on the status quo because all the international organizations are based on the interests of powerful states.(Thomas et al., 2019b)

Beyond the states domestic interests to ensure political benefits the contribution of Pakistan in UN peacekeeping missions can also be described by external motivations such as to secure the power interest. States continuously try to gain the power to increase influence and a better placement in the international world.The world system has shifted from bilateral to multilateral after the Cold War. Recently, China emerged as a great power, both regionally and internationally and is seen as a threat to the US and Russia's national interests. Pakistan has good relations with China, which promotes the argument that increasing power and China at the regional and the international level, supports Pakistan to achieve its national interests.(Choi, 2013)

According to UN officials, some of the P-5 members supported conflict stakeholders financially and took advantages of conflict areas where the UN peacekeeping missions were deployed.¹ Pakistan participated in the UN peacekeeping operations such as the DRC, Liberia, Sudan and Somalia. Considering the new security scenario, Pakistan is dependent on some of the permanent members of UNSC to play an indispensable role in international politics. According to the realism point of view, minerals such as gold, diamond, oil, and gas play a vital role in sustaining relations among states and creating new economic imperialism. Realists frequently consider that a strong economy could be a potential tool rather than keeping a military force to gain foreign policy objectives. (Choi, 2013) For example, China is included in P-5 of the UNSC; the realists argue that new emerging powers like China are seen in this framework. A strong economy has become the priority goal for developed and developing countries rather than military power such as Pakistan. The UN has fixed seventeen reasonable goals with 169 targets. The 193 member states acknowledged to address the interconnected elements of lasting development and economic growth as one of the states' major concerns. Martin Plait remarked on the gold discovery in the region of Mongbalu in the DRC. It said that there is evidence that the Pakistani troops have been involved in trade and smuggling activities and it is hard to find the peacekeepers without any involvement in gold trafficking in some regions of the DRC. (Plaut, 2007)

"I saw a UN Pakistani soldier who came to buy gold from one of the gold negotiators here in Mongbalu. I was there in the shop. Yes, I saw it with my own eyes, I was a witness in a black market place, they could not see me, but I was there, and I saw it. They wanted to buy gold in hidden places, where people could not see them." (Martin, 2007)

2.1.5 Realist Hypothesis

Following the previous discussions, the central theme of realism theory are 1) states are the crucial players of the global system. They play an essential role in sustaining the UN mandate. 2) States are considered an effective tool to reproduce and protect state interests and power in the international system.

First: The realist believes are altered towards a single hypothesis associated with the dependent variables of this research work. This work proposes provided if

¹Personal Communication with UN official

Pakistan's economic and strategic interests increase, the number of troops in UN peacekeeping increases.

The strategic and political interests are generally learned and precise by including, but are not reserved to following three critical conditions: First: The expansion of political power in international system, enrichment of financial interests, and the improvement of security interests.

Second: A state always serves its interests and decision-makers are rational actors because rational decisions are the purist national interest. Leaders of states cares to achieve foreign policy objectives, beyond their political attachment. As discussed above, there is no central power exists to control the anarchic states behaviour. Every state pursue to gain maximum power through different ways one of them is UN peacekeeping.

2.2 Constructivism Theory

The theory of constructivism does not deal substantially with the field of international relations. Constructivism does not offer complete knowledge of the international system, like how the entities perform their role in international politics. (Finnemore & Sikkink, 2001) Indeed, constructivism deals are considered as social theory, lead to study discipline of international relations that describes the dynamics and characteristics of the social world. (Adler, 2013) Does constructivism elaborate the social and particularly the role of international norms why countries contribute to UN peacekeeping? UN peacekeeping has faced great changes like social, historical and establishing the UN missions. What is the role of international organizations in promoting international norms? (Barnett and Finnemore 2004: 33; Park 2006: 343). (Barnett & Finnemore, 2005) For instance: the UN has promoted norms, like democracy, human rights and peace around the world. (Paris: 2004:35). The core of UN peacekeeping is promoting norms, like protection of civilians during the war and conflicts, consent of the conflict parties, impartiality, gender equality, children rights, education and free and fair elections. (UNDPKO 2008:16).

Scholars adopt the theory of constructivism to analyse the performance, activities and efforts peacekeepers makes in a conflict region. For example, in the case of Liberia, we can analyse the mission performance to cover various areas where UN

peacekeepers delivered their work according to the designated mandate. The first is: micro-level focus on peacekeepers adopts the implement norms practically. The second area predicts the interactions and cooperation among the UN peacekeepers and local people, particularly, peacekeepers impacts on the local norms and values. The third refers to the macro-level discussion on the role of UN peacekeepers to maintain global peace and security.(Oksamytna et al., 2020)

Constructivism introduced to scholars how norms, identity and culture interpret the behaviour of the states. (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998: 893; Jepperson et. 1996: 33-4).Scholars expanded the study on international organizations to investigate which factors promote IOs to deliver jobs like peacekeeping. Some scholars evaluate how peacekeepers promote international norms and culture in a specific country from the outside.Ronald Paris argues the world culture interpret the basic paths of UN peacekeeping.(Oksamytna et al., 2020)

States are argued to be primary actors of systems and constructivism argues that the interaction between states is characterized by anarchy because of interests and anarchy is the central part of international theory with two contrast approached realist and constructivism.(Thomas, 2019) Gerco defined anarchy as the absence of a trustworthy central authority to which they can ask for protection or the restore of grievance as states may shatter promises and agreements and could use aggression against each other to accomplish their objectives.(Gilpin, 1996)

There is also an assumption that states break the trust between them and create self-help systems because international institutions can change state interest and identities. Still, the primary goal is to survive in the global security system. Anarchy plays an important role, but may lead to self-help systems and depend on states' interaction. Wendt explained it when states interact with each other, which he calls the ego decisions depend on how the ego of an actor responds to another actor. In case a state creates violence, other state pays the price.(Wendt, 1995)

Wendt (1995) explains an example that the 500 hundred nuclear weapons of United Kingdom are less threatening to the US than five nuclear weapons of North Korean. It is essential that to understand the social relationship between the US and Britain and the US and North Korea are recognize in the same way because of shared understanding based on their interaction.(Wendt, 1995)

Wendt argues that the world is socially constructed. The self-help system is built to control anarchy. The world is a social construction of human consciousness. Awareness is constituted of belief, thoughts, ideas, concepts, languages, discussion, signals, particularly along with a group of people, such as states. Peterson argues that constructivism is becoming a popular theory in international relations because it refers to the nature of reality and the nature of knowledge. (T, 2018)

Constructivism argues states can represent various identities that are achieved by interacting with other states. Identities refer to actions and interests. For example, small states can define a set of parts as compared to large states. A small state would more focus on its survival, but a large state on economic, military affairs, and influence on other states. For example, a state like Pakistan focuses on its survival and keeps its interests. Still, China or the US concentrate more on economic and military affairs. Social norms are also part of constructivism. These are associated with the identity of states' behaviour. States follow examples, which are linked, to their identity.

States follow the logic of appropriate means they behave in a certain way because they believe this behaviour is right. Norms can be divided into three forms, 1- Regulative norms refer to arrange and constrain behaviour. 2- Constitutive norms describe generation of new actors and interests. 3- Prescriptive norms create some certain believes that there are no bad norms from the perception of those who promote them. (T, 2018) In total, two theories are supposed to be mainly helpful to explain necessary circumstances for UN cooperation: realism and constructivism. (Choi, 2013)

2.3 Constructivism Hypothesis

As discussed above, how the international community respond to crisis management to other states. This hypothesis is based on analysing norms of international relations importance for a country like Pakistan to respond to UN requests to contributor its troops for peacekeeping in other states. The main point is to discover the rules of engagement on which particularly military of Pakistan decide after having a little conversation with civilians leadership to deploy troops in a conflict region. For example, Pakistan contributed around 6000 military troops, in the case of Somalia. In this hypothesis, it may be perceived that Pakistan may

feel a responsibility based on the majority Muslim country. Secondly, once a state like Pakistan set up particular rules of engagement with UN peacekeeping, the pressure would increase by the UN for Pakistan to deploy more troops in similar cases, such as Pakistan's military deployment in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

2.4 Conclusion

There are different arguments about the role of international organizations in supporting global peace and security. Constructivists argue that international organizations form a collaborative platform for states to play their role for peace in the global community. On the other side, realists say that international organizations provide opportunities for states to secure their interests and consider the UN a testing ground for countries that contribute troops for maintaining international peace even though they are more committed to pursuing their interests. This means that global organizations play significant part in regulating state behaviour and modifying states' identities and interests for direct state actions. Through this mechanism, states follow international norms, forcing them to cooperate with the international community.

In my thesis, I use the constructivism theory to explain the role of Pakistan in peacekeeping. The realist theory focuses on achieving their interests using power tools such as funding support, logistics, and personnel. States cooperate for mutual benefits to achieve their national interests. In other words, states can join each other for the sake of preserving their collective interests through international organizations. International bodies such as the UN are capable of bringing states together and facilitating cooperation. Pakistani and Indian troops work together when deployed for the same mission where they would otherwise.

Chapter 3

Global South and UN Peacekeeping

3.0.1 Conceptualizing Intervention and Current Challenges to UN Peacekeeping

Since the last decades, the concepts of globalism have been mixed up with internationalization, militarization and with interventions. (Duffield, 2007) The world financial actors concentrated to deal with issues of conflict management (Fox, 2008) (Henry & Higate, 2013) (Jones, 2008) (Rosenau, Chalk, McPherson, Parker, & Long, 2009), humanitarian aids and protection of civilians. (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2010) (Mandel, 2002) Such types of studies proved that new concepts of globalization and humanitarian aids interventions creating a new era of colonialism. (Doty, 1996) (Mamdani, 2009) (Orford, 2011). Scholars argue that such kinds of interventions do not need any legal permission or consent from the host population (Orford, 1999). However, political science and international relations experts refer to respect for the supremacy of the host state. (Ayoob, 1995) (Amar, 2012)

UN peacekeeping is a military interference into the lands of another state on basis of the consent. Such type of intervention is based on the UNSC to decide whether a state acts unilaterally, or with other states. The term consent is highly complex to define when it comes to justifying military actions against any state.¹

¹As Judge (then Special Rapporteur) Roberto Ago observed in his report to the International Law Commission on state responsibility, consent may be “expressed or tacit, explicit or implicit, provided however that it is clearly established,” and is not “vitiating by ‘defects’ such as error, fraud, corruption or violence.” Eighth Report on State Responsibility, Document A/CN.4/318 and Add.1-4, 2 Y.B. INT’L L. COMM’n 3, 35–36 1979

We have several examples of military interventions like Iraq, Libya, most of the international community is still not sure about the legality of these interventions. A difficult situation arises, when a government lost its control of a large part of its territory, and people call for the help of the international community, on the other hand, the subjective government reject to award consent.(Wippman, 1993) For example, in the case of Syria, opposition parties called to help for the removal of the Assad regime, but on the other hand, the government still controls the various parts of the country. The theoretical framework of consent is defined by the international law commission, consent can be validated if two states conclude an agreement that suspended the international law obligations.² Most of the UN peacekeeping missions were established to deal with civilians war. During the cold war, the government always lose control due to the continuous attacks of rebels on the administrative institutions. For example, in the case of Liberia, President Samuel Doe lost control over the territory of Liberia in 1989. By the next year 1990, most of the state ministers left the country and all institutions stopped functioning. However, Doe's military still controlled the capital of the country.(Wippman, 1993) Neighbouring states of Liberia agreed to support the regime of Doe fearing the expansion of threat to the regional security.(Wippman, 1993) Doe expressed his consent of international intervention but Charles Taylor the main leading person of rebels force rejected the idea of external intervention. Taylor hoped to take control of the entire country in few more months and external intervention could support the Doe regime to regain power in the whole of the country.(Wippman, 1993) Later in August 1990, a group of five member states called the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). ECOWAS deployed several thousands of troops in Liberia. These ECOWAS troops were considered to act as peacekeepers, but Taylor's troops attacked ECOWAS on their arrival to Liberia. ECOMOG took an action against Taylor's troops to secure the capital of the country.(Ofodile, 1994) The actions by the external troops against Taylor forces can not be justified by international law. This is also difficult to justify the permission of President Doe consent to neighbouring states to help.³ UN peacekeeping has now been on the ground for the last 70 years and contributed effectively in supporting global peace and security. Currently, with more than 80 thousand troops supporting peace operations in 12 designated missions by UNSC.

²To be valid, "consent must be internationally attributable to the state; in other words, it must issue from a person whose will is considered, at the international level, to be the will of the state and, in addition, the person in question must be competent to manifest that will in the particular case involved." Id. at 36

³See Wippman, *supra* note 15, at 167; Ofodile, *supra* note 73, at 384-85

The numbers have reached to triple in last decades. The increasing of the missions can be evaluated with the implantation of the UN agenda to sustain peace around the world. UN peacekeeping is an effective tool to establish peace that performs multilateral tasks like, protection of civilians, human rights, security and rule of law, rebuilding the national institutions. Peacekeeping is considered an important activity of the UN, to maintain global peace and security and for collective actions taken to prevent further conflict. Today, UN peacekeeping facing various challenges that might be different from the decision making process during the Cold War. For example, in Mali peacekeepers were confronted with insurgents from the North, and mixed with the local community. It means peacekeepers should prepare to deal with Guerrilla attacks. Many peacekeepers lost their lives during such types of attacks. In DRC, UN troops work with the partnership of national troops of DRC to deal with these challenges. The same model has been experienced in Somalia with the partnership of regional organizations. The risk of involvement of terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda has increased due to strong bonding with stakeholders of conflicts. For example, Indian troops in South Sudan have been targeted lost their lives. Al-Shabaab terrorist group attacked peacekeepers and various national and international peacekeepers were killed. With other challenges, the cost-effective issue should be considered. UN peacekeeping needs an equal share from all member states and commitments of financial support. The total budget of UN peacekeeping is 6.7 billion which has decreased since the last decades, however, the demand for peacekeepers have increased. The US contributes 32% of the whole budget of UN peacekeeping.(Powles, Partow, & Nelson, 2015) The imbalance among the developing and developed states to contribute troops for UN peacekeeping raises questions for the international community and the working framework of the UN. However, all members' states are obliged to contribute financially following the size of the economy. Currently, P-5 are the major contributor to the annual budget of UN peacekeeping. On the other hand, there is no such obligation to all member states to contribute troops. This imbalance creates mistrust in the UN system and raises the question, why the developed states are away from deploying troops? There is a question on troops' capacity and skills from developing states to perform in chaotic, armed conflict, challenging geographical environment. UN peacekeeping is already facing of lack of proper equipment for their self-defence and protection of civilians.(Yun, 2015)

The imbalance in providing peacekeepers remains a great challenge for the international community. Two-third of the military personnel belongs to various

developing countries. Currently, the top four contributors are from South Asia (Pakistan, Bangladesh, India and Nepal) including three African states (Nigerian, Ghana and Kenya), and Jordan, from the Middle East, Uruguay South America and Ukraine from the former USSR.⁴ One of the top countries Pakistan faces serious internal threats and five other states have serious domestic security issues including continuous political instability. Meanwhile, the powerful and stable member states keep better military capacity have significantly reduced the numbers of troops from UN peacekeeping operations.(Powles et al., 2015) However, the demand for peacekeepers is increasing and pose a serious challenge for the future of peacekeeping. According to Birger Heldt explains, contribution to UN peacekeeping belongs to poor countries, should these states change their foreign policy or lost interest to participate. Does the UN have any replacement plan? She argues, UN should widen the pool of its contribution to becomes less reliant on a few states. (Heldt, 2008) Donald Daniel argues, that the UN keeps a reserve force of 210,000 troops, which might be called in case of any emergency. He explained to ask troops from powerful states to contribute with better training and capacity to deal with dangerous conflicts. Decisions are taken by national governments whether to participate in UN peacekeeping missions or not and to choose where to deploy troops. In the last two decades, other international organizations have increased their role in world politics and deployed peacekeepers troops including the UN, NATO, the European Union and the African Union.(Heldt, 2008)

Referring to our previous discussions, political scientists and international relations experts have failed to develop a relevant theory because of the changing variations of state behaviour. The exiting theoretical framework generally does not fully support the concept of peacekeeping.(Tardy & for Security Policy.(2011: New York), 2011)

The unexpected growth of the numbers of peacekeeping operations after the Cold War created new platforms to debate about various aspects of UN peacekeeping. Philip Cunliffe argues, peacekeeping can be understood by discussing positivist and critical aspects. The current participation in UN peace operations depends on

⁴Based on data provided by the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations at <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/>. This ranking was calculated by taking the number of uniformed personnel contributed by a state to UN-led peacekeeping operations during each month of December for the years 2000 through 2010. Points were awarded to each contributor in the top ten for each year (i.e., 10 for 1st place, 9 for 2nd place, etc.) The combined total of these scores were then ranked to produce the top ten contributor states

the Global South countries. Cunliffe praised Western powers to contribute financially but on the other hand, UN peacekeeping provides a platform to preserve their interests. South Asian contributors receive better opportunities for training and capacity building of their troops by deploying forces for UN peacekeeping. However, the intervention of the contributors as peacekeepers raised questions about their willingness to deploy troops and refers to the shortcoming of democratic peace theory. (Cunliffe, 2013a) For example, Brazil support to UN mission in Haiti, United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), from the literature review we analyse Latin American States have reduced their numbers and this gap opened the opportunity for South Asian countries to increase their contributions. It provides grounds for a state such as Brazil to achieve national objectives and an increased role in geo-politics.(Müller & Steinke, 2020)

Contribution from South Asian member states to UN peacekeeping is remarkable.(Bellamy et al., 2013) Currently, Bangladesh contributes 6426 troops deployed in various missions around the world. On the other hand, one hundred twenty-one states participate in UN peacekeeping missions that compromised on a single officer. (Nations, 2019c) It would be unfair to estimate the decisions making process of any state without evaluating the numbers of their participation. The motivations of states also depend on the size and type of the mission.(Bellamy et al., 2013)

3.0.2 Contribution of Pakistan

Pakistan's made its first engagement with UN peacekeeping in 1949 when the military observers positioned to oversee cease-fire on the dispute of Jammu and Kashmir between Pakistan and India. Pakistan deployed the first contingent of 800 soldiers in DRC.(Malik, 2014) However, Pakistan projects itself a traditional peacekeepers but only contributed in four UN peace operations in the time of the Cold War. Pakistan became more active to participate in UN peace operations after the Cold War to promote and preserve national interest around the world. Islamabad considers contribution to UN peacekeeping a top priority goal foreign policy objectives. The trend started after Cold War is still continuous and making major contributions until today. Pakistan deployed troops to various dangerous and important missions like DRC, Liberia and Somalia. Pakistan contributes on a large scale due to the following reasons, 1) Pakistan uses contribution as a tool to attract international platform forums to use them to make fruitful relations between

India and Pakistan. 2) The increased deployment of troops in Africa creates a way for Pakistan to achieve national interests in geopolitics.(Krishnasamy, 2002a) 3) The intense desire to contribute peacekeepers in UN peacekeeping as evident from President Musharraf's statement that we would deploy as many as possible troops around the world. The primary need of contribution to various UN peacekeeping missions to raise and project an image of Pakistan as a peaceful country, while the international community has put sanctions on Pakistan due to supporting terrorist organizations.(Bellamy et al., 2013)

3.0.3 Indian Participation in UN Peacekeeping

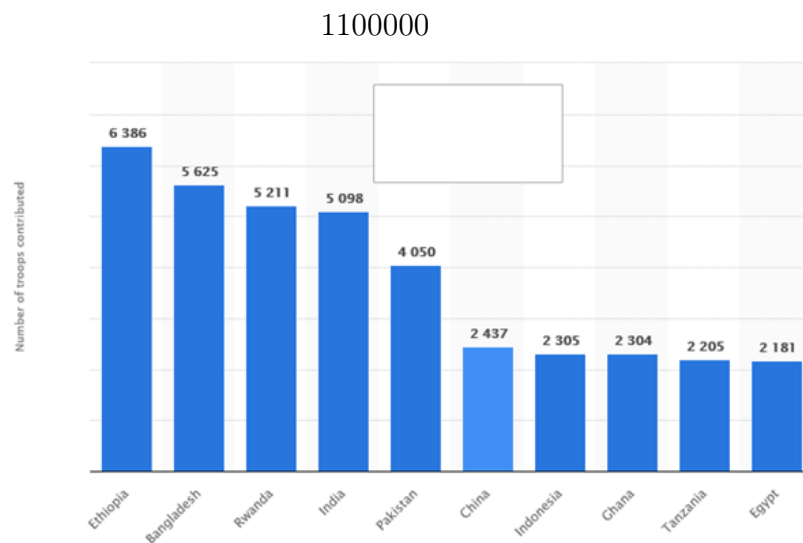
India is considered the first country to contribute troops to UN peacekeeping operations.(Bellamy et al., 2013) Currently, India is the second-largest country from Global South to participate with more than 5 thousand troops deployed around the world.(Nations, 2019c) India was the first country contributed female police officers to the UN peacekeeping mission in Liberia in 2007. India has contributed 200,000 military and police officers to UN led peacekeeping missions over the last 70 years.(Nambiar, Sundaram, & Chhina, 2009) India has sacrificed 164 soldiers during providing services to UN peacekeeping missions. India keeps continue contribution to UN peacekeeping and varied between 5 to 10 per cent of a whole. In the twenty-first century, India has been the top second contributor to UN peacekeeping missions around the world after Bangladesh and Pakistan. India also deployed a number of troops to Africa in the last decade. The initial major participation of India was to the UN mission in Sierra Leone and provided first force commander in UNAMSIL and deployed some 3,000 troops.(Bellamy et al., 2013) There are three reasons why the UN asks troops from India 1) India has professional and it is a fifth powerful military in the world. 2) Lack of such professional troops in developing countries. 3) India has a leading role in world affairs through its influential role in Non- Aligned Movement (NAM).(R. Thakur & Banerjee, 2003) Indian motivations may be different than Pakistan to contribute to UN peacekeeping. India wants to recognize itself as a great power in the world. According to the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru explained, "We can not shed the responsibilities that go with a great country".(Bellamy et al., 2013) These intentions explain the Indian role like chairing three Indochina commissions in the 1950s considered to be important for the settlement. Indian scholars described that it is significant for India to contribute to UN peacekeeping operations to help

in maintaining regional peace and security. The most important point is about the decision making process of the Indian Army to decide to contribute or not to a UN peacekeeping. The framework of decision making is once the request has been received from the UN to the Government of India. The Indian army dispatch one officer to visit and coordinate with the headquarter about the place of the deployment. Once the Indian army decides to participate, the request is submitted to the Indian parliament to approve. Indian parliament does have an active role in the decision making to deploy troops outside of their territory. This makes a difference between the procedure Pakistan and India adopt to decide about the deployment of peacekeepers. We have noted, that the Pakistani Parliament is almost unable to discuss military issues and any decision making on peacekeeping. (Bellamy et al., 2013) However, scholars argue, that Indian deployment motivations are not similar to any other regional contributor to UN peacekeeping. They say, Indian forces and police do not need any further training from the UN system, they have already enough training to deal with conflict regions. The main motivation of India to contribute is referred to achieve normative and political considerations. India is very committed to playing a significant role to sustain global peace and security. One of the significant points of Indian foreign policy on UN peacekeeping is to lobby to gain a status permanent member of a UNSC. This type of motivations makes a difference with Pakistan and India to contribute to UN peacekeeping. India experts also deny about financial benefits to Indian economy, UN compensation is delivered to the Indian individuals military or police personnel serving in a mission outside of the country. India is one of the major supporter to the UN peacekeeping troops in various missions around the world. Currently, India has increased troops contribution than Pakistan. India has ranked the second-largest troops and police contributor in the twenty-first century. India provides professional troops which are well trained and equipped, various Indian officers have led the missions and deployed as senior officers at the UN headquarters in New York. However, in India, the new changes in the UN peacekeeping procedures of deployment, concerns on Jammu and Kashmir and still less representation of Indian officials in the field, lack of interest of developed states in the UN peacekeeping could really challenge the recent commitments of India towards UN peacekeeping. (Bellamy et al., 2013)

Today, most Pakistani troops are deployed in the DRC, South Sudan, and the Central African Republic (CAR). Pakistan has contributed 60,000 males and females in UN peacekeeping to deliver humanitarian assistance, protect civilians,

build infrastructure, provide medical care and education. Thus far, Pakistan military has lost 148 soldiers in different parts of the world since its involvement with UN peacekeeping operations. Pakistan the host country of an observer mission (UNMOGIP) on Jammu and Kashmir established by the UNSC in 1948. (Nations, 2009)

FIGURE 3.1: Top troops contributors in UN Peacekeeping



Source: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/871432/largest-contributors-of-troops-to-united-nations-peacekeeping/>

There may be many reasons why countries from the Global South are interested in UN peacekeeping operations, such as seeking political influence or advocating effective diplomacy. On the other hand, EU, including the US and Canada, were the significant contributors to UN peacekeeping in 1990. They supported operations in Somalia, Cambodia, the Balkans and Latin America. However, powerful states step back from contributing military troops after losing lives in Somalia, and the US decided to withdraw troops after "Black hawk Down". (Thomas et al., 2019a) What has led South Asian states to contribute thousands of troops for peacekeeping despite regional and national security issues like terrorism, border conflict, and disasters? The civilians' institutions of most South Asian states are weak in crisis management and ask for military help. For example, Pakistan's civilian intuitions for disaster and rescue operation face a lack of expertise to deal with the crisis such as flooding and earthquakes. The civilian's government is depended on military expertise to deal with such emergence. One of the motives of the Pakistan military to deploy troops outside of the home is to engage them with new learning skills and training. Global South states experienced invaluable

UN funded training opportunities with troops from different countries and have the chance to promote their culture, economic agenda, and form commercial ties with their host countries. (Sidhu, 2016) The economic benefit is one of the pushing factors behind the developing states to send their troops for UN peacekeeping. For example, Pakistan and Bosnia established strong economic ties after troops from Pakistan served Bosnia's people during the civil war of 1994. Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif visited Bosnia in 2016 and committed to increasing economic ties through double taxation. (Alam, 2016)

The Bosnian ambassador said, "Pakistan is a peacekeeper and feels us very deeply. Pakistan has done what a brother can do. Still, these brotherly relations should also be translated into trade and economic ties, as at present only 37 Pakistani business companies are operating in Bosnia."⁵

It is essential to highlight that Pakistan also found an opportunity to reconstruct and strengthen the relationship with the US after deploying troops in Somalia. Before Pakistan's deployment of troops in Somalia, the US put sanctions on Pakistan to prevent from gaining nuclear technology. After Pakistan's contribution to Somalia, it helped Pakistan to build better relations with the US. (T. Yamin, 2019) Pakistan including other regional states as India emerging economic power tries to influence the decisions of the UNSC. India and Brazil have a long desire to become a permanent members of the UNSC, and Pakistan resists such a move on basis of its UN peacekeeping contribution. Still, economic and to attain support to achieve foreign policy objectives are the significant reasons to send troops for UN peacekeeping operations. (Thomas et al., 2019a)

Soft power is an invaluable asset for leading and developing countries such as Pakistan. By constant contribution to various missions, Pakistan has established one fact, which Pakistan stands for peace, not for war so can facilities on supporting international peacekeeping and peace building activities as required by the international community. (Farwa, 2016)

The research on UN peacekeeping in this region has been largely ignored in academia due to multiple factors such as lack of interest or restrictive literature availability. However, the growing literature on UN peacekeeping focuses now also on regional implications. Both Pakistan and India in this region contribute to UN peacekeeping. The conflict on Kashmir and water distribution the war

⁵Statement by Sakib Foric, Ambassador of Bosnia to Pakistan

in Afghanistan, and strategic increasing of Chinese presence in Pakistan create mistrust. Inter-regional competition remained with little chance for regional co-operation on peace. (Basu et al., 2017) The rules of engagement are different from state to state and based on the primary guideline of the UN mechanism for peacekeeping. Specifically, contributing states are more concerned about the assent of the host country, the range of conflict, mandate and enough logistic facilities. As discussed above, member states overlook the capacity-building opportunities for their troops. (Thomas et al., 2019a) For example, Pakistan ensures all stakeholders' consent before deploying troops for UN peacekeeping or outside of the region. In Iraq and Syria, Pakistan refused to contribute troops due to the worsening conditions of peace. Therefore, the government of Pakistan did not allow their forces to fight against a Muslim country due to similar values shared by the people. After the Cold War and the September 11 attacks on the United States (US), powerful countries have increased their influence to defend their interests. In contrast, developing countries such as Pakistan have few interests to protect using its contribution to UN peacekeeping. Powerful countries' national security policy is of more significant concern to them than conflicts in distant lands. Therefore, it is more important for their security forces to maintain their peace and security at their home. For example, Pakistan refused to deploy troops in Syria to fight against ISIS, due to large numbers of Afghan border engagements. (Post, 2015)

As mentioned above, there are specific arguments behind soldiers' contribution from countries of the Global South. Still, national interest would not sufficient explaining the motivations behind their contribution to UN peacekeeping. (Bellamy et al., 2021) Pakistan actively contributed to UN peacekeeping missions with the with deploying military, police and civilians. (Kiani, 2004b) The Pakistani peacekeeping troops perform an active role by providing logistical and medical support in conflict zones. Currently, Pakistan's military is one of the highest contributors of troops in the world. Not only has the global community appreciated Pakistan's troops, but the local people of the host state too. (Hasan, 1960)

Pakistan's has made a major contribution to UN peacekeeping operations for the last five decades. However, serious questions have been asked by political elites and academics about the engagements of the army in deploying troops in foreign countries and outcomes in peacekeeping missions. This thesis explores the current and past reasons for Pakistan's peacekeeping engagement using constructivism

and realist explanations. Since the beginning, Pakistan has contributed almost 200,000 troops in 48 missions and 28 countries.⁶

In addition, Pakistan has provided services in monitoring ceasefire arrangements, arbitrating conflicts and supported activities for long-lasting peace in conflict areas despite having domestic challenges such as terrorism, a fragile economy, widespread poverty, discrimination against ethnic and religious groups, and internal conflicts. More than 4440 Pakistan's military troops, police force, and smaller contingents of experts are involved in more than ten UN peacekeeping operations such as in the DRC. (Nations, 2019b) Pakistan has, however, decreased its engagement on a larger scale due to internal security threats. It is still the fourth-highest contributor from South Asia and the sixth-largest contributor overall. "Pakistan has contributed more than 200,000 troops in 46 mission and 28 countries in almost all continents of the world. With the spirit of sacrificing our today for the world's tomorrow, 158 Pakistani peacekeepers have sacrificed their lives including 24 Officers in the noble cause of helping humanity to build peace and restoring stability in turbulent regions under the auspices of United Nations."⁷ Pakistan contributed highly trained officers to UN peacekeeping missions and is considered an important pillar. (Kiani, 2004b)

Pakistan contributed troops to Somalia, Sierra Leone, Bosnia, the DRC, Liberia, East Timor, West New Guinea, Namibia, Rwanda, Cambodia, Haiti, Western Sahara, Ivory Coast, Angola, Eastern Slovenia, Yemen, and Kuwait. (Kiani, 2004a) The duties of Pakistani peacekeeping troops included observing peace processes, monitoring disputed borders, protecting civilians in conflict regions, providing training military and police personnel, and reintegrating ex-combatants. (Kiani, 2004a) UN Blue helmets also provide medical assistance; improving education build, roads, and another host state. (Anka, 2016) Pakistan also emerged as a significant contributor of police and particularly female police officers to various UN peacekeeping operations worldwide. Pakistan has recently pledged to expand in deploying the number of women peacekeepers to 15% however; the numbers have decreased due to the poor situation of security in Pakistan. (Malik, 2014)

Why does Pakistan send its troops to UN peacekeeping operations in countries like Somalia, (1990-1995) Liberia (2003-2017), and the DRC (2003-until date)? The trade between Pakistan and African countries has remained constant at a meager

⁶Shah, 2020

⁷General Babar, Director General of Inter services Public Relations (ISPR)

\$3 billion for many years but has risen to \$4.28 billion for the last two years. Pakistan's participation to UN peacekeeping operations deployed in Africa played a significant role in built-up economic ties in various Africa regions. Therefore, the researcher will analyze whether the financial benefit arguments behind Pakistan's military contribution to UN peacekeeping and to what extent economics play a part in Africa's strategic interests. (Z. Ahmad, 2020)

The Secretary-General of the UN (UNSG) and the US President Barrack Obama met with 50 leaders of members state and government representatives at the leadership summit on peacekeeping in 2015 to announce a significant new contribution to UN peacekeeping. The further assistance entails enlarging and diversifying the base of military and police competencies and in so doing, consolidating the foundation of UN peacekeeping for the future. As part of the summit, fifty states and senior officials including Pakistan participated and announced to increase one hundred and fifty military personnel and police units. Forty countries offered to provide capacity-building opportunities for UN peacekeepers. (Nations, 2015) The UN plays a significant role in countries facing extreme violence, conflicts, and human rights violations and a growing role in climate change issues, which has given rise to several new emerging conflicts and migration, having to expand the mandate of UN peacekeeping operations.

In the case of Mali and Darfur, where water is a scarce resource, the local communities see UN peacekeepers as competitors for this scarce resource. To foster UN peace operations' activity, build strong partnerships, and improve the blue helmet attempts to improve the performance on the ground for the people who depend on them. (R. Smith, 2017) Currently, peacekeeping is constantly improving and is better prepared and responsive. It has now built strong partnerships with national and international stakeholders.

For example, the AU hosts the majority of UN peacekeeping operations. The UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO) is one of the oldest and most challenging missions in the region due to several challenges, such as interference from neighbouring countries and supporting rebels.

- Willing to provide training to peacekeepers from the region and beyond through its centre of excellence on contemporary threats.

- Willing to conduct joint exercise and exchange with other troops Contributor Countries(TCC)Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, UN peacekeeping leadership 2015.

There are still many challenges regarding the contribution of member states and their commitments to UN peacekeeping. How UN peacekeeping operations could be enhanced is defined by the UNSC resolution 2436 (2018). The resolution address to all member states contributes regular funding to ensure that the mandates of various missions could be fully implemented and improved and that personnel is adequately trained and equipped. The UN peacekeeping's primary challenge is the lack of interest among member states of the developed world.(UNSC, 2018)

UN addressed its concern and pushed the developed states to contribute troops to various peacekeeping missions. Brahmi report also addressed this concern to increase the cooperation between developed states and the UN. Brahmi report also said that five permanent states of UNSC such as the US contributed to UN peacekeeping operations. Four of them provided troops to NATO during the conflict in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Kosovo. However, Brahmi report failed to address the issue instead blamed developing states to send weak trained, and poorly equipped troops.(Nations, 2000a)

The UN has made the call to all member states for an equal contribution of military and police personnel. One of the former force commanders stated,

"[The] Willing are not capable and [the] capable are not willing."(Anonymous,2019)

This thesis will analyze Pakistan's UN peacekeeping involvement in three different countries, namely the DRC, Liberia, and Somalia. Why it is so vital for Pakistan to contribute to UN peacekeeping operations? Currently, peace operations face many challenges on the ground, and many scholars have questioned the performance and value of these missions and peacekeepers. UN peacekeeping remained a useful tool to respond to the global challenge of peace and security.

Every day, male and female UN peacekeepers put their lives in danger and serve to protect millions of civilians during conflicts worldwide. They have successful examples, such as in Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire return to the peace. However, peacekeepers face serious and difficult challenges daily, such as attacks against the complex mandate and little political support. Peacekeeping is a collective job and

needs a strong partnership among the developing and developed states for sending trained and well-equipped troops.

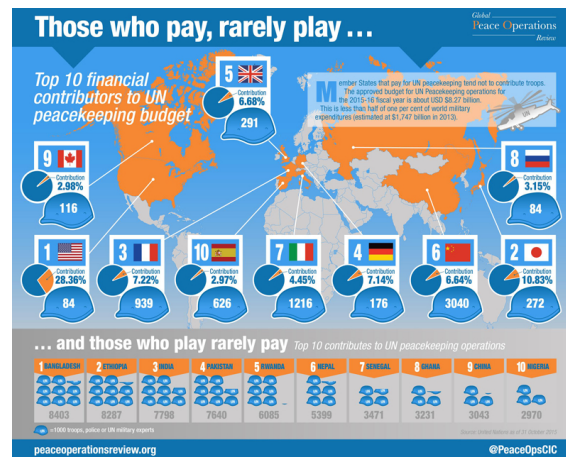
In many cases, peacekeepers failed to protect themselves and face hardships in the implementation of mandate due to weak partnership and addressing the challenges in time. For example, in Rwanda back in 1993, the UN failed to protect the civilians, rather ordered troops to help foreigners in evacuation. UN peacekeepers feared the genocide, but the UN ignored the threat and started to withdraw troops in response to mass killings. (Adebajo et al., 2000) Pakistan is battling against its security challenges but still deploys thousands of troops for various UN peacekeeping operations worldwide and is established as a peace-loving country.

States facing internal and external threats should review their national security policies to address their domestic threats posed by their military. For example, Pakistan faces many challenges, Islamisation, tribalism, ethnic nationalism; such movements put pressure on the weak government and state system, the consequences of such threats could challenge regional and the international security. (Mustafa et al., 2020) Despite all issues, at home, Pakistan was found to be the first country to deploy troops for various UN peacekeeping missions.

The UN has the mandate to engage all member states to sustain global peace and security. Every single member state could contribute to the UN peacekeeping to ensure that it can address conflict to achieve peace. The inequality among the TCC (developed and developing conditions) sparks the question explored in this thesis. Currently, every member state contributes financially to peacekeeping about the size of its economy. As of now, P-5 of the UNSC have a significant share in the budget of UN peacekeeping. However, the US alone provides 30% of the whole UN peacekeeping budget. (Hegre et al., 2017)

There is a clear connection between a country's fiscal contribution and a troop's contribution. The governments provide financial support to UN peacekeeping budget have less interest in sending troops. This divide may be due to a benefit cost analysis. Under developed states, mostly from African continent and South Asia region, have strong aims for deploying their armed forces. Their troops receive field training, diplomatic support, economic incentives, and an opportunity to create a soft image on an international platform. However, the contribution of African troops in the region makes sense for sustaining peace in their area. (Yun, 2015)

FIGURE 3.2: Explanation of budget contribution to UN peacekeeping around the world



Source: <https://reliefweb.int/report/world/top-10-financial-contributors-un-peacekeeping-budget>

3.1 Conclusion

The gap of contribution in UN peacekeeping among the developing and developed states appears a significant challenge for UN peacekeeping today. The motivations of Global South countries to deploy troops in UN peacekeeping missions vary from state to state. Some states try to build up a positive image, other's economic benefits or gain more power within international organizations such as the UN. Many Western states questioned developing states on sending ill-trained troops to UN peacekeeping. Still, they are unwilling to deployed well-equipped and trained troops to deal with challenging tasks of UN peacekeeping. States pursue their national interests and contribute on behalf of power states to use UN peacekeeping as a tool to attain their foreign policy objectives.

Pakistan's military deployed troops during the dangerous situation of Somalia, while Pakistan was in the process to develop nuclear weapons and realize that the international community could impose the sanctions. The military establishment of Pakistan decided to give full support to Somalia in the interest of the UN to avoid facing international sanctions. If the developed states would not provide equal troops contribution to UN peacekeeping, blue helmets' issues become tougher and politically uncontrolled.

Chapter 4

Understanding UN Peacekeeping

4.0.1 Peace Operations and World Politics

Primarily, peacekeeping was created to deal with the conflict states and provide a platform forum to settle their disputes. Within the time, the dynamics of conflict converted from interstate to intrastate; the number of civil wars within the state increased. Peacekeeping operations benefited in maintaining peace and rule of law within the states. However, the Westphalian treaty addressed the non-interference policy to other states, and the post-Westphalian order elaborated the responsibility of the states to provide security to their civilians from atrocities misdeeds like genocide and crime against humankind. Over time's numbers and scope of peace operations increased, numbers of theories and concepts were also added to understand UN peace operations. (Bellamy et al., 2021)

4.0.2 Westphalian and Post-Westphalian Account

Peace operations were initially started to a settlement between conflicting actors. Within the Westphalian order, peace operations were used to facilitate the decolonization process and to create peaceful conditions for the settlement of conflicting parties. On the other hand, the post-Westphalian account suggested, that peace operations should also deliver their job to fix the domestic governance to ensure that the subject government takes reliable steps to protect their population. However, many member states are suspicious of the role of peacekeeping and what peacekeepers should do. Scholars have seen the merging of these two views as

designated peace operations are tasked with stabilisation activities, supporting to host state to maintain rule of law inside the state. For example, missions in DRC, CAR and Mali have been mandated to involve domestic affairs.([Jackson, 2000](#)) ([Bellamy et al., 2021](#))

4.0.3 Theory and Peace Operations in the World Politics

Why do we need to think about theorizing peace operations? Roland Paris argues; that peace operation has been neglected to consider for theorizing and work has been delivered only on policy-making avoiding working to develop the theoretical framework. Scholars neglected theoretical questions about the scope, nature and importance of the peace operation in world politics.([Howard, 2008](#)) ([Bellamy et al., 2021](#))

All research work in social sciences is led by theoretical assumptions, whether we accept it or not. Theories like realism, liberalism, constructivism, feminism and Marxism etc supported understanding the complex questions in our society. They guided us to what to search for, what types of actors are important, what counts as valid and valuable knowledge. Theories are linked with methods we use to investigate and values and our politics.([Booth, 2007](#)) ([Bellamy et al., 2021](#))

Indeed, we can not investigate any phenomenon including UN peace operations without theory. However, there is no single theoretical framework that answers questions related to peace operations. The question of what to study depends on ontology. To answer the question about peace operations we need to identify actors, whose perceptives should be taken and how to understand the relationship between social structure and complicated systems and human behaviour. The first type of actor whose behaviour we want to explain is (individuals, ethnic groups, states, international organizations) second we deal at the level which we want to study social outcomes like (global, regional, national, sub-national, etc).(Raymond, Flavin, & Prandtner, 2013)([Bellamy et al., 2021](#))

Therefore we should recognize the study of peace operations can and should include different actors and levels. With regards to the actors, the most significant are stakeholders of the peace operations, including senior authorities officers and representative of domestic leadership of the host states, national and regional organizations working with peace operations, external stakeholders and multilateral

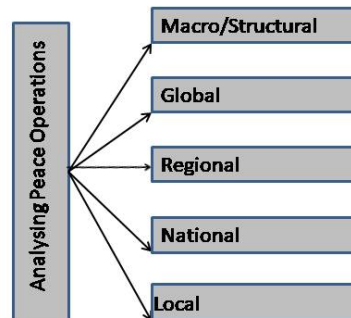


FIGURE 4.1: Levels of analysis for studying peace operations

Source: <https://www.un.org/peacekeeping/> Understanding UN Peacekeeping Third Edition 2021

and bilateral, the local community in the conflict-affected areas. For the study of peace operations at least we adopt five levels of analysis as described in the figure. Macro or structural level theories elaborated peace operations in-depth to understand the scope and the practice. This includes factors such as global culture, the economy of the world and racial inequality among the forces. Global level theories refer to understand the decision-making process in international organizations, for example deciding before deploying troops in conflict regions. Their focus is to interpret how these international organizations such as the UN and financial institutions take decisions internally and externally in, how the states interact with each other before any final decisions. Region study-level theories are interested to study the regional arrangements. It provides support to explain the phenomena like how states in geographic or functional regions could develop a mutual understanding about the role of the peace operations which could be different from region to region. National-level studies focused on one individual mission or policies of the peacekeeping missions in a specific country.(Bellamy et al., 2021) For example study about tactical behaviour and individual missions, components, and specific mandated activities. Additionally, to understand the levels of peace operations, we should consider two main points, apart from the mandated points, peacekeeping missions always produce unintended consequences.(Thakur et al.,

2007) Positive consequences are mostly not covered by media but negative consequences are often captured by the international media. Peace operations produced various numbers of ethical and moral issues challenges and dilemmas. For example; The general ethical question, whether it's ethically accepted, most of the UN peacekeepers belongs to low economic countries. (Bellamy et al., 2021)

Since the UN's formation, there has been a collective demand for the organization to address new and complicated challenges. The UN peacekeeping was launched over 70 years ago in the Middle East, since then nearly 71 peace operations have been established. The UN member states have played a important role in conflict resolution in Africa, Asia, Central America and Europe. Since the UN's formation, there has been a collective demand for the organization to address new and complicated challenges. The UN peacekeeping shaped into a new mechanism due to increased demand, and become slightly easy to deploy troops in conflict regions, as compared to the time of the Cold War. (Thakur et al., 2001)

The term peacekeeping was coined in 1950, but the management of international violence has a lengthy history. The global community has adopted several ways to reduce and manage these conflicts, and peacekeeping is one of them. The concept of peacekeeping generated the expansion of the theories and practice in global politics. In particular, it provides a code of conduct that states can adopt to deal with their survival within the international community. (Bellamy et al., 2021)

UN peacekeeping is one of the efficient tools to assist countries suffering from conflicts. Members' states contribute military and police personal to deploy in conflict regions. UN peacekeeping missions protect civilians and contribute to conflict management strategies for lasting peace. The UN defines "it as a technique designed to preserve peace where fighting has been halted and assist in establishing and implementing peace agreements". (Nations, 2008)

The earliest UN peacekeeping operation was the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) in Palestine in June 1948. The peacekeepers' mandate was to act as observers and supervise a truce during the first war between the Arab nations and Israel. The mission continued until the UNSC asked for a ceasefire. A similar mission was then designated to manage the ceasefire between India and Pakistan on Jammu and Kashmir conflict in 1949. (Koops et al., 2015)

The UN peacekeeping is the most visible and essential part of the UN mandate to sustain global peace and security. UN peacekeeping has gained significant achievements and won the Nobel Peace Prize 1988 and supported national and international stakeholder for conflict resolution by deploying peacekeeping troops over the last 70 years. For example, Cambodia, Mozambique, Namibia, Tajikistan, and others where the UN served for humanity to save people's lives. UN peacekeeping has delivered an effective work in regions such as Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Haiti, Timor-Leste, Liberia, Kosovo and helped following states in the rehabilitation of institutions and infrastructure. However, they also have faced challenges in many cases in response to conflict, for example Somalia, Rwanda and former Yugoslavian states in 1990. These failures shared lessons learnt with the global community about the right time of deploying UN peacekeeping troops to restore peace and security. (Nations, 2014b)

The destruction of the Second World War brought the formation of the UN in 1945. The primary responsibility was to sustain global peace and security by preventing conflicts, providing a platform to war stakeholders, deploying peacekeeping troops, and creating environments for lasting peace. (Nations, 1945a) Does a group or a single state have the right to interfere in the internal issues of another state? According to international law, states have no right to interfere in the matters of the states in a dictatorial way. We have examples of violating international law of non-interference by global communities such as Iraq, Liberia and Afghanistan.

4.0.4 Main Objectives of a UN Peacekeeping Mission

4.0.5 Prevention of the Conflict

To understand the prevention of the conflict, we need to follow three ways. 1) Prevention of the starting of the conflict; 2) Prevention of restarting of war 3) Prevention of the small conflicts; we could consider peace operations as a tool helps to preventive conflicts around the world. Until today, almost all peace operations have been established during and after the conflicts. There small numbers of the designated mission are on the record, deployed to preventive the armed conflict. Indeed, the international community should consider one of the priorities to establish a peacekeeping missions before the eruption of the conflict. UNSG

Boutros-Ghali supported the idea to deploy troops before the outbreak of the conflict; would also be helpful to resolve them and creates a settlement environment effectively even fail to stop the conflict. (Bellamy et al., 2021) Current UNSG Antonio Guterres emphasized adopting the pre-conflict prevention strategy before the conflict converted to violence. He stressed following effective techniques, starting timely mediation and negotiations among the conflicting parties. For example, Macedonia (1992-99) and UN mission in DRC (2006) with the support of the European Union.(Bellamy et al., 2021) Inference from the external actors happens when the political institutions have failed to survive the conflict and it becomes mandatory to ask for foreign help.(Call & Campbell, 2018) Peacekeepers prevent conflicts with their operational techniques.(on Preventing Deadly Conflict & of New York, 1997) Almost every UN peace operation is mandated to adopt types of prevention like systematic, structural and operational. For example, the UN mission in South Sudan was mandated to adopt early prevention tools, such as an early warning system, providing good offices to mediate conflict, supporting confidence measures, ensuring rule of law and reforming the justice sector of the country. ¹ Ken Menkhaus's idea of conflict prevention introduces a way to think about the relationship between structural and operational prevention. He argues, to gain success we need to connect strong links from all concern areas and subjects.(Menkhaus, 2004) Four strong arguments can help to implement preventive diplomacy. 1) Financial; It is very difficult and hard work to resolve the conflict after it started rather than using the preventive tool to sop in the beginnings to convert to violence. (e.g. UN 2000. 29) For example; a Carnegie Commission study estimated that about 200\$ billion was invested in seven conflicts through peace operations in 1990. In Bosnian Herzegovina Somalia, Rwanda and Haiti, Iraq, Cambodia and El Salvador- but by implementing preventive process could have saved 130\$ billion.(on Preventing Deadly Conflict & of New York, 1997)(Bellamy et al., 2021)

International actors like the UN, EU and AU have defined in their constitutions to adopt preventive tools, so should try to achieve their desire.Fomer UNSG Kofi Annan argued, for the UN there is no higher goal, no deeper commitment and no great ambition than preventing armed conflict.(Kofi-Annan 1998) 3) Political Inference: Political inference is significant and should play an effective role to resolve the conflict before converted to war. 4) Normative: All responsible stakeholders

¹UNSC Resolution, 1996, 2011, 2019, 2013, 2406, 2018

should follow the international obligations and norms to protect their population from atrocities crimes such as genocide.(Bellamy et al., 2021)

4.0.6 Observation

The second objective of the peace operations is to observe the monitor the cease-fire agreed among the stakeholders. Indeed, most of the peacekeeping missions were mandated with observation in the initial times of UN peacekeeping and called traditional peace operations. However, the mandate of observer missions was not limited and included some other activities.(Diehl et al., 1993) Observer missions have been deployed together with UN and non-UN actors around the world. Various observer missions were deployed according to the Westphalia account to deal with interstate violent conflicts over territorial disputes. During the interstate conflict, most of the time needs the third mediator to help to resolve the conflict, it could be the UN or any other international actor. The first response is to establish an observer mission to analyse the basis of the conflict. UN has deployed about 70 missions with the mandate of the observer to monitor the cease-fire. For example, in the Middle East, Western Sahara, Kashmir, Cyprus, Eritrea and Ethiopia are numerous examples. Observer missions have also been deployed in the post-Westphalian order during the civil wars, such as in Rwanda and South Sudan.(Bellamy et al., 2021) The observer missions can be deployed only with the consent of all stakeholders of the conflict. (Hillen, 1998) The mandate of the observer mission is to monitor the ground situation impartially and report to the Headquarters. Observer missions can also be deployed to investigate allegations of atrocities or crimes, humanitarian problems and or exterior interference's in the internal affairs of other states. The primary objective of the missions is to provide reliable information and observation of ceasefire made among by parties that provide support to the long term conflict resolution process. Observer missions play a significant role in building trust among the parties, helps to make difficult decisions for long-lasting peace. Alan James considers peacekeeping as a secondary activity. (1990:1).(James, 1990) He argues,observer missions does not support widely to resolve the conflict. Indeed, observer missions depend on the positive feedback from the conflicting parties. Therefore observer missions take place after the cease-fire and procedure of political settlements are decided. Within the Westphalia order, observer missions are based on three principles, 1) Conflicting parties represent states 2) During the organised fighting 3) Involvement of the state military in

the ongoing war traditional peacekeeping activity depends on a simple way of collecting reliable information and monitor the cease-fire agreement between the parties. Peacekeepers are involved to establish buffer zones, patrolling, verifying the different aspects of demilitarization and try to create a political space that will facilitate a resolution to resolve the conflict. Observer missions do not advise or enforce settlements by themselves.

4.0.7 Assistance

Another objective of the UN peace operations is to assist the conflict stakeholders in the process to establish a long-lasting peace. This process supports the peace operation in implementing the mandate, for example helping in disarming the combatants, providing humanitarian relief, rule of law and security reforms and providing protection to civilians. However, sometimes external actors deployed to supervise the peace-building activities or special political missions could be arranged to assist in the process of peaceful transition. (A. J. Bellamy & Williams, 2005)

The main task of establishing an assistance mission is to support the peace transition via providing a good offices. It provides an opportunity to all parties for their engagement with the peace process. It services as an impartial supervision and offers trust and confidence among the parties. It offers to collect reliable information and exchange with the parties and reduce the chances of restarting violence. It provides international resources to support the peace process. Peacekeeping missions support resolving the local conflict, before erupting into larger violence. Two more important assumptions were described in assistance operations. 1) The consent of the local actors for the inference from an external party; changing the behaviour of the local community plays a significant role in the transition from conflict to long-lasting peace. Local community involve themselves in a peace process and owns and ensure that third party is not implantation their decisions forcefully. (Biilerbeck 2017) (Bellamy et al., 2021) Peace operations should be established to assist the local community and deployed by the invitation of the host government. Such assistance missions are not authorized to use force but following the situation, special permissions can be granted to use force. Providing assistance to the local community reflects that peace operations are transitional in nature, having a clear start and end. The assistance missions establish with the

peace process after the consent of all stakeholders calling for international support. Such missions can be mandated under Chapter VI or Chapter VII of the UN Charter, but often follow Chapter VII because in some cases, allocation of use of force should be needed to implement the mandate forcefully. However, it is not frequent to authorize such missions led by the UN, but such assistance has also been authorized to a mission led by non-UN actors, including in Burundi, Darfur, Sierra Leone and the Solomon Islands. UN-led assistance missions are mandated with multinational tasks such as the capacity building of local police and military, ensuring the security of the local community via the frequent day and night patrolling; providing security to humanitarian personnel and UN officials, helping in the process of demilitarizing, protecting human rights, supporting political process, ensuring strong civil-military relations, public information and protection of civilians. (Bellamy et al., 2021)

4.0.8 Enforcement

Implementation of the UNSC decisions is another main objective of the peace operations. Such missions are conducted by the approval of the UNSC following the Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The use of Chapter VII increased during 1990 and followed rarely during the Cold War. The UNSG argued, taking military action in defence of the Charter's principles is essential to the reliability of the UN as a supporter of the international community. (1992: 43) (Bellamy et al., 2021) However, enforcing UNSC decisions on the local community have raised important questions about the role of international actors particularly the UN in sustaining global peace and security. UN does not keep its standing army so depends on the member states to provide military troops to conduct the UN peace operations. Various non-UN peace operations have also engaged in enforcement activities, including in Sri Lanka, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Mali and Gambia. However, some UN-led missions were permitted to use force for the implantation of the mandate. For example, DRC, Haiti, Somalia, East Timor and DRC Congo. (Bellamy et al., 2021)

4.0.9 Peace Enforcement

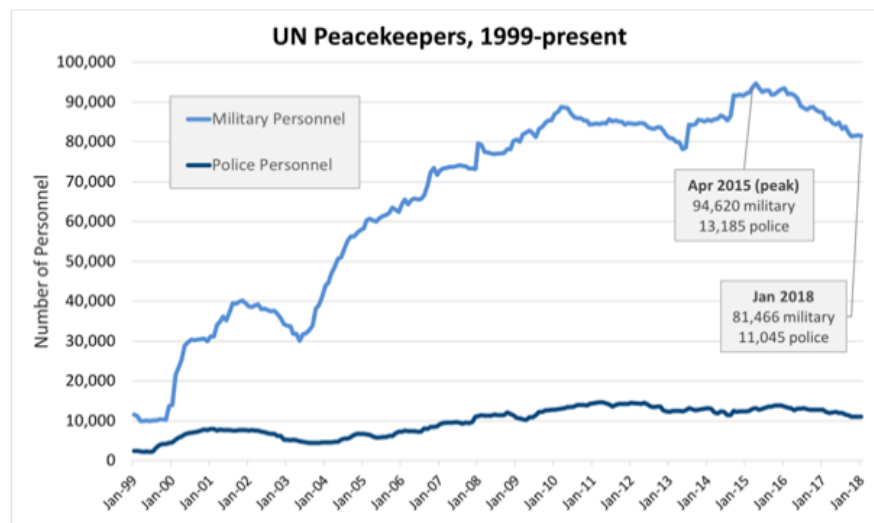
Enforcement has been defined by UN Charter "action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression". (UN Charter, Article 39). Chapter VII allow the UNSC to take enforcement steps, for example, diplomatic and economic sanctions (article 41) and military measures (article 42). According to international law, states are not allowed to use the power without the permission of the UNSC, except in self-defence (including collective self-defence, Article 51 of the Charter). In practice, it has not always been to adopt Chapter VII by UNSC and which articles have to be implemented for the enforcement of the mandate. It is important how the UNSC work in practice on these issues. (Bellamy et al., 2021)

Chapter VII followed four times between 1946 to 1989. On the other hand after the Cold War, around 166 resolutions were passed following the Charter VII of the UN. However, numbers increased between 2000 to 2018 and UNSC passed 572 resolutions according to the Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The UN has used Chapter VII for various tasks, like, the use of the military force for a wide range, protection of civilians, defending peacekeepers, protect humanitarian activities, extend and consolidate state authority, armed actors and terrorist groups. (Bellamy et al., 2021) One of the issues with Chapter VII addressed UNSC to allow UN troops to use the force, but UNSC permits other actors to use force on behalf of them. (Sarooshi et al., 1999) The failure of establishing the UN standing troops created a gap between the UN military capacity of enforcement and the practical lack of the UN military capability. As Boutros Ghali put it in 1995, neither the UNSC nor the UNSG command the authority to send, and direct a peacekeeping operation. The delegation of Chapter VII powers does not involve a complete transfer of the power. The delegation of the complete transfer of the power does not involve its complete transfer of the power, as delegation can be retained at any time. (Sarooshi 2000:7). There has been a close relationship between US interests and UNSC authorizations to use the force. The aggressor has been fear not from the UN but from the troops of the US. (Urquhart, 1993) (Bellamy et al., 2021)

4.0.10 The Nature of the UN Peacekeeping Mandates

There are three kinds of peacekeepers from member states to contributes to the UN. The peacekeeping force includes military troops, civilians, and police officers.

FIGURE 4.2: Chart of Military and Police personnel contribution since 1999



Source:<https://peaceoperationsreview.org/thematic-essays/trends-un-peacekeeping>

When the UN requests forces from Pakistan, the type of contribution needed is clearly outlined in the official request. This includes the number of peacekeepers required from all the three kinds mentioned above. Every year, the mandate of the mission is evaluated and adapted according to the new requirements. It is essential to overlook the previous developments before increasing the number of troops and changing how the peacekeepers engage in the conflict.(Bellamy et al., 2013)

4.0.11 Modality of Peacekeeping and Role of Pakistan: An Example

Pakistan's military supported activities in disaster management with UN peacekeeping missions for six decades. The military has been used in various forms, including the police, the medical team, engineers, and civilian protection. There has been no dispute over Pakistan's engagement with peacekeeping in different parts of the world and various fields. However, specific allegations of sexual harassment cases and Pakistani contingents were accused of selling gold and guns to Congolese militia groups. Pakistani troops denied all the accusations describing the claims as "baseless".(Plaut, 2007) The UN shared the report with Pakistan and demanded legal action against the culprits. UN only can send misbehaving, involving in criminal acts and violation of mandate troops to their countries back

to ask for action against them. Still, it is then the responsibility of the member state. (Taylor, 1972)

4.1 Types of Peacekeeping Operations

The UN established sixteen new peacekeeping operations after the Cold War. It is feasible to point out at least four different types of peacekeeping missions. The categories of tasks are based on peacekeeping functions, such as peacekeeping, peacemaking, conflict prevention and peacebuilding and peace enforcement. (Ram, 2008)

FIGURE 4.3: Types of Peacekeeping Operations



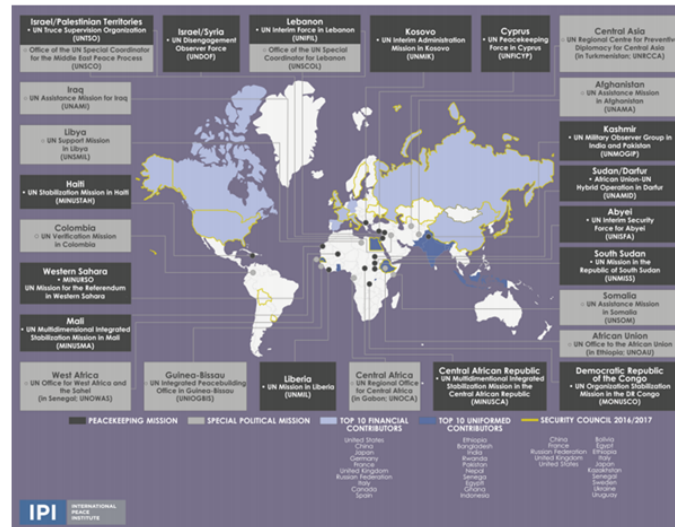
Source: Linkages and grey areas UN, 2008, p. 19

More than one million peacekeepers have been deployed with the UN since 1948. The peacekeepers consist of several military troops, police, civilians, and 3,500 peacekeepers have been sacrificed their lives since 1948. The essential services of UN peacekeepers are to monitor the ceasefire agreements, protection of civilians, disarming the ex.fighters, securing human rights, sustaining the rule of law, organizing undisputed elections, removing the land mines, rebuilding education and medical health care and much more. (Nations, 1948b)

4.1.1 Conflict Prevention

Conflict prevention aims to avoid the escalation of disputes and violence through diplomatic efforts. The tools used for conflict prevention are collecting information, making reliable analysis of information helps the UN in deciding the deployment of troops in conflict regions.

FIGURE 4.4: Current UN Peacekeeping Operations around the world.



Source:<https://www.providing for peacekeeping.org/peacekeeping-data-graphs>

The figure explores the top 10 contributors in terms of personnel and financial contributions and is the fourth in the top ten contributors. It is significant to mention that all top ten contributors belong to developed states, which raises questions about developed countries' contribution. Peace cannot be established only with money in conflict zones, but there is a need to support the missions with new equipment, and more personnel to bring long-lasting peace. Also, there is a need to create mechanisms that detect any warning signs of conflict and establish effective coordination strategies to prevent conflict. (*United Nations, 2014*) UN peacekeeping delivers effective inputs with cooperation of other UN organizations such as United Nations Development Program (UNDP). UNDP support in creating environment for prevention of conflict, contributing economic stability including violent extremism and terrorism. (*Björkdahl, 2006*)

According to Alex, J, Bellamy, P.D Williams and S, Griffin (2010), a fixed theoretical approach has not supported the peacekeeping perspective. Some argue that critical theory is more suited to peacekeeping, while others link peacekeeping to

realism and constructivism. It is unclear how states are promoting international norms to create sustainable peace through peacekeeping and conflict prevention and the status of peacekeeping in academia and research. Much of the literature on international norms focus on the role of international organizations, NGOs, and social networking.(UNDP, 2021)

4.1.2 Peacemaking

Peacemaking is a process through which negotiation and mediation are outlined for confrontational stakeholders to reach a consensus through non-violent means following the Chapter VI of the Charter of the UN. Following the judicial settlement, mediation, and adopting other forms of negotiation, the UN peacemaking involves the process that could led conflict stakeholders to reach at a peaceful arrangement of their issues.²

Peacemaking aims to find a way to bring conflicting parties together for peace talks. For peace talks to be effective, it requires all key players of the conflict to participate. The peacemaking process entails mediation, conciliation, and arbitration. The UNSC and the UNGA may refer a case to the UNSG's good office where it would act as a mediator in the peacemaking process. Peacemakers could include governments, envoys, and member countries and a regional organization. The UN representative could also be selected by non-governmental officials or by distinguished persons who work independently.(United Nations, 2014)

4.1.3 Peace Enforcement

Peace enforcement refers to a tool of conflict resolution which allows use of force with approval of UNSC. Peace enforcement is used to maintain global peace and security, where UNSC approves to confront threat with military power with support of other international and regional stakeholders.(United Nations, 2014) Traditionally, the UN stresses that a lasting peace process should be used rather than military force. The option of using force reduces the chances of negotiation and mediation. As a result, peacekeeping is emphasized where force is only used in peacekeeping for self-defence.(Nations, 2021b) Three peace operations have used

²U.N.Charter, art, 33

power. These operations took place in the DRC between 1960 and 1964, in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992 and 1995, and in Somalia in 1993 and 1995. Several peacekeeping operations operated in an intra-state environment. Still, only the DRC mission triggered to adopt forceful means by peacekeepers to provide security to the civilians and support the country's government. Critical debate using power after the Cold War is about when to use point, where the use of force is appropriate, and the kind of power allowed to be used. In some missions, not using power intensified the debate due to contentious examples such as Rwanda and Somalia. (Findlay, 2002)

Despite these debates, the term peace enforcement is still being used in expanded peacekeeping missions mandated by the UNSC, aiming to bring the conflicting parties to enforce the UN resolution passed. Peace enforcement is different from peacekeeping because it requires more military troops. The Gulf war was an example of the UN enforcement of its resolutions mandating Iraqi forces' withdrawal from Kuwait.

4.1.4 Peace Building

Peace building is one of the most popular approaches used by the UN. The term peace building has become more common after finishing of Cold War. The term refers to a process of rehabilitating a region that has been destroyed by armed conflict for prevention of future brutality from occurring and to prepare the environment for lasting peace. In 1998, the UN deployed three peace building missions in Angola and Haiti, and two supportive missions in Bosnia to implement peace building activities. (United Nations, 2014)

Peacebuilding is an activity to decrease the threat of restarting the conflict by strengthening cooperation among all national stakeholders by adopting the skills of conflict resolution, creating a foundation for lasting peace. It is difficult to work to incorporate the important terms and conditions required for sustainable peace and development in conflict regions. Peacebuilding activities refer to contribute and support effectively the national institutions to deliver their main functions. (United Nations, 2014)

Several peace building missions have been deployed with the mandate to disarm, demobilize, and monitor compliance to peace agreements and police training.

Some mandates may also include political assignments such as supervising elections, assisting with the facilitation to reaching out justice, restoring the political stability and improving economic system, repatriating displaced persons, assisting with reforms in banking system, rebuilding transportation sector, and developing the agricultural sector. Many international bodies such local and global NGO's have been supporting for many years to restore peace around the world such as in Eastern Slovenia (Croatia), Somalia, Namibia, Mozambique, Rwanda, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Cambodia. Peace building entail various activities to bring down the danger of escalating disputes by reinforcing national capacities overall of dispute handling and constructing basis for long-lasting peace and development. The UN peacekeeping missions mandated to reconstruct the state structure such as, building institutions, police, judiciary, educational, medical, and military to provide protection to civilians and implementation of rule of law. (Nations, 2000d) The difference between peacekeeping, conflict prevention, peace enforcement and peace building has become increasingly blurred, as seen in figure 1. The UN peacekeeping operation's mandate is multi regional, and they perform a variety of duties during the mission.

4.2 Process of Deploying United Nations Peacekeeping

4.2.1 Technical Field Assessments

After the security clearance of the targeted host country of peacekeeping missions, the UN head office New York generally sends a technical appraisal mission to the conflict state before any PKO is initiated. The assessment team then reports the political, security, humanitarian needs, and a report on violation of human right condition on the spot and suggest for feasible operation. Following the assessment report, the UNSG will state the UNSC. This report recommends the options for establishing a peacekeeping operation. (Nations, 2000b)

4.2.2 The Security Council Resolution

If the UNSC approves a UN peacekeeping mission, it would be formally authorized by a resolution. The resolution will set forth the major tasks for the designated missions, the numbers of the troops, and the details of the operation. The financial matters are referred to the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) for the approval. (Nations, 2000b)

4.2.3 Engagement of Senior Officers

The UNSG appoints typically head for the designated peacekeeping operation often called Special Representative to supervise activities mandated by UNSC. He/She reports about the actions or issues of mission to the head of DPKO (Department of Peace Operations). The SG also nominates commander of police contributing to UN peacekeeping operation and other senior officials. The Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and the Department of Field Support (DFS) together are then responsible for selection of suitable people on the ground to support the activities according to the mandate. (Nations, 2000b)

4.2.4 Preparation and Deployment of Troops

The leading officer of the designated mission planned for the military and political engagements to cover the operational aspects such as administrative and logistical needs for the peacekeeping operation. The planning phase consists of activities such as establishing a headquarters to further steps such as joint working groups to bring other UN agencies together for future planning. The next phase refers to sending troops after analysing the security environment on the ground. As discussed, the UN relies on fewer countries to contribute armed forces for peacekeeping operations. (Nations, 2000b)

4.2.5 Updating to the Security Council UNSC

The UNSG needs to share regular updates to the UNSC on the activities of the peacekeeping mission. The UNSC then evaluates the information and outlines to decide whether to renew its mandate or make adjustments. (UNSC, 2000) Over

seven decades, the UN peacekeeping proved its legitimacy and reliability as an effective means of protecting civilians and facilitating the transition from conflict to lasting peace. A few successful examples include the cases of Liberia, Timor Lester and Bosnia, and Herzegovina. Peacekeeping has been implemented as a critical approach to help rebuild and stabilize countries experiencing conflict. Currently, more than 125,000 military personnel, police, and civilian staff are on the ground working in sixteen peacekeeping missions around the world.(Nations, 2000c)

However, UN peacekeeping has been quick to respond to conflicts thus far. For an effective and quick response to any dispute in the world, it needs the willingness and partnership from every UN member state. In a conflict where hundreds of people may be killed, and the threat of looms, skilled, and experienced peacekeepers worldwide are needed to deliver their mandate effectively.

4.3 Conclusion

The UN member states consider peacekeeping as the best investment in foreign policy. Since the UN's establishment, member states have been sending troops under the auspices of the UN to sustain global peace and security. The UN has no standing army, so requests are made to member states to contribute troops for peacekeeping operations.

Pakistan's military has played a significant role by deploying troops since 1960. This thesis will explore the motivation behind Pakistan sending troops abroad. Has the peacekeeping concept been exploited by developing states to increase their military capacity and capability while working among and learning from internationally trained troops? Economic incentives might not influence countries such as Pakistan, but may be motivated by increasing military capacity or a foreign policy tool to achieve other objectives.

Despite tremendous efforts made by Pakistani peacekeepers, they have not gained much-deserved recognition discussed in this thesis. Currently, peacekeeping operations are operating under an abroad framework where all types of peace operations are implemented, including supporting ceasefire agreements and the use of force but only with the authorization of the UNSC?

Chapter 5

Pakistan and United Nations Peacekeeping

Pakistan has been a continuous and largest contributor to UN peace operations from Global South. The international community considers Pakistan's military as experienced and well trained for the UN peace operations.¹ "Strong UN system was at the top of Pakistan's vision of the basic tenets of just global order. (Pakistan's Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz: 2005) He further elaborated that Pakistan believed that although sobered by the tumultuous experience of global wars and confrontations, humanity is moving to a new order and harmony, where the collective will of humanity-manifested through a reformed UN-Will ensure fair play and a level playing field for interstate relations."²(Pakistan's Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz: 2005) Currently, Pakistan has served in 28 states and contributed 200,000 troops in 60 peacekeeping missions designated by the UN.(Iqbal, 2020)

This chapter aims to analyze Pakistan's motivations to the UN peacekeeping missions during the pre and post-Cold War period. I will examine Pakistan's political, security, and diplomatic interests and the decision making process about deployment of troops. The foreign policy of Pakistan guides the state to pursue a national interest in different fields such as security interest, for strengthening economy, trade and commerce, cultural exchange, and education and technology.

¹Amjad Hussain B. Sial, Acting Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the UN, remarks to Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, 22 February 2011

²Conference address by Shaukat Aziz, 'Dynamics of Pakistan's Foreign Policy in the New World Order', IIRI-KIIB, Brussels, 26 January 2005

Today, the world focuses on building relations on a regional and global level to conduct bilateral interactions which have become a significant part of foreign policy. Moreover, several countries use both hard power and soft power to achieve their national interests and foreign policy goals. The objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy are set by the vision of the founder of the country, Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

5.1 Background

The UN peacekeeping plays a vital role in promoting the foreign policy agenda of Pakistan. Pakistan has been faced several internal and external problems such as political instability, weak economy and domestic insecurity since its independence. Additionally, the country faces a lack of resources, burden of 1.4 millions Afghan refugees from Afghanistan³ and continues engagement in Kashmir conflict with India (Krishnasamy, 2002a)

In 1990, Pakistan participated in a UN peacekeeping mission in Somalia on the US's recommendation, which saved Pakistan from being included in the US state department list of states sponsoring terrorism. Pakistan has been cautious in deploying troops outside of its land and does so only when it suits to follow the legitimate foreign policy objectives.

The termination of the Cold War changed the dimensions of conflicts from traditional to interstate disputes.(Yildiz, 2018) The conflicts turned to complex nature and required an adequate response from the international community as compared to the past. UN peacekeeping emerged as a preferred method of international conflict resolution.(Duffey, 1998)

Pakistan has contributed to UN peacekeeping in divergent conflict around the world, considered to be a visible and constructive support of Pakistan for the international community.(Krishnasamy, 2002a) The end of the bipolar system to uni-polar affected developing countries such as Pakistan with a great magnitude. The directions of Pakistan's foreign policy changed to a more supporting unipolar system due to its geo-strategic position in the region after the Cold-War. However, some of the factors associated with Pakistan's foreign policy do not change much, for example, geostrategic regional environment with neighbours like India, Afghanistan, and the USSR.(Curtis, 2016)

³UNHCR, 2021

After the Cold War brought a significant expansion in UN peacekeeping missions and attracted developing states to become major contributors. From 1948 to 1978, only 13 UN peacekeeping missions were set-up and from 1989 to 1994 further twenty were established. (Nations, 1948b) The main reason behind the expansion of missions was creating a uni polar system that increased the influence of the US and its allies. The uni-polar system led to less influence of other member states of the UN on the decision-making process of UNSC, which made it easy for the deployment of UN peacekeeping missions. (De Coning, 2018) UN is dependent on members states to contribute troops for peacekeeping. As discussed earlier, the international body largely relies on troops belongs o developing states such as Pakistan, India, Nepal and African states. After the Cold War provided an opportunity for developing states to increase their contributions to UN peacekeeping. However, it is still difficult to find troops for challenging peacekeeping missions. (Findlay, 1996) “UN peacekeeping helps countries to navigate the difficult paths from conflict to peace. It has unique strengths, including legitimacy, burden sharing and an ability to deploy troops and police from around the world, integrating them with civilians peacekeepers to address a range of mandates set by the UNSC and General Assembly”.⁴ The UN does not have its army and asks members of the UN to contribute military and police to work as peacekeepers in the UN peacekeeping missions. As discussed above, Pakistan has been contributing troops and police in UN peacekeeping since 1960. (Nations, 2000c)

Pakistan deploys troops to follow its national interests, not only with UN peacekeeping but also in other countries to train their militarises and follows friendly bonds with all Muslim states. For example, Pakistan has signed agreements of military cooperation with the Saudi Arabia and Kuwait to train their military and police in response to achieve economic benefits from these oil-rich countries. However, Pakistan avoids deploying troops to all missions without the full consent of host states e.g. Pakistan refused to be part of the Iraq war (2002) that was very unpopular at home. It again refused to deploy a single troop in the war against ISIS in Syria and Iraq but supported only following the UN Charter the actions authorized under Chapter VII. (T. Yamin, 2019)

⁴"United Nations: United Nations Peacekeeping

TABLE 5.1: Pakistani Motivations for Foreign Military Deployments

Year	Foreign war \ Conflict	Pakistan 's Decision	Foreign Policy Objectives	Remarks
1950	Korean War	Not to send troops	No Security guarantee against India	Pakistan send consignment of what grain to show solidarity with the UN forces
1991	Gulf War 1	Forces send but did not participate in combat action	The Army Chief wanted to show strategic defiance against the US led Operations Desert Storm	Civil and military leadership not on the same page
1950	Korean War	Not to send troops	No Security guarantee against India	Pakistan send consignment of what grain to show solidarity with the UN forces
1991	Gulf War 1	Forces send but did not participate in combat action	The Army Chief wanted to show strategic defiance against the US led Operations Desert Storm	Civil and military leadership not on the same page
1991	UN Mission to Somalia	Participated in the mission	To come out of the international isolation and become part of the world community	Pakistan able to reconnect with the rest of the world
2015	Houthi Rebellion in Yemen	Remain neutral part of the Arab coalition against the Houthis	The conflict did not concern Pakistan	Saudi Arabia annoyed. Pakistan tries to make amends

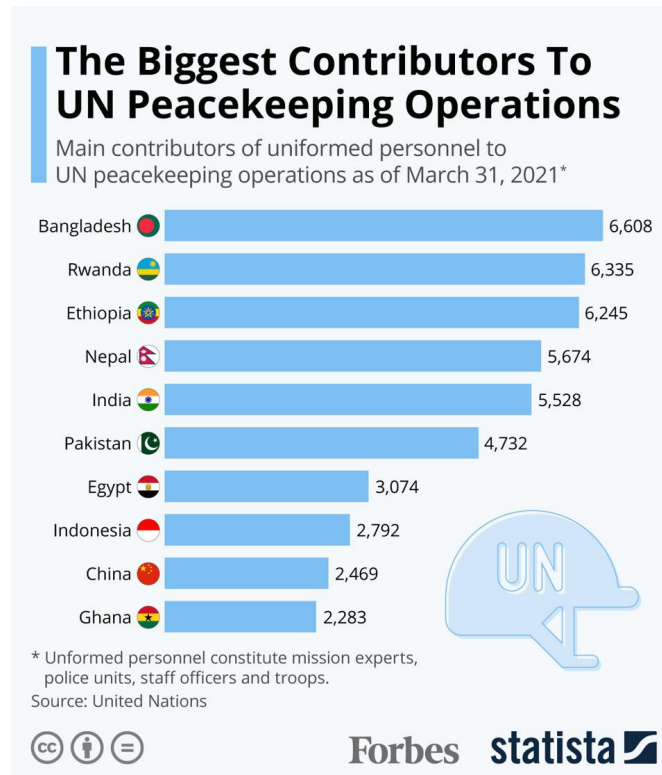


FIGURE 5.1: Contribution of Global South Countries to UN Peacekeeping

Source: The Biggest Contributors to UN Peacekeeping Missions by Niall McCarthy: 2021

UN peacekeeping is not a very leading topic to discuss in Pakistan. However, as discussed above, Pakistan is one of the top troops contributor in the UN peacekeeping operations. It has provided more than 150,000 men and women from military and police in various UN peacekeeping operations worldwide. Unfortunately, only one book has been written on Pakistan's contribution to UN peacekeeping in Somalia by an ex-military officer (Tughral Yamin) who served in Somalia during the conflict with the Pakistani contingent provided to the UN in 1992. The reasons are straight forward with very little projection of peacekeepers topic at the official and non-official levels.

They have failed to share their academic experiences and mostly considered peacekeeping as a military activity with limited readership. There has been minimal discussion on this topic at the political and diplomatic levels. (T. Yamin, 2017b) Politicians, however, have had a minimal discussion on policy-making on deploying troops outside of Pakistan. The decision-making body is the military establishment to produce engagement rules for the Pakistani forces to deploy with UN peacekeeping at UN's request.

5.2 The Decision-Making Process

The Pakistani military plays a vital role in the decision-making procedure of deploying troops in the UN peacekeeping operation. After obtaining a request from the UN secretariat, the Prime Minister's and Foreign Minister's Office decides how to respond to the request. It is crucial to mention that peacekeeping is not part of any political process of Pakistan. Parliament of Pakistan is not involved in discussing the policy-making on Pakistani troops' contribution in various missions except two stories, one about Somalia 1990 and other war in Iraq 2002. A team of senior officials of the Pakistan army decides by considering the mandate, the location, the conflict situation and the interests of other TCCs. Pakistan also follows the regional approach of TCCs, including its other interests such as economic, diplomatic, etc. For example, if India is interested in contributing troops, it is easier for Pakistan to compete with Indian interests at regional and international levels. (Kiani, M. 2004) The senior officers of Pakistan army decide on the purview and scale of the contingents being sent, including logistical planning and operational procedures. The interior ministry of Pakistan provides a key role in sending police personnel's for UN peacekeeping missions. (Kiani, 2004b)

The government of Pakistan follows five rules of engagement when deploying troops for UN peacekeeping; 1) The scope and status of the designated mandate of the mission should be based on the principals of UN and follow international laws requirements. 2) Consent of the host state or from all stakeholders of the conflict. 3) The geopolitical environment of place of the conflict and ensuring the cooperation from neighbouring states. 4) Ensuring enough resources to take activities. 5) Political support from the relevant international stakeholders. (Bellamy et al., 2013)

Once Pakistan decides to move on the request of the UN to contribute troops, senior military officers analyse the scope and scale of logistics and operational procedures. The number and type of contingents decided upon are generated by the Military Operations Directorate GHQ. (Bellamy et al., 2013) Due to tough civil-military relations, not many Pakistani politician asked questions about the deployment process for contributing troops under the flag of UN peacekeeping. Peacekeeping is being considered only a military activity, so parliament left out from this process.

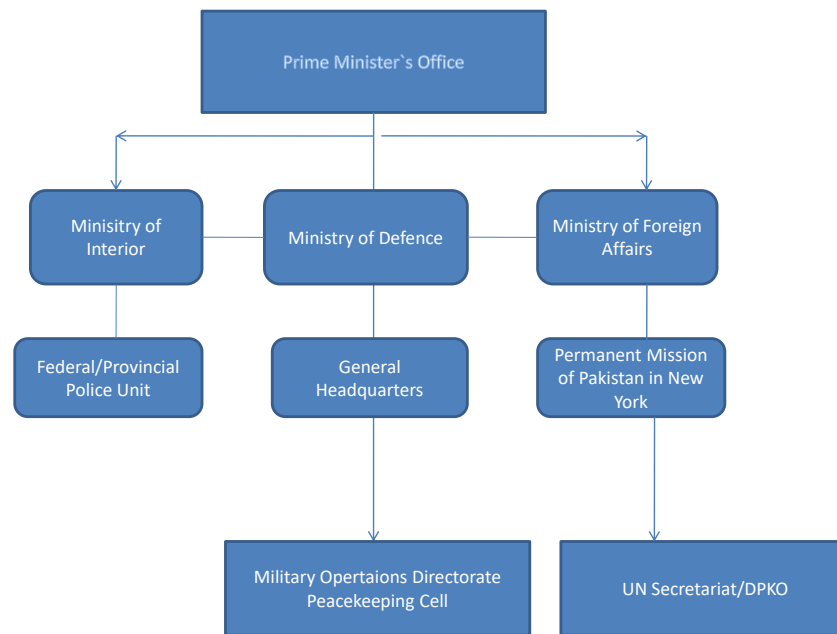


FIGURE 5.2: Hierarchy of Taking Decisions to Deploy Troops for Peacekeeping

Source: Providing Peacekeepers The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions

5.2.1 Motivations of Pakistan Behind Contributing Troops

In this study, the motivations behind Pakistan's active contribution in UN peacekeeping missions is examined. Since the UN does not have its standing army; therefore, it is dependent on member states to contribute troops for UN peacekeeping operations. (Nations, 2014a) Pakistan has been a partner of the UN to send troops since 1960. The decision-making process of deploying forces in the conflict zones follows the factors such as national foreign policy, troops' availability, public opinion of the host country, security concerns, and sense of fulfilling international obligations. A foreign policy goal plays a major part in deploying troops with UN peacekeeping missions and in a procedure of decision-making. The strategic decision remains under the preserve of military bureaucracy more and less on civilians. (T. Yamin, 2017a)

UN peacekeeping is one of the significant activity to fulfilling the mandate of the UN Charter. Should the UN have its army? UNSG Butros Ghali suggested in "Agenda for Peace," UN should create a rapid reaction force (RRF), the international body keep a well trained, equipped, and maintained by the UN and ready

for operations when needed with approval of UNSC. US opposed the idea but France and several smaller member states supported. The increasing number of conflicts and challenges for international security requires the UN to built-up its own military. The killing of thousands of people in the Rwandan and Bosnian war proved the weakness of the procedure of decision-making of the UN. (N. Bowen, 1997)

Pakistan got independence from Britain's in 1947, since then the country has made a strong dedication to the UN joint security arrangements and supported the struggle to implement the basic agenda of the UN. Pakistan adopted UN Charter and agreed to support the concept of UN peacekeeping. (Bellamy et al., 2013) Political scientists support the idealist theory behind the cooperation of Pakistan to UN peacekeeping. For example, peacekeeping is a noble activity and considers as the significant works of the UN to sustain global peace and security. (Krishnasamy, 2001) Pakistan justifies its contribution to UN peacekeeping as a part of foreign policy, and an essential tool to support global peace and security. The participation of Pakistan to UN peacekeeping missions supported the country to rebuilt a positive image around the world. ⁵

Currently, the total numbers of UN peacekeeping contributing states are 121 with 81370 personnel in 13 established peacekeeping operations led by the UN. Some states directly provide a physical presence, such as military troops, police, and civilians. Others have indirect roles by contributing in the form of financial and logistic support. Both types of contributions are equally crucial for positive outcomes of UN peacekeeping operations deployed in conflict areas. What are the motivations behind Pakistan's active participation in UN peacekeeping? Some states considers their self-interest other present their engagement to oblige the international norms than following the national interest to decide about UN peacekeeping deployment. (Neack, 1995) Alan James says, states will move if they judge that response to be in their international interests, nationally conceived. Currently Pakistan remains one of the leading troop contributor to UN peacekeeping missions in the world. (James, 1995) Pakistan has lost 153 soldiers until September 2020 in various UN peacekeeping operation ⁶. Deaths of Pakistani soldiers in other homelands are difficult to justify to the nation, but there have been no reports of Pakistani soldiers' relatives complaining about such casualties because of following

⁵Foreign Office Yearbook 2008–09 (Islamabad: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2009), p. 12, http://www.mofa.gov.pk/Publications/Year_Book_2008-09.doc

⁶DPKO, 2018

reasons. Firstly, UN pays around \$70,000 which is good compensation in case of death of any Pakistani soldier. Secondly, the family gets a pension from the government of Pakistan. (D. Hussain, 2017) Thirdly, a soldier has to follow the path according to the army constitution, which obliged him to join designated task by land, air, or sea even taking risk of his life. (ISPR, 1952)

There are five categories of motivations behind Pakistan's interests to send troops in the various UN peacekeeping operations. 1) National economic motivation is the major factor behind Pakistan sending troops after the Cold-War. 2) Military motivations in-case Pakistan receive advantage of capacity building security institutions, economical and at international political level. 3) The domestic political inspirations refers where contribution can encourage the public opinion to improve the civil-military relations particularly in case of Pakistan 4) The international political motivations refers where participation of Pakistan helps to improve the positive image and to increase geo-strategic status in the world. 5) Normative motivations, where Pakistan participation is based on goodwill and belief in international humanitarian norms. (Krishnasamy, 2002a)

Pakistan is one of the non-Western countries that participate actively in peacekeeping missions led by the UN for the last six decades. The government is also the longest beneficiary from UN peacekeeping deployment for observing conflict in India, Jammu, and Kashmir. Pakistan has not been given much importance to play a role in developing policies or decision-making processes in UN peacekeeping matters. Pakistan is 6th on the list of top contributors with a physical presence of 4461 personnel in different peacekeeping missions led by the UN. (ISPR, 2012) Pakistan has been trying to maintain its role at the international level by competing with India, which lies fifth on top contributors to peace operations led by the UN.

Pakistan was not active with UN peacekeeping during the Cold-War due to internal security and its concentration on building energy sources. Pakistan has joined only three observer missions, (the UN military Observer Group 1949; UN-India Pakistan observer mission 1965-66; Good Offices Missions in Afghanistan and Pakistan, 1988-90) and participated in only four external peace operations during the Cold-War starting in 1960. In many cases, Pakistan's engagement in the UN peacekeeping missions supports the argument that behind its participation, the aim was to balance or strengthen relations with big countries, such as the US. Pakistan kept to a minimum and careful involvement in UN peacekeeping

operations led by the UN during the Cold-War despite rising violent extremism threats. (T. Yamin, 2017b)

Peacekeeping received much importance in the foreign policy of Pakistan in the post-Cold-War time. The reasons behind this are break-up of the USSR and the commencing of the Gulf-War, the rising of internal threats, the development of nuclear weapons, political and economic instability, that brought Pakistan under isolation and international sanctions. Pakistan started to reshape its foreign policy to improve international recognition. Pakistan began to increase participation with international organizations such as the UN and opened doors to aid as peacekeepers.

Pakistan actively participated in UNTAC and UNOSOM after the Cold-War. Currently, in total, Pakistan had 151 casualties during UN peacekeeping operations. To what extent is Pakistan focusing on economic, diplomatic, political, regional security, international image, and institutions development? During an interview with a Brigadier who served in UN peacekeeping operations, he supported the argument that UN peacekeeping helped Pakistan to project a positive image to the international community. Pakistani troops are always ready to go where “No One” would like to join due to severe challenges for protecting civilians. Pakistani troops are highly professional and capable of delivering in high-risk areas of conflict. Pakistan does not only provide combat troops but also contribute indirectly to logistical and other material support.

He mentioned how difficult it was for UN peacekeeping operations to reach out for humanitarian assistance during the Ebola pandemic in Liberia. The Pakistani medical battalion provided medical services, not only to local people but also to the UN mission. Pakistan provided engineering’s military observers and police force. The Liberians always say that the Pakistani troops were the best while serving in their country with the UNMIL. They were provided with medical aid and education, such as building schools, hospitals and roads.

Pakistan always left a right image behind. Pakistan has the sixth-largest army globally and is not dependent economically on sending troops to UN peacekeeping operations it is a benefit on an individual basis not collectively. Many soldiers and officers do not get a single chance during their whole life to serve for peacekeeping; it is based on luck and demand. The primary motivation behind Pakistan’s

participation is to encounter India's influence and need for permanent membership of UNSC. India also has the same type of reason behind its involvement in UN peacekeeping missions. The conception of recognition is leading factor behind the support of Pakistan to UN peacekeeping. Pakistan puts herself into declared recognition in terms of peacekeeping contribution. Pakistan projects its image and identity with other peacekeepers to announce that the country is competent in its participation and has always shown a higher level of presence on the ground. These goals serve Pakistan to create a positive image in the international community.

The foreign policy goals that Pakistan has set to achieve by participating in UN peacekeeping operations can easily be defined. According to Ambassador Lodi, permanent representative to UN New York, Pakistan has been providing troops for the last six decades, and 200,000 troops have served in 46 different missions led by the UN around the world. (ISPR, 2012) These significant services in the international community help Pakistan to earn international prestige. Pakistan has suffered from negative feedback due to raising militants, human rights violations, a continuous threat to democracy, and violent extremism globally. Supporting the UN peacekeeping operations are seen as an instrument to counter negative images and reveal a status of a peace-loving nation. The Pakistan military has ruled the country four times and showed continuous unconditional support to UN peacekeeping, although numbers have always decreased during civilian rule. This argument supports the idea that the Pakistan army uses its participation in peacekeeping as an instrumental tool to deal with international questions asked on the anti-democratization process of Pakistan.

General Pervez Musharraf removed the civilian rule of Nawaz Sharif and became the president of the country. He ordered immediately to increase numbers, and Pakistan remained the 1st top contributor to peace operations. He used peacekeeping as an instrument to maintain international relations in international organizations and the US. Pakistan has been elected seven times into the UNSC, most recently in 2013. Pakistan can increase its role to support the mandate of the UN to sustaining global peace and security. Pakistan has been considered for several peacekeeping missions led by the UN to be a part of the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, South Sudan, and Darfur. The situation in the Syrian republic and Mali remained highlighted during the Pakistani tenure in 2013. The Council organized the thematic discussion on counter-terrorism, and UN peacekeeping is a significant part of UNSC work. The

UNSC adopted four resolutions and 16 meetings on international issues during Pakistan's tenure. (Kiani, 2004b)

According to other findings, Pakistani troops are being considered highly professional and skilful in conflict zones. In many cases, Pakistani troops are well demanded to participate in peacekeeping operations mission led by the UN worldwide. In the case of Somalia, Pakistan's participation was requested by the US, which helped avoid Pakistan to be listed as a terrorist sponsor country isolated Pakistan because of the development of nuclear weapons. The decision to participate in peace operations in Somalia supported the government to be seen as responsible, and the loss of 25 soldiers proved Pakistan as a responsible state. (T. Yamin, 2017b)

Apart from the motivations mentioned above, Pakistan has not been using UN peacekeeping as a tool to influence domestic politics, except by damaging reports of the national military abusing troops, smuggling, and sexual harassment in a host of countries. All the interviewers agreed that those were allegations, except in two cases where Pakistani soldiers were involved and brought justice. They were removed from service after proven guilty. According to the interviewee, the government of Pakistan has set up standard principles for such criminals.⁷

The above analysis explained Pakistan's motivations behind its contribution to peace operations led by the UN. Pakistan uses its contribution in peacekeeping to project foreign policy goals. The natural link between dependent and independent variables is positive. Pakistan decided to decrease the numbers of troops before and increase after the Cold-War. For example, the causal relationship among the foreign policy objectives is an independent variable, and the decision to increase troops is a dependent variable after 9/11. (T. Yamin, 2017a)

1. To achieve international support for actions against terrorism and violent extremism
2. To ease international sanctions on Pakistan imposed after nuclear tests in 1999.

In conclusion, the country will consider increasing numbers of troops following foreign policy goals, supporting UN peacekeeping operation, and improving its

⁷Personal Interview: Anonymous. Date 03-09- 2019

image. As discussed above in detail, contributed in UN peacekeeping operations led by the UN in the Pakistan army is not beneficial at the collective but an individual level. Pakistan soldiers gain incentives on UN payment, which is higher than the home salary. Talking to a few soldiers serving in the DRC and, confirmed that soldiers received almost US\$1400 every month in comparison to US\$250 they receive at home. Each soldier received US\$17000 after staying one year. They could build new houses and support their children's education. However, not every soldier gets this lucky chance to serve UN peacekeeping operations led by the UN due to the competitive selection examination process.(T. Yamin, 2019)

Pakistan uses its participation in UN peacekeeping operations to project military equipment or marketing at the international level. In a conversation with a senior army official mentioned that Pakistan has exported US\$210 million worth of weapons and was planning to increase it to US\$1billion in the coming years. Pakistan plans to sell weapons including JF-17thunder fighter jets to Nigeria and Myanmar. Nigeria is an essential country in Africa. However, Pakistan faces standby costs, transportation, and logistics charges. According to a foreign ministry official, Pakistan's political benefits from UN peacekeeping are more valuable than economic benefits. Pakistan cares more about political gains rather than financial gains. Defence analysts argued that Pakistan is not dependent on UN peacekeeping to maintain its military but rather achieve foreign policy goals.(T. Yamin, 2019)

According to the above analysis, there is a causal relationship between independent and independent variables in Pakistan's participation in peace operations led by the UN. In other words, Pakistan does not increase troops to gain economic benefits. Pakistan has decreased its contribution in the last decade, even to financial challenges. The second hypothesis is that participation in UN peacekeeping operation in Pakistan's case is not supported because the state does not move her troops due to economic issues.

5.3 Security Rationales

Islamabad's security policymakers consider New Delhi the main threat to the national security of the country.(Siddiq, 2017) Several doors are considered as

a national threat between Pakistan and heavy military personnel have been deployed for years. One of the issues is the Siachen glacier, where hundreds of troops are deployed from both sides since 1984. The temperature of this place has been recorded -50 with an altitude of 20,000 feet, unfortunately, many deaths have happened due to extreme weather than an armed fight.⁸ India has been considered a major threat to Pakistan due to its past. Pakistani policymakers and diplomats keep an eye on Indian activities in global politics. Pakistan spent a greater amount of its budget on defence, buying new weapons to compete with India.(Bellamy et al., 2013) Pakistan contribution in UN peacekeeping missions not to be outdone by India and other regional states to attain more influence in global politics.(Siddiqa, 2017)(Bellamy et al., 2013) Pakistan's participation in UN peacekeeping helped the country to raise its voice for Kashmir and use the platform of the UNSC. National security concerns are the top priority of Pakistan's foreign policy objectives.⁹ The foreign office of Pakistan and the military considers the Kashmir issue as part of the national security policy.(Siddiqa, 2017) Pakistani political leadership has repeatedly considered the issue of Kashmir as a national interest. General Musharraf in an interview with Times, and called Kashmir is our national interest.(Wirsing, 2003) Pakistan gives great importance to the UN mission between Pakistan and India UNMOGIP to observe the Line of Control. UN continuous presence between the two countries recognizes Kashmir as a disputed area.(Bellamy et al., 2013)¹⁰

One of the significant motivations behind Pakistan's participation is the projection of peace and the following of UN Charter. As a result, Pakistan is a supporter country, and its contribution to UN peacekeeping operations proves that it supports peace in the world. However, the founder of Pakistan explained in one of his first speeches, "Our objective should be peace within, and peace without. We want to live peacefully and maintain cordial, friendly relations with our immediate neighbours and with the world at large". (Muhammad Ali Jinnah, 1948) "Article 40 of the constitution of Pakistan states; strengthening bonds with Muslims world and promoting international peace" (1973) Significant participation started

⁸Demilitarization of Siachen', Daily Times, 25 July 2010. Over 5,000 Indian and 3,000 Pakistani soldiers have perished in the 50 miles of the inhospitable terrain of Siachen glacier between April 1984 and April 2012. See 'Siachen tragedy—Day 4: Rescuers search desperately as weather turns foul', Express Tribune, 11 April 2012

⁹Foreign Office Yearbook 2008–09 (Islamabad: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2009), p. 14, [http://www.mofa.gov.pk/Publications/Year Book 2008-09.doc](http://www.mofa.gov.pk/Publications/Year%20Book%202008-09.doc)

¹⁰Riaz Kohkhar, Seminar on 'Pakistan in UN Peacekeeping Operations' held by the Foreign Ministry of Pakistan and the UN Information Centre in Islamabad on 28 May 2004

after the Cold-War. I argue, due to internal security threats, Pakistan needed to stay and work at home. It is essential to highlight that from 1947 to 1990, the country's internal situation regarding security, politics, and economy was weak. Pakistan supported the US against the USSR in Afghanistan. Due to the tension between the two superpowers, the country was cautious about participating in the UN's peacekeeping operations. The young nation has many challenges because of India's constant threat over Kashmir, which still exists, while the army is busy fixing internal problems. However, Pakistan's political stability was not because of continuous military rule, but an increasing number of UN peacekeeping troops lobbying for the US's support and encountering India's influence.

After 9/11, Pakistan's economy started to get better because Pakistan allied with the international community and received financial support. This helped the country to reinstate its fragile economy. The US removed the sanctions, and the military wanted to use UN peacekeeping missions as a tool to manage with criticism for derailing the democratic process. According to the discussion above, it is clear that Pakistan is always eager to support world peace and contribute to the UN's peace operations despite the different and troubled geographical position of conflict countries. The Pakistani military is professional and does not hesitate to go where it is needed with all parties' full consent. The relationship is positive between dependent (state decision) and independent (deployment of troops) variables. Pakistan has a deep interest in conflict resolution and tries to increase the number of peacekeepers. The third hypothesis is supported in Pakistan's case; if there is a need for Pakistani troops for conflict resolution, the country is ready.

5.4 Institutional Rationales

Pakistan keeps around 700,000 active militarise on the ground. However, there are about 300,000 military personnel are working as a reserve force.([Shaikh, 2009](#)) Pakistan has the 7th largest armed forces. The size of the military of Pakistan signifies the regional security dimensions of South Asia.¹¹

¹¹Mohan, India: The Ultimate Test of Free Market Democracy, p. 32. Keeping in view the dismal social and human development indicators of South Asian countries, it is in the interest of the regional states to transform their policy orientation from 'military surplus' to 'production surplus'. This is only possible if the countries bury the hatchet and pursue 'smart power'—by integrating political and economic tools with their military muscle—so that the region's people are able to realize their true potential, which unfortunately remains grossly suppressed

Pakistan military has ruled the country three times and keep a high influence in the politics even not in power. Pakistan military is professional and delivered multilateral tasks inside and outside of the country.¹²

However, new changes have been brought to the constitution during the military rule, for example, the Musharraf regime transformed the military to contribute to policy making.(Siddiqa, 2017) This created impression on a national and international level that security and foreign policy are led by the military.(Siddiqa, 2017) Therefore, Pakistan contribution in UN peacekeeping cannot be considered as part of any political process. Pakistan military contribution in the UN peacekeeping considers as a capacity building of troops. Due to the strong influence among the people and on the political process, intuition considers itself an alternative to deal with various civilian tasks; disaster management, population census, flood rehabilitation and improving infrastructure.(Siddiqa, 2017) (Bellamy et al., 2013)

It has experience in implanting quick reaction projects inside and outside of the country. FWO is an engineering company involved in building roads, bridges and dams inside Pakistan.(F. H. Shah, Ali, & Baig, 2013) Pakistan army easily adopts the civilian's tasks and major advantages are gained from serving with peacekeeping missions after the Cold War.(Bellamy et al., 2013) Pakistan military provides support to UN peacekeeping in the fields of medical, engineering services and other significant professional techniques. Peacekeeping missions provide an opportunity to the military of Pakistan to learn new techniques to handle conflict, complexities, planning and communication skills. Participation provides an opportunity to learn about the new technology, pieces of training and weapons.(Bellamy et al., 2013)

The Pakistani army receives benefits on an individual level rather than collectively, as explained above. The Pakistan military force gained invaluable international experience working with troops from different countries. Participation in UN peacekeeping helps individuals be promoted on a higher level, according to an official of ISPR.¹³ Findings show, Pakistan has become a valuable contributor and has established a UN peacekeeping centre in Islamabad to host training and workshops. The Pakistan military improved its operational capability by serving with other international forces. The Pakistani army does not necessarily need

¹²This threat of direct military intervention has, however, markedly receded in recent years. See Reza Sayah, 'Five reasons why the army won't takeover Pakistan', CNN, 16 January 2012

¹³Interview: Brigadier Imran: dated: 23-09-2019

joint-military training but could benefit from learning better communication skills, crisis management, and interacting skills to increase operational capacity. Therefore, contribution to UN peacekeeping operations is strategic for Pakistan. The military of Pakistan is a significant stakeholder in crisis management within the country, and the government engages the military in flood and earthquake scenarios to help. According to a study conducted on 172 Pakistani peacekeepers, the professional and financial benefits were reported from participants served with the UN peacekeeping operations.(Ahamd, 2020) The officers from the Pakistan military recorded the participation as a prestigious opportunity.(Krishnasamy, 2002a) Pakistani peacekeepers serving with peace operations gain experience to deal in a hostile situations. It provides a chance to the families, relatives and friends of Pakistani peacekeepers to fight for the peace serving in difficult areas of the world.¹⁴

The foreign secretary praised Pakistani Peacekeepers and said, “We salute our peacekeepers our brave soldiers who have upheld the cause of peace in different parts of the world and in so doing have earned prestige and honour for themselves and their country”.¹⁵(Bellamy et al., 2013)

The belief that the army gets engaged otherwise cannot interfere in domestic politics. This argument is not valid because 1) decision-making is not in the hands of the civilian government in Pakistan 2) The Pakistani army increases numbers when ruling the country. This is why Pakistan does not discourage military participation in UN peacekeeping operations. Pakistan does not set-up specific rules of engagement before deploying troops, only the consent of the parties. Pakistan gains military advantages in various ways through participating in UN peacekeeping operations.

¹⁴The local phrase is ‘saat samundar paar’ which means ‘across seven seas’. Unfortunately, Pakistan’s public sector, including the military, lags far behind in gender mainstreaming. However, significant steps have been taken in recent years to redress the imbalance, including reservation of a 10 per cent quota for women in all government jobs. Female officers have also recently been commissioned as officers in the Pakistan Army, Pakistan Air Force, and Pakistan Navy

¹⁵Riaz Khokhar (Pakistan’s foreign secretary) at a seminar on ‘Pakistan in UN Peacekeeping Operations’ held by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Pakistan and the UN Information Centre, Islamabad, 28 May 2004

5.5 Normative Rationales

Normative motivations are different from others when participating in a new mission or deploying more troops. Pakistan does not contribute only to national interest but also follows the norms and goodwill. Pakistan's participation in Somalia, Bosnia, and Liberia was based not only on national interests but also on supporting the UN mandate. Findings show that the founding father of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, kept friendly relations and world peace. As discussed above, article 40 of Pakistan's constitution promotes and supports cordial relationships with every country and promotes its role in world peace. Pakistan's support of humanitarian activities and social justice is part of the state constitution by participating in UN peacekeeping operations missions.

As explained above in case studies, Pakistan considers the international organization's importance and collaboration with other global communities. Currently, Pakistan has a membership of 62 international organizations. UN organizations work closely internally to support Pakistani institutions in policy development and reforms in various sectors. Islamabad considers participation in UN peacekeeping operations as a top priority of foreign policy and world peace. Islamabad follows approach and increases the demand to support the UN system. In an interview with a diplomat, the argument was that Pakistan has some concerns on robust peacekeeping because aggressive actions can destroy relations with the host country after the conflict.

Despite concerns, Pakistan will not stop or decrease numbers in peace operations. Pakistan's views on forming part of humanitarian activities, which is proven to be a causal relationship between countries (dependent variable), and humanitarian activities (independent variable) are positive. The last hypothesis is where Pakistan perceives participation as an effective way to demonstrate itself as a responsible country, and its willingness to increase troops in peace operations led by the UN. Pakistan believes that UN peacekeeping operations are an effective way to promote the norms of the international community.

Bellamy and William argued countries provide troops to UN peacekeeping for normative reasons. Notably, states want to improve self-image, prove a good international citizen and those with the Non-Aligned members of international community that support the UN as an substitute to relations with super powers to raise their voice at the international level. A variety of normative motivations

can be part of this category. Good friends of the states in the world recognize with the pain of each other and participated to peacekeeping struggle to foster their positive image to be part of doing something great.(Bellamy et al., 2013)

For example, 1994, Rwanda experienced and follow the norms of genocide prevention deployed 90% of its peacekeepers under the UN flag to protect civilians in the Darfur region of Sudan. States follow the normative motivations behind troops' participation to UN peacekeeping to promote international peace by establishing global cooperation and contribution in the sustaining humanitarian aid and capacity development. UN peacekeepers are being considered to carry out many different jobs, such as observer, mediator, helper, listener, educator, medical doctor, policeman, and humanitarian worker.¹⁶

The participation of Pakistan in UN peacekeeping can be traced out in the constitution. As discussed above, Pakistan's contribution increased in 2004 by deploying 188 military troops to UNPKO. Pakistan has sent thousands of soldiers on various missions, ranked the country in the number 5 out of 10.(T. Yamin, 2019)

The recognition that Pakistani troops receive through serving UN peacekeeping missions driven by the fact that they reflect Pakistan norms, values, and culture aboard. The international community has recognized that Pakistan is a peace-loving country capable of creating peace conditions in a very difficult and challenging environment. Pakistan successfully done its job in establishing peace in conflict regions and won the hearts of the local people and earned praises for its expertise and skills. The protective role of Pakistani troops won internal feelings of the local people, international organizations and high-ranked individuals paid praise to Pakistani peacekeepers for their services in various peacekeeping missions. These success stories projected the soft image of Pakistan in an effective manner.(T. Yamin, 2019)

Pakistan's military agreed to deploy troops in DRC, Liberia and Somalia due to its commitment to the UN to maintain global peace and security. Pakistan considers DRC, Liberia and Somalia as an important country in Africa. Nothing is more important for Pakistan to support UN mandate and contribute to restoring peace in conflict areas. Pakistan follows the policy to attain benefits from the African continent's resources and consider an essential for having trade and economic partnership. In recent years, African states and business community took measures

¹⁶Jelusic, 2004

to extend the bilateral relations with countries, like Pakistan for economic development and trade. African governments are minimizing dependence on Western lands. Pakistan enjoys good relations with various African states such as relations with Somalia. Pakistan and Somalia are founding signatories of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). (T. Yamin, 2017a)

According to the foreign secretary of Pakistan, "Pakistan's engagement with Africa is long-standing. Our relations with African countries have traditionally been marked by warmth, cordiality, mutual trust and understanding. Pakistan's steadfast support for the independence struggles of African nations created a sense of gratitude and goodwill that continues to this day" (Sohail, M. 2019).¹⁷

Pakistan has not been very focused in the African continent regarding trade and investment; however, has strong bilateral relations with some of states in the other sectors such as capacity building of intuitions. The Afro-Pak business has not been increased since 2013 and remains \$2 billion. This volume of trade reached in 2018-19 up to \$3 billion.¹⁸ Most of the trade cooperation is in the sector of oil, steel, cotton etc. The trade volume remains less to enhance the years old diplomatic relationship. Pakistan started a new beginnings to strengthen trade relations with African states. Pakistan is motivated to start bilateral as well as multilateral cooperation with lands in Africa. A conference on promoting relations in trade happened in Nairobi with national and international stakeholders to maximize benefits from both sides. Pakistan started the negotiations with the multilateral political and economical networks in the region, such as South African Customs Union (SACU), East African and with ECOWAS for trade and commerce agreements. Pakistan's contribution in UN peacekeeping in African continents support the government to develop trade and economic relations with African states. (Rashid et al., n.d.)

According to some defence analyst Professor Yamin and Major Gen (retd), Inam ul Haque highlighted, Pakistan keeps contribution in UN peacekeeping as an essential part of foreign policy. Peacekeeping missions provide an opportunity for Pakistan's army to show its skills positively. UN peacekeeping offers a chance for Pakistan to establish its presence at the international arena.¹⁹ According to

¹⁷The current Foreign Secretary is Sohail Mahmood, who took the charge of this office in April 2019

¹⁸Engage Africa Pragmatic Strategy to Enhance Relations between Pakistan and African Countries Proceedings of the two-day Envoys' Conference, 2019

¹⁹Yamin, T, personal communication, 17 May 2019

General Inam, Pakistan's commitment to the UN peacekeeping is "driven by the feeling that we have certain responsibilities under the UN Charter, and we need to fulfil them." He added that "Pakistanis, as a nation, also have a strong urge to help other people and nations in times of crisis, irrespective of religion and creed."²⁰

"Although countries that provide peacekeepers receive some remuneration from the UN, this has never been a consideration for us. Where a lot of participating forces ask the UN to provide arms and equipment for peacekeeping missions, we have always relied on our equipment and assets," (Gen Inam,2019).([Tribune, 2020](#))

The UN secretariat informs the Permanent Mission of Pakistan in the New York about their demand about the numbers of troops for peacekeeping. This request is further submitted to the foreign office and informed to the UN peacekeeping section in military headquarters in Rawalpindi. The demand for numbers of police personnel is a responsibility of the Ministry of Interior. The Central Police Head Office organizes a written test and interviews of all police officers interested in joining the UN peacekeeping operation.([Malik, 2014](#))

5.5.1 Economic Rationales

Since UN members states contribute their services for UN peace operations voluntarily. Without financial standard benefits, states are not able to deploy troops for peace operations. It highlights a difference between participating and non-participating countries. ²¹

A financial benefit is important to raise the morale of the troops and increase willingness to serve in dangerous regions.([Motta-Allen, 2008](#)) Peacekeepers serving for the designated UN peace operations gain around 1400\$ per soldier per months. The money is converted into Pakistani rupees and paid to the troops by the national bank of Pakistan. Police personnel and civilians officers serving for the peacekeeping operations receive a daily allowance of 100\$ to 300\$ from the

²⁰Haque,I,personal communication, 18 August 2019

²¹From an economic perspective, paradoxically, the free-rider incentives of non-participation in endeavours like UN peacekeeping 'are particularly strong for conditions under which cooperation would generate large global welfare gains'. In view of the increasing demand for peacekeepers over the last decade, the main challenge to UN peacekeeping, therefore, is to shape an incentive structure for sovereign states to participate in peacekeeping, principal guidelines of which may come from coalition theory, a field of game theory. See Christopher Bohringer, *The Kyoto Protocol A Review and Perspectives* (Manheim: Centre for European Economic Research (ZEW), Discussion Paper No. 03-61, 2003), pp. 6-7

TABLE 5.2: Total Numbers of contributors by Pakistan in various missions

Name of the mission	Post	Male	Female	Total
MINURO	Experts on mission	10	0	10
MINUSCA	Contingent Troops Experts on Mission Staff Officer	1213	0	1213
MONUSMA	Staff Officer	11	0	11
	Contingent Troops Experts on Mission Staff Officer	2657	23	2680
MONUSCO	Expert on Mission	16	0	16
	Staff Officer	21	9	30
	Contingent Troops	904	9	913
UNAMID	Experts on Mission	140	0	140
	FPU staff officer	6	6	12
UNFICYP	staff officer	1	2	3
UNMISS	Expert of mission	2	0	2
	Experts on Mission	3	5	8
UNSOS	Expert on Mission	1	0	1
Total	-	5025	56	5081

Source: <https://www.ispr.gov.pk>

budget of the designated mission. (Kiani, 2004a) The benefits received from the UN can be divided into tangible and non-tangible. Remuneration received from UN peacekeeping operations is added to the national package of the troops and paid by their national banks. Soldiers from the Pakistani military receive \$250 per month from their national services. “This money we receive from our government is not enough for us to spend a normal life, for health and education for our children. We cannot build our house with this money. UN provides us with a golden opportunity to work in different countries and receive a good remuneration.”²² We do have enough money to support our children in their careers and marriages. “We perform our duty 24/7 and our package is so less. However, our officer’s benefits are much more than ours. I have served in one of the UN peacekeeping and now received a good amount of money. I am confident to support my son and a daughter higher education and their marriages.”²³ We receive all amounts of money paid by the UN for our services. Our government does not deduct even a small amount of money from our international salaries.(Bellamy et al., 2013) Economic sanctions on Pakistan were lifted. The country earned billion of dollars as an additional international financial support after joining the coalition against the war on terrorism, including money from peacekeeping, helped the country reshape its economy. Pakistan was the 3rd contributor of troops to which UN still owned remaining amount to pay about \$28 million in 2019.(Krishnasamy, 2002a)²⁴ Pakistan military does not provide opportunity to soldiers to serve in more than one peacekeeping mission. This helps in two ways, 1) ensuring the opportunity to others 2) soldiers should not depends on the money receive from UN peacekeeping, might be damage their career in the longer term. UN provides the opportunity to Pakistani soldiers to interact with troops from other countries, exposure to foreign environment, and chance for tourism. Pakistan military does not provide opportunity to soldiers to serve in more than one peacekeeping mission. This helps in two ways, 1) ensuring the opportunity to others 2) soldiers should not depends on the money receive from UN peacekeeping, might be damage their career in the longer term. UN provides the opportunity to Pakistani soldiers to interact with troops from other countries, exposure to foreign environment, and chance for tourism.(Bellamy et al., 2013) For example, One Pakistani soldier receives about \$200 salary every month at home: however, he can receive \$1400 amount of

²²(Interview: Pakistan Army Soldier: Anonymous: Dated. 25-09-2019)

²³Interview: Pakistan Army Soldier: Anonymous: Dated. 25-09-2019

²⁴Brigadier Imran, who served for various UN peacekeeping operations, argued during an interview with him that it is true that Pakistan receives a fair amount of money from the UN. Still, it does not have much influence on the state or particularly defence budget

money from the UN peacekeeping operation than national service. In an interview with Mr Younas, who joined the Punjab regiment of Pakistan army and later was deployed in Congo under UN peacekeeping operation and said, joining UN peacekeeping for a one year benefit to an individual in a right way. He received about \$17000 for working with UN peacekeeping in one year, this is a significant incentive, and with this amount of money, he built a new house. (Younas, 2018).²⁵ To me, the economic benefits are on not only individual level, but it opens doors to improve relations and trade. For example, Pakistan and Somalia are among the founding states of the OIC in 1969.(OIC,1969) Pakistan relations with Somalia remained strengthen in the decades to follow throughout the following civil war time when the Pakistan deployed army with UN peacekeeping mission in Somalia and lost a number of its troops. Somalia supported Pakistan 's proposal for the membership of OIC and Arab league in 2010. Somalia appreciates and re-affirms the continued support from Pakistan for its territorial integrity and sovereignty. For example Somalia exported \$34,822059 worth of products to Pakistan.

In return, Pakistan exported \$17,781883 worth of commodities to Somalia in 2008-2009. Somalia believes to increase export products to Pakistan in the sector of livestock, and include \$3,190 in raw sheep and lambskins, \$0.137 million in sheep lambskin leather, 0.225 million. 91 Pakistan exports of lenses, prime mirrors, and other optical elements to Somalia, amounted to \$4.92 million according to the UN comrade database on international trade 2016.²⁶ "Democratic Republic of Congo is a very beautiful country. It has such a nice landscape and weather. I really enjoyed while serving with UN peace operation."²⁷

Before the Cold War, troops were paid on the consumer-based price, at that time developed states were the main contributors to UN peace operations, such as France, Canada and Italy, and the UK. The trend and procedures changed when the developing states started to contribute troops to UN peacekeeping. Currently, some important contributors prefer to deploy their troops in subsidize peacekeeping. Pakistan also considers strong exceptions to these moves. For example: according to the permanent missions to UN, "While expenditure and remunerations for other UN activities are adjusted to inflation and cost-of-living fluctuations, the peacekeepers are expected to work on fixed and archaic rates. It is no longer

²⁵A, Younas, Personnel Communication, 17 May 2008

²⁶Trading Economic of the United Nations

²⁷Interview: Col: Anonymous. Dated 25-04-2019

sustainable for TCCs to subsidize UN peacekeeping".²⁸ (Bellamy et al., 2013) The macro-level benefits to military personnel paid by the UN are based on a flat rate and there was a delay in paying to UN peacekeepers, due to unstable economic conditions, the foreign exchange changes to fluctuating from day to day, year to year based on real reimbursement released. Pakistan received billions of dollars from expatriates including UN peacekeeping, plays a slight role in adding up foreign exchanges and should not be considered as an economic motivation of Pakistan.²⁹

5.6 Political Motivations

There are two types of political motivations behind the contribution of TCC's to UN peacekeeping.

- Domestic Political Motivations
- International Political Motivations

5.6.1 Internal Political Motivations

The internal political motivations refers to consideration of public point of view, relation between civil and military intuitions. The participation of troops may support Pakistan to strengthen the civil-military relations back at home by sending military to ensuing global norms like ensuring human rights and civil liberties, avoiding interference of military in civilians matters at internal level, and promoting a constructive image of the army at home.(Malik, 2014)

In Pakistan's case, civil-military relations are always under stress, the military has ruled the country four times since Pakistan's independence in 1947. The military has attained control of the country's nuclear and missile programs, foreign and security policy, military budget, and decision-making process, including UN peacekeeping.(D. Smith, 2020) To my understanding, the Pakistan military uses the narrative of UN peacekeeping to improve civil-military relations and image building in public.

²⁸Mr Tarar, S/PV.6603 (Resumption 1), 26 August 2011, p. 4.

²⁹State Bank of Pakistan, <http://www.sbp.org.pk/ecodata/homeremmit/remittance.pdf>

5.6.2 Role of Inter-Services Public Relations ISPR

The Pakistan's military has established its media and public relation wing, covering all three segments (army, air force and navy) of Pakistan armed forces. It services to strengthen military relations through extensive interactions with the general public and other Pakistani media. It also services as a primary voice and face of the Pakistan military. It also covers Pakistani troops' activities serving as UN peacekeepers worldwide and keeps preliminary information of all activities of the Pakistan military around the world. This media wing is not under the control of civilian's authority and financially contribute to support film directors in making and promoting military related activities such as movies and dramas on military successes stories. It has been extensively used to improve Pakistan military's image to share activities and successes in various UN peacekeeping missions. (Malhotra, 2020)

5.6.3 International Political Motivations

The international motivations behind states' participation in UN peacekeeping support countries to achieve their national standing or Geo-strategic goals. Scholars argued new emerging economic powers like India, Pakistan and Brazil consider contribution in UN peacekeeping as an effective tool to support foreign policy goals, particularly supporting to influence regionally and increasing prestigious through diplomacy and peacemaking activities. (Bellamy and William, 2015) As discussed above, participation can strengthen the relationship with the host country and fellow TCCs. Pakistan's involvement in UN peacekeeping missions after the Cold War era emerged as a tool for investing in national interests in the world. The significant of Pakistan's support to UN peacekeeping to various interests such as contribution in UN peacekeeping support Pakistan in re-shaping its political image as a constructive state at the international level.

Pakistan's image at global level has been destroyed due to terrorism, political instability, poverty, religious education, military coup, rule, and financial crisis. The continuous failure in sustaining democracy and financial issues might bring difficulties or status of a fail state. To improve image participation in UN peacekeeping helps a country to improve its image. (S. U. Shah, 2020)

Pakistan's UN peacekeeping participation in Bosnia supported the country to create an image of a peace-loving nation. From Pakistan's perspective, the contribution also helps to follow geostrategic foreign affairs by improving the relationship with regional and international powers such as NATO. For example, Pakistan's contribution is, to some extent, driven by competition with India. (Kiani, 2004b)

Participation of Pakistan in UN peacekeeping significantly play role in changing the international views about Islamabad, which could support current political and security concerns of international community. Pakistan supports and demands the peaceful solution of the Kashmir issue following the UN resolutions.

Pakistan does not lose any opportunity for the improvement of mutual relations with powerful countries such as the USA. This is one reason behind the contribution of Pakistan to the UN mission in Somalia in 1992. The government of Pakistan explains the contribution in the UN peacekeeping mission in Somalia that, country follows the international norms to maintain international peace and security, and share religious bonds and culture. However, troops' deployment in dangerous places in Somalia can be attributed to improving strategic relations with the US. (T. Yamin, 2017a)

US-supported Pakistan and designated the front line state's role against the USSR in Afghanistan and provided billions of dollars aid to Pakistan. However, relations between Pakistan and the US remained under stress due to the development of Pakistan's nuclear program. The US cut the strategic support to Pakistan after the defeat of the USSR from Afghanistan. This led suspension of all kinds of aid including military aid and the incomplete F-16 fighter air crafts deal in October 1990. Pakistan payed the to the US however, the senior Bush administration declined to deliver F-16 fighters jets. (Hilali, 2017)

Someone can deny the fact that Pakistan's participation in UN peacekeeping is based on competition with India, which influences the nature of India and Pakistan relations. India had a more substantial history than Pakistan in UN peacekeeping participation; it was part of the first peacekeeping operation (UNEF) established by the UN in 1956. (Bullion, 1997) Pakistan did not participate due to Egypt's refusal to host Pakistan's troops. However, Pakistan never expresses its narrative of competition with India on UN peacekeeping participation. Still, its active contribution after the Cold War can be described in this context as its strategy to prove

its commitments with international peace and increase regional influence. (Basu et al., 2017)

5.6.4 Police Participation

Pakistan's contribute strongly to the police contingents. Pakistan deployed police personnel in 1989 to Namibia for the first time. The police contingents serves as an important role in the protection of civilians.³⁰ Police officers serving for the peacekeeping missions receive five times more financial benefits than a national package they receive from their country. (Durch, Smith, & Holt, 2010) "Police officer gains a lot of experience working with other states police units. They can learn the good techniques to deal with criminals in Pakistan. Pakistani police officers learn a lot, not about professions but also to deal with various issues like human rights, new methods to protect civilians. We need to pass competitive exams for selection to UN peacekeeping operations. Pakistani police officers are always interested to join UN peace operations."³¹

5.6.5 Lesson Learned

UN peacekeeping has deployed in the regions where there is no peace to keep. In the decade of 1990, Pakistan and UN peacekeeping was on the collaboration for traditional peacekeeping, and deployment in Somalia, Bosnia and Rwanda created serious challenges for the TCCs. Pakistan deployment in Somalia (1992-95) was a turning point for Pakistan including the United States. Pakistani troops arrived first in Somalia were last to leave. Pakistan services for UN peacekeeping are always praised by the international community. Pakistan received several fatalities in peace operations particularly 25 peacekeepers were killed in Somalia. This proves Pakistan is a committed and dedicated peacekeeper. (Krishnasamy, 2002b) Somalia incident forced Pakistan policymakers to rethink and revise their peacekeeping policy for contribution. Pakistan role in Somalia was not highlighted and received less recognition than they deserve. Pakistan scarification was mixed up with the US efforts and loss in Somalia. Unfortunately, Pakistani troops got less recognition

³⁰ Author's interviews with military officers, July 2011. Based on their experience in domestic internal security duties, many Pakistan military officers consider police peacekeepers to be better suited to handle situations in which protection of civilians is involved

³¹ Interview-Police Officer: Anonymous: Dated: 06-10-2019

at the national level too after having lost troops in Somalia. Pakistan changed policy and decrease the numbers of troops for all future deployments. (Krishnasamy, 2002b) Pakistan adopted a new strategy for deploying troops in Sierra Leone, and this mission is considered a successful mission. (Krishnasamy, 2002b) Pakistani troops adopted a more humanitarian approach towards peace operations and troops provided medicines and basic needs to the local population from their stock. Integration with the local people is an important path to sustain peace in a conflict region. (Olonisakin, 2008) (Bellamy et al., 2013)

Pakistan tries to concentrate on triangular cooperation between the UNSC and TCCs and headquarters.³² Pakistan considers the protection of civilians as a primary goal and works closely with the host government during the peacekeeping missions.³³ Pakistan military has introduced a well managed legal accountability for those peacekeepers involved in gold smuggling and sexual harassment cases. However, the culprits are not being punished and never sent to jail, only removal from service with benefits if they are found guilty during the national investigations. (Bellamy et al., 2013)

5.7 Completed Missions of Pakistan with UN Peacekeeping

5.7.1 The DRC August 1960-1964

Pakistan joined the UN peacekeeping mission with 29 countries in DRC to restore a legitimate government, which was replaced by a coup in 1960.³⁴ Pakistani troops provided logistical support during the transfer of troops to and from the DRC to the UN peacekeeping headquarters to organise whole operation. From 1960-1964, with four internment's army crops, 100 personnel controlled troops' movement through air, sea, rail, and road transport. (ISPR, 2012)

³²Raza Bashir Tarar, Acting Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the UN, in S/PV.6603 Resumption 1, 26 August 2011, pp. 3-4

³³Statement by Raza Bashir Tarar, Deputy Permanent Representative of Pakistan in the Special Political and Decolonization Fourth Committee on Comprehensive review of the Whole Question of Peacekeeping Operations in all their Aspects, 27 October 2011, http://pakun.org/statements/Fourth_Committee/2011/10272011-01

³⁴ISPR, 2019

Pakistan has supported to the UN peacekeeping operation in the DRC since the beginning of the conflict. Pakistani peacekeepers have learned a lot by staying in the DRC as mentioned during an interview with Major SAMIA. She said, “nothing is more important than the laughter on the faces of the Congolese children, women, and men”.(Samia,2019) Pakistani troops have learned how to plan peacekeeping activities, deter armed groups, and control violent conflict among various communities. They have learned how to cooperate better and coordinate skills with different armies while working with troops from various countries. Maybe these desirable skills future in Pakistan. However, Pakistan does have foreign policy priorities in the DRC in economic and security cooperation motivations.³⁵ “The promotion of relations with countries in Africa would be the new focus of Pakistan’s foreign policy operations.”³⁶

However,in Pakistan’s previous governments, the part of foreign policy towards Africa was missed out. UN peacekeeping would support Pakistan to achieve foreign policy goals regarding Africa because Pakistan deployed most of its troops in the African continent to support UN peace efforts. Pakistani experts defend their participation in DRC as supporting the UN mandate to maintain global peace and security. In addition, there have been allegations against Pakistani peacekeepers for their involvement in smuggling gold and diamonds from DRC.

5.7.2 Western New Guinea October 1962-April 1963

Western New Guinea was a disputed territory between Indonesia and the Netherlands after Indonesia’s independence from the Netherlands. After failing in negotiations with the Netherlands, Indonesia raised this issue at the UN. Indonesia even decided to invade the territory with limited armed forces with help of the USSR. The dispute invited the US as a third-party mediator between Indonesia and the Netherlands. The Netherlands then handed over the territory to Indonesia in 1963. Pakistan deployed composite forces comprising fourteen Punjab regiments and two companies of eighteen Punjab regiments with supporting elements after the agreement between the Netherlands and comity of nations to withdraw and shifted control to the UN in 1962.(ISPR, 2012)

³⁵Samia,R, personal communication, 19 August 2019.

³⁶Imran Khan,Prime Minister of Pakistan 2019

The companies were deployed in the region of Merauke, FakFak, Sorong, and Kaimana. The troops established their headquarters in Biak. Pakistan military effectively stop confrontation between Papuan and Indonesian troops. The military from Pakistan took effective measures and provided security to the region called Kaimana to prevent from bloodshed in 1963. In another bad experience, Pakistani military was to Monokwari by air in responding to a disturbing signals and to restoring the rule of law in West New Guinea and controlled various circumstances professionally without bloodshed. Pakistani peacekeepers ensured Dutch troops' safe leaving and helped Indonesian troops with a smooth transition of power.

Pakistan deployed troops to improve bilateral relations with the US and the Netherlands. Pakistan and the Netherlands enjoy good relations and as a result, The Dutch government supported Pakistan in various sectors of development such as governance, education, and the environment. On the other hand, Pakistan wanted to develop strong bilateral relations with Indonesia's Muslim majority country. However, the founder of Pakistan supported the Indonesian movement of freedom from the Dutch by sending 600 soldiers to fight against the British Indian army's Dutch occupation. (Shack, 2018) Pakistan and Indonesia have exchanged military equipment and have conducted military training together. Pakistan and Indonesia developed good relations between 1960 and 1965 and adopted a balanced approach by deploying troops in the UN peacekeeping operations in Western New Guinea. (Ali, 1981)

5.7.3 Namibia April 1989 - March 1990

South Africa combated with the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) who occupied Namibia. The UN passed resolution 435 in 1978 which set up elections under the UN's supervision but was administrated by South Africa. Later the UN deployed peacekeepers, police, and the military after two parties agreed on a ceasefire in 1978. The UN provided the environment for the people of the Namibia to live in peace and security, freedom and independence. The UN provided help to raise the Namibian flag in 1990 the Independence war of Namibia. (UNTA, 1989a)

After Pakistan troops served in Namibia, Pakistan started to improve bilateral relations with South Africa and Namibia. Namibia becomes the non-traditional market for Pakistan to improve its trade in this region. For example, Pakistan's

foreign office has prioritized expand its relations with Southern African. The relations between Southern Africa and Pakistan have improved greatly in the last decades. Currently South Africa exports \$240 million worth of goods and Pakistan exports \$210 million every year. The major products are cotton, wool, leather, rice, and textile. Pakistan sees Africa as a larger market for Pakistani products in the coming future.([Kawama, 2017](#))

5.7.4 Kuwait December 1991 - October 1993

Iraq launched two days of the military operation and occupied their neighbouring country, Kuwait for seven months.([Swaidan et al., 2002](#))

The UN warned Iraq to withdraw her forces by deadline given by the UN. Iraq violated the deadline as non-authorized coalition forces led by the US attacked and pushed the Iraqi forces out of Kuwait.([Swaidan et al., 2002](#))

The UNSC resolution 689 was established by the UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) on 9 April 1991 after the Gulf War. After the Gulf War, Iraq claimed that the entire land of Kuwait was infected with land mines, large amount of weapons, explosives devices, and huge dugouts, which destroy normal land impossible to use for agriculture impossible. The job was given to Pakistani troops due to their professionalism with six other countries to remove the land mines and clear the area of deployment was the more difficult area in the northern part of Kuwait.([UNSC, 1991](#))

Its spread covers over 3000-square kilometers and the operations were taken over by the engineering core of the Pakistani army. Deploying troops in Kuwait helped Pakistan to establish strong ties with Kuwait and the US. Currently, Kuwait and Pakistan enjoy strong relations, and both states are members of the OIC. Kuwait was the leading state to send humanitarian aid to Kashmir after the earthquake and offered \$100 million for post-earthquake rebuilding activities. There are more than one hundred thousand Pakistani living in Kuwait. Currently, Kuwait's exports to Pakistan amount to \$750 million, and Pakistan's exports to Kuwait amount to \$50 million. Both countries have committed to increasing it to \$1 billion in the coming year's.([Swaidan et al., 2002](#))

5.7.5 Haiti 1993-1996

Haiti suffered from continuous destabilization of the internal security and political situation during the Cold War and remained under the dictatorial rule under a temporary provincial government after the military ousted in 1986. The first free and fair elections held in 1990 and Jean-Bertrand Aristides elected as a new leader of the nation.([IRI, 1990](#))

His government was, however, removed by a military after few months of his presidency. The UN established a peacekeeping mission under resolution 867 of the UNSC.([Resolution, 1992](#))

The UN peacekeeping force sent around 20,000 personnel from different countries in 1993 to bring reform into various country sectors. The Pakistani troops landed in Haiti in 1995 and were sent to region of Cap-Haitian. The entire region suffered from insecurity and a fragile law and order.

The Pakistani battalion started patrolling an extensive area covering north, north-east, and central regions. This activity improved the relationship between the blue helmet and the local population. The Pakistani battalion delivered a strong role in organizing elections in the northern region of the country. The Pakistani battalion assisted in humanitarian services, food distribution among the local people. Providing a clean water supply was also part of the program. Haiti is one of the main priority country for the US and provides reasonable humanitarian aid to meet the basic necessities of the people of Haiti. Pakistan has good relations with the US, and to make this relationship stronger the country decided to deploy troops to Haiti. Pakistan has been actively participating in missions, which are supported by the US. One could argue that the US exploited Pakistan in terms of hiring peacekeepers from developing nations for its benefit, but on the other hand, as discussed earlier both are good friends.([ISPR, 2016](#))

5.7.6 Cambodia March 1992-November 1993

A civil war started in Cambodia between the communist party forces and the government forces. The communist party succeeded in being supported by the US and South Vietnam. Following the Paris Peace Accord, the UN established

the peacekeeping mission to organize the elections under the UNSC Resolution 745.([Chanda, 1989](#))

UN peacekeeping missions establish a de-facto government to implement the peace accord. Pakistan accepted the request of the UN and contributed 1,106 troops together with 32 countries. The mandate was to withdraw all forces, supervise the ceasefire, disarm and demobilize the warring factions. Cambodia has not been a priority for Pakistan in terms of strengthening its ties, but its participation in peacekeeping operations was to support the UN mandate and maintain a positive relationship with the US.([UNSC, 1993](#))

5.7.7 Bosnia March 1994 - February 1996

Pakistan army contributed in delivering the humanitarian help in supplying the food, medical care and treatment, clothing, reconstruction of infrastructure, basic services for the people and also financial aid. The medical contingents of Pakistan army provided treatment to the sufferer of mass extermination. Mobile teams were organised to reach people in difficult areas. Pakistani government provided about 1.7 tons of medicine and Pakistani peacekeepers sustained their services during the changing time of UNPROFOR to NATO led force called (IFOR) ([L. Ahmad, 2015](#))

The UN established the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and asked Pakistan to contribute. Pakistan contributed 3000 contingents comprising of two Battalion Groups. Pakistan sent troops to Bosnia because of sharing common religious traditions. Pakistan also provided military and technical support to Bosnia during the war. Pakistan established strong relations with Bosnia after her independence and military and cooperation among other sectors.([Wohlforth, 2011](#))

5.7.8 Rwandan Civil War October 1993 - March 1996

The conflict in Rwanda started between Rwandan Armed Forces and the rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front in 1990. A peace agreement was signed in 1993.([UNMAIR, 1994](#)) According to experts, the genocide of the Tutsis had been planned a year

ago. During this genocide 800,000 people were killed.(BBC, 2019) The UN established an Assistance Mission following the UNSC Resolution 872 on 5 October 1993 to March 1996. Pakistan deployed its troops at the request of the UN.³⁷

Pakistani products such as textiles and agricultural products can be exported not only to Rwanda but also to the rest of Africa and boost Pakistan's economy. Pakistan is trying to strengthen its economic relations in Africa, but due to the lack of proper and regular connections, trade volume is still limited to USD\$3 billion. Pakistan has planned to maintain traditional trade with African countries, including Rwanda. The presence of Pakistani peacekeepers in Africa could play a significant role in maintaining and improving economic relations with Pakistan.(Dawood, 2020)

5.7.9 Angola February 1989-1997

The conflict in Angola started for the national freedom from Portugal in 1960. The people of Angola began demonstrating against the occupation of Portugal in 1961. The people of Angola got an independence struggle of 15 years. However, the struggle of the three movements for freedom converted to war due to differences among each other. This resulted from the creation of guerrilla war and anti-state politics. After the liberation from the Portuguese, the country had to face legitimisation from these three groups. (Knudsen et al., 1995) The UN established a mission after the peace agreement collapsed following the UNSC Resolution 1118.(Resolution, 1956) Blue helmets served in Angola as an observer to the conflict since 1988. Pakistani troops played a significant role in Angola and served in various sectors with other international troops.

Pakistani peacekeepers performed multiple duties, such as monitoring ceasefire, contributing to the DDR process, mediating among stakeholders of conflict, dealing with causes of conflict, capacity building of police and army and supporting in organizing free and fair election process.(Kiani, 2004b) Angola is rich in oil products and its economy has been growing after the Pakistan military served there

³⁷S/RES/872 (1993) 5 October 1993 RESOLUTION 872 (1993) Adopted by the Security Council at its 3288th meeting, on 5 October 1993 The Security Council, Reaffirming its resolutions 812 (1993) of 12 March 1993 and 846 (1993) of 22 June 1993, Reaffirming also its resolution 868 (1993) of 29 September 1993 on the security of United Nations operations, Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 24 September 1993 (S/26488 and Add.1), Welcoming the signing of the Arusha Peace Agreement (including its Protocols) on 4 August 1993 and urging the parties to continue to comply fully with it.

under the UN flag. Pakistan exports mainly rice, sugar, clothing, and surgical instruments to Angola. Pakistan has been trying to strengthen its economic relations with Angola in competition with India and Brazil. The presence of Pakistani troops in Angola was helpful to Pakistan in expanding business in Angola. (Council, n.d.)

5.7.10 Eastern Slovenia May 1996-August 1997

The UN established a peacekeeping mission in the Eastern Slovenia, Baranja and Western Sirmium called UNTAES. The UNSC approved the mission for the implantation of an accord written between Croatian Government and local Serb authorities in 1995. (UNTAES, n.d.) A strong contingent of 1000 soldiers from the Pakistani army was deployed and took their responsibilities on 18 May 1996 after replacing Belgian troops. (ISPR, 2012)

5.7.11 Sierra Leone October 2001 - December 2005

Sierra Leone is another example of suffering from terrible conflict in the African continent. During the conflict, almost 120,000 people were killed in a continuous war of 11 years. Indeed, the nation is still making utmost efforts to rebuild the country. Most African conflicts occurred because of neighbouring states invasions. The war in Sierra Leone is series of such conflicts in Africa, where neighbouring state Liberia invaded to remove the government of all people Congress. Pakistan military performed multiple tasks such as supporting in DDR process, providing medical treatment and organizing free and fair elections. (Okello, 2014)

The UNSC established the mission to implement the Lomé Process Agreement and assist in disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration. It completed the mission successfully in 2005. (UNSC, 2001) Sierra Leone is another example of suffering from terrible conflict in the African continent. During the conflict, almost 120,000 people were killed in a continuous war of 11 years. Indeed, the nation is still making utmost efforts to rebuild the country. Most African conflicts occurred because of neighbouring states invasions. The war in Sierra Leone is series of such conflicts in Africa, where neighbouring state Liberia invaded to remove the government of all people Congress. Pakistan military performed multiple tasks

such as supporting in DDR process, providing medical treatment and organizing free and fair elections. (L. Ahmad, 2015)

5.8 Conclusion

Pakistan has been contributing a significant part in maintaining global peace and security for over half a century. This has been possible because of the large commitment of the founder Muhammad Ali and his foreign policy guidelines. Pakistan's army has been forefront whenever the UN requests troops regardless of the gravity of the violence and the social conditions at the place of need. Despite extreme violence, terrorism, and serious security concerns at the domestic and regional levels, Pakistan keep up its support to UN peacekeeping. Pakistan has completed almost 14 peacekeeping missions and has left a significant mark in the international community. The question about the motivation behind Pakistan's contribution is still to be answered. Several explanations have been found, such as Pakistan's desire to sustain a large army and individual benefits for troops about a salary. Other motivations may be political, religious, and economic. I will discuss these motivations in the next part of the thesis.

The decision-making process about sending troops is in the hands of the Pakistani military. The parliament is kept out of the decision-making process, which many questions about the civil-military relationship in Pakistan or led to the military's hegemonic position on national and international security and foreign policy. However, it is very important to bring this agenda of deployment into parliament to discuss the pre-assessment and share it with the nation. This has led to the lack of literature on Pakistan's involvement in UN peacekeeping in academia. During my field visits in Islamabad, military officers agreed to produce this literature so that civilians may have access to it. In this research work, the researcher aimed to analyze several key factors behind Pakistan's contribution to UNPKO and discussed the significant motivations to send troops for UN peacekeeping. The above discussion's findings highlight that the normative, political, and economic reasons are the most critical factors in Pakistan's decision-making process to deploy troops to the UN peacekeeping. It affirms the trade and investment interests with states where the troops are deployed for example in African regions such as Pakistani participation in UN peacekeeping mission in Somalia support. Pakistan at the

international politics and consider promoting trade as a domestic factor. The remuneration from the UN also supports the to some extent dealing with the low economy. It also contributes to soldiers and low-rank officers' lives to help them and their families financially because UN peacekeeping operations' salaries are much higher than domestic. Therefore, it is evident that Pakistan's government is pursuing economic interests to benefit their army, rather than individuals.

Political interests in international affairs drive Pakistan's engagement in UN Peacekeeping and contribute support to the country to maintain relations with great powers such as the USA. Pakistan's approval of the UN peacekeeping mission in Somalia and Liberia is evidence of Pakistan's international political motivations behind its UN peacekeeping participation. Another factor in a regional competition with India to gain the permanent membership of the UNSC is that Pakistan uses UN peacekeeping involvement to encounter India's influence at the UN. It is also evidence of Pakistan's international political motivations behind the participation of UN peacekeeping missions.

Normative motivations are the most significant part of Pakistan's engagement in peacekeeping. Pakistan's suffered from a great wave of terrorism in the last decades, which resulted in the military operation against terrorists started after 9/11. Pakistan's image is considered as a terrorist state sponsor in the international community. Contribution in UN peacekeeping helped Pakistan to correct Pakistan's vision at the international level.

Despite the frequently changing security situation at the national and regional level, will Pakistan continue its contribution in the future? Will it remain in the list of top ten contributors or decrease its number of troops? To answer these questions I have explored the reasons and factors in the next sections of the thesis.

Chapter 6

United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Role Of Pakistan

The UN deployed a peacekeeping mission in DRC in 1999.¹ UN peacekeeping mission in DRC is one of the largest and expensive missions in the history of UN peacekeeping. However, this mission adopted the new framework of UN peacekeeping, for example, protection of civilians and stabilisation. UN peacekeeping adopted robust actions to control and respond to the violence and unrest in conflict countries. UN put the MONUSCO mission on its priority under resolution 1856 (2008).² UNSC allows the use of force to disarm the rebel groups by deploying force intervention brigade (FIB) specialised units with MONUSCO.³ UN peacekeeping mission in the DRC provides technical and operational guidance to the UN headquarters to follow-up the current and further operations.⁴ However, following such lessons learned from a mission such as DRC, various missions experienced less effectiveness and weakness in the implementation of its mandates. The UN peace mission in the DRC is unique because the international community

¹In 2010, the mission was renamed the UN Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO)

²The resolution was also unprecedented in specifically authorising the use of force to ensure the protection of civilians 'under imminent threat of physical violence from any of the parties engaged in the conflict' (UN Security Council 2008)

³UNSC-2013:7-8

⁴For example, both the Joint Protection Teams and the Community Liaison Assistants were developed in Congo to improve the mission's ability to understand and respond to threats against civilians. Additionally, the UN's Human Rights Due Diligence Policy was based on guidance developed by the mission in Congo. See, for example, UN (2013)

have been considered as longer, expansive and still facing many problems in the implantation of the mandate. Armed groups are still operative in various areas of the DRC, more specifically in the Eastern parts of the country.⁵ UN peacekeepers have faced a lot of casualties in the DRC in the history of UN peacekeeping. Felix Antonie became the new president of the DRC after Joseph Kabila led the country for almost 18 years, and this was the first soothing transfer of power in the history of DRC.⁶ Millions of Congolese future is still dark; even DRC is one the richest country in producing the expansive minerals. The nature and scope of the DRC conflict attracted scholars and researchers to put attention to the study of the DRC. According to constructivism, there is still gaps in understanding of the practice and particularly how to measure the norms implemented within the mission. Therefore the exit meaning and norms are not well defined.(Stimmer & Wisken, 2019) (Krook & True, 2012)(Oksamytna et al., 2020) UN guided norms like impartiality is a part of UN peacekeeping, and have been interpreted in various forms and used in many specific places.(Rhoads, 2016) As discussed above, the constructivist approach helped us to understand the operational aspects and links of norms with UN peacekeepers daily practices.(Oksamytna et al., 2020) The UN peacekeeping in DRC is a good example to measure the norms because operations of peacekeepers are highly variables. UNSC has authorized the use of force to provide security to the civilians various times. However, the use of force to protect civilians is sometimes not successful or failed to do so within the area of the UN peacekeeping deployment. Indeed some troops from particular countries remain hesitant to engage themselves in common technical and strategic aspects.(Rhoads, 2016) Over the last 20-30 years, the structure of the command of the mission is highly controversial among the TCCs and senior officials of the UN. Such questions can be answered with the help of constructivism theory. Why do various TCCs adopt their own concepts of UN peacekeeping? The increasing participation from developing states particularly, Pakistan provided troops in the DRC for almost two decades and provided support to investigate such factors and answer questions. The DRC mission enlightens the role of a special individual (e.g. Special Representative of UNSG and appointed Force commanders) are the key persons developing norms and process of their implementation in the field. According to Patrick Cammaert, a Dutch military commander argues, rules does

⁵For information on armed group activity, see The Kivu Security Tracker, a joint project of the Congo Research Group, based at New York University's Center on International Cooperation, and Human Rights Watch: <https://kivusecurity.org/map>

⁶<https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/drc/overview1>

not provide the parameters to cover all events and activities.⁷ This explanation led us to believe that senior management of the mission offer services as ‘norm arbitrator’ to implement norms designated in the mission. (Karlsrud, 2013) Many constructivist scholars explained that international actors such UN are not only norms followers but also considered as norms actors. According to Andrew Grants (2018:225-63), argued UN peacekeeping mission adopts promoted norms and is included in the process of international change. For example; how the local people of the DRC could understand what is meaning of protection? What is meaning of the self-protection?

Pakistan considers itself as a traditional peacekeeper, but after the Cold War UN peacekeeping appeared a well noted point in the foreign policy goals of Pakistan. Pakistan has contributed to only four external peacekeeping operations started with the DRC. Pakistan explains its engagement with UN peacekeeping in the context of constructivism. However, the country remains preoccupied to make new friends and alliances around the world to encounter the increasing influence of India in regional and international affairs. This is the main objective of Pakistan behind the huge participation in UN peace operations. Indeed, Pakistan is more focused on realism than the constructivism approach in the case of participation in UN peacekeeping. Pakistan was only a few years old when the UN asked to deploy troops to Congo. At that time, Pakistan took this opportunity to make recognition at the international level. (Krishnasamy, 2001)

Pakistan started to count more interests in UN peacekeeping after some main international developments occurred, like the ending of the Cold War, the Gulf War and the break-up of the USSR. Pakistan needed to have support to deal with regional and international isolation, and contributions to the international organizations such as the UN provided a platform to make new friends and alliances. (Krishnasamy, 2001)

Pakistan’s contribution to the mission of DRC provided an opportunity to rise an effective voice at the UN. It creates a positive image and recognition at the international level. For example: according to the DG ISPR, “Pakistani Peacekeepers rescued more than 2000 people stranded due to heavy floods in Uvira region in DRC. Torrential floods erupted in the Uvira region starting last week. Rains and flooding damaged thousands of houses affecting 75,000 people.” (DG ISPR, 20

⁷ Cammaert, Patrick (2007), Learning to Use Force on the Hoof in Peacekeeping: Reflections on the Experience of Monuc’s Eastern Division (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies)

April: 2020). This activity was covered by national and international media, such stories provide a chance for the TCCs to build their image.([Krishnasamy, 2001](#))

Peace operation provides an opportunity for the contributors to introduce their culture and traditions to the people of the host country and members of other TCCs. For example, the Pakistan army organised a Multinational Joint Medal Parade and offered a recognition medal in the services of the peacekeepers who supported the humanitarian efforts. (ISPR-30 July 2021).

The concept of realism explained the state 's behaviour in the area of international relations. The state survival is based on foreign policy objectives and alliances with other actors around the world. Today 's world where there is no central power and survival of a state is accessed by the achievements and failures of foreign policy objectives. ([Najimdeen, 2020](#)) Peacekeeping operations are one of the tools for the TCCs to make their diplomacy successful.([Snow, 2008](#)) Peacekeeper creates an environment from conflict to the post-conflict situation to preserve the their national interest with the host country. Brain Hocking 's argues that foreign policy focuses on actors and diplomacy explains the relations among states. (Hocking, 2016.p.67). Pakistan 's engagement in UN peacekeeping supports a foreign and economic policy of the country.([Armstrong, 2010](#)) Pakistan 's contribution to the DRC is one of the aspects of country interests in Africa. I have explained the work of Pakistani troops in the DRC.

The genocide of Rwandans' s Tutsi in 1994 and controlling power in Rwanda by Tutsi led alliance called (Tutsi-led Rwandans Patriotic Front resulted the 2 million Rwandans Hutu to the North and South Provinces of the Congo.([Turner, 2007](#)) The conflict started among forces headed by Laurent Kabila and military led by President Mobutu. Kabila captured Kinshasa's capital city with Rwanda and Uganda's help and renamed it the DRC.([MONUS, 1999](#))

In a strong rebel movement began in the region of Kivu and Kabila government lost many parts of the country and within a short time of period. However, Angola, Chad, and Zimbabwe promised to support President Kabila but still, the rebels maintained their power in the Eastern regions, and Uganda and Rwanda provided support to the revolutionary move called Rally for Congolese Democracy RCD.([MONUS, 1999](#)) The UN asked for a truce among the parties of conflict and withdrawal of foreign troops and push the neighbouring countries not to intervene in the domestic issues of another country. A peace accord was signed (Lusaka

Ceasefire Agreement) among the five other stakeholders on the region (Angola, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda, and Zimbabwe) and DRC in July 1999. (MONUS, 1999)

The UNSC approved the UN mission called MONUC by adopting resolution 1279 of 30 November 1999. The mandate was to planned to observe the ceasefire and withdrawal of troops and sustain contact with all stakeholders of conflict to implement the ceasefire agreement. The UN mission helped the country to conduct a free and fair election after 46 years and Joseph Kabila was elected as the leader of the country. (MONUS, 1999) On 1 July, the UN established the United Nations Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) to deal with the new scenario. The new peacekeeping operation was mandated with responsibilities such as protecting civilians, staff of different international organizations providing humanitarian services and lives of human rights protectors under forthcoming dangers of physical assaults, and reinforcing the government in maintaining peace and stability. (MONUS, 1999)

The UNSC increased the mandate by adding a judiciary and correction part with deploying 19815 troops, 760 observers in the military capacity, and sent 150 police personnel. The mission set its priorities: protection of civilians, stabilization of the country, and supporting the implementation process of the resolution. The UNSC extended the mission again until 2016 warning about the humanitarian crisis. (MONUS, 1999) Another unanimous resolution was adopted on 31 March 2017 and 2018 to advance the mission yet also for another year. The total approved force was 16, 215 armed personnel, 660 military troops to deal with observing the cease-fire and staff officers, 391 police contingents. (UNSC, 2014)

6.1 Background

Majority of Rwandans Hutus were governed by Tutsi minority. In 1959, the Hutus removed the Tutsi rule and thousands of Tutsis fled to neighbouring countries such as Uganda. A rebel groups called the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), formed by Tutsi living in exile invaded Rwanda in 1990 and fighting continued until a peace agreement was signed in 1993. President Juvenal Habyarimana and his fellow died in Plan shot down in 1994. After 100 days of fight around 800,000 Tutsis and

Hutus were killed .The UN and Belgium deployed forces to protect civilians but UN mission was not permitted to stop the killing.([BBC, 2019](#))

US troops were killed in Somalia after one year and White House withdraw its interest from involving in African conflict. France supported Hutu government and deployed special forces to evacuate French citizens and organized a protection areas but were accused not doing enough to stop killing in that area.([BBC, 2019](#))

The DRC is hardly the only country in the world to become known as a terrible place with an uncertain future as there are also Iraq, Syria, and Libya after 9/11, but none of them matches the DRC.(UNSC resolution, 2147) The country is full of minerals, gold, and diamonds. The Europeans took power from the DRC while the people remained suffering from hunger. The wealth went to the Europeans, local politicians, and other key figures of the country.([BBC, 2013](#))

6.2 Geography

The DRC is in the middle of Africa and forms part of the River Basin, one of the largest hydroelectric power sources. The River Basin of Congo consisted one-third of the rain forest, and it provides a home to numerous species and trees. (Gondola, 2002) This vegetation plays a significant role in the Earth's hydrologic cycle and acts as a natural climate control system. DRC has one of the largest rivers and is only exceeded by the Amazon River of South America. The Eastern part of Congo consists of a highland region, bordered by the Great Rift Valley, with an average altitude of 10,000-12,000 feet where some mountains are as high as 16,000 feet. This region is full of lakes, and the Eastern part of the Congo borders, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, and Zambia. DRC has a tropical climate that includes several variations, and the average temperature remains around 25 degrees Celsius.([Gondola, 2002](#))

According to the World Bank report the total population of DRC is around 89 million, nearly equal to twice the population of Canada. The people of DRC is consisted of different tribes and ethnic groups and speaks almost 242 other languages. Cultural and linguistic diversity is one of the push factors for political instability and conflict.([Oppong et al., 2007](#))

People who share the same languages and culture usually have less risk of war than language differences, which creates difficulties in living together and resulting in conflict. To stop such divisions on a language basis, DRC adopted the French language as an official. The DRC is one of the wealthiest countries over this plant and produces gold, diamond, silver, copper, and zinc. (Oppong et al., 2007)

The DRC is rich with various minerals such as gold, zinc, tin, cobalt and copper and silver. Many of these products remain with a huge importance in the world, such as Uranium which used to develop nuclear arsenals. In addition, DRC produces rare minerals such as niobium and tantalum which needed for space technology in today's world. DRC has 60% of niobium and 80% of tantalum out of total reserves in Africa. (Nzongola et al., 2013)

6.3 Government and Politics

As Belgium colonized the DRC, made all decision in Brussels' royal palace and colonial offices rather than in the DRC. The bureaucrats, administrators, soldiers, missionaries, and company agents enforced a new political system (Bula Matari). The Congolese leaders were disengaged from rights of politics and most of decisions concerning welfare in a paternalistic way were taken without their involvement or approval. DRC developed three constitutions. It became first a republic (1960-65) following the luluabourg constitution second (1965-1990), and a period of democratizing known as the transition (1990-1997), and thirdly, are public from 1997 on wards. After independence, the country experienced a civil war (1960-1965) marked by the administrative system's disintegration and the state's collapse. (Gondola, 2002)

General Mobutu ruled the country as a dictator from 1965 to 1997 and introduced the framework of autocratic government in Congo and the other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa. General Mobutu ruled the country by exploitation of judicial and institutional systems and looted the national treasury. In addition, he introduced a one-party system and promoted nepotism and corruption. In 1997, Laurent-Desire Kabila, a former warlord, removed the Mobutu's long dictatorship and abolished the constitution. (Gondola, 2002)

After fighting with Gen Mobutu forces, Laurent Kabila's Alliances entered Kinshasa, ending dictator Mobutu rule and renamed Zaire. Laurent Kabila's forces

took eight months to capture the state from East to West, once called the Democratic Republic of Congo (Schatzberg, M.G. 1997) Kabila formed a commission and called to write a new constitution 1998 and hold a ballot in December. He nominated himself as a President and promised to bring a democratic rule to DRC.(Schatzberg, 1997)

In 2002 an agreement was signed under leadership of Jacob Zuma (President of South Africa) DRC and Rwanda to bring peace and stability in these countries. The signing of the agreement could bring the disengagement of Rwandan troops from territory of DRC.(Malan et al., 2002)

After signing a peace agreement in 2002, 2003 brought green singles of peace and instability in the country after five years of war. UNSC adopted resolution 1457 to assigned new tasks to the group of specialist established on illicit misuse of inherent assets and other kinds of wealth of the DRC. Indeed, manipulation of natural resources and looting of wealth has been a critical factor of conflict.⁸

DRC started to strengthen relations with neighbours such as Uganda following the Luanda Accord of September 2002. As a result, leaders of both states recalled their commitments to the accord, which refers to the withdrawl of entire Ugandan troops from the DRC.(Relief, 2002)

After a long fight and war, the first undisputed elections were organised in 2006, and the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) announced the winning of Joseph Kabila to become the new president of DRC. Josef Kabila gained a majority of the votes against votes for his presidential rival Jean Pierre Bemba.(BBC, 2011)

6.4 Economy

DRC is considered one of the wealthiest countries globally, but the people of this state suffer from poverty and hunger. The country is rich in mineral resources

⁸UNSC resolution 1457 stresses the importance of dialogue between the Panel, individuals, companies and States and requests in this regard that the Panel provide to the individuals, companies and States named, upon request, all information and documentation connecting them to the illegal exploitation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo's natural resources, and requests the Panel to establish a procedure to provide to Member States, upon request, information previously collected by the Panel to help them take the necessary investigative action, subject to the Panel's duty to preserve the safety of its sources, and in accordance with United Nations established practice in consultation with the UN Office of Legal Affairs;

such as gold, diamond, copper and cobalt. It enjoys a climatic and hydrographic environment suitable for the agriculture sector. However, it considers one of the lowest income country in the world. The country relied on exports of products such as gold, diamond, copper, rubber and coffee.(Gondola, 2002)

On the other hand, the GDP growth is negative since 1970, constantly dropping every year. The inflation rate has touched heights reaching 265 per cent in 1990. The new government of President Kabila introduced some reforms, such as the implantation of tight fiscal policy that primarily curbed inflation and currency depreciation. The continuous war has affected the economy by reducing the government revenue and occupation of areas producing gold and diamond by different rebels groups.(Gondola, 2002)

6.5 Establishment of the United Nations Mission (MONUC)

After the massacre in Rwanda a new government was formed and 1.2 million Rwandas Hutus migrated to the nearest Kivu part Eastern of the Congo. An armed movement started under the leadership of Kabila against President Mobutu. The force was supported by some neighbouring countries like Rwanda and Uganda to capture capital city Kinshasa's in 1997. The second armed movement emerged in the regions of the Kivu and after few weeks the rebels captured a big part of the state with the armed support of Angola, Chad, Namibia, and Zimbabwe. The UNSC called for the ceasefire agreement, asking for foreign troops to disengage and asked neighbouring countries to remains in their won sovereignty.(MONUS, 1999)

6.5.1 Lusaka Ceasefire

After signing the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement by the DRC with support of (Angola, Namibia, Uganda, and Zimbabwe) countries in 1999, the UNSC established the UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) by resolution 1279 of 30 November 1999. (UNSC, 1279) The initial mandate was to observe the ceasefire, but the UNSC expanded the appointment with a series of resolutions

based on their needs. The UN organized undisputed elections after 46 years on 30 July 2006 and Joseph Kabila was elected a new leader of the country. After the elections, the UN mission resumed to implement the mandate and capacity building of national institutions. The UNSC used resolution 1925 and renamed it to MONUC to reflect the country's new phase and support the peace process and civilians' protection. The UN's humanitarian personnel expanded the mandate of the mission in Congo. (Koko, 2007)

6.5.2 Official Mandate of MONUC

Following resolution 1291 (2000) on 24 February, a total number of up to 5,537 military troops comprising 500 observers involved in implementing the mandate like issues of human rights violation, overseeing issues relating to humanitarian aid, reaching out people with reliable information, providing protection to children's, dealing with political instability, providing health facilities, and supporting with issues relating to administration to MONUC.

1- To oversee the arrangements of the agreements of ceasefire among conflicting parties and ceasefire agreement and explore any violation of the ceasefire happens.

2- To initiate and keep resuming communication with the head office of all the stakeholders and the military personnel.

3- After passing the UNSC resolution 1291 it is mandatory to present an action plan of whole strategy to deal with issues such as monitoring the cease fire among conflicting parties, initiating the process of mediation among all stakeholders, developing programs relating to DDR, dealing with issue of displaced persons.

To engage all stakeholders of the conflict and free all war prisoners and build up cooperation with global and domestic

5- To oversee and verify the withdrawal and a new deployment of the military force

6- Following the mission potentials and regions of deployment, the major focus was to protect children and women with cooperation's of other international bodies present at the ground.

7- To cooperate closely with the mediator of national dialogue for example, ensuring technical assistance to the facilitator and providing support in coordination with other UN bodies.

8- The most important is to send mine tracing experts to assess the mine's scope and unexploited ordinance issues. Secondly, to coordinate the programs management about mine action activities such as to develop a mine action plan, and deliver mines actions activities as required in the mandate.

- Resolution 1565 (2004)

The UNSC amended the mandate of MONUC and approved the to add of 5,900 personnel to strengthen MONUC. It included up to 341 UN police and appropriate civilian personnel, depending on suitable and proportionate air mobility assets and other needs. The UNSC expressed that MONUC would follow the following mandate.(UNSC, 2004)

According to the UNSC resolution 1565,

1- To keep their strong presence to promote and restore the confidence and preventing violence by the use of force if the political process is under threat.

2- To make sure the safety of women, girls and children from physical violence by rebels.

3- To ensure the protection of UN personnel facilitating the parties for the mediation.

4- To following the monitoring and evaluation actions taken to implement of the conditions introduced by paragraph 20 of Resolution 1493 (2003) in partnership with ONUB and provisions with the government's reservations experts following the paragraph 10 of resolution 1493 (2003).To discard of weapons related material as seen proper.

5- To oversee and monitor the place and movement of rebels.

According to the UNSC resolution 1533 following the resolution 1493

The UNSC decided that UN mission to add the following points for the successful National Unity and Transition:

1- Capacity building of the police and protecting officials involved in the institution's activities until the security sector of DRC is ready to take over. To provide support in improving the country's security and extending humanitarian assistance to displaced persons and refugees. 2- To facilitate the DDR section of the programs started at national level. 3- To support human rights promotion, concentrating on women, girls and children, and volunteering persons. To oversee violations of human rights to without exemption to anyone and resume cooperating with struggle to make sure that peace is responsible for a severe breach. 4- To make sure that violators and victims of rights are brought to the justice.

- Resolution 1856 (2008)

The UNSC approved the UN peacekeeping mission to provide help to the Congolese national institutions in organizing elections later in 2008. Also, the UNSC decided to expand the deployment of UN peacekeeping missions until December 2009 and allowed the deployment of troops with an increase to 19,815 military personnel. The UN prioritized solving the issue in Kivas relating to safety of civilians and focusing on the progress actions taken in Eastern part of DRC. ([UNSC, 2008](#))

The UNSC approved that MONUC should work closely with the Congolese government and the adopted resolution with focus on below points.

- Ensuring the safety of civilians, including personal help in reaching humanitarian aid to vulnerable people, remains under threat of armed groups involved in fighting and violence to stop violence emerging from any other party.
- To support the sector's improvement providing humanitarian assistance to the refugees and IDP's.
- Ensuring the safety of UN staff, resources and equipment.
- To make sure the security and free movement of the national and international stakeholders.
- To improve police reforms and performed joint patrolling with national police units and armed forces to strengthen security for the people.
- To provide support in DDR process.

- To encounter any efforts against Goma and Nairobi's peace process from any armed group, particularly groups from the Eastern Part of the country.
- The facilitation of ex-fighters and their reintegration into society.

6.5.3 Establishment of MONUSCO

The establishment of resolution 1925 of the UNSC in DRC, allowed the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission to commence with a new phase of the mandate. The UNSC was commissioned to take all actions to implement the mandate. The council decided to deploy the civilian team to improve the judiciary system and the correction department. The future of the UN mission is dependent on the current position on the ground, including the accomplishment of the operation by armed forces in the North and South of the DRC. The resolution of the mission was further extended and adopted by the UNSC on 27 June 2012.([MONUS, 1999](#))

The UN approved to establish a very professional intervention team initially for the period of one year. They commissioned a total deployment of 19,815 troops operated under the leadership of MONUSCO Force Commander. The primary objective was to decrease the risks of rebels to the national institutions and security forces in the Eastern part of the DRC.([MONUSCO, 2008](#))

The UNSC approved that MONUSCO mandate to contributed in developing a strong civil-military relations in Eastern DRC and supported in implantation of the mandate.([MONUSCO, 2008](#))

The UNSC approved resolution 2147 to expand the tasks of MONUSCO until March 2015. The decision to renew the mandate include the interference of MONUSCO troops on rare basis and without setting a precedent.On 30 March 2015, the UNSC extended the UN mission's mandate in the DRC initially for the period of one year, following the worse humanitarian situation. It was also to help with the preparation of the November presidential elections.([MONUSCO, 2008](#))

6.6 Role of Pakistan in the UN Peacekeeping Mission in Congo

The UN celebrates its founder's day on 29 May every year. The UN Charter was ratified and implemented by the P-5 of the UNSC. (Nations, 2019a) Since the founding of Pakistan, the country has contributed significantly in sustaining peace in conflict regions of the world by contributing to peace operations. The Pakistan army is a well-respected profession and probably the most powerful institution in the country. The military plays an essential part in sustaining peace, both at the domestic and international levels. Pakistan is currently being considered one of the significant contributors of peacekeeping forces; however, it is not easy for a country to send troops into high-risk conflict zones like the Congo, but the Pakistani army has a history of excellent performance with the UN for decades. (Kiani, 2004b)

The country has been actively involved in UN peacekeeping activities since 1960. The significant contributions were in the Congo, Liberia, Somalia, Ivory Coast, Western Sahara, Sierra Leone, Bosnia, Kosovo, Georgia, and East-Timor. (Wasi, 2005) Today, more than 5000 troops of Pakistan are on the ground engaged with peace activities in different UN missions around the world. (Nations, 2021a)

6.6.1 History Southern Sector

Three UN missions have been conducted in DRC, involving heavy clashes and thus, peacekeeping efforts in SS, names, and their duration are as follows:-

- ONUC: United Nations Operation in the Congo. (July 1960 to June 1964).
- MONUC United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. (November 1999 to June 2010).
- MONUSCO United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. (July 2010 to date). (MONUSCO, 2008)

The UN Mission in Congo was established from July 1960 until June 1964, supported in delivering mandate and made the history of the UN peacekeeping. The

strength of the mission comprised around 20,000 troops from 34 states and enough numbers of having civilians operations component. The original mandate was to provide the Congolese Government support in capacity building of national institutions collapsed after military attack by Belgium. As a result, ONUC performed beyond the typical responsibilities of UN peacekeeping.([ONUC, 2016](#))

6.6.2 Deployment of the 1st Contingents from Pakistan

After the adoption on 9 August of UNSC resolution 146(1960), Belgium was called to withdraw its troops from Katanga immediately. On 12 August, the UNSG personally led ONUC forces into Katanga. This precipitated the withdrawal of the Belgian forces, and by the beginning of September, all Belgian forces had been withdrawn. This included those at the Kamina and Kitona bases, which ONUC subsequently occupied. The UNSG, Dag Hammarskjöld. Inspected the ONUC Guard of honour in the Congo. The goal to restore law and order was far more troublesome. Even at its peak strength of nearly 20,000 troops, ONUC was hard-pressed to cover such a vast country like Congo. Also, ONUC personnel had been officially instructed that they were part of a peace force, not a combat force. Twenty of ONUC's soldiers were killed and 63 wounded during a series of fighting in 1961. A further protocol was signed on 13 October 1961, outlining the provisions of the ceasefire. It allowed defensive fire if troops were attacked and prohibited the movement of ONUC and Katangese forces.([Imran, 2020](#))

6.6.3 Establishment of ONUC

The DRC become a free country after Belgium left in 1960. After Belgium announced the freedom for DRC, fighting started in the country's streets, and Belgium decided to deploy troops to restore law and order and provide safety to their nationals.⁹ The actions were taken without the consent of the Congolese government. The Congolese government requested UN to provide military support to protect the country's sovereignty on 12 July 1960. After two days the UNSC asked Belgium to disengage its forces and UN offered military support to the Congolese government. UN got a positive reply from numbers of the states from Asia and Africa to contributes troops and started arriving to make sure of protection of the

⁹ONUC, 1960

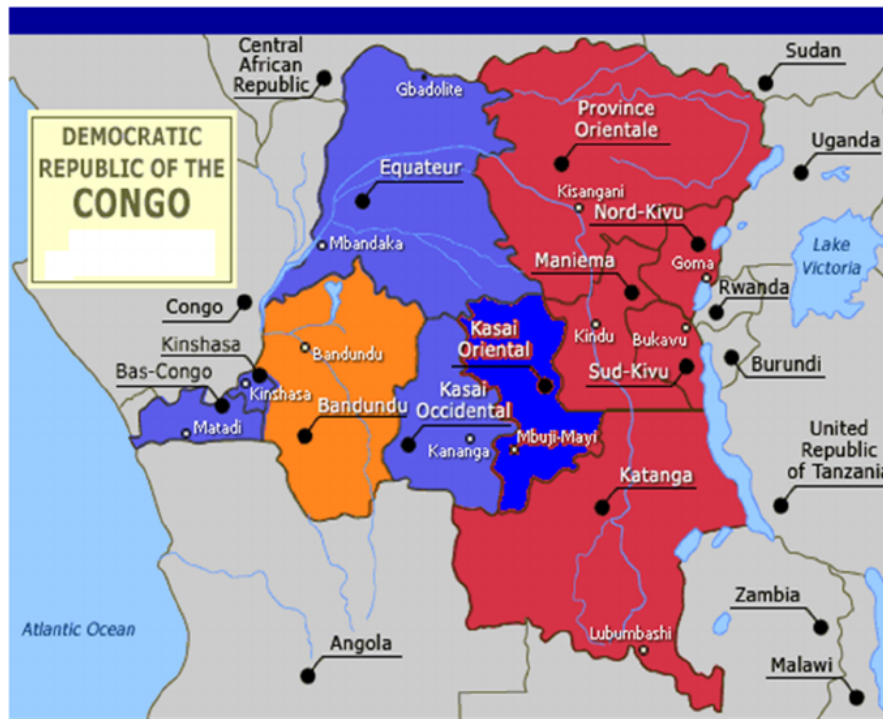


FIGURE 6.1: Conflict Geography of DRC.
(Kandala et al., 2014)

civilians. On 24 November 1961, the UNSC passed resolution 169 (1961) approved to utilize force to remove the mercenaries from Katanga¹⁰. Incited by Tshombe, Katangese forces began low-level violence against ONUC forces; by 5 December, this had escalated into full-scale fighting. By late December, ONUC had stabilized the military situation and negotiations began to restore the peace. Nothing substantial came of these negotiations, which were suspended in June 1962. (Imran, 2020)

6.6.4 Operation

UN operation the DRC in restoring law and order and protecting the country’s sovereignty. For the implantation of the mandate, the UN Force compromised the strengthen of 20,000 officers and civilians. The force’s primary objective was to provide protection the land of Congo from outsider militancy and prevent clashes and civil unrest by force if needed.¹¹ The main issue was reassembling of the national parliament in August 1961 with help of the UN; the main point was the

¹⁰UNSCR,169

¹¹ONUC, 1960

attempted to set out the secession, funded and led by external parties, of the province of Katanga.(ONUC, 2016)

6.6.5 Termination of ONUC

After Katnaga reintegrated into Congo the UN started to withdraw forces; however, on the request of leadership of DRC, the UNGA permitted the stay of several troops for the next 6 months, but the force was left entirely by 30 June 1964.

6.7 Creation of the Eastern Division

By early 2005, MONUC's military component had reached 16,000 troops to form the Western Brigade, established on 24 January, and the Eastern Division found on 24 February 2005. After the ambush and deaths of nine Bangladeshi peacekeepers in Ituri and Kivu Brigades increased all armed groups' pressure. A major cordon and search operations started in Ituri and countries such as Pakistan, Nepalese including South African troops and supported by Indian attack helicopters, killed 50 renegade militiamen.¹²

In May, the UNSG requested to provide an additional military support for Katanga for a joint operation engaging new military troops of DRC. The UN mission provided support in holding elections and ensuring the safety of the people.¹³ In Ituri, over 15,000 militiamen were disarmed. In early 2005, the MONUC military force was formed into two distinct entities: The Western and Eastern division. The Mission's HQ was in Kinshasa the Western and responsible for troops stationed in Kinshasa and the Provinces of Bas Congo, Ecuador, Bandundu, and North and South Kasai. The Eastern Division was composed of three brigades, the Ituri, North Kivu, and South Kivu.(Imran, 2020)

It also had troops in Maniema, Orientale, and Katanga provinces. Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, South Africa, and Uruguay were the biggest troop contributors. The Pakistani contingent was deployed in DRC during Nov 2004 in the South Kivu province as the South Kivu Brigade (SKB) (PakBatt 3, 2020, P.7). The UN mission responsibility was to support the preparation of elections.

¹²Note: PAKBATT is name of Pakistani Contingents working with MONUSCO's in Congo

¹³PakBatt 3,2020,P.7

In this regard, MONUC facilitated the first post-colonial, national multi-party election in the DRC in 2006. The task posed immense, unprecedented logistical challenges in the huge but underdeveloped country. At that time, fear of General Laurent Nkunda (CNDP) amongst the local population, was running high. The UN peacekeeping missions assisted the Congolese's government to hold fair elections. (Imran, 2020)

According to the report shared by Pakistani army officers (PakBatt-3) deployed in DRC, following tasks were achieved.

- Protect the Population (if necessary, using force)

The task was to assure the population's safety and provide secure and free movement in the environment. It also was to carry out reconstruction and development activities without fear of crime or violence.

- Groups

Illegal armed groups were removed from all regions of the DRC.

- Resources

South Kivu Brigade initially consisted of three Pakistani Infantry Battalions and a host of other contingents from different nations. The detailed areas follow:-

1-Brigade Headquarters 2-Three Infantry Battalions 3-AMET (Aero-Medical Evacuation Team).

The Indian Air Force Contingent consisted of 6 x MI-17, 1x MI- 8 and 1 x MI-35 helps to support and move troops and for logistics support, while the IAC- II unit MI-25/35 was in a supporting role. IAC-3, having LAMA Flights for recce and observation support URPAC-M. A riverine unit for operations in 'LakeKivu' URASU support unit to conduct operations of the Kavumu (Bukavu) Airport by URASU ((Uruguayan Air). Uruguayan Engineers Company to undertake engineers related tasks in the AOR. Bangladesh MP Detachment to conduct military police-related tasks. CEC (Chinese Engineers Company) to undertake engineer related tasks in the AOR. (Imran, 2020)

6.7.1 Chinese Level-II Hospital

The SKB was involved in the overall scenario. After the signing of Actes D' Engagement at the beginning of 2008, the focus was to create a military condition that enabled political initiatives' furtherance.¹⁴ MONUC helped implement two peace agreements between the DRC and Rwanda to increase the cooperation between the two countries to eliminate the threat of external invaders and Congolese rebels in the Eastern part of DRC. The Goma Actes D' Engagement (Acts of Commitment) was agreed in January 2008 between the authorities of the DRC, the CNDP, and internal armed groups (IAGs) to stop the violence that torn the Eastern region (Bukavu being part of it) apart. This Actes established a ceasefire and set out principles for the separation of forces and the rebels to disarm and demobilize or integrate into the national armed forces that increase as Brassage.¹⁵

6.7.2 Mission of SKB

To implement the UN's mandate in South Kivu Province (primary responsibility), and be prepared to deploy to other parts of the DRC as per directions of Force Commander/Force Headquarters.¹⁶

6.7.3 Tasks of SKB

Some of the important tasks assigned to South Kivu Brigade were as follow:

1-Protect the UN persons, facilities, and equipment so that MONUC troops could undertake ops without the concern for its safety and security. (PakBatt,3 2020, P.8) 2-To protect the people of the international society . To create a protective and secure surroundings for international partners to operate without regard for their safety and security. 3-Support capacity building of the FARDC and in improving its performance and conduct, and progress towards a garrisoned force, aimed at def the nation.4-Providing assistance in the implementation of the International arms sanctions 5-To support FARDC in moving military weapons, ammunition, and equipment, through a transparent and effective registry system

¹⁴Mirza, 2020

¹⁵Mirza (2020) Post-visit report/Congo/Pakistani troops/National University of Technology. Assessed on 24 June 2016

¹⁶PakBatt,3.2020.P.8

for arms, ammunition, and equipment. 6-Support the Removal of Tools of War destroyed arms caches, ammo, and weapons removed from the population, mines, unexploded (UXO), and designated weapons were destroyed.(PakBatt,3 2020, P.8) 7-To support the DRC in undertaking regional and local elections by monitoring, logging, and providing security. 8-Initiative to implement stability and development Plans. 9-Initiatives were taken to institute designated areas under the support plan for the stabilization of Eastern DRC Initiatives were taken to initiate designated areas following the support plan to stabilize Eastern DRC. The international community has recognized the performance of Pakistani peacekeepers for peacekeeping.(Imran, 2020)

Pakistan contributed a significant role to maintain peace in the Middle East. The UNIKOM was set up in 1999. The Pakistani army engineers carried out the whole operation with professionalism and dedication praised by the global community.(UNIKOM, 1999) The Pakistan army carried out its peace activities during National Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) in the most dangerous and remote areas in May 1992. They provided the logistics and operational support to the mission, and with the help of Pakistan, the mission overcame many logistic and technical problems. The Pakistan army handled crisis and push the conflict parties to withdraw from their weapons.(UNTA, 1989b) The Pakistan army has contributed to rugged terrains and situations for global peace. Currently, the numbers have decreased because of internal domestic security issues in Pakistan. As discussed above, Pakistan also contributed troops in Latin American states such as Haiti. The military of Pakistan provided one infantry battalion to handle the security issues. The armed troops performed effective patrolling to secure people of Haiti day and night. ¹⁷(Resolution, 1992) There has been a false propaganda on contribution of Pakistan about their involvement in smuggling and rape. However, the country remains committed for world peace and military play a constructive role in the UN peacekeeping. It shows the desire of Pakistan to follow the principle of nobility of human being, liberty, and independence.(MONUSCO, 2008)

"Pakistan troops executed the implementation of the UN mission mandate in the Congo successfully. Pakistan officers followed a very systematic approach while dealing with the issues they were responsible for resolving. The Pakistan army

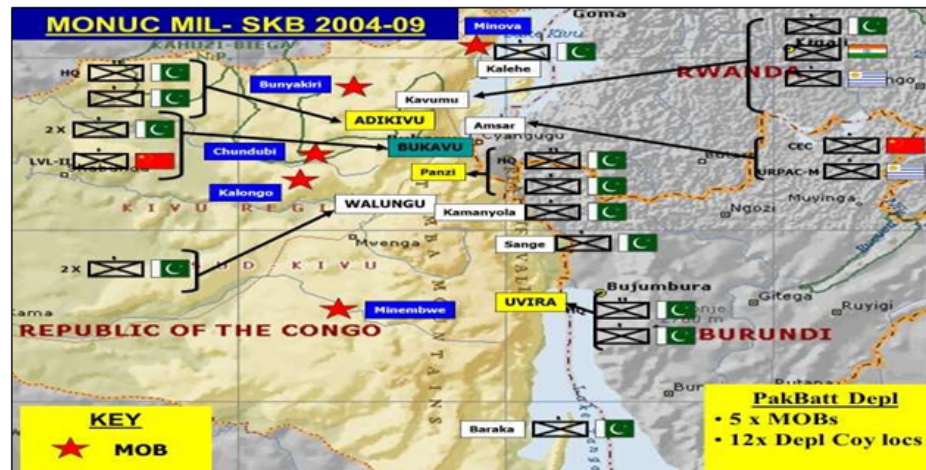
¹⁷Infantry battalion refers to the troops who fight basically on foot with small weapons in organized military. Pakistan army, 2020

carried out a training program undertaken by Pakistani contingents to empower the local population and deal with civilians' protection. Many thanks for the great colleagues at Minembve with a note of gratitude for our Pakistani colleagues from the COB. Your work is much appreciated"¹⁸

6.7.4 Conversion of MONUC to MONUSCO

Under the UNSC resolution 1925 approved on 28 May 2010, MONUC name was changed to the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO) to cooperate with the new leadership.(UNSC, 2010)

FIGURE 6.2: Map of deployment of Pakistani troops



Source: <http://www.ispr.gov.pk>

6.7.5 Resources Available

1 Four Infantry Battalion Pakistan. 2 One Engineers Company China. 3 One Engineers Company Uruguay. 4 Aviation Flight Unit (3 x Pumas) Pakistan 5 Aviation Flight Unit (3 x Bell) China. 6 One Riverine Company Uruguay. 7 Level-II Hospital Pakistan. 8 Level-II Hospital Pakistan. 9 Force Reserve Pakistan. 10 One Infantry Battalion less Two Companies Egypt.¹⁹

¹⁸Lacroix, J personal communication 2019, 6 June

¹⁹PakBatt,3.P.17

TABLE 6.1: E-organisation / Expansion of SKB (2010)

No	Contigents	Countries
1	Four Infantry Battalion	Pakistan
2	One Engineers Company	China
3	One Engineers Company	Urguguay
4	Aviation Flight Unit (3 x Pumas)	Pakistan
5	Aviation Flight Unit (3 x Bell)	China
6	One Riverine Company	Urguguay
7	Level-II Hospital	Pakistan
8	Level-II Hospital	Pakistan
9	Force Reserve	Pakistan
10	One Infantry Battalion less Two Companies	Egypt
11	One Special Force Company	Egypt

Source: <http://www.ispr.gov.pk>

6.7.6 Operational Activities

Complete Southern Sector (2018-19) Stabilization of Security Situation. In response to reports that the militia was harassing people, regular patrols involving

local security agencies are carried out by SS troops to mitigate security threats and ensure civilians' protection. The patrols also conduct meetings.(Imran, 2020)

FIGURE 6.3: Patrolling by Pakistani troops to protect civilians



Source: <http://www.ispr.gov.pk>

6.7.7 Winning Hearts and Minds (WHAM) Activities / Quick Impact Projects (QIPs)

To answer to the needs indicate by local communities, QIPs were created to increase trust on the activities delivered by UN peacekeeping. QIPs were planned and executed every year in SS. These QIPs projects were identified in different areas and recommended for approval of funds. After the approval of funds, recommended projects were constructed by the local military unit with the help of locals. The primary purpose of these projects was to reach out to the local community, build confidence between locals and forces, and fulfil the community's needs. Some projects undertook in the South Sector were²⁰.

6.7.8 Solar Lights Project –Walungu

Pakistani troops planted solar lights in Walungu: cost 11,660 USD.²¹

²⁰PakBatt, 3.2020.P.18

²¹PakBatt,3.2020.P.18

FIGURE 6.4: Solar energy project completed by Pakistan troops



Source: <http://www.ispr.gov.pk>

FIGURE 6.5: Strengthening security at night



Source: <http://www.ispr.gov.pk>

Transportation from the water station was far away, and water drop-offs per day gave less than 10 litres per person daily. Kids in this village got easily ill due to the shortage of water and drinking polluted water.²²

This situation has not been solved for many years. Impact the number of direct beneficiaries and the non-direct beneficiary is 511 and 260, including 339 females

²²PakBatt,3.2020.P.19

FIGURE 6.6: Water supply project



Source: <http://www.ispr.gov.pk>

FIGURE 6.7: Construction of SOS village schools



Source: <http://www.ispr.gov.pk>

and 696 children. The Water Supply Station Project had been widely reported by many local media and gained a good reputation under the local community.²³

6.7.9 Rehabilitation of Primary School Minova

The local children were facing problems due to a lack of a proper learning environment at Shanje- Bamba. The renovation of the classrooms at the primary school would not have only improved the educational facility, but also increased

²³PakBatt, 3.2020.P.19

the morale of the students. The project had an incredibly positive impact on the local community as locals mainly appreciated the rehabilitation of Shange-Batumba Primary School.²⁴

TABLE 6.2: Civil Military Coordination-2018/19

Ser	Project Title	Location	Unit
1	WSS Kamako	Kamako	PAK RDB 3
2	Water sup scheme Kalehe	Kalehe	PakBatt 2
3	Illumination of market in Wulungu	Wulungu	NepBatt
4	Rehabilitation of primary school at Minova	Minova	PakBatt 2
5	Water sup scheme SOS vil-lage Bakavu	Bakavu	CEC
6	Running of electrician, plumber, and carpenter cadres	Wulungu	NepBatt

Source: <http://www.ispr.gov.pk>

6.7.10 Capacity Building FARDC

A joint training exercise with FARDC was conducted in the Kalehe. The joint training was designed for strengthen capacity of FARDC and to empower them to perform their assignments well informed and conversant with the overall environment, procedures, and functions of various civil/ military sections supporting

²⁴PakBatt, 3.2020.P.20

TABLE 6.3: Impact Project(QIPS)/Civil Military Coordination(CIMIC)-2019/20

Ser	Project Title	Location	Unit
1	Rehab of primary school Minova	Minova	Pakbatt-2
2	Construction of water supply scheme at SOS village Bukavu	SOS Village Bakavu	CEC
3	Installation of solar lights	Shabunda center	NepBatt

Source:<http://www.ispr.gov.pk>

them. The following areas were emphasized, such as awareness of SEA, human rights, CSRV, child protection, and other vital safeguards.(PakBatt,3.2020.P.20)

- Trg on Riot / MobCo Practical oriented training related to camp security, patrolling, and escorts.(PakBatt, 3. 2020.P.21)
- Intro to various diseases in DRC and methods of prevention.²⁵
- Strengthening relationships with FARDC and establishing a reporting channel to ensure HRV allegations were rapidly addressed.²⁶
- Weapon handling and understanding of ROEs for effective response.²⁷
- Security of men, material, and familiarization with SOPs.²⁸

²⁵PakBatt, 3. 2020.P.21

²⁶PakBatt, 3. 2020.P.21

²⁷PakBatt, 3. 2020.P.21

²⁸PakBatt, 3. 2020.P.21

6.7.11 Training

The training was conducted in the form of lectures, demos and practical handling. The focus remained on imparting basic teaching for the capacity building of FRDC. The training was organized systematically and progressively by initial lectures about a subject, followed by practice and demo.²⁹

FIGURE 6.8: Capacity building of police and army



Source: <http://www.ispr.gov.pk>

6.7.12 Capacity Building PNC

As part of MONUSCO's support for the capacity building of Congolese national police, the Pakistani contingent of MONUSCO and elements of PNC regularly conduct joint training exercises with the help of MONUSCO police. The training was carried out systematically. Emphasis was laid on the progressive path towards weapon handling, riot control, camp security, and escorts.³⁰

²⁹Bashir, I. (2020) Report on work of Pakistani troops in Congo. UN Stabilization Mission in Congo.

³⁰PakBatt,3.2020.P.21

FIGURE 6.9: Capacity building of police and army



Source:<http://www.ispr.gov.pk>

6.7.13 Female Engagement Teams

Female activities component of the Pakistan military is a recent induction in MUNOSCO since 2019. The number of lady officers has increased to 40. This component in the South Sector is known as the "Female Engagement Team."³¹

FIGURE 6.10: Capacity building of police and army



Source: <http://www.ispr.gov.pk>

³¹PakBatt,3-2020.P.21

6.7.14 EBOLA Awareness Program for Women and Children

Due to Ebola outbreak and multiple diseases instigated by poor hygiene conditions in the area, an awareness program was conducted at a local school by the female engagement team at Uvira. Children and women were demonstrated comprehensive hand washing techniques and a particular emphasis on adopting proper hygiene practices for the avoidance of serious illnesses. This activity helped to raise awareness of maintaining self-hygiene, especially for women.³²

6.7.15 Contraceptive Methods and STIs

Medical officers of FETs conducted different workshops. Lady doctors briefed on the significance of family planning and good health for child and mother. The officer emphasized that family planning prevented pregnancy-related health risks in women and infant mortality. Pamphlets on contraception and complete post-abortion care in French were also shared with the participants. These workshops helped the local women to understand family planning and contraception and how this could reduce the need for abortion, incredibly unsafe abortion. It also determined the number and spacing of children.³³

³²PakBatt,3.2020.P.22.

³³PakBatt,3.2020.P.22

Chapter 7

Case Study of Somalia and Role of Pakistan

Somalia suffered from civil war and the international community intervene to protect civilians, but with unnecessary interference from external actors, the country is still unstable. The UN mission in Somalia is another worse example of UN peacekeeping. UNSC established the mission under resolution 751 to handle the conflict. (UNSCR-751). The mission was considered a political goal scoring for the President of USA George H.W Bush.([T. Yamin, 2019](#)) The humanitarian's efforts by the US turned into a worse example for the US marines and lost many lives. Pakistan troops played a significant role in saving the US marines and lost 24 brave soldiers. Pakistani soldiers proved their professionalism and promoted foreign policy objectives in the foreign land. Pakistani military created a good environment for military diplomacy and Somalian people started considering Pakistani people as their first-hand help.Pakistan military deployment in Somalia supported the foreign policy objectives in Africa. Pakistan achieved a chance to raise its voice again in international politics and provided a second good opportunity to reframe the relations between Washington and Islamabad, following post-cold aware disengagements.([Najimdeen, 2020](#))

After the 9/11 attacks, Pakistan joined the international community to fight against terrorism. The support of Pakistan was needed due to its involvement in Afghanistan and engagement with the Taliban. Pakistan always offers its support for the global society to sustain peace and security in the world. ([T. Hussain,](#)

2005) Pakistan ranked as second big Muslim and seventh-largest populated country in the world. (Iqbal, 2020) Pakistan served on seven occasions as non permanent member of UNSC and most recent in 2013.¹

According to the General Babar Pakistan has deployed 200,000 military, civilians, and police personnel in 41 UN peacekeeping operations in 28 countries and has become one of the largest contributors since 1960.² The military and political establishment argue that sending troops to different countries for peacekeeping improves the country's image; however, political leadership almost has no significant contribution in the procedure of sending of troops in UN peacekeeping missions. (Malik, 2014) US provided military aid to Pakistan \$630 million between 1954 to 1965. (Kiani, 2004b) Some scholars argue that Pakistan troops' contribution to peacekeeping is being used to improve relations and to gain direct financial benefits from power states such as the US and EU states.

Great powers such as the US try to expand their hegemonic role worldwide, so UN peacekeeping could be one way to secure their national interests such as economics; security of allies, protection of US citizens, reaching out to resources like oil, and promotion of their foreign policy objectives. (Kassebaum et al., 1994) On the other hand, there has been a question of imbalance and burden sharing policy to contribute UN peacekeeping troops, but powerful countries only grant funds but not enough troops. (Yun, 2015)

However, to address this challenge of imbalance in troop's contribution to UN peacekeeping President Barack Obama hosted an international summit on UN peacekeeping and invited more than 50 state representatives on the sideline events of the UNGA session in New York on 28 September 2015. The overall objective was to ask all states to address the issue of burden-sharing on an equal basis. Many missions struggle to cover the mandate due to the lack of logistical demands. State leaders promised and offered 40,000 military and police personnel's 40 choppers, ten fully equipped hospitals, and 15 engineering units were promised for the UN peacekeeping operations on the capacity building efforts. (Nations, 2015)

Somalia is one of the bid challenges for international community. This country has suffered Somalia suffered a lot through a brutal conflict and approximately 300,000 people died. The violence erupted in 1991 and continued until today by

¹Pakistan at the Security Council 2012-13

²Babar, 2020

terrorist groups such as Al shabaab.([Michaelson, 1993](#)) Pakistan and the US were the first countries in deploying troops in Somalia under the UN flag to protect civilians.([T. Yamin, 2019](#))

Somalia has been the one of the complex challenge in the UN peacekeeping history because of the involvements of external stakeholders in the conflict. At that time, the Pakistani ambassador in the US, Syed Abida Hussian, wrote power failure in her book. The political odyssey of a Pakistani woman mentioned that Pakistan was under high pressure from the US to send the troops for Somalia. She explained that "Pakistan was encountering because of its nuclear program and for allegedly sponsoring terrorism."([Hussian, 2015](#))

It is challenging to connect the any case study of UN peacekeeping with the theories of international relations. Any idea does not support even the concept of complete peacekeeping in the literature.([Bures, 2007](#)) However, constructivism and realism could be linked with the notion of peacekeeping in Somalia. According Hans J. Morgenthau and Kenneth Waltz, states struggle for survival or to dominate as Pakistan was struggling to survive and the United States followed the policy of dominance. Somali collapsed, and many states involved in the domination and killing of 24 Pakistani peacekeepers on 5 June 1993 .([Press, 1993](#)) In the case of Somalia, the US also lost 18 soldiers in 1993 to capture Aided. It US's last motivation to UN peacekeeping as the Clinton administration decided to withdraw troops from Somalia. The case study of Somalia is considered a failed mission in the history of UN peacekeeping.([History, 1992](#))

7.1 Background of the Somalia Conflict

Somalia is a medium-size country covering an area of 637,657 square KM, smaller than Texas and has important geostrategic location on the direction of Red Sea and Suet Canal.Due to continues war more than one Somalian are residing outside of Africa.([T. Yamin, 2019](#)) The five-pointed white stars flag represents the areas where the Somali ethnic groups reside such as Djibouti, Somaliland, the Ogaden area in Ethiopia the Northeastern part in Kenya, and South of Somalia. The horn of Africa represents the Arabic numeral seven and home to Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia directly influences the shipping choke-point of Bab el.Mandeb.([T. Yamin, 2019](#))

7.1.1 Mogadishu

The most of clashes related to conflict took place in the capital of Somalia Mogadishu. The city is located in the South of the country and covers a hundred square KM. The total population of this city is 1.5 to 3million. Somalia is the homeland of homogeneous people in terms of race, culture, language, heritage in times of peace. The Sunni Islamic faith is dominant in the major parts of the country. Traditionally, Somalia is the land of divided tribes. The dominated are, Hawiye, the Isaaq, and the Darood. Hawiyeis are largest clans, and its members are found mostly in the South and the capital and towns of Marka and Kismayo.(T. Yamin, 2019)

The European interest in Somalia started in 1839 when the British set up a route ensuring their trade to India through Aden Somalia becomes the supply line for the British troops deployed in Aden, and Muhammad Abdullah Hasan emerged as a symbol of resistance against colonial powers. In the late 19 century and inspired by some Islamic leaders and tribes called Darood tribes and later as the Dervish Movement he launched Jihad against the British during the first 20 years the 20th century and forced them to evacuate their Somali land protectorate. In the 20th century, Italian lost control of their colonial possession in Africa's horn to the British due to their defeat in World Wars in the late 20th century. British encouraged the Somali youth to become part of the government to expand the political influence, a UN trust territory established under Italians' control until 1960, later merged with Somali land and declared the independent Somali Republic. New constitution developed copying the Italian model.(T. Yamin, 2019)

7.1.2 Civil War

The war begin due to the fight between three armed groups called Somali Salvation Democratic Front (DSF) stayed in the northeast part, the Somali National Movement (SNM) claimed in the north-west and the presence of United Somali Congress (USC) in the South emerged in 1980. The government of Barre's removed in January 1991 and he left to exile in Nigeria and died there. The government forces disperse and joined the rebels groups, and started looting of weapons to use in the civil war and later on UN peacekeeping forces. The collapse of the central government brought lawlessness and insecurity and various rebels groups

started fighting for food provided by the international community. The struggle for powers between two Ali Mahdi Mohamed and General Mohamed Farah Aided a meeting was and held in Djibouti in 1991 with the efforts of UNSC where Ali Mahdi was chosen interim-President Aided did not accept and both leaders broke away and established new groups to fight.([T. Yamin, 2019](#))

Aided confront the existence of (UNITAF) in 1992. US announced \$ 25,000 reward to arrest Aided, alive or dead and after a decade later adopted a similar strategy to capture Osama bin Laden but the prize of \$25million on sharing any information about his presence. The US adopted weak strategy and strike a quick moved away in Aided and withdraw from Somalia in 1994. The UN force give a clear way on the ground for the Aided and he announced himself as President of the country but was died in attack by opposite group Ali Mahdi group. Somalia became place of various rebels groups and private militia, agriculture and water resources were smashed including killing of animals and burning of agriculture felids and 500,000 people died without food. Another,500, 000 were at risk of dying due to lack of food, and thousands migrated to Pakistan. Still, there is a little place in Islamabad called little Somalia and later people travelled to Europe and North American countries. Somalia has been suffering from a lack of central power and well accepted government, this space filled by the ideological thinking same like Taliban's and they imposed the Sharia law in North Mogadishu .([T. Yamin, 2019](#))

After four years, the system of Sharia- Court imposed by the Hawiya group and provided services for only for the people belongs to same tribes and decision depended on the militia selected from the local community. Islamic rule received popularity in Northern Part of Mogadishu due to ensuring the security of the people. However, the success presented a negative impression to international community and creation of Islamic court came from terrorist organization called al-Shabaab which joined with Al-Qaeda in 2012.([T. Yamin, 2019](#))

African Union plays a significant role supporting peace process. The AU with a UN coalition established the AMISOM mission to support the government with an informal mandate to restore the structure eliminates of Al-Shabaab.It was formed with the support of the AU body of peace and security in 2007 primarily with the mandate of 6 months.([Union, 2007b](#))

The core objectives of the mission is supporting the African states supporting for capacity building institutions, such as training police, army to encounter any

threat. According to the US army officer it is important to support African military it helps US to deal with any external threat homeland.([Africom, 2007](#))

7.1.3 Humanitarian Intervention in Somalia

As the conflict arises, several international organizations started moving to the country to provide food and medical support such as International Relief, Doctor without Borders, and ICRC. Pakistan deployed 500 troops at the request of the UN in Somalia in 1992. Later on, other countries' troops arrived to help the people of Somalia. National and international stakeholders were engaged, such as AU, Arab League and OIC to resolve the conflict. UN deployed a fact-finding mission to Siri-Leon diplomat and deployed a mission in Mogadishu started efforts for the cease-fire among the parties to provide relief to civilians and supply and reach humanitarian aid necessary to make first cease-fire. UNSC passed resolution number 733 called all stakeholders to accept a cease-fire agreement and prepare the mechanism to distribute food, the process to bring Ali Madhi and Aided to sign an agreement was quick. Both agreed to the cease-fire and allowed the UN and other partners to deliver food.

The agreement covers the stay of 20 military observers to monitor the cease-fire. The agreement followed the UNSCR 751 of 24 April 1992 called upon UN operations' establishment in Somalia UNOSOM. The tasks of mission were assigned to monitor the cease-fire agreement and protect the humanitarian convoy from delivering the food to civilians. On 8 August, the UNSC approved the UNOSOM operation, and the total number of the missions increased from 4,219 withal ranks. Mohammad Shamoun of Algeria was appointed as head by the UNSG on 28 April 1992. The mission had small resources, to help people, like providing food, security, and health care. Sahoung latterly shared that the UN mishandled the case of Somalia. There was a big gap in communication among the UN and other partner agencies for humanitarian activities. His view and doubts explained that UN plans were being used to provide the supplies to Ali Mahdi.([UNOSOMI, 2015](#))

7.1.4 International Intervention and Role of Pakistan in Somalia

Somalia faced from instability and disorder until end of 1990. The humanitarian aid was not successfully delivered to the local people because the intervention and looting of rebels groups. They smashed the rule of law, and international community and agencies began to leave Somalia. Foreigners working and living in Somalia came from Pakistan, Indian, Italy, and Yemen. Almost 200 business families were residing in the Southern part professionally belongs to gold makers, shopkeepers and around 30 Pakistani were working for international bodies such as EU and UN. NESPAK a renowned construction company from Pakistan built a dam, due to contribution of Pakistan both states enjoyed good relations in many sectors particularly economic and security. (T. Yamin, 2019)

Pakistan decided to help the Somalian people during the conflict. In the beginning, 40 soldiers belonging to the 7 Frontiers Force Regiment of the Pakistan Army arrived in Somalia on 14 September 1992 and became part of 500 strong units deployed to deal with this conflict. The total number of UN peacekeeping operations was estimated at 3500 deployed in Somalia. The US naval force deployed off the coast of Mogadishu to provide support to the US Air force for transporting Pakistani troops from Pakistan to Somalia, equipped with helicopters, and landing air crafts.(T. Yamin, 2019)

- Pakistani troops completed the following tasks.
- Provided the security to the seaport of Mogadishu to ensure the supply of the food.
- Provided security to distribute food to centres
- Protected Mogadishu airport, on the arrival of relief supplies whenever required.

7.1.5 Deployment in Mogadishu

Pakistani was the first country troop's contributor who provided security to the airport, and ensures the food supply and delivery by safe landing of flights. Pakistani troops won the positive and encouraged feelings due to common culture and

religion. Common culture and religion support in conflict resolution. The UN promotes and prefers to use this tool before asking troops to member states to participate in UN peacekeeping missions. The UN encouraged Pakistan to deploy troops during the Somalia and Bosnia conflict due to common religion, which effectively helped to maintain peace in both regions.(T. Yamin, 2019)

The streets of Mogadishu were soon muffled with the slogans Pakistani-Somali WalaWala (Somalian language) Pakistani and Somalis are brothers. (Urdu, Pakistani language) Pakistani troops argued they have a totally different practice of peacekeeping than with various past deployments were in a Muslim country without defined rules of engagement and specific strategy to deal with large number of people.(Yamin, T.2019) It was relatively complicated for armed forces from Pakistan to function without defined an operational framework. However, the local community trusted Pakistani troops because of their soft behaviour; common religious practice and local community started to offer to support their people and allow Pakistani troops to operate. The city was separated into two parts, South under Farah Aided and North under Ali Mehdi. The primary mandate to implement by international forces was taken to encourage rebels groups are not to fight, but to provide humanitarian aid. (T. Yamin, 2019)

Pakistani peacekeepers adopted the approach by engaging local people for the conflict resolution. Young people were invited and engaged through sports, and even 24 Pakistani peacekeepers lost their lives.(Yamin, T.2019). The situation remains worse due to the using the small arms during the fight and troops staying ready to deal with any emergency at night. Latterly after many weeks of deployment with the support of Pakistani troop's environment was stabilized, and US troops joined and offered to dispense security during the distribution of humanitarian aid in 1992. UNSC adopted the resolution 794 and assigned a role to sustain the security during the food supply. UNTAF mandated with 37,000 and 25,000 troops provided by US.(T. Yamin, 2019)

UNITAF worked closely with UNOSOM for humanitarian assistance from December 1992 to May 1993. Pakistani peacekeepers generated protected surroundings for the US marines before landing in Mogadishu. On the Pakistani troops' request, Somalia leaders detached the whole armed personnel's from the airport and background for the US marines' safe landing. They allowed the media to cover the events at the airport.(T. Yamin, 2019)

7.1.6 United and Transition to UNSOM II

Pakistani military delegation visited Mogadishu led by the Maj Gen Moinuddin Haier to decide about the further troops' deployment for UNOSOM II. Pakistan increased its military presence by deploying 322 men from a regular standard infantry battalion. The deployed compositions of Pakistani armed troops consisted of 6 from Punjab battalion, 10 Bloch battalion and I Sindh battalion. The total numbers of troops consisted with 5000 troops stationed at the Head Quarter at the Mogadishu. (T. Yamin, 2019) The tasks,

- Providing health facilities
- Search operations
- Anti-hijacking operations

After the incident killing of 24 Pakistani peacekeepers Pakistani force equipped with tank regiment and aviation squadron and strength grows from 5000 to 7000 the commander changed. The new command Ikram Ul Hassan tried to adopt the integrated approach to integrate the military in humanitarian and diplomatic plans. Still, none of them works out, and he had to make his plans. Pakistani peacekeepers established two hospitals and a soccer stadium. The hospital provided the X-rays facilities and a laboratory. It started the anti-TB program with the help of UNICEF and the World Health Organization. According to WHO TB, it is a pandemic in Somalia and the a major causes increasing death rate. This disease plays a remarkable role in blocking the stability in the society and future economic progress. Due to the civil war the health system of Somalia collapsed including programs lunched for TB control. A dental clinic was established; Pakistani deployed eight medical specialists 12 general duty officers, and 180 paramedic staff deployed to serve people of Somalia. More than 100,000 Somali people male and female took advantage from the Medical facility. Also, the Pakistani UNOSOM hospital provided indoor treatment. This medical consisted 26 medical specialist with 6 fully trained nurses and modern medical equipment to deal with any emergency situation such as medical trained supporting staff to help in ICU matter and advanced treatment opportunity. (T. Yamin, 2019)

7.2 Organization of UNOSOM II

UNOSOM comprised in two wings, military and political. The military wings tasked with two tasks,

- Provide protection.
- Assist in humanitarian activities.
- Assist in humanitarian activities.³

7.2.1 UNOSOM II-Military Hierarchy

The high level of conflict and sense of superiority of the military and power created the imbalance in UNOSOM. The decision-making process was prolonged about using the force. The UNOSOM HQ is divided into several branches.

The high level of conflict and sense of superiority of the military and power created the imbalance in UNOSOM and the decision making process was very slow about using the force. The UNOSOM HQ is divided into several branches

The force HQ consisted of 28 countries led by Pakistan, India and other member states, chief of staff was from Pakistan. Mission contributor appointed one liaison officer, and beginning UNITAF and UNOSOM operated together.(UNOSOM II 1993) UNITAF deployed over 37,000 troops over 40% in Southern and Central Somalia, and UNSC passed resolution number 814, allowing more force and resources to use for Somalia. UNOSOM was authorized to have 28,000 military and police and 28,000 international and local staff. Approximately 4,761 Pakistani troops become part of the mission. The task of UNOSOM II was to design a secure environment. However, the restoration of law and order and implantation was the part of agreements among the conflict parties. (T. Yamin, 2019)

- Observing the activities of rebels to maintain peace.
- Providing security all the sea ports and communication ways including air-ports.

³UNOSOM II/Peacekeeping

TABLE 7.1: UNOSOM II-Military Hierarchy

UNOSOM II-Military Hierarchy	
Political Branch	U-1 (Personal Branch)
Personnel Branch	U-2(Intelligence Branch)
Legal Branch	U-3 (Operation Branch)
Media cell	U-4(Logistics, Engineers, Medical
Humanitarian Branch	U-5(Civilians Military Affairs Office
Finance Branch	Finance Branch
SRSG information Operation Cell (SIOC)	U-6 (Signals)
Security	

Source: <http://www.unosom.org>

- Managing the heavy arms.
- Contributing the prevention and responding to fight.
- Providing support in clearing mines.

According to the UNSG following step were authorized for the military operation

- Taking the control of operational activities of UNITAF.
- Deploying and taking operational control.
- Redeployment or reducing UNOSOM II forces.

The area of operations was divided into four sectors. Pakistani troops controlled the primary industry of Mogadishu, which was the centre of the conflict. The North was under the Canadians, North West under the Germans, and Southern

Sector under the Egyptians. The Pakistani troops deployed in the area were a stronghold of General Aided.(T. Yamin, 2019)

7.2.2 The 5th June Incident

The situation in Somalia became very tense after the US's intervention, and the relationship between General Aided and the US resulted in the killing of 24 Pakistani peacekeepers. The mandate of the mission changed after the incident happened and focused on targeting him. Due to the weak planning to inspect the area located in a region controlled by Aided and US troops did not accompany Pakistani troops.(Yamin, T. 2019) The lack of coordination and communication between the US and Pakistani troops and precautions were not taken before sending troops. Pakistani forces arrived at the spot about 7:00 in the morning of the 5 June. About half-past eight, the hostile crowd gathered, the public increased after thirty minutes, and the situation became worse than expected. The mob attacked Pakistani peacekeepers, and one person shot dead, and hidden killers killed 12 Pakistani peacekeepers.

Pakistani peacekeepers asked the UNOSOM head office to send the tank for reinforcement until evening tanks could not arrive and the situation became worse in the afternoon. Italian and US attacked and fired three Pakistani peacekeepers at the end of the fighting 24 Pakistani peacekeepers were killed.(Yamin, T. 2019) Due to this incident, many states started to avoid sending troops to join peacekeeping and become a US lesson for future planning. A commission was formed to investigate the incident. The commission raised questions such as why the helicopter arrived late on the spot, but the Italian commander insisted the aircraft arrived in time and claimed tanks moved to the site by his order. SNA was declared guilty of the commission's incident because of lack of instruction in the UNSCR 837.

After some months, the conflict converted to worse, and the UN divided its plan into four phases. In the first phase, the UN launched an offensive attack on the destruction of weapons of SNA on 12 June 1993.(Yamin, T. 2019) After the fire's opening, civilians were killed once reports mentioned that a Somalia gunman opened the fire and left the responsibility on Pakistani troops. This incident left another lesson for future US peacekeeping to learn about the doing operation amid a hostile population.

In Somalia, the UN peacekeeping mission becomes a big challenge for the international community after losing peacekeeping troops. On 17 June, UNOSOM launched another attack on the area controlled by rebels planned with Pakistani, French, and Italian troops. Pakistan troops carried out the weapons search operation. During the operation, Moroccan forces came under high fire, four soldiers, including the commander, were killed, and they blamed lack of information about SNA strengthening. On 27 June, Pakistani troops came under heavy fire during an operation in Attu's Garage resulting in three soldiers killed and 2 injured. On 2 July Italian, forces carried out the search operation in a village bit came under heavy fire, on the way back they suffered from 3 casualties and 29 injured. The incident created stress between UNOSOM and the Italian Brigade.(T. Yamin, 2019)

7.2.3 Pakistan Reaction of Five June Incident

Pakistani media received the news of the killing of the Pakistani peacekeepers on the next day. There was a lack of fast communication between Pakistani, Somalia, and the first news covered by Dawn newspaper on 6 June, killing three soldiers. The report was based on the press conference of the UN military spokesperson. Another newspaper, "The News" reported and quoted the Reuters/AFP about killing 26 Pakistani peacekeepers in Somalia. (New York Times,1993) It was written 15 injured soldiers would return home soon. A lack of coordination between the Pakistani army and international media kept informing them about what was happening in Somalia. Due to tension between political and military establishment in domestic affairs; however, dead bodies were buried with military honours and political parties' leaders recorded the condolence. Political leaders did not ask for the return of troops except only Jammata-i-Islamai raised the concerns. In an official statement, the Government of Pakistan did not blame the local people of Somalia but rather criminal groups.(T. Yamin, 2019)

The Government said, despite the loss, the Pakistani peacekeepers will remain in the same position and serve for the world's international peace and security. Pakistan will continue its traditional and firm support to the UN peacekeeping. Chair of Defence Committee to take a delegation and visit the troops in Somalia for a fact-finding mission on the recommendation of National Assembly of Pakistan

but to uncertain political instability, the visit could not happen. After the post-cold war peacekeeping, the Pakistani parliament discussed peacekeeping on the border level. Members asked the government to share the future reports if plans to send the troops aboard for peacekeeping and Pakistan army chief visited Somalia on 4 September 1993. He admired their courage and considered Aided their enemy. Pakistani troops returned home after the mixed experience.

There is much to learn working in the international community for the Pakistani troops. The professionalism and behaviour of other forces; for example, Americans did not share the details of the intelligence report about the strength of SNA before the inspection.(T. Yamin, 2019)

7.2.3.1 Winning Minds and Hearts

After the incident of 5 June, the restoration of trust became very difficult among the people of Somalia and Pakistani troops, however, Pakistani peacekeepers continued to make friends in the area and help the people in need. People were provided medicine, food not only in camps, but also outside, united cooked food, and distributed among hungry people. Troops had to wear helmets to protect themselves from any attack during distribution of food. The Pakistan army provided medical care to sick people.(T. Yamin, 2019)

7.2.3.2 The Rule of Law and Order

Despite all efforts and concerns, Mogadishu remained a problematic city. Pakistani peacekeepers with UN mission organized checkpoints to stop violence and the implementation of law and order. Establishing checkpoints created difficulties for the ordinary citizens to move and be alert and Pakistani troops were mostly deployed on checkpoints. A meeting was called with other peacekeepers and local people of Somalia to discuss the plan of operations. The UN adopts the tool of engaging local people for conflict management has a significant outcome. Pakistan commander addressed the gathering and highlighted the last visit of Army Chief to Somalia declared Aided as a personal enemy of Pakistan and stressed on the Muslim goodwill and humanity to send troops to Somalia. One-of the experiences Pakistani had was about the behaviour of the people of Somalia and their double standard. At one point in Somalia, elders admired Pakistani's services and, on

the other hand, rejected the offer to help, but Pakistani peacekeepers continue to help (T. Yamin, 2019)

7.3 Black Hawk Down

Black Hawk Down, operation conducted by the US Special Forces to catch Omar Salad Elmi and Mohamed Hassan Awale and two SNA leaders. There was information about their meeting inside the compound near the Olympic hotel. (Bullion, S. J. 2001) The operation was launched with helicopters; armed vehicles decided to attack in daylight, uncovering them to direct fire and observation. The process started in the afternoon on 3 October. Forces received the information about the SNA leader's meeting the action started and target locked. The attack began with the gunship firing an anti-tank missile to deal with ground resistance. About 24 civilians were arrested, but neither Aided nor his friends were found. Somali shot down two Black Hawk helicopters with the anti-tank missile and US soldiers captured by Somalis. They were released later with third parties' intervention, and the rescue operation started later with Pakistani forces' help. Pakistani troops joined the QRF and Brigade reached the spot with the tanks. Following tasks handed to the Pakistani troops 1- Leading the rescue force to the incident site 2- Provide cover-up to the US troops going to the site 3- Ensure none of the soldiers left behind. (T. Yamin, 2019)

7.3.1 Provide Security Cover to the Withdrawing Troops.

The Pakistani troops consisted of the tanks led by Captain Saad and others and moved to the locked target and came under light fire but reacted back. Cap Saad guided the US troops and led to the crash site. Pakistani troops rescued American Soldiers facing the heavy fire and take home; however, three Pakistani dead the tank commander was awarded the Tamgha-i-Jura (medal of courage) by the UN. The US gave the role of Pakistani troops was given a wrong impression in US media. However, a letter reported sending to Pakistani Army Chief to express the appreciation and great respect for the Pakistani troops in Somalia. The UN's deputy commander was impressed with the skills and cooperation of Pakistani soldiers. (T. Yamin, 2019)

7.3.2 Friends of Pakistan in Somalia

Pakistan and Somalia enjoy longer-term friendly relations despite 5th June numbers of tribal leaders still showed kindness towards Pakistani people. The raising of the conflict in Mogadishu captured by the different rebel groups changed the city into the total anarchy and lawlessness including war treats diplomats, military generals, and teachers in a wrong way. Many of them lost their homes, including Mr Alim. Once he was Ambassador to Pakistan, he helped release some soldiers after 5 June incident and influential people become friends of Pakistan during the conflict. Ahmed Sheik, a big Islamic religious group, called Ahlu-Sunna Wal-Jama'a, became an excellent Pakistan friend. Two former army chiefs were on the Pakistani peacekeepers' guest lists; one was General Mohamed Ibrahim and the other General Mohammad Noor Galal, who later became the army chief and visited Pakistan. (T. Yamin, 2019)

7.3.3 Conclusion

Pakistan played a significant role in Somalia and was praised by the global community. However, such as intervening into other states on basis of humanitarian needs provide temporary relief to the people of Somalia including UN support. The four-year presence of international troops (1992-1995) cost the world millions of dollars, and human lives such as Pakistani and Americans lost numbers of their forces in Somalia. In Pakistan's case, the country raised its international prestige by contributing to Somalia and used it to cover the resistance against uranium enrichment to develop nuclear weapons. During four stays in Somalia, Pakistan lost 50 soldiers but achieved to regain international relations and end up isolation and relief from international sanctions. The relief was temporary for Somalia as after 9/11 US draw a link of international terrorism with failed states and raised fingers to Somalia.

The US started to air and ground raids to conduct operations against extremist groups after 2001 and continued. The Somalia case is like Afghanistan; the efforts to make peace and build the state structure have made very little progress in Somalia. Unfortunately, Somalia remains a fragile state for the last 50 years; there seems to be no light for peace improvement. Lack of interest of great powers in UN peacekeeping and hiring the troops from third world countries might be potentially

damaging the credibility of the organizations. However, Pakistan's participation in the Somalia mission allowed the government to rebuild its relationship with the US because Pakistan's situation was not politically and economically stable. Pakistan intervention in Somalia was on common religious ground, and the people of Somalia were happy about the presence of the Pakistani troops in their country. The Pakistan army tried to restructure the state's institutions in health, education, and security sectors.

Chapter 8

Pakistan and UN Peacekeeping Mission in Liberia

Pakistan's role in Liberia can be analyzed according to the theory of realism and constructivism. As discussed, the theory of realism and the concept of UN peacekeeping is odd to each other. The realist theory refers to the geopolitical rivalry between two major powers, arms race, adopting the new weaponry and nuclear system. For the realist, international peace only can be established with the support of making alliances and with common convenience and interest. States are the main actors in this system. The study of peacekeeping is only possible through the study of the agreements within the international organizations. Peacekeepers play important role in the transformation of conflict into peace. They also contribute to rebuilding the country through social and political reforms, fostering economic growth, protection of civilians, protecting human rights, supporting process of disarmament. The actors involved in the peacekeeping process are not only actors but also regional and international organizations. These actors intervention into the issues of other states as part of peacekeeping refers to theorizing the realist concept in the field of international relations. We can consider realism as the main theory that can be used to analyse the peacekeeping practice around the world. ([Mearsheimer & Walt, 2013](#))

Pakistani participation in UN peacekeeping mission in Liberia provided an opportunity to improve the relations with USA. State department of USA consider an important Allies of the region. Liberia established diplomatic relations with the USA after its independence in 1867. The US provides assistance to Liberia on

a continuously for the progress of the state. In the time of the Ebola epidemic, the USA was the main country supported by the UN mission and Liberian government. US and Liberia have economic strong economic ties, US exports to Liberia includes agriculture, vehicles, machinery, optic and medical instruments and textile. Liberia export to US the main product are rubber and palm oil and diamond. US and Liberia have signed a trade agreement.¹ Pakistan deployed troops in Liberia to preserve national interest of USA in Liberia and in return USA provided financial and military aid to Pakistan. However, Pakistan's engagement in UN peacekeeping follow the theory of the realism and constructivism. Here I am explaining the activities of Pakistani troops delivered in Liberia following the international norms.

The violent conflict started in Liberia in 1989 and lasted until 2003 except during the short reprieve from 1997-2000. The UN intervened the dispute with the military and political support of ECOWAS. (Nations, 2003b)

After signing the Accra Peace Agreement, Liberia sent a request the UN to send a peacekeeping troops following chapter VII of the UN Charter to provide help new interim Government. The UN peacekeeping force assisted with the accomplishments of the peace arrangements. The UNSC approved the UN peacekeeping operation called UNMIL according to resolution 1509 in September 2003. UNMIL contributed a significantly in stabilization of Liberia during the transition period. The first phase of UNMIL's tasks comprise supervising elections, training the army and police to initiate the post-conflict peace-building efforts. (Nations, 2003b)

The second phase of its mandate focused on reduction of troops by 1129 personal by that date. The mission contribute supporting government in capacity building of troops and police. According to the UNSC meeting 8239 UNMIL has been considered one of the largest peacekeeping operation in the history and started to transfer its responsibilities phase by phase to close the mission following the UNSC resolution 2233. The fifteen-year mission closed in 2018. Currently, UNMIL is replaced with the United Nations Country Team (UNCT) comprised of RC with other funding agencies and programs to continue peace-building and development work throughout the country. (Nations, 2003b)

¹U.S. Relations With Liberia, Bilateral Relations Fact Sheet, Bureau of African Affairs, August 2, 2019

TABLE 8.1: Total number of troops in UN mission Liberia missions.

Type	Number
Total	9387
Uniformed	7711
Troops	5783
Military Observers	133
Police	1795
International Staff Members	485
National Staff Members	954

Source:<http://www.unmil.org>

Over the past few decades, Pakistan proved itself the UN peacekeeping missions' backbone, including participation in UNMIL (2003-2018).([ISPR, 2012](#))

Pakistan contributed with engineering companies, police personals, a signal company, military observer, and a small hospital to the UNMIL. Pakistan deployed around 2,000 peacekeepers to UNMIL every year with the largest contribution of 3,400 peacekeepers in 2007 and 2008. A major part of military troops from Pakistan came back in 2015. ([Nations, 2014c](#))

The Assistant Secretary-General (ASG) for the UNDPKO Bintou Keita, paid a visit in a hospital established by Pakistani troops at the star-base, repatriated on 31 March 2018. He stated, "I am proud to acknowledge the excellent work done by PAKMED and all the men and women who served peace for Liberia." (Keita, 2018) (Bintou K, 2018) ² UN closed the UNMIL on 30 March 2018. The first successful

²UN completes UNMIL, praises Pakistani peacekeepers' work, APP, 2018

transition of power happened on 22 January 2018, closer to the UN peacekeeping mission. George Weah elected as the new president of Liberia and Pakistani troops supported the peace agreement creating a suitable environment for new institutions responsible for security, public administration, and socio-economic development. It contributed an important role in these activities during the dispute and post-conflict period between 2003-2018. UNMIL deputy special representative expressed in an interview, "We have to acknowledge the significant contribution made by Pakistan to the peace process in Liberia," (Waldemar V, 2016). He highly praised the expertise and sense of commitment of Pakistan troops dealing with challenging situation.³

UNMIL's role in Liberia is one of the success stories of the history of UN peacekeeping. These success tools could be used for future successes of the peacekeeping missions and learn much from the Liberian experience.

8.0.1 Ebola and UN Peacekeeping Mission in Liberia

The Ebola pandemic resulted in 3,000 deaths in Liberia in 2012. The UNSC considered the extent of the outbreak Ebola pandemic a danger to regional and global peace and security. The SRSG considered this pandemic a 14-month national nightmare. Before Ebola broke out, the mission had engaged to support national bodies, of law, support national reconciliation, strengthen the rule and build its security sector. "The UN and other partners recognized quite early on this was more than a public health crisis. Landgren said in 2015 as brought the disease under control. Certainly, health services collapsed almost immediately. But there were immediate risks to public security. Commodity prices grew, and people became restive. There was a state of emergency, and the army was called out." (Landgren, 2015)⁴

As the Government grew in credibility and presence, the local communities took the responsibility to organize themselves. The UN mission controlled the Ebola outbreak by taking three steps: advocacy, removing suspected cases, and full contact. Pakistani troops working with UNMIL supported the mission by providing humanitarian and logistical need for example, donating vehicles using to help out

³Waldemar V, 2016

⁴Karin Landgren, Under-Secretary-General, Special Representative of the Secretary-General (2012-2015)

in medical training to fight against Ebola. Pakistani medical contingents contributed with medical training to coordinate other UN agencies such as WHO and UNICEF. The mission started a UNMIL radio station and community outreach programs to teach the community about the disease and reduce the misconception. UNMIL also provided the security to publish health institutions because the security situation was so weak. (M. R. Snyder, 2014)

The UN Medical Corps is one of the essential components of the UN peacekeeping missions. The team oversees the health care of the UN professionals and the people of the host country to facilitate them with excellent medical treatment. The UN medical care complies with the below points

- To follow the international convention to provide treatment to the ill and injured persons. Geneva Convention and its protocols, the medical support to the UN mission, follow the war laws and their access to medical units and their personnel.
- All the sick persons shall receive the medical treatment according to the Geneva Convention and its protocol.
- The medical care should meet all standards acceptable to the TCC.
- Timely and responsive medical support should be provided to the mission with a highly timely response.

Two bodies are involved with the medical care of the UN staff and called Medical Services Division (MSD) and the Medical Support Unit (MSU) both work closely. (Relief, 2017)

8.1 The Structure of the Medical Support in Peacekeeping Operations

UN has set up a definite structure for peacekeeping missions. The force medical officer is the most senior person in the medical unit and works directly with the head of the mission's force commander. The commander of the UN troops is responsible for overseeing matters related to the health of all parties, such as international troops and UN staff. (Relief, 2017)

8.1.1 The Structure of the Pakistan Army

The structure of Pakistan's army consists of administrative and operational sectors. (ISPR-2019) The Pakistani military is divided into 11 corps, having different areas of responsibilities. The medical unit is one of them, and army medical doctors are an essential part of the UN peacekeeping missions. (ISPR, 2012)

8.1.2 The History of Army Medical Corps

Medical corps was established on 9 November 1948. They perform their duties according to the mandate. The major responsibilities are: (Pakistan Army,1948)

- Advisory Chief of Army Staff on all health care issues.
- Provide technical support to military troops on treatment facilities.
- Overseeing issues related to administration and maintain the medical facilities in the military.
- Provide the health care facilities to the Northern part of the country and part of Kashmir in Pakistan.
- Caring medical needs of Hajj operations and in emergency.
- Formulate strategies and recommend measures for health prevention issues.
- Performing for all matters related to training of military and overseeing the issues of institutions Army medical, dental and nursing schools.
- Ensuring cooperation with the Ministry of health and other provisional bodies including international on behalf of the and military forces.
- Dealings with academic issues related to health such as research and teaching department of military. (Nations, 1948b)

8.1.3 Pakistani Medics Saved the Life of a University Teacher in Liberia

Pakistani military medical contingent have made an indispensable contribution to the people of Liberia. Professor Lucky Ehigiator, who served as in the William

Tubman University in Harper. On 16 March 2013, at 4 a.m., he rushed to the Pak Med level 2 Hospital with difficulty breathing, heart palpitations, sweating, and semi-conscious condition. A complete assessment advised that he had acute pulmonary edema from congestive cardiac failure (CCF). (UNMIL,2013) The University professor was admitted in the intensive care unit and provided medical care by the Pakistani military doctors. This noble cause credited to Major Muhammad Yousaf and Major Zulfiqar Haider. The medical condition of the patient was out of danger after intensive care provided by Pakistani medical unit. (Relief, 2013)

8.1.4 Capacity and Competences of the Pakistan Army Medical Doctor

Pakistan has been a donor of medicine and medical equipment to Liberia through PWO and in partnership with the Cynthia Nelson Clinic as part of its post-Ebola donation to the health sector.(UNMIL, 2018b) The contribution highlights the collaboration between these two institutions. The team leader pointed out, "We are donating a variety of drugs including paracetamol, pingo, amoxicillin among others as PWO's way of showing its concern to the people of Logan Town and Liberia at large. We believe in the welfare of our people and will continue to ensure that PWO plays its role in the health sector of Liberia." (Kahlid, A 2004)

The head of UNMIL honoured nineteen Pakistani peacekeepers serving with UNMIL in 2014 due to their strong commitment and contributions to the UN mission in Liberia not only with peace and security but also for others in the field. The SRSG in Liberia said, "I would like to commend the Pakistani Contingent Commander Brig Gen.Tahir Mahmood for his leadership that has enabled his officers to give their best to the cause of peace and stability in Liberia. SRSG expressed my deepest gratitude to our Pakistani peacekeepers for your contribution to peace and stability in Liberia over the past ten years." (Landgren, 2014)

The event was organized on the departure of the PakBatt-medal-19 contingent after serving at different places of the country. Landgren offered special mention of seven female health practitioners (two medical doctors and five nursing officers) doing with the Pakistani medical team in Harper. The SRSG also paid tribute to Pakistani troops who lost their lives during the mission. "I wish to pay tribute to our colleague from PakBatt-medal-19, Maj. Kamran Khalil, who passed away

last August while serving the UN Mission in Liberia; may his soul rest in peace. SRSG paid respects to all the 21 Pakistani soldiers who have lost their lives while in service in Liberia." (Landgren, 2014)

During the interview with Hira Khan, the team leader and Director General for Medical Services of Pakistan said, "I feel good being in Liberia and working for the people of this wonderful nation." (Hira, K. personal communication 2019, June 7)

8.2 Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration in Liberia and the Role of Pakistan

One of the mandates of UNMIL comprised disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) of former fighters.(UNMIL, 2018b) DDR is one of the significant and toughest tasks for UN peacekeeping missions.It is process of destroying arms used by members of rebels groups, proceeding to teach peace to fighters and calling them back of their families and providing support to reintegrate as civilians into the community. DDR process calls ex-combatants to normal life and those linked with rebel groups to play an active participation in establishing peace.(Nations, 2003c)

According to the UN report, up to 20,000 children, around six years old became part of government forces and the opposition groups during the civil war in Liberia, which lasted seven years. The Liberian Government developed the policy not to recruit less than 18 years of soldiers for the Liberian national army. Due to the incentive situation of conflict, the Liberian Government allowed recruiting less than 18 years of the child during the armed conflict.(Relief, 2001) The process of establishing peace remained incomplete during the first civil war until 1997 and 4,300 child soldiers were demobilized and 89% disappear before the process. UNMIL has numerous successes with 10,000 former fighters between 2003 and 2004.(Relief, 2001) The DDR process has a significant role in stabilizing Liberia in 15 years. Most of the job was done with experts of UNMIL.(Paes, 2005)

The DDR process was one of the most important segment of the Accra Peace Agreement. The UN team worked with the country's National Commission to train experts for the country's DDR process and started its activities from 2003 until 2006 and involved more than 10,000 fighters.(The Story of UNMIL, 2001)

The ex-combatants in the southeast of the country that had been demobilized or disarmed. Even in troops' presence, the local communities were scared, and in some events the ex-combatants came out and fired with automatic weapons, frightening the local people. UNMIL had the difficult task of dealing with it by working with warlords and area commanders to get them on board, using their skills to engage their communities. The effective programs planned to engage them with vocational training and organizing demobilization camps.(UNMIL, 2018b)

The UNMIL supported the work of UNHCR to deal with Liberian refugees inside of the country. Various activities were taken to provide support to IDPs. UNHCR provided shelter, food and medical health. According to the UNHCR 25,000 IDPs were provided with a place in camps. In addition, all people residing in camps were provided sheets, mats, blankets and a kitchen including a health and education facility.(UNHCR, 2005)

8.2.1 The Rule of Law

It plays a significant role in achieving the UN's primary goal to maintain global peace and security. The rule of law is an essential part of the UN mandate.(UNMIL, 2017) According to Waldemar Vrey it is not the field that provides only justice on the disagreements but also deals with the Government's responsibility to ensure proper governance. The rule of law involves realizing a state and its citizens for their duties, including delivering justice to the people. The UNSC has defined the rule of law and order as one of the major point tasks of UNMIL.⁵

8.2.2 UN office to support security sector reforms

This office comprises five portion: 1) Police Units 2) Justice and Correction Services 3) Disarmament 4) Demobilisation 5) Reintegration Section 6) Security Sector Reform Unit 7)UN Mine Action Service. Currently, 15,000 experts in maintaining law and justice and security are on the ground, and peacekeepers from TCC have the task of patrolling alongside officers from other security organizations. Weapons specialist teach civilians the risk of explosive hazards, and judicial and correctional officers help the state institutions make sure that every citizen

⁵Interview-Waldemar Vrey,2018

is treated equally. DDR experts helped ex-combatants reintegrate into society, and sector reform advisors provide inception and responsibility built into units of police, military, and department of intelligence. OROSLI plays a significant role in supporting peacekeeping missions to achieve these tasks around the world.⁶ OROSLI deals with a wide range of functions from international recruitment of experts and professional for worldwide deployment and many other tasks such as training and coordination with regional organization.(Nations, 2003a)

8.2.3 Pakistan's Contribution to Strengthening the Rule of Law in Liberia

Pakistan has emerged as a top ten police contributor to the UN peacekeeping missions in the last three decades, and the country sent its first police contribution to Namibia in 1989. Pakistan's police played a significant role in UN missions and have a strict recruitment policy for police personnel for UN missions. Each police officer gets six to seven times more salary than that in the local police force. Scholars argue that Pakistan has the same intentions in deploying police as deploying Pakistani troops in various peacekeeping worldwide. The primary objective of deploying police is to increase their capacity through training with international police contingents. Pakistani police contributed an important role in assisting and re-framing the structure of the Liberian police structure.⁷

Pakistani police contingent's services closely with UNPOL and helped the LNP maintain law and order. They have also helped with re-equipping the LNP and trained 35,000 police officers. A special police support unit had been established comprising 300 special police and 500 quick response officers. Pakistan's policy was formed and deployed to deal with disorder and tactical operations in Liberia in fifteen counties and played an essential role in helping UNMIL succeed in its mandate.(Relief, 2020)Pakistan had been the third-largest police contributor with 588, police personnel and ranked as sixth in contributing 140 police officers. It increased its deployment of Pakistani police from 35 to 766 annually; however, due to domestic threats, the country has frozen troops' deployment for UN missions.(M. Q. Khan, 2014)

⁶Anonymous, Personal Communication with UN official, 20 December, 2019. Rule of law and United Nations

⁷Anonymous, Personal Communication, (2 September, 2018, Role of Pakistan in Liberia

The Pakistani battalion both police and military won the Liberian people's hearts and minds, which is an essential tool for conflict management. (UNMIL, 2014) Police officers provided support in medicine delivery to treat Liberian sick people from their medical supplies, protection of families, and children. Pakistani police and military helped the Liberian Government reconstruct the schools, mosques, and churches and establish temporary medical camps and hospitals to provide humanitarian aid during the Ebola outbreak. Football is a national sport which the Liberian youth enjoy playing. The Pakistani police provided 10,000 pieces of football to win the people's minds and hearts and engage them in sports. (UNMIL, 2010b) Despite the years of support and peacekeeping experience, Pakistan has yet to establish a formal teaching and learning platform. However, police officers are being trained at the National Academy of Police in Islamabad and Quetta. It is important to establish an effective and dedicated training institution for the police peacekeepers in Pakistan. This would be a significant contribution to literature.⁸ Overall, Pakistani women Police officers Joined the international efforts in maintaining peace and security. Ms. Shahzadi Gulfam from Pakistan was the very first women received International Female Police Officer award presented by DSG of the UN Ms. Asha-Rose. (UN Police Magazine, 2012)

8.3 Gender and Peacekeeping

Female have different skills for conflict management and member states encourage females to be part of UN peacekeeping missions. Women can strongly built a relationship with local community for implementation of peace accords for long lasting peace in a conflict region. If a women involves in conflict resolution she adopts an effective way to integrate with the local community. Women always suffer more than a man in a conflict, and with that experience during in the war or a conflict, can be used for an effective conflict resolution. (Shepherd, 2015)

Being aware of this difference is called gender discerning, which is one aspect of UN peacekeeping. The UNSG has focused particularly on gender issues in all organization sectors, including the security sector reforms DDR process, police reforms and military elections. "We cannot achieve any of our goals without the participation of women and girls." (Antonio, 2020)

⁸Anonymous, (14 September, 2018) Personal Communication, Police Officer of Pakistan, Role of Pakistani Police contingents in Liberia

8.3.1 Rebuilding the State Structure

After two civil wars, Liberia celebrates its Independence Day on 26 July. The UN transferred responsibility of security to the Government of Liberia in 2015, and a significant part of the transition was overseeing the security aspect of it.(UNMIL, 2015b)) The UN remained committed and cooperated in strengthening the Liberian police force and improved the locals' security capacities as part of the transition. After the conflict in 2003, Liberians and the international community were filled with pride when peace was final achieved. The UNSC extended the UN mission's stay for another year with the clear focus of supporting the efforts made and cooperating with the Liberian Government. UNMIL worked closely with the Liberian authorities to maintain peace during the post-conflict situation. UNMIL helped develop legislation regarding the security sector, the firearms and ammunition control act, the police and immigration service act, providing a robust legal framework for a smooth transition. UNMIL will continue its support of the Liberian Government reduced to military personnel's strength to 660 police personnel. It is essential to highlight those Pakistani troops and police who remained with UNMIL until the mission ended in 2018.(UNMIL, 2003)

8.3.2 Transition Period: Political and Operational Aspects

During the transition period, the main plan of UNMIL was based on transfer of responsibility of security to the Liberian Government during 2010-2016.(UNMIL, 2018a) This was the first step of UNMIL in helping to shift power to the Liberian Government. Liberians, however, should ensure their security before UNMIL leaves the country.(UNMIL, 2017) Indeed, this is the goal of all UN peacekeeping missions: to provide all the institutions' proper functioning after conflict. Establishing the rule of law, effective police and military force, strengthening the judicial system is very important once the battle has ended.(UNMIL, 2015a)

The transition needs high-level political engagement. The political system of Liberia is complex as twenty candidates may run for the presidential election.“UNMIL has continued to hand over security responsibilities to national security agencies,” (Farid Zarif,2016).

After the successful elections talks arranged between UNMIL and the Government of Liberia for procedural transition and after two years the security of the Liberian

people handed over to the Government. The UNSG Ban-Ki-Moon assured the Liberian people that the UN would continue supporting the Liberian Government in development projects even after the withdrawal of peacekeeping forces. (UNMIL, 2017)

In June 2010, a seminar was held in collaboration with the Social Sciences Research Centre in Liberia and the UN to discuss the early response to post-conflict transitions and lessons learned. The conference led to establishing a formal National Security Council for transition planning and a working group of government and UN officials. However, the UNSG Ban-Ki-Moon addressed in UNMIL 2010 report to ask Liberian Government to deliver more built on achievements to increase government ownership make more coordination, and ensure UNMIL transition. (UNMIL, 2010a) The UNSC provided a formal mandate for the transition process in September 2010, following resolution 1938 (2010), a joint transition plan on the transfer of responsibility for UNMIL to the Liberian Government. The transition process continued throughout 2011, but the implementation stopped because of the new elections and representatives' nomination. A second mission deployed to assess the performance of the resolution of the UNSC. UNMIL took civilian tasks such as security, while the UNCT started an internal capacity assessment. The report highlighted three straightforward ways of transitioning. (UNMIL, 2017) First: The SG stressed expanding the transition process beyond security. The report highlighted gaps and requested UNMIL to support Liberia in strategic planning and management of the transition process, national reconciliation, a constitutional proposal, reforms, and decentralization. Second: The report suggested partially withdrawing UNMIL after the agreement between UNMIL and the Government. Third: It emphasized capacity mapping the country team would not be able to in a position to assume most of the mission's civilian's functions during the transition. (UNMIL, 2007) These outcomes were presented by the UNSC resolution 2066 (2012) which codified UNMIL's process of withdrawing its arms component from Liberia at the first stage of transition. The SG approved three phases of withdrawing the military and police force between 2012 and 2015. The SG encouraged UNMIL to strengthen its support to the Liberian Government to set the new priorities such as national reconciliation constitutional reforms and decentralization and mandated UNMIL to recruit qualified specialists to support the transition. (UNMIL, 2007) The development continued in 2013 and 2014. The assessment report's recommendations highlighted the transition process and progress. The UNSC resolution took three phases of reviews. (UNSCR, 2066)

- A joint strategic review: A UNMIL and UNCT comparative advantage study.
- A joint strategic review of UNMIL and the UN operations in Côte d'Ivoire (UNPCI) led by UNDPKO.
- UNMIL and UNOCT established a joint working group led by UNDPKO.

The joint working groups of UNMIL and UNCT highlighted the steps that would lead the civilian transition later.(UNMIL, 2015b) The SGRG, said, "The comparative analysis does not show the overlap with the country team activity, and the agencies and funds are not enough to implement the mandate."(Karin Landgren,2015.) The DPKO planned for the security transition to end in 2016 with the complete handover and security transition by the end of 2017 and to ensure no interference and influence during the elections and security transition. The Secretary-General stressed that UNMIL helps the Liberian Government in political reconciliation, transparent elections, establishing good offices to ensure state stability. UNMIL's highlighted the Liberian Government's work to formulate a plan for the security sector transition.(UNMIL, 2015b)

8.3.3 The Capacity Building of Youth

Pakistani peacekeepers were involved in youth capacity building in Liberian through the Boost and Youth program. The program trained 38 youngsters with new skills, and after completing the courses, certificates were awarded. During this training, Pakistani engineers (company 19) engaged participants with a hands-on approach to enable youth to have a working knowledge of the equipment to help them find better jobs in the market.(UNMIL, 2014a) The computer training was based on necessary skills such as using Microsoft Windows 7, the internet, Microsoft Office, basic understanding definitions, fuelling systems, lubrication and hydraulic systems and handling machinery. The Liberian minister for vocational training awarded the certificates. He expressed his feelings saying, "Pakistan has imprinted their names on our hearts with their devoted efforts "(Charles Gaye 2014), and the Contingents Commander Brig-Gen. Tahir Mahmood said, "The importance of efforts done in imparting technical training to youth is cognizant of the demands

of the private and commercial sectors.(Mahmood,2014) The representative of students said that they highly appreciated the efforts and offered gratitude to Pakistan's construction company engineering-19 for reaching out to them.(UNMIL, 2014a)

8.3.4 Malala Day: Youth Coalition Takes Action

The youth of Liberia raised their voice for the stranded and equal right of education for all Liberian and inspired by Malala Yousafzai and celebrated the "Day for Education" at the UNMIL Headquarters in Monrovia.(UNMIL, 2013) Malala was attacked by the Taliban in Pakistan and became the UN representative in supporting girls' education worldwide. Malala defended the actions in favour of girl education and the youth organization for equal right of education in Liberia. Students started a countrywide campaign for equal rights and quality education in Liberia lead by Pakistani peacekeepers. The National Chairman of the Coalition, said, "Malala Day is just a day, but in Liberia, we also believe that there are a lot of Malala's in our country; many children and young people who have deprived of the right to quality education," and "We have brought this Malala Day as a kick-off to a new era for girls' education in Liberia."(Bayan P,2013).⁹ The government of Liberia with the UN mission drafted a mandate to promote girls education and primarily organized two workshops. The participants of the workshops highlighted the scientific needs and spaces to improve for promoting female education. The experts asked all stakeholders like civil society, NGO's and INGO's to contribute to this noble cause.(UNMIL, 2013)

8.3.5 Organizing the One Month to Provide Medical assistance to Eye Problems

The Pakistani Medical Team organized a one-month camp offering free eye camp care under the leadership of Maj. Omar Ishtiaq. The sector B commander initiated the program, Brig-Gen Tahir Mehmood Wafai, who distributed the certificates to some Tubman University nursing students. LNP received the ten first aid kits. Brig Tahir also donated a desktop computer to the harper demonstration elementary and junior high school and four footballs. Col. Muhammad Ali called

⁹United Nations Mission in Liberia,2013

on county authorities to mobilize patients with eye problems to benefit from the free treatment, Pakistan spent its resources on the Pakistani level II hospital. It procured 20 Intracocular lenses and other material required for cataract surgery at the camp. The project was praised and welcomed by the Government of Liberia and Pakistani have provided a comprehensive training plan including on the job training in the lab, radiology and intensive care, and other interventions for nursing students of WVS Tubman University besides technical training for the paramedical staff of the J Dossen hospital harpers.(UNMIL, 2014b)

8.3.6 Pakistani Peacekeepers Built a New Nursery School

Pakistan's quick reaction force built a geo-ye apostolic Pentecostal community school. The school is located in the capital Monrovia and not far from the FQFR base camp. However, the school lacked proper sitting equipment, desired books for study, and no facility for playing. Pakistani troops provided new furniture and constructed a playground. In addition, they provided toys for the children and organized games, walks and cartoon movies. Furthermore, the Pakistani battalion built an office for the principal and teachers. Gibson said, "I just want to say thank you. This is so important because it will help the country, it will help us, Liberians, as people of the world". She also said, "It's important that the children have a decent school and playground so that they will grow up fine."(Massa G, 2013). A 13 years old girl who wants to be a doctor when she grows up said, "I love the new school, it's so beautiful," she said. "I appreciate the Pakistanis for what they have done. The walls are so pretty and we have a place to sit and learn." (Sangay,2013)¹⁰

8.3.7 Conclusion

The UN mission in Liberia played a significant role in building human rights institutions in the country, and Pakistani troops were part of the process. However, Liberia still faces serious challenges in human rights violations despite making significant progress in 14 years in the presence of peacekeepers. There is still a need for improvements and effective mechanisms to address these challenges. There is still corruption, weak institutional capacity, land disputes, sexual assaults,

¹⁰United Nations Mission in Liberia, 2013

and a lack of defending of rights of children and women. A weak economy and the spread of the Ebola virus in 2014 limited foreign investment and increased poverty. However, there are allegations against Pakistani peacekeepers, but also against Europeans for human rights violations, and the UN has zero-tolerance against the violation of human rights by peacekeepers. There have been allegations particularly against Pakistani troops of sexual violence in Liberia but never proved it. Many Scholars agreed on the business of the international community in not highlighting the positive image of Pakistan. Pakistani troops in Liberia were engaged in people-to-people contact to improve trust. The local people argued that Pakistani peacekeepers were so polite and respectful towards them. They felt safe with the Pakistani troops who provided free food and protection for women etc. Liberians argued that Pakistani peacekeepers are trustful compared to regional peacekeepers such as Nigerian troops as Liberians heard several stories of their involvement in rights violations. UN intervene in Liberia in 2003 to protect the human rights of the community.

Chapter 9

Impacts of Contribution to The United Nations Peacekeeping in Pakistan

This part will examine the political, security, economic and other domestic and international impacts of contribution to Pakistan's peace operations. This chapter will also discuss the theoretical expectations of different motivational factors described in the previous chapters and achievements on the ground. The goal is to analyze the motivations of Pakistan's participation to UN peacekeeping missions and which theoretical approach better explains in case of Pakistan.

9.1 Political-Strategic

Pakistan's contribution to UN peace operations does not produce positive outcomes alone. Peace operations can also have negative consequences such as corruption, sexual abuse, smuggling, and civil-military relationship. (Thakur et al., 2007) Intervention from a third country to another human society can generate two types of intentional and unintentional consequences. Researchers and experts on UN peacekeeping operations only talk about intended outcomes, such as improving the capacity and operational ability to achieve their intended goals. Pakistan has been an influential player regarding regional security, particularly in

Afghanistan and its traditional enemy, India. The country also deals with domestic security issues concerning extremists and the Taliban with new challenges like Dash.(Thakur et al., 2007)

Pakistan has earned a lot of success on the international level by deploying its forces in Bosnia, Somalia, and Liberia. Pakistan learned to lobby participation in different geographical and changeable peace operations. The involvement of Pakistan in peace operations missions increased professionalism and the ability to deal with all insecurity challenges at the national or international level.(Kiani, 2004b)

One of Pakistan's critical issues is terrorism and Pakistan suffered from internal disability and political violence.(Abbasi, 2013) The participation in peacekeeping operations has created cooperation opportunities to deal with this issue. In the last decade, Pakistan faced a big challenge of insecurity and terrorism domestically through Afghanistan and India's direct and indirect intervention creating chaos in Pakistan. More than 70,000 people lost their lives in suicide, bombings-in civilian areas.(Khan, 2020) It included required thousands of security forces, particularly in the border region of Afghanistan.

According to Military experts in Pakistan, the military decided to deploy most of its peace operation-experienced troops that worked under challenging conditions. This decision had positive outcomes, and the country was able to control terrorism and regained all terrorist-occupied areas. The Pakistani military gained the operational capacity to deal with hard-core Taliban interference in SWAT and FATA places captured by the Taliban.

The Pakistan military has shared the capacity and training skills, including its experience on countering terrorism by participating in newly established UN peace operations and friendly countries, such as Saudi Arabia.¹

Pakistan is familiar with strategies and the many threats internally and externally. States tries to deliver to fulfil the demands of their people. In today's world the leaders are answerable to their people and organize every possible way to safe their interests. These interests are based on different factors such as political, economic and social.(Rotberg, 2003) Pakistani peacekeeping troops contribution

¹Brigadier Mirza served for several UN Peacekeeping mission leading Pakistan army, Personal Communication, August 2020

have shown their capacity at an international level and proved to deal with the different militant groups' regional threats.

Pakistan's participation in UN peace operations established good public relations, and the international community has recognized a positive image their training level, effectiveness, operational capacity, and equipment. (Malik, 2014) The international community, the European Union, and the US have praised the Pakistani troops' success in Bosnia. Contributions in UN peacekeeping offer opportunities to the Pakistan army to gain more defensive capability to deal with internal and external threats including financial benefits. (S. U. Shah, 2020)

Pakistan's contribution to peacekeeping has proved that the country is committed to protect and civilians rights in the region. They successfully conveyed the message of violation of basic rights of people in Kashmir and long standing on issue of Kashmir. Lobbying is essential in influencing the positive image of the country. Pakistan use the peace operations to counter the influence of Permanent Member of UNSC influence and stand on Kashmir. (Krishnasamy, 2002a)

9.1.1 Education and Training

The Pakistan military has gained various benefits through peace operations in the sector of learning and training. (W. Sidhu, 2019) The Pakistan army has learned the value of the capacity building from peace operations. They have been recognized for their expertise and competences in the region and understood the need to reshape their standards according to the expectancy of the international level.

The Pakistan army has been compared to other regional powers in its superiority and defensive capacity. The Pakistani defence policymakers have stressed necessary preparation according to the need at a domestic and regional level. According to the former-Pakistan military general, Pakistan army still lacks of better training and tactics to deal with militants in Pakistan. As a result, Tehrek Taliban's is successful to make attacks inside Pakistan. Secondly, India is a traditional enemy of Pakistan, and it has become the 3rd most significant contributor

to the defence budget.² The Pakistan army shifted its approach from conventional to a very high professional level gained from peace operations' international experience.(S. U. Shah, 2020) The Pakistani military created a peacekeeping branch to deal with issues and requirements for peace operations.(Nawaz, 2009)

Over 5000 troops are performing their duties on the ground with peace operations.³ The Pakistan army's primary objective is to ensure national security and unity by defending the country from external threats and maintaining internal peace. During national emergencies and disasters, it leads to humanitarian operations at home and takes part in UN peace operations. The Pakistan army deploys engineering, education, and medical teams to take part in peace operations. The Pakistani army's health care system is of a high standard, and doctors increase their knowledge and practice by working with international teams in peace operations. During operations, The Pakistan army deploys a supply crop chain to facilitate and organize the whole process. The Pakistan army does not have fixed troops to deploy in the field, but deployment gets altered. During the mission in West New Guinea, 14 Punjab regiment was deployed, but in Cambodia, the second regiment of Azad Kashmir was dispatched.(ISPR, 2012)

The Pakistani army gained international experience working with American troops in Somalia.(T. Yamin, 2019) A significant portion of the Pakistani military learned the English language, specific skills, and trained their colleagues once back. The Pakistani army has established a peacekeeping training centre at the National University of Science and Technology to provide teaching troops opportunities for their inure-deployment during UN peace operations mandated by the UNSCR. The centre not only provides training to Pakistani troops but also hosts training sessions for other countries. This centre provides information on rules of engagement and makes sure the commander well understands these. The commander ensures all contingents to be fully aware of engagements' practices before or during the deployment process.(T. Yamin, 2019)

United Nations peacekeeping missions required effective and strategic communication. However, strategic communication has been supporting operational activities since years. Therefore, it is needed to adopt new technical skills.(Sherman et al., 2021) Deploying the trained troops is the Pakistan army's responsibility with modern equipment and motivation for the service. UN trained the troops contributing

²India Times,2021

³DPKO,2020

from different countries to make them able to deal with any challenging situation. It supports the troops in increasing their competency, knowledge and prepares peacekeepers to serve in a dangerous environment. However, all member states should train their troops before the deployment in UN peace operations. (Nations, 2021c) Weak communication leads to a massive crisis during the peace operations in Somalia, where 24 Pakistani soldiers lost their lives due to a lack of effective coordination and communication. (T. Yamin, 2019)

9.1.2 Civil-Military Relations

Effective civil-military coordination plays an important role during conflict management. It is one of the significant tools followed in UN peacekeeping operations. It refers to dialogue among the civilians, police and military personal of the peace operations. Effective civil-military relations support during the implantation of the mandate and closer of the peace operations missions. The troops from developing states such as Pakistan learn about these skills. The military is one of the important components in disaster management in Pakistan. In emergencies and disasters such as floods and earthquakes, it is important to have coordination between civilian and military institutions. Troops already served for different peacekeeping missions called to support in such a situation in Pakistan. These projects raise the peace building measures that are important to achieve the goals set by the UNSC. Many CIMIC activities involve: The rebuilding of roads. Improving security and accessing and encouraging refugees to return. The reintegration of ex-militants. (Holshek et al., 2017)

9.2 Domestic Impacts

Pakistan's participation to the UN peace operations has domestic impacts such as Economic, Public, Historical, Religious, and Cultural. (Güngör, 2007)

9.2.1 Public Impacts

The contribution of Pakistan in UN peacekeeping operations after the Cold War period has been impacted by public opinion in Pakistan. Due to large numbers of

Pakistani people migrated to Somalia before and after the conflict and Pakistani troops' presence, Islamabad developed strong bilateral relations and policies for the people living there and in the entire region. The same happened in the case of Pakistan's contribution to Bosnia. Today, Bosnia and Pakistan have a relationship of mutual respect. The press and public opinion encouraged Pakistani troops to deploy in Somalia and Bosnia due to common religion and ethnic relationships. (T. Yamin, 2019) Pakistan has helped living conditions in those regions through participation in peace operations and home disturbances prevention. (Güngör, 2007)

9.2.2 Historical and Cultural Impacts

Pakistan has promoted its cultural and historical ties with countries through peace operations.⁴ It contributed to rebuilding the economy and society through relations with governments. The Pakistan army has promoted the culture and history of Pakistan through peace operations. The Pakistani military, which has been active in the African region, enormously helped Muslim countries through peace operations and built credibility and trust among the African population.(Union, 2007a) Peace operations established a long-lasting relationship with host countries such as Somalia and Bosnia. Countries support each other due to this friendship at international platforms such as the United Nations.

9.2.3 Religious Impact

Pakistan's contribution to peace operations had a significant impact on Pakistan because most of the population is Muslim. After the civil war started, the people of Somalia migrated and were welcomed by the Pakistani people. Pakistan comprises 96% of its people, and Somalia has 99.9%. Pakistan hosted people from Somalia, and a small city was established in Islamabad called mini-Somalia.(Khan, 2016) Pakistani universities offer scholarships to Somalian students. Due to the common religion, there is an improving trend of mutual marriages.(Güngör, 2007)

⁴Ministry of Foreign Affairs Pakistan

9.2.4 Economic Impact

There is a strong argument followed by scholars and experts on contributing to third world countries in peace operations for financial benefits. However, Pakistan's financial help through peace operations does not have a considerable impact on the Pakistani military collectively, but maybe on an individual basis. Pakistan's significant motivations were to achieve national prestige rather than financial gain. (Güngör, 2007)

Pakistan has gained some trade benefits with host countries through peace operations, such as better relationships between Somalia and Pakistan. Trade increased from US\$1 million dollars to US\$50 million dollars in 2015-2017. Import and export have doubled in the past three years between Pakistan and Somalia. Pakistan exports sugar, rice, and pharmaceutical products to Somalia. The Pakistani troops' presence in Somalia and Bosnia encourages business communities to invest in Pakistan.⁵

Deploying troops increased Pakistan's role in African states and created a market for the weapon industry, which Pakistan produces with China's help. The Defence industry contributes to the home economy by selling light and heavy weapons following international law to build a strong military and police host states. (Union, 2007a)

Pakistani troops receive an excellent package for serving with the United Nations peace operations. They receive almost US\$1400 dollars, while at home, the average wage of a soldier is US\$250 dollars. (Rees, 2018) Pakistan established close relationships with other countries through peace operations to market new technology and increase import and export. (Foric, 2018)

9.2.5 Security Understanding of South Asia

South Asia has gained attention in the global community due to conflict and regional instability since 2001. Terrorism in Pakistan, political violence in Bangladesh, rights violation of minorities has triggered the new threats for lives of people. In addition, issue of Afghanistan has created uncertainty for 30 million people and perhaps return of Taliban's may bring a new wave of terrorism in the region.

⁵HE Makhzum is an Ambassador of Somalia to Pakistan, 2020

(Barthwal et al., 2017) The region has an old association with UN peacekeeping. It provides an observer mission between Pakistan and India, called the UN Observer mission.(Belal, 2019b) Deploying troops from the region to distant lands has caused internal political dynamics. India was reluctant to deploy soldiers in East-Timor because it was designed to support separatists, and the same happened in Assam and Kashmir.(Raj, 1999) It is essential to mention that Pakistan actively started to participate in peace operations after the Cold-War.Pakistan did not participate in peace operations for almost 25 years before(1964-89), because troops were busy managing its security at home.(T. Yamin, 2019)

9.2.6 Relations with the United States

Pakistan's relations with the US are based on a give-and-take policy. However, both countries have a robust strategic partnership after the Cold-War. Islamabad and Washington served together in the UN peacekeeping Somalia mission in 1992. Both countries have lost numbers of troops. After that, the US decided not to continue physically with peace operations, but Pakistan increased its presence after 1995. Peace operations have been bringing up the relationship between Pakistan and the US. There is a narrative that Pakistan sent 500 troops to Somalia at the United States' request and in return to gain relaxation on international sanctions to enrich uranium.(T. Yamin, 2019) Pakistan accepts the US's request to send or increase the number of troops for peace operations if the situation applies to Pakistan's foreign and security policy.(T. Yamin, 2017a) Pakistan refused to deploy troops in Syria at the US's request due to the contrast of ethnic differences between Sunni and Shia Muslims.(Post, 2015)

9.2.7 Barriers to Contributing

Islamabad has been providing troops for 50 years of its association with UN peace operations. Due to the country's current situation, Pakistan might have to decrease its contribution to UN peacekeeping troops in the coming years because of the security of internal and external threats, economy, and subsidized peacekeeping.(Malik, 2014)

9.2.8 Internal Security Commitments

Pakistan has been facing and confronting against war on terrorism for a long time. Globally, Pakistan was among the top 10 countries hit by terrorism. The first recorded attack was in 1970, and since then, terrorists launched hundreds of suicide attacks in Mosques, Churches, Schools, and universities that resulted in thousands of casualties. (Khan, 2005) Pakistan has effectively dealt with this challenge by imposing new laws, such as military courts, the deployment of troops in sensitive regions with great success. However, there is still a threat that militants could regain power in some areas due to fragile security conditions in the region. Pakistan is still conflicted by the internal danger from violent extremism and jihadist groups. The major challenge is to successfully maintain the situation, which is not an easy task due to weak political commitments. The entire burden falls on the military force. Pakistan could consider a significant decrease in sending troops to peace operations under UN command. (Malik, 2014)

9.3 External Threats

Pakistan's geostrategic position is exceptionally critical; it is surrounded by Afghanistan, China, India, and Iran. (Reza, 2019) Pakistan faces multi challenges from its neighbouring countries, mainly from Afghanistan and India. India is being considered a traditional enemy of Pakistan. Four wars form part of the past, and due to the Kashmir issue, military and external group support are involved in the Baluchistan area. Pakistan has to counter this threat to secure the border to prevent external insurgency. (UNSIP, 2020) After the withdrawal of international troops from Afghanistan, Islamabad could faces severe security challenges again. The majority of Tarik-e-Taliban (TTP), which targeted the Pakistani state, reduced their activities due to the United States' control. Still, it can rise again after the withdrawal of the US forces. TTP was officially formed in 2007, also known as the Pakistani Taliban, but is mostly associated with the Afghan Taliban. The TTP has carried out deadly attacks, and it resulted in thousands of deaths. Many TTP leaders have been killed by the US or Afghan forces. Pakistan might need to increase its troops on the border for security to stop the militant uprising. This could reduce the number of troops for UN peace operations. (Kanwal, 2013)

9.4 Economic Problems

9.4.1 Pakistan Economic Problems

Pakistan has constant economic problems. The Pakistan military plays a significant role in Pakistan's economic policies, and the head of defence leads the National Development Council who formulates all significant decisions on monetary policy. The indicator of Pakistan's economy remains weak with low investments and energy shortage. This might influence the strategic thinking of the economic policymakers and cause a reduction of UN peace operations. (Malik, 2014)

9.5 Current Challenges

Despite all challenges, it seems Pakistan would continue its contribution on a larger scale for the near future. In addition, little evidences and discussion that it would be a challenge for Pakistan to participate in robust peace operations. Pakistan has stressed the importance of establishing realistic peace operations with adequate resources to face challenges in conflict areas while operating under challenging zones. The Pakistani authorities denied allegations of smuggling activities within the military establishment to prevent the number of troops in the future. (Malik, 2014) The second allegation of sexual assaults by Pakistani peacekeepers could not be proven. It supports zero-tolerance on this issue. The government of Pakistan urged the UN not to comment on such matters to make happy the external audience but to sustain the Pakistani military's high standard. According to the Pakistani laws, the three members of the Pakistani army that were found guilty were sent to court-martial. (Malik, 2014)

Pakistan is a responsible state, and every institution is subjected to the law, and accountable if members are to be found guilty. The military in Pakistan is a volunteer service. The majority of people join this service after inspiration from their relatives and discipline is learned in the military service and traditional family lives. (Malik, 2014)

9.5.1 Lack of National Policy on Participation

Pakistan remains in the top ten list of UN peacekeeping troops contributors. Pakistan is the sixth-largest country providing troops to UN peacekeeping. A few years back, Islamabad was the top in deploying troops to UN peace operations around the world. Pakistan's engagements to keep global peace and security is addressed in the constitution which refers to adopt the approach of multiculturalism and internationalism. However, Pakistan still lacks the policy-making and expert's debates in the academics to reply how to respond to the constant global changing situation of the world. The scope of UN peacekeeping has changed in the last decades. The mandate of UN peacekeeping has expanded and its role is increased after the Cold War. Pakistan needs to develop a national doctrine for peacekeeping. England doctrine for peacekeeping is issued by the Field Manual entitled "Wider Peacekeeping". Pakistan should create a doctrine to respond to the request to deploy troops. (Kiani, 2004b)

9.5.2 Weak Procedures for Decision-Making

Decision making plays a significant role for any nation before deploying troops outside of their territory. Unfortunately, Pakistan still missing a national doctrine on contribution to UN peacekeeping missions. On the request of the UN on the participation of military troops, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs makes a policy decision. However, the Pakistan military plays a crucial role in the foreign affairs of Pakistan including any decision related to internal and external defence. The international community does not consider Pakistan as a democratic country, the role of parliament is almost zero in any decision making process about UN peacekeeping. Pakistan contribution to UN peacekeeping is handled by the GHQ General Head Quarters of the Pakistan military. For example, Sweden has been an important contributor to UN peacekeeping, but the process of decision making depends on the following points Swedish troops can only be deployed for UN peacekeeping or any external activity with the permission of the parliament. The activity is to follow the commitment with the international community and has been authorized by the Parliament already. Pakistan parliament should develop a framework of power to take any decision related to defence and security including UN peacekeeping. The public should be aware of military deployment outside of the country. Engagement of troops outside the country in a complex conflict could

bring negative results and outcomes such as the loss of 24 Pakistani soldiers in Somalia. (Kiani, 2004b)

9.5.3 Peacekeeping as an Institution

Pakistan is one of the top contributors, however, the country remains away from key decision making about UN peacekeeping at the UN. For example, Pakistan remains out from the project; the challenge of peace operations: into twenty first century.⁶ (Kiani, 2004b) The challenge project addressed the framework of increasing cooperation among the TCCs for effective outcomes from peacekeeping operations. Pakistan needs to generate new bodies and organizations to establish networking with other international peacekeeping organizations. National University for Science and Technology is the first to establish a peacekeeping training centre to share the information and practical knowledge about peacekeeping with other TCCs military personnel. Therefore, there is a vacuum in qualitative and quantitative research on peacekeeping and the role of Pakistan. Inter-Services Public Relations serves as the main source of information about peacekeeping in Pakistan.⁷ (Kiani, 2004b) The UN peacekeeping requires to be considered as the main focus of Pakistan's foreign policy. Government of Pakistan is trying to establish more research institute on UN peacekeeping, but still, need to create a constant academic approach to UN peacekeeping. For example, Bangladesh and Indian institutes on peacekeeping organise mutual training.

9.5.4 Provide Opportunity to Civilians Professionals

The work and mandate of peacekeeping are not only polishing the professionalism of security personnel's but equally important for the civilians. The Pakistani civilians need to take part in peace building and other post-conflict activities to learn to respond to any emergency at the national level. Sometimes whole society has to contribute to the rebuilding of the intuitions. Pakistan military should provide an opportunity to engage civilian's professionals, such as doctors, educationists

⁶for more details and reports see www.peacechallenges.net

⁷Humanitarian agencies and human rights bodies are at the vanguard of any response to crisis, raising awareness and visibility of the human catastrophe. Organisations such as International Red Cross, CARE, Médecins sans Frontières, work alongside UN agencies such as UNDP, UNICEF, FAO and WHO to provide humanitarian assistance and are working alongside UN peacekeeping forces

and engineers. The participation of Pakistani civilians professionalism is absent in international peacekeeping.⁸(Kiani, 2004b)

9.5.5 Lack of Literature

There is a huge literature gap in Pakistan about UN peace operations, except for some media coverage with short articles written by the national newspapers. Even so, Pakistan is a leading contributor in peace operations and has provided 150,000 troops, male and female police officers, military personnel, and civilians for half a century. The reasons are simple: (Malik, 2014)

- There has been little exposure to the work of Pakistani peacekeepers.
- People contributing to peace operations are considered part of the military, police, or civilian job.
- Academia and writers don't see this as a valued issue due to the small numbers it reaches.
- Lack of access to literature relating to the work of Pakistani peacekeepers.
- The military owns most of the reports prepared by them during their work with peace operations.
- Difficulty in access and fear to convince the military to share the reports.(T. Yamin, 2019)

9.5.6 Recommendations

Pakistan has several activities that could be projected as soft power. UN peacekeeping is one of them. Participating in international peace building activities, earned Pakistan a name, showing maximized interest. The three main objectives behind Pakistan's contribution are:(T. Yamin, 2017a) 1-Pakistan requires to

⁸Humanitarian agencies and human rights bodies are at the vanguard of any response to crisis, raising awareness and visibility of the human catastrophe. Organisations such as International Red Cross, CARE, Médecins sans Frontières, work alongside UN agencies such as UNDP, UNICEF, FAO and WHO to provide humanitarian assistance and are working alongside UN peacekeeping forces

expand the knowledge of UN peacekeeping to address the issues before any development. UN peacekeeping should be part of the constitutions and parliament play a role before any decision making.(Kiani, 2004b) 2- Institutional reforms are important, e.g. to establish a focal point for common coordination of all departments relevant to peacekeeping. Diplomatic missions of Pakistan should make efforts to be part of any high-level decision making about UN peacekeeping at the UN headquarters.(Kiani, 2004b)

- Pakistan showing the international community its responsibility as a state
- Pakistan projecting itself as a peace-loving state
- Show its standing with international organizations

9.6 Publicized Literature

Mass media should increase coverage about Pakistani peacekeepers' activities to project a country's positive image.(T. Yamin, 2017a)

9.7 Academia and Research

- There is a lack of academic literature and interest in peacekeeping. The research institutions, universities, and the ministry of defence should cover that gap.
- Pakistani embassies and representatives should play a significant role in the projection of peacekeeping by organizing workshops and seminars with foreign institutions.
- Documentaries and dramas play a significant role to highlight peacekeeping efforts and achievements by the Pakistan military; it should run on national TV.
- Currently, peacekeeping remains under the military domain, but political leaders should play a vital role through collaboration between the military directorate and MOFA.

- To transfer soft images into soft power which requires to project this soft power through public diplomacy where Pakistani peacekeepers have been successfully deployed. ([Kiani, 2004b](#))

Chapter 10

Conclusion

This thesis aims to understand and analyze Pakistan's motivations behind its contribution to UN peacekeeping operations. The reasons, works, policies, and benefits have been discussed in three case studies; the DRC, Liberia, and Somalia. The period has been considered as after the Cold War. UN peacekeeping operations regarded an optional to the international collective security system. Chapter VII has been a useful tool in conflict management since UNO's establishment.

UN peacekeeping operations have become more extensive, with more complex mandates in comparison to before. The differences in missions deployed during and following the Cold-War. The main objective of creating peacekeeping operations in time of the Cold War to prevent superpowers from confrontation due to their interest-based involvement in smaller conflicts. However, peace operations did not apply to all violent clashes due to the rigid attitude of superpowers. This continued tension behind two superpowers often stopped the UNSC from approving the missions.

This research analyses several of the critical factors behind Pakistan's contribution to UN peacekeeping operations and explores Pakistan's case by developing a conceptual framework, suggesting the categories of economic, political, and normative consideration. At the same time, sending troops to conflict zones. The findings from this work highlight the normative, political, and economic relations to be the most important factors in decision making while deploying forces with the UN peacekeeping. It affirms trade and investment interests with states where the deployment of Pakistan's troops exists.

The remuneration of UN peacekeepers benefits officers and soldiers in terms of the paid salaries to the deployed soldiers are much higher as compared to their home-based salaries. Therefore, it is evident that the Pakistan's government pursues the economic interest to benefit their army personals.

Political interest also drives Pakistan's engagement in UN peacekeeping, helps in establishing new political relationships and maintains diplomatic ties with all countries, mainly African countries. Pakistan tries to encounter Indian desire to be permanent member of UNSC using peacekeeping as a tool to influence the UN. Indeed, normative considerations are the most significant part behind deploying troops for peacekeeping.

The analysis of Pakistan's motivations in contributing to UN peacekeeping operations has a theoretical implications. According to the literature review, the current research on the normative factors behind Pakistan's troops engagement with UN peacekeeping operations focuses on commitment as an essential role to maintain global peace and security. The case study of Pakistan's engagement in peacekeeping explored the contribution to UN peacekeeping operations based on self-interest and international norms. Normative considerations played an important role, like in Somalia and Bosnia, where Pakistan joined the UN peacekeeping operations to maintain peace, for example based on a common religion. In this sense, normative considerations can be incorporated into national interests that leads to an increase in the level of interest for more engagement with UN peacekeeping operations.

Constructivist argued that the international organizations are the collaborative platform of states to take part in maintaining peace. On the other hand, realists argued that international organizations provide opportunities for states to secure their interests. Additionally, realists also consider the UN a testing ground where countries contribute their troops, less for maintaining international peace, but more as a commitment to save their interests. It means international organizations play a significant role in regulating their behaviour, modifying their identities and achieving direct state actions.

By following international norms, the country is pushed to cooperate with the international community. In my thesis, I have discussed using constructivist and realist theory to explain Pakistan's role in peacekeeping. A realist theory focuses on gaining interests by using power tools, such as funding, logistical and personnel support. It also explains countries cooperation for mutual benefits and to achieve

absolute interests. In other words, government can work hand in hand to preserve their collective interests through international organizations such as UN. Pakistan and Indian troops work together when deployed in the same mission through UN peacekeeping. Otherwise, they remain enemies of each other. In this work, I have explored Pakistan's contribution to peacekeeping by using the realist theory.

The UN was established to maintain global peace, security and started peacekeeping as a tool for implementing the Charter. It means there has been a great need to improve peacekeeping for practical outputs and fewer failures. Countries prepare their troops for rapid UN deployment with the same training standard and equal numbers of soldiers on every mission. The UN contributed significant role in settling disputes, whether intrastate or interstate, with member states' permission or using power based on Chapter VII. It does not mean the UN has resolved all the problems, but it all depends on member states' commitments, level of interests and funding. In other words, lack of interests, less funding, and veto power create challenges for the UN's significant role.

Pakistan contributed significantly in the Somalia and was praised by the global community. The humanitarian intervention by Pakistan through the UN established temporary relief for the people of Somalia. The four-year presence of international troops (1992-1995), cost the world millions of dollars and human lives. Pakistan and America lost numbers of their forces in Somalia. In Pakistan's case, the country raised its international prestige by contributing to Somalia and offering resistance to uranium enrichment to develop nuclear weapons. During Pakistan's stay in Somalia, they lost 50 soldiers but achieved to regain its international relations, end up out of isolation and relieved from international sanctions. The relief was temporary for the people of Somalia, as after 9/11, the US established a link of international terrorism to Somalia. The US started air and ground raids to conduct operations against extremist groups after 2001.

The Somalian case is similar to Afghanistan. Efforts to make peace and to build a state structure have made very little progress in Somalia like in Afghanistan. Unfortunately, Somalia remains as a fragile state for the last 50 years. There seems to be no light for sustained improvement of peace. Lack in interest of great powers in UN peacekeeping and hiring troops from third world countries might be potentially damaging the credibility of the organizations. However, Pakistan's participation in the Somalia mission allowed the government to rebuild relationships with the

US because Pakistan's situation was not politically and economically stable. Pakistan's intervention in Somalia was on common religious ground, and the people of Somalia were happy about the Pakistan's troops' presence in their country. The Pakistan army tried to restructure the state's institutions in health, education, and security sectors.

Peace operations can be considered optional to the collective security system and have been a useful tool in conflict management since the UN's establishment. The main objective to create peace operations in the time of the Cold War was to prevent superpowers from confrontation due to their interest-based involvement in smaller conflicts. However, peace operations did not apply to all violent clashes due to the rigid attitude of superpowers. This continued tension behind two superpowers often stopped the UNSC to approve the mission. Most peace operations have been deployed in those regions where the violent conflict occurred.

The UN Charter addresses two things. (1) is to maintain global peace and security, (2) is to project political, economical, and social justice in the world. (Nations, 1945d) The world has failed to close relationships between internal security issues and regional organizations to follow non-violence. The second principle attained more importance in the late 1990s, which led to increased UN peacekeeping operations in numbers. The demand dramatically increased after the Cold War. The UN has established many new missions according to the new markets and changing nature of the conflicts. This is because of (1) the increased number of disputes, (2) many developing states started to increase their number of troops. (3) strategic competition between the US and USSR on minor conflicts and (4) breakup of states, which were under the influence of superpowers.

There has been a dramatic change in peace operations that led to cease-fires and involvement in peace building activities. The changing nature of conflict from interstate to intrastate demanded a difference in the mandate of peace operations. Currently, the conflict's nature is intrastate-related which are triggered by poverty, human rights violations, ethnic problems, and other similar factors. Peacekeepers have now been mandated to deal with more challenges than before, such as supervising elections, reforms in the judicial system, local government, leading security sectors and more.

The Post Cold War missions delivered with other international organizations' cooperation focused on different sectors such as humanitarian services, building military

institutions and others. The positive side is dealing with conflicts within troops from developing states. The negative side is leaving the developed states out of operational activities and agreeing to provide funding, which weakens troops' capacity and capability to deal with modern types of conflicts.

Pakistan's contribution to peace operations has increased after the Cold War. However, Pakistan missed many missions to join due to the competition between the US and USSR. Islamabad did not ignore the offers but participated in very few peace operations. The relations with the US determined the mood of Pakistan towards peacekeeping missions following the Cold War. Pakistan hesitated to contribute to peace missions, such as Iraq in 2002, due to sectarian differences. However, Pakistan mostly agreed to provide help. Pakistan's reluctance to participate during the Cold War had to do with internal tension and the improvements of internal security issues. Islamabad did not want to divert its attention to another goal.

Most of the regions where Pakistan deployed troops were not priorities areas of the country concerning international security policy. After the Cold War, Pakistan increased its troops to build strong partnerships with the US and proved in Somalia, where 25 Pakistan's peacekeepers were slaughtered. The change in the US's policy in contributing troops during President Clinton's tenure opened the door for third world states to contribute. The US's lack of interests also led the European Union to decrease the number of troops and focus more on financial contribution. During the Cold War, Pakistan focused mainly on regional threats, particularly from India. India and Pakistan fought four wars in the time of the Cold War. Hardship threats disappeared after the Cold War due to the breakdown of USSR and decreased interest of the US towards Pakistan. The USSR was a close ally of India, and the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan appeared to be a constant threat to Pakistan's sovereignty.

After the Cold War, softer security issues, such as religious extremism, fundamentalism, social and economic problems, erupted. The economy of Pakistan weakened after the US stopped supporting Pakistan after the Cold War. Pakistan suddenly started to face Afghan refugees' burden into the country after the Russia and Taliban's occupation in Afghanistan. Afghan refugees presence became a soft internal threat for Pakistan due to their involvement in crimes related to drugs and terrorism. In response, Pakistan needed to focus intensely on two sectors; reform in security policy, and projection of a positive image. Dealing with soft threats

was essential to increase the army's operational capabilities and increase troops with peacekeeping to project a positive image of Pakistan. The contribution of Pakistan in the UN peacekeeping operations has an important impact on Pakistan in different ways. First, to join blue helmet promotes Pakistan's constructive face at the international level, such as a responsible country. Pakistan's image as a terrorist support state has been reduced due to their engagement with UN peacekeeping activities and participation as a peaceful regional power. Through these efforts, relationships with the European Union and America have improved. Both sides considered Pakistan as a responsible country in the world.

Countries use soft powers as a tool in relations with other states to gain their objectives. Military force has been considered as a formidable power but can be changed or transferred into soft power. Pakistan had to develop military capabilities to deal with new threats, internally and externally, mostly related to terrorism by deploying troops to the peacekeeping operations.

The relationships among Pakistan, US and EU helped to understand the dynamics of Islamabad's contribution to peace operations in difficult areas of the world. One cannot neglect the impact of Pakistan's security policy on peacekeeping, and how it was influenced by neighbouring states' contribution, as explained in this thesis. The Pakistan's military contribution to UN peacekeeping helped to increase its professional capabilities through UN peacekeeping operations. The Pakistan's army is considered professional at the regional level, but UN peacekeeping operations helped improve operational capacities from the regional to international level. In other words, the modernization of the Pakistan's army, can be attributed to the friendly contribution to UN peacekeeping.

The Pakistan military is considered hard power, but maybe there is a need to improve the soft ability. There is a lack of interest in fixing this gap. How can Pakistan use its successes of UN peacekeeping operations as soft power? This thesis argued that the Pakistan's security policy has come under the influence of regional security issues. Is it a convincing argument for Pakistan's support to UN peacekeeping? Yes, the conflict in Afghanistan and instability in Kashmir may demand an active contribution of Pakistan in UN peacekeeping operations, which support the logic of realists to search for power and influence. The Afghanistan crisis, which caused millions of Afghans to migrate to Pakistan, resulted in serious security concerns inside Pakistan and promoted Jihad. The image of Pakistan created by these activities has become negative in the international community,

particularly the US, as it sanctions Pakistan. After the Cold War, Pakistan started to increase its troops for the projection of a positive image and most of the contribution was done to satisfy the US.

Pakistan's participation with UN Peacekeeping operations is to project the values and a softer image of Pakistan. Pakistan's contribution to peacekeeping is to launch the idea of a responsible state, maintain a geostrategic position at regional and international levels, decrease the level of conflict, resolve disputes through peaceful means, promote democratic tradition, maintain rule of law, and to prevent ethnic conflicts. Secondly, to improve relations with Africa and the Muslim world, sustain close relationships with international organizations, and build the Pakistan's-military force. One critical aspect is understanding what lies behind the Pakistan's interests in UN peacekeeping operations to increase its military capability. After the Cold War, and mainly 9/11, Pakistan faced hard-core security threats, internally and externally, such as massive suicide bombings and traditional terrorist attacks. These threats demanded effective planning to increase conventional military planning to eliminate these threats.

The contribution of Pakistan to UN peacekeeping missions enables the military to deal with these new threats. Pakistan's contribution to UN peacekeeping is one of the motivations to highlight its identity in the international community through deliverance in crisis management and humanitarian efforts. Pakistan has been trying to play a constructive role in reshaping global security and protecting civilians by contributing to UN peacekeeping. Pakistan's significance is based on UN peacekeeping's contribution with other rationales such as political, economic, social, and cultural factors. This thesis argues the increasing role of Pakistan working with the UN over the last 50 years.

Developing peacekeeping skills would increase Pakistan's relations with the UN and US. Pakistan has understood the international community's security norms to learn about effective democracy around the principle of liberal democracy, focusing on crisis management and human security. Such a process would lead Pakistan towards a strong relationship with the US and the European Union. Pakistan's most important rationale behind the contribution is security. Pakistan would not be able to deal with challenging regional threats without increasing its military capacity with new technologies. Pakistan deployed many missions at home with a direct link to security issues. Still, one can claim that Islamabad helped to

participate in UN peacekeeping operations as an instrumental policy to improve its identity at the international level.

Security-related factor, such as countering the Indian influence at the regional level is one of the most important factor behind contribution of Pakistan to UN peacekeeping. Supporting in UN blue helmets also helped the Pakistan's military to learn and adapt modern skills as well as tools. In other words, a big part of the military has received specialized training, such as English courses, communication, and driving skills. These skills were extended to colleagues when they returned home after their short involvement within the missions. Pakistan's troops learned new types of skills by working with forces of other countries. Pakistan's troops also gained operational capabilities in dealing with hard-core terrorism by the Taliban occupied areas, such as swat occupation by Taliban's and North Waziristan in Pakistan. The Pakistan army started their operations to eliminate hostile occupation by deploying experienced troops who previously served in peacekeeping.

Pakistan's participation in peace operations has influenced the defence policy at the regional and international levels. Without doubts, Pakistan's involvement in peace operations has helped Islamabad to understand security interests in this way. For example, Pakistan is more interested in participating in UN peacekeeping operations in Africa, because of the presence of terrorist organizations. The strong presence of terrorist groups in Somalia and Sudan as well as Hezbollah supported by Iran, and the expanding activities of al-Qaeda in Sub-Sahara Africa had a strong link to the same organizations operating in Afghanistan. These groups had put severe threats to the internal security of Pakistan. Pakistan's deployment of troops in Africa helped to find the link of such terrorist organizations.

Chapter 11

Schlussfolgerung

Ziel dieser Arbeit war es, die Beweggründe Pakistans für seinen Beitrag zu den friedenserhaltenden Operationen der UNO zu verstehen und zu analysieren. Die Gründe, die Aktionen, die Politik und der Nutzen wurden in drei Fallstudien - Kongo, Liberia und Somalia - diskutiert. UN-Friedenseinsätze können als Teil des Systems kollektiver Sicherheit nach Kapitel VII der UN-Charta betrachtet werden. UN-Friedenssicherungseinsätze sind seit der Gründung der UNO ein effektives Instrument der Konfliktbewältigung. Die UN-Friedenssicherungseinsätze sind im Vergleich zu früher größer geworden und haben komplexere Mandate. Bei Friedensoperationen gibt es einen Unterschied zwischen den Missionen während des und denen nach dem Kalten Krieg. Das Hauptziel der Schaffung von Friedensoperationen während darin, Supermächte aufgrund ihrer interessenbedingten Verwicklung in kleinere Konflikte an einer Konfrontation zu hindern. Friedensoperationen wurden jedoch aufgrund der harten Haltung der Supermächte nicht auf alle gewaltsamen Konflikte angewandt. Diese anhaltende Spannung hinter zwei Supermächten hinderte den Sicherheitsrat der Vereinten Nationen oft daran, die Mission zu genehmigen.

Der Forscher analysiert mehrere der Schlüsselfaktoren für Pakistans Beitrag zu den UNPKOs und untersucht insbesondere den Fall Pakistans, indem er einen konzeptionellen Rahmen mit Vorschlägen für die Kategorien der wirtschaftlichen, politischen und normativen Überlegungen für die Entsendung von UNPKOs in Konfliktgebiete entwickelt. Die Ergebnisse heben die normativen, politischen und

wirtschaftlichen Erwägungen hervor, die bei der Entscheidungsfindung im Zusammenhang mit der Entsendung von Truppen zu den Vereinten Nationen am wichtigsten sind. Die vorliegende Arbeit bekräftigt Handels- und Investitionsinteressen mit Staaten, in denen pakistanische Truppen stationiert sind.

Die Entlohnung von Friedenssoldaten kommt Offizieren und Soldaten zugute. Das einem Offizier und Soldaten gezahlte Geld ist im Vergleich zu den Gehältern, die sie zu Hause beziehen, viel höher. Es ist daher offensichtlich, dass die pakistanische Regierung wirklich das wirtschaftliche Interesse verfolgt, ihre Armee zu begünstigen, aber mehr noch für individuelle Vorteile. Politische Interessen treiben auch Pakistans Engagement für die UN-Friedenserhaltung an. Pakistans Beitrag zur Friedenssicherung trägt 16 dazu bei, neue politische Beziehungen aufzubauen und diplomatische Beziehungen zu allen Ländern, insbesondere zu afrikanischen Ländern, aufrechtzuerhalten. Pakistan erkennt auch den Wunsch Indiens an, ein ständiges Mitglied des Sicherheitsrates zu werden, das die Friedenssicherung als Instrument nutzt, um mit Großmächten zu sprechen. Normative Überlegungen sind der wichtigste Teil der Friedenssicherung. Dies spielte eine wesentliche Rolle, was das Engagement Pakistans für den Weltfrieden und die internationale Sicherheit bekräftigt.

Die Analyse von Pakistans Beweggründen für seinen Beitrag zu UNPKOs hat theoretische Implikationen. Der Literaturübersicht zufolge konzentriert sich die aktuelle Forschung zu den normativen Faktoren, die hinter dem Engagement Pakistans bei der PKO stehen, auf das Engagement als eine wichtige Rolle. Eine Fallstudie zur pakistanischen Beteiligung an friedenserhaltenden Maßnahmen kam zum Schluss, dass der Beitrag Pakistans zu UNPKOs sowohl auf Eigeninteressen als auch auf Normen beruht. Normen spielen eine wichtige Rolle wie im Fall von Somalia und Bosnien, wo Pakistan den PKOs beitrug, um den Frieden auf der Grundlage einer gemeinsamen Religion zu erhalten. In diesem Sinne können normative Überlegungen in die nationalen Interessen einfließen, und dann kann das Interesse an einem stärkeren Engagement bei den UNPKOs zunehmen.

Es gibt verschiedene Argumente zur Rolle der internationalen Organisationen bei der Friedenserhaltung. Konstruktivistinnen argumentieren, dass die kollektive Plattform der internationalen Organisationen von Staaten, die eine Rolle für den Frieden in der internationalen Gemeinschaft spielen sollen, nicht immer funktioniert, da nationale Vorteile nicht durch den Einsatz von Macht zur Zusammenarbeit erreicht werden könnten. Auf der anderen Seite argumentierten Realisten,

dass internationale Organisationen den Staaten Möglichkeiten bieten, ihre Interessen zu sichern, und betrachteten die Vereinten Nationen als ein Testgelände, auf dem Länder ihre Truppen zur Verfügung stellen, weniger zur unmittelbaren Aufrechterhaltung des internationalen Friedens, sondern eher als eine Verpflichtung, ihre Interessen zu wahren. Das bedeutet, dass internationale Organisationen eine bedeutende Rolle bei der Regulierung des Verhaltens eines Landes und bei der Veränderung ihrer Identität und ihrer Interessen spielen, um direkte staatliche Aktionen zu erreichen.

Indem das Land internationale Normen befolgt, wird es zur Zusammenarbeit mit der internationalen Gemeinschaft gedrängt. In meiner Dissertation habe ich die Rolle Pakistans bei der Friedenssicherung anhand einer konstruktivistischen Theorie ausführlich erörtern, wobei ich mich auf eine realistische Theorie stütze, die darauf abzielt, Interessen durch den Einsatz von Machtmitteln wie als finanzielle, logistische und personelle Unterstützung. Die Länder kooperieren zum gegenseitigen Nutzen. Mit anderen Worten: Länder können sich zur Wahrung ihrer kollektiven Interessen durch internationale Organisationen zusammenschließen. Internationale Organisationen wie die Vereinten Nationen sind in der Lage, Länder zusammenzubringen und die Zusammenarbeit zu erleichtern. Pakistan und indische Truppen arbeiten zusammen, wenn sie im Rahmen der Friedenssicherung durch die Vereinten Nationen in derselben Mission eingesetzt werden; andernfalls bleiben sie Feinde des jeweils anderen. Ich habe den Beitrag Pakistans zur Friedenssicherung anhand der realistischen Theorie untersuchen.

Die Vereinten Nationen wurden zur Wahrung des Weltfriedens und der internationalen Sicherheit gegründet und begannen mit der Friedenssicherung als Instrument zur Umsetzung der Charta. Das bedeutet, dass es einen großen Bedarf gegeben hat, die Friedenssicherung zu verbessern, um effektive Ergebnisse und weniger Misserfolge zu erzielen. Die Länder bereiten ihre Truppen auf einen raschen UN-Einsatz mit dem gleichen Ausbildungsstandard vor und stellen bei jeder Mission die gleiche Anzahl von Truppen zur Verfügung. Die Vereinten Nationen haben eine wichtige Rolle bei der Beilegung der Streitigkeiten gespielt, ob innerstaatlich oder zwischenstaatlich, mit Genehmigung der Mitgliedstaaten oder unter Anwendung von Machtbefugnissen auf der Grundlage von Kapitel VII der Charta der Vereinten Nationen. Das bedeutet nicht, dass die Vereinten Nationen alle Probleme gelöst hätten, aber es hängt alles vom Engagement der Mitgliedsstaaten, vom Ausmaß der Interessen und von der Finanzierung ab. Mit

anderen Worten, mangelndes Interesse, weniger Finanzierung und der Einsatz eines Vetorechts stellen die bedeutende Rolle der Vereinten Nationen vor Herausforderungen.

Pakistan hat in Somalia eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt und wurde von der internationalen Gemeinschaft gelobt. Die humanitäre Intervention Pakistans durch die Vereinten Nationen stellte eine vorübergehende Hilfe für die Menschen in Somalia dar. Die vierjährige Präsenz der internationalen Truppen (1992-1995) kostete der Welt Millionen von Dollar und zahlreiche Menschenleben. Pakistan und Amerika verloren große Teile ihrer Truppen in Somalia. Im Falle Pakistans steigerte das Land sein internationales Ansehen durch seinen Beitrag in Somalia und nutzte es, um Widerstand gegen die Anreicherung von Uran für die Entwicklung von Atomwaffen zu leisten. Pakistan verlor während seines Aufenthalts in Somalia fünfzig Soldaten, aber es gelang ihm, seinen Platz in den internationalen Beziehungen wiederzuerlangen und am Ende aus der Isolation herauszukommen und von internationalen Sanktionen befreit zu werden. Die Erleichterung war für die somalische Bevölkerung nur vorübergehend, denn nach dem 11. September stellten die Vereinigten Staaten eine Verbindung des internationalen Terrorismus zu Somalia her. Die Vereinigten Staaten begannen nach 2001 mit Luft- und Bodenangriffen, um Operationen gegen extremistische Gruppen durchzuführen.

Der Fall Somalias ähnelt jenem Afghanistans. Die Bemühungen um Frieden und den Aufbau einer staatlichen Struktur haben in Somalia nur sehr geringe Fortschritte gemacht. Leider bleibt Somalia bereits seit fünfzig Jahren ein fragiler Staat. Es scheint keine Aussicht auf nachhaltige Friedensfortschritte zu geben. Mangelndes Interesse der Großmächte an friedenserhaltenden Maßnahmen der UNO und die Einstellung von Truppen aus Ländern der Dritten Welt könnten der Glaubwürdigkeit der Organisationen potenziell schaden. Die Teilnahme Pakistans an der Somalia-Mission bot dem Land jedoch die Gelegenheit, die Beziehungen zu den Vereinigten Staaten wieder aufzubauen, da die Lage in Pakistan politisch und wirtschaftlich nicht stabil war. Die pakistanische Intervention in Somalia fand auf einer gemeinsamen religiösen Grundlage statt, und die Menschen in Somalia waren glücklich über die Präsenz der pakistanischen Truppen in ihrem Land. Die pakistanische Armee versuchte, die Intuitionen des Staates in den Bereichen Gesundheit, Bildung und Sicherheit umzustrukturieren.

Die Charter der Vereinten Nationen spricht zwei Dinge an. Die Welt hat es versäumt, enge Beziehungen zwischen Fragen der inneren Sicherheit und regionalen

Organisationen herzustellen, um einem Prinzip der Gewaltlosigkeit zu folgen. Das zweite Prinzip erlangte in den späten 1990er-Jahren größere Bedeutung, was zu einem Anstieg der Zahl der Friedensoperationen führte. Die Nachfrage stieg nach dem Kalten Krieg dramatisch an. Die UNO hat viele neue Missionen entsprechend den neuen Anforderungen und dem sich wandelnden Konfliktcharakter eingerichtet. (1) ist die gestiegene Zahl der Konflikte. (2) viele Entwicklungsländer begonnen haben, ihre Truppenstärke zu erhöhen. (3) strategischen Wettbewerbs zwischen den USA und der Sowjetunion bei kleineren Konflikten. (4) Auseinanderbrechen von Staaten, die unter dem Einfluss von Supermächten standen.

Es hat eine Veränderung bei Friedenseinsätzen gegeben, die zu Waffenstillständen und der Teilnahme an friedensfördernden Aktivitäten geführt hat. Der Wandel des Konfliktcharakters von einem zwischenstaatlichen zu einem innerstaatlichen Konflikt erforderte eine Änderung des Mandats von Friedenseinsätzen. Gegenwärtig ist der Konflikt zwischenstaatlicher Natur und wird durch Armut, Menschenrechtsverletzungen, ethnische Probleme und andere ähnliche Faktoren ausgelöst. Die Friedenstruppen haben nun das Mandat erhalten, sich mit mehr Herausforderungen als zuvor zu befassen, z.B. mit der Überwachung von Wahlen, Reformen im Justizsystem, in der Kommunalverwaltung und der Überwachung des Sicherheitssektors und mehr.

Die Missionen nach dem Kalten Krieg, die in Zusammenarbeit mit anderen internationalen Organisationen durchgeführt wurden, konzentrierten sich auf verschiedene Bereiche wie humanitäre Dienste, Aufbau militärischer Institutionen usw. Die zunehmende Nachfrage nach Friedenseinsätzen hat positive und negative Seiten: Die positive Seite ist die Behandlung von Konflikten innerhalb von Truppen aus Entwicklungsländern, während die negative Seite darin besteht, die entwickelten Staaten von operativen Aktivitäten auszuschließen und sich bereit zu erklären, Mittel zur Verfügung zu stellen, die die Kapazität und Fähigkeit der Truppen zur Bewältigung moderner Konflikttypen schwächen.

Der Beitrag Pakistans zu Friedensoperationen hat seit dem Ende des Kalten Krieges zugenommen. Aufgrund der Konkurrenz zwischen den USA und der Sowjetunion verpasste Pakistan jedoch viele Operationen, denen es sich anschließen hätte können. Islamabad ignorierte die Angebote nicht, sondern beteiligte sich nur an sehr wenigen Friedensoperationen. Die Stimmung Pakistans gegenüber Friedensoperationen während des Kalten Krieges wurde durch die Beziehungen zu

den Vereinigten Staaten bestimmt. Pakistan zögerte aufgrund sektiererischer Differenzen, zu Friedensoperationen wie dem Irak im Jahr 2002 etwas beizutragen. Pakistan stimmte jedoch meistens zu, Hilfe zu leisten. Das Zögern Pakistans, sich während des Kalten Krieges zu beteiligen, hatte mit internen Spannungen und der priorisierten Verbesserung von Fragen der inneren Sicherheit zu tun. Islamabad wollte seine Aufmerksamkeit nicht auf ein anderes Ziel lenken.

Die meisten der Regionen, in denen Pakistan Truppen einsetzte, waren in sicherheitspolitischer Hinsicht keine Prioritäten das Land. Pakistan hat seine Truppen nach dem Kalten Krieg aufgestockt, um starke Partnerschaften mit den Vereinigten Staaten aufzubauen, und das wurde im Fall von Somalia bewiesen, wo 25 pakistanische Friedenssoldaten gefallen sind. Die Änderung der Politik der Vereinigten Staaten bei der Bereitstellung von Truppen während der Zeit von Präsident Clinton öffnete den Staaten der Dritten Welt die Tür, um einen Beitrag zu leisten. Mangelndes Interesse der Vereinigten Staaten veranlasste auch die Europäische Union, die Zahl der Truppen zu verringern und sich stärker auf finanzielle Beiträge zu konzentrieren. Während des Kalten Krieges konzentrierte sich Pakistan vor allem auf regionale Bedrohungen, insbesondere aus Indien. Indien und Pakistan führten während des Kalten Krieges vier Kriege. Die harten Bedrohungen verschwanden nach dem Kalten Krieg aufgrund der Auflösung der Sowjetunion und des nachlassenden Interesses der Vereinigten Staaten an der Region. Die Sowjetunion war ein enger Verbündeter Indiens, und die Präsenz sowjetischer Truppen in Afghanistan schien eine ständige Bedrohung für die Souveränität Pakistans zu sein.

Nach dem Kalten Krieg erlangten weichere Sicherheitsfragen wie religiöser Extremismus, Fundamentalismus, soziale und wirtschaftliche Probleme Bedeutung. Die Wirtschaft Pakistans schwächte sich ab, nachdem die Vereinigten Staaten nach dem Kalten Krieg die Unterstützung Pakistans eingestellt hatten. Nach der Besetzung durch die Russen und die Taliban sah sich Pakistan plötzlich mit der Last der afghanischen Flüchtlinge konfrontiert, die ins Land kamen. Die Anwesenheit afghanischer Flüchtlinge wurde aufgrund ihrer Verwicklung in Verbrechen im Zusammenhang mit Drogen und Terrorismus zu einer internen weichen Bedrohung für Pakistan. Als Reaktion darauf musste sich Pakistan stark auf zwei Bereiche konzentrieren: die Reform der Sicherheitspolitik und die Vermittlung eines positiven Images. Um mit weichen Bedrohungen umzugehen, war es erstens, wichtig,

die operativen Fähigkeiten der Armee zu erhöhen, und zweitens, die Zahl der Truppen mit Friedenstruppen zu erhöhen, um ein positives Bild von Pakistan zu vermitteln. Die Teilnahme Pakistans an Friedensoperationen hatte auf unterschiedliche Weise bedeutende Auswirkungen auf Pakistan. Erstens förderte das Tragen eines Blauhels das positive Image Pakistans auf internationaler Ebene, etwa als verantwortungsbewusstes Land. Das bisherige Image Pakistans als terroristischer Unterstützungsstaat verbesserte sich. Seine Beteiligung an der UN-Friedenssicherung als friedliche Regionalmacht und Pakistans Verhältnis zur Europäischen Union und zu Amerika hat sich durch die aktive Teilnahme an der UN-Friedenssicherung verbessert. Beide betrachten Pakistan als ein verantwortungsbewusstes Land in der Welt.

In den Beziehungen zu anderen Staaten setzen die Länder "Soft Power" als Instrument ein, um ihre Ziele zu erreichen. Militärische Macht wurde als "Hard Power" betrachtet, kann aber geändert oder auf "Soft Power" übertragen werden. Pakistan musste militärische Fähigkeiten entwickeln, um mit neuen internen und externen Bedrohungen fertig zu werden, die zumeist mit dem Terrorismus zusammenhängen. Pakistan musste durch friedenserhaltende Operationen neue Techniken und Fähigkeiten erlernen, um mit neuen Bedrohungen fertig zu werden. Die pakistanischen Beziehungen zu den Nationalstaat und der EU trugen dazu bei, die Dynamik des Beitrags Islamabad zu Friedensoperationen in schwierigen Regionen der Welt zu verstehen. Man kann die Auswirkungen der pakistanischen Sicherheitspolitik auf die Friedenssicherung nicht vernachlässigen, und wie sie durch den Beitrag der Nachbarstaaten beeinflusst wurde, wie derr in seiner Dissertation erläutert. Der Beitrag des pakistanischen Militärs zur Friedenssicherung trug dazu bei, die eigenen professionellen Fähigkeiten durch Friedensoperationen zu steigern. Die pakistanische Armee wird auf regionaler Ebene als professionell betrachtet, aber die Friedensoperationen trugen dazu bei, die operativen Fähigkeiten von der regionalen auf die internationale Ebene die Modernisierung der pakistanischen Armee ist auf den Beitrag zur Friedenssicherung zurückzuführen.

Das pakistanische Militär wird als "Hard Power" betrachtet, aber vielleicht besteht die Notwendigkeit, die "Soft Power" zu verbessern. Es mangelt an Interesse, diese Lücke zu schließen. Wie kann Pakistan seine Erfolge bei Friedensoperationen als "Soft Power" nutzen? In dieser Abhandlung wird argumentiert, dass die pakistanische Sicherheitspolitik unter den Einfluss regionaler Sicherheitsfragen geraten ist. Ist dies ein überzeugendes Argument für Pakistan, sich an Friedensoperationen

zu beteiligen? Ich denke, ja, die Krise in Afghanistan und Kaschmir könnte Pakistans aktive Teilnahme an Friedensoperationen erfordern, die die Logik der Realisten unterstützen, nach Macht und Einfluss zu streben. Die Krise in Afghanistan, die Millionen von Afghanen dazu veranlasste, nach Pakistan einzuwandern, führte zu ernsthaften Sicherheitsbedenken innerhalb Pakistans und förderte den Dschihad. Das durch diese Aktivitäten geschaffene Bild Pakistans entwickelt sich in der internationalen Gemeinschaft, insbesondere in den USA, negativ, was sich an den neu verhängten Sanktionen gegenüber Pakistan zeigt. Pakistan begann nach dem Kalten Krieg, seine Truppen zu verstärken, um ein positives Image zu vermitteln, und der größte Teil des Beitrags wurde geleistet, um die Vereinigten Staaten zufriedenzustellen.

Die pakistanische Beteiligung an der Friedenssicherung soll die Werte und ein weiches Bild Pakistans vermitteln. Der Beitrag Pakistans zur Friedenssicherung besteht darin, das Bild eines verantwortungsbewussten Staates zu vermitteln, eine geostrategische Position auf regionaler und internationaler Ebene aufrechtzuerhalten, das Konfliktniveau zu senken, Streitigkeiten mit friedlichen Mitteln zu lösen, Demokratie und Rechtsstaatlichkeit zu fördern und ethnische Konflikte zu verhindern. Zweitens für die Verbesserung der Beziehungen zu Afrika und der muslimischen Welt, für die Aufrechterhaltung enger Beziehungen zu internationalen Organisationen und für den Kapazitätsaufbau der pakistanischen Streitkräfte. Ein kritischer Aspekt ist es, zu verstehen, was hinter den pakistanischen Interessen an der Friedenssicherung zur Erhöhung der militärischen Fähigkeiten steht. Nach dem Kalten Krieg und insbesondere nach dem 11. September 2001 sah sich Pakistan intern und extern harten Sicherheitsbedrohungen ausgesetzt, wie etwa massiven Selbstmordattentaten und klassischen Terroranschlägen. Diese Bedrohungen erforderten eine effektive Planung zur Verstärkung der konventionellen militärischen Planung, um diese Bedrohungen zu beseitigen. Pakistans Beitrag zur Friedenssicherung versetzt das Militär in die Lage, mit diesen neuen Bedrohungen umzugehen. Pakistans Beitrag zur Friedenssicherung ist einer der Beweggründe, seine Identität in der internationalen Gemeinschaft durch Leistungen im Krisenmanagement und bei humanitären Bemühungen hervorzuheben. Pakistan hat versucht, durch seinen Beitrag zur Friedenssicherung Sicherheit und beim Schutz der Zivilbevölkerung zu spielen. Die Bedeutung Pakistans beruht auf dem Beitrag zur Friedenssicherung zusammen mit anderen Beweggründen wie politischen, wirtschaftlichen, sozialen und kulturellen Faktoren. Diese Abhandlung argumentiert mit der zunehmenden Rolle Pakistans in der Zusammenarbeit

mit den Vereinten Nationen in den letzten fünfzig Jahren.

Pakistan hat die Sicherheitsnormen der internationalen Gemeinschaft verstanden, effektive Demokratie das Prinzip der liberalen Demokratie mit Fokus auf Krisenmanagement und menschlicher Sicherheit zu erlernen – das wichtigste Grundprinzip Pakistans für den Beitrag zur Sicherheit. Pakistan wäre nicht in der Lage, mit regionalen harten Bedrohungen umzugehen, ohne seine militärische Kapazität mit neuer Technologie zu erhöhen. Pakistan hat im eigenen Land viele Missionen mit direktem Bezug zu Sicherheitsfragen eingesetzt. Aber man kann behaupten, dass Islamabad's Teilnahmean UN-Friedensoperationen, eine instrumentelle Politik zur Verbesserung ihrer Identität auf internationaler Ebene war. Auch sicherheitsrelevante Faktoren, etwa um dem indischen Einfluss auf regionaler Ebene entgegenzuwirken, sind ein Faktor. Die Teilnahme an friedenserhaltenden Maßnahmen der UNO half dem pakistanischen Militär auch dabei, moderne Fertigkeiten und Instrumente zu erlernen und anzupassen, mit anderen Worten. Ein großer Teil des Militärs hat eine Spezialausbildung erhalten, z.B. Englischkurse, Kommunikations- und Fahrtraining. Diese Fähigkeiten wurden auf die Kollegen ausgeweitet, als sie nach ihrem kurzen Einsatz in Missionen nach Hause zurückkehrten. Die pakistanischen Truppen erlangten auch Nachrichtenkompetenz und operative Fähigkeiten im Umgang mit dem Hardcore-Terrorismus in den von den Taliban besetzten Gebieten, wie z.B. Swat- und Nord-Waziristan in Pakistan. Die pakistanische Armee begann ihre Operationen zur Beseitigung der feindlichen Besetzung, und durch den Einsatz erfahrener Truppen, die zuvor in der Friedenssicherung gedient hatten. Die Teilnahme Pakistans an Friedensoperationen hat die Verteidigungspolitik auf regionaler und internationaler Ebene beeinflusst. Zweifellos hat die pakistanische Beteiligung an Friedensoperationen Islamabad geholfen, seine Sicherheitsinteressen auf diese Weise zu verstehen. So ist Pakistan beispielsweise aufgrund der Präsenz terroristischer Organisationen stärker an einer Beteiligung an UN-Friedensoperationen in Afrika interessiert. Die starke Präsenz von Terrorgruppen in Somalia und im Sudan sowie der vom Iran unterstützten Hisbollah und die expandierenden Aktivitäten von al-Qaida in Subsahara-Afrika standen in engem Zusammenhang mit denselben Organisationen, die in Afghanistan operierten. Diese Gruppen stellten eine ernsthafte Bedrohung für die innere Sicherheit Pakistans dar. Die Entsendung pakistanischer Truppen nach Afrika hat dazu beigetragen, die Verbindung zu diesen terroristischen Organisationen zu finden.

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