

Indian and Chinese Approaches to United Nations Peacekeeping in Africa

Rajeesh Kumar



MANOHAR PARRIKAR INSTITUTE FOR
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PEACEKEEPING IN AFRICA

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INTRODUCTION

Africa has indeed been a focal point for United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKOs), hosting nearly half of all missions since the inception of these efforts. The extensive deployment of 33 peacekeeping missions in Africa since 1960, underscores the region's complex security challenges and the global community's commitment to addressing them. UNPKOs in Africa have multifaceted objectives, encompassing the restoration of peace, protection of civilians, and facilitation of humanitarian assistance. These missions operate within a context of widespread violence and turmoil, necessitating robust engagement with national governments, regional organizations, and various stakeholders, to effectively address underlying conflicts and promote sustainable peace.

In Africa, collaboration with local and regional actors forms a cornerstone of UN peacekeeping efforts, recognizing the importance of indigenous capacities and contextual understanding in conflict resolution. The UN's partnership with African governments and regional organizations is instrumental in leveraging regional expertise and resources to address complex security challenges.

Furthermore, these partnerships enable the UN to tailor its interventions to the specific needs and dynamics of each conflict, enhancing the relevance and effectiveness of peacekeeping operations. By working closely with regional partners, the UN fosters a more inclusive and holistic approach to peacebuilding, encompassing not only the immediate cessation of hostilities, but also long-term reconciliation, institution building, and development.

Conflict prevention and early warning mechanisms constitute essential components of the UN's strategy to promote peace and stability in Africa. Recognizing the imperative of proactive measures to mitigate the risk of conflict escalation, the UN invests in robust early warning

systems and preventive diplomacy efforts. These mechanisms enable the timely identification of potential crises and the deployment of preventive measures to address underlying grievances and tensions, before they escalate into full-blown conflicts.

Moreover, the UN's emphasis on conflict prevention underscores its commitment to addressing root causes of instability, including socio-economic inequalities, political grievances, and competition over scarce resources. By prioritizing prevention alongside response, the UN seeks to create a more resilient and peaceful environment in Africa, where conflicts are less likely to erupt and devastate communities.

In the complex landscape of UN peacekeeping efforts in Africa, the roles of India and China have become increasingly significant. Their involvement not only reflects their growing stature in the international arena but also signifies their unique approaches to global governance, diplomacy, and security. As key stakeholders in the peacekeeping process both nations play vital roles in shaping the trajectory of peace and stability across the continent. While both nations share a common goal of promoting peace and stability in Africa, their approaches to peacekeeping differ significantly.

India has been involved in peacekeeping efforts in Africa for many decades, deploying over 40,000 peacekeepers to 22 missions in the continent. India's approach to peacekeeping in Africa is characterised by several factors, including a global vision of peaceful co-existence, solidarity with developing nations, and a strong commitment to multilateral cooperation. India has always emphasized the need for peaceful and cooperative relations among nations, which is reflected in its peacekeeping efforts in Africa.

As a leader in the Global South, India supports other developing countries in their efforts to achieve peace and stability. Furthermore, India's commitment to multilateral cooperation is a crucial factor in its approach to peacekeeping in Africa, as it recognizes the UN as the most important platform for addressing global challenges. As a result, India has consistently worked towards strengthening the UN's peacekeeping capacity and supporting its efforts to promote peace and security in Africa.

In contrast, China's peacekeeping involvement in Africa has been more recent. China was sceptical towards UNPKOs during its early years in the UN. However, in recent times, China has become more proactive in shaping the peacekeeping agenda in Africa. This increased interest is primarily motivated by Beijing's desire to enhance its global influence, protect its economic interests in Africa, and promote regional stability and security. As China's economic presence in Africa has grown, so has its security cooperation with African countries, including through peacekeeping missions. China's involvement in peacekeeping operations serves multiple purposes. On the one hand, it helps the country enhance its image and status internationally by contributing to global peace and security efforts. On the other, peacekeeping missions allow China to protect its growing economic investments in Africa and ensure regional stability, which is crucial for successfully implementing its economic ventures.

This Monograph examines Indian and Chinese participations in UNPKOs in Africa, offering a comprehensive analysis of their contributions, achievements, and challenges in the quest for lasting peace on the African continent. It analyses the Indian and Chinese peacekeeping involvements in Africa, intending to provide critical insights into how these rising powers engage with African countries through UNPKOs. It will also discuss both countries' underlying motivations and values guiding their peacekeeping engagements. Such analysis can also help us understand the impact of their actions on shaping the broader regional geopolitical and security landscape and their approaches towards multilateral peace and security. Furthermore, it helps to identify best practices and areas where improvements are needed, ultimately leading to more effective and sustainable peacekeeping efforts in the region.

The study begins with the proposition that Indian and Chinese peacekeeping contributions in Africa vary significantly in terms of scope, scale, and impact. This hypothesis is grounded in the research's aim to provide a comparative analysis, highlighting the similarities and differences in their engagements on the African continent. Then it argues that the motivations behind India and China's participation in UNPKOs in Africa stem from distinct strategic and political interests. This reflects the understanding that their African peacekeeping engagements are

driven by their broader foreign policy objectives, influencing their respective contributions to peacekeeping efforts.

Another key argument of the research is that the effectiveness of Indian and Chinese peacekeeping efforts in Africa is subject to differing levels of success and efficiency. Factors like troop quality, equipment, and local dynamics may account for these variations. Indian and Chinese peacekeepers may differ in their proficiency in conflict resolution, cultural sensitivity, and language skills, affecting their on-ground effectiveness. Disparities in equipment and resources allocated to missions also affect success rates. Adequate modern equipment, logistical support, and medical facilities are essential for operational effectiveness. Understanding and responsiveness to local dynamics are crucial. Tailored approaches for conflict resolution and peacebuilding, engaging with local communities, and building trust enhance the likelihood of sustainable peace outcomes.

To comprehensively assess the effectiveness of Indian and Chinese peacekeeping operations in Africa, it is vital to delve into the intricate operational dynamics. This entails exploring troop deployment strategies, logistical capabilities, motivations, strategies and interactions with local stakeholders. By scrutinizing these factors, we can gain valuable insights into the nuances that shape the outcomes of their peacekeeping endeavours on the African continent.

This research adopts a qualitative methodology to conduct a critical review of Indian and Chinese peacekeeping activities in Africa. The approach involves thorough examination of data sourced from governments and international bodies, as well as pertinent reports, with a primary focus on insights provided by the United Nations. Through this method, the study aims to delve deep into the strategies employed by India and China in their respective peacekeeping missions on the African continent.

Importantly, this study does not delve into the perspectives or reactions of African nations towards Indian and Chinese peacekeeping efforts. Similarly, it does not analyse the interplay between India and China in Africa's context.

The Monograph comprises seven chapters, organized as follows: The introduction sets the context for the study, highlighting the significance of UNPKOs in maintaining global peace and security. It also outlines the objectives of the monograph, which primarily seeks to evaluate India and China's roles in these peacekeeping operations, with a particular focus on their activities in Africa. Chapter 2 delves into India's historical involvement in UNPKOs, analysing its contributions to various missions, the number of troops and resources dedicated, and the outcomes of its participation. The chapter also explores India's motivations and policy approach towards peacekeeping efforts on the global stage.

The third chapter provides a summary of China's engagement in UNPKOs. It covers China's historical perspective on peacekeeping, its changing stance over the years, and the extent of its contributions to different UN peacekeeping missions. Furthermore, the chapter discusses China's interests and priorities in participating in these operations. Chapter 4 is exclusively dedicated to examining UNPKOs in Africa. It delves into the different peacekeeping missions on the continent, emphasizing the distinctive challenges and complexities inherent in African peacekeeping endeavours. It also investigates the underlying reasons for the growing emphasis on this region.

Chapter 5 delves into India's involvement in UNPKOs in Africa, offering a thorough analysis of their deployments, motivations, and responses to UNSC resolutions. It provides a comprehensive look at how India contributes to peacekeeping efforts on the African continent.

Building upon this exploration, Chapter 6 focuses on China's participation in UNPKOs in Africa. It examines China's deployments, motivations, and responses to UNSC Resolutions. By doing so, this chapter sheds light on the distinctive role that China plays in African UNPKOs. Collectively, these two chapters contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the roles and activities of both India and China in UNPKOs in the African continent. They provide valuable insights into the distinct approaches and strategies employed by these two major nations in their contributions to peace and stability in Africa through UN peacekeeping operations.

The concluding chapter summarizes the key findings on India and China's participation in UNPKOs in Africa, highlighting their roles and contributions. It proposes policy options to enhance peacekeeping efforts in Africa and globally, drawing on insights from the research. These recommendations offer practical guidance for future UNPKOs in Africa and peacekeeping operations overall.

INDIA AND THE UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

India's commitment to maintaining global peace and security dates back to the pre-independence era. As a significant player in the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), formed in May 1947, India actively engaged in efforts to find a solution to the Palestine conflict. India also made several constructive suggestions to defuse the tensions and promote lasting peace in the region.¹ This commitment remained unwavering even after gaining independence. An exemplary manifestation is India's active participation in United Nations peace operations. As a troop-contributing country, India has consistently contributed to UN peacekeeping missions globally.

India has a long and outstanding record of participating in UNPKOs. It has contributed troops to nearly 75 per cent of the PKOs deployed globally. It is the largest contributor of troops to UN peacekeeping missions, with over 275,000 personnel who have served in 51 out of 71 UN missions.² Currently, India ranks as the second-largest Troop Contributing Country (TCC) with 5832 personnel deployed in seven UN missions.³ India has also played leadership roles in many

¹ "India and the United Nations Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding", at <https://www.pminewyork.gov.in/pdf/menu/49151pkeeping.pdf>, (Accessed on 12 September 2023).

² "Indian Army Celebrates 75th Year of UN Peacekeeping", at <https://pib.gov.in/PressReleaseIframePage.aspx?PRID=1928025>, (Accessed on 22 October 2023).

³ United Nations, "Troops and Police Contributors", at <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/troop-and-police-contributors> (Accessed on 22 October 2023).

peacekeeping missions and providing support through Military Advisers, Deputy Military Advisers, Civilian Police Advisers to the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), and Force Commanders and Special Representatives of the UN Secretary-General to various missions around the world.⁴ India has also sustained the highest number of peacekeeping fatalities, with 177 Indian peacekeepers making the ultimate sacrifice while serving under the UN flag.⁵

India's first involvement in UN peacekeeping mission was in the Korean War in 1950. India contributed a medical unit, 60 Parachute Field Ambulances, to the UN Multinational Force in Korea. India also proposed a ceasefire at the UNSC and mobilized Commonwealth nations and Arab-Asian members to support the Resolution. However, despite India's efforts, the Resolution failed to pass. India had two-fold aims at the UNSC regarding Korea. First, it aimed to prevent the adoption of any policy by the Security Council that could escalate the situation in the Korean Peninsula. Second, India sought to reconcile the divergent positions of the two Superpower blocs in the Council.⁶ Moreover, India proposed the formation of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission (NNRC) and later sent 6,000 soldiers to form the Custodian Force India (CFI) to supervise and settle the repatriation of prisoners of war (POWs) during the post-conflict years in 1953. As a result, the CFI successfully dealt with 22,951 POWs in just three months.⁷

⁴ Satish Nambiar, *For the Honour of India: A History of Indian Peacekeeping*, United Service Institution of India, New Delhi, 2009, p. 10.

⁵ "Telephone conversation between Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi and Secretary General of the United Nations, H.E. Antonio Guterres", 29 July 2022, at <https://pib.gov.in/PressReleaseIframePage.aspx?PRID=1846387>, (Accessed on 24 January 2024).

⁶ Vineet Thakur, "India's Diplomatic Entrepreneurism: Revisiting India's Role in the Korean Crisis, 1950-52", *China Report*, 49(3), 2013, p.285.

⁷ S.Dayal, *India's Role in the Korean Question: A Study in the Settlement of International Disputes under the United Nations*, S. Chand & Co., New Delhi, 1959, p. 196.

Nonetheless, India's first major contributions to the PKOs were its India's deployment as a part of the UN Emergency Force (UNEF I) in the Middle East (1956-67) and in Congo as part of the UN Operation in Congo (ONUC-1960-64). In the UNEF, the Indian contribution accounted for the bulk of the UN forces with 12,000 troops, and in Congo, it deployed a brigade-sized contingent. The Indian forces effectively fulfilled the UN mandate to monitor the ceasefire between Egypt and Israel after the Suez Crisis, and their presence helped to prevent further escalation of hostilities. Similarly, in the Congo, India's peacekeeping efforts were commendable. Deploying a brigade-sized contingent, India played a pivotal role in supporting the UN's mission to stabilize the country. These early contributions laid the foundation for India's continued involvement in peacekeeping operations worldwide, establishing the country as one of the leading contributors to UN peacekeeping missions.

During the 1970s and 1980s, India sent peacekeeping personnel to UN peacekeeping missions worldwide, including the Angola, Middle East, Cyprus, Namibia and Lebanon. In these missions, Indian peacekeepers played a vital role in stabilising conflict zones, monitoring peace processes, and facilitating the transition to democracy in post-conflict countries. In Angola, Indian peacekeepers played a crucial role in mediating and mitigating the civil war that followed the country's independence from Portugal in 1975. Their presence helped maintain peace and facilitate dialogue between warring factions, supporting Angola's transition towards stability and development. Another remarkable instance of India's peacekeeping efforts was in Namibia, where Indian peacekeepers made significant contributions to the country's transition to independence. Their involvement was critical in overseeing the implementation of the UN-brokered agreement that ultimately led to Namibia's independence.

In the 1990s, India's involvement underwent a significant transformation. India became one of the largest contributors of troops to UNPKOs. During these years, India sent peacekeepers to Angola, Cambodia, DRC, Mozambique, Somalia, and Rwanda. The mission in Angola was deployed as part of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II). It aimed to monitor and verify the implementation of a peace process following a long and brutal civil war in the country.

In Somalia, India contributed one Infantry Brigade and also deployed the Indian Navy consisting of six ships for delivery of humanitarian assistance.⁸

In Rwanda, the Indian contingent was responsible for the safety and security of the UN offices and was also instrumental in the management of detainee camps and coordinated the humanitarian assistance operations.⁹ Another milestone for India's peacekeeping efforts came in 1999, when the United Nations constituted its second mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), which later evolved into the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO). During this mission, India emerged as the largest contributor of troops, demonstrating the country's commitment to international peacekeeping efforts.

Table 2.1: India's Past UN Missions

Mission	Staff Officers	Police	Troops
Korea (1950-1953)	--	--	346
Korea (1953-54)			6130
Indo-China (1954-70)	--	--	7267
Egypt (1956-67)	--	--	13185
Lebanon (1958)	20	--	71
Congo (1960-64)	--	--	12222
West Irian (1962-63)	2	--	--
Yemen (1963-64)	2	--	--
Cyprus (1964-)	3	--	--
Iran/Iraq (1988-91)	8	--	--

⁸ *Blue Helmet Odyssey: Defining India's UN Footprints*, Centre for United Nations Peacekeeping, New Delhi, 2022.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.14.

Mission	Staff Officers	Police	Troops
Namibia (1989-90)	138	--	--
Angola (1988-99)	45	--	1000
Iraq- Kuwait (1991-2003)	14	--	--
El Savador (1991-95)	2	--	--
Cambodia (1992-94)	2	--	1373
Former Yugoslavia (1992-95)	1	--	--
Mozambique (1992-94)	--	--	1083
Somalia (1992-94)	--	--	5000
Liberia (1993-97) (1997-2003) (2007-16)	20	250	--
Rwanda (1994-96)	18	--	956
Haiti (1994- 1996) Haiti (2004-17)	--	120 429	--
Lebanon (1978-)	--	--	897
Sierra Leone (1998-99) (1999-2000)	14	18	2613 3059
Congo (1999- to date)	--	--	4037
Ivory Coast (2004 to 2017)	9	11	4
Burundi (2004-06)	12	--	--
Liberia (2007-16)	--	243	--
Sudan (2005-11)	--	70	2606
Ethiopia-Eritrea (2000-08)	47	--	--
Golan Heights (1974-to date)	13	--	190
Mali (2013- to date)	4	--	--

Source: <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/troop-and-police-contributors>
(Accessed on 15 December 2023).

From 2000 onwards, India's contribution to UN peacekeeping missions extended beyond troop deployment, and it became involved in several peacebuilding and peacekeeping initiatives, including training programmes for peacekeepers. Drawing from its own experiences and expertise in handling diverse peacekeeping operations, India contributed significantly to enhancing the capabilities of peacekeepers from other nations. The Indian Army has established the Centre for UN Peacekeeping (CUNPK) in New Delhi, dedicated to providing specialized training in peacekeeping operations. With an annual training capacity of over 12,000 troops, CUNPK conducts various activities, including contingent training, national and international courses for potential peacekeepers and trainers, and hosting foreign delegations to share best practices. Moreover, the Centre actively contributes to capacity building in UN peacekeeping training by sending Mobile Training Teams to Friendly Foreign Countries. Over the past two decades, CUNPK has evolved into a Centre of Excellence, becoming a repository of experience and best practices in the field.¹⁰ These training programmes equipped peacekeepers with the essential skills, knowledge, and understanding to navigate complex and challenging environments, ensuring they could carry out their duties more effectively and safely.

During these years, India deployed troops to Ethiopia-Eritrea, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Liberia, Haiti, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and South Sudan. India contributed over 3,000 troops to UNAMSIL, which was critical in disarming rebel groups and ensuring secure elections in Sierra Leone in 2002. However, during this mission, Indian soldiers faced a challenging situation when they were held hostage by local guerrillas for 75 days, making it the only UN mission India withdrew from, before it could complete its mandate. In Sudan, from 2005 to 2011, India deployed two Infantry Battalion groups, a sector headquarter, an Engineer Company, a Signal Company, a Level-II Hospital, and numerous MILOBS and SOs to support peacekeeping efforts in Sudan.

¹⁰ "Indian Army Celebrates 75th International Day of UN Peacekeepers", at <https://pib.gov.in/PressReleaseIframePage.aspx?PRID=1928025>, (Accessed on 10 January 2024).

India has actively participated in UN peacekeeping missions in South Sudan since 2011 under UNMISS. Indian troops have promoted peace, protected civilians, and provided humanitarian aid. In addition, India has contributed troops and engineering units, and engaged in infrastructure building and medical aid. In 2007, India achieved a significant milestone by deploying its first-ever all-female peacekeeping unit in Liberia, marking a significant development in its peacekeeping history. This unit, known as the “Female Formed Police Unit,” was crucial in providing security and protection to women and children, in post-conflict Liberia. India’s pioneering efforts in deploying an all-female peacekeeping unit demonstrated its commitment to gender equality and women’s empowerment in peacekeeping operations. Similarly, India has played a vital role in the United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA), which aims to stabilize the Abyei region along the Sudan-South Sudan border since its establishment in 2011. India has contributed troops, military observers, and staff officers to assist UNISFA’s efforts in maintaining peace and stability in the area.

Table 2.2: India’s Current Peacekeeping Missions

Mission	Staff Officers	Police	Troops	Experts
MONUSCO	25	140	1783	16
UNMISS	61	21	2325	19
UNIFIL	19	0	876	0
UNDOF	15	0	188	0
UNISFA	12	2	559	0
MINURSO	3	0	0	3
UNTSO	0	0	0	3
MINUSCA	0	0	0	2
UNFICYP	0	0	0	1
UNITAMS	0	0	0	1
UNISOM	0	0	0	1

Source: Compiled by author from <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/troop-and-police-contributors> (Accessed on 30 November 2023).

India's troop contribution surpasses some major powers and other traditional peacekeepers. For example, at any given time, 7-8 per cent of the total troops deployed under the United Nations are from India. This is a remarkable feat, considering that the troop contribution from other major powers such as the US, the UK, Russia, and China is only 1 per cent, 2 per cent and 3 per cent, respectively.¹¹

The above facts and figures show that India has one of the longest and most consistent records of participation in UNPKOs since its inception. India has the unique capacity of sustaining large troop commitments over lengthy periods of time even in the most challenging situations. However, beyond this reliability, continuing commitments, and higher numbers, Indian peacekeepers are praised by some of the host States and affected people, as well as the UN and other international agencies, for their professionalism and friendly approach to the conflict-affected people.¹² Indian troops are known for providing essential services and carrying out social and developmental activities in their areas of deployment in order to win the hearts and minds of the local population, which is crucial for the success of UN missions. In short, in the last seven decades, Indian peacekeepers were involved in ceasefire supervision, stabilizing missions, civilians' protection, post-conflict rebuilding and providing force protection, and enabling peacekeeping capabilities.

Indian peacekeepers go beyond security provision, engaging in essential services and social development activities to build a positive rapport with local populations. This approach is critical for UN mission success, as winning hearts and minds fosters stability and cooperation in conflict zones. Consequently, Indian peacekeepers have earned praise and recognition from host states and international agencies.¹³ The friendly

¹¹ "Troop and Police Contributors", at <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/troop-and-police-contributors>, (Accessed on 13 November 2023).

¹² Yeshe Choedon, "India's UN Peacekeeping Operations Involvement in Africa: Change in Nature of Participation and Driving Factors", *International Studies*, 51 (1-4), 2014, p. 25.

¹³ Kabilan Krishnasamy, "A Partnership for Peace in the UN Peacebuilding: The Case of Indian Peacekeepers", Paper presented at The ISA Global South Caucus Conference, Singapore, 8-10 January 2015.

demeanor of Indian peacekeepers helps build trust with local communities, foster a cooperative environment, and allows for better communication and understanding of the needs and concerns of the people they are there to assist.

At the core of India's peacekeeping philosophy lies a solid commitment to adhering to the fundamental principles of peacekeeping. This commitment is exemplified by their focus on initiating peacekeeping operations only with the consent of conflicting parties and operating under the guidance of the UN. India recognizes that peacekeeping efforts can only be effective when all parties involved are willing to cooperate and find a peaceful resolution to their conflicts. Furthermore, India places significant emphasis on maintaining a clear distinction between peacekeeping operations and other UN activities, including coercive peacekeeping. Coercive peacekeeping involves the use of force to impose peace, which is contrary to India's approach. Instead, they believe in the importance of impartiality and non-use of force except in self-defence. By strictly adhering to these principles, India ensures that its peacekeeping efforts remain in line with the UN's overall mission of promoting peace, security, and stability.¹⁴

Scholarly discussions about India's rationale for contributing troops can provide insights into its principled position on international peace and security. Hansel and Moller suggest that both ideational and material interests shape India's peacekeeping policy.¹⁵ According to Thakur and Banerjee, India's pro-active peacekeeping approach is influenced by factors such as the size of its armed forces, its role in the Non-Aligned Movement, and its commitment to support freedom for other colonies in Asia and Africa. India views this commitment as an opportunity to promote the principles of peace and security outlined in the UN

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Mischa Hansel and Miriam Moller, "House of Cards? India's Rationales for Contributing to UN peacekeeping", *Global Change, Peace & Security*, 26(2), 2014, p. 146.

Charter.¹⁶ Krishnasamy and Weigold suggest India's peacekeeping engagements may be motivated by a concern for its global image and aspirations for great power. They argue that one significant factor is, India's long-term goal of being considered as a candidate for a permanent seat on the Security Council.¹⁷

India also showed its leadership potential and contributed to peacekeeping policy-making. This was evident in former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan words:

“At the United Nations, we are currently in the process of implementing the recommendations of the Brahimi Report, a report which I commissioned and which attempts to address some of the most urgent needs of our peacekeeping department, and to present a vision of peacekeeping that aims to meet the challenges of the new century. . . India is well ahead of most others in this field, and we will continue to look to you for insights and advice.”¹⁸

India has been a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council several times and has contributed to shaping the Council's agenda on peacekeeping issues. India has advocated prioritising peacekeeping initiatives and greater representation of troop-contributing countries in the decision-making process. Recognizing the importance of those countries contributing troops to peacekeeping missions, India sought to ensure their voices were heard and considered when making crucial decisions. India was a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for 2021-2022 and held the Council presidency in August 2021. During its tenure, India focused on several peacekeeping issues, including

¹⁶ Dipankar Banerjee, Ramesh Thakur (ed)., *Emerging Challenges in UN Peacekeeping Operations: An Indo-Japanese Dialogue*, New Delhi, Sanskriti, 2006.

¹⁷ Kabilan Krishnasamy and Auriol Weigold, “The Paradox of India's Peacekeeping”, *Contemporary South Asia*, 12, 2003, pp. 263-280.

¹⁸ Secretary-General Kofi Annan's remarks at the United Services Institution of India in New Delhi on 15 March 2001, at <https://press.un.org/en/2001/sgsm7741.doc.htm>, (Accessed on 13 November 2023).

the safety and security of peacekeepers, the use of technology in peacekeeping operations, and the importance of building partnerships with regional organizations to address conflict situations. India led the adoption of a Resolution on the safety and security of peacekeepers, which aimed to enhance the protection of peacekeepers and ensure accountability for attacks against them.

India has become increasingly involved in the use of technology in peacekeeping operations, including the use of drones and geospatial technology. In August 2021, under India's presidency, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) adopted a statement recognising the importance of technology in peacekeeping. India proposed a four-point framework for UN peacekeepers to meet contemporary threats. First, employing operationally proven, cost-effective, widely available, environment-friendly, reliable and field serviceable technologies. Second, the need for a sound information and intelligence foundation to ensure early warning and mobilising early response. Third, ensure technological improvements are continuous and are available on the ground. Fourth, consistent training and capacity building of peacekeepers in the realm of technology.¹⁹

India also contributed \$1.64 million to roll out UNITE AWARE, a state-of-the-art situational awareness platform. This initiative aims to enhance peacekeepers' mission effectiveness. India's armed forces plan to boost peacekeeping with advanced technologies, improving decision-making and response. Emphasizing environmental concerns, they aim to reduce fossil fuel dependence and enhance waste management in alignment with UN priorities. Furthermore, in response to the UN's appeal for a technology upgrade, India signed an MOU to provide qualified instructors to the Entebbe-based academy specializing in digital tools for decision-making.

¹⁹ Rajesh Kumar, "Technology and Peacekeeping: Can India become a Technology-Contributing Country", MP-IDSA Comment at <https://www.idsa.in/idsacomments/technology-and-peacekeeping-rkumar-140921> (Accessed on 13 January 2024).

In short, India has played a vital and commendable role in UN peacekeeping efforts, emphasizing a principled and impartial approach to these missions. Through its soft power approach, India has been effective in promoting reconciliation and development in post-conflict zones. One of the key factors contributing to India's success in peacekeeping is its focus on building strong relationships with local communities, prioritizing reconciliation and sustainable development. Indian peacekeepers demonstrate a strong commitment to international security by providing a significant number of troops to UN missions. Their actions reflect India's dedication to peace, cooperation, and global solidarity. India's engagement in UN peacekeeping goes beyond rhetoric, actively supporting peace and stability on the ground. Its principled and impartial stance earns international respect. India's soft power approach fosters reconciliation and development in post-conflict areas, working closely with local communities for sustainable peace. These efforts establish India as a reliable partner in promoting global peace.

CHINA AND UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

China's participation in UN peacekeeping operations has increased significantly over the past few decades. While China was initially sceptical of UN peacekeeping, it has become one of the major contributors to peacekeeping missions. China's multi-faceted involvement in UN peacekeeping includes its influential role as a permanent Security Council member, financial contributions to the peacekeeping budget, and deployment of troops and police personnel to various missions. This chapter will explore China's involvement in UN peacekeeping, including its motivations for participating, its contributions to various missions, and its impact on such efforts.

China's peacekeeping engagements began in the early 1990s. Prior to this, in the first two decades after it joined the UN in 1971, Beijing viewed UN peacekeeping with a significant degree of scepticism, registering its opposition to UNPKOs at three levels. First, by not partaking in Security Council votes on peacekeeping Resolutions. Second, not paying its annual peacekeeping contributions. Third, not contributing troops.²⁰ During this period, China viewed peacekeeping as an act of Superpower "power politics," a pretext to justify the US or Soviet intervention in the affairs of the small States.²¹ For instance, on 25 October 1973, while considering the Middle East issue in the Security Council, China said it has always been opposed to the dispatch of the so-called 'peacekeeping forces' and maintains the same position

²⁰ M. Taylor Fravel, "China's Attitude toward U.N. Peacekeeping Operations since 1989", *Asian Survey*, 36 (11), 1996, pp. 1102-1121.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1104.

concerning the present situation in the Middle East. It also noted that peacekeeping could only pave the way for further international intervention and control, with the Superpowers as the behind-the-scenes boss.²² Consequently, China also did not participate in the General Assembly and Security Council on matters pertaining to financing UNPKOs.²³

The first significant shift in this position was visible in 1981; China voted in the UNSC for the first time in favour of a UNSC Resolution, which extended the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP).²⁴ This marked a pivotal moment in China's approach to international peacekeeping efforts. In the following year, in 1982, China demonstrated its commitment to the UN's peacekeeping endeavours by starting to pay its dues for such operations. This financial contribution signified China's growing interest in actively participating in peacekeeping missions worldwide. As China continued to engage with the UN and its peacekeeping initiatives, it took a further step in 1984 by presenting its seven principles on peacekeeping to the international body.²⁵ These

²² Sally Morphet, "China as a Permanent Member of the Security Council: October 1971–December 1999", *Security Dialogue*, 31 (2), 2000, pp. 151-166.

²³ Byron N. Tzou, "The PRC's Policy toward UN Peacekeeping Operations", *Issues & Studies*, 34 (5), 1998, pp. 112-115.

²⁴ Yin He, "China Rising and Its Changing Policy on UN Peacekeeping", in C. de Coning and M. Peter (eds.), *United Nations Peace Operations in a Changing Global Order*, Springer Nature, Singapore, 2019.

²⁵ The Seven Principles are; (1) China supports UNPKO that are in line with the principles of the UN Charter, and recognizes UNPKO as an effective means for the UN to maintain international peace and security. (2) UNPKO must be deployed at the request or with the consent of the country in question and the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the party must be strictly respected. (3) The state and the party in question should cooperate with UNPKO taking full advantage of the time and favorable conditions brought by the PKO to achieve a political solution to the problems. (4) Each PKO must have a clear mandate; no country or party should use PKO for its own private interests or to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. (5) Authorization of PKO lies with the UN Security Council. With respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council, General Assembly, and the Secretary-General of the UN should fulfill their responsibilities in accordance with the Charter. (6) The

principles reflected China's stance on peacekeeping operations and outlined its agreement with the concept of UNPKOs. Key among these principles was the importance of seeking consent from the involved parties and respecting national sovereignty when authorizing and conducting peacekeeping missions.²⁶

China's application to become a member of the UN Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations in 1988 was another turning point.²⁷ In the same year, China's Defence White Paper enunciated Beijing's position regarding UN peacekeeping. It clarified that China "cherishes and supports the role of the United Nations in keeping international peace and security under the guidance of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations."²⁸ This dual move by China in 1988 showcased a newfound willingness to engage in multilateral efforts under the UN's auspices, which contrasted with its previous more cautious approach. Further, in an unprecedented move, China's ambassador to the UN, Yu Mengjia, called on the international community to support UN

cost of PKO must be shared and borne in a fair and reasonable manner. The cost should be covered, in light of different situations, by way of assessment among member states, voluntary contributions, or by the countries concerned. (7) To strengthen UNPKO, guiding principles and specific measures need to be adopted. The Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations can work on both aspects. Yasuhiro Matsuda, "China's UN Peacekeeping Operations Policy: Analysis of the Factors behind the Policy Shift toward Active Engagement", at https://www2.jiia.or.jp/en/pdf/digital_library/china/160518_Yasuhiro_Matsuda.pdf, (Accessed on 10 January 2024).

²⁶ Zhou Hang, "Dragon under the Blue Helmet: a quantitative analysis of China's motivation for participation in UN peacekeeping operations", at file:///C:/Users/rajeesh/Downloads/110-Article%20Text-143-1-10-20131003.pdf (10 January 2024).

²⁷ Bates Gill and Chin-Hao Huang, "The People's Republic of China", in Paul D. Williams and Alex J. Bellamy (eds.), *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013.

²⁸ Prashant Kumar Singh, "China's 'Military Diplomacy': Investigating PLA's Participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations", *Strategic Analysis*, 35 (5) 2011, pp. 793-818.

peacekeeping.²⁹ This was followed by deployment of military observers to the UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), to help monitor elections in Namibia and to the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) in the Middle East in 1988 and 1989, respectively. Between 1988 and 1998, the UN established 36 PKOs and China voted in favour of all these operations. At the same time, it had not vetoed any PKOs mandated under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

Beijing's first major peacekeeping deployment was in 1992, in Cambodia, when it sent a battalion of soldiers as part of the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). Since then, Chinese peacekeepers have been sent to over 20 countries, including the DRC, Liberia, Sudan, Lebanon, Cyprus, South Sudan, Mali and the Central African Republic.³⁰ During the late 1990s and early 2000s, China's participation in peacekeeping activities expanded and diversified. Its active deployment increased twenty-fold during these years and over 40,000 peacekeepers served in more than 20 UNPKOs.³¹ Moreover, Beijing has also begun to take on an increasingly prominent role in PKOs, providing leadership positions, including force commanders and other key personnel for several missions.

China is now the tenth-largest contributor of troops to UN peacekeeping missions and the top contributor among the P5 deployed 2240 personnel in eight UN missions globally.³² It is also important to note that in 2000, China had the lowest number of UN peacekeepers among the permanent members. It also highlights the apparent transformation in China's approach towards peacekeeping from

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ China's State Council Information Office, "China's Armed Forces: 30 Years of UN Peacekeeping Operations", at http://english.www.gov.cn/archive/whitepaper/202009/18/content_WS5f6449a8c6d0f7257693c323.html, (Accessed on 21 October 2023).

³¹ "Position Paper on China's Cooperation with the United Nations", 2021, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, pp.10-22, at https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjdt_665385/wjzcs/202110/t20211022_9609380.html (Accessed on 16 December 2023).

³² "Troops and Police Contributors", at <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/troop-and-police-contributors> (Accessed on 21 December 2023).

complete opposition to all-out embracing. Recently, China established an 8,000-strong standby force and a 300-member permanent police squad for UN peacekeeping missions.³³ China has also provided logistical support to UNPKOs operations, including transportation, medical support, and engineering expertise. More importantly, China has become more active in peacekeeping efforts as a leader in shaping the UN's peacekeeping policies, with its growing contributions to the peacekeeping budget. Currently, China ranks below the US (27.1 per cent) as the second-largest fund contributor, with 15.21 per cent of the peacekeeping budget. In 2001, China's assessment rate in contribution to the peacekeeping budget was merely two per cent.³⁴

Table 3.1: China in UNPKOs

Country	Mission	Time frame	Troops	Staff Officers	Police
Middle East	UNTSO	Apr. 1990 to present	0	89	0
Iraq-Kuwait	UNIKOM	Apr. 1991-Oct. 2003	0	164	0
Western Sahara	MINURSO	Sept.1991-present	0	314	0
Cambodia	UNTAC	Dec. 1991-Sept. 1993	800	97	0
Mozambique	ONUMOZ	Jun. 1993-Dec. 1994	0	20	0
Liberia	UNOMIL	Nov. 1993-Sept. 1997	0	33	0
Afghanistan	UNSMA	May 1998-Jan. 2000	0	2	0

³³ "Position Paper on China's Cooperation with the United Nations", Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2021, pp. 10-22, at https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/wjzcs/202110/t20211022_9609380.html#:~:text=China%20has%20set%20up%20an,and%20the%20variety%20of%20contingents (Accessed on 11 January 2024).

³⁴ Yin He, "China Rising and Its Changing Policy on UN Peacekeeping", in C. de Coning and M. Peter (eds.), *United Nations Peace Operations in a Changing Global Order*, Singapore, Springer Nature, 2019.

Sierra Leone	UNAMSIL	Aug. 1998- Dec. 2005	0	37	0
East Timor	UNMISET	Jan. 2000- Jul. 2006	0	0	207
Ethiopia and Eritrea	UNMEE	Oct. 2000- Aug. 2008	0	49	0
Bosnia and Herzegovina	UNMIBH	Jan. 2001- Jan. 2002	0	0	20
Congo	MONUC	Apr. 2001- June 2010	1962	101	0
Liberia	UNMIL	Oct. 2003- Dec. 2017	3,906	70	83
Cote d'Ivoire	UNOCI	Mar. 2004- Feb. 2017	0	33	0
Kosovo	UNMIK	Apr. 2004- 2018	0	0	73
Haiti	MINUSTAH	May 2004- 2017	0	0	916
Burundi	ONUB	Jun. 2004- Sept. 2006	0	6	0
Sudan	UNMIS	Apr. 2005- 2011	2291	405	47
Lebanon	UNIFIL	Mar. 2006 -present	1,187	24	0
Timor-Leste	UNMIT	Oct. 2006- 2012	0	7	30
Sierra Leone	UNIOSIL	Feb. 2007- Feb. 2008	0	1	0
Darfur, Sudan	UNAMID	Nov. 2007- Dec. 2020	315	7	0
Mali	MINUSMA	Oct. 2013- present	2295	559	7

Source: Compiled by authors from DPKO.

China's recent enthusiasm for these missions is the result of two developments. On the one hand, Beijing was able to reinterpret its understanding of UN peacekeeping after its experience in the 1990s, especially with regard to the use of force; on the other hand, the way UN peacekeeping missions are conducted was reformed after the Brahimi Report in 2000, which made UN peacekeeping more acceptable for China.³⁵ In September 2020, China released a White Paper on 30 years of UN Peacekeeping titled *China's Armed Forces: 30 Years of UN Peacekeeping Operations*. It outlined various engagements of Chinese forces worldwide and reiterated the concept of 'peaceful development' while staying away from supporting external interventions and becoming a global security provider.³⁶

Table 3.2: China's Current Peacekeeping Missions

Mission	Staff Officers	Experts on Mission	Police	Troops
MINURSO	0	11	0	0
MINUSMA	8	0	0	396
MONUSCO	7	8	0	216
UNISFA	9	4	0	140
UNMISS	18	3	0	1031
UNTSO	0	5	0	0
UNIFIL	9	0	0	409

Source: Compiled by author from <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/troop-and-police-contributors> (Accessed on 17 January 2024)

³⁵ Stefan Stähle, "China's Shifting Attitude towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations", *The China Quarterly*, 195, 2008, pp. 631-655.

³⁶ "China's Armed Forces: 30 Years of UN Peacekeeping Operations", China's State Council Information Office, at http://english.www.gov.cn/archive/whitepaper/202009/18/content_WS5f6449a8c6d0f7257693c323.html, (Accessed on 25 December 2023).

In recent decades, the Chinese leadership has pledged to support UN peacekeeping efforts. At the 2015 Leaders' Summit on Peacekeeping, Chinese President Xi Jinping announced that China would keep a standby force of 8,000 personnel ready for deployment within 60 days. President Xi also committed to training 2,000 international peacekeepers, providing \$100 million in military aid to the African Union, and sending its first helicopter squad to peacekeeping operations in Africa.³⁷

While being a relatively recent participant in UN peacekeeping, China, has rapidly increased its contributions in recent years. It has however, been criticized for its selective approach to peacekeeping, with some experts suggesting that China only participates in missions where it sees a clear strategic benefit. They also observed that China has viewed peacekeeping as a means to promote its security and strategic interests. Moreover, China's lack of transparency and accountability has also raised concerns among some UN officials.

Yongjin Zhang notes that China's stance on UN peacekeeping activities changed during the 1990s from condemnation to participation. He outlines four phases that explain how Chinese foreign policy has evolved over time. Phase 1 (1950-1971), saw condemnation of all UN peacekeeping efforts. A policy of non-interference characterized phase 2 (1971-1981). Phase 3 (1981-1988), witnessed China cooperating with UN peacekeeping efforts. Finally, Phase 4 (1988-present) is marked by a policy of active participation.³⁸ He also argued that in the 2000s, China's engagement in UN peacekeeping went beyond mere participation in traditional peacekeeping.³⁹

During the 1980s and 1990s, China's approach to UN peacekeeping was influenced by a delicate equilibrium between its long standing

³⁷ Yin He, no. 34, p.264.

³⁸ Yongjin Zhang, "China and UN Peacekeeping: From Condemnation to Participation", *International Peacekeeping*, 3 (3), 1996, pp.1-15.

³⁹ Ibid.

normative stance and practical considerations to safeguard its national interests. However, China – driven by its aspirations to become an integrated member of the global community– carefully navigated between these two factors. Notably, in the 1990s, China demonstrated a certain level of adaptability in its UN peacekeeping policy, specifically concerning the principle of using force.⁴⁰

Since the end of the Cold War, China’s contributions to UN peacekeeping operations have seen a noticeable increase, coinciding with a decline in involvement from Western powers who have been scaling back their commitments. For instance, in 2006, the Chinese Ambassador to the UN, Wang Guangya, emphasized China’s desire to fill the personnel void left by the West, stating that it was the right time for China to step up and play its part. China increased its involvement in UN peacekeeping to enhance its efforts to portray itself as a responsible great power and to expand its role in global governance.⁴¹

Zhao Lei observes that China’s unwavering commitment to nurturing internal harmony and development alongside its active pursuit of global peace and development significantly shaped its approach to peacekeeping and peacebuilding initiatives, allowing for smooth integration into international institutions.⁴² It also serves as a testament to China’s benevolent intentions and strong dedication to assuming a responsible role on the world stage.⁴³

China increased its involvement in UN peacekeeping, displaying its rising global power. However, concerns remain about its military and foreign policy intentions. To address this, Chinese leaders prioritize peaceful development, aiming to minimize tensions and conflicts while contributing to international peace and security through enhanced peacekeeping efforts. China’s increased peacekeeping engagement

⁴⁰ Yin He, no. 34.

⁴¹ Zhao Lei, “Two Pillars of China’s Global Peace Engagement Strategy: UN Peacekeeping and International Peacebuilding”, *International Peacekeeping*, 18 (3) 2011, pp.344-362.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

highlights the PLA's positive military capabilities and reassures neighbours of its peaceful intentions. It also reflects China's greater integration into the global community and commitment to being a responsible and cooperative power.⁴⁴

Since the 2000s, China has reinterpreted its longstanding principle of non-interference in foreign affairs. It now portrays its involvement as constructive participation rather than interference in other countries' domestic matters. For instance, China actively supported UN Resolutions authorizing peacekeeping missions in Darfur and East Timor, even when consent was influenced by external pressure. This strategic shift reflects China's alignment with the normative basis of liberal peace, acknowledging the legitimacy of external intervention in conflict situations.⁴⁵

China's Defence White Papers also reveal a clear shift in its approach to international affairs. For instance, the 2004 White Paper highlighted increased bilateral and multilateral strategic consultations, heightened troop exchanges and contributions to UN peacekeeping missions, reflecting China's more active role.⁴⁶ In 2006, China redefined its global actor status, emphasizing its active participation in maintaining global and regional peace and stability.⁴⁷ The 2008 White Paper explicitly recognized China's key role in international affairs, linking its growth to its expanded involvement in global matters.⁴⁸ In the 2010 White Paper, China showcased its peacekeeping achievements by dispatching the

⁴⁴ Chin-Hao Huang, "Principles and Praxis of China's Peacekeeping", in Miwa Hirono and Marc Lanteigne (eds.), *China's Evolving Approach to Peacekeeping*, Routledge, London, 2012.

⁴⁵ Xinyu Yuan, "The Chinese approach to peacebuilding: contesting liberal peace?", *Third World Quarterly*, 43 (7) 2022, pp.1798-1816.

⁴⁶ "China's National Defense in 2004", Govt. White Papers, at china.org.cn (Accessed on 27 December 2023).

⁴⁷ "China's National Defense in 2006", Govt. White Papers, at china.org.cn (Accessed on 27 December 2023).

⁴⁸ "China's National Defense in 2008", Govt. White Papers, at china.org.cn (Accessed on 27 December 2023).

highest number of personnel among the UN Security Council's permanent members. The Paper also commended Chinese UN troops as tough, brave, and devoted, acknowledging their valuable contributions.⁴⁹

China's active participation in peacekeeping operations is also viewed as essential for safeguarding its interests abroad. With expanding global interests, China relies on stable overseas markets to sustain economic development, driven by its role as the world's manufacturing hub and increasing demand for natural resources.⁵⁰ Instability in energy-producing regions, as highlighted by Michael J. Green, contradicts China's interests. Therefore, China's engagement in peacekeeping operations effectively protects its economic and energy-related concerns.⁵¹

According to Miwa Hirono and Marc Lanteigne, China's growing participation in peacekeeping operations is closely linked to its perceived global standing in contemporary international relations, with three key positions: a great power, a leading figure among non-Western nations, and a middle power. These positions offer a conceptual framework to comprehend China's motives and actions in peacekeeping endeavours.⁵² China's peacekeeping involvement reflects three attitudes: as a "great power," it establishes and challenges norms; as a "developing, non-Western country," it prioritizes solidarity with other developing nations; as a "middle power," it follows existing peacekeeping policies and avoids direct confrontation with major powers.⁵³

⁴⁹ "China's National Defense in 2010", Govt. White Papers, at china.org.cn. (Accessed on 27 December 2023).

⁵⁰ Jerker Hellstrom, *Blue Berets under the Red Flag: China in the UN Peacekeeping System*, Report No.FOI-R-2772-SE, Swedish Defence Research Agency, June 2009, p.34.

⁵¹ Michael J. Green, "Democracy and the Balance of Power in Asia", *American Interest*, 2 (1), 2006, p.101.

⁵² Miwa Hirono and Marc Lanteigne, "Introduction: China and UN Peacekeeping", in Miwa Hirono and Marc Lanteigne (eds.), *China's Evolving Approach to Peacekeeping*, Routledge, London, 2012.

⁵³ Ibid.

At the 2007 Munich Conference on Security Policy, Zhang Yesui, Ambassador to the United States and former vice foreign minister highlighted that China's increased involvement in UN peacekeeping missions reflects its commitment to global security.⁵⁴ As China's international role expands, it acknowledges that its interests are interconnected with global security, making a stable international environment crucial for its national security. This understanding drives China to take a more cooperative and supportive stance in UN peacekeeping, contributing to global security and stability.

The above analysis shows that China's involvement in UN peacekeeping operations has undergone a significant transformation in recent decades. Initially cautious and somewhat sceptical about participating in these missions, China has since emerged as a major contributor and influential player in UN peacekeeping efforts. This transformation is attributed to several key factors. First, China's status as a permanent member of the UN Security Council has significantly enhanced its influence in shaping the direction and objectives of UN peacekeeping missions. This influential role allows China to participate in decision-making processes related to peacekeeping missions, ensuring that its interests are considered and reflected in these operations.

China's commitment to UN peacekeeping is demonstrated through its substantial financial contributions to the peacekeeping budget. These financial resources play a crucial role in sustaining and supporting peacekeeping missions worldwide. China's contributions have a significant impact on the overall effectiveness and success of these endeavours. In addition to financial support, China has taken a proactive stance by deploying its own troops and police personnel to various UN peacekeeping missions. This deployment underscores China's commitment to maintaining global peace and security. Chinese peacekeepers have played a significant role in areas such as conflict

⁵⁴ Chin-Hao Huang, "Principles and Praxis of China's Peacekeeping", in Miwa Hirono and Marc Lanteigne, no. 52.

resolution, humanitarian assistance, and peacebuilding, further solidifying China's reputation as a responsible and cooperative international actor.

In short, China's evolving approach to UN peacekeeping is driven by increased socialization and engagement with the international community, leading to a greater acceptance of global norms and a commitment to peace and stability. Besides, peacekeeping missions offer China opportunities to improve the professionalism of its armed forces', test power projection capabilities, and advance its global power aspirations. This evolving Chinese approach is evident in active engagement in peacekeeping missions, demonstrating a commitment to global security and cooperation. This approach helps bolster China's soft power and diplomatic influence, enabling it to play a more prominent role in shaping international norms and institutions.

UNPKOs IN AFRICA

Africa has been a significant and challenging region for peacekeeping missions due to its history of ethnic tensions, political instability, and resource conflicts. The continent has been historically plagued by conflicts, civil wars, and humanitarian crises, making peacekeeping missions essential for regional and global stability. The UN has undertaken numerous missions in Africa to mitigate violence, promote reconciliation, and facilitate political dialogue. This chapter explores the role of UN peacekeeping in Africa, highlighting major missions, achievements, and persistent challenges. It examines the evolution of UN peacekeeping efforts in Africa since the early 1960s, emphasizing their contribution to conflict resolution, political reconciliation, and regional stability.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND SIGNIFICANCE

Peacekeeping in Africa has evolved as a response to complex challenges rooted in its colonial past. Post-independence, ethnic and territorial tensions often led to conflicts requiring international intervention. During the Cold War, Africa became the stage for ideological battles between superpowers, intensifying local conflicts. Geopolitical interests shaped peacekeeping efforts, reflecting the need to manage conflicts with global implications. Diverse ethnic and religious dynamics, compounded by colonial borders, added complexity. Peacekeeping aimed to manage intercommunal tensions, often aggravated by disputes over resources like minerals and oil. Humanitarian crises, such as famines and refugee displacement, further underscored peacekeeping's role. Notably, events such as the genocide in Rwanda served as painful reminders of the imperative for timely international action to prevent atrocities and protect vulnerable populations.

The successes of peacekeeping in Africa have been marked by persistent challenges. These include shortages of essential resources, inadequate

training for peacekeepers, difficulty securing a lasting peace, allegations of abuse by peacekeeping forces, and the intricate task of coordinating with often fragile or non-cooperative local governments. Despite these challenges, the significance of peacekeeping in Africa remains paramount. It serves as a critical tool for preventing conflicts, safeguarding civilian populations, providing vital humanitarian aid, and fostering stability, development, and regional cooperation. In a continent where complex historical legacies and ongoing geopolitical pressures continue to shape its destiny, peacekeeping remains crucial in pursuing peace, security, and prosperity for all.

Africa has hosted the highest number of UN peacekeeping missions, accounting for nearly 47 per cent of all missions worldwide. Since 1960, 33 peacekeeping missions have been deployed in Africa, the most on any continent. Nearly half of the UN's 55 missions deployed in the post-Cold War era have been on the continent. Currently, six out of 12 UN missions are in Africa, with over 70,000 troops working to address civil wars, insurgencies, protect civilians, and promote regional stability.⁵⁵ This enduring commitment reflects the UN's recognition of Africa's unique peace and security needs and underscores the organization's dedication to supporting stability and peace on the continent.

UN MISSIONS IN AFRICA DURING COLD WAR

The UN deployed its first armed peacekeeping mission in Africa, the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) in Egypt, in 1956 to oversee the withdrawal of British, French, and Israeli troops during the Suez Crisis. UNEF's success laid the groundwork for modern peacekeeping by establishing fundamental principles like impartiality and the use of force only in self-defence. UNEF's success in achieving its immediate objectives, combined with its lasting impact on peacekeeping practices, highlights its historical significance.

⁵⁵ Rajeesh Kumar, "Committed Peacekeeper: India's UN Peacekeeping involvement in Africa", in *India-Africa Defence Cooperation: Opportunities and Challenges*, Defence White Paper, Ministry of Defence, Government of India, 2022.

In the early 1960s, the United Nations initiated a series of peacekeeping missions in Africa with the aim of addressing the growing instability and conflicts that emerged in newly-independent States across the continent. These missions were a response to the challenges and tensions that arose as African nations gained independence from colonial rule. The United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC) in 1960 was a significant mission to establish stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Shortly after gaining independence, the newly formed Congolese government faced internal divisions and political instability, exacerbated by the secessionist movements in the provinces of Katanga and South Kasai. These regions sought autonomy from the central government, leading to a situation of widespread chaos and violence. In July 1960, the Congolese government requested assistance from the United Nations to restore peace and stability. In response, the Security Council authorized the deployment of ONUC on 14 July 1960.⁵⁶

ONUC's primary objective was to maintain peace and protect civilians amidst escalating conflicts and prevent the disintegration of the newly independent nation, making it a prominent and challenging intervention in Africa's history of UN peacekeeping. The mission encountered numerous complexities, testing its capabilities in the region. Despite challenges, ONUC played a crucial role in mitigating violence and saving lives by facilitating negotiations between the central government and secessionist movements, resulting in the return of Katanga to Congolese control in early 1963.

Subsequent decades witnessed various peacekeeping engagements in Africa. These efforts were driven by the need to address the challenges posed by political transitions, armed conflicts, and humanitarian crises. One of the notable UN peacekeeping missions during this period was the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia. It was established based on the authorization of Security Council

⁵⁶ Security Council Resolution 143(1960), *The Congo Question*, 14 July 1960, UN DOC. S/RES/143 (1960), at <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f00d50.html> (Accessed 13 November 2023).

Resolution 626 on 20 December 1988.⁵⁷ The mission took place from April 1989 to March 1990, with the primary objective of overseeing the transition of Namibia to independence from South Africa. Namibia's struggle for independence had been marked by decades of armed conflict and repression, making the mission a critical step in the country's history.

POST-COLD WAR MISSIONS (1990-1999)

The 1990s indeed represented a significant turning point for UN peacekeeping efforts in Africa, as the conclusion of the Cold War reshaped global power dynamics and brought heightened attention to regional conflicts. During this period, various United Nations missions were deployed to tackle the intricate challenges emerging from conflicts across Africa. These missions included the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO), United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II & III), United Nations Operations in Somalia (UNOSOM I/II), United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR), United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL), United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), United Nations Mission Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL), and United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC), among others.

A notable example, the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO), was established in 1991 to oversee the ceasefire between Morocco and the Polisario Front, aiming to resolve the conflict through a self-determination Referendum.⁵⁸ Its primary role was to organize a self-determination Referendum for the Sahrawi

⁵⁷ Security Council Resolution 626 (1988), Establishment of the UN Angola Verification Mission, 20 December 1988, UN Doc. S/RES/626(1988) at <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/52988?ln=en> (Accessed 13 November 2023).

⁵⁸ Security Council Resolution 690, 29 April 1991, UN Doc. S/RES/690(1991) Establishment of the UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara, at <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/112199?ln=en> (Accessed on 14 December 2023).

people, allowing them to choose between independence and integration with Morocco. MINURSO monitors the ceasefire, identifies voters, promotes confidence building, monitors human rights, and supports diplomatic negotiations.⁵⁹ The UN has renewed MINURSO's mandate to continue addressing the complex Western Sahara conflict.

The United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM) had two phases: UNAVEM II (1991-1997) and UNAVEM III (1997-1999).⁶⁰ These missions aimed to bring peace and stability to Angola after a prolonged civil war. UNAVEM II verified peace agreements between the Angolan government and rebel group UNITA, monitoring the ceasefire, disarmament, and fair elections.⁶¹ UNAVEM III supported the Lusaka Protocol, focusing on verifying the ceasefire, implementing peace accords, and overseeing demobilization.⁶² Challenges arose from complex politics and ongoing conflict. Ultimately, these missions contributed to Angola's path toward stability, ending the civil war and establishing a more peaceful political environment.

The Security Council Resolution 751 established the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM), on 24 April 1992. It aimed to monitor the Mogadishu ceasefire, ensure security of UN personnel, and escort humanitarian supplies. Resolution 751 urged consultations with Somali parties for national reconciliation. The UN and partner organizations pursued the UN Secretary-General's 90-day Emergency Humanitarian Assistance Plan.⁶³ However, the mission encountered challenges in

⁵⁹ "UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara", at <https://minurso.unmissions.org/mandate> (Accessed on 14 October 2023).

⁶⁰ Security Council Resolution 696, 30 May 1991; Security Council Resolution 976, 8 February 1995.

⁶¹ Caroline Guyot and Alex Vines, "United Nations Angola Verification Mission I (UNAVEM I)", in Joachim A. Koops et. al (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, Oxford Academic, 2014.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ramesh Thakur, "From Peacekeeping to Peace Enforcement: The UN Operation in Somalia", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 32(3), 1994, pp. 387–410.

achieving its objectives due to the complex and volatile situation on the ground. UNOSOM II was launched in March 1993 to establish a secure environment for humanitarian aid in Somalia. This included enforcing measures for peace and stability. It aimed to continue the work of the preceding Unified Task Force, which focused on restoring peace and order.⁶⁴ UNOSOM II's goals encompassed disarmament and reconciliation. The operation concluded in March 1995 with its withdrawal from Somalia.

In Mozambique, the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) was established in 1992 to support the implementation of the General Peace Agreement, which aimed to end the civil war.⁶⁵ ONUMOZ monitored the ceasefire, oversaw demobilization, and supervised elections, fostering reconciliation. Its success in disarmament and establishing multi-party democracy showcased the conflict resolution potential of the UN's peacekeeping efforts. The mission concluded in 1994, ending a prolonged African conflict.

The United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR) was a peacekeeping operation established from June 1993 to September 1994, to monitor the Uganda-Rwanda border during tension and conflict.⁶⁶ It aimed to observe and report military activities and prevent unauthorized cross-border movements. UNOMUR faced limitations and could not prevent the Rwandan genocide. UNAMIR was established on 5 October by Security Council Resolution 872 in 1993.⁶⁷ This mission also faced severe criticism for its inability to prevent the Rwandan genocide in 1994, which resulted in the brutal deaths of an estimated

⁶⁴ Paul D. Williams, "United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II)", in Joachim A. Koops et.al (eds), no. 61.

⁶⁵ Security Council Resolution 797 (1992), UN Doc. S/RES/797, 'Establishment of UN Operation in Mozambique', 14 September 1992.

⁶⁶ Security Council Resolution 846 (1993), UN Doc. S/RES/846, 'Establishment of UN Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda', 22 June 1993.

⁶⁷ Security Council Resolution 872(1993), UN Doc. S/RES/872, 'Establishment of UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda', 5 October 1993.

800,000 people. The failure of UNAMIR highlighted critical shortcomings in peacekeeping efforts, such as a lack of clear mandates, inadequate resources, and ineffective command structures.

The Rwandan genocide was a wake-up call for the international community, prompting a comprehensive reassessment of UN peacekeeping strategies. The tragic events emphasized the urgency of equipping peacekeeping missions with adequate resources, strategic planning, and political support to prevent and manage conflicts effectively. This realization led to a widespread acknowledgement of the need for reform and improvement in peacekeeping operations. Consequently, peacekeeping strategies were revamped, including developing mandates that are more robust, improved coordination mechanisms, and focused on better-trained and equipped personnel.

Another mission during this period was the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA), which played a pivotal role from 1998 to 2000 during a tumultuous period marked by political instability and societal unrest in the Central African Republic (CAR). Its core objectives included assisting the CAR government in establishing security, preserving human rights, and overseeing the disarmament of armed groups. A significant achievement of MINURCA was its facilitation of peaceful elections and the transition to a democratically elected government, a crucial step considering the fragile governance and civil conflict in CAR at the time. Post-MINURCA, CAR grappled with ongoing conflict and instability, prompting the United Nations to maintain a presence through subsequent peacekeeping missions.

The post-Cold War era was marked by a sense of optimism, leading to the initiation of several UN operations in Africa. Notably, missions were conducted in Angola, Namibia, Somalia, and Mozambique. The initial results of these operations varied significantly. In the cases of Namibia and Mozambique, the outcomes were relatively positive, with the peacekeeping efforts making substantial progress in stabilizing the regions. However, the outcomes were far less favourable in Angola and, particularly, Somalia.

In Angola, the UN peacekeeping mission encountered significant challenges and complexities. The civil war in the country, fuelled by both internal and external factors, made it difficult to achieve a lasting

peace. The mission faced persistent violence and political obstacles that hindered its effectiveness. Somalia presented an even more daunting set of challenges. The UN mission in Somalia faced immense difficulties in restoring stability and humanitarian relief. The mission was marred by violent clashes, factionalism, and the tragic “Black Hawk Down” incident in 1993, which resulted in significant casualties and further complicated international efforts in the region. The Somalia mission highlighted the complexities and limitations of peacekeeping in volatile environments.

Overall, the 1990s marked a period of hope and frustration for peacekeeping operations in Africa. While some missions, like those in Namibia and Mozambique, achieved relative success, those in Angola, Rwanda and Somalia served as stark reminders of the formidable challenges and risks associated with peacekeeping efforts in a continent grappling with a myriad of complex conflicts and political dynamics. These experiences in the 1990s contributed to the evolving strategies and lessons learned in subsequent peacekeeping missions in Africa.

PEACEKEEPING IN THE MILLENNIUM

The dawn of the new millennium brought fresh challenges and opportunities for UN peacekeeping in Africa. While conflicts continued to pose significant threats, the UN’s approach to peacekeeping evolved to address complex issues such as state fragility and inter-communal tensions. Traditional peacekeeping, focused on inter-State conflicts, was ill-equipped to address non-State actors with global ambitions. The UN’s response involved a multifaceted approach, combining military, political, and developmental efforts. This evolution demonstrated the UN’s commitment to proactive conflict prevention and sustainable peace, recognizing that addressing the complex challenges of the 21st century requires a multifaceted strategy.

One of the most prominent peacekeeping efforts of the 21st century was The United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), from October 1999 to 2005, and is widely regarded as one of the UN’s most successful peacekeeping missions. UNAMSIL pioneered several key aspects now common in UN peacekeeping, including its integrated mission structure, focus on security sector reform, Chapter VII enables

protection of civilians, and a peacebuilding-centred exit strategy.⁶⁸ UNAMSIL's mission was multi-faceted but focused on critical components essential for long-lasting stability. One of its primary objectives was the disarmament of rebel forces, a crucial step in reducing the potential for violence and bloodshed. By persuading combatants to lay down their weapons, UNAMSIL helped create a more secure environment for the people of Sierra Leone. UNAMSIL also played a crucial role in restoring democratic governance in Sierra Leone. It worked to facilitate free and fair elections, helping re-establish a stable political system disrupted by the war.

In the Horn of Africa, the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE) played a significant role during the early 21st century. Comprising both military and civilian components, UNMEE monitored and verified ceasefires, facilitated the return of displaced individuals, and contributed to confidence-building measures in the region.⁶⁹ Despite its challenges and eventual termination in 2008 due to border disputes, UNMEE's legacy serves as a testament to the UN's commitment to conflict resolution and peace promotion in Africa during this period. UNMEE's efforts underscore the organization's unwavering commitment to resolving conflicts and promoting regional stability, affecting peacekeeping initiatives in the new millennium.

MINUCI (United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire) and UNOCI (United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire) were crucial UN peacekeeping missions in Ivory Coast, established in response to the 2002 Ivorian Civil War. MINUCI, begun in May 2003, was pivotal in facilitating peace negotiations, monitoring ceasefires, and supporting the implementation of the peace agreement. Its contribution to ending the civil war and fostering political reconciliation and elections in Ivory Coast was significant.⁷⁰ Following MINUCI's success, UNOCI was

⁶⁸ "United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) Brief", at <https://sites.tufts.edu/wpf/files/2017/07/Sierra-Leone-brief.pdf> (Accessed on 08 February 2024).

⁶⁹ "UNMEE", at <https://unmee.unmissions.org/mandate> (Accessed on 17 November 2023).

⁷⁰ "United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire", at <https://peacekeeping.un.org/es/mission/past/minuci/index.html>, (Accessed on 17 November 2023).

established in 2004. Its mandate included overseeing disarmament, organizing elections, and aiding the Ivorian government in maintaining security and promoting human rights and reconciliation. These missions significantly contributed to Ivory Coast's recovery and stability. UNOCI concluded its mission on 30 June 2017, but the UN continues to support the Ivory Coast through various programmes. UNOCI played a multifaceted role, including aiding in aid distribution, supporting reconciliation, overseeing elections, safeguarding human rights (especially for women and girls), and contributing to security and judiciary restructuring. Its expanded mandate aimed to promote peace, stability, and democracy in Ivory Coast.⁷¹

Similarly, the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) was established to address the growing threat of inter-communal violence. MINUSMA's establishment in Mali reflected the increasing complexity of conflicts in the region. The mission's mandate included supporting the implementation of a peace agreement between the Malian government and armed groups, protecting civilians, and addressing the humanitarian crisis.⁷² However, the mission grappled with attacks by extremist groups and inter-communal tensions that hampered its efforts to bring stability to the country. MINUSMA's experience underscores the evolving landscape of modern conflict resolution and peacekeeping. The mission's mandate reflects a shift from traditional peacekeeping to a multidimensional approach. Furthermore, the persistence of extremist threats and inter-communal tensions in Mali emphasizes the need for comprehensive and adaptive strategies in peacekeeping operations. MINUSMA's efforts to navigate these complexities underscore the importance of continuous evaluation, learning, and innovation in UN peacekeeping.

⁷¹ "United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI)", at <https://sites.tufts.edu/wpf/files/2017/07/Ivory-Coast-brief.pdf> (Accessed on 17 November 2023).

⁷² "MINUSMA", at <https://minusma.unmissions.org/en/mandate-0> (Accessed on 16 October 2023).

In Sudan, the UN faced complex challenges in a volatile security landscape. In regions like Darfur and Southern Sudan, United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) grappled with security concerns while striving to implement the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and address ongoing conflicts. These challenges were compounded by Sudan's vast territory and underdeveloped infrastructure, making resource deployment difficult. Despite these difficulties, UNMIS achieved significant milestones. It played a pivotal role in facilitating the successful implementation of the CPA (Comprehensive Peace Agreement), leading to South Sudan's secession and the establishment of the Republic of South Sudan in July 2011.⁷³ UNMIS also contributed substantially to humanitarian efforts, coordinating with various UN agencies and NGOs to deliver aid and protect civilians in conflict zones, especially in Darfur. UNMIS engaged in conflict mitigation by monitoring compliance with ceasefire agreements and supporting political processes. Its involvement in conflict mediation and political support helped ease the protracted Sudanese conflict. The mission oversaw crucial elections, including the 2010 general elections integral to the CPA.

The United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) was established in 2011 with a robust mandate to foster stability and peace in a country marred by decades of conflict and violence. UNMISS's primary mandate encompasses the protection of civilians, monitoring and reporting on human rights violations, and supporting the implementation of the peace agreement signed in 2018.⁷⁴ The mission's activities are multifaceted, including deploying peacekeepers to conflict-prone areas, facilitating the delivery of humanitarian assistance, and engaging in dialogue with various stakeholders to promote reconciliation and political stability. Moreover, UNMISS plays a pivotal role in training and capacity building for the South Sudanese security forces and assisting in disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration efforts.

⁷³ Lauren Hutton, "From UNMIS to UNMISS", Clingendael Institute, CRU Report, 2014, pp. 8-12.

⁷⁴ Adam Day, *Assessing the Effectiveness of the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS)*, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2019.

However, UNMISS has faced numerous challenges since its inception. South Sudan's complex and volatile security environment, marked by ongoing inter-communal violence and political disputes, has posed significant hurdles to the mission's effectiveness. The mission has encountered obstacles in accessing conflict-affected areas, and the safety of UN personnel has been at risk due to sporadic violence. Nonetheless, UNMISS has achieved some notable successes, including facilitating the formation of the Transitional Government of National Unity in 2020 and supporting local conflict resolution initiatives. Despite the persistent challenges, the mission continues to work tirelessly to promote peace and stability in South Sudan, emphasizing the importance of a political solution and long-term development to address the root causes of the conflict.

In conclusion, the role of UN peacekeeping in Africa is undeniably vital for maintaining global peace and stability. Africa's history of ethnic tensions, political instability, and resource conflicts has presented significant challenges, making it a crucial region for UN peacekeeping missions. Throughout this chapter, we have traced the evolution of UN peacekeeping efforts in Africa from the early 1960s, highlighting their substantial contributions to conflict resolution, political reconciliation, and regional stability. The UN's unwavering commitment to the continent has yielded notable achievements, including the prevention of widespread violence, the establishment of democratic processes, and the protection of vulnerable populations.

Nonetheless, it is essential to acknowledge that challenges persist. The intricate nature of conflicts involving multiple stakeholders and continually shifting dynamics within African nations continues to challenge the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations. Furthermore, issues such as resource scarcity, poverty, and governance problems remain underlying causes of instability in the region. The UN and its member states need to address these challenges by enhancing the capacity, flexibility, and efficiency of peacekeeping operations in Africa. This includes ensuring sufficient funding, robust mandates with clear objectives, improved coordination with regional organizations, and a commitment to local ownership and sustainable peacebuilding efforts.

INDIAN PEACEKEEPERS IN AFRICA

Since 1960, India has been actively engaged in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKOs) across the African continent, beginning with its participation in the UN Operation in Congo (ONUC). Over the years, India's commitment to these missions has remained steadfast, with the country participating in 22 UN peace operations in Africa. India has contributed nearly 40,000 troops to these endeavours, demonstrating its dedication to global peace and stability. India's involvement in UN peacekeeping missions in Africa has extended beyond mere participation. The country has also been privileged to lead and command various UN missions on the continent. However, this commitment has not come without sacrifices. India has borne a heavy burden in terms of peacekeeping fatalities in Africa, accounting for more than 70 per cent of its total casualties in this endeavour; 123 Indian peacekeepers laid down their lives in Africa.

Currently, a significant portion of India's peacekeepers—approximately 80 per cent—are actively serving in five UN missions in Africa. The missions include Western Sahara (MINURSO), Republic of Congo (MONUSCO), Abyei (UNISFA), South Sudan (UNMISS) and Somalia (UNSOM). These missions are instrumental in addressing regional conflicts and fostering stability in a region that is grappling with turmoil and insecurity.

This chapter delves into India's extensive engagement in peacekeeping activities within Africa, by analysing its troop contributions, rationale and voting behaviour in the UNSC. Indian peacekeepers have a reputation for professionalism, discipline, and commitment to upholding peacekeeping mandates. They engage in various tasks such as protection of civilians, humanitarian assistance, disarmament efforts, and capacity building for local security forces. India actively participates in peacekeeping efforts in Africa, contributing troops and engaging in diplomatic initiatives in the UNSC. As a non-permanent member of the UNSC, India advocates for Resolutions that foster peace and stability

in conflict-affected African regions. India's voting behaviour in the UNSC emphasizes principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and non-interference, highlighting the significance of diplomatic solutions and dialogue to resolve conflicts.

INDIA'S TROOP DEPLOYMENT IN AFRICA

With approximately 80 per cent of its peacekeepers actively serving in key United Nations missions in Africa, India plays a pivotal role in addressing regional conflicts and fostering peace in some of the most volatile regions on the continent. This significant troop contribution underscores India's dedication to supporting peacekeeping efforts in Africa, where its peacekeepers have proved to be instrumental in addressing conflicts, providing humanitarian aid, and supporting the restoration of stability in regions grappling with turmoil and insecurity.

Table 5.1: India's Contribution to UN Peacekeeping in Africa (Past)

Country	Mission	Duration	Experts on Missions	Police	Troops
Congo	ONUC	1960-1964	–	–	12,222
Namibia	UNTAG	1989-1990	138	–	–
Angola	UNAVEM I	1989-1991	8	–	1014
Angola	UNAVEM II	1991	9	–	–
Western Sahara	MINURSO	1991-till date	3	–	–
Mozambique	ONUMOZ	1992-1994	–	–	1083
Somalia	UNISOM II	1992-1994	–	–	5000
Liberia	UNOMIL	1993-1997	20	250	–
Rwanda	UNAMIR	1993-1996	18	–	956
Angola	UNAVEM III	1995-1997	20	–	1800
Sierra Leone	UNOMSIL	1998-1999	14	18	–

Country	Mission	Duration	Experts on Missions	Police	Troops
Sierra Leone	UNAMSIL	1999-2001	–	–	3660
DR Congo	MONUC	1999-2010	–	–	4670
Ethiopia & Eritrea	UNMEE	2000-08	47	–	–
Liberia	UNMIL	2003-2018	–	125	–
Cote d'Ivoire	MUNUCI	2004-2017	8	–	–
Burundi	ONUB	2004-06	8	–	–
Sudan	UNMIS	2005-11	–	–	2651
DR Congo	MONUSCO	2010-till date	17	139	2624
Abyei	UNISFA	2011-till date	4	2	–
South Sudan	UNMISS	2014-till date	–	30	2395
Somalia	UNSOM	2013-till date	1	–	–

Compiled by author from **DPKO**⁷⁵

Over the years, Indian peacekeepers have played a crucial role in stabilizing conflict-ridden African countries, including Congo, Sudan, and Liberia, Somalia and South Sudan. India's peacekeeping efforts in Africa have been characterized by its emphasis on local ownership, capacity-building, and gender-sensitive approaches. India has also provided training and assistance to African countries in peacekeeping operations, reflecting its commitment to building sustainable peace on the continent. India's peacekeeping leadership in Africa has earned it a reputation as a reliable and effective partner in promoting peace and stability in the continent.

⁷⁵ "Past Peace Operations", at <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/past-peacekeeping-operations>; <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/where-we-operate>(Accessed on 20 January 2023).

Table 5.2: India's Contribution to UN Peacekeeping in Africa (Current)

Country	Mission	Personal Type	Male	Female	Total
Western Sahara	MINURSO	Experts on Mission	3	0	3
		Total MINURSO	3	0	3
Democratic Republic of Congo	MONUSCO	Experts on Mission	13	4	17
		Formed Police Units	128	11	139
		Staff Officer	19	5	24
		Troops	1793	33	1826
		Total MONUSCO	1953	53	2006
Abyei	UNISFA	Experts on Mission	2	0	2
		Formed Police Units	0	2	2
		Staff Officer	2	0	2
		Troops	527	32	559
		Total UNISFA	531	34	565
South Sudan	UNMISS	Experts on Mission	15	3	18
		Formed Police Units	25	5	30
		Staff Officer	48	6	54
		Troops	2291	12	2303
		Total UNMISS	2379	26	2405
Somalia	UNSOM	Experts on Mission	1	0	1
		Total UNSOM	1	0	1
		Total in Africa	4340	81	4421

Source: Compiled by author from at https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/03_country_and_mission_43_oct_2021.pdf (Accessed on 15 January 2023).

The UN operation in Congo (ONUC) is considered a unique example of India's contribution to the peacekeeping operations in Africa. Initially, India's participation was limited to providing logistics support with supply, technical and medical personnel.⁷⁶ However, later, at the request of the UN Secretary-General, India deployed its troops, and played a critical role in keeping peace in Congo. From 1960–64, India sent 12,225 soldiers and a detachment of the Indian Air Force to Congo. At one point, out of the sanctioned strength of 19,822, the Indian contingent numbered 5617. No less pertinent is the fact that 39 Indian soldiers laid down their lives in Congo.

Table 5.3: India's Peacekeeping Fatalities in Africa

SI. No.	Country	Mission	Number of Fatalities
1.	Congo	ONUC	39
2.	DR Congo	MONUC	13
3.	DR Congo	MONUSCO	17
4.	Mozambique	ONUMOZ	02
5.	Sierra Leone	UNAMSIL	05
6.	Angola	UNAVEM	02
7.	Ethiopia-Eritrea	UNMEE	04
8.	Liberia	UNMIL	04
9.	Sudan	UNMIS	04
10.	South Sudan	UNMISS	15
11.	Cote d'Ivoire	UNOCI	01
12.	Somalia	UNOSOM	15
13.	Somalia	UNSOS	01
14.	Namibia	UNTAG	01
Total			123

Source: Compiled by author from https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/stats_by_nationality_mission_2_69_november_2021.pdf (Accessed on 10 January 2024).

⁷⁶ Yeschi Choedon, "India's UN Peacekeeping Operations Involvement in Africa: Change in the Nature of Participation and Driving Factors", *International Studies*, 51(1-4), 2017, pp.16-34.

In 1989, India sent military observers to Namibia to support the UN efforts to monitor the ceasefire and assure the withdrawal of South African troops from the country. India contributed around 140 personnel to the UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), including the force commander and military observers. The UNTAG is considered one of Africa's most successful UN peace operations. Indian military observers played a critical role in the smooth withdrawal of foreign troops, conducting elections, and handing over the authority to the local government.⁷⁷

Table 5.4: India's Peacekeeping Leadership in Africa

Force Commanders	Mission
Maj Gen V K Jaitley (Later Lt Gen)	UNAMSIL
Lt Gen Jasbir Singh Lidder	UNMIS
Maj Gen Rajender Singh ((Later Lt Gen)	UNMEE
Lt Gen Chander Prakash	MONUSCO
Lt Gen S S Tinaikar	UNMISS
Lt Gen Mohan Subramanain	UNMISS
Division Commanders	Mission
Maj Gen Dewan Prem Chand (Later Lt Gen)	ONUC
Maj Gen Bikram Singh (Later Gen)	MONUC

*Source*⁷⁸

The end of the Cold War witnessed a rapid increase of peacekeeping deployment in Africa. India participated in nearly all of these missions and contributed hundreds of military observers and thousands of troops. India sent military observers to Angola (1989-1991), Liberia

⁷⁷ Ruchita Beri, "India's Role in Keeping Peace in Africa", *Strategic Analysis*, 32 (2), 2008, pp.197-221.

⁷⁸ *Blue Helmet Odyssey: Defining India's UN Footprints*, Vol. 1 Centre for United Nations Peacekeeping, New Delhi, 2022.

(1993-1997), Burundi (2004-06), Ethiopia-Eritrea (2000-2008) and Cote d'Ivoire (2004-2017). Indian peacekeepers were deployed in some of the most dangerous and challenging missions in Africa, including Somalia (1993-1994), Rwanda (1993-1996), Sierra Leone (1999-2000), Congo (1999-2010), Sudan (2005-2011), and South Sudan (since 2014).

The UN operation in Somalia (UNISOM) illustrates the fundamental characteristics of India's peacekeeping approach in Africa. India was not part of the first phase of the Somalian operation led by the United States in 1992. India declined to deploy ground troops as part of this US-led mission for two reasons: the absence of the host government's request and consent and the 'lead nation concept'.⁷⁹ India generally prefers to participate only in UN-led operations. Nonetheless, when the UN established UNISOM II in 1993, India sent a brigade strength of troops aided by IAF helicopters and Indian naval ships. UNISOM II was the Indian Navy's first-ever overseas deployment supporting UN peace operations. Indian naval ships were involved in patrolling duties off the Somali coast and transporting men and material for the UN. India was one of the few troop-contributing nations to maintain its original presence until the end of UNISOM II.

Beyond this reliability and staying power, Indian peacekeepers are commended for their professionalism, reliability, and friendly approach to conflict-affected people. For instance, on numerous occasions, Somalis praised Indian troops for respecting local culture and traditions.⁸⁰ The Indian contingent made efforts to learn the Somali culture, customs, and language and often organized cultural functions and events with local groups. They carried out vocational and veterinary training and undertook projects like food for digging wells, building schools and mosques, dispensaries and relief camps.

⁷⁹ Kabilan Krishnasamy, "A Case for India's 'Leadership' in United Nations Peacekeeping", *International Studies*, 47, (2-4), 2010, pp. 225-246.

⁸⁰ Alan Bullion, "India and UN peacekeeping operations", *International Peacekeeping*, 4 (1), 1997, pp. 98-114.

In Rwanda, also Indian peacekeepers carried out community work such as building roads and schools, and digging tube wells. They also looked after several orphanages and schools and provided medical assistance to the local population. For instance, in Soaltee and Alexandra, the Indian troops established two medical units. The battalion also undertook the responsibility for the provision of rations.⁸¹

Sierra Leone was another case that validated the stellar professionalism of the Indian peacekeepers. The UN authorized an observer mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL) in July 1998, for which India contributed several military observers and medical personnel. In October 1999, the observer mission was changed to a full-fledged peacekeeping mission and renamed as the UN Assistance Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL). From 1999-2000, India contributed around 4000 troops, and this was one of the largest PKOs undertaken by India in the late 1990s in Africa.

One of the most significant challenges that the Indian peacekeepers met with in Sierra Leone, was the hostage situation involving Indian troops. When the RUF rebels turned against the UN peacekeepers, all except the Indian troops relinquished their weapons. When the Indian peacekeepers refused to surrender, the rebels took them hostage.⁸² The UN made several efforts to end the standoff through diplomatic means, but to no avail. Later, in July 2000, Indian troops launched a military operation called *Operation Khukri* and freed all the captives.⁸³ After this incident, the Indian government withdrew its troops from the mission. UNAMSIL was the only UN mission where Indian contingent pulled out before the end of the operation. However, the

⁸¹ Satish Nambiar, *For the Honour of India: A History of Indian Peacekeepers*, USI, New Delhi, 2009, p. 289.

⁸² Rajpal Punia and Damini Punia, *Operation Khukri: The True Story behind the Indian Army's Most Successful Mission as part of the United Nations*, Penguin, New Delhi, 2021.

⁸³ V.K. Jetly, "Op Khukri—The United Nations Operation Fought in Sierra Leone Part I", *USI Journal*, 137,(567), 2007, pp. 81–94.

military operation executed by Indian troops in Sierra Leone won praise from all quarters including Secretary-General Kofi Annan. He observed that, “they have shown commendable determination and patience in the face of a difficult and dangerous situation. Their exemplary performance is a credit to the Indian armed forces and their country.”⁸⁴

India’s participation in the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) exemplifies many of the fundamental characteristics of India’s peacekeeping approach in Africa. Indian peacekeepers generally follow the “hold and fire” approach rather than “pull the trigger” policy. Indian peacekeepers experience in MONUSCO is a case in point. When an African contingent was confronted by a mob with weapons, they opened fire and eight teenagers were killed in the incident. However, an Indian patrol resolved a similar situation by the threat of use of force and negotiations.⁸⁵

This, however, does not mean that Indian peacekeepers invariably follow the hold the fire approach in every circumstance. For instance, in Sudan, when insurgents attacked the UN peacekeeping convoy, despite being outnumbered, the Indian contingent fought with valour and prevented more casualties. Speaking about the incident, UN Assistant Secretary-General for Field Support, Anthony Banbury remarked that, “the Indian soldiers showed gallantry in defending themselves and the civilians. The number of deaths on the UN side would have been much worse had the Indian soldiers not fought with such determination.”⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Alan Bullion, “India in Sierra Leone: A case of muscular peacekeeping?”, *International Peacekeeping*, 8 (4), 2001, p.82.

⁸⁵ “Peacekeeping or Peace Enforcement: Principal Dilemma Surrounding United Nations Peacekeeping in the DRC”, at <https://www.idsa.in/africatrends/peacekeeping-or-peace-enforcement> (Accessed on 10 January 2024).

⁸⁶ “Indian soldiers in South Sudan fought with bravery: UN”, at <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/indian-soldiers-in-south-sudan-fought-with-bravery-un/articleshow/19545270.cms?from=mdr> (Accessed on 7 January 2024).

On the other hand, Indian peacekeepers continued their humanitarian activities on the ground. In Congo, the Indian contingent facilitated the smooth evacuation and protection of civilians and other UN personnel during a volcanic eruption. Similarly, Indian peacekeepers were the first responders to a major accident in Eastern DRC. They also built the first ever school for Differently-Abled Children in Rutshuru Territory with voluntary contribution from their salaries.⁸⁷ The Indian contingent in UNMISS also contributed to the welfare of the people of South Sudan, organizing several computer training and veterinary assistance camps in the past. Recently, 836 Indian peacekeepers were awarded the prestigious UN medal for their committed service to the cause of durable peace in South Sudan.⁸⁸

India's participation in the UN Mission in Liberia led to revisiting the gender mainstreaming debate in UNPKOs. In 2007, India deployed an All-Women Police Unit to the UNMIL. The Unit was the first-ever all-women team in UN's peacekeeping history. It is important to note that the share of women in the Liberian security sphere increased from six per cent to 17 per cent within a year of the deployment of the Indian women's unit. During the farewell of the Indian unit, the then Liberian President Ellen Johnson said: "If I had my will, I would have recommended another unit of UNMIL to leave so that the Indian unit would continue its stay."⁸⁹ This shows how critical their role was in Liberia.

⁸⁷ "Indian peacekeepers build school in Congo with voluntary contribution from their salaries", at <https://monusco.unmissions.org/en/indian-peacekeepers-build-school-congo-voluntary-contribution-their-salaries> (Accessed on 7 January 2024).

⁸⁸ "UNMISS peacekeepers from India receive the prestigious UN Medal for their service", at <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/unmiss-peacekeepers-india-receive-prestigious-un-medal-their-service> (Accessed on 16 January 2024).

⁸⁹ "Hailed as 'role models', all-female Indian police unit departs UN mission in Liberia", at <https://www.un.org/africarenewal/news/hailed-%E2%80%99role-models%E2%80%99-all-female-indian-police-unit-departs-un-mission-liberia> (Accessed on 20 January 2024).

In 2019, India deployed its first Women's Engagement Team to the MONUSCO. These women's units were tasked with protecting UN staff and local authorities, patrolling, assisting in investigations, riot control, and rescue operations in cases where women and children were involved.⁹⁰ Moreover, the units also engaged with local women and children to assess the security situation and provided assistance in cases of sexual violence. Recently, an Indian woman peacekeeper received the UN Military Gender Advocate Award for her outstanding contribution to peacekeeping efforts during her stint in the UNMISS.⁹¹

Finally, during COVID-19, India donated 200,000 vaccines to protect peacekeepers serving in UN missions. At the Secretary-General's request, India also sent two medical teams to strengthen healthcare facilities in UNPKOs in South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo to meet the COVID-19 challenge. India's decision to send an infantry battalion for the UN peacekeeping operation in the Abyei region is the latest development related to India's peacekeeping commitments in Africa. However, India's peacekeeping in Africa is not free of criticism. India has been criticized for lack of language skills and lack of appropriate weaponry. This has made it difficult for Indian peacekeepers to communicate effectively with local populations and other peacekeeping actors and to protect themselves and the civilians.⁹² The language barrier can hinder their ability to build trust, gather crucial information, and foster cooperation, all essential for successful peacekeeping operations.

⁹⁰ Lara Klossek and Elisabeth Johansson-Nogués, "The Female' Boot on the Ground: Indian Ambivalence over Gender Mainstreaming in UN Peacekeeping Operations", *International Peacekeeping*, 28 (4), 2021, pp. 527-552.

⁹¹ "Women peacekeepers from Brazil and India share UN military gender award", at <https://news.un.org/en/story/2020/05/1064872> (Accessed on 19 January 2024).

⁹² Zachariah Mampilly, "Shifts in global power and UN peacekeeping performance: India's Rise and its Impact on Civilian Protection in Africa", *African Affairs*, 117 (467), 2018, pp.171-194.

Indian peacekeepers also faced allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse.⁹³ In June 2015, reports surfaced highlighting allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse involving Indian peacekeepers during UN missions in the Congo and South Sudan in 2010 and 2013. The Indian Army responded by taking punitive action against two soldiers and initiating an investigation against a third individual. These incidents raised concerns about the behaviour and discipline of the personnel involved and the efficacy of existing measures to prevent and address such misconduct. It is important to note that India maintains a zero-tolerance policy on sexual abuse, and action was taken swiftly to address the reported violations and ensure accountability.

RATIONALE FOR PARTICIPATION

Various political, economic, and military factors motivated India to participate in UNPKOs in Africa. The concern for India's global image was one aspect. Immediately after Independence, India projected itself as a developing world leader. Its support to anti-colonial and anti-racist movements, particularly in international fora, are cases in point. India views the UN as a critical element of the global vision of peaceful co-existence, and PKOs help shape the country's image positively as a responsible international actor. Most of the conflicts in Africa have their roots in colonial struggles. Thus, India's participation in PKOs in Africa can be regarded as an expression of its solidarity with developing countries. This solidarity strengthens India's position as a trusted partner for African nations, fostering goodwill and cooperation.

Strengthening bilateral and multilateral relations with African countries could be another motivating factor. India is a major development partner of African countries, gaining the third spot as a trading partner, accounting for 6.4 per cent of total African trade. Bilateral trade has been growing steadily, with the volume of trade touching US\$ 55.9 billion in 2020-21. India is the fifth-largest investor in Africa, with

⁹³ <https://www.firstpost.com/world/three-sexual-abuse-cases-indian-peacekeepers-un-report-2298534.html>, (Accessed on 31 January 2024).

cumulative investments of US\$ 54 billion.⁹⁴ The economic ties between India and African nations continues to expand, with Indian companies investing in infrastructure, energy, and agriculture across the continent.

Africa plays a significant role in India's energy security. Africa's share of India's oil import basket is around 16 per cent. India was among the first countries to invest in Sudan's oil and gas sector in the early 2000s. Companies like NTPC and ONGC Videsh have a stake in many African countries. Notably, 38 African nations have joined the India-led International Solar Alliance. This underscores the importance of stability and peace in African regions, as any disruptions can affect India's energy supply. India believes that its peacekeeping goodwill helps strengthen and sustain its bilateral and multilateral relationship with Africa.

UNPKOs also provide valuable experiences for the Indian Army. The Indian Army believes that peacekeeping operations can enhance their professional exposure to combat and non-combat situations in Africa.⁹⁵ In addition, the support of 54 African countries is crucial for India's aspiration for a permanent seat in the Security Council. India has been demanding a permanent seat in the Council, citing its impeccable track record in the UN and peacekeeping contributions. India's involvement in UNPKOs enhances its military capabilities and reinforces its commitment to global peace and security. By contributing to peacekeeping efforts in Africa, India showcases its willingness to shoulder international responsibilities and play a constructive role in conflict resolution.

⁹⁴ "India-Africa: Harnessing the Africa-India opportunity", at <https://www.ciiblog.in/india-africa-harnessing-the-africa-india-opportunity/#:~:text=India%2DAfrica%20economic%20relations&text=The%20India%2DAfrica%20bilateral%20trade,investments%20of%20US%24%2054%20billion> (Accessed on 31 January 2024).

⁹⁵ C.S.R. Murthy, *India in the United Nations: Interplay of Interest and Principles*, Sage, New Delhi, 2021.

INDIA'S VOTING BEHAVIOUR IN THE UNSC

During its eight terms in the UNSC, as a non-permanent member, India played a pivotal role in facilitating the Council's responses to various peacekeeping issues. India actively engages in discussions, negotiations, and voting on international peace and security matters. Its presence ensures that its unique perspectives and concerns are brought to the forefront, enriching the diversity of viewpoints that inform the Council's decision-making processes. The Indian voting response in the UNSC regarding peacekeeping operations in Africa has varied depending on each Resolution's specific circumstances and context. India has strongly supported UN peacekeeping missions in Africa, viewing them as an important tool for promoting peace and stability on the continent. India also emphasized the importance of African ownership and leadership in peacekeeping efforts and the need for adequate resources and training for UN peacekeepers.

For instance, during the 2021-2022 term, India supported 36 out of 38 UNSC Resolutions on UNPKOs in Africa. The two abstentions by India was on a Resolution regarding sanctions on South Sudan (See Tables 5.5 and 5.6). This nuanced approach by India underscores its commitment to African peacekeeping efforts while reflecting its cautious stance on regional conflicts. This pattern of support is not static but has evolved over the years. Looking back to the 2011-2012 period, India lent its favour to all 45 Resolutions concerning peacekeeping in Africa, demonstrating a comprehensive commitment at that time (See Tables 5.7 and 5.8). A comparative analysis reveals that in the 2011-2012 period, India's stance was even more unwavering, as it wholeheartedly supported backed all 45 UNSC Resolutions pertaining to peacekeeping operations in Africa.

Table 5.5: India's Voting Behaviour in the UNSC on UNPKOs in Africa (2022)

Resolution	Country	Date	Yes/No/Abstention
S/RES/2670 (2022)	Somalia	21 Dec.2022	Y
S/RES/2666 (2022)	DRC	20 Dec.2022	Y
S/RES/2662 (2022)	Somalia	17 Nov.2022	Y
S/RES/2661 (2022)	Somalia	15 Nov. 2022	Y
S/RES/2660 (2022)	Sudan and South Sudan	14 Nov. 2022	Y
S/RES/2659 (2022)	CAR	14 Nov. 2022	Y
S/RES/2657 (2022)	Somalia	31 Oct. 2022	Y
S/RES/2654 (2022)	Western Sahara	27 Oct. 2022	Y
S/RES/2649 (2022)	Mali	30 Aug. 2022	Y
S/RES/2648 (2022)	CAR	29 July 2022	Y
S/RES/2641 (2022)	DRC	30 June 2022	Y
S/RES/2640 (2022)	Mali	29 June 2022	Y
S/RES/2636 (2022)	Sudan and South Sudan	3 June 2022	Y
S/RES/2633 (2022)	South Sudan	26 May 2022	A
S/RES/2632 (2022)	Somalia	26 May 2022	Y
S/RES/2630 (2022)	Abyei	12 May 2022	Y
S/RES/2628 (2022)	Somalia	31 March 2022	Y
S/RES/2625 (2022)	South Sudan	15 March 2022	Y

Source: Compiled by author from <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/resolutions-adopted-security-council-2022> (Accessed on 20 February 2024)

Table 5.6: India's Voting Behaviour in the UNSC on UNPKOs in Africa (2021)

Resolution	Country	Date	Yes/No/Abstention
S/RES/2614(2021)	Somalia	21 Dec. 2021	Y
S/RES/2612(2021)	DRC	20 Dec. 2021	Y
S/RES/2609(2021)	Abyei	15 Dec. 2021	Y
S/RES/2608(2021)	Somalia	3 Dec. 2021	Y
S/RES/2607(2021)	Somalia	15 Nov. 2021	Y
S/RES/2606(2021)	Sudan South Sudan	15 Nov. 2021	Y
S/RES/2605(2021)	CAR	12 Nov. 2021	Y
S/RES/2602(2021)	Western Sahara	29 Oct. 2021	Y
S/RES/2592(2021)	Somalia	30 Aug. 2021	Y
S/RES/2590(2021)	Mali	30 Aug. 2021	Y
S/RES/2588(2021)	CAR	29 July 2021	Y
S/RES/2584(2021)	Malia	29 June 2021	Y
S/RES/2582(2021)	DRC	29 June 2021	Y
S/RES/2579(2021)	Sudan	3 June 2021	Y
S/RES/2577(2021)	South Sudan	28 May 2021	A

Source: Compiled by author from <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/resolutions-adopted-security-council-2021> (Accessed on 20 February 2024)

Table 5.7: India's Voting Behaviour in the UNSC on UNPKOs in Africa (2012)

Resolution	Country	Date	Yes/No/Abstention
S/RES/2085(2012)	Mali	20 Dec. 2012	Y
S/RES/2079(2012)	Liberia	12 Dec. 2012	Y
S/RES/2078 (2012)	DRC	28 Nov. 2012	Y
S/RES/2076(2012)	DRC	20 Nov. 2012	Y
S/RES/2075(2012)	Abyei	16 Nov. 2012	Y
S/RES/2073(2012)	Somalia	07 Nov. 2012	Y
S/RES/2071(2012)	Mali	12 Oct. 2012	Y
S/RES/2067(2012)	Somalia	18 Sept 2012	Y
S/RES/2066(2012)	Liberia	17 Sept 2012	Y
S/RES/2065(2012)	Sierra Leone	12 Sept 2012	Y
S/RES/2063(2012)	Darfur	31 July 2012	Y
S/RES/2062(2012)	Côte d'Ivoire	26 July 2012	Y
S/RES/2060(2012)	Somalia	27 July 2012	Y
S/RES/2057(2012)	South Sudan	05 July 2012	Y
S/RES/2056(2012)	Mali	05 July 2012	Y
S/RES/2053(2012)	DRC	27 June 2012	Y
S/RES/2047(2012)	Abyei	17 May 2012	Y
S/RES/2046(2012)	Sudan and South Sudan	02 May 2012	Y
S/RES/2044(2012)	Western Sahara	24 April 2012	Y
S/RES/2036(2012)	Somalia	22 Feb 2012	Y
S/RES/2035(2012)	Sudan	17 Feb. 2012	Y

Source: Compiled by author from <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/resolutions-adopted-security-council-2012> (Accessed on 25 February 2024).

Table 5.8: India's Voting Behaviour in the UNSC on UNPKOs in Africa (2011)

Resolution	Country	Date	Yes/No/ Abstention
S/RES/2032(2011)	Abyei	22 Dec. 2011	Y
S/RES/2031(2011)	CAR	21 Dec. 2011	Y
S/RES/2030 (2011)	Guinea Bissau	21 Dec. 2011	Y
S/RES/2027(2011)	Burundi	20 Dec. 2011	Y
S/RES/2024(2011)	Abyei	14 Dec. 2011	Y
S/RES/2023(2011)	Eritrea	05 Dec. 2011	Y
S/RES/2021(2011)	DRC	29 Nov. 2011	Y
S/RES/2010(2011)	Somalia	30 Sept 2011	Y
S/RES/2008(2011)	Liberia	16 Sept 2011	Y
S/RES/2005(2011)	Sierra Leone	14 Sept 2011	Y
S/RES/2003(2011)	Darfur	29 Aug 2011	Y
S/RES/2002 (2011)	Somalia	29 July 2011	Y
S/RES/2000 (2011)	Côte d'Ivoire	27 July 2011	Y
S/RES/1997(2011)	Sudan	11 July 2011	Y
S/RES/1996(2011)	South Sudan	08 July 2011	Y
S/RES/1992(2011)	Liberia	29 June 2011	Y
S/RES/1991(2011)	DRC	28 June 2011	Y
S/RES/1990(2011)	Abyei	27 June 2011	Y
S/RES/1982(2011)	Sudan	17 May 2011	Y
S/RES/1981(2011)	Côte d'Ivoire	13 May 2011	Y
S/RES/1979(2011)	Western Sahara	27 April 2011	Y
S/RES/1978(2011)	Sudan	27 April 2011	Y
S/RES/1971(2011)	Sierra Leone	3 March 2011	Y
S/RES/1967(2011)	Côte d'Ivoire	19 Jan 2011	Y

Source: Compiled by author from <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/resolutions-adopted-security-council-2011> (Accessed on 25 February 2024).

Going even further back to 1991-1992, India's stance was consistent as it supported all 14 UNSC Resolutions related to peacekeeping operations in Africa (See Tables 5.9 and 5.10). This underscores India's enduring commitment to fostering peace and security in Africa through its active participation in the UNPKOs. While there have been instances of abstention, such as in the 2021-2022 South Sudan sanctions Resolution, India's overall track record showcases a strong tradition of supporting measures to preserve peace and stability in the African region. This evolution of India's engagement with UNSC Resolutions on UNPKOs in Africa underscores the country's evolving foreign policy and its continued dedication to the cause of global peacekeeping.

Table 5.9: India's Voting Behaviour in the UNSC on UNPKOs in Africa (1992)

Resolution	Country	Date	Yes/No/ Abstention
S/RES/797 (1992)	Mozambique	16 Dec. 1992	Y
S/RES/794 (1992)	Somalia	03 Dec. 1992	Y
S/RES/793 (1992)	Angola	30 Nov. 1992	Y
S/RES/785 (1992)	Angola	30 Oct. 1992	Y
S/RES/782 (1992)	Mozambique	13 Oct. 1992	Y
S/RES/775 (1992)	Somalia	28 Sept. 1992	Y
S/RES/767 (1992)	Somalia	27 Aug. 1992	Y
S/RES/751 (1992)	Somalia	24 April 1992	Y
S/RES/747 (1992)	Angola	24 March 1992	Y
S/RES/746 (1992)	Somalia	17 March 1992	Y
S/RES/733 (1992)	Somalia	23 Jan 1992	Y

Source: Compiled by author from <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/resolutions-adopted-security-council-1992> (Accessed on 27 February 2024).

Table 5.10: India's Voting Behaviour in the UNSC on UNPKOs in Africa (1991)

Resolution	Country	Date	Yes/No/Abstention
S/RES/725 (1991)	Western Sahara	31 Dec. 1991	Y
S/RES/696 (1991)	Angola	30 May 1991	Y
S/RES/690 (1991)	Western Sahara	29 April 1991	Y

Source: Compiled by author from <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/resolutions-adopted-security-council-1991> (Accessed on 27 February 2024).

The above analysis shows that India's extensive engagement in peacekeeping in Africa reflects a dynamic aspect of its foreign policy, with troop and resource contributions underscoring its commitment to global peace. Its proactive approach includes leadership roles within UN missions. Indian peacekeepers' sacrifices, with over 70 percent of casualties in Africa, demonstrate their profound commitment and bravery.

The rationale behind India's involvement in these operations is rooted in a combination of strategic, diplomatic, and humanitarian motivations. India's approach to peacekeeping in Africa has demonstrated its dedication to upholding the principles of the United Nations, promoting regional security, and fostering strong bilateral and multilateral relations with African nations. This commitment also reinforces India's image as a responsible and conscientious member of the international community. Similarly, India's voting behavior in the UNSC aligns with its peacekeeping efforts in Africa, reflecting a principled stance on African peace and security issues. Its balanced and pragmatic approach emphasizes peaceful, diplomatic solutions to conflicts, consistent with its broader foreign policy approach.

In short, India's involvement in African peacekeeping operations reflects its growing global influence and a testament to its role as a responsible and cooperative member of the international community. The synergy

between its troop contributions, rationale, and voting behaviour in the UNSC illustrates India's comprehensive approach to peace and security in the African continent. This engagement, characterized by its commitment to shared values and common objectives, serves as a model for other nations seeking to play a constructive role in promoting peace and stability in the region and beyond.

CHINA'S PEACEKEEPING INVOLVEMENTS IN AFRICA

China's role in international peacekeeping operations, particularly within the African continent, has garnered significant attention and scrutiny in recent years. China has emerged as an influential player in Africa's peace and security landscape as a rising global power with expanding economic, political, and military capabilities. China's involvement in peacekeeping missions in Africa represents a notable shift in its foreign policy approach, reflecting its growing commitment to global governance and stability. The country's participation in these missions goes beyond traditional notions of security and showcases its evolving role as a responsible stakeholder in international affairs. This chapter will explore China's historical involvement in African peacekeeping, its motivations, contributions to peace missions, and its voting behaviour within the UN Security Council, offering insights into China's evolving role in African security.

TROOP DEPLOYMENT

China's first peacekeeping mission in Africa was in 1990, when it sent five military observers to participate in the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia. The UNTAG mission was established to oversee the implementation of the ceasefire agreement between the South African forces and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), which was fighting for Namibian independence.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Masayuki Masuda, "China's Peacekeeping Diplomacy and Troop Dispatch: A New Avenue for Engagement with the International Community", *NIDS Journal of Defense and Security*, 2011, p. 7.

The Chinese military observers were tasked with monitoring the ceasefire, ensuring the withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia, and supervising the election process leading to Namibia's independence.

From 1990 to 2022, China deployed its peacekeepers to 17 UNPKOs in Africa. In the mid-2000s, China actively participated in all seven UN peacekeeping missions in Africa as part of its strategy to expand global economic and diplomatic influence, involving trade, diplomacy, and international organizations, including UN peacekeeping missions. Chinese peacekeeping in Africa during post-Cold War years includes those in Western Sahara (1991-present), Mozambique (1993-1994 and 2003-2017), Liberia (1993-1997 and 2003-2017), Sierra Leone (1998-1999 and 1999-2005), Ethiopia and Eritrea (2000-2008), DR Congo (2001-2010 and 2010-present), Cote d'Ivoire (2004-2017), Burundi (2004-2006), Sudan (2005-2011), Darfur (2007-2020), South Sudan (2011-present), Abyei (2011-present), Mali (2013-2023), and Central African Republic (2020-2022).⁹⁷ Currently, China is involved in four out of six UN missions in Africa: in Western Sahara, DR Congo, South Sudan, and Abyei.

China's involvement in Western Sahara started in 1991 by sending military observers as part of the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO). As of December 2022, China has contributed 340 military personnel to MINURSO. These peacekeepers have primarily served as military observers tasked with monitoring the ceasefire between the Moroccan government and the Polisario Front, a Sahrawi independence movement. In addition to military observers, China has provided financial and material support to MINURSO, including donating vehicles and equipment.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ "China's Armed Forces: 30 Years of UN Peacekeeping Operations", China's State Council Information Office, at http://english.www.gov.cn/archive/whitepaper/202009/18/content_WS5f6449a8c6d0f7257693c323.html (Accessed on 10 January 2024).

⁹⁸ Philippe D. Rogers, "China and the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations in Africa", *Naval War College Review*, 60 (2), 2007, pp. 73–93.

Table 6.1: China's Contribution to UN Peacekeeping in Africa

Country	Mission	Duration	Experts on Missions	Police	Troops
Namibia	UNTAG	1989-1990	18		
Western Sahara	MINURSO	1991-till date	314	–	–
Mozambique	ONUMOZ	1992-1994	20	–	–
Liberia	UNOMIL	1993-1997	33	–	–
Sierra Leone	UNOMSIL	1998-2001	37	–	–
Republic of Congo	MONUC	1999-2010	101	–	1962
Ethiopia & Eritrea	UNMEE	2000-08	49	–	–
Liberia	UNMIL	2003-2018	70	83	3,906
Cote d'Ivoire	MUNUCI	2004 - 2017	33	–	–
Burundi	ONUB	2004-06	6	–	–
Sudan	UNMIS	2005-11	47	405	2291
Darfur, Sudan	UNAMID	Nov. 2007 to Dec. 2020	315	7	–
Abyei	UNISFA	2011-till date	–	–	–
South Sudan	UNMISS	2014-till date	315	22	1056
Mali	MINUSMA	2013-2023	26		413

Source: Compiled by author from DPKO

Table 6.2: China's Current Peacekeeping in Africa

Country	Mission	Personal Type	Male	Female	Total
Western Sahara	MINURSO	Experts on Mission	5	4	9
		Total MINURSO	5	4	9
Democratic Republic of Congo	MONUSCO	Experts on Mission	7	0	7
		Staff Officer	7	0	
		Troops	206	11	217
		Total MONUSCO	220	11	231
Abyei	UNISFA	Experts on Mission	3	0	3
		Troops	86	0	86
		Staff Officer	7	1	8
		Total UNISFA	96	1	97
South Sudan	UNMISS	Experts on Mission	1	0	1
		Staff Officer	6	1	7
		Troops	1000	31	1031
		Total UNMISS	1007	32	1039
Mali	MINUSMA	Staff Officer	26	0	26
		Troops	413		
		Total MINUSMA	439	0	26
		Total in Africa	1787	48	1835

Source: Compiled by author from DPKO

During United Nations' peacekeeping efforts in Mozambique, China deployed 20 military observers. China contributed to ONUMOZ primarily in engineering units, medical teams, and transportation units. China also provided material support to ONUMOZ, including communications equipment, vehicles, and construction materials. These troops were primarily involved in providing military and logistical

support, as well as helping to monitor ceasefires and disarm combatants in the country.⁹⁹ In Liberia, China was part of the UN missions UNOMIL (1993-1997) and UNMIL (2003-2017). From 2003 to 2017, the Chinese military had sent successive peacekeeping units to Liberia, with a total of 4000 officers and soldiers participating in peacekeeping operations.¹⁰⁰ China's peacekeeping mission in Liberia was focused on providing security and stability, assisting in disarmament and demobilization efforts, and supporting the development of Liberian security institutions. Chinese peacekeepers were also involved in a range of humanitarian and development projects, including the construction of schools and medical facilities.¹⁰¹

In Sudan, China has been involved in peacekeeping efforts for many years. For example, Chinese peacekeepers have been deployed as part of the United Nations African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), established in 2007 to protect civilians and support peace and stability in the Darfur region of Sudan. From 2007 to 2020, China had deployed a total of 889 troops and police officers to UNAMID.¹⁰² Chinese peacekeepers in Sudan have been involved in various activities, including patrols, the protection of civilians, and support for delivering humanitarian aid. Chinese peacekeepers have also been involved in engineering work, such as building and repairing roads, bridges, and infrastructure. In addition to its military and police personnel, China has also made significant material contributions to UNAMID in the form of helicopters, trucks, and other equipment.

China has been involved in peacekeeping efforts in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). In 2003, DR Congo (MONUC) received

⁹⁹ "China's Participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations (1990-2008)", at http://un.china-mission.gov.cn/eng/zt/wh/200901/t20090129_8413714.htm (Accessed on 10 January 2024).

¹⁰⁰ "Chinese Peacekeeping in Liberia", at http://lr.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/xnyfgk/202011/t20201126_6390074.htm (Accessed on 10 January 2024).

¹⁰¹ Steven Chiun-yi Kuo, "Enter the Dragon The Emerging Chinese Approach to Peacebuilding in Liberia", PhD Thesis, University of St. Andrews, 2013 at <https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/10023/3816/StevenKuoPhDThesis.pdf?sequence=6&isAllowed=y> (Accessed on 10 January 2024).

230 Chinese peacekeepers including 176 army engineers.¹⁰³ This number was equivalent to 64 per cent of all personnel deployed by the country that year. Again in 2015, China sent a 700-strong peacekeeping force to the DRC as part of a UN mission to stabilize the country.¹⁰⁴ The deployment was praised by Congolese officials, who noted that China's contributions had helped to improve security and stability in the region. As of March 2023, China is contributing a total of 231 personnel to the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO).

China also has a significant presence in UNMISS, South Sudan. In 2012, Beijing deployed its first combat-ready infantry battalion to this mission to protect the UN headquarters and protect civilian sites in Juba.¹⁰⁵ In 2014, China decided to significantly increase its presence in South Sudan by sending an infantry battalion of 700 soldiers to UNMISS. This was the first time in history when China sent such a large combat unit to a peacekeeping mission. Since then, the number of Chinese soldiers serving in UNMISS has remained at just over 1,000. China has also provided key personnel for the mission, including a Chinese General who served as the Force Commander from 2015 to 2018.

¹⁰² Courtney J. Fung, "What explains China's deployment to UN peacekeeping operations?", at <https://cwp.sipa.columbia.edu/news/what-explains-china%E2%80%99s-deployment-un-peacekeeping-operations-cwp-alumni-courtney-fung> (Accessed on 14 January 2024).

¹⁰³ "Chinese army engineer contingent to be deployed in UN mission in DR of Congo", at <https://news.un.org/en/story/2003/01/57792> (Accessed on 14 January 2024).

¹⁰⁴ Renan Holanda Montenegro, "China in UN Peacekeeping Operations: A 30-Year Assessment (1990-2019)", *Contexto Internacional*, 43 (22), 2021, pp. 405-426.

¹⁰⁵ Cedric de Coning & Kari M. Osland, "China's Evolving Approach to UN Peacekeeping in Africa", at https://nupi.brage.unit.no/nupi-xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/2647804/NUPI_report_1_2020_deConing_Osland-rettet%20versjon.pdf?sequence=8 (Accessed on 5 February 2024).

China has been involved in peacekeeping efforts in Mali since 2013, as part of the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA). As of September 2021, China had deployed a total of 556 troops and police officers to MINUSMA. Mali was the second time (the first being in South Sudan in 2012) that China opted to deploy combat troops under the UN banner, underscoring a deepening involvement in PKOs and an increasing readiness to face risks.¹⁰⁶ Chinese peacekeepers in Mali have been involved in various activities, including patrols, protection of civilians, engineering work, and support for the delivery of humanitarian aid. Chinese peacekeepers have also been involved in disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of former combatants, as well as supporting efforts to reform the security sector.¹⁰⁷

With its increased involvement in peacekeeping in Africa, China has also suffered casualties. For instance, in 2015, three Chinese peacekeepers were killed, and four others were injured in an attack on their vehicle in Mali. In 2016, another Chinese peacekeeper was killed, and several others were injured in an attack on their camp in the country.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, during the participation in UNMISS, in 2016, two Chinese peacekeepers were killed, and several others were injured in an attack on their patrol in South Sudan.¹⁰⁹ In 2017, another Chinese peacekeeper was killed and several others were injured in an attack on their convoy in South Sudan.

China's proactive contribution to UN peacekeeping was more evident in the last decade. For instance, in May 2015, 14,735 staff were involved

¹⁰⁶ Jean-Pierre Cabestan, "China's Involvement in Africa's Security: The Case of China's Participation in the UN Mission to Stabilize Mali", *The China Quarterly*, 235, 2018, pp.713-734.

¹⁰⁷ Marc Lanteigne, "China's UN Peacekeeping in Mali and Comprehensive Diplomacy", *The China Quarterly*, 239, 2019, pp. 635-655.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ "China reacts to the death of two peacekeepers in South Sudan with grief and rage", <https://qz.com/africa/728566/china-reacts-to-the-death-of-two-peacekeepers-in-south-sudan-with-grief-and-rage> (Accessed on 10 January 2024).

in UNMISS, of which 1,057 were from China, which accounted for 7.17 per cent. At that time, the PRC was also involved in the United Nations missions in Mali (402 out of 11,616, which constituted 3.46 per cent), and Liberia (725 out of 7,298, which constituted 9.93 per cent).¹¹⁰ In January 2020, 16,492 personnel were involved in UNMISS, of which 1,077 were from China, which accounted for 6.53 per cent. At that time, the PRC also maintained staff in UN missions in Mali (426 out of 13,858, accounting for 3.07 per cent), Sudan (371 out of 6,445, accounting for 5.76 per cent) and DR Congo (226 out of 15,102, which was 1.50 per cent).¹¹¹

However, China's peacekeeping activities in the continent also faced several criticisms. First, Beijing has been criticized for lacking transparency and failing to uphold human rights standards in its African peacekeeping activities. The most significant criticism against Chinese peacekeepers in Africa is resource extraction. Many have raised concerns that China's peacekeeping activities in Africa are motivated by a desire to secure access to natural resources on the continent rather than a genuine commitment to promoting peace and stability. China has also been criticized for its support for authoritarian regimes in Africa.

RATIONALE FOR PARTICIPATION

China's rationale for peacekeeping in Africa is complex and multifaceted, and reflects the country's growing global ambitions and interests. China has interest in promoting peace and stability in Africa, as instability in the region can have negative spill over effects on China's own economic and security interests. China has also a large and growing presence in Africa, and many Chinese nationals live and work in countries affected by conflict. Moreover, as a rising global power, China sees its participation in peacekeeping efforts as a way to demonstrate leadership

¹¹⁰ Łukasz Jureńczyk, "Determinants of the Participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations Mission in South Sudan", at <http://studiastrategiczne.amu.edu.pl/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/ps-2021-25.pdf> (Accessed on 10 January 2024).

¹¹¹ Ibid.

on the world stage. By contributing resources and personnel to UN peacekeeping missions, China think that it can position itself as a responsible global actor and strengthen its role in the international community.

China's increasing involvement in UNPKOs reflects its growing global ambitions and desire to project itself as a responsible global power. As China's economy has grown, it has become more integrated into the global community and has taken on a greater role in global affairs. In addition, Beijing has used its participation in UN peacekeeping to enhance its international reputation and to showcase its military capabilities. The UNPKOs allow China to gain experience in military operations, improve the capabilities of its armed forces and enables it to expand its influence and deepen its engagement with the Global South, where many peacekeeping missions are deployed.¹¹²

Moreover, China sees peacekeeping missions as an opportunity to demonstrate its commitment to international peace and security and to showcase its willingness to participate in global governance efforts. Colonel Shou Bo of the PLA attributes China's increasing involvement in UN peacekeeping to its desire to enhance global prestige and project an image of responsible growth. He views Africa as a training ground for improving military skills and strengthening bilateral ties through peacekeeping missions, while maintaining a firm stance on non-intervention in internal affairs of partner countries.¹¹³ China strategically uses UN peacekeeping to bolster its image as a responsible global power, focusing on non-combat roles in Africa to provide medical aid, infrastructure repair, and security.¹¹⁴ China has also been seeking to

¹¹² Prashant Kumar Singh, "China's 'Military Diplomacy': Investigating PLA's Participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations", *Strategic Analysis*, 35 (5) 2011, pp. 793-818.

¹¹³ <https://www.scmp.com/comment/opinion/article/3021745/africa-test-lab-how-china-approaches-international-security-and> (Accessed on 31 January 2024).

¹¹⁴ <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/military/article/3180109/china-puts-its-military-test-african-peacekeeping-roles> (Accessed on 30 January 2024).

build goodwill and positive relationships with African countries in recent years, in part through increased engagement on peacekeeping efforts. China believes peacekeeping missions will help it to build a positive image and reputation in the region.

Another factor is China's growing economic interests in Africa. Chinese companies have been investing heavily in Africa in recent years, particularly in infrastructure projects, natural resource extraction, and telecommunications. China has invested heavily in resource extraction industries. Beijing has vital economic interests in countries like South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Mali, which are rich in natural resources. In South Sudan, Chinese companies have invested heavily in the oil industry. Since 2011, CNPC has expanded its presence, becoming the top foreign investor in South Sudan's oil sector. Protecting this interest is crucial, leading to increased deployment of peacekeepers. In 2015, China sent 700 combat troops – their only UN combat deployment – and placed peacekeepers near strategic oil assets, safeguarding its investments.¹¹⁵ Similarly, in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Chinese companies have invested in the country's mining industry.¹¹⁶

However, while peacekeeping operations complement China's economic interests, the argument that its involvement is solely intended to promote these, especially resources in Africa, is too simplistic. While China has indeed sent peacekeepers to countries with resources of interest, it has also sent peacekeepers to areas with few or no natural resources, such as the Western Sahara.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Thomas Dyrenforth, "Beijing's blue Helmets: What to Make of China's Role in UN Peacekeeping in Africa", <https://mwi.westpoint.edu/beijings-blue-helmets-what-to-make-of-chinas-role-in-un-peacekeeping-in-africa/> (Accessed on 31 January 2024).

¹¹⁶ <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/12/02/china-cobalt-mining-441967> (Accessed on 4 February 2024).

¹¹⁷ Zhao Lei, "Two Pillars of China's Global Peace Engagement Strategy: UN Peacekeeping and International Peacebuilding", *International Peacekeeping*, 18 (3) 2011, p. 348.

VOTING BEHAVIOUR

As a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, China exerts significant influence over the direction of global peacekeeping efforts through its voting behaviour. China's voting response in the Council regarding UN peacekeeping operations in Africa has demonstrated a variable approach, dependent on each Resolution's specific circumstances and context. China has generally supported UN peacekeeping operations in Africa. China has underscored the significance of African ownership and leadership in peacekeeping efforts and the necessity of providing adequate resources and training for UN peacekeepers. Notably, these reservations have become increasingly prominent in recent years, with Beijing frequently choosing to abstain from voting on related Resolutions in the UNSC.

For instance, in 2022, among the total 18 Resolutions on peacekeeping in Africa, China favoured only ten and abstained eight others. Chinese abstention includes Resolutions on Somalia, CAR, Mali, Sudan, and South Sudan. A major share of China's abstentions are on Resolutions regarding the Central African Republic and Somalia; It abstained in each case twice. On Resolutions related to UNPKOs in DRC, Sudan, South Sudan and Mali, it abstained once. In 2021, out of 20 Resolutions on UNPKOs in Africa, China abstained twice and voted in favour 18 times. Both the abstentions were on Resolutions related to the Central African Republic. This nuanced approach underscores China's careful consideration of each Resolution's particulars and commitment to maintaining a balanced stance in peacekeeping operations in Africa.

Throughout 2011 and 2012, China actively supported peacekeeping efforts in Africa (See Tables 6.5 and 6.6). In 2011, UNSC Resolutions addressed a range of conflicts in countries such as Abyei, the Central African Republic, Guinea Bissau, Burundi, Somalia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Darfur, Côte d'Ivoire, Sudan, South Sudan, Eritrea, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Western Sahara. China's commitment to African stability was evident in its active participation in these efforts. This commitment continued into 2012, with China's sustained involvement in African peacekeeping, as seen in multiple Security Council Resolutions. These Resolutions covered conflicts in Mali, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Abyei, and Somalia.

Table 6.3: China's Voting Responses in the UNSC on UNPKOs in Africa (2022)

Resolution	Country	Date	China
S/RES/2670 (2022)	Somalia	21 Dec.2022	Y
S/RES/2666 (2022)	DRC	20 Dec.2022	Y
S/RES/2662 (2022)	Somalia	17 Nov.2022	A
S/RES/2661 (2022)	Somalia	15 Nov. 2022	Y
S/RES/2660 (2022)	Sudan and South Sudan	14 Nov. 2022	Y
S/RES/2659 (2022)	CAR	14 Nov. 2022	A
S/RES/2657 (2022)	Somalia	31 Oct. 2022	A
S/RES/2654 (2022)	Western Sahara	27 Oct. 2022	Y
S/RES/2649 (2022)	Mali	30 Aug. 2022	Y
S/RES/2648 (2022)	CAR	29 July 2022	A
S/RES/2641 (2022)	DRC	30 June 2022	A
S/RES/2640 (2022)	Mali	29 June 2022	A
S/RES/2636 (2022)	Sudan and South Sudan	3 June 2022	Y
S/RES/2633 (2022)	South Sudan	26 May 2022	A
S/RES/2632 (2022)	Somalia	26 May 2022	Y
S/RES/2630 (2022)	Abyei	12 May 2022	Y
S/RES/2628 (2022)	Somalia	31 March 2022	Y
S/RES/2625 (2022)	South Sudan	15 March 2022	A

Source: Compiled by author from <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/resolutions-adopted-security-council-2022> (Accessed on 10 January 2024)

Table 6.4: China's Voting Responses in the UNSC on UNPKOs in Africa (2021)

Resolution	Country	Date	China
S/RES/2614(2021)	Somalia	21 Dec. 2021	Y
S/RES/2612(2021)	DRC	20 Dec. 2021	Y
S/RES/2609(2021)	Abyei	15 Dec. 2021	Y
S/RES/2608(2021)	Somalia	3 Dec. 2021	Y
S/RES/2607(2021)	Somalia	15 Nov. 2021	Y
S/RES/2606(2021)	Sudan and South Sudan	15 Nov. 2021	Y
S/RES/2605(2021)	CAR	12 Nov. 2021	A
S/RES/2602(2021)	Western Sahara	29 Oct. 2021	Y
S/RES/2592(2021)	Somalia	30 Aug. 2021	Y
S/RES/2590(2021)	Mali	30 Aug. 2021	Y
S/RES/2588(2021)	CAR	29 July 2021	A
S/RES/2584(2021)	Mali	29 June 2021	Y
S/RES/2582(2021)	DRC	29 June 2021	Y
S/RES/2579(2021)	Sudan	3 June 2021	Y
S/RES/2577(2021)	South Sudan	28 May 2021	Y
S/RES/2575(2021)	Abyei	11 May 2021	Y
S/RES/2568(2021)	Somalia	12 March 2021	Y
S/RES/2567(2021)	Sudan and South Sudan	12 March 2021	Y
S/RES/2566(2021)	CAR	12 March 2021	Y
S/RES/2563(2021)	Somalia	25 Feb. 2021	Y

Source: Compiled by author from <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/resolutions-adopted-security-council-2021> (Accessed on 10 January 2024)

Table 6.5: China's Voting Responses in the UNSC on UNPKOs in Africa (2012)

Resolution	Country	Date	China
S/RES/2085(2012)	Mali	20 Dec. 2012	Y
S/RES/2079(2012)	Liberia	12 Dec. 2012	Y
S/RES/2078 (2012)	DRC	28 Nov. 2012	Y
S/RES/2076(2012)	DRC	20 Nov. 2012	Y
S/RES/2075(2012)	Abyei	16 Nov. 2012	Y
S/RES/2073(2012)	Somalia	07 Nov. 2012	Y
S/RES/2071(2012)	Mali	12 Oct. 2012	Y
S/RES/2067(2012)	Somalia	18 Sept 2012	Y
S/RES/2066(2012)	Liberia	17 Sept 2012	Y
S/RES/2065(2012)	Sierra Leone	12 Sept 2012	Y
S/RES/2063(2012)	Darfur	31 July 2012	Y
S/RES/2062(2012)	Côte d'Ivoire	26 July 2012	Y
S/RES/2060(2012)	Somalia	27 July 2012	Y
S/RES/2057(2012)	South Sudan	05 July 2012	Y
S/RES/2056(2012)	Mali	05 July 2012	Y
S/RES/2053(2012)	DRC	27 June 2012	Y
S/RES/2047(2012)	Abyei	17 May 2012	Y
S/RES/2046(2012)	Sudan and South Sudan	02 May 2012	Y
S/RES/2044(2012)	Western Sahara	24 April 2012	Y
S/RES/2036(2012)	Somalia	22 Feb 2012	Y
S/RES/2035(2012)	Sudan	17 Feb. 2012	Y

Source: Compiled by author from <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/resolutions-adopted-security-council-2012> (Accessed on 11 January 2024).

Table 6.6: China's Voting Responses in the UNSC on UNPKOs in Africa (2011)

Resolution	Country	Date	China
S/RES/2032(2011)	Abyei	22 Dec. 2011	Y
S/RES/2031(2011)	CAR	21 Dec. 2011	Y
S/RES/2030 (2011)	Guinea Bissau	21 Dec. 2011	Y
S/RES/2027(2011)	Burundi	20 Dec. 2011	Y
S/RES/2024(2011)	Abyei	14 Dec. 2011	Y
S/RES/2023(2011)	Eritrea	05 Dec. 2011	A
S/RES/2021(2011)	DRC	29 Nov. 2011	Y
S/RES/2010(2011)	Somalia	30 Sept 2011	Y
S/RES/2008(2011)	Liberia	16 Sept 2011	Y
S/RES/2005(2011)	Sierra Leone	14 Sept 2011	Y
S/RES/2003(2011)	Darfur	29 Aug 2011	Y
S/RES/2002 (2011)	Somalia	29 July 2011	Y
S/RES/2000 (2011)	Côte d'Ivoire	27 July 2011	Y
S/RES/1997(2011)	Sudan	11 July 2011	Y
S/RES/1996(2011)	South Sudan	08 July 2011	Y
S/RES/1992(2011)	Liberia	29 June 2011	Y
S/RES/1991(2011)	DRC	28 June 2011	Y
S/RES/1990(2011)	Abyei	27 June 2011	Y
S/RES/1982(2011)	Sudan	17 May 2011	Y
S/RES/1981(2011)	Côte d'Ivoire	13 May 2011	Y
S/RES/1979(2011)	Western Sahara	27 April 2011	Y
S/RES/1978(2011)	Sudan	27 April 2011	Y
S/RES/1971(2011)	Sierra Leone	3 March 2011	Y
S/RES/1967(2011)	Côte d'Ivoire	19 Jan 2011	Y

Source: Compiled by author from <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/resolutions-adopted-security-council-2011> (Accessed on 15 January 2024).

During the 1991-92 China supported all Resolutions. Comparative analysis of 1991-92 and 2021-21 shows that in recent years, China became more aggressive in its peacekeeping approach in Africa and showed its reservation consistently through abstentions.

This shift in voting behaviour indicates China's heightened scrutiny of each Resolution's specific details and implications, suggesting a more complex and nuanced approach to its role in African peacekeeping efforts. This transformation in China's stance reflects its growing influence and evolving role on the global stage, as well as its careful consideration of the multifaceted challenges associated with peacekeeping operations in Africa.

Table 6.7: China's Voting Responses in the UNSC on UNPKOs in Africa (1992)

Resolution	Country	Date	China
S/RES/797 (1992)	Mozambique	16 Dec. 1992	Y
S/RES/794 (1992)	Somalia	03 Dec. 1992	Y
S/RES/793 (1992)	Angola	30 Nov. 1992	Y
S/RES/785 (1992)	Angola	30 Oct. 1992	Y
S/RES/782 (1992)	Mozambique	13 Oct. 1992	Y
S/RES/775 (1992)	Somalia	28 Sept. 1992	Y
S/RES/767 (1992)	Somalia	27 Aug. 1992	Y
S/RES/751 (1992)	Somalia	24 April 1992	Y
S/RES/747 (1992)	Angola	24 March 1992	Y
S/RES/746 (1992)	Somalia	17 March 1992	Y
S/RES/733 (1992)	Somalia	23 Jan. 1992	Y

Source: Compiled by author from <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/resolutions-adopted-security-council-1992> (Accessed on 15 January 2024).

Table 6.8: China's Voting Responses in the UNSC on UNPKOs in Africa (1991)

Resolution	Country	Date	China
S/RES/725 (1991)	Western Sahara	31 Dec. 1991	Y
S/RES/696 (1991)	Angola	30 May 1991	Y
S/RES/690 (1991)	Western Sahara	29 April 1991	Y

Source: Compiled by author from <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/resolutions-adopted-security-council-1991> (Accessed on 15 January 2024).

The breakdown of the Chinese voting response in the UNSC regarding peacekeeping operations in Africa, also shows Beijing's assertive approach to peacekeeping. From 2010-2021, China voted several times in favour of constituting or renewing the UN mandate in Africa. It included UNSC Resolutions on renewing the mandate of the UNOCI, MINUSMA, AMISOM, MINUSCA, and UNMISS. However, exceptions exist, such as China's abstention from the vote on Sudan in 2006 and South Sudan in 2015 and 2016.¹¹⁸

The above analysis shows that China has significantly emphasized its involvement in UN peacekeeping missions in Africa, displaying a strong commitment to peace efforts on the continent. Approximately four-fifths of China's total contributions to these missions are concentrated in Africa, particularly in nations like South Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Western Sahara. China's Africa Policy explicitly highlights UN peacekeeping as a key tool for security cooperation, a sentiment echoed in its Defence White Paper. This commitment serves various strategic purposes for China, including reinforcing its "One China" policy, securing energy resources, promoting commerce, developing its military-industrial complex, and advancing its international agenda.

¹¹⁸ Elor Nkereuwem, "China and Russia in African Peace Operations", at https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep10882.10.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A0606b16096735bc320303d7e2ef3d2c1&ab_segments=&origin=&initiator= (Accessed on 10 January 2024).

China's increased involvement in peacekeeping missions enhances its influence within regional organizations such as the African Union. It allows it to showcase a positive aspect of the People's Liberation Army's (PLA) capabilities. Furthermore, China's expanding involvement in peacekeeping holds significant implications for African partners, notably highlighted by the recent Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) Summits fostering increased dialogue and exchanges concerning peace and security matters in Africa.¹¹⁹

In summary, China's evolution into a major contributor and influential player in UN peacekeeping operations is driven by its enhanced role as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, substantial financial contributions, and active participation in peacekeeping missions, through troop deployments. This transformation reflects China's commitment to global peace and security and its recognition as a responsible international partner in the pursuit of peace.

¹¹⁹ "Forum on China Africa Cooperation", at <http://www.focac.org/eng/> (Accessed on 10 January 2024).

CONCLUSION

UN peacekeeping has been instrumental in preventing and resolving conflicts, saving lives, and fostering stability and development in conflict zones over 75 years. With its legitimacy, burden-sharing, and global troop integration, peacekeeping uniquely navigates countries from conflict to peace. Today's peacekeepers not only maintain security but also aid political processes, protect civilians, facilitate disarmament, and support democratic efforts like organizing elections and upholding human rights. However, despite progress, UN peacekeeping continues to face significant challenges, including insufficient resources, logistical constraints, political constraints, and security threats to peacekeepers.

Over time, the UN has adapted peacekeeping by adjusting mandates, applying doctrine flexibly, introducing new concepts, and evolving processes to stay relevant. Recent peacekeeping policy and strategy reform documents, including Secretary-General António Guterres's Policy Brief, *A New Agenda for Peace*, recognize the evolving nature of peacekeeping.¹²⁰ Notably, there's a transition from a passive to a more assertive understanding of 'impartiality,' changes in the interpretation of legitimate 'use of force,' and the dynamic aspect of 'consent.' These shifts are driven by challenges like countering non-State armed violence and ensuring peacekeepers' safety in areas with partial consent.

The previous chapters show that a complex interplay of national interests, strategic objectives, and regional considerations shapes India and China's involvement in peacekeeping efforts in Africa. While both aim to contribute to regional peace and stability, their differing

¹²⁰ "A New Agenda for Peace", *Policy Brief*, United Nations, 9 July 2023, at <https://www.un.org/sites/un2.un.org/files/our-common-agenda-policy-brief-new-agenda-for-peace-en.pdf>, (Accessed on 5 February 2024).

motivations and approaches reflect the evolving dynamics of their roles in international affairs. As these two nations continue to assert their influence on the global stage, their actions in Africa remain crucial to their broader agendas and aspirations in the international arena. As emerging/rising powers, India and China recognize the importance of supporting regional development and progress, by actively engaging in peacekeeping efforts. Through their involvement in peacekeeping efforts, both countries demonstrate their commitment to the region and showcase their growing influence and leadership in international affairs.

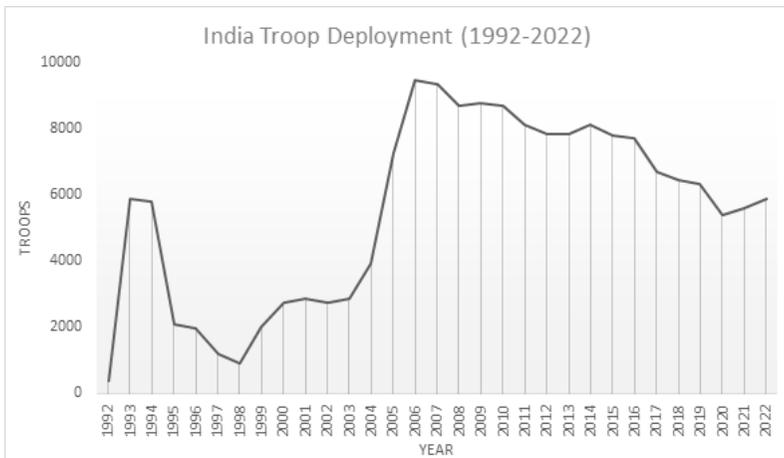
With its long history of involvement in global peacekeeping operations, India sees its participation in Africa as a means to demonstrate its commitment to the United Nations and international peacekeeping. India also has a longstanding relationship with many African countries, and sees its involvement in peacekeeping as a way to strengthen these ties. In contrast, China's involvement in peacekeeping in Africa is a more recent development, and is seen as part of its broader efforts to increase its global influence and establish itself as a major player in international affairs. China also sees peacekeeping operations as a tool to ensure a stable and secure environment for its investments and to protect its economic interests. Moreover, China hopes to build goodwill and improve its standing in the international community by demonstrating its commitment to peace and stability in Africa.

India is one of the largest contributors to UN peacekeeping missions, with over 258,000 personnel involved in 51 of 71 UN missions. India has taken on leadership roles by providing advisers and commanders to the UN peacekeeping. India's troop contribution surpasses that of some major powers and other traditional peacekeepers; it is 7-8 per cent of total troops, while the US, UK, Russia, and China contribute only 1 per cent, 2 per cent, and 3 per cent, respectively. At any given time, 7-8 per cent of the total troops deployed under the United Nations are from India. However, unfortunately, it has also experienced the highest number of peacekeeping fatalities, with 177 Indian peacekeepers sacrificing their lives while serving under the UN flag.

Chapter 2 shows that India actively engages in UN peacekeeping missions, upholding a principled and impartial stance. India's success in peacekeeping hinges on local community relationships, reconciliation,

and sustainable development. Indian peacekeepers prioritize international security and stability, showcasing their unwavering commitment to peace efforts. Its soft power approach fosters reconciliation and development in conflict-affected areas by working closely with local communities. Indian peacekeepers are known for their professionalism and friendly approach in conflict-affected areas. Their efforts receive praise from host States and international agencies, building trust and better communication with those whom they assist. India’s substantial contributions reflect its commitment to global peace and security, making it a reliable partner in addressing international crises.

Figure 7.1: India’s Troop Deployment (1992-2022)



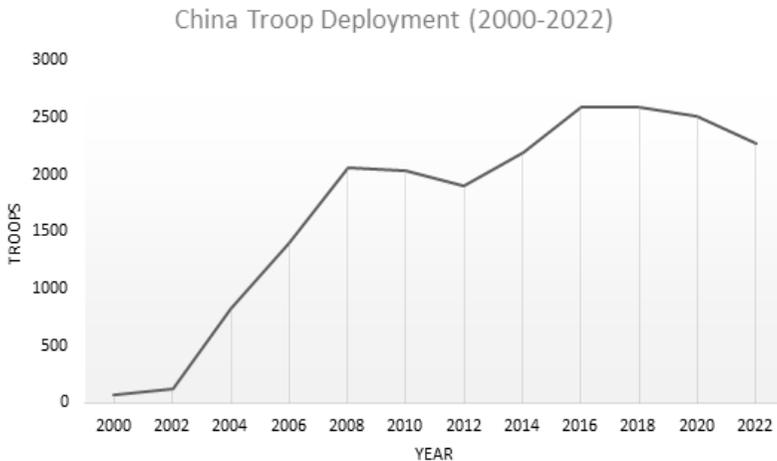
Source: DPKO

India’s peacekeeping troop deployment has decreased significantly in the last decade. During 2005-2015, India’s troop deployment was an average of 8,500 annually. However, during 2015-2020, it decreased to an average of 6000 per year. While it is unclear why India’s peacekeeping troop deployment has decreased recently, India has demonstrated a strategic recalibration by decreasing troop deployment while intensifying its focus on technological advancements for peacekeeping efforts. This shift reflects a commitment to modernizing and optimizing its approach to conflict resolution. By investing in cutting-edge technologies, India aims to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of its peacekeeping missions. This aligns with global trends in leveraging

technology for security and underscores a commitment to minimizing risks to human lives.

On the other hand, China's engagement with UN peacekeeping operations has evolved. Initially, China was sceptical and opposed such missions, abstaining from Security Council votes, not contributing financially, and refraining from providing troops. It saw peacekeeping as a Superpower tool for intervention in the affairs of small States' and refused to engage in discussions or financing related to UN peacekeeping operations.

Figure 7.2: China's Troop Deployment 2000-2022



Source: DPKO

However, since the early 1990s, China has shifted its stance and become a significant contributor to UN peacekeeping efforts. China demonstrates commitment to UN peacekeeping through substantial financial contributions, troop deployments, and police personnel support. These actions enhance global peace and security, reinforce peacekeeping effectiveness, and bolster China's reputation as a responsible international player. China's evolving UN peacekeeping approach reflects increased international engagement and adherence to global norms for peace and stability. It serves as a platform for enhancing military professionalism, testing power projection, and advancing global influence. This approach boosts China's soft power, elevates its

diplomatic sway, and enables greater influence in shaping international norms and institutions.

India has a longstanding commitment to peacekeeping efforts in Africa. India has deployed more than 40,000 peacekeepers in 22 missions, focusing on global peace, solidarity with developing nations, and multilateral cooperation. India supports peaceful co-existence, aids other developing countries, and strengthens the UN's peacekeeping capabilities to promote peace in Africa. India has always emphasized the need for peaceful and cooperative relations among nations, which has been reflected in its peacekeeping efforts in Africa. As a leader in the Global South, India supports other developing countries in their efforts to achieve peace and stability. India's commitment to multilateral cooperation is a crucial factor in its approach to peacekeeping in Africa, as it recognizes the UN as the most important platform for addressing global challenges. As a result, India has consistently worked towards strengthening the UN's peacekeeping capacity and supporting its efforts to promote peace and security in Africa. India has suffered a heavy toll, with 123 Indian peacekeepers losing their lives, accounting for over 70 per cent of their total casualties. Currently, about 80 per cent of India's peacekeepers are serving in five UN missions in Africa: Western Sahara (MINURSO), Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO), Abyei (UNISFA), South Sudan (UNMISS), and Somalia (UNSOM).

In contrast, China's peacekeeping involvement in Africa has been more recent but increasingly proactive. Motivated by global influence, economic interests, and regional stability, China contributes to peacekeeping efforts to enhance its international image, safeguard economic investments, and promote security in line with its growing presence in Africa. From 1990 to 2022, China deployed its peacekeepers to 17 UNPKOs in Africa. In the past decade, China increased its UN peacekeeping involvement. In May 2015, it contributed 7.17 per cent to UNMISS, 3.46 per cent to Mali, and 9.93 per cent to Liberia. By January 2020, China contributed 6.53 per cent to UNMISS, and also participated in Mali (3.07 per cent), Sudan (5.76 per cent), and DR Congo (1.50 per cent). China generally supported UN peacekeeping in Africa from 2010-2021, except for abstentions on Sudan in 2006 and South Sudan in 2015 and 2016. Currently, China is involved in five

out of six UN missions in Africa: in Western Sahara, DR Congo, South Sudan, Abyei, and Mali.

A comparative analysis of India and China's participation in UN peacekeeping missions in Africa reveals distinct but interconnected rationales. India's involvement combines global responsibility and solidarity with developing nations, fostering bilateral relations, trade, and investments crucial for energy security. It also underscores India's aspiration for a permanent UN Security Council seat, demonstrating its commitment to global peace and security. The synergies between its troop contributions, rationale, and voting behaviour in the UNSC illustrate the comprehensive nature of India's approach to peace and security in the African continent. This engagement, characterized by its commitment to shared values and common objectives, serves as a model for other nations seeking to play a constructive role in promoting peace and stability in the region and beyond.

Table 7.1: Ranking of India and China among the TCCs (2013-2023)

Year	India (Rank and no. troops)	China (Rank and no. troops)
2013	3 (7849)	15 (2078)
2014	2 (8139)	13 (2181)
2015	3 (7798)	9 (3045)
2016	2 (7710)	12 (2630)
2017	3 (6700)	12 (2651)
2018	4 (6405)	10 (2515)
2019	5 (5491)	10 (2545)
2020	5 (5425)	9 (2520)
2021	3 (5597)	9 (2235)
2022	3 (6043)	10 (2211)
2023	3 (6073)	8 (2267)

Source: Compiled by author from <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/troop-and-police-contributors> (Accessed on 20 February 2024).

China's engagement, on the other hand, is multifaceted. It aims to promote regional stability, safeguard economic and security interests, and project global leadership while enhancing its international reputation. Economic investments in Africa further drive its participation, allowing China to showcase military capabilities, gain operational experience, and deepen engagement with the Global South. Ultimately, China seeks to build positive relationships in Africa and secure access to valuable natural resources.

The above analysis of both countries' voting responses in the UNSC regarding resolutions on UNPKOs in Africa reveals that India's support for peacekeeping is more consistent, while China has adopted a more aggressive approach in recent years. China has consistently shown reservations through abstentions.

India's voting behaviour in the UNSC complements its peacekeeping efforts in Africa. The voting patterns reflect its principled stance on issues related to African peace and security. India's balanced and pragmatic approach in the UNSC emphasizes the need for peaceful and diplomatic solutions to conflicts, which aligns with its broader commitment to international peace and security.

During its eight terms in the UNSC as a non-permanent member, India played a pivotal role in supporting UN peacekeeping missions in Africa, emphasizing African ownership and leadership. In the 2021-2022 term, India supported 36 out of 38 UNSC resolutions on UNPKOs in Africa, abstaining from a resolution regarding sanctions on South Sudan.

In the 2011-2012 term, India fully supported all 45 UNSC resolutions related to peacekeeping in Africa, demonstrating its comprehensive commitment. Despite occasional abstentions, India maintains a strong record of supporting peace and stability in Africa, reflecting its evolving foreign policy and ongoing dedication to global peacekeeping. This nuanced approach reflects India's commitment to African peacekeeping while being cautious about certain regional conflicts.

Table 7.2: Indian and Chinese Voting Behaviours in the UNSC

Country	1991-92			2011-12			2021-22		
	Y	A	Total	Y	A	Total	Y	A	Total
India	14	0	14	45	0	45	36	2	38
China	14	0	14	44	1	45	18	10	38

Source: Compiled by author from UNSC. (Y –Yes, A-Abstention).

China's voting behaviour in the UNSC on peacekeeping in Africa has evolved. In the early 1990s, China consistently supported all resolutions, but recently, it has become more discerning, often abstaining. This shift reflects China's heightened scrutiny of resolution details and its evolving global role. China generally supports UN peacekeeping in Africa but emphasizes African ownership, adequate resources, and training for peacekeepers. Its abstentions, particularly in the Central African Republic and Somalia, demonstrate a nuanced approach to African peacekeeping efforts.

These distinctions highlight the varying priorities, strategies, and levels of commitment both nations have regarding their roles in United Nations' Peacekeeping, with India demonstrating a more robust and consistent involvement compared to China. Furthermore, both India and China prioritize traditional peacekeeping, emphasizing respect for sovereignty and seeking the host State's consent before intervention. They adhere to non-interference in other countries' internal affairs and focus on diplomacy and UN principles in resolving conflicts. However, both nations have also demonstrated pragmatism in their approaches towards UNPKOs, balancing traditional principles with adaptability to navigate changing global dynamics and safeguard their interests. This demonstrates their intent to use peacekeeping as a means to bolster their engagement in global governance.

In Africa, India and China have their own set of challenges that require attention. In the case of India, addressing issues related to language barriers and concerns about personnel conduct is crucial. Language barriers can impede effective communication and cooperation, so

measures to overcome these obstacles should be prioritized. Additionally, enhancing training programmes is essential to equip personnel with the necessary skills and knowledge for their roles. Ensuring high standards of conduct among personnel is equally important to maintain professionalism and credibility.

On the other hand, China faces the imperative of improving transparency and upholding human rights standards in its interactions with African nations. Transparency builds trust and fosters open, accountable relationships with African partners. Upholding human rights standards is essential to demonstrate a commitment to ethical practices and respect for the dignity of all individuals involved. Moreover, it is paramount for China to ensure that its actions genuinely contribute to peace and stability in Africa, reflecting a sincere dedication to the well-being and prosperity of the African continent. China's peacekeeping initiatives in Africa have drawn criticism primarily for their lack of transparency and failure to uphold human rights standards. There are doubts about China's motives, with concerns about resource extraction and questions regarding its commitment to genuine peace and stability. Furthermore, China's support for authoritarian regimes in Africa has generated further criticism.

Therefore, the study holds significant policy implications. Firstly, insights gained can inform capacity-building initiatives, such as sharing best practices and providing training, to enhance the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations in Africa. Secondly, understanding how India and China engage with local communities and address cultural sensitivities can guide policymakers in promoting more culturally sensitive and community-oriented peacekeeping strategies. Moreover, analysing conflict resolution methods utilized by India and China can help develop better mediation and reconciliation strategies, addressing underlying socio-economic factors contributing to conflicts.

With a shared interest in fostering stability and development across Africa, India and China can contribute significantly to bolstering peacekeeping initiatives. By aligning their resources, expertise and experiences, both countries can provide valuable assistance to African nations, reducing the continent's reliance on traditional Western donors. India, renowned for its contributions to UN peacekeeping missions,

brings substantial experience and a commitment to capacity-building initiatives. With its growing involvement in peacekeeping operations and considerable resources, China holds the potential to offer substantial support in funding and personnel. Through increased cooperation, India and China can facilitate the transfer of knowledge, technology, and training programs aimed at enhancing the capabilities of African nations in managing conflicts and maintaining peace within their borders. This collaborative approach empowers African countries and strengthens India and China's standing as responsible global stakeholders committed to fostering peace and stability in regions beyond their immediate spheres.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The policy recommendations below aim to improve effectiveness of Indian peacekeeping in the continent.

1. *Improve Language Proficiency.* One of the most significant criticisms against Indian peacekeepers in Africa was lack of local language proficiency. India should invest more in language training programs to improve communication and understanding with the local population. This could include recruiting more personnel with language skills or providing more language training to existing personnel. India could also consider partnering with local language schools in Africa to provide language training to its peacekeeping forces. Similarly, providing refresher courses in local languages and conducting language proficiency assessments will also help maintain language skills and improve communication with the local population.
2. *Enhanced use of Technology:* UN peacekeeping operations could benefit from better communication technologies to facilitate information sharing between peacekeepers, local communities, and UN Headquarters. India could invest in and share its expertise in this area to help improve the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping efforts in Africa. Similarly, drones and satellites can provide valuable information on conflict zones, including real-time imagery of troop movements, civilian movements, and potential threats. India could leverage its expertise in drone technology and satellite imaging to support UN peacekeeping efforts in Africa. India could establish

partnerships with local technology companies and universities to support the development and deployment of new technologies for peacekeeping in Africa. This could help build local capacity and support sustainable development in the region.

3. *Address Economic Interests:* India could take steps to address concerns about its economic interests in the region by being more transparent about its activities and engaging in dialogue with local communities. This could help build trust with the local population and improve the legitimacy of its peacekeeping efforts.
4. *Fostering Interactive Process:* Establishing dedicated workshops on peacekeeping within the India-Africa Forum Summit framework and the India-Africa Defence Dialogue can facilitate a platform for collaborative learning, exchange of expertise, and the development of effective peacekeeping strategies. Participation includes high-level representatives, policymakers, military experts, academics, and practitioners from India and Africa. This will ensure a comprehensive exchange of insights and experiences, fostering a more robust approach to tackling critical peacekeeping issues specific to the African context.
5. *Strategic Evolution:* Consider gradually shifting India's engagement in African peacekeeping from direct troop contribution to a strategic focus on supporting 'African owned-African led' solutions. This transition aims to enhance the effectiveness of India's contributions, emphasizing peacebuilding and institution-building activities to strengthen Africa's self-sufficiency while fostering enduring relations between India and African nations.
6. *Enhancing Recognition of India's Peacekeeping Contributions:* Implement measures aimed at ensuring that host countries where Indian peacekeepers are deployed duly recognize India's valuable contributions. Engaging in regular dialogues with host country governments, civil society organizations, and key stakeholders will help build a more nuanced understanding of India's peacekeeping role. Fostering partnerships with local media and influencers can amplify the positive narrative surrounding India's peacekeeping efforts.

7. *Higher Level Appointments:* India should proactively pursue higher-level appointments, particularly seeking representation from the Indian Armed Forces at the United Nations Headquarters, facilitated through India's Permanent Mission. This proactive engagement would enhance India's influence and participation in global peacekeeping efforts, contributing to broader international security objectives.

This monograph delves into Indian and Chinese approaches to UN peacekeeping in Africa, offering insights into how these rising powers interact with African nations. It analyzes their motivations and guiding principles in peacekeeping on the continent, comparing their approaches and highlighting differences in scope and impact. The study argues that Indian and Chinese peacekeeping engagements in Africa are shaped by distinct strategic interests. By identifying best practices and areas for improvement, the monograph aims to enhance the effectiveness and sustainability of UN peacekeeping efforts in Africa.



Dr Rajeesh Kumar is an Associate Fellow and Acting Coordinator of the Africa Latin America Caribbean & UN Centre, MP-IDSA, New Delhi. Dr Kumar was Co-Chair of the T20 India Task Force on 'Reformed Multilateralism: Transforming Global Institutions and Frameworks' for India's G20 presidency. Prior to joining MP-IDSA in 2016, he held teaching positions at Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi and University of Calicut, Kerala. His research interests span both Indian Foreign Policy and Multilateralism. Dr Kumar is the author of *Principled but Evolving: India's Approach to Multilateral Peace and Security* (MP-IDSA, 2021) and *The International Committee of the Red Cross in Internal Armed Conflicts: Is Neutrality Possible* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019). He is also the co-editor of *India and Africa: Deepening the Security Engagement* (Pentagon, 2024) and *Eurozone Crisis and the Future of Europe: Political Economy of Further Integration and Governance* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). His articles and opinion pieces have appeared in Journals and Newspapers, including *Strategic Analysis*, *India Quarterly*, *Journal of Defence Studies*, *E-International Relations*, *The Diplomat*, *The Hindu*, *Japan Times*, *Tehran Times* and *The Outlook*.



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Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses

No.1, Development Enclave, Rao Tula Ram Marg,
Delhi Cantt., New Delhi - 110 010
Tel.: (91-11) 2671-7983 Fax: (91-11) 2615 4191
Website: <http://www.idsa.in>