

While countries promised significant forces to the MNF, from the beginning they attached significant conditions even to any *potential* use thereof. The MNF was barely robust enough to conduct a Chapter VI operation, nor did it have the direction from its political masters to conduct the kind of robust Chapter VII operations for which it was mandated. The MNF was restricted to planning only for the delivery of humanitarian assistance, a role for which it was neither requested nor appropriate. The solution to the immediate crisis came about because the Tutsi rebels did what the Agencies wanted the MNF to do: neutralize the Hutu extremists and encourage the return of refugees to Rwanda.

Fulfilling the task the Humanitarian Agencies wanted done would have involved serious risks. It would also have required important political decisions - decisions that many nations did not want to take, and on which an international consensus may not have been possible. Thus the question may not be why nations chose not to do what the humanitarian agencies asked, but rather why the attempt to deploy a force continued despite the clear unwillingness of the international community to carry out the tasks for which a force was required. In these circumstances the difficulties encountered in mounting a mission and the public differences of view between the Humanitarian Agencies (and NGOs) and governments and militaries may have been inevitable.

Recommendation 11: An MNF should not be deployed until the resources required to conduct the mission are formally devoted to it, and there is agreement among participating nations to allow the forces to be used as necessary to fulfil the mandate.

Observation 12: Because some nations defined the goal of the military mission as humanitarian, it was difficult to decide when it should come to an end.

The use of the military for "humanitarian" deployments is a recent phenomenon. It is an innovation that raises many concerns, particularly among Humanitarian Agencies and NGOs. The record of results is checkered, to say the least. For all the good that has been achieved, many of these missions have been regarded as failures; UNPROFOR serves as a powerful example. Many respected analysts believe that this is because these deployments are the direct result of the urge to "do something", despite the