

## **Africa in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: A Critical Assessment**

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### **Abstract**

Africa's political evolution is characterised by conflicts that have sometimes gone beyond the capabilities of the continental body to resolve without resort to foreign assistance, especially in the critical field of military assistance. The United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations have played a crucial role in maintaining international peace and security, particularly in Africa. Since the 1960s, Africa has been the focus of numerous UN peacekeeping missions, with the continent hosting some of the most complex and protracted conflicts. This article provides a critical review of Africa's experience in UN peacekeeping operations, examining the successes, challenges, and controversies surrounding these missions. The study also conceptualised peacekeeping and adopted the collective security paradigm as a framework for analysis. The study used mainly secondary data obtained from books, journals, conference papers and the Internet. All data collected were presented and analysed qualitatively through content analysis. The article also explores the role of African regional organisations, such as the African Union, in supporting UN peacekeeping efforts. Furthermore, it critiqued the dominant Western-centric approach to peacekeeping, highlighting the need for more inclusive and context-specific strategies that

prioritise African perspectives and agency. Ultimately, this study aims to contribute to a nuanced understanding of the complexities and challenges of UN peacekeeping operations in Africa and to inform policy debates on how to improve the effectiveness and sustainability of these missions.

**Keywords- Peacekeeping, Africa, United Nations collective security**

## **Introduction**

The prevalence of conflict has remained a major feature of post independence Africa. The hopes that accompanied Africa's Independence in the early 1960's have, so far, proved to be largely a mirage for many Africans as the region continues to be devastated by conflicts and the widespread destruction of life and property. Africa is perhaps the most devastated by internal conflicts and with catastrophic consequences (Deng, 1996; Elujekwute, 2021). Introducing the Organization of African Unity (OAU) mechanism for Preventing, Managing, and resolving Conflicts to the OAU council of Ministers at Dakar, Senegal, in 1992, the then General Secretary Salim Ahmed Salim, emphasised that: "Conflicts have cast a dark shadow over the prospects for a united, secure and prosperous Africa which we seek to create.... Conflicts have caused immense suffering to our people and, in the worst case, death. Men, women and children have been uprooted, dispossessed, deprived of their means of livelihood and thrown into exile as refugees as a result of conflicts. Conflicts have engendered hate and division among our people and undermined the prospects of the long term stability and unity of our countries and Africa as a whole. Since much energy, time and resources have been devoted to meeting the exigencies of conflict, our countries have been unable to harness the energies of our people and target them to development" (Onumajuru, 2005)

In confirmation of the statement above, it is important to note that since the 1960s till date Africa is still grappling with security challenges as it has become a major theater of war. The continent

has been bedeviled with serious internal conflicts in Ethiopia, Sudan, Mali, Nigeria, Libya, Democratic of Republic of Congo among others.

Armed conflicts have been fuelled by the uncontrolled accumulation and proliferation of small arms and light weapons, begetting increased criminality, banditry, cross-border crime, and the emergence of the phenomenon of child soldiers (Igbini, 2020; Waziri, 2024, Adejumo, et al 2024). Though largely intra-state, most conflicts usually spill over into neighboring countries, causing widespread regional insecurity and instability. This has necessitated the need for various approaches both local, regional and international to tackle the menace. The United Nations have deployed several Peace Keeping Operations to various theatres of war across the continent to try end the various conflicts and keep the peace among the state and non-state actors. Despite the presence and intervention of African and UN Peacekeepers in national and regional crises, conflict remains a major challenge in Africa. Africa continues to have the greatest number of armed conflicts of any continent (Onumajuru, 2005). In the same vein, the successes and failures of UN peace keeping operations in Africa as well as the role/place of Africa in the scheme of the UN peace operations remains highly debatable (Klobucista and Feragamo, 2023). This lacuna in knowledge has necessitated this research to first, analyse the current status of UN peace Keeping Operations in Africa and secondly, to suggest possible solutions to the challenges identified

### **Conceptualising Peacekeeping**

The Blue Helmet in Onumajuru (2005) defines peacekeeping as "an operation involving military personnel, but without enforcement powers undertaken by the United Nations to help maintain or restore international peace and security in conflict areas". According to him, Peacekeeping operations have been anchored on the following principles:-

- Consent of the parties to the dispute for the establishment of the mission.
- Non- use of force except in self defence.
- Voluntary Contributions of contingents from small/ neutral countries to participate in the force.
- Impartiality.
- Control of peacekeeping operations by the secretary General.

The concept of peacekeeping evolved as a child of necessity. It is an adaptation of the UN provisions in Chapter VI and VII of the UN Charter- the creation of an enabling environment for international peace and security. According to the UN Charter, Peace Operations can be authorised by an Affirmative vote of at least nine members of the Security Council of the UN devoid of a veto from one of the five permanent members (China, France, Russia, The United Kingdom and The United States of America). The Security Council likewise must also vote to renew the operation mandate at its expiry which is typically annually.

The provision stipulates the need for parties to a dispute to seek solution through negotiation, mediation, arbitration and a resort to regional organisation or other peaceful means as the case may be. Most times, parties to disputes are not too likely to resort to negotiation because of their belligerent dispositions. Thus, peacemaking becomes relevant to create the conducive environment for the settlement of dispute, and where that fails forceful intervention may be embarked upon. Peacekeeping is the application of non-enforcement military measures that are different from peace enforcement, which falls within the ambit of conflict prevention through conflict suppression and regulation by coercive measures. Peacemaking on the other hand involves

mediation, reconciliation, rehabilitation and arbitration processes to get belligerents to meet, talk to one another, reach agreements to limit conflicts and then concentrate on the substantive issues underlying the conflict (Barnes, 2006, Onumajuru, 2005). Peacekeeping is easily a holding action, a temporary measures aimed at defusing tensions and reducing the incentives for parties to pursue violent conflict. Peacemaking covers all conflict resolution and mediation techniques designed to bring hostile parties to agreement. Peace-enforcement involves measures to compel a recalcitrant party to abide by the resolution of an international ()

Peacekeeping generally is an intervention by a third party to separate and pacify participants in a conflict. The United Nations has performed peacekeeping operations since 1948, when it sent military observers to Kashmir, to oversee the ceasefire between India and Pakistan, and the Middle East, in the aftermath of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Fifty years later the UN peacekeepers still had presence in these regions. The number of UN peacekeeping operations has increased rapidly since the end of the Cold War, with involvement in Somalia, Rwanda, South Sudan, the Balkans and Kuwait, amongst others. Peacekeeping has tended to involve the introduction of military which has the job of observing the implementation of ceasefire agreements and providing a buffer between combatants. There has been debate as to the extent to which peacekeeping forces could or should be involved in the active enforcement of ceasefires, the possibility and practicality of neutral intervention, and the balance between upholding the status quo and acting to change the strategic situation in order to enhance the prospects of conflict resolution (McLean & McMillan, 2003 in Christopher and Nse 2019).

### **Theoretical Framework**

This study adopted the theory of collective security as a theoretical framework. Collective security is a system by which states have attempted to prevent or stop wars. Under a collective security arrangement, an aggressor against any one state is considered an aggressor against all other states, which act together to repel the aggressor. Collective security arrangements have always been conceived as being global in scope; this is in fact a defining characteristic, distinguishing them from regional alliances such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In fact, both the League of Nations and the United Nations were founded on the principle of collective security (Wight, 1977 in Nse and Christopher 2019). Collective security can be understood as a security arrangement, political, regional, or global, in which each state in the system accepts that the security of one is the concern of all, and therefore commits to a collective response to threats to, and breaches of, the peace.

. While collective security is an idea with a long history, its implementation in practice has proved problematic. Several prerequisites have to be met for it to have a chance of working (Yost, 1977 in Nse and Christopher 2019). This is one theory that explains the use of international forces through the ambit of the United Nations and other International Governmental Organizations (IGOs). It is a security regime created by the great powers that set rules for keeping peace. The theory is guided by the principles that an act of aggression by any state or group of states will be met by a collective response from the other states. It stipulates that effective collective measures would be taken to assist any state under aggression by another member or group of states.

Therefore, collective security is based on some basic tenets. The first is that all states would avoid the use of force except in self-defence. The second rest on the general agreement that peace is indivisible, while, the third is the pledge by all states (or members of the UN) to unite against

aggression and restore the peace. Indeed, members must keep their alliance and commitments to the group and agree on what constitutes aggression. Lastly, they also must pledge to contribute resources (material and personnel) to form a collective security force to fight the aggressor(s) and restore the peace (Kegely & Wittkopf, 2001).

However, collective security appears to exist as a goal in that its application at the international level is limited by problems. Most glaring is the unwillingness of countries to subordinate their sovereign interests. It is not often that when a powerful state commits aggression against a weaker one that other powerful states go to war over the issue as it can be quite costly to suppress a determined aggressor.

This theory is relevant for this study as it helps to understand the why and, the successes and key challenges of peace operations in Africa.

## **Methodology**

The study made use of mainly secondary data obtained from books, journals, and conference papers, and sources from the internet were also used to enhance the validity of the findings of the study. All data collected are presented and analysed qualitatively through content analysis.

## **Overview of Armed Conflicts in Africa and UN Peace Keeping Operations**

About 58% of all state-based conflict in 2022 occurred in Africa. In the same vein, the overall number of conflicts in Africa increased from 34 in 1989 to 104 in 2022, driven principally by a rise in non-state conflicts (Obermeier, 2023). Within the continent is a plethora of conflicts in countries such as Sudan, Libya, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Somalia, and Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso, Congo DR, The Lake Chad region, among others which heightens the degree of insecurity itself, a clear

manifestation of yet another phase in the political evolution of Africa. In recent history, most African conflicts are largely intra-state rather than inter-state by nature and are characterised by identity-based, resource-based, and power-based conflicts (Gilpin, 2016).

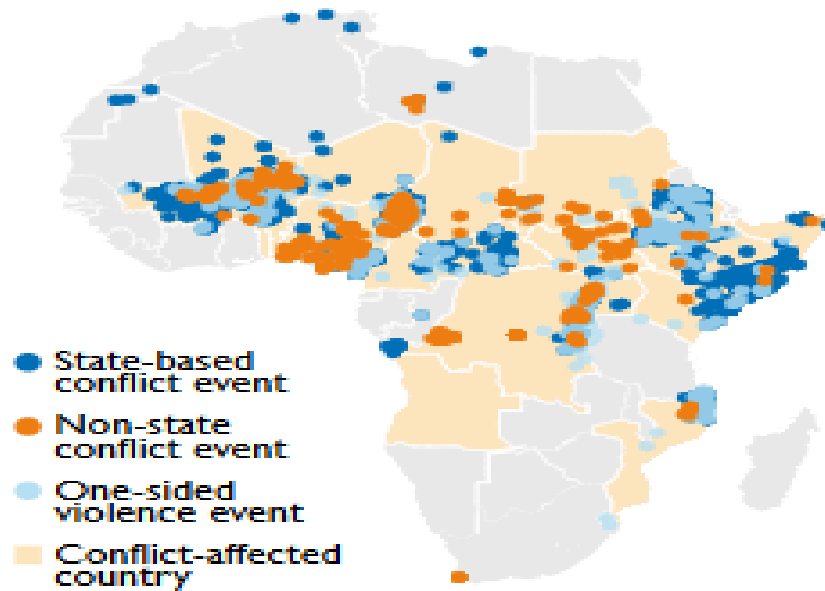


Figure 1: Conflict Events in Africa, 2022 Source: Obermeier (2023),

In view of this data, Aremu, (2010) has contended that conflict has become the major current running across Africa. In the same vein, Ajayi (2005) rightly observed that, "the regularity of conflicts in Africa has become one of the distinct characteristics of the continent".

The United Nations Organization (UNO) has undertaken about sixty-three peacekeeping missions between 1948 and 2009, with over a quarter of these operations in Africa (Akwara, et al. 2019). Since the 1960s, more than 30 UN peacekeeping missions have been deployed to African countries – the most of any region worldwide (Clobucista and Ferragamo, 2023). Today, the United Nations' peacekeeping operations stand at fifteen missions, with Africa having seven ongoing peacekeeping operation (UN, 2024). The above shows clearly that Africa is an important case study for analysing



or evaluating the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping operations. While the UN Missions have recorded important successes, countries like Sudan and the DRC are still embroiled in internal conflicts despite the UN Peacekeeping efforts. This has led to questions about the efficacy of the UN peace-keeping missions in Africa, leading several countries to seek or support outside the UN system with the rise of private militias often backed by foreign governments like the Wagner group (Petrini and Pepe, 2024). Experts ave also claimed that sometime, UN Peace operations have tended to constitute the problem rather than the solution they are meant to be (Duursma, 2023)

**Table 1. List of UN Peace Keeping Operations in Africa till 2020**

NAME OF UN PEACE KEEPING OPERATION	PERIOD
<b>African Union - United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID)</b>	Jul 2007 - Dec 2020
<b>United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)</b>	Sep 2003 - Mar 2018
<b>United Nations Operations in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI)</b>	Apr 2004 - Jun 2017
<b>United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS)</b>	Mar 2005 - Jul 2011
<b>United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT)</b>	Sep 2007 - Dec 2010
<b>United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC)</b>	Nov 1999 - Jun 2010
<b>United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE)</b>	Jul 2000 - Jul 2008
<b>United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB)</b>	May 2004 - Dec 2006
<b>United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)</b>	Oct 1999 - Dec 2005
<b>United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI)</b>	May 2003 - Apr 2004
<b>United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA)</b>	Mar 1998 - Feb 2000
<b>United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA)</b>	Apr 2013 - Dec 2023
<b>United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL)</b>	Jul 1998 - Oct 1999
<b>United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA)</b>	Jun 1997 - Feb 1999
<b>United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL)</b>	Sep 1993 - Sep 1997
<b>United Nations Angola Verification Mission III (UNAVEM III)</b>	Feb 1995 - Jun 1997
<b>United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR)</b>	Oct 1993 - Mar 1996
<b>United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II)</b>	Mar 1993 - Mar 1995
<b>United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II)</b>	May 1991 - Feb 1995
<b>United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)</b>	Dec 1992 - Dec 1994
<b>United Nations Observer Mission Uganda - Rwanda (UNOMUR)</b>	Jun 1993 - Sep 1994
<b>United Nations Aouzou Strip Observer Group (UNASOG)</b>	May 1994 - Jun 1994

United Nations Operation in Somalia I (UNOSOM I)	Apr 1992 - Mar 1993
United Nations Angola Verification Mission I (UNAVEM I)	Dec 1989 - Jun 1991
United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG)	Apr 1989 - Mar 1990
United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC)	Jul 1960 - Jun 1964

**Source: United Nations Peacekeeping <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/past-peacekeeping-operations>**

It is important to note that both the United Nations (UN) Security Council and the Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the African Union (AU) have played significant roles in conducting more effective peace operations in Africa (Davis, 2015). The basis of such collaboration is mutual in recognition of several important facts. The first is that over the last decade, most of the UN Security Council's agenda has been occupied by peace and security challenges in Africa. Second, both institutions recognise that the UN Security Council has the primary but not exclusive responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, including in Africa (Centre for Human Rights, UoP, 2014). Third, both institutions acknowledged that no single organisation could cope with the multitude of peace and security challenges on the African continent (Fafore, 2020). In addition, both institutions recognise that while the AU is an important source of political authority for addressing peace and security challenges in Africa, it lacks the necessary materials and financial capabilities to take decisive action alone to resolve these problems (Boutellis and William, 2013).

The continent of Africa has been plagued by incessant conflicts arising from numerous factors, some of which include the struggle for resources, identity-based conflicts, political power-based conflict, boundary disputes, despotic and undemocratic leadership, and military intervention in governance as well as sit-tight leadership syndrome of most African leaders. It is, therefore,

obvious that most African states lack the ability and capacity to contain these conflicts; thus, they often resort to the UN for assistance in resolving them. Again, assembling a multinational force such as the one required for peacekeeping remains daunting (Duursma, et al, 2023). Similarly, each conflict situation wears a different character, as no conflict situations can be the same even when they have the same issue field. Thus, the UN is open to some great tasks in planning and executing peacekeeping operations. However, the problem arising from this development, which motivated this study, is that the UN faces numerous difficulties and challenges in the course of intervention in these conflicts, which demand some investigation. This study remains one of such efforts to bring these challenges to the fore and discuss them extensively in the context of the African peacekeeping experience.

### **Africa in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations**

Over the past decade and a half, Africa has developed a significant capacity for peace operations. This is reflected in the number of peacekeepers African countries contribute to African-led and United Nations (UN) peace operations. African countries contributed only 10,000 troops to UN peacekeeping operations in 2000, when the African Union (AU) was established (Lotze 2013 in Coning, 2019; Khanyile, 2024). Today, African countries contribute about 50% of the UN's approximately 100,000 peacekeepers. This means that Africa has now replaced South East Asia as the largest regional contributor to UN peace operations. Since the AU was launched, it has deployed eight peace operations of its own, including those in Burundi, the Central African Republic, the Comoros, Mali, Somalia, Sudan, etc. (Conin, 2019).

In addition, it has provided support to ad hoc regional security coalitions against the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), Boko Haram and instability in the Sahel region. In total, African

countries contributed approximately 85,000 military, police and civilian personnel to UN and African-led peace operations in 2018. According to Coning (2019) the main reason why Africa's peace operations capacity has significantly increased over the past decade and a half is because the AU and the sub-regional organisations in Africa, with significant support from international partners, have invested in establishing and developing the African Standby Force. This project has generated political support in Africa and internationally for a significantly scaled-up African role in peace operations on the African continent. It has been successful in focusing the support of international partners, including the UN, on building capacities for African peace operations. The success of this project to date has boosted the confidence of the AU and the sub-regional organisations, and today they are playing a much more prominent role in conflict management in Africa than ever before.

One of the implications of this more assertive African posture is that the UN has less freedom to manoeuvre than it enjoyed in the past. A decade and a half ago, the UN was the most important actor when it came to the deployment of peace operations in Africa. Today, it is unthinkable that the UN would consider deploying a new peace operation in Africa without close consultation with the AU and relevant African countries and sub-regional organisations.

In fact, the UN would probably only consider deploying a peace operation in Africa if the AU or the relevant sub-region is unable to take the lead itself, and even then the UN mission is likely to have a significant African character. Africa is thus no longer the only recipient or host of UN peace operations; the AU and the sub-regional organisations in Africa have now become an integral part of the global peace and security architecture. This has changed the role of UN peace operations in Africa. As approximately 75% of UN peacekeepers are deployed in Africa, and approximately the

same amount of the UN peacekeeping budget is spent on peace operations in Africa, this means that these changes are likely to affect UN peace operations in the years ahead profoundly. (Coning, 2019)

### **Challenges of UN Peacekeeping in Africa**

#### **i. Securing Comprehensive Political Settlement**

Value-based conflicts are generally less amenable to conciliation because they are based on deeply held beliefs. To resolve them conclusively, peaceful instruments of dialogue and negotiation will be stretched to the fullest. To prevent contending parties from resorting to the use of force in seeking to conclude the conflict solely on their terms, every effort must be made to reach a comprehensive political settlement. Achieving such a conclusive political settlement to disputes and conflicts is one of the main challenges to peacekeeping in general and, in particular, in Africa. It is essential to note that in the absence of a comprehensive settlement, any restored peace will remain fragile and susceptible to relapse into more enormous conflagration.

#### **ii. Securing and Sustaining Consent**

Peacekeeping is a conflict resolution activity by which results are achieved through persuasion rather than the use of force. Therefore, every peacekeeping operation must have the consent of the contending parties. Thus, securing and sustaining consent is key to successful operations. However, because of certain peculiarities of the operational environment, this tends to be one of the most significant challenges to peacekeeping. Somalia and Yugoslavia are good examples of countries where the loss of the consent of the conflicting parties put peacekeeping operations in jeopardy and brought disastrous consequences.

### **iii. Understanding the Sensitivity of the People**

Recent peacekeeping operations, particularly in Africa, have faced the challenges of getting peacekeepers to understand and cope with the sensitivities of the local people. There have been instances when negligence or a lack of understanding of the cultural practices and traditions of the people has had disastrous consequences. The people of Africa are susceptible to their culture and traditional practices. Therefore, any action by a stranger perceived to show disrespect for these practices often attracts a hostile reaction, which could jeopardise peacekeeping operations. In Africa, many of the cultural and traditional practices are relevant to the resolution and management of conflicts in the continent. Generally, the chiefs, clan leaders and the family elders command great respect and are held in high esteem. The African also has the propensity to search patiently for consensus in deliberations. For these reasons, chiefs, clan leaders and elders play effective roles in mediation, arbitration and reconciliation.

### **iv. Rapid Deployment Capability**

Another problem facing the UN today is the long time it takes the organisation to establish, mount and deploy peacekeeping missions into conflict areas. Conflict situations themselves have now become more complex and fluid, and so can change rapidly from low intensity into unrestrained violence. In many cases, the slowness of the UN to react and delays in deploying peacekeeping missions has had catastrophic consequences. Many conflict situations that could have been contained effectively if peacekeeping forces had been deployed earlier often escalated into broader conflagration by the time the peacekeepers arrived. In several instances, the period between a Security Council decision to establish a peacekeeping operation and the actual arrival of contingents and their equipment in the mission area has been too long. This period, until recently,

used to be as long as three to four months. For example, according to Gambari, "It took the UN 5 months to get the Security Council approval for a mission in Rwanda." (Melvern, 2001)

#### **v. Credible Public Information Capability**

In some parts of the developing world today, the illiteracy rate is high. Therefore, in conflict areas where the dominant population is illiterate, and rumour-mongering is rife, opposing factions usually exploit this situation and tend to wage campaigns of misinformation in order to perpetrate strife and violence or to cause fear and panic among the civil population. In the conflict in Rwanda, for example, the Hutu-dominated government was reported to have peddled rumours and so widely misinformed the civil communities that mass exodus of refugees to neighbouring countries ensued. The challenge of peacekeeping missions is that of building credible public information capability so that, in such circumstances, peacekeeping forces could quickly neutralise any adverse effects. Peacekeeping missions need to be proactive and develop effective public information systems that can regularly be broadcast to the local people and inform them of what is going on.

#### **Vi. Legality for Peacekeeping/Enforcement**

A significant challenge for peacekeeping missions has always been the issue of legal standing for such operations. Acceptably, embarking on any peacekeeping mission must conform to the following operating conditions;

- Invitation
- Political consensus
- Consent of parties to the conflict
- Impartiality or neutrality.

It must be noted that most conflicts today are intra-state, and so getting the belligerents to arrive at consent is always a futile exercise. This lag often exposes the populace to wanton destruction of lives and properties. The approach to traditional peacekeeping roles may not be workable in solving conflict issues in Africa. The case studies on regional initiatives revealed that most of the UN peacekeeping operations today are ushered in after peace enforcement actions as had been dictated by the prevailing conflict situations. This strategy should continue to be adopted in future conflicts where belligerents are irreconcilable to accept peaceful interventions, as spelt out in UN Articles 52 by invoking the implementation of Articles 53. These actions were played out in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Bosnia, Kosovo and East Timor. To avoid a continued spillover effect and a fresh outbreak of conflicts in Africa under the guise of non-interference in internal affairs, the AU, as a projected solution, had approved the resort to the strategy of collective security. This is presently enshrined in its Principles of Constitutive Act, Article 4 (h) in case of intra-state conflicts and Article 4 in interstate breach of peace.

### **African Leadership and Peace Operations**

Outside of Europe, only African countries have pushed to establish their multinational organisations capable of organising, managing and deploying troops for peace operations. According to Phetha (2015), the African Union and ECOWAS have adopted formal mechanisms with wide-ranging peace and security responsibilities that are unparalleled in Asia, South America, and the Middle East. Within Africa, leaders offer many reasons for this focus. Some view peace operations as the equivalent of putting out a fire in a neighbour's house – a moral instinct and a practical understanding that, if left unchecked, the flames could spread throughout the neighbourhood (Ramuhala, 2010). Other African leaders cite a responsibility to prevent future



genocides on the continent, a call echoed by "no more Rwandas," or cast it as "a matter of survival" for Africa. The African Union operationalised its Peace and Security Council in 2003, as outlined by its Protocol adopted in 2002. Soon after, the African Union launched its first peacekeeping operation in Burundi. The AU deployed its second operation, a ceasefire monitoring force in Darfur, in June 2004. The ambitious AU agenda also includes the development of sub-regional brigades to comprise its proposed African Standby Force (ASF) by 2010 (Ramuhala, 2010). In West Africa, ECOWAS developed a broader peace and security mechanism in 1999, reflecting its increasing use of forces in the region. More recently, ECOWAS launched peace operations to intervene in Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, and Niger as a result of military coup. ECOWAS has also adopted a standby force concept, with designs for a regional task force under consideration. However, the case of ECOWAS versus Niger military Junta have rendered this mechanism ineffective.

In other sub-regions, African organisations that traditionally focus on development and economic agendas have moved to address peace and security issues, including the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). SADC involvement in Lesotho and the Democratic Republic of Congo has been controversial and subject to dispute by its members. IGAD has engaged in mediating efforts in Somalia and Sudan, with the potential to offer peacekeepers.

Many recent African peace operations have been hybrids, where African organisations have played a lead role in advance of – and then in concert with – the United Nations and individual nations. In Côte d'Ivoire, ECOWAS intervened in late 2002, with subsequent support from the French, laying the groundwork for the UN to take leadership of a peacekeeping operation there in 2003. In

Liberia, ECOWAS deployed troops in the summer of 2003 with US assistance. The mission then transitioned to UN leadership in October 2003. In Burundi, the AU led a peacekeeping force primarily from South Africa, Ethiopia, and Mozambique in 2003, and the UN took over in June 2004. In Sudan, the African Union has led an observer force in Darfur, as the United Nations planned for a broader peace operation in the southern part of the country. With all this movement, however, African organisations and nations can be misunderstood as having more advanced capacity for peace operations than they actually possess. African troops may be available, but they are not yet self-sustaining and often lack logistical support. Depending on the kind of peace operation, from truce-monitoring missions to more robust peace enforcement, they require added headquarters support, logistics capability and general mission support, sufficient and skilled military and civilian personnel, funding, a clear concept of operations and links to a peace building plan. Regional and sub-regional organisations face the same challenges as the United Nations, including additional ones.

### **Conclusion and Recommendation**

This study appraised the UN's traditional peacekeeping operations in Africa with a view to determining how effective they have been as a conflict resolution tool in Africa as well as Africa's contribution to the programme. The study found that the reaction of the international community, through the aegis of the UN, AU, and other multilateral bodies, to conflicts in Africa was ineffective in achieving lasting peace and stability for the continent. While the UN has deployed troops to Africa to contain conflict situations and nip fresh conflicts in the bud in several occasions, the organisation has lacked the necessary funding required to execute this mission on time in most instances. Even when funding is available, other logistical, bureaucratic, (geo)political and

economic factors impede effective, quick and comprehensive action, thereby undermining comprehensive action. The apparent loss of interest in Africa by the superpowers, as Africa has lost its strategic importance since the end of the Cold War, cannot be ignored. The shift is now to Central and Eastern Europe by the developed western countries.

The increased crisis in the African continent and the apparent ineffectiveness of the UN peacekeeping operations have led to calls for greater African involvement in the conduct and management of Peacekeeping Operations in Africa. This is necessitated by the poor performance of the UN in resolving conflicts in Africa and the African security environment in general.

This line is already towed by Mrs Joy Ogwu, former Director General of Nigeria Institute for International Affairs, who affirmed that this can be done through the cooperation of African states relying on their own regional and continental institutions to respond creatively to the challenges of peacekeeping. African countries can achieve much with the financial assistance of donor countries and the logistics support of the UN. In this light, therefore, the UN will have to be more committed to supporting conflict resolution in Africa, while African countries need to play an effective role by supporting the UN in various ways. These would include the provision of well-trained peacekeepers, a stop in the provision of bases across borders for warlords and dissidents, and the provision of a strong structure at the AU and sub-regional organisations. The UN should also support peacekeeping operations in Africa so that regional organisations like ECOWAS have a good record. These will also entail the provision of the wherewithal by the UN for such missions.

In this regard, and especially concerning peacekeeping and peacemaking, the time is probably gone, at least in the African context, when the UN unilaterally decided peacekeeping deployments

and operations. Hybrid operations now appear to be the way of the future in international peacekeeping. For this reason, the UN must recognise the importance of the African perspective and work with the continent more fully in the development of the UN as an organisation and in the policies that affect the continent. It is true to say that, taken individually, African nations wield little discernible influence on UN policies. In 1994, the Security Council could have stopped the Rwandan genocide if the five veto-power-wielding members had supported Nigeria's proposal.

However, when they act collectively and with a sense of purpose, as ECOMOG did in Liberia and Sierra Leone and the African Union (AU) in Darfur and Somalia, African nations can constitute a formidable group to reckon with; let us work together to help foster a constructive partnership between Africa and the UN on the issues that affect Africa and the world. We are convinced that this partnership will not only bring a cohesive global perspective in accordance with the UN charter but also encourage the development of innovative thinking and practices to address African and global challenges. Therefore, it is a shared responsibility to facilitate such an approach and achieve the desired outcomes. (Gambari, 2012)

Additionally, the prospects of UN peacekeeping in Africa are dependent on human value and its universal underpinning. A global body with a worldwide mandate must resist selective and discriminatory peacekeeping in any mission field wherever such operation is taking place, whether in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, the Pacific or Africa. It should also ensure that its troops, whenever deployed to Africa, are subject to a unified standard command and control of such UN operations.

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