THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN PEACE ENFORCEMENT TO ATTEND GLOBAL PEACE[1]

Abstract

The involvement of international organizations in SSR processes has grown to become a flurry of overlapping activities and projects. This is especially true in conflict and post-conflict counties where different organizations compete for donor and space. International organizations' involvement in the security sector reform field began to grow in the 1990s when they realized that development efforts, especially in conflict and post-conflict scenarios, could not be successful in insecure environments. Taking all the circumstances into account, the aim of this paper, which is to examine the role of international institutions in peace enforcement in relation to the achievement of global peace, becomes a necessity. Security governance has come to be seen as a vital component of institution building, governance development, and reconstruction projects. Additionally, democratic oversight of the security sector assumed a central role in the conditionality for partnership and membership of institutions such as the EU, NATO, and the Council of Europe. Unfortunately, tackling global security is not the case for today's international system; it is now a case of a more realistic approach rather than an institutionalist approach. Many international institutions being praised for their relevance in promoting and establishing peace and security in the global system actually lead to contradictory results.

Keywords: International Institutions, Global Peace, Peacekeeping, Peace Enforcement

1.0 Introduction

An international organization has no unique definition. A broader meaning usually includes International governmental organizations (IGOs) and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The OECD Glossary of Statistical Terms[2] defines International organizations as "entities established by formal political agreements between their members that have the status of international treaties; their existence is recognized by law in their member countries; they are not treated as resident institutional units of the countries in which they are located". International Organizations play a major role in the Security Sector Governance (SSG), Reform (SSR), and therefore building integrity (BI). They provide expertise and advice; raise awareness on security topics; and finance capacity development trainings, programs, and projects on a multitude of vital issues, such as technical skills, security sector governance, oversight, and building integrity. IOs also play a central role in the process of norm and standard setting, and ensuring accountability and promoting the rule of law. Moreover, they establish communication channels between governments and societies, as well as between different nations, and other international entities and actors involved in the field of SSG and SSR. International organizations' involvement in the security sector reform field started to grow in the 1990s when they recognized that development efforts, especially in conflict and post-conflict scenarios, could not be successful in insecure environments. Security governance has come to be seen as a vital component of institution building, governance development, and reconstruction projects. Additionally, democratic oversight of the security sector assumed a central role in the conditionality for partnership and membership of institutions such as the EU, NATO, and the Council of Europe. Since then, the involvement of international organizations in SSR processes has grown to a flurry of overlapping activities and projects. This is especially true in

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[2]Organization for Economic Operation and Development (OECD), *Model Tax Convention on Income and Capital*, Condensed Version; 1997, Business and Economics.

conflict and post-conflict counties where different organizations compete for donor and space. A recent mapping study conducted by the Folke Bernadotte Academy illustrates this dilemma in

Ukraine.[3] Ukraine's example leads us to the conclusion that cooperation and coordination between international organizations and other actors working in the field of security sector reform is absolutely vital for building integrity and establishing effective democratic governance of the security sector.

1.1 Peace Enforcement

Peace enforcement is the use of military force to compel peace in a conflict, generally against the will of combatants. It generally requires more military force than peacekeeping operations. The United Nations, through its Security Council pursuant to Chapter VII of its charter, has the ability to authorize force to enforce resolutions and ceasefires that have already been created.[4] In the 1990s, the United States Army established this distinction between peace enforcement and peacekeeping.

Peace enforcement differs from peacekeeping, as peace enforcement activities are generally used to create peace from a broken ceasefire or to enforce a peace demanded by the United Nations.[5] Compared to peacekeeping, peace enforcement requires more military force and is thereby best done by heavily armed forces. However, it is generally unable to create lasting peace because it does nothing to address the underlying problems that have caused the conflict.[6]

Peacekeeping, a role the U.N. has played over the years, is relatively straightforward and, despite its difficulties, relatively easy. Peacekeeping activities involve monitoring and enforcing a cease-fire agreed to by two or more former combatants.[7] It proceeds in an atmosphere in which peace exists, and the former combatants minimally prefer peace to continued war. Peace-enforcement, as used by the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, entails the physical interposition of armed forces to separate ongoing combatants to create a cease-fire that does not exist. Boutros-Ghali, on the other hand, uses the term to refer to actions to keep a cease-fire from being violated or to reinstate a failed cease-fire.[8] This is a subtle difference, but it does imply the existence of some will for peace. The American version more realistically portrays another, far more difficult matter. By definition, in a situation in which peace enforcement is a potentially appropriate response, war and not peace describes the situation, and one or more of the combatants prefer it that way. This means that, unlike peacekeepers, peace enforcers are often not welcomed by one or either side(s). Rather, they are active fighters who must impose a cease-fire that is opposed by one or both combatants; in the process, the neutrality that distinguishes peacekeepers is most likely lost.[9]

2.0 United Nations

The United Nations is an international organization founded in 1945, and it currently consists of 193 Member States. The mission and work of the United Nations are guided by the purposes and

[3] Available online: https://fba.se/en/how-we-work/research-policy-analysis-and-development/publications/international-support-to-security-sector-reform-in-ukraine/Accessed 25th Feburary, 2022.
[4] M Lundgren, 'Conflict Management Capabilities of Peace-brokering International Organizations', 1945–2010: A new dataset". *Conflict Management and Peace Science*. (2016) **33** (2): 198–223. doi:10.1177/0738894215572757
[5] R. Kaplan, 'Princeton Encyclopedia of Self-determination. Princeton University. (2015-11-07.
[6] *Ibid*
[7] A J Bellamy, P D Williams, and S Griffith, *Understanding Peacekeeping*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010).
[8] Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-Keeping* (New York: United Nations, 1992) Challenges Project, *Meeting the Challenges of Peace Operations* (Stockholm: 2005), available at http://www.challengesforum.org. Accessed 24th September, 2024.
[9] Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, and Peace-Enforcement: The U.S. Role in the New International Order" (PDF). Accessed 3rd February, 2022.

principles contained in its founding Charter.[10] The UN system is made up of the UN itself and many affiliated programs, funds, and specialized agencies, all with their own membership, leadership, and budget. The programs and funds are financed through voluntary contributions.

The United Nations' central mission is to maintain international peace and security. The UN does this by working to prevent conflict; helping parties in conflict make peace; peacekeeping; and creating conditions to allow peace to hold and flourish. The UN also promotes sustainable development, protects human rights, and works toward the development of and respect for international law. In addition, the UN also coordinates humanitarian relief operations. Its overall mandate was to enhance UN contributions to the achievement of peace and security in West Africa and promote an integrated regional approach to addressing issues that impact stability in West Africa. It was recently merged with the Office of the Special Envoy for the Sahel (OSES) to form a single entity. The main UN bodies are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the UN Secretariat.

2.1 UN Security Council

The UN Security Council (UNSC) is the body with the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. Outlining the structure and function is an essential first step in determining the success of a product. It consists of 15 members, 5 of which are permanent and have veto power (the P5): the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, China, and France. These countries were considered the main military powers when the UN was founded, and their veto right would prevent them from going to war against each other, while creating a necessary balance when making decisions on security issues that would be collectively enforced.[11] This illustrates how the constellation itself was based on peace and security considerations, and there has, in fact, never been a direct physical war between the P5 since the UN's beginning. Despite a period of inaction during the Cold War, many UNSC resolutions have also been passed to support peace processes, resolve disputes, respond to illegitimate uses of force, and enforce sanctions in situations where peace and security have been threatened. This involvement ranges from Bosnia in 1993 to Afghanistan in 2001 and to its anti-poverty resolution in 2008.[12]

UNSC resolutions have been central to tackling conflict situations and have also demonstrated that extensive joint action can be taken to respond to crises, such as in the case of Iraq's occupation of Kuwait in 1990, where it condemned its actions and authorized states to "use all necessary means" to stop the occupation.[13] Such examples challenge the realist assumption that collective action is an inherent problem in international relations and the system of anarchy.

Nevertheless, the UNSC has attracted vast criticism for upholding procedures that impede robust action in important situations where international law has been violated, but the P5 disagree, such as in Syria[14], as well as for keeping an outdated permanent membership and for being undemocratic.[15] In the mentioned example of Iraq 1990, the agreed resolution authorized a US-led military operation, but UN

[10] United Nations at www.un.org. https://www.un.org/en/global-issues/peace-and-security Accessed 25th February 2022.
[11] L. Goodrich, 'The Maintenance of International Peace and Security'. *International Organization, 19*(3), 429-443 (1965).
[12] K. Mingst and M. Karns, The United Nations in the 21st Century. Westview Press: Boulder. P. 108 (2013)
[13] *Ibid.* p. 105
[14] P Nadir, 'How the UN Security Council failed Syria' [online]. The Interpreter. (2017) Available at: https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/how-un-security-council-failed-syria [Accessed 4th March 2022].

oversight was weak, and the autonomy of US action as well as the lack of inclusion of supportive states outside of the Council in the decision-making process is one example that points to the undemocratic structure of the Council as well as the continued importance of powerful states during interventions, rather than the UN itself.[16] Furthermore, Security Council vetoes have not always managed to stop nations from proceeding with their endeavors, which was the case with the US invasion of Iraq, 2003.[17] This shows that the individual interests of some states allow them to deviate from institutional constraints, pointing to flaws in the theory of liberal institutionalism that laid the basis for the UN. Such examples spark doubt about the credibility of the UN and the UNSC and disrupt the balance that the composition of the UNSC must uphold, which is an important obstacle to its success in maintaining peace and security.

2.2 How Does the UN Maintain International Peace and Security?

- **Preventive Diplomacy and Mediation**

The most effective way to diminish human suffering and the massive economic costs of conflicts and their aftermath is to prevent conflicts in the first place. The United Nations plays an important role in conflict prevention through diplomacy, good office, and mediation. Among the tools the Organization uses to bring peace are special envoys and political missions in the field. The main strategies to prevent disputes from escalating into conflict and recurrence are preventive diplomacy and disarmament. Preventive diplomacy refers to actions taken to prevent disputes from arising or escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of conflicts. It may take the form of mediation, conciliation, or negotiation.

- **Peacekeeping**

Peacekeeping is one of the most effective tools available to the UN to assist countries in navigating the difficult path from conflict to peace. Today's multidimensional peacekeeping operations are called upon not only to maintain peace and security, but also to facilitate political processes, protect civilians, and assist in the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of former combatants; support constitutional processes and the organization of elections; protect and promote human rights; and assist in restoring the rule of law and extending legitimate state authority. UN peacekeeping operations are a vital instrument employed by the international community to advance peace and security. The first UN peacekeeping mission was established in 1948, when the Security Council authorized the deployment of the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) to the Middle East to monitor the Armistice Agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbors.[18] Since then, more than 70 UN peacekeeping operations have been conducted around the world.

Over 72 years, UN peacekeeping has evolved to meet the demands of different conflicts and changing political landscapes. Born at a time when Cold War rivalries frequently paralyzed the Security Council, UN peacekeeping goals were primarily limited to maintaining ceasefires and stabilizing situations on the ground, so that political efforts could be made to resolve conflicts by peaceful means.[19] UN peacekeeping expanded in the 1990s, as the end of the Cold War created new opportunities to end civil wars through negotiated peace settlements. Many conflicts ended, either through direct UN mediation or through the

[15] T Weiss, and G. Keele, '*The Veto: Problems and Prospects* [online]. E-International Relations. (2014). Available at: https://www.e-ir.info/2014/03/27/the-veto-problems-and-prospects/ [Accessed 4th March 2022].
[16] J Ebegbulem, 'The Failure of Collective Security in the Post World Wars I and II International System'. (2011) *Transcience*, 2(2), 23-29.
[17] J Morris and N Sheeler, 'The Security Council's Crisis of Legitimacy and the Use of Force'. *International Politics*, (2004) 44, 214–231.
[18] S R Ratner, *The New UN Peacekeeping: Building Peace in Lands of Conflict after the Cold War*, New York: St Martin's Press, (1994).
[19] *Ibid*

efforts of others acting with UN support. The countries that were assisted included El Salvador, Guatemala, Namibia, Cambodia, Mozambique, Tajikistan, and Burundi. In the late 1990s, continuing crises led to new operations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Central African Republic, Timor-Leste, Sierra Leone, and Kosovo.[20]

Today's conflicts are less numerous but deeply rooted. For example, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Darfur, and South Sudan today, are in a second or third wave of conflict. Moreover, many are complicated by the regional dimensions that are key to their solution. In fact, some two-thirds of peacekeeping personnel are currently deployed during ongoing conflict, where peace agreements are shaky or absent.[21] Conflicts today are also increasingly intense, involving determined armed groups with access to sophisticated armaments and techniques. The nature of conflict has also changed over the years. UN peacekeeping, originally developed as a means of resolving interstate conflict, has been increasingly applied over time to intrastate conflicts and civil wars. Although the military remains the backbone of most peacekeeping operations, today's peacekeepers perform a variety of complex tasks, from helping to build sustainable institutions of governance, through human rights monitoring and security sector reform, to the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of former combatants, and defining.

- **Peace building**

United Nations peace building activities are aimed at assisting countries emerging from conflict, reducing the risk of relapse into conflict, and laying the foundation for sustainable peace and development. Within the United Nations, peace building refers to efforts to assist countries and regions in their transitions from war to peace and to reduce a country's risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities for conflict management and laying the foundation for sustainable peace and development.[22] Building lasting peace in war-torn societies is a daunting challenge for peace and security. Peace building requires sustained international support for national efforts across a broad range of activities. For instance, peace builders monitor ceasefires, demobilize and reintegrate combatants, assist the return of refugees and displaced persons, organize and monitor elections of a new government, support justice and security sector reforms, enhance human rights protections, and foster reconciliation after past atrocities.

Peace building involves action by a wide array of UN organizations, including the World Bank, regional economic commissions, NGOs, and local citizen groups. Peace building has played a prominent role in UN operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Kosovo, Liberia, and Mozambique, as well as more recently in Afghanistan, Burundi, Iraq, Sierra Leone, and Timor-Leste. An example of interstate peace building is the UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Recognizing that the UN must better anticipate and respond to the challenges of peace building, the 2005 World Summit approved the creation of a new Peacebuilding Commission. In resolutions establishing the Peacebuilding Commission, resolution 60/180 and resolution 1645, the UN General Assembly and the Security Council mandated it to bring together all relevant actors to advise on the proposed integrated strategies for post-conflict peace building and recovery; marshal resources and help ensure predictable financing for these activities; and develop best practices in collaboration with political, security, humanitarian and development actors. The resolutions also identify the need for the Commission to

[20] B Jones, 'Evolving Models of Peacekeeping: Policy Implications & Responses' (New York: Center on International Cooperation, 2004).

[21] W J Durch & M L England, 'The Purposes of Peace Operations,' in *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations* 2009 (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2009)

[22] A James, *Peacekeeping in International Politics* (New York: St Martin's, 1990).

extend the period of international attention to post-conflict countries and, where necessary, highlight any gaps that threaten to undermine peacebuilding. The General Assembly and Security Council resolutions establishing the Peacebuilding Commission also provided for the establishment of a Peacebuilding Fund and a Peacebuilding Support Office.

- **Countering Terrorism**

The United Nations is increasingly being called upon to coordinate the global fight against terrorism.[23] Eighteen universal instruments against international terrorism have been elaborated within the framework of the United Nations system relating to specific terrorist activities. In September 2006, UN Member States adopted the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy.[24] For the first time, Member States have agreed on a common strategic and operational framework against terrorism.

- **Disarmament**

The General Assembly and other bodies of the United Nations, supported by the Office for Disarmament Affairs, work to advance international peace and security by pursuing the elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and the regulation of conventional weapons. Complementing preventive diplomacy is preventive disarmament, which seeks to reduce the number of small arms in conflict-prone regions. In El Salvador, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Timor-Leste, and elsewhere, this has entailed demobilizing combat forces, as well as collecting and destroying their weapons as part of an overall peace agreement. Destroying yesterday's weapons prevents their use in tomorrow's wars.

- **Preventive Diplomacy**

Early warning systems are an essential component of prevention, and the United Nations carefully monitors developments around the world to detect threats to international peace and security, thereby enabling the Security Council and the Secretary-General to carry out preventive measures. Envoys and special representatives of the Secretary-General are engaged in mediation and preventive diplomacy throughout the world. In some trouble spots, the mere presence of a skilled envoy can prevent the escalation of tension. These envoys often cooperate with regional organizations.

- **Preventing Genocide and Preventing Rights to Protect**

Prevention requires the apportionment of responsibility and the promotion of collaboration between concerned States and the international community. The duty to prevent and halt genocide and mass atrocities lies primarily with the state; however, the international community has a role that cannot be blocked by the invocation of sovereignty. Sovereignty no longer exclusively protects States from foreign interference; it is a charge of responsibility where States are accountable for the welfare of their people. This principle is enshrined in article 1 of the Genocide Convention and is embodied in the principle of "sovereignty as responsibility" and in the concept of Responsibility to Protect. The Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide acts as a catalyst to raise awareness of the causes and dynamics of genocide, to alert relevant actors when there is a risk of genocide and to advocate and mobilize for appropriate action. The Special Adviser on the Responsibility to Protect leads the conceptual, political, institutional and operational development of the Responsibility to Protect. The efforts of the UN Office include alerting

[23] One thousand, nine hundred and ninety seven International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings 1997. Creates a regime of universal jurisdiction over the unlawful and intentional use of explosives and other lethal devices.

[24] One thousand, nine hundred and ninety nine International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. Provides identification, freezing, and seizure of funds allocated for terrorist activities.

relevant actors to the risk of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity and enhancing the capacity of the UN to prevent these crimes, including their incitement.

3.0 World Peace Council (WPC)

The World Peace Council (WPC) is an international communist front organization that advocates universal disarmament, sovereignty, and independence and peaceful coexistence and campaigns against imperialism, weapons of mass destruction, and all forms of discrimination.[25] It was founded in 1950, emerging from the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to promote peace campaigns around the world in order to oppose "warmongering" by the United States.[26] Throughout the Cold War, it was largely funded and controlled by the Soviet Union and refrained from criticizing or even defending the Soviet Union's involvement in numerous conflicts.[27] These factors led to a decline in its influence over the peace movement in noncommunist countries.[28] Its first president was French physicist and activist Frédéric Joliot-Curie. It was based in Helsinki, Finland, from 1968 to 1999 and has since been based in Athens, Greece.

The WPC currently states its goals as follows: actions against imperialist wars and occupation of sovereign countries and nations; prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction; abolition of foreign military bases; universal disarmament under effective international control; elimination of all forms of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination; respect for the right of peoples to sovereignty and independence, essential for the establishment of peace; non-interference in the internal affairs of nations; peaceful coexistence between states with different political systems; and negotiations instead of use of force in the settlement of differences between nations.[29]

4.0 European Union

The EU entered the world of crisis management in 2003 when it launched its first police mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina and, a few months later, its first military operations in Macedonia and then in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). This came after a five-year period of conceptualization of what was then called the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), which aimed to give the EU autonomous capacity in the broad area of crisis management. The ESDP was partly an answer to the EU's inability to respond meaningfully to the Yugoslav conflicts and to implement the ambitious goal of an EU Common Foreign Policy (defined in the 1992 Maastricht Treaty).

Over the last 19 years, more than 30 EU operations have reflected and shaped a certain "EU approach" to respond to crises that is distinct from other international organizations' approaches. However, the EU's

[25] 'Information letter about the World Peace Council'. World Peace Council. 7 January 2008. Archived from the original on December 3, 2009. Accessed September 24, 2009.
[26] S Rainer, '100 years of Peace Making: A History of the International Peace Bureau and Other International Peace Movement Organizations and Networks', Pax förlag, International Peace Bureau, January 1991.
[27] R. E. Kanet (ed.) *The Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
[28] C. John, *Communist Propaganda Techniques* (New York: Frederick A. Prager, 1964.
[29] J. G. Barlow, Moscow and the Peace Offensive, 1982.

approach also features typical crisis management activities and is therefore in many ways similar to the United Nations' crisis management style.[30] The EU and the UN sometimes diverge in policy and may find themselves competing crisis management actors. Differences in capacities (financial and military), structure (membership and mandate), and political culture can also create asymmetries and hamper full reciprocity between the two actors.[31] In the field over the last 20 years, UN operations have also suffered from a quasi-absence of European states as troop contributors. EU member states significantly finance UN peacekeeping and have operated a comeback to UN operations in Mali, yet they have largely preferred other institutional frameworks for their crisis management activities.

4.1 The Role of the EU in Peace and Security

Since the creation of Europe, security and defense concerns have been both of primary importance and highly contentious. Early attempts to establish a defense union were largely unsuccessful. New security threats emerging at the end of the Cold War provoked renewed interest in security and defense issues. Three determinants shape the role and influence of the EU as a global regional actor in peace and security:

- Capacity (institutional, material, human and operational, and financial) to undertake missions;
- Willingness to devote resources to security and defense purposes, which is mainly driven by member states' priorities; and
- Acceptance (internal and external) of the EU as a leading actor in peace and security.

However, looking exclusively inwards is insufficient. For the EU to establish itself as a globally recognized leader, its acceptance by external actors and international organizations is essential. Effectiveness and consistency are highly relevant in this context, as poor performance will cast doubt on the EU's capacity and willingness and will negatively impact both external and internal acceptance. Given the complexity of the EU context and framework for external action, institutional reforms and advancements must be promoted, but much remains to be done to make the EU a coherent, capable, willing and accepted global player.

Nonetheless, it is possible that with the increased promotion of common values by EU institutions and dialog and coordination among member states, EU decision-making processes can become more expedient. Thus, for now, the EU should focus on developing mechanisms to help it achieve a faster turnaround time in decision making.

5.0 African Union (AU)

The African Union is a continental union consisting of 55 member states located on the continent of Africa. The AU was announced in the Sirte Declaration in Sirte, Libya, on September 9, 1999, calling for the establishment of the African Union. The bloc was founded on May 26, 2001, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and was launched on July 9, 2002, in Durban, South Africa.[32] The intention of the AU was to replace the organization (OAU), which was established on May 25, 1963. The African Union (AU) was founded out of the need to foster unity among African states and peoples, but over the years, its major

[30] G. Giovanni, D. Helly, and D. Keohane (eds.). *European Security and Defense Policy. The First Ten Years (1999–2009)*. Paris: *EUISS. See also Bishop, Sven, & Whitman (eds.). 2012*. The Routledge Handbook of European Security. *London: Rutledge*. 2009.

[31] Art. 2. Joint Declaration on European Defense. 1998. Joint Declaration at the British-French Summit, December 4. Saint-Malo.

[32] T Mbeki 'Launch of the African Union, 9 July 2002: Address by the chairperson of the AU, President Thabo Mbeki' (9 July 2002). ABSA Stadium, Durban, South Africa: Africa-union.org. Archived from the original on May 3, 2009. Accessed February 8th, 2024.

function has been to cater to the security needs of citizens on the continent.[33] While the AU has struggled to live up to this mandate in some quarters, in other quarters, the organization has done well.

The African Union leads policy making and implementation of decisions aimed at ensuring that Africa achieves Aspiration 4 of Agenda 2063, which calls for "A peaceful and secure Africa" through the use of mechanisms that promote a dialog-centered approach to conflict prevention and resolution of conflicts and establishes a culture of peace and tolerance nurtured in Africa's children and youth through peace education. The Agenda 2063 flagship initiative "Silenced Guns by 2020" is at the core of activities being implemented to ensure Africa becomes a more peaceful and stable continent. The key AU Organ for promoting peace and security on the continent is the Peace and Security Council (PSC), which is the standing decision-making organ of the AU for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflicts. This collective security and early warning arrangement is intended to facilitate timely and efficient responses to conflict and crises in Africa. It is also a key pillar of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), a framework for promoting peace, security, and stability in Africa.

Africa continues to suffer from outbreaks of conflict, with evidence suggesting an increasing number of violent armed incidents. The establishment of the African Union (AU) heralded (or so it was hoped) a new era in the management and resolution of African conflicts. Since 2003, the AU has mandated a number of peace support operations, including the African Union Mission in Burundi (AMIB), the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS), and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), to manage conflicts on the continent.[34] In more recent times, the organization has also authorized three operations dealing with non-state armed groups namely the Lord's Resistance Arm (LRA), Boko Haram and the Sahel Region Jihadists.

Conflict remains rife in Africa.[35] Since independence, many African countries have been ravaged by war. In many of these cases, the chief perpetrators of violence were leaders against their own citizens. Africa's wars have cost the continent dearly, in many respects. Whilst there are the obvious direct costs of armed violence, medical costs, military expenditure, the destruction of infrastructure, and the care for displaced people which divert money from more productive uses; the indirect costs from lost opportunities are even higher.[36] More people, especially women and children, die from the fallout of conflict than from the conflict itself. In concrete terms, for example, it has been estimated that between 1998 and 2018, violent conflicts in African resulted in the death of as many as 5 million young children 3 million of whom are infants.

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[33] Manby, Bronwen 'The African Union, NEPAD, and Human Rights: The Missing Agend'. *Human Rights Quarterly*. (November 2004). **26** (4): 983–1027.

[34] Sulaiman, Abubkar, Agoha & Ifeanyi Chuckwu). 'South Sudan Negotiated Independence: A Critique of African Union's Role'. *European Journal of Sustainable Development*. (1 October 2013) **2** (3): 145–154.

[35] V Ferim. African Solutions to African Problems*: The Fault Line in Conflict Prevention in Africa*. In: Michie, M., Lukhele-Olorunju. & Akpor, O. (Eds.). The African Union Ten Years After Solving African (2013) p. 143—156. Problems with Pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance. Pretoria: The Africa Institute of South Africa.

[36] D Hillier, 'Africa's Missing Billions: International Arms Flows and the Cost of Conflict' .IANSA, Oxfam International and Safer world Briefing Paper, 107, 1—38. URL: https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/123908/bp-africas-missing-billions-111007-en.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.Accessed 3rd March, 2024.

African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS), and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), to manage conflicts on the continent. In recent times, the organization has also authorized three operations dealing with non-state armed groups, namely the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), Boko Haram, and the Sahel Region Jihadists. While some peace support missions recorded successes in meeting their mandates, generally, all of them faced or were facing many challenges, including funding and logistical inadequacies. At the same time, the AU's engagement in peacekeeping in Africa has occasioned opportunities for the organization including: increasing its capacity building in the area of conflict prevention, management, and resolution; adopting initiatives like "Silencing the Guns" aimed at lessening the outbreak of conflicts; and establishing its own funding mechanisms on how to support its mandated and authorized peace support missions, among others.[37]

Partly as a result of the conflict landscape in Africa, the African leadership decided to transform the Organization of African Unity (OAU) that had been established in 1963, into the African Union (AU). The Charter of the OAU established the principle of non- interference in the internal affairs of member states which meant that when internal conflicts arose, the organization could not react. The OAU's limited ability to provide a regional response (especially in preventing, managing and resolving internal conflicts) to the many problems facing the African continent, resulted in questions being raised about its sustainability in the circumstances of contemporary Africa.[38]
Since 2003, nine AU-mandated peace support operations have been deployed including: the African Union Mission in Burundi (AMIB, 2003—2004), the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS, 2004—2007), and the African Union Mission Support to the Elections in Comoros.

(AMISEC, 2006), African Union Electoral and Security Assistance Mission to the Comoros (MAES, 2007), African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM, 2007 today), the African-led International Support Mission in Mali (AFISMA, 2013), and the African led International Support Mission in the Central African Republic (MISCA, 2013 & 2014). While some have been declared successful (AMISEC and AMIB), AFISMA and MISCA were transformed into UN missions, while AMIS became a hybrid mission with the UN.

Currently, the AU is singly running only one peace support mission — AMISOM, and partners with the UN to run the United Nations — African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID). In addition, the AU has authorized the establishment of three missions namely: the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) against Boko Haram; the G5 Sahel Joint Force and the AU-led Regional Cooperation Initiative for the elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army (RCI-LRA). Generally, the AU mandated and authorized peace missions have faced similar challenges that the author highlights.

5.1 Achievements of the AU

Firstly, the AU has established a track record on how to conduct peace-support peacekeeping operations. Under the APSA[39] in general, since 2004 the PSC has sent or authorized the deployment of

[37] *Ibid*
[38] *Ibid*
[39] APSA as enshrined in the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the AU (2004), embraces an expanded and comprehensive agenda for peace and security that includes (direct and structural) conflict prevention, early warning and preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace building, the encouragement and promotion of democratic practices, as well as intervention and humanitarian action and disaster management. APSA is structured around the following pillars: African Union Commission (AUC), the Peace and Security Council (PSC), the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), the African Standby Force (ASF) /the Military Staff Committee (MSC), the Panel of the Wise, the Peace Fund, the regional economic

over 64,000 uniformed peacekeepers (army and police) to missions on the continent.[40] Thus the organization is well-equipped to handle any emerging situation requiring peacekeeper intervention.

Second, the conflict landscape in Africa has changed. It has been observed that "since 2001, the scope, scale and nature of armed conflict and violence in Africa has undergone change".[41] Large-scale wars have declined in proportion to population growth. Interstate wars that were typical in the 1970s and 1980s (for example, the border conflicts between

Ethiopia and Somalia; Algeria and Morocco; Somalia and Kenya; Chad and Libya; Uganda and Tanzania; and Eritrea and Ethiopia among others) have now become a thing of the past. Moreover, formal declarations of an end to hostilities between some of these conflicting states have been achieved. For example, in 2018, Eritrea and Ethiopia formally declared an end to their 1998 border dispute.

Third, one of the flagship projects under the AU's Agenda 2063 is "Silencing the Guns by 2020" which aims at ending all wars, civil conflicts, gender-based violence, violent conflicts, and genocide on the continent by the year 2020.[42] The project was adopted by the 21st Ordinary Session of the Heads of State and Government of the AU in May 2013 as part of the 50th Anniversary Solemn Declaration.[43] Silencing the Guns in Africa by 2020 is the collective responsibility of African states that should ultimately culminate in states that can enhance dignity, prosperity, and security in national, regional, and continental domains.[44]

6.0 Conclusion and Recommendations

Historically, developed countries have been important troop-contributing nations to peacekeeping operations. These powers have become increasingly averse to the risks of peacekeeping, and as a result, developing countries now provide the majority of UN peacekeepers (troops and police). Although the greatest need for peacekeeping is often experienced in developing countries, it is also true that developing countries are often less equipped to respond to these needs. Strengthening regional peacekeeping capacity is one approach that is favored but increased burden sharing may also be required if peacekeeping is to deal effectively with some of the difficult problems it is asked to tackle.

The UN is indeed the sum of its parts, composed of member states with their individual interests, but state interaction in this institutional context continues to shape states' evolving interests, enabling policy change that corresponds with its task of maintaining peace and security.

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communities/ regional mechanisms (RECs/RMs), the Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development (PCRD) policy; and the Common African Defense and Security policy.

[40] D. Rennie, 'Peace Operations in Africa// Council on Foreign Relations'. May 15, 2015. URL: https://www.cfr.org/ backgrounder/peace-operations-Africa Accessed: 4th March, 2022.

[41] The Africa Governance Report: Promoting Union Shared Values. 2019. P. 61. African Union. URL: https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/36843-doc-agareportenglishonline.pdf (Accessed: 3rd March 2022)

[42] The others are integrate High Speed Train Network; African Commodities Strategy; African Continental Free Trade Area; The African Passport and Free Movement of People; The Great Inga Dam Project; Single African Air Transport Market; African Economic Forum; African Financial Institutions; Pan African E-Network; African Outer Space Strategy; African Virtual and E-University; Cyber Security; and Great African Museum.

[43] 50th Anniversary Solemn Declaration. African Union; 2013. URL: https://au.int/sites/default/files/ documents/36205-doc-50th_anniversary_solemn_ declaration_en.pdf (Accessed: 8th August 2024)

[44] G M Khadiagala, 'Silencing the Guns: Strengthening Governance to Prevent, Manage and Resolve Conflict in Africa'. New York: International Peace Institute. (2015). p 1—32.

Although UN forces have become increasingly active in areas traditionally reserved for states, allegations of misconduct have increased. Yet, lacuna exists in the regulation of UN-sponsored PSO and peace enforcement forces. The UN must proactively address this lack of regulation to maintain peace, the spirit of the UN Charter, and the mission of promoting the rule of law.

These measures, which have been declared "steps in the right direction" should provide fertile ground to lessen conflict on the continent. Lastly, the reforms (especially financial) that are underway at the AU should result in better management of conflicts on the continent.

Finally, it is recommended that the UN should be criticized for its inability to act where needed and for its inability to stop action deemed damaging to peace and security. However, it has the ability to adapt and reinvent itself in line with emerging global challenges that should not be undermined. Such adaptability gives constructivism the right to understand that processes affect interests, which thereby transform structure. This understanding explains how the UNCS has been able to legitimize certain norms and practices, even when they intrude into the realm of national sovereignty.

Accordingly, to ensure stricter compliance with the law, a permanent PSO and peace enforcement ombudsperson should be created to ensure compliance with the law. The mandate of the UNMIK ombudsperson allowed wide discretion to investigate alleged abuse. A permanent ombudsperson must also be free from political influence and able to compel the state and UN compliance with enforceable and binding decisions. This permanent ombudsperson should be given the authority to promote and protect the rights, freedoms, and protections provided by IHL of all individuals and legal entities operating in areas of UN peace support and peace enforcement operations without interference from member states.

In addition to the ombudsperson, the UN should establish a permanent claims commission to work with the ombudsperson to compensate victims. While this commission may be based on state referral or consent, it would be valuable in ensuring the rights of victims by establishing clear procedures for victims' referral if the state government does not have such capacity.