

**THE ROLE OF UNITED NATIONS IN INTRASTATE CONFLICT
MANAGEMENT DURING THE POST COLD WAR PERIOD**

BY

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Declaration

I Kirui Mary Cherono, hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of Post Graduate Diploma in any other University.

M Kirui
Kirui Mary Cherono

9/11/2009
Date

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University supervisor.

Emma Oketch
Emma Oketch

10/11/2009
Date

Dedication

To

My husband and children who supported me at the time I was studying and when writing this Research Project.

Acknowledgement

My humble gratitude goes to the supervisor of my project Ms Emma Oketch who helped steer the vision of my work in her professional capacity. I would like to thank her most sincerely for her dedication, inspiration and encouragement in making sure that this work conforms to the required standards.

I thank my husband Paul for his unwavering moral support throughout my academic efforts. I would not forget to thank my son Peter who never got tired of editing mum's work despite being busy as a student too.

Finally, I am grateful to the top management of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kenya for having fully sponsored me to pursue this course. Many thanks to the members of staff of Foreign Service Institute who facilitated my sponsorship.

Abstract

This study examines the whole of United Nations in intrastate conflict management in the post Cold War period. It is necessitated by the following factors: Arising incidences of intrastate war being threats to International Peace and Security, the marginalization of Africa which is the theatre of many of these intrastate conflicts. The study also looks at the historical development of the League of Nations and the United Nations. It then examines the role of the UN in intrastate conflict in Africa using the examples of Somali, Sierra Leone and Rwanda in particular.

The study reaches the following conclusions and recommendations:

Conclusions

The study found out that lack of participation by all stakeholders leads to unsuccessful conflict management. In the case of Somalia, UNITAF and UNOSOM applied pure hard power and this did not help in the intermediary efforts. This made conflict management in Somalia difficult and as a result, the conflict has been prolonged.

Participation by all stakeholders leads to successful conflict management. The Sierra Leone was successful because all the stakeholders participated. The government of Sierra Leone together with RUF allowed the UN to mediate in the political problems that country was going through. All the stakeholders worked together to ensure that the Lome Peace Accord was signed thus leading to restoration of peace in the country. This brought an end to the civil war that took place in 1991–1999.

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Chapter 1

The United Nations in the post Cold War era

Introduction

The United Nations is an organization of independent states which was formed in 1945 with an objective as stipulated by Article 1 of chapter 1 of the United Nations Charter to ensure 'the maintenance of international peace and security and disputes likely to endanger the international stability'. The United Nations was formed after the Second World War and its main mission was to outlaw war as a means of international relations. Immediately after the formation of United Nations, a new type of war set in, the "Cold War" that was characterized by superpower rivalry between two main protagonists, the United States of America (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR). The rivalry divided the world into the two blocks, the West and the East. The West was led by the USA and the East was led by the USSR. The two superpowers had different political ideologies; US- was capitalist, and USSR- communism. To expand the spheres of influence in International politics the two sides were in competition to win as many allies as possible over the other. This resulted in unprecedented arms race in an endeavor to balance power.

The rivalry further saw indigent armed confrontations in their satellite states as "proxy wars", seen prominently in third world countries as they rebelled against colonial powers in demand for independence. The protagonists propagated their different political ideologists to the freedom fighters resulting in the proliferation of armed conflicts throughout Africa, Latin America and Asia. Their differences were inevitably carried into the UN where the protagonists were permanent members of the Security Council (SC), the organ responsible for the maintenance of peace and security in the world.

By 1989, the Soviet Union crumbled paving way to the birth of new states and further expansion of the UN membership. The ideological divide also crumbled and the Cold War between the West and the East came to an end. This was a remarkable change in the world order. The world became a unipolar system with the USA as the only superpower. The proxy wars between the superpowers in the third world states were abandoned abruptly and capacity of most of these states to continue waging wars against neighbouring states dwindled. Conflicts changed from interstate to intrastate and the state became an internally contested entity by communities within it.

In the post Cold War era, the UN has shown more presence in the international system in the realm of peace and security. There has been renewed cooperation between the USA and Russia in the Security Council that has seen no “vetoes” in the resolutions geared towards maintaining peace and security in the international system.

Internal conflicts are one of the major problems that African countries have had to contend with since independence. Conflicts within the continent have continually weakened and reduced African countries capacity to achieve their development agenda and their ability to respond to natural calamities and disasters.

Following the end of Cold War, there was optimism that there would be new era of peace and general stability in Africa. However Africa still faces the monumental challenge of attempting to hold in check the forces that are wrecking havoc on the continent. Effective conflict analysis is one small step towards an Africa, which can live up to its full potential of peace and security.

Perpetual internal conflict in particular poses a threat not only to the very existence of the African states but also endangers international peace and security. Most intrastate conflicts have taken the form of identity and ethnic conflict in the emerging post Cold War period and the main challenge facing the African continent is how to manage these conflicts.

The post Cold War conflicts in Africa are intrastate in character and are guided by several factors. These include struggle for reform and transformation of political system, ethnic and religious competition, struggle to redefine power sharing mechanism, dispute over land boundaries between communities among others.

These have seen several attempts to tackle the problem using various peaceful methods like mediation, negotiation and conciliation, however little has been realized. This has necessitated the use of peacekeeping to manage both intrastate and interstate conflict. In the recent years there has been the proliferation of the UN peacekeeping which has played a major role in ending internal conflict in Africa.

The aim of this study is to investigate the role of United Nations in the Management of internal conflict in Africa during the post Cold War period.

Statement of the Research Problem

Africa as a continent has been affected by intrastate conflicts that led to civil wars, genocide, ethnic cleansing and this affected countries like Sierra Leone, Liberia, Somalia, Rwanda, Angola, Burundi, Sudan etc. Africa has for many years and more so during the post Cold War period felt marginalized by the United Nations when it comes to the maintenance of peace and security. Somalia perhaps comprises one the saddest and classical stories involving United Nations failure of management of conflict in Africa.

Since independence on July 1, 1960 from Italy, Somalia never accepted its externally imposed border and for decades unsuccessfully pursued the vision of a “Greater Somalia”. In an aim to achieve this expansionist policy, Somalia was involved in skirmishes with neighbouring Kenya from the mid 1960 to early 1970s in the Shifta War. The desire of the Somali to further its interests abroad made it support the Shifta secessionist War. In pursuit of the same policies it attacked Ethiopia in the War of Ogaden scrubland where it captured most of it by late 1977 “but Ethiopia, aided by Cuba and the USSR, reasserted control over the region in the early 1978, as her army suffered heavy losses”¹

The concept of conflict management in Africa has become less meaningful in the 21st century both in theory and practice. The complexity of peacekeeping operations in the immediate past and the challenges facing the operations currently make it worthwhile for the scholars and practitioners to study the situation critically with the view of finding better ways of handling the emerging challenges in the post Cold War period.

The commitment gap in terms of political will between undertakings of state in the Security Council Resolution and resources they are willing to devote remains a problem. Lack of

¹Lee, R. “The History Guy: Ethiopia – Somalia Wars and Conflicts”<http://www>, accessed on 2nd August, 2009

political will in ending conflict, interest of actors in conflict, economic constraints are some of the emerging challenges affecting the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations.

This research will therefore investigate the role of United Nations in intrastate conflict management in the post Cold War period. Threats to national security and subsequently to international security have shifted from interstate to intrastate and raise the issue of whether the UN security mandate in conflict management and maintenance of international peace and security as formulated in 1945 is effectively done.

The research therefore analyses the mandate vested on the UN to maintain international peace and security in its Charter of 1945 and its applicability in the new post Cold War world order.

Objectives of the study

The main objectives of the study will be:

1. To address the role of UN in conflict management in the post Cold War period and evaluate its security mandate.
2. The study broadly aims at examining the contribution of UN in conflict management.
3. The study will take a critical look at the role played by UN in the management of intrastate conflict.

Justification of the Study

Research plays an important role in society. The major role of research is knowledge generation. Knowledge is generated as researchers ask questions, identify problems and investigate them to seek solutions and possible answers.

This study therefore contributes to the better understanding of the role of the United Nations in the management of intrastate conflict in the post Cold War period. It contributes knowledge and adds to the literature on conflict management. In addition the study will sensitize the government and other persons in security about the role of United Nations in maintaining peace in Africa and the world at large.

The study therefore hopes to provide some insight on the unique problem of internal conflict and also help to fill the knowledge gap in the theory of collective security and conflict management in relation to internal conflict in Africa.

The Somali conflict for example has not left room for an expedited and successful mediation process, owing to the internal structure and lack of a defined state structure in Somalia. This study seeks to provide critical insight to the intermediary role of the UN with an aim of achieving sustainable peace in Africa and the world at large.

The UN, intergovernmental organizations like IGAD, regional organizations e.g. AU, Sub Regional Organizations e.g. EAC, ECOWAS, SADC should find the results of this study of major interest in their endeavors to manage conflict.

Academic Justification

Conwell asserts that conflict is not the only cause of Sub-Saharan Africa's current plight, but it surely counts among the principle ones². It is a principle factor, considering the nature of conflicts found within the Horn of Africa and the Great lakes conflict system. Often considered as facing "the greatest challenges to peace and stability", the African Continent has consequently seen ten high-intensity conflicts in the past twenty five years, suffering casualties which range between 3,800,000 and 6,800,000 people, and an astounding 155 million people directly or indirectly affected by war. This is well expounded by Porto. This kind of plight has elicited in time the attention of the international community especially intergovernmental organizations like UN, EU, and AU, and also sub-regional organizations and big powers. On the other hand, intervention efforts have been frustrated owing to the re-conceptualized dimensions of conflict in the zones. Intermediary efforts have had to contend with what Holsti calls conflict of the kind, conflicts within which communities and identities have adopted the mystique of statehood as the ultimate and final political format.³ Because of these very problems, official intermediary players have to recognize which conflicts have taken identity political situations. Kaldor considers this inevitable in contexts generally characterized by the phenomenon of the weakening of state, and in some extreme cases its disintegration, which often leads to the erosion of the monopoly of legitimate organized

² See Richard Cornwell, "where to from Here?", in Jeremy Lind and Kathryn Sturman(eds), *Scarcity & Surfeit. The ecology of Africa's Conflicts*. (Pretoria: institute for security studies.2002). p. 357

³ K.J.Holsti, *The State, War, and the State of War*, Cambridge Studies in International Relations, (Cambridge University Press,1996).pp.16-18.

violence.⁴ It is in this light that Zartman acknowledges the phenomenon of a collapsed or failed state, and in particular Somalia, which has defied a good number of peace efforts.⁵

In reality to this phenomenon especially so in internal conflicts and the failure of intermediary efforts, there is need for the requirement of an articulated framework within which identification and investigation of the gaps in a mediation process, an overarching plan that provides for sustainable peacemaking within such protracted conflicts as Somalia.

Samuel Huntington is correct when he says that material success makes a culture and ideology attractive and that decreases in economic and military success lead to self doubt and crises of identity.⁶ He is quite wrong when he argues that soft power is power only when it rests on a foundation of hard power. At this point lies the failure or gap in the mediation processes of protracted conflicts like Somalia, based on the assumption that soft-power-mediated processes should be nourished on hard power. This is a gap of lack of credibility, normatively, of small states' roles as track-one diplomacy actors in successful mediation processes, and especially so within their only capability of soft power. This study therefore seeks to convert this false assumption.

Policy/Practical Justification

Failure by UN to manage conflict in Africa has led to underdevelopment and this has resulted in high poverty rate in Africa. It has also led to continuous conflict in Africa. For example, the Somalia conflict has taken so long to be resolved so as to enable the people of Somalia enjoy the peace they once had. More research has to be done in to find out why the UN and the

⁴ M.Kaldor., *New and Old Wars. Organised violence in a Global Era*. Cambridge & Oxford: Polity Press. 1999).p.6

⁵ See I. William Zartman. Pp.5-10

⁶ Samuel P.Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, (New York:Simon and Schuter, 1996.p.91.

International Community have always failed prevent or manage conflicts in Africa. It may be concluded that the UN has marginalized Africa when it comes to conflict management. The west who has a lot of say in the operations of the UN and also they have specific interests in Africa. They are not interested in solving Africa's problems because as Africa is battling with her problems, the West is busy exploiting the opportunity for its own welfare. The west interferes a lot in policies of African states. For example, in the early 1990s, African states were forced by the developed world to introduce Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) that saw many countries change their policies to suit the demands of the west. The adjustments had strings attached because Africa was told that without the adjustments, they would not get Financial Aid. Kenya for example, introduced cost sharing in various sectors such as Health and Education and this made life difficult for the common people who found it almost impossible to access basic needs like health services.

Literature Review

Introduction

The UN was created to purposely maintain international peace and security and to take collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats. Since its creation, the UN has been involved in preventing disputes from escalating into war and helps restore peace and when conflict breaks out. Over the decades, the UN has helped to contain and end numerous conflicts, in many cases through deployment of peace keeping operations. By so doing the UN has been able to manage conflict.

The operations in Somalia dealt with a devastating famine and brutal multi-sided war. The response of the UN in the Somali conflict was quite extensive, involving peacekeeping, peace-enforcement and peace-building. There was the expansion of the mandate of the UNOSOM I

and II where the US sanctioned the Led Unified Task Force (UNITAF) all at one time. The mandate in the operations were broadened when UNITAF handed over operational responsibility to UNOSOM II, but the power to implement it was not provided and that is why it did not attain success. The lack of political will and the international community's will and resources to intervene in the failed state led to the failure of the mission in Somalia.⁷ The literature review will be divided into the following theme; UN system, conflict management in Africa and peacekeeping.

The United Nations System

The United Nations is an organization of independent states which was formed in 1945. The mandate of the UN is to maintain international peace and security. The UN takes effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace in the world. The UN has a mandate to suppress any acts of aggression or other breaches of peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of peace. It has a mandate to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other measures to strengthen universal peace.

The other mandate of the UN is to achieve international cooperation in solving problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect

⁷ UN, *The United Nations in Somalia, 1992-1996* (New York Department of public information) p.85-87

for human rights. It is a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends⁸.

In the post Cold War period, many African states have faced challenges caused by intrastate conflict. These conflicts are as a result of struggle for reforms, ethnic and religious competition, struggle to redefine power sharing mechanism, dispute over land boundaries between communities. These escalate into civil war because of lack of intervention by the UN. The failure to intervene by the UN is aggravated by the fact that strong states like the USA, United Kingdom, France etc who are permanent members of the UN lack interest in Africa's problems. This has led to Africa's marginalization because UN permanent member states have interest in Africa's vast natural resources.

The exploitation of natural resources such as rubber, copper, zinc, gold etc in the Democratic Republic of Congo has directly or indirectly shaped the historical experiences of the country and its relations with the western world for the past hundred years.⁹ The country has for many years faced political instability that has made the people of Congo suffer while the international community is just watching. Africa's marginalization is not happening behind anybody's back. The marginalization of Africa gives an opportunity to west/developed countries to mine and export Democratic Republic of Congo's natural resources as the country is fighting and tearing each other apart.

Greed among African leaders immensely contributes towards Africa's marginalization. African leaders are very greedy and in most cases want to reward their family members,

⁸ UN Charter, *Chapter 1, Article 1*

⁹ Malan, Mark & Porto Joao G. *Challenges of Peace Implementation*, (The Institute for Security Studies Brooklyn Square Pretoria, South Africa 2004) p. 43

friends and political cronies using the wealth of the state. For almost thirty years, Mobutu Sese Seko excelled in manipulating the east/west rivalry and used western interests in Congo's resources to consolidate his own rule to the detriment of the Congolese population. For example, the Uranium used for Hiroshima's nuclear bomb came from Shinkolobwe in Katanga¹⁰. For many years, the west depends on Africa's natural resources. They get raw materials cheaply from Africa which is processed in their industries and the end products are exported to back Africa where there is availability of market. The economic gain that the west gets from Africa makes it difficult for them to intervene in Africa's conflicts. In some cases, they are the cause of Africa's problems as they would always ensure that we are fighting so that they can continue extracting our resources. This is apparent when they support puppet governments in Africa that will allow them to take away Africa's resources.

The principle of state sovereignty as stated in the UN Charter hinders the UN intervention within the territorial boundaries of a sovereign state. The Charter does not authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. This has therefore contributed towards Africa's marginalization. While sovereignty implies absolute control of a territory in a legal sense, de facto control by a government within its borders is often a question of degree. For several reasons, even popular and effective governments rarely have control over everything that happens within their borders. It therefore beats logic as to why UN cannot apply the same when it comes to conflict management in Africa.

Many countries doubt the notion of the UN's impartiality. They feel that the UN has not been so impartial in serving their purposes. In Dutch's view Peacekeeping require local consent,

¹⁰ Ibid

impartiality and moral authority of the peacekeepers' sponsoring organization. It also requires the support of the Great powers and the US in particular and a prior alteration in the local parties' basic objectives, from winning everything to salvaging something.¹¹

The lack of the capacity of the UN to undertake new tasks and the limit to the financial support of the UN is a problem that has been persistent since the establishment of the organization. It has been a major problem both in the old peacekeeping and in the ability to finance the UN in this case would help it pursue its interests.¹²

Conflict Management in Africa under the UN

Prior to the Cold War period, Africa was faced with socio-economic challenges as a result of interstate wars. For example, after independence, Somalia was involved in skirmishes with neighboring Kenya from the mid 1960s to early 1970s in the Shifta war. Somalia had an intension to further its interests abroad and this made it support the Shifta war. In pursuit of the same policies, Somalia attacked Ethiopia in the War of Ogaden Scrubland where it captured most of it but Ethiopia aided by Cuba and the USSR, reasserted control over the region.

The post Cold War period brought an end to the interstate conflicts in Africa as many states started going through intrastate conflicts that are of different kinds such as ethnic cleansing, genocide, civil war etc. This research will use two kinds of conflicts that took place in two African states and the mechanisms that were used to manage them.

Durch, W. *The Evolution of United Nations Peacekeeping: Case studies and comparative Analysis*. (London: Macmillan 1993)

Findlay, F. *Challenges for the New Peacekeepers*, (US: Oxford University press Inc. 1996) p. 74

The UN sent a number of mediators to Sierra Leone to help negotiate for peace between the government and the RUF. In an effort to restore peace in Sierra Leone, the UN sent Peacekeeping forces to the country. More than 17,000 foreign troops were engaged in this process and it represents the biggest United Nations Peacekeeping success in Africa.¹³

In this civil war, the UN used mediation as a mechanism to manage the conflict. The UN special envoy had a breakthrough in the mediation process when the Peace Accord was signed between the Government of Sierra Leone and RUF.

Lasting peace can only be achieved if there is a participatory democracy and good governance in a country. The UN was very instrumental in promoting democratization process in Sierra Leone that saw the country hold democratic elections resulting in the formation of a new government under the leadership of President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah and the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP). With a new government in place, mediation by the UN envoy became possible allowing him to attend the Yamoussoukro talks. This was followed by the signing of the Abidjan Peace Accord on 30th November, 1996. It is noted with appreciation by the international community that the UN managed to bring an end to such a conflict which at that time had never been experienced in Africa.

Kenya's post election violence of 2007 could be termed as ethnic cleansing. Kenyans felt aggrieved when the election results were announced and most of them had a feeling that elections had been rigged to enable certain leaders to continue with the leaderships of the country. The situation was bad to an extent that Kenyans started turning against each other on ethnic basis. The UN Secretary General Mr. Ban-Ki Moon briefly traveled to Nairobi to assess the situation on the ground. The

achel Brett and Irma Specht, *Young Soldiers* (Lynne Rienner, 2004) p.173

violence that almost went out of hand saw the death of many people all over the country and was only brought under control when the United Nations sent the former UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan to mediate between President Kibaki and Hon. Raila Odinga. The two principals agreed to form a coalition government in order to bring to an end the ethnic violence that was felt throughout the country. Communities who had lived together harmoniously fought each other on claims that the elections had been rigged, thus preventing the would have been winner from taking over leadership of this country. After the mediation, the two principals agreed to share power on a 50-50 basis and an agreement was signed allowing orange democratic movement (ODM) and party of national unity (PNU) to each hold 50% ministerial posts. This brought an end to ethnic cleansing in the country.

Peacekeeping

There is no express provision for peacekeeping operations in the UN Charter. The practice evolved out of a functional necessity to control conflict without incurring a veto in the Security Council. There is no official definition due to the changing nature and encompassing nature of peace operations. However in general terms, peacekeeping might be described as an operation involving military personnel, without powers of enforcement, established by the United Nations or a group of nations to restore and maintain peace in area of conflict. In his book, "An Agenda for Peace" Boutros Boutros Ghali defines peace as the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned as well as civilians.

The international peace academy defines peacekeeping as the prevention and termination of hostilities between or within states, through the medium of a peaceful third party intervention organized and directed internationally, using multinational forces of soldiers, police and civilians to restore and maintain peace.

Oxford Advanced Learners dictionary defines peacekeeping as: “Intended to help stop people fighting and prevent war or violence in a place where this is likely”¹⁴.

Peacekeeping entails the deployment of UN forces in a country facing a conflict that is likely to lead to war. In a case whereby conflict has taken place, UN peacekeeping forces are deployed to restore peace by ensuring that the two parties stop fighting. It will then be possible for negotiations and mediations to be done once the fighting has stopped. Peacekeeping touches on all aspects of life e.g. Political, Social and Economic. UNESCO uses education as an important tool of peacekeeping in which people are trained to leave together harmoniously while UNICEF takes care of children’s’ affairs.

Wainhouse saw the participation of the US in UN peacekeeping operations as necessary. Without US political support, both technical and material, he says few if any of those operations would have come into being. He asserted that legal basis, the policy and the organizational structure which gave rise to US support for peace keeping operations of the UN found their practical manifestation in the variety and magnitude of goods and services the US provided for such operations.¹⁵ Wanandi sees great power involvement in conflicts in Africa as worsening the situations of conflict. However, he says the presence of the great powers does not necessarily increase internal or regional conflicts provided that they agree to maintain regional or international order in the area, like in the case of Zimbabwe where great powers showed restraint in involving themselves in the international conflict.

Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, Oxford University Press (1948)

Wainhouse, D. *International Peacekeeping at the Crossroads*; national support, experience and prospects (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973) p.535

Intervention by great powers he, says can be of positive or negative effects but can also be of limited value because their capabilities are not always suited to the resolution of Third World conflicts, as intervention could escalate into global confrontation. He suggests that efforts to resolve Third World conflicts be undertaken by domestic or regional forces. Big powers should only provide help through diplomatic means, humanitarian aid or economic assistance, and restrain themselves from getting involved in conflict by persuasion or by example. Initiative should come from Third World countries themselves and the great powers should only play a role of helping to maintain regional order.¹⁶

Durch says that the UN has acted on few of the 40-50 clear-cut aggressions that have taken place around the world since the end of the Second World War, thus a number of member states do not see the UN as a neutral organ.

The decisions to keep peace in Rwanda took so long and failed because of the reluctance of the UN to send troops to the country.¹⁷

¹⁶ Wanandi, J. *The International Implication of the Third World conflict*, (London Macmillan press Ltd. 1985) pp. 14-20

¹⁷ Power, J. (ed) *A vision of Hope; the Fiftieth Anniversary of the UN* (London: The Regency corporation Ltd. Gordon House 1995) p. 74

Theoretical Framework

A theory has been defined as a systematic study of observable phenomena; theories discover the principle variables to explain behavior and types of relationships among national units. A theory seeks to describe, explain and prescribe a phenomena supported by data and evidence.

This study will mainly use liberal theory whose underpinnings are to provide peace in the world. Liberalism theory seeks to reconcile within order (security) and justice equality within a particular community.

Liberalism, according to the accepted version is traceable to Locke. But it flows in fact, from an earlier formulation. In its implicit political idea, liberalism is less the child of Locke than Newton. It is the third law of the physical universe which provides the crucial inspiration to the men of the seventeenth century seeking a new foundation for the civil order.

The ideology of liberalism presses for an atomization of power, a factional politics which strives for a bifurcation of conception reflected in the difference between power and authority, man and the office, crucial distinctions in the liberal political universe¹⁸. Liberal theory is also associated with Karl Marx. For Marx man has a right to own property and the right to profit within a class structure that desires to sell commodities to a population.

Since the inception of the League of Nations at the close of World War I, realism and Wilsonian Liberalism have been at odds over the issue of collective security and conflict management by intergovernmental organizations (IGOs). This study will use liberal theory because it conceives human nature as fundamentally good. Liberal theory predicts that states willingly choose to pool together resources in order to effectively and efficiently eliminate violent conflict. They will

¹ Goldstene, P. N *The Collapse of Liberal Empire..Science and Revolution in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven & Londale Iniversity Press 1977)

choose to do this because conflict, according to the liberal perspective is viewed as an international problem, and not just a problem of the states that are involved in the conflict¹⁹. The best way to deal with conflict is to create a preponderance of power between the organization and an aggressor, leaving the aggressor no choice but to accept a compromise to end a dispute. Any bad behavior on the part of a state results due to the existence of structural arrangements that are conducive to violence. The liberal perspective expects that, given the right systemic structure, the United Nations will be extremely successful in managing disputes because it is not in any actor's interest (including the states involved) for a dispute to escalate to violence. However if the over-all structure of the international system is conducive to violence or noncompliance, the United Nations may have only marginal success.

Hypothesis

The study will test the following hypotheses:

1. Lack of participation by all stakeholders' leads to unsuccessful conflict management.
2. Mandate of the UN leads to failure in intrastate conflict management.
3. Lack of coordinated mechanisms leads to unsuccessful conflict management.

¹⁹ Kegley, C.W., Jr. (1995). The Neoliberal Challenge to Realist Theories of World Politics: An Introduction. In C.W. Kegley Jr (Ed.) *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge* New York: St. Martin's Press. P.4

Methodology

This mainly seeks to extensively examine the United Nations as a global body charged with the responsibility of guaranteeing world peace. The study will employ different research tools through analysis and quotation of secondary data from books, pamphlets, journals, periodicals, records, resolutions and the internet. In carrying out this study, only the secondary data collection shall be used.

The study will look at some instances where the United Nations has been involved in maintenance and or/restoration of peace and security. The study will analyze three main case studies, two of failures and one of success. It will endeavor to discuss the United Nation's failures in Somalia and Rwanda and on successful resolution of conflict by the UN; the study will look at Sierra Leone.

The lessons derived from these conflicts will be discussed in general and suggestions made on how better handling of the conflicts by the UN could have provided more permanent solutions and serve as deterrence to any future conflicts. The study will finally attempt to offer solutions by making recommendations.

Chapter Outline

Chapter One: The United Nations and Intrastate Conflict Management in Africa.

This chapter includes the introduction, Statement of Research Problem, Objectives, Justification, Literature Review, United Nations System, and Conflict Management in Africa under the United Nations, theoretical Framework, Hypothesis and Methodology.

Chapter Two: Historical Development of the League of Nations.

The chapter looks at how the League of Nations and the United Nations were developed. It discusses the main organs of the United Nations which include the United Nations General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the UN Secretariat. It also discusses the functions of the main organs of the United Nations.

Chapter Three – The Role of the United Nations in Conflict Management

In this chapter, the discussion majors on the role played by UN in Intrastate Conflict Management in Somalia, Sierra Leone and Rwanda. The discussion further looks at the mechanisms used by UN in its attempt to manage intrastate conflict in the three countries mentioned above. The mechanisms include mediation, negotiation, peacekeeping and humanitarian aid.

Chapter Four – Conclusion and Recommendations

Chapter 2

Historical Development of the League of Nations and the United Nations

League of Nations

The League of Nations was formed immediately after the World War I. Its main purpose was to help prevent an occurrence of another world war in future. World War I carried enormous social disruption and shock waves of revulsion at the senseless slaughter. Balance of power politics was widely blamed for the war. Woodrow Wilson, the American President during World War I, was a classic nineteenth-century liberal who regarded balance of power policies as immoral because they violated democracy and national self-determination. In Wilson's view, "The balance of power is the great game now forever discredited. It's the only and evil order that prevailed before this war. The balance of power is a thing that we can do without in the future."²⁰

According to Wilson, sovereign states could not be abolished, but force could be tamed by law and institutions as it was at the domestic level. In January 1918, the United States issued a 14-point statement of its reasons for joining in the war. The fourteenth point was the most important. It called for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike." In effect, Wilson wanted to change the international system from one based on balance of power to one based on the collective security.

This therefore led to the formation of the League of Nations. The operation of the League of Nations was based on moral force, but a military force was necessary to back it up. Although

²⁰ Joseph S.Nye, JR, *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History*, (U.S.A Leigh Press 2002.) P. 85

critics called Wilson a Utopian, he believed that organizing international security could be a practical approach to world politics. According to him, mere paper agreement and treaties could not be sufficient; organizations and rules were needed to implement the agreements.

In order for states to bring about a new system of collective security, it was agreed first to make aggression illegal and outlaw offensive war. Secondly they agreed to deter aggression occurred. All states would agree to punish the state that committed aggression by developing a powerful coalition and if deliverance failed they were willing to use force.

The doctrine of collective security was embodied in the covenant of the League of Nations, which in turn, was part of the treaties that ended World War I. All member states had to agree to apply collective security. It was further agreed that one state that started war could immediately be subjected to economic sanctions, and the council of League of Nations had the power to recommend further military measures.

Collective security involves two related concepts: Sovereignty and international law as understood by Wilson and implied in the League of Nations Charter, international law transcended National law and hence sovereignty in particular situations.

The League of Nations main purpose was to help restore world order but it faced a lot of challenges. The unwillingness of states to relinquish some sovereignty in the exchange for collective security lay at the heart of one of the League's most notable weaknesses. This was mainly as a result of the failure of the United States to join its own creation. The American

Senate refused to verify the covenant. As a result, the collective security system had to function without what would have been its biggest player.²¹

The United States had her reasons to hold back when to a large extent, the League was an American liberal plan to reorder world politics. After World War I, most Americans wanted to return to “normalcy” in which they defined as avoiding involvement in international affairs.²² The senate feared that the League of Nations would dilute both American sovereignty and the constitutional power of the senate to declare war.

The debate between President Wilson and the Senators who opposed the joining of the League of Nations by America may be seen as a clash between an Idealist and a Realist. It can also be seen as a debate between different forms of American moralism.

Japanese invasion of Manchuria put a test to the League of Nations. Overall, the Manchuria case showed the procedures of the League of Nations to be slow, cautious, and totally ineffective. The Manchurian episode had tested the League and it failed.

The greatest test of the League of Nations’ collective security system came in Ethiopia in 1935. This time sanctions were applied, but the outcome was again failure. In October 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia. The invasion was a clear-cut of aggression, and the Council of the League avoided an Italian veto by the procedural device of calling for a special conference to decide what sanctions to impose against Italy. Four sanctions were imposed: an embargo on

²¹ Joseph S.Nye, JR, *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History*, (U.S.A Leigh Press 2002.) P. 87

²² Joseph S.Nye, JR, *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History*, (U.S.A Leigh Press 2002) P. 87

the sale of all military goods to Italy; cessation of imports from Italy; and refusal to sell certain goods that would not be easily bought elsewhere such as rubber and tin.²³

The League of Nations was to apply collective security internationally and unselectively to all nations of the world to ensure that no war similar to World War I reoccurred. This was not the case when Hitler denounced the Locarno treaties and marched German troops into the demilitarized Rhineland in March 1936. Britain and France immediately stopped worrying about Ethiopia. They met with Italy to consult about how to restore the balance of power in Europe. To these European countries, the balance of power in Europe prevailed over the application of the collective security doctrine in Africa.

United Nations

The name United Nations was coined by United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt. He wanted a liberal trade system to avoid the protectionism that had damaged the world economy in the 1930s and contributed to the onset of war. The United States would avoid its tendency towards isolationism that had been damaging in the 1930s.²⁴

The United Nations officially came into existence on 24th October 1945, when the Charter had been ratified by China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom the United States and by a majority of other signatories.

The United Nations (UN) is an international organization whose stated aims are to facilitate cooperation in international law, international security, economic development, social progress, human rights and achieving world peace. The UN was founded in 1945 after World

bid p.92

bid p.116

War II to replace the League of Nations, to help stop war between countries and to provide a platform for dialogue. The UN is composed of 192 member states, including nearly every recognized independent state in the world. From its headquarters on the international territory in New York City, the UN and its specialized agencies decide on substantive and administrative issues in regular meetings held throughout the year.²⁵

Main organs of the United Nations:

The United Nations General Assembly

The United Nations General Assembly is composed of representatives of all member states. It is the UN's central deliberative body, empowered to discuss and make recommendations on any subject falling within the scope of the Charter itself. It also approves the UN's budget and determines alone or with the Security Council part of the composition of the other main organs, including the Security Council. The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) is one of the five principal organs of the United Nations and the only one in which all member nations have equal representation. The General assembly oversees the budget of the United Nations; appoints the non-permanent members to the Security Council. It also receives reports from other parts of the United Nations and makes recommendations in the form of General Assembly Resolutions.

Internet www.un.org/ga

The Security Council

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is one of the principle organs of the United Nations. It is charged with the responsibility of maintaining international peace and security. The Security Council has 15 members, consisting of permanent members and elected members.

In times of crisis, the Security Council is empowered to act on behalf of all member states and to decide on a course of collective action that is mandatory for the entire membership. The Charter names five states as permanent members of the Security Council: China, France, the United Kingdom, Russian Federation, and the United States (those that were chiefly responsible for the defeat of the Axis powers in 1945). The remaining Security Council members are elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms.

Security Council members must always be present at the UN headquarters in New York so that they can meet at any time. This requirement of the United Nations' Charter was adopted to address a weakness of the League of Nations since that organization was often unable to quickly respond to a crisis.

Under Chapter V, Article 27 of the UN Charter, Security Council decisions on all substantive matters require the affirmative votes of nine members. A negative Vote or what is also known as *veto*, by a permanent member prevents adoption of a proposal, even if it has received the required number of affirmative votes.

A state that is not a member of the Security Council may participate in Security Council discussions in matters which the Council agrees that the country's interests are particularly affected.

Under Chapter Six of the Charter, the Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.²⁶

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of United Nations is a group of UN member countries that assists the General Assembly in promoting international economic and social cooperation and development. The Economic and Social Council is assigned the task of organizing the UN's work on economic and social matters and the promotion of human rights. It consists of 54 members, all of whom are elected by the General Assembly for a three-year term.

The Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship Council operated the UN trusteeship system established under the Charter. It was originally composed of member nations administering trust territories, the permanent members of the Security Council, and a sufficient number of other members, elected by the General Assembly for three-year terms, to ensure an equal division of administering and non-administering powers. After 1975, it was composed of the five permanent members of the

²⁶ United Nations Charter

Security Council—the United States of America, the sole remaining administering power, and the four permanent non-administering powers.

The International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice is the principal judicial organ of the UN. It consists of 15 judges elected to nine-year terms by the General Assembly and the Security Council voting independently. It may not include more than one judge of any nationality. The Members of the Court do not represent their governments but are independent magistrates.

The Secretariat

The Secretariat is the administrative arm of the organization. It is headed by a Secretary-General appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council for a five-year, renewable term. It provides studies, information, and facilities needed by United Nations bodies for their meetings. It also carries out tasks as directed by the UN Security Council, the General Assembly, the UN Economic and Social Council, and other U.N. bodies.

The Secretary-General's duties include helping resolve international disputes, administering peacekeeping operations, organizing international conferences, gathering information on the implementation of Security Council decisions, and consulting with member governments regarding various initiatives. The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter that, in his or her opinion, may threaten international peace and security.

Conflict Management Under The United Nations Charter

The UN Charter Article 33 stipulates how international disputes should be settled. The parties to any dispute should seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation arbitration, judicial settlement. In an effort to settle disputes the Charter allows the parties involved in the conflict to resort to regional agencies or arrangement or other peaceful means of their own choice. IGAD did a commendable job as a sub- regional organization that helped negotiate for peace between the Khartoum government of Sudan and SPLA of Southern Sudan.

Chapter 3

THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN INTRASTATE CONFLICT

After the Cold War ended, as more and more struggles took place within state boundaries, interstate conflicts seemed to have become obsolete. Many states have failed or broken up or collapsed because most African states are made up of an assortment of ethnic communities or clans that fiercely compete for the control of the centre.

Some of the secondary effects of the Soviet collapse were equally consequential. The long-frustrated birthing process culminating in 1990 in independence for Namibia (formally, South African- ruled South West Africa) could take place with the United Nations as midwife once Cuba and South African forces withdrew from Angola. In 1991, Vietnam's occupation forces gradually withdrew from Cambodia under the UN- brokered peace accord.²⁷

The end of Cold War led to the new world disorder. The first test of the revitalized international system was Iraq's mugging, trashing and attempted political extinction of Kuwait in August 1990. However, the 31 UN Security Council resolutions on Iraq led to a success in expelling Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein from Kuwait and finally from power. This seemed to jump-start the process of Collective Security with an aim of peace restoration in the world.

Cross-border aggression was not the main challenge of the 1990s. Instead, internal aggression within states that were caused by desire to have power was experimented in a number of African States. Many African states have failed or broken up or collapsed during the post Cold War period because most African states are made up of an assortment of ethnic communities or clans fiercely competing for the control of the centre. The volcano of change spewed forth

Lincoln P. Bloom and Field Allan Moulton, *Managing International Conflict* (St. Martins Press, Inc., 1997) pp 22-23

what Vaclav Havel called “lava of post-communist surprise,”²⁸ generating a panorama of turbulence and strategic ambiguity as multinational states broke up and other states simply broke. For leftover conflicts in old Cold War battlefields, UN peacekeeping was the method of choice to monitor cease-fires and help with transitions in Angola, Mozambique, El Salvador and Nicaragua, along with older trouble spots such as Western Sahara, Namibia, Golan and Sinai, Southern Lebanon and Cyprus.

The trickiest new threat to the hoped-for harmony in the post-Cold War world was an explosion of mayhem within state borders. The post-Cold War period saw renewed anarchy in Cambodia, man-made starvation in Somalia, assault on the fragile newly won democracy in Haiti and genocide in Bosnia and Rwanda.²⁹

Article 2(7) of the UN Charter ostensibly bars the organization from touching such cases because they are “essentially within the domestic Jurisdiction of any state.” With the fear of super power escalation gone, however, and with a major assist from world-wide television coverage, they powerfully assailed the global conscience.

At the initial stages of the Somali conflict, the UN intervened by establishing United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I). It was established to monitor the cease fire in Mogadishu. It was also to provide protection and security for the UN personnel, equipment and supplies at the seaports and airports in Mogadishu. UNOSOM I also helped in escort of deliveries supplies to distribution centers.

Ibid p.26

Ibid p.26

As the situation in Somalia deteriorated, the Security Council authorized member states to form the United Test Force (UNITAF) to establish a safe environment for the delivery of humanitarian assistance. UNITAF worked in coordination with UNOSOM I to secure the major population centers and ensure that humanitarian assistance was delivered and distributed.

Parallel to the irredentist ambitions, internal squabbles against the then President Barre began to take shape in 1981 owing to clan inequality in distribution of government positions and by 1988, the civil war had intensified and in 1990, the clans opposed to Barre came together and managed to drive him out in January 1991 hence fleeing to Nigeria through Kenya.

This did not solve any problems at all but instead, the northern portion of the country declared its independence as Somaliland though it was not recognized by any foreign government. UN Security Council resolution 794³⁰ was unanimously passed on 3rd December, 1993 which approved a coalition of UN peacekeepers led by United States tasked with ensuring humanitarian aid being distributed and peace being established in Somalia.

The UN humanitarian troops landed in 1993 and started a two-year effort (primarily in the south) to alleviate famine conditions. Many Somalis opposed the foreign presence and in October, several gun battles in Mogadishu between gunmen and peacekeepers resulted in the death of the locals and about 31 US Special Forces operators. It was in the mid 1993, a month after the UN assumed control of the operation, that the militia of Aideed who represented the Heber Gadara/Hawaii clan attacked UN forces, killing 24 peacekeepers and precipitating in a four month battle between the United Nations and Aideed's militia. The subsequent failure of

Walter Clarke & Jeffrey Herbst (eds), *Learning from Somalia*, (1996), p. 250

the US and UN forces to capture Aideed, the paralysis that the fighting imposed on the UN nation building efforts, the disastrous losses sustained in October 3 “Black Hawk Down” incident sealed the fate of the UN operation, which departed in March, 1995, leaving Somalia still in a state of violence and anarchy. This forced the UN to withdraw its forces from Somalia.³¹

The United Nations played a major role in bringing to an end the Sierra Leone civil war of 1991 to 1999. The West African State of Sierra Leone gained its independence from the United Kingdom in 1961. In the following 30 years, though rich in diamonds and nominally a democratic republic, the country rarely experienced stability as economic mismanaged and corruption marginalized the majority who live in the provinces in the favour of Freetown elites.³²

Conflict and violence have been recurring factors of political life in Sierra Leone for a long time. Prior to 1896 when the British declared a protectorate over the Sierra Leone hinterland, this region had been experiencing major conflicts. These conflicts have incorrectly been called tribal wars, but the protagonists in these wars were not tribes but individual rulers and their followers who were desirous to secure some commercial or territorial advantage over their neighbors.³³

The political landscape in Sierra Leone since independence in 1962 has been one of conflicts in various forms and manifestations. As a multi-ethnic country, the seeds of disagreement that

³¹ Walter Clarke & Jeffrey Herbst (eds), *Learning from Somalia*, (1996) pp. 200-212

³² Rachel Brett and Irma Specht, *Young Soldiers* (Lynne Rienner, 2004) p. 173

³³ Adebayo Adedeji, *Comprehending and Mattering African Conflicts*, (London & New York Zedbooks, 1999) p.174

have the potential of degenerating into crisis and conflict have always been in existence. The causes of these conflicts are numerous and they vary from those seemingly simple disagreements in clan meetings, especially in the rural communities, to the national level instances of outright challenge to the central government authorities over issues of policy, the conduct of government and national business.

In March 1991 an armed conflict was ignited in Sierra Leone, becoming one of the nastiest wars the world has witnessed in the last five decades. To most Sierra Leoneans, the rebel war that began in March 1991, with attacks on the small border of Bomarn and Sienga in Kailahun District (eastern Sierra Leone) by the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels in league with mercenaries from some African countries, came as a big shock.

On 29th April, 1992, young officers of the Sierra Leone army finally overthrew a government that was ill equipped to tackle the upheaval and incapable of initiating reforms or taking vigorous action. Sierra Leoneans jubilantly welcomed the coup in the hope that the military regime would restore the country's fortunes by embarking on meaningful social and economic reforms. Unfortunately, the government's overthrow brought an extension of violence and Sierra Leone entered into a dark era of deep despair.

The euphoria for the coup quickly dissipated when the people realized that the soldiers were bent on tenaciously holding on to power. The people's sustained agitation for return to democratic civilian administration was rewarded in 1996.³⁴

⁴ Anatole Anissi and Robin Edward Ronlton, *Bound to Co-operate Conflict, Peace and People in Sierra Leone*, (United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) Geneva, Switzerland , 2006) p.1

The UN, World Bank, OAU, ECOWAS e.t.c. played a major role in bringing violent conflict to an end. During the long years of Mass violence in Sierra Leone, Africa and the International Community never stopped looking for solutions to Sierra Leone's problems. Even though the conflict seemed intractable, the United Nations, the Organization of Africa Unity and most notably, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) remained deeply engaged at one level or another in the search for constructive settlement of the crisis.³⁵

The United Nations as a body that was formed to help in the maintenance of international peace and security and disputes likely to endanger the international stability readily accepted to intervene in the case of Sierra Leone, when the United Nations Secretary-General was requested to use his good office to bring the government and the RUF to the negotiating table with the UN Secretary-General as a mediator.

The conference called for the creation of a National Security Council to initiate ways and means of bringing the rebel conflict to an end and to start the difficult process of reconstructing the economy and restoring democratic governance.

In response, the United Nations sent an official to Sierra Leone. The UN special Envoy was to discuss with RUF whether it would accept the UN as an intermediary in the dispute. The UN stressed its neutrality and insisted on the fact that its role was only that of a facilitator for the peace process. The efforts of the UN special Envoy were in vain, he was not able to establish contact with the RUF.

³⁵ Anatole Anissi and Robin Edward Ronlton, *Bound to Co-operate Conflict, Peace and People in Sierra Leone*, (United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) Geneva, Switzerland 2006) p.1

The United Nations then appointed another special envoy, who collaborated with the Organization of African Union (OAU), the Commonwealth and other organizations interested in a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Sierra Leone.

He also sought and received assistance from official bodies, private individuals and non-governmental organizations. Despite the initial impasse that characterized UN efforts to make contact with RUF, the ice was broken at the end of 1995, when the envoy met representatives of the RUF leadership in Cote d'Ivoire in December 1995.

Since there can be no lasting peace without participatory democracy and good governance, the UN was also instrumental in promoting the democratization process in Sierra Leone, which led to holding of elections and the formation of a government under the leadership of President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah and the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP).

With the leadership of a democratically elected President in Sierra Leone, negotiations mediated by the UN became possible. The UN special Representative attended Yamoussoukro talks. The talks led to further diplomatic activity. On 30th November, 1996 the Abidjan Peace Accord was signed between the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF.

The conflict in Sierra Leone recorded a climax when on 6th January, 1999, when the rebel forces stormed Freetown, the capital city and killed some 5,000 people including women and children and burned over 6,000 houses. This revealed that there would be no imminent winner of the military conflict. The only option in which peace could be restored in Sierra Leone was

through dialogue.³⁶ ECOMOG forces eventually forced the rebels out of the capital and a cease-fire was agreed to in May 1999.

The prolonged suffering of Sierra Leone's people prompted the International Community to put pressure on the key players in the conflict to opt for a peaceful settlement through dialogue. This gave birth to the Lome Peace Accord, signed by the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and the Government of Sierra Leone on 7th July 1999. The Lome Peace Accord provided a range of peace and disarmament opportunities for combatants. It also enabled local field commanders to move directly from confrontation to negotiation.

In May 2000, United Nations Peacekeeping forces came under attack in the east of the country from RUF rebels who also were closing in on the capital. The RUF leader Foday Sankoh was captured, however, and on 10th November, 2000, the government of Sierra Leone and the RUF signed a cease-fire agreement.³⁷

In January, 2002 the war was declared over and the United Nations confirmed that the disarmament of 45,000 fighters was complete. More than 17,000 foreign troops were engaged in this process and it represents the biggest United Nations Peacemaking success in Africa for many years.³⁸

The Rwandan Genocide of 1994 led to mass killing of thousands of Rwanda's Tutsi and Hutu political moderates by Hutu under the Hutu power ideology. By 1990 there was ethnic tension.

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Rachel Brett and Irma Specht, *Young Soldiers* (Lynne Rienner 2004) p.180

Despite ethnic tension, including the displacement of large numbers of Hutu in the north by rebels and periodic localized ethnic cleansing of Tutsi to the south, pressure on the government of Juvenal Habyarimana led to a cease-fire in 1993 at the preliminary implementation of the Arusha Accords.

The assassination of Habyarimana in April 1994 was the proximate cause of the mass killings of Tutsi and pro-peace Hutus. It was carried out primarily by two Hutu militias associated with political parties: the *Interahamwe* and the *Impuzamugambi*. The genocide was directed by a Hutu power group known as the *Akazu*. The killings also marked the end of the peace agreement meant to end the war and the Tutsi RPF restarted their offensive eventually defeating the army and seizing control of the country.³⁹

On January 11, 1994, Lieutenant General Romeo Dallaire the then United Nations Force Commander in Rwanda notified Advisor to the UN Secretary-General of four weapons, caches and plans by the Hutus for extermination of Tutsi. Rwanda's case is a clear indication of how UN has Marginalized Africa. Despite the fact that the then UN Secretary General was notified of the Hutu's intention to massacre the Tutsi and with all the evidence that there was a looming problem in Rwanda, the UN did nothing to help. This portrays the UN as a weak body which cannot use its strength as an international body entrusted with the maintenance of peace and security in the world to ensure that peace and security is enjoyed by all irrespective of their color and race.

³⁹ Adebayo Adedeji, *Comprehending and Mattering African Conflicts*, (Zed books, 1999) p.145

The UN's failure to act promptly on the Rwanda problem could be because of the fact that the UN's mandate as stated in UN Charter Article 2(7) forbids the UN's intervention in internal politics of any country unless the crime of genocide is being committed. We cannot entirely blame the UN Charter as a contributory factor in the Rwanda case because the Charter allows the UN to intervene in internal politics only if the crime being committed is genocide. One fails to understand why the UN did nothing to stop the genocide that was highlighted through the media all over the world.

The situation in Rwanda worsened day by day and on April 6, 1994; the plane that carried President Habyarimana was shot down killing all its occupants including the President. Belgian peacekeepers were accused of having shot down the plane or helped shoot down the President's plane. This accusation has been linked to the killing of ten Belgian UN troops by the Rwandan Army.⁴⁰

The challenges Rwanda faced in the aftermath of the genocide were particularly grave. By July 1994, a population of over one million people had been killed, while over two and a half million had fled to neighbouring countries and almost everyone else was internally displaced. All economic and social activities had ground to a complete stand still. The security situation in the country was best fragile. Food production as well as medical and other humanitarian services were severely disrupted.⁴¹

At this point, Rwanda case was taken to the Security Council and suggestions were made for UN to play a crucial supportive role. However, it was suggested that national stakeholders

⁴⁰ Ibid p.149

⁴¹ Ibid p.153

must take ownership of the process while the international community and the United Nations play a supportive role. This further shows how UN delayed to act in this case even after several lives had been lost.

Analysis

Sierra Leone civil war went on for about 10 years (1991-1999) because of lack of political will to have the conflict brought to an end. The protagonists in this civil war were not tribes but individual rulers and their followers who were eager to secure some commercial or territorial advantage over their fellow country men.

The UN put a lot of effort to try and bring the civil war to an end. This was seen when the UN sent an official to Sierra Leone to help negotiate for peace between the government and the RUF. It became difficult for the UN special envoy to establish contact with RUF because of lack of involvement by the stakeholders. RUF was not willing to let peace be restored in the country through negotiation because they believed that use of force would enable them ascend to power. This made the UN to appoint another special envoy who through his collaboration with OAU was able to meet the representatives of the RUF leadership.

In regard to the Rwanda genocide of 1994 which led to mass killing of thousands of Rwandese, it is clear that there was lack of involvement of the stakeholders in preventing the genocide. The government of President Habyarimana knew of the tension between the two ethnic communities (Tutsi and Hutu). The tension between the two communities has a long history and was mainly caused by the desire for the leadership of the country and the colonial legacy. Each leader desired to rule the country in order to reward his ethnic community through allocation of the country's resources. The government did nothing to ensure that the

differences between the two communities did not escalate. Instead, the government officials played a major role in the genocide.

Prior to the genocide the UN had sent peacekeeping force to oversee the situation in Rwanda. The United Nations Force Commander got to know of the plans by the Hutus to exterminate the Tutsi. The force commander then notified the Advisor to the UN Secretary-General of the Hutus plans. The UN Secretary-General was notified of the Hutus intention to kill the Tutsi but the UN did nothing to arrest the situation.

It may be concluded that there was lack of stakeholders' involvement in both Sierra Leone and Rwanda cases. Though the UN was informed of the Hutus intention to massacre the Tutsi, it did nothing to prevent the deaths of about a million people in Rwanda. This is therefore an indication that UN has marginalized Africa. On the other hand, the government of Sierra Leone and RUF were not willing to come to an agreement in order to prevent the civil war. They continued widening their differences thus prolonging the civil war that led to deaths of many people of Sierra Leone.

According to the UN Charter Chapter 1, Article 1, the purpose of the UN include maintaining international peace and security and to that end take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace for suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of peace. The other purpose of the UN is to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. The UN is also the centre for harmonizing actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

In pursuit of the purpose stipulated in Chapter 1, Article 1 of the UN Charter, the UN shall act in accordance with the principles stated in Article 2 of the Charter. Article 2(1) states that, "The organization is based on the principle of sovereign equality of all its members." Article 2(7) states that "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the UN to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII."

In order for the UN to succeed in maintaining international peace and security, there is need to change the UN mandate. As it may be seen in Article 2/1 and 2/7 of the Charter as indicated above, it is very difficult for the UN to maintain international peace and security because of the issue of sovereignty of all member states. The current UN Charter does not authorize the UN to intervene on matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. There is therefore need to change the UN mandate so as to allow the UN to intervene in any case that it deem to be a threat to international peace and security.

There are several challenges that face peacekeeping operation in Africa. The United Nations civilian police offices were first deployed to a peacekeeping operation in the early 1960's, as a supplement to the military observers entrusted with the United Nations Operation in Congo (UNOC). The UN deployed a small Ghanaian police unit, followed by a larger Nigerian contingent with the objective of assisting the Congolese police in law enforcement tasks, particularly engaging in riot control situations. The lack of adequate technical support infrastructure, the complexity and the territorial magnitude of the area of operations made this a very different operation. However, although peacekeeping forces face a lot of challenges in Africa there are some cases in which peacekeeping mission was successful. It was only during the United Nations Transitional Authority

Group (UNTAG) peace operation in Namibia in 1989 that UN civilian police offices were deployed as a component autonomous from their military colleagues. In this case, the UN civilian police officers were engaged in monitoring of local police activity and performance, as well as in advising on the restructuring of the local police service. Following the success of the UN peacekeeping mission in Namibia, civilian police officers have been tasked with assisting in reform and capacity enhancement missions in Sierra Leone, DRC, Somalia and other non-African states like Haiti, East-Timor, Croatia in which the peacekeeping mission was successful.

The success of most peacekeeping operations is attributed to the operational effectiveness of civilian police components. The peacekeeping mission remains dependent on support from police contributing countries, the UN partners and the political leadership of the territory hosting the peace operation. In fact, the effectiveness of peace keeping mission can be impaired at the international level if contributing countries lack the political will and commitment to engage high-calibre professionals for the identified activities.

Chapter 4

Conclusions

This study examines the role of United Nations in conflict management in Africa during the post Cold War period. The study found out that lack of participation by all stakeholders leads to unsuccessful conflict management. In the case of Somalia, UNITAF and UNOSOM applied pure hard power and this did not help in the intermediary efforts. This made conflict management in Somalia difficult and as a result, the conflict has been prolonged.

It is also evident in the case of Rwanda that lack of participation by stakeholders' leads to unsuccessful conflict management. This is supported by the fact that when Rwanda's case was taken to the Security Council, it was suggested that national stakeholders must take ownership of the process that would lead to restoration of peace in Rwanda, while the international community and the United Nations had to play a supportive role. At that time, Rwanda's politics was based on ethnicity and this meant that political leaders of Rwanda could not agree on how the conflict in the country was to be resolved. This obviously denied Rwanda a chance to prevent the conflict before things went out of hand.

On the other hand, conflict management in Sierra Leone was a success because all the stakeholders participated. The government of Sierra Leone together with RUF allowed the UN to mediate in the political problems which the country was going through. All the stakeholders worked together to ensure that the Lome Peace Accord was signed thus leading to restoration of peace in the country. This brought an end to civil war that had taken place for close to ten years.

The research has also found out that the mandate of the United Nations as stated in the UN Charter Chapter 1 Article 2(7) hinders the UN from managing intrastate conflicts. The Charter states that the UN is not authorized to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. This therefore limits the UN intervention in intrastate conflicts.

As observed, lack of coordinated mechanisms leads to unsuccessful conflict management. This is evident in the case of Somalia in which the stakeholders applied different mechanisms in an effort to end the conflict. The USA used provision of humanitarian aid, that is, supply of food and medicine, while African Union used peacekeeping. AU member states committed themselves to sending peacekeeping mission to help restore peace and order in Somalia but this did not materialize as most states failed to send peacekeeping mission.

Track-one diplomacy was practiced by Kenya in an effort to end Somali conflict. Kenya applied its diplomatic practices characterized by formal rules as practiced by all states and international organizations in an effort to help bring peace in Somalia but there was minimal success. This practice is also observed within the United Nations and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). It is therefore confirmed that lack of coordinated mechanisms lead to unsuccessful conflict management.

Recommendations

The participation of all stakeholders in conflict management is very essential for its success. The UN as the only body that is entrusted with the maintenance of peace and security in the world should revise the UN Charter in order to cure the organization's perceived weaknesses. Some reforms are needed such as streamlining the General Assembly practices and making better provisions for rapid response to the crisis.

It is apparent that the United Nations has acceded to the whims of International politics and its machinations. In essence of its mandate of pursuit of International Peace and Security, it is apparent that it has not done justice to the world merely by its calculated and strategic disengagement.

Mere humanitarian gestures did not ameliorate to the desired extent, the Somali situation, especially during the peace process. The peace process could have gone a long way if only the UN provided an unequivocal political support in the beginning, to Kenya, and the IGAD entity itself. The opposite was counter to the aspiration of the global governance and pursuit of human security.

Realignment from a hard-power defined foreign policy by the USA and equally strong states, towards soft-power human security oriented policy should have been exercised. There was no enough international condemnation of the conflicting parties in Somalia, and as such, there was total disengagement. The simple concern after September 11 shows that human security elicits an international oriented attention, Somalia as important cog towards a system of international peace and security.

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