

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**ROLE OF PEACE KEEPING MISSIONS IN PROMOTING PEACE AND  
SECURITY IN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF BURUNDI**

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**DECLARATION**

This dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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This dissertation has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University Supervisor.

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## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to those who believe peace and those who labour tirelessly to ensure that peace is restored around the world.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFISMA	African-led International Support Mission to Mali
AFN	Armed Forces of the North
AMIS	African Union Mission in Sudan
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
AU	African Union
DPA	Darfur Peace Agreement
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
HQ	Head Quarters
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
ISIS	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
JEM	Justice and Equality Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
OAU	Organization of African Unity
P5	Permanent five
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
RECS	Regional Economic Communities
SCC	Standing Committee of Chad
SLM/A	Sudan Liberation Movement/Army
UN	United Nations
UNEF II	United Nations Emergency Force II
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNGOMAP	United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan
UNIIMOG	United Nations Iran-Iraq Observer Group
UNMIS	UN Mission in Sudan
UNMISS	United Nations Peacekeeping Mission in South Sudan
UNMOVIC	United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission
UNOCI	United Nations peace keeping mission in Cote de'Ivoire
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNTAG	United Nations Transition Assistance Group in Namibia
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization

UNU	United Nations University
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Union
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

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## **ABSTRACT**

**International peace and security is one of the most crucial aspects in the world we live in today. However, there are many conflicts that are being witnessed today in Africa, in which most of them end up dividing the population in the aggressed state by undermining interpersonal and social trust, and consequently destroy the social norms, values and institutions that have regulated and coordinated cooperation and collective action for the well-being of the community. Furthermore, most attempts at resolving conflicts in Africa have failed. The failures of these effects are attributable to the lack of sufficient information regarding the nature of source of the conflicts. At times, conceptualized resolution mechanisms have escalated the problems instead of providing solutions, which complicate the situation even further.**

**For instance, the case of Burundi, since it broke off all relations with the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and declared its experts persona non grata, there are no observers left. Acts of violence can take place without any outside witnesses. People are living in fear, there is no justice, and the crimes we have documented are not punished. Different mechanisms of conflict resolution have failed to restore peace and stability in Burundi and even new wars are emerging. The conflicts and insecurity situation in Burundi continues to deteriorate by day. There are hardly any civil society organizations or media left in the country. Activists and independent journalists are living in exile. Therefore, it can be said that, conflict in Africa can be minimized in an environment that encourages substantive participation in the economic, political and economic realms.**

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

#### 1.1 Background of the study

The conflict management in Africa has been the theme that has attracted significant attention in the global scene particularly during post-Cold War era. Phantasmagorias of violence in Burundi and hunger in Somalia have pierced the morality of the industrialised world, resulting to provocative altruistic interferences that queried interrogation capability of global community to bring solution of the complex intra-state clashes but neither the world nor Africa at large has yet discovered a reasonable solution to the challenge of thrilling intra-state conflicts<sup>1</sup>. Conflict can be barred on some cases and controlled on others, nevertheless, it can be resolved merely if the concept is assumed to mean the gratification of deceptive demands reasonably the complete obliteration of the fundamental interests views, or memories. The aim of conflict resolution is to address the factors that causes conflict and strive for establishment of new and lasting relationship with unfriendly parties by offering assistance to them in exploring, analysing and reframing their situations and safeties; it transfers differing sides from the destructive strategies of zero sum conflict to affirmative summation beneficial results<sup>2</sup>.

Conflicts in Africa have the possibility of being curtailed in an atmosphere that inspires substantive involvement in the social, economic and political realms. Efforts to omit the normal citizen from such involvement generate a revitalisation between the leaders and the ordinary citizens<sup>3</sup>. Transparent political strategies that defend intrinsic civil rights, freedom of expression and basic needs are unlikely to be challenged by incapacitating conflicts. Various aspects have challenged peace progressions in diverse African countries. To begin with, spoilers that is, groups (including the management team) who break a promise on their obligations or else pursue to destabilize a peace agreement by causing

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<sup>1</sup> Francis, D. Linking Peace, Security and Developmental Regionalism: Regional and Economic Integration in Africa”, *Journal of Peace and development*, Vol.2N03, 2006.

<sup>2</sup> ADETULA, V.O The role of Sub- Regional Integration schemes in Conflict Prevention and Management: A Framework of a Working Promotion of Peace System, in Nhema A.g. &Zezeza P.T(eds), *The Resolution of African Conflicts: The Management of Conflict and Post-Conflict Reconstruction*, James Currey, UK, 2008.p 65-81

<sup>3</sup> Kotze D., *Issues of Conflict Resolution*, *African Journal on conflict Resolution*,2(2). 77-98. <http://www.ehistory.osu.edu> Retrieved on 18/10/2013 at 16:26.

havoc and violence. Individuals and Groups perceptibly sign peace agreement for a diverse of motives, a number of which does not contain constructive factors that facilitate peace<sup>4</sup>.

As stated by Brahimi Report, spoilers tossed Burundi, Somalia, Sierra Leone and Angola, back into conflict. In addition, spoilers coordinated the Massacre of 800,000 Rwandese in 1994. Secondly and associated to the previous argument is the accessibility of alternate income sources to parties involved in conflicts. The encouragements to destroy peace agreements are considerably greater when there is availability of alternative income sources that facilitate funding for paying soldiers, enrich a section of leaders buy weapons and other ammunitions. Thirdly, adjacent countries can violate a cease-fire agreement effectively if they tolerate unrestricted entry of individuals or groups supporting conflict, if they allow fighters to set up their bases, or if they oblige to pecuniary services or partisan supporters in the conflict situations.

The fourth point is that the factors that causes skirmishes will influence the complexity of armistice execution. These factors may be linked to environmental, dogmatic or economic issues. A number of these factors are perhaps more apparent and subject than is required by such requirements, ethnicity or religion<sup>5</sup>. Fifth, complexities with implementation of peace agreements are linked to the sum of parties involved in the battle and the extent at which the objectives of these warring parties deviate. The conflict in Burundi is an illustration that shows a great number of participants who also have powerfully different goals. The most awful case situation is a scenario with three or extra teams of capricious obligation facilitating peace, with different intentions, having sovereign ammunition and income sources. Additionally, having neighbouring countries that are enthusiastic in buying, selling and transiting illegal goods and chattels<sup>6</sup>.

Africa has established a novel understanding. Despite the fact that the role of peripheral players is certainly praiseworthy, Africa continues being independent in provision of long-term answers to its own economic, social and political questions in the structure of its sub-regional alliances, precisely African Union. Accordingly, studies have illustrated that the often lacking factor in peace initiatives that are presently employed by the AU are

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<sup>4</sup> Makoa, K.. F., Conflict resolution in Southern Africa: Trading Democracy for Peace, in Nhema G. Alfred( Ed), The Resolution of African Conflicts: The Management of Conflict Resolution & Post-conflict Reconstruction, James Currey, UK,2008.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid .

<sup>6</sup> Francis, D.,”Linking Peace , Security and Developmental Regionalism: Regional and Economic Integration in Africa”, Journal of Peace and development, Vol.2N03, 2006.

logistical support and the financial resources that are indispensable to the peacekeeping troops in fulfilling their obligation in a comprehensive and efficient way<sup>7</sup>. Additional funds would consequently be devoted to the peacekeeping processes by leaders in Africa. With the aim of solving clashes, it is essential to include several nations, albeit conflicts have their origin in individual countries. The requisite of several states working as partners in deterrence of conflict and facilitating peace keeping is acknowledged by utmost African geopolitical administrations<sup>8</sup>. The present study will seek to establish the role played by a number of peace building missions in endorsing security and peace in Africa with exceptional reference to Burundi.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

This study is to show what peace keeping missions are there in upholding security and peace in Africa with a special focus to Burundi with a keen interest at supporting peace processes<sup>9</sup>.

Regardless of availability of many mediating initiatives established by diverse stakeholders for example the EU, the UN, and individual countries from the West in addressing existing issues in relation to conflict resolution, dynamism in conflict resolution are increasingly getting difficult in Burundi. The AU has appeared as a home-based initiative that will efficiently take the continent's peace destination into the influences of the people of Africa by availing home-based tactics to address conflict challenges. The PSC was established and implemented in 2004 to in order to facilitate peace keeping initiatives using these methods.

The Horn of Africa, which is perceived to be the hottest bed of war in the whole Africa, attracted immediate consideration from the PSC which carried out peace building processes in several countries. Such processes that are aimed at enhancing peace have been accomplished in Burundi, the leading question that rises for that reason is whether these home-based strategies of conflict resolution are translating into justifiable outcomes. Consequently, the present study examines the case study of Burundi to disclose the influence of peace building missions in enhancing peace keeping and restoration in Africa

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<sup>7</sup> Omeje, C. K. ,,Understanding Conflict Resolution in Africa, in Francis J. David, Peace &Conflict in Africa, Zed Books Ltd, London 2008.p 73-90.

<sup>8</sup> Nehma G.( Ed), The Resolution of African Conflicts: The Management of Conflict Resolution & Post-conflict Reconstruction, James Currey, UK,2008.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid

by studying the activities and decisions that the peace keepers embark on in the solving conflicts that arose in the country.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

- i. Has the UN peace-building functions promoted peace and security in Africa through peace keeping missions in Burundi?
- ii. To what extent has the veto power influenced the operation of UN in promoting peace and security in Africa through peace keeping missions in Burundi?
- iii. What reform agenda of the UN are used in an effort to improve its efficiency in peace keeping missions in Africa?

### **1.4 Objectives of the Research**

The overall intention of the research is to investigate the role of peace keeping missions in upholding armistice and security in Africa: a case study of Burundi.

#### **1.4.1 Specific Objectives**

- i. To establish the extent to which the UN has employed its role in promoting armistice and security in Africa through peace keeping missions.
- ii. To establish the extent to which the veto power influenced the operation of the United Nations in promoting peace and security in Africa through peace keeping missions.
- iii. To determine the reform agenda of the United Nations in an effort to improve its efficiency.

### **1.5 Literature Review**

This section discusses literature relevant to the study and thematically organized around UNSC veto power and global peace and security. Global security concerns and peace keeping has dominated discourse of worldwide politics since the conclusion of WWII. Indeed, the formation of the UN was an attempt by the great powers to establish a working system that could guarantee universal cease-fire and security in entire world. The failure of League of Nations was a learning lesson to the world after WWII.

The formation of the UN was grounded on the belief that a collective approach to security was attainable and the most viable option in preservation of peace and security. This in itself precluded intra state conflicts that would dominate conflicts in the future. Most scholars agree that the cold war era greatly curtailed the ability of the UNSC role in

restoration and upholding of global security and peace. However much of the Literature condemn the council as having unsuccessful prime duty of preserving global armistice and security citing cases including Rwanda, Somalia and Iraq in 2003<sup>10</sup>.

### **1.5.1 Peacekeeping missions in Africa**

#### **1.5.1.1 Peacekeeping Operations in Chad**

The Chadian conflict started roughly in 1965 and originally modelled a severe threat and challenge only to the truthfulness of the government in authority in the republic. Gradually, nevertheless, even the veracity of the Chadian government came under stern intimidation. In 1975, the President of Chad, Francois Tombalbaye, who had earlier invited French troops to prop his tottering government, was collapsed in a bloody coup led by Felix Malloum. Efforts by Malloum to reinstate peace in the nation failed and in 1989, complete scale domestic war emerged. Then there was a sudden pull out of troops from Libya out of Chad in November 1981, was another factor that led to the decision to send a Pan-African military to that country.

Indeed, the withdrawal surprised a large number of observers and modelled some somber strategic challenges for the OAU, the government of Chad, and the extra-African powers that were called as replacement for withdrawn troops. First, the withdrawal created a security gap in the nation since the OAU peace enforcers were yet to be established, because Habre's men had regrouped along the Chad/Sudan border ready to march into Ndjamena. Secondly, to avert an outbreak of domestic war and the possibility of experiencing collapsed Wed- deye's administration, the Pan-African troops had to be established speedily to disperse the two defense forces<sup>11</sup>.

Kupolati observes that, the OAU deployed a peacekeeping force in chad in November 1981 in an attempt to the Chadian tragedy. The OAU had its first hands-on involvement in pacification in chad in 1982. The most unfortunate is that most of OAU states failed to honor their obligation of deploying the troops to the undertaking. The force at its optimum métier comprised of only five maneuvers divisions, which was tremendously insufficient to cover the area of 501,000 M<sup>2</sup> <sup>12</sup>. This has been a big challenge to these kinds of

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<sup>10</sup>Shaw, M. N. (2017). International Law (4thed.). UK, University Press Cambridge.

<sup>11</sup>Fesehun, Orobola and Amadu Sesay 1980. 'The O AU and Conflict Control'. Ife: Department of International Relations, mimeograph. Guardian (Lagos).

<sup>12</sup>Kupolati, R. 1996, The Nigerian contingent in OAU peacekeeping operation in Chad, M.A, vogt and LS, Aminu (ed), Peacekeeping as security Strategy in Africa; Chad and Liberia as case studies, Enugu: Fourth dimension publishing co. Ltd

peacekeeping operations where the agreements are not honored. This makes these operations to fail. On the same Elaigwu also observes that, the first Africa ingenuity in interpolation, which had been taken by the Organization of Africa Unity in 1982 during the Chadian civil war, ended in fiasco<sup>13</sup>.

Sesay notes that, in less than a year the task was concluded, in the midst of overall disappointment, being incapable of stopping the belligerence and soon become the object of violence. It did little to promote peacemaking, as conflict continued in various violent forms<sup>14</sup>. It was even better if these interventions were not started because there were no good results achieved. The peace keepers need to be careful before they embark on any operations. The strategies need to be observed and revised well before anything is done.

For purposes of analytical ease and clarity, these challenges can be categorized into three interrelated groups: They are narrated by Africa Research bulletin. These categories are: The first one is hypothetical, explicitly, the ones that are related to the entire notion of peacekeeping in an African atmosphere and geared by an African association. The second is Institutional challenges. These relate to the OAU herself which is considered as a global body. In addition, the problem is associated with the inventiveness of the project itself. The OAU had never before go on board with regard to peace-keeping movement. The deficiency of knowledge involving peace keeping was demonstrated in the manner in which the Organization treated the parties engaged in a conflict.

For example, the Standing Committee of Chad (SCC) conducted an emergency meeting in Nairobi, Kenya, in February, 1982 apparently to organize for a cessation of hostilities in the land, without Weddeye's representatives<sup>15</sup>. This poses the question why can people met to discuss about a situation and the owners who know what the problems are not available. Again, the tenacity approved at the end of the meeting basically called on all the parties involved in the war to perceive positively the end of hostilities and open dialogs intended to bring national ceasefire by the 28 of that month.

The tenacity had numerous consequences as a result of peace keeping accomplishment and even the imminence of the Chadian Forces. First, it implied the start of a course which

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<sup>13</sup>Elaigwu, J, Isawa, 1996, *Africa security in changing international environment*, in MA. Vogt and L.S,Aminu(Ed) *peacekeeping as security strategy in Africa: Chad and Liberia as a case study*, Enugu, Fourthdimension publishing Ltd.

<sup>14</sup>sesay,ahmadu,1991,the limits of peacekeeping by regional organization, *The OAU peacekeeping force inChad*, in conflict quarley NO,11 winter pp7-16

<sup>15</sup> Ibid



ultimately saw the withdrawal of defacto in OAU peace recognition from Weddeye. Second, by requesting all parties to attend to the peace-keeping conference, it was ostensible that Weddeye, who up until that period was the interim Chad President, was considered as the leader of a party in the civil war. Similarly, Habre was acknowledged as the main force in governmental inclination of Chad. Third, it was tactical- knowhow employed by the OAU that it was tending to be pessimistic over establishment of a permanent peaceful resolution to the persistent conflict in that country.

Additional point on the privation of knowledge and understanding in peace keeping strategies was the failure to organize a breakthrough in conflict resolution in the land in advance before the positioning of the Force. The joining of the Force was deferred by a number of weeks, due to the brutal belligerent amongst the militaries of the gun<sup>16</sup>.The first thing was to bring these leaders together and come up with the way forward together with them, The case of Sudan, the president and the leader of rebels that is His vice president were brought together face to face and were able to sought the way forward together, this associated poorly with UN level of experience.

For example, the UN took two weeks only to establish and install its peace keeping forces in Suez in 1956. Apart from the inability and deferment to organize a cessation of hostilities, the obligation of the Force was furthermore uncertain. Suffice it to opine that the diverse clarifications of the directive from Weddeye and Habre, particularly, added significantly to the challenges that the Force faced. A third issue concerning institutional challenges pertains the inadequacy of salience by the OAU<sup>17</sup>.Basing on the organization's performance on the scorecard, the points registered were very low.

A section of its affiliates, particularly Sudan and Egypt, did not trust that they were supposed to be bound by either its tenacities or adhere to its efforts in peace-keeping in Chad which they were continuously destabilizing. Khartoum did not act only as a channel for assistance from external forces to the forces of Habre, but also gave a rear stations for his Armed Forces of the North (AFN). This was basically accountable for his triumphant entry. The operation by Africa Union can be classifieds as the one which failure

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<sup>16</sup>Vogt and LS ,Aminu (ed),*Peacekeeping as security Strategy in Africa*; Chad and Liberia as case studies,Enugu:Fourth dimension publishing co.Ltd

<sup>17</sup>Ibid

completely. It may be said it was their first one but that is not a sound reason because they could have learned from UN who had performed so many operations<sup>18</sup>.

#### **1.5.1.2 The Work of ECOMOG in Liberia**

This report is adapted from Vogt. He notes that ECOMOG was established comprising of troops from Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Gambia. Its first task with duty of aiding the emigration of residents, largely children and women of member countries and other citizens of Liberia who were confined in combat regions. The force was established also to bring order through policing act particularly in Monrovia whereas measures were put in place for the launch of interim Government. Due to inability of registering an armistice from disagreeing parties in Liberia, ECOMOG arrived in Monrovia on 24<sup>th</sup> August 1990 facing substantial attack from NPFL forces established by Charles Taylor.

ECOMOG battled its way and gained access to Monrovia to establish a foothold that facilitated the evacuation of several stuck noncombatants from several nationalities<sup>19</sup>. That was the best agenda done by ECOMOG first to secure the safety of common civilians. On the same BBC monitoring report says, within a month of arrival, the strategy employed by ECOMOG had developed into conservative belligerent, with the goal of lashing out Taylor's forces from Monrovia and establishes a dwindling safeguard region about the capital city.

In November 1990, ECOMOG ruled over Monrovia and a cease fire was consequently achieved. Although ECOMOG'S definite mission was fashioned towards peacemaking and peace implementation, a major withdrawal from the initial directive, ECOMOG remained as enforcement unit for at least six months after its deployment. Finally, ECOMOG successes only on July 1997 after 12 years unsuccessful peace agreements, to bring to an end the conflicts in Liberia. Over the period eight years, the force agonized a massive forfeiture both in human and material resources in the hands of an obstinate rebellious organization<sup>20</sup>.

#### **1.5.1.3 The African Union Mission in the Sudan**

Muriithi, a high-ranking investigator in conflict anticipation program in Ethiopia opine that, the AU is similarly engaged in upholding peace in Sudan particularly in Darfur

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<sup>18</sup>John McCormick, *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*, third edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 37.

<sup>19</sup>Strategic plan of the commission of the Africa Union volume 3:2004-2007 plan of action

<sup>20</sup> Ibid

through the AU Mission in Sudan (AMIS). In Feb 2003, Darfur was distressed by war and conflict between the government of Sudan and anti-government paramilitaries known as the Janjaweed and two rebellious forces, the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) The battle bring about extensive atrocities against the ordinary citizens and displaced residents. Neighboring Chad at some instance hosted nearly hundred thousand refugees coming from Darfur.

On 8 April 2004 a break in fighting retroceded with the support of the AU, was implemented for a period of one and half months with the aim of enabling humanitarian support to reach out to the affected groups (IRIN, 2004). Consistently, the mediation team from Chad, that began talks on ways of bringing political solution to the persistent conflicts in N'djamena, working in collaboration with the AU<sup>21</sup>. The AU was consequently mandated with the mandate of funding and establishing revivification of ceasefire commission. The capacity of the AU to attain its assignment in Darfur will be contingent on its ability to marshal the radical resolve of its affiliate countries.

The AU has a slightly weak decree in Darfur, explicitly in monitoring the altruistic disaster effectively in the area and to harmonize efforts to progress the source of peace. Nevertheless, this constricted dictate does not guarantee the AU with the flexibility to adopt and execute Peace building initiatives, nor does the association have access to finance to facilitate inclusive peace building processes<sup>22</sup>. The continental or regional viewpoint under the management of the AU strive for answers in establishing a political solution at the same time undertaking operations that will facilitate peace to reduce the distress suffered by the Africans.

The AU's monitoring and evaluation mission has left behind much to be anticipated; a more vigorous mediation force is essential to discourage the silent massacre that is happening in Darfur. Nevertheless, the peacemaking initiative established by the AU in Nigeria, Abuja, under the guidance of a previous Secretary-General of the OAU, Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, steered towards the validation of the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) in May 2006. Having in mind that the Minni Minnawi group of the SLA entered into an agreement imply that the DPA was not an inclusive peace agreement purposed to mold

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<sup>21</sup>United Nations Security Council Resolution 1772 S-RES-1772(2007) page 3 in 2007 (retrieved 2008-03-13)

<sup>22</sup>69th meeting of the peace and Security Council". Agence de Presse Africaine. 2007-01-22. Retrieved 2018-02-09

agreement of South Sudan<sup>23</sup>. The fight has not ended and a sustainable solution is yet to be created. The rebellious affiliate clusters have started to confront themselves, and the circumstances has worsened into political, diplomatic and armed puzzle. In Darfur, the AU discovered a test case that was before them that it was faced with inadequacy of resourced and ill-equipped to resolve.

The awareness raising of the condition in Darfur imply that easy answers does not exist in solving peace issues. Definitely, it is proper and correct for the AU troops to be devoted in Darfur as international peace initiators. Regrettably, while the efforts of the AU's conciliatory missions are to be celebrated, its monitoring peace process is stumbling and allowing government initiatives, armed rebellious groups and the Janjaweed, to increasingly fight amongst themselves and carry on with the destruction of property and massacre of the people of Darfur.

On 31<sup>st</sup> August 2006 the UN approved Security Council Resolution 1706, which spearheaded for the establishment of a UN peace process in Sudan on 1<sup>st</sup> October 2006. It also highlighted that the UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) will take up after AMIS the accountability for implementation of the Darfur Peace Contract upon the termination of AMIS's directive and at the very latest by 31 December 2006<sup>24</sup>. The régime of Sudan is vigilant concerning the involvement of troops from outside of Africa in a possible pacification missions in Darfur due to the fact that there exist sturdy opinions predominantly with the political specialists in Khartoum in an effort of deploying non-African forces might seem an effort to re-colonize Sudan.

The study agrees with that statement if the UN was to be involved then the whole scenario changes. When they join the functions of peacekeeping they interest may over take that one of Africa Union and the two may start conflicting<sup>25</sup>.

### **1.5.2 Understanding the UNSC and the Rationale of the Veto Power**

Gordon<sup>26</sup> portends that the formation of the UN and the development of its Charter can be traced to the weeks of deliberation by the US, Britain, Soviet Union and China at Dumbarton Oaks in the US. These events set the precedence for the application of Real Politics in the structure of the organization. In other words, the draft was nothing less than

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid

<sup>24</sup> Ibid

<sup>25</sup> Ibid

<sup>26</sup> Ibid

principles of power politics and not any other considerations in international politics. According to the author<sup>27</sup> the intention of the delegates was to form an international organization that they could dominate and have major control of in as far as international engagements are concerned.

The UN and by extension the Security Council is thus an avenue for the P5 to defend their security and protect their national interests. While the argument that national interests of the P5 was a key ingredient in the formation of the UN and adoption of the Veto power model is to some extent accurate, the assumption that the whole effort towards the formation of the UN and establishment of the UNSC has nothing good for the other members of the UN does not hold given the various engagements the UN has conducted through the UNSC mandate.

These include peace keeping missions in the Balkans, Africa, Middle East and Asia<sup>28</sup>. It is also naïve to ignore the power realities that played a role with a view to preventing an outbreak of another World War. According to Shaw<sup>29</sup> the realities of power in the international system by 1945 was the overriding factor that determined and ultimately contributed to the establishment of the UNSC and adoption of the Veto power model. This is reflected in Article 27 of UN Charter. In the assertions of the UN's University (UNU) (1995) the UN was born out of the League of Nations-the first major transnational organization that attempted to establish a collective approach to security.

The UN Charter being an improvement of the League of Nations and whereas the UNSC is bestowed upon immense power in as far as preservation of transnational amity and security is concerned, this does not negate the equality of members as represented by one state one vote in the UN General Assembly. While this is true in principle, it is correct to point out that the UNSC still has overwhelming authority to veto resolutions put forth by the General Assembly as they are not binding decisions to the Security Council.

Price and Zacher<sup>30</sup> in appreciating the utility of the UNSC and the Veto power model points to the founders of the UN recognition of the role of great military powers in future preservation of armistice and security. This is further reinforced by the belief that

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<sup>27</sup>Williams, P., Goldstein, M. D., &Shafritz, M. J. (2006).Classic Readings and Contemporary Debates in International Relations (3rded.). Canada: Clark Baxter

<sup>28</sup> Weiss, G. T. (2003). The Illusion of UN Security Council reform. *The Washington Quarterly*, 147-161.

<sup>29</sup>Sawar, N. (2011). Expansion of the United Nations Security Council. Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad, 257-278.

<sup>30</sup>Price, M. R., &Zacher, M. W. (2004).The United Nations and Global Security. New York, Macmillan.

decisions of the council would only be effective if they were not opposed by one or more great powers. Also if the organization took any action against any of the great powers they could very well distance themselves from the organization and ultimately leave it. Price and Zacher<sup>31</sup> reinforce the argument put forth by Shaw<sup>32</sup> and the recognition of the veto power model in the structure of the UNSC. The limitation in this argument is that the international system has changed and so are power realities. The research study thus seeks to delve deeper in examining the rationale of the veto power model and its application to the contemporary international politics.

Meisler<sup>33</sup> provides a different perspective in the Veto power concept. In the authors contention, the genesis of the Veto starting from the original talks in Dumbarton Oaks represented not the number of states that would ultimately form membership of the organization, but rather the power dynamics of the US, Soviet Union, Britain and China and how that power would ultimately be the major determinant in the operation of the organization. The ideas of the four plus France added to the equation later on was later imposed on the other member states that would later take part in the San Francisco talks. In short the UN was to be an avenue through which the major powers would police the world.

The Veto power model did not go down well with the less powerful states but they none the less accepted it. In truth they had little say on the issue as the decision had already been made by the US, the major protagonist of the organization. The author however is silent on the implications of the Veto power to preservation of transnational peace and security. The research study intends to go further to examine the utility of the veto power model in the contemporary international system<sup>34</sup>. Darren<sup>35</sup> argues that the United Nations is far from ideal as it is founded by the most powerful nations. This renders it largely reliant upon those countries. The power held by the Security Council is a matter of grave worry with regard to the UN structure.

The five leading nations victorious in the WWII have considerable power. Any of the P5 associates can sanction a verdict raised by the other affiliates of the council consequently

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid

<sup>32</sup> Shaw, M. N. (2017). *International Law* (4th ed.). UK, University Press Cambridge.

<sup>33</sup> Meisler, S. (1995) *The First Fifty Years*. New York, The Atlantic Monthly Press.

<sup>34</sup> Nye, J. (2004). *Understanding International Conflicts, an Introduction to Theory and History* (6th eds.). New York, Pearson Education.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid

translating into null and void. The Security Council is also empowered to determine whether or not the UN should intervene in a particular situation. Darren's argument suggests that the power held by the UNSC does not augur well for the structure of the organization but does not look at the rationale for the formation of UNSC, the veto power model and its utility in upholding of global peace and security.

Kochler<sup>36</sup> has criticised the veto power model for undermining equality of states and giving undue power to a select few states, some of whom have over the years lost the political and military might to deserve such privileges. The author views the power of the P5 to determine substantive issues from procedural issues as further reinforcing undue advantage over other states. This in his contention is a threat to the legitimacy of the UN. It further hinders the ability of the UN to establish an efficient system for collective security. As a result, the author suggests that the best approach to transnational armistice and security would be amongst other changes to abolish the veto power model of the UNSC.

The authors further suggest a regional system of representation within the UNSC. The author however does not give an analysis of the implication of such changes taking into consideration the rationale for the application of the veto power model. According to Van Dyke<sup>37</sup> whereas the UN Charter permits implementation of collective security, the application of the veto makes such an activity most unlikely. The author argues that only in circumstances where the P5 are not affected by the issue in question can states expect action from the UNSC.

### **1.5.2 Perspectives on UNSC Role in preservation of international peace over time**

Malone<sup>38</sup> contends that the original concept behind the UNSC was the prevention of a third world war. As the cold war kicked in, much of the UNSC role shifted to prevention of regional intra-state or superpower proxy wars in many areas of the world. In this respect the UNSC performed modestly in as far as peace keeping was involved. The Cold war era also witnessed substantial application of the veto-193 to be precise compared to 12 between 1990 - 2003. The establishment of peacekeeping mission from 1988-1989 in Iran and Afghanistan further reinforced UN role in peacekeeping. The author however does not

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<sup>36</sup>Kochler, H. (1991). *The Voting Procedure in UNSC*. Studies in International Relations.

<sup>37</sup>Vincente, A. R. (2013). *United Nations Security Council Reform: The Question of the Veto Power*. UNITAR, 19-38.

<sup>38</sup>Malone, D. (2004). *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

make an assessment of the extent to which the UNSC has played its role in armistice and security. Hikaru<sup>39</sup> contends that the inability of the UNSC to deter the unilateral action by the US in Iraq in 2003 and the limited role characterized by failure in Rwanda, Bosnia and Kosovo conflicts significantly undermine the intention of UNSC in international peace and security. However, this organization still attracts significant amount of support and is a viable option in effecting collective security. This can be attributed to the decision by the US to seek authorization for armed force against Iraq in 2003 before opting for unilateral action. The author however does not offer insights on how to make the council more effective.

Hannay<sup>40</sup> explores the role of the UNSC from 1989-2009. In his contention the ineffectiveness of the UNSC far outweigh any form of successes within this period. The author has used a descriptive analysis to look at UNSC failures in Bosnia, Somalia, Yugoslavia and Rwanda. Other failures include the inability to prevent unilateral decision of the US to invade Iraq in 2003 and NATO air strikes in Kosovo in 1999. While the author admits expanded peace keeping roles in areas such as Eritrea-Ethiopia border, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Burundi, the author argues that the UN lost the opportunity to make the UNSC effective in preservation of intercontinental peace and security.

The author however fails to acknowledge that there has been no outbreak of a world war and the many peace keeping roles of the UNSC from Palestine in 1948, Suez in 1956, Korea 1950 and Congo in 1962. Weiss, Forsythe, Coate and Kate Pease<sup>41</sup> have offered a descriptive role of the UNSC in transnational armistice and security from the cold war era to the post-cold war era. The authors contend that the rivalry between the US and the USSR greatly hindered the ability of the council in preservation of amity and security. This led to an expanded approach to peace and security and the birth of the UNSC. The authors offer an insight into the emergence of peace keeping role of the UN starting with Palestine in 1948, Korea 1950, Congo 1962 and the Suez in 1956.

The UN over time expanded peace keeping operations to stabilise areas that were conflict ridden and posed threat to global security concerns and peace initiatives. The UN Iran-Iraq Observer Group (UNIIMOG), and the UN Transition Assistance Group in Namibia

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<sup>39</sup> Patrick, M. S. (2012). UN Security Council Reform, Is it Time? Retrieved September 13 2014 from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=25nHLC6UbD8>

<sup>40</sup> Ibid

<sup>41</sup> Weiss, G. T. (2003). The Illusion of UN Security Council reform. *The Washington Quarterly*, 147-161.



(UNTAG) and the UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP), are some of the peace keeping missions that the UNSC authorised to stabilise conflict areas and uphold peace and security. In respect to peace keeping missions there have been challenges for instance the Congo debacle where the UN was seen to take sides with the central government, the Rwanda conflict where UN minimal response led to the murder of thousands in the Rwanda genocide.

The authors have also briefly covered the issue of the reform of the UNSC in an effort to make it more effective, with reference to the 2004 report of the High Level Panel proposed changes to the UNSC. The author has however not covered the rationale of the veto power model or how the UNSC can be transformed to improve efficiency. One of the most dominant issues in international politics for decades has been the Israel and Palestine conflict. Bozorgmehri and Khani<sup>42</sup> see the failure to settle the clash as a direct result of the failure and inefficiency of the Security Council coupled with the national interest of the US.

They argue that the Veto Power Model has been a stumbling block in passing any resolution against Israel. The authors point to the US consistent application of the veto against UNSC resolutions aimed at forcing Israel to make concession regarding her role in the conflict. As of 2009 the US had blocked through the veto 225 resolutions regarding the Palestine issue. The authors however only covered the Palestine conflict in making an assessment of the UNSC and the Veto power model. This in itself is limiting for an in-depth understanding of the study.

Ametowoyona<sup>43</sup> in studying the UNSC and the Rwanda genocide of 1994 finds the council as ineffective in humanitarian intervention, an expanded role of amity and security. The author argues that due to national interests of states in the UNSC, specifically France, the council was unable to respond in time to save thousands of Rwandese from the genocide. Lack of political will, national interests, lack of a standby force and dependence on troop donation are some of the reasons cited by the author on the failure of UNSC. The author has extensively pointed to the veto power model and deadlock in the council as the major impediments in preservation of international peace

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<sup>42</sup>Bozorgmehri, M., &Khani, A.M. (2011). Palestinian Issue and the Security Council of UN: Use of Veto Prevents Establishment of International peace. *Geo-Politics Quarterly*, 78-99.

<sup>43</sup>Ametowoyona, A. A. (2008). *The Power politics the United Nations Security Council and Human Rights Violations: A case study of the 1994 Rwanda Genocide*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Makerere University, Uganda. Retrieved June 10, 2014 from <http://hdl.handle.net/10570/2212>

and security. The author has suggested extensive reform to the council, encouraging new voting methods that reflect democratic principles and limiting the application of the veto. The study intends to go further and examine implications of such proposals to preservation of international peace and security.

Malone and Chitalkar<sup>44</sup> argue that the UNSC is vulnerable to dynamics of international politics especially relations among the P5 at any given time. This in itself therefore limits the efficacy of the organisation in respect to preservation of peace and security. The author's argument is centred on the inability of the UNSC to act in the Balkans, Somalia and Rwanda where the UN role was lacking amidst conflict. They contend that the only case that the UNSC was successful in mobilising international support and unanimity of the Security Council was in 1991 in the Iraq–Kuwait conflict. The authors point to 2003 invasion of Iraq as testament to the inability of the council to maintain international peace and security.

The authors have not factored in the various aspects of peace keeping activities conducted by the UN over time. Neither have they provided tangible options to the UNSC in international peace and security. While the UN and in extension the UNSC would appear to be ineffective if judged on failures in select cases, assessing effectiveness in relation to an unattainable ideal seem unfair and misplaced. The UNSC exist in a framework of independent states in an anarchic international system and whereas in principle it is expected that it would in itself successfully execute its mandate in regard to preservation of international peace and security it will suffer from inadequacies linked to the perspective in which it functions.

In supposition, from the available literature much of the emphasis has been on a select few cases as a basis to offer judgement on the Security Council. But the ever expanding role of peacekeeping as mandated by the Security Council does not feature much<sup>45</sup>. The study attempts to go deeper in analysing the mandate of the UNSC to consider peacekeeping role as authorised by the council. Most of the literature available use selects cases to draw assumptions and conclusions most of which dismiss the council as having failed to execute

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<sup>44</sup>Malone, M., &Chitalkar, P. (2013). The UN Security Council and Iraq: UN Working Papers

<sup>45</sup>Massingham, E. (2009). Military Intervention for Humanitarian Purposes: Does the Responsibility to protect doctrine advance the legality of the use of force for humanitarian ends? International Review of the Red Cross.

its mandate in preservation of peace and security. The study will examine sanctioned action by the Security Council vis-a-vi case that no action has been taken.

### **1.6 Justification of the Study**

The issue of conflict remains to be an enormous problem in Africa provided that its adversative impacts. Mitigating such conflict has attracted the interest of both Africans and the global community in overall since Africa is strategically located bordering two vital sea routes, particularly via the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. These sea routes are presently recovering its significance from global maritime trade. Furthermore, the countries within the Horn of Africa are hypothetically lucrative market for Asian technological products, establishment of oil mining sites and globalization has increased intercontinental trade.

Sudan is anticipated to be an oil producer country, whereas the country possesses substantial agricultural capability and water reserves that may render the country to be an evocative contributor to development east Africa region. Different conflict resolution actors have utilized different approaches in coming up with measures that will reduce or eradicate conflict in the region. Nevertheless, these actors are observed by the parties involved in a conflict as either malicious, partial, or incapacitated to address them accordingly. In addition, peacekeepers in several conflicts are assumed to be unbiased since they do not conduct mediating activity for inhumane motives.

It is therefore important, to establish an actor who is perceived as unbiased to arbitrate in the Darfur situation which was nearly transforming into a massacre. The African Union PSC engaged in recreation to strategies that was purposely intended for peace restoration. However, the most important thing is evaluating the influences of available peace keeper in achieving peace in the area with the purpose of providing new approaches of tackling its problems. Citing from the section of literature review, it is deceptive that literature that narrates the role of societies in security advancement and peace keeping in the region. Nonetheless, the prevailing literature emphasizes typically on the regional economic communities (RECS).

It does not definite the prominence starring intention of the PSC for upholding the peace and the security in specific nations. It can be derived from the attribution to the temperately short term existence of the PSC dating back in 2004. Accordingly, the present

study endeavors to overcome this challenge by assessing the role played by the peace keeping missions in enhancing peace and security in Burundi.

### **1.7 Theoretical Framework**

This study will use the structural conflict theory as the theoretical framework. The radical structural theory epitomized by the Marxist dialectical school with advocates like Engels and Marx, I Lenin<sup>46</sup>. The second is open-minded structuralism signified by Scarborough, Ross, and well-renowned work of famous Author Galtung<sup>47</sup> on physical violence. Collier assert that, the theory further sees incompatibility of welfares established on rivalry for resources, which in perceived mostly to be rare, as being accountable for societal conflicts.

Gaya<sup>48</sup>says, Theories like Marxism, in its research work on historical acquisitiveness presents conflicts as mostly tied to social institutions and economic structures<sup>23</sup>. He continues to say, the major theme of discussion concerning structural theory is that conflict results from particular designs that societies are structured and organized. So that to mean the structural theory deal with challenges to do with social problems for example, political and economic exclusion, poverty, diseases, exploitation and also injustice, and more so inequality mostly towards women and children<sup>49</sup>. This theory maintains that conflicts occur because of what we can call exploitation and in just nature of human societies, domination of class by another.

According to Sollenberg<sup>50</sup> in circumstances where prevailing structures are tilted in courtesy of one group whereas tapping the others at a difficulty edge as amply illustrated in Khotari's unequal axes above; where cultures are perceived to be exclusive; in that people with certain privileges or powers are reluctant in acknowledging the rights and freedom of others as unique; or where individuals find it problematic to relate to economic and political ideas of a political government, the probabilities are that the conflict will

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<sup>46</sup>Huggins, C. (2014). Land, Power and Identity: Roots of Violent Conflict in Eastern DRC, London, International Alert

<sup>47</sup>Joao, G. (2012). Contemporary Conflict Analysis in Perspective, in Jeremy Lind and Kathryn Sterman, eds., Scarcity and Surfeit: The Ecology of Africa's Conflicts, Pretoria, Africa Center for Technology Studies and Institute for Security Studies

<sup>48</sup>Jolana, P. (2012). Beyond impunity: can international criminal justice prevent future atrocities. American Journal of International Law, 95(1), 7-31.

<sup>49</sup>Knowles, P. (2014).The Power to Prosecute: the Special Court for Sierra Leone from a defense perspective. International Criminal Law Review, 6, 387-417.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid

appear and intensify if no action is done to remedy such anomalies<sup>51</sup>. The above statement corresponds to the situation in Somalia. There has been a conflict which has prevailed for so long. These conflicts are as result of weak structures and everyone wanting to be in power. To add on that, those in powers tend to own it by putting people they are related to power. This makes other to be dissatisfied hence causes of conflicts<sup>52</sup>. These conflicts have led the country of Somalia to have peacebuilding functions undertaken by AU. This theory will inform the study on the need to have stable structures in order to prevent future conflicts<sup>53</sup>.

## **1.8 Research Hypothesis**

The following null hypothesis

*H<sub>01</sub>*: UN has not played its role in enhancing peace and security in Africa through peace keeping missions

*H<sub>02</sub>*: Veto power model has no influence on the operation of the UN in promoting peace and security in Africa through peace keeping missions

*H<sub>03</sub>*: The methods used by United Nations in peace keeping mission in Africa are not effective

## **1.9 Research Methodology**

This study will rely on library research supplemented by informant interviews. To have an empirical contribution, the researcher intends to hold interviews with respondents from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Interior and Coordination, and various Non-Governmental Organizations that deal with peace and security. This will enable the researcher to ground her ideas and assumptions on a specific context for empirical data.

### **1.9. 1 Sampling**

The study will use purposive sampling and will identify relevant ministries and organizations from where senior staff and heads of relevant units and departments will be conveniently selected for interviews. This will include the Ministries of foreign affairs,

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<sup>51</sup>Landsberg, C. (2012). Fractured continentally, undermined abroad: African Agency in World Affairs, Johannesburg, University of Johannesburg Mamdani, M. When Victims Becomes Killers, Fountain Publishers, Kampala, 2012.

<sup>52</sup>Mahmood, F. (2013). Power versus the sovereign equality of states: The veto, the P-5 and United Nations Security Council reform. Journal for International Affairs: Center for Strategic Research, 117-136.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid

ministry of interior and coordination, and Non-Governmental Organizations that deal with peace and security.

### **1.9.2 Sources of data**

The data for this study will be resultant of both ancillary and principal sources. The ancillary sources will comprise of books, unpublished documents, journals, public records and statistics, historical documents, magazines, Newspapers, letters, speeches, conference proceedings, official reports and Internet sources. The primary sources will be interviews from individuals. The instruments for collecting data from the field will involve oral and written evidence through face to face interviews and written questionnaires. Face to face interviews will be booked in the case of the senior officials from the ministries.

### **1.9.3 Data Analysis**

Analysis of data will be done in form of content analysis. The data will be analysed, combined, organised and the subsequent data will be characterized in harmony with the objectives of the study. An assessment of the purposes and the outcomes of the study will be done and based on this classification conclusion and recommendations for further research will be made.

### **1.10 Chapter Outline**

**The study is organized in to six chapters. Chapter one lays the foundation for this study by focusing on the background, the problem statement, and objective of the study, justification of the study, research hypotheses, theoretical framework and methodology of the study. Chapter Two will discuss on the role of the United Nations Security Council role in building peace and security in Africa. Chapter three will focus on the United Nations and the veto power model in preservation of international peace and security. Chapter Four will focus on reform agenda of the UN in an effort to improve its efficiency. The chapter will focus on the different reform proposals, their viability, utility and implication to the UN and preservation of international peace and security. Chapter five will focus on data presentation and analysis. Chapter six will focus on the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.**

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL ROLE IN BUILDING PEACE AND SECURITY**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

Article 39 under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter stipulates that the Security Council has the primary role of maintaining of universal peace and security. In satisfying this role, the Council can create a UN peacekeeping initiative or implement peace strategies in areas marred with conflict. UN peacekeeping missions are organised with reference to commands from the UNSC<sup>54</sup>. Their major role differs from circumstances to circumstances, contingent on the state of the conflict and the precise encounters it faces. Though each UN peacekeeping body is not the same, there is a substantial amount of constancy in the categories of mandated responsibilities allocated by the Security Council.

Reliant on their directive, peacekeeping actors may be established to avert the eruption of conflict or the spread of conflict transversely borders, alleviate conflict states after the end of hostilities, to generate an atmosphere for the groups to find a lasting peace treaty, assist in executing inclusive peace treaties, lead states or regions through a conversion to steady government, centred on good governance, democratic philosophies, and economic development. Peacekeeping mandate is also expanded to play roles related to peace building. The argument being that peace building is a critical aspect of peacekeeping. This includes the arms reduction, disbandment and the restoration of former militant troops into communities in order to limit access to arms that is a major catalyst to conflict and war.

Disarmament also includes elimination of land mine that greatly undermines human life in post conflict areas. Reforms in Security sector and other activities relating to the rule of law, advancement of electoral assistance, human rights, and backing for the extension and restoration of state authority and upgrading of economic and social recovery are the other areas under the expanded mandate of peacekeeping<sup>55</sup>.

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<sup>54</sup>Luck, C. E. (2005). *Rediscovering the Security Council: The High-Level Panel and beyond. Reforming the United Nations for Peace and Security: Proceedings of a Workshop to Analyze the Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change* (pp.126-152). New Haven, Connecticut: Yale Center for the Study of Globalization.

<sup>55</sup> Wong, N. (2012, July 25). *China's Veto on Syria: What interests are at play*. Retrieved October 9, 2014, from Open Democracy: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/nicholas-wong/china%E2%80%99s-veto-onsyria->

The UNSC is synonymous with the perpetual affiliates of the council and the veto power model. The importance of the P5 and their veto power indeed at times diminishes the role and operations of the other non-permanent members of the council. In reality the operations of the UN in regards to preservation of peace and security are dependent on the council. It remains a matter of record that during the cold war era the Council was greatly hampered in its operations. This is attributed to the cold war rivalry between the Soviet Union and the US and the great power antagonism that in, most cases found its way into decision making at the council<sup>56</sup>.

Irrespective of challenges in building consensus in the council there have been a growing number of resolutions on armistice keeping adopted. The United Nations through the UNSC expanded its mandate in regard to preservation of international peace and security to embrace peacekeeping mission. This followed increased cases of intra and interstate conflicts in the world. The role of the UN peacekeeping increased exponentially over time and especially with an increase in international conflicts<sup>57</sup>.

These peacekeeping operations can be classified into four categories: eyewitness sets to supervise cease-fires and cease-fire lines, army services interpolated among militaries and used to perambulate boundaries, armed forces with the mandate to limit armed clashes by all means and to assist in maintaining international order and military presence to prevent the expansion of communal skirmishes. The UNSC has also settled political disputes that had the potential to lead to war in Indonesia, Iran, Suez, to name a few (Palmer and Perkins, 2010). From 1990-1998, the council authorized 31 peacekeeping missions and adopted 145 resolutions under chapter VII of the UN Charter which is binding to all member states. In contrast only 15 peace keeping missions were authorized and 22 resolutions adopted before 1990<sup>58</sup>.

## **2.2 Assessing the UNSC Role in Preservation of International Peace during the Cold War Era**

The UN with authorization from the Security Council was engaged in four key international peace and security catastrophes. These included Palestine, Korea (1950), Suez 1956 and Congo in 1962. After Israel avowed freedom in 1948, war started between

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<sup>56</sup> Report of the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs 2014 <http://syria.unocha.org/>

<sup>57</sup> Voeten, E. (2001). Outside Options and the Logic of Security Council Action. *America Political Science Review*, 845-858.

<sup>58</sup> Global Policy Forum, (2014). <https://www.globalpolicy.org/security-council.html>



Israel and her neighbours Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon and Syria<sup>59</sup>. The Security Council acting within its mandate and under Article VII ordered for a cease-fire then established an observer team, the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) to supervise the ceasefire<sup>60</sup>.

In 1950 the Security Council authorized action to deter violence and re-establish peace and security during the Korean War between North and South Korea. After World War II North Korea became allied to the Soviet Union while South Korea was allied to the US. Forces from North Korea attacked South Korea. The Security Council passed a resolution declaring that North Korea had committed a breach of peace thereby legitimizing US involvement to deter North Korea forces from South Korea. The UN General Assembly voted through the Uniting for Peace resolution to offer support for South Korea with authorization from the United Nations<sup>61</sup>.

However, Russia was not in agreement with the rest of the UNSC members regarding military action against North Korea, in fact at the time the Soviet Union was absconding its role and position in the UNSCS. The uniting for peace resolution by the UNGA was used in this instance by passing the UNSC and authorizing UN action<sup>62</sup>. The seventh Report of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace issued in July 1951 concluded that the enforcement action undertaken by the UN in Korea was historic in the sense that it was the first major collective action decision taken by a community of states to deter aggression.

In 1961 the council also adopted resolution 161 A to take all applicable procedures to avert war in the Congo. This set the phase for the deployment of United Nations peacekeeping mission in the Congo. The peace keeping operations however faced serious challenges as super power rivalries manifested in the country. In response to the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, the UN created the United Nations Emergency Force II (UNEF II) with a mandate to keep the warring parties apart especially Egypt and Israel. Its mandate was renewed by the Security Council after the 1979 truce to establish a demilitarized zone and supervise other

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid

<sup>60</sup>UN Security Council, Presidential Statement [Middle East] (S/PRST/2011/16), t 2011; UN Security Council, Summary Record of the 6602nd meeting (S/P.V. 6602), 2011.

<sup>61</sup>Young, J.W & Kent, J. (2004). International Relations Since 1995: A Global History. New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>62</sup>Price, M. R., & Zacher, M. W. (2004). The United Nations and Global Security. New York, Macmillan.

provisions of the truce. The Security Council also acted decisively in the course of Iran-Iraq conflicts in 1987- 1988 by daunting economic punishments on Iran for encouraging the occurrence of war. More so, gulf war would provide one of the most successful stories of the UN inclusive security structure and an exercise of the mandate of the UNSC mandate in upholding of regional and continental peace and security.

But the cold war rivalries still played a significant part in determining how effective the Security Council would operate. The Soviet Union embargoed the council in reaction to the UN recognition of Taiwan as the legitimate government of China seriously affected legitimacy of council decisions during the Korea war. An attempt by the Soviet Union to bring a resolution to recognize China in the council faced stiff opposition from the US who promised to veto such a resolution. The Soviet Union thus boycotted the UNSC in protest and in support to China whose communist ideology was closer to the Soviet Union.

The United Nations had about twenty-seven Peacekeeping Operations during the Cold War Years. To note is that some of this missions like in Jerusalem and Pakistani which started in 1948 and 1949 respectively are still ongoing

### **2.3 Assessing the UNSC Role in Preservation of International Peace after the Cold War Years**

Conclusion of the Cold War steered in a time of increased pre-emptive role by the UNSC in tackling intra-state war, with intermediations in Somalia, Sierra Leone and Haiti. Regardless of the right to self-determination and national power under Article 2(7) of the UN Charter prohibiting the UN from overriding in "local jurisdiction of any country", Chapter VII allows the Security Council to arbitrate if it realizes any condition to be a 'breach of the peace, menace to peace situation, or act of conflict; the Security Council applies this exemption to Article 2(7) in justifying creations that could jeopardize regional and continental peace and security if they intensify beyond domestic borders<sup>63</sup>.

Sovereignty does not wholly protect states from extraneous intervention especially where the welfare of the citizens is at stake. In 2005 at the UN World summit member states officially recognized the duty of states to defend their citizens from ethnic cleansing, war

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<sup>63</sup>Mahmood, F. (2013). Power versus the sovereign equality of states: The veto, the P-5 and United Nations Security Council reform. *Journal for International Affairs: Center for Strategic Research*, 117-136.

crimes and crimes against humanity. If a state fails in respect to this role then the UN has a formal responsibility to intervene on humanitarian grounds<sup>64</sup>. Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations allows special powers to the Security Council to implement its directive of upholding peace and security, such as economic sanctions, arms embargoes, financial sanctions, travel bans, and collective military actions, including the authority to install and direct peacekeeping forces. Prior to application of this power the Security Council can attempt alternative steps under Article 34 of the UN charter.

This include: calling for truces, entreating deliberations to resolve the issues leading to conflict, and crafting inquiries into disagreements or circumstances that may disrupt international peace<sup>65</sup>. Having concluded the cold war, there was also hope that the gridlock that had characterized relations at the Security Council would be reduced. In truth the expiration of cold war has seen a significant reduction in the application of the veto power. There was enthusiasm after 1991 following unanimity towards collective action against Iraq.

That year the council was united again in condemning Iraq invasion of Kuwait and ultimately authorized the use of force to get Iraqi forces outside Kuwait. The Iraqi attack of Kuwait in August 1990 forced the Council to use a command sanctioning the adoption of force by an alliance of affiliate countries. The decisions of UNSC during the whole Iraq-Kuwait crisis, comprising measures applied following the March 1991 cessation of hostilities to create no-fly regions within Iraq and to set aside humanitarian support scheme to the Kurdish inhabitants, were significant not only in their own benefit but also due to their approval to be examples in many admirations. The achievement of the military campaign in the coalition against the Saddam Hussein's administration persuaded a period of hopefulness vis-à-vis the operation of the council<sup>66</sup>

Still in Iraq the council adopted a number of resolution key among them resolution 1051 of 1996 which establish a structure for Iraqi exports and imports relating to munitions of massive destruction. In 1999 the council approved resolution 1284 establishing a new assessments mechanism: the U.N. Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission

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<sup>64</sup>Voeten, E. (2001). Outside Options and the Logic of Security Council Action. *America Political Science Review*, 845-858.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid

<sup>66</sup> Ibid

(UNMOVIC)<sup>67</sup>.The Iraq war presented the ideal expectations of how the council should operate in discharging its mandate in regards to upholding of world-wide peace and security. However, the successes in Iraq were overshadowed by the conflict in Somalia with the death of US forces and a peace mission unable to support humanitarian intervention.

During this period the UNSC adopted nearly 185 resolutions regarding peacekeeping missions in conflict areas. The council also enforced sanctions against the government of Yugoslavia in 1991, Iraq in 1990, Haiti in 1993, Sierra Leone in October 1997 and Libya in 1992, UNITA in Angola in 1993. From 1990-96, the Council increased greatly alternative to economic authorisations as a ways of compelling obedience with its verdicts, occasionally complemented by naval blockades, similar case to former Yugoslavia, Iraq and Haiti<sup>68</sup>.

But even with the developments and increased consensus after the cold war, the P5 still protect their own national interests and aspirations within the council. This has to some extent hindered the ability of the council to execute its mandate. Where a particular humanitarian crisis falls within the national interests of P5 member or members, they are likely to deny their backing or even portend to veto unless their national interests are withheld<sup>69</sup>. For instance, Russia and later China blocked resolution calling for peace missions in Haiti. Russia wanted UN authorization of its own mediation in Georgia in 1994. In the 1990s Russia was uneasy about external interference in Eastern Europe and refused to recognize any form of humanitarian intervention in the evolving crisis in Kosovo.

Russia was prepared to veto any resolution of the UNSC that would authorize military intervention. It took the unilateral intervention of NATO amidst mounting humanitarian crisis acting without authorization of the council but with informal support from the UN for action<sup>70</sup>. In recent times there have been both consensus and division. In September 2013 the UNSC totally adopted an obligatory resolution on getting rid of Syria's Weapons of Mass Destruction, specifically, chemical weapons. The vote came amidst accusations

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<sup>67</sup>Global Policy Forum, (2014). <https://www.globalpolicy.org/security-council.html>

<sup>68</sup>Weiss, G. T., Forsythe, P., Coate, R., & Pease, K. (2007). *The United Nations and Changing World Politics* (5th ed.). Colorado: West view Press.

<sup>69</sup> Nye, J. (2004). *Understanding International Conflicts, An Introduction to Theory and History* (6th eds.). New York, Pearson Education.

<sup>70</sup>Bennet, A. L. (1977). *International Organizations: Principles and Issues*: New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

from human rights groups and international agencies that work against proliferation of chemical weapons who accused Syria of using chemical weapons against its civilians. The UNSC gave the International Chemical Watchdog group the mandate to oversee the destruction of the chemical weapons. Syria has been a divisive issue among the Security Council members and this was a rare moment when the council got rare unanimity on the issue.

After the cold war the United Nations had more operations on Peacekeeping. Some of this missions like in South Sudan and Central African Republic are still ongoing from the years 2011 and 2014 respectively. Since inception the UNSC has authorized and conducted 69 peacekeeping operations in respect to protection of peace and security. Currently there are 16 active peace keeping operations authorized the council. While during the cold war years the operations were inadequate due to cold war rivalry, the end of the cold war has seen an increase in the number of actions taken by the council. However, there have been failures in regard to preservation of international peace and security key among them Somalia, Rwanda and the Balkan Region.

International peace has expanded so much in recent time to include protection of citizens under the responsibility to protect; a concept that was totally adopted by UN member states during the UN world Summit in 2005. The Security Council has branded certain desecrations of human rights as a risk to armistice and security. In the next section the study looks at R2P in an expanded UN mandate in international peace and security.

#### **2.4 Emerging Threats to International Peace and Security and UN Response: Interventions under the Responsibility to Protect (R2P).**

In the wake of genocide in and the Balkans in the 1990s, there were renewed efforts to develop a framework that would facilitate protection of human rights and deal with gross violations of human rights effectively when such cases occur. In 2000 then UN secretary general cited failures for the security council to prevent the genocide in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia a challenge to member states in regards to protection of civilians in conflict areas<sup>71</sup>. The ICISS was the first organization to coin the expression “obligation to protect” in response to calls by Kofi Anan to figure out the best approach to handling issues of genocide and gross violations of human rights. The commission found that

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<sup>71</sup> Bailey, S. (1988). *The Procedure of the United Nations Security Council*: Oxford: Clanderon Press.

whereas sovereignty gives states the control of their internal affairs within their territory, it is also expected that states protect their citizens and as such should the state in question be reluctant or unable to act then the international community must act in that respect<sup>72</sup>. In 2004, the High-level Panel on Change, Challenges and Threats created by Secretary-General Kofi Annan, sanctioned the emerging custom of a accountability to protect—commonly called “R2P” – asserting that there is a mutual transnational accountability, ‘exercised by the Security Council sanctioning military involvement as a last option, in the occasion of massacre and other massive killing, and ethnic cleansing, sombre breach of altruistic law which autonomous regimes have demonstrated unwillingness or powerless efforts to prevent.’”

The panel suggested rudimentary criteria that would legitimize the sanction through the use of force by the UN Security Council, considering the gravity of the danger, the circumstance that it must be a final alternative, and the weight of the reaction<sup>73</sup>. During the United Nations World Summit in September 2005, all affiliate countries formally acknowledged the accountability of each State to defend its citizens from genocides that may result in massacre, crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing and war crimes. During the Summit, world front-runners also approved that when any country fails to comply with that obligation; all States are accountable for assisting in protecting the people endangered with such criminalities.

Should peaceful approaches – inclusive of humanitarian, diplomatic, and others - be small in number and national authorities “apparently fail” to safeguard their residents, the global community should act jointly in a “decisive and timely manner” – through the UN Security Council and in agreement with the UN Charter – on a case-by-case foundation and in collaboration with regional governments as suitable<sup>74</sup>. It was Sudan that the UNSC first implemented the R2P in April 2006, in resolution 1674 conflict on the civilians’ protection in armed battle. The Security Council mentioned that resolution in August 2006, when authorizing resolution 1706 sanctioning the deployment of UN peacekeeping

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<sup>72</sup>Bertrand, M. (1996).The Historical Development of Efforts to Reform the UN.In A. Roberts &B. Kingsbury (Eds.), *United Nations, Divided worlds, The UN’s Role in International Relations* (pp 420-436). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

<sup>73</sup>Greitens, S. C & Farrell, T. (2013). *Humanitarian Intervention and Peace Operations*. InJ. Baylis., J. Wirtz, & S C.Gray, *Strategy in the Contemporary World: AnIntroduction to Strategic Studies* (pp. 173-194). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid

forces to Darfur, Sudan. Since then, there have been other conflict cases<sup>75</sup>. Following systematic and extensive attacks against the ordinary population by the government in response to complaints in favour of change in administration in Libya, the UN Security Council, on 26 February 2011, universally implemented resolution 1970, making strong locus to the obligation to protect the citizens.

The UN characterized the situation as dire categorized by “the systematic and gross violation of human rights”. The Security Council called for cessation violence citing Libya’s accountability in protecting its ordinary citizens. It was followed by a sequence of global sanctions. The Council also categorically taken the opportunity to refer the condition to the International Criminal Court. In resolution 1973, implemented on 17 March 2011, the Security Council commanded an instant armistice in Libya, as well as the on-going killings of civilians, which it suggested might institute “breaching of humanitarian law.”

The Council sanctioned Member countries to take “all essential actions” to safeguard ordinary citizens under danger of violence in the nation, exclusive of a extraneous force of any kind on any region of Libyan territory. After a few number of days, acting on the tenacity, NATO planes began striking at government military forces in Libya<sup>76</sup>. The UNSC also passed a resolution for military operation in Cote D’Ivoire after chaos erupted following elections in 2010. Following the presidential election in the country in 2010, security militias and forces loyal to former President Laurent Gbagbo attacked the ordinary citizens perceived to be followers of the sitting President Alassane Ouattara basing of their ethnic relationship<sup>77</sup>.

A projection of 3,000 people were killed during the post-electoral war while Gbagbo denied to surrender the Presidency and this crisis impelled the council to adopt resolution 1975 in March 2011 in order to take action to protect civilians. UN peace keeping mission in Cote de’Ivoire (UNOCI) was initially sanctioned under Resolution 1528 (2004) with the mandate to protect civilians<sup>78</sup>. In 2011 the Security Council, adopted a resolution to create a UN Peacekeeping Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), to assist and counsel the

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<sup>75</sup>Hiscocks, R. (1973). *The Security Council*. London: Longman publishers.

<sup>76</sup> Nicholas, G. H. (1975). *The United Nations as a Political Institution*. London: Oxford University Press.

<sup>77</sup>Russet, B., & Starr, H. (1995). *World Politics: The Menu for Choice* (5thed.). New York: W.H Freeman and Company.

<sup>78</sup>Weiss, G. T., Forsythe, P., Coate, R., & Pease, K. (2007). *The United Nations and Changing World Politics* (5thed.). Colorado: West view Press.

government in satisfying its obligation to safeguard civilians. Following an outbreak of war between opposition and government forces. In December 2013, the Security Council restated its unwavering sustenance for UNMISS and its vibrant mission on behalf of the world-wide community to safeguard the ordinary citizens in South Sudan, together with foreign inhabitants, as well as carry out monitoring and evaluation of human rights, and offer assistance to the needy populations. On 27<sup>th</sup> May the UNSC implemented Resolution 2155 spreading UNMISS' citizen's protection obligation until November 2014.

The council stressed that it is the responsibility of the government of South Sudan to defend the interests of innocent civilians within its boundary and substance to its authority, including those from prospective crimes against war and humanitarian. Additionally, the UNSC employed a Presidential Statement on 8 August 2014, accusing recurrent defilements of the cessation of hostilities and articulating its willingness to impose targeted authorizations against those undermining peace in South Sudan. R2P remains as a sustainable strategy in upholding transnational peace and security.



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THE UN AND THE VETO POWER MODEL IN PRESERVATION OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This section reviews relevant literature thematically organized around UNSC veto power and transnational peace and security. This discourse has dominated dialogue in international politics since the end of WWII. Indeed, the formation of the UN was an attempt by the great powers to establish a working system that could guarantee peace and security in the entire world. The failure of the League of Nations was a learning lesson to the world after WWII.

The formation of the UN was grounded on the belief that a collective approach to security was attainable and the most viable option in preservation of peace and security. This in itself precluded intra state conflicts that would dominate conflicts in the future. Most scholars agree that the cold war era greatly curtailed the ability of the UNSC role in preservation of international peace and security. However much of the Literature condemn the council as having failed in its principal role to preservation of international peace and security citing cases such as Rwanda, Somalia and Iraq in 2003<sup>79</sup>.

Gordon<sup>80</sup> portends that the formation of the UN and the development of its Charter can be traced to the weeks of deliberation by the US, Britain, Soviet Union and China at Dumbarton Oaks in the US. These events set the precedence for the application of Real politick in the structure of the organization. In other words, the draft was nothing less than principles of power politics and not any other considerations in international politics. According to the author<sup>81</sup> the intention of the delegates was to form an international organization that they could dominate and have major control of in as far as international engagements are concerned.

The UN and by extension the Security Council is thus an avenue for the P5 to defend their security and protect their national interests. While the argument that national interests of the P5 was a key ingredient in the formation of the UN and adoption of the Veto power model is to some extent accurate, the assumption that the whole effort towards the

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<sup>79</sup>Shaw, M. N. (2017). *International Law* (4th ed.). UK, University Press Cambridge.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid

<sup>81</sup>Williams, P., Goldstein, M. D., & Shafritz, M. J. (2006). *Classic Readings and Contemporary Debates in International Relations* (3rd ed.). Canada: Clark Baxter

formation of the UN and establishment of the UNSC has nothing good for the other members of the UN does not hold given the various engagements the UN has conducted through the UNSC mandate. These include peace keeping missions in the Balkans, Africa, Middle East and Asia<sup>82</sup>. It is also naïve to ignore the power realities that played a role with a view to preventing an outbreak of another World War. According to Shaw<sup>83</sup> the realities of power in the international system by 1945 was the overriding factor that determined and ultimately played a role in the establishment of the UNSC and approval of the Veto power model. This is reflected in Article 27 of the UN charter.

In the assertions of the United Nations University (UNU) (1995) the UN was born out of the League of Nations-the first major global organization that attempted to establish a collective approach to security. The UN Charter being an improvement of the League of Nations and whereas the UNSC is bestowed upon immense power in as far as preservation of peace and security, this does not negate the equality of members as represented by one state one vote in the UN General Assembly. While this is true in principle, it is correct to point out that the UNSC still has overwhelming authority to veto resolutions put forth by the General Assembly as they are not binding decisions to the Security Council.

Price and Zacher<sup>84</sup> in appreciating the utility of the UNSC and the Veto power model points to the founders of the UN recognition of the role of great military powers in future preservation of peace and security. This is further reinforced by the belief that decisions of the council would only be effective if they were not opposed by one or more great powers. Also if the organization took any action against any of the great powers they could very well distance themselves from the organization and ultimately leave it. Price and Zacher<sup>85</sup> reinforce the argument put forth by Shaw<sup>86</sup> and the recognition of the veto power model in the structure of the UNSC.

The limitation in this argument is that the international system has changed and so are power realities. The research study thus seeks to delve deeper in examining the rationale of the veto power model and its application to the contemporary international politics.

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<sup>82</sup> Weiss, G. T. (2003). The Illusion of UN Security Council reform. *The Washington Quarterly*, 147-161.

<sup>83</sup> Sawar, N. (2011). Expansion of the United Nations Security Council. *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad*, 257-278.

<sup>84</sup> Price, M. R., & Zacher, M. W. (2004). *The United Nations and Global Security*. New York, Macmillan.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid

<sup>86</sup> Shaw, M. N. (2017). *International Law (4th ed)*. UK, University Press Cambridge.

Meisler<sup>87</sup> provides a different perspective in the Veto power concept. In the authors contention, the genesis of the Veto starting from the original talks in Dumbarton Oaks represented not the number of states that would ultimately form membership of the organization, but rather the power dynamics of the US, Soviet Union, Britain and China and how that power would ultimately be the major determinant in the operation of the organization.

The ideas of the four plus France added to the equation later on was later imposed on the other member states that would later take part in the San Francisco talks. In short the UN was to be an avenue through which the major powers would police the world. The Veto power model did not go down well with the less powerful states but they none the less accepted it. In truth they had little say on the issue as the decision had already been made by the US, the major protagonist of the organization. The author however is silent on the implications of the Veto power to preservation of intercontinental peace and security. The research study intends to go further to examine the utility of the veto power model in the contemporary international system<sup>88</sup>.

Darren<sup>89</sup> argues that the United Nations is far from ideal as it is founded by the utmost authoritative states. This reduces it to be principally dependent upon those states. The power held by the Security Council is a matter of serious concern with regard to the UN structure. The five leading nations victorious in the WWII have considerable power. Any of the P5 members can sanction a resolution made by the other members of the council thus making it null and void. The Security Council is also empowered to determine whether or not the UN should intervene in a particular situation.

Darren's argument suggests that the power held by the UNSC does not augur well for the structure of the organization but does not look at the rationale for the formation of UNSC, the veto power model and its utility in preservation of intercontinental peace and security. Kochler<sup>90</sup> has criticised the veto power model for undermining equality of states and giving undue power to a select few states, some of whom have over the years lost the political and military might to deserve such privileges. The author views the power of the P5 to determine substantive issues from procedural issues as further reinforcing undue

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<sup>87</sup>Meisler, S. (1995) *The First Fifty Years*. New York, The Atlantic Monthly Press.

<sup>88</sup> Nye, J. (2004). *Understanding International Conflicts, An Introduction to Theory and History* (6th eds.). New York, Pearson Education.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid

<sup>90</sup>Kochler, H. (1991). *The Voting Procedure in UNSC*. Studies in International Relations.

advantage over other states. This in his contention is a threat to the legitimacy of the UN. It further hinders the ability of the UN to establish an efficient system for collective security. As a result, the author suggests that the best approach to international peace and security would be among other changes to abolish the veto power model of the UNSC. The authors further suggest a regional system of representation within the UNSC. The author however does not give an analysis of the implication of such changes taking into consideration the rationale for the application of the veto power model.

According to Van Dyke<sup>91</sup> whereas the UN Charter permits implementation of collective security, the application of the veto makes such an activity most unlikely. The author argues that only in circumstances where the P5 are not affected by the issue in question can states expect action from the UNSC.

### **3.2 Perspectives on UNSC Role in preservation of international peace over time**

Malone<sup>92</sup> contends that the original concept behind the UNSC was the prevention of a third world war. As the cold war kicked in, much of the UNSC role shifted to prevention of regional intra-state or superpower proxy wars in many areas of the world. In this respect the UNSC performed modestly in as far as peace keeping was involved. The Cold war era also witnessed substantial application of the veto-193 to be precise compared to 12 between 1990 - 2003. The establishment of peacekeeping mission from 1988-1989 in Iran and Afghanistan further reinforced UN role in peacekeeping. The author however does not make an assessment of the extent to which the UNSC has played its role in international peace and security.

Hikaru<sup>93</sup> contends that the inability by UNSC to deter the unilateral action by the US in Iraq in 2003 and the limited role characterized by failure in Rwanda, Bosnia and Kosovo conflicts significantly undermine the duty of UNSC in global armistice and security. However, the organization still attract significant amount of support and is a viable option in effecting collective security. This can be attributed to the decision by the US to seek authorization for armed force against Iraq in 2003 before opting for unilateral action. The author however does not offer insights on how to make the council more effective.

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<sup>91</sup>Vincente, A. R. (2013). United Nations Security Council Reform: The Question of the Veto Power. UNITAR, 19-38.

<sup>92</sup> Malone, D. (2004). The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

<sup>93</sup> Patrick, M. S. (2012). UN Security Council Reform, Is it Time? Retrieved September 13 2014 from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=25nHLC6UbD8>

Hannay<sup>94</sup> explores the role of the UNSC from 1989-2009. In his contention the ineffectiveness of the UNSC far outweighs any form of successes within this period. The author has used a descriptive analysis to look at UNSC failures in Bosnia, Somalia, Yugoslavia and Rwanda. Other failures include the inability to prevent unilateral decision of the US to invade Iraq in 2003 and NATO air strikes in Kosovo in 1999. While the author admits expanded peace keeping roles in areas such as Eritrea-Ethiopia border, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Burundi, the author argues that the UN lost the opportunity to make the UNSC effective in preservation of international peace and security.

The author however fails to acknowledge that there has been no outbreak of a world war and the many peace keeping roles of the UNSC from Palestine in 1948, Suez in 1956, Korea 1950 and Congo in 1962. Weiss, Forsythe, Coate and Kate Pease<sup>95</sup> have offered a descriptive duty of UNSC in global armistice and security from the cold war era to the post-cold war era. The authors contend that the rivalry between the US and the USSR greatly hindered the ability of the council in preservation of international peace and security. This led to an expanded tactic to armistice and security and the birth of UNSC. The authors offer an insight into the emergence of peace keeping role of the UN starting with Palestine in 1948, Korea 1950, Congo 1962 and the Suez in 1956.

The UN over time expanded peace keeping operations to stabilise areas that were conflict ridden and were a risk to global armistice and security. The UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP), the UN Iran-Iraq Observer Group (UNIIMOG) and the UN Transition Assistance Group in Namibia (UNTAG) are some of the peace keeping missions that the UNSC authorised to stabilise conflict areas and maintain international peace and security. In respect to peace keeping missions there have been challenges for instance the Congo debacle where the UN was seen to take sides with the central government, the Rwanda conflict where UN minimal response led to the murder of thousands in the Rwanda genocide.

The authors have also briefly covered the issue of the reform of the UNSC in an effort to make it more effective, with reference to the 2004 report of the High Level Panel proposed changes to the UNSC. The author has however not covered the rationale of the veto power model or how the UNSC can be transformed to improve efficiency. One of the most

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid

<sup>95</sup> Weiss, G. T. (2003). The Illusion of UN Security Council reform. *The Washington Quarterly*, 147-161.

dominant issues in international politics for decades has been the Israel and Palestine conflict. Bozorgmehri and Khani<sup>96</sup> see the failure to settle the skirmishes as a direct consequence of the failure and inefficiency of the UNSC coupled with the national interest of the US. They argue that the Veto Power Model has been a stumbling block in passing any resolution against Israel.

The authors point to the US consistent application of the veto against UNSC resolutions aimed at forcing Israel to make concession regarding her role in the conflict. As of 2009 the US had blocked through the veto 225 resolutions regarding the Palestine issue. The authors however only covered the Palestine conflict in making an assessment of the UNSC and the Veto power model. This in itself is limiting for an in-depth understanding of the study. Ametowoyona<sup>97</sup> in studying the UNSC and the Rwanda genocide of 1994 finds the council as ineffective in humanitarian intervention, an expanded role of global armistice and security.

The author argues that due to national interests of states in the UNSC, specifically France, the council was unable to respond in time to save thousands of Rwandese from the genocide. Lack of political will, national interests, lack of a standby force and dependence on troop donation are some of the reasons cited by the author on the failure of UNSC. The author has extensively pointed to the veto power model and deadlock in the council as the major impediments in preservation of global peace and security. The author has suggested extensive reform to the council, encouraging new voting methods that reflect democratic principles and limiting the application of the veto.

The study intends to go further and examine implications of such proposals to preservation of global peace and security. Malone and Chitalkar<sup>98</sup> argue that the UNSC is vulnerable to dynamics of international politics especially relations among the P5 at any given time. This in itself therefore limits the efficacy of the organisation in respect to preservation of global peace and security. The author's argument is centred on the inability of the UNSC to act in the Balkans, Somalia and Rwanda where the UN role was lacking amidst conflict. They contend that the only case that the UNSC was successful in mobilising international

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<sup>96</sup>Bozorgmehri, M., & Khani, A.M. (2011). Palestinian Issue and the Security Council of UN: Use of Veto Prevents Establishment of International peace. *Geo-Politics Quarterly*, 78-99.

<sup>97</sup>Ametowoyona, A. A. (2008). *The Power politics the United Nations Security Council and Human Rights Violations: A case study of the 1994 Rwanda Genocide*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Makerere University, Uganda. Retrieved June 10, 2014 from <http://hdl.handle.net/10570/2212>

<sup>98</sup>Malone, M., &Chitalkar, P. (2013). *The UN Security Council and Iraq: UN Working Papers*

support and unanimity of the Security Council was in 1991 in the Iraq–Kuwait conflict. The authors point to 2003 invasion of Iraq as testament to the inability of the council to maintain international peace and security. The authors have not factored in the various aspects of peace keeping activities conducted by the UN over time. Neither have they provided tangible options to the UNSC in international peace and security.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **CRITICAL ANALYSIS ON REFORM AGENDA OF THE UN**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

So far the study has examined the extent to which the UNSC has played its intention in the preservation of global peace and security. This study has gone deeper and found significant successes and a number of failures. In lieu of challenges to preservation of peace and security by the UNSC, critics have continuously called for changes to the structure and implementation approaches of the Security Council. The calls for changes are the Security Council driving point of the reform agenda with different groups proposing specific changes. This chapter sums up the study and outlines the key issues the researcher found out on reform agenda, its utility and whether the different proposals can improve the efficiency of the Security Council.

#### **4.2. Perspectives on the Viability of the Reform Proposals in Improving the Efficiency of the UNSC in preservation of Peace**

The respondents were requested to indicate the changes that need to be implemented to improving the efficiency of the UNSC in preservation of peace. According to some key informants, there are no compelling reasons for an act of the framework however there are valid reasons to assemble the political good will so as improve the framework in human kind. One of the key witnesses expressed that on the off chance that you attempt to change the United Nation Peace System you will wind up debilitating it and making it less utilitarian and powerful. An authority from the service of outside issues expressed that UN framework and all the more particularly the Charter is obsolete and should be looked into.

This position additionally contends that new foundations should be built up to all the more likely location the difficulties that individuals are looking inside the 21st century. At last, the test is to locate a superior match among establishments and developing worldwide issues with the end goal to extend vote based system and enhance humankind's aggregate capacity to address these issues by including recently rising worldwide and nearby on-screen characters in basic leadership and arrangement execution. The key sources additionally expressed that specific provisos of the present UN Charter have just turned out to be out of date.

To answer the question on the various reform proposals on the SC, the key informants stated that nearly all the proposals for reform revolve around improved participation,



eradication or curtailing of the embargo powers and not peace initiative which it's the main purpose<sup>99</sup>. While these ideas may not absolutely help the Security Council, not all of them are inappropriate as they have the ability to improve the council. However, there are certain realities that must be put into context: that the charter of the U.N never intended the council to be representative; rather it is based on the prodigious power consensus that defends the copious autonomous body of the organization.

Therefore, geographical representation may not increase efficacy of the council and thus render the argument of the African proposal moot; secondly if the major problem of the Security Council is gridlock then increasing membership is not a solution. Consensus when more member states are pushing for their interests is therefore difficult and this in itself renders the argument for more member states with veto invalid. There is also no guarantee that new member states will bring in new perspectives. Finally, the veto power is not truly an authority contracted by the charter but somewhat the charter's acknowledgement of the datum of power.

If main authorities are stripped of the veto power, there is a real possibility that this could result in their withdrawal or limited role within the UN. Further the key informants were requested to indicate whether changing the membership or procedures of the Security Council could improve its credibility. The key informants stated that the different sets of propositions are all centered on increasing members to the Security Council and changing the application of the veto rather than improving the efficiency on the security issues around the world<sup>100</sup>. The key informants however raised fundamental issues in regards to the Security Council and lessons to learn from the failure of the League of Nations which have a crucial part to the structure and operation of the council.

They point to unanimity from members' rhetorical call for increased members to the council to introduce a semblance of equality yet no progress has been achieved. The key informants further stated that the contradictions regarding the reform agenda especially in terms of representation is mainly focused on increasing the veto powers of the members. Their argument for instance regarding the changing nature of economic and military dominance, an argument which Germany and Japan have continuously put forth yet Italy is not put in the same level. The key informants contend that it would make more sense if

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<sup>99</sup> Interview with key informants in the ministry of foreign affairs 28-9-2018

<sup>100</sup> Interview with key informants in the ministry of foreign affairs-28-9-2018

the European Union is represented as a bloc as opposed to individual states membership<sup>101</sup>. They go further and dismiss increased membership which in their contention would not increase effectiveness of the council. According to them military power still outweighs economic power in the international system.

The UN may be a world organization but states such as the US have global reach and power. In conclusion Weiss argues that in the contemporary worldwide framework, the security chamber ought to hold as determined in the UN contract the essential obligation regarding the upkeep of global harmony and security, it additionally should hold a similar lasting individuals with the veto demonstrate kept unblemished. The best methodology is to discover methods for urging the US to direct her forces and receive a more multilateral way to deal with universal harmony and security.

Changing the piece of the board would for no situation conquered its center shortcoming – the veto and relatively add up to dependence upon US military power. The Security Council forms part of the main port of call for approving the utilization of military power. An official from the ministry provided another perspective in analysing the utility of the reform agenda. The key informant analysis each proposal drawing conclusion whether the reform proposal is of any merit. Starting with the issue of enlargement proposal, they argue that if the council is not efficient with its current size, there is no guarantee that increasing the size will by any means improve its efficiency.

If collectively 15 states cannot agree on action towards security, then it is more likely that increasing the membership of the council is likely to increase the gridlock. In regards to the veto power model they argue that it would be better to increase the ability of council members to make independent decisions without coercion from any of the permanent or non-permanent members. With respect to enlargement of the council by regional representation, the author posits that states represent national interests and not regional interests.

Finally regarding the G4 proposals Sawar argues that the UN Charter maintains that membership to the Security Council is cognizant to a state's ability to defend international peace and security not its position as a regional leader. While Germany is both economically strong and makes large contribution to the Security Council, its case is

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<sup>101</sup> Interview with key informants in the ministry of foreign affairs-28-9-2018

weakened by the fact that Europe is already over represented in the council. India is an emerging economy yet it still has issues regarding its relations with Pakistan, How then can a state that has not managed to secure peace with its neighbours be given the veto power. Japan's economic power is unquestionable yet it depends militarily on the US and finally Brazil makes little contribution to the UN budget and peace keeping force.

Davis offers another perspective regarding the reform of the UNSC. The author starts by looking at the attitudes of the P-5 towards the reform agenda. In his contention both France and Britain have in the past provided a favourable response to enlarging the council. In fact, Britain in the past has in theory endorsed the G4 proposal. However, the other three permanent members –the US, Russia and China have greeted any proposal geared towards council enlargement with outright hostility. According to the author extensive military and economic consideration surpasses the argument for a democratic representation and enlarging the council would just be the same as creating a mini general assembly.

The contention for more noteworthy portrayal in the chamber is in this way guileless and unfeasible. The present changeless five are in the chamber in view of their staggering enthusiasm for keeping up the present world request and to ensure worldwide harmony and security. Davis additionally contends that provincial forces with higher stakes sit on the board in frequent occasions than creating states without a stake. Enlarging the council using the G4 proposal would limit the ability of the council to make swift decisions.

The key informants also raised certain propositions that can be used instead of reforming the council. Whereas legitimacy for instance should be a priority to the council there are better ways of legitimizing the council. They contend that there is need to ensure independent nature of council decision free from coercion or bribery directed to the temporary members of the SC<sup>102</sup>. An institutional safeguard should be put in place to ensure that aid is consistent throughout a temporary members' time on the council. The permanent members should reiterate the employment of force as a final option. This will go a long way in regaining some level of trust from other members of the UN.

The key informants contends that since inception, the UN has been viewed in two perspectives, one is the liberal perspective that view the organization as an embodiment of

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<sup>102</sup> Interview with key informants in the ministry of interior and coordination-2-10-2018

collective security while on the other hand are realists who see the security council as a forum where great powers settle their differences, protect their national interests thus providing an avenue to deter an outbreak WW III. The author further contends that the veto has been a contentious issue and the P5 are not entirely receptive to the reform agenda.

Macdonald and Patrick in their research on UNSC enlargement and U.S interests, begin by dismissing the rationale for reform agenda founded on the premise that the UNSC is continuously becoming illegitimate as it does not reflect geographical representation. The authors point to the charter that does not consider representation on the Security Council. They however admit that it is in US national interests for reform of the council as long as the US plays a key role in initiating any reform and that any reform be in tandem with US national interests. In conclusion the reform agenda provides a platform to address some of the inefficiencies associated with the council.

However most of the reform premise undermines the very foundation of the UNSC. Most scholars agree that the most important issue in any Security Council reform remain efficiency, not geographical representation or democratic nature of the council. In fact there exists no guarantee that adding permanent members will eliminate the gridlock in the council. The UNSC remains to a large extent an avenue for great powers to check themselves. It's a loose concert whose primary goal is to prevent conflict between the major powers in the international system. It is also an avenue where the world powers restrain each other and slows down potential escalating conflict as occurred during the Cuban missile crisis.

#### **4.2.3. The Utility of the Veto Model in the Changing International Politics**

The respondents were requested to indicate whether the veto arrangement inside the constitution of the UN Security Council drafted to defend the enthusiasm of the forces included. As per the key witnesses the veto has been and remains a deterrent to the variation of both, and on account of the P-5's individual incentives in safeguarding power and in light of the fact that no arrangement in the contract expects them to give up this honour. Political loss of motion, with regards to settling on possibility for either for all time pivoting or new changeless seats on the Security Council the last with or without vetoes has additionally anticipated fruitful Security Council change. Expanding membership numbers past the present 15—5 perpetual and 10 non-permanent individuals

serving turning two-year terms appear to be moderately unobjectionable to advance and reflect more noteworthy decent variety. Considerably more troublesome has been achieving concession to new permanent members. It has now turned out to be progressively vivid, that the United Nations Charter came into place in order to remain relevant to those who participated in writing it down. Also, to note is that it comes up short on the capacity to universally react (equitably) to the advantage of those not badly off nor those who are third world. It has been reflected by the failure of the UNSC to deliberately mediate in Rwanda.

Key informants further added that the UNSC is at the heart of international collective security arrangement. It is in this organ that the mandate for preservation of global peace and security is placed. The veto power model to a large extent means that the non-permanent members role in decision making is highly constrained while the P5 have considerable clout given the fact that through a single vote they can obstruct any resolution passed by the council. In short no decision can be made without consensus between the P5. The facts of the matter is, there is considerable opposition to the model in the current international system. With changing patterns in international politics there are those who have argued that variations in the contemporary structure demand changes to the council with specific accusation against the veto power model.

There are arguments that the veto power model negates the spirit of the UN, is undemocratic and risks undermining the legitimacy of the organization. Those who claim to the argument of the legitimacy risk point to the councils inability to constrain great powers especially in unilateral action as witnessed in Iraq in 2003, Georgia in 2008 by the US and Russia respectively. They argue that any action by the council that cannot be socially recognized as rightful cannot be considered as legitimate. Not so long ago, the members of the P5 have shown conditions in utilizing the veto power. It is not a guarantee that the same will continue in the future, as the opponents argue.

The key informants argue that those who hold the veto power still contribute highly to the budget and general operations of the UN in as far as preservation of international peace and security are concerned. The P5 contribute nearly 40 % of the UN budget. In 2013 for instance the US contribution to the budget of the UN was at 22% followed by Japan which is an ally of the US at 10%.proponents again point to the Charter and the ability to

contribute to preservation of global armistice and Security<sup>103</sup>. Lessons from the League of Nations points to the failure to acknowledge the necessity of power and its application to international politics. There are also those who have argued that the UNSC represent in itself. As Bosco argues the UNSC primary goal is to avoid conflict between the P5 members of the Security Council. That it is a loose concert based on consensus to mitigate the potential for conflict between the P5 judging from their international clout and power. It is a platform for the P5 to retrain each other. The Security Council cannot solve all problems of the world but remains critical and valuable in mitigating conflicts.

An official from MFA stated that while the UN and extension the Security Council would appear ineffective if judged by its failure in specific cases such as Iraq, assessing ineffectiveness in relation to unattainable ideal and misplaced notion of what might have been tells us very little about the Councils utility in the preservation of global armistice and security<sup>104</sup>. The SC will continue to face a challenge where consensus is not possible but that by itself does not negate its utility in as far as its role in preservation of international peace and security is concerned. There are those who have argued that because it is unlikely to change the Veto power model as it is currently, it would be more realistic to find ways of improving its processes in handling issues.

Carne Ross, a former British diplomat to the UN for instance has argued that it would be appropriate to invite parties to ongoing disputes to UNSC deliberations in order to get a better picture before decisions are made. There are also calls to limit veto application in cases of genocide. During the UN annual meeting in New York this year, more than a dozen heads of states called on the UNSC to curtail the application of the veto especially in relation to genocide regardless of national interests at play. While both France and Britain were of favourable opinion to the proposal, Russia openly disagreed arguing that the veto protects the UNSC from dubious undertaking while the US and China were non-committal on the issue.

Opinion is divided on the UNSC and its veto power model, in international discussions its either you support or oppose and in most cases there is no middle ground. There are those who have argued that international order changes and has changed and only those who hold the power in the UNSC that is the P5 don't recognize that change and see the

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<sup>103</sup> Interview with key informants in the ministry of foreign affairs-28-9-2018

<sup>104</sup> Interview with key informants in the ministry of foreign affairs-28-9-2018

international order as static. But fact of the matter is the great powers would not have joined or initiated the founding of the UN without incorporation of the veto into the charter. The P5 are unlikely to forgo their veto power since it was a compromise to circumvent the failure of the League of Nations. The veto power represents the middle ground between unanimity and an assured role of the P5 within the organization.

### **4.3 Emerging Issues**

#### **4.3.1 The Work of AMISOM**

For the greater part of its reality, AMISOM has worked with soldiers from two states guided by Uganda. The job Uganda played, at first as principal country, and all through as the foundation of the assignment, and the sponsorship Yoweri Museveni activated the operation from the AU and UN, the USA and the EU and brought about the AMISOM having an exceptionally strong administrative and military stay. Conversely, there is no nation in West Africa which has ventured up to operations such a solid position of authority.

Verifiably Nigeria assumed this job, yet it is as of now devoured by its own inside Boko Haram uprising, and it is along these lines not ready to assume a comparative driving job in AFISMA. After Kenya joined AMISOM in 2011, associations include their Troop and Police contributing nations in a comparable way, however how much this brought about political duty and the arrangement of specialized help for the mission demonstrates that it has been exceptionally successful on account of AMISOM.

The AU and ECOWAS ought to think about how to comparatively draw in the forces and police - backing - nations in the key heading and sustenance of AFISMA. On the front line, incorporation of gear and principle, and correspondence between the two long-serving AMISOM contingents, English-speaking Ugandans and French speaking Burundi's, set aside opportunity to work productively. AFISMA will confront comparable dialect, and other difficulties, and it should commit some of its operation and division HQ resources for frequently audit and alter its working strategies to make mission and setting particular arrangements as the power organization develops<sup>105</sup>. The strategies used by Amisom is excellence. That issue of working together can bring very successive results in Somalia. The next focus is peace education in peace building functions in Somalia.

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<sup>105</sup>A Barise, The effect of cultural globalization on Muslim families and socio-cultural unity, Proceedings of the International Conference on Muslim Unity in the 21st Century: Opportunities and Challenges, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 1–2 October 2003, V 1, pp 241–258.

The harmony study can't be disregarded on the grounds that it has assumed a crucial job. The global gathering of Islam takes note of the followings, because of the common war, defacto faction fringes exist all over Somalia. After wellbeing wound up reliant on tribe membership, individuals moved to zones where they figured they would be most secure. Making secure condition, building up the fitting political organizations, tending to equity related issues and renewing financial improvement are important yet not adequate to remake trust and certainty among Somali people.

The present de facto tribe outskirts will help make and keep up generalizations and preferences between factions. In this specific circumstance, Islam-educated harmony education programs turned out to be important. Since the prodigious part of Somalis are Muslims faithfuls, any peace training endeavors ought to learn from the Islamic faith teachings especially on peace. As per the lessons of the Muslim culture, a Muslim deliberately acquiesces to the desire of Allah the supernatural being, and thusly increases interior and outer amicability and harmony. 'Interior peace' alludes to one's mental prosperity because of absence of contention inside oneself, while 'outside peace' originates from an agreeable and adoring association with God and also the social, physical and profound condition.

Keeps on saying, Islam-educated harmony instruction would pressure the sorts of qualities and practices that could join the Somalis as Muslims in an obligation of fraternity, shared affection, sensitivity, help, care and individual inclination. These are a portion of key societal obligations among Muslims. Being a Muslim therefore obliges one to abstain from contravening and encroaching on the privileges of oneself and others. These sorts of educating are of much help to building harmony it is just that larger part don't place them into point of view. Islam-educated harmony instruction would likewise go for destroying them (persecution or hostility). Consequently, Somalis abstain to regard the bringing together Islamic qualities thus their privileges and obligations have been abused.

Social qualities and practices that harm Muslim social solidarity incorporate battling, unlawful rivalry for assets and power, shared distrust, desire, doubt, typecasting, spying, antagonistic vibe, persecution, scorn, mortification, loathing, bias, separation, misuse and misuse. This is very true the Muslims as the study had said above have ignored this unifying teachings, if every Muslim can agree to this teaching then the issues of conflicts in Somalia would stop at once. Mohhamed Abu also notes that, any peace-building



determinations that endeavor to address the Somali war should draw upon Islamic traditions. Islam affords one of the characteristics that unify Somali coteries. It likewise has compromise systems that reverberate with the clashing gatherings.

Abu-Nimer distinguished 17 Islamic qualities that can be utilized for harmony instruction software engineers, including the quest for equity, social strengthening by doing great (Ihsan), the comprehensiveness of respect and mankind, correspondence, hallowedness of mortal life, a journey for harmony, learning and purpose, innovativeness and development, absolution, significance of actions and activities, contribution through sole duty, tolerance (Sabar), concerted activities and camaraderie, the idea of Ummah, togetherness and partaking procedures, and in addition pluralism and decent variety. If people of Somalia can pour down their differences, that is to say the hatred brought by the wish to acquire resources and power then the peace building functions will be easy.

The values if followed to the letter then peace will endure. The idea of Ummah alludes to the overall network of Muslims; it rises above clan, race, customs and mores, nationality, and class. Somali culture and teachings can bid valuable instruments and methods for achieving and managing peace. For example, Somalia's writer and author Mohamed I Warsame 'Hadrawi' propelled his tranquility procession on 1 July 2003. Hadrawi told the Somali media that he needed to make a trip to the greatest number of urban communities and towns as he could. He focused on that he might want to impart a message of harmony to his kin, paying little respect to the piece of the nation in which they are living. The Somalia media secured the Hadrawi parade and it expresses the accompanying.

Begin by saying, Hadrawi is known for his fortitude and honorable stance against the previous armed administration. He was detained for creating lyrics and plays that reprimanded previous military pioneers. Hadrawi's tranquility train came during a period that the Somali clash was 'ready for goals'. This sort of identity should be disposed of if not to be isolated from different residents. For what reason should He affect other resident to abhor the previous administration but then He isn't delivering any arrangements.

Zartman noticed that on same, He utilized applicable and homegrown qualities and conveyed his message through ballads and speech 89. The harmony troop had all the essential highlights since it tended to the vital concerns which Somalis look in a manner that did not incite or welcome brutality. Expanding on qualities of harmony procession is vital.

Hadrawi demonstrated that when the substance and instructional method of amity training programs are reliable with Islamic qualities and Somali values, these projects will flourish. This exercise is imperative, in light of the fact that the views of nearby gatherings are essential. Moreover, as anthropologists and students of history have recorded, Somalis put high an incentive on writing, especially lyrics. The Somali individuals have been designated "the country of writers".

Writing has been a critical apparatus in Somalia for hostilities of freedom and for harmony campaigners. Utilizing writing as the teaching method of harmony is useful in altering the Somali individuals' states of mind and practices. At long last, we trust that harmony instruction programs advancing Islamic qualities, for example, resistance, regard, care and compassion that utilize a fitting teaching method may create positive results<sup>90</sup>. So in end; the apparatus of training is exceptionally valuable to harmony working in Somalia. The main test is that residents have not held onto it as apparatus to help the harmony working in Burundi.

#### **4.3.2 Peacekeeping Operations in Burundi**

Gaya portrays that, in 2001, after the Arusha harmony accord had been marked, the Africa Union sent a 2,870 in number AU peacekeeping power in Burundi, made generally out of South Africa, Ethiopia and Mozambique peacekeepers. This Africa Union mission in Burundi was the main such peacekeeping mission did under the protection of the AU. He keeps on portraying that, this AU mission was financiered and upheld by United States and additionally the European Union. The year 2004 June first, with a last harmony understanding apparently inside an achieve, the UN mission in Burundi assumed control from AU peacekeeping mission, with section vii order, and the power that is required to develop to some 5,650, UN peacekeepers.

The UN mission in Burundi was still in its underlying developing of peacekeepers comprising of a significant part of a similar Africa peacekeepers that was in Burundi. As of June 2004, ONUB, comprised of 2,415 troops and 57 military eyewitnesses, totalling 2,472 peacekeepers, on first June 2004, at the AU-UN change function, UN SG Kofi Annan adulated the formation of new UN mission in Burundi and also UN-AU joint peacekeeping endeavours expressing, the accomplishment of AMIB is obvious and has established strong framework on which to additionally propel the peace process<sup>37</sup>. Gauging this operation it can be seen as success. Unlike the one the

peacekeeping operation in Chad at least this one seems to be more organized and well planned. Financially they were well-equipped and that why they were able to perform in a perfect way, to add on that, been a first operation by AU it did try. If all peacekeeping could have a good organization then they can lead to beautiful fruits ever<sup>106</sup>.

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<sup>106</sup> 37Vogt and LS ,Aminu (ed),Peacekeeping as security Strategy in Africa; Chad and Liberia as case studies,Enugu:Fourth dimension publishing co. Ltd

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

#### 5.1 Introduction

The researcher sent out questionnaires and also held interviews with respondents from the MFA, Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government both in Kenya and Burundi. Some of the key findings are as analyzed below.

#### 5.2 Data Analysis

The researcher's findings were as the table below stipulates on the reform agenda of the United Nations.

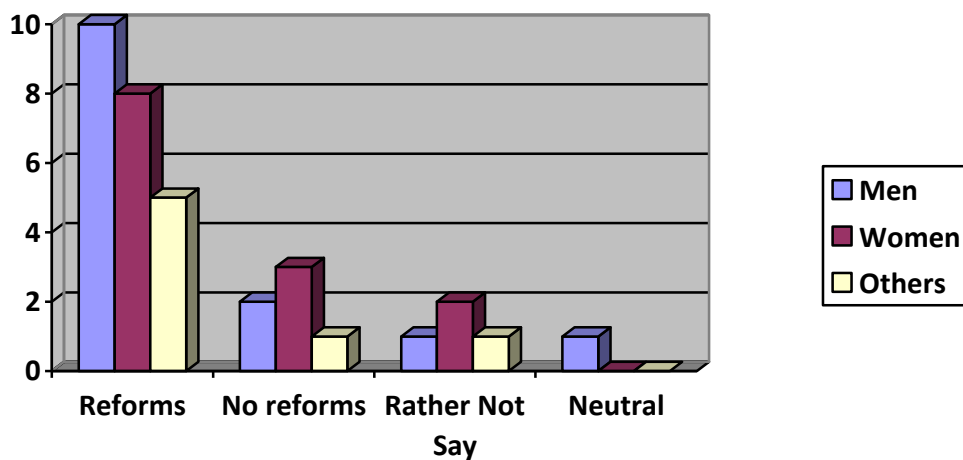
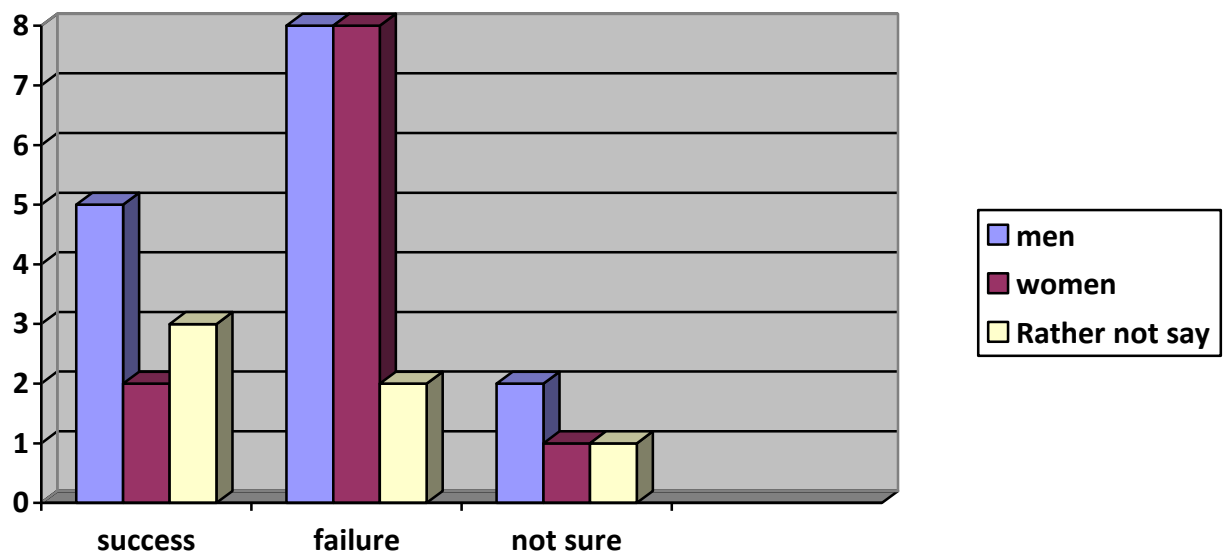


Table 5.2 shows that out of the responses got, majority of the interviewees opted for reforms.

The table below shows the case on the backing of the failures in addition to success of the United Nations on their role on peace keeping missions in Africa more so Burundi



**Table 5.2.2: the respondents were saw a failure in the UNSC in peacekeeping.**

### **5.3 Overall Assessment on the UNSC in International Peace and Security**

The researcher established that since inception the UNSC has authorized 67 peacekeeping missions in an effort to maintain international security, deter conflicts from spiralling out of control and in the process prevent escalation as efforts are put in place to find a long lasting solution. Currently the UN has 17 active peacekeeping operations in conflict areas in the world under different mandates.

These includes the United Nations Operations in Burundi (UNOB), United Nations Operations in Cote de Ivoire (UNOCI), United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNIMIL), United Nations Stabilizing Force in Haiti (MINUSTAH), United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO), Africa Union-United Nations Hybrid Operations in Darfur (UNAMID), United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS), United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA), United Nations Multi-Dimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA), United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), United Nations Multi-Dimensional Integrated stabilization Mission in Central African Republic (MINUCSA), United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) Jerusalem, United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), Golan Heights and United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) and United Nations Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNGOMIP).

In addition, the researcher found that while the UN may have not definitively settled some international conflicts that it has intervened like the case of Burundi which is still at chaos, this does not in any way amount to utter failure. The organization has relieved tensions in many crucial situations and thus eliminating the potential for escalation of such conflicts. It is a difficult task to fully settle international disputes but they can be compromised or postponed to allow sanity to prevail with the passage of time that can reduce their hazardous nature. The UN has diffused such clashes through peacekeeping as ordered by the UNSC. These are clashes that have the penchant to raise to a level that could predict genuine ramifications to global harmony and security.

While the facts confirm that there have been disappointments in support of worldwide harmony and security, it is uncalled for to ethically move fault to the UNSC and denounce the association without considering the setting in which the UN work. The study also established that the roots of these failures lie deeply embedded in, nationalism, sovereignty of independent actors and the perversions inherent in the human race. The UN operates in an international system of sovereign entities and in some instances even intervention becomes a moral and ethical issue. For instance, the UN dilemma in intervention in Darfur without the consent of the government of Sudan. It took intensive international diplomacy and mediation before Sudan gave consent for military intervention on humanitarian grounds.

War and conflicts has become a pervasive feature of the world and not even the UNSC has the power to absolutely eradicate the two in the world. The nature of the international system and international politics is anarchy and expecting such a system not to be characterized by war and conflict is naive. The UN currently provides the best avenue for preservation of global peace and security but no organization can guarantee a perfect system without conflict. The best to expect would be an environment through which conflicts can be mitigated. In some cases, success will not be fast coming and criticism will continue.

#### **5.4 The Veto and its Impact on Efficacy of UNSC**

The researcher established that the veto power has been cited by critics of the UNSC as a chief impediment in preservation of international peace and security. The UNSC was theatre of grid-lock during the cold war. Regardless there were a few peacekeeping

operations that were conducted. After the end of the cold war there has been a significant reduction of the veto power application by the P5 and the council has passed many resolutions in regards to preservation of international peace and security. However, there are still instances where the veto power has hindered action in regards to the preservation of international peace and security is concerned. In the immediate period the ability of the council to deal within the Syria crisis comes to mind and critics have used this to argue in favour of drastic changes to the council.

While opinion is divided on the issue, it's looking more and more like the veto power is there to stay. While a section of the P5 members are receptive to the idea of increasing members to the council, some are not willing to entertain the idea that they will lose their ability to determine the operation of the organization. The US, Russia and China stand out as openly hostile to the idea of elimination of the veto power as that is what forms the basis of foundation of the organization. None of the reform agenda seem to have any meaningful prospect. It will also require the support of the P5 to support any meaningful reform to the council. That in itself seems highly unlikely. There are those who have argued that the veto power and the council is an avenue to restrain great power and that without it the very UN body may not exist.

The researcher additionally settled that the P5 except for Japan and Germany still assume a basic role as far as operational and money related support to the UN. Notwithstanding one's position reality remains that the UNSC and its veto control model might be digging in for the long haul for some time. It might be more reasonable to recommend methods for making the council more productive all things considered. There have been requires the impediment of the veto in instances of genocide. Switzerland for example has proposed a more stringent way of utilization where future utilization of the veto is advocated in writing to constrain discretionary application. The world may have changed after some time, yet the elements continue as before.

Power is as yet integral to commitment and global association quality mirrors the power and quality of the member states. However, all isn't lost; the ongoing goals go to free Syria of synthetic consensus weapons is pointers that there can be agreement inside the chamber notwithstanding when national interests are impacting everything. The UN has upheld the current multilateral activity to counter the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). This is an

indication that occasionally activity can happen outside the UN with help from a wide assortment of states.



## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.1. Introduction**

The researcher sought to examine the extent to which the UNSC has executed its mandate in preservation of international peace and security. The study also examined the rationale of the veto in the contemporary international system and the reform agenda of the UN. This Chapter provides the summary and recommendation regarding the study.

#### **6.2. Summary**

The researcher found out that though the calls for reform are as many as the reforms required there is almost consensus that the SC requires reform. Extending the Security Council appears one of the more sensible approaches to enhance the delegate character and accordingly the authenticity of the world association according to every one of its associates and their societies. Increasing the council's general size from the current 15 members would enable more countries to take an interest on a pivoting basis in making decision by this fundamentally imperative organ. Also, increasing the permanent participation would permit the Security Council to mirror the adjustments in the worldwide equalization from the time when the five efficacious forces of 1945 demanded that the contract incorporate exceptional arrangements maintaining their status and interests.

The researcher likewise reasoned that the veto obligation of every enduring member additionally convolutes projections for Security Council modification. The drafters of the U.N. Sanction expected that the Big Five were to be mostly in charge of keeping up the peace and vanquishing aggressors, and along these lines should control the utilization of United Nations powers. Besides, it was indispensable that the extraordinary forces not quit the association the shadow of the U.S. nonappearance from the League of Nations posed a potential threat here so their administrations must be consoled that at any rate in issues of war and harmony their interests would not be overruled.

Over the subsequent 50 years, in any case, the veto has been conjured in numerous different conditions, for example, blocking goals and contradicting nominations. On the off chance that the number of permanent members on the Security Council was expanded, wouldn't that build the danger of numerous more vetoes later on? One arrangement may

be to deny the more current enduring members the veto, however that would confound things by presenting a third membership class. Some have suggested that the veto be annulled which is a marvellously libertarian thought, yet profoundly far-fetched to win endorsement by the Permanent Five.

The idea of multilevel administration has started to gain currency. There is no motivation behind why multilevel administration can't be received to the worldwide level even with the consideration of non-state performing actors and transnational enterprises as a major aspect of the structure of approach and decision making. The utility of multilevel administration structures and foundations is that issues can best be tackled at the level of fitness of the performers. States can abstain from getting caught in peace building at the grassroots level past giving the security conditions which are helpful towards empowering economical reconciliation and peace building. This accordingly is a model that depends on less control from the middle and more power and self-governance lapsed to the region.

The guideline of subsidiary as indicated by which decision making ought to be kept as near the general population as conceivable is prescribed in this as a focal column in the development of worldwide governance. Likewise, in a multilevel worldwide administration structure of governments would be considered responsible, through a higher supra-national element, for any activities that undermine peace and the general human and gender privileges of their natives. This would be an extreme move far from the idea that countries exist in a condition of insurgency with no overarching authority.

The study additionally inferred that normally there will undoubtedly be much opposition from the recipients of existing conditions. There is likewise incredulity that the extending of worldwide foundations will achieve the better insurance and portrayal of nearby populaces and communities influenced by worldwide policies. The essential thing isn't to submit to a reckless view about the difficulty of progress, since mankind's history demonstrates to us unmistakably that there has dependably been change and there will dependably be change. The United Nations framework itself was a result of progress and development, so there is no motivation behind why it can't advance into a more viable and responsive universal framework.

A circumspectly continuous methodology can guarantee that the hard won accomplishments of the twentieth century to secure the welfare and privileges of mankind are not lost in the twenty-first century. Only through the re-creation or the production of a more comprehensive and participatory establishment can achieve the dynamic move that is required to manage the issues of this century. History demonstrates to us that since the period of the Roman realms the powers of conservatism, who are to a great extent recipient of the norm, dependably, oppose change. Luckily, history likewise demonstrates to us that the main thing that has stayed consistent in human illicit relationships is the permanent inclination toward change and development.

### **6.3 Conclusion**

The researcher therefore concludes that; there are some significant hindrances to change for instance the requirement for the UNSC to adapt to new reforms. Be that as it may, there is no barrier to the foundation being made new to realize this change if in the near future. The UNSG forewarned in the 58<sup>th</sup> General Assembly “*not to bashful far from inquiries regarding the sufficiency, and adequacy, of the tenets and instruments available to us*”.

Among the instruments, none could easily compare to the Security Council itself and there was a pressing requirement for the Council to recapture the certainty of States, and of world popular sentiment both by exhibiting its capacity to bargain adequately with the most troublesome issues, and by winding up more extensively illustrative of the universal community overall and also the geological substances of today. It will be a huge test to build up an all-inclusive structure of standards and tenets to renegotiate and reconfigure worldwide administration to advance worldwide solidarity and aggregate security in the twenty-first century.

This is a test which may have the effect across proceeding and maybe be deep rooted in a way the people implosion and picking another way that will be the leading path to the people’s development.

### **6.4. Recommendations**

The UNSC remains the primary organ mandated to uphold global armistice and security. As such it’s the first port of call whenever there is an international phenomenon with the potential to breach peace in order to take the necessary response. The study has established

that the council while has had considerable successes has had failures largely due to national interests. Regardless of the challenges inherent in the UNSC it still remains as the most realistic chance for a collective security approach. The UN can never be able to solve all the problems of the valuable but it still remains a critical organization to the world. The study thus recommends the following:

- The council should consider incorporating parties to a dispute to deliberations before a decision is made. The current arrangement denies parties to a dispute the opportunity to present their point to the council. This would go a long way in improving deliberation before a vote is taken as the council will have the opportunity to talk to the parties directly.
- Member states should continue putting pressure on the P5 to restrain the application of the veto especially in cases of mass abuses of human rights and genocide. Mobilising global community in times of crisis can itself serve to discourage the application of the veto. This has been seen in the passing of the resolution to rid Syria of chemical weapons.
- Member states can also explore mechanisms outside the UN for instance through regional organizations. States have the ability to use regional organization if all efforts from the UN fail. Regional organizations have a huge potential in terms of mitigating conflicts within specific regions.
- Finally, the reform agenda should be geared more towards improving the Council's efficiency. Currently most of the reform proposals are geared on representation to make the council more democratic. This in itself does not guarantee efficiency and consensus in decision making

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW GUIDE**

Interviewers Name: Bernadette W. Njuguna

Registration Number: R50/89086/2013

School: The University of Nairobi

#### **Introduction**

Dear respondent,

This questionnaire is designed to carry out a survey on knowledge on the **Role of Peace Keeping Missions in Promoting Peace and Security in Africa: A Case Study of Burundi**. I request you to frankly and honestly respond to the questions. Your views will greatly help in providing useful information. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential.

#### **PART 1: RESPONDENTS CHARACTERISTICS**

Name of Department/Unit .....

*(For questions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 & 7, please tick (✓) appropriately)*

1. Gender:  Male  Female  Rather not say
  
2. Marital Status:  Single  Married
  
3. Age (in years):  24 and below  25-34  35-44  
 45-54  55 and Above
  
4. Number of years you have been in employment.  
  
 0 to 3 years  more than 3 years but below 5 years  over 5 years
  
5. Terms of Service  
  
 Permanent & Pensionable  Probationary  Contract

6. Highest Level of Education

- Doctorate [ ]      Masters [ ]      Bachelors [ ]  
Diploma [ ]      Certificate [ ]      Secondary [ ]  
Primary [ ]  
Others (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

7. Level in the Organization

- [ ] MG 1 - 4    [ ] MG 6 -8      [ ] MG 9 - 13      [ ] Others

**PART 2: RESPONDENTS KNOWLEDGE AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE UNSC.**

1. Africa has had increased conflicts after the cold war, in your own perspective, do you support that the UNSC has restored peace in the areas they have PKM (Peace Keeping Missions) or they are a failure? (please tick inside the box)

Yes [ ]      No [ ]      Neutral [ ]

- a. If yes, kindly state how.

.....  
.....

- b. If no, kindly state why

.....  
.....

2. Has the United Nations security Council initiated reform agenda in relation to restoration of peace in the African continent

Yes [ ]      No [ ]      Neutral [ ]

- a) If yes, kindly state how.

.....  
.....

- b) If no, kindly state why

.....  
.....

3. What are some of the challenges that the UNSC is facing in its role to attempt to restore peace in Burundi?

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.....

4. Kindly give some of the changes that need to be implemented in the UNSC in preservation of peace?

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5. Does the veto provision within the constitution of the UN Security Council need reforms to accommodate the interest of all the involved parties?

.....  
.....  
.....

6. Have peace been enhanced by the reform agenda proposed by the United Nations Security Council?

.....  
.....

7. What are some of the recommendations that can be given on the reform agenda of the UN Security Council?

.....  
.....

Sign ..... Date.....

*(Optional)*

***Thank you very much for your time and cooperation.***