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**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (IDIS)**

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***TOPIC: A Critical assessment of Multilateral Peace Keeping and Regional Security in Africa:  
A Focused comparison of Eastern and Western Africa in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.***

**REG NO; R52/8109/2017**

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## **DECLARATION**

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This research project is my original work and has never been presented by any other persons. No part of this work should be produced without my consent or of that of University of Nairobi and the Institute of Diplomacy and International studies.

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## **Abstract**

This study sought to examine the place of peacekeeping in the 21st-century regional agenda in Africa, with the main focus being on multilateral peacekeeping on regional security in Eastern Africa and West Africa. In order to attain this end, the study was guided by three objectives, and these were, to assess the impact of multilateral peacekeeping on regional security in Eastern Africa; to analyse the impact of multilateral peacekeeping on regional security in western Africa and to compare and contrast the western and eastern Africa experiences of multilateral peacekeeping and their impact on regional security. Multilateral peacekeeping operations of the 21st century were designed to address some of these challenges by not only responding to and resolving live internal conflict situations but also stabilizing post-conflict settings within countries and wider regions as well. Nonetheless, the problem of insecurity within and across regions persists. Against this background, this study seeks to undertake a focused comparison of multilateral peacekeeping operations in eastern and western Africa with specific references to their impact on regional security in the 21st century.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.0 Introduction

The African continent as always been steeped with war, instability and issue of a peace and security in Africa has become a preference not only in the region also for the global world. Tackling challenges, the aim has been empowering armed forces capacities. Many instances that African countries and the international partners are not willing or are not able to in come in militarily in some scenarios to help the civilians' fraternity.<sup>1</sup> The study aims to explore and determine how and in what form are the multilateral peacekeeping missions and regional organizations on security able to tackle matters of insecurity in Africa and efforts of outside partners to support their endeavors for peace and stability in the region, mapping out future challenges and how to handle them.

This study traces efforts undertaken by African countries through regional blocks to establish a joint operational policy that encompasses the strategies for the regions calm and stability operation team. I will also discuss the Eastern African and Western African countries' efforts made by their multilateral peacekeeping missions and the impacts they have made in their respective zones in peace and security. The urge to joint Africa's defense plus security policies had been emphasized at the Summit of the AU in, SA, in 2002, as the African leaders discussed the proposal of the then Libya's president to forms a joint regional force. The Africa leaders were also moved to act to the many hiccups to peaceful cooperation in the region; it is in this context that the constitutive Act of the AU advocates the forming of common defense policies for the Africa.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Martin, G., "Conflict Resolution in Africa". Available at; <http://129.194.252.80/catfiles/1178.pdf>. (Accessed: 11 Aug. 2019).

<sup>2</sup> Article 4 (d). Constitutive Act of AU.



This chapter covers several segments of the study starting with the background study that gives a brief on the research. Then followed by statement problem, which examines relating to joint security operations in east and western Africa and issues affecting them. Next will be the literature review which will be drawn from various sources and will help the researcher identify the knowledge gap. The following will be the researchers' objectives and research questions which will help the researcher to know the scope of the study by defining the area of knowledge that the researcher will be focusing on.<sup>3</sup> From there the study gives the hypotheses stating possible differences, relations or causes between two variables or concepts. It also covers theoretic framework, scope of the studies plus methodology that will be used during the research.

### 1.1 The Background to the Study

Peacekeeping is an innovation of the United Nations improvised in rejoinder to cold war constraints that prevented the more forceful actions originally envisioned by the drafters of the UN charter. Peace-keeping comes between cap. VI (pacific settlements),<sup>4</sup> and cap. VII (enforcement of the UN charter)<sup>5</sup>, leading many to characterize such operations as "chapter 6½" or what Lester Pearson describes as "transitional procedure amid transient purposes and aggression."<sup>6</sup>

Paul F. Diehl enumerated the principal elements of traditional peace-keeping "*peacekeeping* as.....the obligation of impartial and lightly armed in position troops that follow a ending of violent conflicts with the authority of the country on whose boundary these troops are

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<sup>3</sup> O. M. Mugenda and A.G. Mugenda (1989). Pp21-22

<sup>4</sup> Chapter VII of the UN charter

<sup>5</sup> Ibid 4

<sup>6</sup> Yves EngLer (2012), Lester Pearson, The Truth May Hurt, Fernwood Publishers. ISBN- 10: 1552665100

deployed to deter the recurrence of conflicts and enhance environments which the disputes can be managed.

Peacekeeping because of the centrality and impartiality and the agreement between groups to its definition, is an activity to reinforce the status quo, most often a cease-fire. In the 1990s the UN largely eschewed involvement when conflicts remained active or when peacekeepers were likely to see combat.

In the early 1990s, the traditional methods of UN peacekeeping evolved rapidly. The major powers was not limited by the cold war constraints which had incapacitated UN for its forty years, turned to the organization to respond to a host of new challenges, including the management of internal conflict and humanitarian emergencies.<sup>7</sup> As Brian Urquhart put it: ‘ the duty of the UNSC, working for the first time as a mutual entity projected in the charter instead of fighting point for the big powers, paves several opportunities the regions conflicts handling.’<sup>8</sup> After end of cold war emerged sharp upsurge in cases of peace-keeping missions. Which had an agreement and a unity purposes, the UNSC mandated a total of 20 missions from 1989-1964, increasing peace-keepers about 10,000 to 80,000.<sup>9</sup> Peace-keeping missions in such states as Angola, Cambodia , Mozambique and Namibia were appointed.<sup>10</sup>

Besides increased numbers of operations, the roles performed by UN peacekeepers expanded from their original mandates of separating belligerent forces, patrolling truce lines, reporting violations, and mediating local disputes to a much more complicated series of tasks.<sup>11</sup> Peace-keeping tasks during the 1980- 1990 have been changed with mediation in resettling operations

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<sup>7</sup> Yves EngLer (2012), Lester Pearson, The Truth May Hurt, Fernwood Publishers. ISBN- 10: 1552665100

<sup>8</sup> Ibid 4

<sup>9</sup> <http://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>. Retrieved on 10-June 2019

<sup>10</sup> Ibid

<sup>11</sup> Barnett, Jon & Edger, W. Neil, ‘climate Change, Human Security, Political Geography, Vol. 26 (2007) p. 640

for civilians and ensuring that democratic constitutions were written and implemented.<sup>12</sup> Peace-keeping and nation-building tasks, that required broad logistical preparation, has been the burden of international partners, like the UN, they authorize peace-keeping missions on the principle that a neutral multidimensional attendance support treaty that adds to the will of those in conflicts to add up to negotiation.<sup>13</sup> UN adds validity to a peace-keeping process for the steps were taken for global solidarity not based on a nation or regions greed.<sup>14</sup>

This paper examines the efforts and challenges to multilateral peacekeeping operations in the continent by the region of the Community of West African States (ECOWAS) including the Sahel region, and Eastern Africa focus being that of Greater African Horn (HOA), and the Great lakes (GLR). It outlines the partners influencing the peaceful atmosphere, and defines the sense and outputs of their involvements.

Region security defines the common security, economical, and political activities that infectious worldwide universe of free countries with a notch of "combined" free based on common worries and prospects, could instrument to increase joint support and make sure joint welfare of its populace, institutes, plus to protect perceived fears.<sup>15</sup>

The matter of a steady and secure Africa has been of importance in the African setup more so for the global village, and have noted as some of the most urgent trials fronting the region. The changing aspects Africa established by itself, together with those presently active on external aid, are interested mostly with soldierly abilities.

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<sup>12</sup> Susan W. 2019, "Analysing African regional conflict" vol 2 Moran Press

<sup>13</sup> United Nations, 2008. 'peace keeping operation Congo' Newyork publication

<sup>14</sup> Yves EngLer (2012), Lester Pearson, The Truth May Hurt, Fernwood Publishers. ISBN- 10: 1552665100

<sup>15</sup> Griffiths, M. & O'callaghan, T. (2013). "Key Concepts in International, Routledge" Retrieved from the Hong Kong Economic Journal

Struggles in Africa have certain exceptional traits usually entrenched in their core problems, time, magnitude, and tendency to spread through the neighboring countries. Conception of AU Peace and Security Council (PSC) in 2002 resulted agreed struggles by Africa's countries to look for peace in the region, the promise of Africans to moderate their conflicts is not new.<sup>16</sup> The region had been dealing with issues since the genesis of the postcolonial era, with upcoming strength and willpower all the time, though results have always been endless.<sup>17</sup> What could be the challenge and where do we go wrong and how could we tackle it to bring lifelong peace and security of universe as a whole.

African Union charter distinguishes conflicts administration in African as a core primary purposes. As a tactful setting, the United Nations charter also recognize the role of regional bodies in conflicts managing.<sup>18</sup> It encouraged regions institutions as in charge of conflicts managers to their particular jurisdictions.

Rationale behind this thinking is the roles of regions bodies is that they are at a position to better understand the conflict challenges within their respective regions.<sup>19</sup>

Determinations to form an international joint force for the invading Haiti was a cleared indication that, In the light of these events, there are some arguments evident by the UNSG Boutros Boutros-Ghali's 1995 Enhancement to the 'Agenda for Peace', permitting a greater share of the problem to manage and get a resolution of conflicts and devolve a regions and sub-regions

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<sup>16</sup> Frances Stewart, University of Oxford- "Root causes of violent conflicts in developing countries- Accessed Via: <https://www.researchgate.net>

<sup>17</sup> Cohen, F. S, 1997, Proportional versus Majoritarian Ethnic Conflict Management in Democracies. *Comparative Political Studies*, 30(5): 607-630

<sup>18</sup> Griffiths , M. & O'callaghan, T. (2013). "Key Concepts in International, Routledge" Retrieved from the Hong Kong Economic Journal

<sup>19</sup> Joseph Nye. (2004). "Power in the Global Information Age journal". Pp 60-77

shared security responsibility.<sup>20</sup> The UN's longstanding encouragement of regions solutions to their issues. Article 33 UN Charter wishes members to take disagreements likely to jeopardize global peace and harmony first to "their home agencies and arrangements."<sup>21</sup>

Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana also acknowledged need for African regional security arrangements the 1960s. But his suggestion of an African High command to harmonize regions security effort didn't happen, Africa's leadership continually acknowledged the needs for conflicts handling on the region. Specific, African countries always call for African answers to African difficulties.<sup>22</sup> What solution is readily available in peace and security management in Africa? Talks coupled by peacekeeping tasks have been important tools in the conflict management process. They anchor a familiar for peace enforcement mission.

Peacekeeping missions have undergone a drastic change in the region. But an increasing number of African manned peace missions have come up since the 1990s. My article has re-examine the reasons behind global to African- oriented peace and security operations, the trend and challenges Africa's management of these operations and the impacts of this changes. My main focus is Eastern and Western Africa.

## 1.2 The Problem statement

Although no region in the world can be said to be truly secure and fully stable; it is also a fact that some regions are more stable than others. The African picture depicts a mixed pattern in which certain regions are relatively more stable than others though on average there are many settings of insecurity and instability on the continent occasioned by conflicts and regime transition problems within countries, which subsequently affect wider regions. The situation in

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<sup>20</sup> Frances Stewart, 2011 "Root causes of violent conflicts in developing countries" Oxford University Press

<sup>21</sup> Article 33. UN Charter.

<sup>22</sup> Antony Cordesman, and Chloe Coughlin, Schulte.2013. "Causes of crisis in Middle East" Published by the CSIS

Libya, Somalia, South Sudan, and the troubled Northern parts of Nigeria and the Sahel, in general, all point to implications of regional security.

Multilateral peacekeeping operations of the 21st century were designed to address some of these challenges by not only responding to and resolving live internal conflict situations but also stabilizing post-conflict settings within countries and wider regions as well. Nonetheless, the problem of insecurity within and across regions persists. Against this background, this study seeks to undertake a focused comparison of multilateral peacekeeping operations in eastern and western Africa with specific references to their impact on regional security in the 21st century.

### **1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

1. What does the concept of peacekeeping at a multi-lateral and regional on peace and security entail?
2. How do peacekeeping missions enhance peace and security in Eastern and Western Africa?
3. What do we learn from the experiences on Regional security in Eastern and Western Africa?

### **1.4 The OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

#### 1.4.1 My Main objectives

The purpose the study is to examine the place of peacekeeping in the 21st-century regional agenda in Africa.

1. To assess the impact of multilateral peacekeeping in regional security of Eastern Africa.
2. To analyses the effect of multilateral peacekeeping on regional security in western Africa.
- 3.To compare and contrast the western and eastern Africa experiences of multilateral peacekeeping and their impact on regional security.

## **1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW.**

In classical Realist thought, domestic politics were considered to be distinct from international politics.<sup>23</sup> This made a dichotomy between domestic and international was one of the main tenets and pillars of classical realist thoughts.<sup>24</sup> Third was a reflect of the order of international society, and is enshrined in the main documents of international.

This realist approach lies in the state-centrism of realists thought, which saw states being an only actors in the global arena: indeed, UN charter contemplated a world of exclusively interstate relations. Hence the UN intervenes in the conflicts that are threats to global stability and peace. In conception the charter, at least until the Somali case,<sup>25</sup> only interstate conflicts were taken to pose a threat to global harmony and security.

In 1963 OAU was created to articulate interests of Africa. Members of international community. The founding of OAU was a great triumph for the cause of decolonization. The OAU'S charter gave a wide mandate, and it was intended that the organization would spearhead and coordinate the African platform on issues such as development and cooperation. However, the settlement of the conflict in South Africa, the organization suddenly found itself without a common cause. It, therefore, needed to search for, and articulate an agenda; it was not to become irrelevant in the twentieth century. The issue of conflict management in Africa is one about which with some will, the OAU could articulate and even provide leadership internationally.<sup>26</sup>

AU has seen itself as the leading motivation for the handling of conflicts in the continent. It achieved some success in some but also failed to manage Africa's most festering conflicts

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<sup>23</sup> Antony Cordesman, and Chloe Coughlin, Schulte.2013. "Causes of crisis in Middle East" Published by the CSIS

<sup>24</sup> Call, C (2015). "Addressing Two problems with Peace building." Retrieved from United Nations University Centre for Policy Research

<sup>25</sup> Call, C (2015). "Addressing Two problems with Peace building." Retrieved from United Nations University Centre for Policy Research

<sup>26</sup> Ibid 23

especially internal ones.<sup>27</sup> The AU's conflict management principles are spelled out in its charter.<sup>28</sup> Africa's countries opt to solve own conflicts and minimize the interference of outsiders in their regional affairs.

The relationship between internal and international is important for international relations generally and has profound implications for conflict management. The idea of internationalization of conflict has influenced thinking not only in international relations but also in conflict management.<sup>29</sup> Burton has also made a key addition to the study of war by demonstrating that even international crises and conflicts have domestic sources.<sup>30</sup>

The peacekeeping operations have important effects on conflict management, indeed they change significantly the structure of conflict management globally, and regionally making it a challenge for the conflict managers to what appears to be purely an internal affair. It first broadens the conflict situation and brings about external perspectives.<sup>31</sup>

The missions have several effects on the conflict and the structure of its management. It broadens the conflict and brings in external perspectives. The broadening of the conflict and the structure of the management allows for the operation management to choose from a wider arena of management strategies and approaches.

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid

<sup>28</sup> Article II OAU Charter

<sup>29</sup> M. Mwagiru

<sup>30</sup> J.W. Burton, *Global Conflict: The Domestic Sources of International Crisis* (Brighton: Wheat sheaf Books, 1984).

<sup>31</sup> Global Public policy Institute (GPPi), 2016, *Civil Affairs and Local Conflict Management In Peace Operations*, Berlin Germany, GPPi Press



The objectives of the AU is geared towards unity in Africa and its peoples and to protect the authority, regional integrity and freedom of its members in promotion of harmony, peace, and a stable.<sup>32</sup>

Come 2020 guns shall be grounded. The mechanisms for a peaceful resolution to conflict should function on stages in the African continent. A values of peace and tolerance shall be in the African young generation impacted through peace schooling. We Africa that has peace and tranquility, with harmonious relationships between countries and societies within them. The running of our multiplicity will be a cradle of prosperity, accord transformation rather than a well of war. The continent ought to see better social security with a high-pitched reduction in crimes. We want a safer environment individuals, families, and societies.<sup>33</sup> Africa ought clear of armed conflicts,, violent extremism, and poverty.

Africa's security institutions have deployed over 10,000 personnel in peace missions on our soil over more than 12 years, showing a true will to give to security authority on their region.<sup>34</sup> By missions, the Africa union coupled with other institutions become first reactors to crisis administration needs.<sup>35</sup>

Africa has always hosted more peacekeeping missions than any other region. AU has also spearheaded security maneuvers that include initial peace and security mission in Burundi in 2003, operations in Darfur, Sudan from 2004.

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<sup>32</sup> Call, C (2015). "Addressing Two problems with Peace building." Retrieved from United Nations University Centre for Policy Research

<sup>33</sup> Ibid

<sup>34</sup> Mersheimer, J. 1985. 'Conventional Deterrence'. Published by Cornel University Press. Pp 170

<sup>35</sup> Ibid

In accordance with EAC conventions on peace and security, joint missions mean activities which bring together joint task bodies of the partner states involved in cross border crimes and any other operations which may be mutually agreeable by the states.<sup>36</sup>

During 2010 conflicts after the election phase in Cote-d'ivoire and the popular revolt turned civil war in Libya in 2011 for instance,<sup>37</sup> a number of African leaders and intellectuals criticized 'foreign' military intervention in both cases, urging that being an "African problem", they should have been left for the Africans to find a solution to them. Similar sentiments were expressed regarding other issues on the continent, particularly about the problems that were on going in Zimbabwe given attempts by certain West African countries to influence those situations in specific ways.<sup>38</sup> And yet African countries have solicited the assistance of both the UN and rich foreign countries to help them sort out their problems in the region, as in Somali, South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). If Africa wants change this must effectively reduce threat and scope of "acceptable" interventions which it can and adapt effective ways to solve problems that tend to attract the unacceptable ones.<sup>39</sup>

### 1.5.1 Mechanisms which peacekeepers may lay foundation

As much as it has been documented on peacekeeping and its activities, not much has been done to identify research has taken place to identify how peacekeepers had impacted, in a post-election conflict situation. Columbian University professor, attempted to put out four instruments which peacekeepers lay the grounds for lasting peace. 1. To Change the inducements of belligerents, making peace much desirable or war more worse and expensive, to minimize the

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<sup>36</sup> Mersheimer, J. 1985. 'Conventional Deterrence'. Published by Cornell University Press. Pp 170

<sup>37</sup> Benot man, Norman, Jason Park, and James Brandon, "ISLAMIST" IN Jason Park, ed., The 2011 Libyan Uprising., and the Struggle for The Post-Gadhafi Future, New York: Palgrave, 2013.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid

<sup>39</sup> AU Herald vol.2.2012, (AUC publishers), pp.105

doubt and fear that drives security dilemma into spirals, to control accidents or the actions of rascal clusters that might otherwise worsen back to conflict, and lastly Stop political abuse by one side mostly the government of the day that could cause players losing the peace to and up arms afresh.<sup>40</sup>

Anjali Dayal argues that scholarly studies found that peace-keeping retains conflicts from shedding blood over borders and corresponds with less people targeted by the conflicts. Peace missions have been successful in serving as transitional authorities, handing power back to the people.<sup>41</sup> Peacekeeping decreases the harshness of civil wars on but, when it is combined with intervention the impact is awesome.<sup>42</sup> There is an indication that the ability to deploy peacekeeping could assist the global community bring belligerents to the intervention table and heighten the possibility of a will agree to an armistice.<sup>43</sup>

Doyle and Sampan argues long lasting peace is highly likely after a non-ethnic conflict in states with a moderately higher standard of growth plus whether or not UN peacekeeping troops and monetary aid in existence. They determine that the short-term permanent peace is more reliant on a vigorous UN deployment together with low levels of violence between combatants. Increased profitable ability could be an inducement not to go back aggressions. Financial capability matter more, while the intensity of violence between combatants not crucial. UN deployment, have often inadequately prompted liberated financial growth in the nations where they have interceded. In that UN takes a solid but subsidiary part and achievement in long-term peace as

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<sup>40</sup> *ibid*

<sup>41</sup> Kenneth Waltz (1959) – Book: “Man, the State and War” pp 17-37

<sup>42</sup> Antony Cordesman, and Chloe Coughlin, Schulte.2013. “Causes of crisis in Congo” Published by the CSIS

<sup>43</sup> Frances Stewart, 2011 “Root causes of violent conflicts in developing countries” Oxford University Press

foreseen on the growth of organizations that back peace, reasonably than serving as a restraining force for reintroduced war.<sup>44</sup>

The necessity for peacekeeping rests and will go further. The grounds for skirmish are never ending and the conflicts remain a frequent feature of global issues. Further conflicts explode within boundaries, not inter states. They still pose a big problem to regions' steadiness.

UN peacekeeping may not certainly be the finest tool for the chore at hand in every occasion. When should the universal community decree peacekeeping duty the UN? What makes their victory or disappointment? When should the UN act in corporation with regional organizations? What is the connection between the armed troops, governmental dialogues, and administrative necessities at the UN secretariat?

In more than fifty war zones around the globe, some half million civilians live under fears of violence. Many of places, the key order enforcers are not civilian police or military warriors, and the Blue hat troops of the UN with who have at least 90,000 soldiers and 20,000 civilian are spread across 15 nations.<sup>45</sup> UN peacekeepers form up second-largest military troops mandated around second to the USA military.<sup>46</sup> UN peacekeepers are called into war-ravaged nations and assigned with preserving armistice and security. That means nothing less than changing countries, peoples, and societies. Peacekeepers go out there safeguard civilians, train police services, remove weapons the belligerents, observe human rights violations, shape elections, and provide gender equal opportunity.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Kenneth Waltz (1959) – Book: “Man, the State and War” pp 17-37

<sup>45</sup> [Un Report as At 31 May, 2019](#)

<sup>46</sup> Aharon K. 2015. “ ‘Great Powers’ & Geopolitics: The Balance and Balancing of Power” pp. 11-28

<sup>47</sup> Joseph Nye. (2004). “Power in the Global Information Age journal”. Pp 60-77

### **1.5.1 Gaps in the literature**

From all the literature that I have reviewed, I have found the following gaps,

The East African Community lacks necessary organs like the council which deals with security and peace which should be there to guarantee speedy and operative actions by the EAC and partner states on the Security Council's major duty for conservation of regional peace plus stability. This is a necessary body to handle matters security and if not serious conflicts within the region, who will handle and how and what should be swift to be able to contain issues from escalating to worse. And if there is no security council, who will authorize for action for the EAC joint operation other than the AU security council now that we want to be self-reliant?

also no set up in the EAC charter on the conventions of peace and security for the operationalization to an EAC mutual defense pact for an alternative concerned of an extraordinary summit if the chairperson's partner state is a party of a conflict or dispute with another partner state,

The current EAC standard operating procedures have gaps and deficiencies too. There is no harmonized SOP for the military, police, and civilians to maintain multinational, multidimensional exercises in peace and security.

There is no particular established base for the joint force operations where they should live and train together such as if there is a need for intervention that they should be called fast enough to act on any threat.

For the financing of the joint security operations, they still depend on the United Nations and donor and partner states of which their money is never enough or constrained by other reasons, which leaves a deficit as there is no enough for the operations. There is no set up alternative mode for financing the joint security operations both in the Eastern and Western African Blocs.

## **1.6 The Hypotheses**

My Thesis attempts in testing of the below stated hypotheses,

H.I the efforts applied in securing Africa before the peacekeeping missions' concept was not functional in upholding peace and security.

H.0 The study will also show that the conflict-prone areas with a multilateral peacekeeping mission have managed conflict better than the regional security arrangements.

## **1.7 The Significance of the study**

The research is significant to the peace and security policymakers to Africa. It points on areas that need to be looked at boost peace and security in Africa region under the cover of the UN and AU as a better option. For African we are the best placed in understanding, mitigating and even preventing such conflicts, The African Union has taken a bold step to establish regionally-based joint peace and security operations like AMISOM in Somali, which such operation can be rapidly deployed to any of its member countries in reaction to any possible threats to security, to prevent loss of lives and property, which can lead to humanitarian crisis. The study will recommend areas of improvement and if implemented, it is in high hopes that the region will be better placed in enhancing peace and stability.<sup>48</sup>

My study will also provide an opportunity for future scholars of international conflicts management to research more on this area of academics. The study will contribute and enhance knowledge in the areas of the role of the multilateral and regional security and security operations in enhancing peace Eastern and Western Africa which can be adopted by other sub-regions in Africa and other continents too. Since time Immemorial it is proven that African conflicts are caused by Africans themselves, the joint security operations will bring to form a

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<sup>48</sup> Griffiths , M. & O'callaghan, T. (2013). "Key Concepts in International, Routledge" Retrieved from the Hong Kong Economic Journal

new perspective to conflict detection, prevention, and resolutions in the regions. It will also provide important information and bring out gaps to future scholars and researchers who might be interested to research further on this area.

The study will enable present scholars to research more on the phenomena filling my gaps that I might have left including that of other scholars, it will also help them to answer some unanswered questions in future research.

The study will also assist the respective organizations and states in policymaking that will assist the everyday management of the statematers of security. It will too help individual scholars to navigate in their studies and to help them to know the gaps that are between the study and that of others.

In my workplace being a security agent, I will be able to assist my agency and other stakeholders on matters appertaining to my study and also develop workplace policies that will assist the organization in its management of day to day affairs including plans for a peaceful and secure society.

The media may also be able to borrow from my research findings and enlighten the international population on matters security as they are on the ground.

### **1.8 Theoretical framework.**

The thesis is be anchored upon Collective security theory. This theory is important because I will use it to explain the notion that nonviolent plus steady world direction can be sustained minus the help of the collective security organization had been by most people concerned with the world organization as unbelievable idea.<sup>49</sup> Cognizance of the point that military control is a key point of global politics and likely to continue for some time as long as we network with one

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<sup>49</sup> *I.L. Laude. Jr., Swords Into Plowshares: The and Progress of International Organization, 4th edition., (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 245*

another worldwide. Thus, the crucial thing in growing steadiness in the globe is to achieve proper military control. For supporters of collective security, it is organizations that are key in management of power productively.<sup>50</sup>

It is the first belief of the League of Nations: namely that member countries can take a intimidation of violence on one affiliate as an attack on all. Kupchan et al define Collective security as, an promise among countries to stand by agreed rules and procedures to preserve strength and when required, group collectively to stop hostility.<sup>51</sup> Accordingly collective security anchors on the impression of institutionalizing the legal use of might to lessen the reliance on support as a rather a crude instrument of law application.<sup>52</sup> When these perceptions are bundled together, the notion of collective security may additionally be defined to mean established or regional systems that nations have settled by agreement mutually to meet any act of hostility or other unlawful use of force directed to a member state of the system." It is an arrangement founded on the mutual obligation of all nations to join efforts against an attacker nation, sooner the fact of aggression is determined by set out procedures. In such establishments aggression is well-defined as wrong in worldwide terms and an attacker, as soon as is identified, stands to be convicted. Hence the duty of all countries to act against him is considered as a obligation to backing right against wrong. It is likewise established upon the applied anticipation that the common unity of all countries would from the start make it clear to every régime that hostility is not worth.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Harrison. R Wagner (2004) - Research Article – “Bargaining, War and Alliances”

<sup>51</sup> Brooks Barri Atwan (2012) – Article, The Arab League has misjudged its actions on Syria. Accessed Via: <https://www.theguardian.com/arab-league-syria>

<sup>52</sup> Joseph Nye. (2004). “Power in the Global Information Age journal”. Pp 60-77

<sup>53</sup> Griffiths , M. & O’callaghan, T. (2013). “Key Concepts in International, Routledge” Retrieved from the Hong Kong Economic Journal



## **1.9 Research Methodology**

This study was conducted by the use of a cross-sectional design. Survey study is normally envisioned to define and account the way matters are.<sup>54</sup> It is categorized by the systemic gathering of facts from members of a particular people by use of an interview guide. Hence the design is suitable for the study as it encompasses the role joint security procedures in enhancing peace and stability of Africa. The study will depend on primary plus secondary data sources to gather information. I have used Purposive sampling technique in selecting respondents and collected data by administering questionnaires to personnel who may have been involved in peacekeeping operations in UNAMID, AMISON and EASF personnel based in Kenya police headquarters in Nairobi, EASTBRIG officers in Karen Nairobi. Secondary sources will include, key UN, AU, ECOWAS, documentation, plus other official bases, which will be accessed if necessary. Other information will include; academia journals, periodicals, and any other instruments necessary to gathering data- the study will drove data from primary and secondary sources. Secondary data research was acquired from archives, libraries, government database, and online sources and any books covering observations and analysis on topics presented above, created in their particular academic arenas.<sup>55</sup>

My unit of analysis was, therefore, the ECOMOG, G5-SAHEL, AMISOM the MONUSCO peacekeeping missions. While period for analysis springs back to the foundation of UN in 1948 plus AU in 1963 including the birth of Sub-regional peace and security arrangements. Additionally looks into what may be impending for multilateral and Regional peacekeeping operations ability in peace and security. The findings will be written from the perspective of the

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<sup>54</sup> Joseph Nye. (2004). "Power in the Global Information Age journal". Pp 60-77

<sup>55</sup> Ibid 54

present using both descriptive and content of analysis. I will also use my personal experience because also it's a common mode of obtaining experience.

I intend to use the following data collection tools Questionnaires, interview guide, recordings, and photographs where possible.

### **1.9.1 Research Design**

In my research study, both qualitative and quantitative study research designs were used, because I had a number of purposes for the study. The objectives were enhanced by using qualitative techniques while others were best assessed using quantitative approaches. By using the two designs, they supplemented one another in that qualitative methods provided in-depth clarifications while quantitative approaches provided the hard data I needed to meet the necessary purposes and to test my hypotheses. I know the two methods have bias, and combining the research types helped me to avoid such bias in my study and I used both to check the other.

#### **1.9.1.1 Sampling Design and Procedure**

A sample is a subset of the aimed population. It denotes to a clutch of respondents that the researcher picks from the target population to answer the research instruments. The researcher will use a stratified random sampling technique to obtain samples needed for the study. According to Kothari (2004), a stratified sampling technique is generally applied to obtain a representative sample.

#### **1.9.1.2 Non- probabilistic sampling**

the researcher also intends to use a convenience sample, which he/she selects the easiest group from which to obtain information from easily, for this will be used to the security agents, and the government officials, being a civil servant, members of the East African stand by force (EASF),

Embassy officials, UN officials and a police officer interviewing the officers will be easy and they are readily accessible, also obtaining secondary data from their archives and records may be easier.

### **1.9.2 Research Site**

In my area of research I generally looked at Africa as the second large and most populated continent worldwide, with a large diversity of ethnicity, cultures, and languages, it has an African Union which has 55 member federation consisting of all African countries, Africa had been a bedrock of conflict and joint security operations as troops are sent in all most all sub-regions within it to handle the problems.

I will also look at the Eastern Africa focus being THE AMISOM IN Somali MONUSCO in D.R Congo. I will look at the Horn of Africa, which covers Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somali, South Sudan, and Sudan. These countries are interconnected, economic, and cultural and security threats are similar.

The Great Lakes Region will not be left out, which has countries that make up the great lake region and they include DRC, Burundi, Rwanda, Republic of Congo, Uganda, Kenya, and Malawi. The area was a colonial-era border that cuts several ethnic sets and for over 20 years been a bedrock of conflicts that has propelled several revolutions and involvements.<sup>56</sup> Conflicts in DRC have affected the entire lake region forming a conflict system that cannot be ignored. With MONUSCO in the area and which has been there for a while, the Question is why does the conflict not end? Are the peacekeepers on the ground not able to do their work or are there are other reasons for the ineffectiveness? These matters ought to be addressed with lots of concern.

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<sup>56</sup> Joseph Nye. (2004). "Power in the Global Information Age journal". Pp 60-77

My study also explored the western part of Africa's focus being the ECOWAS block composed of fifteen member states spread in the West African Region. The nations have both socio-cultural and geographical strings and have common economic goods. The countries comprise 5,114,162, square km and a population of about 349 million as of 2015.<sup>57</sup> ECOWAS serves a peace and security forces in the area, with member occasionally distribution joint military troops to intercede in the block's member states during time of political unrest for instance in cote d'ivoire in 2013, Liberia in 2013.<sup>58</sup>

In the Western part of Africa to I will also look at the G-5 Sahel or G5S- which is composed of Burkina-Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, and Niger.<sup>59</sup> The G5S has military aspects harmonized by the individual nation's Chief of Staff. Its aim is to brace the link between development and security,<sup>60</sup> and collectively fight the threat of Jihad organization operational in the region.

#### 1. 9. 4. The Target Population

The target population refer to the whole group of persons or items from which the study seeks to generalize findings. The population in the research were officers from the Kenya Defense Forces (KDF), National police service (NPS), Government officials from the department of foreign affairs, officers of the UN and a few selected embassies i.e. the embassy of Somalia, DRC, Nigeria and Mali,

#### **1.9.5 Research Sample Size**

If time and resources will allow, the study will take a big sample as possible. With a large sample, I will be confident that if I were to select the same size, findings from the two samples

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<sup>57</sup> Antony Cordesman, and Chloe Coughlin, Schulte.2013. "Causes of crisis Horn of Africa" Published by the CSIS

<sup>58</sup> Jacob Slobodien. R. (2016). " Case study of the Contagiousness of Regional Conflict" journal

<sup>59</sup> Harrison. R Wagner (2004) - Research Article – "Bargaining, War and Alliances"

<sup>60</sup> Griffiths , M. & O'callaghan, T. (2013). "Key Concepts in International, Routledge" Retrieved from the Hong Kong Economic Journal

would be similar to a high degree. I will use purposive sampling technique that will allow me to use cases that have the required information concerning the objectives of the study. The cases of the subject will, therefore, be handpicked because they will be informative.

For each of the groups, the researcher will interview each group as follow.

### Population samples

No. to be investigated

	Population samples	No. to be investigated	%	
1	National police service	15		
2	Officials from United peacekeeping office	6		
3	Kenya Defense Forces (AMISOM)	10		
	Somalia community living in Kenya	6		
5	Ministry of foreign affairs	6		
6	Other government officials	12		
	Mali embassy	2		
	sierra Leone embassy	2		
	Somali embassy	2		
	DRC embassy	2		
	AU OFFICIALS	6		
	EASF KAREN KENYA	6		

### Sampling/Formula

The researcher selected several individuals for the study in that those selected represented the larger group which they will be selected.

Yamane (1967)

n =

Where the symbols will be as follows

n= sample size

N = size of the population,

e = error 10%

Example

n =20,674 the population for Military AMISOM Officers that include Burundi- 5432, Djibouti- 960, Ethiopia-4395, Kenya-3664, Uganda 6,222) as at 2019 as per the AU newsletter March 2019.<sup>61</sup>

n = source; researcher, 2019

### **1.9.6 Data Collection**

my main data collection instruments used in the study were interviews and questionnaires. It was used to collect the primary quantitative data. a questionnaire got for reasons being : its prospect in getting out to a big number of respondents in a short time; was able to give the responders enough time to respond to the issues ; feeling secure (confidentiality) , and it is an impartial process since is un biased. Every item in the questionnaire addressed the objective of the study. The questionnaire also had a close-ended question.

### **1.9.7 Data Analysis**

I analyzed the composed data using quantitative and qualitative data analysis methods. Quantitative method involves descriptive analysis such as occurrences and proportions. Data

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<sup>61</sup> Diis. Danish Institute for International Studies. [www.diis.d.k](http://www.diis.d.k)

collected by use of questionnaires got coded then logged in the processor using statistical package for social science (SPSS V 21.0).<sup>62</sup>

### **1.9.8 Data Presentation**

After collecting data and processing it with various processing tools and sorting it, the presentation may include the pictographic presentation of the data by use graphs, maps charts, including other necessary means. This assists in addition of a visual phase to data which made it more comfortable and faster understood by my audience.

### **1.9.9 Ethical Considerations**

Various ethical codes were put into consideration in conducting this research as follows. First, Full consent was obtained from the participants and no one was coerced to take part in this study. Secondly, all participants had prior been informed of the aim of this research was academics to and that the data that was obtained was exclusively utilized for purposes stated for this research. This was in order for them to make their right judgment on whether to participate or not.

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<sup>62</sup> Stevens. J (2017) Applied Multivariate Statistics for the Social Sciences, Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **2.0 PEACEKEEPING AND REGIONAL SECURITY IN AFRICA: A BACKGROUND ANALYSIS.**

Peace keeping has been a tool that has been used by the United Nations ever from the time when World War II concluded. Peace-keepers have since been deployed to various hot spots on the world mostly Africa, Middle East including southern America. These missions have done quite well and others are yet to be given thumbs up. Peace keeping involves the unity of the global nations who have come together to ensure the world is at peace and that all nations can integrate in a free world devoid of violent conflicts.

The world leaders have always converged in their different capacities discussing peace and security for all mankind. In my own thoughts I don't think this has really worked too well but not so bad too. With the Middle East always in fierce fights with the neighbors, of late Sudan has been on fire, what are these leaders doing about it and yet innocent civilians have continued to die? Must we wait for a country to burn so as to send Peacekeepers, what more can we do to stop this blood shed? What have those peacekeepers in D. R Congo and South Sudan done all this while? The questions continue to linger in our minds.



## 2.1 The Journey of Peacekeeping

Peacekeeping are actions envisioned to generate a situation that brings a lasting peace.<sup>63</sup>

Peacekeeping can decline the danger of repeated fights inside the UN group of nations- state regimes and governments. They have overall understanding that the intercontinental realm, peacekeepers observe and monitor peace developments in post-conflict scenarios, may come in several ways, for example, confidence-building measures, power-sharing engagements, electoral support, reinforcement of the rule law, and socio-economic development.

Under the international authority, peacekeepers are non- fighters for their impartial stance in the struggle between two or more aggressive groups and are to be secure from attacks always.<sup>64</sup>

Various types of operations are included in peacekeeping. Notably, these types of undertakings and how they are directed are mostly influenced by the directive in which they are approved.

Chapter VI missions deal with the peaceable settlement of disagreements,<sup>65</sup> chapter VII mission, sets out the UN security supremacy to conserve peace.<sup>66</sup> Cap VI missions are agreement-based, so they require the approval of the aggressive groups tangled to operate. In case they lose approval, peacekeepers should be obligated to drawback.

Not all intercontinental peacekeeping groups have been directly organized by UN, in 1980s, an organization between Israel and Egypt made the international observers and forces which endure to observe the Sinai Peninsula.<sup>67</sup> The AU built an African peace and security architecture which realizes the directive to enforce peace and security to the region in the cases of massacre or other

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<sup>63</sup> Mersheimer, J. 1985. 'Conventional Deterrence'. Published by Cornell University Press. Pp 170

<sup>64</sup> 'rule 33. Personnel and objects involved in a peacekeeping mission.' International Committee of the Red Cross. Retrieved April 7, 2019

<sup>65</sup> Chapter VI the UN Charter

<sup>66</sup> Chapter VII the UN Charter

<sup>67</sup> 10 Tactical Air Group: Canadian Contingent Multinational Force and Observers Handbook, page A-1. DND, Ottawa, 1986.

serious human rights abuses an AU- Mission could be propelled even against the will of the regime of the nation concerned, and approved by the AU General Assembly (AUGA). The founding of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)<sup>68</sup> which includes the African Standby Force (ASF)<sup>69</sup> is constructed based on organizations, purposes, and values, including decision making procedures involving to the prevention, organization and purpose of calamities and battles, post-conflict rebuilding and progress in the region. The PSC protocol which was embraced 2002 , South Africa and come into force in 2003, frameworks the several documents of the APSA and their particular tasks.<sup>70</sup>

The major pillar of APSA is the PSC, reinforced, in the performance of its obligation, by numerous organizations, which are the Continental Early Warning Systems (CEWS), the African Standby Force (ASF), and the Peace Fund. The association among the AU, which has main duty for supporting security, peace, and stability in Africa'. Notwithstanding a big number of contributions, the greater load endures to be born by developing nations. The ten most contributing countries to UN peacekeeping operations as of May 2019<sup>71</sup> were as follows;- Ethiopia-7,127 Rwanda-.6524 India-6,307 Bangladesh-6,511 Nepal-5,663 Pakistan-5,084 Egypt-3,349, Indonesia-2,816 Ghana-2,777 China-2,534<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> [www.peaceau.org/en/topic/the-african-peace-security-architecture](http://www.peaceau.org/en/topic/the-african-peace-security-architecture). Retrieved June 19, 2019

<sup>69</sup> Ibid

<sup>70</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Ibid

<sup>72</sup> Ibid

<b>S/NO</b>	<b>COUNTRY</b>	<b>NO OF UN PEACEKEEPERS DEPLOYED</b>
1	ETHIOPIA	7127
2	RWANDA	6524
3	BANGLADESH	6511
4	INDIA	6307
5	NEPAL	5663
6	PAKISTAN	5084
7	EGYPT	3349
8	INDONESIA	2816
9	GHANA	2771
10	CHINA	2534
	<b>TOTAL</b>	

## **2.2 Regionalization of Peace Keeping in Africa**

From the onset of the African Union in 2002, a new form of peace keeping was born and new practice of maintaining regional peace laid more emphasize on security. Collaboration and peace as the catalyst. Formation of the AU was premised on improving the welfare of its people promoting and enhancing economic development; I addition to unifying African countries.The AU charter give right to union to intervene in member state country who engage in war crime such as genocide or commit crimes against humanity. AU provided a platform through which the continent could come up with domestic local solutions to peace and security related challenges. Regionalization of peace undertakings have been slow to be embraced fully. To prevent conflicts in the East African region adoption of early warning system and embracing global community in attempts to spear head a unified timely and efficient manner.

### **2.3 The conflict management system; Great Lakes Region**

Leadership of the Great Lake region have given an undertaking to African Union to put a stop to all forms of armed violent conflict especially in the Democratic Republic of Congo by the year 2020. However, the Great Lake region has seen an upsurge of armed conflict during the initial period of 2016. War was spreading and hitting various parts of the Great Lake region like wild fire, Burundi was rocked with chaos following a failed attempt coup, while Democratic Republic of Congo witnessed more fresh civil wars. The spillover effect of these violence and conflict was an increased influx of refugees from neighboring countries of Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. The Great Lake region put in spirited efforts in 2013 to try and tame down and de-escalate continuous war by bringing together countries such as Tanzania, Uganda, South Sudan and Zambia in signing a peace and security cooperation agreement. Kenya and Sudan also joined the bond wagon in 2017.

The main arms that drove those leaders were to; put an end to illegal mineral mining especially in the Democratic Republic of Congo which were constant trigger of violence halting the ever increasing and swelling refugee influx in the region coupled with illegal human trafficking.

### **2.4 East African Community and IGAD's Role in (GLR) Great Lake Region**

Despite the fact that East Africa Community has a limited role and capacity; when it comes into intervening in ongoing and active mediation in the Great Lake Region, it continues to play an important crucial role in promoting peace. Most evidently East Africa Community has been fruitful in its efforts to facilitate Rwanda and Burundi Peace record thus promoting peace keeping in the region.

Under the founding agreements of the East Africa Community, members were in unison that peace and security are fundamentals and key ingredients for both social and economic development in the region.

The East Africa Community Parliament had been on the forefront in promoting peace through acts of mediation overfishing rights amongst members coupled with many other issues. East Africa Community continues to strengthen its working efforts towards promoting peace through various mechanisms such as adopting peace and security protocol coupled with Conflict Management and Resolution mechanism in the year 2012. It is clear that when East Africa Community is peaceful the Great Lake Region will be peaceful too, as anything that touches on the EAC touches of all regions including the Horn of Africa.

## **2.5 Management of Internationalized Conflicts**

Conflict management is conceptualized as the techniques aimed at reducing the negative effects of conflict and enhance the positive ones.<sup>73</sup> According to Blake and Mouton, there are five main conflict management strategies which are applied depending on the nature of conflict, including; accommodation, domination, avoidance, compromise and integration. Conflict management focused majorly on the limitation, mitigation and containment of conflict, without necessarily resolving it.<sup>74</sup>

Internationalization of conflict has been a hot topic in the 21<sup>st</sup> century with increasing intervention of foreign actors in internal conflict, resulting in prolonged civil wars, particularly in the developing countries East African region .Sylvain Vite<sup>75</sup> defines internationalization as intervention of a third state in an internal conflict in support of state forces or non-government

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<sup>73</sup> Qi Wang. (2015). "Conflict Management". Retrieved <https://centerforinterculturaldialogue>.

<sup>74</sup> Fred. T. (2000) – "Conflict prevention & resolution: Limits of Multilateralism"

<sup>75</sup> De Silva, K.M & May, R. J (1991). "Internationalization of Ethnic Conflict, Continuum International Publishing

rebels. There are however other viewpoints of conflict internationalization from the perspective of refugee influx to neighboring states, hence Albrecht Schnabel's <sup>76</sup> definition as "conflict spill-overs".

There are different motivations for internal actors to seek external interventions majorly pegged on the need for material resources to fight and legitimacy, which is usually connected to support from abroad.<sup>77</sup> On the flipside, the motivations for external actors to intervene in internal conflicts mainly gravitate around acquisition of natural resources and projection of influence. However way the term is conceptualized, the evident factor is the increased complexity of internationalized conflict arising from a complex web of external actors. Internationalized wars have been argued to be far more deadly and protracted than non- internationalized conflicts.<sup>78</sup>

## **2.6 UN as the Multilateral Conflict Management Tool**

On 29th March 2019, the UNSC decided to unanimously renew the role of the United Nations Stabilization Mission in The Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO) until December 20th, 2019 with two strategic priorities.<sup>79</sup> In Kinshasa, 30, March 2019, the resolution was approved by the UNSC further entrusted Secretary-General of the UN with submitting to no later than, October 20, 2019, the results of its independence strategic review of the UN mission in DRC, which should include a phased progressive and comprehensive withdrawal plan.<sup>80</sup> The council stresses the need to progressively transfer the tasks of MONUSCO to the Congolese Government

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<sup>76</sup> Schnabel., 2002. "The South East European Security"

<sup>77</sup> Borda., Candace & David Sterman, (2018)- A briefing document "Twenty First Century Proxy warfare"

<sup>78</sup> Erink, Harrison. R Wagner (2004). "Bargaining War and Alliances"

<sup>79</sup> <https://monusco.unmission.org/en/un-in> DRC-extends-monusco-mandate

<sup>80</sup> Ibid

and the UN country team so that the mission can with favorable development leave the country according to a plan of responsible withdrawal and sustainable.<sup>81</sup>

## **2.7 Multilateral peacekeeping and Regional security in Africa**

As much as the AU is fast-tracking initiatives on the continental level other player have joined in towards enhancing peace building strategies, they include regional institution and organization, the neighboring ECOWAS has played a key role in negating conflict towards dictatorship though on grounds of the country efforts unequal. Due to the enormous bottle necks there is a need to seek more synergies towards deepening interrogation and cooperation from all the states. This should be accompanied by use of financial resource as well as redefining sovereignty. Major regional institutions are always playing a major role in democratization and conflict management.

This reflects in part, efforts since the security norm building mechanism. It stems from the growing role of Africa's Regional blocs such as the EAC, SADC, ECOWAS and IGAD. They have to some extent contributed to promotion of conflict management initiatives that include peacekeeping and peace building in many states including Burundi, CAR, DRC, Gambia, Mali, Lesotho, South Sudan and Somali. In summary this growing wave of regional efforts dovetails with the continent's frequent calls to find answers to African predicaments. The anthem of African solutions to African problems did gain mileage in the years following the conclusion of cold war; during the time African governments and rebel groups alike.

When power passed to the military after Compaore's departure. The ECOWAS agreement collapsed when the coup was hatched against the care-taker government arrested its leaders in

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<sup>81</sup> 69th Meeting of the Peace and Security Council. Agence De Presse Africain. Retrieved July 15, 2019

September 2015 amid widespread outcry from opposition and civil society leaders, a new peace mission to initiate a political dialogue among the all stakeholders



## **Chapter Three**

### **3.0 Multilateral peacekeeping and Regional security in Eastern Africa.**

Peace and stability in the Eastern part of Africa and Africa as a whole are key to the development of the continent. As them, we will have an African continent that belongs to the ‘hyena’ family that does not care about the lives of the less fortunate who are not able to fight for their rights. It's up to us and our able leadership to ensure that Africa enjoys an ambiance of peace and stability. This chapter I will examine multilateral peacekeeping and regional security in Africa and my focus will be in the Horn of Africa (HOA), the East African Community (EAC), and the great lakes Region and I will examine how the regional bodies and UN are able to handle matters of peacekeeping in eastern Africa especially the MONUSCO, AMISOM, and other regional peace and security enablers and activators.

#### **3.1 Territorial Security in Eastern Africa**

The porous nature of territorial boundaries in the Eastern African region have contributed immensely to intra-state conflicts. From the onset since 1960s external challenges have been witnessed and vocally expressed by Somalia against her neighbors (Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti). Lack of strong states in the East African region is clearly depicted by dictatorship and military government that often result to the exercise of hard power to safeguard the regime and territorial sovereignty.

This tensions and constant engagement by neighbors in the same regional bloc has severe consequence in key aspects such as increased influx of refugees along border towns, hurts the economy negatively, mistrust and erodes gains of regionalism. Currently armed conflict is witnessed in Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan, these conflicts are majorly fueled political instability, unequal distribution of resources and geographical integrity. The consequences that

occurred in Libya currently is no different, Libya being in the proximity of Eastern Africa states which might derail peace and security.

This leads to human insecurity at grassroots and national context have hampered welfare of communities and individuals. A larger percentage of the citizenry are left to fend for themselves either in their tribal or clan grouping during conflict. Environmental based conflicts in the North Eastern part of Kenya that typically involves the Somali community and the surrounding neighbors. The inter-community divided communities which were once unified but due to pressure and climate change they have forced to scramble for the little resource available.

The Rift Valley has on many occasions witnessed reduced based conflicts especially land matters. This is no new phenomena in the region as it has been experienced for decades. This conflicts however have transformed intra-state conflict as border conflict between neighboring communities' escapade. A good example is Uganda-Kenya border where Turkana, Pokot and Karamojong are always engaging in conflicts.

A border between the Turkana and Wests Pokot, has witnessed unending conflicts in the area due to lack of grazing land, water and uncivilized customary law like cattle rustling and thefts, the herds men graze their cattle while armed with illegal firearms to protect their animals which are their source of livelihood. In their vicinity, there is also Karamojong from Uganda and South Sudan borderline where activities are similar. This is clearly evident that pastoral communities pose a security challenge to a holistic regional development of the region.

Eastern Africa continues to suffer terror attacks, adding more weight to the challenges it is experiencing. Kenya and Tanzania experience the twin bombing of American embassy. Radicalization and the perceive Al-Shabab attacks have hit Kenya hard in recent times.

Terrorism acts have greatly impacted on economies of East Africa region as foreign investments shy away from risking to invest in unstable environment. However the joint intervention under Amisom in Somalia has helped minimize the rate of terror attacks in the region.

### **3.2 IGAD's Regional Mechanism in the Horn of Africa (HOA)**

IGAD has continued to play a significant role in the East Africa region in conflict management and resolution. Its peace keeping efforts have not gone unnoticed; in 2002 under the stewardship of Kenya IGAD spearheaded mediation initiatives that brought forth the Transitional Federal Government in Somalia. These efforts were further followed by the establishment of a peace mission in Somalia under IGADSOM entailing 10,000 troops and a budgetary allocation of 500M USD for the initial year. Its efforts were further supported by AU which approved a budgetary fund of 335 million USD for the same period.

IGAD's key achievement was the establishment of an early warning system framework known as (CEWARN) in 2000. This was achieved through drawing synergies of respective countries and collaborations with like-minded donors. Its main purpose was to have a system that could anticipate and prevent conflict in a timely manner before they escalate.

IGAD was instrumental in intervening the Sudanese civil-war; which had persisted over a decade and little progress was achieved through global partners. IGAD took charge and was instrumental in drafting the comprehensive Peace Agreement.

IGAD has strengthened the operationalization of the early warning system by bringing onboard all instrumental stakeholders, non-governmental organizations, governments and other community based organizations in the gathering of information regarding conflicts and prevention of the same. Over the years IGAD has expanded the working of the early warning

system to not only cover inter-state and communal conflict but also to entail cross border related conflicts. This system has been acknowledged as an efficient and cost effective conflict prevention mechanism across Africa; more regional blocs are learning and emulating from it.

In other undertakings, IGAD has taken deliberate action to foresee a more unified and harmonized political and cultural differences. In 2003, IGAD put more efforts in issues concerning internally displaced persons who had emanated from conflict related issues. This efforts were taken by a joint ministerial meeting of member countries. The regional body has continued to call and promote good governance, promotion of human rights, and humanitarian laws among others.

Challenges however have rocked the IGAD region, one major challenge is conflict amongst member more evidently in Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict, and this led to Eritrea suspending its membership from IGAD in 2007. Secondly, IGAD has been forced to compete for membership from the East Africa Community overlapping memberships amongst member has also divided full commitments by member as their attention is torn in between the different memberships.

### **3.3 Regionalization of Peace Keeping in Eastern Africa**

From the onset of the African Union in 2002, a new form of peace keeping was born and new practice of maintaining regional peace laid more emphasize on security. Collaboration and peace as the catalyst. Formation of the AU was premised on improving the welfare of its people promoting and enhancing economic development; I addition to unifying African countries.

The AU charter give right to union to intervene in member state country who engage in war crime such as genocide or commit crimes against humanity.

AU provided a platform through which the continent could come up with domestic local solutions to peace and security related challenges. Regionalization of peace undertakings have been slow to be embraced fully.

To prevent conflicts in the East African region adoption of early warning system and embracing global community in attempts to spear head a unified timely and efficient manner.

### **3.4 Leadership for life; Bad leadership and governance**

Regime revolution in the post-colonial era portrays cases of mismanagement, official pillaging (to rob place by force, especially during the war) dictatorship, irresponsibility, indecisive and confrontation, Burundi, DRC, Rwanda and Uganda are among the top champions of this disappointment in the region. The colonial legacy as a source of conflict is still a problem mainly because post-colonial states have been characterized by bad leadership, poor governance ethnicity coupled with unequal distribution of wealth. These bottlenecks have further watered down the social cohesion and have become a source of internal transitional conflicts instead of bean a mover of sustainable development. All these challenges are a manifestation of a poor leadership in the region. A section of leaders in the region have hold power for decades with no indication of relinquishing it, this form of personalization leadership instead of institutionalizing it is a potential recipe to future conflict.

The crucial issue for Africa today is whether African states have for Africa today is whether African states have preconditions for democracy and democratization; simply because the inexistence of those preconditions rather than discouraging the struggle for democracy has served as a reason for the struggle.

### **3.5 The conflict management system; Great Lakes Region**

Leadership of the Great Lake region have given an undertaking to African Union to put a stop to all forms of armed violent conflict especially in the Democratic Republic of Congo by the year 2020. However, the Great Lake region has seen an upsurge of armed conflict during the initial period of 2016. War was spreading and hitting various parts of the Great Lake region like wild fire, Burundi was rocked with chaos following a failed attempt coup, while Democratic Republic of Congo witnessed more fresh civil wars.

The spillover effect of these violence and conflict was an increased influx of refugees from neighboring countries of Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. The Great Lake region put in spirited efforts in 2013 to try and tame down and de-escalate continuous war by bringing together countries such as Tanzania, Uganda, South Sudan and Zambia in signing a peace and security cooperation agreement. Kenya and Sudan also joined the bond wagon in 2017.

The main arms that drove those leaders were to; put an end to illegal mineral mining especially in the Democratic Republic of Congo which were constant trigger of violence halting the ever increasing and swelling refugee influx in the region coupled with illegal human trafficking.

Key resolution by the Great Lake leadership of combating chaos in Burundi that were triggered by a failed coup was to ensure the incumbent president Nkurunziza will not seek re-election for more than two terms. This has helped quell the civil unrest in Rwanda Power Sharing by the main functions in South Sudan opposition leader Machar and the president was put in place to de-escalate conflict and put a stop to cease-fire.

Democratic Republic of Congo was not left behind in peace efforts the incumbent Joseph Kabila accepted not to vie in the fourth coming elections, leading to transition of power to a new leader.

These resolutions have been deliberated and brokered by high level meeting of the Regional Oversight Mechanism of the Peace, Security and Collaboration.

### **3.6 East African Community and IGAD's Role in (GLR) Great Lake Region**

Despite the fact that East Africa Community has a limited role and capacity; when it comes into intervening in ongoing and active mediation in the Great Lake Region, it continues to play an important crucial role in promoting peace.

Most evidently East Africa Community has been fruitful in its efforts to facilitate Rwanda and Burundi Peace record thus promoting peace keeping in the region. Under the founding agreements of the East Africa Community, members were in unison that peace and security are fundamentals and key ingredients for both social and economic development in the region.

The East Africa Community Parliament had been on the forefront in promoting peace through acts of mediation overfishing rights amongst members coupled with many other issues. East Africa Community continues to strengthen its working efforts towards promoting peace through various mechanisms such as adopting peace and security protocol coupled with Conflict Management and Resolution mechanism in the year 2012. It is clear that when East Africa Community is peaceful the Great Lake Region will be peaceful too, as anything that touches on the EAC touches of all regions including the Horn of Africa.

### **Management of Internationalized Conflicts**

Conflict management is conceptualized as the techniques aimed at reducing the negative effects of conflict and enhance the positive ones.<sup>82</sup> According to Blake and Mouton, there are five main conflict management strategies which are applied depending on the nature of conflict, including; accommodation, domination, avoidance, compromise and integration. Conflict management

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82 Qi Wang. (2015). "Conflict Management". Retrieved <https://centerforinterculturaldialogue>.

focused majorly on the limitation, mitigation and containment of conflict, without necessarily resolving it.<sup>83</sup>

Internationalization of conflict has been a hot topic in the 21<sup>st</sup> century with increasing intervention of foreign actors in internal conflict, resulting in prolonged civil wars, particularly in the developing countries East African region .Sylvain Vite<sup>84</sup> defines internationalization as intervention of a third state in an internal conflict in support of state forces or non-government rebels. There are however other viewpoints of conflict internationalization from the perspective of refugee influx to neighboring states, hence Albrecht Schnabel's<sup>85</sup> definition as “conflict spill-overs”.

There are different motivations for internal actors to seek external interventions majorly pegged on the need for material resources to fight and legitimacy, which is usually connected to support from abroad.<sup>86</sup> On the flipside, the motivations for external actors to intervene in internal conflicts mainly gravitate around acquisition of natural resources and projection of influence. However way the term is conceptualized, the evident factor is the increased complexity of internationalized conflict arising from a complex web of external actors. Internationalized wars have been argued to be far more deadly and protracted than non- internationalized conflicts.<sup>87</sup>

### **3.14 UN as the Multilateral Conflict Management Tool**

In my study, I will not conclude if I do not discuss MONUSCO the UN peacekeeping body that has been in DRC like forever as DRC fall under the GLR. Anything that affects DRC affects the region generally. I will explore how MONUSCO has done so far in its mandate in DRC since its inception.

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<sup>83</sup> Fred. T. (2000) – “Conflict prevention & resolution: Limits of Multilateralism”

<sup>84</sup> De Silva, K.M & May, R. J (1991).”Internationalization of Ethnic Conflict, Continuum International Publishing

<sup>85</sup> Schnabel., 2002. “The South East European Security”

<sup>86</sup> Borda., Candace & David Sterman, (2018)- A briefing document “Twenty First Century Proxy warfare”

<sup>87</sup> Erink, Harrison. R Wagner (2004). “Bargaining War and Alliances”



On 29th March 2019, the UNSC decided to unanimously renew the role of the United Nations Stabilization Mission in The Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO) until December 20th, 2019 with two strategic priorities.<sup>88</sup> In Kinshasa, 30, March 2019, the resolution was approved by the UNSC further entrusted Secretary-General of the UN with submitting to no later than, October 20, 2019, the results of its independence strategic review of the UN mission in DRC, which should include a phased progressive and comprehensive withdrawal plan.<sup>89</sup> The council stresses the need to progressively transfer the tasks of MONUSCO to the Congolese Government and the UN country team so that the mission can with favorable development leave the country according to a plan of responsible withdrawal and sustainable.<sup>90</sup>

My question is UN has been in DRC for more than 30 years now, what have they done to curb the war in DRC, and will the addition of the mandate and subsequent withdrawal in December be of any impact in DRC? The conflicts continue and seem not to end anytime soon. Innocent civilians are dying every other day and fleeing the conflicts to 'nowhere', what have they been doing there all this while being the largest UN mission in the world?

Since it's a multi-lateral peacekeeping endeavor many nations contribute the military/police personnel from around the world. Resolution 2348 (2017) provided the authority of the MONUSCO mandate since 1999; for peace keeping efforts in Democratic republic of Congo.

UN's largest peacekeeping operation with 20,000 strong mission and has been operating in DRC for over 30years. The mission budget for 2019/2020 which is was effective from July 1st will face new cuts. the current budget amounts to over &1 billion and downsizing plan is seen as a preemptive measure anticipating upcoming budgets.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> <https://monusco.unmission.org/en/un-in> DRC-extends-monusco-mandate

<sup>89</sup> Ibid

<sup>90</sup> 69th Meeting of the Peace and Security Council. Agence De Presse Africain. Retrieved July 15, 2019

<sup>91</sup> <https://www.un.org/press/en/2019/gaab4324.doc.htm> (document [A/73/755/Add.15](#))

Former President Joseph Kabila, who had a difficult often hostile relationship with MONUSCO, has repeatedly called for the departure of the UN mission. President Felix Tseki also supports a withdrawal plan but also says he is in favor of a reduce and better armed MONUSCO and offers to operate with the UN.<sup>92</sup> However after 20 years on the ground and with its military strength, MONUSCO has not achieved some of its targets.it has not been able to prevent certain cities from falling to armed militia nor has it succeeded in ending the insecurity caused by the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) in the Beni, and Butembo area in the Kivu Province.

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<sup>92</sup> <https://www.africanews.com/2019/02/16/drc-s-tshiseki-wants-reduced-and-better-armed-un-peacekeepers//>

## CHAPTER 4

### 4.0 Multilateral peacekeeping and Regional security in Western Africa

As much as the AU is fast-tracking initiatives on the continental level other player have joined in towards enhancing peace building strategies, they include regional institution and organization, the neighboring ECOWAS has played a key role in negating conflict towards dictatorship though on grounds of the country efforts unequal. Due to the enormous bottle necks there is a need to seek more synergies towards deepening interrogation and cooperation from all the states. This should be accompanied by use of financial resource as well as redefining sovereignty. Major regional institutions are always playing a major role in democratization and conflict management.

This reflects in part, efforts since the security norm building mechanism. It stems from the growing role of Africa's Regional blocs such as the EAC, SADC, ECOWAS and IGAD. They have to some extent contributed to promotion of conflict management initiatives that include peacekeeping and peace building in many states including Burundi, CAR, DRC, Gambia, Mali, Lesotho, South Sudan and Somali. In summary this growing wave of regional efforts dovetails with the continent's frequent calls to find answers to African predicaments. The anthem of African solutions to African problems did gain mileage in the years following the conclusion of cold war; during the time African governments and rebel groups alike.

When power passed to the military after Compaore's departure. The ECOWAS agreement collapsed when the coup was hatched against the care-taker government arrested its leaders in September 2015 amid widespread outcry from opposition and civil society leaders, a new peace mission to initiate a political dialogue among the all stakeholders.

#### **4.1 The Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) in Regional and Peace Security**

The West Africa bloc, ECOWAS put in place robust initial steps towards unifying and rallying the West African countries into a cooperative body. Its main goal for formation was unification of economic cooperation; this is clearly depicted in its initial agreement. During the formation phase fiscal development and state security were considered as intertwined issues which could not be separated from each other. Prior to that security in the region had been taken from a narrow approach that only considered a state's ability to prevent cross border attacks and its territorial integrity. This was witnessed by utilizing hard power such as the military. Thus the regional bloc did not feature the usage of military terms in its treaty of regional security.

West Africa region is ripe for regional approach to deal with issues of conflict management. This was accelerated by the continuous neglect by the global community together with diminishing confidence on the UN. West Africa sought to create a home based solution and have self-reliant structure to confront the challenges facing the region. The emergence framework is integrative and is intended to complement the national approach as well getting the deserved attention from UN. The advent of intra-state conflicts in West Africa has endangered many economies to the verge of total shut down leading to humanitarian crisis and concerns.

This was clearly evident in countries such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast and Guinea Bissau which their respective economies were almost brought to a near standstill due to civil unrest and continuous conflicts. Violence and rampant killings were witnessed for decades in the region. While violent conflicts were declining in the sub-region, recent insurgents in the Sahel region affect the region in states like Niger, Mali and Mauritania and low intensity conflicts surging within the occurrence of domestic and cross-border conflicts. Despite numerous actors including regional bloc civil society and the global community enhancing energy and efforts

conflicts persisted with no end in sight. This added more problems to an already overwhelmed continent.

This necessitated some regional organization such as the Economic community of West Africa to intervene into the rampant conflicts in countries such as Ivory Coast, Liberia and Sierra Leone among others. This intervention was achieved through the ECOWAS ceasefire monitoring group. According to Ross, 1967 he is of the view that conflict is a scenario where two or more people perceive the achievement of goals either achievable by one or the other party but not together.

#### **4.1.1 Conflicts in Cote d'Ivoire and how it was handled**

The 2010-2011 electoral standby in Cote d'ivoire provided ECOWAS another opportunity to consolidate the norms of constitutions and democratic governance. When the country lapsed into a civil conflict in the early 2000s, ECOWAS deployed a peacekeeping mission, the economic mission in Cote d'ivoire which led in the start of UN operations in Cote d'ivoire in 2004. An ECOWAS mediated in 2007 peace agreement created a transitional power sharing agreement between northern rebel forces and the government led by president Laurent Gbagbo, but when the latter refused to accept defeat in November 2010 elections or hand over power to the opposition leader Alassane Outtard, a stale mate ensured threatening to plunge Cote d'ivoire into a renewed civil.

ECOWAS took a hard-line position against Gbagbo warning that if he did not accept the results it would have no option but to take all necessary measures including the use of force to realize the aspirations of the Ivorian people<sup>93</sup>. As in the Guinea, ECOWAS brought on board the AU

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<sup>93</sup> "Peacemaking Role for West Africa Trade Block" IRIN, May 31, <https://www.irinews.org/analysis/2012/05/31>

and UN on board to coordinate common positions and increase pressure. The crisis was resolved in April 2011 when French troops captured Gbagbo and Outa was sworn in.

#### **4.1.2 Regional Organization's Role in Mali**

ECOWAS equally played great role in Mali in March 2012, following a military coup that stemmed from dissatisfaction with the governments lackluster approach to a rebellion from the north. ECOWAS immediately suspended Mali's membership, applied diplomatic sanctions and froze access to ECOWAS bank financing. In conjunction ECOWAS led negotiations in 2012 for a plan to return the country to civilian rule<sup>94</sup>. As a first step, the military junta agreed to restore constitutional order by hand power to an interim civilian government<sup>95</sup>. Unfortunately, in 2012, Touareg rebels took advantage of the weak civilian government and declared a new state in Northern Mali. ECOWAS secured a UN backing support also from non-ECOWAS neighbouring states and financial backing from key western states<sup>96</sup>.

#### **4.1.2 The ECOWAS Efforts in Burkina Faso**

In 2014, President Blaise Compaore attempted to change Burkina Faso's constitution by extending his twenty-seven-year rule was met by violent protests forcing him out. When power ECOWAS mediated the development of a framework for a civilian transitional government, when power was passed to the military after Compaore's departure<sup>97</sup>. The ECOWAS agreement collapsed when the presidential guard mounted a coup against the interim government and

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid

<sup>95</sup> Simone Nyson, Security and Humanitarian Crisis in Malin; The role of Regional Organizations (London: Overseas Institute, 2014)

<sup>96</sup> Ibid

<sup>97</sup> ECOWAS Presses Burkina Faso on Civilians Role" Al-Jazeera.com/new/Africa/2014/11/ecowas-pressures-burkina-faso-rule-

arrested its leaders in September 2015, amid widespread outcry from opposition and civil society leaders, a new peace mission to initiate a political dialogue among all stakeholders<sup>98</sup>.

#### **4.1.3 The Gambia Crisis**

The many interventions experience that ECOWAS had though the region proved in the Gambia's post-election crisis in January 2017. The conflict arose from then President Yahya Jammeh's reluctance to transfer authority to the opposition leader and the president elect Adama Jammeh initially conceded defeat but reversed his decision citing "serious and unacceptable" abnormalities ECOWAS condemned the reversal, warning that it would enforce the election results.

The AU and UN endorsed this position. ECOWAS also promoted diplomatic initiatives led by various presidents to persuade Jammeh to leave power to the official handover date of January 19, 2017. These initiatives were backed by contingency military preparations for an ECOWAS mission in the Gambia (ECOMIG). The UNSC reinforced ECOWAS request to deploy ECOMIG in January 18. Under operation restore democracy in Senegal. ECOWAS was empowered to see the removal of incumbent president and see to it that the will of Gambia people was respected fully.

#### **Management of Internationalized Conflicts**

Conflict management is conceptualized as the techniques aimed at reducing the negative effects of conflict and enhance the positive ones.<sup>99</sup> According to Blake and Mouton, there are five main conflict management strategies which are applied depending on the nature of conflict, including; accommodation, domination, avoidance, compromise and integration.

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<sup>98</sup> Temi Banjo "How Nigeria ECOWAS Restored Civil Rule in Burkina Faso. N. d.,  
<sup>99</sup> Qi Wang. (2015). "Conflict Management". Retrieved <https://centerforinterculturaldialogue>.

Conflict management focused majorly on the limitation, mitigation and containment of conflict, without necessarily resolving it.<sup>100</sup> Internationalization of conflict has been a hot topic in the 21<sup>st</sup> century with increasing intervention of foreign actors in internal conflict, resulting in prolonged civil wars, particularly in the developing countries East African region .Sylvain Vite<sup>101</sup> defines internationalization as intervention of a third state in an internal conflict in support of state forces or non-government rebels. There are however other viewpoints of conflict internationalization from the perspective of refugee influx to neighboring states, hence Albrecht Schnabel's<sup>102</sup> definition as “conflict spill-overs”.

There are different motivations for internal actors to seek external interventions majorly pegged on the need for material resources to fight and legitimacy, which is usually connected to support from abroad.<sup>103</sup> On the flipside, the motivations for external actors to intervene in internal conflicts mainly gravitate around acquisition of natural resources and projection of influence. However way the term is conceptualized, the evident factor is the increased complexity of internationalized conflict arising from a complex web of external actors. Internationalized wars have been argued to be far more deadly and protracted than non- internationalized conflicts.<sup>104</sup>

This phenomenon therefore leaves conflict managers in a dilemma on how exactly power politics and national interest of the participating states will play out in favor of peace and stability in the region and vice versa. For this reason, this study aims to investigate the role of power in conflict

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<sup>100</sup> Fred. T. (2000) – “Conflict prevention & resolution: Limits of Multilateralism”

<sup>101</sup> De Silva, K.M & May, R. J (1991).”Internationalization of Ethnic Conflict, Continuum International Publishing

<sup>102</sup> Schnabel., 2002. “The South East European Security”

<sup>103</sup> Borda., Candace & David Sterman, (2018)- A briefing document “Twenty First Century Proxy warfare”

<sup>104</sup> Erink, Harrison. R Wagner (2004). “Bargaining War and Alliances”



management processes of internationalized conflicts and propose remedial solutions to achieve peace and stability.

Stein argues that in global politics, the understanding of international conflicts has burst through the constraints of sovereignty and so are the conflict management processes.<sup>105</sup> Autesserre<sup>106</sup> highlights three ideas which seek to explain factors / flaws which are hurting international conflict management and peacebuilding processes. According to Autesserre, these flaws are based on assumptions as they are not supported by empirical studies.

The first assumption is the conventional idea that good things enhance peace, and bad things subvert peace. In many instances, peacebuilding initiatives often view democracy and education as a moral force that enhances peace. Scholars argue that contrary to the popular beliefs, education and democratization may, in fact, fuel those conflicts.<sup>107</sup> For example in the case of the Arab spring, democratization processes in the Middle East have resulted in antagonism and discrimination, and has worked against peacebuilding and overall stability of the Middle East region. The same phenomenon has been witnessed in Congo and Angola. Autesserre further claims that contrary to conventional thinking, illicit activities can create short term stability, which in the long run could culminate to a durable peace<sup>108</sup>.

The second assumption is that adoption of formal peace efforts to control violence with disregard to local dynamics results in more speedy outcomes. In this vein, it has been argued that conflict management processes put more emphasis on international organizations and institutions such as

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<sup>105</sup> Stein., J. 2000., 'Bottlenecks to conflict resolution: Humanitarian Non-governmental Institutions' emergencies Journal Vol 1

<sup>106</sup> Ibid 53

<sup>107</sup> Ray, Rondeaux & David Sterman, (2018)- A briefing document "Twenty First Century Proxy warfare"

<sup>108</sup> Marwan Kabalan 2019. "What the Middle East looks like in 2019"- Arab Centre of Research and Policy Studies.

U.N and A.U which concentrate more on enforcement of international law without much consideration to engage local civil-society organizations in the process.

This assumption has been criticized overtime, evidenced by the various institution led peace processes that have not been successful in the past. Some scholars have argued for and against peace processes spearheaded by international organizations. For example, according to Ogego,<sup>109</sup> the Sudan's peace process had to take the intervention of the U.N to push the process forward. Conversely, according to Rolandsen,<sup>110</sup> the resultant agreement between the Sudan government and the SPLM was a result of the push by external influences, which was not entirely inclusive and therefore unsustainable.

#### **4.2 ECOWAS Mechanisms of Peace and Security**

In December 1999 heads of state adopted the protocol establishing conflict prevention, management and resolutions. This helped in creating an institutional framework that encompasses vast consultative and inclusivity approach in regards to all pertinent issues relating and affecting the West African region. Another vital inclusion was the addition of the early warning observation and monitoring system to the peace and security mechanism.

ECOWAS put in place this additional tool in its new framework as it was perceived an important tool in promoting peace and security in the West African region. This was strengthened by creation of a need base military entailing land, sea an air component.

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<sup>109</sup> Peter Ogego (2014). Research thesis- "Sudan's Persistent conflict and Elusive Peace" Retrieved from the IDIS-UoN

<sup>110</sup> O.H. Rolandsen 2014. "A Quick Fix?" pp, 561-562

This enabled the region in tackling emerging security threats and aftermath of conflicts. Economic Community for West Africa adopted a supplementary protocol in 2008, ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework came to life. Its main goal was to diffuse tensions and de-escalated crisis that would have otherwise blown to full conflict. This has been key in preventing conflict outbreak, reoccurrence or escalation of the same. It is anchored on the premises where measures of conflict do not arise or reoccur again. ECPF framework is a more proactive mechanism compared to ECOWAS which is of a more reactive in nature as it awaits for conflict to happen so that it can react. Thus ECOMOG use of military should be used as a last resort.

In conclusion it is evident that, ECOWAS laid in place robust initial steps towards unifying and rallying the West African countries into a cooperative body. Its main goal for formation was unification of economic cooperation; this is clearly depicted in its initial agreement. During the formation phase fiscal development and state security were considered as intertwined issues which could not be separated from each other. Prior to that security in the region had been taken from a narrow approach that only considered a state's ability to prevent cross border attacks and its territorial integrity. This was witnessed by utilizing hard power such as the military. Thus the regional bloc did not feature the usage of military terms in its treaty of regional security.

West Africa region is ripe for regional approach to deal with issues of conflict management. This was accelerated by the continuous neglect by the global community together with diminishing confidence on the UN. West Africa sought to create a home based solution and have self-reliant structure to confront the challenges facing the region. The emergence framework is integrative and is intended to complement the national approach as well getting the deserved attention from UN.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **5.0. SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

This study sought to examine the place of peacekeeping in the 21st-century regional agenda in Africa, with the main focus being on multilateral peacekeeping on regional security in Eastern Africa and West Africa. In order to attain this end, the study was guided by three objectives, and these were, to assess the impact of multilateral peacekeeping on regional security in Eastern Africa; to analyse the impact of multilateral peacekeeping on regional security in western Africa and to compare and contrast the western and eastern Africa experiences of multilateral peacekeeping and their impact on regional security. Moreover, two hypotheses also guided the study, and these were, H.0 The efforts applied in securing Africa before the peacekeeping missions' concept was not effective in maintaining peace and security. H.1 The study will also show that the conflict-prone areas with a multilateral peacekeeping mission have managed conflict better than the regional security arrangements.

#### **5.1 Findings**

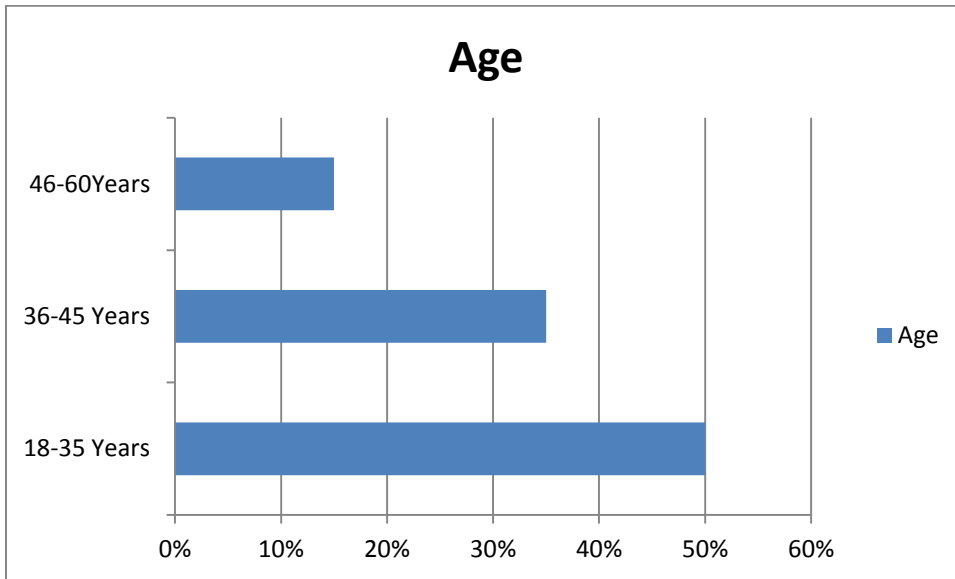
This section will outline the major criteria used in selecting the respondents to the questionnaires and interviews conducted for the study. The study took into account the age, gender level of education and experience of each respondent in order to achieve high levels objective data.

##### **Demographic characteristics of the respondents**

###### **i. Age**

The respondents to this study involved people of different ages and this can be outlined as follows.

- a) 18-35 years (40%).
- b) 36-45 years (35%).
- c) 46-60 years (15%).

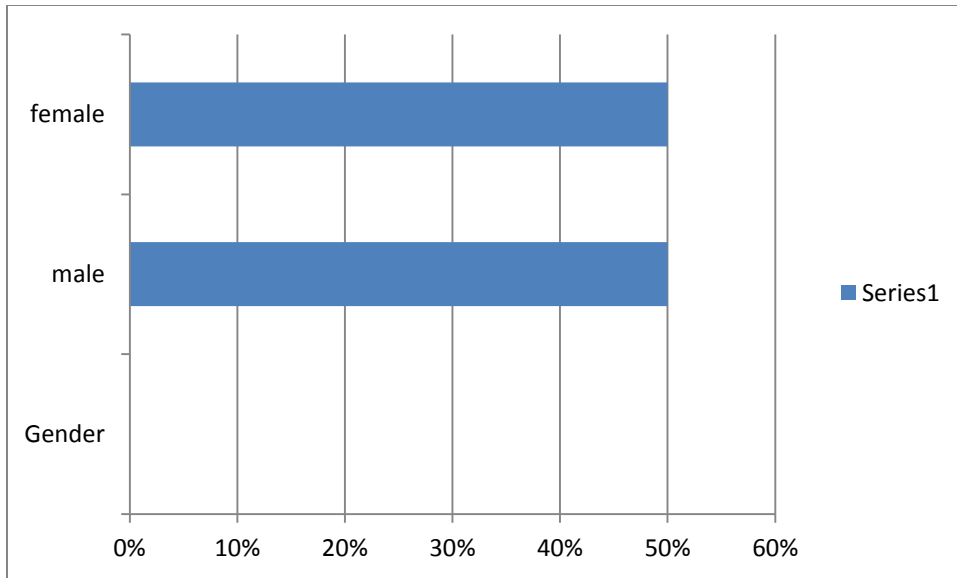


A greater portion of the respondents were in the 18 to 35 years age bracket. This was due to the fact the respondents within this age brackets were readily available and easily accessible. In addition to that they exhibited great unbiased credible and informative information regarding this research.

**ii. Gender**

Despite the aspect of age the study took into account another criterion which is gender. In order to take into the perspective of conflict management it was critical to ensure both genders were fairly represented as far as the demography of the respondents.

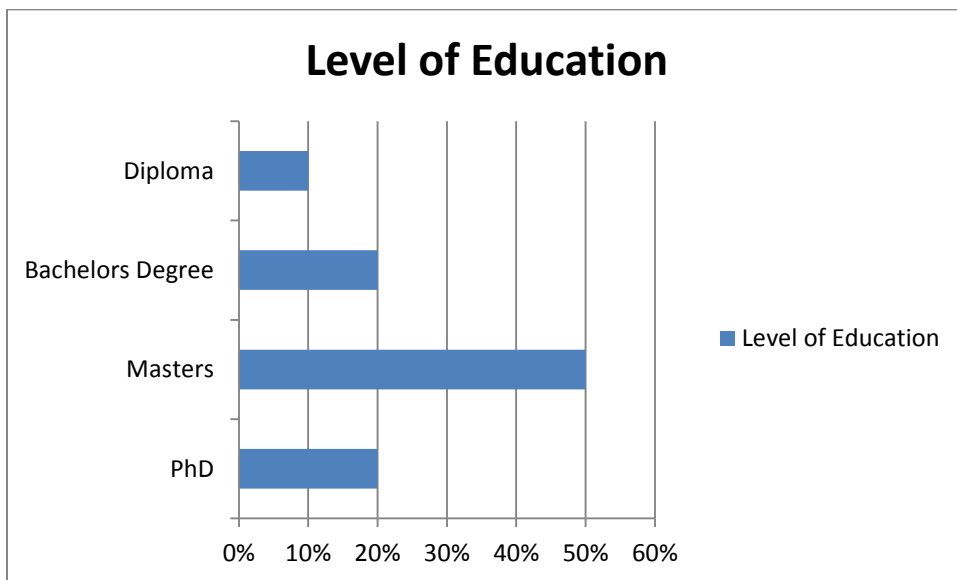
- a) Male (50%)
- b) Female (50%).



The reason as to why there was a selection of equal number of male and female is so as to avoid bias.

**iii. Level of Education**

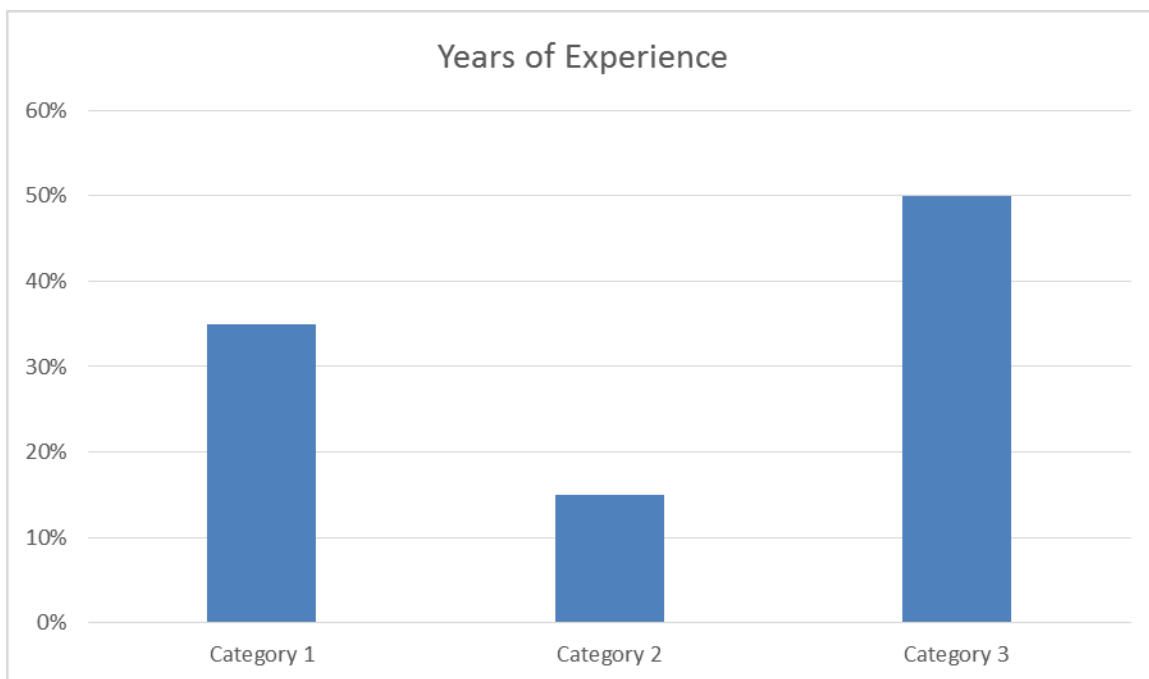
The other critical dynamic is the level of education of the respondents. This study encompassed respondents who hold various awards such as PhD (20%), Masters (50%), Bachelor’s Degree (20%), and Diploma (10%).



Most of the respondents to this study had master's degree. The rationale for this choice is that such persons had sufficient knowledge about our topic of research and due to the fact that they were easily accessible. **Years of experience**

Last but not least, years of experience of the respondent were the other factor that was put into consideration in this study. This was outlined as follows.

- a) Category 1: 1-3 (30%)
- b) Category 2: 4-6 (20%)
- c) Category 3: 7-10 (50%)



A majority of the respondents to this study had between 7 to 10 years of experience. The reason was this was to ensure they will be more objective and well informed with the information required for the study

## 5.2 Summary

Multilateral peacekeeping is known to have been a key role in management of dispute in both Eastern as well as Western Africa. The usage of multilateral peace keeping has been found to have better managed conflict areas especially in the West African region. This summary will go by analyzing objective by objective that guided this study.

The first goal was to evaluate the impact of multilateral peacekeeping on territorial security in East Africa. Despite the East Africa Standby Force being the most efficient and advanced of the African Standby Forces, it faces numerous challenges hence it has failed to ensure that it maintains and aids in handling disputes in East Africa.

Some of the challenges includes lack of a clear policy to determine what the objective of deploying a Standby Force to a particular place should be; political dynamics and frictions within each member state and between member states as to the right actions might derail the whole; the challenge of dependency. Given that not all members fully meet their financial commitments to EASF, this failure can hinder operation ability.

The dependency on extra continental forces called “donors” or friends of EASF whose resources may not be available when they are needed is likely to be an obstacle to effectiveness<sup>111</sup>. The donors may find good reasons or impose new conditions before they deliver on their promises. For instance, the expected United Nations assistance for AMISON in Somalia has not been forthcoming and AU is stuck; lastly regional loyalty and the choice of belonging, which is bothersome.<sup>112</sup> Tanzania’s symbolic of this challenge in that it is a founder member of the East

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<sup>111</sup> IGAD, (2005), “Memorandum of Understanding on the Establishment of the Eastern Africa Standby Brigade (EASBRIG)”, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 11th April.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid



African Community and is geographically in eastern Africa but instead chooses to identify with southern Africa rather than eastern Africa. These findings clearly show that multilateral peace keeping has not had the desired outcome. This is in line with the null hypothesis that H.0: The efforts applied in securing Africa before the peacekeeping missions' concept was not effective in maintaining calm and safety.

The next goal was to assess the impact of multilateral peacekeeping on regional security in Western Africa. This study has revealed that multilateral peace keeping in West Africa have been a significant objective in dispute management. ECOWAS put in place an additional tool in its new framework to promote peace and security in the West African region. This was strengthened by creation of a need base military entailing land, sea an air component that enabled the region be able to tackle emerging security threats and aftermath of conflicts.

Economic Community for West Africa adopted a supplementary protocol in 2008, ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework came to life. Its main goal was to diffuse tensions and de-escalated crisis that would have otherwise blown to full conflict. This has been key in preventing conflict outbreak, reoccurrence or escalation of the same. It is anchored on the premises where measures of conflict do not arise or reoccur again. ECPF framework is a more proactive mechanism compared to ECOWAS which is of a more reactive in mature as it awards for conflict to happen so that it can react. Thus ECOMOG use of military should be used as a last reflect.

The last goal of this research was to analyze the impact of multilateral peace maintenance on regional security in western Africa and to compare and contrast the western and eastern Africa experiences of multilateral peacekeeping and their impact on regional security.

There are a number of learning experiences other RECs in Africa can pick from ECOWAS experience of the West African region. The drive to take possession of regional tranquility and stability procedures is apparent. ECOWAS is the only REC that has implemented a 0.5% tax levy on all imports, which is then utilized in their tasks as well as to help reduce dependence on international monetary support. ECOWAS strategies are however not put into place without assistance from non-governmental civilian groups. This relation spreads out to taking part in partnered tasks as is seen in the case where ECOWAS' Early Warning Directorate has a laudable connection with the West African Network for maintenance of peace.

Thirdly, ECOWAS' maintenance of tranquility and stability is notable. It has a number of expansive guideline put in place to ensure it can tackle cases of threat with relation to peace and stability. It was officiated in 1975 under an economic mandate, but latter changed its treaty in 1993 to concentrate on tranquility and stability. A number of structures were put in place that included the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security; the Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance; and the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF).

### 5.3 Recommendations

Global peace and security in the new world order compels every state to formulate its safety measures and rationale by being in close ties and links with those of its neighbors. The post-cold war era in Africa did bring forth to the African region the ability to settle their own conflict with non-interest from the wider international world. To enhance tranquility, and stability to Africa, the selected leaders should work with each other. And to obtain this objective, the African states are a brother to each other; they understand their problems better than the outsiders. The only

way is to pull their resources together and create a united peaceful Africa. The key subject of a focal point for dispute management, resolve and government cooperation may require a new approach. The rationale for upgrading the mechanisms derives from the fact that strengthens political relations and cooperation for tranquility and mutual stability are a key component of the needed environs for regional cooperation and integration.

The African union in alliance with other regional and sub-regional organizations should endeavor to come up with a working task force whose main focus will be keeping track off and implementing any reforms, processes and ventures whose main focus is to maintain tranquility and stability. They should include the head of nations, and government, or in their absence prominent government leaders, representatives of the government, social, ethnic and different linguistic individuals in the African Union.<sup>113</sup>

The working group should also continuously review and monitor the doctrines format and lay out of the regional standby forces with a focus on a more efficient way to modify the models to present threats as well as future cases of tranquility and stability on the African region picking out lessons from problems faced by MONUSCO, MINUSMA, AMISOM, G5-SAHEL ANS ECOWAS.<sup>114</sup>

To the international community that includes the United Nations, European Union and other organizations. Should support the African Union and other Sub-regional institutional reforms without interfering in their due processes, and to continue their technical and monetary aid projects, while making sure they do not diminish levels of motivation for any preferred reforms.

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<sup>114</sup> Paul Nantulya, "Lessons From Gambia on Effective Regional Security Cooperation," Africa Center for Strategic Studies Spotlight, March 27, 2017.

## **5.4 Conclusion.**

Africa could be the most peaceful and richest region on earth if all the international and regional efforts of peacekeeping and peace building worked as anticipated. Africa is the richest in minerals, culture, social aspects and economic potential, youth and women empowerment, the list is endless. The issue is that we have leaders who are very greedy for power and have to be removed through revolutions and the like, a good example is President Al-Bashir of Sudan and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe. If we look at President Sava Kirr of South Sudan and the Opposition Leader Riek Machar, they cannot agree on anything for the sake of the poor country, the country has been in turmoil since the 1960s. The Sudanese people have never known peace and the two leaders have to keep on disagreeing forever.

In conclusion I would say that at the Regional level we should have a well-placed, equipped and financed peacekeeping team. All the regions in Africa have standby brigade, but they don't seem to be very active because if they were we could not be having all this endless conflicts we have in Africa. From the DRC, to South Sudan, Mali and to Sudan, will be all chaos. We can seek assistance from the international community and the United Nations, but we should run our own affairs since we know where our problems lie.

Africa belongs to Africans we don't need Re-colonization. Neo- colonialism from China, Russia, turkey and other foreign countries should be something to watch. The Middle East support to Somalia, Libya and Sudan, should be something to watch out for their intentions. They may be penetrating into Africa in the name of economic partnerships and integrations which may not be the case. We should learn from the past. Africa should pose the following questions; do we have to fight to be peaceful? Do we have to kill our brothers to be at peace? It's time to wake up, and sort our own problems without external interference.

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# Appendices

## APPEDIX 1- INTERVIEW GUIDE,

### Demographic information.

1. Name (optional).....
2. Gender male [ ] FEMALE [ ]
3. NAME OF ORGANIZATION.....

### Peace keeping as a regional agenda in Africa.

4. How do you perceive peace keeping?
5. In your on thinking what factors do you think facilitate insecurity in Africa?
6. What is your understanding on peacekeeping as a regional agenda in Africa?
7. What effects do you think peacekeeping will have on the regional peace and security in Africa?
8. What are some of the effects of having peace keepers in the region?
9. Do you think Africa should have its own multilateral peace keeping systems other than that of the United Nations?
10. Give your Opinion on Q.9

### Effects of peacekeeping on peace and security in Africa

SD=DSTRONGLY DISAGREE	D=DISAGREE	N=NEUTRAL	A=AGREE	SA=STRONGLY AGREE
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PEACE KEEPING TRENDS IN AFRICA

I HAVE PARTICIPATED IN PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS BEFORE in eastern Africa (name the mission)									
I have witnessed episodes of insecurity in Africa									
There has been peace and security in Eastern Africa since the inception of multilateral peace keeping since the last 10 years.									
Multi-lateral peace keeping has improved stability and economic growth in Africa									

**MULTI-LATERAL PEACE KEEPING IN EASTERN AFRICA**

9. What do you understand by multilateral peace keeping?

10. What multilateral peacekeeping missions do you know of in east Africa?

11. How has it impacted on peace and security in the region?

12. Does multi-lateral peace keeping affect state relations in eastern Africa?

13. in what way does insecurity threaten peoples’ peace and survival?

<b>SD=STRONGLY DISAGREE</b>	<b>D=DISAGREE</b>	<b>N=NEUTRAL</b>	<b>A=AGREE</b>	<b>SA=STRONGLY AGREE</b>
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Effects of multilateral PEACE KEEPING TRENDS IN Western AFRICA

I HAVE PARTICIPATED IN PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS BEFORE in eastern Africa (name the mission)									
I have witnessed episodes of insecurity in western Africa									
It has affected my family in a negative way									
There has been peace and security in eastern Africa since the inception of multilateral peace keeping since the last 10 years.									
Multi-lateral peace keeping has improved economic growth in Western Africa									

**Mitigation measures**

14. what key measures have been undertaken in term of collaboration in multi-lateral relations in peacekeeping in western Africa?

15. how do governments in The Great lakes and the Horn of africa undertake specific steps to ensure collaboration at a multilateral level?

16. what is the outcome of these policies in terms of implementation, monitoring and evaluation?

**Multi-lateral peace keeping in Eastern Africa.**

9. What do you understand by multilateral peace keeping?

10. What multilateral peacekeeping missions do you know of in east Africa?

11. How has it impacted on peace and security in the region?

12. Does multi-lateral peace keeping affect state relations in east Africa?

13. in what way does insecurity threaten peoples' peace and survival?

SD=STRONGLY DISAGREE	D=DISAGREE	N=NEUTRAL	A=AGREE	SA=STRONGLY AGREE
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Effects of multilateral PEACE KEEPING TRENDS IN western AFRICA								
I have participated in peacekeeping missions before in western Africa (name the mission)								
I have witnessed episodes of insecurity in western Africa								
It has affected my family in a negative way								
There has been peace and security in western Africa since the inception of multilateral peace keeping since the last 10 years.								
Multi-lateral peace keeping has improved economic growth in western Africa								
Multi-lateral peace keeping should be the way to go for Africa								

**Mitigation measures**

14. what key measures have been undertaken in term of collaboration in multi-lateral relations in peacekeeping in western Africa?

15. How do governments in ECOWAS and the G-5 Sahel undertake specific steps to ensure collaboration at a multilateral level?

16. What is the outcome of these policies in terms of implementation, monitoring and evaluation?

## Appendix -2. Focus group discus (FGD)

1. Have you witnessed or are you aware of any form of conflict and insecurity?
2. If so how has it impacted on Africa as a region?
3. Have you noticed any significant change on peace and security in western and eastern Africa?
4. What are the consequences of insecurity in Africa?
5. How has multilateral peace keeping impacted on peace and security in western and Eastern Africa?
6. Should Africa have its own peace keeping missions other than that of the united nation?
7. How do you compare the western and eastern multilateral peace keeping?
8. In your own opinion which region has done better in matters peace and security?
9. Despite there being peace keeping missions, why do think there is an ending conflicts in Africa?
10. In your own opinion what could be done to improve Africa's multi-lateral peace keeping systems?

### Appendix 3- Research Budget

S/NO	ITEM	DESCRIPTION	ESTIMATE COST
1	STATIONARY	FLASH DISK @2000/- WRITTING MATERIAL@1000/-	3000
2	TRAVEL EXPENSES	MEALS, LOGISTICS AND ACCOMODATION	35,000
3	TYPING, PHOTO COPYING, BINDING		10,000
4	RESEARCH ASSISITANT ALLOWANCES		10,000
5	NASCOTI RESEARCH PERMIT		4000
	<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>62,000</b>

The project was funded by the office of the Inspector General of police and partly by the researcher.

