THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING/MILITARY INTERVENTIONS IN ENHANCING SECURITY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

Africa has the experience of peacekeeping and military interventions since the 1960s Congo- Kinshasa crisis. Recently peacekeeping operations are found in large presence in the continent involving a number of stake-holders with broad mandates ranging from observing ceasefire to supervising elections, stabilizing states and assisting war torn states to achieve sustainable development. This paper inquires the features of peacekeeping operations and military interventions in Africa and discusses its achievement in ensuring security and sustainable development in hosting states which are ravaged by protracted conflicts. The paper was entirely prepared based on the literature review. It shows that peacekeeping and military interventions in Africa have been carried out by a number of organizations and states but with meager success in achieving peace, security and development in host states. In addition, the operations and interventions are increasingly breaching principles of peacekeeping operations.

Keywords: Peacekeeping, Security, intervention, Development, Peace

INTRODUCTION

Africa has long history of absorbing and contributing to the United Nations peacekeeping operations. Ethiopia contributed troops to the Korean War in 1953. From Africa, Congo-Kinshasa hosted the first peacekeeping operation in 1960. Recently, Africa becomes the hub of the United Nations, African Union and Regional Economic communities' and unilateral peacekeeping activities. The 2015 United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operation (UNDPKO) report shows that there are about 100,000 peacekeepers in Africa. Many of the operations are mandated with multidimensional tasks ranging from observing cease fire to peace enforcement and assisting states to achieve sustainable development to dry out the root causes of conflict. Fifty new peace operations have been deployed across Africa since 2000 with major objective of helping war torn countries. This entails that the number of peacekeepers, missions, and budget is constantly on the rise (Williams, 2015).

The question is that why Africa hosts such large peacekeeping operations and to what extent these operations contribute to peace, security and development of states? These are the core issues this article tries to address. Peace, security and achieving development are part and parcel of peacekeeping missions. Former UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali said that 'there can be no peace without economic and social development, just as development is not possible in the absence of peace' (McCandless and Karbo, 2011). Peacekeeping interventions have been deployed in order to lend their hand to states ravaged by war to address deep seated factors for conflict such as economic stagnation, political deadlocks and poverty.

In Africa, the intra-state war has mainly necessitated peacekeeping operations and military interventions .The crisis in Congo-Kinshasa [1]that happened in 1960 introduced Africa with peacekeeping operations. Since then, the continent has remained suitable for the United Nations peacekeeping and military interventions. African states also have become important participants in peacekeeping operations. However, such large peacekeeping interventions failed to be a panacea for African states security problems. Therefore, this paper tries to analyze the contribution of peacekeeping intervention to achieve peace, security and development in Africa. It also discusses the major features of peacekeeping and military interventions in the continent. It focuses on peace operations conducted under the auspice of the United Nations since it is the predominant player in peacekeeping operations. The paper begins with discussing the major features of peacekeeping operations in Africa based on theoretical and conceptual discourses.

FEATURES OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN AFRICA

'Compromising' Peacekeeping Principles

As stated in its charter, the United Nations was established to 'save the succeeding generation from the scourge of war' and maintain international peace and security. However, concepts such as peace and security are not precisely defined in the UN

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[1]The UN's first peacekeeping operation in the Democratic Republic of Congo ran from 1960 to 1964. The second UN mission in the DRC began in 1999 and has been ongoing ever since. The first mission in Congo failed form saving Partice Lumumba from assassination; he was known by his famous saying "Congo for Congolese". Died with his golden ideas; regarding forces behind his death see the Guardian Monday January 17, 2011'Patrice Lumumba: the most important assassination of the 20th century'.

charter. Without having precise definition for these dynamic concepts, the United Nations Security Council has authorized a number of peacekeeping missions in different parts of the world. The legal entry to the peacekeeping operations is the idea of 'peace enforcement' mentioned in Chapter VII of the charter. Peacekeeping, although not explicitly provided for in the Charter, has evolved into one of the main tools used by the United Nations to achieve peace and security.

The United Nations peacekeeping mission is evolving from traditional into complex multi-dimensional peacekeeping operations (Victor 2010, McCandless and Karbo, 2011). As a result, the level of observing the principles of peacekeeping operations varies in accordance to the type of peacekeeping operations. Some of missions (rational) are confined to observing ceasefire, others (multi-dimensional) involve in peace enforcement (Ibid). According to United Nations, peacekeeping refers to unique and dynamic instrument developed by the Organization as a way to help countries torn by conflict and create the conditions for lasting peace guided by important principles. Usually, the concept has been employed to describe a wide range of military and quasi-military activities. On the other hand military intervention refers to interventions to protect civilians or in the name of protecting civilians with or without the authorization of United Nations.

The principles of peacekeeping operations require consent of the parties to the conflict, impartiality and non-use of force (except in self-defense) and state sovereignty. The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states enshrined in the UN charter have been vigorously breached by peacekeeping operations in Africa[2] (Karlsrud, 2015).The blue helmets (the force intervention brigade (FIB for instance) in Congo Kinshasa is playing a combating role. In Coted'ivore UN helicopters and French[3] forces involved in attacking and capturing Gbagbo (Cawthra, 2016). In addition, in some countries peacekeeping missions add a fuel on the fire by breaching the principle of impartiality (Luttwak, 1999). Peacekeepers are also accused of sexual harassment (Aljazeera, June, 2017). To the worst much earlier to this report of Aljazeera, Muna Ndulo (2009) notes that peacekeepers have also been accused of fathering and leaving behind their babies. Furthermore the mission is losing impartiality. 'Impartiality' means that the mandate must be applied without favor or prejudice to the parties to the peace agreement (Coning etal, 2008). However, the United Nations Missions in South Sudan (UNMISS) was found to be paradoxical. It engages in fighting targeting particular groups (Karlsrud, 2015). In this regard, for instance, in 2017 BBC offered the following report on the UN Mission in South Sudan.

> *the UN peace keeping is not only fighting those who disturb peace but by arming rebel groups instead of protecting civilians raped and exposed to physical violence in front of its eyes. A new report by the Geneva based research group Small Arms Survey has accused the UN's mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) of lacking neutrality by giving arms to rebels in the town of Bentiu in 2013 (BBC Jan.5, 2017).*

This report explains to what extent the principles have been violated and compromised despite the expansion of the UN and AU peace keeping operations in Africa. Despite, the advances of peacekeeping missions and in some areas interventions in

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[2]In peacekeeping, there is always tension between the realms of state sovereignty and legitimate international intervention. To address this incompatibility, the United Nations' Security Council is engaging in intrusive interpretation of UN Charter Chapter VII,see Doyle and Sambanis, 2006.

[3]Regarding France's involvement see Ramuhala, 2011, France took eighteen military interventions in support of Francophone governments since 1962.

Africa, there has been a widespread criticism of the United Nations. First, the united Nation has a double standard for it showed reluctance and accused of inactions in the face of genocide in Rwanda in 1994 although recently authorized the super-powers to use every necessary means to protect civilians in Libya[4].

Joint Missions and Contributions

The second feature is that joint administration of peacekeeping operations is getting acceptance. The United Nations and African Union are joining their hands in conducting peacekeeping operations. As mentioned in the introduction, Africa is not only the major absorber but also contributor of personnel for peace keeping operations. Africa has seven of the top ten troop contributing countries (UNDPKO, 2015). Not only this, many Western governments have come to depend on African peacekeepers to manage and resolve conflicts and fighting terrorism in the region (Victor, 2010). African states were more willing and ready to deploy troops to trouble-spots than major powers. So, there is a new arrangement emerging which they call it 'partnership peacekeeping" which has become the new norm in Africa whereby Africa states provide the majority of the personnel[5] but other actors provide significant forms of assistance in terms of funding, training, logistics, and planning. Western states have pushed to establish more and more ambitious operations in Africa but they have been reluctant to deploy their own soldiers, instead preferring to offer financial, logistical, and training assistance. The West found it successful form of peacekeeping operation and suitable to promote their interest (Williams, 2013 and 2015).

In addition to partnership, African Union has the motivation to intervene in states ravaged by conflict but it draws troops from few African countries (willing due to the need to acquire money, training and technological support, victor 2010) and suffers from financial constraints which hampers its ambition to be part of a viable alternative for 'African solution for African problems'. In addition, there is a caveat on African Union and Regional economic communities to undertake peacekeeping operations. The caveat is that without the authorization of United Nations Security council, African Union and other sub-regional organizations can't deploy peacekeeping force[6]. Both regional and sub-regional organizations have to inform the U.N. Security Council and to seek ex post-facto authorization to take the lead (Fund for Peace, 2001) and endorsed it in the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA).

Primacy for Peaceful Means versus Use of Might

African states usually calls for peaceful solutions using peaceful means. Military intervention should be the last resort that means when other instruments cannot be successful. The reason is that military intervention is full of risks. In conference organized by fund for peace in 2001, they also identified conditions that could trigger intervention such as mass killings, mass atrocities, ethnic cleansing and acts of genocide. In addition, the intervention should be intended to do more good than

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[4] The High Level Independent Panel on United Nations peace operation (HIPPO) released in 2015 and the guide lines pre-pared by United Nations Department of peacekeeping operations in 2017, calls for robust peacekeeping missions.

[5] Former US President Barack Obama has praised Ethiopia as an "outstanding partner" in the fight against militant Islamists in Somalia, available athttp://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-33671340

[6] See the summary of a conference organized in Virginia by fund for peace in 2001, representatives from African States held discussion on broad issues on ways of conducting effective military intervention

harm, be implemented in a way that is proportionate to its mandate and stated purpose be implemented in an impartial way, be undertaken in a way consistent with international law and be properly resourced with financial and material support. However, track record shows that the intervention in Coted'ivore, Congo-Kinshasa, South -Sudan and Libya failed to observe the above conditions. The interventions orchestrated by powerful states in Libya and in Cõtdi'viore undermined African union's road map. Clearly the intervention made in Libya was made without the consent of African union.

PEACEKEEPING / MILITARY INTERVENTION AND SECURITY OF AFRICAN STATES: 'MODEL INTERVENTION' TO 'WORST MISTAKE'

Many of the peacekeeping operations and military interventions in Africa failed to achieve peace and security in states which have been hit by deadly violence. The missions pushed host countries to fall into the abyss of further crisis. The best example is super-powers intervention (France, UK and USA) in Libya. Despite, the loudly amplified justification for their intervention to protect civilians from the attack of Gadafi forces, intervention in Libya took place with hidden objective of regime change without a plan for the consequences (Issac, 2012).A recent report by the UK Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee found that, as a result of NATO's intervention, Libya has seen political and economic collapse, internal warfare, humanitarian and refugee crisis, the growth of ISIL, and the spread of Gaddafi's weapons across the region (Aljezeera, October 20, 2016). Libyans are now in need of more protection than ever before and Libya's disintegration seems imminent. The intervention in Libya opened Pandora's Box of conflict and no one was held accountable for what came out of it. All horrors are happening in front of their eyes in Libya, the paradox is that the intervention was a 'model intervention' for Rasmussen (former head of NATO) (ibid) and the worst mistake of his presidency for Obama (BBC, April 11, 2016).

There are points worth discussing here concerning the motives for intervention in African states. For instance in Libya, the emergence of Gadafi as an independent African leader, his attempt to create single African gold Dinar currency which can be a rival to Dollar and Euro and Libya's oil made Gadafi a sacrifice sheep for the unsatisfied lust of the West for natural resources. Forte (2012) argues that oil, pan African and nationalist stand of Gadafi, competition of the West with China for African resource and future plan to penetrate Africa through AFRICOM (US Africa Command) are the underlying reasons for their intervention in Libya. In contrast Xian (2012), argues that the primary motive for the joint action of the super-powers was to speed up the democratization process of the Arabs and to realize the European long-term strategic interests and promote its values there (Xian, 2012).This argument doesn't hold water because it leads us to raise another question: why they left Libyans after they removed Gadafi and got him brutally killed by rebels? Why they didn't stay there to facilitate and support the establishment of democratic national government instead of letting Libya to fall in the abyss of multifold crisis and disintegration?

The experience shows that African leaders should do two things to stay in power; demonstrating their usefulness to promoting regional stability by contributing troops to peacekeeping operations and submissiveness to the West. Otherwise, western states left no stone un-turn to remove leaders who challenge their interest (Forte, 2012, Victor 2010). The point is that those leaders who showed usefulness to external powers relatively stayed in power safe. Those who resisted and a deviant become a prey for Western powers. Maximilian Forte (2012) notes that the intervention in Libya intends to send a

message to other African States that radical defiance will result in a harsh consequence like what has happened against Gadafi. In similar a vein, Cheru (2009) by talking the 1960s and 70's experience in to consideration, he asserted that African leaders who start independent development path were victims of assignation or western sponsored military coup or intervention in the name of pretext.

The whole processes of peacekeeping operation and military interventions in Africa need theoretical explanation. In my view, the theories which fit to such trend are realism and the liberal peace theory. Realism argues that power and wealth accumulation is essential in the self-help international system. As experiences show, the underlying factor for peacekeeping or military intervention is to promote national the interest of those who fund the mission. Regarding this, Williams (2015) notes that peace operations through partners serve American interests and national security and are cost-effective. Liberal peace theory argues that democracies are prone to war (resort to use force) in their relation with non-democracies. In both theories, the embedded issue is not the security or stability of host states but national interest of those who fund the operation. As security simply means the ability of the state to perform its normal functions, large presence of peacekeeping operation is not helping host states to show significant progress in terms of stability, security and concrete development which are crucial to break the vicious poverty-conflict cycle.

PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS/INTERVENTIONS AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Since the 1990s there has been a paradigm shift in the discourses, means and ends of development, security and peace. The concept of development transformed into human and sustainable development which underscores the achievement of change on people's life and environmental friendly development (Ahenkan, and Kojo, 2014). Security transformed into human security which makes people as a referent point in the analysis of security. It is a shift from traditional state and regime security into human security which has two pillars emancipating people from fear and want. The discourse of peace was also shifted from narrow negative to a more broad and inclusive peace which is called positive peace. In the process of achieving positive peace, promoting inclusive and sustainable development is crucial. The three are inter-related. Kofi Annan (former UN Secretary General) strongly argues that peace and development remain inextricably linked, one feeding on the other, enabling the other, and securing the other. The renunciation of violence as a means of gaining and holding power is only the beginning. Then must follow a renewed commitment to national development founded on sober, sound and uncorrupted economic policies (McCandless and Karbo, 2011). In this regard developing countries are on the right path in relating development with peace and security.

Recently, the United Nations general assembly convened on 25 September 2015and adopted a resolution Sustainable Development Goals (SDGS) to be achieved by 2030. In this crucial meeting African States call for the SDGs to give adequate attention to peace and security, recognizing the inextricable links between peace, security, stability and development (Safeworld, 2015). Traditionally peacekeeping mission has been seen as military in character but it has the potential to lay conducive foundation for peace and sustainable development to flourish. Peace is essential for sustainable development and economic, social and environmental developments are necessary for durable peace. Of course the United Nations has introduced a concept and practice of peace building to prevent states from lapse and relapse into conflict. So far

in Africa more peacekeeping missions have been launched than peace building endeavors. So it is sound to make use of the multidimensional type of peacekeeping missions to achieve overarching development. Here, the argument is that the development process should be owned by Africans themselves but external support cannot be undermined. An international neutral peacekeeping mission can enforce a peace agreement which is the first step in implementing policies to achieve sustainable development goals. Peacekeeping missions to play paramount role in the area of peace, security and development need to refrain from executing combating mission and talking sides.

CONCLUSION

The United Nations has been conducting peacekeeping missions in Africa since 1950. However, the number of missions and participants are increasing alarmingly since 1990s (after the cold war) due to proliferation of intra state conflicts. The United Nations also designing a new way of undertaking peacekeeping mission, they call it 'partnership peacekeeping' in which regional organizations; African Union (AU) or sub-regional organizations such as Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) take part. In many of the missions African states are major contributors of troops (boots on the ground) for the international peacekeeping missions although they provide no significant progress on the ground. The paradox is that peacekeeping missions and interventions in Africa have achieved a meager success in realizing their objectives.

The large peacekeeping operations deployed as international effort is to promote the termination of armed conflict or the resolution of longstanding disputes and the frequent use of military intervention in the name of protecting civilians failed to bring fundamental change in achieving peace, security and development in South Sudan, democratic republic of Congo and Central African Republic. The intervention in Libya opened Pandora's Box of conflict and exposed the state to hostile groups and possible disintegration.

The major focus of this article was to show that the United Nations peacekeeping operations and interventions are violating principles of peacekeeping such as impartiality and consent of parties to the conflict. Peacekeeping missions and military interventions have been used as a cover to carry out regime change and fulfill Western powers grip for natural resources. As the peacekeeping mission continues to serve the interest of some states, the operation will lose its legitimacy and credibility. In addition, due to its failure to protect civilians and troops involvement in human right violation and sexual harassment, its reputation will be damaged. The operations and interventions, though praised for their effort in Liberia and Sierra Leone, were not successful in achieving the peace, security and help development process in states such as South Sudan, Congo and Central African Republic because the operations neglected the root causes of the problem. Therefore, though there is also a growing partnership peacekeeping operation, the best alternative for African states is ensuring African peace and security by framing its own mechanisms and systems.

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