THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS BETWEEN AFRICA AND EUROPE IN THE NINETIES

BY

AJAYI OLUMUYIWA JOANNA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF A MASTERS DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY, THROUGH THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE/INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

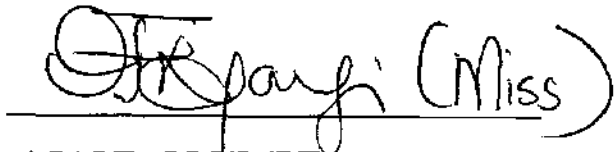
MARCH, 2000

DECLARATION

I, AJAYI, OLUMUYIWA. J. hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my original research and intellectual creativity.

All works and quotations of other authors in this research, have been duly acknowledged and adequately referenced.

To the best of my knowledge, this thesis has not been submitted to any other institution or organization, other than the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria for examination.



AJAYI, OLUMUYIWA. J.

CERTIFICATION

This Thesis entitled, "The Role of the United Nations in Peacekeeping Operations: A comparative analysis between Africa and Europe in the Nineties", by AJAYI, OLUMUYIWA. J. has been read and approved, having satisfied the requirements for the award of a Masters Degree in International Affairs and Diplomacy, from the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria.

03-04-00

DR. Paul Izah — Date

Chairman, Supervisory Committee

Member, Supervisory Committee — Date

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY ZARIA

03-04-00

Date

Head of Department

POST GRADUATE SCHOOL
Office of the Dean
A B U Zaria Nig

10/9/04

Date

Dean, Postgraduate School

DEDICATION

First and Foremost, To my God, the Maker of Heaven and Earth, To my Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, for your salvation.

This Thesis is also dedicated to the loving memories of my late father, Architect Samuel Andrew Ajayi and my late brother, Andrew Oluwole Ajayi – Rest in perfect Peace. Amen.

To my ever caring and loving mother, Mrs. RoseMarie Ajayi and to you all my siblings – Atinuke; Olushola; Abimbola; John; James, Ola, Bisi, Femi, Alero, Jemima and little Eben. To my nephews – Ayoade, Temilola, Hakeem; Francis – Ademola, Jonathan and Anthony – I love you all.

Finally to all whom may have partaken in peacekeeping operations around the world both living and dead as well as all lovers of peace around the world.
I say, Amen.

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Abstract

This study centres around research conducteded on the United Nations Organisation as well as the principal organ, whose primary responsibility it is, as empowered by the Charter, in the maintenance of international peace and security.

It is therefore, against this background that the historical perspective of the UN Peacekeeping operations is given, with the view to an understanding of the mechanism of conflict control.

It will also, look at the political and legal considerations in the establishment of a peacekeeping operation as in the case of Rwanda and the Former Yugoslavia, which accordingly, have been carefully selected as representatives of conflicts in Africa and Europe.

Nevertheless, this study aims to look at the various interpretations given by various peace theologians and the basis for a comparative analysis, in other to expose the differing role exhibited by the UN Security Council. At the same time, it will reveal the level of its commitment to world peace and security in the areas under review.

Abbreviations

UN	-	United Nations
BBC	-	British Broadcasting Service
VOA	-	Voice of America
CNN	-	Cable Network News
DVR	-	Radio Deutche Villa
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
ECOMOG	-	Ecowas Military Observer Group
NATO	-	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OAU	-	Organization of African Unity
UNTSO	-	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization
UNEF	-	United Nations Emergency Force
USA	-	United States of America
USSR	-	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
NTA	-	Nigerian Television Authority
VON	-	Voice of Nigeria
UNAMIR	-	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
UNOMUR	-	United Nations Observer Mission Uganda - Rwanda
RGF	-	Rwandese Government Forces
RPF	-	Rwandese Patriotic Front
UNPROFOR	-	United Nations Protection Force (in Former Yugoslavia)
UNPA	-	United Nations Protected Area

UNCRO	-	United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation (in Croatia)
IPTF	-	International Police Task Force
UNPREDEP	-	United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (Macedonia)
UNPI	-	United Nations Department of Public Information

Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

In an effort to save succeeding generations from the scourge o f war[1] having experienced two great wars, which brought untold sorrow to mankind and at the same time maintain peace and security in the global system, new organization was deemed necessary. This subsequently, led to the formation of the "United Nations", coined by US president Franklin D. Roosevelt and was first used at the "Declaration" of 1 January 1942[2].

The United Nations came into existence on 24 October, 1945 after ratification of the Charter, establishing it by the Permanent Members namely: China, France; the United States; the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union and by a majority of other signatories[3] based on the proposals worked out at the Dumbarton Oak meeting of August-October 1944.

The aim of the United Nations (UN hereafter) is to work progressively towards cooperation among states while easing tensions that might lead to antagonisms.

While the Charter establishing the UN was being signed by representatives of 50 countries which met in San Francisco in June 1945, the world was still at war. In the process of resolving this conflict through peaceful means, the newly established International Organization was faced with a new type of conflict which was neither war nor peace (the cold war), thus generating tension, hostility and rivalry between 2 (two) of its Permanent members, known as the Superpowers (the USA and USSR). This organization was further confronted with conflicts in other areas of the world such as the Middle East (the Arab/Israeli war of 1948 and the Suez

Canal crisis (1956), in Africa - the Congo crisis (1960-64); the Indian sub-continent (India/Pakistan-1949) to name a few.

The UN Charter established six principal organs: the General Assembly; the Security Council, the International Court of Justice; the Economic and Social Council; the Trusteeship Council and the Secretariat, as well as 15 other agencies and several programs and bodies, making up the United Nations family.

The principal organ whose primary responsibility is for the maintenance of international peace and security is the Security Council. The role of the UN in peacekeeping operations was not originally envisaged in the Charter, rather, it evolved as a technique when it became clear that the Security Council whose responsibility it is, was not going to be able to operate under the sequence of events outlined in chapters VI and VII of the Charter.[4]

The case study of the Palestinian/Israeli Experience (1948) saw the deployment of its first military observer mission created to monitor the Truce, in order to halt hostilities between both parties to conflict through the UNTSO (United Nations Truce Supervision Organization)[5] while the case of the Suez Canal crisis (1956) under which the United Nations' first full-fledged peacekeeping operation under the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was formed, and recorded some level of success in this direction.

It is against this background that one attempts to study the role of the UN's peacekeeping operations in Africa and Europe in the nineties. A comparative analysis will reveal some elements of reluctance, exhibited by

the powerful nations who, in effect control the United Nations Organization.

1.2 Statement Of The Problem

According to Secretary-General Kofi Annan of the United Nations, he commended the efforts of the UN, as having successfully helped to end numerous conflicts, primarily through the actions of the Security Council, whose main function is the maintenance of international peace and security.

Despite this laudable efforts as exhibited across the globe from the Middle East under the UNEF I and UNEFI II programs, right through to Africa under UNUC for example, the United Nations has constantly been accused of not being sensitive and responsive especially to issues emanating outside Europe.

The Somali crisis is a major case in point, when after a belated and half -hearted intervention, the UN was forced to withdraw. Though this crisis is still on-going, the UN has inadvertently abandoned the operation and has left Somalia to her fate.

Immediately following the Somali debacle, was an equally shameful UN role in peacekeeping operation in Rwanda. The whole world watched through the electronic media, the carnage in which helpless Tutsis (or Watutsis) were left to be slaughtered by the hundreds of thousands by their Hutu neighbors which culminated with the highest number of refugees in the region.

By comparison, the role of the UN in peacekeeping operations in Europe can not in any way be balanced on the same pendulum. For example the collapse of Yugoslavia and the resulting bloody civil war, (viewed by many Western analysts as the worst conflict to afflict any part of Europe for four decades) was treated with greater urgency by the UN and much more resources were deployed to contain the conflict.

While exhibiting a lack-lustre attitude to African issues, the same powerful nations of the Security Council have acted swiftly and with a more focused response to their European causes. This assertion can be justified by the way and manner in which funds are raised.; the deployment of troops and material including logistics; as well as other joint initiatives taken with regional organizations like NATO to compliment its efforts in Europe. In the case of Yugoslavia, the World body, in its role of peacekeeping compromised to ensure peace in the region at the expense of disintegration of the Federation.

Therefore, the focus of this research will be to examine using some already highlighted cases the differing role exhibited by the UN in its peacekeeping operations by a comparative analysis of the two selected areas under review especially in the nineties.

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1.3 Objectives Of The Research

As already indicated in the statement of the problem, the aim of this paper is a comparative analysis of the role of the UN in peacekeeping operations. It is therefore, the objective of this research to expose the inept

attitudes as exhibited by the powerful nations towards funding the peacekeeping operation in Africa to Europe.

1.4 Hypothesis Of The Research

In the course of analyzing the role of the UN in peacekeeping operation leading to the deployment of troops to the African and European continents, certain hypothetical questions to be answered will be put forward in this manner:

(1) What is the level of commitment by the UN in its peacekeeping effort towards Africa in terms of its attitude to respond rapidly?

(2) If any, how committed are they in financing the operation(s)?

(3) Is there any sign of impartiality as to coordination of the operational activity?

(4) In like manner, what is the level of commitment of the UN in its peacekeeping role towards the European continent?

(5) If there are signs of impartiality in coordination of the peacekeeping operation, how can this be addressed and on what basis?

1.5 The Scope And Limitation

For the purpose of this research, it is my intention to expand this study by selecting some areas of conflict in Africa and Europe and at the same time by a comparative analysis showcase the role of the UN in peacekeeping operations in the nineties.

Examination will also be made so as to highlight the various factors responsible for the United Nations adopting decisions in the areas under

review. Nevertheless, it is not the intention of this research to go beyond the role of the peacekeeping operation outside the areas under review particularly in the nineties. As a matter of fact, there are certain limiting factors, with respect to updated research materials concerning selected areas in Europe.

Definitely, time is another limiting factor. It is therefore, hoped that this research could be achieved within the possible time frame.

1.6 Significance Of The Research

Having experienced two great wars in the first 50 years of this century, we are told that the founding fathers of this world body, in an attempt to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which usually brings untold sorrow to mankind, decided amongst themselves the formation of a unifying body, with an international dimension, known as the United Nations. The purpose of its existence therefore lies in the maintenance of international peace and security.

However, the experience of war in the last 50 years, has shown that armed conflicts have continued to flare up and that today's conflicts may seem remote to those not immediately in the line of fire and location and have therefore exposed the failure of the UN to control, to contain, and to resolve such conflicts peacefully which in most cases, may result in wider conflicts (such as the Rwandan crisis 1994 and the Democratic Republic of Congo crisis 1996).

The UN, in its collective effort in the maintenance of international peace and security, has remained an indispensable tool. The significance of this research is to expose the fact that the UN though indispensable is replete with biases in its slow response to conflicts emanating from Africa in comparison with Europe which enjoys rapid response, when crisis situation develops. This biases if allowed to become structural could affect the credibility and even the future of the UN as an organization.

1.7 Research Methodology

The method of approach to be adopted with regards to the conduct of this research, will be based on what is referred to as content analysis. It is the intention of the researcher to inform the reader what is contained in this thesis.

For the purpose of collecting data, a library research will be conducted for the relevant and already researched and published works on the United Nations with particular reference to Peace-keeping operations in the form of various Textbooks, Public lecture papers with themes on Peace-keeping, as well as available journals and magazines containing the same subject matter.

For instance, Secretary-General Kofi Annan of the United Nations, and author of the Basic Facts about the United Nations, confirmed that the organization has been involved in about Forty-nine (49) Peace-keeping and observer missions around the world since its inception, out of which about seventeen (17) of these are on-going.

In the ensuing process, a research will be conducted using the Internet in accessing the UN Department of Public Information, New York, (UN-DPI) in order to retrieve an up-dated information on UN Peace-keeping operations around the world.

Information to be retrieved will include those on United Nations Peace-keeping operations - the Basic Principles, completed UN Peace-keeping operations, information on Rapid deployment of UN Peacekeepers; lessons learned in Peacekeeping operations as well as Maps indicating completed and on-going peacekeeping missions.

A research will also be conducted through the use of the Electronic News media e.g (CNN) referenced for News around the world, thus indicating the American perspective.

Also, through the use of the Electronic Newsmedia, a continued search will be conducted on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) channel for the World Today, expressing the British perspective of the Role of the United Nations in Peacekeeping operations which will be an added-value for information after Television viewing.

Another method through which Data will however be collected is through Radio sources, and this will be executed through the process of random sampling, for views expressed on the Voice of America (VOA); the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) as well as Radio Deutche Wellier (RDW) for the American, British and German perspectives.

In a recent data which was collected from the radio sources, information aired through the BBC-Network Africa Program of December 8, 1999, the United States of America's Ambassador to the UN, Mr. Richard Holbrooke on his tour of Africa was reported to have commented on the Congolese crises, in which he said and I quote verbatim that "it was more difficult to solve, when compared to the Yugoslavian crises (in which he was a mediator)". He attributed this to the lack of commitment by the international community, in releasing the much needed funds as well as the deployment of the promised UN Peacekeepers in the region. He therefore, confirmed that he was not surprised at the frequent violation of the peace accord agreed by the warring factions in the African continent.

While attempting to collect data from the developed countries via the aforementioned media, the researcher is compelled to inform the reader, the opinions of the developed Western countries' direction, in terms of Peacekeeping operations in Africa and those of Europe. Data will also, be collected from the African perspectives from the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) for views on some of its enlightenment programs such as "Point Blank". "One on One"; "Tuesday Night Live" etc, and complemented by News Editorials from the Voice of Nigeria (VON) and the local Radio stations within Nigeria.

1.8 **References**

1. - See Preamble, UN Charter and Statute of the ICJ
2. - Kofi Annan, Basic Facts About the United Nations, (UN, New York, 1998)
3. - Ibid, pp. 3
4. - Brian E. Urguhart, see Peacekeeping: Appraisals & Proposals, 1983.
5. - Ibid
6. - Kofi Annan, Basic Facts About the United Nations.
7. - Ibid
8 - New Left Review, No: 199, May - June, 1993, pp. 100-119

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

In a bid to examine the role of the UN in peacekeeping operation, to which some scholars have collectively made a lot of contributions, a review of some these relevant literature will ensure a better understanding.

The UN peacekeeping operation we were told, developed in response to an urgent call, to adequately make effective use of its settlement measures, to resolve conflicts brought to it and in the ensuring process, enforce peace. Though peacekeeping operation was not originally envisaged in the Charter, reference to peaceful settlement of disputes can be found in Article 33, chapter VI of the UN Charter.

Soon after the establishment of the UN, the international system became entangled in a cold war, which took place immediately after the second world war, thus limiting the scope for action in the maintenance of international peace and security. Origins of peacekeeping operations cannot be emphasized without reference to the UN's role over its concerns with the question of the Middle East. The question has its origin in the issue of the status of Palestine which was administered by the United Kingdom under a mandate from the League of Nations. Thereafter, a special committee set up by the UN on Palestine, for the partition of the Territory which provided for the creation of an Arab State and a Jewish State, with Jerusalem being given an international status was ardently rejected by the Palestinian Arabs and

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other Arab States. However, we were informed that hostilities erupted towards the newly created State of Israel on 14 May, 1948 by the Arabs, after the UK relinquished its administration of the Territory.

The UN in its effort at maintaining peace established its first military observer mission known as the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) over the Palestine/Israeli crisis, while its first full-fledged peacekeeping force was deployed over the Arab-Israeli/Anglo-French hostility in the Suez Canal (1956) under the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), which oversaw troop withdrawals and contributed to peace and stability in the region.

2.1 Review of Some Selected Literature

Against this background, we have noted that the UN's role in peacekeeping operation has undergone tremendous changes in its application, due to the nature of the different conflicts which requires different conflict management. In the African continent, for example, the role of the UN in peacekeeping operations particularly during the post-cold war era, is an attestation of the lessons expressed by peacekeeping theologians with regards to the 1990s where contradictions and pitfalls that complicated 'policy' actions taken by the United Nations or the big powers are highlighted. (Arnold, G. 1995, pp xvii)

Nathan Pelcovits, on the other hand expressed his opinion on the UN Security Council, in arming its self on the legality of the preservation of peace and security while delegating competency to regional organizations actions of collective self-defence under Articles 51; 52 and 53. This he said,

ultimately informed the Africans in the formation of a regional organization (The Organization of African Unity - OAU) to adopt a policy of "try the OAU first", though it was never designed as a hemispheric alliance... (Wiseman, H. 1985, pp.257)

Similarly, S.A Ochoche explained the changing concepts of international peace and security, in which he emphasized that "Security is a first order concern for all systems". He affirmed that it was especially so, because "Security is a sought - after value". Therefore, the premium placed on it makes security such a contested concept at all levels within nations and international organizations. (Garuba C. A. Major-Gen, 1997, pp.11)

Nevertheless, Alan James is of the view that peacekeeping in international politics as applied to the United Nations, is a term which has been given a variety of meanings, therefore it reflects the practical consideration that the UN's assumption of such a role has not been a live issue since 'peacekeeping' came into general use. He further emphasized that though the UN had been set up principally as a further and better attempt to implement collective security, due to the political terrain, it became evident that the deepening division between its two chief members, put a serious obstacle in the way of this goal. For example, the first case UN was called upon to treat, had a cold war implication. This took place in 1946 when Greece made a formal report to the Organization against Albania; Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, accusing them of aiding Guerrilla actions in the northern part of its territory. Subsequently, the UN set up a special committee on the Balkans which for a few years, investigated the extent of foreign interference in Greece, thus reports submitted to the UN formed the basis of many UN resolution on the subject. (James, A., 1971 pp. 1-12)

It is against this background that the role of the UN in peacekeeping operations cannot be over-emphasized. This was incisively communicated by former Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali: "In the past 4 years, the United Nations has been called to more peacekeeping operations than in the previous 45 years". This statement by Secretary-General Boutros B. Ghali conveyed the message that specifically in the post -cold war era, the demand for intervention of the UN in conflict situation around the world is increasing. This reflects the needs of the international political system itself, on which conflicts have become endemic and in which the primary role of the UN is to maintain international peace and security. The UN meanwhile, is involved more or less effectively in a variety of peacekeeping roles world wide, its capacity to resolve any problem is always heavily circumscribed either by big power partisanship or big power indifference, a view expounded by Guy Arnold.

Secretary-General Kofi Annan confirmed that in 1997, the Security Council held a special meeting at the ministerial level on Africa expressing its "grave concern" over the number and intensity of armed conflicts on the continent, and have resolved to maintain peace and security in this region. (Annan K. 1998, pp 79). This was in a concerted effort to debunk opinions held by those like Guy Arnold, and other critics, as well as those who are the victims of these unending crises. ND White on the other hand is of the view that peacekeeping operation is constrained by two major factors: namely political and legal factors; He emphasized that a review of all the UN forces in terms of their mandate, functions and effectiveness should be made. He also believes that peacekeeping has an effect on pacifist

sentiments, and that is peacemaking process, nevertheless, these two distinct functions have been linked.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali agreed more with N. D White's view of peacekeeping operations where defined peacekeeping as "the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, with the consent of all the parties concerned".

Sally Morphet, a contributor to the revised and expanded - United Nations, Divided World, edited by Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury, believes that Peacekeeping i.e. a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace, this view we have seen earlier, is shared by N. D White. Morphet confirmed that discussion about peacekeeping has not been helped by the misleading use of the word 'peacekeeping' for regional bodies such as the Indian 'peacekeeping' force in Sri Lanka (1987 - 90), ECOMOG in Liberia, and certain Russian interventions in the new ex-Soviet States, whose rational has primarily been peace-enforcement and not peacekeeping.

Robin Blackburn, (New Left Review, No: 199, May - June 1991, p.p. 100-119) writing on the "The Breakup of Yugoslavia and the Fate of Bosnia", viewed the collapse of Yugoslavia and the resulting bloody civil war, as having become the worst conflict to afflict any part of Europe for four decades.

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He emphasized that the UN in its peacekeeping effort, might be directed at no more that safeguarding the "safe areas". In order to achieve

this purpose, the British internationalist and military specialist, Tom Wintringham suggested that the "UN does need the nucleus of its own independent military force and that it also, needs to be able to recruit local 'blue berets' willing to fight and die for the opportunity to establish democratic institutions in the country in which they live.

Blackburn however, affirmed the thinking of most political scientists that, the major UN-sponsored interventions to date, have been tailored to suit US interests whether in Korea, Congo (Zaire), Israel/Palestine, or the Gulf. He also, confirmed that the major powers, particularly, the United States were most reluctant to furnish peacekeeping forces, and that Washington was only willing to commit its forces so long as they operate from the (relatively) safe distance of 20,000 feet in the air.

From the African perspective, we have Henry Kwami Anyidoho, who felt that the Rwandan civil war became bitter as a result of deep-rooted ethnic hatred and lust for political power. He also, said that the establishment of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) went into the depth of complexities, out of which some bitter experiences came to the fore.

Based on his personal experiences, under very trying conditions, Anyidoho expressed his opinions on the mistakes of the UN which became obvious during the war. The passing of Security Council Resolution 912 of 21 April 1994, which reduced the force to 270 at the beginning of the war; the weak logistics support for UNAMIR were some of the mistakes on the

part of the UN which he highlighted as lessons from the civil war. (Anyido, H.K, 1997, pp 121-125)

On the other hand, Christine Gordon was able to examine the link between diamonds and war in Angola and at the same time evaluated UN's efforts to break them.

Gordon was able to expose the UN's show of reluctance in setting up another major peacekeeping initiative. This is because the UN had reviewed the "expensive failures" of its former operations, under UNAVEM III and MONUA. (BBC, Focus of Africa, 1999, pp 18-19). This assertion was, confirmed by a Luanda - based British diplomat, David Cox, in which he ascribes this lack of interest to 'Angola fatigue'. Though, other observers are of the opinion that the real reason for lack of interest is that the donor nations believe that the Angolan government has failed to implement reforms to the economy and to the public life during three years of relative peace.

It has been noted that though the role of the UN in peacekeeping operations will continue to be relevant, there will be a need for its efforts to be complemented by other regional and sub-regional organizations (in Africa for instance, the OAU; ECOWAS/ECOMOG;etc and in Europe - NATO). This will de-emphasize the burden faced by the UN in raising a peacekeeping force to react immediately and to meet the necessary time-frame allocated.

Also, there is a need for the UN to complement countries who have bi-lateral agreements in areas of Defence, in the ensurance of maintenance of international peace and security.

2.2 Conceptual And Theoretical Framework

War: According to Quincy Wright, war is a legal condition which equally permits two or more hostile groups to carry on a conflict by armed force" whereas professor F.S Northedge defined "war as the violent contact between two or more distinct but similar entities." however, German General and Strategist, Clausewitz, describes war as "the situation to impose the will of one sovereign state upon the other by defeating the latter's capacity to resist; it is a continuation of politics by other means."

Wars displayed conservative characteristics and were fought by professional and mercenary armies, usually for the purpose of out-maneuvering the enemy rather than humiliating the enemy. Conflicts and wars are products of the contradictions of society, hence Sigmund Freud posited that "conflicts and wars in the society developed from man's inherent selfish and egoistic nature." Therefore, conflicts arise thus when man as nation-state, through his selfish interest, in pursuit of divergent interests become highly incompatible and persistent in their desire to dominate others.

War essentially resolves the controversy of who gets what. Quincy Wright, in his analysis of war, explained that though war has been written about since man learned to write, the variety of attitudes towards it have been reflected in varied view points: political, economic, technological,

legal, psychological and sociological and these can be distinguished. However, Hans J. Morgenthau on the other hand in trying to answer the question - what causes war? had this to say: "International politics like all politics, is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim."

Peacekeeping Operations: According to G. Evans and J. Newnham, they are of the opinion that, peacekeeping operation is a third party role played by an Actor in a violent conflict situation. Whereas Alan James says that, peacekeeping as applied to the UN, is a term with varied meanings. They range from the missions which have been undertaken by international armies, down to the activities of an individual, who has been sent to the field on some political task.

Collective Security: G. Evans and J. Newnham in The Dictionary of World Politics, ascribe to the concept of collective security an important innovation of 20th century world politics. They said it asserts that the security dilemma of states can best be overcome, not through national self-help and Balance of Power, but through the institution of communal commitments whereby each state undertakes to join in common actions, against those who threaten the territorial integrity or political independence of others.

It should be remembered against this background, that the signatories to the UN Charter, in expressing their desire to unite for the maintenance of international peace and security, agreed to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of these threats to the peace in order to bring about the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, and to

refrain from both the threat and use of force against other states, as well as to lend every assistance to the United Nations, in actions taken in accordance with the Charter .

For success to prevail in a collective security system, a mandate is usually given to defend the status quo against any law- breaking states, to participate in sanctions against the belligerent. Initial attempts at Collective Security saw involvement of the failed League of Nations and the United Nations.

However, recent developments have shown that some regional organizations in the world today are also attempting and have attempted Collective Security namely, the Economic Community of West African States through its military observer group, ECOMOG in the West African sub-region; and the most recent action against the former Yugoslav state of Serbia in Kosovo, by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, (NATO) in Europe; its major premise being the musketeer oath of "all for one and one for all". i.e., the collective action of all.

Propaganda: According to G. Evans and J. Newnham, it is an instrument of policy. It is the deliberate attempt at persuading people, either as individuals or in groups, to accept a particular Definition of the Situation by manipulating selected non-rational factors in their personality or in their social environment; the consequent effect of this attempt being to change desired direction. Therefore, for this instrument to be effective, the propagandist should be the major source of information and is directed at a population, which shares at least in part, the attitudes of the propagandist.

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On the other hand, Therence Qualter defines propaganda as "a deliberate attempt by some individuals or group to form, control or alter the attitude of other groups by the use of instruments of communication with the intention that, in any given situation, the reaction of those so influenced, will be that desired by the propagandist[12].

Sovereign State: In International law, Sovereignty is used to indicate the independence and autonomy of a state in relation to other states. M.A Kaplan defines Sovereignty as, each nation as an independent unit, not a subject to conquest, amalgamation or other forms of political dominations by other nations and that each nation reserves for itself maximum flexibility with regard to alignment. Each nation is organized territorially on the basis of existing cultural groups.

Conflict: Whereas the Concise Oxford dictionary describes it as such: fights; struggle; clash, be incompatible. G Evans and J. Newnham in their Dictionary of World Politics, describe conflict as a social condition that arises when two or more actors pursue mutually exclusive or mutually incompatible goals. They believe that in world politics, conflict behaviour can be observed in war - both as a threatened activity and as a reality - and in bargaining behaviour, short of the violent action.

Disarmament: The concise oxford dictionary describes it as disband or reduce its armed forces, that is, to deprive of weapon. On the contrary, G. Evans and J. Newnham describe Disarmament as both a process and an end state. They obviously believe that, as a process, it involves the reduction, removal or elimination of identified weapon systems. As an end state, they opined that it involves the establishment of a disarmed world and the

prevention of re-armament thereafter. They also believe that Disarmament may be regional or global; it may be partial or complete.

Intervention: According to G. Evans and J. Newnham, the word is a portmanteau term which covers a wide variety of situations where one actor intervenes in the affairs of another.

The meaning according to the concise oxford dictionary is come between so as to prevent or modify results e.t.c.

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Chapter Three

The United Nations and Peacekeeping Operations

3.0 Introduction

The world system as we know it, had and is still experiencing conflicts in various locations around the globe. These conflicts have always taken the form of threat or use of force between belligerents. Efforts were therefore made at finding ways of eliminating these acts of aggression, committed intra-state or inter-state, led the Founding Fathers of the League of Nations in 1919, through a communal framework, at providing collective security for each of its members, which failed.

However, the failure of this world body to provide the much needed security against future wars in the world, led leaders of the Grand Alliance to look for a more permanent solution at collective security, to establish a replacement body, known as the United Nations Organization, having yet once again experienced another major conflict in the same European continent between 1939 and 1945. Therefore, this chapter will look at the parameters necessary for the formation of a Peacekeeping mission in conflict zones.

3.1 The Charter Empowering the United Nations, to maintain International Peace and Security

A draft proposal was put together by delegates, who became the Permanent Members of the Security Council, at a conference attended by 50

countries in San Francisco in April 1945, and was ratified by all the representatives of the 50 countries including the Permanent Members of the Security Council on 24th October 1945. This ratified document became known as the Charter of the United Nations.

Top among the priorities listed in the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter is undoubtedly "To maintain international peace and security," and to that end, to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace....." Par. 1-6, Art 1(1)

Also according to the Charter, the Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following principles:

"All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered." [Art. 2(3)]

While pursuing this Principle as stated in Art. 2(3), the Charter also enjoined that "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations" (Art 2.4)

Therefore, the Security Council has primary responsibility, under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security.

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Furthermore, under the Charter, all Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council[2], while other organs of the United Nations make recommendations to Governments. Nevertheless, the Council alone has the power to take decisions which Member States are obliged under the Charter to carry out[3], these have been stated in the aforementioned Articles 1(1), Articles 2(3) and Articles 2(4).

3.2 Peacekeeping Operations - Historical Perspective

The United Nations peace-keeping operations was conceived as instruments of conflict control[4]. It is for this reason, that the UN used these instruments in various conflicts around the world, with the consent of the parties, as a means of maintaining international peace and security, without prejudice to the positions or claims of the parties. This is carried out through means of facilitating the search for political settlements through peaceful means such as mediation and the use of the good offices of the Secretary-General[5].

Certainly, sources from various researched publications, have made claims that peace-keeping as a concept was not originally envisaged in the UN Charter as part of the duties of the Security Council. Rather, it came about in response to the failure of the Security Council to adequately make effective use of its settlement measures to resolve conflicts brought to it and in the ensuing process, enforce peace. (Wiseman, H. 1983, pp 349)

In Brian E. Urquharts' write-up, he explained that "Peace-keeping is not mentioned in the Charter and was evolved as a technique, when it

became clear that the Security Council was not going to be able to operate under the sequence of moves, outlined in chapters VI and VII of the Charter, resulting if necessary, in enforcement action under the Charter."

Urquhart further reiterated that, peace-keeping represents a new approach to peace and security, based on consensus, voluntary agreements and cooperation. This is because, it had become clear that attempts to enforce peace were not politically or militarily realistic in the context of contemporary political and military circumstances.

Peace-keeping operations cannot be fully understood without the context of application as adopted by the United Nations, while making reference to its application that peace-keeping, is defined as "the use of multinational forces under United Nations command, to help control and resolve conflicts between hostile States and sometimes between hostile communities within a single State (UNPI, 1990)

Basic facts as contained in the establishment of Peacekeeping mission in the world before and towards the collapse of the cold war, confirmed that there were 13 (Thirteen) on-going Peacekeeping operations which were basically restricted to monitoring of borders as well as acting as buffer zones after cease-fires had been agreed upon.

However, statistics of data information given showed that, there has been dramatic increase in the creation of new peacekeeping missions around the globe with the expansion of old missions to accommodate what Charles

Dobbie refers to as Wider Peacekeeping Doctrine. (The World Today, Aug - Sept 1995, pp. 171 - 174).

In recent times, the nature of peace-keeping as a concept has now developed beyond this phase earlier mentioned, rather it has become a useful devise for maintaining the delicate balance of international peace, when it is threatened, for example, by a regional conflict in which the major powers are likely to become involved, as in the case of the Somalia Crisis of 1992 - 1995.

A challenge was however, put forward to the United Nations, while at the same time, finding ways of making effective, its capability in peace process.

According to the UN Department. of Public Information, the UN Peace-keeping operation was developed to perform the following functions: to observe; to monitor; to supervise and report on agreements to end hostilities or accomplish cease-fires. This process through the years have undergone tremendous changes in its application, which is due to the nature of different conflicts, which would require different conflict management. (UN/DPI, 1990)

Secretary-General Kofi Annan affirmed in his book, "Basic Facts about the UN," that the Security Council, the General Assembly as well as the Secretary-General, all play major complementary roles in fostering peace and security. This however, depends on the nature of conflicts, in which various distinctions which concerns the applications of the variables (Peace-

making; peace-keeping; peace-enforcement and peace-building), have to be made in order to determine the status of how each conflict can be categorized, which in other words would require either a military observer mission or peace-keeping forces. (Annan K. 1998, pp 67)

3.3 Politics Associated with Peace-keeping Operations

Politics associated with peace-keeping operation, is the game in which diplomats of repute, at the United Nations Organizations, are noted by general observers as well as by peace-keeping theologians, to have perfected in the act. In this regard, engage each other in talks over the paraphernalia of establishing such a mission when necessary.

Hence, the United Nations Department of Public Information, within its jurisdiction, has made categorical statements concerning the concept of peace-keeping operations and how they are set up. The Department also, reiterated that three basic conditions have to be met for the setting up of a mission: First, peace-keeping operations are established only with the consent of the country or countries involved; Secondly, the proposal put forward, must enjoy broad support from the international community - specifically, it must attract the necessary votes, to be adopted by the Security Council. Thirdly, Member States must be ready to volunteer personnel.

On the contrary, the perfected game of politics with regards to the establishment of a peace-keeping mission comes into play, when for example, former Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, noted in 1992 of the Organization:

"Since the creation of the United Nations in 1945, over 100 major conflicts around the world have left some 20 million dead. The United Nations was rendered powerless to deal with many of these crises because of the votes - 279 of them - cast in the Security Council, which were a vivid expression of the divisions of that period[9].

Accordingly, broad political consensus among members is required for the determination of the mandate of peace mission, at the moment of mounting and throughout the operation. Neither a Force Commander nor the UN Secretary-General, can unilaterally change such mandate. This principle is important to avoid political cleavages among members, and ensure continued support of members for the mission[10]. It was for this reason, that Boutros-Ghali went on to advise:

"Never again must the Security Council lose the collegiality that is essential to its proper functioning, an attribute that is gained after such trial. A genuine sense of consensus deriving from shared interests must govern its work, not the threat of the veto or the power of any group of nations[11]."

Likewise, consent given by a country or countries,involved in disputes Alan James, one of the Peace-keeping theologians, is of the opinion that Peace-keeping in the UN context, are established not as conciliatory nor preventive measures, but out of a desire to upset certain aspects of the established order of things. He gave instances of the UN proselytism, in that the Organization is seeking to act as an instrument of change, in order to rid the international society of situations which the majority regard as little better than sinful. Such actions as perceived by James, is that other contexts might be called pejoratively, 'power politics'.

In like manner, within the UN context, James confirmed that such criticism is exempted on the ground that the world community in the shape of the UN, is going about its legitimate business of enforcing standards[13].

Brian Urquhart on the other hand, while referering to consent of the parties to the conflict, believes that, Article 2 (7) of the Charter restrains it from intervention in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of a state. Therefore, the UN has traditionally been reluctant to be involved in what are ostensibly internal or domestic affairs, and its efforts have been belated and hesitant. He further affirmed that the hesitancy on the part of the United Nations was compounded by the organization's financial situation and the reluctance of its largest contributors to incur increasing costs for its operations as well as escalating involvement for themselves[14]. These major facts earlier noted, informed former Secretary-General B. Boutros-Ghali in his book, "An Agenda for Peace" to sound a note of advice relating to the reluctance of its major contributors.

Mr. B. Boutros-Ghali's successor at the UN, Secretary-General Kofi Annan, affirmed that in 1997, the Security Council held a special meeting at the ministerial level on Africa at which it expressed "grave concern" over the number and intensity of armed conflicts on the continent and therefore called for an international effort to promote peace and security.

Therefore it took another two years after such declaration for response to act on a continent replete with profound political and economic crises.

The game of politics in the establishment of Peacekeeping operations in the United Nations is however, slow in response to the African continent when compared to the quick and decisive response to the European continent.

Consequently, it had taken the United States of America to bring into focus of the international community the peculiar problems facing the African continent and was thus given prominence in the month of January 2000, made possible through the US permanent Ambassador to the UN, Mr. Richard Holbrooke. He is quoted verbatim as having said (see p 9 BBC - Network Africa 8th Dec 1999).

This assertion by Mr. Holbrooke is sequel to the continued declarations made by Secretary-General Kofi Annan in which he urged members of the Security Council to direct their focus on that part of the world.....(See pg 9, VOA, DayBreak Africa 30th September 1999)

N.D White on the otherhand had argued that politics prevails in the establishment of a peacekeeping operation. He gave instances in the creation of UNEFI in 1956 by the General Assembly after a joint Anglo/French/Israeli plan opposed Egypt nationalization of the Suez Canal. He argued further that involvement of any Permanent Member such as in the case of Britain and France in the above dispute, ultimately will prevent the creation of a force in the Security Council, this is due to the veto power vested upon the Permanent Members which can probably be used to suit their own personal interest.

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Sequel to the note of advice given by the former Secretary-General, B. Boutros-Ghali, the view of the Brazilian Government, on the concept of peace-keeping operations are only a part of a much broader framework for peace and security. It is also, in their view that much remains to be done properly to address the root causes of conflict. They believe that there can be no lasting peace and solid basis for security in the absence of efforts to deal with the urgent problems of poverty and economic and social inequality, which they affirmed often erupt in violence. The Government therefore sent a note of advise that the United Nations, shall never succeed in stemming the rising cost of peace-keeping if it fails to address the problems which make peace-keeping necessary in the first place. (http://www.brasil.emb.nw.dc.us/fppp 18un.htm)

Regarding volunteer of personnel, in relations to the issue of problems in the African continent as well as a follow-up of advice from Third world countries, Secretary-General Kofi Annan, urged members of the Security Council to direct their focus on that part of the world stating that "the Security Council risks losing its credibility if they do not show concern in Africa and that a number of African leaders are saying that the Security Council Members are not showing enough concern when compared to other areas of the World" (VOA, - Day-Break Africa program 30th September, 1999)

The game of politics as played by the United States of America, a member of the United Nations Security Council in best explained through its Ambassador, Mr. Richard Holbrooke, who is quoted verbatim, as having said that "the United States will do all it can to assist Africa, but that the

African leaders should make conditions favorable for peace." (VOA, - Day-Break Africa program 30th September, 1999). However, in recent times, Mr. Richard Holbrooke, is again quoted as having admitted that" the international community's lack of commitment in releasing the much needed funds promised, as well as the peace-keepers to be deployed in the crises areas in the African continent, have resulted in the frequent violation of the peace accord" (BBC - Network Africa Program, 8th December, 1999).

3.4 The Legal considerations in the Establishment of a Peacekeeping operations

According to The Blue Helmets, the official United Nations, review of Peacekeeping, measures which have to be taken by the United Nations Security Council, are set out in chapters 6 and 7 of the Charter. As a result, the Security Council is mandated to call to attention, the disputants to the conflicts to settle their grievances by peaceful means.

However, where action taken requires further intensity, such that there exists, according to chapter 7 of the Charter, whereby threat to peace and breaches of the peace, or acts of aggression, is proved, the Security Council is therefore obliged to utilizing the broad powers given to it, to call upon the parties concerned to comply with the provisional measures as stated in chapter 7 of the Charter when necessary.

For instance, peacekeeping operations are set up only with the consent of the parties to the conflict in question. According to The Blue Helmets, consent of the parties is required not only for the operations' establishment

but also, in broad terms, for the way in which it will carry out its mandate. Similarly, the parties are also, consulted about the countries which will contribute troops to the operation. The main reason behind this fact is to be objective rather than be subjective in effectively carrying out their duties in line with the authorization given so as to give way to the fundamental principle of impartiality.

Whereas the parties to the conflict on their part are expected to give adequate support to the deployed troops, so as to allow it carry effectively the purpose for which the operation was established, by allowing freedom of movement and other facilities it would require in carrying out its task.

The Peacekeepers on the contrary, have no rights whatsoever, of enforcement and their use of force is limited.

3.5 Categories of Peace-keeping Operations

Peace-keeping according to the Brazilian government, is a unique concept which originally evolved in response to the need to deal with conflicts in the absence of an effective collective security mechanism. The government also believes that Peace-keeping was conceived from the outset, as an adjunct, to a comprehensive political settlement not as an end in itself, and was predicated on the principles of prior consent of the parties concerned, impartiality of the peace-keeping mission and the non-combat role of peace-keepers. (http: //www.brasil.emb.nw.dc.us/fppp18un.htm)

Conversely, there has been an increasing reliance on peace-keeping as an effective mechanism for the maintenance of international peace and security, in response to a widespread increase in the number of regional conflicts world-wide. - the use of ECOMOG in Liberia and Sierra-Leone.

However, the viability of peace-keeping as a tool for the settlement of disputes must, according to peace-keeping theologians, ultimately rest on a clear and realistic mandate from the Security Council. The unprecedented demands placed on the United Nations have made it imperative to secure a sound financial basis for peace-keeping operations. In this regard, all Member States must pay their assessed contributions in full, on time and without conditions. Failure of Member States to pay for activities which they themselves have voted for, will ultimately make it impossible to carry out effectively and expressly those activities to the standard expected.

Because the Security Council is mandated to maintain international peace and security, all decisions pertaining to the operation's size; its overall objectives and its time-frame, rests on the Council. As the UN has no military or civilian police force of its own, Member States have the onus to decide whether to participate in a mission and, if so, what personnel and equipment they are willing to offer.

The United Nations peace-keeping operations therefore, fall into two categories; namely: peace-keeping forces and observer missions. According to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, Peace-keeping forces are composed of contingents of military and civilian personnel, made available by Member States. Their functions include: to assist in preventing

the recurrence of fighting, restoring and maintaining peace, and promoting a return to normal conditions. They are therefore, authorized as necessary to undertake negotiations, persuasion, observation and fact-finding. They run patrols and interpose physically between the opposing parties, and are also permitted to use their weapons only in self-defence[16]. For example, the United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC, 1960 -1964) the first UN peace-keeping operation in Africa fell under the category of peace-keeping forces, whereby its initial mandate was: to ensure withdrawal of Belgian forces; to assist the Government in maintaining law and order, and to provide technical assistance. However, due to the gravity of the problems, the mandate of ONUC was subsequently modified to include: maintaining the territorial integrity and political independence of the Congo; preventing the occurrence of civil war; and securing the removal from the Congo of all foreign military, para-military and advisory personnel not under the United Nations Command, and all mercenaries. 32 countries contributed to the operation with a Nigerian as head of the military personnel.
(http://www.fib.ethz.ch/fib/pko/unmis/onuc.html) KASHIM IBRAHIM LIB

In the same way, the Military observer missions are composed of officers usually unarmed, are made available, on the Secretary-General's request, by Member States. A mission's function according to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, is to observe and report to the Secretary-General (who in turn, informs the UN Security Council) on the maintenance of a cease-fire; to investigate violations and to do what it can to improve the situation[17]. An example of a United Nations Military Observer Mission in this regard is the very first peace-keeping operations in the Middle East, the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO)

which continues to operate in the Middle East (1948 - to date) [18]. The initial mandate was to supervise the truce called for, in Palestine, by the Security Council, during the Arab-Israeli War of 1948. However, following the wars of 1956, 1967 and 1973, the functions of the Observers changed in the light of changing circumstances, but they have remained in the area, acting as go-betweens for the hostile parties and as the means by which isolated incidents could be contained and prevented from escalating into major conflicts[19].

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Chapter Four

Some Selected Case Studies and Comparative Analysis

4.0 Introduction

It has been demonstrated in the previous chapter that, political considerations is a factor that postulates the fervent conditions surrounding the establishment of a peacekeeping mission, in the United Nations Security Council. Nevertheless, the formation of a peacekeeping operation can not be fully implemented without legal parameters as contained in Chapter 7 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Therefore, this chapter will be devoted at examining, some selected cases of threats to peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression in the African and European continents simultaneously, in the Nineties, which informed the United Nations Organization to actively partake in ensuring that the peace process, the tool of the Security Council, is implemented. Likewise this chapter will, by comparative analysis, look critically, the conflict situations in both continents thus highlighting the differences that abound.

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4.1 The United Nations Peacekeeping Operations in Africa - A Case Study of Rwanda

Rwanda, the site of the horrific genocidal war of the late twentieth century, is an arable land, situated within the African Great Lakes Region. The country is bordered on the West, by the Democratic Republic of Congo,

East of the border is Tanzania, North, it is bordered by Uganda and South by Burundi.

The 1991 census figures of the country's entire population was estimated at about 7.15 million of which 90% are of the Hutu ethnic origins, while 8.2% are representatives of the minority Tutsi group, the remaining 1% are of Twa ethnic group.

The country was initially under German colonial protection as Rwanda-Burundi, it was later to be occupied by Belgium, under a Trusteeship for the failed League of Nations and was later transformed under a new Trusteeship under the United Nations.

The country became independent in July, 1962 under the Presidency of Gregoire Kayibanda of the Parmehutu Party. Professionally, the Rwandese of Hutu origins are predominately, peasant farmers while the Tutsi clan are predominately pastorialists, thus trade in cattle products for agricultural produce. The Tutsis, are also, known to be soldiers, as well as being administrators.

The Rwandan economy is dependent on two main agricultural cash produce, namely, Tea and Coffee. According a 1986 statistical data information, figures showed that coffee, produced for export accounted for over 80% of the country's foreign exchange earnings. This figure however, saw a dramatic change, due to several factors, particularly in the 1990s namely: the collapse of world coffee prices in the 1990s; the worsened national debt following the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Policy

of the World Bank and the Internal Monetary Fund between 1990 and 1992; the final onslaught that led to the genocidal massacre which peaked in 1995.

4.2 Origins/Developments that gave rise to the Conflict.

There have been claims by many historians and peace theologians that the origins of the Rwandan conflict was embedded in the 'policy of shift in support' given by Belgium in the early 1930s over one ethnic group against the other and viz a viz in the 1950s, when it assumed the role of Trusteeship under both the failed League of Nations and the United Nations.

According to Ramsbothan and Woodhouse, both men affirmed the above assertion in that the Tutsi ethnic group were given a monopoly of both political and administrative powers under Belgium Trusteeship which was subsequently reversed, as decolonization process took place. Support was again shifted from the minority Tutsi to the majority Hutu clan.

As a matter of fact, this policy of shift in alliance by the Belgians can be adjudged to have laid the foundations that led to the revolt in Rwanda, which took place between 1959 and 1961, in which the Tutsi-dominated Monarchy was replaced by the Hutu majority. Despite Belgium's restoration order towards this revolution, the aftermath led to the hastened democratic process initiated by Belgium, which culminated in independence that tended to favor the Hutu clan thus gave Gregoire Kayibanda of the Parmehutu party, leadership and subsequently became Rwanda's first democratic President[2].

Following independence from the Belgians, the leading Tutsis were inevitably, deprived of political or civil service positions in a process that placed the Hutus in all the important jobs available[3]. This action therefore, can be said to have laid the seeds of modern conflict in this period when thousands of Tutsi ethnic origins, in a series of upheavals, were forced into exile to neighboring countries.

The result of this dissatisfaction and distrust that permeated, culminated to deep hatred among a population that have lived together in peace for many generations, knowingly caused by the Belgians. This situation saw the refugees of Tutsi clan uniting in exile and in response unleashed armed attacks across the border into Rwanda.

The Parmehutu party was overtly accused of being ethnically biased and was un-representative of the cross-section of the Rwandese society, while the government in place under the same Parmehutu party was widely recognized as inefficient and corrupt[4], which led to public out-cry and dissatisfaction amongst the divergent society. The ultimate result of this foray saw a change in government that ushered in Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, the Minister of Defence and Head of the National Guard, in a bloodless coup in July, 1973.

Therefore with the change in government, a military administration was established with a proclamation of a second Republic by the military authorities. Major General Habyarimana, the new President, however proved more conciliatory towards the Tutsis, with a policy of Hutu-Tutsi reconciliation. (Arnold, G. 1995, pp 424).

Confrontations took place again this time in 1990 between the mainly Hutu government and the Tutsi-led Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF hereafter, and a representative of exiled Tutsis), operating from Uganda, in which accusations over continued domination by the majority Hutu ethnic group was made.

However, figures showed that an estimated 650,000 inhabitants in Rwanda were displaced due to this war[5]. This civil strife therefore, saw two former Colonial powers taking sides in the internal affairs of a nation. Hence, the French were believed to have fought alongside the Rwandese Government Forces (RGF hereafter), while the Belgians on their part were believed to have taken sides with and have supported the RPF.

The United Nations however, reported that the Rwandan Peace Talks brokered by Tanzania and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) resulted in a peaceful resolution which resulted into a peace agreement, signed in 1993 and is referred to as the 'Arusha Peace Agreement'. Accordingly, this agreement provided for a Transitional government and made room for elections. (Annan, K. 1998, pp 85). It was also, according to this peace agreement that ushered a United Nations Mission in Rwanda with the deployment of a neutral international force (UN Military Observer Group/Force)[6].

4.3 Immediate Cause of the Rwandan Conflict

Prior to what led to the final on-slaught of the Rwandan Massacre, the governments of both Rwanda and Uganda in 1993, had jointly requested the United Nations (UN hereafter), for the deployment of military observers along their common border, to prevent the military use of the area by the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF). The Security Council, therefore in response to this request, established in June 1993, the United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR), on the Ugandan side of the border, specifically to verify that no military assistance reached Rwanda. (Annan, K. 1998, pp 85).

Another request was again made jointly, this time by the Rwandan government and the RPF, which led the Security Council to establish in October 1993, another international peacekeeping force, known as the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). This mission was mandated to assist both parties to the conflicts, and implement the Arusha Peace Agreement; it was also, to monitor its implementation while as supporting the Transitional government.

Nevertheless, the immediate cause of the 1994 genocide which peaked in 1995 the world watched, how mayhem was unleashed via the Electronic Television broadcast media. This carnage resulted, following the shooting down on April 6, 1994, the plane carrying President Habyarimana of Rwanda and President Ntaryamira of Burundi, over Kigali, as its was about to land.

The Rwandan Ambassador to the UN, consequently informed members of Security Council that, the incident over Kigali was an assassination and not an accident as widely speculated. Accordingly, to the Ambassador the plane was said to be bringing back the two Presidents, from a meeting with other African leaders in Tanzania, where they had gone to discuss the ethnic violence, that was then raging in, both their countries, in an attempt at seeking ways to end it. Both the dead Presidents were said to be of the same Hutu ethnic origins in their respective countries. (Arnold, G. 1995, pp 425).

This incident according to the UN, sparked off a tidal wave of political unrest and ethnic killings. (Annan K. 1998, pp 85-86). The presidential guard in Kigali consequently, went on a rampage, killing hundreds of people including the Prime Minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana and the three UN peacekeepers from Belgium assigned as her body guards, who were among the first victims of the rampage.

A UN observer reported on the crisis situation in Kigali that two days after the deaths of the Presidents, the RPF were seen engaging in direct fighting with the government forces[6], thus led to insecurity of lives and property. A report on the broadcast media also claimed that the fighting in Kigali had become increasingly indiscriminate with killings made on government ministers, members of the clergy, aid workers, Belgian, Bangladeshi and Ghanaian peacekeepers, all whom according to Arnold, became targets[7] as they were not spared in the uprising.

4.4 The Arusha Peace Agreement

The comprehensive peace agreement known as the Arusha Peace Agreement, brokered by Tanzania and the OAU was signed on August 4, 1993 by the Rwandese Patriotic Front and the Rwandese Government Forces in Arusha, Tanzania. The agreement was signed by: Mr. Ngulinzira Boniface for the government of the Rwandese Republic, Mr. Bizimungu Pasteur for the Rwandese Patriotic Front while Mkapa Benjamin signed for and on behalf of the facilitator, United Republic of Tanzania.

Henry K. Anyidodo, the Deputy and Chief of Staff, UNAMIR, explained that this agreement ushered in a UN mission in Rwanda, included were the following key points as its terms of reference:

(i) Installation of a Broad-Based Transitional government with the participation of the major political parties;

(ii) Setting up of Transitional institutions;

(iii) Deployment of neutral international force - UN Military Observer Group;

(iv) Withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in Rwanda;

(v) Deployment of an RPF battalion for the protection and security of RPF political leaders, for moving in and around Kigali;

(vi) Integration of the gendamerie (Police) into a National Defence Force;

(vii) Disengagement, Disarmament, Demobilization and retaining of Military personnel of the parties to be integrated into the National Army;

(viii) Protection of the expatriate community and security of the contributors of Humanitarian Assistance;

(ix) Integration of Neutral Military Observer Group (OAU) into UNMO (United Nations Military Observer);

(x) Repatriation of refugee and resettlement of displaced persons;

(xi) Assistance in ensuring a secure atmosphere for elections towards Democratic rule[8].

4.5 Involvement of the United Nations in the Conflict

Indeed, prior to involvement of the UN Security Council in the Rwandese crisis, which came about as a result of the Arusha Peace Agreement of August 4, 1993, it had initially adopted Resolution 846 of 22 June 1993 which empowered it to establish a UN Observer Mission Uganda - Rwanda (UNOMUR) on the Ugandan side of the Uganda-Rwanda border. The mission was expected to function for a period of fifteen calendar months, from June 1993 to September 1994. The mission was also, mandated to monitor the border between Uganda and Rwanda, in which it was scheduled to verify that no military assistance such as lethal weapons, ammunitions and other material, possible for military use reached Rwanda[9].

However, sequel to the deepening problems that exacerbated the Rwandan crisis, the Rwandan government forces and the Rwandan patriotic forces jointly requested the UN Security Council to take quick action which led to the adoption of Resolution 872 of October 5, 1993[10]. Also, through Chapter 7 of the Charter of the UN which it considers threats to peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression, saw the UN became fully involved in the crisis.

As a matter of fact, questions are often raised by Peace theologians in an effort to assess the level of commitment exhibited by the UN to respond rapidly to conflicts emanating from the African continent when compared to its European counterpart. The United Nations, through its Department of Public Information responded to its critics as thus, that with the case of Rwanda, a lightly armed and equipped peacekeeping force, UNAMIR, was deployed in October 1993, to assist in the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement, which obviously collapsed[11].

Events even revealed that with the presence of UNAMIR, the slaughter continued unabated, as the world watched the horrifying images projected by the Electronic Broadcast media, since there was no resolute and immediate response from the community of nations to find ways to curtail or even stop the carnage. The genocide was committed in the presence of UNAMIR, which accordingly, had only 400 peacekeepers on ground without a clear mandate as to the means or the necessary support for it to stop it[12]. In order to allay the fears and constructive criticisms of the peace theologians, Secretary-General Kofi Annan, affirmed that the United Nations Security Council, solicited troop contributions from the international community. As a matter of fact, only Belgium with half a battalion of 400 troops and Bangladesh with logistical element of 400 troops, offered personnel. He also, confirmed that with the request for troop contribution of 5,500, it took five months to reach the authorized strength of just 2,548.

However, with the many unresolved issues between the parties, the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement was delayed.

Consequently, the inauguration of the Transitional government proposed as one of the key elements of the agreement, never took place.

4.6 UNAMIR's Mandate

Following the authorization given by the Security Council in the Rwandan crisis, which formed the basis of its involvement aforementioned in 4.5, the Resolution 872 of 5 October 1993 was mandated to find means of seeking peaceful solution to the internal conflict that is ravaging and becoming a source of concern within the Great Lakes Region with the unprecedented number of refugees and displaced persons leaving the country as their lives and property were no longer secured. Therefore, its mandate included:

(i) To contribute to the security of the city of Kigali;

(ii) to monitor the cease-fire agreement (including the establishment of cantonment and assembly zones, the demarcation of the new de-militarized zone and other demilitarization procedures);

(iii) to monitor the security situation during the final period of the Transitional government's mandate.

(iv) to assist with mine clearance (e.g. through training programs);

(v) to investigate instances of alleged non-compliance with the provisions of the Arusha Peace Agreement;

(vi) to monitor the process of repatriation of Rwandese refugees and resettlement of displaced persons, to verify that it is carried out in a safe and orderly manner;

(vii) to assist in the co-ordination of Humanitarian assistance activities in-conjunction with relief operations;

(viii) to investigate and report on incidents regarding the activities of the gendarmerie and police.

According to the UN report, sourced via the internet, the militant members of the Hutu majority in Rwanda during this period, launched attacks against the Tutsi moderates, modarates Hutu politicians as well as positions of UNAMIR, following the deaths of the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi, on April 6, 1994.

Therefore, pressures were increasingly mounted on the UN Security Council in which it adopted a new resolution, based on the options available to it, namely: (a) to reduce it to a small group, and to remain in the capital under the Force Commander; (b) acting as an intermediary to secure a cease-fire; (c) or to withdraw altogether[13].

The Security Council subsequently on April 21, 1994 took the second option available to it under Resolution 912 which states:

(i) To act as an intermediary between the parties, in an attempt to secure their agreements to a cease-fire;

(ii) to assist in the resumption of Humanitarian relief operations; and

(iii) to monitor and report on developments in Rwanda, including the safety and security of the civilians who sought refuge with UNAMIR[14].

However, due to the further deterioration experienced in the Rwandan crisis, the UN Security Council, once again, was saddled with reviewing the existing mandate on hand, in order to accommodate new changes in the crisis and resolved to expand UNAMIR's mandate for the third time and through Resolution 918 of 1994, the force had:

(i) to contribute to the security and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk in Rwanda, including through the establishment and maintenance of secured Humanitarian areas; and

(ii) to provide security and support for the distribution of relief supplies and Humanitarian relief operations[15].

The former UN Secretary-General Boutros. B. Ghali, condescended that, despite his efforts to get the granted re-enforcement to UNAMIR, based on authorization given to expand the force to 5,500 troops to form the nucleus of UNAMIR II[16], the Member states, showed poor willingness, to provide the necessary troops[17]. The consequences that followed this lack of commitment to respond rapidly, created an atmosphere of continued indiscriminate massacre of innocent lives in Rwanda.

France accordingly made a proposition of a unilateral military intervention which was authorized by the Security Council under Resolution 929 of June 22, 1994, known as "Operation Turoise" and under Chapter 7 of the Charter, its task was to establish humanitarian protected zones in South West Rwanda. It was confirmed that the site of proposed protected zone an estimated two million internally displaced persons were located there. However, the rate at which the French troops concluded and withdrew from the area on August 21, 1994 thus handing over to UNAMIR, have been a source of concern from critics from the African continent. The French were accordingly to have honored their part by stabilizing the protected zones, while peace theologians believed that the motive behind this move was to ensure the safety and evacuation of her nationals and that having completed, handed over to the poorly equipped UNAMIR.

However, based on reports given of continued violations of international humanitarian law, a Commission of Experts, based in Geneva was established under Resolution 935 of July 1, 1994, to investigate these alleged violations. Secretary-General Kofi Annan described the final report submitted on December 9, 1994 as that of "overwhelming evidence" by Hutu elements which proved that they had perpetrated acts of genocide in a "concerted, planned, systematic and methodical way", against the Tutsi minority. Therefore, with the final report submitted, the Security Council under Resolution 955 of November 8, 1994 established an International Tribunal for Rwanda (on-going), to prosecute those responsible for violations of international law. at the same time, the Security Council, instructed UNAMIR under Resolution 965 of 1994 to:

(i) contribute to the security in Rwanda, of personnel of International Tribunal and Human Rights Officers; and

(ii) to assist in the establishment and training of a new, integrated, national police force.

By December 1995, the Security Council made its final adjustments on UNAMIR's mandate, having experienced a changing role, as the situation prevailed, to focus primarily on facilitating the safe return and voluntary return of refugees[19] from neighboring Zaire, in the Goma region, which presented both severe humanitarian challenge and an explosive security situation[20] there.

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4.8 The United Nations Peacekeeping Operations in Europe - A Case Study of Former Yugoslavia

Yugoslavia, the center piece of the First World War, was again plunged into, another crisis that almost had a devastating effect on the continent that had remained relatively at peace, with the end of the Second World War in 1945.

The distortions experienced with the unprecedented collapse of the communist ideology towards the end of 1989 and the subsequent end of the Cold War in the global system, ushered in a new wave of internecine violence along ethnic lines in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Before its break-up, Yugoslavia was a federated state made up of six Republics of nearly 20 million people namely: Croatia with a population of 4.3 million; Macedonia with a population of 1.6 million; Bosnia and Herzegovina had a population of 3.7 million; Slovenia with a population of 1.6 million, Montenegro with a population of 550,000, while Serbia had the largest population of 8.4 million. The Serbian Republic had two autonomous provinces, namely: Kosovo and Vojvodina (the scene of the 1998 - 1999 crisis). The Kosovans, who are mainly 90% Albanians, had a population of nearly 2 million and were known to be on the fore-front, seeking autonomy or independence from Serbia[1].

According to the political history of the country, the end of World War II saw the emergence of President Josip Broz Tito, whose astute communist leadership, held a united Yugoslavia for 35 years which had

been divided along linguistic, ethnic and religious lines. Tito was therefore, dubbed "Post-war Dictator", the role model for Yugoslav leaders, having dominated the country from 145 to his death in 1980[2].

It is based on these, that one can understand the basis adopted by the Serbs in its policy of ethnic cleansing towards its non-ethnic population within its geo-political affiliations.

4.9 Origins/Developments that gave rise to the Conflict

The collapse of Yugoslavia and the resulting bloody civil war, explained Robin Blackburn[3], had become the worst conflict to afflict any part of Europe, for four decades. What is certain is that a continent that had experienced relative peace and security is suddenly plunged into crisis along ethnic lines, which became a source of concern for its surrounding neighbors.

The remote cause of the internecine conflicts within the federation can be attributed to the death of President Tito which gave way to dissatisfactions and overt wrangling by some elements that have been otherwise, contained during the Communist leadership of the late dictator.

However, Slvoj Zizek explained that "there was the tendency of those who live in the region to draw a line to their South, after which Europe ends, and Balkan backwardness begins", such that Austrians look down on Slovenes; Slovenes look down on Croats; Croats look down on Serbs; while Serbs look down on Bosnyaks, Albanians or Macedonians[4].

4.10 The Immediate cause of the Yugoslavian Crisis

In retrospect, the immediate cause of the crisis that led to the break-up of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was aforementioned, the collapse of the Communist Parties and their ideology in the Soviet Union which inevitably ended the Cold War that was prevalent in the global system in 1989, and has been interpreted as the marking of a new Era in Conflict Resolution.

Hence, by 1990, the separate nationalists of Serbs, Slovenes, Croats and Albanians suddenly woke up from a deep slumber and became mutually suspicious of each other that led to tensions within the region which culminated to conflicts that according to Ramsbotham and Woodhouse, destabilized the Balkan region[5]. Zizek on the other hand, explains this scenario of instability as a result of the lure of the West in the region. He observed that the precipation of such conceits of the West, unfolded in a highly specific context: "What is at stake in contemporary Post-Socialist states, is the struggle for one's own place; who will be admitted - integrated into developed capitalist order - and who will remain excluded[6]."

The break-up of Yugoslavia in Zizek's opinion was that "if we are looking for the man, whose reckless demagogy set the tragedy in motion, then Slobodan Milosevic amply fills the bill"[7], The reason for this assertion is that, Milosevic in his bid to step into the shoes of his late role model, Josip Broz Tito and assume a deeply chauvinist form, encouraged Serbian grievances. Under his leadership the Serbian government embarked on a

policy of brutal bullying and aggrandizement, which had not been and put on constant surveillance, would have embarked on a bloody balkanization of Yugoslavia into small antagonized states.

However, contrary to the World perceptions of the Yugoslavian conflict, Zizek affirmed that "if Milosevic is the main culprit, the Slovenian and Croatians leaders were his accomplices[8]." In other words, Milosevic is not an Island to singularly perpetuate such criminal atrocities.

4.10.1 ***The Croatian Crisis***

According to Ramsbotham and Woodhouse, Franjo Tudjman, President of Croatia, on behalf of Slovenia and Croatia, moved towards separation in June 1991 by declining independence. However, prior to such moves, the Slovenian and Croatian governments notably, had enjoyed all the paraphernalia of self-government within a united Yugoslavia and were scarcely groaning under the Serbian yoke if compared to those experienced by the Albanians.

Blackburn on the other hand, reasoned that they (Slovenia and Croatia) must surely have known how fragile was the state of ethnic relations[9], which ultimately set them in motion for separation. Therefore, a referendum was conducted which gave legal credence for the advocacy of autonomous recognition within and outside the united Yugoslavia.

In a bid to prevent this equivocal moves by Slovenia and Croatia, the Serbs, led by Slobodan Milosevic, were determined to preserve a unitary

state implemented through their demagogic desires, launched military attacks. The result of insidious violations to mankind in the Balkan region, informed the Human Rights Organization to sound an alarming signal on what it refers to as "Ethnic Cleansing". The parties to the conflict, particularly the Serbs, used a variety of methods to unleash mayhems on the population which ranged from harassment, torture, rape, summary executions, forced displacement of populations, confiscation and destruction of homes and buildings, inclusive of places of worship and cultural institutions.

4.10.2 The Bosnia - Herzegovina Crisis

The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, did not get underway until a truce was declared between Croatia and Serbia[10]. The Republic had existed as some sort of political entity for a thousand years comprising of Moslem Bosnyaks in the majority totaling 44% of the population, the Orthodox Serbs make up 33%, the Catholic Croats make up 17% while the remainder are of other nationalities.

The question permeated by Analysts and Peace theologians alike is, why the challenge to the unification of Bosnia - Herzegovina within a united Yugoslavia, considering the Croatian situation? Some Analysts have posited that the real logic to the challenge which would lead to the partition of Bosnia - Herzegovina would rather serve the interests of Greater Serbia and Greated Croatia, where their ethnic nationalities were in a majority.

Sequel to unfolding events, that culminated with a declaration for independence in March 1992, following a conducted referendum, the logical reason for partition and the subsequent ethnic conflict according to Blackburn, did not receive sanctions from the Bosnian Serbs. This action accordingly drove a wedge between Bosnian Moslems and most Bosnian Croats who supported the move.

However, the inherent complexity of the Bosnia - Herzegovina crisis and the gross intrusions, in addition to intimidation practiced by the Serbs and Croats alike, was seen as the impetus to the ethno-religious fragmentation in the Yugoslav Republic. The decisive events that followed, destroyed the willingness to respect the structures of Bosnia - Herzegovina. As a result, the scheduled elections of 1990 did not take place due to the spread of Serb-Croat hostilities that lingered for nearly a year. Also, the international recognition of the Croatian independence by the European Community and its members, in addition to the referendum taken on independence for Bosnia - Herzegovina, set the pace for defiance by the opposition to the elected representatives of Bosnian Serbs.

4.10.3 **The Macedonia Issue**

The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, concerned about being drawn into the war that was ravaging the Balkans, requested the deployment of UN Observers, to forestall probable conflict. It is pertinent to note that Macedonia was not completely immuned to the ethnic crisis, as there is a significant Albanian minority in Macedonia, therefore, the events in Albania impacted the situation in Macedonia. According to the 1994 census, ethnic

Macedonians constituted 67% while ethnic Albanian constituted 23%, the remaining 10% are a variety of ethnic groups in Macedonia (including Thomas, Serbs, Turks, and Vlachs), who had made series of claims and aspirations that they were not being adequately addressed within the existing political system.

The internal dispute within Macedonia centered around the 1994 census organized by the Council of Europe and the European Union, this figures according to the ethnic Albanians was not a true reflections of their ethnic origins within the population. Also, the results of the October 1994 elections conducted were challenged by opposition groups, even though it was monitored by the Council of Europe and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). These unfolding events resulted in a fragile democracy, in addition to the precarious economic conditions, the government could not accommodate demands of the ethnic Albanians which included:

(i) distinctive status as a constituent nation;

(ii) the conduct of university-level education in the Albanian language and the foundation of an Albanian language university;

(iii) proportional representation in significant public institutions; and

(iv) recognition of Albanian as a second language[11].

4.11 The Dayton Peace Agreement

The peace talks which culminated in the December 1995 agreement between Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, took place in Dayton, Ohio, United States.

It was this agreement that brought the war in the Balkan region to an end, inclusive were the terms of reference:

(i) all pledged to respect each other's sovereignty and independence;

(ii) to refrain from using force; and

(iii) to settle disputes peacefully[12].

4.12 The Involvement of the United Nations in the Conflict

The United Nations, through its Security Council as a matter of fact, did not get involved in the civil war between the Croatians and Serbian that commenced in June 1991. The reason for this stance adopted by the Security Council explains ND White, was that it was quite willing to leave any attempt at brokering and observing a cease-fire, and all negotiations concerning such matters as peaceful settlements to the European Community[13].

However, the Security Council not withstanding, imposed a mandatory arms embargo against the whole of Yugoslavia through Resolution 713 of 25 September 1991[14], necessitated by the fact that the conflict that broke out in Yugoslavia, specifically in Croatia, constituted a threat to international peace and security.

Nevertheless, the Security Council on 27 November, 1991, became deeply involved in the Yugoslavian conflict, after having been pressurized by the international community, with the possibility of establishing a peacekeeping operation in the region.

The conflicts which ravaged the former Yugoslavia formed the basis of intervention by the Security Council with the establishment of Resolution 721 of 1991 and repeated its determination that the situation constituted a threat to international peace and security. The Council therefore, requested the Secretary-General, through his Special Envoy, to prepare a report on the feasibility of sending a peacekeeping force to Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, the Council made its intention clear in that the emplacement of the force, would be conditional on all parties, while complying with the cease-fire negotiated in Geneva on 23 November, 1991[15].

Consequently, a request for the force as White explained, came from the Serbian dominated rump Yugoslav Collective State Presidency. The Croatian authorities had similarly agreed to the request for a force on 28 November, 1991.

Contrary to the cease-fire of 23 November 1991, initially agreed upon and to be upheld by the warring factions, was violated and all necessary peaceful instruments broke down in December, 1991. In an effort to renegotiate and bring about lasting solution to the crisis, the Special Envoy to the region, Mr. Cyrus Vance reported on the methodology, in which the following authorization dubbed Vance Plan, (after its chief Architect) by the Security Council and the Secretary-General, jointly agreed that the conditions for establishing a peacekeeping force did not exist, despite mounting pressures from the international community and request made by the Serbian Collective State Presidency.

The Council finally did agree to send an advance team of twenty observers to prepare for the eventual deployment of a full force. Furthermore, the Council appealed to all states concerned, not to exacerbate the situation but failed in its attempt to dissuade Germany and other states from recognizing any of the breakaway Republics.

However, it was not until two months later, on 21 February, 1992, that the authorization for full deployment of troops, was given under Resolution 743 which was sequel to a prior authorization for the concept and plan for a UN peacekeeping operation under Resolution 724. Despite the authorization given for deployment, it took a further month before the peacekeepers arrived Croatia.

The United Nations Protection Force in former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) established under Resolution 743, for one year had a mandate that was of a consensual and non-enforcement type with a deployment of over 13,000 troops, civilian personnel and civilian police.

4.13 UNPROFOR'S MANDATES

UNPROFOR's initial mandate, afforemention in the involvement of the United Nations in the conflict, was restricted to those described as consesual and are non-enforcement. What this meant was that it was authorized to stabilize the situation in Croatia, while creating conditions of peace and security within negotiations for an overall solution.

Accordingly, UNPROFOR was deployed in four "protected areas" [16] in which Serbs were the majority or a large minority, to ensure the demilitarization of such areas as well as to protect the population from attacks. The full deployment of UNPROFOR was delayed by several months[17] and only became operational in June 1992, by then, the situation deteriorated in Bosnia-Herzegovina with an out break of war. Ramsbotham and Woodhouse explained that one result of this delay in deployment of troops, was that ethnic cleansing continued virtually unchecked and that by the time UNPROFOR was operational, most of the area's non-Serbian population had already been expelled from the United Nations Protected Areas (UNPAs) [18], an act according to Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, were mainly conducted by Bosnian Serb Forces[19].

However, due to the increased complexity of the situation, as a result of the flood, the refugees following increased militarization and economic hardship, UNPROFOR's mandate was expanded, the experiences on ground, therefore, made it difficult to implement the original mandate. The role of UNPROFOR changed and became involved in interviewing individuals who had been forced from their homes while compiling data on those groups believed to be responsible for the expulsions[20].

Also in Croatia, UNPROFOR's mandate experienced yet again an another expansion and was authorized to carry out immigration and customs functions at the international borders of the UNPAs. This mandate as explained by Ramsbotham and Woodhouse became difficult to implement, why? because, the Serbian authorities based in Knin, in the southern part of Krajina, placed their own controls and checkpoints at all major crossings[21].

The mandate of UNPROFOR was again extended in October 1992 and authorized with the responsibility of monitoring the demilitarization of the Prevlaka Peninsula conducted by the Croatian Army within the first nine months of 1993 particularly within the UNPAs, the situation deteriorated further. The UNPROFOR on the other hand, continued in its efforts to mediated between the two sides as well as implementing its mandate. However, by September of 1993, its role had changed from carrying out its mandate (the Vance Plan) and to now to maintain a de facto minimalist position. That is, to prevent the resumption or escalation of conflict, to provide a breathing space for the efforts of peacekeepers as well as to support the provision of humanitarian assistance[22].

Though negotiated cease-fires were constantly violated between 1994 and 1995, the Secretary-General, recognized that UNPROFOR could not be retained in its present role and was most likely be withdrawn. Objections raised by the Croatian government was a clear signal that the area might experience an exacerbated war.

For these and other contingencies, the Security Council in an effort at restructuring decided on 31 March 1995 to replace UNPROFOR with three separate peacekeeping operations namely: in Croatia, UNPROFOR was replaced by the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) by resolution 981 of 31 March 1995 for a period of 9 months, through to January 1996.

Its mandate included:

(i) To perform the functions envisaged in the cease-fire agreement of 29 March 1994;

(ii) to facilitate the implementation of the economic agreement of 2 December 1994;

(iii) to facilitate the implementation of all relevant Security Council resolutions;

(iv) to assist in controlling - by monitoring and reporting - the crossing of military personnel, equipment, supplies and weapons over the international borders between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia respectively at the border crossing;

(v) to facilitate the delivery of international humanitarian assistance to Bosnia-Herzegovina through the territory of Croatia; and

(vi) to monitor the demilitarization of the Prevlaka peninsula[23].

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In the case of Bosnia - Herzegovina, the mandate and the name UNPROFOR was retained. However, a new mandate was established by Resolution 1035 of 21 December, 1995 known as United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) which is still operational till date. Its mandate includes: In accordance with the Dayton Peace Agreement and on behalf of the relevant report of the Secretary-General (S/1995/1031), the Security Council established (a) an International Police Task Force (IPTF) and (b) a United Nations civilian office (to assist the United Nations Coordinator, who exercises authority over the Commissioner of the IPTF and has to coordinate the UN activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina). Accordingly, IPTS's task - specified in Annex 11 of the Dayton Peace Agreement and in section III.D. of the above mentioned report is:

(i) to monitor, observe and inspect law enforcement activities and facilities (including associated judicial organizations, structures and proceedings);

(ii) to advise law enforcement personnel and forces;

(iii) to train law enforcement personnel;

(iv) to facilitate the parties' law enforcement activities;

(v) to assess threats to public order and advise on the capability of law enforcement agencies to deal with such threats;

(vi) to advise governmental authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina on the organization of effective civilian law enforcement agencies; and

(vii) to assist by accompanying the parties' law enforcement personnel as they carry out their responsibilities, as IPTF deems appropriate.

In addition, IPTF is to consider requests from the parties or law enforcement agencies in Bosnia and Herzegovina for assistance, with priority being given to ensuring the existence of conditions for free and fair elections[24]. For fear of being drawn into war, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia requested the deployment of United Nations Observers. The Security Council's position on Macedonia was, initially UNPROFOR III was renamed to United Nations Preventive Deployment Force Macedonia (UNPREDEP) by Resolution 983 of 31 March, 1995. Its mandate includes:

To monitor and report any developments in the border areas which could undermine confidence and stability in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and threaten its territory[25].

4.14 Comparative Analysis

The basic question raised in this research has been, "What is the level of commitment by the UN in its peacekeeping effort towards the African continent when compared to its European counterpart in the Nineties, with emphasis on its attitude to respond rapidly?"

Various Peace theologians across the globe and myself inclusive, have a number of reasons as whether to or not to indict the United Nations Organization, the arbiter of international peace and security. Therefore, this section is devoted to comparing issues raised in the course of research with reference to the underlisted key points:

(a) The Economic reasons

(b) The Socio-Political reasons

(c) The period leading to the final outbreak of conflict

(d) When the UN became involved

(e) How long did the UN stay

(f) Reasons for leaving the affected areas.

(g) The number of people killed and displaced

(h) How much was spent on each mission.

(i) Total number of Troops deployed

(j) Questions raised by other Analysts

4.14.1 The Economic Reasons

In Rwanda, the cause of the conflict can be attributed to the collapse of the price in World Coffee, which is the country's main foreign Exchange earner. Also, due to the collapse of the price of coffee, the country's national debts worsened with the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Policy by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund between 1990 and 1992.

In the same way, the economic reasons that led to conflicts within the former Yugoslavia is attributed to purely ideological with the lure of the West, to adopting Capitalism thereby giving the Republics a new sense of direction and challenges. Therefore, the analysis showed that Structural Adjustment Policy was implemented only in the African continent, which was not the case, when compared to the European continent.

However, in terms of ideology, the African continent during the Cold War posit itself as Non-Aligned, and could therefore choose which ideology best suits it, which was not the case of former Yugoslavia which was a satellite of the Communist ideology.

4.14.2 The Socio-Political Reasons

In Rwanda, the case of rivalry and mutual suspicion of the two main ethnic groups, the majority Hutu clan and the minority Tutsis, whom have lived together in harmony before the advent of the Europeans in the African

continent, was ignited by and compounded by the policy of shift in alliance by their former colonial master, Belgium.

Similarly, due to this shift in alliance and the subsequent and hastened democratic process for independence had laid foundations for public dissatisfaction amongst the divergent society. The Parmehutu party was accused of being in favor of the Hutus who are predominately peasant farmers over the Tutsi clan, who are predominately pastoralists in addition to being administrators and soldiers. This action led to overt attacks to the government by the exiled Rwandese Patriotic Front who are of Tutsi origins.

Likewise, the Socio-Political reason that led to instability in the country was the killing of both the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi, on 6 April, 1994 when their plane was shot down in Kigali, heightened mutual suspicions as this act was perceived to have been the work of the Tutsi-led RPF, thus led to wide spread genocidal killings.

In the same way, the fallout of the collapse of Communism in the former Soviet Union, brought about mutual suspicion within the former federated Yugoslavia based on ethno-religious and linguistic lines. The Serbs with the largest population spread within the Republic of the region were constantly suspicious of the Croats who are also, equally highly populated. Both ethnic groups were in-considerate of the other minority groups within the former Yugoslavian Republic.

With the death of the Post-War dictator of Yugoslavia, President Josip Broz Tito in 1980 gave rise to the likes of Slobodan Milosevic; his co-horts

Franjo Tudjman and the likes of the president of Slovenia whom would use any opportunity to consolidate their stance along ethnic; religious and linguistic lines and at the same time encourage public dissatisfaction and overt confrontation to achieve their purpose and have accordingly encouraged Ethnic Cleansing of non-Serbs within the region.

Therefore, the analysis here seem to have some form of similarities, along ethnic; religious and linguistic lines. Despite the similarities that are abound, the difference is obviously clear. In the case of the Rwandan crisis, the Colonial Master can be adjudged as the facilitator through the policy of shift in alliance from its resumption as Trusteeship in the 1930s. While the case of Yugoslavia can be adjudged as internal, from within, a case of a man, Slobodan Milosevic making case for his selfish motives and aspirations.

4.14.3 The period leading to the final outbreak of the conflict

In the Rwandan situation, the build up of the crisis can rightly be said to have started with the introduction of SAP in the country, giving way to high unemployment and further deterioration of other social infrastructures, in addition to the long-history of political rivalry and ethnic hatred for each other. However, the period leading to the final outbreak of the crisis, in which the world watched in horror, the genocide that took place, can be said to have accumulated over 96 months, from 1990 to 1994, but peaked in 1995.

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Unlike the Rwanda crisis, the Yugoslavia crisis started building up almost immediately, following the fall of Communism from 1990 until the declaration made jointly by Slovenia and Croatia in June of 1991 by Franjo Tudjman. Therefore, the analysis here shows clearly the differences as at how long it took before the final outbreak of conflict.

4.14.4 The Involvement of the UN in the Conflicts

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The initial response of the United Nations to the Rwandan situation, came in 1993 after a joint request was made by the governments of Uganda and Rwanda, to oversee the border disputes, with the establishment of UNOMUR under Resolution 846 of 22 Jun 1993, for a fifteen month period.

Following a second request made this time, by the Rwandese Patriotic Front, the Security Council responded with the establishment of UNAMIR under Resolution 872 of 5 October 1993 with a lightly armed and equipped peacekeeping force to implement the Arusha Peace Agreement with half a battalion of 400 troops and without a clear mandate. Hence by the time of the genocide had reached its peak, with senseless killings, the UN finally authorized an increase in the military strength to 5,500. It took the UN five months to reach a military strength of 2,548 peacekeepers.

In comparison, the situation in Yugoslavia was as such, the United Nations was initially quite comfortable to allow the European Community to intervene, probably relying on the regional arrangements spelt out in Chapter 8 of the Charter. Nevertheless, as a responsible arbitart of

international peace and security, the Security Council imposed an arms embargo in the whole of Yugoslavia in September 1991.

However, the UN became fully involved on 27 November, 1991 with the establishment of a peacekeeping force, UNPROFOR, following a request made by the Collective State Presidency. Under Resolution 743, a full deployment of Peacekeepers were sent to oversee the United Nations Protected Areas (UNPAs) within Croatia, the force was mandated to stabilize the situation while maintaining an "interim" status quo of existing arrangement for local administration and public order and a host of other duties.

Because of the complex situation in the former Yugoslavia, the United Nations Security Council was a number of occasions, required to review and update the mandate of UNPROFOR I to UNPROFOR III within the crisis zones. As the situation persisted, different conflict management which ranged from the initial monitoring of cease-fire agreements; interviewing of individuals of displaced persons and collection of data of those perceived as responsible; immigration and customs duties at borders; monitoring of demilitarization of Prevlaka Peninsula; implementation of the Vance Plan and maintenance of the de facto minimalist position.

Also, the further complexity of the situation in Yugoslavia, forced the Security Council, through Resolution 981 of 31 March, 1995, to replace UNPROFOR with UNCRO. This was as a result of the insistent violations of cease-fires and the dynamic situations experienced in the Yugoslav Republic. While Resolution 983 of 31 March, 1995 established

UNPREDEP in Macedonia as a replacement, Resolution 1035 of 21 December, 1995 established UNMIBH, in accordance with the Dayton Peace Agreement and ended the 42-month war in Bosnia.

The comparative analysis here reveals that the UN was prone to responding rapidly to problems in Africa than with its European counterpart. Even though, some elements showed that the UN intervened directly with the initial request made in Rwanda, and in comparison with the Yugoslavia crisis, was quite comfortable for a regional arrangement, the fact is that the UN did not respond quickly enough.

4.14.5 The Duration of the UN in the Conflict

According to a UN study, two missions were established in Rwanda namely: United Nations Observer Mission Uganda- Rwanda (UNMOMUR), established in June 1993, its duration was fifteen months, that is from June 1993 to September 1994 while the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda lasted for twenty-nine months, that is, from October 1993 to March 1996.

In the same way, the UN established four missions in former Yugoslavia, namely: United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) was established to oversee the situation in Croatia in February 1992, however with the increase and complexity experienced in Yugoslavia, the mission was expanded as UNPROFOR II in the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis and UNPROFOR III in Macedonia. The mission lasted in these areas for forty-seven months, that is, from February 1992 to December 1995.

UNPROFOR I (Croatia) was subsequently replaced by United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation (UNCRO) which lasted for 10 months, that is, from March 1995 to January 1996; UNPROFOR II (Bosnia - Herzegovina) was replaced by United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, (UNMIBH) in December, 1995 and is still on-going. Finally, UNPROFOR III (Macedonia) was replaced by United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP) in March 1995 and is still on-going just like UNMIBH due to the complexity of the situations in the areas.

4.14.6 Reasons for UN Withdrawal

In the case of Rwanda, the reason for the UN to withdraw its troops cannot be over-emphasized, when a UN Special Envoy to Rwanda was quoted as having said "if the warring parties did not reach agreement on a cease-fire, it must be clear, we shall not stay here". He went further to say "we came to assist Rwanda, but we can not impose any solution on the Rwandan people, who have to help us to help them"[26].

Likewise, on 30 May, 1995, Boutros Boutros-Ghali offered the latest in a series of Secretary-General's report on the former Yugoslavia to the UN Security Council, recommending, in effect, a UN retreat from the ambitious, multi-faceted operation attempted by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) since 1992[27]. This report represented the thinking of those working in the UN secretariat in New York and was a clear effort by the Secretary-General and his assistants, to doctor UNPROFOR's mandate so as to abrogate the components relating to enforcement measures.

4.14.7 The number of persons killed and displaced in the conflict

According to the Human Rights Watch in New York in a letter to the UN Security Council, between 6 - 19 April 1994, about 100,000 might have been killed in Rwanda, in what had been planned weeks before President Babyariamana's death.

However, by the beginning of May 1994, an estimated 200,000 were killed alone that by October of the same year, about 500,000 had been killed with 2 million refugees and another 2 million internally displaced persons.

Similarly, an appeal for humanitarian assistance was made as the refugee status in the former Yugoslavia, was estimated at 500,000 persons. *In 10 months of conflict, about 10,000 were killed, 5,000 declared missing.*

4.14.8 How much was spent on each Mission

According to a UN study, the operating costs for UNOMUR and UNAMIR combined, and estimated $450,000.00 was spent in the Rwandan crisis.

In the same way, UN's estimated expenses for maintaining a Peacekeeping force in former Yugoslavia between January 1992 and March 1996, an estimated $4,616,725,556.00 (about $4.7 billion) was expended to cover UNPROFOR, UNCRO; UNPREDEP and UNMIBH.

4.14.9 Total Numbers of Troops deployed

The total number of troops requested for and to be deployed under UNAMIR was 5,500 peacekeepers. However, the sum total of 2,548 was deployed which was initially delayed due to logistical problems by the international community's unwillingness to contribute immediately.

In the same way, the United Nations deployed a total force of 38,599 Military personnel, of which 684 are Military Observers contingents contributed by 39 countries.

4.14.10 Questions and Criticisms by other Analyst on the conflicts

Rwanda: Various Analysts of Peacekeeping Operations in the likes of Guy Arnold and myself, have raised pertinent questions with regards to the Rwandan crisis which the Security Council itself can not adequately answer, such as:

(a) Why did the UN withdraw its personnel from Rwanda?

(b) Why did the UN Security Council fail to send a proper Peacekeeping force to Rwanda, even while it was increasing its troops commitment to Bosnia?

(c) Why did the UN exhibit its readiness to become more deeply involved in Europe, but not in Rwanda, which by this time, had become the worst human disaster anywhere in the world -was races, a factor?

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Former Yugoslavia: Similarly, criticisms raised by Peace theologians have focused on both the Somali Crisis and Yugoslavia as peacekeeping activity in the Nineties was the most controversial activity in global resolution.

Some Accounts argued that the whole peacekeeping intervention especially in Bosnia was misconstrued and that peacekeepers were not only ineffective but made the situation worse.

Another criticism was partly directed against third party intervention in civil wars in general, on the grounds that such intervention can not be impartial, and that their effects is simply, to prolong the conflict and possibly prolong suffering.

Arguments for these criticisms however, posits that Peacekeeping is an inadequate tool for intervention in active civil wars and that its use should be limited to those conflicts that have been terminated. An alternative argument claims that Peacekeeping forces in former Yugoslavia, were inadequately equipped to carry out demanding mandates they were given.

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CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.0 SUMMARY/CONCLUSION

Based on the research conducted, the United Nations came into existence as a replacement to the failed League of Nations on 24 October, 1945, having been ratified by the Charter, that established it.

The study revealed that the UNO aims to work progressively towards co-operation among States and at the same time, ease tensions that might lead to antagonisms. The question is does it ?

In addition, the study specifically identified the principal organ, empowered by the Charter, to maintain international peace and security.

In the course of research, it was discovered that Peacekeeping Operation as a concept, was not originally envisaged as part of the duties of the UN Security Council, the body whose primary responsibility it is, to maintain international peace and security. Rather and according the research, the concept was developed in the General Assembly, when the Security Council failed in it duties, this led to the formation of the first ever Peacekeeping Operation to be deployed under UNEF in the Middle East in 1956.

Consequently, the research delved further into the role of the UN in Peacekeeping Operation, to which this Thesis, derives its title from. In the

same way, a comparative analysis of its role was conducted between Africa and Europe in the Nineties, thereby revealing the differing role, exhibited by the UN, in its peacekeeping initiatives using Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia as selected case studies.

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The analysis also revealed the pertinent factors considered responsible for the manner of approach by the UN to conflicts that emanated from the areas under review.

In conclusion, my view of the Rwandan crisis, which I believe is quite similar to other Analysts, are first and foremost, to lay blame on Belgium, the creator of the "shift in alliance " within the country before its subsequent independence in 1962.

Like all other crisis- ridden African Nation-States, the general blame should be on the Europeans on the whole, having partitioned Africa without due consideration of the traditions and other logics that were in place, thereby laid seeds of ethnic hatred and lust for political power. Hence the Rwandan crisis thrived on visible marginalization by the Hutu clan over the Tutsi. Of course, if the situation were reversed, the Tutsi minority may also, decide to wipe out the Hutu tribe.

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Therefore, the Rwandan conflict which was based on the Majority Hutu extremists, attempts in wiping out the Tutsi minority, led Josue' Rubambana, a 36-year-old Engineer in Kigali, Rwanda and a survivor of the Hutu-led genocide that decimated his country, his Tutsi tribe and family , to explain his experiences in which according to him, the Hutu extremists were

bent on eliminating his tribe, by advocating thus: "Yee tubatsembatsembe," meaning "Exterminate them." [1]

On the other hand, Henry Kwami Anyidoho, a former UNAMIR Deputy Force Commander in Rwanda affirmed saying thus " It was therefore, emotional for me to be a witness to the destruction of a city I had so much admired, to watch helplessly as guns bellowed over Kigali"[2] and concluded saying "Unless steps are taken for pragmatic reconciliation, peace may elude the country for a long time."[3]

The break of Yugoslavia along ethnic (national) lines in should have been anticipated and effect with less distruction.

According to Ambassador Jacques Paul Klein, Principal Deputy High Representative for the implementation of the Dayton Accords, Sarajevo he explained that "The moral vacuum left by communism has made the killing easier and the Tragedy all the worse."[4] Even though, claims by various writers of conflicts in Europe postulates that the UN did not respond rapidly to the Yugoslavia crisis; I believe that is not factual, based on comparative analysis made.

With Africa situation; indeed to my conviction, the UN in its peacekeeping role, responded more rapidly in terms of the aforementioned factors in chapter four of this thesis.

The scenario in Rwanda, as a matters of fact revealed that there were some element of the UN Observer Mission, were however, reduced and were

practically withdrawn when they were needed the most, unlike in Yugoslavia, where the European community was adequately prepared to take responsibility and where it was discovered that the burden was to much, the UN responded immediately.

Therefore, the United Nation, through these selected case studies, have certainly revealed their position and their level of commitment to responded to crisis from Africa, which differs unquantifiably from those that emerge from the European continent.

A more recent situation in Europe though initially not classified as UN interest but American-led NATO interest, the situation in Kosovo, also within the Balkan region have revealed that polities is the over- riding factor that postulates conflict resolution in the United Nations as well the formation and deployment of Troops.

5.1 RECOMMENDATION

In order to achieve peace and stability especially in Africa the following is recommended

(a) The United Nations particularly the UN Security Council, should deemphaize geo-political considerations in the maintenance of international peace and security.

(b) The influential members of the UN Security Council should make adequate provision for countries that are crisis prone particularly in Africa, so as to remedy and reverse the situation if possible, which they are bane.

(c) The crisis- prone countries particularly in Africa, my advise is that they should revert back to the status- quo of living in peace and harmony, that is, before the advent of the partition of African by the Europeans. By doing so, extend good neighborliness to one another, especially in times of need. This will eradicate the imbibed ethnic hatred and lust for political power as well as solving religious differences which are the causes of conflict.

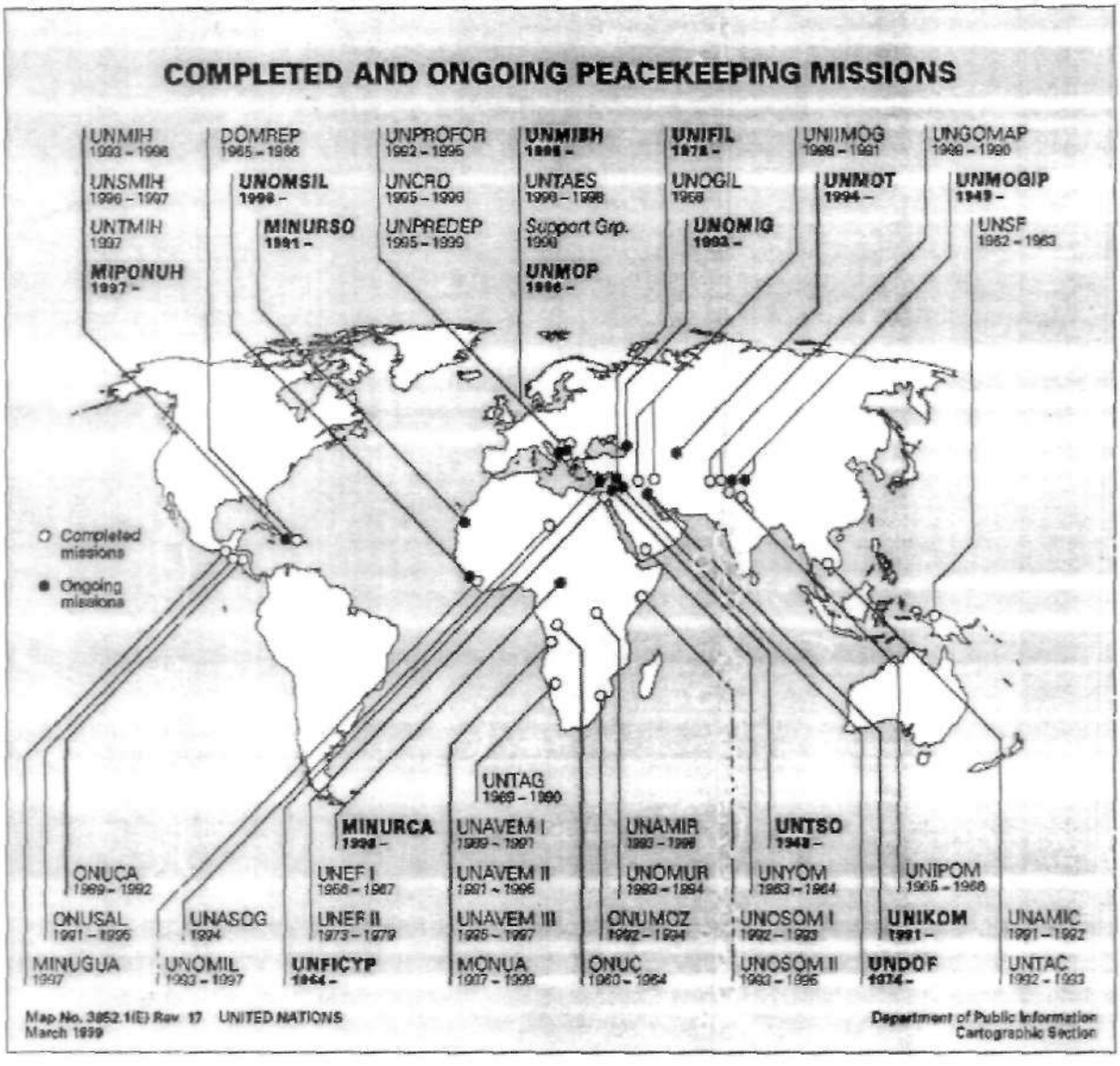
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APPENDIX I

Map of On-going and Completed UN Peacekeeping Missions in the World.

Click on a mission name below to view information



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