



INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN AFRICA: AN EXPLORATION OF THE CHALLENGES AND WAY FORWARD.

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ABSTRACT

The exigency for global peace and security cannot be overemphasised, especially now that peace is gradually eluding the international system due to incessant conflicts and natural disasters. This study, therefore, examined the encumbrances confronting peacekeeping operations by international organisations in their quest to engender peace and security on the continent of Africa. Data collection for the study was based on secondary sources, including desk reviews of documents from textbooks, articles, journals, etc, while idealism was employed to explain the theoretical basis for the involvement of international organisations in conflict resolution via peacekeeping operations. Findings indicated that peacekeeping operations have witnessed a lot of impediments in the areas of funding, equipment and training of troops, mandates, sexual abuses, human rights violation, weather condition, unfamiliar terrain and battles, and high death rate among missions' personnel and civilian population. These have contributed to the abysmal performances of some peace operations in African as evident in the continuous conflicts despite their presence. To stem this, peace operations should be properly funded by members of the international organisations for better performance; the United Nations (UN) should take more decisive actions against cases of sexual abuse by troops to serve as deterrence to other, etcetera.

Keywords: International Organisations, Peacekeeping Operations, Africa, Idealism, Mandate

INTRODUCTION

Conflict has become one of the constant features of the international system which neither history nor civilisation has succeeded in eclipsing. What seems to have changed over the years is the pattern in which it has been occurring as well as the implements or tools of fighting deployed by states and non-state actors. For instance, towards the Second World War (WWII), interstate conflicts were seen as a “common form of structured violence” in the world. The Cold War and its aftermath ushered in a new epoch where intrastate and communal conflicts became dominant (Hampson, Crocker & Aall, 2007). Equally, UKessays (2018, November) argued that there have

been 111 military conflicts world-wide since the end of the Second World War, however, only nine of them witnessed two or more countries engaging themselves in war. The rest had been within the states but with international interventions. Similarly, the implements of warfare have transformed drastically from the simple ones like small arms and light weapons to the complex, involving the use of nuclear weapon as witnessed during the Second World War (WWII).

Record has it that Africa is one of the continents with higher cases of conflicts and wars (Dauda & Ogbuechi, 2017) as 36 of the 54 member states of the African Union have suffered from diverse conflicts (Mutiullah, 2013). The causative factors of most of the conflicts range from political and institutional causes such as weak state institutions, elite power struggles and political exclusion, breakdown in social contract and corruption, identity politics; Socio-economic, which include: inequality, exclusion and marginalisation, absence or weakening of social cohesion, poverty; to resource and environmental greed, scarcity of national resources often due to population growth leading to environmental insecurity, unjust resource exploitation (Julius, Muliru & Gichoya, 2015).

Whichever factor is adjudged mostly to trigger conflict in society, one undeniable fact is that conflicts as argues by Arya (2007) leave some devastating effects on human health and well-being for about 110 million deaths have occurred from wars in the last century. It has also been revealed that “each year over 1.6 million people worldwide lose their lives to direct violence, which is among the leading causes of death for people aged 15–44 years worldwide, accounting for 14 percent of deaths among males and 7percent of deaths among females” (Arya, 2007, p.367). This is not all as the source above equally documented that, “the percentage of civilians killed due to war has increased from 14 percent during the First World War to 75 percent during the 1980s and to even 90 percent in some conflicts taking place during the 1990s” (Arya, 2007, p.367). Also, Njoku & Ndubuisi, 2008, p.89-90) affirms that “wars now are shockingly more destructive and deadly. So far in the 90yrs of the 20th century, there have been over four times as many deaths as in the 400 years proceeding.”

International organisations are well-known for their roles in the promotion of peace, security and stability in the international system. The UN, which was set up, specifically for this purpose, and is considered as the true representative of international organisations, pledges:

To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: ... take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threat to peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principle of justice and international law adjustment of settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of peace develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples....(Adeniran, 2007, p.166).

This responsibility is also shouldered by other organisations as Chapter Viii of the UN Charter provides the legal basis for the involvement of international organisations operating at the regional levels in the maintenance of international peace and security. These organisations do this in a number of ways, including conflict resolution and peacekeeping operations. On conflict

resolution, Russett & Starr's (1985, p.171) reveal that "of Thirty-Nine conflict situations...for the period 1945-1965 period, Twenty-Three used international organisations to aid in conflict resolution."

International organisations create avenues for compromise, accommodation and a common sense of values (Aremu, 2013). The main goal of international organisations is to avert war or interrupt the use of force; preventing the aggravation of disputes and keeping the contenders apart, while the processes of international conciliation are set in motion (Bonchuks (2005, p.155-156). The principal question, however, is: what are the encumbrances faced by these organisations in their peacekeeping engagements in Africa and how can they be addressed? It is these and other issues that this paper seeks to investigate and make public in order to improve their performances.

The paper proceeds as follows: introduction, theoretical framework, conceptual review, peace operations by international organisations in Africa, challenges facing international organisations in peacekeeping engagements in Africa, conclusion, recommendations, and references.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This paper adopts the theory of idealism, which purports to achieve international peace and security based on common standard. In other words, idealism believes that the world peace and security can be achieved through "a set of codes or legal norms applied by certain institutions that are above and greater in authority than the nation state" (Adeniran, 2007, p.3). According to Gaan (n.d, p.20), idealism was developed as international relations theory with the primary objective of promoting "a world free of wars and establish a cooperative relation amongst community of nation states." There is no single authority that idealist theory can be rightly attributed to, but research has shown that the writings of Plato, Kant, Carr, Wilson, etc. influenced and shaped the theory. Accordingly, Gaan (n.d) has identified two sets of supporters of the theory: the classical and modern. Thus, those that represent the classical era include, Angell, Hobson, Wilson, Kant and Russell while the modern exponents are represented by Robert O. Keohane, Richard Rosecrance, Richard A. Falk and Charles E. Osgood (Gaan, n.d).

In the study entitled: *The Theory of International Politics 1919-1969* by Hedley Bull cited in Fernandes (2016, p.15-16), Bull notes that there were group of authors whom he describes as "idealists" because they "are generally characterised as a set of theorists who believed in the idea of progress and the possibility of an evolution of international relations that would give rise to a more peaceful world." Exponents of the theory also hold the view that "the world is a comity of nations that have the potentials to work together to overcome the mutual problems" (Oche, 2013, p.16). As states in Gaan (n.d, p.11-12) idealists usually rest their projection of the world view on the following axioms:

- i. "Human nature is essentially 'good' and capable of altruism, mutual aid and collaboration;
- ii. The fundamental instinct of the humans for the welfare of the others makes progress possible;

- iii. Bad human behaviour is the product not of evil people but of evil institutions and structural arrangements that create incentives for people to act selfishly and harm others including making wars;
- iv. Wars represent the worst feature of the international system;
- v. War is not inevitable and can be eliminated by doing away with the institutional arrangements that encourage it;
- vi. War is an international problem that requires global rather than national efforts to eliminate it and therefore,
- vii. International society has to organise itself to eliminate the institution that make war likely;
- viii. Idealism reposes faith in reason, international peace and order as natural condition among progressive people tied to mutually shared political, economic and other interdependent interests in a sharing 'self-integrating world.'

Finally, Oche (2013) has revealed that the experience of the First World War (WWI) resulted in its adherents placing hopes for global peace and security in the League of Nations which was formed to promote world peace and cooperation.

Notwithstanding, the theory of idealism has some lapses which critiques have used against it. For instance, the theory "has been described as imaginary, impracticable and thus, utopian and that the suggestions advanced by it to reform the international situation are difficult to be implemented" (Gaan, n.d). Besides, critiques have argued that war cannot be totally eliminated from human society in spite of the so-called altruistic human nature as advocated by the idealists. Thus, following the outbreak of WWII (1939-1945) which once more threatened the international peace and security, the realists began to advocate that "the national policies should be based on power in order to achieve world peace rather than on moralistic and legalistic precepts" (Adeniran, 2007, p.3). They believe that states are the primary and rational actors in the international system; that these states interact in a system characterized by anarchy with no authority to enforce law and order; and that to survive, states need to accumulate power at the expense of other (zero-sum game). Based on these, realism succeeded in passing its message that any inter-state cooperation is "only a temporary reprieve from states' general circumstances of competition, conflict and war" (Johnson & Heiss, 2018, p.2).

The adoption of this framework of analysis in this paper is to demonstrate the fact that international organisations are very vital to the promotion of global peace and security. Its weaknesses, however, are a reminder that the desire to do is not without some challenges as seen in today's world.

International Organisations

International organisations are among the major non-state actors that have attracted scholarly attention in recent times. These organisations are found in several parts of the world performing functions that crisscross different fields of human endeavours. However, not many people actually know the true meaning, history, purpose, types and characteristics of these organisations, hence the need for this conceptualization. Accordingly, an international organisation can be defined as

an association that ensures voluntary cooperation and coordination between or among its members voluntarily (EU Learning, 2019).

The International Law Commission cited by Gaja (2014, p.2) flowing from legal perspective, defines international organisation as an “organisation established by a treaty or other instrument governed by international law and possessing its own international legal personality.” Mingst (2019) on his part, sees an international organisation as institution with membership drawn from not less than three states based on formal agreement, carrying out functions in different states. The trio of Dauda, Adie & Nwokedi (2018, p.100) conceptualize international organisations to mean “organised progressive groups instituted through consent by member states that are drawn from more than one country for the pursuit of common goals which are usually beneficial to member states.” Equally, an international organisation could mean “a formal continuous structure established between members (governmental and/or non-governmental) from two or more sovereign states with the aim of pursuing the common interest of their membership” (Aremu, 2013, p.113).

The foregoing definitions reveal some common threads in them that are worthy of note. Accordingly, the first point is that international organisations are voluntary associations. Second, they promote cooperation and coordination among members. Third, they cater more for the interest of member states. Fourth, members are drawn from more than one country. Fifth, they are established by a treaty or an agreement which governs the conducts of members and that they can sue and be sued for since they possess “international legal personality.”

Besides, Abate & Tilahun (2012) have added more insights to the concept by stressing on what they call the essentials of international organisations. Consequently, every international organisation originates based on multilateral agreement; it has a personality of its own, which is distinct from that of its individual members; and it has a permanent organ, which carry out its common aims. Besides, Dauda (2010) has argued that for any organisation to be termed international organisations, certain conditions must be met. First, the organisation must operate in a world of states; second, it must operate in a situation in which there are agreements within states; and third, when there is a common problem that requires collective solution.

International organisations are of various types and can be classified as such. For instance, EU Learning (2019) categorizes them into intergovernmental and supranational organisations. According to the source, “intergovernmental organisation (IGO) is composed of nation-states and it promotes voluntary cooperation and coordination among its members.” Its decisions and agreements are not enforceable and the members remain independent (sovereignty). Concerning the supranational organisation, the source maintains that, it differs because member states do surrender power in specific areas to the higher organisation, and that decision taken by a supranational organisation must be obeyed by its members. To Aremu (2013) international organisations can be classified based on membership composition, geographical spread and spheres of authority, function/purpose and profit motive. Accordingly, any organisation that is composed only of states as members is called international governmental organisation (IGO) examples include the UN, EU, AU etc. Those organisations whose scope of operations and

membership are not limited to regional levels are termed universal organisations, under the category of geographical spread and spheres of authority, while the opposite is for regional organisations. In terms of functions or purposes, the author highlights two subgroups-the general purpose organisations that perform function across cultural, political, economic, social spheres such as the UN and the specialized international organisations that have specific mandates like The FIFA. Finally, on the classification are those international organisations with profit seeking motive namely, the Multinational Corporation (MNCs) and non-profit seeking organisations such as the Red Cross (Aremu, 2013).

Again, international organisations can be classified based on period. Thus, Dauda (2010) speaks of traditional and modern international organisations. According to him, the former, dates back to the 19th century during which political conferences, including the Congress of Vienna of 1815, The Hague System of 1899 and 1907 were organised and “leaders met to discuss issues and solve problems”, Modern international organisations, on the other hand, emerge after the traditional international organisations to resolve issues the latter could not address. They appear in two forms, according to the author. These are intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations. The first refers “to institutional structure which was created by agreement among two or more sovereign states for the conduct of regular political interactions.” Whereas the non-governmental organisations are organisations whose membership are drawn from individuals or private citizens rather than from states (Dauda, 2010, p.166). While Dauda (2010) traces the traditional international organisations to the 19th century, further studies have revealed that the first set of such organisations actually began in the Fifth century BC when the Federation of Greek City States under the authority of the Athens established the Delian League which was the first institutional framework responsible for handling common problems, and that the emergence of modern international organisations was due to the realization by the public that certain problems such as war, contagious diseases, organized crime, poverty, hunger, environmental damages which posed threat to human society can best be addressed at the global and regional levels outside the state boundaries (Dauda, Adie & Nwokedi, 2018). This confirms the position of Weiss (2015) that international organisations are not new in the international system but that their modern history only started gathering momentum in the 19th century.

It is also worthy of note that international organisations perform different functions, depending on their mandates, for the benefit of their members. Thus, according to Ertürk (2015) their functions include articulation and aggregation of the national interests of their members into the international system; norms creation for the operation of international relations; and recruitment of new actors into the international system. Other functions, according to the author, are socialization, rule-application, rule-adjudication, information and operation. Similarly, Finkelstein cited in Ng (2015) lists the functions of international organisations to include:

Information creation and exchange; regulatory and normative functions such as formulation and promulgation of principles; the promotion of cooperation, consensus, and common conflict resolution; the allocation of resources; the provisions of technical assistance, humanitarian aid and development as well as the maintenance of peace and order.

Gabriela (2013, p.311) shares same view with the above author as she argues that international organisation “continue to be in the first line for facilitating negotiations and implementing agreements, dispute resolution, offering technical assistance and developing rules.” These they do routinely due to their neutrality, impartiality and independence. Similarly, Adeniji & Adie (2020) explained further that:

The myriad of challenges such as diseases, climate change, wars, terrorism, hunger and starvation, pollution, environmental degradation, etc, confronting the global community today deserve nothing than a concerted effort via international organizations to address on a permanent basis. This is incontrovertibly true because international organizations provide some veritable platforms through which nation states as well as individuals desirous of finding solutions to their common challenges can meet and have these issues resolved (Adeniji & Adie, 2020, p.153).

In spite of these laudable functions, international organisations still have some challenges which sometimes hamper the smooth running of their operations. Thus, according to Aremu (2013), part of these challenges stems from: lack of capacity to enforce rules among member states; the status of sovereignty that forbids interference in the internal affairs of member states; fears of domination by the economically powerful industrialized nations and rivalry between the rich and poor nations; as well as lack of finance as a result of poor attitudes of some members towards dues or levy payments.

Peacekeeping Operations

Peacekeeping operation is one of the basic tools for conflict management in modern times. It has, indeed helped to bring an end to conflicts occurring between or within states. Because of this important role, the concept has attracted so much attention by scholars who attempt to provide more useful insights on how it operates, its meaning, origin, among others. Accordingly, Bonchuk (2005, p.154) conceptualises peacekeeping as “a third party contingency approach to conflict management.” To Beattie cited in Hansen, Ramsbotham & Woodhouse (2001), peacekeeping means a lot: It involves the psychological change from one adversary to a specific role; from confrontation to third party interposition; and that in peacekeeping, there is no enemy: the objective is to avoid hostilities, to improve communications between the parties, and to advance the process of reconciliation. In its traditional sense, peacekeeping, according to Mutuillah (2013, p.133) “describes the deployment of armed forces to intervene as a buffer zone between adversaries, to enforce a ceasefire agreement and monitor peace processes in post-war societies.” He observes that the mandate of peacekeeping has been on the increase in the present times as it now incorporates diverse “post-war peace building measures.”

Cojocar (2014) maintains that peacekeeping moderates and/or ends hostilities between states or within them through the intervention of a third party that is impartial, organised and directed internationally. Also, that peacekeeping uses the military and civilians to complement the political process to bring about peace. The Stockholm International Peace and Research Institute (SIPRI cited in Rood 2014) considers peacekeeping as one with objectives to facilitate the improvement of a peace agreement; to support a peace process; to assist in conflict prevention and

/or peace building efforts. This definition has been described as lacking in some areas as it fails to include activities like good offices, fact finding, supporting elections and mission that have not been sanctioned by the UN or regional organisations. Thus, in the view of Rood (2014) Peacekeeping mission may include the following activities: monitoring and multidimensional peacekeeping operations carried out by the UN Department of peacekeeping operations (DPKO), including Joint AU/UN Hybrid Operations such as the one in Darfur (UNAMAID); special political and peace-building missions that are directed by the Department of Political Affairs (DPA) and meet the SIPRI definition of peacekeeping mission.

Dorn (2011) expanding on the UN definition, contends that peacekeeping is “the deployment of international military and civilian personnel to a conflict area, with the consent of parties to the conflict and/or national authorities [acting impartially] in order to: stop or contain hostilities or supervise the carrying out of a peace agreement [assist with humanitarian relief, human rights compliance and nation building].” This definition raises two fundamental issues which are central to the operation of peacekeeping. The first issue is about the principles guiding peace operation of which consent and impartiality are good examples. The other issue is the dynamic nature of modern conflicts that make peacekeeping operation to embrace multidimensional approach to function effectively. Now to the first issue, peacekeeping originally was designed with some principles to govern its operations. These include consent by the parties to the dispute; non-use of force except in self-defence; voluntary contribution of contingents from small neutral countries to participate in the force; impartiality and; the control of peacekeeping operations by the Secretary General (Hansen, Ramsbotham & Woodhouse, 2001; Capstone, 2008).

While the principles of consent, the non-use of force, and impartiality are considered fundamental among them, the question is how effective are they today in peacekeeping operation? The principle of consent, for instance, according to UN (2012) is aimed at ensuring that the mission has the political and physical freedom and the protection needed to carry out its mandate effectively as the absence of it can jeopardize the lives of the personnel involved in the mission. While this seems right, Tshiband (2010) has, however, argued that the principle of general consent has lost its initial importance, and that the idea of waiting for the consent of belligerents for the deployment of peacekeeping operations is no longer in vogue.

Similarly, the principle of non-use of force has not been followed through in peacekeeping operations. For instance, UN mission in Congo in the 1960s, the French Operation Serval in Northern Mali, the African-led International Support Mission in Mali (AFISMA) in 2013 and the ECOMOG operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone and the African-led International Support Mission in Central African Republic (MISCA) all used force (Rood, 2014). However, the principle of impartiality is still upheld as those involved in peace operations are said to be impartial.

The issue regarding the changing nature of modern conflicts from occurring less between states to more within a state either to gain control of state power or for territorial separation (Rood, 2014) has prompted the adoption of multidimensional-multinational, multicultural and multilateral approach to peace operations (Hansen, Ramsbotham & Woodhouse (2001). Thus, rather than being stationed at the borders to create a buffer zone pending agreement of cease-fire, this new approach

of multidimensional peacekeeping operations, with several components functions differently. Consequently, its military component performs functions that include: Monitor and verify cease-fires, cantonment, disarmament and demobilisation of combatants, overseeing the withdrawal of foreign forces, mine-awareness education and mine-clearance, provision of security for UN and other international activities in support of the peace process; the Police component is charged with crowd control, establishment and maintenance of a judicial system, law enforcement, monitoring, training and advising local law enforcement authorities on organisational, administrative and human rights; The Civilian component having political, electoral, human rights and humanitarian elements(Hansen, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse (2001).

Overall, the mandates of multidimensional peacekeeping operations according to the UN Security Council cited in Rood (2014, p.24) include the following activities:

- i. “Contributing to security by means of Security Sector Reform (SSR) programme;
- ii. Enabling national governments to set up disarmament demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) programmes;
- iii. Strengthening the institutions of a state under the rule of law;
- iv. Providing rapid support in mine action;
- v. Supporting peace and political processes by providing good services, advice and assistance;
- vi. Contributing to the security required by providing humanitarian assistance and creating conditions required for the return of refugees and displaced persons;
- vii. Contributing to international efforts aimed at protecting human rights, including in terms of monitoring;
- viii. Protecting civilians, particularly those under imminent threat of physical violence;
- ix. Cooperating and coordinating efforts with the UN agencies, funds and programmes and other relevant partners in the field of economic development and;
- x. Supporting the participation of women in conflict prevention, conflict management and peace-building.”

Historically, peacekeeping, according Hansen, Ramsbotham & Woodhouse (2001) started in 1956 with the deployment of the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) to the Sinai Peninsula in response to the Suez crisis to monitor the cease-fire and the withdrawal of the British, French and Israeli forces from Egyptian territory. Hatto (2013, p.496) has, however, argued that even long before the 1956 “there were a large number of interposition operations between the two World Wars they only started to be formalised at the time of the UN operation in Suez in 1956.” Based on this notion, Wiseman cited in Hatto (2013) divides the development process of peacekeeping into four stages: the nascent period between 1946 and 1956; the assertive period from 1965 to 1967; the dormant period from 1967 to 1973; and the resurgent period between 1973 and 1978.

Since the resurgence, so many peacekeeping operations have been conducted majorly by the UN and some regional organisations across the world. Confirming this, the 2012 UN Fact Sheet cited in Kernic (2015), reveals that as at July 2012, “the UN is the World’s largest multilateral contributor to international peacekeeping and post conflict peacebuilding, deploying approximately 97,000 uniformed personnel (troops, military observers and police) from 119

countries in 16 UN-led peace operations on four continents.” Sandler (2017, p.1881), posits that the UN member countries contribute troops voluntarily and they are usually “compensated at a base rate of US\$1,332 per month for each of their troops or military police,” adding that “countries with inexpensive and poorly trained troops make a net gain by contributing their troops.” Outside the United Nations, Peacekeeping Operations (KPOs), Sandler (2017, p.1882) avers thus:

Non-UN PKOs really became important after 1990 and the initiation of three large-scale NATO-led peacekeeping missions: The Implementation Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1995–1996), SFOR also in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1996–2004), and KFOR in Kosovo (1999–present). Other non-UN PKOs include AU missions in Somalia and Sudan; ECOWAS missions in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Cote d’Ivoire; EU missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Macedonia; and ISAF in Afghanistan. Generally speaking, countries participating in non-UN PKOs cover their own troop and equipment costs; hence, such missions impose greater expense on participating countries than UN PKOs.

Within the UN system, the Security Council has the responsibilities to maintain peace and secure the world. So, whenever there is a threat to peace and security in any part of the world, the UN Secretary General will alert the members of the Council, who will pass a resolution based on the situation report of the Secretary General commissioning peacekeeping operation with specific mandates that are either renewed or extended from time to time pending when it is deemed appropriate to terminate the mission (UN, 2012).

The activities of peacekeeping are coordinated by the Department of Peacekeeping operations (DPKO) in conjunction with other organs and agencies of the UN for effective results. Peacekeeping operation has remained one vital conflict resolution/management mechanism as it offers countries in conflict security, political as well as peace building supports to transit from conflict to peace. It also assists, according to Holsti in Eme & Okeke (2011, p.282) in the: “Prevention of future conflicts or eruption of cold conflicts; Interposition by separating contestants and providing buffers; Restoration of a deteriorated situation; Preservation of a tenuous and threatened peace; Facilitation of political resolution; Protection of law and order, public safety and services; Enforcement of consensus of the Security Council; Punishment of violations of agreements or Security Council Resolution/decision.”

Peacekeeping Operations under the Auspices of International Organisations in Africa

There are many peace operations on-going on the African continent under the auspices of the United Nations and other bodies, such as the AU, ECOWAS, etc. The UN is usually the champion of these peace initiatives, however, other organisations have also been involved (Duursma et al, 2023). For instance, the AU and other regional bodies in Africa are in charge of 10 peacekeeping operations with 70,000 troops coming from 17 African countries (Allen, 2023, August 9).

Furthermore, at the close of 2023 over 131,000 forces were deployed to Africa on 15 major peace operations by different international and regional organisations.¹ The breakdown are as

follows: Western Sahara: United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Saharan (MINURSO) with 200 forces; Mauritania: Joint Forces by Group of Five States of Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger (JF-G5S) with 5,600 forces; Gambia: ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) with 8,000 forces; Mali: United Nations Multidimensional Stabilisation Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) with 9,217; European Union Training Mission (EUTM), 700; Guinea Bissau: Stabilisation Support Mission in Guinea Bissau (SSMGB) comprises 630 forces; Ghana: Accra Initiative with 10,000; Central African Republic: United Nations Multidimensional Stabilisation Mission in the Central Africa (MINUSCA) 16,924 forces, European Union Training Mission in Central African Republic (EUTM-RCA) 214, African Union Military Observer Mission in the Central Africa (MOUACA) with 34 forces and; Chad: Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) consisting of 10,000 forces;

Others are Democratic Republic of Congo: United Nations Multidimensional Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO) with 14, 649 forces, East Africa Community Force in the Democratic Republic of Congo, (EACDRC) comprising 12,000 forces; Sudan: United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA) with 3,112 forces; Ethiopia: African Union Monitoring Verification and Compliance Mission in Mekelle, Ethiopia (AUMVCM) with 10 forces; South Sudan: United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) 15, 441; Somalia: African Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS) with 22,000, European Union Naval Force Operation in Somalia (EU-NAVFOR) 600, and European Union Training Mission (EUTM) 209; Mozambique: the SADC Mission in Mozambique (SAMIM) 2,000; and Lesotho: Preventive Mission in the Kingdom of Lesotho (SAPMIL) with 269 Forces.

These and other operations in the past have no doubt contributed towards attaining their mandates. For instance, the UN Peace operation in Liberia disarmed more than 100,000 combatants, had about 21, 000 weapons protected, secured the repatriation of close to a million refugees before its termination in 2018. Similarly, the peace mission in Cote d'Ivoire commissioned in the wake of 2011 post election dispute, helped in resolving the dispute. Also, the Sierra Leone peace operations brought about the termination of the war, facilitated democratic transition, and enhanced peacebuilding (UN RC, 2023 October, 1).

Challenges facing Peacekeeping Operations in Africa

We all know that United Nations peacekeeping faces serious challenges, particularly in four of its largest deployments: Mali, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Central African Republic and South Sudan...peacekeeping missions now operate in far more dangerous, complex and high-risk environments. They are under threat from armed groups, criminals and terrorists who have access to powerful modern weapons. United Nations peacekeepers are often underequipped, underprepared and unready for the dangerous environments in which they now operate. There are gaps in command and control, culture, equipment and training. Peacekeepers are vulnerable and they are targeted for attack. Last year we lost 59 peacekeepers through malicious acts. That is a sharp increase over the figure for 2016, which was 34. I pay tribute to the fallen. We will never forget their sacrifice. Those figures are unacceptable and weigh on us all (Gutterres, 2018, p.2).

It is pertinent to note that peacekeeping operations in Africa are being confronted with challenges ranging from the unwillingness by the global community to embark on enforcement task, the over-dependent on the Super Powers' support in terms of finance and logistics, late deployment of troops to conflict zones, the inadequate pre-deployment training and plans, poor equipment, remuneration and mandates, asymmetric attacks, harsh environment of service, etc. (Mutiullah, 2013; MINUSMA Force Commander, 2015). We now take some of these and others.

Inadequate Funding

Every peace operation is a costly venture that needs a lot of funding to operate. For stance, it is estimated that in 2012 the cost of peacekeeping by UN, NATO, EU and others was \$9 billion of which UN alone accounted for \$7.2billion (Rood, 2014). Thus, financing peace operations has become a huge task that requires the regular contributions and the cooperation of the member states. Unfortunately, this has not been so. In fact, as demonstrated during the Congo Mission which consumed 20,000,000 US dollars annually for four years in the '60s (Norman & Perkins, 2007), some member countries, including France and Soviet Union could not contribute financially to the mission, claiming that it was not "their obligation to pay for peacekeeping operations which were not decided upon by the Security Council, where the veto obtained" (Palmer & Perkins, 2007, p.383).

Also, the UN Chief Scribe, according to Goldberg (2019, Jan. 23) "wrote to member states saying that UN peacekeeping only has enough cash on hand to fund two months of its operations." This, according to him, is because richer members of the UN that are responsible for most of the finances used in peace operations are not responding. And that Some of them either pay late or delinquent. The United States, which is the largest single financial contributor to UN peacekeeping, owes \$750 million in arrears. Again, Sandler (2017, p.1882) noted, "Countries participating in non-UN PKOs cover their own troop and equipment costs; hence, such missions impose greater expense on participating countries than UN PKOs." All this has affected successful peace operations in Africa.

Harsh weather condition, difficult terrain and unfamiliar battles

It was the UN Secretary General who first lamented "that the United Nations is operating in a new geopolitical context and faces threats that have not been encountered before in a peacekeeping context"(UNSC, 2013a, p.40). The picture of the unfamiliar terrain of northern Mali and how it affected the mission operations, including the transfer of logistics has been painted by Albrecht, Cold-Ravnskilde & Haugegaard (2017:36), thus:

The Mali North is difficult with impassable desert terrain where temperature can reach 55 degrees Celsius, carrying out convoy escort to the sector north is extremely demanding. Due to Mali's limited infrastructure, Gao is supply hub for both Gao and Kidal. To supply sector north, a convoy of 50-80 heavily loaded trucks departs from Gao two times per month to drive hundreds of kilometers through the desert on mission that usually takes from 10-14 days, and sometimes up to three weeks. In addition to breakdown and becoming stuck in the sand, the convoys are

frequently exposed to Improvised Explosive Devices (IED) and Ambush attacks from armed factions.

The above excerpt is just a tip of the ice berg as many peace operations on the continent have faced similar challenges given that the locations where these peace operations operates are not different from that of northern Mali.

Poor Equipment and Training of Troops

Adequate training and equipment for troops on peacekeeping operations are central to their successes. Modern conflicts are sophisticated in character, requiring super training and equipment. A situation where these are lacking as it is today with peace operations in Africa, cannot guarantee the peace and security of the continent. To make the matter worst, the UN depends on the Troops Contributing Countries (TCC) to UN mission to perform these tasks, thus: “it is critical they equip their contingents with the required armoured personnel carriers, including mine-protected vehicles, to minimize the exposure of personnel to threats and enable the mission to perform effectively” (UNSC, 2017). This, itself is a challenge because not all TCC are financially viable to perform these functions. Accordingly, when deployed, they under performed as seen in some operations like Somalia, Sudan, and Mali.

Sexual Abuse

The case of sexual abuse has become more common with the multidimensional peace missions (Hatto, 2013). The AU troops in Somalia, French and United Nations troops in Central Africa and the United Nations forces in the Democratic Republic of Congo all have cases of sexual abuses recorded against them (Wheeler, 2020, January 11). For instance, troops from Bangladesh, DRC, Morocco, Niger and Senegal on 29th January, 2016 were accused of sexual exploitation and abuse of minors totally 103 in Central African Republic (United Nations, 2016, January 29; Peacekeeping Initiative in Action, 2017, March). The trauma that usually accompanied the act is too horrible for victims to bear as some end up committing suicide leaving behind tears of sorrows in the families.

As Klobucista, & Ferraagamo (2023, December 12) have observed while peacekeeping has been applauded for protecting the civilians, they have raised doubt among scholars who contend that if care is not taken, the missions might become part of the challenges they are deployed to resolve, especially with regards to sexual violence and human rights abuse.

High Death Rate among Mission Personnel and Civilian Population

The challenge of securing the mission’s personnel during operations has been well documented in difference operations, including the UN/AU mission in Darfur which the mission’s inability to protect its own personnel caused the deaths of 89 peacekeeping personnel as of April, 2011 (Dagne, 2011); and the MINUSMA mission in Mali, which has been described as the deadliest mission in the whole world due to the high deaths rate of personnel resulting partly from poor pre-deployment training and others factors (BBC, 2015). Similarly, protection of the civilian

population, being the primary mandate of every peace operation in Africa has not been achieved (Duursma et al. 2023) in some of these operations.

Consent and Mandate

Consent in peace operations refers to “a commitment by the parties to a political process and their acceptance of a peacekeeping operation mandated to support that process” (Gregory & Sharland, 2023, p.10). The idea is to get the buy in of critical stakeholders in a conflict before troop deployments. However, it has been reported that troops are deployed to conflict zones without the concept of the parties to the conflict (Klobucista & Ferraagama, 2023, December 12). The UN Multidimensional missions such as MONUSCO, MINUSMA, and MINUSCA have consent issues as the UN views consent from the perspective of the States concerned and not the terrorists, fighting the states. So, the consents of the terrorists were not sought before troop deployments (Gregory & Sharland, 2023). This is not to say that the consent of the terrorists must be sought and obtained before actual deployment since they are deemed to be enemies of the state, the absence of this, has led to high casualties of troops deployed for operations in Africa.

For peace operations organised by AU, it has been reported that same difficulty in securing mandate had been witnessed owing to political underpinning. Paul Williams cited by Solomon (2017, p.66) provides the rationale for this, thus:

When the host state was a member of the AU Peace and Security Council or had friends on the council willing to support its position. This proved particularly important in two cases where primary conflict parties exercised influence over the terms of the mission mandate: Sudan in the case of the African Mission in Sudan (2004), and Ethiopia in the case of AMISOM (2006–2007).

The issue of consent is also associated with the kind of mandate a particular mission is to execute. For instance, governments in multidimensional Peace missions prefer a mandate with offensive drive that will enable the troops go after the enemies of the state rather than a defensive one. In a situation where that is not guaranteed consent becomes difficult (Gregory & Sharland, 2023). This probably explains why some missions in Africa are not enjoying both the support of the governments and their citizens. Besides, the mandates of most of the peace operations in Africa are unrealistic. For instance, the mandate of MONUSCO to protect civilians in Democratic Republic of Congo is unlikely owing to the difficulties in geography and terrain in moving troops (Klobucista, & Ferraagamo, 2023, December 12).

Lack of Interest

In 100 days, 800,000 Rwandans were killed yet despite their presence; the peace mission could not act to stop the killings (Klobucista & Ferraagama, 2023, December 12). This was purely due to lack of interest by those who were suppose to act. This speaks volume about what can happen when there is no interest to end a conflict via peacekeeping.

Dissatisfactions by people due to failed Expectations from Peace Operations

Peace operations have faced challenge of satisfaction from people due to unattained expectation. This has led to the several calls for their terminations. The case of MINUSMA in Mali is very handy. Since the deployment of this operation in April, 2013, the security situation in the country had remained volatile, prompting the state to call for its withdrawal by 31st December, 2023, and was approved by the resolution 2690/2023 of the Security Council (UN RC, 2023 October, 1)

Others challenges include: human rights abuse, late deployment of troops due to lack of consensus among the stake holder like the case of AFISMA, geopolitical interest of these five (5) Members: US, China, Russia, Britain and France in UN the Security Council.

CONCLUSION

International organisations are non-state actors that are actively involved in conflict resolution/management through peacekeeping across the world. In African, due to incessant conflicts, many peace operations have been deployed by these organisations to ensure peace and stability on the continent. Unfortunately, a lot of challenges have crippled this laudable effort. This paper identified these impediments to include to poor funding, sexual abuses, human rights violation, harsh weather condition, difficult terrain and unfamiliar battles, Poor Equipment and Training of Troops, High Death Rate among Mission Personnel and Civilian Population, unrealistic mandates. These challenges need to be addressed in order to bring an end to the conflicts on the continent.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To do this, the paper recommended the following ways forward:

1. Peace operations should be properly funded by members of the international organisations to enable them perform better.
2. Though the UN has taken actions against the case of sexual abuse by troops by withdrawing 450 peacekeepers from CA, this ought to have been followed with concrete action to see that they are prosecuted to serve as deterrence to others
3. The UN and other international organisations involved in peace operations should not abdicate the responsibility of training, arming, and deployment of troops to TCC alone. They should rather partner them to ensure the troops well-fitted and ready for the assignment before deployment to avoid high casualties.
4. Modern conflicts have assumed several dimensions, including guerrilla warfare and asymmetrical attacks that are unpredictable. As such, troops are to be trained on how to identify modern devices like EODs, IEDs and landmines.
5. Since it is impossible to change the harsh weather conditions and terrains where peace operations are on-going, troops should be rotated regularly to avoid fatigue.
6. All troops contributed to UN peace operations are paid by the TCC which the UN is meant to reimburse at the approximate rate of \$1,400 at monthly per individual

peacekeeper. This should be paid promptly to enable the troop cater for their families they left behind.

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