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The United Nations Peace Keeping Operations and Governance in Africa

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Abstract

Peace is the utmost desire of all individuals, groups, society and communities the world over. This work is on one of the Peace mechanisms of the United Nations to enhance international peace and security, because the UN Charter Provision is based on the known fact that conflict and peace are central features of international relations. The theoretical framework for this work was the collective security doctrine that has been entrenched globally especially with the establishment of the League of Nations in 1919 and carried forward to the United Nations in 1945. The theory revolves around the principle that all nation shares primary interest in maintaining peace, and a threat to peace anywhere is a threat to peace everywhere. The United Nations has continued to use the instrumentality of about twenty-one outlined Peace Support Operations to advance its core values by intervening in the numerous intra-State conflict and violence in Africa. These operations were in the Congo, Angola, Somalia, Mozambique, Rwanda, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, Burundi, Sudan and others, aimed at restoring peace and stability through enhancement of democrative values and institution building in these post conflict States. Notwithstanding the successes of these operations, the work recommends among others, the development of an African-centric, longer-term approach that would consider African priorities rather than Western goals and identity, that will propagate the ideals of peace, democracy and good governance in the continent.

Keywords: *United Nations, Peace Keeping, Governance, Africa*

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Background to the Study

The United Nations (UN) was created with the primary purpose to maintain international peace and security after the alarming threats from the First and Second World Wars. In pursuit of this objective, the UN Charter introduced controls to eliminate or reduce the use of Force, and put up numerous mechanisms to settle disputes including an international force fundamentally to maintain peace and security. The Charter also made provisions for the resolution of economic and social problems as well as the promotion of human rights as a principal issue in international Cooperation. Peace, by definition is not just the absence of war, but an atmosphere of tolerance, harmonious co-existence and mutual development. Peace is a condition in which there is no conflict, that individuals and groups are able to meet their needs and expectations. Peace is a process that address not only issues of conflict, but also deeper issues of relationships, human development and structural realities. Peace is thus, both the absence of conflict, harmony in the society and way of life for individuals.

Peace process Encompasses-Peace-keeping, Peace-enforcement, Peace-making and Peace-building. Peace-keeping involves the use of Peace-keepers to keep conflicting parties apart and reduce conflict. The UN has all practical mechanisms for the attainment of international peace and security. The UN charter provision is made on the known fact that conflict and peace are central features of international relations. To achieve this goal, the United Nations (UN) set up various institutional mechanisms resulting in the establishment of Peace-Keeping Force, basically for the management and resolution of conflicts as they arise in the international community. The United Nations Peace-keeping role, falls under the department of Peace Operations.

In response to the evolving trend in the international system, multidimensional Peace-keeping operations are called upon, not only to maintain peace and security, but to also facilitate political dialogue, protect civilians, assist in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, support the organization of elections, protect and promote human rights and assist in restoring the rule of law. All these goals are captured in most of the United Nations Peace-Operations in Africa. However, the task of Peace-keeping Operations cannot be divorced from governance, which is just the action or manner of governing a State, organization, community, tribe, territory etc. Governance is the exercise of power or authority by political leaders for the wellbeing of their citizens and subjects. Governance is a continuous process through which conflicting and diverse interests are accommodated. The absence of these vital ethics for governance, constitutes the root cause of crisis in most African States.

Africa is the world's second largest and second most populous continent, after Asia, who share same colonial experience. The African continent is surrounded by the Mediterranean Sea to the North, the Isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea to the North East, the Indian Ocean to the South and the Atlantic Ocean to the West. Africa is the most centrally located continent in the world. African Union (AU), a successor organization to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) is the regional organization through which African States address their common concern in the increasingly globalized world. In Africa as it is in every region, it is the quality

and characteristics of governance that shape the level of peace and stability. It is governance that determines the strategic links between the States and the Society as well as the legitimacy of the exercise of authority.

According to Crocker 2019, governance also has an important regional dimension relating to the institutional structures and norms that guide a region's approach to challenges that in turn shape its political culture. There is a weak social compact between States and Society in many African States because of colonial experiences. Less than 20% of African's States achieved Statehood following rebellion or armed struggle, while for others, independence flowed from peaceful transfers of authority from colonial officials to African political elites. The Cold War politics supported an external orientation in African politics. Africans define themselves in terms of multiple identities including regional, tribal, clan based and religious lines. This has also made conflict trends in Africa very complex in which politics and violence flow together and ultimately impacting on governance. The aim of this paper is to analyze United Nations Peace-keeping Operations in Africa to determine their impacts on governance in the States.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study is the collective security doctrine. Collective security is a doctrine of mutual self-preservation between States which commit themselves to unite against any threat to the independence and territorial integrity of member States. The sense of collective security will only arise among States that share certain fundamental principle in common and see to the maintenance of the status quo. Collective security is a doctrine of collective self-defense. A peaceful atmosphere by virtue of its inherent mutuality of interests, ensures that the problem of one could be viewed as a concern of the collectivity and as such creates the conditions for their solution. The method by which these conditions are created varies, but the most outstanding fact is the cultivation of peace forces in the society as well as the active participation in the peace movements, which is the anchor of this work (Igwe, 73 and 316-317).

According to Ogonor (2000), Collective Security "is an old theory of global pacification, dating back to certain aspects of the Amplicityonic Council of Ancient Greece and the Truce of God in the middle Ages". It has been entrenched at the global level with the establishment of the League of Nations in 1919, and the United Nations in 1945. The theory revolves around the principle that all nations share primary interest in maintaining peace and a threat to peace anywhere is a threat to peace everywhere. The United Nations strongly believes in the assumption that threats to peace anywhere must be treated as the concern of all in the collective search for peace (Chukwu, 2016. 4-5). The idea of collective security may not have perfectly kept to the imagination of its theoreticians, but has certainly prevented another scourge of war or the so much dreaded spectra of a Third World War.

For Organski (1958,) the idea of collective security is to provide and reject all forms of aggression in international relations. Inis (1962) see collective security as a specialized instrument of international politics intended to forestall the arbitrary and aggressive use of force in international relations. According to him "the stock in trade of collective security is

diplomatic, economic and military sanctions to induce rational decision and avoid threatened damage to national interest". Collective security assumes the satisfaction of an extra ordinary complex network of requirements which might involve the sacrifice of national interests. The collective security doctrine has so prevailed in the international arena. The importance of the idea can be found in the fact that Regional Bodies like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) have devised mechanism in this line.

The United Nations and the Collective Security Principle

The United Nations emerged in 1945 as a successor to the League of Nations after the Second World War. The United Nations was born in the era of serious world conflict. According to Obiozor (1998) the creation of the United Nations was basically as a result of World War II and the desire of the victorious Allied Leaders to have a mechanism for the peaceful settlement of international disputes and with the primary purpose of avoiding another World War by keeping the defeated Axis power in check if not in bondage. With the end of World War II, it was obvious that a new world arrangement was necessary through an effective international organization that will synchronize the activities of various government. The primary aims of the United Nations are contained in the preamble of the charter and chapter 1, Article 1 of the charter stated the purposes and principles of the United Nations to include:

1. To maintain International Peace and Security by taking effective collective measures for prevention and removal of threats to the peace.
2. To develop friendly relations among States based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.
3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of economic, social etc.
4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of states in the attainment of those common ends.

The charter introduced new controls to eliminate or reduce the use of force in international relations and various mechanisms to settle disputes (Obiozor and Ajala 1998 1-6). Since its emergence in the aftermath of the humanitarian tragedies that accompanied the end of the second World War in 1945, the United Nations has been involved in the management of both international and domestic conflicts. The era of the Cold War which witnessed unprecedented race among the super powers in the essentially bi-polar international system, led to stockpiling arms including nuclear arms that encouraged more inter-state conflict. The United Nations has continued to use the instrumentality of Peace Support Operations to Advance its core values by intervening in the numerous intra-state conflict and violence. The whole essence of the United Nations effort is to evolve a consensus in resolving conflicts and ensuring collective security. Once the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) ascertains a breach of the peace, it has the legal right to authorize the use of force, and member States are obligated under the collective security mechanism to enforce it. The purpose of the United Nations Peace-keeping is strictly the collective investment in global peace, security and stability. Peace-keepers protect civilians, actively prevent security and empower national authorities to assume these responsibilities.

Conceptual Clarifications

The Concept of Peace and Peace-Keeping

Peace in International relations is the harmonious coexistence of States. Peace is the reciprocal toleration and co-operative understanding for the achievement of common aims within or between groups. Peace expresses harmony and mutual benefits. It requires the co-operation of Parties in the solution of common tasks. Peace is not necessarily the opposite of war, but is opposed to war, such that peace remains the greatest heritage a nation may pass to her future generations. To seek peace obviously is to seek the advancement of the human race, where contradictions of nature and society creates real problems of existence that survival requires cooperation and assistance of others. Here lie the collective security doctrines.

According to Gumut, 2006, peace is built through processes of encounter and reflection that address not only practical issues of conflict but also deeper issues of relationships, human development and structural realities. A culture of peace is built from values, attitudes, behaviors' and ways of life based on non-violence, respect for life, liberty, justice, solidarity, tolerance, human rights, equality of men and women, culture, race, religion and respect for others. Gumut, 164-183.

Peace is primarily concerned with the creation and maintenance of a just order in society. According to Galtung 1990, peace is either negative or positive. When peace is negative, it means the absence of direct violence, war, fear and conflict at individual, national, regional and International levels. Peace is positive when in addition to all the above, also includes the absence of unjust structures, unequal relationships, justice and inner peace at the individual level. Peace is both the absence of conflict, harmony in the society and a way of life for individuals (Bakut. 2006, 234-236).

Peace is a process and embodies Peace-keeping, Peace-maintenance, Peace-making, Peace-building and Peace-enforcement. Peace keeping is an important preliminary stage in some conflict de-escalation, in which a buffer force is raised either by an impartial State or Body for the purpose of keeping apart parties that have agreed to a ceasefire, possibly also supervising the withdrawal of troops. Many criticize Peace-keeping operations as a fire-fighting approach to conflict management, but this is not in the light of this work. Peace-making is the application of the principles of Peace-maintenance to cease-fire situation, with rewards for compliance and sanctions for non-abidance with the agreements or decisions. Peace-making reinforces cease-fire for stable peace. For a sustained Peace-keeping conditions, the following must be put in place;

1. Precise guidelines and clear operational mandates for the peace-keepers.
2. Adequate financial and other logistical support for the force.
3. Strict confinement to peace keeping and operational guidelines.
4. Good domestic support for the external intervention especially in a large territory where a guerrilla activity might erupt.
5. Peace-keeping force must actually be seen to be impartial.
6. There must be a reasonable degree of balanced understanding by the peace keepers, especially their commanding officers of the issues at stake as well as the tradition and cultures of such lands.

7. The peace-keepers must be legitimate i.e. accepted by the important elements of the domestic and International Community as just, humane, working by civilized norms and standards.
8. Parties involved in the conflict must consent to the operations. (Igwe, 318-319).

The Concept of Governance

Governance is simply the action or manner of governing a State, organization, community, tribe, territory etc. Governance comprises all of the processes of governing. Governance is the way that organizations or countries are managed at the highest level. For the British Council, Governance refers to a process whereby elements in society wield power, authority and influence and enact policies and decisions, concerning public life and social upliftment. The World Bank's idea of governance is anchored on political and economic liberalization on the basis of greater state responsiveness and accountability for political stability and economic development.

Governance is commonly defined as the exercise of power or authority by political leaders for the well-being of their country's citizens or subjects. It is the complex process whereby some sectors of the society wield power and enact policies which directly affect human and institutional interactions, and economic and social development, ultimately aimed at the common good. Governance by this, is the proper and effective utilization of resources. Governance relates to the processes of interaction and decision making among the actors involved in a collective problem that lead to the creation, reinforcement, or reproduction of social norms and institutions. Governance is the way rules, norms and actions are structured, sustained, regulated and held accountable.

The Commission on Global Affairs 1995 defined governance as the sun total of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private manage their common affairs. Governance is a continuing process through which conflicting and diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative actions taken. Governance cannot be separated from the political system and government, for the hall mark of effective government and the political system finds expression in governance. Governance comprises the complex mechanism, processes, relationships and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interest, exercise their rights and obligations and manage their differences (Abe 2010). It is the totality of the process of conducting the affairs of a polity. It takes into account the way the people articulate their interest and pass it on to the government and how the government, in turn, provides the solution through its various institutions. Osman (2010) observes that governance entails the role of government in creating the framework for the activities of economic development and in making decisions about the distribution of benefits, as well as the nature of the relationship between the government and governed.

The general attributes of governance include accountability, transparency, efficiency, effectiveness, promotion of rule of law, participation, trust, responsibility and equitable administration at all levels of government. The absence of these tenets, constitutes the root causes of crisis in most African States. The political elites use it as a barrier to resort to ethnic,

religious and regional appeal that inflames primordial identities of the masses. According to Piper 2007, the ethos of governance is inclusion and co-operation among a variety of role-players sharing a common goal in a complex web of diffused and dynamic political processes often resulting in conflicts of interests. Thus, the ethos of governance according to Piper 2007, is inclusion and co-operation among a variety of role-player sharing a common goal, in a complex web of diffused and dynamic political processes, often resulting in conflicts of interests; a true picture of African States.

Africa and Conflict Management

Coser 1956, defines Conflict as a struggle between two or more people over values and claims to status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. According to him, conflict emerges whenever one party perceives that one or more goals or purposes or means of achieving a goal or preference is being threatened or hindered by the activities of one or more parties. Conflict notably is an obstacle to progress, political stability and economic prosperity because of its destructive impact. This is the situation of African States. Africa was initially bedeviled by subsisting anti-colonial conflicts and wars of national liberation and later cold war related conflicts and the persisting conflicts over political participation, access to resources and ethnic identity. Africa as a continent has been bedeviled with variety of upheavals in degree and intensity that have kept the continent in various intra and inter State conflicts.

Conflicts erupted into ethnic warfare in Central Africa, Zaire, Burundi and Rwanda. There were armed uprising in Northern Ugandan, civil war in Sudan and border conflicts between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Somalia has remained in crisis inspite of attempts to calm it. In Southern Africa, Lesotho witnessed an armed uprising. Angola was also in turmoil. In West Africa, Liberia was engulfed in civil war, while rebels embattled Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissan. Cote d'Ivoire also experienced armed rebellion. Given the frequency of intra-State conflicts on the continents, Africa has been a key challenge to the United Nations efforts in peace operation. A disturbing dimension of peace operation in Africa is the increasing complexity of the conflicts that have exposed the peace-keepers to physical harm. The peacekeepers are compelled not only to deal with irregular forces and rogue elements, but also armed militia usually with very sophisticated firepower that overwhelm the Peace-keepers in most cases. The signing of peace agreements or ceasefires no longer meant an end to violence as in Somalia, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Bosnia where ceasefire were broken after signing. In all cases, the Peace-keepers were confronted with all kinds of violence. National, regional, and local leaders as well as warlords and armed groups were involved. All these make peace-operations in intra-State conflicts in Africa multifarious and risky that managing these conflicts have posed a serious challenge to the Africa Continent.

The number of peace-operations in Africa has grown dramatically in the last five years. The United Nations leads eight peace-operations in Africa, in Burundi, Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, the Western Sahara and Sudan. These African Mission account for over 80 percent of all United Nations peace-keepers deployed worldwide. Of the eight missions in Africa, seven began after 1999,

supported by roughly 49,000 United Nations peace- keepers. More troops are still being canvassed for the mission in Sudan. Of the projected United Nations Peace-keeping costs for 2004-2005, about 70 percent are associated with missions in Africa. Many of these operations are complex and multidimensional. (Galadima 2006, 295-296.)

United Nations Peace Keeping Operations

1. **United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC).** This is one of the largest Peace-keeping Operations of the UN with a large personnel of over 20,000. The primary mandate was to help the Congolese government restore law and order and ensure the withdrawal of Belgian forces from the territory. ONUC succeeded in maintaining the independence and territorial integrity of Congo. The ONUC has continued in activities of reconstruction and development of Congo. (UMDPKO. HTTP:// www.un.org/Depts/dpko).
2. **The United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM).** The first of this Mission sprang from the 1988 New York agreements for a regional Peace settlement in Southern Africa. The task was to verify the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola in accordance with the timetable established in a bilateral agreement between the governments of Cuba and Angola.
3. **The United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II).** This Mission was established by the UNSC Resolution 696 (1991) following the Secretary-General's recommendations for a period of 17 months until the general elections in 1992. The UNAVEM II observers were to visit Police facilities, examine activities of the Police and if necessary, investigate alleged violations of political rights.
4. **The United Nations Angola Verification Missions III (UNAVEM III).** Established in 1995 to assist the parties in Angola in restoring Peace and achieving national reconciliation from the 1991 "Acordos de paz" and the Lusaka protocol. Angola had been in a power struggle between the two liberation Parties; People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola MPLA and UNITA – National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.
5. **The United Nations Operations in Somalia I. (UNOSOM I).** Established in April 1992 with 40 unarmed but uniformed UN military observers to engage in consultations with the warring parties in Somalia and stationed in operational zones. Additional technical team with 3 logistical units were also established. The first group of security personnel, the United Task Force **(UNITAF)** arrived Mogadishu on September 1992, made up of personnel from over 20 States. UNITAF had a positive impact on the security situation in Somalia.
6. **The United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II)** with mandate to monitor the commitment of the factions to respect all agreements consented to restore Peace in Somalia.
7. **The United Nations Operation in Mozambique (OMUMOZ).** Established to help implement the peace deal, by monitoring the ceasefire, withdrawal and demobilization of foreign force, providing technical assistance as well as monitoring the national electoral process.

8. **The United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG)**. A political operation established in February 1989, to assist the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to ensure the early independence of Namibia through a free and fair elections. It also had the mandate to monitor the ceasefire between the South West African People's Organization **(SWAPO)** and the South Africa military, whose presence in Namibia posed a security threat.
9. **The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR)**. Established in October 1993 to assist implement the Arusha Peace Agreement signed between the warring parties and ensure the security of the capital city. The mandate also included to monitor the ceasefire. The UNSC passed several Resolutions that addressed unfolding events in the peace process in Rwanda also covering humanitarian assistance because of the dimensions of the crisis in the State.
10. **The United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR)**. Established on the Uganda side of the common border with Rwanda in June 1993. It was to verify transit or transport by roads or tracks of vehicles carrying lethal weapons and ammunitions and any other material for military use across the border.
11. **United Nations Aouzou Strip Observer Group (UNASOG).** A reconnaissance team established in April 1994, made up of 9 military observers and 6 International Civilian Staff.
12. **The United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO).** Established in April 1991 to monitor the ceasefire agreement between Morocco and the Frente Polisaro troops. Its mandate was to also verify the reduction of Moroccan troops, as well as supervise and ensure a free and fair referendum for the area.
13. **The United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC).** Following the Lusaka ceasefire Agreement between the Democratic Republic of the Congo and five regional States, the MONUC was set up in November 1990 to maintain liaison with the Parties and carry out other Peace enhancement tasks.
14. **The United Nations Observer Missions In Liberia (UNOMIL)**. The first Liberian Civil war from 1989-1997 brought in the UNOMIL in 1993 to assist in the implementation of peace-agreements, and monitor the ceasefire and human rights violations as well as follow up the electoral process among other matters.
15. **The United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)**. Replaced the smaller **UN Observer Mission** (UNOMSIL) in October 1999. It was a complex, peace-enforcement operation with mandate to provide security in key areas of the country, assist in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programs as well as facilitate law enforcement efforts and the delivery of humanitarian assistance.
16. **The United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE)** was established in June 2000 after the signing of a ceasefire agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Their mandate was to verify the cessation of hostilities and monitor the border between the two states. UNMEE was the first deployment of a multinational Standby Force High Readiness Brigade (SHIBRIG) created in response to the report of the panel on United Nations Peace Operation from the continuing tension between the two States.

17. **The United Nations Mission in Cote d' Ivoire (MINUCI)** was established in May 2003 to facilitate the implementation by the Ivorian Parties of the Linas-Marcousis Agreement. They were to assist in building confidence and trust between the armed groups in co-operation with the French and ECOWAS forces.
18. **The United Nations Operation in Cote d'Ivoire (UNOCI)**. With the MINUCU in Cote d'Ivoire, and having determined that the situation there continued to pose a threat to international peace and security in the region, and acting under chapter VII of the UN Charter, the **UMOCI** was established and authorized to use all necessary means to carry out its mandate, within its capabilities and its areas of deployment. The establishment of **UMOCI** represented a transition to a full complex UN Peace-keeping mission. (Galadima 2005 *pp*306-312).
19. **The United Nations Mission in Liberia. (UNMIL)**. Took over from an ECOWAS Peace-keeping force in 2003, with mandate to monitor ceasefire by training local police, maintain law and order, facilitate the provision of humanitarian assistance, assist the interim government for a free election, assist with demobilization, disarmament, reintegration and repatriation programs.
20. **The United Nations Mission in Burundi (ONUB)** established in May 2004 to work with the Africa Union (AU) Mission in Burundi (AMIB) in the face of the decades of the civil war in Burundi. The mandate was to support and implement the efforts undertaken by Burundians to restore lasting peace and facilitate national reconciliation as provided under the Arusha Agreement.
21. **The United Nations Mission in the Sudan. (UNMIS).** With the continued threat of the situation in Sudan to International Peace and security, the Security Council, by Resolution 1590 of 24th March 2005 established **UNMIS** to support implementation of the comprehensive Peace Agreement signed by the government of Sudan and the Sudan's People's Liberation Movement. Mandate was to perform certain functions relating to humanitarian assistance and protect and promote human rights. Galadinma 2005. 312-316.

Conclusion

In fulfillment of its primary responsibility to maintain world peace and security, the United Nations has put so many mechanisms to realize this goal. Peace in international relations is the harmonous co-existence of States that a threat to peace in one State impacts on other State and the world, in view of the globalized nature of the world today. The interconnected and interdependent world we live today, makes the issue of peace a global concern. To seek peace is to promote the advancement of the human race that requires cooperation and assistance of others. The United Nations Peace Operations is to enhance and promote these ideals. These efforts of the United Nations come in Peace-keeping, Peace-enforcement, Peace-making and Peace-building, all aimed at restoration of a conducive atmosphere for development.

Governance as the way and manner that organizations and states are managed can only be effective in a peaceful atmosphere. The exercise of power and authority by political leaders for the wellbeing of their citizens cannot be properly executed in an atmosphere of conflict, where people are in struggles over values and rights. Africa has been in the midst of conflicts from

colonial conflicts to the persisting conflicts over political participation, access to resources and ethnic identity as have been in Zaire, Burundy, Sudan. Somalia etc. United Nations peace keeping operations have been on going in Africa mostly from the period of Colonial rule. Operations in the Congo, Namimbia, Angola, Mozambique, Somalia, Sudan, Rwanda had colonial baggage, unlike those in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia and Eritrea and the Central African Republic. Most of the conflicts threatened the stability of the States and obstructed the rule of law. Governance anchored on democrative values as human rights, rule of law, accountability which has become a global project that the United Nations system and other multi-lateral institutions are advancing, are very vital to Africa's development.

The United Nations Peace Support Operations as seen in the States, were to restore peace and stability to States under civil strife and violence as in Congo, Rwanda, Burundi etc. The end goal was the restoration of democratic values, as support to democratic governance and institutions building in post- conflict countries. This has become a central component of UN'S efforts at building sustainable peace grounded in the conviction that peace, development and democracy are intertwined. It is primarily for this reason that elections that have in the past served predominantly as an exit strategy are now seen as providing an opportunity for institution building and the introduction of programmes of good governance. This is seen in most of the UN Peace Supports Operations in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Burundy, Mozambique, Rwanda etc. The UN to an extent has played intermediary role as an agent of trust building made possible by the military stalemate within the states. It is the frequency of these conflicts in Africa that have been a key challenge to the United Nations efforts at peace-operations. The nature of conflicts in Africa has made peace-operations in Africa multifarious and risky. Notwithstanding, the United Nations have recorded real success in her peace-operations in Africa that have also aided governance in the continent.

Recommendations

In the face of the outstanding connections between peace-keeping and governance that the United Nations has championed in Africa, we make the following recommendations;

1. An alternative policy of peace-promotion and maintenance that will conscientize peoples and leaders on the need for peace, properly utilizing pacific mechanisms for conflict resolution.
2. Establishment of viable and sustainable political and institutional mechanism, because building sustainable peace in a post conflict society is obviously a long and fragile process.
3. Engagement of the United Nations in what the then UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan once called a "quiet revolution" of good governance as captured in his 1999 Report which called attention to a new strategy that encompass a broader understanding of post-conflict peace-building.
4. A radical reform of State and profound changes in the style of government because sustaining democratic peace requires in particular strengthening good governance and accelerating institutional reforms.
5. Repositioning of UN interventions to go through different stages according to the then UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali from "First to 'Second generation"

involvement, aimed at promoting an environment of democratic structure stability characterized by dynamic and representative political institutions capable of managing and resolving disputes without resorting to violence conflict.

6. Increased bureaucratic capacity-building in African institutions and development of an African-centric, longer-term approach that would consider African priorities rather than Western goals and identity.
7. Finally, a collective resolve by all Africans to share and propagate the ideals of peace, democracy and good governance as the true pillars of progress and human development.

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