

Contemporary Security Milieu: Is it the Right Time for a New United Nations?

By

Mbaraka Naziad Mkeremy¹

Abstract

The UN was established to maintain international peace and security. In fulfilling this responsibility, the UN adopts a range of measures, including use of diplomacy, Peacekeeping Operations (PKOs), laws, sanctions, negotiations and others. This article examines whether or not it is ripe for the world to have a new institution other than the (UN), which will effectively deal with contemporary and future security challenges. The key argument is that the UN has been failing to effectively fulfil its obligations despite various reforms, which have been taking place. Throughout the discussion, structural functional and neo-functionalism theories have been employed. Data for preparations of the article were collected in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Tanzania by involving respondents with sufficient experience and knowledge on role of the UN in resolving conflicts. The study employed qualitative research approach in obtaining primary and secondary sources for secondary data. Purposive sampling technique was used, whereas in-depth interviews and documentary review were employed to collect data. The study found out that the current UN and its principles have not effectively been helpful in mitigating contemporary security challenges. It is projected that the future security environment will be highly complex and therefore, the current UN setup will not be useful in exercising its duties. Accordingly, it is recommended that the current UN needs to be replaced with a new institution.

Key words: armed groups, cold war, collective security, peacekeeping mandate, peacekeeping operations, security threats.

1.0 Introduction

The international community, regional organisations as well as individual countries have been struggling to resolve conflicts amicably and sometimes, turning them into an opportunity. After World War One [WWI (1914 - 1918)], the League of Nations was formed as collective means mainly to prevent other devastating World Wars, following The League of Nations that had been formed

¹ Tanzania People's Defence Forces

in 1919. For various reasons, the League of Nations failed and hence, the UN was formed to replace it. Lessons from League of Nations' failure informed formation of the UN. The UN has been instrumental in promoting global peace and security. The organisation has been using various approaches for restoration of peace and security such as diplomacy, Peacekeeping Operations (PKOs), laws, sanctions and so forth (UN, 1945a). Among others, PKOs have been the most effective ways in forging peace and security, especially after the Cold War.

During the Cold War period (1947-1991), the world witnessed increased interstate conflicts such as Ethiopia–Somalia War from February 1964 to April 1964 (Tareke, 2000), Uganda-Tanzania war from October 1978 to June 1979 (Roberts, 2014), Iran- Iraq War from 1980 to 1988 (Takeyh, 2010) and others. Equally, in the post-cold war period, we have witnessed intrastate conflicts such as those responsible for the collapse of the state in Somalia, conflicts in Rwanda, Burundi, Ethiopia, DRC, Central African Republic, Mali, and others ensued (Malone & Malone, 2004). In both periods, the UN played a great role to mitigate conflicts but in post-Cold War period, the UN's role increased and became highly complex.

Assessments show that for 78 years of its existence, the UN has been instrumental in resolving conflicts. It has managed to prevent another destructive World War like WWII or WWI by intervention through different means as mentioned and has significantly reduced interstate wars. The UN has prevented proliferation of nuclear warfare through International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), mediated conflicts such as Angola Civil war of 1975-2002; Mozambique civil war of 1977-1992; Bosnia War of 1992-1995; and others. Besides, it helped parties in conflict to engage in peace-making, facilitated deployment of peacekeeping forces such as the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) for Suez crisis of 1956-1967; the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) for Sierra Leone Civil War of 1999-2005; the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) for the second Sudanese civil war of 2005-2011 and others to world troubled spots.

Due to their effectiveness, PKOs have been acknowledged by some influential leaders and institutions. Autesserre (2019) commented that peacekeepers are up to now called “go-to” solution whenever a conflict erupts in the world. The then

US president, Barak Obama was convinced that UN PKOs are one of the world's most important tools to address armed conflicts (Obama, 2015). Furthermore, in 1988, the UN Peacekeeping mission was awarded the Nobel Prize for preventing armed clashes and creating conditions for peaceful negotiations worldwide (Norton & Weiss, 1991).

Despite those achievements, the UN has been facing setbacks in various aspects. Notwithstanding resolutions adopted and initiatives taken, the UN has not only failed to stop arms race (Liu, Zhang, & Ritchie, 2018), but also seems unable to effectively deal with contemporary security challenges such as dealing with terrorism. Adebajo and Landsberg (2000) note that apart from few achievements, most of PKOs have been failing, particularly to protect civilians. The perception of dilemma on UNPKOs, especially on their effectiveness, among scholars is not new: it started since 1990s (Fleitz & Fleitz Jr, 2002). It has been proven that the UN's promotion of peace and security through PKOs is largely ineffective and out-dated. It has limited capacity to deal with many intrastate and civil conflicts as manifested in African countries such as Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Central African Republic, Mali and others.

In recognition of this setback, the UN has been convening different panels of experts to assess and come up with recommendations on possible ways to improve its performance. However, reforms undertaken so far are far from contributing to improved UN's effectiveness as atrocities continue to rise. Hardwick (2011) provides that one of the biggest sources of UN's failure is antagonism between its permanent members of UN Security Council (SC), "P5," whereby they have been using veto power for protection of their respective national interests instead of collectively managing the problem. On the other hand, there are different and conflicting interests among troop contributing countries (TCCs) to participate in PKOs with financial benefits taking precedence (Jett, 2000).

Complexity of security challenges faced by the world today require a new approach if not a new institution to manage, other than the UN in its current form. The trend shows that the future security environment will increasingly be complicated with non-state actors such as terrorists expanding their operations. Conflicts are predicted to increase as world geopolitics is evidently shifting from

the unipolar to a multipolar world (Muzaffar, Yaseen & Rahim, 2017). The question that needs to be addressed is whether or not the UN and its current setup will be able to effectively mitigate the security challenge(s) the world is about to face.

This paper strives to assess whether or not it is the right time for the world to have alternative mechanism(s) to safeguard global peace and security beyond the UN framework that we have today. This is in line with its structure, functions even futuristic security problem. The article suggests that the UN needs to be replaced with a new institution with alternative leadership and approaches. The new institution will draw lessons from current UN's structure and functions in effectively dealing with contemporary and future security challenges we are about to face. Although scholars are dissatisfied with the UN's effectiveness, they do not want to remove the international body but replace it with the new one which will deal effectively with the contemporary security threats. This, in essence, will not be the first time, as it was previously done in 1945 when the UN replaced the League of Nations. Therefore, apart from already mentioned reasons, the history suggests the same. The article is divided into five sections. The first section sets out the background. Section two provides materials and methods used, while section three dwells on theoretical review. The UN and maintenance of global peace and security are presented in section three and section four provides discussions on replacing the United Nations and finally, the article ends with concluding remarks.

2.0 Materials and Methods

This article analyses whether or not it is right time to have a new institution to replace the current UN due to different weaknesses, which the present UN has shown, especially on maintenance of peace and security. Data for the preparation of this article were collected between January 2022 and June 2023 in the DRC and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The study involved senior and junior UN staff members including military commanders of the MONUSCO, some academicians, members of diplomatic core, and locals. The researcher used in-depth interviews by targeting key informants and documentary reviews to compile the needed data.

The study employed purposive sampling procedure, where samples were selected

based on their knowledge of PKOs, population characteristics and objective of the study. A total of 16 respondents comprising different sexes, ages, race, knowledge bases and expertise were involved. Data analysis of collected data was done using content analysis. Validity of the data collection tools was achieved through face validity where the data collection methods were crafted prior to application so as to detect whether or not they would measure what was intended to be measured.

3.0 Theoretical Review

Throughout this study, structural functionalism and neo-functionalism theories have been used. According to Chilcott (1998), structural functionalism was championed by Hebert Spencer (1820-1903) who argued that the UN is like a human body, made up of various states (parts of the human body) to keep it functioning. Similarly, Zenia Satti came with another viewpoint that the UN was formed mainly for maintenance of peace and security and must be reformed or replaced once these needs were not met (Satti, 1994). According to him, the League of Nations, which was formed as a collective security mechanism was replaced by the UN after its failure to meet its intended obligations (*ibid.*). This relates with structural functional theory whereby after League of Nations' failure, the UN was formed (Olaveson, 2001). Because of changes in security environment, gradual change of world hegemony and other factors, coupled with some failures of the UN in various areas, then it is the time for the UN to be replaced with a new institution (Satti, 1994).

Equally, neo-functionalism theory of integration is also linked to structural functional theory. According to Jensen (2013), integration of various aspects in society produces supranational institutions such as the UN, which will be given much authority and responsibility beyond the nation state level. These institutions, especially the UN play a great role in the maintenance of peace and security using different ways such as mediation. If these institutions fail to fulfil their objective(s), they can be reformed or replaced.

However, structural functional theory has been subjected to criticism. According to Holmwood (2005), the theory perceives that any form of immediate reforms or replacement is considered a deviation and is perceived as paradoxical in nature. This is not always the case, especially when reforms or changes are a result of

dysfunction of the institution like changes from League of Nations to UN. On the neo-functionalism theory of integration, Hamad (2016) commented that the theory has been criticized for simplifying possible resistance to integrations. Nonetheless, the presented criticisms do not warrant abandoning the selected theories because, for the studied problem, they are valid.

4.0 The United Nations and Maintenance of Global Peace and Security

This section discusses roles of the UN in maintenance of global peace and security. To recall, the UN was established to maintain international peace and security (UN, 1945). In fulfilling this obligation, the UN used to adopt a range of measures, including the use of diplomacy, supporting in the deployment of PKOs, laws, sanctions, and many kinds of negotiations. De Jonge Oudraat (1996) opined that the UN, through its Security Council (SC), has adopted several resolutions to support peace process, resolve conflicts as well as deployed PKOs, enforced sanctions where peace and security has been threatened and instituted other measures.

Global conflicts have been changing, depending on the period. The Cold War period (1947-1991) witnessed an increase in interstate conflicts (Jervis, 2001). During that period, relations between countries were divided in response to two ideological blocs built on mistrust and suspicion. After the Cold War, new types of security challenges emerged mainly further intensifying intrastate conflicts. Examples of countries that experienced intrastate conflicts include the DRC from 1960 to date (Mertens, 2023); Angola since her independence in 1975 until 2002 (Dulley & Sampaio, 2020); Namibia from 1966 to 1990 (Gowan & Stedman, 2018); and others. The number and intensity of emergent interstate armed conflicts, especially in parts of Africa have since declined by as much as 40 per cent and the intrastate conflicts have increased by 32.2 per cent (UCDP, n.d). The UN has deployed 72 PKOs from 1948 to 2019. But from 2000 to 2019 only, there were 20 UN PKOs (UN, 2019a).

The UN played a crucial role in supporting peace initiatives since its inception. The organisation has been involved in almost all major wars such as Korean War of 1950-1953 and other wars (Sandler, 2014). Because of the UN's involvement, the UN and other actors managed to stop the Cuban Missile crisis of 1962, one of the most dangerous conflicts in the twentieth century (Allison, 1969).

Sometimes the UN uses mediation and has mediated several conflicts. For example, the UN managed to mediate the warring parties in Libya that resulted to deployment of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) in 2020 (UN, 2020). The UN may sometimes consolidate peace using the UN Peace Building Commission (PBC), which brings together different actors to the peace process (UN, 2015a).

The UN also uses its organs to forge global peace and security. Fischer (1997) presents that the UN, through the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), has served as the world's nuclear inspector in ensuring that nuclear materials are used only for peaceful purposes. The agency initiated and supervised different treaties such as Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty [NPT (1968)], Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty [(START) 1991], Treaty on Prohibition of nuclear weapons (2017), Strategic Offensive Reduction Treaty [(SORT) 2002] and others. Through those treaties, the UN has promoted safe, secure and peaceful use of nuclear energy to all its 164 member states. Through disarmament, the UN has signed treaties with about 92 member states on the Chemical Weapons Convention of 1997 (Üzümcü, 2014), which aimed at eliminating all categories of weapons of mass destruction by forbidding development, productions, acquisitions, stockpiling, retention, transfer or use of chemical weapons by member states. Moreover, the UN assists countries in destroying stockpiled landmines and advocates for full international participation in treaties related to landmines.

The UN has also been using different measures to prevent genocide. In this, the UN adopted a treaty for combating genocide, the Genocide Convention Act (UN, 1948). The treaty provides for prevention and punishment for actions of genocide in war and in peacetime. The UN tribunals for Yugoslavia and Rwanda, as well as UN-supported courts in Cambodia, have put would-be genocide perpetrators on notice that such crimes would no longer be tolerated (Adams, 2018). Sanction is also used by the UNSC to restore international peace and security under Chapter VII of the UN Charter (Gowlland-Debbas, 2021). The UN has imposed sanctions on countries such as Angola, Lebanon, DRC, Rwanda, Iran, and others (UN, 2023a). The UNSC has been using sanctions to force for peaceful overnment transition as well as to dispel terrorism and protect human rights (UN, 2023c).

Moreover, the UN came up with a strategy of improving the lives of people in the world by the project known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). According to World Vision (2015), in the UN Millennium summit of 2000, leaders of the 189 countries agreed to come up with eight measurable targets to be fulfilled before 2015 for improving the life of people. The UN also invented a comprehensive strategy to fight the world's greatest challenges soon after completion of the MDGs in 2015. The strategy is known as Sustainable Development Goals [(SDGs) Mehta *et al.*, 2018]. About 17 goals have to be achieved for a better and sustainable future by 2030.

While this article acknowledges contributions of the UN in resolving conflicts, it is also a fact that the UN is one of organisations which are failing to achieve its objectives effectively. Its history has been dominated by failures, divisions and multifaceted scandals that have been and cannot be described in a single case (Gardiner, 2007). There are many examples of the failures of UN. The UN has not managed to fully resolve conflicts between Israel and Palestine since 1948, resulting to about 165,000 people's deaths from 1947 to 2022 (SIPRI, 2022). Besides, the Kashmir conflict in India has not been resolved, to date. The Conflict between India and Pakistan has not been resolved since 1947 (Agibalova, 2020).

On the other side, the UN was unsuccessful in preventing Cambodia Genocide from 1975 to 1979 whereby more than two million people (approximately 25 %) of the country were killed (Kiernan, 2012). According to Falk (2000), the Iraq war presents a distinct ineffectiveness of the UN. It failed to prevent war and then it futilely took no action against the United States of America (USA/US) after being proved that Iraq had no weapons of mass destruction, which was the reason for US intervention in Iraq. Additionally, the UN has failed to mitigate Russia-Ukraine conflicts, which have led into war. Moreover, the UN was invisible in dealing with Taliban regime, which took Afghanistan on 21st August 2021 after the end of US Operations in Afghanistan. More than 90 per cent of people in the country are suffering from some form of food insecurity (Yousaf, & Moheb, 2021).

The UNPKOs, which have been major instruments of forging global peace, appear to be failing. Even in areas in which PKOs may be termed as successful, actually the attained peace is always for short-term and the countries fall back to

wars as well as conflicts. From UN PKOs' failure in Rwanda and Bosnia in the 1990s, the history of PKOs is covered by failures in many areas. The UN forces in DRC have been among the largest and most expensive peacekeeping forces in the world (Spooner, 2010). The DRC has long been a testing ground for evolving UN PKOs. It was in DRC that PKOs received one of the first Chapter VII mandates and it is the first mission, which has been approved to use unmanned aerial vehicles for surveillance purposes (Gberie, 2013). Despite those initiatives, violence still goes on with murder, rape, torture, and other inhuman actions that are on an increase. The report from the UN Joint Human Rights Office (UNJHRO) noted that more than 1,300 people were killed from January to June 2020 by armed groups (AGs) in the DRC, three times more than in the same period in 2019 (UNJHRO, 2020).

In Sudan (Darfur), the conflict took lives of more than 30,000 civilians, more than one million internally displaced and there are over 20,000 refugees in camps across the neighbouring Chad (Allen, 2010). The UN deployed the joint United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) in 2007 (Lugman, 2012). Though the UNAMID operations were closed on 31st December 2020, guns have not completely been silenced in Darfur (UN, 2021). The HRW (2021) alluded that two weeks after closure of UNAMID (16th January 2021), 150 people were killed, more than 190 injured and about 50,000 were displaced.

In Central African Republic, security situation is worsened than expected. Such status is happening despite the presence of United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA), which was deployed on 10th April 2014 (UN, 2023b). According to HRW (2023), in 2023, 3.4 million people need humanitarian assistance and protections, an increase of 10 per cent compared to 2022. World Peace Foundation (2022) provides that in Mali, the security situation is worsening as the conflicts feature military coups, a separatist insurgency and extremist insurgency involving terrorism. The UN deployed its United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) in 2013 (UN, 2013). Though the mission is there, still human rights violations are on an increase. For example, World Peace Foundation (2022) provides that there were 617 human rights abuses including 165 killings by AGs in Mali from January to June 2021, an increase of 37 percent compared to 2020. As the days go on, the situation is

worsening.

The PKOs' principles (consent, impartiality, and minimum use of force) have been proved to be ineffective to fight terror group such as ADF in Beni (DRC) compared to normal AGs such as M23. One cannot seek consent or be impartial with terror groups. How can one negotiate peace with terror group(s)? Thus, the UN needs to recheck its principles – shift this to a discussion about emerging security threats.

There are different comments from various people condemning the failure of the UN in PKOs. For example, Russell (2006) presented that in interviews with London Daily Telegraph newspaper, the then US Ambassador to UN, Mr. John Bolton called the UN a hopeless organisation as it was failing to bring peace. Again, in 2006, a poll conducted by Gallup in the US showed that 64 percent of respondents said the UN was doing a poor job (Jones, 2006). Stearns (2016) noted that opinion polls conducted between May and September 2016 by the Bureau d'Etudes de Recherches et Consulting International (BERCI) in 2016 on PKOs in the DRC, showed that among 7,545 people who were interviewed where such peacekeepers were deployed, 56.7 per cent in North Kivu, 50.2 per cent in South Kivu and 45.2 per cent in Ituri wanted the UN to leave. Even the government has not been in good rapport of UN PKOs. Ilunga (2019) asserts that the Congolese government has been repeatedly asking for withdrawal of the MONUSCO. But even people of the Central African Republic want MINUSCA to leave. According to Afrique Media (2022), the Central African people mobilized numerous anti-MINUSCA demonstrations, which show that they no longer want presence of UN mission as it is failing to protect them.

From the presented cases, one can deduce that the UN has taken different initiatives to bring about peace with limited success. Violence still goes on with murder, rape, torture, and increasing other inhuman actions. In expression of dissatisfaction with the PKOs, populations, in some of the countries such as DRC – particularly the eastern part - have been waging violent demonstrations against UN forces. The same is happening in Central African Republic. Such sub-optimal performance, especially interventions by UN PKOs have brought about a lot of questions on the UN academically and in practice (Thakur *et al.*, 2001). Many reforms have been done with minimal or no effect on the effectiveness of

the UN. Therefore, it is the right time for the World to think of a new international institution to replace the UN.

5.0 Replacing the United Nations

The UN has done some commendable jobs in bringing global peace. In fact, without the UN, definitely the situation could have been worse. But it seems that its capacity coupled with SC politics has been limiting its capability and as such, there is no hope of doing more than what it is currently doing. The situation might be further bleak in prospect because the future world is predicted to be highly complicated and volatile.

Various tools for resolving conflicts seem to have shortcomings as we will see from the subsequent part of this article. The IAEA with responsibility in ensuring that nuclear materials are used only for peaceful purposes has many limitations that result to its ineffectiveness. According to Scheinman (2016), the IAEA's budget depends on contributions from member states and therefore, sometimes IAEA operations are affected by funding. The IAEA has no enforcement power, and it has limited powers of inspection. "Though the UN initiated the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1970, up to now, nuclear stockpiles remain high, and many nations continue to develop these distressing weapons. There is an increase in mistrust between superpowers, which result in the arms race" (Interviews, former MONUSCO staff, 12 March 2022).

Likewise, the PKOs, which have been mentioned to be used frequently, have their own challenges. Their effectiveness is questionable as many UN missions have been considered failed. Adebajo and Landsberg (2000) contended that some UN missions, especially in Africa have failed in protection of civilians. Weinstein (2005) pointed out that 75 per cent of civil wars where UNPKOs intervened resumed within ten years after stopping. After analysis of 11 UN PKOs, Paris (2018) asserted that only two PKOs were able to produce sustainable peace. Willmot and colleagues (2016) argue that demonstrations against MONUSCO in DRC depict a symptomatic failure of PKOs. Moreover, deployment of regional forces in DRC such as East African Regional Forces in 2022, deployment of other forces under bilateral arrangements such as Uganda and Burundi in 2021, and others is testimony of PKOs' failure in DRC.

The UN's capability to face up contemporary security challenges is very low. For example, the UN ended up only condemning the act of kidnapping of 276 Secondary School girls in Chibok, Nigeria, which was carried out by Boko Haram terrorist group on 14th April 2014 (Temitope, 2016). There were no serious measures taken by the UN apart from individual countries that showed some concern compared to the UN. Likewise, the UN has not given enough attention on Ansar Sunna Wall Jamaa in Mozambique. It is SADC regional initiatives, which try to face such challenges.

There have been different reasons for UN's failure. According to Hardwick (2011), one of the biggest sources of failure of the UN stemmed from its organisation whereby the permanent members of UNSC (P5) were set to safeguard their respective national interests using veto power. Claros (2022) presents that for most of time when there is an important decision to be made that involves P5, the UN has always been paralysed.

"If this trend will not be eliminated, the UN will soon be useless. How can a single state prevent majority of the SC from taking decision? It is upset: the UN principles have been applied unequally. When Israel invades Palestine, there is no sovereignty integrity, but when Russia invades Ukraine, the UN points out the issue of sovereignty integrity, why?" (Interview with a member of Diplomatic Corps, Dar es Salaam, 12th January 2023).

Disagreement is among challenges facing the UN. Nadin (2017) outlines that because of geopolitics, national interests and ideological factors, there have been many disagreements between P5, resulting in impeding robust actions on important situations. For example, the US has been lonely casting veto on resolutions that criticise Israel on what the Israelis have been doing to Palestinians (Stephens, 2007). Besides, experience shows that even vetoes have not managed to stop nations from proceeding with their endeavours, which was the case with the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 (Morris & Wheeler, 2007: 221). This shows that National Interest is more powerful than the SC.

Imbalance of composition of P-5 also is a challenge. Essentially, the P5 has three members from European countries, while Asia and America have one each. There is no member from Africa or Latin America. Even the veto itself is seen as weakening democratic legitimacy of the UN. Non-permanent members of the SC are limited by two-thirds majority vote during decision, while the P5 has veto

power. Claros (2022) remarks that the P5 turned the UN into an imperialist organisation, whereby the P5 members are, *de facto*, running the world. Chiefly, the organisation is unable to effectively deal with any problems related to superpowers. President Ruto once said, “Do you know that only five countries of this world hold a meaningful power in the UN Security Council, none of them is African.” More than half of the world’s population is not represented in the UN Security Council - it is neither democratic nor representative, nor transparent and nor accountable. As a result, it is unable to effectively respond to the pressing peace and security needs of parts of the world most affected by conflict and insecurity in our global south. Its attitude to conflicts is geographically determined and intervention is likewise biased. In 2023, it should not be possible for the foremost institution of global governance to remain so egregiously exclusive and non-representative and claim to stand for any meaningful human norm” (Kiongozi, 2023).

It is unfortunate that the founders of the UN were the winners of WWII as they are the ones who determined the structure of the UN Security Council which actually is the source of most of the weakness of the UN. Therefore, national interest has dominated this institution since its foundation, but we are much concerned now because the trends show that the current and future conflicts will be between superpowers as such this institution will definitely fail to resolve them. “This is the major challenge in future as most of the security challenges are likely to involve superpowers” (Interviews with a Goma Resident, Goma, 23 September 2022). Basically, national interests were the basis for setup of the SC we see today. Its organisation was based on protection of superpowers’ interest(s) who won the second WWII.

The PKOs, which have been the major tool for resolving conflicts, have been covered by limiting factors. Conflicting interests among troops contributing countries (TCCs) to participate in PKOs with financial benefits taking precedence is one of them. Carnahan, Durch and Gilmore (2006) argue that national interest, which TCCs are fulfilling by using PKOs are monetary gains from reimbursement, provision of stability in close neighbours’ country/countries, provision of experience of their troops, and gaining international support. On the other hand, Jett (2000) alluded that UN members pursue their national interest using the UN. They use PKOs as “pork barrel of

patronage job” and not contributing to the common goal of the organisation.

This study observed that peacekeeping is a multi-billion business, connecting chains of beneficiaries from manufacturers, suppliers, whole sellers, retail sellers, and peacekeepers and it is a major source of employment. Peacekeeping has become a multi-billion-dollar business with networks of food, medical as well as equipment manufacturers, and suppliers (Baregu, 2011). Jett (2000) pointed out that apart from resolving conflicts as envisaged by the UN, member states and other actors have been using UN through PKOs to pursue their interests. “There are people/countries/organisations, which see conflicts in DRC and Darfur as an opportunity for their survival” (Interview, Peacekeeper, 23 October 2022, Dar es Salaam).

On the other side, mandate has been failing PKOs. Mostly, there has been a mismatch between the mandate given and the real situation on the ground (Gibbs, 1997). To be effective, the mandate must be feasible, clear without any ambiguity and reflect the situation on the ground, including operating in line with available resources (Punga, 2011). The PKOs are failing sometimes because of the UN bureaucracy. The UN peacekeeping is dominated by heavy top-down organisation with complex procedures, which require approval of one or more levels (Agada, 2008).

There is an argument that big countries use their lion’s share of contribution to UN PKOs to dominate the PKOs’ decisions or to decide whatever to do without being challenged by the UN. It should be recalled that P5 finances more than 53 percent of the budget of PKOs with US contributing 27.89 percent, China 15.21 percent, Japan 9.68 percent, Germany 6.09 percent and United Kingdom 5.79 percent (Joshi, 2020). “The UN was just an irrelevant witness as the US, Britain and other allied forces stormed Afghanistan, the presumed safe haven of Al-Qaida. Indeed, he who pays the piper calls for the tune” (Interview, Member of Diplomatic Corps, 17th January 2023, Dodoma).

Compatibility and commitment sometimes fail PKOs as peacekeepers come from different TCCs with different military backgrounds, languages, experience, culture and traditions. Novosselof (2019) points out that there is lack of commitment for some TCCs to take risks in PKOs, especially when the TCCs are

deployed thousands of kilometers from their home countries. Involvement of peacekeepers with corruption and Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SEA) scandals shows that the organ (UN) lacks professionalism as well as discipline and thus, needs to be replaced. For example, Pyman (2013) presents that the Procurement Tasks Force, which was set in 2006 to investigate corruption in the Oil for Food scandal in Iraq found that a former UN procurement officer received about United States of America dollars (US\$) 1 million bribes as “kickbacks” from contractors who worked on the Oil for Food Programme. Involvement of Benon Sevan (the UN head for Oil for Food Programme) and Koffi Annan’s son, Kojo in sloppy UN procurement practice ruined the image of the UN (Raphael, 2004).

In the same vein, some TCCs use PKOs to exploit wealth from host nations. International Alert (2010) provides that companies owned by businessmen from Pakistan and India from around Great Lakes Region such as Farrel Trade and Machanga Limited have been accused to collaborate with Pakistani peacekeepers in DRC to smuggle minerals. Similarly, HRW (2007) asserts that Pakistani peacekeepers in DRC had been involved in smuggling of Gold from Ituri, while the Guardian (2008) discovered that peacekeepers in DRC engaged in illegal trading with AGs by exchanging weapons confiscated during Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) program with gold. The dilemma of effectiveness of PKOs among scholars is very high. Studies titled ‘Why Peacekeeping fails’ (Jett, 2000); ‘Peacekeeping Fiascos’ (Fleitz & Fleitz Jr, 2002); ‘Peacekeeping in the Abyss’ (Cassidy, Cassidy & Press, 2004); and popular journal article ‘Give War a Chance’ (Luttwak, 1999) exemplify PKOs’ failures.

On the area of sanctions, some sanctions have not been effective due to failure of other countries to respect them (Fischhendler, Herman, & Maoz, 2017). But some sanctions have been based on national interests (Brzoska, 2015). Strydom (2022) presents that there are few sanctions that have been authorized by the UN; the majority are presided by non-UN sanctions, especially sanctions by the US or European Union. This has caused debate that sanctions are sometimes used by powerful states as a unilateral coercive measure to other states. Even on MDGs, there have been different opinions on its success. The UN (2015b) concluded that even though substantial attainments have been made on many of the MDGs’ targets, progress has been uneven. Assefa and colleagues (2017) opined that even those successes which are said have not been experienced

equally across the globe. For example, even though one of the goals was to eradicate poverty by 2015, UNDP (2023) shows that up to 2015, about 736 million people were still living in poverty [(living by less than USD 1, 90 a day) *ibid.*].

There is new threat from superpowers on use of ocean floor and its subsoil for military purposes. Though the threat is obvious, there are minimal efforts done by the UN to control. The UN has left the responsibility to the intergovernmental body “International Seabed Authority (ISA)” to control it. However, this body just controls development of mineral related operations in the international seabed and also protect the ecosystem of the seabed (Copley, 2020).

Equally, there are growing threats of space race aimed at showing national prestige by projection of geopolitical and military power, which has military, scientific and commercial importance (Broad, 2021). With an increased number of big powers such as China, France, Germany, India, Russia, United Kingdom, Japan and others, which sent artificial satellites, robots, animals and others into space, the race has been so high thereby threatening world security (Gabbat, 2021). When all of these races are happening, there are complains that the UN Office of Outer Space Affairs (UNOOSA), which governs space activities has minimally shown any concern (UN, 1958).

Because of UN’s failure, we have seen now there are different initiatives of resolving conflicts without involving UN. For example, Campbell (2023) presents that China has brokered peace between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia whereby the two countries have reestablished diplomatic relations after seven years of bitter/rancor conflicts. Currently, there is a tendency of states to depend on Private Military Contractors/Companies (PMCs) to support their efforts when they are faced by security challenges. Presence of PMCs in various states in Africa where even UN has deployed its PKOs is testimony of the UN’s failure. For example, Wagner private military company from Russia has been deployed in Central African Republic, Mali, and Burkina Faso where the UN has troops (Borshchevskaya, 2020).

All failures have been rooted in the weakness of the UN system emanating from its current organizational setup, national interests, changes of security

environment and others. Efforts to reform the UNPKOs as suggested through structural functional and neo-functionalism theories have been on-going since the mid-1990s, and different proposals have been formulated as well as implemented. The UN we are seeing today is full of amendments and reforms (Interviews with former FIB Commander, Dar es Salaam, 23rd May 2022). There has been the “Agenda for Peace” concept of 1992 (UN, 1995), establishment of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKOs) in 1992 and its separation into DPKO and Department of Field Support (DFS) in 2007.

In the same vein, there were the Panel of UN Peace Operations in 2000 commonly called Brahimi Report (Brahimi, 2000), endorsement of the “Responsibility to Protect (R2P)” concept in 2005 (Bellamy, 2009), and establishment of Counter Terrorism Office in 2017 (UN, 2017). Again in 2014, a High-Level Panel on UN Peace Operations (HIPPO) was convened to assess the state of UN Peace Operations. Besides, in 2017, the UN convened a Panel of experts under the leadership of Lieutenant General (Retired) dos Santos Cruz that aimed at identifying reasons for an increase in casualties to peacekeepers by that time (Dos Santos Cruz, Phillips, & Cusimano, 2017). All recommendations from the panel have not improved PKOs’ effectiveness.

The situation seems to be worse in the near future. Gray (2008) presents that the trend shows that the future security environment will increasingly be complicated with non-state actors such as terrorists increasing their operations and thus, there will be proliferation of weapons as well as organised crimes. Intrastate conflicts as a result of internal politics will be exacerbated and coups will also increase as currently witnessed in Western African States. Conflicts are predicted to increase as world geopolitics is shifting from the unipolar world to multipolar world. Muzaffar, Yaseen and Rahim (2017) opined that the world geopolitics is shifting from unipolar world to multipolar world whereby many states are emerging superpowers competing with US.

While other theories claim that multipolar world order is more stable than bipolar or unipolar systems, but the reality is that each power will have further freedom to decide about war and peace based on their respective national interests (Jackson & Towle, 2006). There will be an increase in deployments of PKOs where there is no peace to keep or where there is weak or no cease fire

agreement. In such circumstances, the world requires to have a very strong organisation other than the UN that will effectively deal with contemporary security challenges. The current situation predicts that there will be highly complex conflicts that will require intricate responses from strong organ(s) (Bellamy & Hunt, 2015: 1277). “Let’s be honest. The UN set up today has no capacity to effectively deal with terrorism, tyranny, and genocide” (Interview, former FIB Commander, Dar es Salaam, 23rd May 2022).

Although scholars are dissatisfied with the UN’s effectiveness, they do not want to remove the international body but replace it with a new one. Müller (2021) presents that there are opinions ranging from those who want to eliminate the UN entirely and replace it with other institution(s) and others who want reforms. Those who want the replacement of the UN believe that reforms and panels convened by the UN to enhance its effectiveness have been done since then with little or no improvements. “The electric light did not come from continuous improvement of candles. Currently, the UN is full of patches and thus, we need a new organisation” (interviews with member of diplomatic Corps, Dodoma, 12th March, 2023). For them, they want a new institution, which will come with answers to challenges we are facing today and what we will face tomorrow. The new body will use the lesson from the UN operations and come up with a new approach to fighting contemporary challenges.

This corresponds with structural functional and neo-functionalism theories, using which Satti (1994) presented that the UN was formed for the purpose of meeting certain needs and must be reformed or replaced once these needs are met or failed. Their argument corresponds with different views obtained during interviews; “The way it goes, the UN is taking direction of its predecessor, the League of Nations; it will soon sink in the abyss of history as an irrelevant absolute failure” (interview, a politician, Dodoma, 14th May 2022). Maintenance of peace and security using the UN has so far been impossible (Interviews with Goma resident, Goma 23 January 2023). “The UN has overstayed and nothing new will come out of it” (Interviews with former MONUSCO staff, Goma, 12 March 2023). It is through these comments and the presented discussion this article proposes that the current UN needs to be replaced with a new institution.

6.0 Conclusion

It is real that since its formation, the UN has seemingly managed to safeguard global peace and security. However, it is also real that the UN has been ineffective in dealing with other security issues, especially the contemporary ones. There have been different reforms such as “Agenda for Peace” concept, establishment of the DPKOs, endorsement of the R2P, establishment of Counter Terrorism Office and others. Also, there have been different UN Panels established to recommend different reforms to enhance effectiveness of the UN. All these reforms did not improve the UN’s effectiveness. It is through this background that the UN requires to be replaced with a new institution and new leadership. This is in line with structural functional and neo-functionalism theories, which advocates for replacement. The new institution will address issues of balance of permanent members of the SC, clarity of PKOs’ mandate, enhance preventive diplomacy, enhance partnership with regional organizations, enhance coordination and integration between components of PKOs, and undertake other aspects. This will not be the first time as the League of Nations was replaced by the UN after its failure.

References

- Adams, A. (2018). The legacy of the International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda and their Contribution to the Crime of Rape. *European Journal of International Law*, 29(3), 749-769.
- Adebajo, A., & Landsberg, C. (2000). Back to the Future: UN Peacekeeping in Africa. *Journal for International Peacekeeping*, 7(4), 161-188.
- Afrique Media, (2022). *The People of the Central African Republic want MINUSCA to leave. Afrique Media.* <https://afriquemediatv.com/2022/11/07/the-people-of-the-central-african-republic-want-minusca-to-leave>.
- Agada, S. (2008). The Challenges of United Nations Peacekeeping in Africa: Case Study of Somalia. *Peace Operations Training Institute*, (1-94).
- Agibalova, L. (2020). The Conflict Between India and Pakistan. In *School of Young Innovators* (pp. 30-33).
- Allen, E. (2010). *Impediments to the Effectiveness of the United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID)*.

- Allison, G. T. (1969). Conceptual models and the Cuban missile crisis. *American political science review*, 63(3), 689-718.
- Assefa, Y., Van Damme, W., Williams, O. D., & Hill, P. S. (2017). Successes and challenges of the millennium development goals in Ethiopia: lessons for the sustainable development goals. *BMJ global health*, 2(2), e000318.
- Autesserre, S. (2019). The Crisis of Peacekeeping: Why the UN Can't end Wars. *Journal for Foreign Affairs.*, 98, 101.
- Bellamy, A. J. (2009). *Responsibility to protect*. Polity.
- Bellamy, A. J., & Hunt, C. T. (2015). Twenty-first century UN peace operations: protection, force and the changing security environment. *International Affairs*, 91(6), 1277-1298.
- Baregu, M., L. (2011). *Understanding obstacles to peace: actors, interests, and strategies in Africa's Great Lakes region*. Fountain Publishers, Kampala.
- Borshchevskaya, A. (2020). The Role of Russian Private Military Contractors in Africa. <https://www.fpri.org/article/2020/08/the-role-of-russian-private-military-contractors-in-africa>.
- Brahimi, L. (2000). The Brahimi Report. *UN Security Council, Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, A/55/305, S/2000/809, 21*.
- Broad, W.J. (2021). "How Space Became the Next 'Great Power' Contest Between the U.S. and China". The New York Times. 6 May 2021.
- Brzoska, M. (2015). International sanctions before and beyond UN sanctions. *International Affairs*, 91(6), 1339-1349.
- Campbell, C, (2023), *China Just Brokered a Historic Truce Between Saudi Arabia and Iran*. Can It Do Ukraine, Time magazine of 15 March 2023.
- Carnahan, M., Durch, W. J., & Gilmore, S. (2006). *Economic Impact of Peacekeeping*. United Nations, Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit.
- Cassidy, R. M., Cassidy, R. M., & Press, G. (2004). *Peacekeeping in the Abyss: British and American Peacekeeping Doctrine and Practice after the Cold War*. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Chilcott, J. H. (1998). Structural Functionalism is a Heuristic Device. *Anthropology* 3

- education quarterly*, 29(1), 103-111.
- Claros, A.L. (2022). *The Origins of the UN Veto and Why it Should be Abolished*. In *Global Governance Forum*. <https://Globalgovernanceforum.Org/Origins-Un-Veto-Why-It-Should-Be>.
- Copley, Jon (2020). "Deep-sea mining is Making the Seabed the Hottest real Estate on Earth". *New Scientist*.
- De Jonge Oudraat, C. (1996). The United Nations and Internal Conflict. *Center for Science and International Affairs Studies in International Security*, 489-536.
- Dos Santos Cruz, C. A., Phillips, W. R., & Cusimano, S. (2017). *Improving Security of United Nations Peacekeepers: We Need to Change the Way We Are Doing Business*. United Nations, New York.
- Dulley, I., & Sampaio, L. T. (2020). Accusation and legitimacy in the Civil War in Angola. *Vibrant: Virtual Brazilian Anthropology*, 17.
- Falk, R. A. (2003). What Future for the UN Charter System of War Prevention? *American Journal of International Law*, 97(3), 590-598.
- Fischer, D. (1997). History of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The First Forty Years.
- Fischhendler, I., Herman, L., & Maoz, N. (2017). The political Economy of Energy sanctions: insights from a global outlook 1938–2017. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 34, 62-71.
- Fleitz, F. H., & Fleitz Jr, F. H. (2002). *Peacekeeping Fiascos of the 1990s: Causes, Solutions, and US Interests*. Greenwood Publishing Group, Connecticut.
- Gabbat, A. (2021). "US accuses Russia of 'Dangerous' Behavior After anti-satellite weapons test". *The Guardian*. 15 November 2021.
- Gardiner, N. (2007). The Decline and Fall of the United Nations: Why the UN has Failed and it needs to be Reformed. *Macalester International*, 19(1), 9.
- Gberie, L. (2013). Intervention Brigade: End Game in The Congo? *Africa Renewal*, 27(2), 2.
- Gibbs, D. (1997). "Is Peacekeeping a New Form of Imperialism?" *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 4, pp. 122-128.

- Gowan, R., & Stedman, S. J. (2018). The international regime for treating civil war, 1988–2017. *Dædalus*, 147(1), 171-184.
- Gowlland-Debbas, V. (2021). *United Nations Sanctions and International Law*. Brill. ISBN: 978-90-04-50287-1.
- Gray, C. S. (2008). The 21st Century Security Environment and the Future of War. *The US Army War College Quarterly: Parameters*, 38(4), 7.
- Hamad, H. (2016). 'Neo-Functionalism': Relevancy for East African Community Political Integration? *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 9(7).
- Hardwick, N. A. (2011). The UN During the Cold War: 'A Tool of Superpower Influence Stymied by Superpower Conflict?'. *E-International Relations*.
- Holmwood, J. (2005). Functionalism and its critics. *Modern social theory: An introduction*, 2, 87-110.
- HRW. (2007). *Human Rights: Hold Peacekeepers Accountable for Congo Smuggling Letter to Chief of UN Peacekeeping Urges*.
- HRW. (2021). *Human Rights Watch, Sudan's Government Still Failing to Protect Darfuri Civilians*. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/01/22/deadly-darfur-attack-just-days-after-last-peacekeepers-leave>.
- HRW. (2023). *Central African Republic Events of 2022* Events of 2022 <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2023/country-chapters/central-african-republic>.
- Ilunga, T.Y. (2019). *After Strategic Review, What Should be Done with MONUSCO?* <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2019/06/after-strategic-review-what-should-be-done-monusco>.
- International Alert. (2010). *The Role of the Exploitation of Natural Resources in Fueling and Prolonging Crises in the Eastern DRC*. International Alert: Understanding Conflict. Building Peace.
- Jackson, R., and Towle, P. (2006). *Temptations of Power: The United States in Global Politics after 9/11*. Springer.
- Jervis, R. (2001). Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma? *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 3(1), 36-60.

- Jensen, C. S. (2013). Neo-functionalism. *European Union Politics*, 4(3)- 21-22.
- Jett, D. C. (2000). *Why Peacekeeping Fails* (p. 32). New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Jones J, M. (2006). *Americans' Ratings of United Nations Among Worst Ever*. Gallup Poll News Service of 13 March 2006.
- Joshi, M. (2020). An Institutional Explanation of Troop Contributions in UN Peacekeeping Missions. *International Peacekeeping*, 27(5), 785-809.
- Kiernan, B. (2012). The Cambodian Genocide, 1975–1979. In *Centuries of Genocide* (pp. 316-353). Routledge.
- Kiongozi. (2023). President Ruto Has Accused UN Security Council of Misrepresentation, Lack of Transparency and Accountability.
- Liu, Z., Zhang, Z., & Ritchie, R. O. (2018). On the materials science of nature's arms race. *Advanced Materials*, 30(32), 1705220.
- Lugman, S. (2007). African Union and the Peace Process in Darfur, "Nigerian Forum" a *Journal of Opinion of World Affairs*, vol.28, nos 5-6.
- Luttwak, E. N. (1999). Give War a Chance. *Foreign Affairs.*, 78, 36.
- Malone, D., & Malone, R. D. M. (Eds.). (2004). *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- McCulloch, A., & Vandeginste, S. (2019). Veto power and Power-sharing: insights from Burundi (2000–2018). *Democratization*, 26(7), 1176-1193.
- Mehta, S., Kumar, V., & Kumar, A. (2018). Measurement of Sustainable Development in India and Bangladesh. *Lessons in Sustainable Development from Bangladesh and India*, 79-101.
- Mertens, C. (2023). In the Ruins of Empire: Historicizing Sexual Violence in Congo. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 25(3), 529-550.
- Morris, J., & Wheeler, N. J. (2007). The Security Council's Crisis of Legitimacy and the use of Force. *International Politics*, 44, 214-231.
- Müller, J. (2021). Reforming the United Nations: Fit for Purpose at 75? In *Reforming the United Nations* (pp. 94-100). Brill Nijhoff.
- Muzaffar, M., Yaseen, Z., & Rahim, N. (2017). Changing Dynamics of Global Politics: Transition from Unipolar to Multipolar world. *Liberal Arts and*

Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ), 1(1), 49-61.

- Nadin, P. (2017). The Shape of Australia's Future Engagement with the United Nations. *Journal of Lowly Institute*, 31 Bligh Street, Sydney NSW 2000.
- Norton, A. R., & Weiss, T. G. (1991). *Rethinking Peacekeeping* (pp. 22-31). Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Novosselof, A. (2019). Assessing the Effectiveness: of the United Nations Mission in the DRC/MONUC-MONUSO. Oslo: *Norwegian Institute of International Affairs*.
- Obama, B. (2015). *Remarks By President Obama at U.N. Peacekeeping Summit ON September 28, 2015*.
- Olaveson, T. (2001). Collective effervescence and communitas: Processual models of ritual and society in Emile Durkheim and Victor Turner. *Dialectical Anthropology*, 89-124.
- Paris, R. (2018). Peacekeeping Works Better Than You May Think. *Centre D'etudes en Politiques Internationales, (CEPI) 2019*.
- Punga, I. L. (2011). *UN Peacekeeping and Protection of Civilians in the 21st Century Case Studies: MONUC and UNAMID. (Master's thesis)*.
- Pyman, M. (2013). *Corruption & Peacekeeping: Strengthening Peacekeeping and the United Nations*. Transparency International, London. UK.
- Raphael, T. (2004). The Oil-for-Food Scandal. *Wall Street Journal*.
- Roberts, G. (2014). The Uganda–Tanzania War, the fall of Idi Amin, and the failure of African diplomacy, 1978–1979. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8(4), 692-709.
- Russell, A. (2006). "UN is Like the Twilight Zone, Says Bolton," *The Daily Telegraph* of 01 May 2006.
- Sandler, S. (2014). *The Korean War: No Victors, No Vanquished*. University Press of Kentucky.
- Scheinman, L. (2016). *The International Atomic Energy Agency and World Nuclear Order*. Routledge.

- SIPRI. (2022). *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Yearbook 2022 Armaments, Disarmament and International Security.*
- Stephens, B. (2007). The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy by John J. Mearsheimer & Stephen M. Walt. *Commentary-New York-American Jewish Committee-124*(4), 73.
- Straus, S. (2019). *The order of genocide: Race, power, and war in Rwanda.* Cornell University Press.
- Strydom, H. (2022). The sanctions debate in the work of the United Nations since the 2000 Working paper. *Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal/Potchefstroomse Elektroniese Regsblad*, 25(1).
- Takeyh, R. (2010). The Iran-Iraq War: A Reassessment. *The Middle East Journal*, 64(3), 365-383.
- Tareke, G. (2000). The Ethiopia-Somalia war of 1977 revisited. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 33(3), 635-667.
- Temitope, O. (2016). "Timeline on Nigeria's missing Chibok schoolgirls". Deutsche Welle of 18 May 2016. <https://www.dw.com/en/timeline-on-nigerias-missing-chibok-schoolgirls/a-19266328>.
- Thakur, R. C., Thakur, R., Schnabel, A., & Schnabel, S. F. A. (Eds.). (2001). *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: ad hoc Missions, Permanent Engagement.* United Nations University Press, Tokyo.
- The Guardian. (2008). *UN Peacekeepers 'Traded Gold and Guns with Congolese Rebels'.*
- The League of Nations. (1919). *The Covenant of the League of Nations.*
- UCDP, (n.d). *Uppsala Conflict Data Program Database.* www.ucdp.uu.se/database. Uppsala University.
- UN. (1945). *United Nations Charter.*
- UN. (1945a). *Maintenance of International Peace and Security.*
- UN. (1948). *United Nations. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.*
- UN. (1958). *The United Nations Office for Outer Space Affairs (UNOOSA),*

<https://www.unoosa.org/>

- UN. (1995). United Nations. *Secretary-General, & Boutros-Ghali, B. (1995). Supplement to An Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations.* UN.
- UN. (2000). United Nations. *Resolution 1325 of 2000 on Women, Peace, and Security Agenda.* SC_ResolutionWomenPeaceSecurity_SRES1325(2000) (english.pdf)
- UN. (2005). United Nations. *Resolution 1645 of 2005 on Peacebuilding Commission.*
- UN. (2005a). United Nations. *General Assembly Resolution A/RES/60/1 of 2005 on Delivering as One.*
- UN. (2013). *United Nations Resolution 2100 (2013), Adopted by the Security Council at its 6952nd meeting, on 25 April 2013 on establishment of the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA)].* <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/748429>
- UN. (2015a). *Formation of Peacebuilding Commission.* General Assembly Resolution. A/RES/60/180 and S/RES/1645
- UN. (2015b). *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2015,*
- UN. (2015c). United Nations. *Resolution 69/321 of 2015 on Revitalization of the Work of the General Assembly.*
- UN. (2017). *The United Nations Office of Counterterrorism (UNOCT),*
- UN. (2019). List of Peacekeeping Operations 1948 – 2019.
- UN. (2020). Behind the Global Ceasefire call: 75 years of UN Mediation, Preventing Conflict, Promoting peace.
- UN. (2021). *United Nations Peace Maker.* Peace Agreement Data Base.
- UNDP. (2023). Poverty global Issues-Sustainable Goals by 2030.
- UNJHRO. (2020). *UN Joint Human Rights Office in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.* <https://monusco.unmissions.org/sites>.
- Üzümcü, A. (2014). The Chemical Weapons Convention—disarmament, science and Technology. *National Library of Medicine.* 24969464 DOI: 10.1007/s00216-

014-7956-8.

- Satti, Z (1994). "The Role of the UN in the New World Order" in Ikram Azam, *Jim Dator and Sohail Inayatullah*, eds. DOI: 10.123/s00216-014-763-1.
- Stearns, J. (2016). Is MONUSCO Doing a Good Job at Protecting Civilians? *Global Peace Operations*.
- Spooner, K. A. (2010). *Canada, the Congo Crisis, and UN Peacekeeping*. UBC Press, Canada.
- Weinstein, J. M. (2005). Autonomous Recovery and International Intervention in Comparative Perspective. *Centre for Global Development*.
- Willmot, H., Mamiya, R., Sheeran, S., & Weller, M. (Eds.). (2016). *Protection of Civilians*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- World Peace Foundation, (2022). *African Politics, African Peace, - Mali Mission Brief*, <https://sites.tufts.edu/wpf/files/2017/07/Mali-brief.pdf>.
- World Vision. (2015). *Where the Millennium Development Goals a Success?*
- Yousaf, F., & Moheb, J. (2021). US Withdrawal and the Taliban Regime in Afghanistan: Future Policy Directions. *Policy Brief, September 7*.