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The P5 and Sub-Saharan Africa.

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Abstract

        The end of the Cold War has created a new global dynamic which have allowed
the Great Powers – China, France, Russia, the US and the UK – to establish new
priorities to help the world realize the hoped for peace dividend. The new priorities have
resulted in significant second order effects on the role and responsibilities of the Great
Powers with respect to the world's disadvantaged nations

        As the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC),
earning the title "the P5", the Great Powers hold the lion's share of the Council's power
and functions. The mandate of the UNSC is to maintain international peace and security.
This task has become increasingly more difficult in the post-Cold War era as intrastate
conflict has replaced interstate conflict.

        With this change in conflict, the motives of the powerful, developed nations come
into question. The global community asks whether the P5 will act as agents of peace of
whether they will advance their own interests. Nowhere is this more evident than in Sub-
Saharan Africa. Even with significant effort placed on the region, the track record of the
United Nations has been poor. Even with concerted UNSC attention, millions have died
due to genocide, civil war and humanitarian disaster. The reason for this is that despite
the many UN Peacekeeping Operations launched in Africa since the end of the Cold War,
the P5 has not launched these missions solely with altruistic goals. It is more likely that
P5 support -- or opposition – to Sub-Saharan intervention is mainly linked to selfish
national interest as defined through political, economic, social or cultural advantage.

        This paper defends this position through explaining the current state of Africa;
illustrating the political upheaval, overwhelming social and humanitarian problems,
economic shortfalls and regional instability will frame later discussion on the need for P5
intervention. In order to understand the P5 interest in the region, the paper identifies the
strategic relevance of sub-Saharan Africa, focusing on its myriad of strategic resources –
minerals, raw material, oil and diamonds – and its geo-strategic location and geo-political
significance. Analysis of the role of the UN, and specifically the UNSC voting
mechanisms, in conjunction with the national interest as defined through political,
economic, social or cultural advantage that is gained or disadvantage avoided, explain
what sub-Saharan Africa means to the P5. Finally, the evaluation of the P5's rationale
for supporting, or delaying, peacekeeping efforts in Somalia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and
Angola, along with the potential operation in Sudan, leads to the conclusion that the P5
has primarily been, and continues to be, self-motivated when considering action in the
region.

CHAPTER ONE – THE P5 AND AFRICA

...perhaps there is no distance greater than the one between the
[United Nations] Security Council Chambers and the outside world.[1]

The end of the Cold War has created a new global dynamic, where the international community has attempted to harvest the peace dividend resulting from the end of the bi-polar contest between the United States and the former Soviet Union. This shift in focus, from Cold War to so-called peace, has had a tremendous impact on international relations, particularly amongst the Great Powers. [2] The new priorities have resulted in significant second order effects on the role and responsibilities of the Great Powers with respect to the world's disadvantaged nations. While the Great Powers have invested significant energy and resources in tackling international crises, some areas have had benefited from greater commitment and resolve than others.

One of the primary venues for the five Great Powers to exert their influence is the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), where as permanent members they are referred to as the P5. As the senior members of the UNSC, the Great Powers hold the lion's share of the Council's power and functions. The mandate of the UNSC is primarily "[the] responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security."[3] Some of the

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[1]The Members of the International Panel of Eminent Personalities appointed by the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, *Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide*, (unknown: Organization of African Unity, May 2000), Article 10.16.

[2]Though a term that has referred to many nations throughout history, the term Great Power in this paper refers to the five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council: the US, the UK, France, Russia and China.

[3]Mats Berdal, "UN Security Council: Ineffective but Indispensable," *Survival*, vol 45, no 2, (Summer 2003): 9.

UNSC functions that allow it to meet this mandate are: investigating any dispute or situation which might lead to international friction; determining the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression and recommending what action should be taken to take military action against an aggressor; and exercising trusteeship functions of the United Nations in "strategic areas."[4] The UNSC has been deeply affected by the post-Cold war reality and the so-called "New World Order"[5] proposed by the US. The "New World Order" has had two definitions, one pre-September 11 and one post-September 11. The first concept presented by US President George Bush Sr. just prior to the 1991 Gulf War to liberate Kuwait envisioned multi-lateralism; the second vision, proposed by President George Bush Jr. called for pre-emptive action against non-democratic enemies.[6] While both "new world orders" clarified the US position with respect to international relations, both concepts have created angst amongst other nations.[7] This angst is created by the balance of international power and its effects on the altruistic interests of the UNSC, and the motives of the P5 in particular. "Given these new aspects of world politics, it is

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[4]UNSC, "UN Security Council Functions and Powers," http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_functions.html; Internet; accessed 25 April 2005.

[5]Infoplease.com, "George H. W. Bush's State of the Union Address, Envisioning One Thousand Points of Light, 29 January 1991," http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0900156.html; Internet; accessed 16 March 2005. A new world order reference was as follows: "[A] new world order, where diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind: peace and security, freedom, and the rule of law."

[6]Joseph Curl, "Bush Calls for Global Cooperation," *Washington Times*, 2 December 2004, http://www.washingtontimes.com/functions/print.php?StoryID=20041202-122549-7793r; Internet; accessed 16 March 2005. "President Bush yesterday challenged international leaders to create a new world order, declaring pre-September 11 multilateralism outmoded and asserting that freedom from terrorism will come only through pre-emptive action against enemies of democracy.   In his first major foreign-policy speech since his re-election, the president set out an expansive second-term agenda with three distinct goals: reforming multilateral institutions, prosecuting the war on terrorism and spreading democracy in the Middle East."

[7]Maj Gen Indar Rikhye (retired), *The Politics and Practice of United Nations Peacekeeping: Past, Present and Future* (Toronto: Brown Book Company, 2000), 7.

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unclear whether states will always act in concert to deal with a wrongdoer or whether unified action under the auspices of the UN will be possible on a selective basis and only when motivated by national self-interest."[8]

The end of the Cold War, where mutually assured destruction was the major preoccupation, had created a world with very different priorities. As Great Power effort has shifted away from massive military arsenals and proxy wars pitting democracy against communism, the global focus has shifted to the new paradigm -- regional conflicts. "Interstate wars have become more the exception than the rule. Post-Cold War conflicts have been predominantly intrastate conflict or civil war, ethnic conflict, and terrorism."[9] Often isolated, these conflicts occur with little or no interest from those outside the conflict area. The fact remains, however, that the end results of these conflicts can be devastating to millions of people, creating displaced persons and humanitarian crises on massive scales. As intrastate conflict has become more of a concern, the motives of the powerful, developed nations come into question. The global community asks whether "…powerful states [are] likely to re-establish their hegemony only in areas of their interests, or will they act together for the common good?"[10]

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[8]Ibid., 7.

[9]Margaret P. Karns and Karen A. Mingst, "Peacekeeping and the Changing Role of the United Nations: Four Dilemmas," in *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Ad Hoc Missions, Permanent Engagement*, ed. Ramesh Thakur and Albrecht Schnabel, 215-237 (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2001), 217.

[10] Maj Gen Rikhye (retired), *The Politics and Practice of United Nations Peacekeeping…*, 7.

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For its part, the United Nations has attempted to overcome this obstacle. In January 1992, at the first Security Council Meeting attended by Heads of State, the hopes that the United Nations could assume a lead role in the post-Cold War era were high. "With five peacekeeping missions [since 1989]… and with the last veto cast on 31 May 1990, the Security Council looked forward to an era in which Great Power cooperation could finally allow the United Nations to ensure the international peace and security which for so long had remained elusive."[11]

Yet even with such optimism, the track record of the United Nations has been poor. No where is this more evident than in Africa -- particularly sub-Saharan Africa -- where millions have died due to genocide, civil war and humanitarian disaster. While the UNSC has spent significant effort on sub-Sahara Africa[12], the commitment and resolve of the P5 – the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Russia, and China – has been suspect. These five nations have fantastic powers, through the UNSC, to condone or veto any global action. As stated in the 1995 Report of the General Secretary of the United Nations:

> …the success of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace-building in Africa, irrespective of the level of preparedness and the effectiveness of cooperation between organizations…depends on the political will of the member states [of the General Assembly], and in particular, of the Security Council, to support such operations and ensure that they are provided, from the outset, with the human, material and financial resources necessary for the implementation of their mandates. It is only on this basis hat

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[11]Stephen M. Hill and Shahin P. Malik, *Peacekeeping and the United Nations* (Brookfield, VT: Dartmouth Publishing Company, 1996), 91.

[12]Berdal, *UN Security Council…*, 26

these instruments for conflict resolution and management can be effective in the post cold war era.[13]

Africa, which contains 26 percent of the world's countries and 14 percent of the world's population[14], is suffering. The continent, particularly sub-Saharan Africa, contains some of the poorest, most undeveloped countries in the world. Unfortunately, several African countries lead the way in many areas such as lowest gross domestic product per capita and lowest life expectancy;[15] unlike other areas of the world these statistics will continue to decline as opposed to improve. There are many factors for Africa's downward spiral, but the main cause for the humanitarian crises and poor governance is most likely linked to internal friction and instability that that result from intrastate conflict.

With the increase in intra-state conflict since 1990, the UN has now found it must play a greater role in Africa. This involvement has been in response to the dismal self-governance record of many African states. Political instability, corruption, criminal activity, mounting debt and disease are but some of the impediments to successful self governance. Inadequate governance in Africa has led to misery on a gigantic scale. The

[13]Secretary-General of the United Nations, *Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization, Comprehensive Review of the Whole Question of Peacekeeping Operations in all their aspects. Improving Preparedness for conflict prevention and peacekeeping in Africa*, A/50/711-S/1995-911, (New York: United Nations, 1995), paragraph 44.

[14]Thomas M. Parris, "Engaging Africa," *Environment*, January-February 2005, http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1076/is_1_47/ai_n9484565; Internet; accessed 28 February 2005.

[15]Ibid. On the whole, the people of Africa are not doing well. In constant terms, sub-Saharan gross domestic product per capita declined steadily from $1,770 in 1975 to $1,425 in 1993, recovering only modestly to $1,505 in 2002. Similarly, life expectancy at birth peaked at 50 years in 1990 and 1991 but has since declined to 45.8 years in 2002.

first post-Cold War interventions in Africa, particularly Somalia, were Western reaction

to the terrible images carried on international media. But as the scale of the problem

grew, with a series of failed states and civil wars vying for a part of the peacekeeping pie,

Western philanthropy decreased in the late 1990s. Donor fatigue and extensive

peacekeeping commitments have left UN members overstretched and overburdened;

collectively the members of the UNSC have been unable, or unwilling, to respond to all

crises. The major dilemma then, is where and when does the United Nations intervene?

Though unable to respond to all areas, interventions have been fairly successful in the

Balkans, in Southwest Asia, in the Pacific and in South America.[16] Unfortunately the

success rate in Africa, particularly sub-Saharan Africa, has been less successful; this is

indicative of the true motives behind P5 intervention in sub-Saharan Africa.

Despite the many UN Peacekeeping Operations[17] launched in Africa since the end

of the Cold War, the P5 has not launched these missions solely with altruistic goals. It is

more likely that P5 support -- or opposition – to Sub-Saharan intervention is mainly

linked to selfish national interest as defined through political, economic, social or cultural

advantage.

This paper will argue this thesis in four parts. In Chapter Two, the framework for

the argument will be established through providing insight into the African condition; it

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[16]Though not specifically UN missions, IFOR and SFOR have been successful in the Balkans. Successful UN missions include UNTAC (Cambodia) and UNIFET (East Timor).

[17]United Nations Peacekeeping, "Past Operations: Africa," http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/index.asp; Internet; accessed 28 February 2005. 17 UN missions have been launched since 1989.

is necessary to understand the background of sub-Saharan Africa: to define the region and to demonstrate the impact of colonialism and the newfound optimism of the 1960s as newly formed states gained independence from their colonial masters. Critical to the background is an understanding of the current state of Africa; illustrating the political upheaval, overwhelming social and humanitarian problems, economic shortfalls and regional instability will frame later discussion on the need for P5 intervention. In Chapter Three, the strategic relevance of sub-Saharan Africa must be identified. Its myriad of strategic resources – minerals, raw material, oil and diamonds – has great influence over the policies and actions of the P5. Further to sub-Saharan Africa's untapped resource potential, the regions geo-strategic location and geo-political significance is of interest to the Great Powers. It is through examination of these factors that the national interest of the Great Powers can be explained. Chapter Four will discuss the role of the UN, and specifically the UNSC voting mechanisms, in conjunction with the key national interest and domestic goals of the P5 in the global context, with particular emphasis on sub-Saharan Africa. These interests must be defined in terms of the political, economic, social or cultural advantage that is gained or disadvantage avoided. Finally, in Chapter Five, the P5's rationale for supporting, or delaying, peacekeeping efforts in Somalia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Angola, along with the potential operation in Sudan, will be weighed against the national self-interests of the Great Powers. This analysis will allow proper assessment of the P5 post-Cold war response to sub-Sahara Africa. By following this roadmap, it will be clearly illustrated that the P5 has primarily been, and continues to be, self-motivated when considering action in the region.

CHAPTER TWO – THE SUB-SAHARA AFRICAN CONDITION

In order to set the framework for discussion, it is necessary to understand the events, factors and influences that have created the Africa of today. Africa is divided into two parts, North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa. This paper will concentrate on sub-Saharan Africa.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Figure 1.1. Sub-Saharan Africa

Source: University of South Florida.

Sub-Saharan Africa, as depicted in Figure 1.1, is a term that refers to the continent lying predominantly south of the Sahara, also pejoratively referred to as "Black Africa". The main distinction lies in the notion that North Africa, tied to the Mediterranean and

the Middle East, is predominantly Muslim, while Sub-Saharan Africa is predominantly black in ethnicity.[18]   This part of Africa contains 48 nations[19] many of them amongst the poorest and most underdeveloped nations in the world. Amongst the myriad of problems faced by these nations, regional instability, demographics – and its follow on effects –
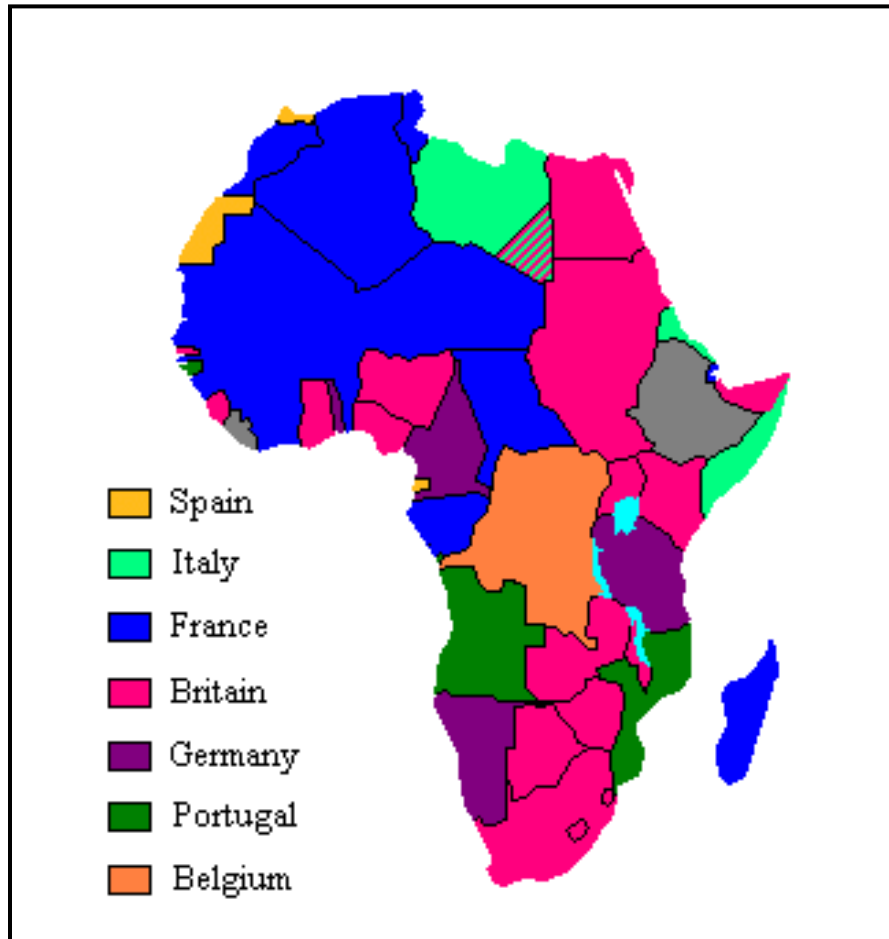
Figure 1.2. Colonial Africa 1914

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Africa, accessed 27 February 2004

As a result of the Partition, African raw material was exploited and transported

back to the colonizing homelands and used to produce manufactured goods, some for

the subsequent re-sale back to Africans. Buying cheap raw materials and returning

expensive goods resulted in a significant profit for the European colonizers. As a

result, many African countries became involved in a parasitic relationship that

thwarted their ability to capitalize on their own abundance. "The motivation of

colonization has been extensively documented. Though not entirely self-serving, most actions by the Great Powers were for reasons of profit and exploitation with little attention paid to the needs of the local population."[22] This colonial relationship has, in some instances, created a dependency that still exists today as many former colonies use their colonial ties to elicit financial support.[23]

Starting in the late 1950s, African colonies began the transition from colonies to independent nationhood:

> The times were electric. In country after country, the flags of Great Britain, Belgium, and France were replaced by the banners of the new states, whose leaders offered idealistic promises to remake the continent and thus the world. Hopes were high, and the most ambitious of goals seemed obtainable. Even non-Africans spoke of the resource rich continent as being the verge of a developmental take-off.[24]

Yet, with independence came a great responsibility and many countries were not prepared for the realities of independence. With the reliance on colonial governance and infrastructure, many new nations were too immature to handle their own growth.[25] Tensions were soon evident as conflict within the new states created disorder and disenchantment. Many nations suffered great inner conflict as ruling tribes and races, favoured by the colonial rulers, were threatened by the working class minorities who

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[22]Dr. Walter Dorn, conversation with author, 25 April 2005.

[23]"Colonialism in Africa," http://athena.english.vt.edu/~carlisle/Postcolonial/Colonialism_Africa.html; Internet; accessed 27 Feb 05

[24]Ed. George Klay Kieh, Jr and Pita Ogaba Agbese, *The Military and Politics in Africa: From Engagement to Democratic and Constitutional Control* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004), 2.

[25]Ibid., 2

wished a greater role in self-governance and greater access to wealth.[26] This inequality

and perceived injustice, a by-product of the colonial period, is one of the main causes of

African instability.

Political Instability

While the legacy of colonialism is still a source of regional instability, there are

many other factors that restrict the growth of sub-Saharan Africa. Politics play a large

part in the dilemma of finding an appropriate response to Africa's problems. There has

been a broad, yet basic, categorization of the region as "Africa", but defining Africa as

one or more regions is still to simplistic; trying to analyze Africa's governance problems

through one model is also too basic. Often Africa is considered as a whole due to the

cultural homogeneity between states.[27] Yet there has never been one African government

and the variety of African governments requires different understanding. "There remains

a disagreement between scholars on the structure of traditional African government…

Instead there were several types of governments." There has been a move afoot, internal

to the African states, to change the various styles of government to the Western model.

> The present preference for Western-style democracy in Africa can be linked to two
> recent historical events: the move to democratization in East Europe during the
> 1980s when citizens of former communist countries of East Europe rose against
> economic hardship and were able to successfully force democratic reforms and
> gross mismanagement of economies by both the post-colonial governments and
> military dictatorships in Africa.[28]

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[26]"Colonialism in Africa,"
http://athena.english.vt.edu/~carlisle/Postcolonial/Colonialism_Africa.html; Internet; accessed 27 Feb 05.

[27]Chuka Onwumechili, *African Democratization and Military Coups* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1998), 2.

[28]Ibid., 34.

As a result, there is a potential for P5 nations to provide mentorship roles in the development of good governance. Two most diametrically opposed ideologies, as represented by the United States and China, can be used as templates for sub-Saharan leaders.

Demographics

Besides politics, demographics have played a large role in Africa's burgeoning problems. With a population increase of 221 million in 1950 to 785 million in 2000, Africa is growing faster than any other region at 2.4 per cent per year. With this growth rate, the projected population in 2030 is 1.4 billion.[29]
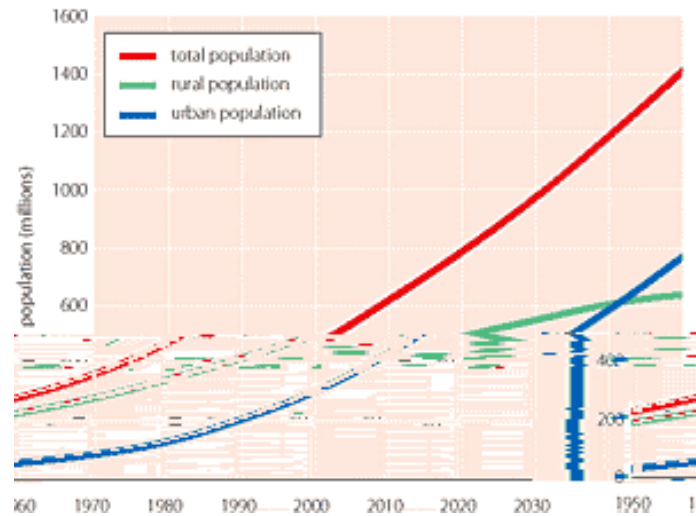
Figure 1.3. Sub-Saharan Population Growth

Source: UNDP 2000

This increase in population will lead to increased developmental pressure. Of particular concern to the P5 is the impact on global security. If African governments are unable to care for their citizens, there will be an increase in disenchantment and

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[29]African Environment Outlook, "The Driving Forces of the Scenarios," http://www.unep.org/dewa/Africa/publications/AEO-1/266.htm; Internet; accessed 27 Feb 05.

subsequent unrest. To illustrate, "countries plagued by wars and upheaval in recent years – for example Congo …– have also experienced severe demographic and resource pressures. Most often, pockets of overcrowding, high unemployment, food and water shortages, and weak or non-existent health and education sectors characterise such societies."[30] This potential unrest is compounded by the poor state of health care in Africa. While many diseases continue unabated, malaria for example, the number one health care crisis in Africa is AIDS. "In the developing world, and particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, acquired immune deficiency syndrome, or AIDS, has affected a staggering proportion of the population, killing millions and overwhelming governments already burdened with weak economies and endemic poverty."[31] Unable to care for itself, sub-Sahara Africa will continue to look to developed countries for aid and assistance.

Economic Growth

Economic growth has been another albatross around the African neck. Bad governance and instability remain reasons for the dismal economic growth. Governments, worried about internal strife, divert needed resources into arms and militaries from needed social, agricultural and humanitarian programs.[32] The pressures on the nascent governments to correct the numerous economic, social and health ills are huge. When coupled with the immature governmental systems resulting from hasty

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[30]R.P. Jakubow et al, Department of National Defence, *DND Strategic Overview 2000* (Ottawa: Directorate of Strategic Analysis, 2000), 19.

[31]Ibid., 20.

[32]Ibid., 71.

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independence, these economic pressures make the sub-Saharan region extremely volatile. While insurgency and civil war are factors that retard growth and prosperity, a common economic de-stabilizer is the military coup. "The frequency of military coups is such that they threaten to derail several moves towards democratization across the continent."[33] Africa has experienced significant military intervention in politics: firstly as a result ineffective governance by weak post-colonial governments, secondly as the military attempted to solidify its positioning the 1970s and 1980s, and finally asymmetric military forces, such as guerrillas, warlords and renegades, that can overpower weak governments.[34]

Sub-Sahara Africa faces many obstacles to establishing a healthy, secure and stable environment for its citizens. Extensive regional instability, humanitarian and economic crises are a product of the post-Cold War "peace" and the legacy of colonialism. "The end of the Cold War and termination of great power military and economic support, both for client regimes and for insurgent movements…[has resulted in] the rapid spread of conflict across national boundaries, and emergence of regional conflict formations pulling neighbouring African states into vortices of violence."[35]

It is in this maelstrom of political, military, economic, social and humanitarian uncertainty that the full potential of sub-Saharan Africa has not been realized. Unable to govern themselves, sub-Saharan African states have squandered the opportunities that

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[33]Onwumechili, *African Democratization and Military Coups*, 1.

[34]Jakubow et al, *DND Strategic Overview 2000*, 71.

[35]Ibid., 100.

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could allow the sub-continent to jump into the developed world. Ignoring the daunting humanitarian, social and economic problems is a difficult task for the First World, yet in the post-Cold War era, the sporadic interest in Africa has shown that the P5 is capable of such a feat. Sub-Saharan Africa remains an isolated area which the Great Powers have sometimes exploited for their own ends, despite their mandate to maintain international peace and security and exercise UN trusteeship of "strategic areas". The Great Powers' interest in resolving the region's many problems can be linked to promotion of their own self-interests. The Great Powers have primarily used the region to advance their own agendas. Historically this has been the aim of colonialism; today the vehicle is the UNSC. In order to understand why the P5 does, or doesn't get involved in sub-Saharan Africa's affairs, it is necessary to analyze the strategic relevance of the sub-continent in order to determine what the Great Powers maybe interested in gaining, or avoiding, when considering action in the region as part of their responsibilities.

CHAPTER THREE – STRATEGIC RELEVANCE OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

In order to understand why the P5 sees opportunity in the region, the strategic

relevance of sub-Saharan Africa must be analyzed. Underdeveloped, yet rich in many

resources, the region's potential for growth is tremendous. Specifically, the allure of

securing access to strategic resources would be a great boon to any industrialized nation.

Furthermore, with over 48 countries – or twenty percent of the world's voting power --

fostering support from any, or all, recognized sub-Saharan government could hold great

sway in any official global forum with standard voting procedures. The sheer size of the

sub-continent, with its significant number of potential consumers, with its significant

need for refined products, technology and machinery, and with its need for external

support, creates tremendous promise for any nation to enter into an economically

advantageous relationship with sub-Saharan Africa.

Other strategic advantages are tied to the location of the sub-continent and it's

proximity to other important geo-strategic theatres like the Middle East and Southeast

Asia. It is this positioning that makes sub-Saharan Africa a key factor in many trans-

national issues; it is a gateway to the remainder of the world for crime, drugs and disease.

In this chapter, the strategic relevance of the sub-continent will be discussed.

When considered as a whole, sub-Saharan Africa may appear to be overlooked by the P5

as members of the UNSC. On closer analysis, however, it will be clear that there is

significant P5 interest in certain parts of the region, as many advantages can be leveraged

to strengthen the national interests of each of the Great Powers. The key factors affect

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the P5 are the abundance of strategic natural resources, the voting power of the African Bloc, the economic potential of the region, the geo-strategic importance and the trans-national issues of the sub-continent. With considerable P5 interest in the oil and mineral deposits around the Gulf Of Guinea and strategic minerals in the Horn of Africa and Central Africa, it is significant that some African nations are more important to the P5 than others.

Strategic Natural Resources

Oil

Sub-Saharan Africa is a growing exporter of fossil fuel. The Gulf of Guinea has untapped off shore reserves that will throw nations such as Sudan, Angola, Congo-Brazzaville, and Equatorial Guinea into the international spotlight within the next few decades, with the hope of additional reserves yet to be found. Already Nigeria has made significant progress extracting, refining and distributing oil globally.[36]
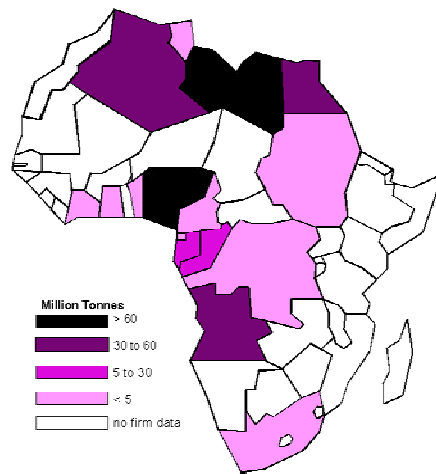
Figure 2.1. Oil and Fossil Fuels Distribution in Africa

Source: Key Energy Issues in Sub-Saharan Africa http://www.csis.org/sei/work/KEIAfrica.pdf

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[36]Centre for Strategic and International Studies, "Key Energy Issues in Sub-Saharan Africa," http://www.csis.org/sei/work/KEIAfrica.pdf ; Internet; accessed 16 March 2005.

This oil producing potential has captured the interest of the Great Powers who are trying to secure greater and greater access to petroleum and other fuel products to support industry and commerce. China's demand for fuel is increasing exponentially as its consumer and industrial need climb. There has been a thirty percent increase in China's

of metals which are critical to development of high tech weapon systems and steel.[40] All

the Great Powers are "vulnerable to the cut off these resource components"[41] given the

importance of arms production and export as key components of their gross national

products. In terms of their own national security, these strategic minerals and metals are

crucial to any plans to increase production in times of emergency. Regions of Africa area

a key source of these minerals and metals (see Table 2.1) and have been dubbed the

"Persian Gulf of Minerals."[42] The key producing countries are Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

and the Republic of South Africa.

Table 2.1. Strategic Mineral Reserves (% of World Total)

	Chromium	Cobalt	Manganese	Platinum
Former Soviet Union	9%	4%	38%	10%
Southern Africa	79%	59%	53%	89%
Cuba		26%		

Source: Butts, Kent Hughes, Strategic Minerals In the New World Order. 1993

In addition, according to the World Energy Council, six sub-Saharan counties

hold significant uranium deposits, which are essential for the military and energy sectors

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[40]Kent Hughes Butts, *Strategic Minerals In the New World Order* (Carlisle, PA*:* Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, 1993), v.

[41]Ibid., vi.

[42]Ibid., 1.
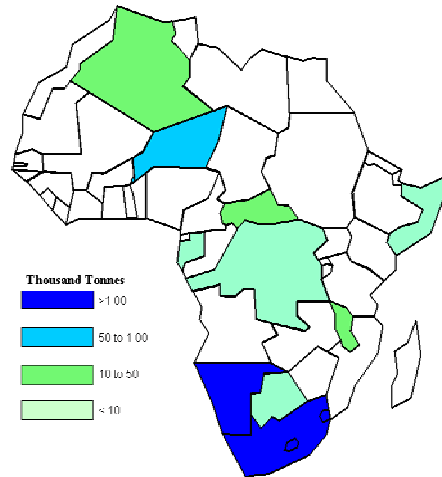
Figure 2.2. Uranium Deposits Africa

Source: http://www.worldenergy.org/wec-
geis/publications/reports/africa/geography/uranium.asp

as well as important to any further development of nuclear arms – either by nation states

or terrorist organizations.

For the United States, "regional conflict and internal collapse in producing

countries poses a new threat to the scarce supply of strategic mineral resources that

exceeds the threat of Soviet cut off during the Cold War."[43] This observation holds true

for all the P5, save perhaps Russia who holds a significant reserve for its own purposes.

Given the ongoing regional strife and inconsistent supply in face of a constant demand,

the P5 is seeking to establish connections with stable governments and cement these

sources of supply through "…security assistance resources, foreign aid and political

largesse."[44] Countries that figure prominently in this dialogue are Zaire, Zambia and

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[43]Butts, *Strategic Minerals In the New World Order,* vii.

[44]Ibid., 36.

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Zimbabwe.[45] Sub-Saharan Africa strategic minerals and metals are of great significance to the P5. Conflict diamonds are but another example of this interest.

Conflict Diamonds

Conflict diamonds, also called rough diamonds or blood diamonds, are defined as "diamonds that originate from areas controlled by forces or factions opposed to legitimate and internationally recognized governments"[46]. Angola, Liberia and the Democratic Republic of Congo have all suffered instability over the diamond trade. Diamonds are a key component of funding for rebel military action, and have funded the efforts of Foday Sankoh (leader of Sierra Leone's Revolutionary United Front) and Charles Taylor (President of Liberia).[47] The United Nations vehemently opposes the sale of conflict diamonds. "An estimated 4 per cent [sic] of the 6.8 billion dollars worth of diamonds produced each year – 50 per cent [sic] of which is sourced in Africa – is used for the purchase of arms for conflict zones."[48] Diamonds have been responsible for the continuation of brutal military actions in sub-Saharan Africa for decades.

This vicious cycle has been understood by the international community. Blood diamonds not only contribute to regional instability, they also affect legitimate diamond

[45]Ibid., 15.

[46]United Nations, "Conflict Diamonds: Sanctions and War," http://www.un.org/peace/africa/Diamond.html; Internet; accessed 17 March 2005.

[47]John L. Hirsch, *Sierra Leone: Diamonds and the Struggle for Democracy* (Boulder: Lynne Reiner Publishers Inc., 2001), 25.

[48]Paul Orogun, " 'Blood Diamonds' and Africa's Armed Conflicts in the Post-Cold War Era," *World Affairs*, Volume 166, Issue 3 (Winter 2004), 151.

trade in Africa and the rest of the world. The United Nations has placed sanctions on the

key transgressors as of 1 December 2000, passing resolutions under Chapter VII of the

UN Charter to prevent the movement of diamonds from the targeted in order to contribute

to peace and security in the region.[49]   International certification procedures, such as the

Kimberley Process, have been emplaced to stem the flow of conflict diamonds and stop

the cash flow to agents that wish to continue the tide of regional instability.

Economy

Sub-Sahara's economy is still tied to the old colonial system. Based on centuries

old practice, the African nations produce the basics for the manufacturing process to

provide the basis for second stage manufacturing in the industrial nations. These

industrial nations – United States, Germany, France, Great Britain – in turn tap into the

huge African consumer and military markets to ply their goods.[50]   Table 2.2 outlines the

key imports to the P5 and exports from the P5 for selected sub-Saharan countries.

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[49] United Nations, "Conflict Diamonds: Sanctions and War,"
http://www.un.org/peace/africa/Diamond.html; Internet; accessed 17 March 2005. "On 1 December 2000,
the United Nations General Assembly adopted, unanimously, a resolution on the role of diamonds in
fuelling conflict, breaking the link between the illicit transaction of rough diamonds and armed conflict, as
a contribution to prevention and settlement of conflicts (A/RES/55/56)."

[50]Ed. Kieh and Agbese, *The Military and Politics in Africa…*, 3.

Table 2.2. - 2003 Sub-Saharan Imports from/Exports to P5 nations (% of sub-Saharan country's total trade)

	US		UK		France		China		Russia	
	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export
Angola	12.2	47.7	4.2		6.5	7.4		23.4		
Burundi				15.8	5.1		4.5			
CAR			5.3		27	7.4				
Côte d'Ivoire		7.1	7.0		32.7	19.1				
DRC				15.4	12.6					
Eritrea	39.7	5.1			4.7	4.3			5.4	
Ethiopia	17	5.1					6.4			
Liberia		6.0				5.5		4.1		
Namibia[51]	50	4	31	79						
Rwanda					5.0		3.9			
Sierra Leone	5.3	4.5	9.9	4.5	7.4					
Somalia								6		
South Africa	8.2	12.4	8.5	12.6		5.0		4.7		
Sudan			5		4.1		14.2	40.9		
Zambia			5.9	26.7						
Zimbabwe								5.3		

Source: http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html , 2003

As Table 2.2 shows, all P5 nations, save Russia, have entered into considerable economic trade with several sub-Saharan nations. France, the US and the UK lead the way. These economic relationships are important to the P5 as they can foster political support and loyalty from the African Bloc, to be manipulated for national gain.

African Bloc

In today's multilateral world, where many initiatives can be passed through majority vote, the weight of the African bloc cannot be overlooked. Sub-Saharan Africa has 48 potential votes in the UN General Assembly and even more importantly, potential temporary membership in the United Nations Security Council. As such sub-Saharan

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[51]The trade figures under the UK represents trade with the European Union as a whole

Africa has been targeted by some of the P5, particularly China, Russia and France, to secure votes and support in order to stem US hegemony. The failure of the UNHCR sponsored resolution against China's human rights record and the French led denial of UN support for the US/UK sponsored Iraqi Invasion of 2003 are examples of the African Bloc's power.   Through favourable trading practices and foreign aid, the P5 nations can "buy" loyalty and support in a multitude of international forums.

Ongoing initiatives such as UN Security Council Reform, International Monetary Fund and World Bank demonstrate the inequalities in African representations. "…African countries, who account for a quarter of the membership of the IMF and World Bank, have just over 4 percent of the vote. Belgium (population 10 million) has more votes than Nigeria, Ethiopia, Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique and South Africa combined (total population around 300 million)."[52] With greater consideration for African seats on major organizations and councils, e.g. the proposals for UNSC reform, the strategic significance of the entire African continent will increase. The Great Powers have realized that ignoring regions of the sub-continent is hazardous; for this reason they are selective in which countries gain their support and assistance.

Geo-Strategic Location

Sub-Saharan Africa is in a key geo-strategic location for all the Great Powers. With quick access to the Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea, the Persian Gulf and the

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[52]Global Economic Governance Programme, Oxford University, "Ngaire Woods, A note on decision-making reform in the IMF," http://www.g24.org/WoodNote.pdf; Internet; accessed 17 March 2005.

Indian Ocean, the maritime prospects are tremendous; the territorial waters of Africa are part of the international oil transit routes from the Persian Gulf to Europe and North America.[53] With over 34 deep water ports[54] there is significant anchorage to establish a temporary merchant or naval presence that can control key maritime areas. Similarly several countries have good airfields astride major air corridors. Fostering stronger ties to several sub-Saharan countries would ensure access to and control over crucial sea and trade routes.

Trans-national Issues

While sub-Saharan Africa's regional instability is debilitating in itself, it also breeds new threats that cross international boundaries and can affect all nations including the P5. These threats are terrorism, crime (including narcotics trafficking and production and money laundering) and last but not least, pandemics.

Terrorism

The 1998 attacks on the US Embassies in Nairobi and Tanzania were major post-Cold War terrorist attacks in sub-Saharan Africa. As part of their modus operandi, many terrorist organizations seek the instability and chaos caused by regional instability to allow them to organize, fund raise, train and operate with impunity. An absence of a

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[53]Findarticles.com. "Sub-Saharan Africa and the United States." *US Dept of State Bulletin,* May 1986." http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1079/is_v86/ai_4188347; Internet; accessed 26 February 2005.

[54]World Sea Ports, "Maritime Resources – Port Guides," http://www.ports.com/continent3.asp?name=Africa; Internet; accessed 17 March 2005. The total of 34 was reached by accessing each sub-Saharan country and counting the number of ports listed.

stable and credible government allows these organizations to move freely and safely in given countries and the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has stated that "suspected terrorists operate predominantly in so-called 'failed states'."[55] At the commencement of George Bush Jr.'s war on terrorism, the US and other nations have only vested a fraction of their resources to Africa, against suspected terrorist safe-havens, vice the massive resources assigned to high profile area in Southwest Asia and Iraq. Sub-Saharan Africa is part of the vital ground in the war against terrorism and to disregard it is a mistake. Just one example of the prolific infiltration of terrorist organizations is in Somalia which has been decentralized to local warlords for over 10 years; the lack of a centralized government allows terrorist groups to operate side by side with rebels and local gangs. They are virtually undetectable. Furthermore, other nations willingly harbour terrorists in order to generate cash; suspected terrorists groups operate in economically depressed areas, paying for the loyalty and services of local rulers.[56]

Crime

In its annual report, the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) considers Africa a global hotspot for the production and trafficking of illegal drugs.[57] Sub-Saharan Africa remains a focal point for distribution and African countries have not given appropriate attention to this issue. In an effort to gain funding and as a consequence of

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[55]Olayinka Oyegbile, "Africa and Threats of Terrorism," *Daily Independent (liberal)* [Lagos, Nigeria], 6 December 2004. http://www.worldpress.org/Africa/1989.cfm; Internet; accessed 17 March 2005

[56]Ibid.

[57]Unknown staff writer, "Africa 'remains weak link' in drug control**,"** *Afrol News*, 2 March 2005. http://www.afrol.com/articles/15823; Internet; accessed 17 March 2005.

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poor governance, sub-Saharan Africa has become a focal point for crime of all types, yet

illicit drugs remain the most lucrative in terms of money. Given the rampant corruption

amongst local officials, lax import rules, and poor control over ports, the sub-continent is

used as a transit point for shipment of narcotics from South America, Southeast and

Southwest Asia for furtherance to Europe and North America.[58] The United States

Department of States tracks the efforts of all nations in the "War on Drugs" and places

the following countries on watch list: Nigeria, Benin and Zambia. Sub-Saharan Africa

can also become a key producer of illicit drugs as there are poor controls over the control

of the many "precursor chemicals" that are needed to produce synthetic drugs.[59]

Furthermore, the growth use of injected drug use, such as heroin, contributes to other

social ills, most notably AIDS. The problem is further exacerbated by poor African

representation on the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB), with only one

African member amongst the 13.

Money Laundering

Money laundering, a by product of the illegal drug trade and a vital activity in

terrorist funding, is a widespread problem in sub-Saharan Africa, affecting global trade,

terrorism and crime. Africa is increasingly being used as a conduit to siphon money from

illegal operations into legitimate European and North American banks[60]. Increasingly,

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[58]US Department of State, "Africa and the Middle East," http://www.state.gov/g/inl/rls/nrcrpt/2000/893.htm; Internet; accessed 17 March 2005.

[59]Unknown staff writer, "Africa 'remains weak link' in drug control**,**" *Afrol News*, 2 March 2005. http://www.afrol.com/articles/15823; Internet; accessed 17 March 2005.

[60]UN General Assembly Special Session on the World Drug Problem 8-10 June 1998, "Money Laundering," http://www.fas.org/irp/news/1998/06/launder.htm; Internet; accessed 17 March 2005.

Africa is under greater and greater scrutiny from financial organizations and experts.[61] The foundation of the Eastern and Southern Africa Anti-Money Laundering Group is just but one initiative to deal with this issue.

Pandemics

While sub-Saharan Africa has been host to many diseases, such as Ebola, it is presently suffering from an Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) pandemic. As the global epicentre for the disease, Africa continues to struggle under the debilitating effect of AIDS on the sub-continent's quest for self reliance. With massive casualty figures, coupled with other crippling issues such as drought and famine, it is estimated that one in five Africans is infected with the virus. "[A]bout 70 percent of newly-infected HIV cases reside in sub-Saharan Africa, while children in sub-Saharan Africa form 90 percent of newly-infected cases in persons under the age of 15."[62]
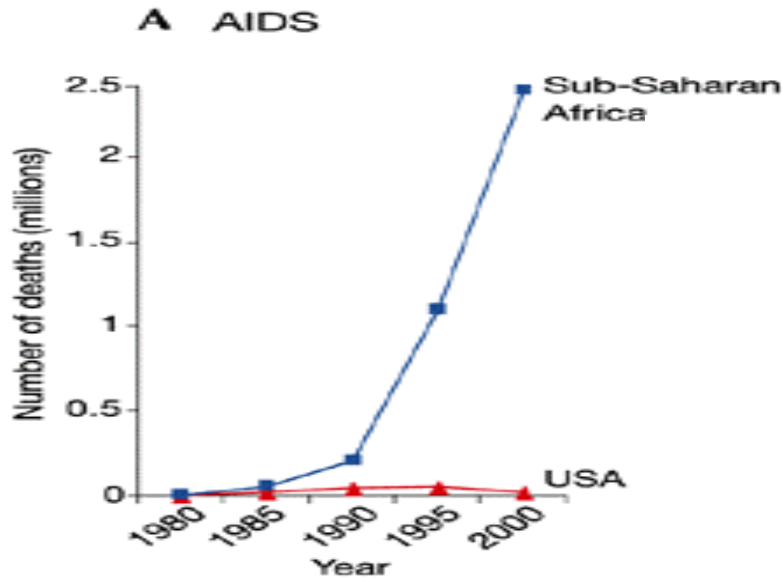
Figure 2.3 Deaths due to AIDS, Sub-Sahara Africa versus USA

Source: *European Molecular Biology Organization EMBO reports 4, Supp1, S10–S14 (2003)*[63]

This issue will gain prevalence as the sub-continent looks to the industrialized nations for support in stemming the devastation caused by AIDS. Developed nations also track this pandemic in the aim of preventing its spread from Africa to their borders.

Displaced Persons and Refugees

The scale of displaced persons and refugees in sub-Sahara Africa is staggering. In a quest to avoid civil war and in fighting, or to avoid genocide, millions of people have fled to neighbouring countries. The new host countries are unable to adequately care for the new arrivals and malnutrition and disease are rampant.[64] Countries affected are:

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[63]European Molecular Biology Organization, "EMBO Reports 4, Supp1, S10–S14 (2003) doi:10.1038/sj.embor.embor857," http://www.nature.com/embor/journal/v4/n6s/fig_tab/embor857_f3.html; Internet; accessed 17 March 2005.

[64]International Committee of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, "ARCHI 2000, Refugees and Internally Displaces Persons (IDPs) in Africa," http://www.ifrc.org/WHAT/health/archi/fact/frefugee.htm; Internet; accessed 17 March 2005

Angola, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Guinea, Liberia, Kenya, Sierra Leone, Somali, Sudan, Uganda and The Great lakes Region with over 2 million displaced persons.[65] Displaced persons and refugees and the humanitarian disaster in sub-Saharan Africa are linked. Unable to settle, these persons contribute nothing to the growth of industry or agriculture, and strain the already stretched resources of the countries harbouring them. Ill equipped to handle the massive influx, hosting countries can do little to combat malnourishment, disease and filth that result form such primitive living conditions. The scale of the suffering is staggering and it is the media visions of this travesty create international pressure to act.

Summary

Sub-Saharan Africa's economic potential and multitude of problems can result in strategic concerns for the P5. The sheer size of the unexploited natural resources such as oil and strategic minerals make it an attractive venue for any industrialized nation. The implications of these assets in increasing the industrial and military might of any nation are immense. As demand outside Africa grows, the region's importance to the industrialized world will grow. In order to gain access to these materials, it is either necessary to deal with the regional stability in order to ensure consistent supply, or conversely, exploit or ignore instability. There are examples of both, as countries have tried to support existing governments, e.g. the French with the Hutu government in

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[65]Ibid.

Rwanda[66], or have tried to remove governments and deal with opposition elements to gain advantage, e.g. the US in Zaire.[67]

Economic trade with Africa remains a venue through which to foster stronger relations with African governments. In the neo-colonial era, economic ties with Africa are advantageous to the P5. For relatively small investments, the P5 can gain loyalty that is out of proportion to the funds expended. While the trade figures may be tiny in comparison to the P5's trade balance, the figures are huge in terms of African standards.

The political potential of the sub-Saharan nations cannot be overlooked either. Representing a quarter of the world's voting power in most international committees and organizations, it will become increasingly important for the P5 nations to foster strong ties in order to progress their own agendas. As Africa becomes more organized and unified, it may gain a stronger say in major global organizations such as the UN Security Council[68], the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.[69] Alliances with the up and coming countries may be a strategic objective for the P5.

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[66]The Members of the International Panel of Eminent Personalities…, *Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide*, Article 12.12.

[67]Africa Action, http://www.africaaction.org/docs96/zair9606.2.htm; Internet; accessed 26 April 2005. "U.S. House of Representatives Resolution Introduced, Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to the promotion of democracy and civil society in Zaire. (Introduced in the House), 104th CONGRESS, 2d Session, H. RES. 399, March 29, 1996. "…Whereas the United States has recognized by Presidential Proclamation that President Mobutu is the primary obstacle to the transition to democracy in Zaire; and Whereas House Concurrent Resolution 238, unanimously passed by the 102d Congress, calling on President Mobutu to step down, was not heeded…"

[68]Global Policy Forum. "Razali Reform Paper," http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/reform/raz-497.htm; Internet; accessed 26 April 2005. In his 1997 UNSC reform proposal, Razali recommended that an additional permanent member and an additional non-permanent member from developing Africa be added to the UNSC.

In addition, the geo-strategic control that can be gained from stationing troops or equipment in sub-Saharan countries can only be seen as a positive step as it allows for greater control and access to key sea and air routes.

Stability of Africa is also a strategic imperative in order to stem the tide of transnational crime, terrorism and pandemics. These three threats pose a great danger to the international community. It is necessary for the P5, and others, to curtail the means and opportunity for these threats to flourish to preserve their national security.

Finally, the magnitude of the human tragedy that is unfolding in sub-Saharan Africa as a direct result of the regional instability will pose great challenges to the P5. As the P5's domestic population grows more and more concerned about the plight of their fellow man, it will be necessary to ease the African pain and suffering so as to retain power. Unhappiness in African foreign policy could lead to discontent on the domestic front and create a host of further problems for the governments of the P5 nations.

Having examined the strategic relevance of the sub-Saharan region, this paper will now discuss the national interests of the P5 and the UN as they pertain to sub-Saharan Africa.

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[69]International Monetary Fund, "The IMF in Focus," http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/survey/2004/093004.pdf; Internet; accessed 26 April 2005. "At regular intervals of not more than five years, the IMF's Executive Board reviews members' quotas and decides—in light of developments in the global economy and changes in members' economic positions relative to other members—whether to propose an adjustment of their quotas to the Board of Governors." This continual reform could prove beneficial to sub-Saharan Africa as economies improve and relative standing to other developing nations increases.

CHAPTER FOUR - P5 NATIONAL INTERESTS

Having discussed the background and the strategic relevance of sub-Saharan

Africa, it is now time to discuss the UNSC, specifically the P5's role in the Council, as

well as the P5's intentions and motives. At the end of this chapter, it will be clear how

the UN Security Council is used by the P5 to attain specific objectives from the sub-

continent. Firstly it is important to understand how the UN Security Council is used by

the P5 as a vehicle to promote their national interests. Next, the African Crisis Response

Initiative (ACRI), initiated by three of the P5 and supported by the United Nations, will

be examined in order to illustrate the political convenience the Security Council, and the

UN, wish to practice with regards to sub-Saharan conflicts. Consequently, in order to

evaluate the P5 response to the sub-continent's crises and how they are tempered by

national interest, it is necessary to define national interest. Finally, it is critical to

examine the national interests of the P5 nations, particularly in relation to sub-Saharan

Africa.

The United Nations and the P5

> *The [UN] Security Council is a committee of great powers, heir to the victors in the Second World War. They manage the world in their own interest. The Security Council is, on the very rare occasions it actually works, realpolitik by committee. But by what logic is it a repository of international morality?*[70]

The United Nations consists of several bodies, the most well known being the

General assembly (UNGA) and the Security Council (UNSC). In the UNGA, all

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[70]Charles Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment Revisited," *The National Interest,* vol 70, (Winter 2002/2003): 5.

members have equal voting power and sidebar discussions, concessions and influence are used to gain votes for a variety of issues. The UNSC, however, is comprised of 15 members: the P5 – who have veto status -- and ten non-permanent members who serve on a rotating two year basis. In order for a UNSC Resolution (UNSCR) to be passed, there must be "great power unanimity"[71], whereby the entire P5 must vote in favour, or abstain from voting. One negative vote from any of the P5 will kill a UNSCR. In addition to great power unanimity, a UNSCR will only be approved if at least five of the ten non-permanent members vote in favour of the resolution. Thus in order to be passed, a resolution requires majority vote and great power unanimity.[72]

Understanding how the P5's unique power could impact on international security issues, the UN passed Resolution 377 "Uniting for Peace."[73] Under the provision of this article a matter can be referred to the UNGA if the UNSC is deemed unable to "maintain international peace." A simple majority vote will then decide the issue. Resolution 377 has been invoked ten times since being adopted[74], most notably for the Suez Crisis in 1956 and the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan in 1980.

The power politics involved in the UNSC are dynamic. During the Cold War, the battle lines was based on ideology with the US, the UK and France aligned against the

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[71]Brendan I. Koerner, "Can you Bypass a UN Security Council Veto?" http://slate.msn.com/id/2080036/; Internet; accessed 20 April 2005.

[72]Ibid.

[73]Ibid.

[74]Ibid.

Soviet Union, with China holding the middle ground. Since the end of the cold war, the dynamic has shifted with the US and UK aligned against China and Russia, with France holding the middle ground.[75] Even with the desire of China, France and Russia to circumvent US hegemony, the US finds itself in a position where consensus building is desirable. "[The] US has been repeatedly drawn back to the UN finding the legitimacy it confers on its actions, if not indispensable to taking action, is extremely costly to ignore."[76]

Preserving the sanctity and power of the United Nations Security Council is a paramount concern of all five permanent members. For some it provides an important voice on international issues, for others it provides legitimacy for courses of action. The status derived from the Permanent Council is a great equalizer in the uni-polar post-cold war era. "The commitment of the United Kingdom and France to keeping the Security Council at the centre of considerations relating to international peace and security…[is because] it gives them a prominence out of proportion to their actual ability to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security."[77] The same can be said for China and Russia. "In considering the positions of Britain, France, Russia and China, it has already been observed that their traditionally strong support for 'the principles of the

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[75]Erik Voeten, "Outside Options and the Logic of Security Council Action," *American Political Science Review,* vol 95, no 4 (December 2001): 847.

[76]Berdal, *UN Security Council…*, 14

[77]Ibid., 11.

charter and the primacy of the Council' cannot be easily separated from the prosaic and hard-headed considerations of interest, prestige and honour."[78]

National honour and prestige are key considerations in the new UNSC dynamic. "The United Nations is usually the first venue for consensus building,"[79] however, the US is capable of independent action, or leveraging other multilateral institutions, and ignoring the UN completely. These options may or may not include the other P5 nations and there could be many scenarios where concurrence of the UNSC is not an "imperative."[80] By reverting to "asymmetric options"[81] – of which unilateral action, coalitions of the willing, NATO and the EU are all examples –the UNSC could isolate a dissenting member. However, this is not the preferred option as UNSC approval provides instant legitimacy. The non-permanent members of the UNSC understand this and use their status to "gain considerable concessions from [a] superpower"[82] that is required to garner support.

Given that the US can act unilaterally, the other P5 nations have several options to protect their international status: they can build coalitions with other P5 nations and UNSC non-permanent members to defeat motions; they can gain concessions from the

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[78]Ibid., 20.

[79]James A. Baker III, *The Politics of Diplomacy: Revolution, War and Peace: 1989–1992*. (New York: Putnam's, 1995), 278.

[80]Voeten, *Outside Options and the Logic of Security Council Action…*, 845. Asymmetric options refer to the many mechanisms that enable intervention without UNSC approval.

[81]Ibid., 845.

[82]Ibid., 845.

proposing nation; or they can accept the resolution, yet voice their "moral or political objections"[83] through an abstention. There have been recent examples of all three. France was able to defeat the last minute proposal for the 2003 Iraq Invasion, led by the US and UK, by building a coalition with UNSC non-permanent members;[84] "China has been able to achieve both economic side payments and security guarantees [from the US] in exchange for its behaviour in the UNSC;"[85] and finally, Russia's objective "to reassert itself as an important power and establish some distance from the West" led to a series of abstentions starting in 1993.[86] China has also used its abstentions regarding operations in Rwanda and Sudan[87], both where the West had other options that did not require UN approval.

While catering to national agendas and advancing national interest, the UNSC can serve the P5 a greater purpose than maintaining global status. The United Nations provides suitable "top-cover" for the individual policies of states. Regardless of the viability of a nation's unique policy "…the UN and its associated organs and agencies

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[83]Brendan I. Koerner, "Can you Bypass a UN Security Council Veto?" http://slate.msn.com/id/2080036/; Internet; accessed 20 April 2005.

[84]Bryson, *France and the New World Order*, 87.

[85]Voeten, *Outside Options and the Logic of Security Council Action…*, 846. "For instance, in exchange for a Chinese abstention on the landmark resolution 678, which authorized the use of all necessary means to restore Aristide to power in Haiti, the United States abstained in a World Bank vote on Chinese loans. The security guarantees mostly relate to concessions made by the United States and other nations in relation to Taiwan and substantive changes in various resolutions. .Former Secretary of State James Baker mentions that the Chinese insisted on eliminating "the use of force" from the text of a resolution. Concessions on Taiwan were acquired on negotiations over Haiti … and Guatemala.

[86]Paul Kubicek. "Russian Foreign Policy and the West," *Political Science Quarterly* 114 (Winter 1999): 549.

[87]See Table 4.1 for UNSCRs 929(1994) and 1070(1996).

can always be relied on to act as a 'scapegoat for the vanities and follies of statesmen.'"[88]

For the P5, this has meant that their individual failings could be attributed to United

Nations inaction or ineptitude.[89] Furthermore, the unique status ascribed the P5 has

meant that they can pursue their own policies and gain the support – economic or

political – of other members while couching their individual agendas under the veil of

collective action, avoiding criticism in the case of failure.[90] This has proved valuable in

the case of swift and decisive action in sub-Saharan Africa. When risks have been high,

particularly with the genocide issues in Rwanda and the Sudan, the P5 can use the UNSC

to block any action.

These facts make the United Nations a valuable tool when considering collective

action. As noted by the significant increase in peacekeeping missions in the 1990s, the

United Nations has become a key player in guaranteeing "international peace and

security".[91] As shown in the First Gulf War, "as long as there is consensus in the

Security Council, the Organisation [the UN] could be successful in maintaining peace."[92]

Faced with a clear cut transgression of interstate sovereignty, for example Iraq's illegal

invasion of Kuwait, the United Nations was swift in passing Security Resolutions and

providing a legitimate basis for a coalition to right the wrong. Unfortunately, the

situation in Africa is much less clear.

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[88]Berdal, *UN Security Council…*, 9.

[89]Ibid., 9.

[90]Ibid., 9.

[91]Hill and Malik, *Peacekeeping and the United Nations*, 1.

[92]Ibid., 1.

Africa's internal politics have been much more contentious and confused. Many of Africa's conflicts "…have been predominantly intrastate conflict or civil war, ethnic conflict, and terrorism…resulting from the post-Cold War phenomenon of failed states."[93] This conflict can easily spread across regions as displaced persons, wandering militias, and exiled governments move from country to country in the name of self preservation. The will of the P5 to step in and regulate these conflicts is wavering:

> "…there is a disturbing absence of fit between Western [P5] interests and African needs. With the end of the cold war, no sub-Saharan African country figures prominently in geo-strategic priorities of any of the major powers, even though their governments regularly argue in favour of policies aimed at promoting the conditions of international stability generally, and have become increasingly concerned at the prospect of state failure as a potential breeding ground for international terrorism."[94]

Still, Africa relies heavily on developed nation support, as it does not have the capability to regulate its own affairs. "African governments have always looked to the UN as the guarantor of their independence"[95] and their efforts have been met with varying degrees of success. The UNSC has been very consistent with regards to intervention in Africa. Of the multitude of proposed UNSC Resolutions (UNSCRs) regarding sub-Saharan Africa since 1990, none have been rejected, and abstentions have been recorded in only a handful of cases. Table 4.1 below lists the UNSCRs where Security Council members have not been unanimous in their support:

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[93]Karns and Mingst, Peacekeeping and the Changing Role of the United Nations…, 217.

[94]James Mayall, "Humanity Intervention and International Society: Lessons from Africa," in *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations,* ed. Jennifer M. Welsh, 121-141 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 128.

[95]Mayall, "Humanity Intervention and International Society: Lessons from Africa,"…,130.

Table 4.1 Selected United Nations Security Council Voting – No Votes and Abstentions

UNSCR	Abstaining Countries
UNSCR 929(1994). On establishment of a temporary multinational operation for humanitarian purposes in Rwanda until the deployment of the expanded UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda [UNAMIR].	Brazil, China, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan
UNSCR 946(1994). On extension of the mandate of the UN Operation in Somalia II [UNOSOM II].	USA
UNSCR 955(1994). On establishment of an International Tribunal for Rwanda and adoption of the Statute of the Tribunal.	China – Abstain Rwanda – No
UNSCR 1054(1996). On sanctions against the Sudan in connection with non-compliance with Security Council Resolution 1044(1996) demanding extradition to Ethiopia of three suspects wanted in connection with the assassination attempt on President Mubarak of Egypt.	China, Russian Federation
UNSCR 1070(1996). Imposing air sanctions against the Sudan to reinforce implementation of Security Council Resolutions 1044(1996) and 1054(1996).	China, Russian Federation
UNSCR 1306(2000). On sanctions against import of diamonds from Sierra Leone.	Mali
UNSCR 1372(2001). On lifting of sanctions against the Sudan.	USA
UNSCR 1556(2004). On endorsing the deployment of international monitors and imposing an arms embargo against the Sudan.	China, Pakistan
UNSCR 1564(2004). On expanding the monitoring mission in Darfur and on the establishment of an international inquiry to investigate human rights abuses in the Sudan.	Algeria, China, Pakistan, Russian Federation

Source: United Nations Bibliographic Information System[96]

Even when protecting their national interest when considering in sub-Saharan Africa as a venue to promote national interests, the UNSC has been proactive with regards to Africa. From 1990-1998, UN missions or sanctions were authorized

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[96] United Nations Bibliographic Information System, http://unbisnet.un.org:8080/ipac20/ipac.jsp?profile=voting&menu=search&submenu=power#focus. Internet; accessed 21 April 2005. Details on UNSC voting records ca be found at this website.

unanimously in Angola, Central African Republic, Liberia, Mozambique and Sierra Leone.[97]

The UNSC understands that Africa cannot be ignored, spending two-thirds of its time on African issues[98], yet they appear unwilling to accept the political risk of intervention. This dichotomy has led to several initiatives to respond to the ever increasing strife. Perhaps these are altruistically motivated, or perhaps they are proposed in order to protect their own national interests -- to defray the increasing fiscal and military demands of UN operations, or to calm domestic public opinion. A major initiative proposed by the US, France and the UK is to create a regional peacekeeping capability in Africa, called the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI). This initiative would ultimately allow Africans to look after Africans when P5 national interests are not at stake.

ACRI

The Secretary General of the United Nations has stated, "[t]he key to enhancing preparedness for conflict prevention and peacekeeping in Africa lies first and foremost with the countries of the continent."[99] In 1997, the US, the UK and France (who have been given the designation of "the P3" based on their similar ideology) instigated three

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[97]Voeten, *Outside Options and the Logic of Security Council Action…*, 851.

[98]Berdal, *UN Security Council…*, 26.

[99]Report of the Secretary General on the Work of the Organization: Comprehensive Review of the Whole Question of Peace-Keeping Operations in all their Aspects. "Improving Preparedness for conflict prevention and peace-keeping in Africa." A/50/711-S/1995/911, (United Nations: New York, 1995).

training programs to achieve this goal.[100] This laudable initiative can be regarded as a

positive step that will allow the sub-continent to gain peacekeeping expertise and reclaim

ownership of its won affairs. This initiative is also in line with the recommendations of

the Secretary General and the 1993 Cairo Declaration. Detractors, however, see this

initiative as a blatant attempt to by the West to "devolve responsibility for peacekeeping

to African nations themselves."[101] It is clear that the maintenance of an African

Response Force would be expensive, well beyond the scope of the African nations to

bank roll. Yet funding would come from a variety of sources, with the UN, the US and

France all willing to fund such a force and relieve themselves of the burden of raising and

providing troops[102] to areas where the P3 national interests are not at stake or where

mandates and exit strategies may be muddled.

In order to understand exactly what the P5 national interests are, this paper will

now define the term and then discuss each of the Great Powers separately.

National Interest

National interest is a term that is used to describe the aspirations of individual

states and the manners in which they pursue them. As stated by Arnold Wolfers, "It

[national interest] indicates that the policy is designed to promote the demands which are

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[100]Mark Malan, "Toward more effective peace operations: Learning from the African 'Laboratory'," in *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Ad Hoc Missions, Permanent Engagement,* ed. Ramesh Thakur and Albrecht Schnabel, 100-128 (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2001.), 109. Under a program called the P3 Initiative , the US has started the ACRI, the UK has started the APTSP (African Peacekeeping Training Support Program) and France has started RECMAP (Reinforcement of African Military Peacekeeping Capacity).

[101]Ibid., 109.

[102]Onwuchumechelli, *African Democratization and Military Coups,* 197.

prescribed to the whole nation…it emphasizes [that] the policy subordinates other interests to those of the nation."[103] This is particularly relevant to the P5 modus operandi in the post-Cold War era; such a definition allows the Great Powers to subordinate the requirement to exercise international responsibility to the accepted concept of national interest.

A realistic interpretation of the global dynamic is that states give little importance to the universal principles when considering action to intervene in another nation's affairs. The realist posits that nations take action only to advance their national ambitions.[104] This realpolitik interpretation of international affairs may be too cynical. Instead, another viewpoint is that nations recognize their international responsibility as global citizens. This altruistic viewpoint suggests that countries will adhere to and protect the universal principles. The pragmatic approach is to choose a path between these two poles. In order to choose this path, nations ponder four pertinent considerations before deciding to intervene in a given conflict: impact on its national interest, feasibility of intervention, the chances of success and the resources required. [105] If any of these considerations yields an unfavourable response, a nation can hide behind the cloak of national interest, avoiding collective action.[106]

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[103]Arnold Wolfers, "National Security as and Ambiguous Symbol," in *National and International Security*, ed. Michael Sheehan, 3-24 (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000), 3.

[104]Jennifer M. Welsh, "Taking Consequences Seriously: Objections to Humanitarian Intervention," in *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations,* ed. Jennifer M. Welsh, 52-68 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004) 58.

[105]Jakubow et al, *DND Strategic Overview 2000*, 142.

[106]Hill and Malik, *Peacekeeping and the United Nations*, 19.

National interest can be interpreted in many ways. Whatever the definition, it is clear that the national interest is any idea or action that promotes and protects the nation. Security is a key consideration for all nations; however, given the scope of this discussion, the military dynamic of the P5 will not be discussed. For the purposes of this paper, national interest will be defined in how it advances a nation's ideals or standing in four broad categories: political, economic, social and cultural.

Political national interest can be broadly defined as any motive that advances the importance, honour or standing[107] of particular nation. When considering their response to any issue presented to the UN Security Council, the P5 decision to act, or not to act, is not always altruistic. Rather, consideration has been given to the delicate balance of providing global leadership versus protecting national ideals and objectives or denying another nation the ability to do so.   In the recent past, the P5 debates over involvement in world affairs have been tempered by overriding political concerns, domestic or international. Nowhere is this more true that in the US assessment of its own peacekeeping responsibilities post-Somalia[108], or in the French-Russia-China reaction to US unilateral action in Iraq. "As such, it is possible to argue that when the interests of the Permanent Members have coincided with wider international interests, then the [P5] has proved that it is capable of authorising UN action."[109]

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[107]Jakubow et al, *DND Strategic Overview 2000*, 142.

[108] The US reaction to the death of 19 US Rangers in Somalia is discussed in Chapter Five.

[109]Hill and Malik, *Peacekeeping and the United Nations*, 19.

The economic advantages are the simplest to understand. The decision to intervene in nation's affair is directly linked to economic or material advantage that the country, its allies or its region, provide -- or conversely do not provide -- to any one of the P5. The advantage does not necessarily have to be real or immediate; any of the P5 could intervene in a given country in order to secure conditions that would be advantageous in future.

The third category is social advantage. Occasionally, nations may adhere to universal principles of providing humanitarian relief, countering human rights abuses, or maintaining peace and security.[110] The early post-Cold War interventions were such responses to counter the tremendous human suffering in appalling conditions created by regional instability or incompetent regimes.

The last category is cultural advantage. This motive is applicable when a nation seeks to promote it own ideals and objectives to maintain a strong presence and affect the language, customs and traditions of the target nation. It can be considered a by-product of neo-colonialism. It is difficult to consider this motive in isolation as it maybe indirectly related to two other motives; by preserving the linked identity of the target nation, the intervening nation may seek to gain political advantage or economic advantage.

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[110]Jakubow et al, *DND Strategic Overview 2000*, 142

P5 National Interests

United States

Politically, "…Africa has never figured near the top of the list of US foreign policy priorities. It does not today – and probably never will."[111] While this is a cynical view, it captures the spirit of US interests in Africa post-Somalia. It is not, however, totally true. With over 36 million African Americans having a direct ability to affect the incumbent in the White House, it is impossible for any presidency to ignore the continent.[112]

Yet, the follow on effects of the deaths of American servicemen in Somalia in 1993 still affect the White House. Following this setback, the United States appeared reluctant to define its international role and seemed "reluctant to assume the mantle of global leadership".[113] The Clinton Administration remained uncertain if it should adopt an isolationist policy a cooperative policy, a power projection policy or a national self-interest policy.[114] This was articulated in President Clinton's Presidential Directive 25 (PDD25) of May 1994 which reassessed active American military participation in foreign interventions. To avoid domestic political fallout, the US "began a series of measures designed to limit the American contribution to peacekeeping, and even in some cases

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[111] Ed. Morrison and Cooke, *Africa Policy in the Clinton Years…*, viii.

[112]Ibid., 3.

[113]Jakubow et al, *DND Strategic Overview 2000*, 14.

[114]Ibid., 14.

reduce it."[115] The US willingness to risk American lives in areas of little or no strategic

value had disappeared.[116]

In addition to this domestic pressure, dealing with violations of universal

principles regarding human rights, exploiting lucrative economic ties and energy sources,

and stemming trans-national security threats remain US interests.[117] Energy is a key

driver for US interest in Africa. As stated in the Chapter Two, Africa fills more than

15% of America's oil needs.[118] As more and more African nations, such as Angola,

Nigeria, and Chad, develop their oil producing capacity, the US will wish to become

increasingly engaged. The same holds true for strategic minerals and metals. Sub-

Saharan Africa's natural resources are crucial to American industry and might.

Yet even if it adopts a proactive policy towards Africa, the US can not be

unilateral in its action. During the First Persian Gulf War, the US discovered that the

support of the UN and the Security Council is of great benefit. Action approved by the

UNSC provides a legitimacy that is necessary in order to allow Great Powers to act in

their national interest.[119] Given today's post-Cold War uni-polar world, regardless of the

choice it makes, the US will forever be perceived as "…an iterant superpower, lurching

from one crisis to another, or an imperial hegemon, forcing others to conform to its

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[115]Hill and Malik, *Peacekeeping and the United Nations,* 118.

[116]Ibid., 118.

[117]Ed.Morrison and Cooke, *Africa Policy in the Clinton Years…,* 3.

[118]Ibid., 6.

[119]Berdal, *The UN Security Council…,* 14.

ideas."[120] The US needs to gain the acceptance of other countries, predominantly

through economic concessions, in order to gain international acceptance and legitimacy

for its actions.

United Kingdom

The United Kingdom has recently placed its stock in following the US lead,

particularly in the Second Gulf War where it alone amongst the Great Powers supported

the US actions. The United Kingdom cherishes its seat on the Permanent Council,

particularly as its Great Power status reflects the power politics of a bygone era. [121]

Though not as politically contrary as France, the UK shares the same fears as France.

The United Nations Security Council provides UK with Great Power status, something it

could not maintain in today's economic and military environment.[122]

The United Kingdom has had a long history in Africa and as a former colonial

power still finds itself engaged in the area. The UK's interest in sub-Saharan Africa is

predominantly economic; many sub-Saharan countries, Sierra Leone particularly, became

part of the economy, "designed to supply cheap raw materials for British industry."[123]

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[120]Jakubow et al, *DND Strategic Overview 2000*, 14.

[121]Berdal, *The UN Security Council…,* 11.

[122]Germany, Japan, India and South Africa are other middle power countries that could replace Great Britain on the UNSC.

[123]World Policy Institute, "The Business of War and the Prospects for peace in Sierra Leone," [by Dena Montague], http://www.worldpolicy.org/projects/arms/news/brown.pdf; Internet; accessed 21 February 2005.

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Culturally, the British Commonwealth, a legacy of colonialism and world

domination, has played a huge role in world development. The Commonwealth still

exists to day, with the following mission statement:

> We [the Commonwealth] work as a trusted partner for all Commonwealth people
> as a force for peace, democracy, equality, and good governance; a catalyst for
> global consensus building; and a source of assistance for sustainable development
> and poverty eradication.[124]

Seventeen of the 54 Commonwealth nations are from sub-Saharan Africa[125] and the

altruistic charter of the Commonwealth only applies to these partners. Unfortunately, the

UK has not extended the same consideration for all sub-Saharan countries. The broad

reaching effects of the Commonwealth are staggering as it operates in two of the four

categories of national interest. Economically, the Commonwealth allows Great Britain

access to world economies by representing the interest of British trans-national

companies. Culturally, the Commonwealth taps into customs and traditions of the

member states, fostering good relations through the Commonwealth Games and other

initiatives. The end result is that the UK enjoys benefits from all Commonwealth

members, but in return owes an allegiance to protect the Commonwealth as necessary.

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[124]Commonwealth Secretariat, "What we do,"
http://www.thecommonwealth.org/Templates/Internal.asp?NodeID=20639; Internet; accessed 20 March
2005.

[125]Anthony C. Lobaido, "British Commonwealth: A popular Club," *World Net Daily*, 14 February
2001; http://www.worldnetdaily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE_ID=21707; Internet; accessed 20 March
2005.

In essence, the UK finds that support of the US will improve its international standing. The Anglo-American ties are strong and as a result many of its actions are made to strengthen this bond. Sub-Saharan Africa remains a critical area, from an economic and cultural view point, yet like the US, the UK is hesitant to engage in politically risky operations that have no clear mandate or exit strategy.

France

Surprisingly, France shares many of the concerns of the United Kingdom. France, however, has been much more overt in its actions. Politically, France played a small role during the Cold War, relegated to minor player status when compared to the US or Soviet Union. With the end of the Cold War, however, France has aggressively sought to increase its global importance through a series of initiatives in two forums: the United Nations and the European Union.[126] The first is important as it grants France Great Power status, which like the UK, it does not deserve given its current economic and military might. On the UNSC, France can advocate its objectives and do so with a "voice that is more than nominally equal to the that of the great powers…through the UNSC, France maintains its rang or rank as major player."[127] France has been a strong advocate of any tool that can hold the US in abeyance. "[O]ne of those tools is the Security Council and the veto that the charter affords."[128] Another tool is the European Union, which could become a global player – led by France – that can challenge US power.

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[126] John Bryson, Department of National Defence, *France and the New World Order, (*Ottawa: Directorate of Strategic Analysis, 2003) ix.

[127]Ibid., 8.

[128]Michael J Glennon, "Why the Security Council Failed," *Foreign Affairs,* Vol 82 (May/June 2003): 21.

The biggest challenge facing French foreign policy has always been viewed as US hegemony.[129] This was evident in the US initiative to invade Iraq in 2003 which France vehemently opposed, though not solely to oppose US hegemony. Keeping this difference in policy in mind, while the US has for the most part avoided sub-Saharan Africa, France has cultivated relationships with the sub-continent through trade, peacekeeping and aid. This relationship has borne fruit when France was able to gain the support of three non-permanent Security Council members, Angola, Cameroon and Guinea, to defeat the eleventh hour US/UK/Spanish resolution to gain international support for the 2003 invasion of Iraq.[130] France will continue to provide a check and balance to the US. Sub-Saharan Africa provides a venue to exercise this.

France's most important vehicle for promoting its national interest is *La Francophonie*. Of the Organization's 49 members, 20 are from sub-Saharan Africa. The mission of *La Francaphonie* is:

> The International Organization for Francaphonie is an institution founded on the shared language and common values [of the members]… It drives actions in the domains of international politics and multilateral cooperation. [traduction libre].[131].

Much as the UK uses the Commonwealth, France uses *La Francaphonie* to promote its national interests abroad by sharing similar visions with like minded countries.

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[129]Ibid., 20.

[130]Ibid., 13.

[131]Organisation Internationale de la Francaphonie, «Acceuil,» http://www.francophonie.org/; Internet; accessed 20 March 2005

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France's position regarding Africa has been summarized as follows:

From the perspective of Paris, the main elements were clear enough: France's unilateral insistence that the French colonies constituted its indivisible sphere of influence in Africa, the conviction that it had a special relationship with francophone Africa; the understanding that its role in Africa gave France much of its international status; a general attitude that France had to be permanently vigilant against perceived "anglo-saxon', (ie American) conspiracy to oust France from Africa; [and] the close links between the elites in France and francophone Africa.[132]

China

Sharing the same concern as the UK and France with respect to US hegemony, China and Russia "have a common interest in countering US global dominance."[133]   In order to secure "Russian arms and oil …and US capital and technology"[134] China is walking a fine line in respect to relations with both countries.

Politically, China has a much simpler agenda than other P5 nations. This agenda is centred on recognition of a "one China Policy" and the status of Taiwan, on protecting China's human rights record and on economic gain. With respect to Taiwan, China is constantly seeking ways to gain recognition for its "One China Policy". Sub-Saharan Africa provides a means with which to do this. Through a long history of offering assistance to the sub-continent, such as 1960s lines of communication work in Tanzania, China has gained loyalty and support for its own agenda. "This loyalty all serves to bolster China's image and helps project Beijing as a 'concerned' state involving itself in

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[132]The Members of the International Panel of Eminent Personalities…, *Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide,* Article 12.10.

[133]Jakubow et al, *DND Strategic Overview 2000*, 15.

[134]Ibid., 15.

the economic rehabilitation of Africa."[135] Many sub-Saharan countries have adopted the "one China Policy" in consideration for economic concessions.

In the politic-social realm, as a self appointed representative of the third world and the Non-Aligned Movement[136], China has taken on a role to champion the cause of the developed world. With a developing economy, natural resource limitations and demographic pressures, China can empathize with many sub-Saharan countries. Given this relationship, many of China's actions can be seen as collegial and supportive. In this vein, however, a few self-serving motives can be found. China has recognized the value of sub-Saharan support with respect to sovereignty and human rights issues. There are many similarities between the positions of sub-Saharan governments and China's. "To the Chinese, state sovereignty and political security must come before human rights."[137] China fundamentally disagrees with the Western philosophy of "non-traditional" peacekeeping,[138] as it goes against these values. With the poor human rights record in sub-Saharan Africa, China has found allies in its defiant position on human rights. After Tiananmen Square many African states did not join the West's condemnation of the crackdown: "Namibia's Sam Nujoma for example conveyed his 'congratulations to the

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[135]Ian Taylor, "The two Chinas compete in Africa - mainland China; Taiwan," *Contemporary Review,* October 1997, http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2242/is_n1581_v271/ai_20378802,; Internet; accessed 26 February 2005.

[136]Voeten, "Outside Options and the Logic of Security Council Action," 846.

[137]Russel Ong, *China's Security Interests in the Post-Cold War Era* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2002), 124.

[138]Voeten, "Outside Options and the Logic of Security Council Action," 846.

Communist party on their victory in quelling the counter-revolutionary rebellion." [139]

Many African nations understand that their control of power is linked to repression and human rights abuses. China can provide mutual support; if China does not condemn these nations for their internal policies, these nations will reciprocate; if China respects the territorial sovereignty and a nations' inherent right to govern their own affairs, nations will respect China's right to do the same. A tangible result of this relationship was in 1996, when the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) motion to reprimand China's "human rights record was defeated by 26 votes – 14 of them African." [140]

Lastly in the economic realm, China is keenly interested in the natural resources of the region, seeking oil opportunities in Sudan and Chad. It has cloaked its interest in the name of thwarting neo-colonialism and helping sub-Saharan nations to "throw of their legacy of 'one product economy' and to develop multi-sectoral balanced economies geared not to the requirements of the Western countries but to those of their own people." [141] China has a keen interest in the region and has spent vast quantities in aid and development. "Even though the amounts involved seem large, the loyalty of African states is relatively cheap for an increasingly buoyant China." [142]

Russia

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[139]Taylor, "The two Chinas compete in Africa - mainland China; Taiwan."

[140]Ibid.

[141]Greg O'Leary, *The Shaping of Chinese Foreign Policy* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1980), 253.

[142]Taylor, "The two Chinas compete in Africa - mainland China; Taiwan."

Russia is an introspective member of the P5. Since its break-up it has been

insolvent for the most part, concentrating on its own domestic problems. There remains a

legacy from the Cold-War proxy wars, with several nations still looking to Russia for aid.

Russia, rich in many strategic minerals and oil, is not as dependent upon Africa as the

other P5 nations. Yet, Russia still has "…a desire to enhance its prestige and demonstrate

that 'Russia was still an important player whose cooperation and input was important for

the solution of international problems."[143] In order to stem US hegemony, Russia

adopted a anti-Western position in 1993 and began a series of abstentions to mark its

opposition and national identity.[144] To assist with this objective, Russia has taken on a

"mentor role" in the sub-continent, leveraging its strong industrial acumen to provide

technical support to many fledgling nations, while gaining economic advantage. Russia

has made efforts to improve commerce with sub-Saharan Africa but has not made

significant headway. It has established bilateral agencies with several nations: Angola,

Guinea, Namibia, Nigeria, Ethiopia and CAR.[145] Russian trade with sub-Saharan Africa

in 2003 was $800M and involved some major projects in the sphere of energy, mining

and mineral resources.[146] Projects include: development of the diamond fields and

hydroelectric power plants in Angola, the development of bauxites in Guinea and Ghana,

aluminium smeltering and steel production in Nigeria and in Ghana, and gas development

in Ethiopia. Russia has shared technology with sub-Saharan countries, assisting is such

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[143]Berdal, *UN Security Council…*, 13.

[144]Voeten, "Outside Options and the Logic of Security Council Action," 847.

[145]Russian Embassy in Ghana, "Russian Foreign Policy in Iraq, the Middle East and Africa," http://www.ghana.mid.ru/for_212.html; Internet; accessed 20 March 2005.

[146]Ibid.

area as nuclear energy, astrophysics, exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes.[147]

Of serious concern is debt owed to Russia by several sub-Saharan countries; estimates are that sub-Saharan countries owe Russia $14.3 bn (US)[148] in unpaid debt stemming from arms sales and other aid. Stability in the region will obviously assist in repayment of these debts, providing crucial capital for Russia to meets its domestic needs. Russia understands that sub-Saharan Africa's potential is limited due to regional instability. Yet it has found that it can do little to improve the stability because '[t]he non-Russian newly independent states have generally lacked the financial capacity to contribute to post-Soviet peacekeeping."[149]

Summary

As will be discussed in the next chapter, through their response to the crises in Africa the Great Powers have shown that they do have interest in sub-Saharan Africa. Using the United Nations as a venue to promote their national interests, screen, the P5 have simultaneously been able to selectively respond to the region, or cloak their indifference; if the nation in question is not in the P5's vital interest, inaction can be attributed to UN bureaucracy or indecision. By developing the ACRI, the P3 have established conditions that allow maximum benefit with minimal risk. Through the offer

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[147]Ibid.

[148]Africa Recovery, United Nations, "Industrialized Nations Spotlight Africa," http://www.un.org/ecosocdev/geninfo/afrec/vol11no1/g7.htm; Internet; accessed 28 February 2005.

[149]Neil MacFarlane, "Regional Peacekeeping in the CIS," in *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Ad Hoc Missions, Permanent Engagement*, Ed. Ramesh Thakur and Albrecht Schnabel, 77-99 (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2001), 80.

of funding, equipment, training and expertise, the P3 are able to feign interest in the region and avoid sending troops into areas where the chance of failure is high and the potential cost in terms of lives great. By choosing the cheaper alternative, the Great Powers are able to protect their national interest while maintaining their global leadership roles. The selected response to the African situation, however, can be linked to achieving some advantage in pursuit of their unique national interests. The P5 have used Africa has a venue to gain political, economic, social or cultural advantage.   Using the United Nations as either an enabler or as a screen, the P5 have been able to enhance their agendas when considering action in sub-Saharan Africa.

In the following chapter, the P5 response to several regional conflicts will be discussed.   By examining the motives behind Great Power support, or opposition, to mount UN missions, the importance of national interest in determining the course of action will be obvious.

CHAPTER FIVE – P5 RESPONSE TO SUB-SAHARA AFRICA

In the previous chapters, this paper has laid out the background of sub-Saharan Africa, the strategic relevance of the sub-continent and the national interests of the P5 in the region. Though there has been numerous resolutions passed on the region, the P5's indifference to the region has been demonstrated through various stalling techniques and filibusters taken on several major resolutions. An important factor in the hesitancy to intervene in all cases is tied to the apparent futility of rectifying the African reality; "…the US is one of a handful of countries to undertake operations, but perceiving no interests at stake, often lacks the necessary will. Other major powers including Russia, China [and India] fear setting a precedent lest outside forces intervene in insurgencies within their own borders."[150] Russia and China believe that authorizing intervention in another state's internal affairs will adversely affect their own actions regarding Chechnya, Tibet and Taiwan respectively. Despite these fears, however, peacekeeping in the post-cold war era has increased.

Throughout the 1990s, the international community was involved in many peacemaking and peacekeeping operations; however, the perceived selective commitment of many Western nations raised selected criticisms form many sources. "Boutros Boutros-Gali [Secretary General of the United Nations] chided the Security Council members in 1993 for paying more attention to the former Yugoslavia than to Somalia."[151] Similar questions were asked as to why the UN was quick to intervene in East Timor, but

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[150]Jakubow et al, *DND Strategic Overview 2000*, 17.

[151]Karns and Mingst, Peacekeeping and the Changing Role of the United Nations…, 220.

not the Sudan or Africa's Great Lakes Region.[152] Like criticism was launched by

Nigeria's representative to the United Nations in 1999: "For Kosovo, the international

community spent some $1.50 [US] a day per refugee, while African refugees in Rwanda

and Sierra Leone received the equivalent of 11 cents…It was morally repugnant that the

West was prepared to spend $40bn [US] to fight a war in the Balkans and less than 1

percent of that to save the lives of millions in Africa."[153]

These criticisms, based on troop and fiscal contributions to non-African conflicts

vice African ones, are valid:

> The attention and resources assigned to the resolution of these conflicts [Kosovo
> and Sierra Leone] also differed – there could hardly be starker contrast between the
> Alliance's Serbia bound Armada and the poorly trained, ill equipped peacekeeping
> contingent sent to Sierra Leone. Not surprisingly, the former was ultimately
> successful in reversing ethnic cleansing, while the latter could not prevent the
> resumption of fighting, suffering humiliation and casualties at the hands of local
> rebels.[154]

Implicit in all three statements were hints of racial selectivity. As stated by Lieutenant-

General Romeo Dallaire, commander of the ill-fated UNAMIR mission, " What I

[Dallaire] have come to realize as the root of it all, however, is the fundamental

indifference of the world community to the plight of seven to eight million black Africans

in a tiny country that had no strategic or resource value to any world power."[155] This is a

very strong condemnation of the UNSC and the P5; they have been willing to intervene

in only select cases.

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[152]Ibid., 220.

[153]Ibid., 228.

[154]Jakubow et al, *DND Strategic Overview 2000…*, 16.

[155]Lieutenant-General Romeo Dallaire, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda* (Toronto: Random House, 2003), 6.

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The P5 can be spurred to action when intervention in the region is linked to political, economic, social or cultural advantage. Since the end of the Cold-war, there have been 17 United Nations Peacekeeping missions in sub-Saharan Africa, where some or all the P5 have deployed troops.[156] By examining several of these missions it will become evident that the P5 is self serving when supporting peacekeeping initiatives in sub-Saharan Africa.

To examine each of the 17 sub-Saharan African UN sponsored peacekeeping missions is too detailed for the scope of this paper. To properly analyze the response, it is necessary to pick missions that implicate several of the Great Powers and have been the subject of much study. The US reaction to the deaths of American servicemen in Somalia has been a watershed moment for all troop contributing nations that has affected the UN's ability to force-generate peacekeepers. The inability of the international community to stop the Rwandan genocide is considered one of the UN's largest failures, resulting in almost a million deaths. Sierra Leone is an example of UN impotency, later rectified by the direct intervention of a Great Power, acting outside the auspices of the UN. Angola is an example of a protracted mission, that underwent many iterations based on the national interests of the P5. Lastly, Sudan is a modern case study on how national interest can retard intervention. Therefore, this paper will discuss four UN missions: UNOSOM II (Somalia), UNAMIR (Rwanda), UNAMSIL (Sierra Leone) and UNAVEM III (Angola). Finally, the delay in passing the UN resolution to mount UNMIS (Sudan), concentrating on stumbling blocks to P5 support to ease the humanitarian crisis in Sudan, will be discussed.

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[156]See Appendix 1.

UNOSOM II – SOMALIA MARCH 1993 TO MARCH 1995

Figure 4.1. Somalia

Sources: CIA World Factbook and University of Southern Florida

Background

Somalia has been a case study in the potential failure of a peacekeeping mission when there is lack of commitment and resolve. The initial involvement in Somalia began in 1992 as UNOSOM I was deployed to deal with the anarchy induced humanitarian crisis. In one of the first major sub-Saharan post-Cold War peacekeeping operations, the Great Powers saw an opportunity to remedy a humanitarian crisis. The original motives were altruistic. Yet, the reality of modern peacekeeping was to show that the best of motives do not always get rewarded. As there was no central government, UNOSOM I was handicapped in having to maintain strict neutrality as not to offend any of the warring factions. Being neutered in terms of use of force, cooperation from the warlords was poor. As UNOSOM I was failing, the United Task Force (UNITAF) was deployed in 1992 with UN approval and led by the US. A heavily armed force, UNITAF was able to carry out its humanitarian mission. After a fixed period, UNITAF was replaced by UNOSOM II in 1993, which had a stronger mandate, but less force than UNITAF.

Though over 34 countries contributed troops, only two P5 nations, France and the US, participated in UNOSOM II.[157]

P5 Response

It may be argued that the motives of the Great Powers involvement in UNITAF and UNOSOM II were altruistic in the light of the great human tragedy that was unfolding. Admittedly, it was impossible for the US, as a proponent of the "new world order", and France, in its self appointed role as a check and balance to US hegemony, to ignore the humanitarian issues at stake. Given the extensive international coverage of the Somali humanitarian crisis, both nations had an opportunity to pursue increased positive images from the delivery of humanitarian aid. Secondly, involvement in the humanitarian crisis could counter any accusations of imperialism with regards to the motives behind liberating Kuwait.

Yet, in the case of the US, President Bush Sr. was originally opposed to any US involvement in Somalia. Politically, Bush was not interested in Somalia. Yet, domestic pressure became too great to ignore the issue. After losing the election to President Clinton, Bush reversed his position on Somalia, as "perhaps he was interested in securing his historical reputation."[158] Regardless of the motives of the Bush administration, President Clinton supported the intervention in keeping with his administration's new

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[157]United Nations Operations in Somalia II, "Facts and Figures," http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/unosom2facts.html; Internet; accessed 24 March 2005.

[158]Mayall, "Humanity Intervention and International Society: Lessons from Africa," 133.

policy of "assertive multilateralism"[159] as a means to address post-Cold War conflicts. Involvement in Somalia was in keeping with the US political desire to be a world leader.

There are others who believe that France and the US supported in this mission, in order to gain an advantage of some sort. A major motivator may lie with increased political advantage for each country, this time expressed through future military power projection. When considering Somalia, it's strategic geographic location is attractive: "…[Somalia lies] on [the] Horn of Africa along southern approaches to Bab el Mandeb[160] and [the] route through Red Sea and Suez Canal."[161] In compensation for their efforts with UNITAF or UNOSOM, France or the US could potentially curry favour with the prospective Somali government to gain access to this area in order to monitor the shipping along the major oil and trade routes from the Indian Ocean to the Suez Canal. The French and US interest in the entire Persian and Horn of Africa regions was particularly high, given their participation in the Kuwaiti Liberation of 1991. The

[159]Frederick H. Fleitz,, *Peacekeeping Fiascoes of the 1990s* (Westport CT: Praeger Publishers, 2002), 106.

[160]Wikepedia.com, "Bab-el-Mandeb," http://www.answers.com/topic/bab-el-mandeb; Internet; accessed 24 March 2005. "The Bab-el-Mandeb (Arabic for "the gate of tears") is the strait separating the continents of Asia (Yemen on the Arabian Peninsula) and Africa (Djibouti, north of Somalia on the Horn of Africa), connecting the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean (Gulf of Aden). It derives its name from the dangers attending its navigation, or, according to an Arab legend, from the numbers who were drowned by the earthquake which separated Asia and Africa. It is both strategically important and one of the world's busiest shipping lanes. The distance across is about 20 miles (30 km) from Ras Menheli on the Arabian coast to Ras Siyan on the African. The island of Perim, divides the strait into two channels, of which the eastern, known as the Bab Iskender (Alexander's Strait), is 2 miles (3 km) wide and 16 fathoms (30 m) deep, while the western, or Dact-el-Mayun, has a width of about 16 miles (25 km) and a depth of 170 fathoms (310 m). Near the African coast lies a group of smaller islands known as the "Seven Brothers." There is a surface current inwards in the eastern channel, but a strong under-current outwards in the western channel."

[161]CIA, "The World Factbook: Somalia," http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/so.html; Internet; accessed 24 March 2005. See also Maj Gen Indhar Rikhye (retired), *The Politics and Practice of United Nations Peacekeeping…,* 11.

strategic location of Somalia, and in particular the deep sea port of Berbera[162] on the Gulf

of Aden, with it's potential as a staging area or Navy base, could be key rewards fro

involvement in Somalia. The prime location had great potential for future operations into

the Persian Gulf, Southwest Asia and southern Africa, all areas where the Great Powers

may be interested.

If the US was involved in Somalia for altruistic humanitarian purposes, it would

have been unwavering in its dedication to the mission. Its position changed dramatically

in 1993 with the death of 18 US Rangers on a raid to capture Somali warlord Aideed.

Following these deaths, the "resolve of the US government to suffer the political

consequences of American deaths in peacekeeping operations, in situations of little or no

national interest, had been tested and found waning." [163] As a result, the American

position on peacekeeping changed in 1994, much to the detriment of the UN. As stated

in Presidential Decision Directive 25 (PDD25),

> Before the US would participate in any UN operation it would first ask a number of
> questions. These included whether participation would advance US national
> interest; whether there existed a threat to international peace and security; if the
> operation had clear objectives or whether its scope was clearly defined; whether an
> endpoint to participation could be identified; and whether a cease fire existed or
> peace enforcement might be required. In essence for the US to participate, the
> consequences of inaction had to be unacceptable.[164]

[162]Tiscali.reference, "Berbera,"
http://www.tiscali.co.uk/reference/encyclopaedia/hutchinson/m0017808.html; Internet; accessed 24
March 2005. "Seaport in Somalia, with the only sheltered harbour on the south side of the Gulf of Aden;
population (1990) 70,000. It is in a strategic position on the oil route and has a deep-sea port, completed in
1969. The port… is the terminus of roads from Hargeysa and Burko, and an airport now adds to its
accessibility."

[163]Hill and Malik, *Peacekeeping and the United Nations,* 118.

[164]Ibid., 156. As an additional note, when the US believes its interests are at stake, it will accept
considerable casualties: 18 deaths were enough to warrant a withdrawal from Somalia, yet even after
approximately 1600 fatalities in Iraq since the 2003 Invasion, the US is still deployed there.

While not stated so brazenly in the policies of the other Great Powers, this sentiment was considered by all the P5 nations. The analysis of risk versus gain was now a prime consideration. All the nations, in some part realized that the cost of unilateral action in any country was too high -- in terms of soldiers, resources and cost. This new reality would affect the Security Council's reactions to intra state conflicts that would occur in sub-Saharan Africa in the following years, particularly to the brewing crisis in Rwanda.

UNAMIR – RWANDA OCTOBER 1993 to MARCH 1996

Figure 4.2. Rwanda

Sources: CIA World Factbook and University of Southern Florida

Background

Deficient in natural resources, Rwanda unfortunately still has little or no strategic value to most P5 nations. After a protracted period of civil unrest between the Rwanda' Hutu dominated government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) , a fragile peace brokered by the United States and France, was established in Arusha, Tanzania on 4

August 1993 through the signing of the Arusha Peace Agreement.[165] It is only after this peace agreement was brokered that the long lasting effects of the Somalian peacekeeping deaths were to take a terrible toll on the peacekeeping efforts in Rwanda. Following the death of Hutu President Juvénal Habyarimana in a plane crash on 6 April 1994[166], extremist Hutus took over the country and began the infamous Rwandan genocide killing over 936,000 Rwandans.[167] "By early August 1994, an estimated one-quarter of the pre-war population of Rwanda had either died or fled the country."[168]

P5 Response

Two UN missions were established in 1993 to ease the situation in Rwanda: UNOMUR, to monitor the border between Uganda and Rwanda to stop any cross border military assistance, and UNAMIR in October 1993. The most critical impediment to the successful birth of UNAMIR was the timing of the mission. "UNAMIR had the misfortune of coming before the Security Council for a formal authorizing vote on October 5, 1993, two days after 18 American troops and 500 Somalis were killed in Somalia."[169] "The immediate consequence of disengagement from Somalia was the

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[165]Wikipedia.com, "Arusha Accord," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arusha_Accord.; Internet; accessed 28 March 2005. The Arusha Accord removed the regime of Habayarinama, and split important posts between the RPF, Habayarinama's political party and all other opposition parties in Rwanda.

[166] Wikipedia.com, "Juvénal Habyarimana," http://www.answers.com/topic/juv-nal-habyarimana; Internet; accessed 25 March 2005. "Some now allege that the plane had been shot down on orders from the current President Paul Kagame, while he was leader of the RPF".

[167]Ibid.

[168]Answers.com, "Tutsi," http://www.answers.com/topic/tutsi; Internet; accessed 25 march 2005

[169] Fleitz, *Peacekeeping Fiascoes of the 1990s*, 151.

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Western denial that genocide had occurred in Rwanda."[170] The Somalia debacle turned

the major powers against any major intervention in Rwanda, and the reluctance to use the

word "genocide" removed any need for swift and decisive action. Instead the P5

proposed only a weak observer force despite requests for a robust contingent. Discussion

on the size of the force size ranged from a proposal of only 100 observers by the US, to a

force of 8,000 troops by the UN.[171]

The P5 was making excuses for its apathy towards Rwanda because it did not fit

into their national interests. As a global leader, the US position was having an impact on

other nations. "At the UN, the Security Council, led unremittingly by the United States,

simply did not care enough about Rwanda to intervene properly."[172]   The United States,

under the provisions of PDD25, did not see any national interest that was necessary to

protect. Instead, there was increased domestic political pressure to avoid the conflict all

together. Heavy US casualties in peacekeeping operations was creating a rift between the

President and the US Congress While the original draft of PDD25 was to promote

assertive multilateralism, the US Congress attacked it as being "…naïve, contrary to US

interests, and responsible for responsible for ongoing peacekeeping problems."[173]

Eventually the criticism grew to such a level that the Clinton administration realized it

was in danger. The Somalia incident "…threatened the president's entire agenda, his re-

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[170]Karns and Mingst, "Peacekeeping and the changing Role of the United Nations…," 217.

[171]Fleitz,, *Peacekeeping Fiascoes of the 1990s*, 151.

[172]The Members of the International Panel of Eminent Personalities…, *Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide*, Executive Summary, paragraph 33.

[173]Fleitz, *Peacekeeping Fiascoes of the 1990s*, 155.

election chances, and his party's prospects in the November 1994 congressional elections."[174] The ensuing spin to save the Administration resulted in a revised PDD25 which called for a reform of peacekeeping and limits on US involvement. This was applied to Rwanda and as a result the US withdrew support for an increased UNAMIR mandate, and refused to supply any peacekeepers despite the unfolding genocide..

This position was echoed by the UK, but for entirely different reasons. While the UK was interested in sub-Saharan Africa, Rwanda had no value to the UK. More importantly for the UK was its ability to support the mission with any real force. The UK was extensively involved in the former Yugoslavia and did not wish to extend it commitments elsewhere, especially in a country that was not part of Britain's Commonwealth responsibilities. Additionally, the Rwandan situation was seen as extremely dangerous and like the US, the UK could not justify the risk versus any potential gain. The UK, like the US, was obstructionist in dealing with the Rwanda crisis. Both delayed sending troops, based on domestic agendas that could have prevented the genocide.

France, though part of the initial hesitancy to participate, eventually found that its national interest in Rwanda, both economic and cultural, necessitated intervention. France always supported UN involvement, using the US multi-lateralist policy as a cover for "...the French parliament's eagerness to end France's military commitment in the

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[174]Ibid., 155.

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country."[175] Yet as the Security Council dragged the deliberations on, France became

impatient and realized its economic and cultural interests in Rwanda were being

jeopardized.

Following Rwanda's independence from Belgian, France pursued close ties with

Rwanda to counter US interests in neighbouring Zaire.[176] France did have significant

economic interest in Rwanda, establishing many multilateral agreements with Rwanda

and "becoming one of Rwanda's foremost creditors and arms suppliers. Relationships

between representatives of both governments were unusually close at the personal level

as well as the official levels."[177] Close ties included those between the Hutu president,

Habyarimana, and French president Mitterand, as well as between the Habyarimana and

French Ambassador Georges Martre, who was derisively nicknamed the "Rwandan

ambassador to France."[178]

France's steadfast support of the Rwandan Hutu regime can be linked to culture

more than economics. Rwanda was a French speaking nation, and a member of *La

Francaphonie.* France wished to use its ties in Africa to counter US interests in the area

and protecting the French nature of Rwanda was a key concern. If the Tutsi controlled,

US supported, English speaking RPF was to gain power, there would be a direct threat to

this objective.   When the Security Council refused to increase the size of UNAMIR and

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[175]Ibid., 151.

[176]The Members of the International Panel of Eminent Personalities…, *Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide*, Article 12.12.

[177]Ibid., Article 12.12

[178]Ibid., Articles 9.2 and 9.3

subsequently delayed deploying UNAMIR II[179], even when aware of the Rwandan genocide, France balked. With UN approval, France launched "Operation Turquoise" to protect its interests and Hutus.[180] While Operation Turquoise saved many lives, the actions of the French government have been questioned. Among those that fled to the protected zones were the Hutu leaders who sparked the genocide. France has been accused of protecting the Hutu leaders from the RPF for self-serving purposes; when the RPF took control of Rwanda, France had been accused of spiriting the Hutus away to neighbouring Zaire.[181]

Rwanda, like Somalia, is another example of the UN's impotency when the national interests are in conflict with the UN's interests. While the major powers debated domestic policies, almost a million innocent victims died. The US has apologized for its inaction, claiming ignorance of the racial hatred and genocide plans. "The facts show, however, the American government knew exactly what was happening…but domestic

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[179]United Nations Peacekeeping, "UNAMIR II," http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/unamirS.htm; Internet; accessed 28 March 2005. UNAMIR II was the UN's response to increase the size of UNAMIR in order to deal with the humanitarian and genocide issue in Rwanda. "UNAMIR sought to arrange a ceasefire, without success, and its personnel came increasingly under attack. After some countries unilaterally withdrew their contingents, the Security Council, by its resolution 912 (1994) of 21 April 1994, reduced UNAMIR's strength from 2,548 to 270. Despite its reduced presence, UNAMIR troops managed to protect thousands of Rwandese who took shelter at sites under UNAMIR control. The Security Council, by adopting resolution 918 (1994) of 17 May 1994, imposed an arms embargo against Rwanda, called for urgent international action and increased UNAMIR's [UNAMIR II] strength to up to 5,500 troops. But it took nearly six months for Member States to provide the troops."

[180]Ibid. "To contribute to the security of civilians, the Council, by resolution 929 (1994) of 22 June 1994, authorized, under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, a multi-national humanitarian operation. French-led multinational forces carried out "Operation Turquoise", which established a humanitarian protection zone in south-western Rwanda. The operation ended in August 1994 and UNAMIR took over in the zone."

[181]Fleitz, *Peacekeeping Fiascoes of the 1990s*, 157.

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policies took priorities over the lives of hapless Africans." [182]   There are others who are

to blame as well, including the French Government who failed to use its political

influence to "denounce ethnic hatred and human rights abuse."[183]   Overall, Rwanda has

been a shameful example of self-serving politics at the international level.

UNAMSIL – SIERRA LEONE OCTOBER 1999 TO PRESENT
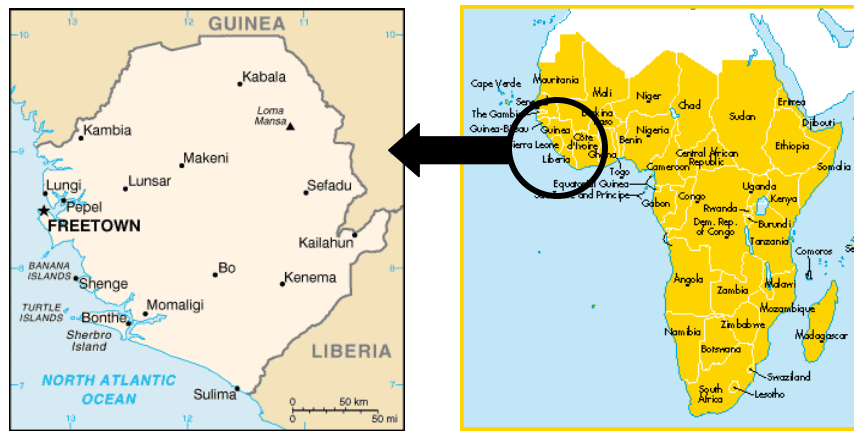
Figure 4.3. Sierra Leone

Sources: CIA World Factbook and University of Southern Florida

Background

Sierra Leone has suffered from many setbacks, but continued UN peacekeeping

efforts may bring peace to the country.   Originally a British colony, Sierra Leone's

instability started in 1991 when Liberia's President, Charles Taylor, sought to seize

control of Sierra Leone's diamond mines in order to finance his own regime.[184]   He used

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[182]The Members of the International Panel of Eminent Personalities …, *Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide,* Executive Summary Paragraph 34.

[183]Ibid., Executive Summary Paragraph 32.

[184]Fleitz, *Peacekeeping Fiascoes of the 1990s*, 164.

a proxy force, led by Foday Sankoh, who formed the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). The RUF started a brutal insurgency, eventually seizing power and capturing Freetown. In response to the crisis, an initial peacekeeping force raised by the Economic Community of West African Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG)[185] deployed in 1991. Seven years later the UN intervened by deploying UNOMSIL in February 1998, only to see the observer force prepared to redeploy in December of that year because of an imminent coup. Only after intervention by Executive Outcomes, a South African mercenary group, was the RUF defeated and forced to retreat.

P5 Response

The US was involved in the Sierra Leone peace process since 1997, sending the Reverend Jesse Jackson as its "Special Envoy of the President for the Promotion of Democracy In Africa."[186] Once again, the US sought to assert its global leadership role through the policy of assertive multilateralism. Yet unlike UNOSOM II, the US did not provide troops for the mission. Other than supporting the conflict diamond embargo, the United States had no national interests at stake in the country. "Sierra Leone was perceived in Washington…as essentially a British interest, and it was left to the Tony Blair government to take the lead in mustering international support."[187] As a member of the British Commonwealth, Sierra Leone was entitled to support as mandated in the Commonwealth mission, "…as a force for peace, democracy, equality, and good

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[185]ECOMOG was subordinate to the Economic Community of West African Sttes (ECOWAS), led by Sani Abacha Prime Minister of Nigeria.

[186]Fleitz, *Peacekeeping Fiascoes of the 1990s*, 166.

[187]Hirsch, *Sierra Leone: Diamonds and the Struggle for Democracy*, 64.

governance."[188] Yet the UK was hesitant to intervene and support ECOMOG, as the

leader of its parent organization ECOWAS was Sani Abacha, the dictatorial leader of

Nigeria. "At the November 1995 Commonwealth Conference in New Zealand, the

British played a key role in passing strong condemnation of Abachi's harsh human rights

record at home and in Nigeria's suspension from the Commonwealth itself." [189] As

Nigeria and the UK were at odds, UK national interests were exacerbating Sierra Leone's

troubles.

Britain, however, did not abandon Sierra Leone. The UK has shadowy ties to the

introduction of Executive Outcomes to Sierra Leone:

> "Executive Outcomes was linked through directorates with Branch Energy
> Limited…[whose] principal stakeholders included British financier Michael
> Grunwald and former British intelligence operative, Tony Buckingham, both of
> whom were instrumental in negotiating Executive Outcome's entry into Sierra
> Leone."[190]

Branch Energy proceeded to invest significantly in the mining sector at a time when all

other companies were leaving, earning significant profit.[191] The UK did fulfill its

obligations to the Commonwealth and Britons in Sierra Leone by deploying a force that

operated outside the purview of the UN. It is believed that the this force saved the UN

and UNAMSIL, but also, leads "to the conclusion that the UK wishes to claim credit for

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[188]Commonwealth Secretariat, "What we do,"
http://www.thecommonwealth.org/Templates/Internal.asp?NodeID=20639; Internet; accessed 20 March
2005.

[189]Hirsch, *Sierra Leone: Diamonds and the Struggle for Democracy*, 64.

[190]Ibid., 38.

[191]Ibid., 38.

playing a constructive role (which it has) while being able to walk away if the political

situation deteriorates."[192]

The other P5 nations, save China, were not interested in Sierra Leone. "In the

mid 1990s, against the backdrop of events in Somalia, Rwanda and the Balkans, African

and international leaders viewed the conflict with the RUF as a relatively unimportant

issue in a country of marginal economic importance."[193] China, however, did deploy

troops to UNAMSIL. In keeping with its policy to champion Third World issues and to

gain political advantage, China did not have any issues with Nigeria's human rights

records and was ready to support ECOWAS. China continues to view sub-Sahara Africa

as an ally in its own domestic human rights policy and aid to Sierra Leone was an

investment in the future. This support paid dividends as in December 2002 China and

Sierra Leone announced greater economic ties[194] and eight months later, Sierra Leone

declared its adherence to the "One China policy".[195]

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[192]Mayall, "Humanity Intervention and International Society: Lessons from Africa," 139.

[193]Hirsch, *Sierra Leone: Diamonds and the Struggle for Democracy*, 97.

[194]Unknown, "Chinese, Sierra Leone Trade Ministers Hold Talks," *People's Daily Online,* 17 December 2002. http://english.people.com.cn/200212/17/eng20021217_108570.shtml; Internet; accessed 25 March 2005. "China is ready to work with Sierra Leone to explore appropriate means for all-round cooperation including trade and economic ties, a senior Chinese trade official said in Beijing Monday."

[195]Unknown, "Sierra Leone Foreign Minister Reiterates One-China Policy,". *People's Daily Online,* 5 August 2003. http://english.people.com.cn/200308/05/eng20030805_121701.shtml; Internet; accessed 25 March 2005. "Chinese Vice Premier Huang Ju expressed appreciation over Sierra Leone's adherence to the one-China policy during his meeting with Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Momodu Koroma from Sierra Leone Monday afternoon."
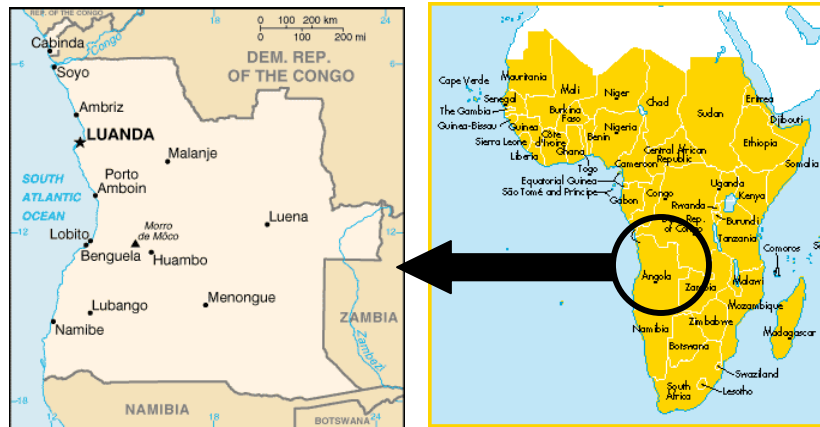
UNAVEM III – ANGOLA FEBRUARY 1995 TO JUNE 1997

Figure 4.4 Angola

Sources: CIA World Factbook and University of Southern Florida

Background

Angola is a resource rich nation. With extensive oil reserves, 45% of its GDP is derived from the oil sector.[196] Diamond mining, as well as other strategic minerals and metals (uranium, gold bauxite etc) make it an attractive trading partner. With several major ports, Angola provides access to the oil rich fields on Africa's west central coast, as well as port access to landlocked countries in the Great lakes Region. It has many economic advantages to offer the P5.

During the Cold War, Angola became a proxy battleground for the Washington, Moscow and Beijing.[197] The two major parties, the Movimento Popular de Libertaçao de Angola (MPLA) and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola

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[196]CIA, "The World Factbook: Angola," http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ao.html; Internet; accessed 25 March 2005.

[197]Fleitz, *Peacekeeping Fiascoes of the 1990s*, 145.

(UNITA), have been supported intermittingly by the US, Soviet Union and China based on their politics. The MPLA, eventually supported by the Clinton Administration, succeeded in gaining power in 1992 despite irregularities in the election process. After a fragile cease-fire ended in October 1992, the MPLA embarked on a campaign to eradicate UNITA support killing "an estimated 20,000 UNITA supporters and some high level UNITA officials." [198] Almost eighteen months later, the two sides signed the Lusaka Protocol, which maintained peace until 1998.

The UN has intervened in Angola three times since the end of the Cold War. UNAVEM I, from 1989 to 1991 oversaw the withdrawal of Cuban troops; UNAVEM II, from 1991 until 1994, oversaw the cease fire between the MPLA and UNITA, and monitored national elections.[199]

P5 Response

The Russian Federation has deployed troops in support of UNAVEM III. Russia has always had a vested interest in Angola's stability mainly for economic reasons. Participation in UN peacekeeping has opened doors for Russian firms. Major Russian firms are exporting technology and investing capital in Angola. "Alrosa[200] and

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[198]Ibid., 147.

[199]United Nations Peacekeeping, "UNAVEM I, II," http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/unavem1/UnavemIM.htm; Internet; accessed 28 March 2005. The mandate of UNAVEM I was "to verify the redeployment of Cuban troops northwards and their phased and total withdrawal from the territory of Angola, in accordance with the timetable agreed between the two Governments. The withdrawal was completed by 25 May 1991 – more than one month before the scheduled date. On 6 June, the Secretary-General reported to the Council that UNAVEM I had carried out, fully and effectively, the mandate entrusted to it. The mandate of UNAVEM II included "observation and verification of the presidential and legislative elections in Angola."

[200]ALROSA, "Profile," http://eng.alrosa.ru/profile; Internet; accessed 28 March 2005. ALROSA "is Russia's largest diamond company engaged in exploration, mining, manufacture and sales of diamonds and

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Tekhnopromexport [are involved]in Angola ([with] development of the Katoka diamond fields and the building of the Kapanda and Hydroshikapa hydroelectric power plants)."[201]

In addition, Angola owed a significant debt to the former Soviet Union. Of Angola's total debt, 44% is to the former Soviet Union for arms sales and aid. This repayment, restructured with the Russian Federation, is a key factor to Russia's interest in a stable Angolan government.

As discussed earlier, Angola's oil and strategic mineral sectors are key trading issues. China and France are also major trading partners with Angola. Exports to Chinas are 23.4% of Angola's total export trade, while France accounts for 7.4% of Angola's total exports (refer to Table 2.2).[202] The majority of these exports are crude oil, diamonds, refined petroleum products and timber.

The US interest in Angola was tied to political and economic interest. During the civil war between UNITA and the MPLA, the US was torn over which side to back. The US originally backed UNITA, yet American liberals supported MPLA for its more

one of the world's major rough diamond producers. ALROSA accounts for about 100% of all rough diamonds produced in Russia and for about 20% of the world's rough diamond output." It has been involved in Angola since 1997.

[201]Russian Embassy in Ghana, "Russian Foreign Policy in Iraq, the Middle East and Africa," http://www.ghana.mid.ru/for_212.html; Internet; accessed 20 March 2005.

[202]CIA World Factbook, http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ao.html. All data based on 2003 figures

polished façade.[203] With the Democrats winning the US presidential election over the Republicans and with the MPLA's election win, the US switched allegiance in 1993 from UNITA to the MPLA.[204] American support for the UN troops in Angola was based on a domestic political agenda. Support for the MPLA was key to keeping the Democratic Party constituency happy, and expending effort to keep the MLPA in power was crucial. In addition, helping achieve regional stability was important economically. "Angola has come to depend on oil for its export earnings. The USA is its main market, and goods worth USD 2.3bn were exported there, 97% of which was crude oil." [205] Though there may have been other motives, the US support for UNAVEM III was mainly politically and economically motivated; by supporting the MPLA, the US was able to spread its ideology, and gain access to extensive oil reserves.

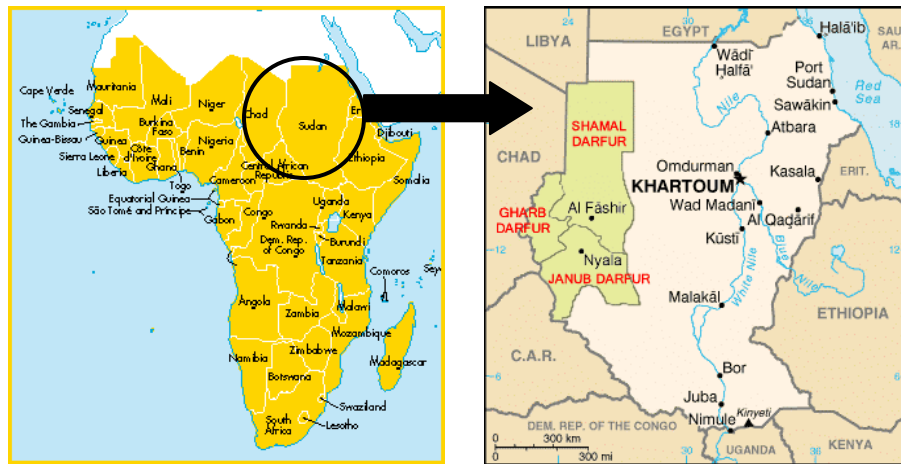## UNMIS – SUDAN 24 MARCH TO PRESENT

Figure 4.5. Sudan

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[203]Fleitz, *Peacekeeping Fiascoes of the 1990s..*, 145.

[204]Ibid., 148.

[205]No title, http://www.finance.gov.za/documents/fiscu/summits/1999/angola.pdf; Internet; accessed 25 March 2005.

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Sources: University of Southern Florida and
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Darfur_conflict#March_2005
On 24 March 2005, the UN announced approval for the UN Mission in Sudan

(UNMIS) with 10,000 troops for peacekeeping duties in Sudan. The longstanding civil

war between the North and South of Sudan has pitted Government of Sudan against the

SPLM/A. Both are fighting over "resources, power, the role of religion in the state and

self-determination. Over two million people have died, four million have been uprooted

and some 600,000 people have fled the country as refugees."[206]

    The unanimous vote by the Security Council is in response to the human suffering

that is ongoing.[207] The P5 has supported the resolution, yet there have been underlying

motives as to why the UN Resolution took almost 18 months to be approved.   The two

stumbling blocks, though now removed, had been placed by the United States and China

in protecting their own national interests. Significant concessions in the resolution have

been brokered by France and the UK in order to gain the support of all P5 nations.

    A significant issue in the Sudan conflict is the prosecution of persons who have

committed crimes against humanity. The UK and France have proposed that persons so

accused should be tried in the International Criminal Court (ICC). The US does not

recognize this Court has having jurisdiction over American citizens and as such is

opposed to the proposal. President Bush objects to the ICC as it believes it lacks

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[206]United Nations Mission in Sudan. "North and South Sudan Dialogue." http://www.unmis.org/; Internet; accessed 26 April 2005.

[207]Official Document System of the United Nations, "UN Security Council Resolution 1590 (2005)," http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/284/08/PDF/N0528408.pdf?OpenElement; accessed 28 March 2005.

jurisdiction and may become a forum for malicious investigation prosecution of American servicemen deployed in conflict areas[208]. Instead the US has proposed a separate criminal tribunal to deal specifically with Sudan be established in Tanzania.[209] This social and legal issue has delayed the approval of such a force. In order to appease the United States and , the proposal has been amended to state, "citizens of countries that have not ratified the treaty establishing the court who take part in operations in Sudan would not be subject to prosecution by the court."[210] Based on this concession which supports the US interests, USCR 1590(2005) has gained US support.

The second obstacle to implementation of a security resolution has been China's objection to economic sanctions against Sudan. China has significant economic interests in Sudan. "China's National Petroleum Corporation has major interests in Sudan's oil fields…Sudan was exporting 345,000 barrels [to China] of oil per day last year and this figure is expected to rise to 500,000 this year."[211] In addition, China is Sudan's largest export market, with over 40.9% of total exports going to China. With 14.2% of Sudanese

[208]Unknown, "Sudan atrocities strain US relations," *BBC News World Edition,* 1 February 2002, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4226067.stm; Internet; accessed 28 March 2005 .

[209]Wikipedia.com, "Darfur Conflict," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Darfur_conflict#March_2005; Internet; accessed 28 March 2005.

[210]Unknown. "France Offers U.S. a Dilemma on Sudan," *Washington Times*, 24 March 24, 2005, A16, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A61354-2005Mar23.html; Internet; accessed 28 march 2005.

[211]Unknown, , "Sudan atrocities strain US relations," *BBC News World Edition,* 1 February 2002, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4226067.stm; Internet; accessed 28 March 2005

mports coming from China (predominantly arms), China strongly objected to any economic sanctions.[212]

The force composition for Sudan has not been finalized, though the resolution to commit troops has been a positive sign. While the human tragedy has spurred many nations to vote in favour of UN resolution, the sad fact remains that supporting sub-Saharan Africa is only possible if the national interests of the Great Powers are served. Self-serving interests led to US and Chinese non-support for any resolution that proposed criminal proceedings through the ICC or economic sanctions against Sudan respectively, stalled UN intervention in the Sudan crisis. Only after concessions to protect their vital interests were offered did both Great Powers agree to the UNSCR.

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[212]CIA, "The World Factbook: Sudan," http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/su.html; Internet; accessed 28 March 2005.

CHAPTER SIX – CONCLUSION

The end of the cold war has precipitated a shift in the strategies and policies of the Permanent Members of the UNSC. Formerly postured for a massive force on force battles in interstate conflicts, the P5 have tried to re-align themselves to the new reality of intrastate conflict. Nowhere is this new reality more prevalent than in sub-Saharan Africa

Africa's history has been closely linked with the Great Powers. Discovered, exploited and settled by the colonial powers, Africa has always been used to further the interests of powerful nations. New to self government, as compared to the rest of the World, Africa has struggled with independence. The optimism of independence has never been realized. A litany of regional conflicts, struggling economies, societal pressures and humanitarian crisis have been commonplace in the region.

Sub-Saharan Africa remains an underdeveloped area of the world with magnificence potential coupled with enormous obstacles. Sub-Sahara Africa is, and will continue to be important for many reasons. As a resource rich sub-continent, it will meet much of the world's demand in oil, strategic minerals and raw materials. Well placed between Asia and Europe, the sub-continent is an ideal geo-strategic location for any Great Power to control access to sea and air routes. The economic advantages to be gained from a partnership with specific sub-Saharan nations are great.

Coupled with the economic advantages of partnership, fostering good ties with the 48 nations in the region has tremendous promise. The African Bloc provides significant

voting power in a many world forums.   China and France have already used this power

to block UNSC approval of actions that were contrary to their own national interest.

The region also challenges international safety, being a haven for crime including

drug trafficking and money laundering, a haven for terrorist organizations and a breeding

ground for pandemics. The problems are exacerbated by the inability of local

governments to stop the downward spiral due to poor economies and poor governance.

Regional instability remains the biggest stumbling block in Africa. Coups, civil

war, insurgencies and rebellions are all destabilizing factors that inhibit sub-Saharan

growth. Unable to help itself, the sub-continent now looks abroad for help with its crises.

Unfortunately, its plea for help has been met with selective success.

This partial success is mainly driven by the Permanent Members of the UN

Security Council. Seventeen missions have been mounted in sub-Saharan Africa since

the end of the cold war. Though this may be indicative of significant benevolent effort

on the part of the UN, it may be concluded that the P5 have supported these missions to

gain some advantage through intervention. The P5 have not been philanthropic when

considering peacekeeping in the region. Instead they have been predominantly self

serving, supporting missions, only when political, economic, social or cultural advantage

could be gained. In some instances, the Great Powers have exploited the unrest or

turmoil to create favourable conditions for their own gain.

The UN has been a venue to advance these motives, or a vehicle to delay action

when risks outweigh the advantage to be gained. The P3 -- the US, UK and France --

have proposed the ACRI to deal with African issues. While this may be regarded as a positive step in improving Africa's ability to regulate its won affairs, it may also be cynically viewed as an initiative to avoid intervention by their own troops. When there is no strategic value to deploying P3 troops to the region, the P3 may be glad to fund other Africans to solve African problems.

The P5 have, however, involved themselves in the regions conflicts when it serves their own interests. Through examination of five missions this has been clear. Somalia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Angola and Sudan have all been countries that have felt the impact of these selfish motives to some degree.

UNOSOM II in Somalia, one of the first full-fledged peacekeeping operations in aid of humanitarian efforts, fell prey to the lack of commitment when the cost of involvement outweighed the benefits to be achieved. The social advantage of benevolence, the political advantage of global leadership and geo-strategic positioning fell prey to the domestic pressures resulting from the loss of peacekeepers in areas where national interest was limited. The follow-on effect, as expressed in the US's PDD25, was to affect peacekeeping responses in the remainder of the region.

UNAMIR in Rwanda was crippled by P5 hesitancy to experience the same fate as Somalia. With limited advantage to be gained through intervention, the P5 catered to domestic pressures and watched as a genocide killing almost one million people unfolded. Citing overstretched forces, due to deployments in the Former Yugoslavia, citing ignorance of the developing calamity, the P5 sat on its hands and delayed deployment of additional troops to UNAMIR even in the face of the unfolding genocide.

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Finally, when faced with outstanding international pressure to intervene did any of the P5 act. The only country that had strong economic and cultural ties, and a cultural obligation to assist, was France. By mounting Operation Turquoise, France was able to provide some assistance, but still assisted the leaders of the genocide to escape in order to protect their cultural interest in the French-speaking Hutus. The death of 800,000 Rwandans lies at the feet of the entire UNSC with the P5 primarily responsible for the failure in Rwanda.

UNAMSIL in Sierra Leone was left to the former colonial power, the UK, to resolve. Yet, based on the political aversion to Nigeria, the UK was loathe to commit troops to assist ECOMOG. The political and cultural disadvantage, expressed thorough its leadership in the Commonwealth, was too great. China, seeing the potential of supporting a mission in Sierra Leone, deployed troops and has gained political and economic advantage through such support. Finally, the UK intervened and mounted a rescue mission outside the aegis of the UN. As the senior member of the Commonwealth, the UK's cultural obligation could not allow it to sit by idly.

UNAVEM III, in Angola, was supported by several P5 nations to gain economic concessions. Regional stability has returned, and the US still continues to import significant oil from Angola, Russia has procured extensive infrastructure and diamond contracts with the government, and China and France continue to conduct extensive trade with country.

Finally, with the recent approval of UNMIS in Sudan, the P5 have shown compassion for the humanitarian crisis unfolding in the region. Yet even this seemingly

positive action, which appears to be motivated by gaining a social advantage, has a dark side. The US and China used delaying tactics to protect their own interests. For the US, concern centred on the ICC and a reluctance to set up an international war crimes tribunal, lest it compromise its own position with respect to safeguarding its citizens. For China, concern has focused on a reluctance to impose economic sanctions against Sudan, one of China's largest oil sources and trading partners.

Though it has spent significant effort on sub-Saharan Africa, the motives for P5 peacekeeping in sub-Saharan Africa have been less than philanthropic. Even though the UNSC has passed numerous resolutions resulting in several missions, the majority of peacekeeping has been undertaken by non-P5 countries with altruistic purposes. The P5 can be spurred into action, yet as argued in this paper, their intervention is mainly tied to political, economic, social, or cultural advantage to be gained.   Where the risk outweighs the gain, the P5 have avoided dealing swiftly and directly with the region's unrest, regardless of the suffering that ensues.

Appendix 1 – P5 Participation in Post-Cold War UN Missions in Sub-Saharan Africa

Table A - Ongoing Missions

Mission	Mandate	P5 Troops Deployed				
		PRC	FR	RU	UK	US
UNAMSIL Sierra Leone Oct 99 to present	On 22 October 1999, the Security Council established UNAMSIL to cooperate with the Government and the other parties in implementing the Lome Peace Agreement and to assist in the implementation of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration plan. On 7 February 2000, the Council revised UNAMSIL's mandate. It also expanded its size, as it did once again on 19 May 2000 and on 30 March 2001	X		X	X	
MONUC DRC. Nov 99 to present	The Democratic Republic of the Congo and five regional States signed the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement in July 1999. To maintain liaison with the parties and carry out other tasks, the Security Council set up MONUC on 30 November 1999, incorporating UN personnel authorized in earlier resolutions. On 24 February 2000, the Council expanded the mission's mandate and size.	X	X	X	X	
UNMIL Liberia. Sep 03 to present.	The United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) was established by Security Council resolution 1509 (2003) of 19 September 2003 to support the implementation of the ceasefire agreement and the peace process; protect United Nations staff, facilities and civilians; support humanitarian and human rights activities; as well as assist in national security reform, including national police training and formation of a new, restructured military	X	X	X	X	X
UNOCI. Cote d'Ivoire. Apr 04 to present	Having determined that the situation in Côte d'Ivoire continued to pose a threat to international peace and security in the region and acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, the Security Council, by its resolution 1528 of 27 February 2004, decided to establish the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) as from 4 April 2004. UNOCI replaced the United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI), a political mission set up by the Council in May 2003 with a mandate to facilitate the implementation by the Ivorian parties of the peace agreement signed by them in January 2003.	X	X	X		

Mission	Mandate	P5 Troops Deployed				
		PRC	FR	RU	UK	US
ONUB Burundi Jun 04 to present	Having determined that the situation in Burundi continued to constitute a threat to international peace and security in the region and acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, the Security Council, by its resolution 1545 of 21 May 2004, decided to establish the United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB) in order to support and help to implement the efforts undertaken by Burundians to restore lasting peace and bring about national reconciliation, as provided under the Arusha Agreement.	X		X		
UNMEE Ethiopia/Eritrea Jul 00 to present	In June 2000, after two years of fighting in a border dispute, Ethiopia and Eritrea signed a cessation of hostilities agreement following proximity talks led by Algeria and the Organization of African Unity. In July, the Security Council set up UNMEE to maintain liaison with the parties and establish a mechanism for verifying the ceasefire. In September 2000, the Council authorized deployment within UNMEE of up to 4,200 military personnel to monitor the cessation of hostilities and to help ensure the observance of security commitments.	X	X	X		X

Source: United Nations Peacekeeping Website,
http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/index.asp; Internet; accessed 28 February 2005

Table B - Completed Missions

Mission	Mandate	P5 Troops Deployed				
		PRC	FR	RU	UK	US
UNTAG Namibia Apr 89 to Apr 90	UNTAG was established to assist the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to ensure the early independence of Namibia through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations, and to carry out a number of other duties. Independent Namibia joined the United Nations in April 1990	X	X	X	X	
ONUMOZ Mozambique Dec 92 to Dec 94	ONUMOZ was established to help implement the General Peace Agreement, signed by the President of the Republic of Mozambique and the President of the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana. The mandate included facilitating the implementation of the Agreement; monitoring the ceasefire; monitoring the withdrawal of foreign forces and providing security in the transport corridors; providing technical assistance and monitoring the entire electoral process	X		X		X
UNOSOMII Somalia Mar 93 to Mar 95	UNOSOM II was established in March 1993 to take appropriate action, including enforcement measures, to establish throughout Somalia a secure environment for humanitarian assistance. To that end, UNOSOM II was to complete, through disarmament and reconciliation, the task begun by the Unified Task Force for the restoration of peace, stability, law and order. UNOSOM II was withdrawn in early March 1995		X			X
UNOMUR Uganda/Rwanda Jun 93 to Sep	UNOMUR was established to monitor the border between Uganda and Rwanda and verify that no military assistance was being provided across it. While the tragic turn of events in Rwanda in April 1994 prevented UNOMUR from fully implementing its mandate, the Mission played a useful role as a confidence-building mechanism. UNOMUR was officially closed on 21 September 1994	████████████████				
UNAMIR Rwanda Oct 93 to Mar	UNAMIR was originally established to help implement the Arusha Peace Agreement signed by the Rwandese parties on 4 August			X	X	

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		P5 Troops Deployed				
Mission	Mandate	PRC	FR	RU	UK	US
96	1993. UNAMIR's mandate and strength were adjusted on a number of occasions in the face of the tragic events of the genocide and the changing situation in the country. UNAMIR's mandate came to an end on 8 March 1996					
UNOMIL Liberia Sep 93 to Sep 97	UNOMIL was established to exercise good offices in support of the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States and the Liberian National Transitional Government to implement peace agreements; investigate alleged ceasefire violations; assist in maintenance of assembly sites and demobilization of combatants; support humanitarian assistance; investigate human rights violations and assist local human rights groups; observe and verify elections	**X**		**X**		
UNAVEMIII Angola Feb 95 to Jun 97	Established to assist the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) in restoring peace and achieving national reconciliation on the basis of the Peace Accords for Angola, signed on 31 May 1991, the Lusaka Protocol signed on 20 November 1994, and relevant Security Council resolutions.		**X**	**X**		
MONUA Angola Jan 97 to Feb 99	MONUA was established on 30 June 1997 to assist the Angolan parties in consolidating peace and national reconciliation, enhancing confidence-building and creating an environment conducive to long-term stability, democratic development and rehabilitation of the country		**X**	**X**		
UNMOSIL Sierra Leone Jul 98 to 22 Oct 99	UNOMSIL was established in July 1998 to monitor the military and security situation in Sierra Leone, as well as the disarmament and demobilization of former combatants. It was also asked to assist in monitoring respect for international humanitarian law. UNOMSIL was terminated on 22 October 1999, when the Security Council authorized deployment of a new and significantly larger peacekeeping operation -- the United Nations Mission in	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	

Mission	Mandate	P5 Troops Deployed				
		PRC	FR	RU	UK	US
	Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)					
MINURCA Central African Republic Apr 98 to Feb 00	MINURCA was deployed in April 1998 to assist in maintaining and enhancing security and stability in Bangui and vicinity; supervise, control storage, and monitor the disposition of weapons retrieved in disarmament exercise; assist in capacity-building of national police; provide advice and technical support for legislative elections. Later, MINURCA was also mandated to support the conduct of presidential elections and supervise the destruction of confiscated weapons		X			

Source: United Nations Peacekeeping Website,
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