BRATISLAVA INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS

From Quasi-States to Full-Fledged Democracies: the Contribution of

the United Nations Peace Operations to Stability of Sovereign States

Bachelor Thesis

Bratislava, 2018   **Anna Fumačová**

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Declaration of Originality

I hereby declare that this bachelor thesis is the work of my own and has not been published in part or in whole elsewhere. All used literature is attributed and cited in references.

Bratislava, February 15, 2018

Anna Fumačová,

Signature:…………………………

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to investigate the effects of the United Nations humanitarian intervention on the stability of sovereign states in West Africa. This bachelor thesis shows that the United Nations' missions positively contribute to the political, social, and economic stability of intervened states and thus enhance (rather than detract from) domestic sovereignty of these states.

In the first part, the theoretical background was provided for the understanding of key concepts of this work and embedding these concepts in the West African context. The second part of the thesis was specifically concerned with the analysis of the collected data and its insertion to the African model, including Liberia as a case study.

The United Nations' missions provide significant help to a state's transition to be more democratic and stable on the domestic level. These results suggest a tangible positive impact of the United Nations' peacekeeping mission to more stabilized state and creating of democratic principles within the state. The UN's interventions positively contribute to the internal stability of a state and support democratic consolidation for building stable domestic sovereignty.

Od kvázi-štátov k plnohodnotným demokraciám: prínos mierových operácií Organizácie spojených národov k stabilite suverénnych štátov

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Abstrakt

Účelom tejto práce je skúmať, ako humanitárne intervencie Organizácie spojených národov vplývajú na stabilitu suverénnych štátov v Západnej Afrike. Táto práca má za účel preukázať, že misie Organizácie spojených národov pozitívne prispievajú k politickej, sociálnej a ekonomickej stabilite štátov, ktoré boli intervenované.

V prvej časti tejto práce je poskytnutý teoretický náhľad do problematiky pre porozumenie základných kľúčových konceptov a ich následné zasadenie do západoafrického kontextu. Druhá časť tejto práce je zameraná na analýzu zozbieraných dát a ich aplikovanie do afrického modelu, vrátanie Libérie ako prípadovej štúdie.

Na základe tejto práce sa dá tvrdiť, že misie Organizácie spojených národov poskytujú značnú pomoc pri štátnom prechode k demokracii a väčšej stabilite na domácej úrovni. Tieto výsledky naznačujú pozitívny dopad misie udržiavania mieru na väčšiu stabilitu štátu a vytváranie demokratických princípov v štáte. Intervencie Organizácie spojených národov pozitívne prispievajú k vnútornej stabilite štátu a podporujú upevňovanie demokracie pre budovanie stabilnej domácej suverenity.

Table of Contents

Table of graphs

Introduction

The decolonization era and the rise of new sovereign independent states in Africa brought about massive disturbances in internal affairs of those states. Rebellions, riots, and competition for gaining power between ethnic groups or even individuals and their armed forces put countries in very fragile and unstable position. After the Second World War, an organization for restoring and keeping the peace was created – the United Nations. The UN created their policies and as time went by, they adjusted them to a changing concept of state sovereignty. Before the UN was created, sovereignty was an attribute which every sovereign state possessed and no state could intervene in its internal affairs.

In the new era of the United Nations, sovereignty was no longer untouchable. The UN intervened in a number of internal affairs, especially in Africa. It wanted to bring stability and development to those countries by their missions: peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding. In a number of cases, the military interventions turned out well. However, there are also some which came off disastrously. This thesis will analyze and discuss how these missions have influenced state sovereignty and internal stability of intervened states. It will provide an argument for the importance of domestic sovereignty for a state to be stable. Although sovereignty is in many cases perceived only externally it is important to focus on domestic stability because one cannot be granted without another. At first, one must have internal sovereignty and only after that it can be recognized by others externally.

1. State Sovereignty and Humanitarian Intervention

After the colonization era, several African states remained highly fragile. Many intrastate conflicts emerged and the West was prepared to help. The United Nations' humanitarian programs, funds, or other agencies were set to restore peace in these countries. It seems the United Nations figured out how they want to achieve stability of states torn in conflict and how they intervene in countries when Western values such as human rights are violated on a daily basis. After the 2005 World Summit, the perception of sovereignty of the state has changed and the United Nations' intervention policy has changed its position as well (Bellamy, 2006).

There is a variety of perceptions on the sovereignty of states. Max Weber (2004) claimed that "the state is the form of human community that [successfully] lays claim to the monopoly on legitimate physical violence" (p. 33) so a state's internal affairs are only its own and no external state should intervene in these affairs. A hundred years later, Robert H. Jackson distinguished positive and negative sovereignty of states. According to Jackson (1993), European modern sovereign states possess positive sovereignty because they have always been strong and independent and therefore equal (p. 29). It is not only about external recognition by others but rather about provision of civil and socioeconomic goods for the states' populations (p. 27). For this reason, decolonized African states possess negative sovereignty which is "the international normative framework that upholds sovereign statehood in the Third World" (Jackson, 1993, p.1). These states of the Third World often appear to have juridical more than empirical statehood and that is why Jackson labeled these states as quasi states.

Jackson and Rosberg (1982) write about Ian Brownlie and his theory of empirical and judicial statehood of a state to be a state. Brownlie's theory sees two empirical attributes of a state. First, it is "a permanent population which is intended to be used in association with that of territory and connotes a stable community" (Jackson & Rosberg, 1982, p.5). By stable community, Brownlie means a society or a group of individuals who have common culture, common rules or common set of norms.

Population in African states is usually divided into several tribes. There are social cleavages of race, religion, language, etc. For example, in Sudan, there were racial divisions among Arabs and Africans so large that a conflict over the control of a state emerged and at the end, they split into two states. Ethnic divisions can seriously affect national political stability and the capacity of a government to control its territory. The second empirical attribute of a state is an effective government which "is centralized government which exercises control over a state´s territory and the people residing in it" (Jackson & Rosberg, 1982, p.6). According to this definition, the majority of African states could not be real states, because these states rarely have a permanent population and static control over its territory. Ian Brownlie claims that state must have: a defined territory, a permanent population, an effective government, and independence (Jackson & Rosberg, 1982).

Therefore, if only the empirical explanation will be used then some African states would not be able to be states so it is important to look at the juridical explanation too. Brownlie's theory sees two juridical attributes of a state: a defined territory and independence of states or external sovereignty. It is important to say that a state's territory is recognized only when it has a society and the society must be recognized. There are several reasons why the juridical statehood had been protected in African states. Pan-Africanism is an ideology based on nationalism and freedom and it is a result of a colonial era. "There is a common interest in the support of international rules and institutions and state jurisdictions in the African region that derives from the common vulnerability of states and the insecurity of statesman" because there is general insecurity (Jackson & Rosberg, 1982, p.18). According to Jackson and Rosberg (1982), another condition for preservation of juridical statehood is the reluctance of external powers to intervene in African affairs (p.19). However, several years later this condition is no longer relevant because of several interventions from external powers.

On the other hand, Krasner (2001) distinguishes between four different sovereignties: domestic, interdependence, international legal and Westphalian sovereignty. Domestic refers to internal affairs and authority towards the government (p. 230). There is also need for the authority to be effective within the state. Interdependence sovereignty describes "the ability to control trans-border movements" (p.231), i.e. globalization.

International legal sovereignty refers to mutual (external) recognition (p. 233) and Westphalian sovereignty means autonomy of a state, i.e. the right to choose their domestic authority (p.232). For the purpose of this study, the emphasis will be put on domestic sovereignty and its importance towards international community which is now able and willing to intervene in a state's internal affairs.

Usually, states operate with notions of external and internal sovereignty. However, it is important to say that external sovereignty must be granted for the possibility of internal sovereignty to emerge and to be legitimate. Nevertheless, these two sovereignties are mutually inclusive because one cannot exist without another. A crucial task for governments in domestically sovereign states is to protect its citizens from violence, more importantly, from violence organized by states. According to Charles Tilly (1985), the agents of states have internal and external activities to achieve this goal. Externally, a state has to protect its citizens from outside violence by "eliminating or neutralizing their own rivals" (p. 181) on their territory in which they have the monopoly for the use of force. Internally, a state has to ensure "eliminating or neutralizing their rivals" (p. 181) within a state. Hence, if one cannot eliminate or neutralize their rivals outside of their territory there is a small chance that the state will function on the domestic level. A state which successfully achieves this internal task strengthens its ability to be seen as sovereign and stable by others (Tilly, 1985).

A state which does not fulfill this task and faces many parties and groups which fight for the right to use violence legitimately can be hardly perceived as domestically sovereign. It is possible to claim then that the state is sovereign also because of human development on the domestic level and many times the problem is that this level is low and not progressive. Rapes, violations of human rights, low education level, or low level of healthcare are the reasons of the destabilization of states' internal affairs. Violence against state's citizens is one of the major problems in fragile states. Due to atrocities which are committed on citizens there is sometimes a need for external intervention conducted by international community.

In this century, the United Nations could be perceived as a real threat to state sovereignty. It describes itself as an international organization which "can take action

on the issues [...] such as peace and security, climate change, sustainable development, human rights, disarmament, terrorism, humanitarian and health emergencies, gender equality, governance, food production, and more" (the United Nations). It was founded in 1945 after the Second World War to restore and spread peace around the world. The means by which the UN wants to maintain peace and security in other countries are their missions of peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding.

Peacemaking is understood as an "action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations" (United Nations, 1992). Peaceful means include the consent of parties which has to be done through political will. Parties should also mediate and negotiate until the common solution is founded and it includes political sanctions imposed on violators of peace.

Peacemaking leads to peacekeeping which is "the development of a UN presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all parties concerned, normally involving UN military and/or personnel and civilians" (United Nations, 1992). Three generations of UN peacekeeping forces appeared since 1948 when the first peacekeeping mission was authorized. The first generation included UN observers who functioned as a buffer zone between two countries after a ceasefire. The second generation added a number of roles and tasks such as disarmament, protection of population, assisting in improving human rights condition in a country, and building infrastructure. The third generation has greater military power and it is not necessarily neutral – it may struggle against one party (Solakova, 2014). The main aim of peacemaking forces (also referred to as Blue Helmets because of the color of their helmets) is to assist in provision and implementation of peace agreements among the fighting forces, such as power-sharing arrangements, electoral support, strengthening the rule of law, and economic or social development. In a number of cases, the UN forces work as observers of the peace processes.

According to Fortna Page (2008), there are four types of peacekeeping operations. First, observation missions where no military is included and the forces are only tasked with observing and reporting on a concrete situation. Second, interpositional missions can be understood as the first generation of peacekeeping operations where

military serves as buffer between belligerent factions and they also observe and report the compliance of any of the sides involved in the conflict. Third, there are missions which do not only engage in observing but also enforcing and participating on institutional reform which is needed for conflict resolution and effective peace building such as electoral support, economic development, police reform and more. All of these missions are defined in Chapter VI of the UN Charter (Appendix A) and the consent of belligerent parties is needed for operation of these missions. Last but not least, Peace enforcement missions do not require the consent hence it operated under the Chapter VII of the UN Charter (Appendix A). This mission type allows military personnel to use force not only for self-defense but also for purposes beyond that.

Peacebuilding is an "action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into a conflict" (the United Nations, 1992). It consists of demilitarization, institutional reform (police, judicial systems), economic development, or cooperative projects.

The 2005 World Summit was organized by the United Nations in New York and its goal was to have the opportunity to "take bold decisions in the areas of development, security, human rights and reform of the United Nations" (United Nations, 2005). One of the outcomes was a changing perception of state sovereignty. Sovereignty is no longer seen as control but as responsibility (Peltonen, 2011, p. 1). That is why the international society has a responsibility to protect (also referred to as R2P) population against atrocious crimes and the community has collective responsibility "to prevent, to protect and to rebuild" (Peltonen, 2011, p.4). According to Alex J. Bellamy (2006), the UN wants to prevent future Kosovos and Rwandas. Thus, The UN has the two following strategies in fulfilling conditions of responsibility:

a) to prevent genuine humanitarian intervention which means that if a state is unable or unwilling to protect its citizens, the responsibility would fall on international society (p. 146), and

b) to prevent abuse by establishing common framework of intervention for all member states of the United Nations (p. 147).

In other words, sovereignty is not more important than lives of its citizens within a sovereign state. The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty formulated the main aim of R2P: "to reconcile the occasional need for armed intervention to protect vulnerable populations with the principles of state sovereignty" (Bellamy, 2008, p. 620). To prevent the mistakes which the UN had made, and for the intervention to be legitimate and recognized by international society, every intervention has to be authorized by the Security Council of United Nations.

For the purpose of this study, the concept of R2P will be used as a definition of state sovereignty and the right for intervention by external actors. Because of an emphasis put on the region of West Africa, this study will primarily deal with the missions of peacekeeping and its impact on stability of sovereign West African states. Furthermore, due to the fact that all West African countries are recognized as sovereign, this study will focus on internal sovereignty and the impact of economic, political, and economic stability on domestic sovereignty.

2. Stability of West African Countries

The UN had undertaken interventions in countries where the human rights were robustly violated. Its main goal was to stabilize the country on political and social level which goes hand in hand with economic development. The most stable type of government in contemporary world is democracy, especially liberal democracy. That is the reason why the UN is operating in democratic terms and tries to promotes democracy in these unsteady countries experiencing internal conflicts to bring stability there.

A number of countries of West Africa have experienced authoritarian or semi-authoritarian state regimes after gaining independence from colonial powers. Authoritarianism is here understood as "a form of government characterized by strong central power and limited political freedoms" (Merriam-Webster). Africa is known for regimes based on strong political leaders which is the reason why the states are prompt to become authoritarian or are mostly under military rule. Several states are marked by semi-authoritarian or semi-democratic regime which incorporates both the authoritarian and democratic characteristics (Quigley, 1983). Since the end of the twentieth century, various attempts for democratic transition have been made but some states have still remained semi-democracies.

Even though these semi-authoritarian regimes can be perceived as politically or economically functional, the democratic consolidation "must rest on the stability and persistence of democracy" (Diamond, 1999, p. 64). All state actors (mainly politicians) and non-state actors (mainly citizens) must perceive democracy as the only regime possible in the country and cannot deflect from this conception. In the process of consolidating of democracy, there must be "a normative and behavioral consensus" (Diamond, 1999, p. 65) in ethnic, religious, or other cleavages to legitimize the constitutional system. When consolidation is successful, the democratic principles are rooted, and all actors automatically conform to the written laws and unwritten morals, values, or principles even if their views on different issues are not the same.

According to Larry Diamond (1999), there are three tasks of democratic consolidation in new, fragile democracies. First, there must be democratic deepening which makes

"the formal structures more liberal, accountable, representative, and accessible" (p. 74). A problem arises when the democratic regime is electoral because electoral democracies usually lack these features. Second, formal representatives and governmental structures have to be more coherent, autonomous and adaptable to be more binding, effective, and valued. There has to be political institutionalization of these structures to achieve more predictability in political behavior. It is important to achieve mutual security "by defining clear, workable rules" (Diamond, 1999, p. 75) on the "political field" and "by establishing more authoritative, proficient, and dependable structures for mediating political conflicts and interactions" (Diamond, 1999, p. 75). This institutionalization boosts trust and cooperation among political actors. Third, it is important that regime performs itself with positive outputs to build its political legitimacy. The relationship between performance and legitimacy is reciprocal because the more successful regime is the more legitimate it tends to be (Diamond, 1999). Democratic regimes which are legitimate right from the beginning have easier position in keeping its effective performance.

Economic stability and political stability are highly connected. Generally, countries experiencing high levels of political violence and discrimination are associated with bad living conditions and a lack of economic opportunities. It has to be borne in mind that economic prosperity and democratic stability are not mutually inclusive and "favourable economic circumstances do not in themselves ensure consolidation" (Diamond, 1999, p. 83).
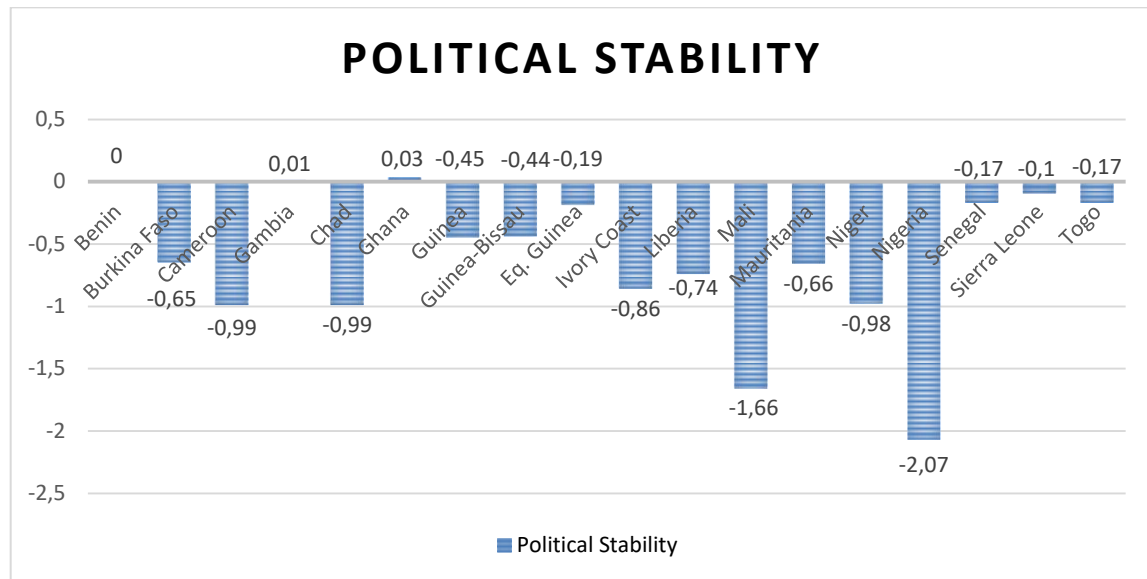
Political stability is connected with political freedoms, accountability, and constitutionalism. To consolidate economic reforms it is needed for people to trust in democracy and its process. Actors in democratic consolidation do not only need civil liberties but also order in social environment which is "signified by the safety and predictability" (Diamond, 1999, p. 99) of the system. Order in a state cannot be achieved if the social cleavages complicate state's position in preserving its monopoly of force over its territory. Order presupposes law and the rule of law presupposes the avoidance of the mobilization of ethnic conflicts into armed conflicts and violence. And that is why it is important to maintain order in politically stable states. The disturbance of order and the threat to democracy is crime. States after democratic transitions and in the process of consolidation are weaker, poorer and especially in

Africa, more fragmented. Citizens of these fragile, weak states are afraid of violence which can be destabilizing for these democracies. Crime may be one of the major obstacles that can influence economic performance as well (Diamond, 1999) because it "increases inequality, discourages foreign direct investment and tourism, and encourages emigration of skilled workers" (Diamond, 1999, p. 91). It can also weaken respect for the rule of law, especially in citizens if the state forces such as police are weak and cannot protect them. Another obstacle that lowers the quality of democracy and also damages the respect for law is state corruption. West African democratic countries are marked by high level of corruption and therefore the trust of citizens diminishing rapidly.

Political and economic stability are inevitable conditions for a stable sovereign state. In addition, it is also important for a country to secure basic human needs, wellbeing and social opportunities for its citizens. Social stability is needed to achieve stable, peaceful and conflict-free situation within a state. Citizens need to be socially secured, to have access to medical care and education, and to have opportunities to participate in a state where the rule of law should function effectively. These three kinds of stability check and balance each other and that is why they are mutually inclusive. There is no reason to have one without another because it would eventually cause unstable society either way.

In majority of African states, all these types of stability are very low. If one looks at The World Bank's political stability index (Graph 1), the majority of West African states are below 0 (-2.5 as totally unstable to 2.5 as highly stable). This index measures the possibility of governmental destabilization or government to be overthrown by unconstitutional or violent means, including struggling for power-motivated violence or terrorism. It considers the probability of "a disorderly transfer of government power, armed conflict, violent demonstrations, social unrest, international tensions, terrorism, ethnic, religious, and regional conflicts" (The World Bank, 2015).

Graph 1: Political Stability Index in West Africa

Data source: The World Bank, 2015[1]

Political stability is often associated with a public perception of corruption. In all African countries, these perceptions by public are high since those states have gained independence. As can be seen, corruption perceptions seem to be connected with political instability especially for Chad where political instability is ranked on a scale of values from -2.5 to 2.5 by a value of -0.99. When one looks at Transparency International's statistics of corruption perceptions (Graph 2) in 2016, one may see that Chad was located on a penultimate place with a value of 20. Value 100 means that public sees no corruption within the state. The best result considering political stability in West Africa has Ghana with 0.03.

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[1] The index is a composite measure as it is based on several other indexes from multiple sources including the Economist Intelligence Unit, the World Economic Forum, and the Political Risk Services, among others. The underlying indexes reflect the likelihood of a disorderly transfer of government power, armed conflict, violent demonstrations, social unrest, international tensions, terrorism, as well as ethnic, religious or regional conflicts (The World Bank, 2015).

Graph 2: Corruption Perceptions in West Africa
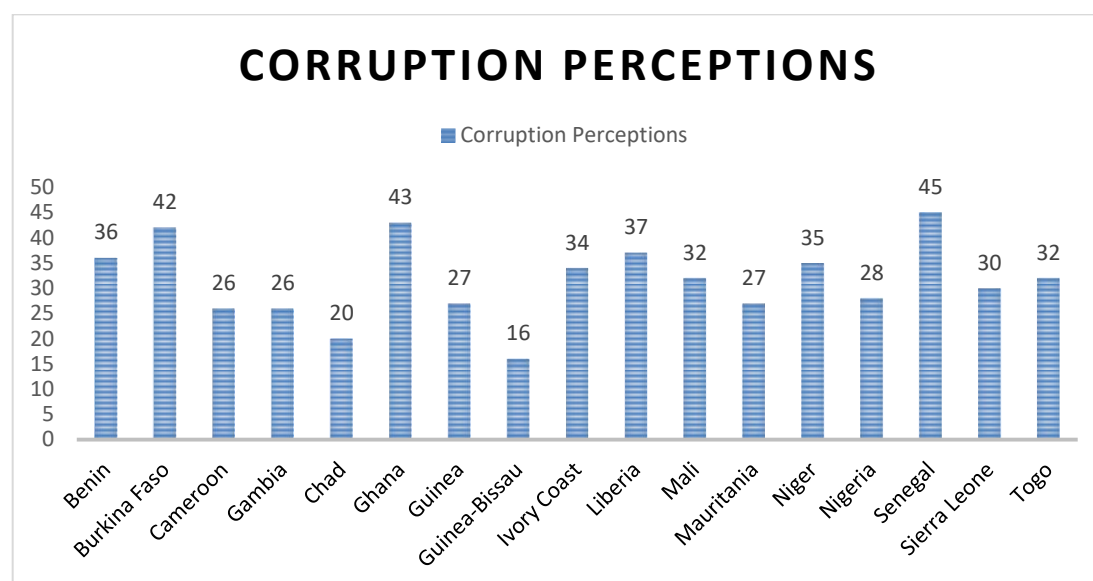
Data source: The World Bank, Transparency International 2016[2]

This goes hand in hand with other kinds of stability. Considering that Ghana has the best result in World Bank's index of political stability, this country is also one of the highest in West Africa when it comes to The Heritage Foundation's index of economic freedom (Graph 3). It is beneficial to be an economically free state if one wants to have political stability within a country. Economic freedom brings more general freedoms to a country because it is strongly connected to "healthier societies, cleaner environments, greater per capita wealth, human development, democracy, and poverty elimination" (The Heritage Foundation, 2017). It operates on twelve economic freedoms divided into four groups: rule of law, government size, regulatory efficiency, and open markets (The Heritage Foundation, 2017). The vast majority of West African countries are ranked as mostly unfree (from 59.9 to 50). Ghana is ranked 6th out of eighteen countries of West Africa with a value of 56,2. The same

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[2] The Corruption Perceptions Index is an indicator of perceptions of public sector corruption, i.e. administrative and political corruption. The indicator values are determined by using information from surveys and assessments of corruption, collected by a variety of reputable institutions (The World Bank, 2016).

goes for Chad, which is more politically unstable than stable, with a value of 49 and that is the reason why it is considered to be repressed (from 49,9 to 40).

Graph 3: Index of Economic Freedom in West Africa
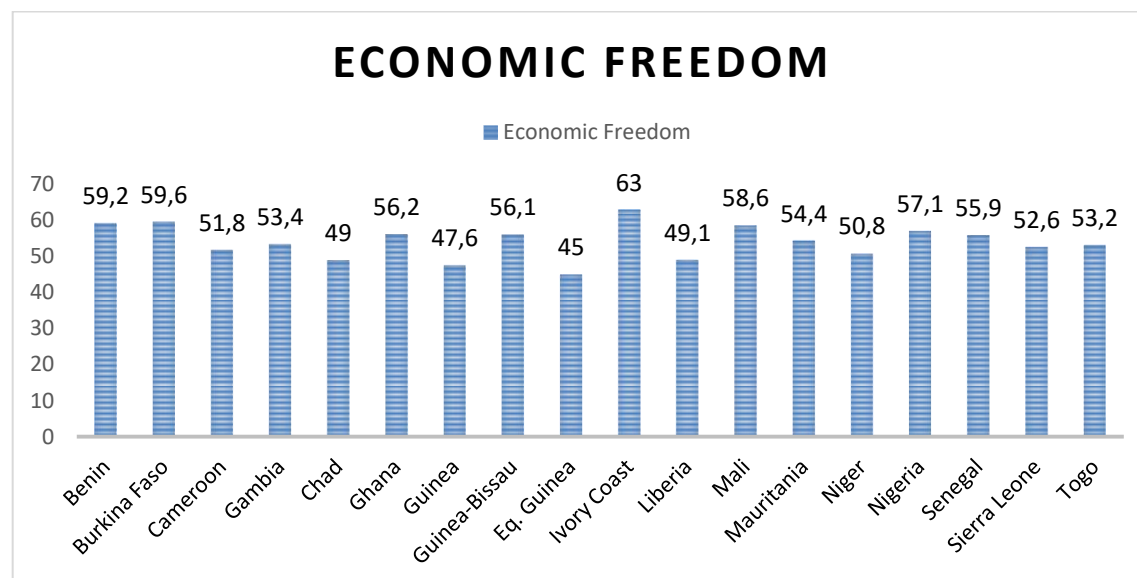
Data source: The Heritage Foundation 2017[3]

On the other hand, Ivory Coast is the only country of West Africa considered to be moderately free (from 69.9 to 70) with a value of 63. Ivory Coast was a colony of France and after they gained independence they have tried to have good diplomatic and international ties with the West – especially France. Likewise, after gaining the independence from France, Félix Houphouët-Boigny was a ruler of Ivory Coast until 1993 and he created more democratic principles and democracy-based constitution which leads to economic freedoms as well (Handloff, 1988). Ivory Coast is economically stable and it seems to manage a variety of problems which threaten this economic stability (Chonghaile, 2016). International trade with West and their agricultural production help them to economic growth. Their political stability at the level of -0.86 can be expected after the military coup in 1999, the first civil war in 2002 and the second in 2011. These conflicts emerged due to struggle for power and it

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[3] The Index covers 12 freedoms: property rights, government integrity, judicial effectiveness, government spending, tax burden, fiscal health, business freedom, labor freedom, monetary freedom, trade freedom, investment freedom, financial freedom (The Heritage Foundation, 2017).

lead to the violation of stability in this state. Unlike Ivory Coast, Ghana has experienced several forms of kingdoms since 11th century (McCaskie & Fage, 2010). Due to British colonization of this country, people of Ghana did not see these types of ruling for the first time (source). Ghana has become regional power of West Africa (Marcelo, 1998, p.144) thanks to their economic prosperity and promotion and consolidation of its democratic system.

Considering social stability in the region of West Africa, the numbers are very low. 2017 Social Progress Index (Graph 4) was created to aggregate social and environmental indicators that are captured in three dimensions: basic human needs, foundations of wellbeing, and opportunities. According to The Social Progress Index, all of the West African countries have a significant problem with access to advanced education (17 out of 17). By advanced education is meant a very low percentage of people over 25 that would complete tertiary education, a small number of years which women attended primary, secondary or tertiary education, or a low number of globally ranked universities within this region. The vast majority of West African states are ranked with the lowest component score for shelter (16 out of 17) and water and sanitation (15 out of 17). People were asked by Gallup World Poll if they are satisfied or dissatisfied with the place they are currently living in case of the availability of good, affordable housing. It was also important if they have access to electricity measured by Sustainable Electricity for All and if there are some household air pollution attributable deaths measured by Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation. When it comes to water and sanitation, it was measured by WHO/UNICEF if people have access to piped water and if there is also an access to improved water source for rural areas and if there is access to improved sanitation facilities. If one looks at the overall ranking of countries of West Africa Ghana is ranked the highest. With overall result of 61.44, Ghana is ranked as 90th country out of 128 countries measured considering social progress and stability. On the other hand, Chad is, again, on the lowest rank with the result of 35.9 which makes it 126th country out of 128 countries.

Graph 4: 2017 The Social Progress Index
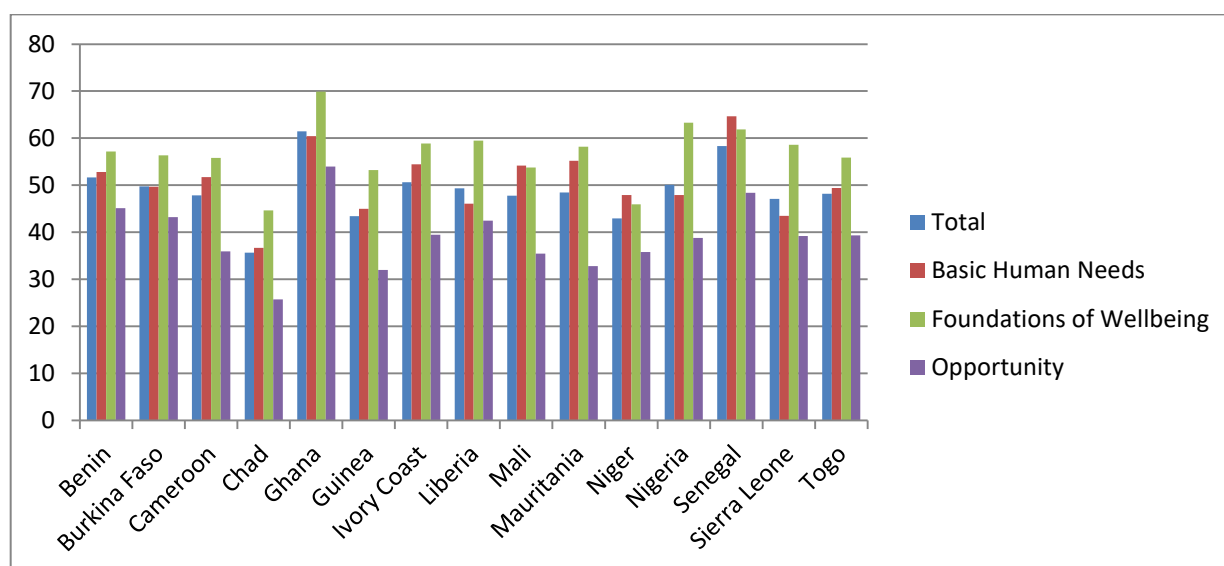
Data source: The Social Progress Index

2.1 The impact of the UN's peacekeeping mission on stability of countries in West Africa

The UN upheld a number of humanitarian interventions of peacekeeping in West Africa and currently it still operates in Mali and Liberia to bring more stability to those states. In the past, it undertook interventions in Ivory Coast, Liberia, and Sierra Leone where the impact of those interventions is noticeable.

A number of researchers studied the impact of the UN's peacekeeping missions on the process of lasting peace and transition policies. According to Fortna Page (2008), it contributes to building communication paths between belligerent parties and ensures that none of the parties will endanger the peace process (p. 40). Peacekeepers make the intentions of both parties transparent for the other party to prevent further conflict (p. 41). By reformatting the institutions, which are associated with government, peacekeepers they are able to prevent political abuse of citizens. Peacekeepers are allowed by international society to for example retrain security forces to become independent from the government, i.e. to be a mean for protection of people and not only a weapon of the government to suppress the people (p. 55). They can also be helpful in securing and ensuring of fair process of elections for both parties. They help in showing rebel groups how to effectively oppose the government they can be

without the need for war. Many times these rebel groups which are responsible for rioting do not know how to oppose effectively as political organizations because they often have military backgrounds. To have an opposition to the government means to ensure democratic principles and its freedoms in political sphere.

Another great impact which the UN's interventions brought to the countries experiencing conflict is the reduction of future conflict, either a new one or the continuation of the old one. According to Doyle and Sambanis' analysis (2010) of lasting peace in post-conflict countries, lasting peace is more likely to happen after non-ethnic wars in countries with relatively high level of development (p. 12). Additionally, in short run, low level of hostility between belligerent parties is crucial to the lasting peace which is dependent on the UN deployment and increase of economic capacity is a factor which decreases these levels of hostility (p. 15). In the long run, the economic capacity matters more than the levels of hostility as such. The UN creates institutions which "support peace rather than serving as a deterrent for renewed war" (The United Nations Peacekeeping, 2010).

Domestic sovereignty does not only consider economic development and its economic factors for prosperity. Economically, intervened states such as Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone have relatively increased in GDP growth but due to the difficulty of attracting foreign investors that could increase growth and reduce poverty the better option is to open regional trade. Concerning economic freedoms measured by The Heritage Foundation, Ivory Coast is the only state which can be considered moderately free in 2017. Before the first Ivorian civil war, the economic freedom was considered repressed- at the beginning of 1996 or mostly unfree beginning with 51.3 in 1998 and 57.8 in 2002 when the civil war broke out. Since then, this value has been decreasing and it started increasing in 2014 when the United Nations Operation in Cote d'Ivoire (UNOCI) began operated there. This operation ended in June 2017 and now, the value of economic freedom is 62. Sierra Leone almost always belonged to countries which are mostly unfree, starting with the value of 52.3 in 1996. A civil war in Sierra Leone caused decrease in economic freedom from 1998 (47.7) till 2004 (43.6) only a year before the UN forces left. After the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) was over, the value has been steadily increasing until 2018 (51.8).

On the other hand, it is also important to take into consideration all kinds of stability of the countries and the situation they are currently in. Due to the fact that a number of West African countries experienced civil wars, it is not surprising to see that the level of political stability was lower than usual. In both countries, Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone, the likelihood of a disorderly transfer of government power was high due to violent demonstrations against its former leaders and the rule takeover into the hands of military leaders. The consequence of these who-will-have-the-power conflicts was an armed conflict between the government and rebel groups which opposed the government. After the United Nations interventions, political stability increased in both countries. In Sierra Leone, values began with -2.27 in 1998 and ended with -0.26 when the UN forces left. It was getting better for several years and in 2015 its political stability equals to -0.10 which is one of the first in West Africa. Same goes for Ivory Coast which had been relatively stable state under the rule of Félix Houphouet-Boigny (who ruled until 1993). In 2004, the values of political stability begun with -2.16 which was the worst from West Africa and only in three countries from all Africa were lower: Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, and last but not least, Burundi. The figures got noticeably better over the years and in 2015, Ivory Coast increased to the level of -0.86 which is the best result since the year of 2000.

When one wants to work with the notion of domestic sovereignty one has to look at the human development and how much the society is progressive is the society in social affairs. The United Nations' peace operations contributed to this part of states' stability. Literacy rates in Africa have always been lower than in the First or the Second World. In West Africa, there still are gender differences and gaps in literacy, education, and last but not least in unemployment. Literacy rates are around 40 per cent in West African states and the states which the UN intervened belong to this category as well. Ivory Coast's literacy rate is 43.1 per cent and the gender difference represents 20.6 per cent with females as the less literate gender, according to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization in 2015. 48.1 per cent of Sierra Leone's population is considered literate and the gender difference is almost the same as it is in Ivory Coast - 21.1 per cent representing the same problem. Many citizens who are older than 35 years did not have the opportunities which the younger generation has today. In accordance with the data of the Human

Development Index, 90 per cent of primary school-age population in Ivory Coast enrolls in primary schooling, 40 per cent enrolls in secondary schooling but only 24.9 per cent of the population has at least some secondary schooling (2016). The situation is very similar with Sierra Leone where 43 per cent of secondary school-age population enrolls in secondary schooling but only 23.1 have some of this schooling (The Human Development Index, 2016).

Data of World Health Organization on life expectancy at birth in 2015 are low as well. The ratio of both sexes' expectancy is 53.3 years in general but 47 health-adjusted years in Ivory Coast. In 1998 the life expectancy was 47 years according to the World Bank and right before the civil war in 2003 it diminished a little to 46 years. In 2010, 50 years was the average and since then it increases each year. Sierra Leone has even more significant improvement beginning with 37 years at the beginning of 1998, 41 years in 2003 and 50 years in 2015 after the UN's forces left the country. This goes hand in hand with nutrition and basic health care that a state should ensure for its citizens. 12.3 per cent of the Ivory Coast's population was considered to be malnourished in 1998, 16.5 per cent of citizens were experiencing the problem of undernourishment in 2003 when the UN's troops came, however the number decreased after the UN's arrival (the World Bank). According to Health Nutrition and Population Statistics created by the World Bank in 2014, 13.4 per cent of Ivory Coast' population is rated as malnourished. Sierra Leone was also influenced by their civil war. At the beginning of the civil war in 1998, 33.7 per cent of its population were considered to be malnourished, it was even worse in 2003 where 41 per cent of Sierra Leone's population had this problem and it also significantly decreased in 2014 when "only" 22.7 per cent experienced undernourishment.

A state must secure basic human needs for its citizens, their well-being in the state but it also has to guarantee that there is no organized crime by non-state or state agents. The state has to ensure that crime is punished and personal safety of its citizens is secured as well. According to Gibney, Cornett, Wood, Haschke, and Arnon (2016) and their Political Terror Scale, Ivory Coast is in a category which is characterized by high possibility of political imprisonment, politicide and no independence of judiciary. Ivory Coast did not make a significant step forward towards better living conditions for its citizens. It experienced worse situation only in 2003 when the state had a huge

problem with violations of human rights, murders, or disappearances which were happening on daily basis (Political Terror Scale, 2016). Homicide rate of Ivory Coast measured by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2015) is 2 688 persons intentionally killed per 100 000 inhabitants. The government is not that effective in protecting its citizens from violence happening within the state. Sierra Leone is a bit better in keeping peace within their territory. Around the year of 1998, Sierra Leone was considered to be an unstable state where violence spread out to the whole population. Be it leaders of the rebel groups or the government itself, both parties had no limits in pursuing their ideological or personal goals (Political Terror Scale, 2016). Throughout the next ten years, the situation Sierra Leone was in got better and since then, Sierra Leone is regarded as a state where political violence is exceptional and rare (Political Terror Scale, 2016). Considering homicide rate measured in 2012, 135 persons per 100 000 inhabitants are intentionally killed so it can be concluded that the government is ensuring protection of their citizens better than in Ivory Coast (the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012).

The UN peacekeeping operations played a huge role in creating more stability in countries experiencing internal conflicts. Their economic, political and social stability increased thorough the years that the UN forces were present and it is still getting better after their withdrawal. Unfortunately, it does not mean some of the West African countries are not considered fragile even though the situation is becoming better.

3. Fragility of West African countries

The vast majority of West African countries are considered fragile according to the Fragile States Index presented by The Fund for Peace. This index works on 4 major indicators including cohesion; economic; political; and social and cross-cutting indicators. It takes into consideration security apparatus, meaning if there is a likelihood of bombing, rebel movements, or terrorism within a country, or if organized crime, homicides, or violent uprisings are on the rise. One has to look at the monopoly on the use of force and who is exercising it- state or non-state actors. Fragmentation of a society has to be present minimally and a state could become highly fragile if there are divisions based on social or political characteristics. Economic indicators represent the country's economic decline and poverty. Economic development has to be equal and non-discriminatory for a country to be not considered fragile. Countries dealing with an internal conflict have problems with human flight and not having enough of skilled works or intellectuals who would stay in the country. Political indicators of a state's fragility can be depicted by state legitimacy which means the representativeness and openness of government and the relationship between the government and its citizenry. Citizens must have trust in state institutions and its processes to eliminate the rise of armed conflict. Government and its practices have to be transparent and the political system has to be fair and open. Public services such as health, education, shelter must be granted to citizens for a state to be legitimized internally. To have citizens who trust in government, institutions and its processes, human rights cannot be violated and the functional rule of law must be present. In order to fulfill these political indicators, one must fulfill also the social ones. Population growth, distribution, and density have to be taken into consideration as well as public health, food, nutrition, and environment. If these conditions are not fulfilled people could refuge or to be internally displaced and the response of the state to such displacement is also relevant. One of the factors influencing the social and cross-cutting indicators is external intervention from other states. It is divided into political intervention when there is only external support for factions, force intervention when there is a presence of foreign troops, or peacekeeping operations and economic intervention.

The vast majority of West African states can be considered fragile according to the Fragile States Index as we can see in Graph 5. The highest score in fragility has Chad with the value of 109,4 (maximum score 120) which place this country on 8th place from 178 countries measured. Ghana achieved the best results with the value of 69,7 and it is ranked as the 108th country out of 178.

Graph 5: Fragility States Index in West Africa
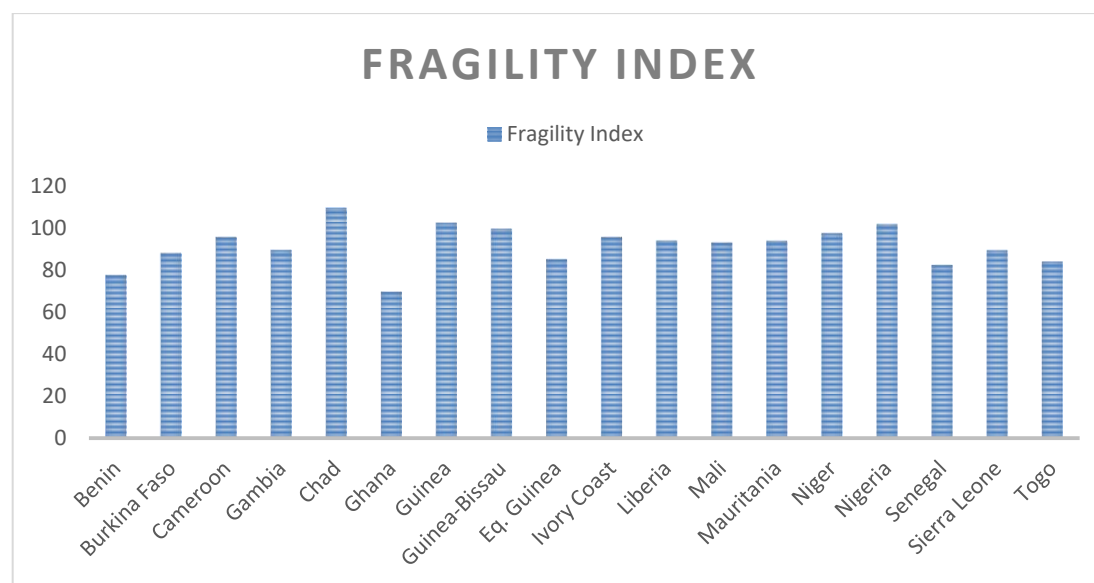
Source: The Fund for Peace, 2016

When one rates state's quality, stability, or development one must not only look at economic factors but rather on human development as such. Economic factors are relevant when it comes to richness of a country but GDP growth does not speak for everything, especially not the quality of lives of a country's citizens. According to Human Development Index, the vast majority of West African countries have low human development except for Equatorial Guinea and Ghana. To be domestically sovereign also means to improve living conditions for a country's citizens such as to guarantee long and proper life, the access to proper education, to have opportunities to live according to citizens' needs and interests, in short, to live with dignity.

4. Liberia as an oldest modern sovereign state in Africa

The Republic of Liberia is a state with very specific historical background. In the 19th century the US-led movement was dealing with the rights of blacks who were born free and also of freed slaves, who were experiencing racial discrimination in political, civil, religious, and social environment (Friends Committee on National Legislation, 2003). Some Americans believed that the freedoms of blacks would be larger and far more extended if they were on the African territory. That is the reason why, in 1822, the American Colonization Society began to send black people, on the basis of volunteering, to the Pepper Coast, where they established a colony which was called Liberia (Suggs, 2014). A hundred years later, more than 10 000 blacks were sent to Liberia and called themselves Americo-Liberians. They decided to assimilate the tribesman so they promoted religious organizations (Christian organizations) to help them in creating schools to educate the indigenous people (Wegmann, 2010). Liberia is the first and, at the same time, the oldest modern state in Africa and it declared and gained independence in 1847 as the first African Republic. In 1862, Liberia was recognized by America (although the first country which recognized Liberia was The United Kingdom) and since then it has close ties with this country. During The Second World War, Liberia supported the US and the US invested in Liberia's infrastructure in return (Marinelli, 1964). This oldest African state had one of the most diverse backgrounds from all other West African countries and it helped them to gain external sovereignty so to be recognized by others, more easily. Due to the efforts of the Americo-Liberians who brought a political structure which is needed for a state to be sovereign Liberia could function as a stable political actor in international society.

Unfortunately, Liberia experienced two civil wars even though its prospect to be a stable and functional sovereign state was good. During the 20th century, this country experienced a lot of improvements in infrastructure, in 1950s Liberia had almost the highest economic growth from all around the world because its president encouraged foreign investment (Marinelli, 1964) and it also was one of the founder countries of the United Nations in 1945. On the other hand, there was persistent struggle for power which was happening between rebel military groups.

4.1 The First Liberian Civil War

In 1980, Samuel Doe carried out a military coup which was successful and he erased inequalities considering ethnicity. The government of then president Tolbert was assembled of people who called themselves Americo-Liberians and following the coup, Doe and his supporters have established People's Redemption Council (PRC) and executed a majority of Tolbert's cabinet (Duva, 2002).

Samuel Doe held the post of president for almost 10 years but in December 1989, a rebel group called National Patriotic Front of Liberia whose leader was Charles Taylor carried out an insurrection against the government of President Samuel Doe. Countries such as Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast supported Charles Taylor and the consequence of this was the beginning of the First Liberian Civil War (Ellis, 2001). Under the rule of Taylor, Liberia was considered as a pariah state which is "a nation which is not accepted or recognized by the majority of governments around the world" (World Atlas, 2017). Pariah states are not supported by international community so they can be "excluded from international relations, put under economic sanctions, and sometimes invaded by external military forces" (World Atlas, 2017).

Liberia was at that time invaded by external military forces. The United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) intervened in September 1993. This observer mission was established to help the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Liberian National Transitional Government "to implement peace agreements; investigate alleged ceasefire violations; assist in maintenance of assembly sites and demobilization combatants; support humanitarian assistance; investigate human rights violations and assist local human rights group; observe and verify elections" (The United Nations, 2001). UNOMIL was supposed to support ECOWAS's observer force – the Military Observer Group (ECOMOG). This mission was the first one which was undertaken "in cooperation with a peacekeeping operation already established by another organization" (The United Nations, 2001). ECOWAS forces were not able to implement the Cotonou peace agreement and the UN was tasked to help and support this implementation. Owing to slow process of this implementation and unflagging fights among Liberian factions, there was no possibility of holding elections in February/March 1994 as was planned. The goal of observing and verifying elections was achieved in 1997 when Charles Taylor became

democratically elected president of Liberia. UNOMIL forces left in September 1997 and two months after, the United Nations established the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Liberia (UNOL) to "help promote reconciliation and respect for human rights, and to help mobilize international support for reconstruction and recovery" (the United Nations, 2001).

4.2 The Second Liberian Civil War

It did not take a long period of time and in April 1999, another rebel groups called the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), which was financially supported by Guinea, and Movement for Democracy in Liberia emerged and begun another insurrection against Taylor. This civil war has had devastating consequences because as one of the few the wars it has spread into neighboring countries as well. Charles Taylor persuaded anti-government dissidents and rebels to fight with him and thus begin insurgencies in both countries. This decision of Taylor weakened his power and legitimacy in the eyes of international community and other states such as the governments of Great Britain or the United States begun to support these states.

The United Nations condemned and opposed Taylor's actions. Regarding at all the atrocities which happened during the four year period the UN has sent peacekeeping forces to Liberia in 2003. The United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) was established to support peace process and implement the ceasefire agreement and also to protect the United Nations workers and volunteers that helped civilians. UNMIL was established to "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" (The United Nations, 2017). This UN mission still operates in Liberia.

The United Nations supported and helped with the persistence of the peace process but peace would not be very likely to be achieved without a group of Liberian women who formed an organization which was called Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace. These women forced a meeting with the president Charles Taylor and forced him to attend peace talks in Ghana which he had rejected before. At the end, Taylor was exiled to Nigeria and thanks to this movement, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected as the first female president in Africa through modern elections.

4.3 The real importance of domestic sovereignty

The likelihood of country's internal affairs to be stable is higher when these affaires are embedded in democratic environment. A country in which democracy is possible to be consolidated must be stable and open to this regime. Citizens' trust is ensured through the security of individuals which a state should provide. The rate of homicides, political violence, or rapes must rapidly diminish for citizens to feel safe.

There is no doubt that Liberia went through one of the worst civil wars which the region of West Africa has experienced. The United Nations has conducted two peacekeeping operations, one observational (UNOMIL) in September 1993 leaving in 1997 and second mission (UNMIL) in September 2003 staying there until now (2017). As opposed to the first one, UNMIL focuses more on humanitarian and human rights activists support and on security reform (improvement of police and military forces). The security reform is relevant for consolidating democracy. The UN provides help with trainings of police forces so the citizens can feel safer and to be become more trusting when it comes to democracy. By setting, implementing, and following the rules people feel they can trust in the system because their safety will be ensured. The UN forces contributes to the country's stability but when one looks at the conditions under which people live, it is not that efficient even though it has got better after the intervention and ongoing peacekeeping mission.

When one looks at political stability measured by the World Bank, Liberia found itself in the most unstable position in 1996 during the First Civil War (-2.55). When UNOMIL ended and the UN forces left it was getting better and even during the first year of the Second Civil War, the value of political instability was -1.75. A year before the UN's intervention, the political situation was on the level of -2.19 but since UNMIL has operated in this state Liberia is becoming more stable. A year after the UN's invasion, the value represented -1.37 and as of the year of 2016, the number was -0.55. The situation in Liberia throughout the years of 2012-2015 was influenced by many problems such as Ebola epidemic or other problems connected to health and healthcare. That is also the reason why political stability was decreasing a little. Due to the issues in the political sphere, Liberia has also a high level of corruption perceptions. According to Transparency International (2016), its value is 37. This

number is not that far away from other West African countries' rankings, although it is considered to be the fourth out of 17 countries measured.

In Liberia, there is a huge problem with unemployment. According to the United Nations, 60 per cent of the country's population is unemployed and 85 per cent of these unemployed persons are young people (the United Nations, 2017). During the presidency of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the situation got slightly better because she was focused on this issue. She improved infrastructure of Liberia which was devastated after the last civil war, especially around its capital city Monrovia (Mohamed, 2017). That gave an opportunity for people to travel for their jobs to neighboring countries. Considering economic stability, the Index of Economic Freedom compiled by the Heritage Foundation has data only for the past 18 years. In 2009, Liberia's value of economic freedom was 48.1 which made its economic stability repressed. It has stayed in this position until 2014 when it overturned to mostly unfree with the value of 52, following 53 in 2015. It slightly decreased in 2017 on 49 points. Economic freedoms are also connected with countries which have increasing or stable GDP growth. Liberia is not doing very well if one takes into consideration the Ebola epidemic in 2014 which influenced stability and a state's situation it currently is in.

Thus, it is provable that the UN's peacekeeping operation positively contributes to gaining economic freedoms, regardless its economic growth, as well as to the political stability of the country. Nevertheless, domestic sovereignty also requires looking at social progress in a country and standards of living which should be ensured by the government. Basic human needs are valued as 46.11 in Liberia, including nutrition and basic medical care as the one with the highest component score (62.53), and personal safety is also one of the highest ranked components (61.75) (The Social Progress Index, 2017). Even though these numbers are not low compared to other West African countries, many cities and rural communities lack proper health facilities. Likewise, Liberia has a real problem with water and sanitation (29.17), and shelter (30.97), as almost all of the West African countries, both of them having one of the lowest component scores (The Social Progress Index, 2017). When it comes to foundations of wellbeing with overall evaluation of 59.48, environmental quality equals to 60.1 and access to basic knowledge is on the level of 62.06. Opportunities of the citizens which should be also ensured are ranked with the number of 42.44.

Liberia as one of the few has highly valued personal rights- 61.87. African countries are experiencing problem with access to advanced education and Liberia is no exception in this region. Its score is 9.42 which is the lowest of the all lowest component scores in this country. Tolerance and inclusion (45.37) and personal freedom and choice (53.10) are also considered to be problematic.

Contemplating about domestic sovereignty, human development is an inseparable part of internal stability. Liberia experienced a high level of undernourishment in 1996 (40.2 per cent), the percentage decreased a little at the end of the Second Civil War on 39.6 and it decreased again on 32.5 per cent in 2015, according to the Health Nutrition and Population Statistics by the World Bank. Between the two civil wars, people were expected to live 52 years and after the Second Civil War, it increased on 53 years (the World Bank). In 2010, it increased again on 59 years and as of today, the life expectancy at birth is 61.4 years, according to WHO (2015). One of the reasons of increasing life expectancy is also improving of basic medical care. Nevertheless, HIV/AIDS is still a present issue threatening people's lives. According to the UNAIDS, the number of infected people increased from 2010 when 33 000 persons were afflicted by this disease and in 2016, the number of infected persons increased on 43 200.

47.6 per cent of Liberian people are considered literate with females as the less literate gender. The difference between men and women represents 29.6 per cent (Human Development Index). It is not evident if the UN's operation contributes to improve the literacy rate in Liberia because it implemented its policies only a few years ago and it is needed to look on it after a number of years to see the actual result. So far, when it comes to education, the vast majority of primary school-aged children (96 per cent) enroll in primary schooling but only 32 per cent enroll in secondary schooling and even less enroll in tertiary schooling (12 per cent). 28.3 percent of the population ended up with at least some secondary education. Enrollment in primary schooling is high so there is a possibility that also literacy rate will be increasing as well. On the other hand, there still lacks quality education. Educational facilities are lacking in a number of rural communities and 32.2 per cent represents primary school dropout rate (Human Development Index).

Considering homicide rates, Liberia has the best results from the countries affected by internal conflicts in West Africa with 135 persons per 100 000 inhabitants in 2015, according the UNODC. WHO measured 371 persons per 100 000 inhabitants in 2008 so the numbers got better even though the result is not that noticeable. According to the Political Terror Scale, Liberia was considered as a state experiencing political imprisonment, politicide, and rare acceptation of different political views was present one year before the civil war broke out. It got worse in 2003, at the end of the Second Civil War, when all of the citizens were experiencing terror because the then leader had no limits in pursuing his personal or ideological aims. Thirteen years later in 2016, Liberia became more stable and was regarded as a state where a small amount of imprisonment for having opposite political views and torture and beating on the side of police are rare. Politicide is also unlikely to happen (Political Terror Scale). For a state to be internally sovereign, one must ensure that the state can protect its citizens from violence and that is the way how to achieve democratic consolidation. The UNMIL has ensured democratic elections but one cannot focus only on electoral democracy. As Larry Diamond (1999) puts it, in addition to electoral democracy which is regime in which members of government are results of competitive elections (p. 9), liberal democracy protects its citizens from violence, abuse, and promoted civil freedoms (p. 11).

Civil liberties and human rights are "an essential condition for consolidating democracy and making it stable" (Diamond, 1999, p. 48). The United Nations has not been very successful in reinforcing human rights promotion and protection although UNMIL was supposed to support human rights activists. UNMIL was intended:

> "to contribute towards international efforts to protect and promote human rights in Liberia, with particular attention to vulnerable groups including refugees, returning refugees and internally displaced persons, women, children, and demobilised child soldiers, within UNMIL's capabilities and under acceptable security conditions, in close cooperation with other United Nations agencies, related organizations, governmental organizations, and non-governmental organizations" (The United Nations Peacekeeping).

However, Liberia is still experiencing a high level of violations of human rights. For the reason of large amount of crimes committed the Liberian government "did establish a special court dedicated to hearing gender and sexual violence cases" (Transparency International). Sexual violence is the most widespread across the country but still, the government established a safe house with UNMIL support for people who experienced sexual violence in Monrovia (Transparency International). Same goes for dealing with gender-based violence and the UN provided financial support to implement a national action plan in Liberia (Transparency International).

It can be seen that the United Nations contributed to political and economic stability of Liberia but it remains questionable if there will be a tangible impact of improving of living conditions of its citizens. Liberia is making big steps forward when it comes to political sphere but as Ellen Johnson Sirleaf put it: "The resources to fight are insufficient on the basis of ECOWAS. There is no doubt that we need international assistance" (). Liberia has a problem with terrorism and UNMIL has to support and help Liberia in this way either.

Conclusion

According to the Responsibility to Protect concept of sovereignty, the United Nations intervention to Liberia was authorized by international community. External sovereignty is no longer seen as untouchable and these external interventions are aimed at bringing more stability to those states by promoting democratic principles and helping to implement them into state's constitution. The UN contributes to building domestic sovereignty and helps to improve living conditions for the citizens of states which experienced internal conflicts. The UN's presence and recreating internal stability has a direct impact on external sovereignty because once the UN's forces leave the state becomes perceived as externally sovereign for the international community.

It can be concluded that the UN's peacekeeping missions positively contribute to state's sovereignty and reinforcing democratic consolidation which goes hand in hand with economic, political, and social stability, and human rights promotion and protection. Nevertheless, the UN must also cooperate with regional organizations which operate in this area and must allow humanitarian assistance to achieve the intended result.

Resumé

Po skončení dekolonizácie sa vytvorilo veľa nových štátov, ktoré nemali dostatočné zázemie a znalosti ohľadom riadenia štátu. Vzniklo veľa konfliktov a to hlavne na území dnešnej Afriky. Hranice afrických štátov boli nakreslené Európanmi a následne boli rôzne etnické skupiny spolu žiť na jednom území s jednou centrálnou vládou. Na základe veľkej rozdielnosti obyvateľstva vo vnútri štátu, či už etnickej, náboženskej, alebo politickej sa vo veľa Afrických štátoch zvrtli občianske vojny, kde dve rôzne skupiny bojovali o moc. Na základe tejto novovzniknutej problematiky taktiež vznikla Organizácia spojených národov a ich misie udržiavania mieru v krajinách, ktoré zažívali vnútroštátny konflikt. Táto práca ma za účel

Prvá časť kapitoly sa zameriava na základné definície a pohľady na koncept štátnej suverenity. Po koloniálnej ére, štátna suverenita sa stala nedotknuteľným majetkom daného štátu a nikto sa nemohol miešať do vnútorných záležitostí iného štátu. Tento pohľad sa však zmenil a po svetovom summite v roku 2005 štáty operujú s konceptom zodpovednosti chrániť obyvateľstvo národa, ktorý nevie ochrániť vlastných občanov. Aj to je jeden z dôvodov prečo sa začal dávať dôraz na domácu suverenitu a nielen na vonkajšiu. Druhá časť kapitoly sa zameriava na definovanie misií OSN: nastolenie, udržiavanie a konsolidovanie mieru. Pre účel tejto práce je kladený dôraz na misiu udržiavania mieru, chápanie suverenity ako zodpovednosť chrániť obyvateľstvo daného štátu a budovanie štátnej stability na domácej úrovni. Porovnávané štáty patria do regiónu Západnej Afriky, kde patria aj tri intervenované štáty: Pobrežie Slonoviny, Sierra Leone a Libéria. Libéria je takisto použitá ako prípadová štúdia.

V druhej kapitole je definovaná stabilita ako koncept demokratizácie danej spoločnosti podľa Larryho Diamonda (1999). Je nevyhnutné posúdiť stabilitu z rôznych aspektov a preto táto kapitola opisuje tri typy stabilít: ekonomickú, politickú a sociálnu. Následne sú porovnávané západné Africké krajiny podľa indexu politickej stability od World Banku z roku 2015 a s tým spojené aj vnímanie korupcie, ktoré bolo merané Transparency International v roku 2016. Ďalej ako potvrdenie teoretickej časti sú porovnávané krajiny z hľadiska ekonomických slobôd podľa the Heritage Foundation z roku 2017 a index sociálneho progresu z roku 2017. Je

preukázateľné, že hodnoty pri všetkých troch typoch stabilít stúpli po intervencii OSN a ich misie udržiavania mieru.

Tretia kapitola skúma krehkosť štátov západnej Afriky podľa Fragile States Index od The Fund for Peace. Všetky krajiny západnej Afriky sú považované za krehké, i keď v posledných rokoch zaznamenali zlepšenie.

Štvrtá kapitola sa zameriava na samotnú Libériu, kde boli najprv opísané dve občianske vojny, ktoré sa stali v tomto štáte a následne bolo pozorované, aký bol stav stability pred a po intervencii OSN. Táto kapitola skúma, či OSN naozaj urobilo požadované kroky pre vybudovanie vnútornej stability a demokratickú konsolidáciu a ako úspešná v implementácii týchto krokov bola. Táto kapitola sa pozerá hlavne na koncept ľudského rozvoja a ako OSN prispelo k zvýšeniu životnej úrovne občanov v tejto krajine.

Táto bakalárska práca preukázala, že OSN misia udržiavania mieru má značný prínos pre krajinu na ekonomickej a politickej úrovni, no sociálny aspekt je stále málo vyvinutý. Demokratizácia spoločnosti sa podporila, no základné porušovania ľudských práv, korupcia, či iné zločiny sú neustále prítomné vo veľmi vysokých percentách.

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Appendix A

The United Nations Charter - Chapter VI, VII

CHAPTER VI: PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

Article 33

1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

Article 34

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 35

1. Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party

if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.

3. The proceedings of the General Assembly in respect of matters brought to its attention under this Article will be subject to the provisions of Articles 11 and 12.

Article 36

1. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

2. The Security Council should take into consideration any procedures for the settlement of the dispute which have already been adopted by the parties.

3. In making recommendations under this Article the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

Article 37

1. Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that Article, they shall refer it to the Security Council.

2. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

Article 38

Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 33 to 37, the Security Council may, if all the parties to any dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties with a view to a pacific settlement of the dispute.

CHAPTER VII: ACTION WITH RESPECT TO THREATS TO THE PEACE, BREACHES OF THE PEACE, AND ACTS OF AGGRESION

Article 39

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Article 40

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

Article 41

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

Article 42

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and

security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

Article 43

1. All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.
2. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided.
3. The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

Article 44

When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall, before calling upon a Member not represented on it to provide armed forces in fulfilment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that Member, if the Member so desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that Member's armed forces.

Article 45

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures, Members shall hold immediately available national air-force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action shall be determined within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 46

Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 47

1. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament.
2. The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any Member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that Member in its work.
3. The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently.
4. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional sub-committees.

Article 48

1. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.
2. Such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

Article 49

The Members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

Article 50

If preventive or enforcement measures against any state are taken by the Security Council, any other state, whether a Member of the United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

Article 51

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.