

insights, historical analysis, and evaluative frameworks, the article also provides a nuanced understanding of UN peacekeeping missions' evolution, challenges, and implications for international peace and security. It contributes to ongoing discussions on the role of international organizations in conflict resolution and peacebuilding efforts, offering insights into the complexities of modern peacekeeping operations and their impact on conflict-affected regions like the Central African Republic.

Keywords: United Nations, Peacekeeping missions, Central African Republic (CAR), MINUSCA, mandate evolution, Resolution 2149 (2014), Resolution 2196 (2015), Resolution 2217 (2015), disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) program.

Introduction

At the end of the Second World War, the United Nations started to play a pivotal role in maintaining international peace and stability, and one of its primary tools to achieve this aim was the deployment of peacekeeping missions in different parts of the world where conflicts erupted. One of such scenes where the UN peacekeeping mission is still evolving is the Central African Republic. Taking into consideration the evolving nature of the civil war that erupted in 2012, the mandate of the UN peacekeepers, which was initially aimed to guarantee the protection of civilians, changed over time and encompassed more broad and essential tasks such as helping to foster national dialogue between confronting parties to achieve final peace. Therefore, this article aims to explain how have the evolving mandates of UN peacekeeping missions, exemplified by MINUSCA's activities in the Central African Republic, impacted the effectiveness of international peacekeeping efforts in achieving long-term peace and stability in conflict-affected regions?

Methodology

The article identifies several theoretical frameworks and concepts from the fields of international relations, peace and conflict studies, and political science that are

relevant to the examination. These frameworks include Liberal Peace Theory, Realism (Jervis' concept), Neorealism, Constructivism, Conflict Transformation Theory, and Critical Security Studies. Each selected theoretical framework is applied to specific aspects of the study. For example, Liberal Peace Theory is applied to analyze the Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic's (hereinafter referred to as MINUSCA) efforts in supporting electoral processes and fostering national dialogue as pathways to promoting democratic governance and peace. Realism and Neorealism are used to examine the motivations behind external actors' involvement in conflict in CAR, while Constructivism is employed to understand how changing norms and identities influence peacekeeping mandates' evolution. The methodology involves a conceptual analysis of MINUSCA's mandate evolution and activities in CAR within the context of the selected theoretical frameworks. This analysis aims to provide insights into UN peacekeeping missions' motivations, goals, and implications in conflict zones like CAR. The methodology includes a historical contextualization of the conflict in CAR and UN involvement, highlighting key events, resolutions, and developments that shaped MINUSCA's mandate over time. This historical perspective helps to understand the evolution of peacekeeping efforts and the challenges faced in addressing complex conflicts. The methodology evaluates MINUSCA's mandate evolution, role expansion, and effectiveness in contributing to peace and stability in CAR. This evaluation is interpreted through the lens of the selected theoretical frameworks to provide a nuanced understanding of the peacekeeping mission's impact and outcomes. The methodology concludes by synthesizing the findings from the theoretical analysis, historical context, and evaluation of MINUSCA's mandate. It highlights the implications of the examination for understanding UN peacekeeping missions' evolution, effectiveness, and ongoing challenges in conflict resolution and peacebuilding efforts. Overall, the methodology employed in the article combines theoretical insights, historical analysis, and evaluative frameworks to comprehensively examine the UN peacekeeping mission in CAR and its broader implications for international peace and security.

Theoretical frameworks

To analyze and deepen the understanding of the evolution and effectiveness of UN peacekeeping missions, particularly in the context of the Central African Republic (CAR) as described in the article, several theoretical frameworks and concepts from the fields of international relations, peace and conflict studies, and political science could be applied. The liberal peace theory of John Oneal suggests that democracies are less likely to go to war, particularly with each other, and that the promotion of democratic governance, the rule of law, human rights, and economic interdependence can lead to more stable and peaceful international relations¹. In the context of MINUSCA's efforts to support electoral processes and foster national dialogue in CAR, this theory could offer insights into the long-term goals of peacekeeping missions to promote democratic governance as a path to peace.

Jervis' concept of realism, emphasizing the anarchic international system and the pursuit of national interest through power, could provide a lens to examine the motivations behind the involvement of external actors in CAR, including the UN and France². Neorealism, focusing on the structure of the international system, could further help analyze how the balance of power and the interests of major states influence the scope and effectiveness of peacekeeping missions. Meanwhile, Constructivism could be applied to understand how changing norms and identities influence the evolution of peacekeeping mandates. This theory emphasizes the role of ideas, beliefs, and social constructs in international relations³. The evolving mandate of MINUSCA - from solely focusing on ceasefire and protection of civilians to fostering national dialogue and

¹ Oneal, J.R., Oneal, F.H., Maoz, Z. & Russett, B. (1996). The Liberal Peace: Interdependence, Democracy, and International Conflict, 1950-85. *Journal of Peace Research*, 33(1), 11-28. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/425131>

² Jervis, R. (1998). Realism in the Study of World Politics. *International Organization*, 52(4), 971-991. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2601364>

³ Checkel, J.T. (1998). The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory [Review of National Interests in International Society; The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics; Norms in International Relations: The Struggle against Apartheid, by M. Finnemore, P. Katzenstein, & A. Klotz]. *World Politics*, 50(2), 324-348. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25054040>

supporting electoral processes - reflects a shift in international norms regarding peacekeeping and state-building.

Last, conflict transformation theory looks beyond resolving immediate issues to address the underlying causes of conflict, aiming for deep-rooted change in relationships, attitudes, and socio-political structures¹. Analyzing MINUSCA’s efforts in fostering national dialogue and supporting electoral processes through this lens could offer insights into the mission’s potential for contributing to a transformative peace in CAR.

Historical Context

In order to understand how the UN mandate has changed over time, it is necessary to refer back to the history of the civil war in CAR. The political instability, ethnic conflicts, and the humanitarian crisis became primary problems in CAR almost immediately after the ignition of hostilities. However, UN involvement in the conflict took place two years later in 2014, when the risk of the humanitarian crisis reached its apogee². In order to address all the challenges, as per Resolution 2149 (2014), the UN Security Council established the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA) until April 30, 2015³. At the same time, a request was sent to the Secretary-General to subsume the Integrated Peacebuilding Office on the Central African Republic (BINUCA), which was further smoothly transferred to MINUSCA⁴. MINUSCA initially had a primary task of securing the rights of the civilian population in areas where hostilities could erupt again.

The UN mandate power of the UN from a legal perspective

The United Nations has significant legal power and authority, although it is important to note that its powers are limited by the provisions of its charter and the willingness of member states to comply with its decisions. It is also

¹ Doucet, I. (1997). Conflict Transformation. *Medicine, Conflict and Survival*, 13(3), 175–194. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45354930>

² United Nations, (2023). About: MINUSCA. Retrieved from: <https://minusca.unmissions.org/en/about>

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

necessary to take into consideration how resolutions that allow the UN to conduct certain types of operations would limit their capabilities in the crisis zones. Before turning into a specific example of the political and legal power of UN resolutions, the legal power of the UN should be understood in several key areas.

The UN Security Council has primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. It can authorize peacekeeping missions, impose sanctions, and even authorize the use of force in certain circumstances, such as in cases of self-defense or when there is a threat to international peace¹. From a legal perspective, resolutions issued by the UN give consent to nations to act in problematic places and not violate international law. This issue was present during the US invasion of Iraq, when, without consent, the US launched a military campaign against Iraq to overthrow the regime of Saddam Hussein. The UN plays a crucial role in developing and enforcing international law. It provides a forum for member states to negotiate treaties and agreements, and it works to promote adherence to these legal instruments². The UN provides a platform for member states to negotiate and draft international treaties and conventions on various subjects such as human rights, environmental protection, disarmament, trade, and more. These treaties are often developed under the auspices of specialized UN agencies, such as the International Labour Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), or the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). As it would be presented below, UN disarmament efforts played a pivotal role in the Central African Republic.

From another perspective, the UN is a central actor in the promotion and protection of human rights globally. Bodies such as the UN Human Rights Council and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights monitor human rights situations, investigate violations, and make recommendations for action. Through agencies like the United Nations Development Programme

¹ Gross, L. (1965). The United Nations and the Role of Law. *International Organization*, 19(3), 537–561. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2705869>

² Schachter, O. (1994). United Nations Law. *The American Journal of International Law*, 88(1), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2204020>

(UNDP), the UN engages in development efforts worldwide, addressing issues such as poverty, health, education, and sustainable development¹. The UN supports international criminal justice mechanisms such as the International Criminal Court (ICC), which investigates and prosecutes individuals accused of genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and aggression. However, it's important to recognize that the effectiveness of the UN's legal power can vary. For example: The UN relies heavily on member states to implement its decisions and enforce international law. When there is a lack of consensus among major powers or when states choose not to comply, the UN's ability to enforce its mandates can be. The UN operates in a complex political environment where geopolitical interests, power dynamics, and diplomatic considerations influence decision-making². This can sometimes result in compromises or delays in taking action on specific issues. Resource constraints can also affect its effectiveness, including financial limitations and logistical challenges in deploying peacekeeping missions or humanitarian operations. Overall, while the UN possesses significant legal authority and plays a crucial role in global governance, its ability to address complex international challenges depends on various factors, including political will, cooperation among member states, and the support of the international community.

Evaluation of MINUSCA's mandate

In 2014, MINUSCA's mandate encompassed responsibilities of maintaining security and civilian protections, but their role has evolved since its inception. Initially, according to Resolution 2149 (2014), MINUSCA was assigned a task for the parties to obey the ceasefire³. However, over time, the scope of responsibilities evolved, and after 2014, it started to include the support of the transitional government in achieving political stability, as from 2014 until the elections of 2020, the state was basically partitioned between government

¹ Schachter, O. (1994). United Nations Law. The American Journal of International Law, 88(1), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2204020>

² Hurd, I. (2014). The UN Security Council and the International Rule of Law. The Chinese Journal of International Politics, 7(3), 361–379. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48615915>

³ Security Council Report, (2023.) UN Documents for Central African Republic: Security Council Resolutions. Retrieved from: https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un_documents_type/security-council-resolutions/page/2?ctype=Central+African+Republic&cbtype=central-african-republic#038:cbtype=central-african-republic

and rebels, that is why the Resolution prescribed the deployment of 10,000 peacekeepers watchdogs of security¹. Similarly, their role could be compared to the first generation of UN peacekeepers mentioned by Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall, whose sole mission was to ensure that a ceasefire in the conflict zones should not be violated².

The evolution of the mandate and role of peacekeepers started to change with Resolution 2196 (2015,) which extended the period of MINUSCA's staying in CAR until 2016, and Resolution 2217 (2015,) which not only extended the staying period until 2016 but also gave a favor of the UN to cooperate with international actors (such as France) in conflict resolution process³. Since 2015, MINUSCA has received additional authority to enlarge its scope of powers by being engaged in the political landscape of post-war CAR. In addition to security operations, which now included safeguarding the infrastructure and strategic objects that were under the control of peacekeepers, the new responsibilities prescribed fostering national dialogue between confronting parties as well as helping the authorities to build national institutions for the state functioning (this program was implemented alongside African Union and European Union)⁴. At the same time, MINUSCA helped facilitate the electoral processes in CAR by supporting the organization of presidential and legislative elections⁵. This was entrusted to MINUSCA by Resolution 2217 (2015) about Integrated Electoral Assistance. With the help of the UN, in December 2015, presidential and legislative elections were organized in the state, which was followed by the second round in February and March of 2016⁶.

Mediation of the political conflict between rebels and the government was

¹ **Gorur, A.** (2020.) Case Study 4: The Political Strategy of the UN Peacekeeping Mission in the Central African Republic. Retrieved from: <https://i.unu.edu/media/cpr.unu.edu/attachment/4414/CAR.pdf>

² **Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall** (2016.) Chapter SIX: Containing Violent Conflict: Peacekeeping. P.p. 173-198.

³ United Nations, (2023.) Electoral Assistance. Retrieved from: <https://minusca.unmissions.org/en/electoral-assistance-0>

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ **Gorur, A.** (2020.) Case Study 4: The Political Strategy of the UN Peacekeeping Mission in the Central African Republic. Retrieved from: <https://i.unu.edu/media/cpr.unu.edu/attachment/4414/CAR.pdf>

also included in the post-2015 mandate and was actively used by MINUSCA to settle the conflict once and for all. The first attempt was made in May 2015, when the transitional government organized the Bangui Forum with the help of MINUSCA¹. It had to serve as a platform for national political dialogue with an objective and had to establish a new social contract for the citizens of Central Africa through the examination of sustainable resolutions to the ongoing conflict². Interventions of such (political) type demonstrate an understanding that the attainment of peace and stability in the Central African Republic cannot be solely accomplished through security measures. The evolution of the mandate of MINUSCA allowed UN peacekeepers to address the most complex challenges, one of which was their contribution to stabilizing the security situation. MINUSCA has intensely worked since 2015 to implement the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) program and give an opportunity to the members of armed groups to return to normal life, in case foreign nationalities were spotted at the place of hostilities, DDR helped them to repatriate³.

Conclusion

Overall, MINUSCA is a good representation of how the peacekeeping mission and mandate prescribed to the UN has evolved over time, from personnel who were prescribed with an obligation to secure the ceasefire regime to a developed institution with capabilities to help states rebuild and even modernize their institutions and political systems according to international standards. Its expansion beyond traditional security measures in CAR was seen in its efforts to help foster national dialogue, reorganize electoral processes, and mediate between conflicting parties to reach peace. The situation in the Central African Republic is an example of how UN peacekeeping missions continue to develop and play a vital part in attempting to maintain peace and stability.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ United Nations, (2023). DISARMAMENT DEMOBILIZATION REINTEGRATION. Retrieved from: https://minusca.unmissions.org/en/DDR_En

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ԿԵՆՏՐՈՆԱԿԱՆ ԱՖՐԻԿԱՆ ՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՈՒՄ ՄԱԿ-Ի ԽԱՂԱՂԱՊԱՀՆԵՐԻ ՄԱՆԴԱՏԻ ՔԱՂԱՔԱԿԱՆ ԵՎ ԻՐԱՎԱԿԱՆ ՎԵՐԼՈՒԾՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ

Ամփոփագիր

Սույն հոդվածն ուսումնասիրում է Միավորված ազգերի կազմակերպության (ՄԱԿ) խաղաղապահ առաքելությունների զարգացող դերն ու արդյունավետությունը՝ կենտրոնանալով Կենտրոնական Աֆրիկյան Հանրապետության (CAR) դեպքի ուսումնասիրության վրա: Այն սկսվում է ԱՊՀ կոնֆլիկտի պատմական նախադրյալների համատեքստում և 2014 թվականին ԱՄԿ-ում ՄԱԿ-ի բազմաչափ ինտեգրված կայունացման առաքելության (MINUSCA) ստեղծմամբ: Օգտագործելով բազմամասնագիտական մոտեցում՝ հիմնված միջազգային հարաբերությունների, խաղաղության և հակամարտությունների ուսումնասիրությունների և քաղաքագիտության վրա, հոդվածն օգտագործում է տեսական շրջանակներ, ինչպիսիք են Լիբերալ խաղաղության տեսությունը, ռեալիզմը, նեոռեալիզմը, կոնստրուկտիվիզմը և հակամարտությունների փոխակերպման տեսությունը՝ MINUSCA-ի մանդատի էվոլյուցիան և գործունեությունը վերլուծելու համար: Քննությունն ընդգծում է MINUSCA-ի անցումն ավանդական խաղաղապահ խնդիրներից դեպի ավելի լայն պարտականություններ՝ ներառյալ ազգային երկխոսության խթանումը, ընտրական գործընթացներին աջակցելը և ինստիտուտների կայացմանն օժանդակելը: Այն ուսումնասիրում է, թե ինչպես է MINUSCA-ի մանդատի ընդլայնումն արտացոլում փոփոխվող միջազգային նորմերը և բացահայտում է արտաքին դերակատարների ներգրավվածության դրդապատճառները CAR-ում, ինչպիսիք են Ֆրանսիան և ՄԱԿ-ը: Բացի այդ, հոդվածը գնահատում է MINUSCA-ի արդյունավետությունը ԱՊՀ-ում խաղաղությանն ու կայունությանը նպաստելու գործում՝ հաշվի առնելով այնպիսի գործոններ, ինչպիսիք են ռեսուրսների սահմանափակումները և աշխարհաքաղաքական դինամիկան: Սինթեզելով տեսական պատկերացումները, պատմական վերլուծությունները և գնահատողական շրջանակները՝ հոդվածը նաև տալիս է ՄԱԿ-ի խաղաղապահ առաքելությունների էվոլյուցիայի,

մարտահրավերների և միջազգային խաղաղության և անվտանգության վրա ազդեցությունների պատկերացում: Այն նպաստում է հակամարտությունների կարգավորման և խաղաղության հաստատման ջանքերում միջազգային կազմակերպությունների դերի վերաբերյալ շարունակական քննարկումներին՝ առաջարկելով պատկերացումներ ժամանակակից խաղաղապահ գործողությունների բարդությունների և դրանց ազդեցության վերաբերյալ հակամարտությունից տուժած տարածաշրջանների վրա, ինչպիսին է Կենտրոնական Աֆրիկյան Հանրապետությունը:

Հիմնաբառեր. ՄԱԿ, Խաղաղապահ առաքելություններ, Կենտրոնական Աֆրիկյան Հանրապետություն (CAR), MINUSCA, մանդատի էվոլյուցիա, Բանաձև 2149 (2014), Բանաձև 2196 (2015), Բանաձև 2217 (2015), զինաթափում, զորացրում և վերաինտեգրում (DDR) ծրագիր:

ПОЛИТИКО-ПРАВОВОЙ АНАЛИЗ МАНДАТА МИРОТВОРЦЕВ ООН В ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОАФРИКАНСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКЕ

Аннотация

В настоящей статье исследуется меняющаяся роль и эффективность миротворческих миссий Организации Объединенных Наций (ООН), уделяя особое внимание примеру Центральноафриканской Республики (ЦАР). Статья начинается с контекстуализации исторической подоплеки конфликта в ЦАР и создания Многомерной комплексной миссии ООН по стабилизации в ЦАР (МИНУСКА) в 2014 году. Используя междисциплинарный подход, основанный на международных отношениях, исследованиях мира и конфликтов, а также политологии, в статье для анализа эволюции мандата и деятельности МИНУСКА используются теоретические основы, такие как либеральная теория мира, реализм, неореализм, конструктивизм и теория трансформации конфликтов. В исследовании подчеркивается переход МИНУСКА от традиционных миротворческих задач к более широким

обязанностям, включая содействие национальному диалогу, поддержку избирательных процессов и помощь в институциональном строительстве. В нем рассматривается, как расширение мандата МИНУСКА отражает изменение международных норм, и определяются мотивы участия внешних игроков в ЦАР, таких как Франция и ООН. Кроме того, в статье оценивается эффективность МИНУСКА в содействии миру и стабильности в ЦАР, учитывая такие факторы, как ограниченность ресурсов и геополитическая динамика. Объединив теоретические идеи, исторический анализ и оценочные основы, статья дает детальное понимание эволюции, проблем и последствий миротворческих миссий ООН для международного мира и безопасности. Данные миссии способствуют постоянным дискуссиям о роли международных организаций в разрешении конфликтов и их усилиях по миростроительству, предлагая понимание сложностей современных миротворческих операций и их влияния на пострадавшие от конфликтов регионы, такие как Центральноафриканская Республика.

Ключевые слова: Организация Объединенных Наций, миротворческие миссии, Центральноафриканская Республика (ЦАР), МИНУСКА, эволюция мандата, Резолюция 2149 (2014), Резолюция 2196 (2015), Резолюция 2217 (2015), программа разоружения, демобилизации и реинтеграции (РДР).

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