

**AN EXAMINATION OF THE PRIVILEGES  
AND OBLIGATIONS OF MEMBERSHIP OF  
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION: THE  
CASE OF GHANA WITHIN THE UNITED  
NATIONS**

**BY**

**BELINDA AGBOKA  
(10260020)**

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## DECLARATION

I, BELINDA AGBOKA, do hereby declare that this dissertation is the end product of my own research under the supervision of Dr. Yao Gebe of the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD), University of Ghana towards the award of a Master of Arts (MA) in International Affairs and that, to the best of my knowledge, it neither contains materials previously published by another person nor materials which have been accepted for the award of any other degree by this or any other university except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text.

.....  
**BELINDA AGBOKA**  
(STUDENT)

.....  
**DR. YAO GEBE**  
(SUPERVISOR)

**DATE:** .....

**DATE:** .....

## **DEDICATION**

*I dedicate this work to the Almighty God and my family for their immense contribution, sacrifice and prayers in seeing to it that, this work becomes a reality and a success.*

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

My greatest and profound gratitude goes to the Almighty God for granting me the enablement, grace and favour to carry out this study successfully and in a grand style, may His name be praised.

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## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACOTA -	African Contingency Operation Training and Assistance
ACRI -	African Crisis Response Initiative
ECOWAS -	Economic Community of West African States
GAF -	Ghana Armed Forces
GAF-	Ghana Armed Forces
GAFSC -	Ghana Armed Forces Command & Staff College
ICJ -	International Court of Justice
IOM -	International Organization of Migration
ITLOS -	International Tribunal in Law of the Sea
MDGs -	Millennium Development Goals
MINURCAT-	United Nations Mission in Chad and Central African Republic
MONUC -	United Nations Mission the Democratic Republic of Congo
MONUSCO -	United Nation Organisation Stabilisation Mission in DR Congo
PKOs -	Peacekeeping Operations
RECAMP -	France Reinforcement of African Peacekeeping capabilities programme
SDGs -	Sustainable Development Goals
UN -	The United Nations
UNAMIR -	United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda
UNAMSIL -	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNDP -	United Nations Development Programme
UNEF -	United Nations Emergency Force
UNMIL-	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNMO -	United Nations Military Observers
UNOCI -	United Nations Mission in Cote D'Ivoire
UNPKOS -	United Nations Peace Keeping Operations
USA -	United States of America
WHO -	World Health Organization

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## ABSTRACT

Ghana has joined several international organizations in order to enhance international cooperation with other states in addressing global security and development crises. However, this particular study focuses predominantly on Ghana's membership to the United Nations (UN). Ghana has been a member of the UN since August 8, 1957 and as such has contributed significantly to addressing international security and development crises through the systems and structures of the UN. Towards this end, this study utilized the theories of Neo-institutionalism and Cooperation to examine the privileges and obligations of Ghana as a member of the UN. The study also accessed challenges faced by Ghana in fulfilling her obligations to the UN. The study was purely qualitative and relied primarily on secondary sources of data. Data collected was analyzed using content analysis grounded on the theories of International Cooperation and Neo-institutionalism. The main findings of the study were that Ghana as a member of the UN enjoys some privileges including sovereignty, development assistance and supports, capacity building, global recognition and good image and peaceful resolution of international disputes. The study showed that to continue enjoying these privileges as a member of the UN, there are some key obligations which behooves on Ghana to perform including political representation, troop contribution to peacekeeping operations, contribution to international development, abiding and ratification of the UN's Conventions, Statutes, Treaties and International law, and also paying of annual dues to the accomplishment of the mandates of the organization. Also, the study showed that there are some challenges which bedevils Ghana in full fulfilment of her obligations to the UN. Paramount among these challenges include conflicting national interests, institutional proliferation of many integration groups, external influence of powerful states, economic difficulties and non-representation as a permanent member of the UN Security Council. Based on the findings of the study, it is concluded that Ghana's membership of the United Nations has been beneficial to her development and the promotion of international peace and security. Towards this end, the study recommends the Ghana should take effective and proactive measures to manage the challenges she faces in fulfilling her obligations to the international organizations such as the United Nations, to take full advantage of the privileges which comes with being a member of such organizations as indicated in this study.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background to the Study

The United Nations came into being following the devastation of the Second World War. The name 'United Nations' was coined by then United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt and was first used in the Declaration by the United Nations on 1 January 1942 during the Second World War when representatives of 26 nations pledged their Governments to continue fighting together against the Axis Powers.<sup>1</sup> In 1945, representatives of 50 countries met in San Francisco at the United Nations conference on international organization to draw up the United Nations Charter. Those delegates deliberated on the basis of proposals worked out by the representatives of China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States at Dumbarton Oaks, United States in August-October 1944.<sup>2</sup> The charter was signed on 26 June 1945 by the representatives of the 50 countries. Poland signed later and became one of the original 51 Member states.<sup>3</sup>

The membership of the United Nations, under Article-3 of the Charter are of two types: Original members which include those who participated in the San Francisco conference and signed the Charter at that time.<sup>4</sup> New members, according to Article-4 of the Charter, can also join the United Nations if the nation is committed to peace and is eligible to fulfill the obligations included in the Charter.<sup>5</sup>

The failure of the League of Nations to prevent the occurrence of another World War necessitated the formation of the United Nations whose primary aim has always been to "maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and

in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace”.<sup>6</sup>

The UN does not exist because it has power to force its will on the world’s states; it exists because states have created it to serve their needs.<sup>7</sup> The implication of this is that for the UN to function very well, member states which have created it have to leave up to the responsibilities or obligations bestowed on them by the organization, in turn of which the former also enjoys some privileges from the organization. The membership of the United Nations now numbers up to 193 countries and Ghana which is also a member became an official member two days after the country’s independence on 8<sup>th</sup> March 1957.<sup>8</sup>

According to Article 24 of the UN Charter, Member States bestow the principal responsibility of the maintenance of international peace and security on the Security Council and agree that the Council, in order to carry on this duty, acts on their behalf. Member States also agree to accept and carry out the decisions taken by the Security Council under Article 25 of the Charter.<sup>9</sup> Though other organs of the United Nations can only make recommendations to governments, the UNSC is the only organ mandated and capable to issue resolutions that are legally binding on all Member States under international law.<sup>10</sup> It is in this vein that this study would examine the obligations and privileges that bestow on Ghana as being a member of the United Nations.

## **1.2 Statement of the Research Problem**

Ghana has for the past six decades been an active member of the United Nations. On three occasions, Ghana has served as a non-permanent member of the Security Council. The first was in 1962-1963 when she joined the Security Council. The second was 1986- 1987 with Congo and Zambia and more recently from 2006-2007.<sup>11</sup>

Undoubtedly, Ghana's membership in the United Nations has over the years come with tremendous benefits. There have been numerous supports in the area of health, education, security, human rights, fighting poverty, aid and grant, and more recently, helping to settle the marine border dispute between Ivory Coast, to mention a few. However, one cannot shy away from the fact that membership has also come with some obligations. As a member of the UN, the Charter obliges all states to live up to the responsibilities that come with membership in an organization. In this case, issues of promoting international peace and security and collectively fighting aggression are but a few. Notwithstanding the above, there has been a dearth of scholarly exploration on the obligations that Ghana has discharged as a member of the UN as well as the privileges that Ghana has benefitted from over the years. This problem or research gap necessitated this study to examine the obligations that Ghana has discharged as a member of the UN as well as the privileges that Ghana has benefitted as being a member of the UN.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The research questions which serve as the guidelines or inform the study include the following:

- a. What is the mandate of the UN as an international organization?
- b. What are the privileges and obligations of Ghana as a member state of the UN?
- c. What challenges does Ghana encounter in the performance of its obligations as a member state of the UN?

### **1.4 Research Objectives**

The research generally examines the privileges and obligations of member states of the United Nations with Ghana as the focal point of the study. However, the specific objectives are:

- a. To examine the mandate of the United Nations;
- b. To examine the privileges and obligations of Ghana as a member of the United Nations;
- c. To ascertain the challenges Ghana encounters in the performance of its obligations in the UN.

### **1.5 Scope of the Study**

The study is situated within an appreciation of the privileges and obligations of Ghana as a member of the UN. To do this, references are made to the various portfolios Ghana has held in the United Nations' (both in the main organs and the agencies) as well as some of the major Peacekeeping missions the country has embarked on. In this regard, the focus on Ghana's obligation to the United Nations is examined from the perspective of international peace, security, education, health and agriculture. The study also investigates the privileges Ghana enjoys as a member of the UN and the obligations she performs as well.

### **1.6 Rationale of the Study**

Considering the fact that the United Nations is the leading international body of all nations, it is imperative to examine Ghana's current membership regarding the discharge of her responsibilities as well as the privileges which comes with it. It is the hope that this research will also unearth the existing challenges as well as opportunities in respect of Ghana – UN relations towards an improved relationship and consolidation. A study such as this which in a way examines Ghana's relationship with the United Nations shall be very useful to students, international organizations and diplomats for any such future related research. The study will also provide a very useful framework to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration in Ghana, as well as Ghanaian Diplomats on how to improve Ghana-UN relations and take full advantage of the privileges that accrues a state for being a member of the UN.

### **1.7 Hypothesis**

Ghana's membership of the United Nations has been beneficial to her development and the promotion of international peace and security.

### **1.8 Theoretical Framework**

This study utilizes Neo-institutionalism and International Cooperation as the main theoretical frameworks for this study. As a theory which evolved out of liberal institutionalism, what made the "neo" (which means new) practical or relevant, is the manner in which the latter sought to provide a revised version of the former. The point is that the deficiencies inherent in liberal institutionalism is the unprecedented powers and the unchallenged status of formal government institutions in international institutions, when the dynamics of international politics have witnessed the rise of other powerful actors in the international system.<sup>12</sup> It is against this background that this study adopts neo-institutionalism as the theoretical framework for this study. As a theory, although the primacy of the state in international politics is a factual situation, it also recognizes and allows for the inclusion of other actors in the international system. From a broader perspective, the ideals of neo-institutionalism can be situated within the broad context of "18<sup>th</sup> Century Enlightenment Optimism, 19<sup>th</sup> Century Liberalism and 20<sup>th</sup> Century Wilsonian Idealism".<sup>13</sup> Even though all these mentioned varieties are the same, they have assumed different rubrics at different historical moments. The underlining philosophy of all three is the inherent goodness of mankind that could be harnessed to its utmost levels if cooperation is achieved. This cooperation is best achieved through the formation of institutions.

Some of the major proponents of this theory include Robert Keohane, Stephen Krasner, Douglas North, Robert Axelrod and Kant. Johari maintains the view that the theory seeks

to find answers to why states choose to cooperate within the anarchic conditions of the international system. Neo-institutionalists believe that the security of the state is essential, and to achieve that purpose, institutions are required.<sup>14</sup> To this end, Neo-institutionalists explicitly expresses the belief in established institutions as a means of addressing and managing the conflictual nature of the international system.

Neo-functionalism views institutions as a 'sets of rules and regulations that guide and constrain the behavior of actors. It is a methodological approach in the study of International Relations (but also in economics, organizational behavior and sociology) which ultimately explores how institutional norms, rules, structures and cultures constrain or enhance the choices of individuals when they are a part of a political institution. The works of Rueschemeyer & Evans<sup>15</sup> and North<sup>16</sup> prove very useful in this regard.

The suitability of this theory is its all-encompassing features. This is because to North, these set of rules and regulations that feature in neo-institutionalism are not only restricted to the formal ones, but the informal ones as well. They also include procedures, routines, norms and conventions embodied in the organizational structure of the state or its political economy. One must also not lose sight of the fact that just as much as neo-institutionalism is all encompassing, the position of the state as a dominant actor in the international system is not denied. Ghana's republican status in international law is consolidated and not questionable. Ghana as a state by all standards, and by the Montevideo Convention of 1933 has full sovereign rights. So, for what inures to the benefit of a country as a member state of the UN as an international institution, Ghana became a part of the UN and as such adheres to the norms, culture and structural arrangement of the UN. It is in this light that the responsibilities of a member state of the UN are discussed.

According to Rueschemeyer & Evans, “the role of the state as an actor is defined as characterized by a special type of organization invested with the authority to make binding decisions for people and organizations juridically located in a particular territory and to implement these decisions, using force if necessary”.<sup>17</sup> In the real sense of the word, institutions play a very important role of providing a common social ground for its beneficiaries, regardless of their varied divergent views.<sup>18</sup> It is envisaged that by their very establishment, they are to satisfy the mutual interest of all its members and avoid partial tendencies likely to generate trepidations.

One immediately makes inferences to the proverbial adage in African epistemology which teaches that “a child that obediently run errands is rewarded with an egg or a chick that stays closer to the mother hen is always fed with the juicy worm”. If, according to Lowndes, mutual interest is a cardinal feature of neo-intuitionism, then the privileges attached to the expected responsibilities of the member states is a matter of structural norm of an international institution or organization like the UN.

Neo-institutionalism like all other theories, has its fair criticisms. March and Olsen, for instance, are of the conviction that “people functioning within institutions behave as they do because of normative standards rather than their desire to maximize individual utilities”.<sup>19</sup> Put differently, their interests are strictly subjected to the manipulations and regulations of the institutions and not their own. This situation is reflective of what is currently ensuing in the European Union that has triggered what political pundits refer to as the contagious effect; a situation where some citizens of EU, unhappy about the demands of the Union, are pulling out of it (with Britain taking the lead in BREXIT).

Notwithstanding the criticisms levelled against the theory, neo-institutionalism provides a suitable theoretical ground for the topic under study. The UN which is the institutional lens

through which this whole study is conducted (albeit with Ghana as the focus) falls within the institutional structure of the theory by all its standards. On the whole, therefore, the theory allows for a more descriptive, inclusive and yet empirical analysis of the study.

The theory of cooperation also guided this study. The term “cooperation” first appeared in the fourteenth century.<sup>20</sup> Cooperation derived from the Christian Latin “cooperation” in the fifteenth century, means a collective endeavour.<sup>21</sup> It is composed of *co* from *cum* and *operare*, meaning “with” or “together,” and “to act” respectively.<sup>22</sup> To cooperate is to act together, the joining of individual efforts for a common end. Draperi however defines cooperation as the coordinated activity of agents pursuing different objectives and seeking to establish common rules.<sup>23</sup> Some of the major proponents of this theory are Ernst Haas, Charles Lipson, Stephen D. Krasner and Keohane Robert. Grieco defines cooperation as the voluntary adjustment by stakeholders or actors of their policies so that they manage their differences and reach some mutually beneficial outcome.<sup>24</sup> Grieco identifies that the theory of cooperation is posited on the following key elements;

First and foremost, actors or stakeholders should agree to work together voluntarily without coercion by other states. Secondly, in cooperation, actors or stakeholders devote their efforts towards agenda which they have common interests. Finally, cooperation according to Grieco involves a long-term engagement through the establishment and operation of an institutional regime for joint action and not cooperation based on a one-time interaction.<sup>25</sup>

Robert Keohane in his work, “After Hegemony”, argues that cooperation can develop based on past corresponding interests among stakeholders. Keohane adds that, “cooperation takes place when the policies actually followed by one government are regarded by its partners as facilitating realization of their own objectives, as the result of a process of policy coordination.”

In Helen Milner's review of cooperation among nations, she mentions Robert Keohane's definition of cooperation as occurring, "when actors adjust their behaviour to the actual or anticipated preference of others, through a process of policy coordination,"<sup>26</sup> Policy coordination, in her view, implies that the policies of each state have been adjusted to reduce the negative consequence for the other countries. According to her, the concept of cooperation must have two essential elements. Firstly, is the assumption that every actor's behaviour is focused towards some goal. The goal may not be the same for all actors, but it is an assumed rational behaviour on the part of all.

Secondly, cooperation rewards actors with gains. The kind or magnitude of the gains, she says, may not be the same for each actor but must be mutual. Actors, in helping each other to realise their goal, by adjusting their policies in cooperation with other stakeholders, serve their own interests. Milner further explains that to get the concept right, it is important to know what cooperation is not. She continues to differentiate among cooperation, conflict and competition. To her, conflict and competition depict actions that are goal-seeking with intentions to obstruct or cut the gains and fulfilment of all involved. She cautions that acting unilaterally without taking into consideration the impact on others, does not depict cooperation. Though the act may not affect the gains of others, such unilateral actions may be uncooperative. The negative implication on others must be considered.

To further understand what it entails, Cooperation refers to any collaborative work between people or groups, either voluntary or otherwise. This sense of the term is underlying some words that are related to the idea of cooperation. Communication, collaboration, coordination, participation, mediation, interaction, and collective action are standard terms in International Relations studies that presuppose, generally implicitly, cooperation.

Cooperation may arise due to common welfare objectives or national interests of a state or region. The need for cooperation is evident in such endeavours as the global postal system; fighting crime, especially transnational crimes; managing ecological threats and joint use of natural resources such as rivers; and the evolution of the international public health system to fight epidemics and pandemics, as well as addressing sanitation crises. The essence of cooperation theories is the extent to which the incentives for, or benefits from cooperation can be seen to outweigh the incentives of acting unilaterally.

Despite the strength of the theory of cooperation in explaining the essence of stakeholders working together to provide and improve global peace and security and international development, which are the main mandates of the UN, there are few critiques against the theory. One of the obstacles to cooperation in addressing education crisis across the globe is the relative absence of Public-Private Partnership (PPP).<sup>27</sup> Also, conflict and competition between actors or stakeholders may lead to failure in cooperation even when actors have common interests.<sup>28</sup> Such competition and conflict between and among actors may inhibit willingness of actors to cooperate effectively. Also, the theory of cooperation stresses only on the collaborative efforts by actors to address a common challenge or pursue a common goal but it understates the range of functions that institutions and actors or stakeholders must perform to help achieve an effective and efficient cooperation.

The criticisms notwithstanding, Ghana cooperate effectively with other states on the international level through the UN systems and structures in the ensuring the improvement of global quality of life by ensuring and promoting international peace and security. Therefore, the theory of cooperation helps in providing an explanation or analysis for why the Government of Ghana and other states have collaborated or cooperated through obligations within the UN systems and other subsidiary bodies of the UN to ensure the promotion of international peace and security, as well as international development.

## 1.9 Literature Review

This section is situated within a review of literature on international cooperation and the workings of the UN. This is in light of the fact that the need for international cooperation, even in a realist anarchic world, is a necessary evil that states need for their survival. The aftermath of Westphalian international relations engineered an international political landscape where the principles of noninterference and realist perspective of states have been diffused as a dominant epistemology of international relations.<sup>29</sup> In this regard, states must operate under the inevitable realist perspective of the survival of the fittest and to ensure survival, states must necessarily find their way out through cooperation, regardless of the keen competitive environment.

This fact did not go unnoticed to the enactors or law makers of the Montevideo Convention of 1933, for instance, when the convention noted that entities that clamor for international recognition of statehood must have the ability to enter into relations with other states.<sup>30</sup> The impetus for this criterion is that it is imperative for states to relate with other states for survival, since no one state is an Island, but in one way or the other, interconnected through the global intricacies of globalization. Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945) says it better in his own words:

*“Competition has been shown to be useful up to a certain point and no further, but cooperation, which is the thing we must strive for today, begins where competition leaves off.”<sup>31</sup>*

If the above situation is correct, then states must always ensure that in order to survive by asserting their rightful place in international politics, they enact clear policies and strategies that allow them to deal or relate with the outside world. In the conviction of Hedley and Adam, cooperation is essential to the existence and survival of any state.<sup>32</sup> It is practically impossible for states to function in a vacuum or isolation in this contemporary global

political landscape of interdependence. States must necessarily have interactions with other states in the international system for survival.

Cooperation among states takes place at various levels. It could be through bilateral, multilateral or regional levels. This study which examines Ghana's relationship with the UN, as far as the former's privileges and responsibilities are concerned as a member, is situated within the multilateral type of cooperation. The point is that the UN, for which Ghana is a member state, is a multilateral institution and multilateralism is a form of cooperation. In international relations, multilateralism refers to multiple countries which coordinate their efforts on a given issue. It may also be a form of alliance (is a form of alliance albeit), it may be somewhat a different structure than traditional alliances.

Miles Kahler defines multilateralism as "international governance or global governance of the many, and its central principle was "opposition of bilateral discriminatory arrangements that were believed to enhance the leverage of the powerful over the weak and to increase international conflict".<sup>33</sup> On his part, Robert Keohane simply defined multilateralism as "the practice of coordinating national policies in groups of three or more states."<sup>34</sup> Keohane's definition has been further elaborated by John Ruggie who defined the concept of multilateralism based on the principles of "indivisibility" and "diffuse reciprocity (international relations)" as "an institutional form which coordinates relations among three or more states on the basis of generalized principles of conduct which specify appropriate conduct for a class of actions, without regard to particularistic interests of the parties or the strategic exigencies that may exist in any occurrence".<sup>35</sup> The UN is a multilateral institution that allows for cooperation among states for ensuring world peace through collective security. This idea was not lost on the founders of the mother organization of the UN when in the preamble it was stated that "...to practice tolerance and live together in peace with

one another as good neighbours and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security...” This was and has been the basis for cooperation among member states of the UN.

Milner noted that cooperation exists in myriad forms. To this scholar, cooperation could be tacit and, in this case, occur without communication or explicit agreement.<sup>36</sup> What it means is that explicit agreement may not be necessary in this regard, but rather what matters is cooperative behaviour that emerges as expectations of the actors converge. Cooperation could be achieved through the very popularly known outlet which is negotiating in an explicit bargaining process.<sup>37</sup> This happens to be the very common type of cooperation in international relations as studied by Keohane and Oye.<sup>38</sup> Then there is also imposed cooperation. When a stronger party forces the other side to alter its policies, that cooperation, in the opinion of Milner, is forced.<sup>39</sup> In some instances, the stronger party may adjust its own policies in an attempt to realize mutual gains.

Interaction amongst countries, could take place at numerous levels (mostly through trade). This idea of trade relations brings to fore the idea of bilateral relations. Hedley and Adam noted that “the emergence of a single global system and a common international system has brought about a vast increase in the number of international interactions among nations and an end to the isolation of countries”.<sup>40</sup>

Stein is of the conviction that because states act autonomously and self-help is the fundamental ethos from the realist perspective, cooperation is sometimes rare.<sup>41</sup> In a more detailed analysis Stein maintained the realists’ position that, states cooperate only to deal with common threats and thus, see cooperation as temporary or inconsequential since self-interested rationality forms the basis of cooperation.<sup>42</sup> Stein further notes that cooperative agreements would emerge naturally from exchange. International cooperation is therefore

embedded within a structure of competition, rivalries, and insecurity among states.<sup>43</sup> Realists and idealists agree that states cooperate because it is in their finest interest to do so, a situation which has been described as either relative gains or absolute gains respectively in international cooperation theory.<sup>44</sup> As a result, self-interested interaction leads to international cooperation and provides opportunities for economic growth and development among nations.

In *Cooperation and International Regime*, Keohane and Williams noted that, “states formulate policies with the aim of achieving objectives, consistent with their overall national interest. They further explain that “cooperation occurs when actors adjust their behaviour to actual or anticipated preferences of others, through a process of policy coordination”.<sup>45</sup> States agree on stipulated policies to help each other for mutual understanding and benefit. While state sovereignty reigns supreme theoretically in the international system, Ghana has adjusted (not compromised) its foreign policy to suit the norms and demands of the mother organization of the UN. This it has done by cooperating with other states in the UN. While the country has sought to benefit from the privileges of being a member of the UN, as part of the conformity norms of the UN Ghana also has some responsibilities to perform to warrant those privileges.

Scholars have, however, expressed reservations on international cooperation and in particular multilateralism. It has been suggested that international cooperation only works to the extent that it provides immediate solution to a problem of consensus that satisfies all parties involved.<sup>46</sup> The point is that when it comes to critical matters that is likely to jeopardize the national interest of states, such ethos and norms of international cooperation packaged under multilateralism are likely to be jettisoned. Take, for instance, Israel’s membership of the UN while it continues to use disproportionate force against the Palestine

in clear violation of UN and international law in the name of national interest. This proves the fact that international cooperation or multilateralism cannot transcend anarchy. The work of Mershiemer *Failed Promise of Institutionalism* has expended a lot of intellectual energy to critique institutionalism and international cooperation.<sup>47</sup>

Shen, Jianming in his study "The non-intervention principle and humanitarian interventions under international law," explains that essential target of international relations built up by the UN frameworks is to accomplish and advance universal peace and security. The UN Charter gives the lawful system and reason for which states relate with one another.<sup>48</sup> The real precepts of the UN frameworks are to disavow the utilization of power or risk as a mean for settling debate among states.<sup>49</sup> This implies there is much accentuation on the regard of power of states and non-obstruction in the residential or inward undertakings of a state except if they present danger to universal peace and security. Joined Nations Charter appears to have given the premise to the two states and the United Nations (UN) itself to fall back on pacific means in their conduct of international relations. Thus Article 2 (4) of the UN Charter deal with States and Article 2 (7) deal with the United Nations.<sup>50</sup>

Article 2 (4) of the UN Charter which outlines the main prohibition on the use of force or the threat thereof states:

“All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.”<sup>51</sup>

In addition, Article 2 (7) which outlines the Principle of Non-Intervention emphasizes the rule of non-interference by the United Nations in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of member states, except when the UN is acting in accordance with Charter 7 of the UN.

Article 2 (7) provides that:

“Nothing contained in this present Charter shall authorise of the United Nations to intervene in matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state

or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter.”<sup>52</sup>

Article 2 (3) provides that:

“All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered”. A clear cut example is the Nicaragua Case in which the ICJ decided that the prohibition in Article 2(4) has become customary law and therefore, binding on non-UN member states.”<sup>53</sup>

Since Article 107, under Chapter XVII on “Traditional Security Arrangements” which allows for enforcement action against the enemy states of the Second World War is no longer relevant, the Charter provides for the two explicit exceptions to the prohibition of the use of force in international relations. The first is granted for the use of force is individual or collective self-defence in response to armed attack against a state. The second is where the use of force has been mandated by the UN Security Council to a breach of international peace or an act of aggression. However, this should be done bearing in mind Article 1(3) which emphasizes the respect and promotion of human rights.

Article 51 of the Charter provides as follows:

“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 the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security....”<sup>54</sup>

Fakiha Mahmood, in his work "Power versus the Sovereign Equality of States: The Veto, the P-5 and the United Nations Security Council Reform", recognizes that, for binding obligations of members the United Nations, the United Nations Security Council is the focal point of universal security framework. He additionally clarifies that the coupling idea of the decisions of the Council on all members of the UN additionally upgrades the significance of the Council. He anyway places that restricted enrollment and the rule of the veto amassed in the hands of the permanent members of the Council have prompted the quest for national interests to the detriment of worldwide intrigue. This he guarantees, have required a few

changes of the Council. The author contends that the attitude of members of the Security Council have not been ideal to such changes. He additionally proposes that the appearing absence of agreement among whatever remains of the world has likewise drawn out the changes from appearing.<sup>55</sup>

Michael J. Bazylar in *Reexamining the Doctrine of Humanitarian Intervention in Light of the Atrocities in Kampuchea and Ethiopia* notes that as a result of the emergence of the United Nations (UN) in 1945, modern international law imposes a prohibition on the use of force in other sovereign state in case of addressing conflict situations. For example, Article 2(4) of the UN Charter limits power to military intercession in a sovereign state with the exception of under assent and endorsement by the UNSC or for self-protection. An obvious precedent is the Corfu Channel Case between the UK and Albania in 1949. The rule of the non-utilization of power might be viewed as international law.<sup>56</sup> Bazylar assert that, humanitarian intervention is a means to prevent or stop a gross violation of human rights in a state, where such state is either incapable or unwilling to protect its own people, or is actively persecuting them.

The above scholarly works contribute extensively to the topic under study by revealing some historical and contemporary cooperation, obligations and mandates of states as being members of the United Nations. However, there is a dearth of scholarly exploration in their works in terms of the obligations a state, specifically, Ghana performs, as well as the privileges she enjoys as being a member of the United Nations. This gap in their work is what this study seeks to fill by utilizing the theories of Neo-institutionalism and International Cooperation to ascertain the obligations and privileges that accrue to Ghana as being a member of the United Nations.

### **1.10 Research Methodology**

This research makes use of qualitative approach in its investigations. This approach has been chosen to suit the explorative nature of the study. Qualitative research is characterized by its aims, which relate to understanding some aspect of social life, and its methods which (in general) generate words, rather than numbers, as data for analysis.<sup>57</sup> Qualitative research approach as identified by Taylor, Bodgan and Devault, offers an opportunity to experience the empirical world. It enables researchers to identify with people based on their experience and frame of understanding.<sup>58</sup> The qualitative method is grounded on an interpretive approach that attempts to grasp the reasons for peoples' actions, beliefs and values.<sup>59</sup> Qualitative approach is concerned with the subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions and behavior. Research in such a situation is a function of researcher's insights and impressions.<sup>60</sup> Such an approach to research generates results either in non-quantitative form or in the form which are not subjected to rigorous quantitative analysis.

The study utilized an exploratory and descriptive research designs. These methods helped in providing extra information where limited information exists and also helped in identifying gaps in existing literature. Exploratory research was utilized because of its adaptability. The strategy included investigating different methods of acquiring information with no strict limitations and applications as on account of quantitative research technique. Exploratory design regularly depends on auxiliary research, for example, auditing accessible writing or information and furthermore leading inside and out meetings, contextual investigations and pilot thinks about.<sup>61</sup> This design helps in formulating a more precise problem statement and in developing a good hypothesis.<sup>62</sup> The descriptive design also helps in investigating a social phenomenon without explicit expectations.<sup>63</sup> This is on account of, the research design helps in making comprehensive examinations and investigation of information acquired from the sources demonstrated before with no biases

or individual nostalgia. The descriptive design was utilized to set up certainties and connections by portraying into detail, the obligations and privileges that accrue to Ghana as being a member state of the UN.

This study seeks to understand the relationship between Ghana and the UN. It seeks to investigate whether or not Ghana lives up to its obligation as a member state of the UN and if in return the country benefits from the privileges due it as a member. In this kind of study where an understanding of the relationship between the two parties is concerned, it is only appropriate that an approach like qualitative be used, more so when the questions asked are qualitative in nature.

### **1.11 Sources of Data**

In conducting this research, the main sources of data were primarily secondary sources of data. In this regard, the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD) Library as well as the United Nations' section of the Balme Library, both of the University of Ghana, Legon were sources where secondary data including books, journals, magazines and newspapers were obtained to support this study. Internet sources were also sought for as secondary sources of data on reliable information on the topic under study.

This kind of data allowed the researcher to solicit information with some amount of flexibility although relatively moderated to provide an in-depth insight into a social phenomenon from secondary sources like books, summit documents, reports, journal articles, newspaper publications as well as internet sources like UN's official websites, and the international media outlet like the BBC, CNN, the Guardian on the New York Times were consulted where necessary.

Data from the sources indicated were analysed through the theoretical frameworks of Neo-intuitionism and International Cooperation to provide a better insight on the topic. This

was then used to make recommendations based on the outcome of the study. The study utilized an exploratory and descriptive design for the data analysis. These methods helped in providing extra information where limited information exists and also helped in identifying gaps in existing literature. Data was analyzed based on content analysis of information obtained from primary and secondary sources, aided with the theoretical frameworks of Neo-institutionalism and Cooperation.

### **1.12 Organization of Chapters**

The study is essentially organized into four chapters. Chapter One covers the introduction. This is the chapter that provides the background to the study, statement of the problem, research questions and the objectives of the study. The hypothesis, the scope, rationale as well as the study methodology are dealt with. The rest of chapter one deals with the theoretical framework, literature review, study methodology as well as sources of data collection, and the organization of the study. Chapter Two provides an overview of the United Nations. Chapter Three examines the privileges and obligations of Ghana as a member of the United Nations. References are made to the various portfolios Ghana has held in the United Nations' (both in the main organs and the agencies) as well as the various Peacekeeping missions the country has embarked on. The chapter also investigates the privileges as are due Ghana as a member of the UN and the obligations she has undertaken. Chapter four, which is the final chapter, comprises the summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations.

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## CHAPTER TWO

### AN OVERVIEW OF THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM

#### 2.1 Introduction

The United Nations has been a huge conglomerate of nation states to bolster human and economic development in the world. The coming together of nation states for a common course has been an extremely instrumental movement to the survival, development and improvement of these states. On the international front, the main rationale which motivated the formation of alliances or coming together of states has been for the promotion of peace. In 1899, the maiden international peace conference was held in The Hague to embrace instruments for the settlement of emergencies and conflict crises, avoidance of wars and classifying of warfare.<sup>1</sup> The formation of the United Nations turned into a rich ground for Nation States to have a unified target to spare succeeding ages from the scourge of war, which has conveyed untold distress to humankind.<sup>2</sup> In that capacity, the United Nations turned into an association of sovereign States, which willfully join the organization to work for world peace.<sup>3</sup>

The UN gives a stage to member states to create instruments to help discover answers for debate or issues, and to follow up on, for all intents and purposes, any matter of worry to mankind.<sup>4</sup> This chapter discusses the overview of the UN system. The chapter presents a historical background to the coming into being of the UN. This is to bring into understanding the evolutionary mechanisms that have led to what is now called the UN. The chapter also examines the present UN system with greater focus on the structure of the UN, privileges and obligations of member states, and the purpose and achievement of the UN.

## **2.2 Historical background to the formation of the UN**

In the 20th century, many international organizations were established to help member states achieve a common objective. Some of these organizations include; the League of Nations (1920 -1938) and the United Nations (1945 – Present). Before the foundation of the League of Nations, there have been the presence of some other international organizations, for example, the Inter-Parliamentary Union formed in 1889, whose main objective was to advance international arbitration and world peace.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, an immediate predecessor to the United Nations, the League of Nations was conceived in the year 1919 with the victors of the First World War as establishing individuals with a sole aim of preventing a rehash of an overwhelming war, World War I. The essential target of the League of Nations was to create collaboration among countries and to promise them global peace and security.<sup>6</sup> In spite of the fact that the League of Nations enjoyed some exceptional political achievement in the 1920s, the expanding financial hardship and militant Nationalism which described the 1930s hindered effective cooperation between and led to a few clashes and conflicts among states which couldn't be effortlessly settled.<sup>7</sup> The idea of international organization became a very crucial feature of international politics and on 1st January 1942, the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, proposed to world leaders the formation of the 'United Nations.'<sup>8</sup>

Amid the mediating war years, the Allies set up plans to establish another international organization following the failings of the League of Nations. This led to the formation of the United Nations. Marked on 26 June 1945 in San Francisco, the Charter of the United Nations came into effect on 24 October 1945.<sup>9</sup> After World War II, The United Nations (UN), shaped in 1945, was established to help avoid future wars. This organization tended to larger problems of the League of Nations which includes; peacekeeping efforts, decision on human rights and economic policies. Initially, there were fifty-one (51) member states

which formed the UN. Currently membership has developed to one hundred and ninety-three (193) member states.<sup>10</sup>

### **2.3 Structure of the United Nations**

The United Nations has a functional structure comprising the General Assembly with Subsidiary Bodies.<sup>11</sup> These are; Main and other sessional committees, Disarmament Commission, Human Rights Council, International Law Commission, Standing committees and ad hoc bodies. There are also related organisations such as; CTBTO: Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization, IAEA: International Atomic Energy Agency, IOM: International Organization for Migration, OPCW: Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, and WTO: World Trade Organization.<sup>12</sup>

The General Assembly is the principle deliberative organ of the United Nations and it comprises of all UN Member States, every one of which has one vote, and may talk about any inquiries or matters inside the extent of the Charter or identifying with the forces and elements of any organ accommodated in the Charter. It might make suggestions to UN members or the Security Council or both on any such inquiries or matters, with the exception of debate or circumstances which requires the Security Council to exercise its capacities.<sup>13</sup> This is codified in Article 10 of the UN Charter which makes decision of the General Assembly, just hortatory and not binding. General Assembly decisions are for most parts achieved through collective consensus. Where choices are voted, they are made by a greater part of the members present and voting except if it is viewed as an important question.<sup>14</sup> Decisions on important questions are made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting.

The General Assembly's normal sessions starts every year on the third Tuesday in September and proceeds for the most part until mid-December. A new President is chosen toward the beginning of every standard session together with 21 Vice-Presidents and the Chairpersons of the Assembly's six fundamental committees. The position of Presidency is anyway not static. It pivots among six groups of personnel from different continents which are; African, Asian, Eastern European, North America, Latin American, and Western European. This is to ensure equitable geographical representation.<sup>15</sup> The General Assembly plays a crucial role in international affairs and global politics. The General Assembly deals with three specific areas namely; definition of standards and norms that should apply to certain areas of world politics, commitment of UN resources to various programmes, and management of conflicts between and among nations.<sup>16</sup> The strength of the General Assembly lies in its predominance, both organisationally and politically. In that capacity, it is viewed as a place where the developing or Third World nations which comprises around three-fourths of UN participation and enjoys majority, can promote their interests and advance their course for a more fairer world order.<sup>17</sup>

There is also the Security Council with Subsidiary Bodies comprising the Counter-terrorism committee, UN Mechanism for International Criminal Tribunals (UNMICT), International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), Military Staff Committee for Peacekeeping operations and missions, Sanctions committees (ad hoc), and Standing committees and ad hoc bodies.<sup>18</sup> Article 24 of the UN Charter, enjoined the members of the UN Security Council with the primary mandate of ensuring the maintenance of global peace and security.<sup>19</sup> The functions of the Council fall mainly under two headings: pacific settlement of disputes and action with respect to threats to the peace, ruptures of the peace and acts of aggression.

Decisions on procedural issues are made by confirmed votes of any nine individual members.<sup>20</sup> Decisions on different issues are made by concurring votes of nine members, including the agreeing votes of the five permanent members from the Council. Parties to a dispute must abstain from voting on measures for the pacific settlement of that dispute. The Security Council comprises of five permanent members and 10 non-permanent members. Five of the non-permanent members are chosen every year by the General Assembly for a term of two years.<sup>21</sup> Terms for each non-permanent member is ended on 31 December of every year as indicated in the membership list. In choosing the Security Council non-permanent members, the General Assembly is required by the Charter to pay due respect, in the principal occasion, to the commitment of UN members to the support of global peace and security, alternative purposes of the organization and furthermore to impartial global geographical representation.<sup>22</sup>

Under the Charter, the decisions of the Security Council are to be clung to by all members of the United Nations. The empowerment of the Security Council is found in Article 25 of the UN Charter which makes decision of the Council binding. The organization of the Security Council is such that it allows for continuity by allowing each of its members to be present at all times at the United Nations Headquarters.<sup>23</sup>

The Economic & Social Council (ECOSOC) is in charge of advancing global economic and socio-cultural cooperation and development.<sup>24</sup> The Council is comprised of 54 members who serve for three years. Voting in this Council is also by simple majority as each member has one vote. Other Specialised Agencies which fall under ECOSOC include the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the UN, International Labour Organization (ILO), UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), the World Health Organization (WHO), International Development Association

(IDA), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), International Finance Corporation (IFC), Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Maritime Organization (IMO), International Telecommunication Union (ITU), Universal Postal Union (UPU), World Meteorological Organization (WMO), World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), and World Tourism Organization (UNWTO).<sup>25</sup>

There are Functional Commissions, Regional Commissions and different Bodies that shape some portion of the Economic and Social Council. Under the Functional Commissions, there are the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, Science and Technology for Development, Narcotic Drugs, Population and Development, Statistics, Status of Women Social Development, and UN Forum on Forests.<sup>26</sup>

For the Regional Commissions, there are the ECA - Economic Commission for Africa, the ESCAP - Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, the ECE - Economic Commission for Europe, ECLAC - Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean and ESCWA- Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia. Different Bodies that shape some portions of the Economic and Social Council incorporate, the Committee for Development Policy, Committee of Experts on Public Administration, Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations, Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, UN Group of Experts on Geographical Names, Other sessional and standing boards of trustees and master, specially appointed and related bodies and High-level Political Forum on Sustainable Development.<sup>27</sup> The Economic and Social Council, for the most part, holds two-month long sessions every year. Its all year work is completed in its auxiliary bodies which meets at customary interims and reports back to the Council. The Economic and Social Council originally comprised of 18 members.<sup>28</sup> This number later grew to 27 in 1956

and 54 in 1973 to date. These expansions in membership was basically because of developing requests of the Third World alliance for a more prominent voice in deciding monetary and social approach. In any case, the forces of the Council are exceptionally constrained as it can just recommend to the General Assembly but do not take final decisions which are binding on all members. Decisions on issues discussed by the Council is liable to the endorsement of the General Assembly.<sup>29</sup>

There is also the International Court of Justice which is the primary judicial organ and then also the Trusteeship Council. The Trusteeship Council suspended operation on 1 November 1994 with the independence of Palau, the last remaining UN Trust Territory, on 1 October 1994.<sup>30</sup>

#### **2.4 Privileges and obligations of the UN and of Member States**

Obligations emerge for Members of the United Nations only when decisions have been taken as prescribed by the Charter. The Charter mandates the Security Council to be in charge of choosing what requirement measures are to be utilized to keep up with global peace and security. The mandate of the United Nations, as established in the Charter, are: to maintain global peace and security; to develop cooperation among nations with respect to the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; to cooperate in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining these common ends.<sup>31</sup>

Article 2 of the UN Charter identifies fundamental obligations of the Members of the UN. These incorporates the obligation to settle disputes by tranquil means in such a manner that international peace and security are not imperilled, the obligation to cease from the danger or the utilization of power against the regional trustworthiness or political freedom of any

state, and the obligation to offer help to the United Nations in any move made under the terms of the Charter.<sup>32</sup> Members are also to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.<sup>33</sup> Goodrich contends that in some cases, obligations of the Members of the United Nations may turn to be less satisfactory since, in cases of enforcement action, the obligation of the Members of the United Nations is to acknowledge and complete decisions of the Security Council and to offer help to the United Nations in any move made under the Charter.<sup>34</sup>

The United Nations acts as per the accompanying standards: it depends on respecting the sovereignty of its members; all members are to satisfy in compliance with common decency their Charter obligations; they are to settle their global disputes by quiet means and without jeopardizing universal peace and security and equity; they are to shun the danger or utilization of power against some other state; they are to give the United Nations each help with any move it makes as per the Charter; nothing in the Charter is to approve the United Nations to intercede in issues of domestic jurisdiction of any state.<sup>35</sup> It is under these circumstances that this study examines if Ghana as a member of the UN practically performs its responsibilities or not, and whether in that same measure, she benefits from the privileges that accrue to members of the UN as an international organization.

## **2.5 The Period of UN Reforms to Cold War UN Activism**

The emergence of the UN was in correspondence with a post Second World War when it was broadly seen that the thoughts for worldwide recuperation would originate from either side of the Atlantic with administration originating from the US, which anticipated the rationality, and substance of President Roosevelt's New Deal on to the world.<sup>36</sup> When the Charter came into force in 1945, the UN's obligations alongside that of the multilateral Bretton Woods institutions were towards the reconstruction of Europe, following the devastating effects of the Second World War.<sup>37</sup>

Nevertheless, the period 1945-1989 was the most confrontational as the major factor that dominated international relations was the ideological conflict between the West and East. Towards this end, the principles in the central standards of the arrangement of the UN were shaken by the brutal reality of the Cold War. However, the actual execution of the UN over that time, was, in key respect important.<sup>38</sup> It was remarkable as the solitary real international organization of states ever. It developed and utilized useful peacekeeping and diplomatic machinery. The practice of multilateral conference diplomacy was enhanced.<sup>39</sup> The UN developed global codes and standards of behaviour across a wide scope of activity, including education, health, human rights, agricultural, communications, meteorology, communications, among others, where the norms and institutions proved their relevance.<sup>40</sup> In any case, security still turned into an issue for the UN to manage, particularly amid the Cold War.<sup>41</sup>

As indicated by Roberts Adam (1993), the UN that was proposed was to keep up the present state of affairs of global development needs and security threats. The Security Council (SC) frequently ended up in a stalemate condition, unfit to act proficiently. Consequently, it very well may be said that the SC was utilized as an apparatus of superpower influence on global affairs. Thus, it can be said that the SC was used as a tool of superpower influence.<sup>42</sup> The UN was respected to have been a world framework that should have been more proficient than the League of Nations. Brown and Ainley asserts that both the League of Nations and the UN were built upon two primary opposed approaches to international relations which were the tradition of the 'Concert of Europe' and the 'Peace Project.'<sup>43</sup>

Interpreting each tradition, Brown and Ainley further indicates that the 'Concert of Europe' tradition was to coordinate policies on matters of common concern in a bid to maintain a balance of power among states.<sup>44</sup> The 'Peace Project' then again refreshed upon the declaration that war will in the long run be made out of date through the territorial and global

collaboration of states.<sup>45</sup> Along these lines, the UN was built up with the goals to keep away from a third dangerous world war and safeguard world peace and security and to likewise perceive the power of states and offer voice to each state in the General Assembly.<sup>46</sup>

During the Conferences at Malta and Yalta in 1945, Stalin remarked that the primary concern was to anticipate conflicts among the three Great Powers, USA, Britain and the USSR, and the errand in this manner was to anchor their solidarity and future.<sup>47</sup> All things considered, the origination of the Security Council, for example, extrapolated a power level of leadership, radiating from individuals that consented to guarantee and keep up peace and security for the benefit of everyone. Enrolment of the Security Council involved five exceptional nations viewed as the Great Powers, including, the United States, the United Kingdom, the USSR, France and China.<sup>48</sup> The Security Council, viewed as the principle basic leadership body of the UN, under Article 39 of the UN Charter, takes into consideration the SC to choose the utilization of power if there is a risk to peace, a rupture of the same, or a demonstration of hostility with each Power having a veto to stop Security Council's choice, despite the fact that the Articles 2.3 and 2.4 of a similar UN sanction shows that states ought to gently settle debate and the utilization of power is disallowed.<sup>49</sup> Consequently, as indicated by E.C. Luckiness, the UN today still mirrors the time of 1945, its initial beginnings as its structure does not effortlessly take into consideration change and reforms.<sup>50</sup>

The United Nations failure to set up an aggregate security framework has had real outcomes on Member States and her Allies. The rise of a Bipolar World under the US or Soviet impact was a consequence of the Second World War. A large portion of the world split into two camps as it wound up with respect to which economic model to utilize patch up the economies of nations influenced by the war. After the Second World War, the World changed incompletely on the grounds that European Powers stripped themselves of their

domains and furthermore halfway in light of the fact that the superpowers stretched out their contention to more and more regions of the world. Kissinger attests that Roosevelt's vision of the Security Council was as a top managerial staff of the world with the duty to authorize the peace against any potential blackguard crumbled.<sup>51</sup>

As such, each superpower competition mainly came to the surface in relation to spheres of influence in the developing world as well as in strategic areas which inevitably led to proxy wars, affecting the operations of the UN regarding its principles and obligations.<sup>52</sup> According to Weiss, Forsythe and Coate, the first UN's coercive action took place in Korea.<sup>53</sup> It must be noticed that the UN member states are obliged to determine emergencies in a serene way without aggravating global peace. With the Cold War set up, and the superpowers being additionally part of the Security Council of the UN, there were different inconveniences in the execution of commitments. In Korea, for example, the Soviet possessed domain in the North and the US troops were situated in the South. At the point when in 1950, North Korean forces assaulted the South, supported by the Soviet Union, China and other Communist states, President Truman and Acheson concurred immediately that this Communist assault on a non-Communist state called for immediate action, as a domino-impact of Communist mediations was dreaded.<sup>54</sup>

The USSR boycotted the SC since January 1950, as it objected the presence of a representative of Taiwan in the Chinese permanent seat.<sup>55</sup> As such, the US promptly raised the Korean circumstance in the SC, as it was clear there would be no Communist vetoes to goals regarding the matter, making the US be resolved in giving countering measures to the Communist risk.<sup>56</sup> Upon the arrival of the USSR to the Security Council, any further activity was forestalled. This empowered the GA to devise the Uniting for Peace Resolution, keeping in mind the end goal to go ahead with international action.<sup>57</sup> That notwithstanding,

the US delayed the war by taking it to the Chinese fringe, and it proceeded until 1953 when the existing risk of state of affairs was re-established.<sup>58</sup>

There was a continuous rivalry in the Third World, and in Sub-Saharan Africa specifically, amidst the Cold War and this was one of the essential determinants of the superpower relationship. The United Nations activity in the Congo conveyed the Cold War to Africa and the Soviet political and military inclusion in the Angolan War was an essential factor in the downfall of détente and the resulting decrease in Soviet-United States relations.<sup>59</sup> The United Nations Operation in the Congo in 1960 and the Angolan Civil War in 1975, for example, turned into a stake of superpower battle and the historical backdrop of these two occasions underpins James Rosenau's speculation that incredible forces test each other's quality and challenge each other's impact through contribution in the inward wars of little nonpartisan countries on the grounds that destructive capabilities of advanced weapons has lessened the likelihood of aggregate war.<sup>60</sup> June 30, 1960 started the contention and exchange of the Cold War in the Congo. Belgium was handing over power to the Congo following seventy-five years of colonial rule.<sup>61</sup> Officially, the plan was to transfer power to the Congolese government, which was driven by Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and President Joseph Kasavubu. Be that as it may, informally the Belgian arrangement was to keep up true authority over the new state and ensure its huge mining interests in the region of Katanga. Congolese troops revolted, assaulting Europeans and usurping property bringing about the Belgian government transporting paratroopers into the Congo to restore order.

The credibility of the Congolese government was wrecked as it demonstrated unfit to control its own military powers. Lumumba requested that every single Belgian troop be pulled back and called upon the United States to send 3,000 American troops to restore order and supplant the Belgian troops. The United States organization declined the demand proposing

rather than the Congolese government ask for military help from the United Nations.<sup>62</sup> On July 10, 1960, Lumumba made a demand for UN help to re-establish, arrange and expel the Belgian troops. The UN upheld the demand and anchored an UN Security Council goal of approving the foundation of an UN power to re-establish, arrange and advance economic and political steadiness. Belgium consented to pull back its military troops, however, just on the off chance that they would be supplanted by UN troops.<sup>63</sup> On January 21st, 1962, the UN calmly possessed Kolwezi in Katanga Province. Tshombe relinquished authority of his troops and taught them to collaborate with the UN. Following more than two and half years of crisis, encounter and struggle, the Katanga secession was formally over.

There was general cheering in Washington at the result.<sup>64</sup> The Cold War progressed into Central Africa and the USSR-US battle for impact and control in the Congo was ruled by their Great Power contention. The Belgian Congo was a standout amongst the most beneficial states in Africa, known to have immense stores of copper, precious stones, gold, uranium, and by 1960, roughly 60% of the Western world's provisions of cobalt.<sup>65</sup> The central issue in the Congo and its primary or vital importance was the upkeep of global peace and the evasion of an East-West direct confrontations because of internal conflict and political chaos. Direct United States military guide was immediately precluded for fear it may be utilized as an appearance for generous Soviet intercession to help Lumumba, which could prompt an unfortunate encounter between the two superpowers.<sup>66</sup>

The UN military mission, from a Soviet and American viewpoint, at any rate at first, fulfilled this essential objective of backhanded clash in the Congo.<sup>67</sup> Even with the lack of investment, the United States was persuaded that Western states couldn't stand aside and enable the Soviet Union to assume control of the Congo. The United States utilized the UN to keep Soviet impact out. The best technique, as per the United States organization, to keep a Soviet takeover was to set up directions that all guide to the Congo must be led on a

multilateral premise. Executing multilateral techniques for help by means of the UN would obstruct one-sided bolster for the Congo from the Soviet Union.<sup>68</sup>

This opposition was, obviously, reflected in the SC and the P-5's veto power would frequently fill in as an apparatus to make a halt, for example, in the 1956 Suez Crisis, the circumstance in Vietnam from 1946-75, the Sino-Vietnamese clash in 1979 and Afghanistan from 1979.<sup>69</sup> The failure of the United Nations to put in place the envisaged collective security system has had several major consequences, each of which characterized the second phase in the last half century. The patterns and improvements described to this point represent profound challenge for the manageability, effectiveness and relevance of the UN system. The development in membership manages a potential for dissension between the (widespread) UN General Assembly and other (more restricted participation) organs of the UN – and most outstandingly the Security Council. However, the adequacy and effectiveness of the UN depends endless supply of motivation behind the important organs of the framework – the General Assembly, Security Council and the office of Secretary-General.<sup>70</sup> This solidarity is as often as possible under pressure. For example, the mandate of the Security Council is to keep up universal peace and security and is responsible to the General Assembly, the General Assembly on the other hand is not approved to remark upon the exercises of the Security Council in that capacity, the Security Council is not subordinate to the superseding authority of the General Assembly.

Roberts and Kingsbury (1993) declare that while a few of the above illustrations obviously demonstrate how UN choices were impacted by the East-West division, which is likewise for the most part, observed as the principle purpose behind the UN's inability to accomplish its definitive objective amid the Cold War,<sup>71</sup> indeed, many conflicts were caused by profound divisions between different states that had minimal direct association with the superpower division, for example, the divisions amongst India and Pakistan, Israel and its

neighboring states, and Iran and Iraq.<sup>72</sup> In some ways, these divisions were intensified because of the UN's advancement of the idea of state sovereignty. After the Cold War, there has been a decrease in the one-sided utilization of power by the United States outside of the United Nations. Since the incident of its own goals and those of the United Nations in the Iraq intrusion of Kuwait, the favorable position has been found in the United States of making the United Nations the focal point of remote strategy, Higgins contends that the vanishing of the old, antagonistic Soviet Union has made the Security Council a more agreeable condition.<sup>73</sup> There has been a significant common interest for peace and security matters among the United States, France and the United Kingdom, with much shared view likewise with the Russian Federation. China though uneasy, however does not feel firmly enough to veto.<sup>74</sup>

## **2.6 Achievements of the UN**

The United Nations has assumed a vital role in developments that have necessitated and quickened the requirement for cooperation among the state and non-state actors across the globe. Despite the fact that the reason for the UN was to anticipate wars did not so much appear, the UN has made a few commitments to decrease or contain clashes in different areas of the world. The U.N. has peacefully negotiated 172 peace settlements that have ended regional conflicts and is credited with participation in over 300 international treaties on topics as varied as human rights conventions to agreements on the use of outer space and the oceans.<sup>75</sup> The U.N. has been associated with each major war and international conflict since its origin and has filled in as an impetus for the counteractive action of others. It approved the worldwide alliances that battled in the Korean War (1950-53) and the Persian Gulf War (1991).<sup>76</sup> It aided in negotiations in the Arab-Israeli clash bringing about various peace accords and keeping the contention restricted to the Middle East. Amid the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, the U.N. was utilized as a platform by the United States to challenge the Soviet Union's position of nuclear missiles in Cuba. The containment strategy of the US was instrumental in constraining the Soviets to evacuate the missiles.<sup>77</sup>

U.N. military forces (provided by member states) have led more than 35 peacekeeping missions giving security and decreasing conflict situations. In 1988, the U.N. Peacekeeping Forces got the Nobel Prize for Peace.<sup>78</sup> The U.N. has also set up war crimes tribunals to try war criminals in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. The U.N. has additionally made awesome walks in raising the cognizance of human rights, starting with the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" embraced by the General Assembly in 1948. The U.N. Commission on Human Rights, through its supervision and specialized help with advancing free and fair elections has helped numerous nations in adopting democracy.<sup>79</sup>

The U.N.'s exceptional thoughtfulness regarding particular human rights abuses, helped to end politically-sanctioned racial segregation in South Africa. In its humanitarian efforts, more than 30 million refugees fleeing war, persecution, or famine have received aid from the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. The International Court of Justice has helped settle various global conflicts, including regional issues, hostage taking and treatments, as well as economic rights. Following the end of the Cold War, the U.N. has turned out to be progressively engaged in providing humanitarian assistance to states across the globe. Notwithstanding giving alleviation to compassionate emergencies caused by international conflicts, the U.N. can likewise react to crises caused by cataclysmic events, for example, floods, earthquakes and hurricanes.<sup>80</sup>

On a proactive level, the World Health Organization (WHO) and other U.N. affiliated bodies have dispensed with smallpox and are actively pursuing a battle against AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria around the world. The WHO played a significant role in diagnosing and containing the spread of severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) in 2003. U.N. programs, such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) have spared and enhanced the lives of the world's kids through vaccination programs for polio, tetanus, measles, whooping cough, diphtheria and tuberculosis. The lives of more than 3 million children yearly have been spared.<sup>81</sup>

Regardless of every one of these accomplishments, the UN today appreciates a few constraints in the execution of its commitments. Due to the differing and disruptive philosophies, societies, material interests and levels of advancement, there has been insufficient multilateral collaboration in addressing some global crisis.<sup>82</sup> With regards to peace and security for example, the UN has been hampered by serious proceeding with divisions, for example, the East-West, North-South, border and territorial disputes.<sup>83</sup> The UN is additionally constrained by her inability to enforce its decisions on states which do not conform to their wishes. It must be noted that some states have veto and can disengage themselves from whatever binding decision the General Assembly has taken. The UN, all things considered is completely subject to the altruism and support of its members to help its choices and urge others to go along also through campaigning and the utilization of other personal stakes.<sup>84</sup> As asserted by Basu, the greatest limitation of the UN was and will be state sovereignty and until the power of 'group will' ends up solid enough to hold up under the heaviness of more definitive decisions, the UN will keep on being insufficient.<sup>85</sup>

## **2.7 Conclusion**

The UN system, as discussed, presents a complex framework in its functioning. Although there are obligations of member states to commit to the organization, there are various levels of disconnect between the composition of its organs and its responsibilities and its unanimity. The next chapter focuses on Ghana as a member state of the UN. It examines the various national portfolios the country has occupied in the United Nations and its contribution to the international organization in myriad forms including peacekeeping missions. By so doing the study ascertains the veracity or otherwise of the responsibilities of Ghana as member state of the UN. Similarly, the Chapter examines whether Ghana in reciprocity also enjoys similar privileges as are expected in the UN.

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## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **ANALYSES OF THE PRIVILEGES AND OBLIGATIONS OF GHANA AS A MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS.**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Ghana through cooperation at the international level has contributed to several agenda of the UN since its admission into the organization on March 8, 1957. However, this particular Chapter analyzes the privileges or benefits Ghana gains as being a member of the UN. The analysis is guided by the theories of Neo-institutionalism and cooperation. The analysis also includes Ghana's obligations as a member of the UN, as well as challenges which bedevils Ghana in fulfilment of her obligations to the UN.

#### **3.2 Privileges or benefits Ghana gains as being a member of the UN**

The theories of Neo-institutionalism and cooperation could be utilized in explaining Ghana's rationale for joining the United Nations. Founding fathers of Ghana, including President Kwame Nkrumah, believed in the collective security arrangement of the international system. Collective security can be understood as a security arrangement at the political, regional or global levels. By this, each state in the system accepts that the security of one is the concern of all and therefore commits to a collective response to threats or breaches to peace.<sup>1</sup>

Collective security encompasses the totality of states within a region or indeed globally to address a wide range of possible threats. Therefore, utilizing the theories of neo-institutionalism and cooperation, it could be deduced that, Ghana's rationale for joining the UN stems from her willingness to cooperate with other nations towards addressing global challenges.

In addition, it shows Ghana's eagerness to restore and maintain the peaceful political climate she had enjoyed since independence in other parts of the world. More so, Ghana's aim of joining the UN stems from her seeming acceptance of a degree of vulnerability which could bedevil any state in the world, no matter how resourceful or militarily equipped that nation might be. Therefore, the desire of Ghana to join the UN has both national and foreign interest underpinnings. This is done to gain global reputation and also pave way for other countries to emulate especially, African countries. Paramount among the privileges and benefits Ghana gains as being a member of the UN are discussed below.

### **3.2.1 Sovereign Equality of the Statehood of Ghana in the International Community**

The fundamental target of international relations set up by the UN framework is to accomplish and advance universal peace and security. The UN Charter gives the lawful system and reason for which states relate with one another. The real principles of the UN framework is to renounce the utilization of force or threat as a mean for settling disputes among states. This implies there is much accentuation regarding the of power of states and non-obstruction in the internal or domestic issues of a state except if they present danger to global peace and security. The United Nations Charter seems to have provided the basis for both states and the United Nations (UN) itself to resort to pacific means in their conduct of international relations. Thus, Article 2 (4) of the UN Charter deal with States and Article 2 (7) deal with the United Nations.

Article 2 (4) of the UN Charter which outlines the main prohibition on the use of force or the threat thereof states:

“All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.”<sup>2</sup>

In addition, Article 2 (7) which outlines the Principle of Non-Intervention emphasizes the rule of non-interference by the United Nations in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of member states, except when the UN is acting in accordance with Charter 7 of the UN.

Article 2 (7) provides that:

“Nothing contained in this present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter.”<sup>3</sup>

Article 2 (3) provides that:

“All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered”. A clear-cut example is the Nicaragua Case in which the ICJ decided that the prohibition in Article 2(4) has become customary law and therefore, binding on non-UN member states.”<sup>4</sup>

Since Article 107, under Chapter XVII on “Traditional Security Arrangements” which allows for enforcement action against the enemy states of the Second World War is no longer relevant, the Charter provides for the two explicit exceptions to the prohibition of the use of force in international relations. The first is granted for the use of force is individual or collective self-defense in response to armed attack against a state. The second is where the use of force has been mandated by the UN Security Council to a breach of international peace or an act of aggression. However, this should be done bearing in mind Article 1(3) which emphasizes the respect and promotion of human rights.

Article 51 of the Charter provides as follows:

“Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security...”<sup>5</sup>

The above stipulations of respecting state sovereignty codified in the UN Charter contributes significantly to the reason why Ghana as a member of the UN had not experienced any external attack from others states through the use of force or threats. This

has contributed significantly to the long-lasting peace and stability which the country has enjoyed since the beginning of the Fourth Republic to date. In addition, the respect for Ghana's sovereignty by other states in the international community have gained the country the accolade of a 'Star Pupil' of peace and democracy in Sub-Saharan African since there have been avoidance of forceful intrusion by other states on the territorial boundaries or citizens of Ghana. In effect, Ghana's membership of the UN has abrogated the incidence of inter-state conflicts and wars between Ghana and other states in the international system due to the respect for sovereignty of states as enshrined in the UN Charter.

### **3.2.2 Development Assistance and Supports to Ghana**

Another benefit or privilege Ghana enjoys due to her membership of the UN, aside the abrogation of the incidence of inter-state conflicts, is that it enables her to pool resources together with other states for mutual benefits. This has helped Ghana for instance, gain technical and administrative competence that would not be possible on individual basis. Consequently, Ghana receives development assistance, ranging from all facets of life, including economic, political, education, health, socio-cultural, among others, from other member states of the UN. In addition, Ghana also receives development assistance and supports directly from the UN and its subsidiary bodies or organizations in the form of grants, loans and technical or expertise assistance. This had led to the establishment of the offices of most of the subsidiary bodies or organizations in Ghana to help garner efforts towards addressing global security and development challenges in Ghana. Paramount among these subsidiary organizations in Ghana include UNDP-Ghana, WHO-Ghana, IOM-Ghana, UNICEF-Ghana, among others. This has helped Ghana to also extend development assistance to other states in the West African sub-region since Ghana is one of the main pillars of ECOWAS.

### **3.2.3 Capacity Building**

In addition to the above, Ghana's membership of the UN which has necessitated several participations in the United Nations Peace Keeping Operations (UN PKOs) has made Ghana a become acquainted with the changing dynamics in international peacekeeping as well as respect for the rule of law in peacekeeping.<sup>6</sup> The security personnel and troops who represent in UN PKOs become greater assets to their country in terms of pioneering effective and new ideas towards ensuring the protection of the human and state securities of the home nation. The diversity of people and culture in UN PKOs, create a platform where military personnel are exposed to different languages, skills, knowledge and weaponry employed in peace-keeping operations.<sup>7</sup> This is because such missions enable military personnel to become competent in unfamiliar multicultural contexts. They also serve as a greater advantage to the home country or military institution in terms of capacity building.

The GAF has benefited immensely from capacity-building initiatives and training assistance programs such as the US African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) and African Contingency Operation Training and Assistance (ACOTA), France's Reinforcement of African Peacekeeping capabilities programme (RECAMP), and Canada's Military Training Assistance Programme (MTAP). Such collaborative training and assistance programs have also offered opportunities for the GAF to accumulate military equipment and technology by retaining the supplies provided by the UN and other donors.<sup>8</sup>

Additionally, the exposure of Ghanaian personnel, diplomats and expertise, especially, in other subsidiary bodies of the UN to new and difficult desert terrains like observed during the Ebola outbreak in West Africa is enhancing their professional and technical capabilities, which in the long run inures to benefit of the country if experiences they had in such terrains are utilized to addressing the challenges in Ghana when they return. This has impacted positively on their professional expertise and capabilities and enhanced the operational

performance of diplomats, military and security personnel as well as technocrats who work in any UN subsidiary organization both at home and abroad.<sup>9</sup>

### **3.2.4 Global Recognition or Good Global Image**

Since the 1960 Congo crisis erupted, Ghana has been one of the longest serving global nations involved in UN Peacekeeping operations. Contributing troops to peacekeeping has been regularized as a constant aspect of our foreign policy and this was evident at the 66<sup>th</sup> UN General Assembly Meeting where President John Evans Atta Mills, like all his predecessors, pledged Ghana's continued support for UN Peacekeeping Operations. This act by the President is supported by the assertion made by Forman & Segaar that, several countries now use UN PKOs as an opportunity to advance their foreign and economic policy agendas and to raise their global profile.<sup>10</sup>

The Ghana Armed forces had predominantly participated in peacekeeping offers in the interest of the country to exert its influence in world affairs and enhance its image and prestige in the international system. The Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) has deployed several troops and officials to most UN PKOs across the world. These include serving in the Congo, Lebanon, Cambodia, Kosovo, Bosnia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Rwanda, Sudan, Somalia, Mali and many other countries where there has been a need for UN peacekeepers.

The UN PKOs have made some personnel of GAF achieve and occupy enviable positions in terms of peacekeeping on the international scale. Reference could be made to Major General Delali Sakyi who became the Chief of Intelligence in UNMISS in 2013. Also, UNFIL's first Commander was Lieutenant General Emmanuel Erskine, who is personnel of the GAF.

Aside peacekeeping, Ghana in the diplomatic arena on the international level had also made significant strides which had led to Ghanaians occupying some enviable positions in the UN

or its subsidiary organizations. Reference could be made to Mr. Kofi Annan, the immediate past Secretary General of the UN who just passed away on August 8, 2018. He contributed significantly to addressing major security and development threats which bedeviled the international community during his tenure, especially the Syrian crisis, thereby helping to project the image of Ghana on the international scene. President Kuffour after his second term in 2008, was also appointed a Co-Panel Head of the World Food Programme of the UN, helping to address the global food shortage and extreme hunger situations in some parts of the world. This position also gave some international publicity to Ghana to draw attention of the outside world to the country and if possible, desire to visit the country someday.

### **3.2.5 Enjoys Peaceful Resolution or Settlement of International Disputes**

Since Ghana is a member of the UN, it also means she is a signatory to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) which is the primary judicial organ and ensures that disputes between and among member states of the UN are addressed amicably through peaceful resolutions and mechanisms. Without such a system of the UN, effective cooperation between member states would have been difficult to achieve in instances where disputes ensue between or among member states. In more recent times, Ghana enjoyed a peaceful resolution through the intervention of the International Tribunal on the Law of the Sea (ITLOS); a subsidiary of the ICJ, when she was challenged by the Ivorian Government, on 3 December 2014, of her maritime territorial boundaries which contain the oil reserves in the Cape Three Point region.<sup>11</sup> Tensions arose between the two states which could have escalated into a war, but for the timely intervention of the ITLOS, which ruled in favour of Ghana. Without Ghana being a member of the UN, such peaceful resolution would have eluded the country and could have plunged the country into instability and also denied the nation of the valuable oil resource reserve in the area.

### **3.3 Ghana's obligations as a member state of the UN**

The United Nations, like all other international organizations has stipulated mandates enshrined in the Charter which requires all member states to perform key obligations towards the achievements of the core goals of the organization. However, the complexities of global crises, coupled with capabilities and influence of states in the international system determine the extent to which states are obliged to perform certain duties in achieving the overall goal of global peace and security, as well as promoting international development, which are the core mandates of the UN. There are however general obligations which all member states of the UN perform as a result of their membership of the organization. This notwithstanding, the obligations of Ghana as a member of the UN have been political, diplomatic, military, economic and socio-cultural. Paramount among the key obligations are discussed in the following sections.

#### **3.3.1 Ghana's Political/Representative obligation as a member of the UN**

As a member of the UN, Ghana as a state automatically forms part of the General Assembly of the UN. Since the General Assembly is the legislative body of the UN, it bestows on Ghana a political obligation to represent in the form of the Head of State or the Vice President in exceptional cases, during every General Assembly meetings or conferences of the UN, where necessary. This usually takes place on every Third Tuesday of September in every year at the headquarters of the United Nations at New York in the United States. In this regard, Ghana through cooperation with other states at the international level has contributed to discussions and deliberations on matters of global political importance since August 8, 1957, after its admission into the organization. Ghana has offered submissions on topical geo-political issues geared towards solutions to addressing global security threats, promoting international development and enhancing international cooperation.

In addition to the above, Ghana in its representation at the General Assembly have helped in designating the non-permanent members to the Security Council, directing the budget plans of the UN, voting to elect the UN Secretary General to oversee the affairs of the organization. More so, as a result of Ghana's obligation to the UN, she presents reports at every General Assembly, on how to address global security and development crises occurring at various parts of the world, and also make plausible proposals or recommendations to the General Assembly. Aside the General Assembly, Ghana also has the obligation to represent at all meetings or conferences of the subsidiary bodies of the United Nations, which she is a member of, such as the World Health Organization, among others.

### **3.3.2 Ghana's obligation of contributing to Peacekeeping Operations as a member of the UN**

The main rationale for the formation of the UN is to prevent future generations from the scourge of World Wars which once bedeviled the international system. Consequently, member states of the UN are obliged to contribute troops for restoring peace and stability in conflict-stricken areas or war-torn zones across the world. Ghana as member of the UN has contributed significantly to peacekeeping operations since 1960 as an obligation to the organization.

The GAF has participated in UN-sponsored peacekeeping operations in three main regions of the world. These are Africa, the Middle East and the Far East.<sup>12</sup> Ghana's participation in UN's PKOs within Europe has been significantly to the Balkans including the Kosovo war from 1998 to 1999. While both armed contingents and experts of missions (United Nations Military Observers and Staff Officers) have been involved, the focus of this discussion is only on armed contingents.

In Africa, Ghana has contributed troops to the principal UN Operation in the Democratic Republic of Congo (ONUC) from 1960-1964,<sup>13</sup> the UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) from 1993-1996,<sup>14</sup> the UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) from 2000-2005,<sup>15</sup> the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (ONUCI) from 2004 - 2014,<sup>16</sup> the UN Mission in Chad and Central African Republic (MINURCAT) from 2009-2010,<sup>17</sup> and the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) since 2004.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, Ghana has troops presented to the second UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) which has since been changed into the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Congo (MONUSCO) since 2003 to date,<sup>19</sup> the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) from 2011 to date.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, Ghana sent 128 troops to the UN Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) since 2013 to date.<sup>21</sup>

In the Middle East, Ghana added to the second UN Emergency Force in the Sinai, Egypt (UNEF II) from 1973-1979 and the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) from 1979 to date.<sup>22</sup> In the Far East, Ghana has contributed troops to the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) between 1991 and 1993.<sup>23</sup>

### **3.3.3 Ghana's obligation of contributing in promoting international development as a member of the UN**

Out of the sixteen (16) countries who are members of ECOWAS, only four (4) namely Ghana, Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire and Senegal are considered developing countries, the rest are all considered least developed countries.<sup>24</sup> Consequently, Ghana is one of the major member states of the UN from the West African sub-region who has made significant strides in fulfilment of her obligations to promoting international development across the world. This has been achieved through Ghana's efforts to help address other national and human security threats aside conflicts which bedevil other UN member states, including pandemics, natural disasters such as earthquakes, famine, among others.

For instance, Ghana on the 30th August, 2014, concurred for the UN to utilize Accra as the base (Headquarters) for the UNMEER for transporting restorative and medical supplies to nations affected by the Ebola outbreak in West Africa.<sup>25</sup> President Mahama, in his ability as (Chairman of ECOWAS), made an enthusiastic call on the international community during the UN General Assembly (on 25 September 2014) to increase contributions and commitment to diminish the furious Ebola infection which was asserting a great number of lives and causing economic decimation; in the affected nations as well as the West African sub-region as a whole.<sup>26</sup> Ghana additionally allowed or acknowledged to the testing of the Ebola vaccines (i.e. the Chad3-ZEBOV antibody fabricated by GlaxoSmithkline Biologicals and Ad26.ZEBOV + MVA-BN-filo made by Johnson and Johnson Pharmaceutical) in Kintampo and Hohoe following the testing of these immunizations in different nations, for example, Switzerland, the UK, Germany, the US, Gabon and Mali.<sup>27</sup> Also, Ghana sent 42 health specialists and volunteers to Ebola stricken nations to help in the battle against the fatal viral infection.<sup>28</sup>

Similar to the above, Ghana under the leadership of President Atta Mills, made a US\$3M donation to the people of Haiti during the 2010 humanitarian crisis in the country.<sup>29</sup> Also, Ghana provide some disaster relief support and assistance to Sierra Leone during the 2017 major Mudslides in the country which claimed some lives.<sup>30</sup> Ghana for a long time has also been a home for refugees particularly from Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cote d' Ivoire.

### **3.3.4 Ghana's obligation of ratifying and abiding to Conventions, statutory, Treaties and International Law as a member of the UN**

Effective international cooperation would not have been possible without the existence of UN treaties, conventions, statutes and international law. To moderate international cooperation among member states of the UN, there has been the passage of conventions, treaties and international laws to curtail the extent to which some powerful states in the

international system may bully less powerful states in their relations or cooperation. Examples include the Genocide Convention of 1948, the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1949 Geneva Convention, the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, among others. Since Ghana is a member of the UN, it behooves on her to ratify all UN's conventions, treaties, statutory and international law which Ghana is a signatory to, so as to align the national laws of the country with international standards. This has been made evident in the implementation of policies and laws to align with the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which was adopted by the UN in 2000 to promote global development agenda, and the subsequent Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted by the UN in 2015, in furtherance of the MDGs to achieve similar global development agenda.

### **3.3.5 Ghana's obligation to pay her dues as a member of the UN**

The United Nations like all other international organizations thrives on the financial contributions in the form of dues from its members to be able to meet its budget every year. Without such financial contributions, the UN will be incapacitated in its agenda of promoting global peace and security, as well as international development. Peacekeeping for instance, is a very expensive business which requires much financial support to be able to provide a comfortable atmosphere for troops contributed by various member states sent to restore peace and stability in war-torn areas or conflict-stricken zones. It is in this vein that the UN through the Secretary General makes a passionate plea to member states to pay membership dues as it runs out of cash.<sup>31</sup> In his message to member states, António Guterres (the current Secretary-General of the United Nations) exclaimed that:

*“I have appealed to member states to pay their assessments on time and in full, and highlighted the risk the current situation poses to the delivery of mandates and to the reputation of our organization. For our part, we will need to take measures to reduce expenses, with a focus on non-staff costs”*<sup>32</sup> Stephane Dujarric, Guterres’

spokesman also revealed that as at July, 27, 2018, only 112 out of the 193 UN member states had paid their dues so far.

In view of the above, Ghana has an obligation to pay her annual dues to the United Nations. This will enable the organization accumulate funds in addition to support from other members states to meet its annual budget and achieve its prime objectives of promoting international peace and security, as well as international development. Without such financial contributions of member states, the goal of the UN will just be a mirage.

### **3.4 Challenges which bedevils Ghana in fulfilment of her obligations to the UN**

There are several reasons why Ghana has shown lack of commitment or political will to fully fulfil some of her obligations to the UN as expected of all member states of the organization. Paramount among the reasons includes the following;

#### **3.4.1 Conflicting National Interests**

The Government of Ghana sometimes has shown little willingness to subordinate domestic political and economic interests to the collective interests of the UN with long-term international goals.<sup>33</sup> Although members of the UN are supposed to have the same objectives and ideas in achieving global peace and security, as well as international development, most of them have their own ideology on how things should be run. This makes it difficult for the UN to effectively achieve their goals. For example, Ghana may pursue an agenda that will favor or promote her national interests at the expense of collective interest of the UN. This is one of the main reasons which has militated against the full fulfilment of the obligations of Ghana to the UN.

#### **3.4.2 External Influence of Powerful States on Less Powerful Member States**

Most states in the UN especially the Franco-phone states, still have their umbilical cords tied to their Colonial Masters, specifically France. As a result, most of these states are most often than not committed to the dictates and directions of their colonial master at the expense

of maximum commitment to the UN. In a same similar vein, Ghana sometimes experiences impositions and influence from the UK, her colonial master which sometimes influences the stance and voting of Ghana on certain topical international issues or motion under deliberation in the UN. This is because, Ghana sometimes receives threats from the UK and other powerful states to cut development supports and assistance to Ghana in instances where Ghana tries to aberrate from the stance of the UK or allies of the UK. Typical example is the imposition by the US, UK and Australia for Ghana to legalize gay rights as a way of achieving the objectives of the Protocol of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and also as a way to continue receiving development assistance and supports from those states.

### **3.4.3 Institutional Proliferation of Many Integration Groupings**

Another politically sensitive obstacle confronting Ghana's commitment to her obligations to the UN is the proliferation of many economic groupings with overlapping membership operation and responsibilities. This is known as the "spaghetti bowl" phenomenon. There are different layers of membership of these economic groupings. In the first place, almost all African countries, including Ghana, are members of the regional group the African Union (AU). Secondly all African countries are members of one or more sub regional integration groupings. In the West Africa sub region, Ghana belongs to the Economic Community of Western African States (ECOWAS). Therefore, the commitments of Ghana to fulfilling her obligations as a member of the UN has been undermined by the proliferation of these rival or parallel economic groupings. This challenge poses additional financial burden on Ghana that have to pay more than once to these groupings, her financial contributions. Besides, the multiplicity of memberships delays the implementation schedules of protocols and ratification procedures.

#### **3.4.4 Economic Difficulties Coupled with Insufficient Economic Power to Embark on Development Agenda**

Past pursuit of import substitution policies led to the establishment of inefficient domestic industries protected by high tariffs. Shedding the vestiges of this legacy has proven to be difficult. Ghana relies heavily on tariff revenue to fund government budgets. Collection of revenue from other domestic sources has proven to be difficult both administratively and politically. Ghana has suffered from severe macroeconomic disequilibria, foreign debt service burdens, over-valued currencies, lack of trade finance and a narrow tax base, with customs duties a substantial source of revenue. Out of the 15 countries which are members of ECOWAS, only 4 namely Ghana, Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire and Senegal are considered developing countries, the rest are all considered least developed countries.<sup>34</sup> The lack of adequate financial resources is another major challenge hindering commitment to the UN by Ghana. Ghana is most at times simply unable to honour her financial obligations to the UN. This poses great financial burdens whilst the immediate benefits or privileges of being a member of the UN are not available in the short term.

#### **3.4.5 Non- Representation as a Permanent Member of the UN Security Council**

Ghana is not a permanent member of the UN Security Council. This means the major role Ghana can play to contribute to decision making processes in the UN will be through the General Assembly. Since the decision taken by the General Assembly is not binding on member states but only recommendatory or suggestive in nature, it means Ghana as a nation has little impact or influence with regards to decision making by the UN on geo-political and geo-economic issues affecting the international system. Therefore, if Ghana has a posture or positions on a topical global issue different from the views of the permanent members of the Security Council, Ghana may not be in the better position to influence the decision of the UN since she has little geo-political power or influence in the UN in terms

of decision making as compared to the Five main permanent members of the UN including the US, the UK, Russia, China and France.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

The quest for international cooperation among the member states of the UN cannot be allowed to be derailed if the organization wishes to globalize on more favorable terms than it is currently enduring. The success of the UN as a neo-institution (international organization) depends on the commitment and efforts of the individual States. However, the stability of the domestic environments within the individual states constitutes a very significant precursor to the success of their commitments to the obligations of the UN. These notwithstanding, Ghana as a member of the UN enjoys some privileges including sovereignty, development assistance and supports, capacity building, global recognition and good image and peaceful resolution of international disputes.

To continue enjoying these privileges as a member of the UN, there are some key obligations which behooves on Ghana to perform including political representation, troop contribution to peacekeeping operations, contribution to international development, abiding and ratification of the UN's Conventions, Statutes, Treaties and International law, and also paying of annual dues to the accomplishment of the mandates of the organization. Nevertheless, there are some challenges which bedevils Ghana in full fulfilment of her obligations to the UN. Paramount among these challenges include conflicting national interests, institutional proliferation of many integration groups, external influence of powerful states, economic difficulties and non-representation as a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

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## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

The study was carried out within the theoretical frameworks of Neo-institutionalism and Cooperation. The theories were selected amidst other theories and concepts for this study because they are strong in explaining the reasons why Ghana would want to join an international organization such as the United Nations and how Ghana cooperates with states at the international level through the UN systems and structures and promoting global peace and security, as well as international development.

The theory of Cooperation was particular suitable for explaining and understanding that there are some security and development challenges and threats which bedevil the international community and cannot be single handily tackled or addressed by only one state, and therefore necessitate cooperation between and among states at the international level to help tackle such global crises. It is in this vein that Ghana opted to join the United Nations on August 8, 1957 to promote international cooperation with other states in addressing global security and development challenges. Therefore, utilizing the theories of Neo-institutionalism and cooperation, it could be deduced that, Ghana's rationale for joining the UN stems from her willingness to cooperate with other nations towards addressing global challenges.

Though there are several international organizations which Ghana is a member of, the scope of this particular study limits itself to membership of Ghana in the United Nations. Towards this end, the objectives of the study included an examination of the mandate of the United Nations; to examine the privileges and obligations of Ghana as a member of the United

Nations; and finally, to ascertain the challenges Ghana encounters in the performance of its obligations in the UN.

#### **4.2 Summary of Research Findings**

The following findings were derived from the study based on data gathered from literature reviews of secondary data in relation to the statement of the problem, research questions and objectives of the study.

- ❖ The study identified that Ghana joined the United Nations, three months after gaining independence, precisely on August 8, 1957. The United Nations has been a huge conglomerate of nation states to bolster human and economic development in the world. The coming together of nation states for a common course has been an extremely instrumental movement to the survival, development and improvement of these states. On the international front, the main rationale which motivated the formation of alliances or coming together of states has been for the promotion of peace.
- ❖ It was also revealed from the study that Ghana's rationale for joining the UN stems from her willingness to cooperate with other nations towards addressing global challenges.
- ❖ In addition, the study showed that Ghana's membership to the UN shows her eagerness to restore and maintain the peaceful political climate she had enjoyed since independence in other parts of the world.
- ❖ More so, the study unraveled that Ghana's aim of joining the UN stems from her seeming acceptance of a degree of vulnerability which could bedevil any state in the world, no matter how resourceful or militarily equipped that nation might be. Therefore, the desire of Ghana to join the UN has both national and foreign interest

- underpinnings. This is done to gain global reputation and also pave way for other countries to emulate especially, African countries.
- ❖ The study revealed that Ghana as a member of the UN enjoys some privileges including sovereignty, development assistance and supports, capacity building, global recognition and good image and peaceful resolution of international disputes.
  - ❖ The study showed that to continue enjoying these privileges as a member of the UN, there are some key obligations which behooves on Ghana to perform including political representation, troop contribution to peacekeeping operations, contribution to international development, abiding and ratification of the UN's Conventions, Statutes, Treaties and International law, and also paying of annual dues to the accomplishment of the mandates of the organization.
  - ❖ Also, the study showed that there are some challenges which bedevils Ghana in full fulfilment of her obligations to the UN. Paramount among these challenges include conflicting national interests, institutional proliferation of many integration groups, external influence of powerful states, economic difficulties and non-representation as a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

### **4.3 Contribution of the Study to Theory, Policy Making and Practice**

#### **4.3.1 Contribution to Theory**

This study contributes to theory by revealing how the theory of cooperation could be utilized in explaining privileges and obligations of Ghana as a member of the United Nations from a Neo-institutionalism perspective or approach. It appears to be one of the few studies to have utilize the theories of Cooperation and Neo-institutionalism to show the relational order that could be maintained the by state (specifically Ghana) and an international organization, precisely the United Nations to ensure effective synergy in addressing global security and development challenges and threats. The theoretical application to this study is

very essential because it helps in understanding the threats, efforts and challenges of addressing small arms proliferation in Ghana. It also helps in explaining how the geopolitical environment will instigate a state from the developing world to be willing to join an international organization in addressing global security and development threats and challenges.

#### **4.3.2 Implications for Research, Practice and Policy**

Most studies on Ghana's membership of an international organization have, to a larger extent, focused predominantly on the benefits or privileges Ghana derives from being a member to such international organizations. Little exist in relation to the topic from a Neo-institutionalism and Cooperation perspectives, on the obligations of Ghana to international organization, precisely the United Nations and the challenges which bedevils Ghana in her fulfilment of her obligations to such international organizations. By dealing extensively on the topic from a Neo-institutionalism perspective, this study calls for several scholarships to broaden the scope of study on the topic to look into the partnerships, negotiations, awareness and campaigns as well as budgetary allocations for implementation and management of addressing global security and development threats by international organization, with particular reference to the United Nation.

This study also offers a number of practical implications for states who are member of international organization institutions in charge of addressing global security and development threats. The implications include: (1) countries who wish to implement policies towards addressing the global security menace could rely on the obligations performed by Ghana perform to the United Nations to deal with the security and development threats in their initial stages before escalating to become a threat to international peace and security which difficult and challenging to address.

In terms of policy implications, the study calls for the need for governments in developing countries, particularly states in West Africa, to promote clearly defined regulatory frameworks on how to synchronize national policies laws and policies with international standards conducive to addressing security and development challenges in their countries.

#### **4.4 Conclusions**

Following the findings obtained from the study, the researcher reached the following conclusions:

- ❖ Based on evidence from this study, it is concluded that Ghana has contributed enormously towards ensuring global peace and security, as well as international development, due to its membership to the United since August 8, 1957 to date.
- ❖ It is also concluded based on findings from the study that, the future of Ghana as a member of the United Nations could be brighter if effective and proactive measures could be taken to manage the challenges, she faces in fulfilling her obligations to the international organization, to take full advantage of the privileges as indicated in this study.
- ❖ Based on facts discussed in the study, it is concluded that there are great prospects for Ghanaian diplomats and technocrats who wish to work with international organizations such as the United Nations considering the global image and impact the late Kofi Annan and Former President John Agyekum Kuffuour created with regards to their services to the United Nations in addressing global security and development threats and challenges in the international system.
- ❖ The study also concluded that Ghana's contribution to UN PKOs since 1960 has largely contributed in consolidating the peace and democracy enjoyed in the country. This is due to experiences gained by personnel of the GAF in ensuring the protection

of citizens and the territorial boundaries of the countries with the help of the Ghana Police Service.

- ❖ Based on the above findings of the study, it is concluded that Ghana's membership of the United Nations has been beneficial to her development and the promotion of international peace and security.

#### **4.5 Recommendations**

Lessons should be learnt from this study towards proposing some recommendations to address some of the challenges encountered by Ghana in fulfilment of her obligations to the United Nations

- ❖ Some African states still have ties with colonial masters (such as Ghana and the United Kingdom). However, this study recommends that states, particularly African countries like Ghana should try as much as possible not to let the dictates and directions of these colonial masters interfere with the collective goals and objectives of the United Nations when it comes to decision making or voting processes on very sensitive or topical issues of geo-political relevance.
- ❖ Also, it is recommended based on findings from the study that states, including Ghana, should portray willingness to subordinate domestic political and economic interests (national interests) to the collective interests of the United Nations with long-term global development and security goals. This will help them show full and total commitment and political will towards the realizations of the goals and objectives of the international organization to which they belong.
- ❖ There should be enhanced cooperation between states in the United Nations to embrace multi-dimensional concepts and mechanisms in addressing global security challenges and threats. This is due to the changing dynamics of security threats

which bedevils the international community in this 21<sup>st</sup> century including terrorism, cyber fraud, money laundering piracy, among others.

- ❖ Since Ghana has been one of the major contributors to the United Nations' Peacekeeping operations, the study recommends that there is the need to build capacity and develop innovative response towards adhering to new challenges that comes with changing patterns of peacekeeping operations in the UN.
- ❖ The study also recommends that Ghana should continue to fulfil its obligations to the United Nations so as to maintain the global image of the country on the international level and also provide great prospects to Ghanaians to work with international organizations such as the United Nations and make much global impact in tackling international security and development threats and challenges.
- ❖ It is also recommended that Ghana should take effective and proactive measures to manage the challenges she faces in fulfilling her obligations to the international organizations such as the United Nations, to take full advantage of the privileges which comes with being a member of such organizations as indicated in this study.
- ❖ Last but not the least, the study posits that, since the focus of the study was to examine the privileges and obligations of Ghana as a member of the United Nations, future studies could focus on the topic with respect to other international organizations such the World Health Organization, the World Bank, UNICEF, IOM, among others.

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