Nigeria and Peace Support Operations: Issues and prospects

By

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Abstract
Nigeria has been a key participant in conflict management and conflict resolution in Africa and beyond since 1960. Her obligation to global security and peace keeping has established fact that it is a giant of Africa. This is predicated on the role she played under the auspices of ECOMOG operations in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Mali and Sudan. The paper examines Nigeria role in peacekeeping operations, issues and prospects. And it also analyzes the major component of peace engagement and peace support operation in Africa. Data for this paper were drawn from secondary source, mainly from the library. Historical-descriptive was also analyzing via content analysis on the philosophical analysis of prevailing developments in the global peace support operations. The study adopted theory of integration, which attempts to explain why states choose to cooperate in order to enter into agreement with each other to function as a whole. This paper finds that the social and economic inclusion of the aggrieved parties were not hired in Africa therefore, threaten the peace and security of continent. The paper recommended that Nigeria should not only be interested in sustaining governments in power but should also device means of making the ruling governments to hired social and economic inclusion aggrieved rebels to meet their genuine demands.

Keywords: Global Peace Support Operations

Introduction
Since 1945 the interest of the world has been focused on how to ensure global peace, through effective management of international crisis. Despite the profound changes in the international system in the past decades, the central focus of the world powers has proved remarkably tough towards negotiation, mediation, conciliation by the United Nations, and regional bodies peacekeeping (Jackson, 2001). This has necessitated the formation of the U.N with global peace support and prevention of conflicts as its top agenda as viz

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 peace, and to bring 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 (Article 1.1 the U.N Charter).
That means peace support operations are fundamental mechanism, developed by the United Nations to enclose and control armed conflicts and to facilitate their resolution by peaceful means (Onoja, 1998).

In the past decades peace has become too scarce to find within the African continent as a result of its fragile system. Perennial conflicts in Africa have aroused the launching of more peace support operations in the continent than in any other. Moreover, inasmuch as the various U.N missions in Africa have recorded some levels of successes, the organization has also suffered most serious failures in Africa, particularly in Rwanda and Somalia. These setbacks suffered in Rwanda, Somalia and other war-torn countries like Yugoslavia (Neethling, 2000) have also aroused the involvement and willingness of Africans to affirm their authority and assume responsibility for continental peace and security (Landsberg, 2000). This has been made possible, because the U.N Charter in its article 52 permits states to form regional and sub-regional organizations for dealing with matters of peace and security within the member states. Hence the appearance of sub-regional groups in Africa, especially ECOWAS in various peace support initiatives in African continent. These are outside or complimentary to the peace initiatives of the regional body, A.U, and the U.N.

Nigeria as a great and influential African state has been aggressively involved in all peace support operations within the African continent and others outside, either under the sponsorship of United Nations or the African Union or Nigeria itself. This has been based on the general awareness of Nigerian political leaders that such fearless involvement in international peace support operations will give Nigeria more international recognition and influence. This power is focused on Nigeria is role in global peace support operations in Africa.

Nigeria has been a major participant in conflict management, conflict resolution, peacekeeping and peace-building, and humanitarian support across the world since independence in 1960. She was architect and pioneer of regional peace keeping operations through the ECOWAS, whose peacekeeping efforts in military actions were propelled by Nigeria as lead nation in the sub-region (Chambas; 2004). The national commitment to global peace, which rose to an unprecedented level with the leadership role of the nation in the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) operations in Liberia and subsequently in Sierra Leone and other West African states, incurring great costs and losses in the process, has become a kind of key national strategy for global engagement which successive leaderships in the country see as defining in several respects, the nation’s place in global politics.

Peacekeeping, a subject of the Charter of the UN, was invented after the Second World War for intervention in interstate conflicts by deployment of troops to monitor and ensure maintenance of ceasefire (Adeniji; 2004). Peacekeeping operations, despite their inadequacies, have thus contributed immensely to the standard of relative peace which is enjoyed all over the world despite the many conflict situations that continue to bedevil humanity. There are therefore continuing demand and pressure on the country to participate in more and more peace support operations across the world, particularly in the many sensitive and complex internal political crises of many countries on the continent. And even though there are many compelling demands on national human and material resources domestically, the leadership always feels obliged to continue to invest in peace.
support interventions when an occasion for such arise.

However, with a half a century of experience for Nigeria in global peacekeeping efforts, and the experiences gathered over the decades, and with the very dramatic changes in world politics, it is argued in this paper that there is need for a review of the role of peacekeeping and peace support operations in the nation’s interaction with the world in such a manner that would reduce the material and human costs associated with it.

**Nigeria in Global Peace Support Operations**

Nigeria’s contribution in global conflict resolution through peacekeeping has become a key feature of the nation’s foreign policy. The nation’s involvement is indeed quite extensive and impressive having participated in almost all UN peacekeeping operations in Africa and the major ones across the world. These efforts cover all the various aspects of conflict management and resolution.

At the same time, the nature of the new conflicts, the proliferation of intra-state conflicts, also meant that regional organizations would have to play more role in peacekeeping and conflict resolution. In all these developments, Nigeria has played very active role, providing necessary leadership to move the regional and sub-regional bodies on the continent to action.

Such a consistent participation in global peace support operation could only emanate from a national philosophy that sees it as a key aspect of national interest. Many of these conflicts are so multifaceted, that deep knowledge and political, diplomatic and military capabilities are required to make a success of any intervention in them. Of course such interventions impose huge costs on the nation even when authorized by the UN, the African Union (AU) or the ECOWAS.

It is on record that the expenses incurred by Nigeria in the African Union sponsored operations, like Chad Peacekeeping operations or the ECOMOG operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone, have never been refunded (Dowar0,2000). So Nigeria had to carry the burden of financing those operations at great cost to the nation.

At the dawn of the Fourth Republic, President Olusegun Obasanjo, having reviewed the cost of the operations and their overall impact on the military and the economy declared that henceforth, Nigeria was going to be more selective in the peace support operations she would participate in. He was actually going to withdraw from the Sierra Leone operations. However, as a result of pressure from the international community and several critical voices from within the country, the nation did not withdraw from Sierra Leone and had to continue to participate only this time under UN sponsorship. There are reasons for this.

The peacekeeping role in Chad which Nigeria undertook under the auspices of the AU, the country spent about $82m with was never refunded. Nigeria’s contribution to the ECOMOG peacekeeping operation in Liberia and Sierra Leone gulped over $10 billion naira (Oni, 2002). The creation of an appropriate institutional framework for managing conflict in Africa was paramount to Nigeria’s engagement in peace and security on the continent and in the world. This has seen Nigeria playing active role in the ECOWAS to set up ECOMOG and create the Mechanism for Conflict Management and Resolution in 2001 and the transformation of the OAU to AU, and the creation of the 5member Peace and Security Council for the body.
Peace and Security in Nigerian Foreign Policy

The core principles of Nigerian foreign policy suggest strong commitment, of successive Nigerian leaderships to international peace and security. These core principles, as enunciated in Section 19 of the 1999 Constitution include:

- The creation of necessary political conditions in Africa and the rest of the world for the preservation of the technical integrity and security of all African countries;
- The promotion of equality and self-reliance in Africa and other developing parts of the world;
- The promotion and defense of justice and respect for human dignity, especially the dignity of the Blackman;
- The defense and promotion of world peace.

In addition, there are clear indications of the depth of commitment of successive Nigerian leaderships to this role and the self-prescribed responsibility to champion the progress and development of Africa and the black race. There is a self-righteous feeling among successive governments about the nation’s achievements in this self-appointed role.

Peace and security are ultimate desires, which every government pledges to fulfill for the survival of the state and for the citizens. For states to achieve this some of them have traveled the realist road, sought military and other capabilities required for domination and hegemony because, to protect and safeguard the nation, from both internal subversion and external aggression, strong military capability was required. Some other states have adopted a cooperative and collective security framework believing that their security would not be achieved in isolation from the security of all other members of the international community. This is actually the direction the world is moving presently. However, at the same time, a nation’s security been redefined to include the broad range of values. As the UNDP argued:

This is why security is increasingly seen as development, justice and fairness, good governance. It is why security is now more appropriately referred to and called human security. Accordingly, any nation that pursues peace and security either in domestic or external affairs without due concern for the welfare of the people is bound to fail.

As has been observed, peace and security operations of the international system have always been a major problem to the international community. It acquired a new significance after the Second World War,
when the concern for peace and security led to the formation of the United Nations with a mandate to safe future generations the agonies of war. Understandably, globally, peace and security considerations have always been paramount issues and have dominated every aspect of national and international discourse. International organizations, like the United Nations and regional and sub-regional bodies, in their complex variations, are equally involved in critical dimensions in the management of peace and security.

Since the end of the Second World War, the global community has been driven by the need to maintain peace and security at all cost. Even as the world broke into two ideological camps in the aftermath of the Second World War, with the formation of two war machines – Warsaw Pact (for the Socialist bloc) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (for the capitalist bloc) and the resultant development of the Cold War and the armed race, humanity, through the UN still held on tenaciously to the ideals of promoting peace and security, introducing the peacekeeping mechanism as a practical way of reducing and resolving conflict.

Nigeria’s approach to peace and security is underlined by the belief that Nigeria’s national interest lies in a conflict-free and rapidly developing Africa. Nigeria can neither be prosperous or secure, if it is surrounded by weak, poor and vulnerable states. It is therefore appropriate that Nigeria’s definition of peace and security and her defining role in maintaining global peace and security is in consonance with the systemic objectives and purpose of global peace and security (Olusegun, 2000: 95-103). Accordingly, Nigeria has therefore found it quite appealing to contribute effectively to peacekeeping and peace support activities.

Historical overview of Nigeria’s contributions to Peace Peacekeeping Operations

Immediately after independence, Nigeria was introduced into global politics when the UN asked the country to supply and set out a contingent of its national troops to the Congo for peacekeeping under the United Nations auspices of United Nations Operations in the Congo. This appeal provided the first uniquesign that Nigeria was expected to assume animportant role in African affairs. In that operation, Nigeria did not join other radical African states who withdrew their troops after the Congolese Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba, was murdered. Nigerian troops served in the Congo operations from 1960 to the end of the operations in 1964 with Nigeria’s Major General J.T.U Aguiyi-Ironsi finally becoming the overall commanding officer of the UNOC forces throughout the last six months (Chinade, 2005:4).

A major peacekeeping operation undertaken by Nigeria was in Chad during the civil war which began in that country in the mid-1970s. Chad's worried about its neighbors, particularly Nigeria, did not want instability on their borders or refugees on their soil and so Nigeria helped to broker a peace settlement, hosting the Lagos and Kano Peace Accords in 1979 and 1982 respectively. In 1981, she contributed soldiers to an OAU peacekeeping force including Zairean forces, commanded by Nigeria’s Major General J. Ejiga and with the logistic support of the US, France and the UK (Mays, 2003).

Again, with the unwillingness of the United Nations and the International Community to interfere in the Liberian crisis, Nigeria had to move ECOWAS to raise a 3,000 strong ceasefire monitoring force from Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, Sierra Leone and the
Gambia to intervene in the Liberian conflict. The force, later known as the ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), established in 1990, was able, after several years of efforts, to pave way for the elections of July 1997 which restored democratic governance under Charles Taylor. This was a very great trouble for the country, which according to General Sani Abacha was carrying 90% of the cost of running ECOMOG in Liberia (Salui, 2006:1).

The critical role of Nigeria in Liberia also brought Nigeria into the Sierra Leonian conflict, when the legitimate government of Ahmed Tejan Kabbah was overthrown by soldiers thus leading to the collapse of civil rule and the outbreak of anarchy and civil war with rebels running over the entire country. Again Nigeria’s leadership role in the ECOWAS intervention and peacekeeping efforts restored Tejan Kabbah to office and led to the restoration of peace under a 1998 UN mandated peacekeeping and peace-enforcement operation in Sierra Leone (UNISIL).

In spite of the successes achieved in Liberia, a two battalion Nigerian military contingent in Liberia serving with the ECOWAS Mission in Liberia (ECOMIL) later merged with the UN Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL). Major General Luka Yusuf, leader of the Nigerian contingent to UNOMIL was released to serve as the Chief of Army Staff in Liberia. Nigeria has also been involved in efforts to restore peace in the larger Mano River Union countries of Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone that have suffered serious political stresses in the past few decades.


Nigeria was likewise involved in efforts to avert the collapse of the government of Guinea (Conakry) and the seizure of power in Guinea Bissau by soldiers also attracted the intervention of Nigeria to resolve the disputes between President Nino Vierra and the military, providing a cash grant of US$500,000 to Guinea Bissau. The civil war in Cote d’Ivoire, one of the most stable countries in West Africa was a major blow to ECOWAS and the AU. The Nigerian government again rose to the occasion, ensuring that ECOWAS immediately activated its Mechanism for Peace and Security.

Nigeria has been in the forefront of current international efforts to bring peace to Sudan’s Darfur region. Similarly, Nigeria also successfully mediated the restoration of democratic rule in Sao Tome and Principe in 2003 after a military coup that toppled the country’s elected civilian government. The Nigerian government of President Olusegun Obasanjo also successfully intervened to forestall conflict in Togo following Faure Gnasimgbe’s undemocratic seizure of power after his father’s sudden death in February 2005.

The landmark Dafur Peace Accord (DPA) between the Sudanese government and the rebel groups from Dafur was reached in Abuja, where the Nigerian government hosted the very tasking negotiations. Nigeria’s General Martin L. Agwai is the Commander of the hybrid African Union (AMIS)/United Nations Peace Keeping Mission in Dafur, where the country has already lost several of its soldiers.
Nigeria has also participated in many other UN peacekeeping operations in other parts of the world. Nigerian troops have been on peacekeeping duties between 1962 and 1963 with the United Nations Security Force in New Guinea (UNSF); in Tanzania under a bilateral Agreement in 1964; in 1965-66 in the United Nations India-Pakistan Observer Mission (UNIPOM), between 1978 and 1983 with the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon; in Kuwait with the UN Observer Mission after the Iraq-Kuwait war of 1988 - 91; in Western Sahara in 1991 during the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO); in 1992-93 with the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, and in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Presently there are growing pressures on Nigeria to deploy troops to Somalia and other theatres of conflict on the continent from the UN, AU and the US. Nigeria had over the years contributed thousands of troops to UN peacekeeping operations, making her one of the largest contributors to global peace and security. At least five of these peace keeping missions have been commanded by senior Nigerian military officers. These include Congo, where General Aguiyi Ironsi commanded the UN troops for the last six months of the operations in 1964; Lebanon; Angola - General Chris Garuba; Chad - General J. Ejiga; and Sudan-Darfur - General Martin Agwai. Nigerian Police Units have also served in several United Nations Peacekeeping Missions in Congo, Liberia and Haiti (MINUSTAH) among several others. This is in addition to civilian officials who have served in various capacities in UN peace operations. Among these is Ambassador OluAdeniji who headed two UN Peacekeeping Missions including the one in Sierra Leone. (See Table below on Nigeria’s participation in UN/ECOWAS/AU Peacekeeping operations).
Nigeria’s Participation in Peacekeeping Operations 1960-2013

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Nigeria peace support operation in Africa</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960-1965</td>
<td>United Nations Operation in the Congo (UNOC)</td>
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<td>1964</td>
<td>Tanzania (Under Bilateral Arrangement)</td>
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<td>1965-1967</td>
<td>United Nations India-Pakistan Observer Mission (UNIPOM)</td>
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<td>1978</td>
<td>Chad (Under Bilateral Arrangement)</td>
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<td>1978-1983</td>
<td>United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)</td>
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<td>1981</td>
<td>Chad (Under OAU)</td>
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<td>1990</td>
<td>ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG – under ECOWAS)</td>
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<td>1991</td>
<td>United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observer (UNIKOM)</td>
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<td>1990</td>
<td>United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Namibia) – (UNTAG)</td>
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<td>1994-1993</td>
<td>United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)</td>
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<td>1990</td>
<td>United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)</td>
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<td>1993-1993</td>
<td>United Nations Operation in Mozambique (UNOMOZ)</td>
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<td>1990</td>
<td>United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)</td>
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<td>1994</td>
<td>United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR)</td>
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<td>1992</td>
<td>United Nations Group in the Aouzou Strip (UNASOG)</td>
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<td>1998</td>
<td>ECOMOG (and later United Nations) Mission in Sierra Leone (UNSIL)</td>
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<td>2006</td>
<td>United Nations/ AU Peacekeeping in Sudan (Darfur)</td>
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<td>2006</td>
<td>Bosnia-Herzegovina</td>
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<td>2008</td>
<td>United Nations Formed Police Unit (UNFPU) with the United Nations. Peace Keeping Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>United Nation Stabilization Mission in Mali MINUSMA</td>
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Though, many countries are contributors to UN peacekeeping forces, the greatest burden continues to be borne by a core group of developing countries, including Nigeria. The country is also involved in a bilateral agreement with UN as one of the countries which subscribe to UN standby arrangements. Nigeria’s commitment has even been taken to a new level with the nation hosting the 14th edition of the Challenges of Peace Operations in Abuja from 31st May to 4th June, 2004, in collaboration with the Folke Bernadotte Academy of Sweden, thus becoming a partner country in the Global Challenges of Peace Operations movement which started in 1997.

**Challenges of Global Peace Support Operations**

As we observed above, the international community is deliberately committed to the maintenance of global peace and security by putting in place a framework for managing conflicts. Since it is not practically possible to stop nations from having misunderstandings, it was necessary to put in place an arrangement that would mitigate the consequences of conflict. In the immediate post Second World War period, particularly during the cold war, peacekeeping was designed to maintain peace between two, usually warring states.

The Cold War ended in 1989 with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. However, new threats to peace and security continue to emerge largely because of pressures of the global imperial capitalist economic order, several unresolved national, socio-economic and political problems, and the failure on the political front of many national governments. This is why in the post cold-war era; there has arisen a proliferation of intra-state conflicts particularly in Africa.

This new type of conflict was defined by its internal, largely intra-state nature, usually resulting in civil war and huge damage to national resources and huge losses in national human and material resources. This was a more difficult type of conflict and it imposes a lot of burden on those trying to mediate and keep the peace as it were. And this kind of conflict became common in Africa and it is this kind of situation which the international community, United Nations, regional and sub-regional organizations and nations such as Nigeria has had to deal with.

This new type of conflict, intra-state conflict, needed a new type of peacekeeping operation, which emphasizes the main characteristics to distinguish traditional peacekeeping from the types of operations undertaken in the 1990s. These kinds of Peace support operations therefore include Peacemaking, Peacekeeping, Peace-enforcement, Peace Accord Implementation and Peace Building (Williams; 2003: 132).

In addition, peace operations now involve also humanitarian, social, political, legal, economic, human rights and other issues. The concept of peacekeeping was also broadened to include the resolution of the causes of conflict, which usually have both political and military aspects (Adeniji; 2004: 18-21).

Because of the preponderance of intra-state conflicts in Africa, regional bodies like Organization of African Unity (OAU), now the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) started putting in place peace support operations. Such operations have been mounted in Chad, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d’Ivoire and others. Even in Europe (Bosnia –Herzegovina in former Yugoslavia), the EU also mounted a peacekeeping operation supported by NATO. In the African experiences, Nigeria
played very crucial roles, providing leadership, men and materials.

Over the years, these peace support operations have become not only more problematic but also more complex as conflicts have increased in number and the resources to manage them have dwindled creating many new challenges. New ideas are required, not only by the international community but also by individual nations, to improve on the management of conflict and on improving peacekeeping operations.

At the 14th edition of the Challenges of Peace Operations conference, hosted in Abuja by the National Defence College in collaboration with the Folke Bernadotte Academy, Sweden, from 31st May to 4th June, 2004, the challenges facing the United Nations and regional peace operations were identified to include among others: What should be the respective roles of the United Nations and of regional organizations? What were the various resources and capabilities of Nigeria government in responding to peace support operation? And what are the most helpful measure adopted to support UN Peace operation (Hilding-Norberg; 2004). Importantly, it was the aim of the Challenges Project to stimulate in partner countries such as Nigeria, efforts to influence policy at the national level and stimulate follow-up action at regional, national and sub-national levels and in multinational fora (Hilding-Norberg: 2004: 16).

There should, of course, be a regional response to these intra-state conflicts across Africa, fueled largely by complex emergencies and the phenomenon of failing and failed states and the collapse of state institutions in such countries. This has propelled the regional dimension of peace operations because neighbors should have interest in the peace, security and stability of their environment. But it was increasingly clear that peace operations, as good and helpful as they have come to be appreciated, are very sensitive and difficult to manage and again as already learnt, requires so much in terms of troops, civilian personnel with specialized skills, logistics and equipment and significantly, political wisdom. But regional and sub-regional organizations, the AU and ECOWAS and others, have huge problems of lack of capacity and adequate resources for sustaining regional peace operations in several respects. This is another major challenge for peacekeeping in Africa and really in other parts of the developing world which suffer most from internal conflicts. As a result regional or sub-regional peacekeeping operations fail, even when they are bankrolled by willing regional powers like Nigeria unless helped by the UN. This has given rise to hybrid operations involving the UN, regional organizations and multinational forces composed of willing states.

Another challenge is the impotence of regional organizations such as the AU and ECOWAS in that even though the Peace and Security Council of the AU is in existence and has mandate for conflict prevention, management and resolution, with a continent wide Early Warning System, the leaders are incapable of making it work because of poor political judgment. As President Obasanjo noted, “what has been seriously lacking … is the capacity and the resolve to give effect to decisions” (2000). This is largely because many African leaders are guilty of the same offence of bad governance, corruption, oppression, lack of tolerance for opposing political views and impunity, which are the major causes of conflict across the continent.

This much has been the experience of Nigeria in its efforts to encourage regional interventions. Nigeria has been very eager to
shoulder the heavy burdens of such operations as demonstrated in Chad, Liberia and Sierra Leone. In its experiences in Chad, Liberia and Sierra Leone, Nigeria suffered the pain of lack of cooperation fueled largely by suspicion; this is because Nigeria failed to acknowledge the economic important as lot human and material resources were invested in the peace operation without benefits. Some of these bitter experiences and disappointments have been detailed by Adeshina (2002), a Brigadier General and former commander of the Nigerian Peacekeeping and Intervention Force under the ECOWAS peacekeeping operation in Sierra Leone. In such cases, there was poor and inadequate resource-support for the regional efforts. This is why it was argued that while regional organizations should be involved in peace support operations, such operations should not be regionalized (Kwankwaso; 2004). Even though Nigeria is in the forefront of states in Africa investing enormous resources in building capabilities in peace operations, as we know, it can only be complementary to what the UN and the major powers are prepared to bankroll as the critical resources apart from troops, such as funds and logistics and necessary political and diplomatic resources cannot be provided by the regional bodies such as the AU or ECOWAS.

The African Union has set up the African Standby Force at its meeting in Sirte in Libya in February 2004 to facilitate rapid assembly and deployment of troops for peace support operations. But such forces would still need UN support authorization and support. Earlier, the ECOWAS had decided to establish a Regional Standby Force. But as noted in the Cote d’Ivoire operations, without external support, such arrangements would not succeed. In Cote d’Ivoire, the logistic support was fragmented. Different countries came with their equipments. In addition, the French RECAMP provided support for some countries, while Britain provided for Ghana, Belgium provided the troops from Benin (Alli; 2006).

These inadequacies on the part of African states have created another opportunity for former colonial powers and other major powers to join in a new scramble for peacekeeping influence on the continent, thus undermining and rubbing all the efforts of Nigeria in this regard.

Theoretical Framework

The choice of a theory helps us to establish the limit, in terms of range of variables, and facts to be studied. This in turn led to better understanding of the topic before us. To accomplish this analytical task, the Integration theory is adopted for this paper. The theory of integration attempts to explain why states choose to cooperate in order to create international organization that is supper national. This is when state in there large number enters into agreement with each other to function as a whole. E.g European Union, United Nation, and African union are supper national entity (Goldstein, 2012:355).

The supper national characters of international integration approach challenge the foundation of realism. It advocated for the process where the supper national institution replace national one. This is a gradual shift of sovereignty of state from regional to global structures. This created new avenue of interdependence among state. Perhaps, it is an expression of integration or merger of several states into single state and government.

Goldstein writes that shifting sovereignty of state to supper national entity or have version of federalism where state or other
political entity recognize the sovereignty of central government while retaining certain power for themselves (Goldstein, 2012:356). The practice of this process is beyond sharing of power between states and suprarational institution.

Integration theory challenges the realist assumption that states were strictly autonomous and would never yield power. So, integration of states lowers the expectation of violence among the state, which help to create security community (Goldstein, 2012:357). Thus, the new wave of integration in Europe for instance reduces state ability to shield themselves and their citizens from the world’s many problem and conflict. Therefore, global integration brings greater centralization of individual, local groups and national population more says over their own affairs. Green (2009) writes that this argument was raised by Collier (2009) who advocated for national integration as a policy to promote state building in a continent with political instability and economic throwback. As Ifeanacho & Nwagwu (2009) observed, Nigeria’s efforts at achieving national integration have remained largely unrealized. In their words, the history of democratization in Africa in general, and Nigeria in particular, has remained the history of national disintegration. Thus, the integration crisis facing Nigeria is manifest in the minority question, religious fundamentalism and conflicts, ethnic politics, indigene-settler dialectic, resource control, youth restiveness, farmers/herders conflicts and militancy.

Emelonye & Buergenthal (2011) observed poverty and ineffective governance in Africa continent have further sharpened ethnic divisions leading to misunderstanding between ethnic and religious groups who see themselves as rivals that must be surpassed by any means, thus hindering national integration. They add that states in Africa are beginning to lose legitimacy and authority, the fear of insecurity has increased to the extent that citizens now resort to self-help, seeking security and solidarity in their own ethnic, religious or regional affiliation and identity. For instance, a new dimension of ethno-religious violence had increased recruitment and mobilisation of ethnic and regional militias. The existence of this front required global peace support operation to forestalled insecurity of citizens and property in Africa.

**Conceptual Theoretical Analysis and its application**

Terms used for national integration have included national cohesion, national unity, nation building or national integration (Bandyopadhyay & Green, 2009; Ojo, 2009). According to Duverger in Ojo (2009), national integration is the process of unifying a society which tends to make it a harmonious city, based upon an order its members regard as equitably harmonious. Jacob &Tenue in Ojo (2009) describe it as a relationship of community among people within the same political entity… a state of mind, to act together, and to be committed to mutual programmes. Ojo, define national integration as a process by which members of a social system develop linkages and location so that the boundaries of the system persist over time and the boundaries of sub-systems become less important in affecting behaviour (Ojo,2009). In this process members of the social system develop an escalating sequence of contact, cooperation, to fight their common enemies. Etzioni (1965) has argues that a community can only be considered interrelated when it meets the following criterions: It has effective control over the use of the means of violence; It has a centre of decision making capable of effecting the allocation of resources and rewards; and it is a dominant...
focus of political discovery for a large majority of citizens.

By implication, these criterion of national integration is the process that produces collective initiatives put in place by a State institutions to preventing conflicts from degenerating into armed conflicts by stressing on harmonizing all interest groups through dialogue and representation, using the instruments of fairness, and justice in order to guarantee stability, as long as the inhabitants decide to remain within the polity.

For native and settlers to continue to cohabit, government needs to have effective control over the use of the means of violence. Proliferation of light and small arms are allegedly common within the Africa region. Thus, this act should be prevented and discouraged among those seeking for self help, been the mechanism for reprisal attack.

The need to create centre for decision making for both aggrieved parts will be strengthening unity among the aggrieved parties in Africa. This is another way of building consultative framework to sustain peace between the aggrieved parties. Building such consultative framework will integrate the aggrieved parties, the community leaders and opinion leaders at the community level.

Conclusively, when ethnicities within a political entity achieve integration by consensus, social structure and function in society will brings about social order in Africa through integration of warring parties.

Conclusion

In summary, Nigeria is a key factor in the maintenance of global efforts to maintain peace and security by the way she conducts her foreign policy generally and her immense contribution of men and material to global, regional and sub-regional peacekeeping efforts. A great deal of national capability has been built in this regard such that the nation is now globally recognized as a major force source of human resources for peace support operations. These activities have endeared the nation to the international community. However, these contributions to global peace support efforts have been at a cost the nation could hardly afford as there are many compelling needs at home. This is particularly so in cases where the nation decides to deploy its resources to intervene in conflict situations.

While it is understandable that all nations must contribute to the achievement of peace and the resolution of conflict and Nigeria should play its part, it has become imperative for the nation to review its approach to these peace support operations in such a manner that would not jeopardize the maintenance of global peace and the achievement of the national goal of socio-economic development. Towards this end, Nigeria should stop any unilateral peacekeeping activity and seek at all times the collective burden-sharing and UN approved and sponsored approach to peace support operations. Nigeria should provides operational standing army for AU and the ECOWAS in case of eventuality since the both organization did not have Standby Force arrangements available for deployment for peace support operations.
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