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An overview of the Role of Nigerian Police Force and its Impact on ECOMOG intervention in maintaining Peace and Security in Africa

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Abstract

Nigeria is considered a giant of Africa, and many African nations look to Nigeria for assistance in times of need to reestablish peace and order in their own states. Nigeria's role in maintaining peace and stability on the African continent is extremely concerning because of its significance to both the region's economy and politics. Since the country's independence in 1960, the Nigeria Police Force has actively taken part in peacekeeping operations, serving in various African nations that have experienced conflict and instability, including the Congo, Namibia, Angola, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Liberia, and many others. The secondary source of data is use to better examine the Nigerian Police Force's involvement in peacekeeping operations throughout Africa. The researchers also apply neo-liberal theory to direct the investigation. The study's four main conclusions are as follows: (1) the Nigerian Police Force lacks adequate, modern weaponry to combat rebels; (2) officers have been unable to get their legitimate allowances from dispatching officers on time and within the approved budget; and (3) there is a high level of political interference and corruption when choosing officers to take part in peacekeeping operations; and (4) the Nigerian government lacks the resources to finance all peace interventions without financial assistance from the UN, AU, and ECOWAS. This study suggested for reorganizing and introducing fresh ideas that can improve the operational behavior throughout a peacekeeping mission.

Keyword: Peacekeeping, Peace Building, Peace Transformation and Nigeria Police Force.

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Introduction

Nigeria's large population, natural resources, financial resources, and military prowess give it all the characteristics of a regional leader. Since no peace operation in Africa would be launched without first requesting Nigeria's assistance to intervene, the country has played a significant role in regional peacekeeping, peacebuilding, and conflict management, all of which have shaped the security architecture of West Africa. By evaluating the effort of the Nigerian Police Force's engagement in various African peacekeeping operations, the study will throw more light on such important topics as the evolving nature of security challenges in West Africa and Nigeria's interests as an instrument in the regional security policy to argue and restore peaceful society in region .Africa has seen significant effects from conflicts, which are usually linked to some of the continent's developmental backwardness can be attributed to newly emerging issues like terrorism, rebellion against the state, military intervention, banditry, kidnapping, mistrust between communities based on ethnic and religious sentiments, and corruption in government. These issues have fueled crises and insecurity across the continent from the early 1960s until the present, when many African countries have gained their independence.

According to Nasongo (2015),[1] many African States have suffered as a result of the scourges of war and conflict in Africa. This is due to the fact that many people died, many suffered from diseases brought on by starvation, and some were compelled to relocate in order to protect their lives. Concerned parties on the continent and in the outside world have taken notice of Africa's disintegration, and this has made it necessary to explore for solutions to the problems surrounding the most effective management of this threat. Nigeria is a powerful nation whose influence is felt across the continent, especially in the African region, which highlights the need to preserve and restore peace and stability in the continent. One is Nigeria a significant player in the international community and a hegemon on the African continent, demonstrating the nation's ability to assume responsibility for preserving peace and security throughout the continent. While there have been some shortcomings in some areas, Nigeria's mission to uphold the role of restoring peace and stability in the continent has been very successful in others. Following Nigeria's return to democracy in the 1980s, 1990s, and early 2000s, the nation gained notoriety for its efforts to mend the broken peace in Africa through the use of both military force and diplomacy. However, since 2009, the nation has faced issues with internal security due to the rise of Boko Haram, the Biafra Crisis, banditry, and due to the need for internal resources, kidnapping has impacted Nigeria's ability to lead peace missions.
Nigeria as a great and influential African state has been aggressively involved in most peace support operations within and beyond the African continent, either under the sponsorship of the United Nations or the African Union or those

[1]Nasong's W.S. (ed.) (2015). The Root of Ethnic Conflict in Africa: From Grievance to Violence. Palgrave Macmillan

championed by 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 paper has focused on assessment of the role of Nigerian Police Force in maintaining peace and security in Africa.

Despite their shortcomings, peacekeeping efforts have made a significant contribution to the current state of relative peace that is experienced worldwide. Despite the numerous conflict situations that are still escalating in various African nations, Nigeria has been under increasing pressure to take part in international peace support missions, especially with regard to the numerous delicate and intricate internal political crises that exist among the continent's states. The Nigerian leadership always feels obligated to continue investing in peace support interventions when and even when they are not invited to do so, despite the many compelling demands on human and material resources.

This paper argues that a review of the Nigeria Police Force's involvement in peacekeeping and peace support operations in Africa is necessary, given the over fifty years of experience with global peacekeeping efforts and the recent dramatic changes in global politics. Nigeria's engagement with the world in a way that would lessen the burden of material and human resources on her and realign its internal security structure to be firmly rooted as a model in the African continent. Presently, Nigeria is on the verge of an internal security crisis; unlike in the past, it will not be respected and acknowledged in the international mirror. Instead, Nigeria is going through a block of the managers of Nigeria's security framework must examine the nation's policing system to ensure that the Nigerian Police Force plays an active and effective role in maintaining relative peace both internally and externally, given the threat to internal security that is almost everywhere in the nation.

Statement of Problem

Nigeria's dedication to promoting peace, stability, and conflict resolution in Africa dates back to the 1960s, when its troops were tasked with maintaining order in the Congo. Nigeria has led other peace initiatives, such as the peaceful settlement between Togo and the Benin Republic in 1975. Nigeria has been actively promoting peace in the area; one example of this is the troops it sent to Chad to maintain peace during the crisis (Okunnu, 2010). [2]
Nigeria also played a unique role in the integration of the African continent by saving the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which is now the African Union (AU), from dissolution when the OAU recognized the Saharawi Arab Democratic

[2]Okunnu, I. (2010). Nigeria's leadership role in Africa and daunting challenges. Abuja: Nigerian Export-Import Bank

Republic (SADR), which went against the wishes of some OAU members (Nasogo, 2015). [3]

Based on the scholarly argument presented above, it is easy to comprehend the extent of Nigeria's leadership in African conflict resolution, as evidenced by the creation of the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), which advocated for the success of peacekeepers in the Liberia crisis. The majority of the mission's funding came from Nigeria, and ECOMOG not only brought peace back to Sierra Leone but also ended the hostilities in Liberia. Nigeria has also been a major player in the Sudanese Darfur crisis.

This paper will also provide us with additional understanding of the relevance and significance of Nigeria's contribution to the overthrow of South Africa's apartheid government. Additionally, this intervention has improved the nation's standing in the international community. Nigeria favors diplomatic approaches to conflict resolution over the use of force. Nigeria's involvement in peacekeeping missions around the world has grown to be a major component of the country's foreign policy. The country has taken part in nearly all UN peacekeeping missions in Africa as well as the majority of them worldwide, indicating that its involvement is in fact fairly extensive. These initiatives address every facet of managing and resolving conflicts.

It is documented, nevertheless, that Nigeria has not received reimbursement for the costs incurred in African Union-sponsored operations, such as the Chad Peacekeeping missions and the ECOMOG missions in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Nigeria was consequently forced to shoulder the financial burden of those operations at great national expense. It's also crucial to examine Nigeria's past and present since the Fourth Republic returned to power. Former President Olusegun Obasanjo announced that Nigeria would start being more selective about the peace support missions it participated in without providing funding after evaluating the operations' overall costs and effects on the military and the country's economy. He made it clear that Nigeria was going to leave the operations in Sierra Leone. But in the end, Nigeria was forced to stay in Sierra Leone due to pressure from the international community and a number of informed voices within the nation. The Nigerian government has since resumed its efforts to secure funding for the peace mission through sponsorship from the UN or other African peace and security institutions.

The purpose of this was to reduce the costs associated with the peacekeeping efforts in Africa. It was documented that Nigeria spent approximately $82 million on peacekeeping operations in Chad under the AU's auspices, monies that were never reimbursed. The ECOMOG peacekeeping operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone have cost Nigeria over $10 billion naira. This is a significant sum of money that could be better utilized to address the threat to internal security, which is why the country has been seeking financial sponsorship from

[3]Nasong's W.S. (ed.) (2015). The Root of Ethnic Conflict in Africa: From Grievance to Violence. Palgrave Macmillan

the UN or other African institutional bodies.It has been requested that the Nigerian Police Force, one of the primary lead agencies tasked with maintaining internal security, step up efforts to combat terrorism and provide security for the Nigerian people. At the Force Headquarters in Abuja, during the official opening of the International Peace Keeping Center and Force Museum, former President Goodluck Jonathan made the call. The President acknowledged the Police's 1960s-era efforts to maintain peace, but he also pointed out that the Nigerian Police needed to adapt to the changing times. He claimed that more than ever, the role of peacekeeping was compelling. He characterized terror as detrimental to the nation's advancement and vowed to use all of his administration to address it. In order to do this, he saw to it that a center was established that would act as a training ground for police officers stationed in the West African sub-region for peacekeeping missions. A parade ground, lodging tents with bedding, a visual shooting range, and a 250-seat auditorium are among the amenities at the center. One of the facilities is named in honor of President Jonathan (Adedeji A.G:2004:8).[4]

Both Kayode Aderanti, the Director of the Directorate of Peacekeeping, and Mohammed Abubakar, the former Inspector-General of Police, acknowledged the government's efforts to support the Force and called the center an addition. This paper's main goal is to continue the conversation about the Nigeria Police Force's involvement in international peacekeeping missions. The first section of the paper addresses conceptual issues in order to accomplish this goal. The force's accomplishments in maintaining peace are covered in the following section. The issues and difficulties the force faces in carrying out her peacekeeping missions are examined in the third section of the paper. In order to empower and reshape the role of the Nigerian Police Force in preserving peace, the concluding section provides recommendations for additional research and policy guidelines of law throughout the continent of Africa.

Conceptual Framework

Peacekeeping Missions

The idea of peacekeeping is based on a few fundamental ideas, including the parties' consent, the restriction of force to self-defense, and—above all—the assertion of impartiality. It is commonly known that in many intra-state conflict situations, these fundamental principles of classical peacekeeping have become problematic (Cambas,2004). [5]

According to Ryan (1995), peacekeeping is frequently the most urgent and important of all peace strategies when ethnic groups are fighting violently

[4]Adedeji A.G., and Zabadi I.S., (eds.), 2004), *The Regional Dimension of Peace Operations into the 21st Century;* Abuja: NWC.
[5]Chambas M. (2004). "Major Issues and Opportunities in the Interface between the UN and Regional Organizations in Peace Operations: Perspective from ECOWAS". In Adedeji, A.G. and Zabadi I.S. *The Regional Dimension of Peace Operations in to the 21st century;* Abuja: NWC.

because it is the only one that deals directly with the warriors on all sides who are waging mutual destruction. Ryan contends that any attempt at resolution will be fruitless until this violent behavior is curbed. Thus, maintaining peaceprovides momentary relief; in actuality, it serves more as a palliative than a curative measure. In 1988, Brian made the following comparison between peacekeeping and nursing care:

> "Peacekeeping is a sort of daily nursing care. It is like the staff in a hospital engaged in getting the patient's temperature down and keeping him reasonably healthy. And when you get to a certain point, a great surgeon may be able to arrive and deal with the problem. Maybe there isn't a great surgeon; maybe the case is not operable, in which case the aim must be to keep the patient reasonably comfortable. One has got to be realistic about the difficulty of settling the basic disputes, which give rise to peacekeeping." (Brian 1988, p.13) [6]

To be clear, a peacekeeping mission is thought of as a practical means of pursuing collective security and a safeguard for international peace (Saliu, 1998). To put it simply, collective security refers to the obligation shared by all participants in the international system to prevent and/or eliminate unexpected developments within the global system. Stated differently, this statement suggests that any member in need of assistance must receive it from the member-states (Omede, 1994).[7]

As per Onoja (1996),[8]a peacekeeping mission is an endeavor that employs military personnel in conflict-ridden areas, but lacks the authority to enforce laws or regulations.

This argument suggests that in order for peacekeeping to be successful, three criteria must be carefully taken into account: it must be founded on cooperation, consent, and acceptance by all parties involved. Another time, peacekeeping is viewed as a conflict management tool, with the main objectives being to reduce tension, manage disputes or conflicts on a global scale, or prevent conflicts from getting out of hand (Onoja, 1996).[9] Only when peacekeepers provide such a stable environment can negotiations through the political, governmental, and diplomatic apparatus now beginput into practice.

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[6]Brian, U. (1988). UN Chronicle: A Risky Business.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/nigeria_peacekeeping_missions - Online last visited 12th January, 2014)
[7]Omede, J.A. (1994), ,Nigeria's Peace-keeping Initiative in West Africa: The Liberian Case Study' Olorunfemi, J.F. (ed.) Unilorin Social Science, Series No. 1
[8] Onoja, A.L. (1996), Peacekeeping and International Security in a Changing World, Jos-Nigeria: Mono Expressions Ltd
[9]Onoja, A.L. (1996), Peacekeeping and International Security in a Changing World, Jos-Nigeria: Mono Expressions Ltd .

- According to Akindele (1988),[10] peacekeeping is the organization and worldwide deployment of multilateral forces made up of soldiers, police, and civilians to preserve and restore peace. It also involves the prevention and termination of hostilities between and among states through the use of a third-party intervention. Furthermore, he said, the purpose of the operational deployment of police, military, and civilian personnel is to avoid conflict escalation while negotiations, arbitration, and mediation are underway rather than to engage in combat. He defines the United Nations in the same way that he defines peacekeeping. According to Akindele, the UN is the most advanced political structure for preserving world peace and security.

- Therefore, based on the stances taken by the scholars mentioned above, peacekeeping can be understood as the entirety of methods or procedures used to;
  - put in place modalities to cushion the destructive tendencies inherent in conflict situations,
  - prevent the unfavourable development that may arise out of conflict situation,
  - oncea crisis has been determined, put in place measure to halt the undesirable behaviour and remove the sources of crisis through identification, settlement, agreement or resolution of the conflict (Mitchell, 1989, p.256). [11]

  A number of significant political issues are related to peacekeeping efforts in Africa, and these issues have an impact on how well missions accomplish their goals and how effective they are overall. These concerns include: (a) the rationale behind the intervention; (b) the politics involved in the decision-making process regarding the mission's deployment; (c) the disputes surrounding the mission's deployment; (d) the mission's objectives; and (f) the operational timeline. (Ebo,1999)[12]

Security:

Security can be conceived as a state of existence that is free from danger, fear, threat, anxiety and uncertainty. From the above defines we can simply understand the concept of human security as the activities involved in

[10]Akindele, R.A. (1988). ,Nigeria's Peacekeeping and Peace-making Role in Chad (1978-79)'. In Oyediran, O. (ed.) Survey of Nigeria Affairs, Nigeria: Macmillan Publisher.
[11]Mitchell, C. (1989), The Structure of International Conflict, London: Macmillan Press.
[12]Ebo, F.A. (1999). Lessons and Limitations of the United Nations Conflict Management in Africa. In Saliu, H.A. (ed.) Selected Themes in Nigeria's Foreign Policy and International Relations, Ilorin: Haytees Publisher

protecting a person against attack, danger and anxiety. Since security transcend every facet of human existence, it is inextricably linked to peace and conflict (Francis, 2006). [13]Though a widely contested concept, security is generally about the condition or feeling safe from harm or danger, the defence, protection and preservation of core value and the absence of threats to acquired values. Put simply, security is about survival and the condition of human existence.

Traditionally, security has been conceived largely from military angle which focused on the state as the primary referent object of security. This militaristic focus of security led to the development of strategic studies. However, strong criticisms that trails this militaristic focus of security as too narrow and incapable of explaining the emerging non-military sources of threat to security at individual, societal, state, regional and global levels has brought about a refocus. According to Francis (2006),[14] today, the conception of security has been broadened to embrace non-military dimensions such as environment, migration, ethno-religious and nationalistic identities, poverty, diseases and human insecurity.

Conflict

Conflict is defined by Taylor (1993)[15] as the pursuit of incompatible goals by different group. He further explained that conflicts do lead to warfare, and the warfare involves the use of organized violence for political motives which always lead to casualties. Conflict can also mean a situation in which one identifiable unit is in conscious opposition to one or more identifiable units over what are perceived to be unpalatable (Ebo, 1999).[16] From these therefore, it could be saved to infer that, conflict is after all one that defies any attempt to impose order or define rule of behaviour (Chester et al, 1996).[17] Nevertheless, studies have shown that conflict surpasses these notions, there is more to conflict than the narrow conception above. It will blur and limit the understanding of the concept if one restricts oneself to the above definition.

In the 19th century, the German military strategist, Clause wiz assisted in this regard when he called war as; ,*the continuation of political activities by other*

[13]Francis. D. (2006) "Peace and Conflict Studies: An African Overview of Basic Concepts" In *Introduction To Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa* Gaya-Best .S.(ed) Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
[14]Francis. D. (2006) "Peace and Conflict Studies: An African Overview of Basic Concepts" In *Introduction To Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa* Gaya-Best .S.(ed) Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
[15]"Taylor Discusses ECOMOG, UN Security Council," Gbarnga Radio ELBC, March 26, 1993, reprinted in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, March 31, 1993.
[16]Ebo, F.A. (1999). Lessons and Limitations of the United Nations Conflict Management in Africa. In Saliu, H.A. (ed.) Selected Themes in Nigeria's Foreign Policy and International Relations, Ilorin: Haytees Publisher
[17]Chester, A.C. &et'al (1996). Managing Global Chaos: Sources and Responses to International Conflict, Washington D.C.: United States Institute for Peace Press.

means' (Nixon, 1983, p.1).[18] What this mean is that, in the United Nations, policy maker who double as politicians selfishly pursue their narrow national interests and that of allies at the expense of the greater ideal. The pursuit of National Interest can lead to war, hence, for obvious reasons national leaders used wars or the threat of war as a last resort to extract concessions from their adversaries. What this portend is that some national leaders are war managers and can go to war deliberately only to achieve certain conceivable benefits. To this end, one can place the action of Hitler of Germany's expansionist tendency as largely responsible for the World War II; the attempt to annex the Czech Republic boomeranged in the series of activities which culminated in the World War II (Nixon, 1983). [19]

The ECOMOG intervention

ECOMOG is a West African peacekeeping force that began with approximately 3,000 troops and has grown to between 10,000 and 12,000 troops, the vast majority being Nigerians. ECOMOG included forces from five countries of ECOWAS: Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, later joined by Mali. In September 1991, as part of the ongoing peace process and in an effort to appease Taylor, Senegalese troops also joined. (UN, 1992)[20]

In August 1990, without any prospect for intervention by the United States or the United Nations, ECOMOG arrived in Monrovia to separate the warring factions and to stop the bloodshed. The West African countries justified their intervention on the grounds that it was no longer an internal conflict since thousands of their own nationals were trapped in Liberia and tens of thousands of refugees had fled to neighboring countries. The ECOMOG mandate was to impose a cease-fire, help form an interim government and hold elections within 12 months. Unfortunately, with NPFL attacks continuing, there was no peace to keep, and ECOMOG was thrust into combat to push the NPFL out of Monrovia.

There has been much speculation about the ulterior motives of the participating states for intervening in Liberia. Some have accused Nigeria of attempting to support the Doe government, since Doe and Nigeria's former President Babangida were allies; others contend that Nigeria was striving to act like the regional superpower that it aspires to be. Others believe that the motivation was a genuine fear of regional destabilization, since dissidents from the Gambia, Ghana and Sierra Leone, most of whom were trained together with the NPFL in Libya, were known to be working with the NPFL. Still others contend that the intervention was due to the NPFL's treatment of the West African nationals

[18]Nixon, R. (1983). Real Peace. Boston: Little Brown and Company

[19]Nixon, R. (1983). Real Peace. Boston: Little Brown and Company
[20]"U.N. Agency Says 3,000 Feared Dead in Monrovia," *Reuter*, November 3, 1992.

living in Liberia; thousands of Nigerians, Guineans and Ghanaians were effectively held hostage in Monrovia, and hundreds were later killed. Another theory is that the enormous flow of refugees into the neighboring countries compelled them to act. In any event, none of the participating countries was known for its respect for human rights and democratic principles. As *The Washington Post* commented in August 1990 when the decision to form ECOMOG was announced, the participating states all had one thing in common: "All are ruled with a strong arm by military or civilian dictators and have little experience with democracy."(African Watch Interview, 1993)[21]

Regardless of its motivations, ECOMOG accomplished certain concrete objectives between August and November: it established a semblance of order and peace in the battered city, which allowed international humanitarian groups to return to Liberia; it confined to their barracks the AFL and another rebel group, the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), led by Prince Johnson; it enabled the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU), headed by Amos Sawyer, to be installed; and it obtained a cease-fire.

Even observers who have become critical of ECOMOG's recent actions believe that the initial intervention was laudable. One of its most important accomplishments they point to was that ECOMOG stopped the slaughter of Krahn and Mandingo people in Monrovia. There were some 500 Krahns holed up in the Executive Mansion with former President Doe, and at least 10,000 more were believed to be in Monrovia; many of these had tried to disguise themselves as belonging to other tribes. There was also a large community of Mandingos. In early August 1990, in the wake of the AFL massacre at St. Peter's Church, staff at the Catholic Hospital and the relief organization Medecins Sans Frontičres (MSF) wrote a letter to ECOWAS calling on the West Africans to intervene militarily. At the time, however, they were calling for protection from the Krahn soldiers of the AFL, not for Krahn civilians in the capital.

During the time of the crisis, one would be hard-pressed to visit Monrovia without hearing, time and again, "Thank God for ECOMOG." The sentiments of many Monrovia residents were summarized by a Liberian medical worker who said: "ECOMOG was our savior; it was a salvation. ECOMOG saved the population of Monrovia. They avoided fighting, but were pushed into a corner. We feel sorry for them; they have no cause to die here for this stupid, senseless war."A number of other Liberians and expatriates pointed to the disaster in Somalia, noting that were it not for ECOMOG, Monrovia would have disintegrated into a situation like Mogadishu, with none of the factions able to win a clear victory and all of them preying upon the civilian population. President Sawyer noted that the West African sub-region has limited resources, but that comparisons with Somalia were apt. "It took 28,000 U.S. troops in Somalia to distribute food. We have here less than 10,000 ECOMOG forces,

[21]Africa Watch interview in Monrovia, Liberia, March 4, 1993

assaulted by a force in Taylor's estimate of 30-70,000, whose purposes are known to everybody."(Taylor, 1993)[22]

For two years from November 1990, when the cease-fire was signed in Bamako, until October 1992 an uneasy truce reigned in Liberia, with the West African troops guarding Monrovia and the NPFL controlling the rest of the country. During this new period, ECOMOG's role was confined to that of a police force; it was unable to bridge the political division of the country and lacked the mandate to confront Taylor militarily. "ECOMOG was respected more than the Liberian institutions," observed a Liberian lawyer. "They became the de facto police for a long time, because the police were totally discredited."ECOMOG became involved in settling all sorts of disputes that bore no relation to their peacekeeping functions (UN,1992)[23]

Although ECOMOG is a peacekeeping force, it has been saddled with more than simply military responsibilities; it has been thrust into the political realm. The field commander who heads the ECOMOG forces has become the point person in Liberia for ECOWAS, and he often performs the dual function of military commander and political negotiator. Former field commanders, especially General Ishaya Bakut, have been criticized for trying too hard to accommodate Taylor. On the diplomatic front, a series of ECOWAS-sponsored peace talks, culminating in the October 1991 Yamoussoukro IV accord, sought disarmament and encampment of all warring factions, to be followed by elections. Despite hopes that all sides would comply with Yamoussoukro, Taylor continued to renege on his commitments to disarm, and depicted ECOMOG -- especially Nigeria -- as his principal adversary. Taylor refers to former Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida as a "mad dictator" and accuses him of trying to commit genocide on the Liberian people. "We win every day that we kill an ECOMOG soldier," Taylor told three foreign reporters in March 1993. He continued: "ECOMOG is a warring party. They have brought genocide to our people. We will talk when Nigeria is out of here."(ECOMOG,1993)[24]

Taylor's intransigence was fueled by the divisions within ECOWAS -- particularly the split between the Francophone countries, led by the Ivory Coast, and the Anglophones, led by Nigeria. As one long-time observer of West African affairs explained:

> ECOMOG was a West African phenomenon responding to West African realities. These countries act like a series of city states -- like princes and dukes -- all destabilizing each other. You could never get all 16 [ECOWAS] countries to agree to a

[22]"Taylor Discusses ECOMOG, UN Security Council," Gbarnga Radio ELBC, March 26, 1993, reprinted in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, March 31, 1993.
[23]"U.N. Agency Says 3,000 Feared Dead in Monrovia," *Reuter*, November 3, 1992.
[24]"ECOMOG uncovers grave," *West Africa*, March 29-April 4, 1993.

> peacekeeping force, just a critical mass led by the most powerful -- Nigeria. (ECOMOG,1993)[25]

Taylor's hostility toward ECOMOG has grown more intense as the conflict has dragged on. "We are trying to prevent a Nigerian occupation of Liberia," according to Norwood Langley, Minister of Commerce, Industry and Transportation for the National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government (NPRAG -- the NPFL's governing body). "ULIMO and the Black Berets are just a front for Nigeria. It's a question of sovereignty."Taylor himself uses far stronger language. In an interview on March 24, Taylor told a group of foreign journalists:

We cannot negotiate with ECOMOG. ECOMOG is a warring party. We will never negotiate with ECOMOG, ever. ECOMOG, or whatever they call themselves, has brought genocide to the Liberian people. They continue to bomb churches, hospitals, schools and various infrastructures in this country. We are prepared to talk to Liberians. I did not say Nigerians or anybody else. (Interview with Obasanjo,2000)[26]

Theoretical Framework

The Liberal/Neo Liberal Theory: Liberalism and Neo-liberal institutionalization is one of the theories of International Relations deemed appropriate for this study. The basic assumption According to Mingst (1999),[27] the liberals hold that human nature is basically good and that innate goodness makes societal progress possible. Unacceptable human behaviour such as war is the product of inadequate social institutions and of misunderstanding among leaders. Thus, liberals believe that through collective action, states can cooperate to eliminate the possibility of war.

Origin of the Theory: The origin of liberal theory is found in Enlightenment optimism which rests on the Greek idea that individuals are rational human beings, able to understand the universally applicable laws governing both nature and human society. Then, the nineteenth century liberalism reformulation of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment rationalism when they added a preference for democracy over aristocracy and for free trade over national economic self sufficiency. The twentieth-century liberals came up with proposition that war is preventable. This is demonstrated in the League of Nations covenant which basically was focused on preventing war. The covenant

[25]"ECOMOG uncovers grave," *West Africa*, March 29-April 4, 1993.
[26]Obasanjo O (2000). "Peace, Security and Development" In Ogwu. J. and Alli. W. (eds)*Years of Reconstruction: Selected Foreign Policy Speeches of Olusegun Obasanjo;* Lagos: NIIA.
[27]Mingst K (1999) Essentials of International Relations; New York: W.W.Norton& Company, Inc.

accommodated a provision legitimising the notion of collective security, wherein aggression, by one state would be countered by collective action, embodied in a "league of nations". Since the 1970s, liberalism has been revived under the rubric of neoliberal institutionalism. Neoliberals have asked time and time over why states choose to cooperate most of the time in the anarchic condition of international system and have also attempted to provide answer.

Proponents of the Theory: Earliest recorded ideas on liberalism originated from classical Greek philosophers like Socrates, Aristotle etc. Then, scholars like Montesquieu and Kant further projected the liberal idea. In the twentieth century, President Woodrow Wilson of the United States of America became its greatest adherent. Its most contemporary advocates are political scientists Robert Axelrod and Robert Keohane.

Basic Trust of the Theory: Some of the basic trusts of liberalism include that:
(i) Individuals are rational human beings, able to understand the universally applicable laws governing both nature and human society.
(ii) Understanding such laws means that people have the capacity to improve their condition by creating a just society.
(iii) If a just society is not attained, then the fault rests with inadequate institutions – the result of a corrupt environment.
(iv) Human nature is not defective and that problems are created as man enters civil society and forms several nations.
(v) War is a product of society, not an attribute inherent in individuals.
(vi) International anarchy can be overcome through some kind of collective action.
(vii) Individual freedom and autonomy can best be realized in a democratic state that is based on the economic system of free trade.
(viii) War is preventable and that aggression by one state would be countered by collective action, embodied in a "league of nations".

Application of Liberal Theory to the Study: States emerged basically for maintenance of security and peace. When we ascribe to state, the unique feature of sovereignty, what is implied, is that both internal and external security, stability and peace are the concern of the state. Nigerian foreign policy makers realised the imperative of peace at all levels when they factored global peace support within the middle range objectives of her foreign policy. Purely from the liberal and neoliberal assumption that human nature is basically good and that this innate goodness makes societal progress possible, the Nigerian state has pursued her foreign policy in intra and interstate peace from the liberal prescriptions.

Nigeria's policy on global peace support, therefore, revolve around the basic assumptions of the liberal/neoliberal scholars, particularly, the notion that international anarchy can be overcome through some kind of collective action, that war is preventable and that aggression by one state would be countered by collective action embodied in a "league of nations". Nigeria's faith and absolute involvement in global peace support operations on the platform of

international organizations such as the United Nations Organization, the African Union and the Economic Community of West African states (ECOWAS/ECOMOG) clearly attests to how committed she is to the global peace project.

Table 1. Involvement of Nigerian Police Force in Peace Mission in Africa

SN	MISSION	YEAR
1	United Nation Operation in Congo	**1960-1965**
2	United Nation Assistance in Namibia	**1989-1990**
3	United Nation Transitional Authority in Cambodia	**1992-1993**
4	United Nation Protection Force in Yugoslavia	**1992**
5	United Nation Angola Verification Mission	**1994-1998**
6	United Nation Operation in Somalia	**1994-1995**
7	United Operation in Mozambique	**1994**
8	United Nation in Rwanda	**1994**
9	United Nation Assistance Mission in Siera-Leone	**2002-2005**

Source: Murtala, 2017

The Role of Nigerian Police Force in Peacekeeping Mission

Nigerian Police Force has an active role of ensuring the peaceful environment internally in Nigeria and when for a mission in other countries need to ensure restoring of peace and stability in the crisis zone to prevent the conflict from escalating to other countries as one of its implications. The conduct of the peace intervention mission in Africa has analysis by many scholars the opinion of Dr.EfemUbi, told Pan African News Agency in an exclusive interview posited that in the past 50 years, Nigeria has really done so much in Africa and at the global level by the way she handled the regional crisis in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire. Nigeria has committed more men and materials towards keeping the peace particularly in Africa and elsewhere than any other African country. It was been posted in the Nigeria Police website, Nigerian has deployed over 12,000 personnel to various UN/AU and ECOWAS peace support operations. As at June 2013, about 5,000 officers and men of the Armed Forces were serving in nine UN Peacekeeping missions within and outside Africa (www.Nigerian Police.ng.org).

However, it very imperative to understand that the involvement of Nigerian troops in peacekeeping operations around the continent is not without its cost to the most populous black African nation. Many analysts such as Grezgorz Walinski has posited that Nigeria's participation in peacekeeping has huge a huge cost to the country, with no direct benefit; particularly at a period Nigeria is facing enormous economic and security challenges. But irrespective of these challenges Nigeria under this present administration of former President Goodluck Jonathan, have done very well in ensuring that Nigeria created a Regional Training Centre for the West African Police Forces. It was been on the record that in 2005 a center was created as unit in the Nigerian Police Force, headquarters to coordinate the operation of the Nigerian Police Officers in the peace engagement in Africa.

However, it has been credited that through this international assignments, Nigeria Police officers have gained from the exposure to different culture settings and improved their professional outlook and experience. Corresponding to the trends in science and technology, officers on peacekeeping operations have enhanced their knowledge of cutting-edge applications in information technology. Inevitably, these experiences have multiplier benefits in the improved service delivery for both individual officers and the Nigeria Police. Consequently, the knowledge gained from these operations has been plough back in the training of future peacekeepers for the world. This indeed is the most important benefit of Nigeria; that through these valiant peacekeepers, the Nigeria Police has become an important arm of the nation's foreign policy objectives and contributed to world peace and stability.

Nigeria Intervention and the Politics of Peace Operation of Conflict in West Africa.

Nigeria, as a giant of the Africa in terms of the human and financial strength intervention of ECOMOG had always been called upon to intervene in Africa's conflicts since she was called upon in Sao Tome and Guinea Bissau to intervene in their political crisis when the governments of the countries were toppled in a coup d' etat. From 1967 under the Gen. Yakubu Gowon regime, Nigeria was faced with political instability and social upheaval. The secession tendency of the Eastern Region from the Nigerian federal structure resulted in a devastating civil war between the federal government and the Biafrans. It was the crash in Cameroon of the aircraft carrying arms and ammunition to the Ojukwu government in Enugu late in 1966 that first aroused the interest of the Federal leaders in the internal affairs of their neighboring Countries. After making investigations about the aircraft and its content, the Nigerian government also contracted other neighboring countries, namely Dahomey (Benin Republic), Nigeria, Chad and Togo advising them not to support any attempt at the dismemberment of the country.

In the realm of external relations after the 1970s therefore, the experiences of the civil war were not lost. As a result of the security problems exposed by the

war, Nigeria has since 1970 come to regard Africa as the "centerpiece" of her foreign policy and the spirit of good neighborliness was imbibed (Aluko, 1989).[28] The Federal Government began to regard the countries nearest to it as its special "area of concentration" in its foreign diplomacy and realized that the security of the country was tied to that of its neighbours. The federal government started to take special interestin the internal affairs of neighbouring countries to ensure that hostile force did not replace governments friendly to Nigeria.

In line with this trend, the Nigerian government started to show deep concern for peace and stability in its neighbouring states and thus, assumed the Big brother status. One of the methods adopted by Nigeria in furthering her African policy and the "Big brother status" was in giving aid to poorer African States Fulani 1991). As a result of the oil boom, Nigeria became wealthy enough to grant aid for the developmental purposes of these poorer African states.

Nigeria has been mindful of French capacity for harm and mischief. This is because Nigeria is strategically surrounded on all sides and shares contiguous borders with the Francophone states of Cameroon, Chad, Niger Republic and Benin Republic, in addition to several other Francophone states in West and Central Africa (Akinyemi, 1999).[29] Once the war erupted, France saw a golden opportunity to work for the dismemberment of the only Anglophone behemoth that served as a major obstacle to the achievement of its objective of complete and unfettered hegemony in Africa.

Lessons Learned from Nigeria's Interventions in Peacekeeping Operations in Africa

Nigeria as the driven force behind ECOMOG initiative, the first of its kind in Africa, was a significant milestone in African politics. It signified a bold attempt in designing African solutions to problems in African within the current environment of global neglect and state failure. Given the novelty of the initiative for Africa, the complexity of the Liberian conflict, the intra-regional rivalries, the lack of experience in multilateral diplomacy on the part of sub-regional leaders and the difficult financial and political circumstances within which ECOMOG had to operate, there is little doubt that the initiative was ill-fated from the outset. Overall, the ECOMOG initiative is indicative of a number of lessons both for policy and theory on peacekeeping in Africa.

First, the intervention confirms previous claims that intra-state conflicts do not lead themselves to interventions that are premised on ‚traditional peacekeeping'. Any strategy that is weak in capability will not be taken

[28]Aluko, O. *Nigerian Foreign policy: The Foreign Policies of African States* .
[29]Akinyemi, A. B. (ed) (1999). *Nigerian and the world: Readings in Nigeria Foreign Policy*, Ibadan: Oxford University Press

seriously as a credible a deterrent and is more likely to fail under extreme and hostile conditions like those that existed in Liberia .This may mean that intervention forces need to be prepared to invoke robust mandates, when necessary, acquiesce and possibly withdraw in the face of stronger counter-forces in some situations and, if incapable of assuring the necessary resolve, be prepared not to get involved in the first place. In retrospect, since there was no cease-fire in place before ECOMOG's deployment and given the nature of circumstances in Liberia, it was imperative for Nigeria to get all ECOWAS members, especially the Francophone members to agree to the use of robust force. This it did not do. An agreement for more robust measures might have ensured hastened compliance from Taylor who would not have had allies in the sub-region. Indeed, the United Nations/ECOMOG intervention in neighboring Sierra Leone during which peacekeepers were abducted and humiliated by Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels (Adebajo, 2008),[30] points to the obvious and embarrassing conclusion that the lessons of the Liberian intervention have not been taken seriously.

A second important lesson is that regional political rivalries should be recognized as a serious influence, if not constraint, on peace-keeping effectiveness. Today's intra-state conflicts are seen too much as internal problems. Instead, they need to better placed in a regional context, not only with respect to regional rivalries, but also how refugee flows affect conflict dynamics and how arms flows and local support for insurgencies undermine efforts at establishing a stable environment in which peace can be nurtured.

Again, another lesson learns is that of the exposure and familiarity of Nigerian troops with modern weapons. Not that Nigeria did not have some of those weapons in its arsenal, but the possibility that the preference of Nigeria for peaceful resolution conflict and the good neighborliness policy might not create room for the use of such weapons (Lipede and Saliu, 1998).[31] But when participating in peacekeeping operations, such weapons may have to be used in practical conflict situation and this directly or indirectly will improve the general handling of weapons (Eze, 1996). [32]

Finally, there may be ways of counter-balancing these constraints. For example, while it is realistic in today's world to argue that sub-regional organizations should manage crises in their backyard (Adebajo, 2008). It is also realistic to expect that there may be global support for such initiatives. With its years of

[30]Adebajo, A. (2008). ‚Mad Dogs and Glory: Nigeria's Interventions in Liberia and Sierra Leone'. In Adebajo, A. and Mustapha, A. (eds.), Gulliver's Troubles: Nigeria's Foreign Policy After the Cold War, South Africa, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
[31]Saliu, H.A. (1998). ‚Nigeria in the International Peacekeeping Efforts: Emerging Trends and Implications for Policy'. The Valiant: A Journal of Nigerian Defence Academy, 36(1).
[32]Eze, I.E. (1996). ‚Nigeria's Increasing Role in International Peace-keeping Operations'. Cited in Lipede, A.A. and Saliu, H.A. (1998), Nigeria's Participationin Peace-keeping Operations in Africa; An Analysis of the Cost and Benefits, Defence Studies, 8, pp. 63-78

peacekeeping experience in logistics and training, the UN and its member-states could be expected to do more in supporting regional efforts. UN support will not only have the effect of neutralizing the perception that 'regional hegemons' are at the forefront of local peace initiatives, but it could also do much to enhance the global organization's peacekeeping capabilities, influence and reputation.

As we observed above, the international community is decidedly 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 misunderstanding, it was necessary to put in place an arrangement that would mitigate the consequences of conflict. That arrangement was the peacekeeping process which in its traditional sense was the separation of belligerents and antagonists of usually two or more states. In the immediate post Second World War period, particularly during the cold war, peacekeeping was designed to maintain peace between two usually warring states.

This is another major challenge for peacekeeping in Africa and most of the developing world which form the epicenter of global internal conflicts. As a result, regional and sub-regional peacekeeping operations fail even when they are bankrolled by willing regional powers like Nigeria. It is only interventions from the UN that have witnessed high degree of successes in peace operations. 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 once informed, "what has been seriously lacking… is the capacity and the resolve to give effect to decisions" (Obasanjo, 2000).[33] 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, Sierra Leone Cote d'Ivoire and the Gambia. In its experiences in Chad, Liberia and Sierra Leone, Nigeria suffered the pain of lack of cooperation fueled largely by suspicion. Some of these bitter experiences have been detailed by Adeshina (2002), [34]a

[33]Obasanjo O (2000). "Peace, Security and Development" In Ogwu. J. and Alli. W. (eds)*Years of Reconstruction: Selected Foreign Policy Speeches of Olusegun Obasanjo;* Lagos: NIIA.
[34]Adeshina, R.A., (2002), *Reversed Victory: Story of Nigerian Military Intervention in Sierra Leone*; Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books Nigeria PLC.

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 (Vogt; 1996). [35]Even though Nigeria is in the forefront of states in Africa investing enormous resources in building capabilities in peace operations, but this effort can only be complementary by what the UN and the major powers are prepared to bankroll as apart from the troops, other critical resources including the funds, logistics and necessary political and diplomatic resources cannot be provided by the regional bodies such as the AU and the ECOWAS.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Nigeria is a major player in global efforts to maintain peace and security by the way it conducts her foreign policy 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 acclaimed as a major source of human resources for peace support operations in the world. These activities have endeared her to the international community. However, Nigeria's 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 having critical internal security problem. The Nigerian Police Force has a greater role to play in ensuring its primary responsibility of managing the Nigerians internal security problems and display professionalism when to comes to engagement in the peace operation mission outside the country to meet the global standard practice.

Recommendations

The following recommendations need to be observed to ensure the active roles of Nigerian Police Force both in the internal security management and the conduct of the peace mission externally:

i. their need for the policy makers in Nigeria to uphold the culture of training and retraining of their Police officers as practice all over the world to have a better knowledge of managing internal and external crisis
ii. The UN, AU and ECOWAS need to have framework of budget line that could fund the external peace mission of Nigerian Police Force Officer as claim by various Nigerian Government that the country does not have financial strength

[35]Vogt, M. A. and Aminu, L. S. (1996). *Peacekeeping as a Security Strategy in Africa: Chad and Liberia as Case Studies;* Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing Co.Ltd.

to cover the peace operation to avoid budget crash during the peace operation exercise.

iii. The sponsors of the Peace Operation need to make a mandatory to provide a modern weapon to the dispatching Police Officers so that they can a moral and zeal to restore peace in the posted crisis location.

iv. Nigerian should stop playing politics with the selection process of the deserving Nigerian Police officers with out corruption and nepotism as well as the payment of officer's allowance as when due without much delay.

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