



The Role of the Nigeria Police Force in Peacekeeping Operations

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Abstract: *The Nigeria Police Force first participated in Peacekeeping Operations in 1960 with the deployment of personnel to Congo and ever since the list of countries with Nigerian peacekeepers is now endless. Her peacekeepers have participated in operations in Congo, Namibia, Angola, Western Sahara, Cambodia, Mozambique, Somalia, Rwanda, Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, East Timor, Kosovo, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Afghanistan, Cote D'Ivoire, Burundi, Haiti, Sudan, South Sudan, Guinea Bissau and most recently in Mali. To better organize her peacekeeping operations, the Peacekeeping office of the Nigeria Police Force was established in 2005 with a clear vision and mission which include, equipping personnel with requisite skills and competencies required to meet complex peace support operations environment through the delivery of quality internationally recognized and professional training. Since then, the Force has made giant strides in their areas of operations. It has equally faced many problems and challenges. This paper addresses these identified issues and concludes by positing that Peace-building in consonance with its infrastructure is a more sustainable approach to ensuring regional peace and stability and, therefore, ensuring development for the peoples of West Africa. Nigeria should always stride to succeed in learning from her peacekeeping experiences and making her experiences the source of even greater power.*

Keyword: *Peacekeeping, Conflict and Conflict Resolution, Nigeria Police Force, Peace Building Mechanisms and Inter and Intra-Ethnic Conflicts.*

INTRODUCTION

It is axiomatic to posit that the last twenty years have witnessed major changes in the patterns of global conflicts and in the international community's responses to them. Today, more than 90 percent of armed conflicts take place within, rather than between states (Annan, 1991 and Rourke & Boyer, 2004). With relatively few inter-state wars, traditional rationales for intervention have become decreasingly significant, while humanitarian and human rights principles have increasingly been invoked to justify the use of force in internal wars, not always with the authorization of the Security Council. Sanctions have been used far more frequently in the 1990's than ever before, but with results that are ambiguous at best (Annan, 1999:19).

One of the major encouraging developments of the last decades has been an increase in the number of conflicts settled by negotiation. For instance, the eight years of former President Olusegun Obasanjo administration went down in history as one of the most effective regimes that promoted peace in different parts of the world and restored confidence and credibility to Nigeria. Right from the time Obasanjo took over the reins of government, his message was clear: that peace and reconciliation would feature prominently in his agenda. Little wonder that at the summit of the defunct organization of African Unity, OAU, in 1999, the then President's proposal that Year 2000 be made the year of Peace, Security and Solidarity was unanimously adopted by the Summit.

In September 1999, during the fourth extra-ordinary OAU Summit in Sirte, Libya, Obasanjo's proposal for the convening of a Ministerial Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa, CSSDCA, was similarly adopted. The conference eventually held in Abuja in May

2000. Obasanjo's administration successfully led sub-regional cooperation of the Gulf of Guinea Commission, GGC, in Libreville, Gabon in 1999. The GGC has as its objective the strengthening of economic and political cooperation among member states. The country has successfully held many international conferences to demonstrate its full reintegration in the comity of nations.

In the same manner, Nigeria was largely responsible for dousing the ire created by the potentially dangerous land crisis in Zimbabwe, where President Robert Mugabe had ceded land to veterans of the state's struggle for independence. Obasanjo was able to achieve that using the instrumentality of the Commonwealth, which formally signed the Abuja Agreement which has remained the most credible mechanism for resolving the Zimbabwean crisis.

In Sao Tome and Principe, Obasanjo helped to uphold the sanctity of democracy when the military tried to torpedo its democracy in 2003. President Fradique de Menezes was on a state visit to Nigeria, July 16, 2003, when his government was toppled in a military coup d'état. Using his diplomatic connection and statesmanship, Obasanjo restored De Menezes to power seven days later. The feat was hailed as the first of its kind in Africa. The regime equally contributed to restoring peace in Guinea Bissau in September 2003.

Similarly, the President played a prominent role in returning Togo to constitutionality in 2005. Following the death of President Gnassingbe Eyadema, February 5, 2005 the leaders of the nation's military quickly swore in Faure Gnassingbe, his son, as President, to serve the rest of his father's tenure. Leading other African heads of state, Obasanjo rejected the action and insisted that the country's constitution must be upheld and preserved. The young Gnassingbe eventually stepped down and later won the presidential election held April 2005. He was sworn in, May 4, 2005.

And in Ivory Coast, Obasanjo has worked tirelessly to ensure that the crisis in the country does not escalate to a full-scale civil war. The progress recorded in the country so far is attributed to efforts of the President in collaboration with President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa. In the Mano River area, Nigeria under the leadership of President Obasanjo, helped to broker peace between Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone. In Sierra Leone, Nigeria is playing a leading role in the task of reconciliation after years of devastating civil war. Nigeria has also contributed the sum of \$100, 000 for the take-off of the Special War crime Tribunal to try war criminals (Eme & Okeke, 2011).

Put differently, security development in Africa continues to cause the gravest concern in the West and Central Africa. In particular, the threat that internal conflicts could spread and lead to armed confrontations between and among Sovereign African States is an especially worrying development. This risk is perhaps best illustrated by the on going hostilities in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic and Somali in which a large number of African Nations have become involved. The peace processes in Burundi, Sierra Leone, South Sudan, Sudan, Guinea and Liberia have also shown some progress.

For instance, the 15-year-old crisis in Liberia was effectively brought to an end through Nigeria's ingenious diplomacy. It negotiated the exit of the then President Charles Taylor and enthroned an interim administration led by Gyude Brant. For permanent resolution of the crisis, the Obasanjo regime gave asylum to Taylor in Nigeria. The former president's departure from Liberia facilitated implementation of the Accra Accord leading to successful conduct of presidential election in 2005 in which Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf emerged as first woman president in Africa. As a result of these actions, it has reinforced the United Nations thesis that prevention is better cured by addressing the root causes of conflicts and not merely their symptoms. Early warning is now universally agreed to be a necessary condition for effective preventive diplomacy. It is not, unfortunately a sufficient condition, as the tragedy in Kosovo has demonstrated. As the crisis unfolded, it is assumed that consensus could be achieved for effective action.

In the societies, whose people have been victims of the most brutal conflicts in recent times, the United Nations Observers Missions have worked assiduously to help facilitate a negotiated solution. In close cooperation with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and its Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and other interested members states have actively supported the process of negotiations between the Rebel Groups, which led to the signing of peace pacts. Recognizing the close relationship between the promotion of human rights and sustainable peace, Observer's Missions, in collaboration with

the office of United Nations High Commissions for Human Rights, continues to monitor and report human rights abuses in these conflict zones with a view of ending further violations.

Nigeria's successive participation in both the United Nations (UN) and African Union (AU)-led peacekeeping operations across the world has effectively placed it as a regional power house in maintaining peace, security and stability on the continent. Analysts such as (Agbu, 2006; Best, 2006 and Nnoli, 2008) point to the February 2014 re-election of Nigeria as chair of the UN Peacekeeping Operations Panel, as a recognition of Nigeria's contribution to global peace. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' maiden Annual Report from May 2011 - July 2012, right from the Congo crisis to present troubles, Nigeria has contributed both military and police personnel to more than 40 peacekeeping operations across the world. For instance, the Nigeria Police first participated in Peacekeeping operations in 1960 with the deployment of personnel to Congo. Likewise, the Military was fully involved in that mission (United Nations,1992:3).

This was at the many African countries were yet to gain political independence. Since the Congo involvement, Nigerian peacekeepers were in Namibia, Angola, Western Sahara, Mozambique and Somalia. Other places in Africa in which Nigerian troops have participated in peacekeeping operations include Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cote D'Ivoire, Burundi, Sudan, South Sudan and Guinea Bissau.

Currently, 1,200 Nigerian troops are participating in the Africa-led International Support Mission in Mali (AFISMA), where the Nigerian Air Force deployed two fighter jets - NAF 452 and NAF 455 and helicopter gun-ships. The alpha jets were the lead fighter aircraft during Nigeria's peacekeeping and enforcement duties in Liberia and Sierra Leone (Nigeria Policy Force, 2014:1).

The Nigerian Police Force as lead agency in the maintenance of internal security, have recently been urged to redouble their efforts in the fight against terror and in the provision of security for the Nigerian people. President Goodluck Jonathan made the call while commissioning the International Peace Keeping Centre and Force Museum at the Force Headquarters in Abuja. The President commended the effort of the Police in peacekeeping, which dates back to the 1960s, but noted that the times were changing and the Nigerian Police must braze up. He said that the peacekeeping role was compelling now more than ever before. He described terror as inimical to the progress of the country, pledging the determination of his administration to confront it. To this effect, he ensured the establishment of the centre which would serve as a training hub in the West-African sub region for Police officers being deployed for peace keeping operations. The centre has facilities which include a parade ground, accommodation tents equipped with bedding facilities, a visual shooting range and a 250-seater auditorium, one of the facilities at the centre named after the President (Agbakwuru, 2013:8).

The former Inspector-General of Police, Mohammed Abubakar and the Director, Directorate of Peacekeeping, Kayode Aderanti, both expressed appreciation for the efforts of Government to encourage the Force, describing the centre as an addition. The essence of this paper is to discuss the role the Nigeria Police Force has played in peace keeping operations across the globe. To achieve this objective, the first session of the paper discusses conceptual issues. The next segment addresses the achievements of the force in peace keeping operations. The third part of paper explores the problems and challenges facing the force in her peace keeping operations. The final section offers recommendations and concludes the paper.

Conceptualising Peace-Keeping

The responsibility of the United Nations to save the future generations from the scourge of war is listed in the U.N. Charter as:

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 (United Nations,1992:3)

In other words, peace-keeping operations are essentially one of the most important activities of the United Nations.

The concept of peace-keeping was developed by the United Nations at the start of the Cold War in the late 1940s because of the unworkability of the original collective security system envisaged by the organization and the increasing disagreement among the major powers. It is therefore safe to say that peace-keeping operations are essentially a practical mechanism developed by the United Nations to contain and control armed conflicts and to facilitate their resolution by peaceful means. As a mechanism for controlling inter-State conflict, peace-keeping has thus become an important instrument which the United Nations utilizes to exercise its vital role of maintaining international peace and security. Peace-keeping can therefore be rightly called the invention of the United Nations (Boutros-Ghali, 1992:28). As a third party contingency approach to conflict management, peace-keeping is, according to Bassey (1993:23) "One of the novel techniques" of "Conflict Diplomacy" which has gained wide currency in the contemporary international era. However, despite its extensive application, peace-keeping as a conflict control measure was not foreseen by the founders of the Organisation and therefore not reflected in the theoretical substructure of the U.N. Charter. Rather, it originated as an experimental compromise between collective security and permanent paralysis which confronted the Organisation as a result of the virulent ideological polarization of the international system.

As for the authority for establishing a peace mission, it is clear that the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security is vested with the Security Council as outlined in Chapters VI and VII of the Charter. Chapter VI deals with the "Pacific Settlement of Disputes". UN peacekeeping operations have traditionally been associated with this Chapter. However, the Security Council need not refer to a specific Chapter of the Charter when passing a resolution authorizing the deployment of a UN peacekeeping operation and has never invoked Chapter VI. [Chapter VII](#) on the other hand contains provisions related to "Action with Respect to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace and Acts of Aggression". In recent years, the Council has adopted the practice of invoking Chapter VII of the Charter when authorizing the deployment of UN peacekeeping operations into volatile post-conflict settings where the State is unable to maintain security and public order. The Security Council's invocation of Chapter VII in these situations, in addition to denoting the legal basis for its action, can also be seen as a statement of firm political resolve and a means of reminding the parties to a conflict and the wider UN membership of their obligation to give effect to Security Council decisions.

Chapter VI of the charter which deals with pacific settlement of disputes contains the following articles:

Article 33

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

Article 34

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

Article 35

1. Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.
2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.

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

Article 36

1. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.
2. The Security Council should take into consideration any procedures for the settlement of the dispute which have already been adopted by the parties.
3. In making recommendations under this Article the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

Article 37

1. Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that Article, they shall refer it to the Security Council.
2. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

Article 38

Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 33 to 37, the Security Council may, if all the parties to any dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties with a view to a pacific settlement of the dispute (UNO,2003).

Chapter VII of the charter on the other hand treats action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression in the international system. It cover the underlisted articles:

Article 39

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

Article 40

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

Article 41

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

Article 42

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

Article 43

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

Article 44

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

Article 45

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

Article 46

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

Article 47

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

Article 48

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

Article 49

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

Article 50

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

Article 51

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security(UNO,2003).

Conceptually then, in the event of an international dispute arising between two governments or two authorities, the parties concerned have the obligation, under Chapter VI of the Charter, to seek a solution to their dispute by peaceful means, mainly by negotiation, arbitration or judicial settlement. Where such peaceful means prove insufficient and the dispute escalates into an armed conflict, then Chapter VII is invoked. That Chapter provides that in case of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, the Security Council, acting on behalf of the international community, may take coercive measures to restore and maintain peace. Such measures include essentially, arm embargo, economic sanctions and, in the last resort, the use of armed force. Should the Security Council consider even these measures insufficient it could go further to take actions as provided by Article 42 such actions by air, sea and land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security (Onoja, 1995:3). With such pressures on the U.N. in its formative years and now, Onoja (1995:1) agrees with Larry Fabian's argument on the historical position of the U.N. He says: The U.N. was born into a world soon to be transformed fundamentally and irresistibly. Nowhere has the impact been greater than on the Organisation's career as a peace preserver (Fabian, 1970:1. It is thus clear that the United Nations Peace-keeping Missions are established by an instrument of the Security Council, whose resolutions and decisions are binding on all member States. Even though the Security Council Resolution (SECCO Res.) is the Secretary General's mandate for setting up the Peace Mission, there is still the need for the resolution to be supported by the five permanent members of the Security Council that have veto powers.

Despite the authorizing instrument for the establishment of a Peace-keeping Mission, the approach to peace-keeping represents a different formulation of the United Nations role in the field of peace and security from those envisaged in Chapters VI and VII of the Charter. In other words, it has added a new dimension to the traditional diplomatic instruments of negotiation, conciliation and mediation. The peace-keeping approach has as its base series of assumptions bearing on distinctive conception of the nature of war. As in the policy of containment, the introduction of United Nations Forces into trouble spots helps to stabilize and prevent an exploding military situation until the atmosphere of a more durable settlement is established. As a confidence – building mechanism, peace-keeping activities (or to use Dag Hummarsk

Jold's categorization, preventive diplomacy), aim at removing all forms of mistrust, mitigate tension as well as open the way to further explore possibilities of security cooperation between belligerent States.

Onoja (1995:4) distinguishes two main types of peace-keeping operations. According to him, there is not the observer mission which, is normally composed of officers, who do not carry arms nor can they use force even in self defense. This was the case in United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) Afghanistan and Pakistan, United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIMOG) (Iran and Iraq), and United Nations Angola Verification Mission I (UNAVEM1) (Angola). The second type of peace-keeping is the actual force, comprising officers and men who are armed and can defend themselves, the mandate and their equipment where necessary. Examples include United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), First United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) and United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) (in S/Lebanon).

Building on this categorization, Holsti, (1993) identifies eight roles of peace-keeping. These are:-

Prevention	of future conflicts or eruption of cold conflicts;
Interposition	by separating contestants and providing buffers
Restoration	of a deteriorated situation
Preservation	of a tenuous and threatened peace
Facilitation	of political resolution
Protection	of law and order, public safety and services
Enforcement	of the consensus of the Security Council
Punishment	of violations of agreements or Security Council Resolutions/Decisions (Onoja, 1995.5)

According to Encyclopedia Britannica Britannica (2007), peacekeeping is the use of international forces as a buffer between warring parties pending troop withdrawal and negotiation. It further traced its origin to Kashmir and Palestine in 1948 and later formalized in 1956 during the Suez Crisis between Egypt, Israel, France and United Kingdom. As remarked by Kriesberg, (1992:128) peacekeeping as an operational mechanism of the AU is a recent innovation. International law codifies that securing international peace is the responsibility of the United Nations. The increasing peacekeeping demands around the globe have overwhelmed the UN. This underscores the relevance of the Peace and Security Council of the AU.

The demands of our time have altered the overall concept of peacekeeping to accommodate other key human issues. In the words of Fetherston:

The major task of peacekeeping includes the monitoring and enforcement of ceasefires, observation of frontier-lines and interposing between disputants. However, the concept has undergone substantial changes since the end of the cold war; partly due to more flexibility in the UNSC and partly as a response to the changing nature of conflict (Fetherston, 1993:4).

The outcomes of any peacekeeping mission are of major significance to its planning and operation. This has complicated the understanding of relevant issues on effective peacekeeping. Fetherston persuasively surmised:

The difficulties involved in defining an effective peacekeeping mission are enormous. Such definitions become ultimately tied to the inescapable question of the envisioned outcomes of the mission. This mode of defining effectiveness has an impact on techniques and strategies used in peacekeeping (Fetherston, 1993:109).

In furtherance to this, (Akindele and Ate, 2001:132) posited:

Peacekeeping involves measures that help to create and maintain ceasefires at buffer zones between belligerent states or groups, thereby facilitating the search for a lasting peace through diplomatic channels.

According to Onoja (1995:4):

It is thus clear to view and adopt for use here the definition of peace-keeping as a conflict control mechanism whose principal aims are to diffuse tension and to contain international disputes or conflicts, or to stop them from escalating into armed confrontation. It is only when such a stabilized atmosphere is provided by a Peace-keeping Mission that negotiations through governmental, political and diplomatic machineries (which is the peace-making process) can be employed. It is worthy of note that peace-keeping, by the troops, and peace-making by politicians and diplomats, are complementary.

Akindele and Ate, (2001:132) and Onoja (1995:4) added that two typologies are derivable namely, the unarmed military observer mission, like the ones monitoring ceasefire or elections and armed military based force, for example, the AU mission in Sudan.

According to Parson (1995:124) peacekeeping has expanded in scope, blurring the boundary between peacekeeping and peace building. Corroborating the above, Akindele and Ate (2001:132) added that the nature and intensity of the conflict to be resolved has engendered the agreement that favours other appellations beyond the traditional term of peacekeeping. These include peacekeeping (Cold war or traditional), preventive deployment helping to implement negotiated agreement, protecting delivery of humanitarian supplies, reconstruction and development, ceasefire enforcement and peace-enforcement. In the same vein, Fidlay asserted:

The expanded functions of UN peacekeeping forces in recent times include election observation and organization, humanitarian assistance and security safe conditions for its delivery, observation and separation of combatants along demarcated boundaries, disarming of military and paramilitary forces, promotion and protection of human rights, mine clearance, training and mine awareness, military and police training, boundary demarcation, civil administration, provision of assistance to and repatriation of refugees, reconstruction and development of war devastated areas (Fidlay, 1994:25-27).

For the purpose of this study, peacekeeping is defined as a third-party intervention (often, but not always done by military forces and police) to assist parties in transitioning from violent conflict to peace by separating the warring parties and keeping them apart. Those in peacekeeping operations are not only to provide security, but also facilitate other non-military initiatives that can sustain peace between and among actors in a dispute. The next section of the paper will offer the historical appraisal and analysis of Nigeria Police Force involvement in peacekeeping operations.

History and Appraisal of Nigeria Police Involvement in International Peacekeeping

The involvement of the Nigeria Police in international peacekeeping operations dates back to 1960, when some police officers were deployed to then Congo (now Democratic Republic of Congo). Since then, the Nigeria Police has consistently and creditably participated in several other international peacekeeping missions. Through these operations in countries around the globe, the Nigeria Police has evolved to become a major force for the pursuance of the foreign policy thrust of the federal government towards enhancing world peace and stability under the auspices of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union (AU) and the United Nations (UN).

Nigerian involvement in peacekeeping operations on the continent is in line with its Foreign Policy Afro-centric posture. This commitment undergirds its determination to participate actively in conflict resolution in every part of the world through the instrumentality of the UN peacekeeping operations or that of the AU. Nigeria's roles in the past and at the moment must have been the yardstick used to appoint Nigeria as head of the Peacekeeping Committee of the UN.

In the Congo Peacekeeping Operations, the then Nigerian young military officer, J.T.U. Aguyi-Ironsi, who later became Head of State, was its force commander. Nigeria's Army Generals like Olatunji Olurin, John Sagaya, Victor Malu and Joshua Dongorayo at several times were the force Commanders of the sub-regional peacekeeping operations - the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), spearheaded by Nigeria in 1991 to end the Liberian and Sierra Leonean civil wars. A Nigerian, Maj.-Gen. Moses Bisong Obi, at one time headed the UN/African mission in Darfur (UNAMID).

While many Nigerians keep wondering why their country's interest in quelling crisis in other countries is on the increase, President of the Senate, Senator David Mark, explained that the deployment of troops was in the best interest of the country. Under the constitution, the lawmakers must give their nods before any troops can be deployed to participate in any military mission outside the country. According to the Senate President,

Whatever happens in the whole of Africa will definitely be of concern to us, particularly if it will have ripple effects on Nigeria. The situation in Mali is such that if we didn't get involved, we will not be able to cope with the consequences. And it is on that basis that we should act and act fast by approving the deployment of troops (News Agency of Nigeria, 2013).

The country, however, has won several laurels and awards to show for its contribution to peace. In October 2012, the Acting Head of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), Mr. Louis M. Aucoin, honoured more than 1,500 Nigerian peacekeepers, including 92 women, with UN medals for their contribution to UNMIL and peace in Liberia. The most recent medals awarded to Nigerian contingent were in Southern Sudan.

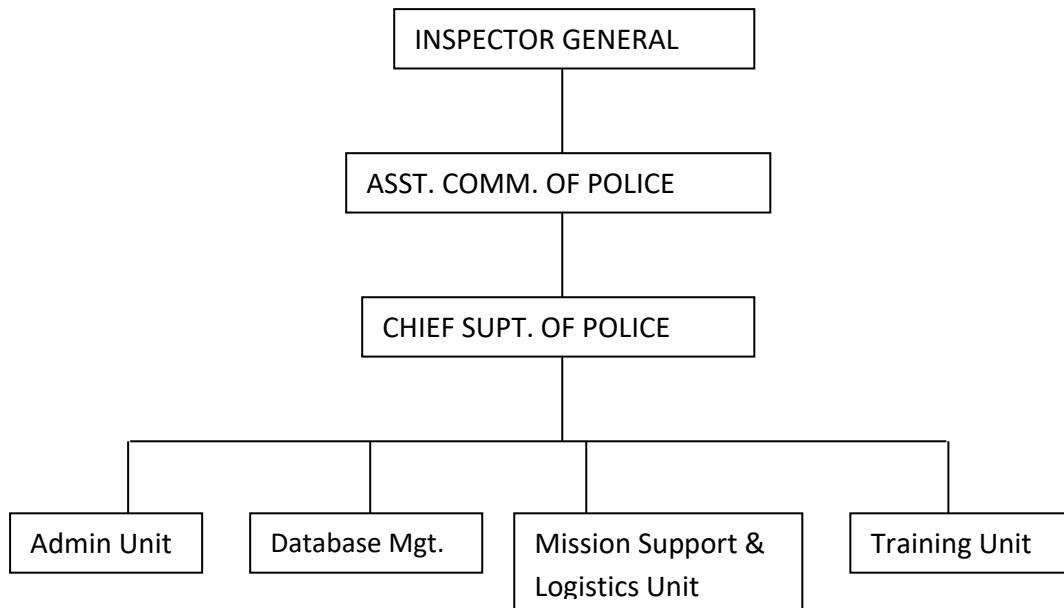
Through its participation in peacekeeping, Nigerian officers have been further trained and exposed to best practices by going through many UN trainings aimed at capacity building. Veterans who participated in peacekeeping return home as better polished and well informed officers. Over 12,000 veteran peacekeepers that were trained and deployed have been awarded UN letters of commendation and medals for outstanding performances during their tour of duty.

Specifically, it was only in June 2004, that the Nigeria Police deployed its first ever Formed Police Unit (FPU), a special, fully armed and equipped operational contingent made up wholly of Police Mobile Force units to United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). The Tours of Duty (TOD) of FPUs is six months, unlike the one year service required of the regular police component. With the deployment to Liberia, Nigeria became the first country in Africa to contribute FPUs to UN peacekeeping operations. The landmark deployment and exemplary performance of the inaugural Nigerian FPUs provoked the UN to demand the deployment of more Nigerian units to other mission areas. Consequently, Nigerian FPUs were in June 2005 deployed to the Democratic Republic of Congo and Haiti in November, 2005. Currently, Nigeria FPUs are serving in UN peacekeeping missions in Liberia (UNMIL) and Haiti (MINUSTA). To fully articulate its major duties in peace keeping operations, the Nigeria government established a peacekeeping department headed by an Assistant Commissioner of police was in January 2005 established in the office of the Inspector General of Police. The schedules of the department include:

- Developing general and specific policy guidelines in support of Nigeria Police Peacekeeping initiative.
- Defining standards for local recruitment of potential peacekeepers
- Selecting, screening, training and equipping Nigeria Police officers for present and future deployment to mission areas.
- Preparation of Nigeria Police officers for United Nations Selection Assistance team (UN-SAT) Test.
- Developing an electronic database of Nigeria Police UN/AU international peacekeeping deployments for record, planning and policy formulation purposes.
- Liaising with UN DPKO, AU and other sub-regional bodies on matters relating to Nigeria participation in peacekeeping operations.
- Liaising with credible international donor agencies with a view to sourcing donor support for the activities of the department.
- Act as the clearing house for all Mission related enquiries and activities involving the Nigeria Police (Nigeria Policy Force, 2014:2).

The organogram of this new department is captured in a pictogram below:

Organizational Structure of the Department of Peacekeeping



Source: Godwin I. Oyakhiromen, Policing and Law Enforcement in Nigeria, (Iagos: NOUN, 2013) P. 174.

Furthermore, the deployment of Nigeria Police Force Personnel in peace keeping missions is captured in the table below:

Peacekeeping Missions involving NPF

S/NO	MISSION	YEAR
1	United Nations Operation in Congo (UNCE)	1960-1965
2	United Nations Assistance Group in Namibia (UNTAG)	1989-1990
3	United Nations Transnational Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)	1992-1993
4	United Nations Protection Force in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR)	1992
5	United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM I, II, III)	1994-1998
6	United Nations Operations in Somalia (UNISOM)	1994-1995
7	United Nations Mission for Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO)	1994-1998
8	United Nations Operations in Mozambique (UNMOZ)	1994
9	United Nations Mission in Rwanda (UNMIR)	1994
10	United Nations Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina (UNMIBH)	1998-2002
11	United Nations Transnational Administration in East Timor (UNTAET)	1999-2002
12	United Nations Assistance Mission in Sierra-Leone	2002-2005

As a foreign policy instrument and to drive home the point that Nigeria will promote peace at all cost, the country under the Obasanjo administration showed its respect for the rule of law by ensuring the peaceful implementation of the International Court of Justice ruling on the territory dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon. The country successfully handed over the disputed Bakassi Peninsula to Cameroon in 2006. The management of the exercise was hailed in the international community as a model resolution for boundary disputes in the world. According to the foreign affairs ministry, *“The policy of conflict prevention, resolution and management is borne out of the realization of the imperative of peace and security for sustainable democracy and economic development in Nigeria and the West African sub-region”* (Ojewale, 2007a:26).

But it seems to be more than that. Nigeria’s peace mission also covers every flashpoint across the globe. For instance, Nigeria is involved in peace mission in the war-torn Darfur in the Sudan, where more than 200, 000 people have been killed and no fewer than one million people made homeless. Even the President himself admitted that much when addressing the Third Biennial Leon H. Sullivan summit Dinner, June 20, 2002, about partnering with the United States on peace mission. “We have partnered with you in the peaceful and democratic transformation in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe. We played our part in moving Sierra Leone from war to elections. Obasanjo said:

We have worked diligently towards bringing peace in the Congo and in Angola. And thanks to the perseverance of President (Jose Eduardo) dos Santos and the people of Angola, we have finally claimed a victory after over 30 years off struggle in pursuit of freedom. The regime also held a political dialogue between Nigeria and the European Union, EU, presidency in May 2004. Substantive agreements were eventually reached on peace and security, governance and development, as well as the restatement of the imperative for cooperation and commitment. (Ojewale, 2007a:26).

Chike Anigbo, a director in the office of foreign affairs minister, says although Africa remains the centerpiece of Nigeria foreign policy, Nigeria’s assistance is usually sought on matters concerning international crises. Little wonder, Obasanjo has taken it upon him to fashion out how to deal with numerous problems facing the continent and worked closely with other African leaders to solve them. “Poverty, disease, underdevelopment, lack of education, you name it, the problems are still there. So, if Africa is the centerpiece of foreign politics, it behooves on Nigeria to see how to ameliorate these challenges; that is what has propelled President Obasanjo, especially since his administration started. He has not relented. He has been to the length and breadth of the African continent relationship; we have tried to build bridges with countries that were not in good terms with us earlier. We have also re-fraternized with countries that kept us at bay during the undemocratic period which was not acceptable by the entire world,” (Ojewale, 2007a:26).

Supporting the above theses, the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) recently commended Nigeria’s continued commitment to its peacekeeping operations in countries affected by conflicts. Mr Herve Ladsous, the Head of the global body peacekeeping operations, reported this when he received the then Inspector-General of Police, Mr Mohammed Abubakar, who was on working visit at the UN Headquarters in York. According to the UN Correspondent of the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN), Mr Herve Ladsous reports that Nigeria occupies the fifth position as the largest Troop Contributing Country after Ethiopia. Ladsous also appreciated the position of Nigeria for providing personnel and equipment for its peacekeepers to boost their operations (United Nations Organisation, 2003:1).

Dr. Efem Ubi, 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.

According to 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.NigerianPolice.ng.org).

However, 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 President Goodluck Jonathan, have done very well in ensuring that Nigeria created a Regional Training Centre for the West African Police Forces.

According to them, the centre would make it possible for police officers within the African region to learn about international peacekeeping operations, stressing that Nigeria had the experience and expertise and the technical know-how. The IGP also disclosed that irregular payment or delay in payment of allowances and salaries of peacekeepers was a thing of the past, adding that he met a messy situation when he assumed office.

Through these 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 ploughed 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.

Primarily as a result of these strategies and policy initiatives, the Nigeria Police international peacekeeping capacity has been bolstered so much that the Nigeria Police Force currently:

- Ranks first in the UN peacekeeping Female Contributing Countries rating.
- Ranks as the sixth Contributory Country (PCC) in the world.
- Boasts of five Nigeria Police officers on United Nations appointments.
- Have a strong reservoir of trained and equipped potential peacekeepers that could be mobilized and deployed or invited to attend UN SAT Test at short notice.
- Have reservoir of trained and all-women unit that could be deployed on peacekeeping operations at short notice (Daka and Tsokar: 4).

Irrespective of these achievements the Nigeria police force are faced with many challenges in her international peacekeeping operations. The next segment of the paper will address these issues.

Challenges and Limitations

According to United Nations (1992:3), problems associated with peacekeeping in Africa include that of acquiring troops, funds and equipment, commitment of contributing states and the very nature of conflict themselves. It becomes pertinent to observe here that two problems above are external factors that can easily negate the aims and objectives of the mission by rendering her strategies dysfunctional.

Former Polish Ambassador to Nigeria, Grzegorz Walinski has commended Nigeria's commitment of billions of naira to peacekeeping operations since 1960 and her deployment of over 250,000 members of the Nigerian armed forces to the United Nation's sponsored missions worldwide. Ambassador Walinski disclosed this at the stakeholders' dinner reception for the Nigeria Security Exhibition and Conference, 2014, organised by First Security Guards Limited in Abuja. He noted that despite the numerous contributions of the country in peace operations, it was assumed that the country had not taken full advantage of its active participation in the numerous peace operations around the world by not getting commensurate economic, military and political remuneration for its participation.

He cited countries like Ghana that had also participated in numerous UN PSOs but generated funds through the process to defray the costs of sustaining its military, while Nigeria on the other hand had largely allegedly deprived itself of such benefits. According to him, the country started peacekeeping operations few days after her independence in 1960 in Congo and since then, the country's forces have

participated in many operations across the globe under varying international legal authority executing a variety of operational mandates. He said:

Her contribution to the UN peacekeeping operations is only surpassed by those of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Over 250,000 members of the Nigerian armed forces have participated in UN sponsored missions worldwide. Having been involved in 40 of the 55 peacekeeping missions of the UN, Nigeria has now participated in 73 percent of all UN peacekeeping operations. Four of these missions have been commanded by Nigeria senior military officers. Nigeria currently has about 6, 000 peacekeepers in various flashpoints, 4, 000 of which are in Darfur, Sudan (Afri que Jet, 2014:4).

The former Polish Ambassador to Nigeria further said that many potential conflicts were effectively prevented due to Nigerian diplomacy. Therefore, Nigeria's direct involvement as chief mediator in a number of territorial disputes and crises effectively allowed to avoid them and in consequence eliminated the threat of their development into full-scale conflicts. Ambassador Walinski noted that the international community was getting fatigued and increasingly reluctant to intervene in Africa's conflicts, adding,

During last two decades, we witnessed gradual but inevitable shift from foreign intervention carried on by European military contingents to establishments and strengthening of Africa's own capability to prevent, to monitor and to resolve crises which inevitably will erupt (Babalola, 2013:3).

He concluded by saying that the main problem of the country was terrorism, though it would not change the country's position as regional leader, stressing that the country had always succeeded in learning from her experiences and making her experiences the source of even greater power.

Specifically, the challenges are not limited to the underlisted:

Deployment Difficulties:

According to The Inter-Parliamentary Union (2004:1), in 1999, the UN was tasked with setting up an interim administration in East Timor and assumed the transitional administration of Kosovo in the same year. In 1999 and 2000, the Council authorized the establishment of new operations in Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Eritrea Ethiopia. The latest surge in demand for complex peacekeeping operations has placed new strains on an already overstretched system. In the past year the Security Council has authorized four new missions in

Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Burundi and Haiti, while planning has already begun for a possible mission in Sudan, and the operation in the Democratic Republic of Congo has been significantly expanded. A robust military presence is considered essential during the initial stages of a peacekeeping operation in order to deter potential spoilers and establish the mission's credibility. Finding troops with the necessary training, equipment and logistical support to effectively undertake the complex and often dangerous tasks required of UN peacekeepers remains a key determinant of an operation's success. However, this is easier said than done, since the member states who possess such troops have often proven unwilling or unable to make them available for UN peacekeeping operations. Threats to the safety and security of UN field personnel has also become an issue of great concern, particularly after the 2003 terrorist attack on UN headquarters in Baghdad, prompting the Secretary-General to order a review of the entire United Nations security system. Improvements are ongoing in this area and require further support by Member States.

Currently, Nigerian contingent deployed to East Timor is experiencing this problem with Indonesian Government. This is because the Government East Timor has refused unhindered passage of arms and ammunition through their territories to mission areas.

Language Barriers: The Obvious difficulties confronting Nigerian peacekeepers in non-English speaking countries are compounded by social and cultural differences, which make it imperative for the best available men and women to be deployed for peacekeeping duties. The UN DPKO has a role to play in this by not sending non-English speaking UNPOLs to conduct SAT Test in English speaking countries. The could affect recruitment of quality peacekeeping team.

Inadequate Funding

Nigeria has made tremendous contributions beside money, in the air and sea lift, intelligence, planning and logistical support to U.N. contingents mostly her troops to U.N. Peace missions provide an implicit subsidy to the U.N., both by bearing the expense of the specialized training necessary to prepare their forces for U.N. work, which Nigeria is among.

According to The Inter-Parliamentary Union (2004:2) UN peacekeeping is far cheaper than the alternative, which is war. In 2003, UN peacekeeping cost about US\$2.6 billion, while, in the same year, Governments worldwide spent more than US\$794 billion on arms. The approved peacekeeping budget for the year 2004-2005 is US\$2.8 billion. However, with the additional requirements of the new and recently expanded missions, as well as the possibility of a new mission in Sudan, that amount could grow by a further US\$2.38 billion. All Member States are legally obliged to pay their share of peacekeeping costs under a complex formula that they themselves have established. Despite this legal obligation, Member States owed approximately US\$1.2 billion in current and back peacekeeping dues as of June 2004.

In addition, all the peacekeeping operations conducted under the auspices of United Nations, Nigeria have undertaking some peacekeeping operation under bilateral, regional and sub regional initiatives. Under bilateral agreement are Tanzania in 1964 and Chad, 1978. While under OAU and ECOWAS are Chad in 1981, Liberia in 1990 and Sierra Leone in 1996. It takes money to keep the peace, and money for peacekeeping is in chronically short supply (Eme and Okeke, 2011:309-322). To fund its operations, the United Nations collects dues or assessments from each of its member states. U.N. assessments are treaty obligations that members are bound to pay under international law. Nigeria is reputed to have honoured her financial obligations to U.N. Peacekeeping Operations. Problem arises when the contingents demand their allowances. For instance,

Members of the Nigeria Police contingent to Liberia, Haiti and Sudan on [United Nations' Peacekeeping Missions](#), have discreetly protested the failure of the Police High Command to pay their duty tour allowances running into billions of naira, months after they returned to the country, the [Nigerian Tribune](#) reported on Saturday. The 600-man contingent, which comprise officers and men drawn from various state police commands across the country, are suspicious that their superiors had squandered the \$6,000 the UN had approved for each officer, and passed to the police headquarters in Abuja for onward disbursement to the peacekeepers (Eme and Okeke, 2011:311).

Recommendations

The future of Africa carries alongside it, traits of vulnerability to conflict. Effort should be geared towards an ensuring peace in future. Accordingly, Ake (1996:4) enunciated conditions for peace in Africa thus:

- (1) Democratization should be a major part of the solution to conflicts in Africa because it guarantees the rule of law protects political rights, human rights, economic and social freedoms and fosters an environment conducive for the growth of peace and development.
- (2) There should be proper understanding of the international contradictions within individual African states to enable the correct assessment of threats and avoid pitfalls inherent in the unpredictability factors.
- (3) Conflict management should incorporate the principle of integrated security based on the proper management of national affairs, which, in turn, would inspire the populace and create legitimacy.
- (4) There is the need for socialization focused on education, particularly of the young with the aim of building a future generation disposed to peaceful co-existence. The teaching of civic education including constitutional democracy and the constitution should be made part of individual national education curriculum.
- (5) Africa states should be conscious of the dangers posed by the commercialization of conflicts in Africa by mercenaries, multinationals, foreign syndicates and local warlords who, by their profit-driven motives, exacerbate African conflicts.

- (6) The size of the national armed forces should be determined by establishing a rational balance between the public welfare and national security.
- (7) Poverty-alleviating programmes should be instituted by individual national governments as a major instrument for ensuring and protecting peace and stability.
- (8) Attempts at redesigning conflict management strategies should bear in mind the multifaceted nature of African conflicts.
- (9) An amendment of the “non-interference” clause is necessary for mechanism in view of the increase in intra-state conflict in the continent.
- (10) Personal diplomacy can be made more effective in conflict management through the intervention of “Eminent Persons’ Group” while seeking solution to conflicts (Ake, 1996:4).

Specifically, from the above discourse, we recommend as follows:

The Nigeria Police Force should collaborate with other security agencies in areas of capacity building and competence needed in an ever changing international environment to fight and combat crime and criminality. One way of achieving this is for those in security networks to sign a partnership part the Nigeria Police to train and retrain her personnel in contemporary policing and crime fighting. Again, the Nigeria Police Force and Nigerians should commend the current National Security Adviser for using his office and appointment to promote peace and security, enduring lasting security platforms for better coordination of the security agencies in Nigeria. Related to this, the organizers of peacekeeping missions should work with the UNO, ECOWAS and AU and the federal government of Nigeria to make welfare and security of its citizens and peacekeepers both at home and abroad the centre-piece of its foreign policy.

Furthermore, we also recommend that Nigeria should restore its relations with neighbouring countries particularly in the area of defense; but should not align with any power bloc. We also propose that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should be the principal and focal point in the formulation, advice and implementation of the country’s foreign policy. Nigeria should aspire to be the “Policeman” of Africa and the U.S. of West Africa a dedicated peacekeeping training curriculum which begin from the military school (at the lowest level) to the National War College at the highest level should and must focus on basic skills like patrolling, Map reading, observation post duties, mine clearing, road-blocks, manning, first aid administration, communication as well as knowledge of international laws and conventions.

Apart from the above course contents of infantry centers and schools, including Command and Staff Colleges should be synchronized with international standard in peacekeeping. The institutes should be expanded to accommodate training of officers in escort duties, ensuring impartiality and neutrality in peacekeeping and ambush drills, cordon and search and guarding.

Conclusion

This study examined the Nigeria’s police peace-keeping operations across the globe. From the analysis, it was established that Nigeria stays committed to the peace process through thick and thin in the world. Although crises have continued to defy all efforts aimed at achieving a lasting peace, but the commitment of Nigeria to the peace process across the regions is commendable. Relief may have eventually come the way of parties to the crisis with the resolution of some of the conflicts, but the strategic role that Nigeria played in the process cannot be ignored. This further explains Nigeria’s big brother role on the continent of Africa and also lends credence to the assertion that Nigeria remains a significant factor in global peace keeping.

Meanwhile, these principles are enshrined in Nigeria foreign policy objectives concentrated in promotion and development of Africa. This is expressed through her numerous peacekeeping mission in the sub-region and the globe. The importance of UN peacekeeping operations and the enormous, political, logistical and financial challenges involved cannot be down played especially at a time when the UN is faced with acute shortages of personnel and equipment for ongoing and upcoming peacekeeping efforts, Nigeria, can encourage Member State governments to assist the Organization in filling the troop commitment and equipment gaps.

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