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LAW, CONCEPTS AND AGENT PROVOCATEUR IN NIGERIA`S PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

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Abstract
Since 1960 when Nigeria participated at the peacekeeping mission in Congo, she has participated in at least 41 other missions within and outside the African continent in conjunction with the United Nations, African Union, and Economic Community of West African States. Records have shown that most conflicts in Africa are worsened because parties in the conflicts are usually aided by foreign powers. In respect to international law, Nigeria does not apply unilateral actions when embarking on peacekeeping operations in the crises of other countries. Her peacekeeping activities have been strictly guided by both international and domestic laws. This research critically examines some of the laws which have become obsolete and is important to create new scholarship from this gap. Using the narrative analysis method, this paper narrates and examines the laws which guide Nigeria`s participation in peacekeeping operations and how such laws could be reviewed to align with current realities. It has also identified similar causes of the problems, which lead to conflicts. Results show that coups and foreign interferences play major roles in escalating conflicts in Africa and beyond. Therefore, it recommends the use of preventive diplomacy, building egalitarian societies, regional or multilateral interventions in times of conflicts and the need for foreign countries to be sanctioned whenever they unilaterally encroach on the sovereignty of other countries.
KEYWORDS: Nigeria, legal, peacekeeping, participation, UN, ECOWAS, AU.

Introduction

The main purposes of the United Nations are to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to maintain international peace and security. These purposes are guided by principles and laws rectified by the 193 member states. The laws that guide international relations and their interpretations are advisedly directed in Article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice, (ICJ). It mandates the Court to apply the following sources of law in the course of deciding disputes:

(a) international conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by contesting states;
(b) international custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law;
(c) the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations;
(d) … judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law."

Paragraph (c) of this article is controversial and discriminatory because it does not mention the names of the "civilized nations". Such a clause contradicts the preliminary declaration of the principles of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961) which recognizes the *sovereign equality of States.*

Since there are 193 signatories, it is irrelevant to refer to some members as "civilized nations". Without stating it expressly, it also means that some members are "uncivilized". On the other hand, there is no parameter to measure how the laws of so-called "civilized nations" are superior to those of "uncivilized nations". For example, while the laws of a "civilized nation" like the United States permits its people to carry firearms, such laws do not exist in many

"uncivilized nations". In comparison, the rate of killing in the US by those who carry fire arms is higher than what happens in "uncivilized nations". In 2021 for example, Gramlich (2023) shows that 22,941 persons died from gun-related homicide in the US. This represents a rate of 6.81% per 100,000 persons. More Americans died of gun-related injuries in 2021 than in any other year on record.

In contrast, private citizens are not permitted to carry fire arms in Mauritius. Records from Intentional Homicide (2022), shows that he number of homicide in 2021 was 34. This is a rate of 2.62% per 100,000 persons. The figure of persons killed in the US is far higher than Mauritius which the Global Peace Index (2023) declared as the most peaceful country in Africa. On what basis will ICJ judge Mauritius as uncivilized? Is it by the level of industrialization, wealth, indebtedness or the dismal history of colonialism? There is a lacuna in the article of the ICJ. Laws should be reviewed to align with realities and measurable indices.

On the other hand, the three basic principles of United Nations on peacekeeping, demand that before troops could be deployed to conflict areas, the mission must have the Consent of the parties; Impartiality and non-use of force except in self-defense and defense of the mandate.

Now, these principles are hugely challenged. The principle of waiting to get the consent of the conflicting parties lead to the loss of lives and property.

For example, international attention was given to Rwanda only after the genocide of 1994 had consumed 800,000 persons between 7 April and 15 July 1994. Why was the UN silent for three months? Why was the UN silent for the 3 years that civil war ravaged Nigeria between 1967 and 1970? UN News reports (2023) shows that the renewed conflict between Hamas and Israel started on 7 October 2023 and within two weeks, 5,000 persons had been killed and some 15,273 persons injured. Why does the UN not quickly move from the rhetoric?

Though Chapter VII of the UN Charter contains provisions connected to "Action with Respect to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace and Acts of Aggression" , this mandate is mostly delayed in application.

Impartiality continues to set in as countries now take side whenever another country is at war. In some case, they unilaterally supply weapons that worsen the war. In some cases, foreign countries sponsor the military coups in developing countries in other to install their stooges through whom they exploit the natural resources of such countries. On this premise, this research wishes to examine how foreign interventions aggravate conflicts. law and concept inform the operations of the UN and Nigeria in peacekeeping operations.

Literature review

The rule of law guides all peacekeeping operations. Bingham (2011), a retired jurist believes that the rule of law is "constantly on people's lips," but he was never "quite sure what it meant." On the other hand, Dicey (1885) describes it as a result of judicial decisions determining the rights of private persons in particular cases brought before the courts.

However, law as a concept in this paper, is the set rules and acceptable standards, agreed upon by either a government -for domestic use - or by a body of governments who came together on an international platform, to design guidelines and regulations under which they shall dutifully operate and respect. The set of rules could be interpreted or adjudicated as a rule of law. The United Nations (n.d) states that "Peacekeeping comprises activities, especially military ones, intended to create conditions that favor lasting peace. Peacekeeping has unique strengths, including legitimacy, burden sharing, and an ability to deploy and sustain troops and police from around the globe, integrating them with civilian peacekeepers to advance

multidimensional mandates. This paper examines the rules guiding peacekeeping and offer suggestions to actions needed to update some of the rules in line with modern realities.

Theoretical framework

This research is hinged on the Liberalist theory of international relations. It is believed that international diplomacy and cooperation, through proper institutions, is a potent way for countries to interact. They must do this through the interdependence of economics, finance, security and culture. Shiraev, et al (2014) posits that the resultant mutual benefit is achieved when countries work together to maximize prosperity and minimize conflict. Peacekeeping and the laws guiding the operations are functions of international relations. Over the years, in pursuit of international peace and security, various countries across continents, have pulled resources and personnel together, with the common goal of securing the world.

Methodology

The choice of using the narrative analysis lies in its ability to interpret, analyze and to provide valuable insights into the complexities of the problems. The goal includes capturing and reviewing existing literatures and other references, towards arriving at conclusions and results that could proffer recommendations.

The sources for this research were drawn from books, journals and internet materials-especially from newspapers which gave updates on information that are yet to be academically published.

The research is structured into five parts. The first part is an introduction to the background of the work. This is followed by the legality of Nigeria`s participation in peacekeeping operations. The third part examines the concepts behind Nigeria`s peacekeeping, while part four examines the agent provocateur in Nigeria`s peacekeeping operations. The research concludes with a recommendation in the fifth part.

Discussing the legal background and the Concept of Nigeria`s Participation in Peacekeeping Operations

Nigeria became a member of the United Nations in 1960 and between 2014 and 2015, Nigeria served as a temporary member of the United Nations Security Council. Just weeks after gaining independence in 1960, Nigeria deployed its first contingent of peacekeepers to the Congo. Since then, according to the UN (2023), hundreds of thousands of Nigerian military, police, and civilian personnel have served under the UN flag across 41 operations worldwide.

Legitimacy to Nigeria`s peacekeeping is based on chapter 1 and 5 of the UN charter. Chapter 1 of the charter states the imperative need "to maintain international peace and security'. Chapter V states that the Security Council has the "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security..." Chapter VI outlines a range of peaceful measures to be employed. Chapter VII states that "the Security Council ...may take such actions by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary". Chapter VIII provides for the involvement of regional partners in maintaining international peace and security. Nigeria's desire to embark on peacekeeping is hinged on her belief and avowed concern for security issues within and outside the country because she believes that her internal security is connected to regional and global security. This is guided by the Nigerian Constitution (1979) as enshrined in Chapter 2 section 14. 2 (b): The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government.

Chapter VIII, Art. 52(1) of the UN Charter (n.d) states that "regional arrangements" could take "appropriate" regional actions when there are security challenges. Such actions

could be taken in response to "matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security. However, such operations must be "consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. In Chapter VIII, Art. 53(1) the UN Security Council is further empowered to cooperate with regional authorities for the purpose of achieving "enforcement actions". Regional authorities are also obligated to seek authorization from the UN Security Council authorization. before they embark on enforcements. On the other hand, there must be communication and reports with the UN whenever region embarks on peacekeeping operations. Chapter VIII, Art. 54 states that the Security Council must "at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements...for the maintenance of international peace and security." It is based on these provisions of the Charter that Nigeria and ECOMOG cooperated with the UN in enforcing regional peace and security during the wars in Liberia (United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), 1999-2003, and Sierra-Leone (United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) 1998-2005.

Nigeria does not have a national regulatory framework that dictates the course of actions for peacekeeping. Rather, Section 305 of the 1999 Constitution vests powers in the President of Nigeria to declare a state of emergency within the country. The law does not grant him power to extend such rights outside the country. Hitherto, the president simply gives approval for national contingents to participate in peacekeeping. According to Punch (2022), the National Assembly passed a 2018 Bill for an Act to Provide for Statutory Regulations of Peace Keeping Operations by Members of the Nigerian Armed Forces, the Nigeria Police, the Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps and Other Security Organisations; and for Related Matters. When signed into law by the President, it will become the duty of the National Assembly to approve Nigeria's peacekeeping missions. The concept of Nigeria`s participation in peacekeeping lies on her commitment to promote and protect her foreign relations. This is in line with Section 19 of the 1999 Constitution, which states the objectives of Nigeria's foreign relation under the Nigerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (n.d), two aspects of the related policies are the promotion of international cooperation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nation, and elimination of discrimination in all its manifestation. The other part is respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication. As a member of the United Nations since 1960, Nigeria is, to a larger extent, obligated to respect the Charter of the United Nations. Chapter VII mandates the body to take a*ction with respect to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression*. This Chapter is usually invoked as a legally binding force when approving the deployment of UN peace operations. Through consistent participation, Nigeria built infrastructures that enhanced her participation in peacekeeping. The country has committed huge material and human resources into peacekeeping operations globally. Some of her personnel have lost their lives in the process. Posthumous awards have been given to Premium Times (2020) reports that Nigerians who lost their lives during peacekeeping operations. Such officers include: Henry Ukomadu, a police sergeant, Moshood Lasisi, an Army warrant officer and Gabriel Shogaolu, a civilian, who died while serving with the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) between 2017 and 2019.

Some of the structures built by the Nigerian government to enhance the framework for her participation in peacekeeping is the Nigerian Police Peacekeeping Office. The office was established in 2005 with the aim of engaging in meaningful research and for the training of officers for global deployment in support of operations. The office continues to equip personnel with the needed skills and capacities needed for complex peace support operations in all environments, towards professional and international best practices.

Since the first deployment of the Nigeria police in 1960 to peacekeeping in Congo, they have participated in subsequent operations in Western Sahara, Namibia, Cambodia, Somalia, Angola, Mozambique, Rwanda, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Yugoslavia, Macedonia, Croatia, East Timor, Sierra Leone, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Burundi, Haiti, Cote D'Ivoire, Sudan, Guinea Bissau, South Sudan, etc.

Records by the Nigeria Police Force (n.d) shows that in 1960 the Nigeria police deployed the first ever contingent of Individual police officers (IPOs) to UN mission in the Congo led by ACP Louis Edet while the pioneer Formed Police Unit (FPU) of 120 officers and men were deployed to Liberia in 2004 under[...] over twelve thousand personnel to various UN/AU and ECOWAS peace support operations. Nigeria believes that peacekeeping and peacemaking should be followed with two pronged offensive and defensive approaches depending on the situation. The first approach to achieving peace and attracting negotiation is to take actions that will intensify the war so that conditions that will support negotiations for ceasefire will present itself. This approach jettisoned the traditional method of allowing the warring parties to agree on a truce or cease-fire before peacekeepers are deployed.

The second approach is to employ diplomacy and the traditional method of allowing conflicting parties to agree to a ceasefire before peacekeepers are deployed. The war in Liberia was a litmus test for the two approaches of Nigeria. Liberian rebel leader Charles Taylor turned down attempts at negotiations. The ensuing violence by rebel troops killed many civilians. This happened under the purview of General Arnold Quainoo of Ghana who, as a career UN officer, glued his tactics to the need for peaceful negotiation. During this period, General Joshua Dogonyaro of Nigeria was appointed as ECOMOG Field Commander. He immediately resorted to the Nigerian option of attack as a way of defense. The counter violent actions he took recorded success as it forced Charles Taylor to quickly call for negotiation towards ceasefire. In the case of Sierra Leone, Nigeria set out to use force. Ironically, when these activities were happening abroad, it was a period when government opposition groups were being suppressed back home in Nigeria under the dictatorial rule of late Sani Abacha who was merely hustling for international recognition after coming into office through military coup. President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah has just been overthrown through a coup on 25 May 1997 led by Major Johnny Koroma. The elected President escaped to Conakry, Guinea. Nigerian forces moved in from neighboring Liberia and stationed at the airport where they proposed to use the principle of `Containment` This was a strategy propagated by the United States of America in 1947 during the Cold War by George F. Kennan against the spread of communism. Nigeria wanted to prevent the spread of the Liberian crises within and outside Sierra Leone. Thereafter, Nigerian troops began shelling from the airport and various casualties were recorded. Some Nigerian soldiers were allegedly held hostage by the rebel forces. Other African countries did not support the tactics of Nigeria. However, with the intervention of other heads of state and governments, a meeting was held in Abuja Nigeria, where they endorsed the stand of Foreign Ministers in their meeting held on June 26. Reuters (1997) records that ECOMOG was mandated on to only *monitor the ceasefire, enforce sanctions and embargo and secure the peace in Sierra Leone*. Most of Nigeria`s peacekeeping operations in West Africa took place during the military era in Nigeria. They were received with mixed feelings based on the intentions and outcomes. This is especially so because the military regime in Nigeria came into power through coups. The external actions reportedly taken by Nigeria included support for Yahyah Jammeh when he seized power in 1994. French (1997) reports that *in Chad, Nigeria subsidizes gasoline consumption, assuring itself strong influence over a long unstable state. In Benin and Niger, Nigeria brought uncooperative governments to their knees with the simple act of stopping or quietly slowing trade.*

The concepts behind Nigeria`s peacekeeping

Various factors inform Nigeria`s idea to promote international stability. Some of the factors are:

Peace Promotion: There is the need to help in ensuring stabilization, prevention of the total collapse of fragile states, protecting civilians and to prevent conflicts from spreading across national borders and breeding extremist groups around regions. Over 300 tribes form the Nigerian state. The notion of unity is hinged on the belief that these tribes should be loyal for the peace and development of the country. For Yoroms (1993), he states that *Nigeria`s moral belief is that countries` existence depend on the traditional African concept of collectivism.*[1] Therefore, Nigeria believes that for her to sustain national peace, it must be involved in keeping peace within her region and beyond. This is a way of avoiding the spill-over effects of conflicts from other countries.

Fear of regional hegemony: Studies by Jakkie and Malan (1996) states that the fear of regional hegemony[2] is a potent reason for countries to participate in peacekeeping. They referred to the three Baltic countries of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania whose existence were under the tutelage of Russia. It is necessary for such countries to participate in peacekeeping operations in order to guarantee support from other countries whenever Russia decides to intimidate or attack them. West African countries with smaller population such as Togo (8.082m), Gambia (2.3m), Sierra Leone (7.8m) and Liberia (4.9m)[3] need to be encouraged to participate in peacekeeping to safeguard their sovereignties. This is especially so because of the history of military incursions. Support for such countries by Nigeria preserves peace in those smaller countries and prevents the social and economic consequences of refugee influx and other social vices in cases of conflicts.

Improving professionalism: Nigerian soldiers will be redundant if they do not exercise their training and profession. External exposure offers them the opportunity to mix up with troops and personnel from other countries and to update with best practices. Their participation also takes them away from interfering with national issues that could be handled by the police. Nigerian soldiers could be brutal when they clash with civilians or other security agencies. Several cases of army brutality have been recorded against unarmed civilians. Some time ago, a civilian with physical disability was severely beaten by some soldiers for wearing camouflage trousers worn by Nigerian soldiers. His wheelchair was thrown away as he was being brutalized. However, the army authority condemned the action by visiting and apologizing to the victim. The erring soldiers were reportedly disciplined (BBC 2017).

Re-imbursement: Peacekeeping usually come with financial remuneration which is mostly higher than the regular salaries back home due to allowances for the risk factors and other provisions. For example, Nigerian Jobs (2023) notes that the monthly salary of a Nigerian soldier in the rank of a Sergeant is 63,000 naira (140euro) as of 2023. In comparison, BBC (2018) notes that what is received as peacekeepers, the salaries at home are peanuts. Countries sending troops (including police and military experts) are paid $1,410 (£1,017) per month per soldier by the UN, which is considerably higher than the average wage in many countries.

Cost effectiveness and shared burden bearing: It is cheaper for a country to join others in participating in peacekeeping than abstaining from it or bearing the financial responsibilities alone. In 2018 during the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Central Africa Republic (MINUSCA), *the government of the United States of America realized that a*

US operation of roughly the same size and duration would cost at least $5.7 billion – nearly eight times more than the $700 million the US contributed to MINUSCA over the same period. During ECOMOG operations in West Africa, participating countries made financial commitments. However, Nigeria paid the bulk of the expenses.

Peacekeeping presents a common platform where the collective resources of the international community are collectively harnessed. Such resources include human capacity, technical and technological abilities, financial contributions and professional interactions. The contributions give room for division of labour and the burden bearing and sharing that comes with the deployment.

Best practices: The highest international standards are brought to bear when international troops are brought together to achieve a common course. The competitively high standards, discipline, the use of modern equipment, effective information flow and modern tactics, offers new forms of training and exposures to the peacekeepers. When Nigerian troops return to their home countries, some of them are used in teaching their colleagues lessons learned. In the area of physical development, various infrastructures were built by the Nigerian government to improve her peacekeeping policies. For example, a special training center for Nigerian peacekeepers was established in 2004 at the Peacekeeping Wing (PKW) of the

Nigerian Army Infantry Corps Centre in Kaduna. Adeniyi (2017) recorded that it was *upgraded and made an autonomous training institution in 2009 with a new name: the Nigerian Army Peacekeeping Centre (NAPKC). The center undertakes research and delivers training that contributes to peace support operations worldwide [...] to give Nigerian troops pre-deployment training on Peace Support Operations [...] NAPKC has delivered over 230 courses and trained over 53,000 peacekeepers.*

In furtherance to this, the Peacekeeping office of the Nigeria Police Force (2017) was established in 2005 with a vision to *research, train and deploy for global peace support operation* and a mission *to equip personnel with requisite skills and competencies required to meet complex peace support operations environment through the delivery of quality internationally recognized and professional training.* In furtherance to this, the Peacekeeping office of the Nigeria Police was established in 2005 with a vision to *research, train and deploy for global peace support operation* and a mission *to equip personnel with requisite skills and competencies required to meet complex peace support operations environment through the delivery of quality internationally recognized and professional training.*

Agent Provocateur in Nigeria`s Peacekeeping Operations

There are several related factors that provoke the conflicts in which Nigeria participated in peacekeeping operations. I have examined these factors so that I could offer some recommendations that may address the problems from the roots.

Firstly, some of the conflicts were caused by power tussle at a period immediately after gaining independence. Secondly, the conflicts were worsened because foreign countries took sides and supported the agitators with the supply of weapons which further worsened the conflicts. Thirdly, the quest for resource control played a major factor and also attracted foreign powers. The wars and military coups in Africa mostly had backings from either former colonialists or other super powers who saw such conflicts as proxy wars between super powers who have economic interests towards harvesting the natural resources of the conflicting countries-especially in Africa. Examples of the mentioned causes of conflicts occurred in the following countries:

i). Congo

This was the first country where Nigeria participated in her first peacekeeping mission under the United Nations Operation in Congo (ONUC) 1960-1964. In Congo, the war began after the country became independent from Belgium in 1960. The U.S. and the defunct Soviet Union backed the opposing factions while Belgium supported the secessionist states of Katanga to fuel the crises in their former colony. In 1960, Mobutu Sese Seko, who was serving as Chief of Staff of the Army, was reportedly supported by Belgium and the United States, to depose the democratically elected government of Patrice Lumumba.

In 1967, China helped Laurent-Desire Kabila and his supporters to form the People's Revolutionary Party (PRP). The party failed and Kabila escaped. In 1996, he reappeared and led Tutsi soldiers to attack Hutu troops in South Kivu which was the base of his former party. This action started the First War of Congo. Again, he enjoyed the support of other countries such as Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda and he succeeded in removing Mobutu Sese Seko from office on 17 May 1997 on the platform of his new organization known as the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (ADFL). Kabila suspended the constitution, and changed the name of the country from Zaire to the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In 1998 Uganda and Rwanda invaded Congo with the goal of toppling Congo's President Laurent-Desire Kabila who they accused of harboring rebel forces in the eastern part Congo with the aim of destabilizing their governments. During the conflict in Congo under Kabila, Uganda and Rwanda, pitched their troops around river Congo to loot the diamond of Congo. Though both countries do not have diamond, they became exporters as they flew diamonds, gold, and palm oil from Congo. Kigali's Kanombe airport in Rwanda received these products daily from Congo. Most of the stuff they carry- diamonds, gold, and palm oil, doesn't even leave the airport. It gets loaded on planes for Europe and shipped right out. Rwanda reportedly used some of the proceeds of the sales to finance the war against Kabila and his allies - Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

ii). Angola

Nigeria participated in the peacekeeping operations in Angola between 1989 and1997 by providing military and civilian personnel under the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA). The war began in Angola between the forces of the People`s Movement for the Liberation of Angola (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, MPLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola UNITA) due to power tussle that occurred after gaining independence from Portugal in 1975. Various countries took sides and sent their supports. Cuban soldiers, Brazilian airmen and the former Soviet Union backed the People`s Movement for the Liberation of Angola. The BBC (2002) and Wright, George (1997, pp110) wrote that the U.S. and South Africa backed the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola while the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA) was supported by the People's Republic of China (Jackson, 1995).

During the war in Angola, diamond was sold to fund ammunition and logistics. Diamond and Petroleum were major attractions to both the causes and the support by foreign countries who saw the conflict as an opportunity to exploit the resources of the country. Angola`s natural resources are vast. It includes diamond, petroleum, iron ore, copper, manganese, gold, phosphates, uranium, feldspar, and platinum.

iii). Sierra Leone

Nigeria was part of the ECOMOG peacekeeping mission in Sierra Leone 1997-2000. During the war in Sierra Leone, diamond was also sold to fund ammunition for the war. According to Miesen (2012), *by the war's end, the Revolutionary United Front, RUF was generating an annual $25 million to $ 125 million this way.* People were hungry for power because they were hungry for resource control. Under the leadership of Charles Taylor, he used blood diamond and illegal timber to fund the war in Sierra Leone.

In April 2012 when the UN Special Court in The Hague found the former Liberian President Charles Taylor guilty, it was mainly as a result of the role he played when he supported RUF to take over the mines of Sierra Leone in order to have enough diamond to fight the war against the government of President Joseph Saidu Momoh. It was reported that Taylor supported RUF against the regime of President Momoh because Momoh allegedly supported Samuel Doe against Charles Taylor during the Liberian war. Other mineral resources in Sierra Leone which attracted Taylor are the natural endowments in chromite, bauxite, gold, iron ore, rutile, limonite, columbite, coltan, platinum, tantalite and zircon.

iv). Mali

Nigeria participated at the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali from 2013. Immediately after independence from France in 1960, historical distrust gave rise to four Tuareg and Arab uprisings which took place in 1963, 1991, 2006 and 2012. External factors also precipitated the conflicts. Northern Mali became an attraction to Libya and Algeria to broaden their geopolitical prominence. Colonel Qaddafi of Libya used it as an opportunity to create a League of Grand Sahara Tribes where he hoped to be a continental leader. On the other hand, Algeria considered Mali as the nearest proximity to promote its own national security agenda. Among other issues, there are conflicts over the control and management of land especially in agricultural areas.

v). Namibia

Nigeria participated at the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia 1989-1990. The struggle for independence from South Africa caused the conflict in Namibia as South Africa did not want to let go after their legal mandate for their occupation expired. The mandate was later dissolved by the UN due to the apparent misuse of power which sidelined the participation of the indigenes in the policies of government. The ensuing insurgency by the People`s Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) and the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) showed that South Africa desired to hold on to Namibia as an extended province because of his huge mineral resources which was often exploited.

Namibia is naturally endowed with diamonds, uranium, copper, magnesium, zinc, silver, gold, lead, semi-precious stones and industrial minerals. Diamonds and uranium remain the country's most dependable export for revenue.

vi). Western Sahara

Nigerian contingents were was part of the United Nations Mission for Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) in 1991. After freeing itself from the stronghold of Spain, a second quest for independence ignited another crisis with Morocco. In 2020, the United States recognized Moroccan sovereignty over Western Sahara. Magid (2020) believes that the condition for the recognition was that Morocco would normalize relations with Israel. This meant that the US was willing to sacrifice the sovereignty of Western Sahara on the platter of diplomacy. France

also supported Morocco over Western Sahara. On the other hand, Algeria supported West Sahara while Russia remained neutral.

vii). Aouzou Strip

Nigeria and 14 other personnel from Ghana, Bangladesh, Honduras, Kenya, and Malaysia were deployed between 4 May and 6 June 1994 as a United Nations Aouzou Strip, Libya/Chad Observer Group (UNASOG) to verify the withdrawal of the Libyan administration and forces from the Aouzou Strip in accordance with the decision of the International Court of Justice (ICG. 2012).

In 1973, Libya forcefully intended to use its military might to take control of the Aouzou Strip from Chad because it is rich in uranium deposit. This action led to the intensive war between Libya and Chad which called for the intervention of the United Nations. The area is a strip of land located in northern Chad sharing boundary with Libya.

It took the intervention of the International Court of Justice in 1994 before the matter was resolved in favour of Chad.

viii). Somalia

France and Italy were colonialists in Somali. They played roles in the conflict after independence. The main causes of the Somali conflict centered around struggle for power and the unbridled desire for resource control (uranium, iron ore, tin, gypsum, bauxite, copper, salt and natural gas). These were consequences of the colonial legacy and the violent repression by the military administration against the two opposition groups - the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) and the Somali National Movement (SNM).

Foreign involvement also came by way of interference by the Kenyan government which was initially neutral in the crises. However, when Al-Shabbab began to recruit Kenyan youths into their violent expeditions, Kenya changed its behavior towards the Somali conflict by sending the Kenyan defense forces (KDF) into Somalia to fight Al-Shabbab and to prevent their attacks against Kenya. On the other hand, Ethiopian forces joined in the war in Somalia, while rebels used Somaliland as bases to launch attacks in Somalia.

ix). Liberia

The Nigerian contingent was part of the ECOWAS Mission in Liberia (ECOMIL). The troop arrived in Liberia in September 2003 and continued the operation for 15 years until the last batch departed Liberia in February 2018 Premium Times (2018). Robert Finley founded the American Colonization Society in 1816 at the south of Sierra Leone to return formerly enslaved African Americans to Africa. History Liberia was founded as a country in 1821 and in 1847, got independence from America Editors (2010). Over the years, Liberia developed foreign partners in trade especially in timber and diamond.

The First war began between 1989 and 1996 as a consequence of ethnic divisions, predatory elites, and abuse of power, economic injustice and corrupt political system. The second Liberian civil war which took place between 1999 and 2003 was caused by the failure of the post-first civil war transitional mechanism in the areas of rehabilitation, demobilization, disarmament and re-integration. This was an example of bad peace.

The quest for resource control in rubber, timber, iron ore, diamonds, gold, lead, water, palm oil, and wildlife were also part of the causes. Charles Taylor became notorious for his illegal arms-for-diamonds trafficking which precipitated the wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone. France supported sanctions against Liberia with the condition that the sanctions must exclude the timber and the logging industry. Reports showed that France was the largest importer of Liberian timber with an importation of 37.7%. Despite the instability in the region [...] year

2000 saw a significant increase in the timber imported from Liberia. France increased imports of Liberian timber by 11% in the first six months of 2000 International Justice Monitor, (2009). Taylor received medical checkups in France and it was possible that it also provided a safe haven for Taylor's ill-gotten wealth. The external supports received by Taylor further embolden him. For example, during the 1997 elections, the Taiwanese government provided Taylor with two ambulances and $1million for election campaign in 1997 while the government of Libya donated $500,000.

x). Mozambique

Nigeria participated in the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) 1992-1995. After fighting guerilla war of independence between 1964 and 1975, the country gained independence from Portugal in 1975. Thereafter, war broke out in Mozambique in 1977 between Mozambique's ruling Marxist party known as Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the anti-communist forces called the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO) and other smaller factions. RENAMO challenged FRELIMO's attempts to establish a socialist-one-party state. RENAMO received foreign support from Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), South Africa and former West Germany. FRELIMO received military and development aid from the Soviet Union (now Russia) and East Germany (now Germany), France, UK, the U.S, Tanzania, and North Korea.

It is also believed that the huge resources of commercially important deposits such as coal, copper, rubies, graphite, bauxite, titanium, apatite, iron ore, marble, kaolin, gold, bentonite and tantalum were attractions to foreign interventions.

A characteristic of countries in West Africa where Nigeria participated in peacekeeping, is that they did not return to war. In Liberia and Sierra Leone for example, infrastructures for sustainable peace were built and Nigerian troops stayed for many years Their soldiers were trained, democratic institutions were built and the people embraced peace and networked with external bodies. Adebajo (2021) states that a critical factor in Sierra Leone's stability is the complex interaction of domestic, sub-regional, and external actors, which is crucial to the success of conflict management and conflict prevention processes.

However, the characteristics of peacekeeping operations in non-African countries where Nigeria participated, were different but varied. They mostly center around agitations for power sharing or secession. For example, in former Yugoslavia, the causes of the conflict were mostly based on the desire to secede as a consequence of marginalization.

In Lebanon factions of religious agitators who fought for recognition and supremacy catapulted the conflicts.

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait which led to the Gulf war was caused by Iraqi`s unbridled desire to forcefully annex the rich oil resources of Kuwait.

The circumstances that led to peacekeeping in Kosovo was the result of the self-declaration of independence and successful secession from Serbia.

In Croatia, the desire to secede from the former Yugoslavia was the main reason that led to the war.

In Tajikistan, the quest for power was the driving force towards the conflict because some regions felt marginalized in the power representation.

The crises in East Timor began during a struggle for independence. In Haiti, the people wanted independence and self-governance.

Conclusion

Nigeria participates in peacekeeping operations based on the UN laws. Domestic laws are limited but are undergoing legislative processes. The UN principle for peacekeeping has controversial elements that need to be aligned with current realities. For example, the delay in intervention during the massacre in Rwanda was due to the respect for sovereignty and delay in processing the information that was coming out of Rwanda.

Article 38c of the International Criminal Court of Justice mention that the court should always apply the laws of "civilized nations" during adjudications. This discriminatory clause contradicts the *equality* stated by the documents of the Vienna Convention of 1961. The clause is also ambiguous because it does not expressly define what it means by "civilized nations".

The participation of Nigeria in peacekeeping is connected to the idea of promotion peace globally, fear of regional hegemony, desire to improve professionalism and to exercise best practices. It also believes that burden sharing promotes cost effectiveness while multilateral cooperation with other countries fosters best practices.

Various factors lead to the conflicts where Nigeria participates in peacekeeping operations. These factors include coups, fight for resource control and the exploitative intervention by foreign powers.

Recommendations

The UN Charter should be reviewed to align with current realities especially on the aspect of seeking permission from countries of conflicts before intervening. Such delays have led to the loss of lives and property as shown in the 1994 conflict in Rwanda and other countries.

Article 38c of the of International Court of Justice must be expunged as a way of promoting equality among member states as required by the 1961 Vienna Convention on International Relations.

There is an imperative need to apply Preventive Diplomacy in countries that are tending towards crises. More of such actions are needed by regional bodies and the United Nations as a way of promoting global peace. When countries unilaterally take sides with conflicting parties for selfish purposes, it aggravates crises. Instead, regional bodies must take collective actions by impartially wading into crises before they become full blown wars. Foreign countries must be sanctioned whenever they encroach on the sovereignty of other countries.

Put the people first by creating egalitarian societies by eschewing economic disparity and social stratification. This is the way to end the coups and fights for natural resources which spur conflicts. Sustainable peace is attained when national wealth is used judiciously and transparently for human capital development.

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