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**JUST WARS AND BAD PEACE: NIGERIAN PEACEKEEPING AND CONFLICT
RESOLUTION SINCE 1960**

PhD thesis

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Budapest, 2025

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that no part of this dissertation has been submitted or accepted for any other degree in any other institution. It contains no material previously written or /and published by any other person, except where appropriate acknowledgment is made in the form of bibliographical reference.

Budapest, 1 May, 2025

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my immense gratitude to Professor Dr. András Patyi, the former Rector of this University for approving a partial scholarship for my doctoral studies. My appreciation also goes to his successors, Professor András Koltay and Dr Gergely Deli, for sustaining the scholarship.

Many thanks to my Supervisors. Dr. Dóra Molnár gave detailed form, structure and flesh to the skeleton of this research after Dr Gábor Boldizsár had laid the foundation. I appreciate their kind supports in helping to bring the project to a good conclusion.

I salute all members of staff, Doctoral School of Military Science, LUPS, especially Professor Zoltán Szenes and Dr. Balázs Forgács. The three program assistants Petra Dukai, Pollák Orsolya Luca and Nóra Miklósi-Dávid, were very professional and dutiful.

I appreciate all the Cleaners in this University who made the environment exceptionally decent for studies. The cleanliness in this University was very consistent from my years of Diplomacy Certificate training, through my Master`s program, to this Doctoral study.

The opportunity to use the libraries of this University, that of the Central European University and the Hungarian Parliament, were quite helpful and very much appreciated.

Without my immediate family, it would have been difficult to focus on this academic journey which passed through thick and thin. Many thanks to my wife Catherine for garnering strength when I was weak.

This research is specially dedicated to my very lovely daughters, Covenant and Rejoice, for the unquantifiable joy they always bring! It is my hope and prayer that they will grow up to enjoy a Nigeria where peace and security reign supreme.

TO GOD BE THE ULTIMATE GLORY!

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ABBREVIATIONS

AU	African Union
PSC	Peace and Security Council
AMIS	United Nations Mission in Sudan
ECOMIB	ECOWAS mission in Guinea Bissau
ECOMIL	ECOWAS Mission in Liberia
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
MINURSO	United Nations Mission for Referendum in Western Sahara
MINUSTAH	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti
ISWAP	Islamic State's West Africa Province
OAUMGR	Organization of African Unity Monitoring Group in Rwanda
ONUC	United Nations Operation in Congo
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
TAPKM	Nigeria Peacekeeping Force in Tanzania
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	United Nations-African Union Hybrid Operation in Dafur
UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda
UNASOG	United Nations Group in the Aouzou Strip, Libya/Chad
UNAVEM	United Nations Angola Verification Mission
UNCRO	United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Mission Kosovo
UNIPOM	United Nations India-Pakistan Observer Mission
UNIIMOG	United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group
UNIKOM	United Nation Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission
UNMIBH	United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
UNMOT	United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan
UNMONUA	United Nations Observer Mission in Angola
UNMONUC	United Nations Mission in Democratic Republic of Congo
UNMOP	United Nations Observer Mission in Previakia
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNOMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNOSMDRC	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
UNOSOZ	United Nations Operation in Mozambique
UNPREDEP	United Nations Prevention Deployment in Macedonia
UNPROFOR	UNPROFOR United Nations Protection Force
UNSF	United Nations Security Force in West New Guinea
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
UNTAES	United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slovenia, Baranja, Western Sirmium in Croatia

UNTAET
UNTAG
RRR

United Nations Transition Authority in East Timor
United Nations Transition Assistance Group
Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Reconciliation

I hope it will be lasting, and that Mankind will at length, as they call themselves reasonable Creatures, have Reason and Sense enough to settle their Differences without cutting Throats; for, in my opinion, there was never a good War, or a bad Peace.

Benjamin Franklin
27 July, 1783

INTRODUCTION

One of the very active contributors to peace making and peacekeeping in Africa and the United Nations is the Federal Republic of Nigeria. She began her first peacekeeping effort in 1960 in the Congo - the same year that she gained independence from colonial Britain. With an estimated population of 250 million people, it is a country rich in multi-ethnicity, situated in West Africa. It is surrounded by Niger Republic in the north, the Atlantic Ocean in the south, Cameroon and Chad in the east and Benin Republic in the west.

Nigeria's desire to embark on peacekeeping is hinged on her belief and avowed concern for security issues within and outside the country. Nigeria believes that her internal security is connected to regional and global security. This fact is guided by the Constitution of the country as entrenched in Chapter 2 section 14. 2 (b) *The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government.*

The role played by Nigeria in resolving various conflicts and her participation in peacekeeping in other countries, resonates across her national boundaries. This is reflected in her activities at the United Nations and at regional operations which started in Congo (ONUC) 1960-1964, then West New Guinea (UNSF) 1962-1983, India-Pakistan (UNIPOM) 1965-1966, Lebanon (UNIFIL) 1978-1983, Chad (Operation Harmony I) 1979-1982, Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL) 1992 onwards, Rwanda (OAU Monitoring Group) 1992-1993, Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) 1993, Rwanda (UNAMIR) 1993-1995, Liberia (ECOMOG, UNMIL), 1990-1997, Croatia (UNCRO) 1993-1995, Tanzania (TAPKM) 1994, Gambia in 2017 and 2024, Somalia 2021 etc. Nigeria has participated in at least 45 peacekeeping operations.

It is an irony that the same country that has embarked on many peacekeeping operations, continue to contend with various internal political, ethnic and religious crises since 1960.

One of such conflicts in Nigeria ended in a civil war in 1967. It was against the Biafran uprising and it was focused on the need to preserve the sovereignty of the country. One of the cardinal goals of every government is to ensure the unity and security of the country. The fundamental cause of the Nigerian civil war of 1967 was that the country was hitherto, divided along ethnic lines through the colonisation by Britain. This created an internally divisive line among

Nigerians. Any harm, perceived or real, done against a member of an ethnic group by a member of another ethnic group was easily interpreted as an ethnic affront with the aim to marginalize and oppress a section of the country. So, when a coup headed by Major Kaduna Nzeogu occurred in January 1966 and masterminded mostly by soldiers from the eastern part of the country - where Nigeria's Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Northern premier Sir Ahmadu Bello and other notable persons of northern extraction were killed - it was viewed from the ethnic perspective as an agenda against the northern region.

In July of that same year, military officers from the northern part of the country staged a counter coup and installed General Yakubu Gowon - an officer from central Nigeria, as the head of State. It was this counter coup that worsened ethnic tensions among Nigerians. In that year, an estimated 30,000 persons of the Igbo-speaking tribe were reportedly killed in the north. This was quickly followed by reprisal attacks in the eastern part of the country which witnessed the massacre of many northerners who resided there.

Meanwhile, there has been ongoing grudges that the nation's wealth came from the southern part of the country due to its rich oil deposits. This awareness instigated the southerners who felt that the northerners were receiving more than a fair share. The aftermath of these developments led to the declaration of the Republic of Biafra on 30 May 1967 led by Major Odumegwu Ojukwu. In response, the Nigerian government forcefully stepped in to maintain the territorial integrity of the country by releasing her war arsenals to quell the uprising. The response by the international community further exacerbated the civil war. There was no international consensus on how to restore peace. While some countries supported the secession, others did not. Those that supported it equally supplied equipment and other machineries of war to increase the tension. The United Nations as an umbrella body could neither take a decisive action nor speak with one voice. Rather, unilateral actions were taken by UN member states which did not help matters. The so-called Republic of Biafran was formally recognized by countries like Ivory Coast, Tanzania, Haiti, Gabon, and Zambia. Among others, surreptitious supports were given by Israel, Norway, Rhodesia, Spain, South Africa, France, Portugal, and the Vatican City. It is note worthy that many years after the civil war had ended, a new unarmed uprising began around 2016, led by one Nnamdi Kanu. His grouse was that the marginalization which led to the 1967 was still at work.

When the war in Nigeria ended in 1970, it was estimated that over three million Biafrans died in the cause of the civil war. In such a war, the term `Just War` is relative. It was seen as a *Just War* in the interpretation of the Nigerian government while it was an unjustified War by the interpretation of the Biafrans who felt that they had a legal right to secede.

Various theories support the justification of war as a last resort. This is based on the underlying notion of using a certain and limited evil to fight a bigger evil. Carl von Clausewitz defined war as "*an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will.*"¹ He further elaborates that war cannot manifest itself until the desire to compel an adversary, persons or country to do your will and that the action must include the use of physical force. That leads to the big question: Can any form of war be classified as just?

Just War theory (Latin: *jus bellum iustum*) is a doctrine that is also referred to as a tradition of military ethics studied by military leaders, theologians, ethicists and policy makers. The

¹ CLAUSEWITZ, VON CARL. 2008: *On War*. As translated. n.d.

purpose of the doctrine is to ensure that war is morally justifiable through a series of criteria, all of which must be met for a war to be considered just. The criteria are split into two groups: “right to go to war” (jus ad bellum) and “right conduct in war” (jus in bello). The first concerns the morality of going to war, and the second the moral conduct during war.

Though there are various theories on Just Wars, I wish to anchor this research on two of such thoughts. This will be based on the theories of the *Salamanca School* of thought and that of *Saint Thomas Aquinas*. The aim of relying on these two theories is because they define Just Wars on the platform of the moral and theological points of view based on respect for the preservation of life. Both theories do not support wars that are based on *the doctrine of expansion, glory, plundering or the forceful conversion of persons to certain religious belief*.

FORMULATION OF THE SCIENTIFIC PROBLEM

Nigeria believes that her internal security is connected to regional and global security. Chapter 2, section 14. 2 (b) of the Constitution states that: *The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government*. Since 1960, Nigeria has participated in at least 42 peacekeeping missions and has spent \$677.89 billion for defence budgeted between 1960 and 2025. As a conflict resolution strategy, the government has integrated over 100,00 so-called repentant terrorists.

However, the continuing insecurity is a serious challenge. For example, as of December 2024, Nigeria has 3,947,631 refugees and Internally Displaced Persons - *more than the combined population of five European countries - Malta, Estonia, Montenegro, Luxembourg and Iceland*. Between January 2021 and December 2023, record shows that 29,828 people were killed while 15,430 were kidnapped across the country.² Between 2015 and 2023 when retired army general Muhammadu Buhari was the president, 63,111 Nigerians were killed by non-state actors and 14,145 attacks occurred across 736 local government areas out of 774 areas of the country.³ Furthermore, between 29 May 2023 and 22 May 2024 when Bola Tinubu succeeded Buhari, at least 4,556 fatalities and 7,086 abductions were reported under the ruling government.⁴ Ironically, while the government is quick at responding to peacekeeping missions abroad, it is slow at addressing murderous violence and conflicts from within.

DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This research is focused on the following objectives:

a) To historicize and examine the trajectories which led to some conflicts and peacekeeping operations since the independence of Nigeria in 1960 vis-a vis the political, social and economic impacts of the role of Nigeria.

² PUNCH NEWSPAPER, 13 January 2024.

³ VANGUARD NEWSPAPER, 20 May 2023.

⁴ PREMIUM TIMES, 28 May 2024.

- b) To identify why and how Nigeria has involved herself in peacekeeping operations and to analyze the intention in relation to her internal domestic security situation and the cost implications.
- c) To investigate the differences in tactics used in Nigeria's international peacekeeping and domestic security in view of underlying internal insurgencies.
- d) To determine the principles of conflict resolutions and evaluate how it relates to Nigeria's internal and foreign policies.
- e) To identify and recommend models that could lead or have led to ensuring and promoting peace in Nigeria and the African continent.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Why has Nigeria budgeted and spent \$677.89 billion for internal defence between 1960 and 2025 and participated extensively in 42 peacekeeping operations in other countries, but remain largely unsecured internally? This question is better answered when anchored on five hypotheses as enumerated below:

i). In the military sector

Some wars are just; but peace is `just` as some wars.

Multilateral military interventions into countries where internal conflicts are killing its citizens, is an appropriate step especially when it is approved by the Security Council of the United Nations. Such interventions could be classified as *Just Wars* if all diplomatic efforts fail to address the situation. However, such actions must make preparation for the subsequent actualization of sustainable peace through various peace building mechanisms. Every peace effort is justified. For example, after interventions into the conflicts in Liberia and Sierra-Leone, sustainable peace was achieved by ECOWAS and the UN because the countries were not left to complete the peace processes on their own. Nigerian troops stayed in Liberia for 13 years to avoid a relapse into conflict. As of June 2023, the ECOWAS troop continued to be stationed in Gambia since the 2017 intervention to ensure that the peace was justly sustained. However, when there is a need for the implementation of policies that relates to internal security and peacekeeping, actions that are taken, must be commensurate with the causes in line with the principles of Just Wars.

ii). In the social and economic sector

Political, social, and economic polarization between the ruling class and other Nigerians, drives continuing agitation from the citizenry.

The economic gap between the ruling class and other Nigerians is wide. The economic disparity leads to social and political vices. This is why the Social Conflict theory comes into play. Federal legislators and the executives receive one of the highest in the world while the level of poverty among the populace has a steady growth. This psychological conflict is usually manifested in various forms of violence, robbery, thuggery and kidnapping for ransom. When priority is not given to the social and economic demands of the people, internal security becomes a challenge. For example, the fluctuating rate of unemployment worsened in 2023 (41%) from previous years of 5.76% in 2022; 4.94% in 2021 and 6% in 2020. Simultaneously,

poverty rate continues to increase. *In 2022, an estimated population of 88.4 million people in Nigeria lived in extreme poverty... Overall, 12.9 percent of the global population in extreme poverty were found in Nigeria as of 2022.*⁵ In the midst of this ugly trend, each member of the national assembly receives at least \$415,000 as salary and running cost annually. In comparison, this is more than the annual \$400,000 earned by the president of the United States of America. Nigerians are vexed and they believe that with the huge national endowments and resources, there ought to be equity in the distribution of national wealth instead of distributing it within a few persons while spending much in restoring peace in other countries. Meanwhile, security challenges continue to engulf the nation.

As long as there are political, social, and economic polarization and delays in addressing conflicts within and across national boundaries, peacekeeping efforts may not effectively achieve the vision for international peace and security.

iii). In the scope of intervention and sovereignty

Laws on sovereignty and procrastination by the international community fuel and prolong internal crises, especially in developing countries.

In many instances, delay in responding to crises in Nigeria and other developing countries fuel conflicts. Within Nigeria, the government has failed to address insecurity by tackling its root causes. This delay leads to further security challenges. The integration of so-called repentant terrorists has worsened the security situation. It has further led to the recycling of terrorists and continuing insecurity.

On the other hand, respect for sovereignty causes undue restraint while the human rights of the people are being grossly abused by respective governments. Article 3 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights clearly states that *Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.*⁶

Among others, delays by the international community in responding to the internal crises have led to wanton destruction of lives and property over different periods of time. In Nigeria, such delays at intervention led to the Nigerian civil war in 1967. Delays also led to the Rwanda genocide of 1994 and the massacre in Haiti in 1937.

iv). In the domestic and international security sector

Nigeria has paid more interest in international peacekeeping than on domestic conflicts.

The policies that informs Nigeria's peacekeeping activities are based on the need to ensure internal and external security. However, such policies have not been completely successful because the root causes of conflicts have not been fully addressed at the domestic and international spheres. In other cases, there are lingering discontents because effective actions were not put in place to sustain peace after major conflicts. In the midst of ongoing domestic conflicts, Nigeria sends peacekeepers to other countries without prioritizing actions towards ending domestic conflicts. For example, in January 2017, Nigeria joined ECOWAS in sending military troops to intervene in the constitutional crises in the Gambia. The troop stayed beyond 2017. Meanwhile, within the same year, Boko Haram reportedly mounted a total of 150 attacks in Nigeria and at least 967 people were reportedly killed while Nigeria was busy securing

⁵ STATISTICA, 2022.

⁶ UNITED NATIONS. n.d.

another country. When Nigeria sends troops on peacekeeping missions abroad, it succeeds. On the contrary, when she sends troops - soldiers and police officers - to ensure the conduct of peaceful elections within the country, it hardly succeeds. Rather violence and election rigging are recorded. For example, though 310, 973 police officers were deployed in the 2023 Nigeria elections of February 25 and March 15, the election was reportedly rigged and 24 deaths occurred from 230 electoral outbreaks of violence cases.⁷

v). In the application of results

Making better use of the activities of African Nobel Peace Prize Winners is an essential pillar for strengthening national and continental peace. This can play a prominent role in resolving conflicts in Africa.

Fifteen Africans have won the Nobel Peace Prize since its inauguration in 1901. There should be a template set up for actions towards sustainable peace. This could be achieved by harnessing and articulating the activities of such winners in various strategic policy making in Nigeria and across the African continent. Some of the winners developed policies and ideologies on restraints, diplomacy, tolerance, unity, forgiveness, reconciliation and the preservation of the environment. Others campaigned against the use of nuclear weapons. The activities of the three women within this number, could also be used to empower women and encourage their involvement in politics and policy making on issues of national interest. The women are Wangari Maathai of Kenya who was an environmentalist and political activist; Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia who promoted national reconciliation for national peace and unity after the war in Liberia. Her compatriot Leymah Gbowee focused on nonviolent activities to end the Liberian war. Conflicts and the cost of peacekeeping could be drastically reduced in Africa if the activities of these winners are built upon and strategically expanded.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This dissertation is the product of systematic qualitative content analysis, derived from available sources. Questionnaires have been used and limited to 50 African migrants and refugees who are resident in Hungary, to ascertain their experiences from various geographical conflict areas in Africa.

This method offered me the flexibility in conducting the research without the need to travel to Nigeria which is the country of focus. Skype video interviews was done with a staff of the peacekeeping office of the Nigeria Police Force. These interviews reinforced what I already read in published materials. I also interviewed two Nigerian soldiers who participated at the Liberian and Sierra-Leonean wars. Through these interviews, I discovered that while soldiers, police officers and personnel who are sent on peacekeeping missions are adequately equipped and remunerated, those of them with the same rank, who fight internal insurgencies within the country, are not equally compensated. These interviews confirmed other documentations which recorded that during the Guinea-Bissau peacekeeping mission, *each of the policemen on the*

⁷ See International Center for Investigative Reporting: *2023 elections record 24 deaths, 238 violence incidents — Report*, 13 May 2023. Available at <https://www.icirnigeria.org/2023-elections-record-24-deaths-238-violence-incidents-report/>

*peacekeeping mission was entitled to 950 USD monthly.*⁸ That was the amount paid to a Police Sergeant peacekeeper in 2014. In contrast, the salary for the same rank of police officers within Nigeria at the same period, was an average of 52,000 naira (208 USD).

The qualitative content analysis easily helped in creating statistical and discourse analysis. This enabled the analysis to focus not only on the result, but on the processes and shortcomings in Nigeria's peacekeeping missions. Other data have been sourced from existing literature and from the internet. Nigerian newspapers and other journals were extensively used to record current events and updates which hitherto, have not been published as academic materials. Through this, I was able to analyze and record events and how Nigeria and the West African region are interconnected economically, politically and in security. Through the various participation of Nigeria in conjunction with other countries, I was able to ascertain how the country manages her recurring international peacekeeping and her conflict resolution efforts juxtaposed with the prevalent domestic insurgencies. A section of this research was dedicated to this analysis which covers numerical strengths, human rights and the resources spent.

In the course of this work, I realized that in addition to existing academic materials, using information from newspapers to get current updates on conflicts in Nigeria will also be useful in my future academic publications.

My decision to use this method of research is connected to the fact that I did not find the need and possibility to travel to Nigeria for this project. However, some difficulties were encountered. An example of such problems was the difficulty in getting government officials to discuss their peacekeeping experiences and methods of operation. It was challenging but surmounted to some extent.

STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

This research, in accordance with its goals and hypotheses, consists of an introduction and five main chapters.

The first chapter explains the theoretical background of the study with references to Machiavellian political theory and the Social Conflict theory of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engel. It also gives an insight into the theory of security sectors, the regional complexes, evolution of peacekeeping, hybrid warfare and its impact on regional security. The concept of Just Wars and Bad Peace was also juxtaposed based on the Salamanca School of thought and that of Saint Thomas Aquinas in relation to war and Nigeria's peacekeeping.

The chapter concludes with interrogations on hybrid warfare and its various elements of foreign interventions which have become rife in Nigeria and the African continent. This chapter justifies the first hypothesis which states that *some wars are just; but peace is 'just' as some wars*.

The second chapter examines the evolution of Nigerian internal policy and conflicts, the theory of ungoverned space and how conflicts and abuses of the rule of law have given rise to agitations for regional restructuring. Hate speech and the violent conflicts that gave rise to the high number

⁸ ADEOYE, G. 11 February 2017.

of refugees and Internally Displaced Persons, IDPs are also discussed. Observations from questionnaire were also evaluated in relation to how other internal policies evolved. It concludes that despite embarking on various peacekeeping efforts in other countries, Nigeria is beclouded by ethnic, religious, social and political conflicts and agitations. This chapter confirms the second hypothesis that *political, social, and economic polarization between the ruling class and other Nigerians, drives continuing violent reprisals from the citizenry*.

The third chapter historicizes and analyses Nigeria's peacekeeping efforts between 1960 to 2022. It also highlights cooperation in the peacekeeping activities with the international community such as the UN, AU and ECOWAS. These analyses are also done against the background of Just Wars and Bad Peace. The chapter also introduces the concepts, reasons, legal background to Nigerian peacekeeping and how procrastination in interventions fuel and worsen conflicts. It concludes that despite her multifarious internal conflicts, Nigeria has participated in over 40 peacekeeping operations globally with Nigerian senior military officers commanding some of these missions. This chapter is in tandem with the third hypothesis which posits that *laws on sovereignty and procrastination by the international community fuel and prolong internal crises, especially in developing countries*.

The fourth chapter examines the conditions for effective peacekeeping and how unchecked political tensions act as precursors to conflicts. Through this, there is a general overview of IDPs in Nigeria in relation to organizational and personnel/societal shortcomings both in peacekeeping efforts and the management of internal security in Nigeria. These shortcomings are further examined from the budgetary allocations for security votes and defense budgets between 1960-2024. It concludes that despite the huge annual budgets for security and her participation in peacekeeping, Nigeria continue to experience security challenges.

This chapter confirms the hypothesis of this research which states that *Nigeria has paid more interest in international peacekeeping than on domestic crises*.

The fifth chapter focuses on conflict resolution efforts. It examines why conflicts remain unresolved and how the works of African Nobel Peace Prize winners could be used as parameters for engineering peace in Nigeria and Africa. It also summarizes and conclude the research by showing new scientific results, applicability of the research and the necessary recommendations. Finally, this chapter justifies the fifth hypothesis of this research which states that *Making better use of the activities of African Nobel Peace Prize Winners is an essential pillar for strengthening national and continental peace*.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DISSERTATION

This research has become necessary for six reasons. Firstly, it examines the seemingly unending conflicts which have led to continuing insecurity, fear, suspicion, wanton destruction of lives and property; increase in the number of Internally Displaced Persons, (IDP) and refugee outflow. This research highlights the basic goal of the United Nations which is *'to promote international cooperation and to achieve peace and security*; and how much successes have been recorded. The aim is to reinforce the underlying principles by measuring it with peacekeeping efforts embarked by Nigeria. The aim is to ascertain whether it falls within the purview of best practices. This examination leads to the identification of the lapses that have

led to insecurity and to make recommendations that could improve the participation of Nigeria in peacekeeping operations.

Secondly, Nigeria as a country, occupies a respectable position and role in global peacekeeping efforts since 1960. Apart from the fact that Nigeria is respected among the comity of nations, she has the largest population in Africa with a huge command of natural resources and economic value chain within and outside Africa. Using Nigeria as a case study is almost like showcasing the role of Africa in peacekeeping.

Thirdly, most peacekeeping operations embarked upon by Nigeria were under military leadership. It may be assumed that the long rule of the military in Nigeria has created a template for Nigerian peacekeeping which have been used in subsequent civilian regimes. This is especially so because some retired soldiers have become civilians in government. Therefore, this research highlights the connectivity of peacekeeping and Military Science.

Fourthly, one of the United Nations basic principles of peacekeeping is that the disputing parties must permit the intervention of a third party. What are the implications of this principle in volatile situations? This principle which leads to delayed interventions have led to incalculable losses as examined by this research. It is significant to highlight the negative impact of delayed interventions during conflicts. This is based on the hope that such delays could be reversed.

The fifth significance of this research is that it is written in Europe, far from Nigeria. It shall be a modest and available resource material, directly from a Nigerian, for Hungarian and other foreign students who may wish to conduct similar research about Nigeria on the same subject.

Finally, this study is significant because, despite confirming the hypothesis that there is growing violence and insecurity in Nigeria amid her continuing and laudable participation in international peacekeeping, it proffers practical solutions to the underlying challenges and the internal political circumstances. I have the aspiration that an aspect of this research which relates to the role of Nobel peace prize winners, shall be expanded in a future academic research.

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Over time, thoughts on realism, liberalism, and constructivism have been entrenched in theories of international relations. Realism promotes the thought that world politics is necessarily a domain of conflict among actors who pursue power and wealth. This pursuit is informed by *State-centrism* - where States are the most important actors; *Anarchy* - which is the traditional system of the international sphere; *Egoism* - where states are narrowed by self-interests, and *Power politics* - where power and security are the ultimate pursuits of States.

Though man may not be necessarily selfish, Thomas Hobbes believes that mankind is less benevolent and more self-centered and competitive. In agreement with his position, I believe that it is this self-centeredness that leads to the marginalization that causes conflicts. This is especially so, when the resources of state are shared by the self-centered forces in government. Hans Joachim Morgenthau in his *Politics Among Nations* believes that *Political realism refuses to identify the moral aspirations of a particular nation with the moral laws that govern the universe.*⁹

It is this Machiavellian aspect of his position that partly inform this research. Some of the conflicts in Nigeria are consequences of either the draconian and immoral approach of government or the nonchalant attitude in responding to critical issues raised by the masses. For example, despite many calls against police brutality, the government did not take decisive actions. When the citizens were being killed and abducted by terrorists, the nonchalance of government made it appear as if the aberration were normal. Unarmed citizens have been killed for protesting on the streets. In such a situation, it justifies the position of Morgenthau that *moral aspirations of a particular nation are in opposition with the moral laws that govern the universe.*

Liberalists believe 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 and culture. The resultant mutual benefit is achieved when countries *work together to maximize prosperity and minimize conflict.*¹⁰ Immanuel Kant in his *To Perpetual Peace*, stated that democracies do not fight wars because leaders are more focused on re-election. He believes that such countries would rather opt for diplomacy. I agree with this position in relation to the situation in Nigeria. In several areas of brewing conflicts, diplomacy was applied. Once upon a time, there was a dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon on the question of which country own the oil-rich Bakassi Peninsula situated within the boundaries of both countries. Though the International Court of Justice awarded ownership to Cameroon in year 2002, Nigeria's president Olusegun Obasanjo did not relinquish the disputed territory. However, due to the upcoming elections of 2007, opposition parties used the matter to criticize Obasanjo's political party for not respecting the rule of law. Due to historical diplomatic ties,

⁹ MURRAY, A. J. H. 1996:81–107

¹⁰ SHIRAEV, ERIC B., & VLADISLAV M. ZUBOK. 2014:80

neighbourliness and the upcoming elections, Obasanjo was forced to relinquish the disputed Peninsula in 2006.

On the other hand, John Locke another liberalist, argues that man was created blank in a *state of Nature* until he begins to interact with his experience and environment. He posits that *no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions; for men being all the workmanship of one omnipotent and infinitely wise Maker.*¹¹ Though his position on human rights is correct, it does not completely apply in many cases. The lack of societal inequalities leads to conflicts. However, it also means that for conflicts to end, the rights to life, health, liberty and possession must be respected. These rights have also been enshrined in articles 3 and 7 of the Universal Declaration of Human rights by the UN.¹²

In the realm of Constructivism, Alexander Wendt believes that *the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces, and that the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature.*¹³ I agree with this position to some extent. Yes, two persons cannot walk or work together except they agree. However, `shared idea` is relative. Some persons join political parties without agreeing with the ideology, they could join such parties out of self-serving interests and aspirations. For example, some political actors in Nigeria have changed as much as three political parties in search of a platform to contest elections. In line of international relations, though it was agreed that there should be five permanent members of the UN Security Council, though the members usually sit at table to deliberate over issues, yet they do not share the same ideas. This is evident when we observe the various disagreements between Russia and the US, France and Russia, UK and Russia, and between China and the US. These disagreements are consequences of either power play or pursuits of economic interest.

In other cases, developing countries are tilting towards China for the borrowing of funds. This is not necessarily because they share the same idea with China. It is simply because China is offering what they need in the face of little or no viable alternative.

This study is theoretically hinged on the political postulation of the Italian historian and philosopher Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527), the theory of *Social Conflict* as propounded by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, and *Structural Theory* as expounded by Collier and Adam. Machiavelli's political theory is embedded in his *Prince* (1513). He suggests that *moral corruption is necessary to achieve stability and security. A ruler must be immoral without concern to religion or what is right. Machiavelli believes that a ruler must not be constrained by law. He must be widely feared than to be greatly loved; A loved ruler retains authority by obligation while a feared leader rules by fear of punishment.*¹⁴ As a political theorist, Machiavelli emphasized the occasional need for the methodical exercise of brute force or deceit including extermination of entire noble families to ward off any chance of a challenge to the prince's authority.

He believes that violence is necessary to ensure success in governance and for the stabilization of power. This is also needed to effectively introduce new legal institutions. *Force may be used*

¹¹ LOCKE, JOHN. Two Treatises on Government (1680-1690). 2011:80

¹² UN. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* | United Nations. n.d.

¹³ WENDT, ALEXANDER, *Social Theory of International Politics*, 1999:1-4.

¹⁴ MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLÒ. *The Prince*, 1532: 120-21.

*to eliminate political rivals, to coerce resistant populations, and to purge the community of other men strong enough of a character to rule, who will inevitably attempt to replace the ruler. Machiavelli has become infamous for such political advice, ensuring that he would be remembered in history through the adjective, "Machiavellian"*¹⁵

When causes of conflicts are examined, there are similarities to confirm that most of the conflicts arises because most of the political leaders had imbibed and continue to manifest tendencies akin to *Machiavellian ideology*. Over the years, this ideology has been used by Nigerian presidents to violently suppress the will of the people. Protesters and agitators could be killed or unlawfully detained as displayed by President Muhammadu Buhari. Villages and towns could be bombarded whenever there are clashes with security agencies like what happened in Odi community of Bayelsa state on 20 November 1999 where hundreds of Nigerians were killed by government security forces. There was also the invasion of Zakibiam in Benue state, where hundreds of Nigerians were also killed by government security forces in an unlawful operation that was tagged *Operation no living thing*. The tragedy occurred during the administration of President Olusegun Obasanjo between 20-24 October 2001. Dissenting voices, including the media, have been violently silenced by the government. Court orders were flagrantly disobeyed by the governments of Obasanjo and Muhammadu Buhari. Both of them were ex-military officers. These attitudes were copied from colonial governments who were mostly violent in their despicable governance. Slavery would not have been possible if not for terrorism executed by the violent use of guns and bullets to forcefully steal and enslave the people against their wishes, and taken from their lands.

In pursuance of the Machiavellian ideology, protesters have been arrested, unlawfully detained, and killed in Nigeria. The infamous killing of protesters who marched against police brutality in October 2020 remains indelible as it attracted huge international attention.¹⁶ Peaceful protests variously organized by Shiites, Coalition for Revolution, and the Indigenous People of Biafra have been violently suppressed by government. However, in the midst of immoralities in governance, the issue of security and stability continue to be a huge challenge in Nigeria. With focus on being immoral to what is right, terrorists who have killed thousands of civilians and security agents have been pampered and integrated into the society without arraignment in court. This is in sharp contrast to the violent treatments given to unarmed protesters who are forced to pay huge amounts of money as conditions for court bail.

Various actions taken by the government showed that it was neither constrained by law nor the wishes of the people. Government turned deaf ears to the call of the masses for regional restructuring, state policing, end to borrowing, a brand-new constitution, electronic voting, etc. Rather, government continued to do the opposite.

Deceit was injected into governance immediately after swearing into office. Campaign promises were flagrantly disobeyed. It was evident that the government lied to the people with such campaign slogans as *Change* and *Next level*. Whenever the people rose to challenge the malfeasance of government, it was met with brute force and violent threats. When elder statespersons gave suggestions or criticized government, the response was mostly brutal.

¹⁵ IBID.

¹⁶ CNN NEWS, 18 November 2020

Agents of government used the resources of the state to deceive, cajole and pauperize the citizenry onto submission.

In other cases, many deceptive publications and physical actions were carried out by agents of government who worked within the areas of media and publicity. Various anti-people utterances were made by government officials such as Lauretta Onochie who usually peddled propaganda and misinformation. She was social media assistant to president Muhammadu Buhari. She once published a picture in *September 2018, of an asphalt road being constructed with the caption, "Nasarawa-Jos Road", painting the picture that it was a road constructed by the Federal Government; this turned out to be false. The picture was a stock photo uploaded to Getty Images in November 2015*¹⁷. She went further to share a tweet in *April 2019, in which she praised the then Borno State governor, Kashim Shettima, for launching "Africa's biggest Automated Solar Panel manufacturing plant"*.¹⁸ This was also a lie.

Lai Mohammed the information minister unilaterally increased the fine for media houses who were deemed to have transgressed against the government or by publications deemed as hate speech.¹⁹

On several instances, President Buhari remained aloof and refused to make comments when students were kidnapped or killed. In his Machiavellian disposition, it was immoral to do the right thing.

When these tendencies are juxtaposed with the principles of peacekeeping, it shows a huge contrast. How does a President that has little compassion for the citizens pay so much attention and respect for the rules of engagement in the peacekeeping and peace building in other countries? The United Nations peacekeeping operations are well guided by three basic principles of implementation: Impartiality; Consent of the parties and the Non-use of force except in self-defense and defense of the mandate. If these principles cannot be respected within the country during conflicts, it is hypocrisy to respect such principles during peacekeeping missions in other countries.

Over time, the Nigerian government under President Buhari, became very partial in political appointments against the laws of equal representation as enmeshed in the Federal Character law of the country. The government severally refused to get the consent of Nigerians when crucial national advice and solutions were needed or suggested.

In discussing and analyzing conflicts, displaced persons and refugees within Nigeria, I used the theoretical framework of the *Structural Theory* as expounded by Paul Collier²⁰ and Adam Rose.

²¹ In their pontifications, where they examined the factors that leads to displacement, they noted that political, economic, social, and structural reasons are responsible for human displacements within or outside a country. They posited that conflicts are usually the results of social injustice, discrimination, inter-religious and inter-tribal misunderstandings.

¹⁷ PREMIUM TIMES, 21 June 2021.

¹⁸ IBID.

¹⁹ PREMIUM TIMES, 7 August 2020.

²⁰ COLLIER, PAUL. SAGE Journals; 2000:839-853.

²¹ ROSE, A., & CASLER, S. Input-Output Structural Decomposition Analysis: A Critical Appraisal. *Economic Systems Research*, 8(1), 1996:33-62.

According to them, other structural factors responsible for displacements are continuing national security challenges, demographic and natural disasters, weak institutions, unemployment, insurgency, and other criminalities that are both internal and across the border. Paul emphasized that deficit in structural relationship between the government and the governed, lead to a point of distrust and the acrimonies that fuel conflicts which lead to displacements. Invariably, these situations lead to self-help or the need to receive external help from providers of humanitarian reliefs.

Finally, the *Social Conflict theory* is used to mirror the class struggle as causes of conflicts in Nigeria. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engel posits that when the higher class uses their position of power to sustain power, the lower class fights for democratization, liberalization, and equitable distribution of resources. The conflicts in Nigeria are mostly based on the demand for rights against the social structure built on contradictions and conflicts. While the higher class struggles to maintain disequilibrium, the lower class struggles for equilibrium. As militants of the Niger Delta argue that they have been short-changed in terms of their oil resources, some private owners of oil block who are from regions that does not produce oil, see no justification in the agitation of Niger Deltans. Rather, they and their cahoots in government, would do anything to aggressively suppress the rightful agitations of the people.

While government officials use the resources of the country to send their children to study abroad, students and citizens of lower economic status organize street protests as their lecturers embark on intermittent strikes because the resources were not adequately appropriated to pay their salaries and entitlements. On the other hand, sponsors and supporters of terrorism believe that kidnapping school children and receiving ransoms was their ways of benefitting from the resources of the country.

The theories herein listed, are very applicable to what has been experienced in Nigeria for many years. They are also applicable to the conflict countries where Nigeria participated in peacekeeping. There had been several inter-ethnic conflicts in the middle belt region between farmers and herders. There had been religious extremism from the Boko Haram sect. There had been social and political segregation in the southeast, southwest, and south south. Groups of hitherto patriotic citizens arose to seek self determination from a government that delved into alarming nepotism and selective justice. Citizens were faced with breaches of the social contract as politicians bold-facedly broke their campaign promises that deceitfully lured the people to vote for them. Thereafter, with the ensuing chaos, anarchy prevails.

Thereafter, as a result of discontentment by the people, several insurgent groups emerged to fight for what they believe, was a fight for justice. When will justice be restored?

1.1. Theory of security sectors

Barry Buzan, through the Copenhagen School of security studies, developed an academic thought where emphasis is placed on the non-military aspects of security.²²

Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde considers the military/state, political, societal, economic, and environment as new sectors of security.²³ While Buzan highlights sectoral

²² COLLINS, ALAN, ed. 2016.

²³ See SKIDMORE, DAVID, A review of Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde (1997).

Security: A New Framework for Analysis, in *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 93, No. 4. 1999:1010-1011

analysis, Ole Wæver's conceptualized securitization where state actors should transfigure national political discourse into affairs of security as existential problems that needs to be addressed.

In 1994, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, (OSCE) adopted a Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security stating that the *democratic control of the security sector as essential to stability*.²⁴ The concept was later adopted in 2014 under Resolution 2151 of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) as a function of *security sector reform essential in stabilizing post-conflict countries*.²⁵

The concept of security sector governance and reform embodies the application of good governance to bring about development and democratization. The elements needed for achieving such policies are *freedom of information and the rule of law*.²⁶

The security sector is considered an instrument of international development aid and the attainment of *good SSG is seen by practitioners as a conflict prevention tool and as a post-conflict stabilizer*.²⁷ If this sector is effectively managed, it could close the communication gap between government and the people, thereby preventing conflicts.

The basic idea of security sector reform is hinged on the presumption that societies become better when the security sector is considered as a strength and not an obstacle to development, stability and peace.

Various security sectors in Nigeria cooperate to a large extent in pursuit of security and the development of the economy and the environment.

For example, the army and air force usually carry out joint operations through aerial strikes directed at the enclaves of terrorists. Unfortunately, there has been seven cases of mistaken attacks against innocent civilian targets between 2021 and 2023.

As a way of protecting the economy and to prevent environmental degradation, the navy had on several occasions, arrested oil thieves and handed them over to constituted authorities for prosecution. In November 2022, 27 foreigners were arrested by the navy and arraigned for attempting to steal crude oil.²⁸

In July 2023, 12 oil thieves were arrested in Rivers state. In August 2023 the Nigeria Navy arrested another set of oil thieves in Lagos.²⁹ These arrests are usually in cooperation with the Nigeria police.

However, there have been cases where the army and police had clashed violently. For example, in March 2023, two police officers were killed in Taraba state when the army clashed with police officers over misunderstandings that could have been easily settled.³⁰

The Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF), a non-state armed group was initiated to counter terrorism as a proactive security model in response to attacks by Boko Haram in the northeast of the country. They were mainly made up of volunteers and local hunters. They received

²⁴ Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security. Vienna: OSCE. 1994.

²⁵ "Unanimously Adopting Resolution 2151 (2014), Security Council Underscores Need for National Ownership of Security-Sector Reform".

²⁶ SSR Backgrounder Series. Geneva: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF). 2015.

²⁷ International Security Forum 13 June 2016.

²⁸ AP NEWS, 16 November 2022.

²⁹ PUNCH NIGERIA NEWSPAPER, 22 August 2022.

³⁰ CHANNELS NEWS, 20 March 2023.

technical support from the army and police. However, their activities were beclouded with various reports of human rights abuses due to their high-handedness.

As a way of using local intelligence to address security issues and theft of crude oil, the government of Nigeria employed the services of a local and private security company known as Tanita Security Services Nigeria Limited, owned by Government Ekpemupolo, a former militant who terrorized the creeks during their agitations for resource control. Their jobs are to patrol the sea, protect oil pipelines and to involve local communities which harbour oil installations. Through surveillance they have discovered and destroyed illegal refineries and other illegal sources where crude oil is being stolen.

It was reported that the pipeline surveillance helped to increase Nigeria's oil production from *700 barrels per day to over 1.6 million barrels per day*³¹ and to reduce environmental degradation caused by illegal explorations.

One of the benefits of cooperation between security agencies in Nigeria, is the protection of natural resources. In January 2005, the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) was authorized by the African Union Peace and Security Council (PSC) and formed by the military forces of Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger Republic for the protection of the region known as the Lake Chad Basin, LCBC. Their mandate is renewed annually to reduce violent attacks against civilians, facilitate stabilization programs, support humanitarian operations and to provide other assistance as may be necessary, in line with national laws, international humanitarian laws, and the UN Due Diligence Policy. Their operations reduced fatalities in the region and many terrorists surrendered to them.

Political cooperation between political parties is another dimension of sustaining security. In terms of checks and balances, they have been weak. Though there ought to be separation of powers between the Executives, the Legislature and the Judiciary, the Executives continue to usurp the powers of the legislature and judiciary through monetary inducements and intimidation. This has weakened the power to address critical issues related to security and other economic, social and environmental problems.

Though Nigeria passed the Freedom of Information Act in 2011, it is gradually becoming effective. However, many sectors of government do not respond when information are sought by the citizenry. In other cases, they respond after the mandatory 7 days prescribed by law. When situations like that occur, it become difficult to use checks and balances to address the performances of government. On the the other hand, the rule of law is not respected as stated in the constitution. Some persons in government act with impunity as if they are above the law. When this happens, it incites the people towards agitation.

The rule of law has been trampled upon severally. *Between 2015 and 2019, former President Buhari of Nigeria disobeyed 40 court orders.*³²

Some of the military coups in Africa were mostly caused by government's disobedience to the rule of law or ethnic marginalization. For example, the 2021 coup in Guinea was caused because the ousted president Alpha Condé eroded democratic norms by masterminding the parliament

³¹ PREMIUM TIMES, 28 August 2022.

³² SAHARA REPORTERS, 25 November 2019.

to amend the constitution so that his tenure in office will be elongated after he had ruled for his maximum two terms of ten years. Bad governance and the use of security agencies to suppress the opinions and aspirations of the people, instigates coup while coups could instigate civil wars.

The 2020 EndSARS protest in Nigeria was caused by police brutality against the rule of law. The quality of service offered by the police is an element of security sector governance. The efficiency of the security sector is essential for countries emerging from conflicts. It is needed for peace building and for the sustenance of the peace.

Budgets for the security sector in Nigeria were mostly unaccounted for because security was politicized and there are no reliable checks and balances in the system. Accountability and transparency are components of security sector reforms. Three successive National Security Advisers were accused of corruption - Owoye Andrew Azazi (4 October 2010 -22 June 2012), Sambo Dasuki (22 June 2012 - 13 July 2015) and Babagana Mungono (13 July 2015-26 June 2023). In May 2022, the accountant-general of Nigeria, Ahmed Idris who ought to act as a check and balancer, was arrested and indicted for massive corruption.³³

The police who are expected to protect the law, became complicit. In February 2022, Abba Kyari, a Nigerian deputy commissioner of police was arrested for his involvement in drugs and fraud. To protect democratic values, *Security sector should adhere to the same rules of good governance as any other public service to curb conflict and violence.*³⁴

Security Sector Reforms must include the *application of the same principles of good governance to the security sector as to any other public sector service delivery, such as public health health or education.*³⁵

1.2. The Regional Complexes

Regional security complex theory (RSCT) on international relations as developed by Buzan and Wæver states that: *Simple physical adjacency tends to generate more security interaction among neighbours than among states located in different areas, a point also emphasised by Walt (1987: 276-7) Adjacency is potent for security because many threats travel more easily over short distances than over long ones.*³⁶

When related to the West African region, this theory is further justified.

There are some similarities in this region which shows that it has been beclouded by military coups, terrorist activities, power tussle and discontentment at governance by the citizenry. These problems are manifested through coups and other internal conflicts. When coups and conflicts occur, it affects other countries within the region in terms of loss of lives, economic hardship, instability and the exodus of refugees.

There are 16 West African countries including the Republic of Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte D'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. All of them at various times, have been

³³ PREMIUM TIMES, 16 May 2022.

³⁴ Security Sector Governance Applying the principles of good governance to the security sector SSR Backgrounder Series. Geneva: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF). 2015.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ BUZAN, BARRY; WAEVER, OLE, 2003.

involved in various conflicts which affected the region. The consequences of these conflicts led to international interventions such as diplomacy, sanctions or military interventions on the platform of the Economic Community of West African States and their military formation known as ECOMOG. These interventions affected the economic resources of the region. Six countries are currently under military rule in Africa. Five of them are in the West African region.

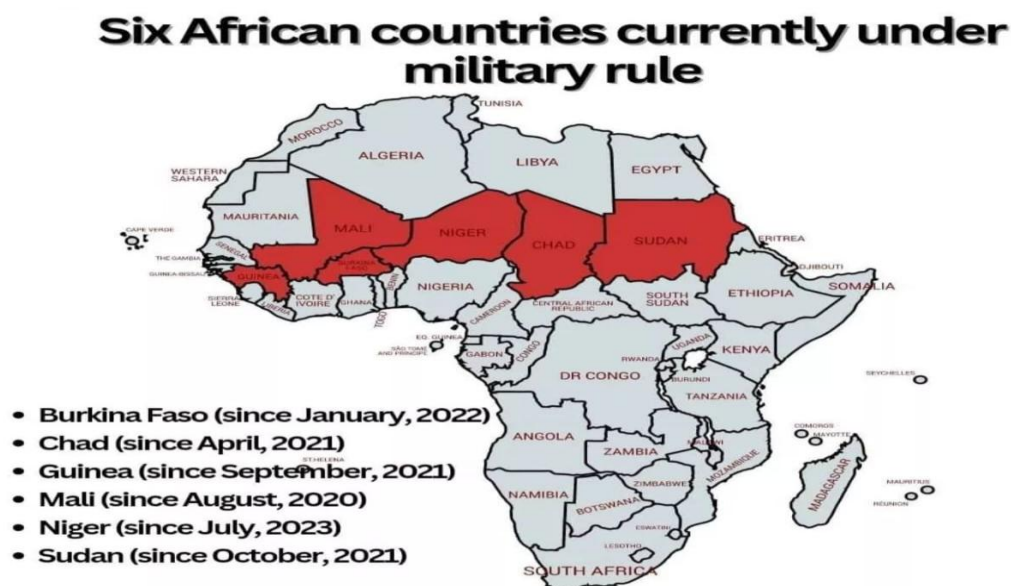


Figure 1. African countries under military rule.

Source: https://jkcyno.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/20230731_074621.jpg

The history of these countries shows the interconnectedness, the consequences of conflicts and how these conflicts affects the others.

Benin's northern regions have endured an increasing number of attacks by Islamic militias since 2018. A stretch of land connects Benin, Niger and Burkina Faso. This situation aids uncontrolled transit of weapons, people and goods across the porous borders.

When there are crises in a country, it affects the region due to demographic proximity or *physical adjacency*.

Since the first African coup d'état which took place on 13 January 1963 in Togo with the alleged support of the French government, subsequent conflicts which led to peacekeeping, had elements of military coups.

For every coup that took place in West Africa, it threatened the stability of neighbouring countries in two ways. Firstly, when a coup succeeds and the people pour out to celebrate, the presidents of neighbouring countries get jittery with the fear that their soldiers may do the same. For example, immediately after the 2023 coups in Niger Republic and Gabon, president Paul Biya of Cameroon³⁷ and President Paul Kagame of Rwanda³⁸ were so gripped by security complex that they quickly reshuffled their cabinets and retired some of their top military

³⁷ Cameroon's President Biya reshuffles top military brass 31 August 2023.

³⁸ Rwanda's Kagame fires slew of military officials in big shake-up 7 June 2023.

personnel. Both presidents have been in office for 41 and 23 years respectively. They knew that their long stay in office has become a source of worry to their people.

Secondly, every conflict or coup poses the danger of the influx of refugees to neighbouring countries with the consequent insecurity that could evolve in the host countries. Security complex is further worsened by the many porous borders in many African countries. For example, though Nigeria has 17 land borders, five maritime borders and 84 approved border controls, *there are over 1,400 illegal routes into Nigeria – 1,316 more than the approved number of border control posts.*³⁹ These porous borders give rooms for irregular migration and the smuggling of lethal weapons across countries.

Every conflict leads to exodus of refugees. For example, the 1989 Liberian war resulted in at least 750,000 civilians fleeing Liberia as internally displaced persons and refugees to the neighbouring countries of Cote d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Nigeria, Mali, Ghana, and Gambia. Some of them left the African continent.⁴⁰ Such exodus put social and economic pressure on the receiving countries. The mass exodus also made it difficult to determine the movement of terrorists and dangerous weapons because the backgrounds and biometrics of the refugees were mostly unchecked. The war in Sierra-Leone also became interconnected with the war in Liberia because some Liberians master minded the Sierra-Leonean conflicts. In February 2012, Charles Taylor the former president of Liberia (1997 to 2003) was jailed by the International Criminal Court in the Hague for the role he played in the war in Sierra Leone.⁴¹ According to the court, Taylor, *gave orders to Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels in the 11-year civil war in neighbouring Sierra Leone that killed about 50,000 people.*⁴²

It was also difficult to ascertain how many of such refugees returned home because many of them lost everything and started life all over again. In sharp contrast with the number of Liberian refugees that left the country, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) was only able to repatriate 155,000 Liberians 23 years after the civil war.⁴³ The Boko Haram and the Islamic State West Africa. Province (ISWAP) insurgencies introduced a new wave of terrorism across West Africa with reported links from Libya, Niger, and Syria. The fight against terrorist groups created new alliances of cooperation between Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger Republic even as refugees fled from the same countries to safer regions within these countries. Some of them were suspected to have joined in the farmers-herders clashes which occurred in Benue and Plateau states of Nigeria.

Former president Buhari of Nigeria claimed that the weapons used by these terrorist groups mostly came from Libya. *These gunmen were trained and armed by Muammar Gaddafi of Libya. When he was killed, the gunmen escaped with their arms. We encountered some of them fighting with Boko Haram.*⁴⁴

³⁹ Nigeria's porous borders - Businessday NG.

⁴⁰ Palmisano, Momodu, 2013.

⁴¹ For more details see Molnár 2009.

⁴² War crimes court finds Charles Taylor guilty.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Buhari blames Gaddafi for killings across Nigeria

Every coup has regional security complexes as it sends jitters to neighbouring countries. Various examples of how conflicts and coups in some West African countries resulted in regional security complexes, will suffice.

Nigeria experienced various coups in 1966, 1975, 1976, 1983, 1985, 1990 and 1993. She also fought a civil war between 1967 and 1970 which destabilized the region and attracted foreign interventions. *During the two and half years of the war, there were about 100,000 overall military casualties, while between 500,000 and 2 million Biafran civilians died of starvation.*⁴⁵ Over 3 million persons were displaced and refugees moved to neighbouring countries of Cameroon, Chad, Niger, Benin and beyond.

The northern region of the Republic of Benin has endured an increasing number of attacks by Islamic militias since 2018. This is because a stretch of land connects Benin, Niger and Burkina Faso which are countries in conflicts. This situation continues to aid uncontrolled transit of weapons, people and goods across the porous borders.

Between 1960 and 2023, there has been 8 successful coups (1966, 1974, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1987, January 2022 and September 2022) and 5 attempted coups (1982, 1989, 2003, 2015, 2016) in Burkina Faso. In 2014 there was an uprising in response to the attempt by the government to change the constitution to make way for President Blaise Compaore to continue in office after 27 years in power. This caused several killings and razing of infrastructures. One of the consequences of this, is the uncontrolled movement of suspicious persons across the region. For example, Fulani herdsmen reportedly crossed national borders with their cows and dangerous weapons and later terrorized the countries they migrated to. Former President Buhari of Nigeria claimed that terrorism worsened in Nigeria because some persons got weapons from Libya after the demise of Gaddafi. Instead of taking proactive measure to arrest the situation, in December 2019, Buhari declared *issuance of visa at the point of entry into Nigeria to all persons holding passports of African countries with effect from January, 2020.*⁴⁶

In the case of Cape Verde, though it has enjoyed political stability, the 1980 coup in neighbouring Guinea-Bissau affected the political alliances between both countries.

The First Ivorian Civil War occurred between 2002, 2004 and 2007. The military coup of December 24, 1999 was followed by the removal of the coup leader Robert Guei and the election of Laurent Gbagbo. The conflicts continued into a civil war in September 2002. Foreign countries such as Belarus, Russia, Bulgaria and Burkina Faso, got involved in the crises through their supports for various interests. Further conflicts in 2008 led to the internal displacement of 45,000 persons. By 2011, the number rose to 30,000 who fled to neighbouring countries of Liberia, Togo and Ghana. *Overall, it is estimated that at least 160,000 Ivorians fled to nearby West-African countries.*⁴⁷

Gambia experienced two successful coups in 1981 and another in 1994. These coups also caused political tensions in neighbouring countries.

⁴⁵ ICE Case Studies: The Biafran War 1997

⁴⁶ PREMIUM TIMES, 11 December 2019.

⁴⁷ ANING, KWESI, 2021:336–366.

Due to the proximity in the region, the people also suffered from the conflict in Senegal known as the Casamance conflict which began in 1982. It resulted in the death of at least one thousand persons.

The Konkomba–Nanumba conflict in Ghana, also known as the *Guinea fowl war* which began as a tribal war in 1994 over land dispute, resulted in an estimated 2,000 deaths, a displacement of 150,000 people, some of whom fled to Togo. The coups in 1966, 1972, 1975 and 1979 also unsettled Ghana. Jerry Rawlings seized power in 1979 and ordered the execution by firing squad of eight military officers, including Generals Kotei, Joy Amedume, Roger Felli, and Utuka, as well as the three former Ghanaian heads of state; Acheampong, Akuffo, and Akwasi Afrifa⁴⁸ This action sent shock waves throughout the western region of Africa and beyond. Allies of the victims also fled to exile.

Guinea experienced coups in 1984, 2008 and 2021 and the ensuing security complex affected neighbouring countries while the African Union imposed sanctions.

Guinea-Bissau recorded coups in 1980, 2003, 2012 and an attempted one in 2022.

In Mali, frequent coups make it appear as if it is an official system of governance. There were coups in 1968, 1975, 1990, 1991, 2012, 2020, and 2021. Three other unsuccessful coups were attempted in 2004, 2006 and 2013.

In Mauritania, coups were experienced in 1978, 1979, 1980, 1984, 2005 and 2008. Two other coup attempts were made in 1981 and 2003. Whenever there is a coup, regional blocks and the international community usually interfere. The interference is in itself, an evidence of security complex.

Coups in Niger Republic began in 1974 through 1996, 1999, 2010, 2021 and 2023.

In the coup of 26 July 2023, soldiers from the country's presidential guard deposed President Mohamed Bazoum and it drew the wrath and condemnation of ECOWAS, AU, UN, US and the European Union.

Togo experienced coup in 1963, 1967 and a failed attempt in 1986. Conflicts revolved around marginalization and the desire for elongated tenures in office.

The non-military intervention in democratic matters have helped in stabilizing Senegal over the years. However, regional crises have led Senegal to participate in various peace building and peacekeeping operations as a way of preventing escalation into their territory and to maintain international peace. For example, in October 1980 and August 1981, they stopped a coup attempt in the Gambia. In August 1989, in conjunction with the Gambian military, they dissolved the Senegambian Confederation. In 1992, they participated with ECOMOG peacekeeping group in Liberia. They also participated in peacekeeping in Rwanda 1994; Guinea-Bissau 1998; Central African Republic 1997 and in Gambia, 2017.

On July 16, 2003, there was a coup d'état in São Tomé and Príncipe. The intervention of Nigeria in the coup was very timely. The coup was successfully launched as led by Major Fernando Pereira against the government of President Fradique de Menezes who was on a visit to

⁴⁸ NUGENT, PAUL, 2009: 35–56.

President Olusegun Obasanjo in Nigeria. President Obasanjo called and negotiated with the coup plotters to return power to Menezes and the negotiation succeeded with a promise to grant amnesty to the plotters. The military held on to power for 7 days in São Tomé and Príncipe.

In Niger Republic, ensuing conflicts were also connected to coup d'états. There were coups in 1974, 1996, 1999 and 2010. There was an attempted coup in 2021. On 18 February 2010, there was coup in Niger Republic led by Squadron Leader Salou Djibo against President Mamadou Tandja who was kidnapped and replaced with the opposition leader.

Guinea-Bissau experienced coup d'états in 1980, 1999, 2003, 2010, 2012. On 1 April 2022 there was an attempted coup led by Admiral Bubo Na Tchuto and the Deputy Chief of Staff of the Army, Antonio Ndjai. The head of the military was arrested after the failed coup which witnessed the brief arrest of the Prime Minister.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, there has been various coup d'états and conflicts which led to several peacekeeping operations. Five failed coup attempts were made at various times in 1966, 1968, 1972, 1987 and 2011. Three others succeeded. On 14 September 1960, Mobutu Sese Seko overthrew Patrice Lumumber. On 25 November 1965, Mobutu Sese Seko overthrew Joseph Kasa-Vubu and on 16 May 1997, Laurent-Désiré Kabila overthrew Mobutu Sese Seko which led to the First Congo War.⁴⁹

In Mali, they have also experienced five coup d'états in 1968, 1991, 2012 (attempted), 2020 and 2021. The aftermath of the 2020 coup which overthrew President Ibrahim Boubacar Keita, received global condemnation especially from the African Union, United Nations and the European Union. The United States of America took a step further by cutting off military aid to Mali.⁵⁰

Though there has been no peacekeeping mission in the West African country of Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta), the country was witnessed 14 coup d'états between 1966 and 2022. Ten of them succeeded.^{51 52} Such coups pose security challenges, disrupts developmental agenda of predecessors and derail the socio-political and economic stability of the country. These disruptions account for why Burkina Faso is considered as one of the poorest countries in the world as it ranks 144th among 157 countries in the World Bank's Human Capital Index. Since 2015, the situation of the country has been worsened by terrorist attacks which has led to population displacements. There were 50,000 internally displaced persons in the country in January 2019. By January 2022, more than 3,000 schools (13% of educational institutions) were closed because of the insecure environment.⁵³

The crises that rocked Liberia were mostly precipitated by coup d'états. Though there was a historic occurrence when the Liberian people deposed President Edward James Roye on 26 October 1971, the two coups of 1980 and 1990 destabilized the country. On 12 April 1980,

⁴⁹ Britannica

⁵⁰ U.S. halts military cooperation with Mali as coup supporters celebrate.

⁵¹ January 3, 1966; February 8, 1974; November 25, 1980; November 7, 1982; October 15, 1987; September 18, 1989; September 17, 2015; October 30, 2014, January 23, 2022 and 30 October 2022

⁵² February 28, 1983; October 7, 2003; September 18, 1989; October 8, 2016

⁵³ UNICEF 2020

Master Sergeant Samuel Kanyon Doe overthrew President William R. Tolbert, Jr and on 9 September 1990, Prince Johnson overthrew Samuel Kanyon Doe. Charles Taylor's militia, overthrew the regime of Samuel Doe in 1989. The upheaval plunged the country into a 14-year bloody civil war. By the end, 200,000 were killed in the fighting and more than half of the population became refugees.⁵⁴ On April 26, 2012, the United Nations-backed Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL), sitting in The Hague, found former Liberian president Charles Taylor guilty of abetting horrific war crimes, rape, and mutilation in Sierra Leone.

Five coup d'états took place in Sierra Leone on 21 March, 1967; 19 April 1968; 29 April 1992; 16 January 1996 and 25 May 1997. From the coup of 1992, Sierra Leone was already in chaos. However, the Jonny Paul Koroma coup of May 25, 1997 launched on the platform of the Sierra Leone Army; (SLA), overthrew President Ahmed Tejan Kabba and set the tone for the bloody war which lasted 11 years and reportedly left over 50,000 persons dead.

In Chad, three successful coups took place on 13 April 1975; June 7, 1982 and December 1, 1990. Three failed coup d'états occurred on 16 May 2004; 14 March 2006 and 1 May 2013. Several rebel factions waged the 1965–1979 Civil War in Chad against two governments. There were outcries against high level corruption, authoritarianism and nepotism. The renewed war that began on December 18, 2005 was also as a result of the same agitations especially by Muslim northerners and Christian southerners who attacked each other whenever the other is in power.

West Africa behaves like a regional/sub regional security complex because of the nature of the conflicts and insecurity in the sub region. It is such situations that led to the meeting of the 2006 ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW), their Ammunition and Other Related Materials. This convention was organised as a way of curbing the proliferation of Small Arms and Light weapons, SALW, across their borders. It was also focused on harnessing the policies of the respective governments towards joint military operations. The aim is to curb the incursions by jihadists, illegal arms transfers and to facilitate sub-regional security, peace and development. It recognises the linkages between illegal arms flows and human trafficking and other cross-border criminal activities such as illegal mining and the theft of crude oil.

1.3. The Evolution of Peacekeeping

Essentially, peacekeeping as a terminology is not found in the UN charter. It has been classified as all actions designed with the goal to resolve international conflicts. The specific goals are to *protect civilians, actively prevent conflict, reduce violence, strengthen security and empower national authorities*.⁵⁵

The United Nations Civil Affairs Peacekeepers Handbook⁵⁶ defined peacekeeping as *the prevention, containment, moderation and termination of hostilities between or within states, through the medium of a peaceful third-party intervention, organized and directed internationally, using multi-national forces of soldiers, police and civilians to restore and maintain peace*.

⁵⁴ Former Liberian president Charles Taylor found guilty of war crimes.

⁵⁵ United Nations. n.d.

⁵⁶ United Nations Civil Affairs Peacekeepers Handbook, 2012.

It is believed that peacekeeping as a term, was conceptualized in 1957 by Lester Bowles Pearson a Canadian diplomat who later became the 14th prime minister of Canada from 1963 to 1968. He used it as a terminology to describe the UN supervision of the truce after the 1956 Arab-Israeli War which resulted from the 1948 Suez crises. The Suez Crisis, or the Second Arab-Israeli war - also referred to as the Tripartite Aggression, occurred during the invasion of Egypt in 1956 by Israeli forces. The United Kingdom and France joined in the invasion. Their goal was to take back the control of the Suez Canal and to remove Gamal Abdel Nasser- the Egyptian president, from office. In May 1948, the United Nations Truce and Supervision Organisation was set up and it became the first ever peacekeeping operation established by the United Nations. The Charter of the United Nations empowers the Security Council to take responsibility through the collective actions needed to maintain security and international peace. Since then, regional peacekeeping activities have been established by various regional blocks such as the Economic Community of West African States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, NATO; through the authorization of the UN. Peacekeeping operations also expanded to include the eradication of landmines, building of diplomatic relations between countries, the formation of international bodies of justice to address crimes against humanity - such as the International Criminal Court. Other regional security bodies have been involved in ensuring international peace and security. They include the African Union (AU), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), League of Arab States (LAS), Organization of American States (OAS), Pacific Islands Forum (PIF), Council of Europe (COE) and the European Union (EU).

Peacekeeping has primarily focused more on maintaining ceasefires and stabilizing the situations within a troubled country. This is mostly done through the provision of support by unarmed military observers and lightly armed troops who provide political reconciliation through peaceful means.

The UN Operation in the Congo (ONUC) that was launched in 1960, became the first large-scale mission with around 20,000 military personnel. That mission killed 250 UN personnel including the Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld.⁵⁷

Thereafter, short-term missions were established by the UN to the Dominican Republic – Western New Guinea, Yemen and other countries on longer terms.

Peacekeeping missions by the UN were recognized and awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1988. At the end of the Cold War, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was tasked by the UN Security Council to produce an "analysis and recommendations" to strengthen peace making and peacekeeping. In response, Boutros-Ghali launched an *Agenda for Peace*⁵⁸ in 1992 and it became his signature reform initiative at preventative diplomacy to reposition the UN for efficient service delivery. He laid emphasis on:

i). Preventive Diplomacy- *the action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur.*

⁵⁷ UN, n.d.

⁵⁸ BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI, II.21.

ii). Peace making - *action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations*⁵⁹

iii). Peacekeeping and enforcement - *the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well. Peace-keeping is a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace.*

iv). Peacebuilding - *action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.* Since then, UN Peacekeepers have been undertaking a wide range of complex tasks which include the building of sustainable governance institutions, building of democratic institutions, implementation of complex peace agreements, monitoring of human rights, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants and security reforms, etc.

Apart from soldiers, UN personnel during peacekeeping operations also include police officers, economists, legal experts, administrators, communications and public information experts, civil affairs and governance specialists, human rights monitors, humanitarian workers, deminers and electoral observers.

In the mid-1990s, the UN faced enormous challenges due to its inability to adequately and timeously deploy operatives especially in the bloody cases of the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Somalia. This was compounded by the fact that warring parties refused to honour peace agreements while peacekeepers did not receive adequate resources. However, there were later improvements when missions were subsequently established in Angola, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, North Macedonia, Guatemala and Haiti.

Reforms were introduced towards the 21st century by reviewing previous challenges, with the aim of strengthening capacity. With the renewed capacity, the UN became administrators in Kosovo and in the former Yugoslavia, East Timor (now Timor-Leste). Larger and more complex peacekeeping operations later took place in Burundi, Chad, the Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo Eritrea/Ethiopia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Syria, etc. From mid- 2010, the UN Peacekeeping began to consolidate and to reduce the size of their operations in countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Chad and the Central African Republic. As of 2023, a little more than 110,000 military, police and civilian staff currently serve in 14 peacekeeping missions representing a decrease in both personnel and peacekeeping missions, as a result of peaceful transitions and the rebuilding of functioning states.⁶⁰ The reduction in the number of personnel shows that, to some extent, the challenges are diminishing.

Nigeria's first participation in peacekeeping was between 1960 and 1964 at the UN Operation in the Congo. The mission of the operation was to assist the Congolese Government to maintain law and order. In that mission, they also provided technical assistance and training. Since then, Nigeria has participated in over 42 peacekeeping operations.

⁵⁹ The chapter deals with the peaceful settlement of disputes between countries on issues that could lead to war. It requires that such countries should seek solutions through peaceful methods such as "negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice."

⁶⁰ UNITED NATIONS, peacekeeping. n.d.

Peacekeeping is a sensitive path that needs careful threading in order to avoid the escalation of crises. Brian Urquhart, believes that *Peacekeeping is a sort of daily nursing care. It is like the staff in a hospital engaged in getting the patient's temperature down and keeping him reasonably healthy. And when you get to a certain point, a great surgeon may be able to arrive and deal with the problem. Maybe there isn't a great surgeon; maybe the case is not operable, in which case the aim must be to keep the patient reasonably comfortable. One has got to be realistic about the difficulty of settling the basic disputes, which give rise to peacekeeping.*⁶¹

The Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) which was formally established as a department of the UN Secretariat in 1992, has nearly 122,000 personnel, with 118 countries contributing military and police to 16 different DPKO-led missions around the world.⁶²

Apart from the elements of peacekeeping which must include Consent, Impartiality and Non-use of force, there must be credibility, legitimacy, national and local ownership. Depending on the exigencies, peacekeeping now includes small unarmed ceasefire observer missions and large-scale multidimensional missions.

1.4. The Hybrid Warfare and its Impact on Regional Security

This form of asymmetric warfare has become rife in Africa. It is a system where a state uses a combination of conventional warfare, cyberwarfare, diplomacy, propaganda, intervention in foreign elections, political interference, military intervention, information warfare, loans and diplomatic assertiveness. The hybrid adversaries could be proxies, state or non-state actors. Since the building of the African Union Conference Center and Office Complex (AUCC) at the Africa Union headquarters by China in Addis Ababa on 28 January 2012, Africa opened doors for foreign influences.

Through hybrid warfare, Russia, United States of America, France, China, etc, continue to exert their geopolitical presence in Africa. Here are some examples:

i). The military dimension.

The Russian Private Military Company, PMC, known as the Wagner Group, is a combination of former Russian soldiers, convicts, and foreign nationals linked to the Kremlin to enhance her foreign relations. The Wagner group has been operating in Libya since 2017. With an army of 300 in Libya as of March 2019, it has reportedly grown to 1,200 by May 2020. These colonial forces have been used to facilitate the ambition of Khalifa Haftar the chieftain of the Libya National Army (LNA) for territorial expansion. Russia's use of PMCs in Libya has spread to other African countries. For example, in Sudan, Wagner Group once assisted President Omar al-Bashir's failed attempt to retain power. In Mozambique, the group combatted Islamic extremists in the province of Cabo Delgado. In Madagascar, it was involved in political campaigns in support of six pro-Russian election candidates.

Pro-Russian alliances in the West African region has reached to 4 countries - Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso and Guinea.

⁶¹ BRIAN, U; Risky Business, 1988:13.

⁶² UNITED NATIONS, Department of Peace Operations | United Nations Peacekeeping, n.d.

On the other hand, at least 1,500 French soldiers are stationed in Niger Republic as of May 2023 before the new military government expelled them from the country. The activities of these foreign powers are interpreted as serving the purposes of the provision of aid, interventionism and protectionism. The acceptance of these foreign forces by African governments have untold consequences for African regional security. These colonial forces erode the power of local forces, open doors for economic exploitation and increased internal conflicts. It also creates battle fields for competition between super powers whose mission is to exploit and fight for supremacy. It is instructive to observe that the five permanent members of the UN Security Council- the US, UK, Russia, China and France, are the countries mostly involved in hybrid warfare in the African region.

Franco-phone countries in Africa - Mali, Chad, Sudan, Guinea, Burkina Faso, and Niger Republic, who are former colonies of France have witnessed several coups within two years. It has been alleged that France was behind the coups. All the leaders of the coups were French trained legionnaires, soldiers and graduates from French Military academies - Colonel Assimi Goita, Colonel Mamady Doumbuya, lieutenant colonel Paul-Henri Sandaogo Damiba.⁶³

It has been reported that between 2020 and 2022, *U.S.-trained officers have attempted coups in five West African countries alone: three times in Burkina Faso, three times in Mali, and once each in Guinea, Mauritania, and Gambia.*⁶⁴ Hybrid warfare is a security threat to Africa as foreigners continue to interfere in the politics of the continent. I wish to give some examples. Gold is being stolen from Nigeria's Zamfara state in exchange for money and lethal weapons which people use to kill and kidnap. An insecure environment creates the needed opportunities for such theft. They steal the gold and ferry them with private jets which landed and took off from the forests. In March 2021, the Nigerian government was forced to declare a no-fly zone in Zamfara state to curb the murderous theft.⁶⁵

In May 2020, seventeen Chinese nationals were arrested for illegal gold mining in Osun state Nigeria⁶⁶. They were never prosecuted because they were believed to be in connivance with local authorities.

There has been huge oil theft in Nigeria, mostly associated with foreigners.

In November 2022, The Nigerian Navy arrested and arraigned 27 foreigners including 16 Indians and nationals from five other countries including Sri Lanka and Poland consequent upon their "attempt to deal in export of crude oil without license or authorization."⁶⁷

ii). Social media

Apart from the military dimension, another element of hybrid warfare includes the use of the social media as a tool for misinformation, the strengthening of wishful thinking and the polarization of public opinion.

In Nigeria the government used it as a propaganda against peaceful protesters. While the government denied that no protester was killed during the EndSARS anti-police brutality

⁶³ CRESCENT INTERNATIONAL. 31 January 2022.

⁶⁴ THE INTERCEPT. 9 March 2022.

⁶⁵ PREMIUM TIMES, 2 March 2021.

⁶⁶ PREMIUM TIMES, 4 May 2020.

⁶⁷ AP NEWS. h 16 November 2022.

protest in 2020, the same government scheduled a mass burial for the victims in 2023. This was about three years after CNN had shown evidence that protesters were killed.⁶⁸

Biafran agitators who wish to secede from Nigeria have used various forms of propaganda on the social media to manipulate its followers. They portrayed themselves to be in possession of huge cache of arms. They marketed genocide through the use of sit-at-home to kill their people while blaming the government and other external forces for all the killings and kidnappings that took place in the southeast of the country.

In 2020, Jawar Mohammed a strong opposition to the government of Ethiopia, posted many fake videos and pictures to show that the government was planning to kill him⁶⁹. This led to massive protests and lockdown in the country.

During the 3rd civil war in Libya, opposing parties used the social media to blame one another for the use of mercenaries.

In Somalia, many people died at home because they refused to go for treatments during the covid-19 pandemic. This was because the jihadist group known as al-shabaab spread the rumour that some persons were deliberately infected and killed in the hospital.

iii). Weakness and complicity in state powers:

African governments and the Peace and Security Council of the AU became either too weak or simply compromised their authorities by allowing foreign powers to intrude into their national politics. Foreign countries established military bases to influence events abroad, protect their commercial and political interests, project their power and to support host countries in wading off attacks by jihadists. The government of some African countries, invited foreign troops as a way of protecting themselves against opposition parties and rebel groups.

On the other hand, the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, are continually in antagonism with themselves. It is no wonder, that all of them have military bases in Africa. Russia seized influence in the Central African Republic through the defence sector because the government needed it to protect itself against oppositions. China has a military base in Djibouti; France have in Djibouti, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Senegal, Mauritania, Chad and Niger Republic. The United Kingdom have in Kenya while, among others, the United States of America have in Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Djibouti, Kenya, Niger, Seychelles and Tunisia.

iv). Loans and economic exploitations

Chinese loans have become debt-trap diplomacy through which African countries are gradually surrendering their sovereignties. Capital infrastructures are surrendered as collateral securities for loans. Indeed, he that pays the piper dictates the tune. Zambia borrowed money from China and lost the operations of her Kenneth Kaunda airport due to the inability to repay the loans. As of September 2019, loans from China accounted for 65.8% of Zambia's external debt.⁷⁰

Kenya also had crises with her Mombasa port due to their loans from China. *Angola, Cameroon, Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Ethiopia and Zambia - sent over a third of debt payments to Chinese lenders in 2021...Chinese public and private lenders accounted for 12%*

⁶⁸ CNN, 17 November 2020.

⁶⁹ PESA CHECK, False headlines..., May 2022.

⁷⁰ THE GUARDIAN.11 December 2019.

*of the continent's \$696 billion external debts in 2020, while 35% was owed to other private creditors.*⁷¹

As of 2023, Nigeria had borrowed \$4.34 billion from China through the Exim Bank of China. *The loan is 84 percent of the country's total bilateral debt, implying that the Asian nation is Nigeria's largest creditor.*⁷²

The implication of these anomalies is that Africa is witnessing the type of economic colonialism that is designed to exploit her natural resources and push the continent into deeper poverty.

The rapid growth in the population of Africa means that unborn generations already have economic crises awaiting them.

In 1950 Africa had a population of 227 million people. Then, that number was neither half of the population of Europe (570 million), nor that of China (610 m). With a current population of 1.46 billion, it has almost doubled the population of Europe (742.2 million) and more than that of China (1.42billion).

In 2050 it will be already 2.48 billion, while population of Europe is expected to fall to 710 million and that of China is also expected to fall to 1.31 billion.⁷³

It is imperative that Africa uses her demographic growth to harness her huge natural and human resources. One way to achieve this, is to demand that all foreign military troops should leave the African soil. They should only be needed when there is a need for multilateral peacekeeping operation authorized by the UN Security Council.

The African Union is in a better position to determine which sustainable peace mechanisms to apply because peace and justice drives development.

1.5. Just Wars and Bad Peace.

i). The Salamanca School of thought

This thought is hinged on the pedagogical and intellectual work of Francisco de Vitoria (c. 1483 – 12 August 1546). It believes that war should be fought only as a last resort - and only when necessary to prevent an even greater evil. Diplomatic resolution is always preferable, even for the more powerful party, before a war is started. *Just War* is considered as actions taken:

- In self-defense, as long as there is a reasonable possibility of success.
- Preventive war against a tyrant who is about to attack.
- War to punish a guilty enemy.

A war is not legitimate or illegitimate simply based on its original motivation: it must comply with a series of conditions:

- *It is necessary that the response be commensurate with the evil; use of more violence than is strictly necessary would constitute an unjust war.*
- *Governing authorities declare war, but their decision is not sufficient cause to begin a war. If the people oppose a war, then it is illegitimate. The people have a right to depose a government that is waging, or is about to wage, an unjust war.*

⁷¹ REUTERS. 11 July 2022.

⁷² CABLE NEWSPAPER. 27 June 2023.

⁶⁹ STATISTICA, 2023.

- *Once war has begun, there remain moral limits to action. For example, one may not attack innocents or kill hostages.*
- *It is obligatory to take advantage of all options for dialogue and negotiations before undertaking a war; war is only legitimate as a last resort.*⁷⁴

Walzer posits that *morality and law have no place in real wars. Inter arma silent leges: in time of war the law is silent.*⁷⁵ He further makes comparison with war and love borne out of the same but varying seat of emotions connected with words such as *faithfulness, devotion, chastity, shame, adultery, seduction, betrayal; aggression, self-defense, appeasement, cruelty, ruthlessness, atrocity.* In this position, Walzer is creating highlights based on the mostly insuppressible path of war which cannot easily be controlled by conditions or rules. Not all war mongers know about the rules of war. Wars could silently go on for years as mere conflicts without aligning with the Salamanca school of thought. In many of such cases, responses are neither commensurate neither are the citizenry consulted for approval when minimal dialogue fails. In any way, war bring no gains. This position is further supported by Adam Elkus who posits that if you cannot make profit, you cannot expect that a war of choice adds to your countries' quality of life.⁷⁶

How do we measure how a reprisal attack is commensurate? What is the weight of war? On what scale is it placed? How are hidden, unpublished and remote attacks measured? These are the questions that arises when the conditions of the Salamanca school of thought, is reviewed. The situation of Nigeria provides some answers. There has been a silent and remote war since the Boko Haram insurgency. An average of 5,000 Nigerians had been killed annually within the country. This weight is measured in line with the definition which states that when more than 1,000 persons are killed within a calendar year, it is classified as war. As expounded by Walzer, *morality and law have no place in real wars.* This is the case with Nigeria where both factors could be jettisoned in times of conflicts. in Nigeria. For example, people have been abducted and killed even after ransoms have been paid. Children and women have been kidnapped from their schools; women raped in their farms; worshippers have been abducted in Churches and Mosques, while negotiators have been abducted while they were negotiating for the release of abductees.

In many cases, reprisal attacks have not been commensurate or accurate. For example, in several attempts to attack terrorists, the Nigerian Air force missed targets 7 times between 2021 and 2023 by attacking innocent civilians. On another occasion in October 2020, unharmed peaceful protesters were sporadically shot to death by Nigerian soldiers when the people were protesting against police brutality.

Finally, remote attacks have become immeasurable in Nigeria. Some cases are not published in order to avoid public outcry and to block international interests. There are little or no verifiable records of the slain. It was reported that in some instances, corpses have been hurriedly buried to avoid public attention. In order cases, the government reduces the true number of people who are killed. For example, in January 2022, while an *estimated 200 people or more have been*

⁷⁴ THY, G, 11 April 2012.

⁷⁵ WALZER, M, 2002:925-944

⁷⁶ ADAM, E, 2012:24-27

*killed in villages in the northwestern Nigerian state of Zamfara during deadly reprisal attacks by armed bandits...the state government said 58 people had been killed during the attacks.*⁷⁷

ii). Saint Thomas Aquinas

Thomas Aquinas` (1225–1274) provides conditions for Just Wars as follows:

- First, just war must be waged by a properly instituted authority such as the state. (Proper Authority is first: represents the common good: which is peace for the sake of man's true end—God.)
- Second, war must occur for a good and just purpose rather than for self-gain (for example, "in the nation's interest" is not just) or as an exercise of power (just cause for the sake of restoring some good that has been denied. i.e., lost territory, lost goods, punishment for an evil perpetrated by a government, army, or even the civilian populace).
- Third, peace must be a central motive even during violence. (Right intention: an authority must fight for the just reasons it has expressly claimed for declaring war in the first place. Soldiers must also fight for this intention).⁷⁸

Aquinas` position brings to the fore, the other side of war. Since the Boko Haram insurgency began in Nigeria, the government had never admitted that she was fighting a war. Rather, in misleading the people, the government had claimed, severally, that Boko haram was technically defeated. On the side of the terrorists, they were fighting a war. Within a calendar year, Boko haram had killed more than a thousand Nigerians. Between 2002 when Boko haram began, and the end of 2020, it is reported that 350,000 persons have been killed. It means that within a period of 18 years, an average of 19,444 persons were killed. That is war! That is an average of 53 casualties daily within a year of 365 days.

The thrust underlining wars as 'just' lies in the postulation that *war, while terrible, is not always the worst option. Important responsibilities, undesirable outcomes, or preventable atrocities may justify war*⁷⁹

The notion of Just War is as old as man. Research by Rory has shown that *"just war thought developed beyond the boundaries of Europe and existed many centuries earlier than the advent of Christianity or even the emergence of Greco-Roman doctrine."*⁸⁰

On the other hand, peace as a concept is vague and relative. Galtung (1967) defines the concept of peace as a "synonym for stability or equilibrium. This conception of peace also refers to internal states of a human being, the person who is at peace with himself. It also covers the "law and order" concept... the idea of a predictable social order even if this order is brought about by means of force and the threat of force."⁸¹ Galtung goes further to highlight the elements of Peace as comprising: 1. *Presence of cooperation* 2. *Freedom from fear* 3. *Freedom from want*

⁷⁷ REUTERS, 8.01.2022.

⁷⁸ JAMES T. JOHNSON, Just War, 15 June 2017.

⁷⁵ GUTHRIE, CHARLES; QUINLAN, MICHAEL, 26 Sep 2007.

⁷⁶ COX, RORY, 2017.

⁸¹ GALTUNG, J., 1967:12

4. *Economic growth and development* 5. *Absence of exploitation* 6. *Equality* 7. *Justice* 8. *Freedom of action* 9. *Pluralism* 10. *Dynamism*.⁸²

Could any form of peace be referred to as Bad Peace? After the victory of war, what next? Bad Peace is a situation that occurs when, after intervening in a conflict situation, peace efforts are not established and sustained. Any attempt to fight a war must be simultaneously juxtaposed with strategies to win the peace. Bad Peace is the situation that occurred after the overthrow and killing of Muammar Gaddafi of Libya and the death of Saddam Hussain in Iraq. Bad Peace could also be described albeit by the renewed Biafran uprising in Nigeria about 50 years after the Nigerian civil Wars. Those same factors of purported marginalization were the same reasons put forth by the Biafran agitators. Whether their position is correct, depends on the assessment by the efforts of the Nigerian government to fully integrate the Biafrans after the civil wars. However, it has been convincingly argued and evidenced by the fact that the Igbo tribe of Nigeria have been an integral part of governance at the local, State and Federal levels before and after the civil war. This argument was a common denominator that weakened and defeated the renewed quest for secession decades after.

The dramatic exit of the United States of America from Afghanistan after two decades of conflicts is the result of bad peace. The US embarked on a war without putting in place, mechanism for sustaining the expected peace.

In the case of Libya, after the 2011 overthrow of Gaddafi with the support of Western powers, the coalition of militias have been fighting with the government; ISIS continue to terrorize and ravage oil installations. Many who have fled the country as refugees and migrants by attempting to cross through Libya to Europe have been killed and sold as slaves while militias and government forces have been locked in continuing battles. The expected peace has, ironically, led to renewed conflicts with the western powers apparently confused about how to restore and sustain the needed peace, stability and development, which the violent overthrow of Gaddafi promised. *It is a war that has left 5,000 dead, the economy in ruins, half a million homeless and the dreams of 2011 shattered*.⁸³

In Iraq, President Saddam Hussain was toppled by a US-led invasion in 2003; hanged around his neck and killed on 30 December 2006. What was acclaimed as a success of the Arab spring uprising, was envisioned to usher in a democratic, peaceful and more developed society. Sadly, bad peace evolved when the level of efforts applied to win and sustain the peace was not commensurate with the effort invested to overthrow Hussain. The Iraqis continue to live in terror, young persons are anxious to emigrate, the air is full of the thick fear of death; people are killed and dumped, sectarian warfare are on the increase superintended by the Sunni and Shia death squad; the continuing onslaught by al-Qaeda is unabated and the country's Sunni minority continue to demonstrate against their marginalization by the Shia-dominated government. These and a poorly equipped military and para-military force has left the country worse off. Youths are very anxious to leave the country as „ *al-Qaeda has mounted repeated strikes across the country, with an average of 68 car bombs a month...* ”⁸⁴

82 IBID. p.14.

83 CHRIS STEPHEN, 16 February 2016.

84 COLLINS FREEMAN, 12 December 2013.

The conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon over the ownership of the Bakassi peninsula was brewing into a war. Attacks and casualties were already reported. When the case was finally adjudicated by the International Court of Justice in favour of Cameroon, Nigeria under the government of President Olusegun Obasanjo ceded the disputed area to Cameroon in August 2008 even though it is an oil-rich region. Such efforts at peace enforcement, further endeared Nigeria to the international community. The renewed agitation for the secession of Biafra from Nigeria worsened in 2017 because when the war ended in 1970, the issues of that led to the war were not fully addressed for sustainable peace. The truce is akin to Bad Peace.

At the height of the militancy in the Niger Delta region, many oil installations were vandalized, several persons were killed and others kidnapped for ransom. This created huge financial losses and insecurity in the Niger Delta. To enforce peace, the government of Nigeria granted amnesty to the agitators on the 6 of August 2009 during the government of President Umaru Yar'Adua. Nigeria did not properly manage the conflict in the Ijaw village of Odi in Bayelsa State according to the rule of law. While the government of Obasanjo was supporting a return to normalcy in Liberia, on 5 November 1999, a hundred persons were massacred by the Nigerian soldiers deployed by Obasanjo's administration to Odi when they demonstrated on their rights to their oil resources. Though it was alleged that the villagers killed some police officers earlier, the reprisal attack on innocent villagers was not a commensurate action. Thereafter, the villagers went to court to seek redress. *In February 2013, the Federal High Court ordered the Federal Government to pay N37.6 billion compensation to the people of Odi. In his judgment, Justice Lambi Akanbi condemned the government for a "brazen violation of the fundamental human rights of the victims to movement, life and to own property and live peacefully in their ancestral home."*⁸⁵ Indeed, a bad peace is the same as war.

1.6. Conclusions

Machiavellian political theory forms the crux of this research because the causes of conflicts which leads to peacekeeping are mostly due to the fact that most rulers believe that they *must not be constrained by law*.

The *Social Conflict theory* of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engel is also used because it mirrors the class struggle as causes of conflicts. It posits that when the higher class uses their position of power to sustain power, the lower class fights for democratization, liberalization, and equitable distribution of resources. The conflicts in Nigeria are mostly based on the demand for rights against the social structure built on contradictions and conflicts.

The West African region have suffered regional insecurity due to the insecurity of its neighbours. This confirms the regional security complex theory (RSCT) on international relations as developed by Buzan and Wæver in which they believe that closeness to each other *is potent for security because many threats travel more easily over short distances than over long ones*.

The evolution of peacekeeping began with the Suez Canal crisis, or the Second Arab–Israeli war after the invasion of Egypt in 1956 by Israeli forces. The United Kingdom and the France joined in the invasion. Their goal was to take back the control of the Seuz Canal and to remove

85 IBEKWE, N, 2013, February 20.

Gamal Abdel Nasser- the Egyptian president, from office. The intervention of the United Nations peacekeeping force, marked the beginning of peacekeeping.

Hybrid warfare has become rife in Africa. It uses cyberwarfare, diplomacy, propaganda, intervention in foreign elections, political interference, military intervention, information warfare, loans and diplomatic assertiveness. The Hybrid adversaries are proxies, state or non-state actors. Russia, United States of America, France, China, etc, continue to exert their geopolitical presence in Africa through hybrid warfare.

In considering Just Wars, there is neither good wars or bad peace. Though war could be needed in self-defense, it could also be used to prevent war against a tyrant or to punish a guilty enemy.

Chapter 2

The Evolution of Nigerian Internal Policy and Conflicts

2.1. Introduction

*Well, Nigeria has played a constructive role in peacekeeping in various parts of West Africa. But unless and until Nigeria itself is democratic and respects human rights, it too may well be a source of much greater instability as political repression limits the ability of the people of Nigeria to achieve their full potential.*⁸⁶

Susan Rice

From colonial dominance between 1885 to 1960 and the first coup of 1966, Nigeria have been badly affected by various conflicts. Such conflicts were consequences of mostly religious, ethnic, social and political campaigns for cessation.

Despite the phenomenal contributions in international peacekeeping by Nigeria, internal insurrections have killed more persons in Nigeria, than Nigeria had saved in foreign countries through peacekeeping. The level of security and welfare has become more devastating.

With the rise in the use of internet and mobile telephones, it seems that violence is now better coordinated than in past years when it was otherwise. There is a widening welfare vacuum in the gap between the managers of public offices and the citizenry. This has been worsened by an unprecedented wave of insecurity as Muslim extremists have recruited children who blew

⁸⁶ Susan Rice is is an American public official who served as the 24th United States National Security Advisor from 2013 to 2017.

themselves up as suicide bombers in Muslim and Christian places of worship. Gunmen have, in broad day, attacked Christian worshippers based on reasons that questions human imagination. Furthermore, welfarism in terms of education and well-being continue to elude many Nigerians as national resources continue to increase at the detriment of depleting infrastructures.

The central objective here is to historicize, examine and find meaning for the failure of government and its security agencies to dish out the needed welfare and security which are the primary functions of government on. Empirical, secondary and other research sources attest to this. The proliferation of churches, mosques, economic poverty, ignorance, weak governmental institutions and dwindling level of patriotism have exacerbated the ongoing malfeasance. These have been worsened by porous national borders and inadequate biometric identification and the self-interest of public office holders that have neglected their duties.

Between 1990 and 1995, Nigeria had supported the signing of at least 10 peace agreements just to ensure peace in Liberia.⁸⁷ Within this period of ensuring peace in Liberia, there has been various conflicts in Nigeria such as the Niger Delta conflicts, the February 1992 Kafanchan crisis of Kaduna state, the Zango Katab riots of May 1992, annulment of the 1993 elections, the palace coup of Sani Abacha in 1993, the execution of 80 persons for alleged suspected coup in April 1995, etc.

One of the cardinal points of the Nigerian Constitution states that the *security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government*.⁸⁸

While security is freedom from perceived threats and dangers, welfare is well-being. Though they appear similar, one of the differences is that a country without security cannot provide well being for its citizens. Security is therefore, the cornerstone of welfare. Welfare in Nigeria is a function of security which is based on the policies of government on socio-economic justice and democracy.

Religion has been a deciding factor in the political and social lives of Nigerians since 1960. It has been a productive, decisive and destructive factor in decision making, elections, allegiance, employment and other considerations.

Religion has been defined as *a set of beliefs concerning the cause, nature, and purpose of the universe, especially when considered as the creation of a superhuman agency or agencies, usually involving devotional and ritual observances, and often containing a moral code governing the conduct of human affairs*.⁸⁹

The various religions in Nigeria are Christians, Muslims, traditional and others. Christianity is currently the most practiced religion. In 2015, it was reported that due to fertility, migration, age, mortality and switching of religious faith around the world, it has been projected that Islam will have the highest number of followers from the year 2020. This projection is based on the increasing population.

⁸⁷Such agreements include the Abuja Peace Agreement, 1995-08-19, Accra Agreements/Akosombo clarification agreement (1994-12-21) to end the Liberian conflict; Akosombo Peace Agreement (1994-09-12) signed in Cotonou to restore peace in Liberia, Cotonou Peace Agreement (1993-07-25) was signed to ensure ceasefire and transitional arrangements in Liberia until the presidential elections, Geneva Agreement 1992 (1992-04-07), Yamoussoukro IV Peace Agreement (1991-10-30), Lomé Agreement (1991-02-13), Banjul IV Agreement (1990-12-21), Bamako Ceasefire Agreement (1990-11-28) and the Banjul III Agreement (1990-10-24).

⁸⁸ Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. <http://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/en/ng/ng014en.pdf>

⁸⁹ BBC News. 2014.

Year	Budhists	Christians	Traditional	Hindus	Jews	Muslims	Others	
2010	1%	49.3%	1.4%	1%	1%	48.8%	1%	1%
2020	1%	46.9%	1.5%	1%	1%	51.1%	1%	1%
2030	1%	44.2%	1.6%	1%	1%	53.7%	1%	1%
2040	1%	41.5%	1.7%	1%	1%	56.4%	1%	1%
2050	1%	39.3%	1.8%	1%	1%	58.5%	1%	1%

Figure II. Projections of Religions in Nigeria, 2010 – 2050. Source: Pew Research Center, The Future of World Religions: Population Growth projections, 2010-2050 <http://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/religious-projections-2010-2050/> Retrieved 11 January 2023. Edited by Author.

However, as of April 2023, this prediction has not actualized because Christians have *more than 2.22 billion followers which is more than 31.5% of world's entire population...Islam is currently the second-largest religion in the world 2023, with over 1.8 billion followers.*⁹⁰

Many clashes between Christians and Muslims have taken place over the years, thereby resulting in conflicts that have claimed lives. Religious conflicts was defined by Aliyu (2004) as *a process of social interaction involving a struggle over claim in resources, power and status, beliefs and other preferences and desire.*⁹¹ According to Miall religious conflict is a *situation where a clear contradiction exists or is perceived to exist between the participants who view the outcome of such conflicts as extremely important.*⁹² In my opinion, religious conflict is a superiority contest between the different followers who believe that they must fight to promote and protect the sacredness and superiority of their belief.

There is clearly no defined chronological order to state the dates of religious conflicts in Nigeria. The reason for this is that some of the crises have gone either unnoticed or not given enough publicity for record purpose. In some cases, friends or families of persons killed during religious clashes, could carry the unforgivable grudge for so long that they could easily incite religious crises just to vent their anger or embark on a revenge in a scale that is inconsequential. Another reason for this, is that some religious crises could take place simultaneously in various geographical locations of the country. The media hype about religious crises, illiteracy, ignorance and over-zealousness of the faithful, placing of religion above nationhood, some inciting religious beliefs, the teachings of religious leaders and the desire to corner the resources of the country, have all led to various religious crises. Some religious clashes were not given due publicity because they were short-lived. For example, within schools, students have clashed for religious reasons. The 2002 religious clash at Queen Amina College in Kaduna, between Christians and Muslims; the 2006 clashes at the Technical School, Malali Kaduna are among some of such cases.

The Nigerian civil war of 1967 was caused partly because of religious sentiments. Any harm, perceived or real, done against a member of a religious group by a member of another religious

⁹⁰ The Countries, Top 10 Largest Religions in the World in 2023, 26 April 2023.

⁹¹ ALIYU, S.S. 2004.

⁹² MIALL, H. 1992:12.

group was easily seen as an affront with an aim to marginalize and to oppress. A coup headed by Major Kaduna Nzeogu occurred in January 1966 and masterminded mostly by Christian soldiers from the eastern part of the country. Nigeria's Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Northern premier Sir Ahmadu Bello and other notable persons of northern and Muslim extraction were killed. Thereafter, northern Muslim soldiers retaliated.

In July of that same year, military officers from the northern part of the country staged a counter coup and installed General Yakubu Gowon an officer from central Nigeria as the Head of State. It was this counter coup that increased ethnic and religious tensions among Nigerians. In that year, an estimated 30,000 Igbo were killed in the north. This was quickly followed by reprisal attacks in the east which witnessed the massacre of many northerners who resided there.

Meanwhile, there has been ongoing grudges that the nation's wealth came from the Southern part of the country due to its rich oil deposits. This awareness catapulted by religious sentiments instigated the Christian Southerners who felt that the Muslim Northerners were receiving more than a fair share of the nation's wealth. The aftermath of these developments led to the declaration of the Republic of Biafra on 30 May 1967 led by Major Odumegwu Ojukwu.

Religious consciousness led to political and social consciousness which further divided the people. Job opportunities, recruitment into the armed forces and admission into tertiary institutions gradually assumed a religious colouration.⁹³ *The Maitatsine riots led to loss of lives, torching of churches, mosques, business premises in Kano, Bulumkutu in Maiduguri in 1982, Rigassa-in 1984, and a host of other places like Gombe and Jimeta-Yola in Adamawa State witnessed Muslim-Christian conflicts.*⁹⁴ The Maitatsine movement was led by a purported Prophet Muhammadu Marwa, a Cameroonian who resided in Kano but opposed the Nigerian state. About 4000 persons died in that riot, including Marwa.⁹⁵ Marwa was known for antagonizing Western culture and education which is equally a characteristic trait of the Boko Haram movement that emerged about two decades later.

Meanwhile, in 1986 Nigeria was rocked by the controversy over its alleged registration as a member of the Organisation of Islamic Countries (O.I.C) by the General Ibrahim Babangida's regime.⁹⁶ This led to various crises that spread to other parts of the country.

Other religious crises include the Zangon-Kataf crises in 1992; the April 22, 1990 Major Gideon Orkar - led coup which cut off five Muslim states (Katsina, Kano, Borno, Sokoto and Bauchi); the 2000-2001 Shariah law clashes; the 2002 protest against the hosting of the world beauty contest in Nigeria; the 2004 Christians-Muslims clashes over the purported desecration of the Q'uran in Makarfi Local Government Area of Kaduna State, among others.

Nigerians clashed with themselves in Nigeria due to what happened in Denmark. On 18th February 2006 religious riots broke out in Maiduguri, the capital of Borno State. The uprising was provoked by a Danish Newspaper that ridiculed Prophet Mohammed.⁹⁷

The clashes in Borno State killed some Christian Igbos residing there. This led to reprisal attacks in Onitsha town of Anambra State against Muslims of Northern extraction.

93 TURAKI, Y. 1993.

94 ADEGA, A.P., 2001.

95 ISICHEI, E., 1987.

96 ATANDA, J.A., 1989.

97 HARUNA, M., 2006.

Nigeria has lost many lives due to religious clashes. Property and businesses have been destroyed during the violent clashes. In some cases, mass burial of victims of clashes have been carried out. There is a division between Christians and Muslims in Nigeria. Part of this division is expressed by deep reservations often ignited by the slightest provocation. Whenever tensions are brewing, Christians from the Southern parts of the country living in the Northern parts of the country return home to their roots to avoid being caught up in the evolving crises. Young Muslim suicide bombers have been recruited to bomb mosques, churches and markets over time. These are mostly children that have either been brain-washed or donated by their parents in what they see as a jihad in honour of their religion. In cases where Muslim extremists kill and maim other Muslims during prayers in mosques, it is difficult to define the motive behind such actions. It has been recorded that 2000 children, including boys and girls, have been recruited by Boko Haram as suicide bombers. According to UNICEF, the overall number of suicide bombings increased from 32 in 2014 to 151 in 2015. In 2015, 89 attacks were carried out in Nigeria, 39 in Cameroon; 16 in Chad and seven in Niger. Cameroon has had the highest number of attacks involving children. Government and defense officials in Cameroon have said most of the attackers there have been girls ages 13 to 15.⁹⁸

It is worthy to note that football is one of the major sport events that bring Nigerians together. This is especially so because the national team is made up of players from different religions and different parts of the country. When Nigeria is playing any international football match, they hardly record any religious crises or terrorist attack because everyone is engaged in watching football matches. Religious conflicts have exposed most of the youths to violence, whereby increasing the number of armed robbers in the highways of the nation. These and other related conflicts have occurred between the Muslims and Christians in Nigeria due to intolerance, religious bigotry and fundamentalism, poverty and unemployment among others.⁹⁹

2.2. Welfare and Religion

The provision of welfare for the people is an integral part of the Nigerian constitution as enshrined in chapter 2 section 14 2b. Though religion has been used in sharpening the moral values of the people, the provision of welfare and basic infrastructures for the people, reduces tensions, strife and internal conflicts. Basic infrastructures such as education, must be prioritized as a way of empowering the people and making them more knowledgeable in handling the needs that comes with daily challenges. There is a need to increase the literacy level and budget for education. Religious houses seem to have been given more concern than expenditures for education. For example, in the 2018 National Common Entrance Examination in Nigeria, only 28 candidates from Zamfara State registered for the examination. Taraba state had 95 candidates and Kebbi state had 50.¹⁰⁰ This discrepancy negates the huge sums of annual budgets for education. Meanwhile, on annual basis, state governments budget for building mosques, churches and subsidizing the cost of religious pilgrimages.

There is an imperative need to match the outcome of academic performances with what was budgeted. Adequate education is a panacea against internal conflicts.

2.2.1. Religion, Nepotism and Boko Haram

⁹⁸ SEARCEY, D., 2016.

⁹⁹ APEKU, S. 2008.

¹⁰⁰ SAHARA WEEKLY, 6 April 2018.

Sharia law was introduced in the 12 northern states of Nigeria with the power to adjudicate in Sharia and customary courts in matters of criminal and civil law. Its principles are based on the code of religious laws which govern the conduct of Muslims. Several controversies, conflicts and security challenges have trailed the introduction of Sharia law in the Nigerian Constitution. Article 262 (1) of the Constitution of Nigeria empowers that *the Sharia Court of Appeal shall, in addition to such other jurisdiction as may be conferred upon it by an Act of the National Assembly, exercise such appellate and supervisory jurisdiction in civil proceedings involving questions of Islamic personal law*. Discontent against Sharia law was manifested in the October 2001 riot in Kano where over one hundred persons were killed,¹⁰¹ the initial sentencing to death by stoning, of Amina Lawal in 2002 in Katsina for the 'adulterous' offence of conceiving a child out of wedlock¹⁰² and other cases of blasphemy and stealing. There was widespread condemnation when *Sani Yakubu Rodi, aged about 21, was hanged in Kaduna Prison on January 3, 2002,*¹⁰³ as sentenced by Sharia law. He was accused of murder.

Other cruel punishments such as amputations and floggings have also taken place. The irony of these judgments is that wealthy persons and politicians who have looted the treasury or committed extra marital offences have not been tried. The law seems to be more effective when dealing with Nigerians of low social, economic, or political status. For example, Sharia law was not applied when a video went viral about a sitting Senator who was also a former Governor of Yobe state- where Sharia law operates, was caught in a major sex scandal involving two women a hotel room.¹⁰⁴ Instead, the Senator affirmed that he would investigate the circumstances leading to why his action was recorded on video.

The dreaded religious cult group known as Badoo unleashed horrendous trauma on the people of Lagos and Ogun states. Their horrible mode of deadly operations left many people dead in their trail. Families have been wiped out in the most bizarre ways ever thought possible. It is even fearful to explain their modus operandi. Their goal is mostly to kill for ritual purposes which were all directed at the mysterious acquisition of wealth and power. The cult group became pronounced in 2016 especially around the Ikorodu area of Lagos state. At midnight they attacked worshippers in the Church or families that are deeply asleep. During initiation, it was reported that they took oaths of secrecy and drank the water used in washing corpses. Their attack strategy was to smash the head of their victims with grinding stones made of rock. When the victim is dead, they dip a handkerchief into his blood. The bloodied handkerchief is sold for between 1,500 and 2,500USD for money-making rituals and spiritual fortification. In late December 2017, one of the members was arrested. He was used by the police to track and arrest some other members of the group and their spiritual leader Adebayo Fatai who operated from his shrine in Imosan area of Ijebu-Ode, Ogun state.¹⁰⁵

Boko Haram

The greatest threat to the security of Nigeria since 2012 has been the incessant attacks by the Boko Haram sect. Two retired army generals Olusegun Obasanjo and Muhammadu Buhari who

101 VOICE OF AMERICA, 30 October 2009.

102 KOINANGE, J., 23 February 2004.

103 HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, 8 January 2002.

104 SAHARA REPORTERS, 2 July 2017.

105 USMAN, E., 6 January 2018.

later became civilian Presidents could not contain them. Though they claim to be jihadists, this sect cannot be fully called jihadists operating under religious motives because they also kill and kidnap Muslims, including women and children. They cannot be called political agitators because their political mission is undefined. It is more convenient to refer to them as terrorists who set out to kill and to destroy. They are also known as the Islamic State in West Africa or the Islamic State's West Africa Province (ISWA or ISWAP). They were formerly known as Jamā'at Ahl as-Sunnah lid-Da'wah wa'l-Jihād "Group of the People of Sunnah for Preaching and Jihad"¹⁰⁶ Their Muslim religious belief is based on the doctrine of Salafism which they believe is the purest form of religion hinged strongly on Sharia law. The Salafist movement is a branch of Sunni Islam which has its roots in late 19th century Egypt. It is connected to the Wahhabi movement which started in the 18th century in Najd, Saudi Arabia.¹⁰⁷

They have been officially declared as a terrorist group by the United Nations (2014),¹⁰⁸ United States of America (2013),¹⁰⁹ United Kingdom (2013),¹¹⁰ Canada (2013), United Arab Emirates¹¹¹ (2014), New Zealand (2014)¹¹² and Australia (2014).¹¹³

Boko Haram was founded in Maiduguri, Borno State, in the north east of Nigeria in 2002, by the late Mohammed Yusuf with the aim of supporting and promoting Islamic education and the eventual establishment of an Islamic state of Nigeria. His school attracted poor youths who were indoctrinated to hate western education, the police, social injustice and corruption.

Yusuf was reportedly trained in Kano Nigeria by Sheik Ja'afar Mahmud Adamu who fondly called Yusuf the "leader of young people". Adamu and Yusuf preached at the Indimi Mosque in Maiduguri. It was also reported that the deputy Governor of Borno State attended the mosque.¹¹⁴

Yusuf was well educated, and his profound philosophical belief showed itself in a BBC interview in 2009 in which he said that rain is not *"an evaporation caused by the sun but is instead created and sent down directly by God and said that the Earth is not a sphere"*¹¹⁵ The region where Boko Haram started was historically under the Bornu emirate operating as a sovereign sultanate that was operated in the doctrine and policies of the Constitution of Medina before the eventual colonization by Britain who eventually merged Borno with the Sokoto caliphate in 1903. The Constitution of Medina was formed in honour of Islamic Prophet Mohammed in 62 CE.¹¹⁶ Mohammed was regarded as the supreme leader in a constitution which highlighted blood money and ransom payment. Boko Haram was built on this religious belief. The structure of Boko Haram was initially hinged on the structure of the Izala Society (Jama'at Izalatil Bidiawa Iqamatus Sunnah), which was already an established and popular Islamic sect. Yusuf recruited mostly unemployed youths after breaking away from the Izala Society. Yusuf's

106 Reuters, 6 February 2015.

107 SPENCER, C. T & ROBERTS, P., 2008.

108 United Nations, 22 May 2014.

109 United State Bureau of Counter terrorism, 20, 2009 to January 20, 2017.

110 Proscribed Terrorist Organisations, 2014.

111 Gulfnews, 17 November 2014.

112 GORDON CAMBEL, 15 May 2014.

113 Australian National Security, n.d.

114. CHOUIN, G., REINERT, M., & APARD, ÉLODIE. 2014.

115 BBC, 31 July 2009.

116 The Life of Muhammad, 1998.

popularity was enhanced when the Nigerian Television Authority began to broadcast some of his preaching. He became even more popular when he was eventually arrested. Yusuf had political sponsors from highly placed politicians like the former Borno State Governor Ali Modu Sheriff who allegedly used the sect for violent election purposes. The sect became wild after they were used and abandoned after the 2007 elections.

It gradually became a recruitment ground for violent jihadists. The group was involved in several attacks in 2009 against police stations, private and some government buildings in Maiduguri. The government of Nigeria reacted by swiftly raiding the enclave of the group. Yusuf died in one of such raids. His death catapulted more violent reactions from the group led by Abubakar Shekau. The group recruited various persons and forcefully kidnapped others to join them. They operated across the border of Nigeria into Cameroon, Niger and Chad. On 7 September 2010, the group became more daring that they broke into the Bauchi prison and released 105 of their members with at least 600 other prisoners. On the Christmas eve of 2010 they went on rampage and bombed four locations in Jos, Plateau state. *Two bombs went off near a large market in Jos where people were doing last-minute Christmas shopping on Friday. A third hit a mainly Christian area, while the fourth was near a road leading to the city's main mosque.*¹¹⁷

Killing and abductions have continued over the years. In August 2023, Boko Haram attacked Wulari village in Borno state where they killed three soldiers. They proceeded to the village of Maiwa where they killed 10 farmers while they were working on their farms.¹¹⁸

The Boko Haram sect expanded its contact by building alliances with other terrorists groups such as the Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). They received training and material supports through their partners in terrorism. Some of their training included the construction of improvised explosive devices from AQIM. The sect joined Al-Qaida in wreaking havoc on Mali in 2012 and 2013.¹¹⁹ and claimed solidarity with Al-Qaida affiliates in Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, North Africa and Yemen.

*Boko Haram is responsible for a series of major terrorist attacks, including a wave of bombings in Kano, Nigeria in January 2012 that killed more than 180 people in a single day. Another major attack was the August 26, 2011 bomb attack on the United Nations headquarters in Abuja that killed at least 21 people and wounded scores more. The group was also responsible for the December 25, 2011 attack on the Saint Theresa Catholic Church in Madalla, Nigeria, that killed at least 37 and wounded approximately 50.*¹²⁰

The record of attacks by Boko Haram seem to have overwhelmed the Nigerian army. Boko Haram began a violent campaign against Nigerian schools and students. The havoc they wreaked in June 2013 in schools located in Maiduguri and Damaturu reportedly killed 22 children. In the month of July they attacked a school in Mamudo village Nigeria and killed at least 42 persons. Boko Haram also attacked a school of agriculture in Yobe state on 29

117 The Guardian, 28 Dec 2010.

100. Africa, 14 August 2023.

119 United State Bureau of Counter terrorism, 2009-2017.

120 IBID.

September 2013 where they killed 50 students in their dormitory while they were asleep and razed the building.¹²¹

They struck again in the night of 14-15 April 2014 when they viciously abducted 276 girls from the Chibok village of Borno state. Abubakar Shekau who later became the leader of the sect after the death of Yusuf, claimed responsibility for the attack. *Boko Haram militants subsequently attacked a staging base for rescuers on May 5, 2014, killing an additional 310 people.*¹²²

In 2014 the sect violently seized swathes of territories in Borno state in a size estimated to be around 20,000 square miles. The expansion of the group became evident in January 2015 when their leader Abubakar Shekau announced their allegiance with the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant. This led to the change of name to the Islamic State in West Africa.¹²³

It is difficult to ascertain the correct number of members of the sect but as of 2015 they were *estimated to be at least 15,000 – although it is likely to be much higher.*¹²⁴ Between 2013 and 2015, *Boko Haram have launched at least 330 raids and bombings, killing at least 5,400 civilians in Northern Nigeria. The actual number is likely to be much higher.*¹²⁵ It is believed that they receive funds and ammunitions from international jihadist groups, through looting and kidnapping for ransom. Their method of operation is usually swift and focused. They drive into target communities with motor bikes and equipped vehicles and shoot sporadically at any human being in sight, or assemble residents in a community and shoot the men of fighting age and abduct mostly the unmarried women and young males whom they use either as suicide bombers or as part of their sect. They mostly raze such villages and cart away any available food stuff. They have occupied some territories within Nigeria and formed a pseudo government in which they extort money from the people and give permission to them to move around

whenever it is necessary. The UN claimed that *more than 1,000 children have been kidnapped by Islamist group Boko Haram in northeastern Nigeria since 2013.*¹²⁶

In July 2020, the helicopter of the United Nation was shot by the Boko Haram sect at the Damasak area of Borno State killing two persons and a 5-year-old child.¹²⁷ This was the second attack on the UN after the 2011 bombing. It is believed that the integration of terrorists by the Buhari government is strengthening terrorism. This is especially so because the so-called repentant terrorists may be giving information and supplies to their ‘former’ colleagues with whom they swore oaths of allegiance and secrecy. On the other hand, the continuing grants and loans by various financial institutions like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund is not adequately assisting the ordinary Nigerians. Good as the funding intentions are, the funds are being diverted into the integration of terrorists even when such funding were not budgeted in the 2020 budget. Funds from financial institutions must be directly monitored and implemented by the funders without giving the funds directly to the government. This is especially so because Nigerians have lost trust in the effective management of the economy by

121 IBID.

122 IBID.

123 THOMAS J, WEISS C. LONG, War Journal, 31 Oct. 2016.

124 AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, 29 January 2015.

125 IBID

126 DW IN FOCUS. 13 April 2018.

127 BBC NEWS, 6 July 2020.

politicians. The terrorists may have become more daring because an army commander, Major General Abdulmalik Biu, told the press that a repentant ex-terrorist could become the President of Nigeria¹²⁸. This is coming up on the backdrop of soldiers who have become disillusioned by poor working conditions and protested because '*soldiers were dying like fowl*'.¹²⁹ There are also fears that the insecurity is continuing because members of the murderous sect could have been enlisted into the army and other security agencies.

The strength of Boko Haram lies on the fact that despite huge annual budgets of more than 600 million euro, the Nigerian Army has remained dys-functional as troops regularly complain of poor payment, poor welfare and poor equipment suspected to be because of corruption within its top brass. The thin and invisible porous border lines between Nigeria and the region surrounding Cameroon, Niger and Chad makes it easy for terrorists to encroach into the Nigerian territory. There is a stretch of three thousand, two hundred and seventy four square kilometers (3,274 sq.km) borderland between these countries and it gives opportunity for easy entrance and escape routes. It has been reported that illegal border routes of Nigeria are around 1,483 while only 84 are the legally recognized routes. This means that there are at least 1,350 illegal routes. Such a situation gives rise to the proliferation of arms, drugs, human trafficking and abductions.

The existence of wide expanse of vast unoccupied and un-policed forest regions has been weaponized by Boko haram for hiding and attacking. This complicates the ongoing counter-insurgency actions of the Nigerian government because the terrorists effectively understand the routes and easily lay ambush and kill Nigerian soldiers. Though there are regional alliances by Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Cameroon, if terrorism must be effectively fought, there must be a strategic governance of trans-territorial forestland between Nigeria and countries around the Lake Chad Basin. Such governance may include regular aerial surveillance of the territory and the building of residential and business outfits within such territories as a way of reclamation. The vast presence of forest or 'ungoverned space' as impediments to security in Africa need to be given scholarly and practical consideration as it aids systemic terrorism.

2.2.2. *The Theory of Ungoverned Space*

The theory of 'ungoverned Spaces' has been defined by Keister as '*areas of limited or anomalous governmental control inside otherwise functional states*'. Among others, Chukwuma Okoli¹³⁰ cited Rabasa¹³¹ who wrote that *the prevalence of ungoverned spaces in contemporary states provides safe havens for treasonable and subversive activities, often orchestrated by organised criminals and extremist groups*. Every ungoverned space is the responsibility of government because it creates safe haven for criminal elements. In Nigeria for example, the wide expanses of land are going fallow when they ought to be used for agricultural purposes in such a way that they could become level grounds where long distances could easily be seen from a stand point. They could also be converted to security points for surveillance. It is the

¹²⁸ PUNCH NEWSPAPER, 22 July 2019.

¹²⁹ BBC NEWS, 19 August 2014.

¹³⁰ OKOLI, A.C. Accord, AJCR 2019/1

¹³¹ RABASA, A., STEVEN, B., CHALK, P., CRAGIN, K., KARASIK, T.W., MORONEY, J.D.P., KEVIN, A. O'BRIEN, K.A & JOHN, E. P., 2007

inability of government to occupy ungoverned spaces that encourages insurgents to criminally convert them for their nefarious activities. Okoli posits that *whilst sundry ungoverned spaces exist and persist, opportunistic elements (criminals and insurgents alike) within the civic domain and the underworld are inclined to exploit the prevailing 'fault lines' towards criminal and subversive ends.*¹³²

Throughout Nigeria, murderous herdsmen comfortably reside in bushes where they build huts and dig tunnels underground. Such tunnels act as armouries for lethal weapons. Apart from the herdsmen, the tricky creeks in the Niger delta region provided the 'ungoverned spaces' where the militants held sway. They were very conversant with the region and it provided them grounds to strategize, strike and retreat. They also used them as their base for oil bunkering and and hostage taking.

Boko Haram have their base in the Sambisa Forest extending from the northeastern region of Borno state around the Lake Chad Basin. Their insurgency has spread from Nigeria into Niger, Chad and Cameroon. The ungoverned space of the Sambisa Forest which is a familiar terrain for the terrorists makes it easy for them to move around and makes it difficult for the Nigerian soldiers to penetrate and record permanent success against the sect. However, that is why it has been suggested that it is easier to fight Boko haram through aerial battle.



Figure III. Location of Sambisa Forest. Source: ITV News, <https://www.itv.com/news/update/2015-12-02/troops-free-900-hostages-held-by-boko-haram-extremists/>

132 CHUKWUMA O, 2019.

Country	Total area of the country (km ²)	Area of the country within the basin (km ²)	As % of total area of basin (%)	As % of total area of country (%)	Average annual rainfall in the basin area		
						(mm)	
					min.	max.	mean
Nigeria	923770	179282	7.5	19.4	285	1330	670
Niger	1267000	691473	29.0	54.6	0	635	105
Algeria	2381740	93451	3.9	3.9	0	135	20
Sudan	2505810	101048	4.2	4.0	70	1155	585
Central Africa	622980	219410	9.2	35.2	760	1535	1215
Chad	1284000	1046196	43.9	81.5	0	1350	400
Cameroon	475440	50775	2.1	10.7	365	1590	1010
For Lake Chad basin		2381635	100.0		0	1590	415

Figure IV. Lake Chad basin: areas and rainfall by country.

About 20% of the total area of the Lake Chad Basin, or 427500 km², is called the Conventional Basin (42% in Chad, 28% in Niger, 21% in Nigeria and 9% in Cameroon), which is under the mandate of the Lake Chad Basin Commission. This commission was created in 1964 by the four member states with the objective of ensuring the most rational use of water, land and other natural resources and to coordinate regional development.

Source: Food and Agricultural Organizations of the United Nations' Assessment of changes in Aerial Extent of Lake Chad using Satellite Remote Sensing Data.

<http://www.fao.org/3/W4347E/w4347e01.htm>

Some West African forces from Nigeria, Cameroon, Niger and Chad formed a coalition in 2015 to fight Boko Haram. That effort yielded results for some time because in February of the same year, they killed at least 200 Boko haram militants. In a reprisal attack, the sect attacked the town of Fotokol in Cameroon and killed 81 civilians, 13 Chadian soldiers and 6 Cameroonian soldiers.¹³³

The reaction of the Nigerian army to the various attacks by Boko Haram has exposed the many weaknesses of the army over the years. The same country that could ensure peace in other countries should equally be prepared to swiftly respond to challenges at home. The army is short of basic communication, transportation, and the necessary weapons to counter the insurgents who are better equipped. In a situation such as this, the morale of soldiers becomes

¹³³ News24, 5 February 2015.

weak. There are strong indications that senior military officers allegedly divert military procurement funds budgeted for developing the army in various forms. Though the country's defense budget increases annually, the security on ground is not commensurate with the budgeted funds.

In 2013, the Nigerian military applied other tactics by shutting down internet mobile phone network coverage in the three north-eastern states as a way of disrupting the communication capability of the sect and to prevent them from being able to detonate their Improvised Explosive Device (IED). This tactic inconvenienced citizens in the region but gave another opportunity for the sect to change tactics by concentrating their activities within their territory of operation in the Sambisa Forest. Some northern states applied the same tactics in 2021.

Verisk Maplecroft risk analysis and indices reported that *an intensifying campaign of violence by Islamic militant group Boko Haram has seen Nigeria (5th) record by far the highest number of fatalities per attack, reflecting the intensity of the violence there. The country has been host to 146 reported attacks in the period 01 July 2013 to 30 June 2014, resulting in 3,477 killed – an average of 24 people killed per attack, compared to 2 deaths per attack in Iraq. The increased capacity of Boko Haram – as illustrated by attacks on the key centers of Abuja and Lagos in June 2014 – is likely to lead to a further loss of investor confidence in Nigeria's ability to respond to security risks in the country.*¹³⁴

In March 2015, it was reported that Nigeria had employed hundreds of mercenaries from South Africa and the former Soviet Union to assist in making gains against Boko Haram before the 28 March election. This was not completely verified until another scenario showed up when the Founder of the *Specialized Tasks, Training, Equipment and Protection, (STTEP)*,¹³⁵ Eben Barlow, claimed that President Buhari terminated the contract. The South African private military company was contracted in 2014 by the former President Goodluck Jonathan in a bid end the insurgency. The company was contracted to provide training in new weapons and tactics to the Nigerian Army. The termination was another indication of the political weakness on the part of the government of President Buhari to fight insurgency.

In April 2018, the President of Nigeria, Muhammadu Buhari, approved a release of 1 billion USD to enable the procurement of ammunitions and other security equipment to fight the ravaging insurgency and intermittent revolts in the country. In 2018 Nigeria ordered military equipment from the government of the United States of America to supply 12 Super Tucano fighter jets and other weapons and security services worth over 400 million USD. The ammunitions were supplied in 2020. Between the period that the ammunitions were paid for and when they were scheduled to be supplied, at least 2,000 Nigerians have been killed. A better agreement ought to have been reached with the American government in such a way that the American government would have loaned some drones on the interim to fight the insurgents before the arrival of the products. This was not done. The terrorists continued to operate within the regions of the ungoverned spaces as abode and bases for the planning of their various attacks. When the 12 fighter jets finally arrived in Nigeria, terrorism continued unabated.

¹³⁴ VERISK, M. 2014.

¹³⁵ GUARDIAN NEWSPAPER, 26 November 2018.

Ungoverned spaces ought to create the impetus for Nigeria to diversify into agriculture in order to achieve self sufficiency and create employment for a peaceful society. Unfortunately, funds budgeted for human capital development ended up in the hands of politicians in ways that could not be explained. Food security enhances national security especially when lands are wasting and providing safe harbours for terrorists. When bushes and forests are cleared open to some extent - to avoid deforestation, criminal hide-outs and sanctuaries for terrorists will be destroyed. The theory of ungoverned space clearly points to the need of why the government must not fail to develop certain areas with the needed infrastructures. Government must deliberately frustrate criminal havens and operational access for terrorism. Ungoverned spaces in Sambisa forest of Nigeria has created safe havens for Boko Haram because the government left loopholes and continued to delay in meaningful investment in agriculture. Outside Nigeria, records show similar trends as insecurity thrived in the ungoverned spaces of the Pakistani-Afghan border region used as a convenient hideout for al-Qaeda leadership. The same with the Arabian peninsula in the regions of Saudi Arabia. The same situation in Yemen, Oman, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Qatar, Bahrain, and Kuwait; the Sulawesi-Mindanao Arc comprising the Celebes and Sulu Seas and their land border in Southeast Asian maritime region; Colombia-Venezuela Border, Guatemala-Chiapas Border, etc. There are compelling needs for Nigeria to arise and turn her security fears into food security by turning ungoverned spaces into farms for food production.

2.2.3. *Conflicts versus the Abuse of the Rule of Law in Nigeria*

Benazir Bhutto had stated that *military dictatorship is born from the power of the gun, and so it undermines the concept of the rule of law and gives birth to a culture of might, a culture of weapons, violence and intolerance.*¹³⁶

The rule of law is the established rule agreed upon as the laws of a country or comity of nations. It has been defined by the Random House Unabridged Dictionary as *the principle that all people and institutions are subject to and accountable to law that is fairly applied and enforced; the principle of government by law.*¹³⁷

Though the origin of the term has been traced back to 16th century Britain and recognized by ancient thinkers, it was popularized in the 19th century by the British jurist and constitutional theorist Albert Venn Dicey.

Due to its high value, it is embodied in the preamble of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in which it was agreed in declaration that *the governments of European countries which are like-minded and have a common heritage of political traditions, ideals, freedom and the rule of law.*¹³⁸

The place of the rule of law is highlighted in the third paragraph of the preamble of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that *... it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law...*¹³⁹

¹³⁶ THE NEWS, 25 December 2020.

¹³⁷ Dictionary.com Unabridged Based on the Random House Unabridged Dictionary, 2018.

¹³⁸ Council of Europe, 1988, art. 3

¹³⁹ Universal Declaration of Human Rights. n.d.

The United Nations sees governance as an integral part of the rule of law. *The rule of law is a principle of governance... It requires, as well, measures to ensure adherence to the principles of supremacy of law, equality before the law, accountability to the law, fairness in the*

*application of the law, separation of powers, participation in decision making, legal certainty, avoidance of arbitrariness and procedural and legal transparency.*¹⁴⁰

The Nigerian entity has been described as a *multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural republic held together by a constitution which is regarded as the grundnorm. The Constitution functions as the thermostat to measure and control the temperature of the polity, and once the Constitution is disregarded for any reason, the polity begins to heat up.* The application of the rule of law could vary with countries and geography. What is an acceptable law in a country may not be acceptable in another country? The rule of law has been described as a *nebulous concept whose meaning and content vary from place to place.*¹⁴¹

From Nigeria's Boko Haram to Somalia's Shabaab and the Islamic State in Sudan, the cause factors of conflicts are the same. They either border around the abuse of the rule of law or by perceived marginalization. The recruits are usually impoverished, frustrated and desperate persons - especially youths who lost direction in life due to societal neglect exacerbated by the failing of governments. Some of these conflicts usually spread into neighbouring states. For example, *Boko Haram alone was responsible for at least 17,000 deaths and the displacement of more than 2.8 million people, triggering a humanitarian crisis in the Lake Chad region.*¹⁴² The conflict spread to Niger, Mali and Cameroon which are neighbouring countries with Nigeria.

In the conflict analysis within the African continent, the UN Development Programme (UNDP), states that *33,300 people were killed in attacks by violent extremists in Africa between 2011 and the start of 2016.*¹⁴³

The wide-spread poverty in the North eastern part of Nigeria gave rise to Boko Haram which was initially an anticorruption movement. The people became disenchanted with bad governance, and they became violent after the death of their leader. The agitation of Nigerians from the Eastern part of the country was equally because of perceived marginalization and bad governance.

The Nigerian Senate which ought to be the apex law-making and law-abiding institution has become an institutionalized law-breaking body. The Senators appropriated huge salaries and emoluments to themselves outside the laid down law as elucidated by the Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission, RMAFC.

Their abuse of the rule of law has led to the widening of economic gap and other resultant conflicts. As reported, they surreptitiously inject monies into the national budget and withdraw it through their cronies without embarking on the fictitious and duplicated projections. As of 2018, Nigerian Senators reportedly earn USD37,500 monthly¹⁴⁴ and the outrageous amount is shrouded in secrecy. That amounts to USD456,000 annually. This amount was disclosed by a

140 United Nations Rule of Law Rule of Law Indicators. Implementation Guides and Project Tools. 2011

141 OJO ABIOLA, 1987

142 Punch, 7 September 2017.

143 ibid.

144 BBC News, 12 March 2018.

former senator Shehu Sani who confessed that *It pricked my conscience and I decided to burst the bubble and open the National Assembly to public scrutiny.*¹⁴⁵ With such an amount, it means that the monthly earning of a Nigerian Senator is 90.5 months (7.5 years) of the salary of a Nigerian medical doctor who earn USD414 monthly. It is also more than the monthly salary of 25 Nigerian army generals who earn USD1,500¹⁴⁶ and more than the annual pay of the US President who earn USD400,000 annually. By further calculations, it is almost thrice the annual salary of US congressmen who earn USD174,000 annually as of 2023. *This has been the case since 2009... Congress has voted not to accept the annual increase since 2010 maintaining the nominal amount.*¹⁴⁷

This huge economic gap is happening in a country where some Nigerians earn USD30 as monthly salary. With such salaries, resources needed for capital and social welfare projects for Nigerians are spirited away by a tiny few while the poverty level worsen. This gap also creates social conflicts, unemployment and huge economic deficit to basic resources needed by the larger populace. The Senators work part time but supervise the work of people who work full time. They even allocate salaries to themselves when they are on holidays. The result of such anomaly is disaffection and conflicts between the citizens and the government on one hand, and between the citizens and the citizens on the other hand because people become aggressive at the slightest provocation. This economic gap is happening in a country judged as the poverty capital of the world. According to a report by the Brookings Institution, data from the World Poverty Clock show that with an estimated population of 180 million people, Nigeria now has over 87 million people living in poverty. Six Nigerians become poor every minute. As of 2023, with a population of around 220 million people, the poverty index increased and it was reported that 133 million Nigerians live in abject poverty.¹⁴⁸

Law has been the custom of government. Ironically, it is the twist in the handling of the concept of law that give rise to discontentment among the governed. Distinctions have been made between the 'rule by law' and 'rule of law'. 'Under the former, law is an instrument of government and government is above it. Under the latter, nobody is above the law: the constitution and law seek to ensure that the state functions in the public interest.'¹⁴⁹ There is no good governance if the poor cannot access justice.

For a system to manifest good governance, it must possess eight major characteristics. *It is participatory, consensus-oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective, and efficient; equitable and inclusive, and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society.*¹⁵⁰

Absence of good governance is a broken mirror of the abuse of the rule of law. This is what manifests in poor welfarism. Since welfare and security are pillars of government, increased

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶Top Nigerian Jobs, Nigerian Army Ranks and Salary Structure.
23 September 2023.

¹⁴⁷ Statista, Annual salary of members of the United States Congress from 1990 to 2023.

¹⁴⁸ Bloomberg, 18 November 2022.

¹⁴⁹ Schlaeppli, E., and McCabe, C., *SDC Concept Paper*. Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. 2008.

¹⁵⁰ UN ESCAP: What is Good Governance?

welfare programs by the government make citizens to care less about other deficiencies. Omotola (2005) believe that most of the conflicts in Nigeria were caused by the *prebendal character of the post-independence state and that of its predatory elites, whether civilian or military. It is to this second factor that Akinwumi attributes over 90 percent of the deepening woes of Nigeria since 1960 because they pursue their selfish and narrow interests*¹⁵¹ It is selfish interest that led to a dearth in the provision of welfare services. The multiplier effect of this is that the absence of welfarism ignites in the citizens, notions and perceptions of inequality and marginalization. This is what give rise to rebellion and conflicts.

There is a compelling need to examine the dominant perception that nations fail when laws fail. Rule of law is an indicator of democracy and good governance.

This study draws upon mostly primary sources including verified media reports and other publications. Once there is disrespect and impunity from the top hierarchy of government, it will continue to permeate down to other aspects of the social, political and economic sections of the society, thereby resulting in conflicts which, ordinarily, could have been avoided.

2.2.4. Measuring the Nigerian Perspective

I measured the validity of this study based on the five elements of the rule of law as espoused by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).¹⁵² The elements are:

- Order and security — Societal order and responsibility of government in protecting rights.
- Legitimacy — Legitimate laws that represent democratic and societal consensus.
- Checks and balances — Separation of governmental, legislative powers and independent judiciary.
- Fairness — Equal, procedural and protective application of the law.
- Effective application — The enforcement and application of laws.

The rule of law in Nigeria has been undergoing various challenges over the years. In many cases, citizens ignorantly jettison their rights because they have not been adequately educated about it. This has led to sheepish silence in the face of oppression - which has culminated in negative consequences. The collective silence of Nigerians against inappropriate governance continue to pave way for continuing misrule and poor leadership repeatedly. Social variables such as geography, religion, ethnicity, tradition and culture have played various roles in the many conflicts propelled by the abuse of the rule of law. These variables were employed over different timelines such as the period of colonialism, African traditions, pre and post Christian and Islamic era, the Caliphate and the various military and civilian regimes.

Flagrant disregard to court judgment or orders has become endemic in the government of Nigeria. This is mostly abused by agents of government including law enforcement agencies. Citizens could be kept in detention for a long period of time without taking them to court for trial. In most cases, citizens are too poor to finance the legal fees that could uphold their rights. Those that are granted bail could still be kept in detention against the order of the court. Disrespect to the laws of the country and constituted authorities have generated negative multiplier effects which vis-à-vis has led to uncontrollable conflicts. Such conflicts have

¹⁵¹ OMOTOLA, J., AKINWUMI, S. O.LAYEMI. 2005:171-173.

¹⁵² Guide to Rule of Law Country, USAID 2010.

resulted in violence which in turn, has led to the displacement of citizens within and outside the country.

Prior to the amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914 by the British colonialists, different tribes had their traditionally structured pattern of governance which were effective, efficient and unique. The amalgamation altered the status quo. Persons from different tribes, cultures and religions were brought together without a valid plan to establish integration and communal interactions. Alien laws were introduced in the name of constitution. Geographical boundaries were destroyed in the process of the amalgamation of 'states.'

People from diverse origins were forced to live together. New forms of government like the 'indirect rule' were introduced. This foundation was the beginning of conflicts in Nigeria. The culture of impunity by the colonialists, impoverishment of the people, plundering of their natural resources and violently reducing them to servitude at gun point, became the norm. Various forms of conflicts were carried over to the post colonial era of 1960. It is the characteristics of pre-colonial governance that was imbibed and applied by the Nigerians who later found themselves in the corridors of power. Thereafter, it became a norm. The attendant conflicts are yet to be abated. Some examples will suffice.

I wish to pick some cases to further expatiate on how the abuse of the rule of law in Nigeria creates social imbalances and conflicts. Detention of citizens against the rule of law and the manipulation of the organs of government have aggravated the conflicts in Nigeria. I would put all the detentions and manipulations as a sub chapter at the end of this chapter.

2.2.5. Ethnic Marginalization and the 50 Naira Currency Note

Nigeria introduced the fifty-naira currency note in 1991. It is fondly known as the WAZOBIA currency note because it represents the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria – Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo. WA means come in Yoruba. ZO means come in Hausa and BIA means come in Igbo language. The introduction of this currency continues to spin the thread of disunity that continue to negatively affect the ethnic consciousness of the Nigerian people. Some have nick-named the currency as 'Sky Blue' because of its colour.

Unfortunately, since the introduction of the 50-naira currency note in 1991, there has been various forms of discrimination and marginalization. The three major tribes have one quarrel or another against themselves due to outdated historical distrust. Though they are prominent in the operational affairs of Nigeria, but they always argue that they are being marginalized to the extent that they are agitating for their separate countries. They are the tribes that have ruled Nigeria for the longest period, yet they still complain against one another. Fortunately, not all Yorubas, Igbos and Hausa are in support of seceding or complain about marginalization. Every region wishes to produce the president for selfish reasons.

It is difficult to fathom how the presidency of Olusegun Obasanjo, Earnest Shonekan, or the *de facto* vice presidency of Oladipo Diya and Yemi Osinbajo benefitted the average Yoruba where they come from. We cannot visibly quantify how did the Presidency of Yakubu Gowon, Badamosi Babaginda, Sani Abacha, Abdulsalami Abubakar, Musa Yar'Adua, Murtala Mohammed, Shehu Shagari, Muhammadu Buhari, and the Vice Presidency of Namadi Sambo and Atiku Abubakar, benefitted northerners where there is a worse level of insecurity, illiteracy, beggars and street children. How did the Presidency of Jonathan Goodluck benefit his Bayelsa State and the entire Niger Delta? How did the Presidency of Aguiyi Ironsi, Nnamdi Azikiwe or

the Vice Presidency of Alex Ekweme benefit the Igbos? It becomes difficult to really understand who is really marginalizing WAZOBIA who continue to hold the rein of power against the other 369 tribes in Nigeria. Definitely, it is not the smaller tribes that are marginalizing them. Whenever it is time to vote for who should be President, the Igbo, Hausa or Yoruba are more visible. That is why Nigeria has produced leaders that have put the country in the sorry state that she has found herself because managerial capacity is less considered in the process of choosing leaders. Tribe and religion are extolled above capacity and national interest. That is the impact that the fifty-naira note has done to national psyche. It is the currency of marginalization and agitation. Whenever an appointment is made, people quickly zero on the tribe of the appointee.

The 50 naira note marginalizes the other 369 tribes in Nigeria to the point of tension. There were several agitations against the many appointments of key security personnel mostly concentrated in the northern part of the country in the government of Muhammadu Buhari who hails from the north. The same lopsided appointments repeated itself and tilted towards the south west regions after Bola Tinubu succeeded Buhari. Since WAZOBIA promotes ethnic consciousness, the currency ought to be withdrawn from circulation if the country must be united as a people as written on the national motto: *Unity and Faith, Peace and Progress*. With the symbolic 50 naira note, unity, faith in country, peace and progress continue to elude the country. There are so much tribal sentiments in the polity. There is the need to renew mindset so that the wrong notion that the distribution of national resources must be done in line with the imagined principles and agitations of WAZOBIA will be eradicated. In the scheme of things, the six geopolitical zones are sometimes not considered in line with the demands of the federal character. Non-controversial symbols are needed for national cohesion. National symbols that will unite instead of separating the people. The currency could be replaced with many other symbols that genuinely promote national unity.

On the other hand, the WAZOBIA currency note clearly disrespects and discriminates against Nigeria women. Of all the 7 human figures on the currency note, only one is a woman. It is a sad reminder of the sorry state of most Nigerian women. That is better expressed when you see the ratio of men to women in government and the representation in the federal legislature. Since 1999, the average representation of women in the federal legislature has been around 6.4% compared to 93.6% for men. Ironically, Nigeria is a signatory to the Maputo Protocol of the African charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa. Since 2013, the insurgency in the middle belt, northern Nigeria and her neighbours Chad, Mali, Niger and Cameroon, have recorded more than 2.4million displaced persons.¹⁵³ Women are seen as commodities in the north and that is why half of northern women are illiterates and are married off as child-wives. More women have been raped and maimed on their farms by murderous herdsmen in the other parts of Nigeria. Out of the 12 Chief executives that have served as Governors of the Central Bank of Nigeria for the past 59 years, only one was a woman- Sarah Alade; and she only served in an acting capacity. Nigeria ranks 125 on the gender equality index of the United Nations Development Program. There is a need for gender balancing in every facet of national life.

¹⁵³ RELIEFWEB, 10 September 2019.

For security to be stabilized, the leadership must dethrone tribal prejudice and bring together all nations within the Nigerian space to form a mega nation where people will not be judged by the name of the God they serve, the region into which they were born, nor the language they speak.

A step was officially taken as a way of ameliorating ethnic tensions amongst the Nigerian people as far as ethnic consciousness is concerned. A place was given in the Nigerian constitution named Federal Character. It was designed to give equal representation to people from the six geo-political zones of the country. That law has not been fully respected.

Prior to the 2019 Presidential election, the All Progressives Congress party of Nigeria fixed the cost of the Presidential nomination forms for an exorbitant amount of 45.5 million naira (113,750euro). Some individuals under the name of Nigeria Consolidation Ambassadors Network purportedly bought the nomination forms for President Muhammadu Buhari to be re-elected into office. Buhari collected this form against the rule of law. The Nigerian Electoral Act 2010 as amended, provides in S91 (9) that no individual or other entity shall contribute more than N1million (2,500euro) to a candidate as part of costs for the election. The conscious violation of such a law attracts a fine of 1 million naira (2,500euro) or 12 months imprisonment for such a candidate that violates the provision. Unfortunately, the law of Nigeria accords the President an immunity status in such a way that he cannot be tried in a court of law while in office.

In another vein, the Code of Conduct for Public Officers in the 1999 constitution fifth schedule, part 1, does not permit public officials to accept such gifts which undoubtedly, lure public office holders into compromising their duties. Abubakar Atiku the former Vice President of Nigeria who was also contested for the Presidency in 2019, equally received such a form – purportedly bought by the Atiku Support Group (ASG). This equally exceeded the one-million-naira mark stipulated by the constitution.

It is the summation of these continuing anomalies and disrespect for the rule of law that the new national chairman of the APC made the following statement: *If the Presidency condones disrespect for his office, I will not condone disrespect for the party...*¹⁵⁴

2.3. New Agitations and Impediments against Unity and Security in Nigeria

*Insecurity: Take us home, IDPs beg Buhari.*¹⁵⁵

While Nigerians became disillusioned by reason of failed governance and insecurity, others cried from camps for internally displaced persons that they wished to return home.

The UNHCR spokesperson, Babar Baloch, at a press briefing at the Palais des Nations in Geneva, stated that, since April 2019, 25 per cent of the refugees who fled from relentless attacks by armed groups came from Sokoto, Zamfara, and Katsina states of Nigeria¹⁵⁶. Many have taken refuge in Niger republic, Cameroon, and Chad. In August 2021, the Nigerian Minister of Humanitarian Affairs, Disaster Management and Social Development, Sadiya

¹⁵⁴ PUNCH. 23 July 2018.

¹⁵⁵ NANLONG, M.T AND DURU, P., 6 April 2021.

¹⁵⁶ SAHARA REPORTERS, 16 August 2021.

Farouq, disclosed that there are 322,000 Nigerian refugees in Chad, Cameroon and Niger Republic.¹⁵⁷ This is an attestation to the level of insecurity in a country that keeps the peace in other countries. To worsen this situation, Nigerians have become very divided due to the use of hate speech to disparage themselves by reasons of tribes and religion. Such actions have further caused psychological conflicts which translates various forms of acrimonies.

Laws are the backbones needed for the existence of a country. Law partners with the economy to provide welfare and security for the citizenry. Therefore, it is logical to adumbrate, that to fail in the provision of either welfare or security, is to have failed in both aspects because they are both intertwined. Enabling laws of a country determines the security and economic well-being of the people. However, laws that are calculated to take away the rights of the people breeds anarchy and gap between the government and the governed.

In the light of these, there is a need to examine some aspects of governance that has led to distrust and insecurity in Nigeria. The goal is to proffer solutions that could open a clear path towards national reconstruction.

2.3.1. Challenges to the Rule of Law

The rule of law has come under attack in Nigeria. This is the result of impunity and the intentional disobedience of court orders by the government. Such disobedience became rife during the administration of Retired General Muhammadu Buhari who was initially presented as a born-again democrat¹⁵⁸ prior to his election in 2015. Between 2015 and 2019, Amnesty International stated that President Buhari had shown “*stunning disregard for the rule of law and human rights, ignoring Nigerian judges on at least 40 occasions.*”¹⁵⁹

On several occasions, government officials had blatantly told verifiable lies that undermined the integrity of government. Some of such falsehoods have been highlighted here. When there are misleading and conflicting information from government officials, it goes a long way in fueling distrust and insecurity within and outside the body polity. Apart from falsehoods, there had been various threats against Nigerians in an administration that ought to exercise democratic values and principles. In June 2021, President Buhari threatened to unleash his civil war experiences against Nigerians that were agitating against his administration. In a tweet, he wrote that *Many of those misbehaving today are too young to be aware of the destruction and loss of lives that occurred during the Biafra war...* Buhari further wrote. *Those of us in the fields for 30 months,*

who went through the war, will treat them in the language they understand.” His tweet was deleted by Twitter as an ‘*abusive behaviour*’¹⁶⁰. In turn, the government suspended Twitter (now X) in Nigeria.¹⁶¹

This aspect of this research is intended to mirror the role of law and falsehood in governance and how it affects security and trust from the citizenry.

¹⁵⁷ PUNCH, 28 August 2021.

¹⁵⁸ THE WORLD WEEKLY, 2 April 2015.

¹⁵⁹ SAHARA REPORTERS, 25 November 2019.

¹⁶⁰ THE GUARDIAN, 2 June 2021.

¹⁶¹ THE GUARDIAN, 4 June 2021.

The goal is to offer recommendations aimed at bridging the gap between the government and the people. When the rights of citizens are respected and government displays a high level of accountability and transparency, it bolsters confidence and trust amongst citizens. When citizens lose trust in government, patriotism and national development becomes a huge challenge. Most importantly, trust brings about efficiency in offices. For example, if the judiciary is independent, the rule of law is respected. This in turn, leads to trust in government.¹⁶²

A trust-worthy government enable citizens to obey rules and regulations. Such compliance could also extend to the willing payment of tax, which invariably, boosts the economy.¹⁶³

2.3.2. Restructure or self determination?

While there are calls to divide Nigeria into several countries, others argue that it is better to restructure the country in such a way that the current states will operate as independent federating units thereby reducing power from the center and giving state Governor more power to govern their states especially in the use of resources and the direct supervision of security agencies. Argument for either restructuring or disintegration is hinged on the insecurity and perceived marginalization.

Some questions are begging for answers. For example, why did it take less than 3 years for the government of Nigeria to end the civil war of 1967, but could not end the fight against Boko Haram terrorism for almost 20 years? Yet, she had Obasanjo and Buhari, 2 retired Army Generals who participated in the civil war and later became civilian presidents.

Questions have also been asked as to how Nigerians were able to speak with one voice and seized independence from colonialists but have been unable to actualize true democracy from politicians who are now referred to as *neo-colonialists*. There has been a growing call for a second Nigerian independence from politicians who have created a wide gap between themselves and the citizens.

Within the national construction of Nigeria, the possibilities of dividing the country without going through war is remote. This is because many arms have illegally entered Nigeria while some were seized. For example, 1100 pump actions were seized at the Nigerian port in 2017. Another 400 were later seized. 2 private jet fighters were also seized in 2016.¹⁶⁴ They all entered Nigeria illegally. Wherever those ammunitions were finally kept remain secret. They could have fallen into the hands of criminals.

A Russian ship load of ammunitions was seized in South Africa on its way to Nigeria in August 2018. The Nigerian government did not comment on that. That shipment was worth \$3.6m, and it contained 34 containers with arms and explosives. It is difficult to tell how many of such arms have entered the country. That ship already passed through India, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Kenya, Mozambique, and Tanzania ports without arrest.¹⁶⁵

162 KNACK, S. & P.J. ZAK, 2003:91-107.

163 MURPHY, K., 2004:187-209.

164 VANGUARD, 12 Sept. 2017.

165 PULSE Nigerian newspaper, 26 August 2018.

Apart from arresting unarmed pro democracy activists, the primary aim of the State Security Service is to gather intelligence that could prevent and arrest all the problems of insecurity in the country. Little has been achieved by them as their activities seem to have been politicized.

Fulani herdsmen carry sophisticated arms when herding their cows. How they get their weapons has been a mystery. More ammunitions are in the North. What Delta militants possesses cannot be compared. Senator Ali Ndume and Ali Sheriff Modu were once implicated as accomplices with Boko haram and nothing came out of it. Boko Haram supporters could open the porous borders in the north for foreign mercenaries to pour into the visa-free country if war broke up in Nigeria. Making Nigeria visa-free to all African countries by Muhammadu Buhari was very surprising to Nigerians because it was done at a period of worsening security challenges in a country that has over 1,840 porous borders. He announced this policy when he attended a meeting in Egypt. This was done without consultation with the national assembly.¹⁶⁶

When President Buhari ordered the former Inspector General of Police Ibrahim Idris to relocate to Benue state in 2018, he refused. Three months later, Buhari claimed that he was not aware that Idris did not obey his order.¹⁶⁷ No consequences came upon Idris. Between January and March 2018, when Idris refused to relocate, 203 persons were reportedly killed in Benue state excluding the 87 killed on New Year Day. The European Union parliament claims that 6,000 human beings have been killed in the regime of Muhammadu Buhari.¹⁶⁸ For 12 years, Muhammadu Buhari struggled and contested to be President! Nigerians thought that he would use his military experience to protect the people.

Some persons were imported from Niger republic to campaign for the APC during the Presidential campaign in support of Muhammadu Buhari in the 2019 elections. The team from Niger republic was led by Governor Issa Moussa of Zinda and Maradi State Governor, Zakiri Umar.¹⁶⁹ It was probably in appreciation of their electoral support that made Buhari to budget billions in the 2019 budget to construct a railway from Nigeria into Niger republic passing through Kano-Katsina-Jibiya to Maradi in Niger republic.

The debate on foreign intervention into American elections formed a part of the reasons that led to the failed impeachment saga of Donald Trump of the United States of America.¹⁷⁰ What Trump did as a perceived offence is far less than the clear aberrations created by Muhammadu Buhari.

There are growing fears that Nigeria is surrounded by foreign mercenaries. This is especially so because during the restriction of movements necessitated by the covid-19 pandemic, trucks were seen transporting people from the North to other parts of the country. Theophilus.Y. Danjuma the former Minister for Defence, publicly advised Nigerians to arm and defend themselves against impending security challenges. Some terrorists currently ride commercial motor bikes in the western, eastern and southern parts of the country. Others sell yams while some are shoe menders in different regions of Nigeria. Their daily chores are suspected to simply enable them to be familiar with the terrain as strategies for future conflicts.

166 BBC News, December 2019.

167 PREMIUN TIMES, 12 December 2019.

168 SAHARA REPORTERS, 19 January 2020

169 PUNCH, 1 February 2019.

170 PILLAR, Business Insider, 3 February 2020.

The kidnapping and slaughtering of Christians are intended to provoke them to start the war. The technique of 'provocation' was used by the Nazi regime of Adolf Hitler to invade Poland in 1939. When the German information minister reported the aftermath of the invasion of Poland to Hitler, he said that "Warsaw saw War and War saw Warsaw".

The reintegration of `repentant` Boko Haram members into the Nigerian society is a threat to national peace and stability. Kabiru Sokoto is a terrorist who in 2011, killed 40 Nigerians on Christmas day after Catholic mass service outside the St. Theresa's church when a car bomb exploded in Madala at the outskirt of Abuja the state capital. Kabiru was arrested and the Commissioner of Police Zakari Biu from Bornu State reportedly connived and released terrorist Kabiru. Zakari Biu was later dismissed from the police in 2013 during the tenure of Jonathan Goodluck for acts of complicity and professional misconduct. Kabiru Sokoto was later re-arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment.¹⁷¹

There are growing fears that he could have been secretly removed from prison as the government continue to enter into various provocative agreements with the Boko haram terrorist group and murderous herdsmen. Though it was denied by the government of Nigeria, it was reported that the government offered 100 billion naira (250 million euro) to the murderous herdsmen to appease them from further killing.¹⁷² This suspicion is based on the fear that immediately after retired Maj. Gen M. Buhari resumed as Head of state in 2015, he recalled, reinstated and restored Zakari Biu's to his position. Zakari was reported to have received salary for the years he was dismissed! It means that President Buhari supported the escape of a confirmed terrorist and he continued to re-integrate so-called repentant Boko Haram terrorists as a way of recycling insurgency.

Restructuring is understood in Nigeria, to mean a system where the concept of true federalism is practiced in a way that is based on the shared responsibility of individual regional units with a central core that will bind the units together. Therefore, every region will operate as separate and independent bodies that will harness, create and manage their resources and make some commitments to the central government. On the other hand, some tribes in different regions, agitate for self determination which means that they will exit as Nigerians to form their separate countries with such names as Yoruba nation, Biafra, etc. In whatever way it may go, Nigeria remains as a federation while the agitation continues. Restructuring will empower every region to run their affairs and create wealth by harnessing and managing their resources while making some commitments to the federal and central government.

2.3.3. Security and the Social Media

The Merriam-Webster dictionary has defined the social media as "forms of electronic communication (such as websites for social networking and microblogging) through which users create online communities to share information, ideas, personal messages, and other content (such as videos)."¹⁷³ It was in 1987, that the internet came into Nigeria through the National Science Foundation launched the digital network which became known as the

¹⁷¹ REUTERS, 13 December 2013.

¹⁷² VANGUARD, 12 May 2019.

¹⁷³ Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary.

NSFNET. This was followed by the real launch of the social media platform in 1997.¹⁷⁴ The social media in Nigeria has become a veritable tool of governance and a perceived threat to security. For example, Twitter (now X) is mostly used to express government opinions and announcements. It continues to be a way of sharing messages, audio and videos across the country.

In 1995, the social media was introduced in Nigeria by the Regional Informatics Networks for Africa, (RINAF). It was a project sponsored by UNESCO. Since the introduction of the social media in Nigeria, the government has been very jittery about its use in exposing the malfeasance of government and the possible mobilization of the people against government policies. Government on the other hand tried to censor its use to curtail perceived excesses. In doing that, the rights of the people have been trampled upon.

In 1996 the Nigeria Communication Commission issued licenses to 38 internet service providers. It was on 1 January 1997 that Linkservice Limited started the internet business in Nigeria. Between 1996 and 2000, more service providers such as PINET, Skannet, Linservice, teineng, Infoweb, Cyberspace and Hyperia entered the business and widened the scope of the internet world.¹⁷⁵ Since the introduction of the social media in Nigeria, the government has been

very jittery about its use in exposing the malfeasance of government and the possible mobilization of the people against government policies. Government on the other hand tried to censor its use to curtail perceived excesses. In doing so, the rights of the people have been trampled upon. In the extreme, terrorist organizations such as the Boko Haram sect, have used it in communicating, especially through podcast messages and other forms of communication. While the government had variously employed means of restricting the use of the social media against government activities, it is a paradox that the government has not been able to track and block the source of network communication by terrorists and their sources of supplies. The Nigerian government took actions to curtail the use of the social media in ways inimical to accepted norms in the 21st century.¹⁷⁶ The Nigerian Minister of Information Lai Mohammed had hinted that it has become necessary to enact a law that will regulate free speech on the internet. Senator Mohammed Musa of Niger State moved the motion for the '*Protection from internet falsehood and manipulations bill, 2019*'.¹⁷⁷ They intended to coerce Nigerians on what to say so that they could invariably control the people on how to think. If such anomaly had been allowed, politicians would have permanently taken away the freedom of expression from the Nigerian people. Unfortunately, the proposed bill was not original. It was revealed by the author of this research, that the bill was plagiarized from another country.¹⁷⁸ The title of the bill was copied from the *Protection from Online Falsehoods and Manipulation Act 2019* of the Republic of Singapore! I researched and found out that the Act was passed by the Singaporean Parliament on 8 May 2019 and assented to by their President Halimah Yacob on the 3rd of June 2019. That was how President Muhammadu Buhari's speech was also plagiarized from an

174 Maryville University Missouri, n.d.

175 LEGIT NEWS, 19 December 2018.

176 ANTIETIE EWANG, Human Rights Watch, 26 November 2019.

177 PUNCH NEWSPAPER, 23 November 2019.

178 PUNCH Newspaper, 23 November 2019.

earlier speech by Barack Obama¹⁷⁹. In that speech, which was made during a political campaign, Buhari said *We must resist the temptation to fall back on the same partisanship, pettiness and immaturity that have poisoned our country for so long*. That sentence was lifted verbatim from Barack Obama's speech, which he made after his victory over Arizona Senator John McCain. As if that was not enough, the APC were yet again, in 2019, *accused of plagiarism after its manifesto declared it was dedicated to keeping America safe and secure*.¹⁸⁰ The nature of falsehood and inability to formulate original policies gives room for ineptitude and promotes laziness. There are videos and pictures where some legislators have been captured sleeping on duty. The offence of sleeping during plenary sessions is not less offensive than online falsehood because such a legislator will jump out of sleep and approve ongoing debates without understanding the true context and implications of agreeing to whatever decision evolved. If life imprisonment must serve as a punishment to social media offenders, the legislators should equally consider same punishment for legislators who receive huge salaries and sleep during sessions, when the destiny of a country is being determined. Nigeria already had the Cybercrime Prohibition, Prevention Law which was passed during the administration of former President Goodluck Jonathan in May 2015.¹⁸¹ Yet, the government was anxious to tighten the noose against social media users. When people believe that their rights have been taken away, they tend to be aggressive. This gives way to insecurity. Dictatorship is usually a slow but steady process. It finds deep root when the people refuse to act against impunity. Now they want to cage the freedom of expression and human rights just as they tried to suppress the freedom of association through intimidation, tear gassing and shooting to kill, whenever Nigerians protest injustice. As if that is not enough, the Senate commenced actions towards making another law against hate speech with a commission to be known as the “National Commission for the Prohibition of Hate Speeches”. The insidious bill was sponsored by the Deputy Chief Whip of the Senate, Abdullahi Aliu Sabi also from the same Niger state. They proposed life imprisonment or death sentence for offenders as part of their *Next Level* agenda. Nigerians reacted to this move by reminding the Senators that when President Buhari referred to Nigerian youths as being lazy, it was also regarded as hate speech. Nigeria already had laws that criminalizes certain expressions. For example, Sections 373, 375 and 376 of Nigeria’s Criminal Code Act as well as the Defamatory and Offensive Publications Act, criminalizes defamation. Again, Section 418 of the Penal Code which states that: “*Whoever circulates, publishes or reproduces any statement, rumor or report which he knows or has reason to believe to be false with intent to cause or which is likely to cause fear or alarm to the public whereby any person may be induced to commit an offence against the public peace, shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three years or with fine or with both.*” Further, both Sections 59(1) and (2) of the Criminal Code Act and Section 418 of the Penal Code are used to try false publication offences. So, why did legislators need more of such laws? The so-called *Falsehood and Manipulation* law was planned to be introduced but the government was not interested in the fact that it has consistently used falsehood as an element of governance. If there is a government that had used the internet and other social media to boldly propagate falsehood and manipulation in Nigeria, it is the government of Muhammadu

179 STEPHANIE BUSARI, CNN. 28 September 2016.

180 INDEPENDENT Newspaper. 16 January 2019.

181 Library of Congress Law, 5 February 2014.

Buhari. These media manipulations created social crises, protests and agitations against government policies. For example, the government propagated the falsehood that it cost 3.5 million naira (8,750euro) to feed the unlawfully detained Shiite Muslim leader, Ibrahim El-Zakzaky in prison monthly¹⁸². The government also propagated the falsehood that Boko Haram had been technically defeated¹⁸³. Thereafter, killings and kidnappings by Boko Haram increased.

Reports show that in the first tenure of Buhari, between 2015 and 2019, a number of 25,794 Nigerians were killed. In that number, Boko Haram were responsible for the killing of 5,598 persons while herdsmen and other sectarian violence claimed the lives of 4,917 Nigerians. It has

been reported that the Nigerian Military now uses a surveillance system to spy on the phones, computers of Nigerians especially Journalists and social groups.¹⁸⁴ Though it appeared that there were plans to remove the freedom of expression from Nigerians, the people refuse to replace Abacha –styled military dictatorship with civilian autocracy.

2.3.3.1. Breach of Elections Promises and the social contract

The political party known as the All Progressives Congress, (APC), came into office in 2015 and was returned in 2019 before it was again returned under very controversial circumstances in 2023. The manifestos of these elections were mostly remodified by hinged on the manifesto of the 2015 elections which succeeded based on the elections promises which were later unfulfilled. Some of the campaign falsehood and manipulation in that manifesto includes their promise¹⁸⁵ to:

1. Amend the Constitution to remove immunity from prosecution for elected officers in criminal cases.
2. Make the economy one of the fastest growing emerging economies in the world with a real GDP growth averaging 10% annually.
3. Formulate a robust industrialization policy and provide a conducive environment.
4. Generate, transmit and distribute from current 5,000 – 6,000 MW to at least 20,000 MW of electricity within four years.
5. Modernize the NNPC and make it the national energy champion.
6. Targeting up to 15% of our annual budget for education.
7. Increase the quality of all federal government owned hospitals to world class standard within five years.
8. Guarantee that women are adequately represented in government appointments.

None of the above promises were kept. This led to disillusionment and various agitation for the disintegration of Nigeria because the people felt cheated. In addition to failed campaign promises, outright falsehood had been peddled by government officials to deceive Nigerians. In some cases, the falsehood is peddled in order to hide funds that have been diverted for

182 PREMIUM TIMES, 8 November, 2018.

183 VANGUARD Newspaper. 21 October 2019.

184 ALJAZEERA NEWS, 8 December 2020.

185 INEC, February 2019.

projects. In other cases, they are intended to give false impression to either show that the government is working, or as election campaign strategies to hoodwink prospective voters.

The controversial tweets by Lauretta Onochie, a Special Assistant to President Buhari on social media, were huge sources of embarrassment that dwindled trust for the administration. In September 2018, Lauretta Onochie, tweeted a picture of an asphalt road purportedly being constructed by the Federal Government. It had the caption, “Nasarawa-Jos Road”. It was discovered that the picture was a stock photograph previously uploaded by Getty Images since November 2015. The same government official repeated the same falsehood in December 2018 by creating a quote and ascribing it with the photograph of former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo. The quote read “The money Atiku stole when he was my vice is enough to feed 300 million for 400 years”. The former President denied ever making such a statement. Lauretta Onochie did not stop there. In February 2019, she uploaded a Facebook status with a screenshot and statement “*Atiku becoming president is like hearing that a former armed robber is now your bank manager – OBJ (My Watch, page 49)*”. A factcheck showed that former President Obasanjo did not make such a statement in the cited book. The deliberate fabrication by such embarrassing statements made by Onochie were intended to score cheap political points.

In April 2019, she went further to share another post about an imaginary government project in Borno state. Onochie tweeted and shared a picture in which she praised the then Governor of Borno State, Kashim Shettima, for launching “Africa’s biggest Automated Solar Panel manufacturing plant”. Her tweet was widely shared. Investigation showed that the picture was not only credited to senior airman Larry E. Reid Jr (Staff Sergeant in the US Air Force), but was over 11 years old and shows a solar power plant in Las Vegas in the U.S. The whole tweet attributing the power plant to the then APC governor of Borno State was utter falsehood.¹⁸⁶

In another instance which occurred in September 2018, the same Onochie tweeted four unrelated pictures from her Twitter handle in which she claimed that the federal government was building low-cost housing projects in the Federal Capital Territory. It was discovered that one of the pictures was first uploaded in April 2014 in a project initiated by the Lagos State Home Ownership Mortgage Scheme. The second picture is a bungalow at the Sir Michael Otedola Housing Estate in Odoragushin, Lagos. The third picture dated back to around 2016, and it has been used in articles about housing projects in Malaysia, Guyana and Kenya. The ICIR traced the last picture to affordable housing that was planned for Revelstoke in British Columbia, Canada. None of the four pictures, therefore, show housing projects in the FCT, Abuja.¹⁸⁷ Such falsehood is antithetical to good governance. Instead of such falsehoods, the Nigerian Federal legislators need to sit up and come up with concrete laws that could bring about visible developments and employment instead of laws that restricts the freedoms of the people. The government of Nigeria has taken some positive steps towards addressing insecurity through mobile telephones. It initiated the compulsory linking of the digitally supported biometrics of the National Identification Numbers of Nigerians with the SIM cards contained in the mobile telephones. This is to make it easier to track criminals. In many countries like Hungary for example, all SIM cards are registered with the national identity cards of citizens and foreigners. This connection makes it easier to track users who commit crimes. It is easy to trace such

¹⁸⁶ ADEBAJO KUNLE in ICIR, 18 September 2018.

¹⁸⁷ PREMIUM TIMES, 21 June 2021.

persons because their biometric data are already in the system. All citizens and foreigners who reside in the country are registered in the system.

One of the longest serving legislators is Senator Philip Tanimu Aduda who has been in office since 2003. He continued in the 9th national assembly sworn into office for another four years in May 2023. He is called the landlord of the Senate as if it is his personal property. Senator Ike Ekweremadu came into the national assembly in 2003 and was Deputy Senate president for 12 years and the important agitation for a new constitution was not given meaningful consideration. They are both senators since 2003. So, when some regions of Nigeria talk about marginalization by the federal government, they must also ask what their governors, legislators and local government chairpersons have been doing. Senator John Owan Enoh has also been in the senate since 2003. Senator Ahmad Ibrahim Lawan started as a member of the House of Representatives in 1999 and entered the Senate in 2007 and continued with the 9th national assembly in 2023. Senators David Mark and Nicholas Mutu were there for 20 years, 1999 to 2019. Jagaba Adams Jagaba, Kabiru Marafa Achida, Femi Gbajabiamila, Yakubu Barde, Leo Ogor, James Manager, Senator Ali Ndume and others, served in the national assembly for very many years. In November 2011, Senator Ndume was reportedly linked to Boko Haram. He denied the allegation.

The government of Nigeria have taken some positive steps towards addressing insecurity through mobile telephones. It initiated the compulsory linking of the digitally supported biometrics of the National Identification Numbers of Nigerians with the SIM cards contained in the mobile telephones. This is to make it easier to track criminals. An impediment to this objective is that previous data were inadequate and unreliable. The census figures of Nigerians are mostly estimated. This was complicated by the fact that uncontrolled border crossing through porous routes make it almost impossible to check the menace of cross border crimes. Due to the distrust for government, Nigerians felt that it was a risk to link their identity numbers with their SIM cards, especially because the government had disobeyed various court orders and denied citizens of their rights in several ways. Individuals and groups resorted to legal actions against the government because of this development. For example, the Edo Civil Society Organizations (EDOCSSO), which is a coalition of civil rights groups in Edo State, filed a legal suit requesting the court to declare the intention of government as a breach of citizens' right to privacy as guaranteed by the 1999 constitution.

The defendants in the case include the National Identity Management Commission (NIMC); the federal ministry of communications and digital economy; the Nigerian Communications Commission (NCC); the Attorney-General of the federation; the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN); the Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC), and the Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS).¹⁸⁸

Such litigations are occurring because of the lack of trust in government and other abounding evidence that some persons within the government of Nigeria have links with terrorist organizations.

2.3.4. Hate speech as agent provocateur and precursor to insecurity

¹⁸⁸ Biometric Update, 2 February 2021.

*The quality of our lives depends not on whether or not we have conflicts, but on how we respond to them. (Thomas Crum)*¹⁸⁹

Hate speech is an intentional action to hurt the emotions of the other person without restraint. It is a precursor to conflict and it is so partial that it does not warrant the consent of the victim. While the elements of peacekeeping must include consent, impartiality and non-use of force, hate speech does not recognize this. Depending on the exigencies, peacekeeping now includes small unarmed ceasefire observer missions and large-scale multidimensional missions. On the other hand, the consequences of hate speech could lead to bloody reactions between individuals or groups, with no restrictions on the methods of fighting. Nigeria is fractured along countless fault lines and has become a breeding ground for hate speech. Some attribute the root of the problems to divisions between the three main tribes (Hausas/Fulani in the North, Ibos in the East and Yorubas in the West), while others attribute them to differences between religious groups - particularly Christians and Muslims.

According to Waldron¹⁹⁰ the harm is not *caused* by the speech, but the speech itself *constitutes* the harm. The distinction between how speech causes harm and how speech constitutes the harm, calls for examination. In totality, we believe that as far as the intention is to inflict psychological assault on the dignity of another person, both the context and the act to utter such a speech is what constitutes hate speech. This tangible verbal action is what empowers the victim to initiate a consequentialist claim in the court of law. In 1948, the United Nations General Assembly (NGA) adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Article 19 of the UDHR states that "*Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.*"¹⁹¹ We opine that as long as a form of speech lead to a breakdown of harmonious community relations due to its discriminatory content, it amounts to hate speech. Hate speech and freedom of expression are in diametrical opposition.

Hate speech has been defined as the utterance, *that attacks, threatens, or insults a person or group on the basis of national origin, ethnicity, color, religion, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, or disability.*¹⁹² Such public speeches relate to discrimination, threats, violence, spread by written, audio, video, media, banners or slogans whether used in politics, cultural, sporting events or forms of manifestations fall into this category.

Hate speech draws the very sharp line between the people based on ethnicity and religion. It is an agent provocateur. When the Federal Government of Nigeria moved to criminalize hate speech in Nigeria, it was largely condemned as inappropriate, by many Nigerians. In 2020, a bold legislative attempt to control hate speech, particularly in relation to social media, met with stiff resistance from Nigerians who saw it as a move to curtail their freedom of expression, even though there is a clear line between tackling hate speech and restricting freedom of expression.

¹⁸⁹ SOKEN-HUBERTY n.d.

¹⁹⁰ WALDRON, 2008:55.

¹⁹¹ Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (1948).

¹⁹² Hate speech n.d.

It is obvious as enshrined in articles 22 and 39 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (as amended); in the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and in the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Cap. 10, LFN, 1990).

In a multi-cultural and religious country like Nigeria, inflammatory statements are so sensitive that if not contained, could lead to ethnic and religious clashes. Record has shown that hate speech made by respected citizens have heated the polity and resulted in the loss of lives and property. The height of a litany of hate speech were leashed on Nigerians by prominent persons who heated the polity during the 2011, 2015, 2019 and 2023 elections for their selfish aims. The media was equally counterproductive as they quickly published such speeches and in other cases, quoted hate speech published by other news agencies in cases where they were not connected to the source.

Hate speech campaigns around the 2011 elections are not presented in this study for the reason that 12 years ago hate speech took a very different form due to the much lower penetration of the internet (and thus social media). However, the 2011 and 2015 presidential elections shows the same voting patterns, where ethnic cleavages re-emerged and played a major role in the outcomes of the elections: General Buhari won in North-West and North-East states while President Jonathan won in the South-East and South-South. The elections results were not surprising, considering the fact of the rising religious and ethnic polarization since 2010, following the death of President Musa Yaradua and the collapse of the PDP zoning arrangement.¹⁹³

The 2015 elections, unfortunately, provided many examples of hate speech. A study analysing the three daily editions of leading newspapers during the election period showed that the share of hate speech in the news was by far the highest, at almost 25%.

When analyzing the political discourse of the 2015 Nigerian elections, it was revealed that the main strategy of the opposition party (People Democratic Party – PDP) based on using accusations, degrading statements and judgements.¹⁹⁴

From the hate speech spewed by the campaign team of Jonathan Goodluck and that of Muhammadu Buhari, it could be seen that the electorate were in the middle of the crossfire.

When Muhammadu Buhari was campaigning for the elections in 2015, he was full of hate speech. On one occasion, he said that *God willing, by 2015, something will happen. They either conduct a free and fair election or they go a very disgraceful way. If what happened in 2011 should again happen in 2015, by the grace of God, the dog and the baboon would all be soaked in blood.*¹⁹⁵ His statement was considered highly reprehensible with the intention to stir up anger and hate. He later won the Presidential elections in 2015.

The irony of his administration was that despite contesting presidential elections for four times as a civilian and after organizing a military coup as a soldier in 1983, President Muhammadu Buhari who hailed from northern Nigeria, could not secure the northern region nor the country for the eight years when he was in office between 2015 and 2023.

In the 2015 speech by Oba Rilwan Akiolu of Lagos, he fiercely warned the the Igbos resident in Lagos not to vote for any other governorship candidate apart from his candidate known as

¹⁹³ EZEIBE, C.C. Hate Speech and Electoral Violence in Nigeria. A conference paper in 2019.

¹⁹⁴ OBIORA, ABOH, DIOKA. 2021:494-500

¹⁹⁵ NAPOLITANO, A; in Business Day, 2012.

Akinwunmi Ambode. In his words “*On Saturday, if anyone of you goes against Ambode whom I picked, that is your end. If it doesn’t happen within seven days, just know that I am a bastard and it is not my father who gave birth to me [...] By the grace of God, I am the owner of Lagos for the time being. This is an undivided chair. The palace belongs to the dead and those coming in the future. On Saturday, if anyone of you, I swear in the name of God, goes against my wish that Ambode will be the next governor of Lagos State, the person is going to die inside this water. I’m not ready to beg you. Nobody knew how I picked Ambode [...] I am not begging anybody, but what you people cannot do in Onitsha, Aba or anywhere, don’t do it here. If you do what I want, Lagos will continue to be prosperous for you. If you go against my wish, you will perish in the water.*”¹⁹⁶

The elections in Lagos state were hellish during the presidential elections of 25 February 2023 and the governorship elections of 18 March 2023. Peter Obi, the popular presidential candidate of Labour Party (LP) was from Igbo extraction in the eastern part of the country. The tribal bigotry and hate speech catapulted by Oba Akiolu in 2015, resonated in various violent ways in the subsequent 2019 and 2023 elections. Hired thugs clearly disenfranchised voters from the Igbo tribe by asking them to steer clear of voting stations. Those that dared to appear were locked out and molested. In Aguda area of Lagos state, *Jennifer Efedì was stabbed on her face*¹⁹⁷ by armed thugs who were hired to disrupt the voting process. Sporadic gun shots rented the air and people scampered for cover. That is the disaster that hate speech could cause.

Peter Obi ended up winning Lagos state which was the strong base of Bola Tinubu, the presidential candidate of APC. Tinubu of Yoruba extraction was the closest rival. This win against Tinubu further infuriated the political thugs of Lagos. A violent campaign of hate and tribal bigotry heightened in the subsequent governorship elections. Though paternally Yoruba, master minders of the APC party ridiculously propagated that people must not vote for Gbadebo Rhodes-Vivour, the governorship candidate of the Labour party because he was maternally Igbo.

Musiliu Akinsanya aka MC Oluomo, a member of the APC Presidential Campaign Council and the leader of the Lagos State Parks Management Committee, threatened through a viral video, that those Igbos who were not prepared to vote for the governorship candidate of the APC must stay at home. He later backtracked on his statement after the fear had been instilled on the people. Due to fear of the violent threats announced by political thugs, turn out for the governorship elections was very low. The disenfranchisement gave opportunity for rigging and the subversion of the people’s will. On the other hand, the elections were poorly organized because the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) did not conduct it the way it was constitutionally mandated to do.

A report by Incident Centre for Election Atrocities (ICEA) entitled “Ethnic Profiling, Hate Speech and Endemic Violence: A Preliminary Post-Election Statement on the 2023 General Elections in Nigeria” stated that *a total of 137 persons were killed, and 57 abducted during the 2023 general elections.*¹⁹⁸

The danger of hate speech from persons in high positions of authority means that their words carry power. Once the king made such negative statements, it was grabbed and further

¹⁹⁶ TIJANI, 2015.

¹⁹⁷ PUNCH NEWSPAPER, 25 April 2024.

¹⁹⁸ VANGUARD NEWSPAPER, 5 May 2023.

propagated by his subjects, especially the politicians and the errant youths. Prior to the 2020 governorship elections and in contrast to the hate speech of the Oba of Lagos, another scenario occurred at the palace of the Omo N'Oba N'Edo Uku Akpolokpolo, Oba Ewuare II, the Oba of Benin, Edo state of Nigeria. During the heated political tension between candidates of the 2020 governorship elections in the state, His Royal Majesty invited the two major contestants of APC and PDP, Pastor Osagie Ize-Iyamu and Mr Godwin Obaseki respectively, to his palace. In the course of the Oba's advice to them, he said that the palace remained neutral in the state's politics but that it had regards and concerns for the candidate who had respect for the traditional institution, respect the masses and willing to create jobs for the people so that they could put food on their families' tables. He further urged the candidates to ensure that there is peace in the land throughout the election period. He demanded that the electorates must be allowed to freely cast their votes for the candidates of their choices. He admonished the people that prayer is more powerful than the gun. In his words: *Why do you want lives to be lost by arming thugs, who will later hide the guns? [...] Enough is enough. Let the September 19 governorship election in Edo State be peaceful. [...] Don't kill yourselves over an office; don't kill yourselves over votes... I have already sacrificed my franchise over this because if I do cast my vote in favour of a particular candidate, I would have already taken side. [...]*¹⁹⁹

Thereafter, the elections were conducted peacefully and the electorates voted without hindrances. To a large extent, that same peace was replicated in the subsequent elections which took place in Edo state.

Another example of hate speech based on the North-South divide, is the statement of the National Coordinator of the Coalition of Northern Politicians, Dr. Junaidu Mohammed. He was arrested by the State Security Service after he was reported as stating that [...] there would be bloodletting if President Goodluck Jonathan *contested the 2015 presidential elections and if a candidate of northern extraction was not elected as Nigeria's next president.*²⁰⁰ When his candidate lost the election, hate speech was transformed into action. Post election violence in 2011 became one of the worse in the history of Nigeria as it recorded more than *800 people dead.*²⁰¹ It is ironical that when Muhammadu Buhari finally won the elections against Jonathan Goodluck in 2015, the same Junaidu criticized Buhari for exploiting religion to win the elections.

Hate speech is when they refer to the Igbos as drug traffickers; when they refer to the Urhobo-speaking tribe as '*Urhobo wayo*' which means that the Urhobos are tricksters; or when Nnamdi Kanu - who usually referred to Nigeria as a zoo. In February 2021, Facebook decided to block the account of Nnamdi Kanu because according to the spokesperson for Facebook, they *removed Nnamdi Kanu's page for repeatedly posting content that break those Community Standards, including content that violated our rules on coordinating harm and hate speech.*²⁰²

The Nigerian constitution guarantees the right of every Nigerian to freedom of speech and expression. Section 39(1) of the 1999 Nigerian constitution clearly states that *Every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression.* However, there are laws in Nigeria to guard against hate speech, false publication and defamation of character. For example, Sections 373, 375 and

¹⁹⁹ THE NATION, 2020.

²⁰⁰ SAHARATV INTERVIEW, 9 December 2013.

²⁰¹ HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, 16 May 2011.

²⁰² BBC, 4 February 2021.

376 of Nigeria's Criminal Code Act as well as the Defamatory and Offensive Publications Act, criminalizes defamation. Again, Section 418 of the Penal Code which states that *Whoever circulates, publishes or reproduces any statement, rumor or report which he knows or has reason to believe to be false with intent to cause or which is likely to cause fear or alarm to the public whereby any person may be induced to commit an offence against the public peace, shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three years or with fine or with both.*

In addition, both Sections 59(1) and (2) of the Criminal Code Act and Section 418 of the penal Code are applied as a check against false publications. International law also prohibits hate speech under Article 20 (2) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). It requires states to prohibit hate speech as stated thus: *Any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law.*²⁰³ However, the political will to enforce the law is certainly lacking, as there are no reports of anyone being found guilty of a hate crime by the courts.²⁰⁴

Peacekeeping is a very vital function of the United Nations. Since participating countries have different cultures and orientations, they must only send troops that have been professionally trained and devoid of spoken emotions that could defeat the purpose of the mission. It is dangerous to send troops who have imbibed the attitude of hate speech and unnecessary violence. Such personnel could be harmful to the citizens of the receiving country mostly in terms of physical harassment and sexual exploitation.

Hate speech has caused many conflicts in Nigeria. It is a precursor to conflicts. Unlike peacekeeping, it is so partial that it does not warrant the consent of the victim.

It was expected that with the various security challenges and conflicts, Nigeria ought to recall her military troops from other countries to secure the home front instead of sending more to keep peace in other countries. While these troops were being sent abroad, it was reported that *at least 2,085 persons were killed in Nigeria between October to December 2021 in violent incidents across the country, while a total of 10,366 died in 2021. Between January and March 2022, at least 2,968 people were killed while another 1,484 were abducted. 323 were killed by non-state actors. At least 323 security operatives were killed between January and May 15, 2022.*²⁰⁵

2.3.5. Crises and Internally Displaced Persons

Despite the participation of Nigeria in peacekeeping globally, and other peace making efforts around the region, there were regular unease within the country - including Katsina, the home state of President Buhari. The statistics that reflect the level of insecurity in terms of the killings and kidnappings, were recorded by Beacon Consulting.²⁰⁶ The report shows that no fewer than 29,828 people were killed while 15,430 were kidnapped across the country between January 2021 and December 2023. Furthermore, a total of 14,145 attacks occurred across 736 local government areas out of 774 LGs of the country. In 2021, 8,372 people killed and 5,031 were

²⁰³ General Comment No. 11.

²⁰⁴ WILSON CENTER, 1 May 2018.

²⁰⁵ IBID.

²⁰⁶ This is according to the 2023 Nigeria Security Report by Beacon Consulting, an Abuja-based security risk management and intelligence company.

abducted. Also, in 2022, 11,714 people were killed, and 6,319 abducted, while in 2023, 9,742 were killed, and 4,080 were abducted.²⁰⁷ In communities where people are massacred, houses were equally razed and survivors become internally displaced.

There are insinuations that the security problems in Nigeria from 2015 could lead to war and more refugee crises. This is based on the notion that the government of the ruling political party in Nigeria known as the All-Progressives Congress (APC) exhibited traces of closeness to terrorist organizations. Various petitions were sent to international bodies to declare the political party as a terrorist organization and call for possible political sanctions. Reasons for such petitions were based on the following:

1). The integration of terrorists by the Nigerian government

Contrary to international standards and best practices, the government integrated members of the deadly Boko Haram sect into the society under the guise that they had repented. Over 1400 members of the dreaded sect were being reintegrated while terrorist attacks were continuing. To prove that the government was genuinely fighting terrorism, it was expected that such captives or repentant terrorists ought to have been used as information agents to gather information about the sources of supplies, communications, and strategies of Boko Haram. Such information could have helped Nigerian soldiers in engaging the terrorist groups frontally. Meanwhile, those that were displaced by Boko Haram attacks continue to live in harsh conditions in camps for internally displaced persons release of the same persons that killed their spouses. Dastard killing and kidnapping for ransom in Nigeria continue to be a daily occurrence. Many throats have been slashed. Heads have been cut off in broad day while villages have been razed. The APC government was integrating the same Boko Haram group that killed 11 UN officials in 2011 and injured over 60. This is the same group declared by the international community as deadly terrorists. Meanwhile, during an address to journalists, the General Officer Commanding 7 Division, Major General Abdulmalik Biu said that *an ex-Boko Haram member who has laid down his arms and turns away from negativity stands to become the President of this country.*²⁰⁸

In contrast to this assertion, it is counter productive that some members of Boko Haram who were granted amnesty by the government later returned to join the sect and further threatened the security of the country. This action by government is in very clear contrast with the statement made by Buhari during his campaign for the 2015 elections at the Chatham House in London.

The irony of the situation is that while the government is busy reintegrating and recycling terrorists, citizens that were driven from their homes by the same terrorists live in deplorable conditions. Many were killed, their villages were razed, and some communities were completely occupied by strangers who are families of the terrorists. Many of the people feel scared to return to their homeland for fear of being killed. There are statements that many of the occupiers do not speak the local language. They are suspected to be foreigners that have occupied Nigeria. On several occasions, displaced persons have cried out to President

²⁰⁷ PUNCH NEWSPAPER, 13 January 2024.

²⁰⁸ PUNCH NEWSPAPER, 22 July 2019.

Muhammadu Buhari to take them back home to their land. In Plateau state of Nigeria, whenever there are plans to return the displaced persons home, the camp is quickly filled with new arrivals because of fresh attacks. Over 50,000 persons were displaced in Plateau state between 2018 and 2019. In April 2019, about 200 persons were returned home to Karruk in Barkin Ladi local government area of Plateau state but about 70 of them could not stay for fear of insecurity and the ensuing hardship. 12 IDPs camps accommodated citizens from 34 villages.²⁰⁹ However, more persons have returned home since then.

The Plateau state Governor, Simon Lalong, claimed that he bought drones to fight the terrorists ravaging his state but that the federal government, through the office of the National Security Adviser, refused to issue him the end-user certificate to use the drones. This clearly showed complicity by the federal government and the lack of political will to fight terrorism.

There is a continuing failure on the part of the Nigerian government to end terrorism in the country. *The reasons are poor intelligence, lack of information on Boko Haram sponsors, the spread of radical extremism, human rights abuses by security forces, existence of other armed groups in northern Nigeria, and divergence between promise and performance.*²¹⁰ To further worsen matters, on 20 February 2020, Senator Ibrahim Geidam representing Yobe East Senatorial district, presented a bill requesting the national assembly to create an enabling law where an agency will be established to cater for ‘repentant’ members of the insurgents so that they could be better integrated. The bill which was titled “National Agency for the Education, Rehabilitation, De-radicalization and Integration of Repentant Insurgents in Nigeria Bill, 2020”²¹¹ was shocking for Nigerians because the terrorist attacks were still ongoing. There were arguments that such integration projects ought to have come up at the end of the defeat of the terrorist group. The integration of terrorists has continued since then. In 2024, *the military has said 16,171 terrorists and their families surrendered to Nigerian troops in Operation Hadin Kai in one year*²¹² and they were are reintegrated. There were also fears that most of the terrorists were foreigners. This could pose new security risks because the foreigners will later be part of the Nigerian community, collect the Nigerian international passports and participate in elections. Grouping them together could pose new security risks because it will offer them opportunities to communicate and re-strategize against the people. They could also build new terrorist cells where violent actions are planned and unleashed. Such ‘repentant’ terrorists were supposed to be used in gathering information about how their sect were funded, their communication channels, food supplies, etc. In contrast, in year 2020, the intermittent killing of the indigenes of Katsina state which is the home state of the President of Nigeria, reached a point where indigenes protested and asked the President and the Governor of the state to resign.

2). Terrorists or bandits?

Murderous herdsmen, politely called bandits by the Nigerian media, continue to kill, kidnap, maim and rape women in their farms but the government deliberately refused to declare them

209 NANLONG, M.T & DURU, P. In Vanguard newspaper, 8 February 2020.

210 IWUOHA, V. C. 2019:1175-1194

211 GUARDIAN NEWSPAPER, 20 February 2020.

214 ARISE NEWS, 1 January 2025.

as terrorists because they probably enjoy the support of government. Though the World Terrorist Index named the Fulani militant group as the fourth deadliest terrorist group,²¹³ the Nigerian government deliberately refused to declare them as such. Rather, the government declared unarmed members of the Indigenous People of Biafra and Shiite Muslims as terrorists. The Fulani militant group operates mostly in Nigeria and some areas of the Central African Republic. They are semi-nomadic pastoral ethnic group that have been existing across some countries of West Africa. They mostly kill private citizens especially on farmlands because they usually claim ownership of land. For example, in December 2024, Suspected herdsmen killed 11 in Benue Christmas Day attack.²¹⁴

3). Political thuggery

Political thugs have been reportedly sponsored by the APC organization to kill and to burn houses. A woman name Salome Abuh was burnt alive on 18 November 2019²¹⁵ during post elections violence in Kogi state of Nigeria. Five days to that same election, the campaign office of an opposition political party known as the Social Democratic Party (SDP) in Lokoja the state capital was razed.²¹⁶

4). Disclosure of sensitive information by government

As a display of efficiency, the Government of the ruling party publicly announced that they were sending Air force jets to attack Boko Haram terrorists as a way of informing them before hand, to relocate. That action by government was suspicious. The government of the United States of America did not make it public before they attacked and killed Osama Obama on 2 May 2011.²¹⁷ neither did the US government announce their intention before they killed Qasem Soleimani the Iranian army general on 3 January 2020.²¹⁸

5). The need for justice

Very little has been done to bring killers to face justice while killing continues unabated. The president who promised to end terrorism during his election campaign in 2015 witnessed many killings that continued unabated. He shocked Nigerians when in 2020 he said that he was 'surprised at the rising insecurity'²¹⁹ in the country. His expression of surprise, as the commander-in-chief of the country equally surprised Nigerians. It was reported that the threat by Buhari to literarily soak the blood of monkeys and baboons in blood if the 2015 election was unfavourable, was connected to the subsequent insecurity. There are allegations that Buhari imported mercenaries from outside the country prior to the outcome of the 2015 elections to unleash violence if he lost the presidential election. It was further alleged that the imported mercenaries did not return to their various places of abode, and they became societal threats and nuisance.

213 BUCHANAN, R.T, 18 November 2015.

214 PUNCH NEWSPAPER, 26 December 2024.

215 PUNCH NEWSPAPER, 24 Nov 2019.

216 EBHOMELE, E., MSN Africa, 11 November 2019.

217 History, 2 May 2011.

218 BBC, 3 January 2020.

219 DAILY TRUST NEWSPAPER, 29 January 2020.

6). Unlawful detention and intimidation

Unarmed Pro democracy activists especially from the southern region have been arrested and unlawfully detained while the APC sponsors of violence remain untouched. For example, though the State Security Service has the statutory obligation to gather intelligence for the security of the country, its responsibility has been politicized so much that they have performed below expectation. They focus more on arresting pro democracy activists who spoke against government while ignoring the vital essence of their mandate. Pro democracy activist Omoyele Sowore was arrested by the security service on 3 August 2019 for allegedly planning a revolution against the government.²²⁰ Since then, many other Nigerians especially from the norther region had threatened the stability of the country with utterances that caused social tension, but they were never arrested. A group connected to the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria gave the federal government 30 days ultimatum to implement an agricultural program where herdsmen could be compulsorily given land in all states of the federation. This was against the laws of the various states in Nigeria, and it was disturbing that the security service did not deem it necessary to interrogate the group. In contrast, when the General Overseer of the Omega Fire Ministries Worldwide, Apostle Johnson Suleiman, of the southern region asked his church members to embark on reprisal attacks against murderous herdsmen, he was quickly invited by the State Security Service for interrogation at the federal capital city.²²¹ His comments were perceived as inciting public disturbance. The unfair response by security agencies to actions of citizens between the north and other parts of the country gives the impression that northerners enjoy special privileges over other citizens. The irony was that the north was the most unsecured.

7). The use of security agencies against the people

Members of the APC-led government continue to order security agencies to shoot unarmed protesting citizens to death. For a ruling party that operates a democratic system to order the killing of citizens, speaks volume. Unarmed Shiite Muslims have been shot to death with live bullets during their peaceful demonstrations. Unarmed members of the Indigenous People of Biafra have been killed also. According to Amnesty International, *analysis of 87 videos, 122 photographs and 146 eyewitness testimonies relating to demonstrations and other gatherings between August 2015 and August 2016 consistently shows that the military fired live ammunition with little or no warning to disperse crowds. It also finds evidence of mass extrajudicial executions by security forces, including at least 60 people shot dead in the space of two days in connection with events to mark Biafra Remembrance Day*²²²

8). The European parliament has declared that around 6,000 Nigerian citizens have been killed under the watch of the APC. Very little has been done to curtail the situation while our soldiers become regular casualties. The 2006 action plan of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy as enshrined in resolution 60/288, aim to *consistently, unequivocally and strongly condemn terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, committed by whomever, wherever and for whatever purposes, as it constitutes one of the most serious threats to*

220 PREMIUM TIMES, 11 January 2017.

221 OLOKOR, F. 28 January 2017.

222 Amnesty International Report. 24 November 2016.

*international peace and security; To take urgent action to prevent and combat terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.*²²³

As a member of the United Nations and the largest country in the continent of Africa, a lot has been expected from Nigeria by the international community.

Nigerians under the platform of the Global Coalition for Security and Democracy in Nigeria GCSDN, moved to sue the ruling party APC to court for failing to deliver on their electoral campaign promises that ought to have brought security and economic welfare to the citizenry. They argued that the manifesto was deceitful and fraudulent because the resources of the country were diverted to other projects which did not effectively address the issues of security and welfare as promised.²²⁴

2.3.6. Nigeria: To Break or to Remain?

The huge security challenge at home while Nigeria continue peacekeeping efforts abroad has become a cause of serious concern for Nigerians.

The insecurity led to various agitations to break Nigeria into various countries. This agitation continue to find root in the social media. Agitators specially use youtube, facebook, instagram and flyers, to appeal to the minds of the people through various emotional renditions. This has been effectively promoted because they draw a lot of inspiration from the bitterness of history especially because of the civil war of 1967 in which many persons from the Eastern part of the country were killed. In addition to this, agitators remind their audiences about the bitter rivalry, distrust and betrayals of political gladiators from various tribes who played active roles in shapening and distorting the course of history. They strongly maintain that somebody from Nigerian tribe 'A' had a quarel with another person from tribe 'B' in 1966, 67 or 70. Therefore, they argue, that in present times, people must remain enemies to tribe 'A' or 'B' based on their desire to pursue their personal agenda. As they continue to live in the anger of their past history, they find it very difficult to stretch their hands of friendship across borders in order to build bridges for development which could give hope to future generations.

With the diverse conflicts in Nigeria, there is a need for the Nigerian government to redefine and effectively apply the three RRRs of Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Reconciliation as a

²²³ United Nation, n.d.

²²⁴ Some of such failed campaign promises were expected to: Generate, transmit and distribute at least 20,000 MW of electricity before December 2019; Create 3 million jobs annually; Consolidation of the Independent National Electoral Commission to reduce and if possible, eliminate electoral malpractices in the country's political space; Provision of N5,000 Social welfare Fund to 25 million persons; All Public Office holders to earn only as approved by the Revenue, Mobilization and Fiscal Commission, RMFAC; Build one airport in each state; Permanent peace in Niger Delta, Plateau, Taraba, Borno, Abia, etc; Nation wide sanitation to keep Nigeria clean; Revive and activate refineries; Building one of the fastest-growing emerging economies in the world with a real GDP growth averaging 10 per cent annually; Strengthening operational and legal instruments to discipline members of the Armed Forces over confirmed cases of human rights violations; End Boko haram and other forms of terrorism; End pollution of Rivers in the Niger Delta; Creation of special courts against corruption; Ban all foreign medical trips for public office holders; Amend the constitution to end immunity for public office holders; Amend the constitution for the devolution of power to the States to entrench true federalism; Introduction of National Gender Policy and offer of 35 per cent appointment to women; Free maternal and children health care; Stabilizing the naira with the international market.

way of addressing national insecurity and to achieve the much needed healing across the country. After doing this, Nigeria could embark on having a brand new constitution, regional restructuring, electronic and diaspora voting towards achieving social justice. The constitution is the foundation and bedrock of any country. If there are complaints that the foundation is faulty, there must be strategies to correct it. It is pertinent to solve the problems of conflicts from the root causes.

Various ways could be deployed towards achieving RRR in Nigeria:

i). The government should call on all violent agitators to surrender their weapons within a certain deadline with the promise of amnesty and effective rehabilitation program. Though the country introduced the 2016 Safe Corridor plan, which provides amnesty and reintegration plans for repentant terrorists, there is a need to have a data-driven and reliable biometric identification of such persons. When handling such cases, they must undergo thorough investigation and profiling in line with global best practice.

ii). The number of repentant terrorists must be verifiable and their number must match with the number of those who participate in the reintegration programs. They must be the real agitators and not persons stage-managed by agents of government for selfish gains. This is very important because it is alleged that the system exaggerates the number of repentant terrorists while government officials pocket funds meant for such integration programs. In other words, there are ghost repentant terrorists who never existed.

It is worrisome that the more it is reported that some terrorists have surrendered, the more the killing of innocent citizens increased, instead of reducing. For example, in 2019, it was reported that 586 terrorists surrendered.²²⁵ In that same year, over 3,000 Nigerians were killed.²²⁶ In 2020, areported number of 8,000 surrendered.²²⁷ and 4,556 Nigerians were killed.²²⁸ In 2021 it was reported that 8,000 terrorists surrendered²²⁹ but 10,366 Nigerians were reportedly killed.²³⁰ In May 2021, Boko Haram sect leader Abubakar Shekau was declared dead during fighting with Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWAP), a splinter group. In August of the same year, Abu Musab al-Barnawi, the commander of ISWAP, was reportedly killed. In 2022, the army claimed that a total of 51,000 terrorists had surrendered.²³¹ In that year, 4,545 people were killed by non-state actors, while 4,611 others were kidnapped.²³² As of May 2023, the Nigerian army claimed that 511 terrorists repented and surrendered.²³³ By July 2023, the army claimed that over 100,000 had surrendered within the past years.²³⁴ This contradiction shows that either the

²²⁵ CHANNELS TV, 23 November 2019.

²²⁶ PREMIUM TIMES, 13 February 2022.

²²⁷ PREMIUM TIMES, 21 September 2021.

²²⁸ *ibid.*

²²⁹ *ibid.*

²²⁹ PREMIUM TIMES, 21 September 2021.

²³⁰ BUSINESSDAY, 24 January 2022.

²³¹ VOA, 11 May 2022.

²³² CABLE NEWS, 18 January 2023.

²³³ CHANNELS TV, 18 May 2023.

²³⁴ THE GUARDIAN, 14 July 2023.

RRR approach was not effectively managed, or that the number of repentant terrorists was exaggerated. This contradiction is happening despite the fact that various re-integration programs have been organized by the government in Borno and Gombe states with huge sums of money budgeted for the project.

iii). Counselling the repentant terrorists must be done with high professional handling. De-radicalizing people to change their violent mindset is an herculian task. Moreover, notable and respected persons should also be visiting such integration centers to motivate and encourage them on how they could aspire to be peaceful and successful within the confines of the law. U.N. Secretary-General Antonio Guterres visited the reintegration camp in Borno state in May 2022. His address to the people was a moral booster.

iv). After the integration and extermination of the terrorist sect, it is important to increase the number of security personnel as a way of sustaining future peace. With a population of 223,804,632 people as of July 2023, and 130,000 active frontline personnel of the Nigerian army, 32,000 active reserve personnel, 371,800 officers of the Nigeria Police Force and 25,000 officers of the air force, it will be difficult to fight insurgency and other internal conflicts. With such a number of police officers, it means that one police officer is attached to 601 citizens.

v). Monies spent on security and the RRR project must be published in details. This will give room for accountability.

vi). Finally, the killing of Nigerians by security agents at the slightest provocation must be stopped with the iron fist of the law. Such killings have negative multiplier effects on the security of the country because families of the deceased may never forgive. Some of them could resort to vengeance in ways that could hurt the general public.

2.3.7. Empirical research based on my questionnaire

In 2023, I shared printed questionnaires to some 50 Nigerian migrants and refugees in Hungary between the ages of 25 and 60 years. The aim was to analyze the perception of the citizens to the current state of the country consequent upon the insecurity, socio-political problems and the various agitations for secession.

My analysis showed a strong interconnectedness between the adverse effects of the violence associated with colonialism, the forceful amalgamation of the people of various cultures; the psychosocial impacts of many years of military dictatorship, the resultant governance by impunity in a supposed democracy and the gross silence of a people whose commonwealth and rights are being spirited away by a few.

I concluded that keeping the peace in other countries is hypocritical and antithetical when analyzed on the backdrop of the continuing and huge insecurity across Nigeria, the abuse of human rights and the economic loss therefrom.

Questions

Answers and Rating

<i>Are you a Nigerian?</i>	Yes 100%	-
<i>Are you current with Nigerian news?</i>	Yes 92%	No 8%

<i>How long have you been living in Hungary?</i>	Yes 25%	-
1-5 years	Yes 40%	-
6-10 years	Yes 25%	-
11-15years	Yes 10%	-
16 – 30 years		
Is Nigeria making progress?	Yes 9%	No 91%
Does the problem that made you to flee Nigeria still exist?	Yes 91%	No 9%
Any hope of positive changes in the country?	Yes 53%	No 47%
Should Nigeria be regionally restructured?	Yes 69%	No 31%
Should Nigeria be split into several countries?	Yes 52%	48%

Figure V. Questionnaire and Results of Agitations for Secession.

1. The analysis shows that 52% of Nigerians want the country to be split into various countries for purposeful governance. Considering that the respondents have lived outside Nigeria for an average of 10 years, shows that their suggestions to split the country is necessitated by the fact that they have been hearing the same old stories of bad governance from the news and social media. The call for a split in the country is coming mainly from Nigerians in the middle belt, south-south, south-east and south-west regions of the country. The simple reason is that people have become disenchanted and disillusioned with the bad governance that continues to envelope the country since the independence of 1960 which featured mostly the rule by northerners. Sadly, the killing of civilians by security agencies at the slightest provocation exacerbated the security challenges. For example, during the lock down caused by the corona virus pandemic, while security agents killed at least 18 persons by 15 April 2020 for not complying with the rules on restricted movement, the virus reportedly killed 12 persons within the same period.²³⁵ Such reckless killings do not happen when Nigerian police or soldiers travel abroad for peacekeeping.

2. These anomalies have given vent to the results of the questionnaire where 69% of citizens want the country restructured according to geographical regions while 52% want the country to be split into various countries.

The statistics of displacement of citizens across the country, the killing of citizens by security agents; the historicizing of events have justified the hypothesis and goals of this project which set out to scientifically prove that Nigerian security agencies are more disciplined when they embark on peace keeping than maintaining the peace at home.

However, those persons that have ruled Nigeria since independence are from the same regions with the agitators for secession. Since the 1960 independence, Nigerian has been governed for

²³⁵ REUTERS, 16 April 2020.

more years by northerners.²³⁶ Furthermore, most of these leaders are mostly from the Fulani tribe. Fulani herdsmen have killed many Nigerians and it is believed that it is happening because they have the backing of their tribal leaders who refused to declare them as terrorist groups despite the fact that the Global Terrorism Index had stated that *the fourth deadliest known terrorist group has been named as the Fulani militant group operating in Nigeria and parts of the Central African Republic... as 92 per cent of their attacks target private citizens, reflecting the group's primary concern over the ownership of farmland.*²³⁷

There has been continuing cases of corruption, huge insecurity, economic hardship and marginalization. The coming of President Buhari gave so much hope to Nigerians. When it became clear that conditions were worsening under his watch, the tension and angst arose. The country was judged as the poverty capital of the world and the third on the terrorism index. Over 100 million persons live in extreme poverty with about the same number unemployed. One out of five children die before they get to the age of five. Two unarmed socio-political-religious groups known as the Indigenous People of Biafra and Shiite Muslims were declared as terrorist groups while murderous herdsmen are allowed to move freely and act with impunity. Finally, the government lied and failed to keep to her campaign promises. All of these made people to give up on the country. If attempts are made by other parts of the country to break the country, it may lead to war especially by the northern citizens because they believe that the resources of the country belong to everyone, and they surreptitiously claim ownership of the entire country to a point of provocation. However, there is another side to breaking Nigeria. There are 774 local government areas in the country headed by local government chairpersons. If the country is broken into 774 countries, there will remain deep Nigerian traits and elements in the 774 countries. Nothing will change. It is even worse because more Nigerians see tribe and religion before they see themselves as a people. That angle has weakened the strength for collective quest for disintegration. People will find it difficult to cooperate and speak with one voice.

Nigerians are not justified to seek the disintegration of the country because they threw away their rights by tolerating bad governance for many decades. Citizens must confront the problems instead of running away from them. Those holding Nigeria ransom are less than 5,000 persons in government. This is neo-colonialism. During colonial times, few thousands of British soldiers held the people in bondage. Nigerians from various tribes came together and fought colonialists to achieve their collective independence. If efforts could succeed, Nigerians must equally unite collectively to demand a second independence from their current neo colonialists in the name of politicians that are presumably less than 5,000 persons. Should 200 million persons run away for 5,000 persons when for decades the people have been silent to misrule from politicians at the national, state and local government councils? For example, the 48 billion

²³⁶ Yakubu Gowon: 1 August 1966 -29 July 1975-8 years (362 days); General Murtala Mohammed 29 July 1975 – 13 February 1976 (199 days); Alhaji Shehu Shagari from 1st October 1979 – 31st December 1983 (4 years 91 days); Maj. Gen. Muhammadu Buhari ruled between 31st December 1983 – 27th August 1985 (1 year 239 days); Gen. Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida took turn between 27th August 1985 – the 26th August 1993 (7 years 364 days); Gen. Sani Abacha resumed via coup from 17th November 1993 - 8th June 1998 (4 years 203 days); Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar ruled between 8th June 1998 – 29th May 1999 (355 days); Umaru Musa Yar'Adua was democratically elected between 29th May 2007 – 5th May 2010 (2 years 341 days); President Muhammadu Buhari (the 29th May 2015 till 29 May 2023).

²³⁷ INDEPENDENT, 18 November 2015.

naira (120 million euro) allegedly stolen by former Governor Theodore Orji from the security funds when he was governor of Abia state was enough to provide modern security facilities to the people of Abia state.²³⁸

Though northerners have ruled the longest number of years in Nigeria, yet there is more poverty in the region. The World Bank stated that 87% of Nigeria's poor reside in the north.²³⁹ More Muslims and northerners have been killed and displaced. 57% of schools are closed in Borno state.²⁴⁰ When things were going bad, why did the people refuse to react? Why did Nigerians remain silent for conditions to remain worse and demanding for dissolution thereafter? Tukur Buratai the Nigerian Chief of army staff, national security adviser General Mohammed Babagana Monguno - a retired Nigerian military general, Ali Ndume, Senate committee chairman on army and Abubakar Kyari the Senate committee chairman on defence are all from Borno state. With such persons in defense positions, why did Borno which is their home state become so unsafe? If such persons in position of authority could not secure Borno which has been the hot bed of violence, how can they secure the rest of the country? It is baseless to call for the separation of Nigeria when the real issues of political will to arrest the insecurity has not been addressed. There were calls by well-meaning Nigerians that the President should overhaul the security architecture of the country and change the security chiefs,²⁴¹ but he refused. When he belatedly did, the service chiefs were all reappointed as ambassadors of the country to guarantee their immunity from prosecution.

An historical background of leadership in Nigeria will show that little or no impact has been made by previous governments to develop their regions or states. Therefore, it will be unfair to disintegrate Nigeria. All Nigerians have been marginalized. No section of the country has specially benefitted from leadership. Olusegun Obasanjo was civilian President between 29th May 1999 – 29th May 2007 (8 years) after serving as military head of state between 13 February 1976 and 1 February 1979 (3 years 258 days). He is originally from the Yoruba tribe of the Southwest region. The Yorubas are clamouring for a separate country to be known as Oduduwa Republic. Why did the Oduduwas not hold Obasanjo accountable when he was president? How did his presidency improve the lives of people from his region?

People that agitate for the division of Nigeria based on perceived marginalization should equally ask why their tribesmen could not correct the situation when they were in office. Yemi Osinbajo for example, became Vice President of Nigeria in 2015 and entered a second tenure. He was also Yoruba. Did he make enviable impact that improved the lives of his people? It is not justified to break Nigeria into several countries when persons from the agitating regions previously held the highest position of authority in the country.

Jonathan Goodluck from the south-south region of the Niger Delta became President between 6th May 2010 and the 28th of May 2015 (5 years 25 days). The region remained impoverished, and he did very little to improve it. Even his hometown of Otuoke did not wear a better outlook. Why were there no agitations by Niger Deltans for a national break up at that period? Nigerians from the eastern part of the country are agitating for the creation of Biafra Republic. They also

238 SAHARA REPORTERS, 9 February 2020.

239 PUNCH NEWSPAPER, 11 February 2020.

240 PUNCH NEWSPAPER, 30 September 2017.

241 SALAU, S.J in Business Day, 26 January 2020.

cite marginalization as a reason for their agitation. Why did they not hold their past and present leaders accountable despite their huge monthly allocations? The eastern region had produced 2 Heads of government.²⁴² The Igbos produced the longest serving deputy Senate president in the person of Ike Ekweremadu for 12 years between 2007 and June 2019. They also produced Secretary to the Federal Government in the persons of Anyim Pius Anyim (01/05/2011 - 29/05/2015). This is coupled with the regular ministers appointed in all states of the federation, governors in all states of the federation, state and federal legislators, local government chairpersons, etc. Each state produces representatives of the people to manage local and national resources. Therefore, the question is: 'who is actually marginalizing who?'

Until Nigerians formulate strategies to seriously address misrule, the mismanagement will continue because those persons in position of authority are also putting their children into positions of power to continue their family legacy. Therefore, if Nigeria is split into 774 countries in line with the number of local government areas, the same elements of misrule will remain.

2.4. Evolution of Internal Policies

Consequent upon the various conflicts in Nigeria, the government conceptualized various policies towards addressing the conflicts. However, policies geared towards conflict prevention and the approaches to minimize or contain potential threats from re-emerging, have not been fully successful. In many cases, panels of investigation were set up with the aim of finding solutions. For example, between 2015 and 2022, the government of former President Muhammadu Buhari set up panels to investigate corruption at the Niger Delta Development Commission, report on restructuring, EndSARS protest, allegation of corruption against the Chairman of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, invasion of the High court by the secret police, etc. However, the results of such panels were never released for implementations.

There was the 2014 National conference set up with 492 delegates who represented a cross-section of the Nigerian people including professional bodies. The aim was to address issues in the nation's constitution and to formulate ideas and strategies that could foster peace and unity in the country. The report was released but was not implemented.

The National Peace Committee (NPC) was established in 2014 as a conflict prevention mechanism to address perceived threats towards the 2015 general elections. The body was made up of eminent elder statesmen determined to promote free, fair and credible elections and to intervene in critical issues which related to national concern. Their instruments of operation included high-level mediation and alternative dispute resolution mechanisms. Apart from taking actions towards peaceful elections, they were also mandated to sustain the peace during and after the elections. Peace accords were signed by all political parties while the committee

²⁴² In the persons of Maj-General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi between 16 January 1966-29 July 1966 (194 days) and Nnamdi Azikiwe was Governor General, 16 November 1960 – 1 October 1963 (2 years, 319 days) and President in the First republic between 1 October 1963 and 16 January 1966 (2 years 107 days). They also produced 7 senate Presidents – Dennis Osadebay 1960-1963; Nwafor Orizu 1963-1966; Evan Enwerem 1999; Chuba Okadigbo 1999-2000; Anyim Pius Anyim 2000-2003; Adolphus Wabara 2003-2005; Ken Nnamani 2005-2007.

was also empowered to observe and monitor compliance, provide advice to the Government and the electoral umpire known as the Independent National Electoral Commission and to ensure that to ensure peaceful outcome of all elections in ways that are acceptable to the citizenry and the international community. Despite the establishment of this committee, the elections of 2015, 2019 and 2023 were marred by violence and election rigging. *As many as 100 people were killed during and after the... election in 2015*²⁴³ In the 2019 elections 626 persons were killed.²⁴⁴ In the 2023, 109 deaths were linked to the elections.²⁴⁵ With the unmitigated violence and court cases after elections, it is fair to state that the committee has not been able to achieve its mandate. After such elections, the committee neither commented nor took any action.

Another policy of government is the use of force to arrest and detain unarmed protesters as a way of suppressing opposing forces. Human rights activists such as Omoyele Sowore, Larry Emmanuel, Victor Anene Udoka, Agbo Jalingo, Jones Abiri, Debo Adebayo, etc, suffered incarceration in the hands of government. It is believed that such high-handedness was copied from colonialists and based on the Machavalian ideology of governance.

Factors that led to the failure of government policies against conflicts include delay in responding to attacks against communities, politicization of security agencies, unaccountability of resources budgeted for security agencies and too much power in the hands of the president - especially in terms of appointing security chiefs who are teleguided.

2.4.1. Detentions and the manipulation of the organs of government

The detention of some popular Nigerians against the rule of law and the manipulation of the organs of government worsen conflicts in Nigeria and promotes the abuse of the rule of law. The supporters of the detainees usually react through protests which in most cases, turn violent. The violence is mostly as a result of the aggressive response by security agencies towards unarmed protesters when such agencies are supposed to escort protesters peacefully to enjoy their constitutional privileges of the freedom of assembly and freedom to protest. On the other hand,

when the president of Nigeria selects his preferred candidates to head the national assembly and the judiciary, the independence and values of such organs are manipulated and become highly challenged and questionable.

On the other hand, there have been cases of unfair appointments and the abuse of law. Unfortunately, the people have poured out on various occasions to celebrate the release of indicted corrupt office holders in a country where majority are impoverished and unsecured amid huge and abundant natural resources. If the people agitate against marginalization and economic inequality perpetrated by the ruling class, it is a paradox to see the same people celebrate their oppressors. Though the instances are many, I wish to highlight those that mostly made headlines.

²⁴³ REUTERS, 24 February 2019.

²⁴⁴ VANGUARD NEWSPAPER, 24 May 2019.

²⁴⁵ PREMIUM TIMES, 18 March 2023.

i) The Detention of Sambo Dasuki

Retired Colonel Mohammed Sambo Dasuki was appointed in June 2012 as National Security Adviser in the administration of President Jonathan Goodluck. Dasuki was arrested and detained on 29 December 2015 during the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari on the allegation that he master-minded the corrupt distribution of 2.1 billion USD budgeted for the procurement military equipment for the Nigerian army to fight the Boko Haram insurgency. The money was allegedly diverted to top members of the ruling Peoples Democratic Party, PDP. Thereafter, Dasuki was detained by the Department of State Services, DSS. The detention became unlawful after six courts granted him bail at various times, but the government of Buhari blatantly refused to respect the ruling of the courts despite the fact that the accused had fulfilled all the bail conditions. This was a violation of Dasuki's fundamental right to liberty under section 35 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended in 1999. In July 2018, the sixth court that granted bail to the embattled Dasuki was presided by her Lordship Justice Ijeoma Ojukwu and she expressed worried over the continued detention. In October 2016, when the ECOWAS court ordered that Dasuki should be released, the region was in shock when Buhari refused to comply with the court order. If ECOWAS could establish and deploy joint military forces for peacekeeping operations, it is reckless and disdainful for any ECOWAS government to disrespect court orders issued by the same ECOWAS. This gross abuse of the rule of law against Dasuki was presumably related to the role he played in the military coup of 1983 when the ousted Military Head of state Muhammadu Buhari was reportedly arrested by Colonel Sambo Dasuki. When the formerly arrested Buhari became a civilian president, he probably decided to go on a vengeance mission against Dasuki.

During the incarceration of Dasuki, Abubakar Malami the Nigerian Attorney General and Minister for Justice, stated that Dasuki could not be released because *allegations against Dasuki are a matter of public interest overriding an individual's rights*.²⁴⁶ The continuing incarceration of Dasuki bred some internal conflicts and politicking which were detrimental to the political stability of the country. Throughout this period, the Nigerian Senate who are constituted to protect the laws of the country, remained silent. While the President continued to break the law, the Senators and judiciary appeared too helpless to act when they had the power to do so. On the other hand, while Dasuki was being detained, the former President Jonathan Goodluck who signed for the dispatch of the money was neither arrested nor interrogated. All former Presidents are seen as untouchable in Nigeria no matter the offence.

When Dasuki was finally released in December 2019, at the pleasure of President Buhari, he had spent four years in unlawful detention.

Though the judiciary is expected to be the last hope of the people, it has been enmeshed with suspicions and proofs of corruption recorded against some justices of the law. It has been severally alleged that judges used their positions to influence judgments by corrupting the system through the collection of bribes. For example, the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offences Commission, ICPC, arrested Justice Mohammed Tsamiya for allegedly demanding N200 million naira (Five hundred thousand USD in exchange for a favourable judgment in an election case pending at the Imo State Judicial Division of the Court of

246 OKAKWU, E. 19 July 2018.

Appeal.²⁴⁷ Elections have caused various conflicts that have led to the loss of lives and properties. In 2016 a high court Judge Adeniyi Ademola was also implicated in a 1.3m USD bribery scandal when 550,000 USD was found in his house by the police.²⁴⁸ These were bribes allegedly collected to truncate the rule of law through the perversion of justice. In 2023, a Nigerian senator Adamu Bulkachuwa in the national assembly stood up and publicly addressed the senate by confessing how he influenced his wife, retired Justice Zainab Bulkachuwa who was a president of the court of appeal, to miscarry justice in favour of some members of his political party. In his words, *my wife, whose freedom and independence I encroached upon while (she) was in office, and she has been very tolerant and accepted my encroachment and extended her help to my colleagues.*²⁴⁹

ii). *The Detention of Nnamdi Kanu*

The leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), Nnamdi Kanu was granted bail by the court after his arrest on 14 October 2015 by the Department of State Services (DSS). The DSS refused to release him. This ignited conflicts in the eastern part of Nigeria as they strongly agitated for secession. Judges John Tsoho and Ahmed Mohammed withdrew from the trial of Kanu purportedly due to government pressure in the case. *In October 2015, a magistrate court discharged and acquitted Kanu of all charges of terrorism, but the Department of States Services (DSS), kept him in detention. Also, in December 2015, Adeniyi Ademola, Justice of the Federal High Court, granted Kanu unconditional bail, but the DSS refused to release him.*²⁵⁰ When Kanu was finally released in April 2017, the movement had gathered so much momentum with resultant conflicts with the security agencies. Members of the movement were harassed and brutalized. Kanu later formed his private security agency known as the Biafra Secret Service, BSS. Elaborate and intimidating rallies and receptions were organized to host him in various eastern states of Nigeria. When he declared that there would be no governorship elections in Anambra state in November 2017, the polity was fully heated. He insisted that there must be a referendum to set the path for the secession of Biafra from Nigeria. Kanu called for a sit at home in May 2017, to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the declaration of Biafra. The Igbos complied. Shops were locked. Schools, offices and banks were also closed in conformity with the order. Transportation was highly restricted. The army was very disturbed by Kanu's growing popularity. It was almost certain that the Governorship election in Anambra state may not hold as threatened by Kanu. This could have adverse effects on other elections in that region. An army operation tagged *Operation python dance* was mobilized to the eastern region of Nigeria in preparation for the perceived conflict. The army had several brushes with the supporters of Kanu. The Arewa Youth Forum in the northern part of the country issued a warning to the Igbos to vacate their region by 1 October 2018. Some complied. Northerners residing in the eastern part of the country returned home to the north. The ensuing counter reactions set the stage for crises which resulted in several deaths. Some Igbo youths were seen searching for persons of northern extraction in public vehicles in order to attack them. Thereafter, Nnamdi Kanu disappeared. The government, through the machination of the

247 AKINKUOTU, E, 7 December 2017.

248 SAHARA REPORTERS, 10 October 2016.

249 PREMIUM TIMES, 13 June 2023.

250 THE SUN, 1 December 2016.

Attorney-General of the Federation, Abubakar Malami got a court document to proscribe the Indigenous People of Biafra a terrorist group.²⁵¹ This portended grave indictment for anyone involved in the self-actualization struggle. That was how temporary normalcy returned to the troubled region.

Kanu later appeared in Israel and later in the United Kingdom where he also has citizenship. On 29 June 2021, he was abducted in Kenya and extradited to Nigeria to continue his trial. Unlawful detention is the bane of policing in Nigeria. Some families are not aware that some members of their family are in some detention centers for offences they might not have committed. Many of them have been awaiting trials for longer than the stipulated time. For example, the official capacity of the Nigerian Kirikiri prison is 1,056 inmates. As at March 2018, the prison held approximately 5000 inmates. 3,700 of the prisoners in that number have been awaiting trial for five years or more.²⁵² As of 2021, *Lagos prisons have a total of 8,000 incarcerated inmates in the correctional facilities, out of which a total of 6,800 inmates are awaiting trial.*²⁵³ The detention of Kanu led to humongous loss of lives and property in the eastern region because his followers went on violent rampage to demand for his release.

iii). The Detention of Ibrahim El-Zakzaky

The long detention of Sheikh Ibrahim Zakzaky against court ruling, became a source of conflict in the northern part of Nigeria. Zakzaky was the head of the Nigerian Islamic Movement and a vocal Shia Muslim Cleric. After his religious training in Iran and the replacement of the Iranian monarchy with the Islamic Republic under Ayatollah Khomeini and the 1979 Iranian Revolution, Zakzaky began to propagate and agitate for a similar system in Nigeria. His sect had several clashes with the government of Nigeria and he was arrested and detained several times.

The immunity and impunity with which security agencies and government officials operated without consequences, continue to pose a huge challenge to security and the rule of law. For example, it was reported that the Nigerian Army opened fire and shot 35 of Zakzaky's followers in the city of Zaria, including three of his sons on 25 July 2014 after a pro-Palestinian protest march.²⁵⁴ Some political leaders in Nigeria vehemently disagree with the importance of peaceful protests to register grievances. Until public office holders understand and respect the rights of protesters, they will continue to use their needless colonial tactics to violently terminate, oppress and intimidate the people and to subvert the constitution in such despicable ways. When this happen, democracy, peace, justice and equity will become impossible to attain. The arrest and detention of Zakzaky in December 2015 became one of the bones of contention in Nigeria. Violence erupted after members of the sect blocked a highway and according to witnesses, stoned the convoy of General Tukur Buratai the Chief of army staff. An army spokesman called the stoning an "attempt to assassinate". The Nigerian Army reportedly invaded Zakzaky's home in Zaria, brutalized many of his followers and killed over three hundred persons. Three of his sons were also killed in the massacre.²⁵⁵ Though there are

251 SAHARA REPORTERS, 20 September 2017.

252 FIENNES, N., 26 April 2018.

253 PREMIUM TIMES, 17 June 2021.

254 ALLI, Y., 27 July 2014.

255 VOICE OF AMERICA, 15 December 2015.

conflicting figure in the number of persons killed, the killing led to local and international condemnation and protests in countries like India and Iran.²⁵⁶

The continued incarceration of Zakzaky led to various confrontations and clashes between his followers and the security agencies. The High court in December 2016 ordered the Department of State Services to release Zakzaky from detention and to pay him a compensation of 50 million naira (125,000euro) for unlawful detention.²⁵⁷ In gross abuse of the rule of law, he was neither released nor financially compensated. This had led to intermittent clashes between his followers and the security agencies. Anifowose and Enemu (1999) stated that those that administer the criminal justice system hold power with the potential for abuse and tyranny.²⁵⁸ As the unlawful detention of Zakzaky continued, members of his movement protested again in April 2018. They were vehemently resisted and tear gas was sprayed by the police. A police officer stray bullet killed somebody sitting in his office.²⁵⁹

In 2017, the supporters of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN), also known as Shi'ites, took to the streets of the Federal capital city of Abuja in a 'free El-Zakzaky' protest. Traffic was blocked and the police sprayed tear gas to disperse the teeming crowd.²⁶⁰

By the time El-Zakzaky was finally released in July 2021, the fabric that held the country has been broken. Subsequent conflicts between the Shiites and security agencies were recorded after El-Zakzaky's release, when they engaged in other peaceful marches. For example, in 2024, when the Shiites gathered in Kaduna state of Nigeria to show solidarity with the people of Palestine during their conflicts with Israel, at least four persons were reportedly killed by the police.²⁶¹ These were outcomes of bitter relations within the same country.

iv). Abuse of power and fundamental rights

There have been several cases in Nigeria where some persons unlawfully used the privileges of their official capacities to harm, coerce or take advantage of other citizens thereby causing psychological, physical, financial or sexual harm. In other cases, the consequences on the citizens was the result of the negligence and ineptitude of those in office.

Three instances when former president Olusegun Obasanjo and Muhammadu Buhari abused their offices will be highlighted here. The examples have been chosen for two reasons. Firstly, their actions caused the loss of hundreds of lives. Secondly, both of them are the only ones who were former army generals who retired and became presidents in civilian governments. Obasanjo was military head of state between 13 February 1976 and 1 October 1979 when he voluntarily resigned to give way to the civilian government of Shehu Shagari. He contested elections and became a civilian president between 29 May 1999 and 29 May 2007.

Buhari was military head of state between 31 December 1983 and 27 August 1985 when he was deposed from office by General Ibrahim Babaginda. He became civilian president between 2015 and 2023.

²⁵⁶ REAL IRAN, 17 December 2017.

²⁵⁷ CHANNELS TELEVISION, 2 December 2016.

²⁵⁸ ANIFOWOSE, R. AND ENEMUO, F., 1999.

²⁵⁹ SHA'BAN, I., 13 April 2018.

²⁶⁰ SCANNEWS, 11 April 2017.

²⁶¹ DAILY POST, 2024.

During the civilian administration of Obasanjo, two gory incidents happened at Odi and Zaki Biam which showed the gross abuse of power. The first one was at Odi. There were allegations that 12 police officers were murdered in Odi, an oil rich predominantly Ijaw community in Kolokuma/Opokuma Local Government Area of Bayelsa State. This community has been agitating for the preservation and protection of their oil resources and against the consequent environmental pollution. The killing of the police officers was as condemnable as the reprisal action taken by the incensed military officers. Soldiers decided to take laws into their hands by engaging in murderous reprisal attacks on 20 November 1999. Unarmed civilians - old, young and women - were massacred and the entire village was literally razed. At least one hundred persons were killed for the offence committed by other persons.

Though a truce was later established between the federal government and the people, intermittent conflicts with militants continued to be a re-occurring decimal. Such conflicts are mostly difficult to completely resolve because the affected persons find it difficult to forgive the system that killed their loved ones. The Odi massacre *birthed the spread of militancy in the entire Niger Delta*.²⁶² Thereafter, the affected community went to court to seek redress. In February 2013, the Federal High Court ordered the Federal Government to pay an equivalent of around 37.6 billion naira (37.6m USD) as compensation to the people of Odi. The order was disobeyed by the government. It means that the same constitution which highlight the inalienable right to life was denigrated by those that ought to preserve the law. This was a *"brazen violation of the fundamental human rights of the victims to movement, life and to own property and live peacefully in their ancestral home"*.²⁶³ Militancy and oil bunkering continue in that area because the government succeeded in the battle but could not sustain the peace. This is an illustration of bad peace.

The second horrible incident that occurred during the administration of President Obasanjo was similar. It took place between 20 and 24 October 2001 in Benue state in the Tiv villages of Zaki-Biam, Gbeji, Anyiin, Iorja, Sankera, Ugba, Tse-Adoor, Kyado and Vaase.²⁶⁴ The army referred to the invasion as *Operation No Living Thing* or *Zaki-Biam massacre*. Their mission was to annihilate the people. 19 persons including soldiers and Jukun militiamen were previously ambushed, killed and mutilated by Tiv militias and their bodies were discovered on 12 October 2001. There have been historical clashes between the Tivs and Jukuns *over land, indigeneship, economic and political power*.²⁶⁵ The invasion was a retaliation of the killing of the soldiers.

Though Lt. General Luka Yusuf apologized for the killing in 2007, it took six years of denial before the army admitted the offence. Nobody was prosecuted and President Obasanjo neither apologized nor recompensed.

There were reports that Retired Lt. General Victor Malu, a Tiv, accused the then minister of defence Lt. General Theophilus Danjuma, a Jukun, for ordering the 3rd armored division to execute the onslaught against the Tivs. However, such actions will not happen if it did not get the approval of Olusegun Obasanjo, the President and commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Section 33 of the 1999 Nigerian constitution states that:

²⁶² PREMIUM TIMES, Interview, 23 November 2019.

²⁶³ IBEKWE, N., 20 February 2013.

²⁶⁴ IYORWUESE, H., 2002:40-95

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

Every person has a right to life, and no one shall be deprived intentionally of his life, save in the execution of the sentence of a court in respect of a criminal offence of which he has been found guilty. Once again, in gross abuse of power, lives and property were destroyed by the same persons statutorily requested to protect them. If such murderous response could be unleashed on fellow citizens of a country, how could the same soldiers justify their presence in peacekeeping operations in other countries?

As for Muhammadu Buhari, expectations for better security were very high when he came into office because of his military background. He had promised in his manifesto that he will secure Nigeria. He also travelled to Chatham House in the United Kingdom to publicize his agenda to the world during his campaign. At Chatham House, he said that *Let me assure you that if I am elected president, the world will have no cause to worry about Nigeria[...] we will improve intelligence gathering and border controls to choke Boko Haram's financial and equipment channels[...] and I, Muhammadu Buhari, will always lead from the front and return Nigeria to its leadership role in regional and international efforts to combat terrorism.*²⁶⁶

I wish to focus on how Buhari superintended over the air force in the quest to fight terrorists. Firstly, it will be proper to mention that during Buhari's government, the media were cajoled into deodorizing the term 'terrorists'. Rather, they referred to them as bandits.

Within the tenure of Buhari's administration, the Nigeria Air force 'mistakenly' bombed and killed innocent Nigerians on eight occasions. These were people living within their private premises.

Buhari did not understand checks and balances in leadership. In January 2018 when murderous militia attacks worsened in Benue state, President Buhari ordered Ibrahim Idris the Inspector general of police to relocate to the troubled area. The police chief refused to take the president's order and the president was not aware of this until March of the same year.²⁶⁷ Unlike the massacres that occurred during Obasanjo's government, none of these victims or their families were compensated. At least 300 of such persons were killed.

On 17 January 2017, a jet belonging to the Nigerian Air Force mistakenly bombed a camp for Internally Displaced Person, IDP, located at Rann village under the Kala Balge Local Government Area of Borno State. At least 126 civilians.²⁶⁸ The Air Force claimed that they thought that the camp was an encampment of members of the Boko haram sect. There is no record to show that the families of the deceased were compensated. The order to attack was made by Major General Lucky Irabor, Commander of the Multi-National Joint Task Force who was also the Theatre Commander of Operation Lafiya Dole in Northeast Nigeria.

In January 2021, he was promoted to the position of Chief of Defence Staff.

In July 2019, in pursuit of jihadists, a Nigerian fighter jet struck at the Gajiganna village in Borno state and some 13 civilians were mistakenly killed.²⁶⁹

On 13 April 2020, at least 17 people were killed when a Nigerian fighter jet bombs Sakotoku

²⁶⁶ CHATHAM HOUSE, 26 February 2015.

²⁶⁷ OGUNDIPE, S., 1 February 2018.

²⁶⁸ OWOLABI, F., 13 April 2020.

²⁶⁹ THE DEFENSE POST, 8 July 2019.

village in Borno, in 2020. Among persons killed were women and children who were sitting and playing under mango trees.²⁷⁰

On 25 April 2021, Airforce jet reportedly killed over 20 soldiers in what was also reported as a mistake. The soldiers were on a mission to fight Boko haram insurgency when they were hit at Mainok located at 55 kilometers from Maiduguri.²⁷¹ For the military to hit their colleagues during operations, shows the poor level of communication within the force.

On June 13, 2021, in search of terrorists, Nigerian Air Force Alpha Jet bombarded Genu town in Niger State and stray missiles hit wedding guests in Argida village. Two persons were killed and many were injured.²⁷²

On 12 July 2021, airstrikes by the Nigeria Airforce killed a woman and her four children in Sububu area located between Shinkafi and Maradun Local Governments in Zamfara state. The woman was not named and her family did not receive any form of justice.²⁷³

On 15 September 2021, Airforce jet shelled and killed 9 persons and injured at least 30 others at Buwari community, Yunusari local government area of Yobe State.²⁷⁴ It was also reported as a mistake after the Nigerian Air Force initially denied any link of the tragedy to its fighter jets.²⁷⁵ They later admitted the error but justice and compensation did not get to the family of the victims.

On 26 September 2021, Airforce jet, again, shelled and killed 20 persons and injured many at Kwatar Daban Masara in Lake Chad, which connects Nigeria and neighbouring Niger, Chad and Cameroon. On this occasion, authorities claimed that the enclave was known for harboring terrorists. It was later found out that the victims were fishermen.²⁷⁶

20 February 2022, the Nigeria Air Force killed seven children while at least five others were injured at in Nachade village in the Maradi region of Niger Republic.²⁷⁷ Though there are cooperations between the neighbouring countries of Nigeria, Niger, Cameroon and Chad to fight inter-state terrorism, bombing across the borders of Nigeria was a strange incident.

On 13 April 2022, at least six children were mistakenly bombarded when the Nigerian Air Force struck at Kurebe area of Shiroro Local Government of Niger state.²⁷⁸

On 7 July 2022, at least six people were mistakenly killed and many injured by an Air Force jet when it struck in the Kunkunna community, located at Safana Local Government Area of Katsina State.²⁷⁹

13 December 2022: A miscalculated airstrike in Kaduna destroyed properties of residents²⁸⁰ with no compensation given to the affected persons.

²⁷⁰

.. 6 February 2023.

²⁷¹ EJEKWONYILO, A., 7 June 2023.

²⁷² GAZETTE NEWS, 13 June 2021.

²⁷³ DAILY TRUST, 14 July 2021.

²⁷⁴ BITRUS, D., 6 September 2021.

²⁷⁵ PUNCH NEWSPAPER, 16 September 2021.

²⁷⁶ SAHARA REPORTERS, 30 September 2021.

²⁷⁷ SAHARA REPORTERS, 20 February 2022.

²⁷⁸ SAHARA REPORTERS, 21 April 2022.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ PUNCH NEWSPAPER, 9 January 2023.

19 December 2022: 64 persons including armed militants and civilians were killed and many others killed when the Nigeria Air Force mistakenly bombarded the Mutumji community in the Maru local government area of Zamfara state.²⁸¹

25 January 2023, hunters specially attached to the Joint Security Task Force were killed in an airstrike apparently carried out by the Nigerian Air Force in Galadima Kogo in Shiroro local government area of Niger state.²⁸²

On 24 January 2023, the Nigerian Air Force bombed and killed 39 persons and injured six others in the airstrike at Kwatiri, a rural community in Nasarawa State, North-central Nigeria.²⁸³

The victims who were pastoralists, were returning from Kwatiri, a border community between Benue and Nasarawa states, where they had gone to pay fines for the release of their cattle which were seized by the Benue State Livestock Guards. The Nigerian Air Force and the governor of Nasarawa state, Abdullahi Sule, vehemently denied the bombing. At a point, they resorted to playing politics with the deaths by shifting blame to the governor of Benue state Samuel Ortom and claiming that the tragedy was caused by an unidentified drone! The blame was occasioned by the fact that Governor Ortom had banned open grazing which was used by herders. This decision did not go well with some group of persons. In June 2023, almost six months after the bombing, the Nigerian Air Force belatedly confessed²⁸⁴ that they were truly the ones that carried out the deadly attack. Again, justice was neither given to the families of the affected persons nor were apologies sent to Ortom for the false accusation. The many denials by the government was to hide the ineptitude and unprofessionalism of those involved. The Nigerian Air Force denied the bombings under President Buhari just as the army denied the massacre in Zaki-Biam under President Obasanjo.

On 3 December 2023, the drones of the Nigerian Army `mistakenly` bombed at least 120 civilians and injured at least 60 others at Tudun Biri village in Igabi Local Government Area of Kaduna State.²⁸⁵ The tragic event occurred when the people had gathered to celebrate the Muslim Maulud festival. The bombs were released twice. On normal circumstances, the army ought to have realized their mistakes and retreated after the first bombing. In this case, the army did not deny because the evidences were irrefutable. As usual, they apologized and attended the mass burial ceremony.

On 25 December 2024, the Nigerian army airstrike in two Sokoto communities, Gidan Bisa and Runtuwa bombed 10 innocent citizens `mistakenly` while targeting Lakurawa terrorists.²⁸⁶

Another report by some of the freed Chibok girls who were kidnapped by Boko Haram terrorists in April 2014, stated that three of their classmates were killed by the wrong bombardment of the Nigeria Airforce around the Sambisa forest area of Borno State on a date that was not published.

²⁸¹ PREMIUM TIMES, 19 December 2022.

²⁸² Premium Times, 25 January 2023.

²⁸³ Premium Times, 7 June 2023.

²⁸⁴ Premium Times, 7 June 2023.

²⁸⁵ The Guardian, 5 December 2023.

²⁸⁶ Vanguard, 26 December 2024.

On 11 January 2025, at least 15 people were killed and several others wounded when a Nigerian military fighter jet pursuing bandits mistakenly bombed civilians in northwestern Zamfara state.²⁸⁷

On 15 February 2025, the Nigerian army `mistakenly` killed 6 people in Zakka village, Safana district of Katsina state in pursuit of terrorists.²⁸⁸

Apart from killing innocent civilians in the course of attacking terrorists, two events occurred which need to be examined here. The first case was the agreement to exchange five militant leaders arrested and detained by the Nigerian government for the release of 82 Chibok school girls kidnapped by Boko Haram in April 2014. The deal was brokered by negotiators which included the Swiss government, Red Cross and Barrister Mustapha Zanna, who was a lawyer to the slain founder of the Boko Haram sect, Mohammed Yusuf.²⁸⁹ Though it was good that the government secured the release of the girls, it must be highlighted that the number of Nigerians killed by terrorists and by the misguided bombardments by the Nigerian Air Force were neither taken into consideration nor compensated. More of such incidents of killing and kidnapping occurred because previous offenders were not punished. Negotiating with terrorists give them the resources to reinvest into their heinous activities. When the fundamental rights of the people are not respected because government failed to perform its statutory duties to provide security for the people, such tragic events will no longer be big news because one tragedy overtakes another in quick successions.

Secondly, the misguided shelling of civilians by the Air Force have occurred many times and long enough to suspect that the actions were intentional. To give credence to this assumption, was the death of Flight Combatant Tolulope Oluwatoyin Sarah Arotile under very suspicious circumstances in July 2020. She was hailed for her precision at hitting the dens of terrorists in the north eastern part of the country. Tragedy struck her when she was on a short holiday in the city of Kaduna. *She died on 14 July 2020 as a result of head injuries sustained in a road traffic accident at the Nigerian Air Force Base in Kaduna State, when she was inadvertently hit by the vehicle of a former Air Force Secondary School classmate who was trying to greet her.*²⁹⁰ She was quickly buried without an autopsy. There were very high suspicions that she was killed because of her zero tolerance for terrorists. It was logical to believe that a system which killed innocent targets instead of terrorists, could also kill anyone who was attacking terrorists.

The Nigeria Air Force has no excuse to record the mistakes mentioned here because it is very well equipped. It has several aircrafts including 12 Embraer EMB 314 Super Tucano aircraft, 9 Chengdu F-7s, 3 JF-17 Thunder Block II, at least 3 reconnaissance jets for surveillance, armed attack drones, several attack helicopters and other military transport aircrafts. It also built a \$38-million project facilities for the aircrafts. In October 2023 it received two additional Diamond-62 aircraft as part of its efforts to intensify ongoing air operations against insecurity in the country.²⁹¹ They expect more military hard wares including M346FA aircraft, AW109 Trekker light attack helicopter, AH-1Z Super Cobra, T-129 ATAK helicopters and the King Air 360i

²⁸⁷ Reuters, 13 January 2025.

²⁸⁸ Sahara Reporters, 17 May 2025.

²⁸⁹ The Guardian, 7 May 2017.

²⁹⁰ Akinpelu, Y., 16 July 2020.

²⁹¹ Punch newspaper, 11 October 2023.

Beechcraft aircraft.²⁹² However, the salary structure is weak. For example, the salary of a Pilot Officer in the Nigerian Air Force is 187,159 naira (187 euro); Flying Officer 218,400 naira (218 euro); Group Captain 352,631 naira (352 euro).²⁹³

It is on record that many other tragedies were recorded during the administration of Muhammadu Buhari. By the time he left office in 2023, Nigeria became worse in all aspects. *When he assumed office on May 29, 2015, the cumulative number of people killed in Nigeria, according to the NST was 34,972. Since then, the death figure has risen to 98,083 as of May 16, 2023.*²⁹⁴ Within Buhari's tenure, 63,111 Nigerians were killed in a country that was not at war with her neighbours. The death toll of 63,111 is conservative because only reported cases from multiple sources were included. And many cases are under-reported or not reported at all. At last, despite plotting a coup to be head of state in 1983, and contesting elections four times before he became civilian president, Buhari's desperation showed that his lust for power was an inordinate ambition that was not backed with the wisdom for leadership. After eight years in office, he left Nigeria in tatters - less secured and highly indebted.

The above examination of the administrations of Obasanjo and Buhari attests to the fact that when soldiers retire, they may not be the best choices to lead civilian governments in a country like Nigeria. It is difficult for them to practice democracy because it contradicts their military orientations. They become 'despotic democrats' outside army uniforms. As soldiers, Obasanjo and Buhari reportedly fought on the side of Nigeria during the civil war of 1967. However, as civilian presidents, they succumbed to ragtag terrorists and abused the fundamental rights of the very people they swore to protect. Abuse of the rule of law is antithetic to good governance. Kaufmann was right when he posited that governance should bring about *improvements in capacity, accountability, and reducing corruption without which no other reforms will have impact.*²⁹⁵

In order to address the problems enumerated above, the Nigerian government may need to take six actions.

Firstly, Nigeria needs the political will of the president to combat terrorism. He must order the effective and efficient deployment of its military resources and to ensure that the results of his orders are visible and measurable.

Secondly, it is important for Nigeria to acquire at least 6 General Atomics MQ-9 Reaper - also called Predator B- an unmanned remotely controlled aerial vehicle known for its excellent precision and attack capacity, as a way of putting an end to the many 'mistakes' recorded in their operations.

Thirdly, there is a need to reshuffle the personnel within NAF and to increase their salaries and conditions of service because the records of mistaken bombardments between the four-year period of January 2017 and January 2023 shows that there are probably some persons within the system that would rather prefer to bombard innocent civilians to attacking the terrorists.

Fourthly, there is also the need to recruit and to efficiently train more personnel as a way of

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Legit Nigeria, 1 September 2023.

²⁹⁴ Vanguard newspaper, 20 May 2023.

²⁹⁵ Kaufmann, D., 2005.

increasing its numerical strength which is just over 18,000 personnel as at 2021.²⁹⁶ Though it trained 150 commando-like Advanced Special Forces operatives also known as Panthers, much overhauling needs to be done because of the country's huge internal security challenges and the fact that it is the power house of the West African region.

The fifth action that must be taken is that the Nigerian government must set aside a day to remember civilians who had lost their lives through mistaken military bombardments, death through non-state actors and victims of election violence. This activity will create a balance with the Armed Forces Remembrance Day annually organized on 15 January to honour fallen Nigerian soldiers.

Finally, the Nigerian government must request that its air NAF must provide full accountability for their continuing unprofessional actions; while the government must provide financial compensation and other necessary assistance to the victims and their families.

Manipulation of the Legislature

It is becoming a system of government in Nigeria that the Senate President and leaders of the legislature are candidates of the sitting President. For example, in 2019, President Buhari ensured that Ahmed Lawan his candidate, became Senate President in the 8th national assembly. Other aspirants for the position were either discouraged or ordered to step down. Such manipulations gave opportunity for the President to easily get whatever he requested from the Senate. Huge sums of money were borrowed by the government through the easy approval of the Senate. When there were calls to summon the president to the national assembly to explain the insecurity in the country, the stooges of Buhari in the assembly, debated and ensured that Buhari was neither invited nor interrogated. Such manipulations led to the abuse of due process and the rule of law. Ironically, President Buhari was the only President to have been invited to deliver an address at the International Criminal Court during the events marking the 20th anniversary of the Rome Statue. During his address, he made a resounding commitment to respect the rule of law and fundamental human freedoms. Not too long after that meeting, Buhari attended the summit of the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS and Economic Community of Central African States ECCAS in Lome, Togo. In that summit he categorically said that *'Respect for rule of law, democracy and promotion of human rights are also vital as they are attributes of good governance, which would enhance the socio-economic development of the two regions.'*²⁹⁷

The manipulation of the national assembly by the president is the same way state governors control the state houses of assembly. The All Progressives Congress, APC, in July 2018, had served an impeachment notice on the Governor of Benue State, Samuel Ortom, because he decamped from Buhari's political party. They did this without forming one third of members as required by the constitution. They went further to suspend twenty-two other members of the state's House of Assembly. Out of thirty legislators, eight persons unlawfully made an over-riding decision! They were under full police protection when they took this action. Their support allegedly came from the Presidency. In reaction, the people of Benue State vehemently resisted the subjugation of the rule of law by staging various protest marches which hindered

²⁹⁶ IISS Military Balance 2009.

²⁹⁷ Mudashir, I., 31 July 2018.

vehicular and economic movement in the State. During that period, the executive body of the APC in Kwara state was dissolved because it was perceived that they were no longer loyal to the President. Another event was equally reported in Imo state. The State Governor, Rochas Okorocha had a political battle with his deputy Eze Madumere. Okorocha instigated the state House of Assembly to impeach the deputy governor. A court injunction restricted them from doing so. The so-called lawmakers went ahead to impeach Madumere and supported his replacement with Callistus Ekenze.²⁹⁸ Much pressure was later put on the governor not to swear in a new deputy. Within this period, the former deputy was not allowed to resume office. All the major players in this case were members of the same political party with the President. These were actions that were against rule of law. The President was criticized for hypocritically playing international politics on the bedrock of domestic falsehood.

In 2023, President Bola Ahmed Tinubu came into office under controversial circumstances. Just like the former president, Tinubu supported Godswill Akpabio to become senate president of the 9th national assembly. By having Akpabio as senate president, Tinubu had the power to manipulate the legislature to support his requests. During the screening of nominated ministers in October 2023, some controversies arose which degenerated into a very rowdy session. In the midst of the ongoing session at the national assembly, senate president Akpabio took excuse from the assembly and quickly went to the Aso rock office of President Tinubu for consultations. The action clearly symbolized that the legislature had lost its independence and respect. Despite the huge debts accumulated by former president Buhari, the senate approved the requests by Tinubu to borrow various sums of money. Within the first four months in office, the senate had approved that Tinubu could borrow the sum of 1.5b USD.

vi). Manipulation of the government

Various actions were taken by the president to manipulate the executive arm of government against the rule of law. It became easier because all ministers and appointees into critical positions, fall within the power of the president to appoint. The president wields too much power. He has the power to appoint all the ministers, the chief of army staff, the inspector general of police, chiefs of naval staff and the air force. He also has the power to appoint the comptroller-general of customs, immigration, the chief justice of the supreme court, the central bank governor, the chairman of the two anti-corruption agencies - Economic and Financial Crimes Commission and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission. In a situation like this, the president reserves the power to hire and fire. These limitless powers of the president make Nigerians to call for the writing of a new constitution.

On several occasions, the President Buhari campaigned against the huge cost of medical tourism embarked upon by Nigerians. Contrary to his campaigns, he travelled many times to the United Kingdom for medical treatments. On one occasion, he spent 104 days in a UK hospital. Despite using the apparatuses of the country for such trips, his ailment was never disclosed.

²⁹⁸ Vanguard Newspaper, 31 July 2018.

vii) Manipulation of the Judiciary

The president appoints the chief justice of the federation and the attorney general and minister of justice. These are key positions that determine the trajectory of the constitution, law and order.

Various controversial judgements have been dispensed by the Supreme court. The judgements defied logic and common sense because they were either hinged on technicalities or dispensed based on favoritism. For example, it was difficult to understand how the supreme court granted judgement in favour of Hope Uzodinma to become governor of Imo state in January 2020 when he actually came fourth in the governorship elections held in March 2019.²⁹⁹ This is not to categorize that all cases from the Nigerian courts are biased. Very sound judgements have been given on many occasions because there are judges who do not compromise their integrity. They put truth and country above personal interest. It is suspected that high level cases where the government has interest, are mostly manipulated. For example, despite the many glaring facts that the 2019 and 2023 presidential election results were rigged, judgements were given to Buhari and Tinubu respectively. On the days that the two judgements were being delivered, both presidents were on official trips outside the country. While Buhari was in Saudi Arabia, Tinubu was in the US. Their absence heightened the suspicion that they were already aware of the results of the ruling.

Apart from manipulating some aspects of court ruling, the flagrant disobedience of court orders by the same president who swore on oath to defend the constitution, was incomprehensible. In 2022, the organization known as the Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP), accused President Buhari *“of a brazen disregard for the rule of law and human rights, ignoring Nigerian judges on, at least 40 occasions.”*³⁰⁰ The government decided on which court order to obey or disobey. At a point, the government went on borrowing spree one after another because the Senate President was a stooge that positioned to obey the demands of the president. The physical development on ground was not commensurate with what was borrowed. So much debts were incurred that, the Centre for Social Justice Limited (CSJ) was forced to sue the president and others, requesting the court to ask the government to draw a limit line to borrowing. In February 2018, in compliance with section 42 (1) of the Fiscal Responsibility Act, it was reported that Justice G. O. Kolawole, ordered President Muhammadu Buhari to set limits for the consolidated debt of federal, state and local governments. The order was disobeyed.

Insecurity ravaged the country despite purchasing Tucano fighter jets and other security materials. Despite been a retired army general, there was no political will to fight terrorism. On several occasions, it was alleged that there were “orders from above” not to hit the terrorists. Meanwhile, the terrorists who rode on motorcycles, carried out deadly attacks on the people and also attacked correctional centers around the federal capital territory and released their partners in crime, who were detained by government.

The conflict of interest in the interpretation of national law resurfaced when the position of the Attorney General of the federation was contradicted by President Buhari. This was in the case of the Malabu oil deal bribery scandal which indicted the former Attorney General of Nigeria,

²⁹⁹ Premium Times, 14 January 2020.

³⁰⁰ International Center for Investigating Reporting, 19 May 2023.

Mohammed Bello Adoke, former President Jonathan Goodluck, former Ministers of Petroleum Diezani Allison Madueke and Dan Etete. They were all named for receiving bribe in the deal which was a 2011 scandal over the OPL 245 oil block when the government of Goodluck Jonathan approved the purchase by Shell and Agip-Eni from Malabu Oil and Gas Ltd. President Buhari ordered for a probe into the case, but Malami tried to convince him to hand off the matter. According to Malami, *there is also nothing in the proof of evidence to support the charge of money laundering and it is therefore impossible for the prosecution to prove the elements which include illicit funds...without the express proof of these elements, the count may not be sustained on the premise of the attached proof of evidence.*³⁰¹ Despite the legal advice, President Buhari insisted that the probe should continue.

In another continuation of conflicting interest, President Buhari appointed Ali Sheriff Modu - whom the Australian negotiator Stephen Davies³⁰² accused of funding and sponsoring the Boko Haram sect - as Director General of his Support Committee for his 2019 re-election campaign.³⁰³

viii). Unfair Appointments

Appointments into crucial national offices in Nigeria are usually done with consideration to federal character as enshrined in the constitution of the country. This system gives opportunities for equal and fair geographical spread. Unfortunately, the appointments made by President Buhari and Bola Tinubu his successor within the same political party, did not follow guidelines. Their actions generated various resentments. The irony of it was that most of the appointments passed through Senate confirmation with ease, based on compromise. Though the Constitution of Nigeria enacted the Federal Character Act as a guidance in the equitable and fair appointment of persons into federal positions and the building of social and economic infrastructures among the federating sections of the country, yet it was not respected enough.

Part 1 of the Act stipulates that (1) *“Each state of the federation and the Federal Capital Territory shall be equitably represented in all national institutions and in public enterprises and organizations. (2) The best and the most competent persons shall be recruited from each state of the federation to fill positions reserved for the indigenes of the FCT.”*

In furtherance of this law, the Federal Character Commission (FCC) was established by Act No.34 of 1996 as a body dedicated to the enforcement of the Federal Character Principle. Long before the political independence of Nigeria from Britain in 1960, Nigerians relied largely on unwritten traditional laws which were well known and highly respected. They were the rules of customs and traditions. Nigeria inherited the rule of law from British democracy. It is an intrinsic determinant of good governance. By extension, bad governance is the mother of poverty and marginalization.

Section 13 subsection (3) of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria states that the composition of the government of the federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no

301 Ogundipe. S., 18 February 2018.

302 Tukur, S., 3 September 2014.

303 Odunsi, W., 13 July 2018.

predominance of persons from a few states or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that government or in any of its agencies.

Among other reasons, abuse of the rule of law is one of the main reasons that led to the conflict which culminated in the massive defection of members from the ruling political party to the opposition party. In the month of July 2018, 15 Senators, 35 members of the House of Representatives and two respected state governors – Tambuwal of Sokoto state and Ortom of Benue state, decamped to the opposition party. More defections followed. The ensuing conflicts led to assassinations and kidnappings. Dino Melaye one of the Senators that decamped was reportedly kidnapped few days after decamping.³⁰⁴ A local government chairman, Sunny Ejiagwu of the APC in Imo state was assassinated.³⁰⁵

Based on the rule of law, the court ordered Buhari to prosecute the Senators that padded the national budget in 2016. The bank accounts through which the Senators ingeniously transferred the monies have been discovered. The President continued to foot-drag on this issue, yet he continued to borrow more money. This has drastically affected the economy of the country which has been rated very poorly by international indices.

ix). Celebrating Corruption: Diepreye Alamieyesiegha and James Ibori

Alamieyesiegha was a former Governor of Bayelsa State from 29 May 1999 to 9 December 2005. He was involved in money laundering and detained in London in September 2005. When he was arrested by the Metropolitan police, about £1m in cash was found in his London home. Another £1.8m (\$3.2m) was discovered in his bank account. He had four properties in London. When he was finally detained and granted bail in London, he jumped bail, disguised as a woman and returned to Nigeria thereby escaping justice in the United Kingdom.³⁰⁶ On 9th December 2005, he was later impeached on allegations of corruption. He was convicted after investigation by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, EFCC.

There was a political twist of events when Jonathan Goodluck who was his deputy Governor later became the President of Nigeria. In 2013, President Goodluck used his position to grant Alamieyesiegha pardon against the rule of law. His pardon generated huge contradictions and disaffection among Nigerians and the civil societies. Furthermore, he was later installed as a leader of the Peoples Democratic Party.

Apart from the despicable actions of government, the actions of the citizens have promoted the abuse of the rule of law and good governance. For example, James Ibori was the governor of Delta State of Nigeria between 1999 and 2007. He looted over \$250m from the treasury of the state. Justice Marcel Awokulehin, after three adjournments, delivered the judgment on the 170-count charge³⁰⁷ in which he set Ibori free from all criminal charges. *Ibori walked away a free man, sparking off celebrations among his supporters, family members and other well-wishers*

304 Ogbonna, A., 27 July 2018.

305 Okeoma, C., 27 July 2018.

306 BBC News, 23 November 2005.

307 Oliomogbe, H., et al, 18 December 2009.

309 *ibid.*

310 Akinkuotu, E., 28 December 2016.

in the state and elsewhere.³⁰⁸ There were allegations that Ibori bribed the Judge. However, Ibori's 'luck' could not take him far. He was also involved in money laundering activities in the United Kingdom. The Nigerian Economic and Financial Crime Commission, EFCC sought to arrest Ibori. At a point he bribed the Chairman of EFCC with 15 million USD which he refused. The money was seized and reported to government. When EFCC came for the arrest of Ibori, indigenes of his town of Oghara blocked all entrances to prevent his arrest. To them he was a good thief because he built some infrastructures in their community. Ibori later teleguided and fully supported his cousin Emmanuel Uduaghan to succeed him so that he could cover his track.

During Ibori's court trial, it was reported that „the state government has not shown any seriousness in helping to recover Ibori's loot. Back in 2009, the state government did everything possible to frustrate the Federal Government's efforts and even went to court to challenge the EFCC. They claimed Ibori never stole”.³⁰⁹ Ibori later escaped to the United Arab Emirates where he was arrested and extradited to the United Kingdom to face the court. There in the UK, he pleaded guilty to many of the same charges for which he was freed by the Judge in Nigeria. Ibori was eventually jailed for thirteen years by Judge Anthony Pitts of the Southwark Crown court.

When he was released after serving his prison term, his eventual return to his town set Delta state agog. There were huge celebrations and his political associates and praise singers welcomed him with various lavish ceremonies. Traditional leaders went further to honour him with various traditional titles. Just like Alameisegha, Ibori was installed as the leader of the Peoples Democratic Party of Delta State amid several encomiums. This was how the same persons that he impoverished through the abuse of office and the rule of law, celebrated him! Such actions by the citizenry dampen the tenets of the rule of law as it extolls corruption. Emmanuel Uduaghan who succeeded Ibori reportedly left behind a debt profile of N637.22 billion (1,593,050,000euro) thereby leaving Delta State in deep economic crises.

2.5. Conclusions.

The government of Nigeria had set up various bodies to formulate strategies for peace. However, government did not do enough to implement reports due to the lack of genuine political will. In some cases, the reports were never released to the public.

Despite embarking on various peacekeeping efforts in other countries, Nigeria is beclouded by ethnic, religious, social and political conflicts and agitations. This was worsened by arbitrary detentions against court orders.

Ungoverned space in the form of unused forests create safe habitation for terrorists. Such spaces would serve better purposes if opened and turned onto productive farms for food security. Government institutions abused the rule of law and engaged in unlawful detentions, manipulation of the judiciary and legislature by the executive body. Persons that were indicted for corruption were either promoted or celebrated. Ethnic marginalization, breach of election promises, hate speech and purveyance of fake news continue to challenge peace and security.

Though actions were taken to address terrorism through the integration of terrorists, it has not yielded commensurate results. For example, though the army through General Lucky Irabor, the Chief of Defence Staff (CDS), claimed that at least 51,828 Boko Haram terrorists and their family members surrendered to the Federal government between July 2021 and May 2022, the security situation of the country did not improve.³¹⁰ It was reported that *Five thousand and sixty-seven Nigerians were reported to have been killed in 2021 owing to insecurity, an average of 14 Nigerians died daily in various violent attacks from January to December, 2021.*³¹¹ Within the first quarter of 2022, One thousand, seven hundred and forty-three Nigerians were reported killed owing to insecurity.³¹²

That number is higher than the number of civilians killed in the first month of the Russia-Ukraine war.

The lack of strict actions to legally address hate speech has been a factor that has encouraged unrest in some parts of Nigeria. Political and religious figures in Nigeria are more prone to using hate speech as a divisive medium - including religion and ethnicity- of carrying out their selfish goals and as an agent provocateur to cause social tension.

Hate speech has been used by politicians to divide the people. Such hate and the purveyance of fake news cuts deep emotional and psychological scars which becomes difficult to heal.

Agitations for cessation became rampant due to failed election promises and perceived marginalization. Ironically, groups from the Southwest and Southeast who have been in government, are parts of the agitators.

When measured by the standards of the United States Agency for International Development in terms of order and security, legitimacy, checks and balances, fairness, and effective application, the detention of Nnamdi Kanu, the celebration of Ibori, the pardon of Diepreye Alamieyesiegha, unfair appointments, the detention of El-Zakzaky, the manipulation of the judiciary and legislature, corruption of the judiciary, the Giwa versus Pinnick legal tussle, the detention of Dasuki and the impunity of government, they all fall short of the rule of law.

Nigeria still has a lot to accomplish to strengthen the rule of law. Government has used the instruments and resources of state to intimidate and undermine the rights of citizens and to twist the constitution against established laws. Majority of citizens are ignorant of their rights. There are class interests which gives privilege to a few over others. There is prolonged adjudication of cases worsened by high cost of litigation. These have led to the break down of order, security, and the proper enforcement of law.

There is an imperative need for the government of Nigeria to focus more attention on ensuring peace and security within the territory of the country. Biometric identification of personal data is an inalienable need in modern security management. Without the possibility for forensic analysis, it will be difficult to effectively investigate and prosecute cases of security breach.

Causes of religious crises are yet to be fully investigated whenever such crises broke out. Politicians and other religious persons involved in causing or sponsoring such crises are hardly made to face the wrath of the law. Nigeria must recruit, train and equip more soldiers who should cooperate with other security forces within the country and with immigration officers at

³¹⁰ Daily Post, 26 March 2023.

³¹¹ Cable Nigeria Newspaper, 14 January 2022.

³¹² Cable Nigeria Newspaper, 20 April 2022.

the borders - especially in ungoverned spaces or difficult terrains that could impede security forces from doing their jobs.

Though security expert-level committees have been formed in Nigeria as advisers and clearing houses for the exchange of information and provision of applicable solutions in tandem with best practices and operations capabilities, the political will to achieve the needful is still low. Regional cooperations gave rise to standby forces for quick international responses. This could be made more effective when modern military equipment, transportation and logistics support arrangements are made to help countries deploy and support the fight against terrorism.

When Presidents show disregard for the rule of law, it transmits to other sections of government. The aftermath of these aberrations is the break down of law, order, corruption, impunity and conflicts. Nigerians have been docile about how those in government manage the affairs of the country. They endure and tolerate to their collective detriment. This mentality is borne out of fear imparted by the long reign of military rule. Such orientation may be changed if there is constant dissemination of information that will define governance and inform the citizens of their rights and for citizens to tenaciously hold on to the preservation of their rights.

Chapter 3

Peacekeeping Efforts of Nigeria and the International Community

3.1. Introduction to the legal background of Nigerian Peacekeeping

Nigeria does not have a national law that dictates actions related to peacekeeping. Rather, Section 305 (1) of the 1999 Constitution vests powers in the President of Nigeria to declare a state of emergency within the country. The law states that such a declaration may occur when the country is (a) *the Federation is at war*; (b) *the Federation is in imminent danger of invasion or involvement in a state of war*; (c) *there is actual breakdown of public order and public safety in the Federation or any part thereof to such extent as to require extraordinary measures to restore peace and security*; (d) *there is a clear and present danger of an actual breakdown of public order and public safety in the Federation or any part thereof requiring extraordinary measures to avert such danger*; (e) *there is an occurrence or imminent danger, or the occurrence of any disaster or natural calamity, affecting the community or a section of the community in the Federation*; (f) *there is any other public danger which clearly constitutes a threat to the existence of the Federation*; or (g) *the President receives a request to do so in accordance with the provisions of subsection (4) of this section*.³¹³

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. In 2018, the National Assembly a *A 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*.³¹⁴ The bill will take away power from the president to unilaterally authorise peacekeeping operations. When passed into law, *it will become mandatory for the National Assembly to approve Nigeria's peacekeeping missions in other countries. The Federal Government will also be mandated to outline its peacekeeping activities and the costs, while the National Assembly will appropriate funds for their execution*.³¹⁵ In 2022, the bill passed second reading.

Nigeria's participation in peacekeeping and peacemaking is hinged on the approach of offense and defense. While the offensive approach coerces contending parties to negotiate for peace, the second approach is the diplomatic actions for conflicting parties to agree a ceasefire before peacekeepers are deployed.

Some of the structures built by the Nigerian government to enhance the framework for her participation in peacekeeping is the Nigeria Police Peacekeeping Office. This office was established in 2005 with the vision to engage in meaningful research, with the intent to train officers for global deployment in support of operations. The mission of the office is to equip personnel with the needed skills and abilities useful for complex peace support operations in all environments, for professional and international best practices.

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:

³¹³ The Nigerian Constitution, 1999.

³¹⁴ Punch Nigeria Newspaper, 16 March 2022.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

"(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."³¹⁶

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 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations which recognizes the *sovereign equality of States*.³¹⁷

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, record 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.³¹⁸

In contrast, private citizens are not permitted to carry fire arms in Mauritius. The number of homicides in 2021 was 34. This is a rate of 2.62% per 100,000 persons.³¹⁹ The figure of persons killed in the US is far higher than Mauritius which the Global Peace Index in 2023³²⁰, 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-defence and defence of the mandate*.³²¹

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 when a civil war ws ravaging Nigeria between 1967 and 1970? 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.³²² Why does the UN not quickly move from the rhetoric?

³¹⁶ UN, Statute of the International Court of Justice n.d.

³¹⁷ Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations Done at Vienna on 18 April 1961.

³¹⁸ Gramlich John 2023.

³¹⁹ Intentional Homicide n.d.

³²⁰ Global Peace Index 2023.

³²¹ UN Peacekeeping n.d.

³²² UN News 2023.

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 continue 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 order to install their stooges through whom they exploit the natural resources of such countries.

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 non-permanent 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, hundreds of thousands of Nigerian military, police, and civilian personnel have served under the UN flag across 41 operations worldwide.*³²³

Legitimacy to Nigeria’s peacekeeping is based on chapter 1 and 5 of the UN charter.³²⁴ 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 constitution of the country as enshrined in Chapter 2 section 14. 2 (b): *The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government.*³²⁵

Chapter VIII, Art. 52(1) of the UN Charter 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.*³²⁶ However, such operations must be consistent with the *Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.*³²⁷ 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 Council³²⁸ 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.*³²⁹ It is based on these provisions of the Charter that Nigeria

³²³ UN 2023.

³²⁴ UN Charter, 1945.

³²⁵ Nigerian Constitution, 1999.

³²⁶ U.N. Charter art. 52,1.

³²⁷ *ibid.*

³²⁸ *ibid.* art. 53,1.

³²⁹ *ibid.* art. 54, 1.

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. 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. 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*.³³⁰

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 *action 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. 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 also equipped personnel with the 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.

*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.*³³¹

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. *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.*³³² To mark the 2020 International Day of the United Nations Peacekeepers which is annually held on 29 May, the United Nations posthumously awarded 3 Nigerians with the Dag Hammarskjöld Medal (Henry Ukomadu, a police sergeant, Moshood Lasisi, an Army warrant officer and Gabriel Shogaolu, a civilian). They were among the 80 other military, police and civilian peacekeepers, who lost their lives in the line of duty while serving with the UN

³³⁰ Nigerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs n.d.

³³¹ Nigeria Police Force n.d.

³³² French, 1997.

Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) between 2017 and 2019.³³³ 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.

The activities of the Directorate include officers' training and deployment as United Nations Police officers (UNPOLs); advisors to the Inspector-General of Police on issues connected to AU/UN/ECOWAS Peace support operations; operating liaison between the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO)/African Union Peace Support Operations Department (AUPSOD) / ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF), the Nigeria Police, UNDP office, Nigeria immigration and courier companies. Since independence, the Nigeria Police has gallantly committed human and capital resources to ensure peace in Africa and beyond. *The Nigeria Police have deployed over twelve thousand personnel to various UN/AU and ECOWAS peace support operations.*³³⁴

3.2. Concepts and Reasons for Nigeria's Participation in Peacekeeping 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 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 was happening under the purview of General Arnold Quainoo of Ghana who as a career UN officer who 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. It was a period when opposition was suppressed back home in Nigeria under the dictatorial rule of late Sani Abacha who was merely hustling for international recognition. President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah has just been overthrown through a coup on 25 May 1997 led by Major Johnny Koroma and the elected President had 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'.³³⁵ This was a strategy propagated by the United States of America in 1947 during the Cold War as began by George

³³³ Premium Times, 29 May 2020.

³³⁴ Nigeria Police Force, n.d.

³³⁵ "Nigeria to Adopt Containment Policy in Sierra Leone," in a text of broadcast by Voice of Nigeria.

F. Kennan against the spread of communism. Nigeria wanted to prevent the spread of the Liberian crises within and outside Sierra Leone. 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 Government, a meeting was held in Abuja Nigeria, where the Authority endorsed the stand of Foreign Ministers in their meeting held on June 26 in which ECOMOG was mandated only to *monitor the ceasefire, enforce sanctions and embargo and secure the peace in Sierra Leone*.³³⁶ Most of Nigerian Peacekeeping in West Africa which took place during the military era in Nigeria has been received with mixed feelings based on the intentions and outcomes. This is especially so because the military regimes came into power through coups. For example, Nigeria reportedly assisted Yahyah Jammeh when he seized power in 1994. *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*.³³⁷ Nigeria participates in peacekeeping in line with Section 19 of the 1999 Constitution, which states the objectives of Nigeria's foreign relation. 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*.

Several factors contribute to the need of Nigeria to participate in peacekeeping operations. They are as follows:

a). *Peace*: 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 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. *Nigeria's moral belief is that countries' existence depend on the traditional African concept of collectivism*.³³⁸

b). *Fear of regional hegemony*: Studies by Jakkie Cilliers and Mark Malan states that the fear of regional hegemony³³⁹ is a potent reason for countries to participate in peacekeeping. They referred to the three Baltic countries of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania whose existence are under the tutelage of Russia. It is necessary for such countries to participate in peacekeeping 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)³⁴⁰ need to participate in peacekeeping to safeguard their sovereignty. This is especially so because of the history of military incursions. Support to such countries by Nigeria is to preserve peace and avoid the social and economic consequences of refugee influx and other attendant factors.

336 "Text of West African Communiqué on Sierra Leone," in Reuters, 30 August 1997.

337 French, 26, June 1997.

338 Yoroms, G., 1993.

339 Jakkie, C. & Malan, M., 1996.

340 World Population Review, West African Countries 2019.

c). *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. Several cases of army brutality have been recorded against unarmed civilians. A Nigerian with physical disability was severely beaten by soldiers for a wearing camouflage usually trouser worn by Nigerian soldiers. His wheelchair was thrown away when he was being brutalized. However, the army authority condemned the action by apologizing to the victim and reportedly disciplining the affected soldiers.

d). *Re-imburement*: Peacekeeping usually come with financial remuneration which is mostly higher than the regular salaries at home due to allowances for the risk factors and other provisions. For example, monthly salary for a Nigerian soldier in the rank of a Sergeant was 63,000 naira (140euro) as of 2019.³⁴¹ In comparison to what was received by Nigerian 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.³⁴² There are over 90,000 United Nations peacekeepers.³⁴³

e). *Cost Effectiveness*: It is cheaper for a country to join others in participating in peacekeeping than abstaining from it or bearing the financial responsibilities alone. For example, 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.*³⁴⁴

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

f). *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. 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*

341 Nigerian Army Ranks, Badges & Salary Structures, 29 July 2020.

342 BBC News, 15 February 2018.

343 Better World Campaign, n.d.

344 *ibid.*

Support Operations [...] NAPKC has delivered over 230 courses and trained over 53,000 peacekeepers³⁴⁵ within its first decade of being established.

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 operation³⁴⁶* 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.³⁴⁷* 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 operation³⁴⁸* 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.*”³⁴⁹

3.3. Just Wars and Bad Peace: Nigeria peacekeeping 1960 -2022

The list of Nigeria`s peacekeeping operations, has been highlighted at the annex. One significant aspect of countries where Nigeria participated in such operations, is that all of them have diplomatic missions in Nigeria. Therefore, it is justifiable to state that Nigeria`s interest also lies in the fact that it wishes to maintain diplomatic relations and to ensure that there is peace in the territory of its partners.

Some global peacekeeping operations failed because mechanisms were not put in place to build and sustain the peace after the conflicts. It is the consequences of that gap that led to the notion of Bad Peace. For example, conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Angola have shown that the conflicts resurfaced after temporary truce. In some countries, one mission led to another mission because of unsustainable peace. For example, the United Nations Operation in Somalia, UNISOM I and II continued between 1992 and to 1995 onward. The UN Angola Verification Mission, UNVEM, took place severally between 1989 to 1991; 1991 - 1992; 1992-1993 and in July 1997. In Rwanda, the OAU Monitoring Group was in Rwanda between 1992 and 1993 but it could not end the crises. The United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda, UNIMIR, had to continue the stabilization process between 1993 to 1995. However, it was not these missions that actually ended the crises in Rwanda. The crises came to an end when the Tutsi-dominated rebel movement, known as the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), captured Kigali. The RPF forcefully overthrew the Hutu government and independently seized power. Thereafter, the new government announced a policy known as *unity and reconciliation*. It created and adopted a new constitution that pledged equal rights for all Rwandans regardless of their social, ethnic or religious inclinations.

There was a dire need to address the problem of Bad Peace and the recurrence of conflicts within a country. In awareness of this lacuna, the UN operations were expanded to include *peacemaking* and *peace building* as additions to traditional peacekeeping and preventive diplomacy. A UN office known as the the Electoral Assistance Division of the Department of

345 Adeniyi 2017.

346 Nigeria Police Force 2017.

347 *ibid.*

348 Nigeria Police Force 2017.

349 *ibid.*

Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA) facilitates such electoral processes through technical assistance, support to creating a conducive environment, organization and conduct of an electoral process, certification/verification, electoral observation, supervision of elections, panels of political and/or electoral experts and coordination of electoral observers. Other UN offices that supports in election procedures are the the Department of Peace Operations (DPO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), United Nations Volunteers (UNV), the United Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPS), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN-Women) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM).

These agendas for peace have succeeded in sustaining peace and building lasting solutions to conflicts. This has been exemplified as UN forces continue to supervise elections as means of fostering new governments that would continue the administration of peace with localized mechanisms. Such elections have been successfully supervised by the UN in countries such as El Salvador, Eritrea, Western Sahara, Nicaragua, Cambodia and Angola. These elections have succeeded in enhancing democratization and political transitions in these countries.

The basic reasons for participating in the peacekeeping missions is to enhance global peace and to cooperate among the comity of nations towards the enhancement of international relations in line with the goals of the United nations. These goals are intended to *protect civilians, actively prevent conflict, reduce violence, strengthen security and empower national authorities to assume these responsibilities. This requires a coherent security and peacebuilding strategy that supports the political strategy. UN peacekeeping helps host countries to become more resilient to conflict, laying the groundwork to sustain long-term peace, including by addressing root causes of conflict.*

Nigeria did not have to consider whether the wars were just or not. The goal was mostly directed at maintaining and sustaining peace because no war is morally justified. Apart from ensuring global peace and security, the aftermaths of the missions where Nigeria participated have widened diplomatic relations and trade.

Apart from some peacekeeping initiatives where Nigeria participated on the platform of ECOMOG and the African Union, most peacekeeping missions were authorized by the United Nations through the Security Council. In some cases, such as the operations in Liberia, the UN had joint operations after it was started by ECOMOG.

Between 1988 and 2000, the UN embarked on more than 30 authorized peacekeeping efforts. The peak was in 1993 where *more than 80,000 peacekeeping troops representing 77 countries were deployed on missions throughout the world. In the first years of the 21st century, annual UN expenditures on peacekeeping operations exceeded \$2 billion.*³⁵⁰

Below are the outcomes of the peacekeeping missions which Nigeria participated in between 1960 and 2022 under the UN, the AU and ECOWAS.

3.3.1. United Nations Peace Operations.

³⁵⁰ Britannica, Peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peace building. n.d.

The United Nations peacekeeping operation began in 1948 after the authorisation of the Security Council to deploy UN military observer contingent to the Middle East. It is supported by 193-member states. The mission was known as the United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation (UNTSO) and the mandate was to monitor the implementation of the Armistice Agreement which came into force between Israel and neighboring Arab countries. Since then, at least 70 peacekeeping operations have been deployed with support from around 120 countries.

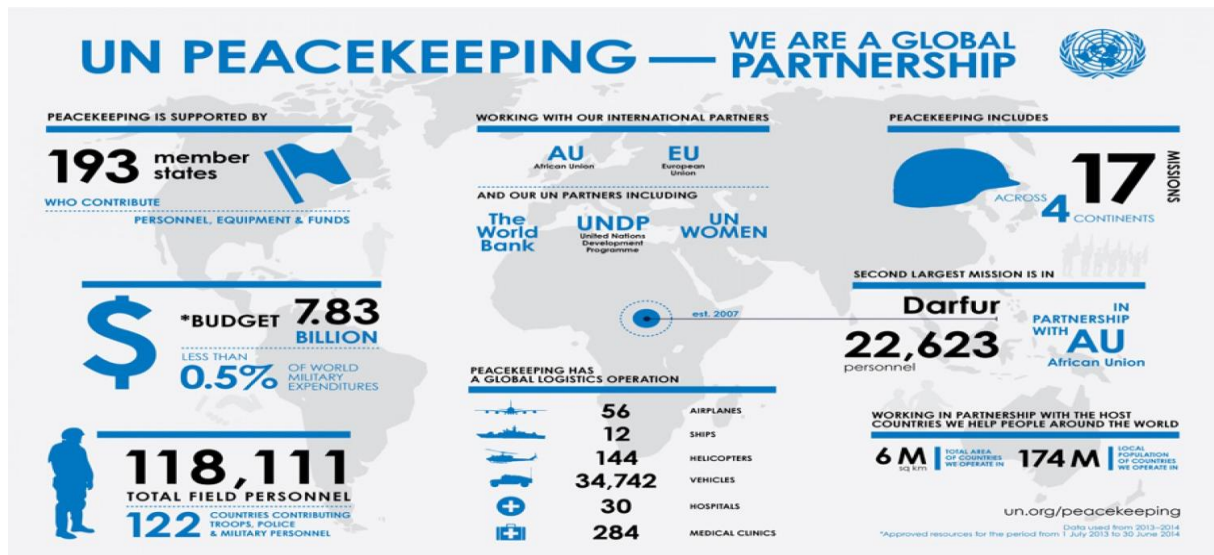


Figure VI. United Nations Peacekeeping. Source: <https://russiancouncil.ru/upload/unp2.jpg>

The legitimacy of the UN peacekeeping operations is guided by three basic principles such as *Consent of the parties; Impartiality and Non-use of force except in self-defence and defence of the mandate*.³⁵¹

The role of the UN in peacekeeping operations also include the maintenance of peace and security, protection of civilians, facilitation of the political process and the organization of elections; upholding of human rights, restoration of the rule of law; support towards disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants.

The mechanism of peacekeeping has been one of the most reliable instruments for the promotion and maintenance of peace and security all over the world.

Through burden sharing and the deployment of troops, police and other field officers, UN Peacekeeping has been helping countries in the difficult process of transforming from conflict to peace. The UN does not have a standing army. Therefore, military and police personnel who are members of their own national operations, are seconded to work with the UN for peacekeeping operations in any part of the world where peacekeeping interventions are needed. In appreciation of the activities of the UN peacekeeping, the Norwegian Nobel Committee awarded the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize to the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces. Article 17 of the Charter of the United Nations and resolution A/RES/55/235 of 23 December 2000,

³⁵¹ United Nations Peacekeeping, n.d.

stipulates and makes it obligatory for all member states of the United Nations to pay annual dues or their share to support peacekeeping as budgeted by the General Assembly. Such payment methods were agreed by the member states. The share of the payments is not usually equal. It takes into consideration, the wealth or financial strength or capacity of members.

However, the five permanent members of the Security Council – Russia, United Kingdom, United States of America, China, and France, are obliged to pay higher amounts because of the crucial roles they occupy in decision making related to global security and peace. Members could also decide to voluntarily pay higher than the stipulated amounts. The top 10 financial supporters of the UN are reported as ³⁵² the United States (27.89%), China (15.21%), Japan (8.56%), Germany (6.09%), United Kingdom (5.79%), France (5.61%), Italy (3.30%), Russian Federation (3.04%), Canada (2.73%), Republic of Korea (2.26%). According to UN reports, an annual budget is approved by the General Assembly to fund peacekeeping activities. The process is initiated from the office of the Secretary-General who submits the budget proposal to the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, ACABQ. After the review of the proposal by ACABQ, it sends recommendations to the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly for another review and approval before it is finally approved by the General Assembly.

Budget for peacekeeping operates within a cycle from 1 July to 30 June within a 12-month period. \$6.45 billion budget was approved for 11 peacekeeping missions from 1 July 2022 to 30 June 2023 and includes nearly \$66 million for the United Nations Logistics Base at Brindisi, Italy; \$43.2 million for the Regional Service Centre in Entebbe, Uganda; and \$371 million for the peacekeeping support account. ³⁵³ \$6.1 billion was budgeted for nine active peacekeeping missions, three service centers and the support staff at Headquarters from 1 July 2023 to 30 June 2024. A further \$590 million was approved to keep the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) running until year's end. ³⁵⁴

The budgets for peacekeeping operations are determined by the Security Council depending on the mandate of the mission. It is mandatory for all peacekeeping operations to prepare and submit their respective performance report of money spent within a financial cycle. Such a report is also deliberated and finally endorsed by the General Assembly. Every peacekeeping operation has a special budget and the resources are channeled towards operational costs such as transportation, staff salaries and general logistics. UN reports also shows that the budgeted amount takes care of the finances of “10 of the 12 United Nations peacekeeping missions, including the liquidation budget for the United Nations – African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), supports logistics for the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), and provides support, technology and logistics to all peace operations through global service centers in Brindisi (Italy) and a regional service center in Entebbe (Uganda). The remaining two peacekeeping missions, the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) and the UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), are financed through the UN regular budget.” ³⁵⁵

³⁵² United Nation Peacekeeping, n.d.

³⁵³ United Nations, 29 June 2022.

³⁵⁴ United Nations, 30 June 2023.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

Member States voluntarily provide the military and police personnel that are needed for each peacekeeping operation. The soldiers are respectively paid by their own Governments. Such payments depend on the prevalent national rank and salary scale of each country. As of 1 July 2019, the UN usually reimburses the countries that have volunteered uniformed staff to the tune of US\$1,428 per soldier monthly. The police and other civilian personnel receive their salaries from the budgets for peacekeeping apportioned for each operation.

In 2018 the UN allocated \$9m to displaced Nigerians as aid, to improve their livelihoods. These amounts have increased as of 2024 where the current rates of Overseas Armed Peace Support Allowance, ranges between €100-€120 per day for 24 hours. This amount is being debated for increase.

1. Nigeria at the Congo Crises and the United Nations Operation in the Congo, ONUC, 1960-1964

Today's Democratic Republic of the Congo, DRC, is located in Central Africa with a population of 108 million, considered as the most populous Francophone country in the world. The DRC is located in sub-Saharan Africa with northern boundaries with the Central African Republic, South Sudan to the north east, Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi to the northeast, Tanzania to the south and Zambia to the southeast Angola to the the southwest and the Republic of the the Congo and the South Atlantic Ocean to the west.



Figure VII. Map of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Source: Geoscience News and Information, <https://geology.com/world/democratic-republic-of-the-congo-satellite-image.shtml>.

This peace operation was reported as one of the largest UN operations in terms of scale and operational capacity. The mission is translated in French as *Opération des Nations Unies au Congo* (ONUC). Disorder and chaos set in immediately after gaining independence from Belgium on 30 June 1960. Insurrections in Katanga and the assassination of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba fueled the crises. The anarchy prompted the former colonialists to invade the country under the guise of restoring peace. Thereafter, the Congolese government called for assistance from the United Nations.

On 14 July 1960, with the instrument of Resolution 143 (S/4387), the UN ordered Belgium to withdraw its troops. Thereafter, the Secretary-General was authorized to provide military assistance to the Congolese Government where troops were mostly drawn from African and Asian countries. The UN established an office³⁵⁶

In order to avert a civil war, there was an imperative need to protect the territorial integrity of Congo, ensure stability and guarantee her sovereignty. This was the first peacekeeping mission held on the African soil.

Nigeria provided her first UN peacekeepers to the UN Operation to the Republic of Congo, now known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Operation was known by its French acronym ONUC, in a mission that lasted from 1960 to 1964. The mission was established as a way of helping the Congolese Government to ensure stability through the maintenance of law and order and the provision of training and technical assistance.

On 9 November 1960, the Queen's Own Nigeria Regiment (QONR) arrived Congo led by Lt. Colonel Johnson Aguiyi Ironsi with 26 officers, 650 soldiers and 4 Non-Commissioned Officers where they operated in Kivu province in eastern Congo and Manono in northern Katanga. By March 1962, Nigerian contingents have reached 17,000.³⁵⁷ This number was third after Ethiopia and India.

The role played by Nigeria included the maintenance of international security, peace enforcement and peace building towards a functioning government.

Nigerians won awards for their efforts in the mission. They rescued the Australian ambulance from the hands of secessionists and also rescued the Manono airport. In the course of this, they rescued missionaries shut in by the Gizingist troops.³⁵⁸

UN forces with nearly 20,000 military personnel from at least 24 countries provided support with Sweden, Ireland and India playing prominent roles. The violent hostilities that occurred between September 1961 and December 1962 drastically changed the tone of the mission. ONUC was forced to transform from a peacekeeping into a military force as a way of subduing the offensive attacks from mercenaries and secessionist forces. The reaction of the UN mission at this point, against the extremely dangerous oppositions could be classified as a *just war* because their action was geared towards a just cause and the good intention of protecting lives and property as lawfully declared by the UN. This was after peaceful diplomatic means had failed. The means used in stopping the insurgency was appropriate and proportional. At the end, success was achieved and the troops withdrew and left a better country by 30 June 1964.

However, this mission was criticized for being pro-Western in direction. Based on this perception, countries like Morocco withdrew their troops from the mission while Ghana under Kwame Nkrumah strongly expressed their frustrations.

Adekeye Adebajo (2013) rightly cited³⁵⁹ that three soldiers who later became Heads of state in Nigeria - General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi (January–July 1966); General Yakubu Gowon (1966–75); and General Olusegun Obasanjo (1976–9 and 1999–2007)—were also part of the UN mission in the Congo.

³⁵⁶ Williams, A Susan., 2016.

³⁵⁷ Marwa, M.B., 2010.

³⁵⁸ Nigeria Army Education Corps and Schools (NAEC), 1992.

³⁵⁹ Chuks Iloegbunam, 1999 and John Iliffe, 2011.

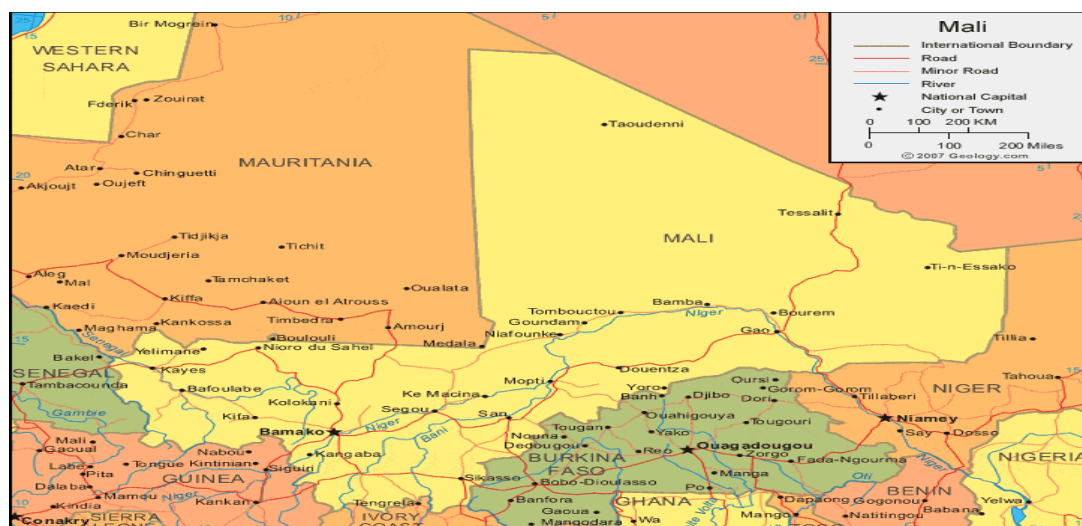
Though General Muhammadu Buhari participated in the Nigeria Civil War between 1967 and 1970, he later became the civilian President of Nigeria after retirement from the army. It was ironical that during the administration of Buhari between 2015 and 2023, he could not use his military experience to maintain peace and security in Nigeria despite the huge monetary budgets. His government witnessed untold massacres and kidnapping for ransom. This confirms that experience in Wars does not translate to experience in keeping the peace in one's country. After the peacekeeping mission, Nigeria and D.R. Congo established diplomatic relations in 1963. During the last 24 years, the exports of Nigeria to the Democratic Republic of the Congo have increased at the annual rate of 2.55%, from \$2.08m in 1996 to \$3.81m in 2020. However, within the same period, the exports of Democratic Republic of the Congo to Nigeria have decreased to 8.7%, from \$134k in 1996 to \$15.1k in 2020.³⁶⁰

2. Multi-Dimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali- (MINUSMA)

Mali is a West African country that has been engaged in various security, socio-economic, humanitarian and human rights crises. Mali is located in West Africa with a population of 21,495,030. It shares borders with Algeria on the north, Côte d'Ivoire on the south, Niger on the east, Senegal and Mauritania on the west Burkina Faso and Guinea on the south-west.

Trouble started in 2012, in the northern part of the country when the Tuareg and Azawad region ignited insurgency on the platform of the *National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad*. They reportedly received weaponry mainly from their contacts related to the civil war in Libya which occurred in 2011. The insurgency was worsened by the coup d'état of 21 March 2012³⁶¹. The coup empowered the rebel who further encroached by taking over cities such as Timbuktu, Gao and Kidal.

ECOWAS reacted by imposing sanctions against the country. President Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso initiated a deal through ECOWAS where it was agreed that Amadou Sanogo cede power to Dioncounda Traore as interim President with a view to organizing an election.



³⁶⁰ Observatory of Economic Complexity, 2020.

³⁶¹ Look, A, 25 March 2012.

Figure VIII. Map of Mali. Source: Geoscience news and information. <https://geology.com/world/mali-satellite-image.shtml>.

On 1 July 2013, some 12,600 UN peacekeeping troops officially took over responsibility for patrolling the country's north from the International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA) to ensure stability and the peaceful conduct of elections. With an approved budget of \$1,262,194,200, the mission was adjudged as the third largest UN peacekeeping operation force in the world and the *UN's most dangerous peacekeeping mission, with 209 peacekeepers killed out of a force of about 15,200*³⁶² With a ratio of ten countries, Nigeria was rated as the 7th country with the highest number of police contributors to MINUSA as at April 2022. Others include Senegal, Togo, Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Egypt, Benin, Niger, Tunisia and Côte d'Ivoire.³⁶³

MINUSMA was established on 25 April 2013 based on the Resolution 2100 of the United Nations Security Council. This situation led to the deployment of AU and French forces which later transformed into the UN Multi-dimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) with a Security Council mandate which includes the protection of civilians.

Since, the inception of the UN mission, Nigeria has been deploying personnel and police patrol to the Timbuktu region of the country. Nigerian officials were involved in drills and trainings for crowd control at the Ecole Nationale de Police in Bamako.

Former Nigeria President Jonathan Goodluck was appointed as ECOWAS Special Envoy to Mali as a way of bolstering the peace mission. In 2021, in furtherance of peace and stability, President Buhari and the ECOWAS Chairman, President Issoufou Mahamadou of Niger Republic met with Mali's President, Ibrahim Boubacar Keita, Presidents Machy Sall of Senegal, Nana Akufo-Addo of Ghana and Alassane Ouattara of Cote d'Ivoire in Mali for further deliberations and strategizing towards sustainable peace.

With renewed crises in December 2021, Nigerian Army deployed 62 soldiers and officers to Mali on a peacekeeping mission. In November 2021, more sanctions such as travel bans and assets freezing was supported by Nigeria when Mali reneged on organizing election in February 2021.

As Nigeria continue to play enviable role in peacekeeping, one of the challenges to sustainable peace in the West African region, is the recurrence of coup d'état in countries like Mali (August 2020), Niger (failed in March 2021), Guinea (September 2021). These are caused by bad governance, unemployment, growing poverty and sheer lust for power.

There is a need for the international community to take more stringent actions against countries that forcefully seize power by undermining democratic values. If this is not done, insurgencies will continue to birth insurgencies and the result shall be bad peace.

During the last 24 years, the exports of Nigeria to Mali have decreased by 2.67%, from \$5.17M in 1996 to \$2.7M in 2020. This could be attributed to the insecurity in both countries. On the other hand, the annual exports of Mali to Nigeria within the same period, have decreased to 6.31%, from \$46.4k in 1996 to \$9.71k in 2020.³⁶⁴

³⁶² United Nations Peacekeeping, n.d.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Observatory of Economic Complexity, 2020.

3. United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) 1993-1995

Croatia is located at the crossroads of Central and Southeast Europe with boundaries to the northeast with Hungary, Slovenia and Austria to the northwest, Serbia to the east, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro to the southeast. It has a maritime border with Italy to the west and southwest. Croatia occupies an area of 56,594 square kilometers (21,851 square miles), with a population of around 4,048,650 as at October 2022.³⁶⁵



Figure IX. Map of Croatia. <https://www.worldometers.info/maps/croatia-maps/>.

The Croatian War of Independence was fought from 1991 to 1995 when the Croats declared independence on 25 June 1991 from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The conflict heightened when ethnic Serbs who lived in Croatia opposed the independence because they wanted Serb as an independent country that will encompass some geographical areas in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina with ethnic Serb majorities or significant minorities,

The Serb forces went ahead to declare the Republic of Serbia within areas of Croatia. This led to a Log revolution and the establishment of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). There was a cease-fire in 1992 and Croatia was recognized as a sovereign state. Thereafter, the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) peacekeeping mission was established in Croatia between 31 March 1995 - January 1996 with a strength of 6,581 troops, 194 military observers and 296 civilian police³⁶⁶ to replace the United Nations Protection Force, UNPROFOR.

The core mandate was to ensure and supervise the cease-fire agreement which was signed on 29 March 1994 to assist, monitor and control the movement of weapons, military personnel and equipment around the international borders between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and

³⁶⁵ Worldometer, 12 October 2022.

³⁶⁶ United Nations, United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia.

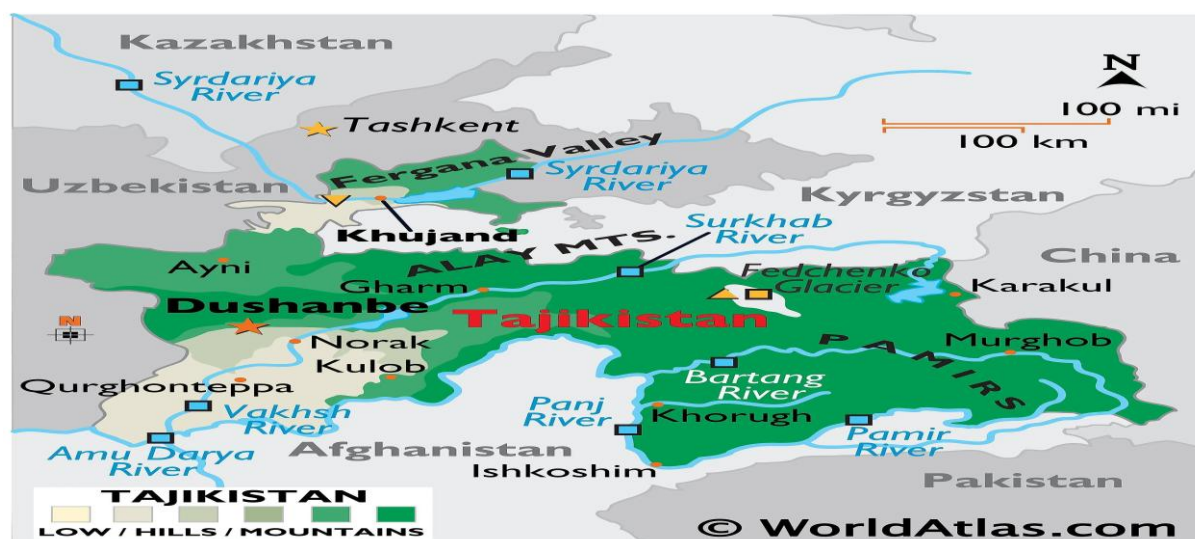
Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). They were also mandated to monitor the border crossings, ensure demilitarization, distribute humanitarian materials and maintain security and human rights.

Through negotiation, this mission succeeded in resolving issues between the Government of Croatia and the Croatian Serb leadership in respect of Eastern Slavonia. This also led to the signing of agreements concerning peace in the region of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium and their subsequent integration into Croatia. In the course of the transition, the Security Council established a transitional administration which terminated the operations of UNCRO on 15 January 1996.

Though it could be said that the Croats succeeded as being victorious in the war because they achieved their requested independence, it could not be classified as a Just war. Any war that leads to the killing of innocent persons, exodus of refugees and the destruction of infrastructures, cannot be classified as a Just war. Over 20,000 people were reportedly killed while thousands of refugees sought refuge in other countries. On the other hand, *approximately 21–25% of Croatia's economy was ruined, with an estimated US\$37 billion in damaged infrastructure.*³⁶⁷ Nigeria participated in this mission with troops who were stationed in the Prevlaka peninsula, Western Slavonia, the Krajina region and Eastern Slavonia. While Nigeria was participating in this operation within the continent of Europe, it was simultaneously participating in the peacekeeping mission in Rwanda within the African continent. Again, this goes to confirm Nigeria's interest in international security.

4. United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) 1994-2000

The Republic of Tajikistan is located in Central Asia with an area of 143,100 km² (55,300 square miles). Its neighbours include Uzbekistan to the west, Kyrgyzstan to the north, Afghanistan to the south and China to the east. It has an estimated population of 9,749,625 people with Dushanbe as the capital city.



³⁶⁷ BBC News, 10 September 2003.

Figure X. Map of Tajikistan. Source: WorldAtlas. <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/tajikistan>.

After the failed conservative *coup d'état* in Moscow in 1991, the Tajik Supreme Soviet voted to declare Tajikistan as an independent State on 9 September 1991.

In May 1992, the Tajik opposition seized power after two months of steady demonstrations. The ensuing tension led to the civil war in Tajikistan after the opposition forces had crossed into Afghanistan from where they launched their attacks. The war reportedly led to at least 60,000 refugees with more than 600,000 persons displaced and 50,000 killed.

Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan mediated through a meeting held in Moscow on 24 September 1993 with a mandate to normalize, stabilize Tajikistan, deliver emergency and other humanitarian aid reintegration of displaced persons. Due to the escalations, the President of Uzbekistan invited the United Nations to observe the situation for possible intervention and to monitor a cease-fire that was agreed upon. After various visits by the UN Teams, *on 16 December 1994, the Security Council, by its resolution 968 (1994) welcomed the agreement on the extension of the Tehran Agreement. It decided to set up the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT).*³⁶⁸

On 27 June 1997, Emomali Rahmon the President of Tajikistan, Said Abdulloh Nuri the leader of the United Tajik Opposition, UTO, and Gerd Merrem the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General signed the agreement in Moscow which ended the war.³⁶⁹

After stabilizing the country, the UN in conjunction with the OSCE supervised a successful conduct of elections in February 2000.

Nigeria was among the countries that contributed troops to Tajikistan and was active throughout the period of the operation. The period of this operation also coincided with the 1999 election which ushered a new political dispensation in Nigeria under the leadership of Olusegun Obasanjo.

5. United Nations Security Force in West New Guinea (UNSF) 1962-1983

Western New Guinea, also known as Papua, Indonesian New Guinea, or Indonesian Papua,³⁷⁰ is located around the the western portion of the Melanesian Island of New Guinea in the Southern Hemisphere under the administration of Indonesia. It has an area of 420,540 square kilometers (162,371 square miles) and a population of 9.28 million as at 2022. Though the official language is Indonesian, spoken languages are as much as 700.

New Guinea, within the region of Indonesia was under the control of Netherlands since 1828 until Indonesia was granted independence in 1949. The territory became a source of controversy and conflict between the Netherlands and Indonesia. In response to the ensuing conflict of ownership, the UN acting Secretary General, U. Thant mandated US ambassador Ellsworth Bunker to represent him throughout the deliberations for settling the crises. The administration of the territory was handed over to the UN Temporary Executive Authority, UNTEA.

Without permission from the UN General Assembly or the Security Council, the UN Security Force was dispatched to maintain order in the troubled region. An agreement for ceasefire was

³⁶⁸ United Nations, Tajikistan, UNMOT.

³⁶⁹ Global Security, 30 June 2021.

³⁷⁰ International Crises Group, Indonesian Papua, 19 July 2007.

later signed on 15 August 1962 in New York. Six-member states - Nigeria, Sweden, Ceylon, India, Ireland and Brazil provided 21 Observers for this mission. Their troops were easily drawn from their peacekeepers who were serving at the UN operations in the Congo and the UN Emergency Force.



Figure XI. Map of West New Guinea. Source: Papua Expeditions, <https://www.bird-watching-papua-adventure-travel.com/index.html>.

The United Nations observers assisted in Indonesian troops with the supplies of food, medicines and in regrouping in safe places. The Aerial support was provided by the Thirteenth United States Task Force in charge of the Far East and the Royal Canadian Air Force. *Most of the emergency supplies were provided by the Netherlands military command, which also treated any Indonesian troops who were seriously ill. United Nations aircraft landed supplies in four staging areas: Sorong, Fakfak, Kaimana and Merauke.*³⁷¹

Radio broadcasts by the two conflicting countries helped in assuaging fears and suspicions to the ceasefire. Pamphlets were also distributed through aerial transportation into the jungles where the opposing troops were camped.

On 31 December 1962, the Netherlands flag was finally replaced with that of Indonesia side by side with that of the United Nations.

The mission was declared a success by 21 September 1962 when General Rikhye reported that the release and relocation of hundreds of detained Indonesians and other supplies were successful. The mission of the observers was fulfilled and all hostilities ceased.

6. United Nations India-Pakistan Observer Mission (UNIPOM) 1965-1966

Kashmir is geographically located at the northernmost region of the Indian subcontinent.

The region is currently controlled by India and Pakistan. India controls around half the area known as Jammu, Kashmir (222,236 Sq Km) and Ladakh (59,146 km²) while the areas of Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan is occupied by Pakistan (13,297 km² - 5,134 square miles). They

³⁷¹ United Nations, n.d.

formed a single State until the revocation of 5 August 2019 by Narendra Modi the Indian Prime Minister. Kashmir also stretches to Askai Chin in China. The Indian- and Pakistani-administered portions are referred to as “line of control” as agreed in 1972. However, neither country recognizes any international boundary between them.



Figure XII. Map of Kashmir. Source: The Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/rr/geogmap/> 2002.

In the course of the partition of territories between India and Pakistan after their independence of August 1947, Kashmir acceded to join India. Thereafter, the flame of conflict was ignited! The natural resources in Jammu and Kashmir are attractive enough to cause conflicts. The area has huge deposits of sapphire and borax, graphite, marble, gypsum, coal, and limestone. Based on the Security Council resolution 209 (1965) made on 4 September 1965, the UN called for a ceasefire between both countries. Thereafter, the Council adopted resolution 210 (1965), through which the Secretary-General was mandated "*...to take all measures possible to strengthen the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan, and to keep the Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the resolutions and on the situation in the area*".

On 10 January 1966, the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India met and agreed to respect the ceasefire and to withdraw all their armed personnel. Nigeria was among the countries that initially sent 90 Observers - Nigeria 10; Brazil 10; Burma 6; Canada 12; Ethiopia 7; Ireland 12; Nepal 10; Netherlands 3; Ceylon 10 and Venezuela 10. Additional observers were also sent by 11 other countries to monitor the ceasefire - Australia 6; Belgium 2; Canada 19; Chile 2; Denmark 15; Finland 12; Italy 13; New Zealand 9; Norway 14; Sweden 9 and Uruguay 1. This number excludes the 104 Canadian air and ground crews.³⁷² It is significant to note that only Nigeria and Egypt sent observers from the African continent. India and Pakistan maintain diplomatic relations with Nigeria.

³⁷² UN Archival Item, UNIPOM, 27 September 1965.

7. United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) 1978-1983

The Republic of Lebanon is the smallest country in the continent of Asia. It is located in Western Asia with a population of 6,758,891 in 2022.³⁷³

It is bordered to the south by Israel; Syria to the north and east; and Cyprus to the west across the Mediterranean Sea. It has an area of 10,452 square kilometers (4,036 square miles) and the official language is Arabic with French as officially recognized.



Figure XIII. Map of Lebanon. Source: Geology, <https://geology.com/world/lebanon-satellite-image.shtml>.

The United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) was established as a peacekeeping mission on 19 March 1978 based on the United Nations Security Council Resolution 425 and 426. It has become an annually renewable resolution. With around 10,000 peacekeepers from 46 countries, the goal was to protect Lebanon³⁷⁴ and to ensure that Israel withdrew from the occupied section of South Lebanon which was an extension of the Palestinian conflict and the Civil War of Lebanon.

The first Nigerian troop arrived in Lebanon in May 1978 with 673 officers. They guarded the Akiya Bridge which linked southern Lebanon and the rest of Lebanon within an area of 50 square kilometers. As strategies, the Nigerian troops operated both on foot and with mobile patrols as they operated observation posts and checked against the smuggling of arms and ammunitions. They were also positioned at various check points to deter warring parties from incursions or entering UN troops locations while reassuring the local inhabitants of their safety. Between 1978 and 1983, Nigeria reportedly contributed 7,000 troops to UNIFIL in Lebanon. They were rotated within a period of five years in addition to a 100-strong naval contingent. As usual, Nigeria maintained the principles set out by the UN and joined in restoring peace to the troubled region. It was reported that 2 officers and 8 others died during the mission including Lance Corporal Mohammed Tanko, Captain Oweh and Signalman Enahoro.

Nigeria's troops in Lebanon won laurels for their exemplary performance and conduct. When the NIBATT VIII UNO medal presentation parade was organized at Tayr Zibna in Lebanon,

³⁷³ Worldometers, 11 September 2022.

³⁷⁴ Jerusalem Post, UNIFIL, 30 August 2021.

Lt. General William Callaghan, the UNIFIL commander while presenting medals to the Nigerian

troops, reportedly said that the UN medals were “*not only for their service... but as a recognition by all peace-loving nations of the world for efforts in maintaining peace in the troubled area.*”

8. United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group 1988-1991

The Iraq-Iran War erupted in 1980 when Kurt Waldheim was Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Iran-Iraq War escalated when Iraqi invaded Iran during the rule of Saddam Hussein and the Ba'ath Party. Ayatollah Khomeini was the ruler of Iran. The goal of Iraq was to annex the region of Khuzestan because of its rich oil. Iraq was also desirous to take control of the waterway of Shatt al-Arab.



Figure XIV. Map of the conflict area of Khuzestan. Source: Molecular Study of *Cryptosporidium* spp. in Dogs from Southwest of Iran - Scientific Figure on ResearchGate: https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-Iran-and-Khuzestan-Province_fig1_316177386.

On 23 September 1980, he relied on Article 99 of the United Nations Charter and the attention of the Security Council to the threat to international peace and security. Based on resolution 479 of 28 September 1980, the Council instructed Iran and Iraq to put an end to the conflict. Thereafter, On 11 November 1980, Mr. Olof Palme, the former Prime Minister of Sweden, was appointed as the Secretary-General's Special Representative to Iran and Iraq³⁷⁵ Though some positive impacts were initially made at restoring peace, the crises worsened between 1986 and 1987 with repeated strikes both sides - which included the use of chemical weapons.

The war continued till 1988 when the Secretary-General met with the two Foreign Ministers of the Republic of Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran. They agreed to accept resolution 598 (1987) and to ensure a ceasefire on 20 August 1988 and talks continued. Among others, the United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG) was established to supervise

³⁷⁵ United Nations, n.d.

Figure XV. Map of Angola. Source: Clarence-Smith, W. Gervase and Thornton, John Kelly (2022, September 15). Angola. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Angola>.

The need for peacekeeping in Angola began in 1988 during the civil war that began in 1975 (immediately after independence from Portugal) 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 after gaining independence from Portugal in 1975. Both groups had foreign backers which exacerbated the problems. Though the MPLA gained victory in 2002, the War lasted for 27 years within three periods of fighting – from 1975 to 1991, 1992 to 1994 and from 1998 to 2002 – with fragile periods of peace. By the time the war ended, *killed an estimated 800,000 people and displaced nearly 4 million from their homes* ³⁷⁸

The mission was established based on the United Nations Security Council Resolution 626 of December 20, 1988. Subsequent Verification Missions and resolutions followed.

The United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) was a peacekeeping mission that was established to assist in the restoration of peace in Angola based on the Peace Accords for Angola, signed on 31 May 1991, the Lusaka Protocol signed on 20 November 1994, and relevant Security Council resolutions³⁷⁹. Among others, its mandate was to provide possibilities for mediation; ensure national reconciliation; monitor the cease-fire; monitor and demobilize UNITA forces; verify the free circulation of information, persons and goods, etc.

The verification mission was in several phases such as UNAVEM I (January 1989-May 1991) which successfully verified the final withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The UNAVEM II (June 1991--February 1995) was established to verify the peace arrangements which were agreed by the Angolan Government and UNITA. It was also invited to monitor and supervise the elections that was held in September 1992.

However, UNAVEM II continued to stay in Angola after the renewed crises which broke out after the elections as a result of the disagreements between Government and UNITA forces.

The Lusaka Protocol which covered various aspects such as the role of the United Nations, the military, police, legal and other sociopolitical issues, was signed on 20 November 1994.

On 8 February, the Security Council approved the establishment of UNAVEM III to take over from UNAVEM II. *They arrived with a strength of 7,000 troops and military support personnel, 350 military observers, 260 police observers and some 420 internationally recruited civilian staff, 300 locally recruited staff and 75 United Nations Volunteers.*

*On 30 June, the Security Council decided to establish, as of 1 July, the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA). The new follow-on mission would replace UNAVEM III*³⁸⁰ and completed the peace process in Angola.

Nigeria, Hungary, Ukraine, Namibia, France, Bangladesh, Congo, Malaysia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Egypt, Guinea Bissau, Russian Federation, Jordan, Norway, Kenya, Mali, Uruguay,

³⁷⁸ Political Economy Research Institute, Angola 1975 - 2002.

³⁷⁹ United Nations, 30 June 1997.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

Netherlands, Tanzania, Poland, New Zealand, Senegal, Pakistan, Portugal, Romania, Slovak Republic, Zambia, Sweden, Zambia, India and Zimbabwe provided personnel for the mission.

10. United Nations Prevention Deployment in Macedonia (UNPREDEP) 1995-2000

The Republic of North Macedonia, is one of the successor states of former Yugoslavia created in 1991 with Skopje as the capital. It is located in Southeast Europe. Its borders include Serbia to the north, Greece to the south, Kosovo to the northwest, Bulgaria to the east, and Albania to the west. It has a population of 1.83 million people and an area of 25,713 sq. km.



Figure XVI. Map of North Macedonia. Source: Danforth, L. (2022, August 13). North Macedonia. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/place/North-Macedonia>.

UNPREDEP was established in 1992 after the President of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia appealed to the United Nations to give support towards securing its borders with Albania and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). It became the first preventive diplomacy and deployment operation of the United Nations. The idea was to use the operation as an early-warning source and mechanism for stabilizing Macedonia through preventing, monitoring and reporting any form of developments around the border. This was also done through restraint, dialogue, compromise and by patrolling the northern and western borders of the country to avoid escalation and spread of the war from former Yugoslavia.

UNPREDEP also focused on political, social and economic development actions. Based on resolution 983(1995), the Security Council agreed that UNPROFOR should be changed to the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP).

As of 30 November 1998, countries that contributed military personnel to UNPREDEP were Nigeria, Argentina, Brazil, Belgium, Switzerland, Canada, Pakistan, Czech Republic, Ukraine, Nepal, Denmark, Egypt, Bangladesh, Finland, Indonesia, Ireland, Jordan, Kenya, New Zealand, Russian Federation, Norway, United States of America, Poland, Ghana, Sweden, Turkey and Portugal.

One aspect of preventive diplomacy is that it is cheaper and more cost effective when compared to budget for peacekeeping after a conflict has occurred. Expenditures for UNPREDEP continued to reduce in subsequent years because of the peculiar nature of the operation. Between the period of 1 July 1996 through 30 June 1997, the amount budgeted was \$50,405,200 gross (\$49,593,700 net). Within the period of 1 July 1997 to 30 June 1998 the amount was

reduced to \$49,474,800 gross (\$47,937,600 net). On 26 June 1998, the budget decreased by above 50 percent to \$21.1 million to maintain the force from 1 July 1998 to 30 June 1999.³⁸¹ If these budgets are compared to what was spent within Croatia in 1996 on peacekeeping operation in the United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium (UNTAES) after the conflict, the difference is wide. The General Assembly appropriated \$94,269,700 gross (\$93,073,300 net) for UNTAES within the period of 15 January through 30 June 1996 (Resolution 50/242). The Assembly also appropriated, as an ad hoc arrangement, an additional \$64,769,700 gross (\$64,036,200 net) for UNTAES for the same time period. In resolution 51/153 of 20 January 1997, the Assembly decided to appropriate \$140,484,350 gross (\$136,087,550 net) for maintaining UNTAES from 1 July 1996 through 30 June 1997.³⁸²

This shows that what was appropriated for the conflict zones of UNTAES was more than 300 percent of what was budgeted for sustaining peace with UNPREDEP. The total staff strength of UNTAES was 2,847³⁸³ while that of UNPREDEP was 2,363.³⁸⁴ The difference of 484 personnel does not justify the huge difference in cost because the mode and mandate of operation was different.

11. United Nations Transition Authority in East Timor (UNTAET) 2000

The Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste (also known as East Timor) is an island country of 14,874 square kilometers (5,743 square miles) located in Southeast Asia with Dili as its capital city. The island with a population of 1,375,923 comprises part of the eastern half of the island of Timor and the north-western half of the Oecusse enclave. It also comprises minor islands of Jaco and Atauro. Australia is the southern neighbour of Timor-Leste. East Timor is bordered by the Savu Sea and the Timor Sea to the east and the west respectively.



Figure XVII. Map of East Timor. Source: <https://geology.com/world/east-timor-satellite-image.shtml>.

³⁸¹ United Nations, UNPREDEP, 1999.

³⁸² United Nations, *Croatia – UNTAES*, 22 December 1997.

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ United Nations, UNPREDEP, 16 March 1999.

While Portugal governed East Timor, Indonesia continued to claim that the region belongs to it. Therefore, in 1960, the United Nations classified East Timor as Non-Self-Governing Territory.

In 1974, Portugal planned to create a system of government for East Timor but a clash ensued between those who wanted full independence and those who wanted full integration into Indonesia. The civil war that broke out led to the forceful integration as an Indonesian province in 1976. Interest in the administration of East Timor could be linked to its wealth in natural resources such as petroleum and natural gas, gold, marble and manganese.

The United Nations refused to recognize the actions of the Indonesian government and demanded for their withdrawal from East Timor. Beginning from 1982, Portugal and Indonesia had meetings with the UN Secretary General by which a limited autonomy was granted to East Timor within Indonesia in an agreement signed in New York on 5 May 1999.

Through the UN resolution 1246 (1999) it established the United Nations Mission in East Timor, UNAMET and began to conduct a "popular consultation" to ascertain the position of East Timorese about being autonomous within Indonesia. On 30 August 1999, the people voted overwhelmingly for full independence. The result led to renewed violent conflicts which was swiftly contained by UNAMET by military means. After series of negotiations, the vote for independence by the East Timorese was accepted. A transition administration was set up with the establishment of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) as a *multidimensional peacekeeping operation fully responsible for the administration of East Timor during its transition to independence*.³⁸⁵

On 30 August 2001, a 88-member Constituent Assembly was elected to design a framework for the transition and the drafting of a constitution. An election was later held whereby Xanana Gusmão was appointed and sworn in as president on 20 May 2002.

Countries that contributed their troops for the peacekeeping operations were Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Fiji, Benin, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Croatia, Denmark, Egypt, Gambia, Ghana, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Samoa, Mozambique, Namibia, and Zimbabwe, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, Senegal, Malaysia, Serbia and Montenegro, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Zambia and Sweden.

The intervention succeeded in accomplishing the mandate which included the provision of assistance to the core administrative structures, law enforcement, maintenance of the external and internal security, the development of a new law enforcement agency and the conduct of elections.

12. United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia 1989-1990

Republic of Namibia is a country located in Southern Africa bordered by the Atlantic Ocean to the west, Botswana to the east, Zambia and Angola to the north, and South Africa to the east

³⁸⁵ United Nations, East Timor - UNMISSET, n.d.

and south. The Zambezi River separates Zimbabwe and Namibia. With an area of 824,292 square kilometers (318,261 square miles), it has a population of 2.55 million people, 13 major tribes and a capital located in Windhoek.



Figure XVIII. Map of Namibia. Source: Geography. <https://geography.name/namibia/>.

Namibia was previously known as South West Africa until it was changed to Namibia by the United Nations. This mission took place between April 1989 and 21 March 1990 and cost \$368.6 million using 7,500 personnel of various ranks which included the military, civilian police and locals. Its goal was to liberate Namibia from the occupation of South Africa. The occupation by South Africa legally began in 1915 through the League of Nations mandate after the First World War. The mandate was later dissolved by the UN due to the misuse of power which sidelined the participation of the indigenes in the policies of government. The mission was also directed at conducting an election that would usher in the independence of the country. However, after the expiration of the mandate, South Africa continued to occupy the territory illegally. This led to uprising and the insurgency by the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) and the Namibian-nationalist military wing known as the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO). Based on UN Resolution 435 of 1978, a ceasefire and reconciliation move were initiated. From 1988, the parties in the conflict agreed on a ceasefire and the process of reconciliation began with the deployment of troops by UNTAG. Elections took place in November 1989 and SWAPO won a majority of the seats which produced Sam Nujoma, the leader of SWAPO as Namibia's first President. A new constitution was drafted and adopted on 9 February 1990. The National Assembly agreed that Namibia's independence date would be 21 March 1990. Fifty countries contributed military personnel to resolve the conflicts. The contributors were Nigeria, Hungary, Denmark, Australia, Bangladesh, Austria, Belgium, Japan, Canada, Congo, Jamaica, Costa Rica, Fiji, Czechoslovakia, Sudan, Egypt, Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France, Singapore, German Democratic Republic, India, United Kingdom, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Netherlands, Indonesia, Ireland, Norway, Italy, Kenya, Malaysia, Yugoslavia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Peru, Panama, Poland, Sweden, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Thailand, Barbados, Togo, China, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia and Soviet Union. It consisted of 4,493 of all ranks, 1,500 civilian police and around 2,000 international

and local staff and some 1,000 elections monitoring team. *The conflict recorded fatalities which involved 19 staff - 11 military personnel, 4 civilian police, 3 international staff and 1 local staff.* In the midst of many participating countries, Nigeria was only among the many. Though they were not exceptional participants, their presence boosted the needed human and material resources.

13. United Nations Mission for Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) 1991 onwards

Western Sahara is a disputed territory located on the northwest coast between the North and West of Africa. It has an area of to 266,000 square kilometers (103,000 square miles) and a population of at least 500,000. Laayoune is the largest city in Western Sahara.



Figure XIX. Map of Western Sahara. Source: Encyclopedia, <https://franpress.blogspot.com/2013/03/cartes-du-sahara-occidental.html>.

Western Sahara has been a colony of Spain since 1884. After Spain withdrew its political hold on Western Sahara in 1976, Mauritania and Morocco partitioned Western Sahara between themselves.

There has been a struggle by the people of the former Spanish territory of Western Sahara to end their domination by Morocco. The nomadic indigenous Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el-Hamra and Río de Oro (Polisario Front) were mainly behind the struggle. They were mostly nomadic inhabitants of the Western Sahara region, the Sahrawis. Their insurgency began in May 1973 with a base in neighbouring Mauritania. Polisario Front later relocated their base to Algeria where they received military aid.

In 1979, Mauritania made peace with the Polisario Front in 1979. However, Morocco went ahead to annex Mauritania's portion of Western Sahara.

With some 15,000 well-armed troops, Polisario Front attacked Moroccan outposts. Thereafter, the conflicts expanded.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁶ Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia, 20 November 2020.

Based on Resolution 690 of the United Nations Security Council, the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) was established on 29 April 1991. This was in connection with the accepted settlement proposals of 30 August 1988 agreed by Morocco and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el-Hamra and Río de Oro (Polisario Front).

This settlement plan paved way for the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to supervise and make preparation towards a referendum for the people of Western Sahara to choose between integrating with Morocco or independence. Among others, MINURSO was also mandated to monitor the ceasefire and to ensure the release and exchanges of the prisoners of war and other humanitarian activities. The crises have not been fully settled.

14. The United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)

Sierra Leone was founded by freed slaves in the 19th century. It has Liberia as neighbour in the southeast, the Atlantic Ocean to the south and southeast, and Guinea to the north. Though English is the official language, Krio is largely spoken amongst its 18 ethnic groups. It is rich in natural resources such as diamond, gold, aluminium and bauxite.

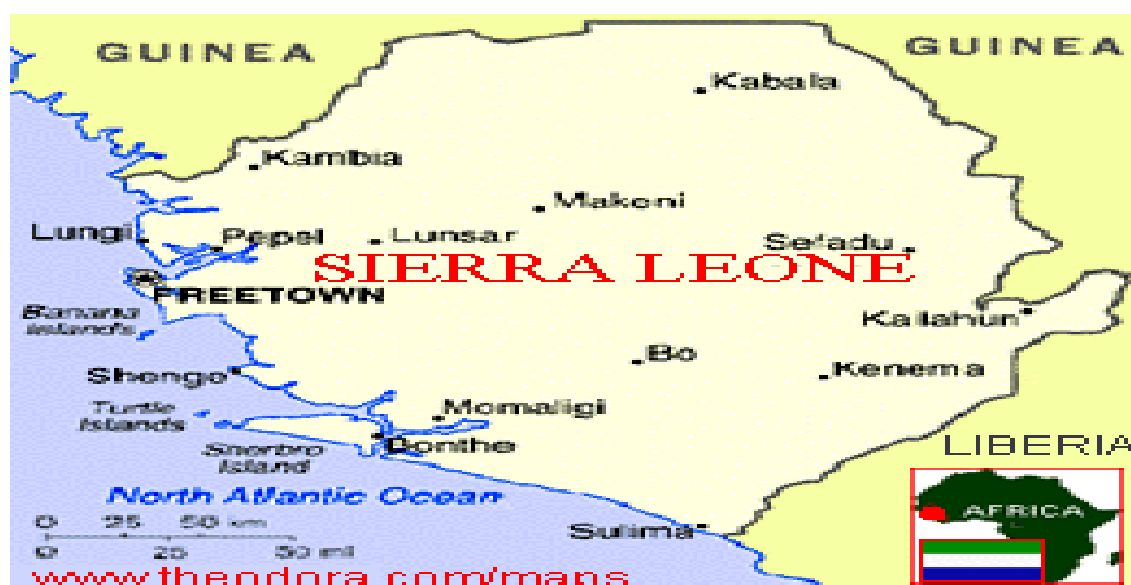


Figure XX. Map of Sierra Leone. Source: Global Issues, <https://www.globalissues.org/article/88/sierra-leone>.

The civil war began with the 1991 when the Revolutionary United Front, RUF led by Foday Sankoh, moved to remove democratically elected President Joseph Momoh from power after being sworn in on 17 March 1996. External support and the illicit trade in diamond financed the conflict. In the face of the violent challenges, ECOMOG sent its troops to defend the government and to negotiate a peace deal which began as the Abidjan Peace Accord which was not honoured. Several military coups followed. President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah called for the intervention of the UN. Through the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1181 of July 1998, the United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL) was established. The Lomé Peace Accord was later signed by the concerned groups on 7 July 1999.

Another ceasefire agreement between the government and RUF was signed in Abuja Nigeria in which UNAMSIL and ECOWAS convinced RUF leaders for another meeting on 10 November

2001 which led to the ceasefire and the agreement that RUF should return all seized UNAMSIL weapons and to allow UNAMSIL unrestricted movement in pursuit of peace building. On 18 January 2002, Sierra Leone president Ahmed Tejan Kabbah officially declared the end of the civil war that had spanned over a decade.³⁸⁷ There was a total of 192 UN fatalities: 69 troops, 2 military observers, 2 international civilians, 16 local civilians, 1 police, and 2 others.³⁸⁸ Human Rights Watch reported that *over 50,000 people have been killed... with over one million people having been displaced.*

Nigeria joined ECOMOG in the peacekeeping mission in Sierra Leone by citing article 2 of the 1981 ECOWAS Protocol Relating to Mutual Assistance, which states that “Member States declare and accept that any armed threat or aggression directed against any member state will constitute a threat or aggression against the entire Community” Nigeria also relied on the letter written by Sierra Leone president Ahmed Tejan Kabbah to ECOWAS for assistance as it also justified article 6 of the 1981 ECOWAS Protocol which states that “When an external armed threat or aggression is directed against a member state of the Community, the Head of State of that country shall send a written request for assistance to the current Chairman of the Authority of ECOWAS” Nigeria, Cote d' Ivoire, Guinea and Ghana were among the committee initially set up by ECOMOG to use either the methods of negotiation, economic sanctions, or military action as means of restoring peace in the troubled country. At the end, all the three options were applied.

The OAU (now AU) under the leadership of Robert Mugabe, and its secretary-general, Salim Ahmed supported the role of Nigeria and ECOMOG during the Zimbabwe summit held in June 1997. Nigeria supported ECOWAS to ensure that the imposition of arms and oil sanctions against Sierra Leone was effective. The Nigerian Navy also blocked and occupied the Lungi International Airport to consolidate internal security and to ward off violent aggressions and the smuggling of weapons into the country.

On 1st August 1997, the Nigerian navy shelled the port of Freetown in which 30 persons suspected to be the aggressors were reportedly killed. Some aspects of the peacekeeping mission in Sierra Leone dented the image of the coalition. For example, the troops were accused of looting. Thereafter, Sierra Leoneans created a disdainful acronym for ECOMOG which was spelt as “Every Car or Moveable Object Gone”.³⁸⁹

The participation of Nigeria in the peacekeeping mission in Sierra Leone was a paradox of events used by the Nigerian military Head of State, Sani Abacha to seek international acceptability, prestige and image building. He was equally a coup plotter who seized power from a civilian administration in 1994. Despite a plummeting economy, Abacha's successor, Abdulsalam Abubakar committed 20,000 Nigerian soldiers for the mission as a way of sustaining the image building efforts.

³⁸⁷ PBS News HOUR 01; 18. January 2002.

³⁸⁸ United Nations, n.d.

³⁸⁹ Alao, A, 1998.

Despite receiving refuge in Nigeria, coup plotter Foday Sankoh was returned to Sierra Leone in July 1998 to face the judgement where he and others were sentenced and finally executed. If the idea of reconciliation and asylum was fully respected, Nigeria ought to have protected the dissidents who were executed by the government of Sierra Leone president Ahmed Tejan Kabbah.

16. United Nations Operation in Mozambique (UNOSOZ) 1992-1995

The Republic of Mozambique is a country located in southeastern Africa with boundaries in the east by the Indian Ocean, Zimbabwe to the west, Tanzania to the north, Malawi and Zambia to the northwest and Eswatini and South Africa to the southwest. With a population of around 30 million, it has an area of 801,590 km² with Maputo as the capital and largest city. Though Portuguese is the country's official language, there are over 40 spoken languages.



Figure XXI. Map of Mozambique. Source: Free World Map.

<https://www.freeworldmaps.net/africa/mozambique/map.html>.

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 and the conflict continued.

United Nations representatives agreed with the parties for a ceasefire scheduled to commence on 15 October 1992, referred to as E-Day. It was to follow with demobilization, reintegration of contending parties, humanitarian support, formation of the Mozambican defence force and monitoring of elections. *A Joint Declaration signed in Rome on 7 August 1992, as well as a Joint Communiqué, of 10 July 1990 and an Agreement of 1 December 1990, form integral parts of the General Peace Agreement.*³⁹⁰

On 13 October, the Security Council adopted resolution 782 (1992) and agreed amongst others, to dispatch peacekeepers to Mozambique with an initial team of around 25 military observers. Aldo Ajello, the interim Special Representative and the team of 21 military observers arrived in Mozambique on 15 October 1992.

³⁹⁰ United Nations, United Nations Operation in Mozambique (UNOSOZ).

With an enlarged troop, more countries sent personnel to participate in the mission. Nigeria was active in all the aspects of the operation as they participated in the process where more than 76,000 soldiers were demobilized and a unified army of about 10,000 soldiers formed; collection of 111,539 weapons from the warring parties and 43,491 and the paramilitary forces and the organization of a free and fair elections on 27 and 28 October 1994. On 8 December 1994, Mozambique's new Parliament was finally installed in Maputo. Thereafter, on 9 December 1994, Joaquim Alberto Chissano was inaugurated as President of Mozambique. Thus, the mandate of ONUMOZ formally came to an end on 9 December but finally liquidated by the end of January 1995.

17. United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) 1992-1993

The Kingdom of Cambodia is a country located in Southeast Asia in the southern region of the Indochinese Peninsula. With a population of 17 million people and an area of 181,035 square kilometers (69,898 square miles), it is bordered by Laos to the north, Gulf of Thailand to the southwest, Thailand to the northwest and Vietnam to the east. Phnom Penh is the capital city. Though Khmer is the major language, there are also 22 minority languages while English and French are used academically.



Figure XXII. Map of Cambodia. Source: Overton, L. C. and Chandler, David P. (2022, August 14). Cambodia. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Cambodia>.

There was political stalemate between four groups vying for power in the late 1980s. International support was later withdrawn by the United States and Soviet Union. Vietnam also withdrew its forces from Cambodia. The Phnom Penh government legalized property ownership and openly encouraged the practice of Buddhism. This brought some relief to the troubled country.

The contending factions agreed on a peace agreement among themselves. The United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia was needed to monitor the peace, safeguard human rights, conduct elections and to temporarily operate several government offices.

As a first step towards achieving lasting peace in Cambodia, the UN Security Council fully supported the Paris Agreements in its resolution 718 of 31 October 1991 as a way of

recognizing the peace agreement (Paris Agreements or Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict) signed in Paris on 23 October 1991 during the Paris Conference on Cambodia. The Agreement clearly focused and concluded on issues bordering on the *Sovereignty, Independence, Territorial Integrity and Inviolability, Neutrality and National Unity of Cambodia; and the Declaration on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia*.³⁹¹ This led to the establishment of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC).

Over 300,000 refugees were repatriated from Thailand with the support of the UN between 1992 and 1993. In July 1993, one of the freest and fairest national elections were held under the supervision of the UN. The results paved way for a coalition government as a way of sustaining the peace.

The United National Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia (Funcinpec), sponsored by Prince Sihanouk won the majority of votes.

UNTAC's military component was deployed with some 14,300 troops and 1,780 UNTAC civilian police to monitor and supervise fair and impartial enforcement of law and order.

Nigerian troops were active throughout the processes of ensuring sustainable peace in Cambodia. Peacekeeping has broadened Nigeria's international relations with many countries. Nigeria and Cambodia established diplomatic relations in November 1975. Since this peacekeeping operation, Cambodia and Nigeria have met to strengthen ties on military cooperation. For example, on 25 July 2022, a high-level meeting was initiated between the two countries through their representatives Brigadier General Ea Ejodame, adviser to the Nigerian Army responsible for coordination with Cambodia, and Commander-in-Chief General Vong Pisen of the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces (RCAF) to develop means of cooperation in order *to strengthen military cooperation between the two nations' armies, navies, air forces and peacekeeping forces under the United Nations framework*.³⁹²

In terms of trade between both countries during the last 22 years, the exports of Cambodia to Nigeria have increased to 26.6% from \$2.66k in 1998 to \$477k in 2020. Conversely, during the same period, the exports of Nigeria to Cambodia have decreased to 8.74%, from \$578k in 1998 to \$77.3k in 2020.

18. United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Yugoslavia 1992-1993

Yugoslavia was a country located in Southeast Europe and Central Europe for most part of the 20th century before its disintegration. Six constituent republics formed Yugoslavia - The six constituent republics that made up the country were Croatia, Bosnia Herzegovina, Serbia, Macedonia, Slovenia and Montenegro. Before its collapse in 1992 bordered with Italy, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece and Albania.

³⁹¹ United Nations, n.d.

³⁹² Borneo Bulletin, 29 July 2022.



Figure XXIII. Map of Former Yugoslavia. Source: United Nations, International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, <https://www.icty.org/en/about/what-former-yugoslavia>.

The Yugoslav Wars of 1991 to 2001 were consequences of ethnic conflicts and the request for secession and self self determination by the federating units of the former Yugoslavia who felt marginalized. The violent suppression by the government of Slobodan Milošević against the request for independence led to war crimes, ethnic cleansing and war time rape. The Yugoslav Wars reportedly *resulted in the deaths of 140,000 people*.³⁹³ Through violence and subsequent peace agreements, the conflicts ultimately led to the breaking up of the country into six independent countries known as Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, North Macedonia and Montenegro.

The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR was established in Croatia and Bosnia Herzegovina by the United Nations in February 1992 during the Yugoslav Wars by resolution 743 (1992). It was structured into three forces in Macedonia (the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force, UNPREDEP), in Croatia (United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia) and in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Among others, UNPROFOR's mandate was established to ensure that the three "United Nations Protected Areas" (UNPAs) were protected for demilitarization, demobilization, monitoring and implementation of the March 1994 ceasefire agreement signed by the government of Croatia and the local Serb authorities, and the one signed by the Bosnian Government and Bosnian Croat forces in February 1994. The mandate also included securing the delivery of humanitarian aids for refugees by UNHCR, providing security for released detainees and monitoring the border areas between Albania and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). *This peacekeeping operation took place between February 1992 - March 1995 with 38,599 military personnel, including 684 United Nations military observers; the Force also included 803 civilian police, 2,017 other international civilian staff and 2,615 local staff*

³⁹³ International Center for Transitional Justice, "Transitional Justice in the Former Yugoslavia", yugoslavia 1 January 2009.

and witnessed 167 fatalities (3 military observers, 159 other military personnel, 1 civilian police, 2 international civilian staff and 2 local staff).³⁹⁴

Nigerian troops participated in all the areas of the mandate. While Nigeria was participating in this operation, they were simultaneously participating in the restoration of peace in Liberia and Sierra Leone. As of 30 November 1998, the Mission's total uniformed personnel strength stood at 906; comprised of 846 troops, 35 military observers and 25 civilian police. As of that date, Argentina, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, Ghana, Indonesia, Ireland, Jordan, Kenya, Nepal, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Russian Federation, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine and the United States were contributing military personnel to UNPREDEP.³⁹⁵

The mass atrocities of the Yugoslav war led the UN to establish the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague, Netherlands, for the prosecution of the perpetrators of the crimes. One of the Judges that served at the Tribunal established at The Hague, was a Nigerian, Adolphus Godwin Kabiri-Whyte. Despite Nigeria's concern for international peace and security, it was probably passionate about security in Yugoslavia because they had diplomatic relations since 1960. Yugoslavian companies had undertaken various construction projects in Nigeria before that conflict. Such projects included the construction of the Lagos International Trade Fair and the old Parliament House building in Lagos.³⁹⁶

19. United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slovenia, Baranja, Western Sirmium in Croatia (UNTAES) 1996-1998

The entity known as the Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmia was formed in 1991 and comprised the same territory which was merged into the so-called Republic of Serbian Krajina until it ceased to exist after the war for independence which took place in 1995 and the reintegration that occurred thereafter.

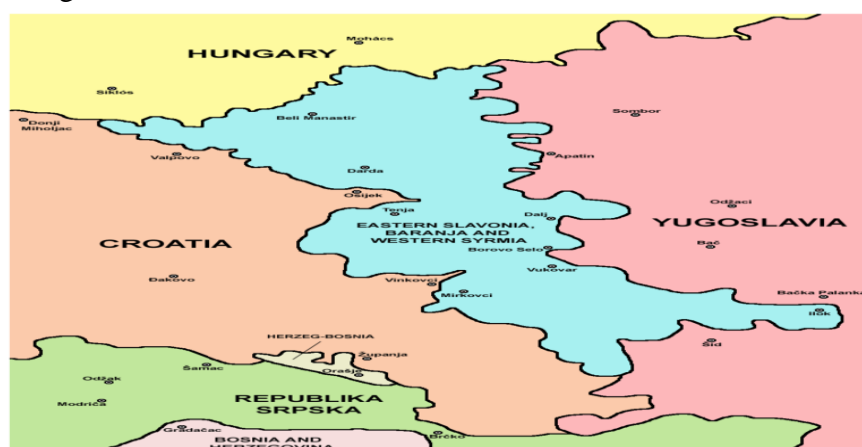


Figure XXIV. The Map of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmia. Source: PANONIAN, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/20/Isto%C4%8Dna_Slavonija%2C_Baranja_i_Zapadni_Srem-en.png.

³⁹⁴ United Nations, Former Yugoslavia - UNPROFOR, 31 August 1996.

³⁹⁵ *ibid.*

³⁹⁶ Niebyl, Donald., 29 March 2020.

As a result of the agreement signed on 12 November 1995 between the Croatian Government and local Serb authorities, the United Nations Security Council through resolution 1037 embarked on a new peacekeeping mission in January 1996 in the region within Croatia known as the United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium (UNTAES). By 20 May 1996, UNTAES was fully deployed and by 20 June 1996, the demilitarization process was well concluded.

*As at 30 September 1997, 30 countries were providing 2,847 uniformed personnel to UNTAES: 2,346 troops, 404 police, and 97 military observers.*³⁹⁷ The thirty countries that participated were Nigeria, Argentina, Belgium, Austria, Bangladesh, Brazil, Netherlands, Czech Republic, Denmark, Egypt, Jordan, Fiji, Finland, Kenya, Ghana, Switzerland, Indonesia, Sweden, Ireland, United States, Lithuania, Nepal, Pakistan, New Zealand, Norway, Tunisia, Ukraine, Poland, Russian Federation and Slovak Republic.

This Operation succeeded in fully demilitarizing the region; formed the Transitional Police Force comprising of at least 600 Croats; restored communication and the destroyed transport infrastructure; enabled the return of displaced Croats to Lipovac; amended the amnesty law; created opportunities for direct dialogue between local Serbs and the Croatian Government; established a weekly UNTAES market where over 130,000 people met without any violent incidents; set up an effective electoral unit and the electoral process; received over 15,000 weapons through the weapons buy-back programme; reintegrated public enterprises; established 21 Croatian document offices and raised \$37 million in pledges at the conference of Donors in December 1996.

Finally, UNTAES was able to successfully conduct municipal and local elections in the region on 13-14 April 1997.

20. United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I and II) 1992-1995

The Federal Republic of Somalia is a country located in the Horn of Africa. It is bordered to the north by the Gulf of Aden; Kenya to the southwest; Ethiopia to the west; Djibouti to the northwest and the Indian Ocean to the east. Somalia is estimated to be around 17.1 million with Somali and Arabic as the official languages. With an area of 637,657.00 km², the capital city is Mogadishu.

³⁹⁷ United Nations, *Croatia – UNTAES*, 22 December 1997.



Figure XXV. Map of Somalia. Source: World Atlas.

<https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/somalia>.

The conflict in Somalia began when different groups rose to resist the military junta of Siad Barre in the 1980s. Thereafter, the Somali Armed Forces began to fight various rebel groups in various parts of the country. Such groups include the United Somali Congress in the south; the Somali Salvation Democratic Front in the northeast and the Somali National Movement in the northwest. The continuing conflict led to the overthrow of the government of Barre in 1991. The power vacuum led to more fighting due to power tussles by the rebel groups and the eventual break down of law and order which made the country to be referred to as a failed state. It was this chaos that led to the arrival of the United Nations Operation in Somalia, UNOSOM I (1992–93) and UNOSOM II (1993–95). In the absence of a functioning central government, the mission was established to address the consequences of the war and drought with a moderate and neutral mandate. This mission was particularly difficult because with a non-existing central government and constrained means of communication, local warlords prevented the troops from the free movement needed to distribute humanitarian items from the \$43 million intervention operation. Though the mission formally ended in March 1993, it was followed by a UN-mandated U.S.-led peace-enforcement and heavily armed mission in December 1992, known as the Unified Task Force (UNITAF), in which 24 countries contributed some 37,000 troops.³⁹⁸

UNITAF was transformed to UNOSOM II in March 1993 with 29 participating countries. Ceasefires were difficult to implement while UN resolutions were unclearly defined. After 18 casualties on the side of the US, the European Union and the US withdrew their forces in March 1994.³⁹⁹ An estimated number of at least 500,000 persons were reportedly killed in Somalia since 1991 when the civil war started.

More than 140 UN fatalities were recorded before the mission formally ended in March 1995. This was one mandate which the UN could not effectively manage. Ensuing internal conflicts,

³⁹⁸ Encyclopedia Britannica. 14 August 2014.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

the casualties recorded and the interconnectedness of the region, probably played a role in the reluctance of the international community to respond to the Rwanda genocide of 1994.

Nigeria was active throughout the two operations in Somalia. Thereafter, through Resolution 2628 of the United Nations Security Council, it authorized the African Union Peace and Security Council to reconfigure African Union Mission in Somalia, AMISOM, to be replaced with the African Union Transition Mission in Somalia which took effect from 1 April 2022.

Nigeria sent 140 Formed Police Unit (FPU) to Somalia in April 2021 through this reformed mandate, under the command of Samuel Ita.⁴⁰⁰

The operations of AMISOM included formulating ways and means to improve security through joint patrols, maintaining public order, the protection of VIP and other officers. The Nigerian government sent this police unit to Somalia at a period when Nigeria was passing through very difficult security challenges.

21. United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic 2014

The Central African Republic is located in Central Africa and shares her northern boundaries with Chad, DR Congo to the south, Republic of the Congo to the southwest, Sudan to the northeast, South Sudan to the southeast and Cameroon to the west. The country covers a land area of about 620,000 square kilometers (240,000 square miles) with an estimated population of around 5.5 million made up of more than 80 ethnic groups. As of 2022, the Central African Republic has been plagued by a civil war which began since December 2012.



Figure XXVI. Map of Central African Republic. Source: O'Toole, T. E., Hoogstraten, Jan S.F. van and Giles-Vernick, Encyclopedia Britannica.

Conflict began when the rebel coalition known as the Muslim Séléka launched several attacks against the government. Despite reaching a peace agreement (Libreville Agreement) in January 2013, the rebels continued their onslaught and seized the capital, Bangui in the month of March, thereby forcing President François Bozizé to flee. A transitional government was established

⁴⁰⁰ Global Times, 20 April 2021.

as a way of restoring peace but it was short lived. The conflict assumed a sectarian dimension when the mainly Christian anti-Balaka (anti-machete) movement took up arms against Muslim incursions. Ironically, a country with huge mineral resources such as uranium, crude oil, gold, diamonds, hydropower, lumber and cobalt nosedived into poverty and chaos thereby becoming one of the ten poorest countries in the world.

The aftermath of the violence resulted in dysfunctional State institutions, starvation and insecurity. Thousands of people were reportedly killed while more than half of the entire population were in dire need of humanitarian aid. By *March 2014, more than 650,000 people have been internally displaced, with more than 232,000 in the capital, Bangui, alone. This included 70,000 people who were living at a site for internally displaced persons (IDPs) at the airport in “appalling” conditions. Over 290,000 people have also fled to neighbouring Cameroon, Chad, the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Republic of Congo.*⁴⁰¹

As the security situation worsened, the UN Security Council adopted resolution 2127 (2013) to authorize the AU-led International Support Mission to the CAR (MISCA) and French-backed peacekeeping force (known as Operation Sangaris) to take actions that could put an end to the spreading violence which threatened to divide the country along ethnic and religious lines.

The UN Security Council by resolution 2149 (2014), established the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA) with the mandate which include the protection of civilians and the United Nations personnel and equipment, creation of conducive security conditions, promotion and protection of human rights; promotion of national dialogue, mediation and reconciliation; ensure demobilization, disarmament and reintegration of former armed groups.

Nigeria successfully participated in this operation.

22. United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) 2004

The Republic of Haiti is a country located on the island of Hispaniola in the Greater Antilles archipelago of the Caribbean Sea with Port-au-Prince as its capital. Having a population of 11.4 million, it is the most populous country in the Caribbean. It stands on the eastern side of Cuba and Jamaica, and south of the Bahamas, Caicos and Turk Islands. It is bordered by Navassa Island to the south-west. Haiti is 27,750 km² (10,714 square miles) in size and it is the third largest country in the Caribbean in terms of size.

⁴⁰¹ UN News, 7 March 2014.



Figure XXVII. Map of Haiti. Source: World Atlas, <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/haiti>.

The United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) was established on 1 June 2004 through the adoption of Security Council resolution 1542. This mission was a successor to the Multinational Interim Force (MIF) of February 2004. It came into place after President Bertrand Aristide fled Haiti and went into exile after the armed conflict that engulfed the country. A natural disaster worsened the situation when a destructive earthquake of 12 January 2010, led to a reported estimate of more than 220,000 deaths which included 96 UN peacekeepers.⁴⁰² This devastation hugely affected the economy and basic infrastructures of the country. Based on these situations, the Security Council established resolution 1908 of 19 January 2010, to increase the level of deployments to give support towards stability, reconstruction and recovery of the country. A Presidential election was completed in 2011 and the mission succeeded in securing and stabilizing the environment and the administrative institutions, including the protection of human rights and health conditions of the people at the outbreak of cholera in October 2010. From April 2017, the Council, through resolution 2350 (2017) narrowed the operations of MINUSTAH with the aim of closing it on 15 October 2017. Focus was directed at strengthening the rule-of-law institutions and developing the Haitian National Police.

Out of the 2,038 countries that contributed police and civilian personnel, Nigeria provided 128 officers who performed meritoriously in the midst of other personnel who were accused of sexual exploitation.

23. United Nations Interim Mission Kosovo (UNMIK) 1991

The Republic of Kosovo is located in Southeast Europe. It is a partially recognized state bordered by North Macedonia to the southeast, Serbia to the north and east, Montenegro to the west and Albania to the southwest. With an area of 10,887 km², it is the smallest country in the Balkans - almost the same size with Lebanon and Jamaica.

⁴⁰² United Nations Peacekeeping, 23 May 2021.



Figure XXVIII. Map of Kosovo. Source: Young, A., Lampe, John R. and Allcock, John B. (2022, August 13). Kosovo. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Kosovo>

After gaining independence from Serbia on 17 February 2008 and being recognized by at least 100 countries, the UN deemed it necessary to provide the enabling environment for sustainable security, interim administration and the enjoyment of human rights and substantial autonomy. Based on this necessity, the Security Council, by its resolution 1244 of 10 June 1999, established its international civil presence in Kosovo known as the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). Its extensive mandate also included legislative, executive and administrative powers of the judiciary. The mandate was aligned with the new constitution of 15 June 2008.

Though Nigeria joined other countries in keeping the peace in Kosovo, Nigeria continue to dilly-dally in recognizing Kosovo as an independent state.

24. United Nations Observer Mission in Prevlakia (UNMOP) 1996-2000

The uninhabited Prevlaka peninsula is an area of 93.33 hectares and the subject of dispute between Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It is a peninsula located in southern Croatia within Kotor's Bay on the eastern Adriatic coast near the border with Montenegro



Figure XXIX. Vicinity of Prevlaka Peninsula. Source: United Nations, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/past/unmop/prevlaka.pdf>.

In an effort to demilitarization the area, UNMOP was established in February 1996 based on Security Council resolution 11038 (1996) thereby taking over from the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation (UNCRO). The Mission organized regular meetings with the local authorities as ways of strengthening liaison, *reduce tensions, improve safety and security, and promote confidence between the parties.*⁴⁰³

Countries that contributed troops for the operation were Nigeria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brazil, Kenya, Ghana, Czech Republic, Switzerland, Denmark, Indonesia, Poland, Egypt, Finland, Ukraine, Pakistan, Ireland, Norway, Nepal, Jordan, New Zealand, Argentina and Russian Federation. The UN mission successfully ended in December 2002 and the disputed territory which was part of Socialist Republic of Croatia was officially returned to the Republic of Croatia after the agreement that was signed by both disputing sides.

This mission is a good example of what nations could benefit when they succumb to mutual agreements through dialogue.

25. United Nation Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission (UNIKOM) 1991

On 2 August 1990, Iraq invaded and forcefully occupied Kuwait to its southeast. The goal was to take control over Kuwait's lucrative oil supply.

The action was condemned by the international community and Iraq was given unconditional order to withdraw its forces from the occupied territory. This was followed by economic sanctions. the movement of arms. to the positions they had occupied the previous day. Iraq was given until 15 January 1991 to implement the order. This was flouted. On 16 January 1991 the international community descended heavily on Iraq with its military might and Iraq was forced to withdraw. The bloody invasion reportedly killed about 1,000 Kuwaiti civilians and more than 300,000 residents were forced to flee the country.



⁴⁰³ United Nations, Prevlaka Peninsula – UNMOP. n.d.

Figure XXX. Map of Iraq. Source: Khana Academy, <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/us-history/modern-us/1990s-america/a/the-gulf-war>.

Based on resolution 687 of 1991, the United Nations Security Council established a demilitarized zone (DMZ) along the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait.

UNIKOM was established by the United Nations in April 1991 after the forced withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. It was established to monitor the demilitarized zone within the Iraq-Kuwait border. This was to prevent border violations and to report any action that could undermine the peace and security of the territory. Amongst the 36-country military coalition that contributed to this mission were Nigeria, Hungary, Argentina, Austria, Bangladesh (including the mechanized infantry battalion), Canada, Chile, China, Denmark, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Ghana, Greece, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Kenya, Malaysia, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, Senegal, Singapore, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay and Venezuela.⁴⁰⁴

The task was accomplished in line with the mandate and based on the Security Council resolution 1490 (2003), the mission came to an end on 6 October 2003.

3.3.2. African Union Peace Operations

Nigeria's actions in peacekeeping and conflict resolutions has been greatly influenced by the peacekeeping of the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG).

The African Union (AU) evolved from the Organization of Africa Union, OAU as a union of the countries within the African continent with a Secretariat in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. It was originally established on 25 May 1963 in Addis Ababa by signatories of 32 African governments. However, it was disbanded on 9 July 2002. On 9 September 1999, there was the Sirte Declaration in Sirte, Libya, which gave birth to the renaming into the Africa Union, AU. Amongst others, the main objectives of the AU were designed to achieve greater unity, cohesion and solidarity between the African countries and African nations defend the sovereignty, and to promote peace, security, and stability on the continent based on respect for the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and other relevant human rights instruments.

The African Union Commission's Peace Support Operations Division (PSOD), also considered as the African Standby Force Continental Planning Element, is a product of *Article 13 of the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council (2002)* and *Article 18 of the Policy Framework on the Establishment of the African Standby Force and the Military Staff Committee (2004)*.⁴⁰⁵

The response of PSOD to issues of Peace Support Operations (PSOs) is within the Peace and Security Department. It is the responsibility of PSOD to align and collate frameworks, guidelines, policies, agreements and mechanisms with the goal to ensure regional peace and security. It is also the machinery that ensures efficient response to peace support operations and other security challenges facing the African continent. *PSOD plans, launches, sustains,*

⁴⁰⁴ United Nations, United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission. n.d.

⁴⁰⁵ African Union, 9 July 2002.

*monitors and liquidates all Peace Support Operations (PSOs) authorized by the African Union Policy Organs (AUPOs) inclusive of the Peace and Security Council (PSC) and/or the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union (Assembly), as appropriate.*⁴⁰⁶ Report by McCarthy Niall in Forbes⁴⁰⁷, cited that the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute shows that by May 2021, the African Union is the largest unilateral peacekeeping operation with the African Union Mission to Somalia, AMISON, which has 20,000 personnel. This is followed by the United Nations Mission to South Sudan, UNMIS, with 17,374 peacekeepers. The mission of the United Nation`s MINUSMA to Mali is the third with 15,000 deployed personnel.

Statistics have shown in the figure below, that amongst the 10 highest contributors to global peacekeeping as of 2023, there are three African countries – Rwanda, Ghana, Egypt. This shows their commitment to global peace. However, apart from Rwanda and Ghana, countries like Egypt and Ethiopia who are among the highest contributor to global peacekeeping, have been embroiled in internal conflicts in recent times. While Egypt experienced a revolution by her people in 2011, Ethiopia went to war with the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) in 2021.

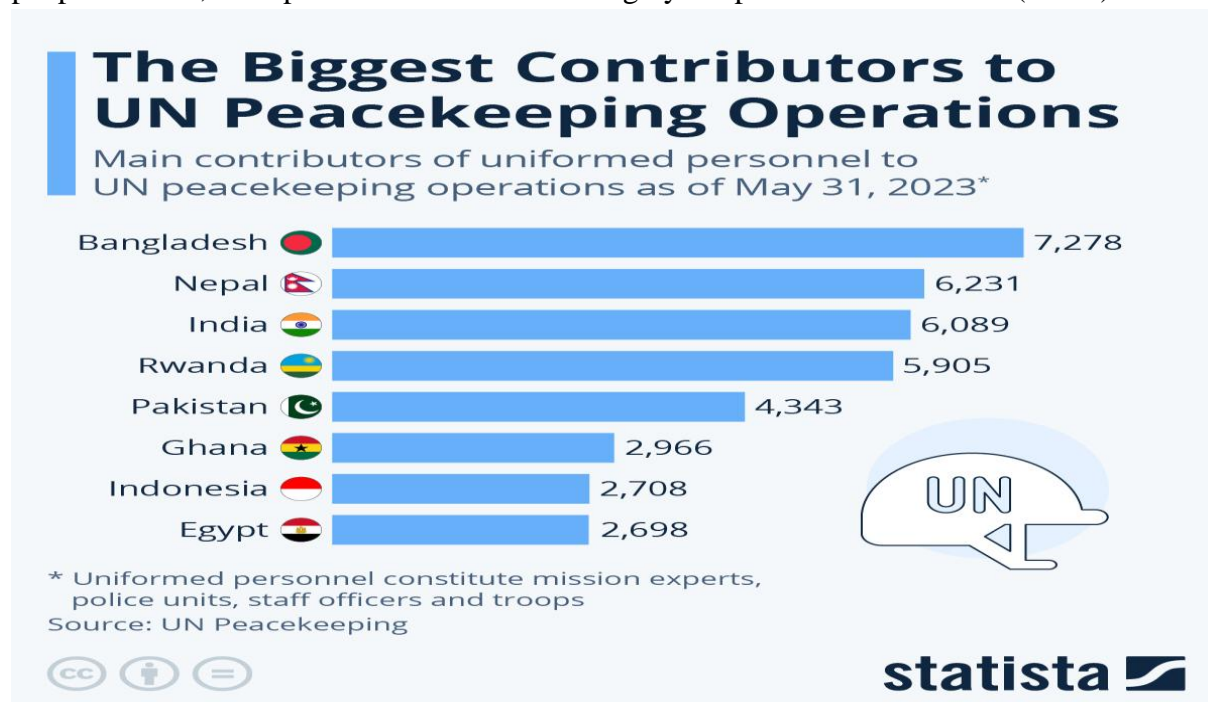


Figure XXXI. Source: Main contributors of uniformed personnel to UN peacekeeping as of 31 March 2023. Source: United Nations.

Among the 14 objectives of the African Union, which is made up of 55 countries, three of them which ought to form the soul of the Union has been greatly challenged over the years. Such objectives include *to promote peace, security, and stability on the continent; to promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance and to promote and protect human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights and other relevant human rights instruments.*

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ McCarthy Niall, Forbes, 28 May 2021.

Since the formation of the Union on 25 May 1963 before its name was changed to African Union as launched on 9 July 2002, various conflicts, wars and gross abuse of human rights have been recorded and continue to be recorded because the AU hardly interferes except when there is a coup.

The 2018 records show that the AU had many challenges in curtailing conflicts. The number of civil wars in Africa increased from 18 in 2017 to 21. This number represented highest number of civil conflicts since 1946 – with 21 also recorded in 2015 and 2016. Further, there has been an increase in countries with conflict on their territory. On the other hand, the number of battle-related deaths in civil wars is lower than it has been since 2012, with approximately 6,700 people killed. While non-state conflict in Africa has been on the rise over the past five years, this trend stabilized in 2018; for the first time in ten years, the number of non-state conflicts did not increase.⁴⁰⁸

Even though the Union has an organ known as the Peace and Security Council (PSC) with 15 members charged with the responsibility of enforcing union decisions and to promote "*peace, security and stability in Africa*,"⁴⁰⁹ a lot still need to be achieved. The organ is patterned in resemblance with the United Nations Security Council's "*prevention, management and resolution of conflicts*"⁴¹⁰. To be able to achieve these goals, other inner organizations such as the Military Staff Committee and the Committee of Experts were also established. During the 1990s, the Union decided to abstain from peacekeeping activities to be replaced with *preventive diplomacy*. The decision flopped after the bloody war in Rwanda and Burundi forced her to reverse the decision.⁴¹¹ Regional blocs became more effective in resolving conflicts more than the AU. For example, the conflicts in Sierra Leone and Liberia were largely resolved by the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS, while the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Lesotho were resolved by the Southern African Development Community, SADC.

The AU developed 14 main sections as Treaties. They were designed as a way of meeting its goals and objectives. Within these Treaties, eight separate Treaties were specifically developed for Peace and Security. Despite the various security areas covered by the Treaties, there is a serious need to recognize early signs of conflicts and to swiftly act to prevent conflicts which have reoccurred and turned millions into refugees. At what point should the AU suspend respect for the sovereignty of nations when there is an imperative need to swiftly intervene with military might when the lives of the citizens of a country are either wasted or violently threatened? Conflicts increased over the years because the AU was silent despite early warnings.

1. The African Union - United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) 2007 Onwards.

Darfur is located in western Sudan with an area that has been approximated to be 170,000 square miles (440,000 square km). Sudan is located in northeastern Africa with Khartoum as capital.

⁴⁰⁸ ReliefWeb, Conflict Trends in Africa, 1989-2018.

⁴⁰⁹ African Union, n.d.

⁴¹⁰ *ibid*.

⁴¹¹ Williams, Paul D., 12 November 2009.

It is considered as one of the largest countries in Africa. It has borders with the Red Sea and stretches between Egypt, Uganda, Chad and six other countries.

For administrative purposes, Darfur is divided into five federating states known as Central Darfur, East Darfur, West Darfur, North Darfur and South Darfur. In 1994 the region was divided into three states of North, South and West Darfur for administrative purposes. Each of the region is administered by a Governor.

The region has been in crises, genocide and humanitarian emergencies since February 2003 due to the conflict between the government of Sudan and the indigenous population precipitated by religious conflicts and ethnic rivalry by farmers and herdsman as experienced in the Central Nigerian states of Benue, Plateau and Kaduna. Two rebel groups known as the Sudan Liberation Army (SLM) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) challenged the National Islamic Front (NIF) which ruled in government. They decried discrimination against the Moslem African ethnic groups in Darfur. This conflict brought ethnic groups such as the Zaghawa, Fur and Massaleit, against the nomadic Arab ethnic groups.

Under President Omar Bashir, the Sudan government began to arm the Janjaweed, Arab militias, and the Popular Defense Force (PDF) who became violent attackers of innocent civilians. The aftermath was a genocide and the mass exodus of the people.

NIF and SLM called for independent observers when they could no longer trust the neutrality of the Chadian President Idriss Deby.

On 28 May 2004, the Assembly of African Heads of state and Governments of the African Union (AU) signed a resolution which started the deployment of troops to Darfur on the platform of the African Mission in Sudan (AMIS) to monitor the ceasefire and ensure humanitarian support.

Nigeria played a noble role in ameliorating the crises in Darfur. Nigeria and Rwanda sent the first troops to begin the peace making in Darfur.

Apart from peace talks held in May, June and July in Ethiopia, Abuja Nigeria became a regular peace meeting destination for subsequent meetings. The Abuja Peace accord was signed as a precursor to the Darfur Peace agreement.

As a way of giving strength to peace making in Darfur, the sitting President of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo appointed General Abdulsalam Abubakar former Nigerian Head of State, as a special envoy to Sudan and Chad in respect of the Darfur conflict.

As a signatory to peacekeeping as constituted by the UN, ECOWAS and the AU, Nigeria respects the guidelines towards global peace and security. Nigeria was also aware that if she did not take a prominent role in the Darfur crises, the conflict and the consequent exodus of refugees may spill to neighbouring countries and into Nigeria. For example, the Janjaweed militias were already spreading to Chad. The war in Libya had its impact on Nigeria. It was reported that insurgents in Nigeria received most of their ammunitions from the aftermath of the Libyan conflict.

In 2012, a year after the fall of President Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, Mali's Tuareg rebels and armed groups who operated in the Sahel and Lake Chad Basin, acquired huge cache of ammunition to execute regional anarchy.

Weapons from Libyan south-west by Tuareg fighters and traffickers, were moved along the Algerian and Nigerien borders. They were transported along the roads that cross the Agadez, Tahoua and Tillabéri regions, joining Mali via the Niger-Mali-Burkina Faso tri-border area

and Lake Chad Basin via Niger's Diffa Region.⁴¹² These weapons gradually found their ways into Nigeria as used by Boko haram and ISWAP. Funding for these weapons were purchased through ransoms that were paid by people who were kidnapped in Nigeria.



Figure XXXII. Map of Darfur and Sudan.

Source: Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Darfur>.

In addition to its traditional peacekeeping roles, Nigerians are also medics and dentists at UN peacekeeping missions.

Under the platform of the Africa Union, the contingent was deployed in February 2006, consisting of 680 soldiers from the 13 Field Engineers.

The contingent returned in September 2006. One soldier died due to a natural cause during the seven-month operation.⁴¹³ The peacekeeping operation in Darfur was officially ended by 30 June 2021.

Some limitations were identified in Nigeria's participation in peacekeeping especially in Darfur. The UN pays participating countries for using their equipment. Nigeria does not bring enough military hard wares that could attract much financial remuneration. Among others, Arinze Ngwube mentioned that *Russia has M18 helicopters serving UN PSOs which pockets \$6m annually. Cote d'Ivoire makes as much as \$5m annually for its helicopters in the services of the UN. Ghana and South Africa make good income from the three helicopters they own. We do not have a warship on paid services at the disposal of the UN, whereas Bangladeshi warship generating money for the country in Sudan.*⁴¹⁴

The Afro-centric policies of AU peacekeepers must align with global standards so that violent actions by insurgents are not treated with kid's gloves. For example, while President Omar Al-Bashir refused to implement the peace agreement, militias were not severely dealt with when they carried out genocidal activities. Nigeria lost personnel due to soft approaches to the violence by opposition forces.

⁴¹² Kone, H. Institute for Security Studies, 28 July 2022.

⁴¹³ ReliefWeb, 8 September 2006.

⁴¹⁴ Ngwube, A., Volume 4, Number 1, 2013.

Though it is understood that too much financial dependence on the UN may lead to restraints, independence must be flexible and in line with global best practices.

2. OAU Monitoring Group in Rwanda 1992-1993 and the UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) 1993-1995

The Republic of Rwanda is located in Central Africa bordering Uganda, Burundi, Tanzania, and the Republic of the Congo as a landlocked territory. It has a population of 12.9 million and a land area of 26,338 km² (10,169 square miles). The capital and largest city is Kigali.

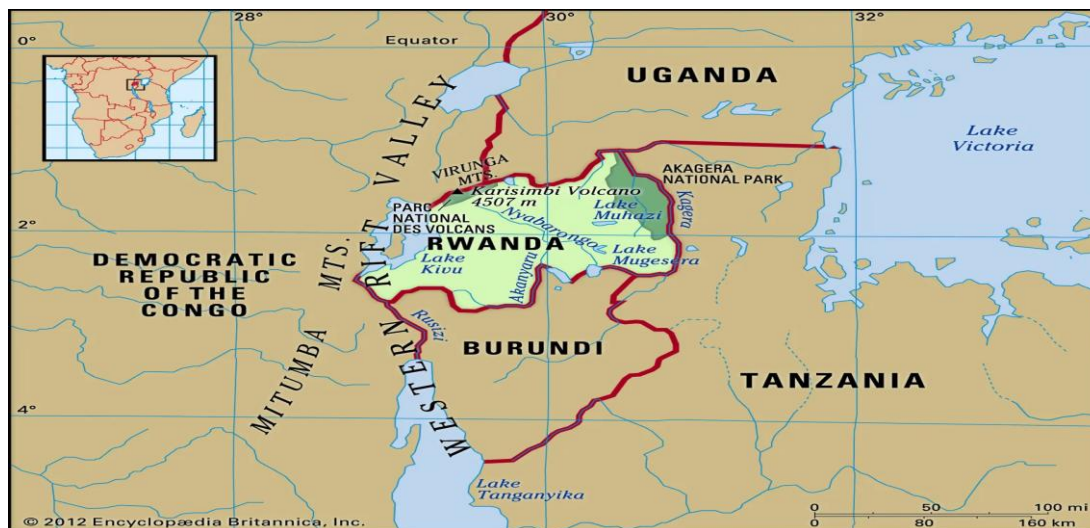


Figure XXXIII. Map of Rwanda. Source: Clay, D. and Lemarchand, René. 10 August 2021, Rwanda. Encyclopedia Britannica.

The country was colonized by two European countries - Germany in 1899 and Belgium in 1922. Both European countries left a negative legacy which led to a massacre through the revolt of 1959 by the Hutu population. Both of them perpetuated a pro-Tutsi policy which gave the impression that the Tutsi were superior to the Hutu. This revolt led to the establishment of the Hutu-dominated republic in 1962 with Grégoire Kayibanda as President. He was overthrown through a military coup in 1973 and Juvénal Habyarimana who replaced him, retained the pro-Hutu policy. In October 1990, a Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front, RPF, embarked on another revolt which culminated into a civil war. In April 1994 President Habyarimana was assassinated. Hutu extremists were infuriated and went on a killing spree which killed between an estimated 500,000–1,000,000 Tutsi within a span of one hundred days. The military take over by the RPF in July 1994 brought the genocide to an end.

There is a similarity between the conflict in Rwanda and that of Liberia where Nigeria also participated in peacekeeping operations. Those that overthrew the government trained and launched their attacks with support from outside the country. The Rwandan Patriotic Front were Tutsi who had fled the 1959 revolution. They launched their attack against Rwanda from their base in Uganda. On the other hand, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia which was led by Charles Taylor, was externally trained and funded by the Libyan government before he launched his attack against the government of Samuel Doe in 1989.

Several efforts were made by the OAU and the governments of Tanzania and Uganda to broker peace between the Government of Rwanda and RPF. In one of those instances, a meeting was held from 5 to 7 March 1993 at Dar-es-Salaam, the capital of Tanzania. After far reaching negotiations, a communique was jointly signed where the Government of Rwanda and RPF agreed to maintain peace by restoring a ceasefire and the protection of citizens. Thereafter, the conflicts got worse.

Since it was difficult for the OAU to ensure a ceasefire between warring groups in Rwanda, it became imperative for Rwanda and Uganda to secure their common border. In order to actualize this, they separately wrote letters to the President of the Security Council on 22 February 1993, requesting for the deployment of United Nations military observers along the 150-kilometer common border. Based on resolution 812 (1993), the Security Council, called on the Government of Rwanda and RPF to respect the renewed cease-fire. In furtherance of ensuring security along the Ugandan border, the Security Council, by its resolution 846 of on 22 June 1993, authorized that the United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR) should be established.

An advance party was deployed by September on the platform of UNOMUR with troops from Hungary, Senegal, Bangladesh, Botswana, Slovak Republic, Brazil, Netherlands and Zimbabwe. The mission also included 10 international and six local civilian support staff. There was need to expand UNOMUR. On 5 October, the Security Council resolution 872 (1993) approved the establishment of a United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) with the mandate of "contributing to the establishment and maintenance of a climate conducive to the secure installation and subsequent operation of the transitional Government".⁴¹⁵

UNAMIR was mandated to secure Kigali; monitor the cease-fire agreement...establish an expanded demilitarized zone (DMZ), supervise demobilization processes; monitor the security situation towards the formation of a transitional Government and elections; assist with the clearance of mines, coordinate humanitarian assistance and provide security for the repatriation of Rwandese refugees and displaced persons.⁴¹⁶

Countries that sent troops, Police and Observers include Nigeria, Argentina, Ghana, Australia, Ethiopia, Malawi, Austria, Bangladesh, Canada, Senegal, Poland, Chad, Congo, United Kingdom, Djibouti, Fiji, Jordan, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, India, Mali, Niger, Russian Federation, Tunisia, Uruguay, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The period between 1992 and 1995 when Nigeria participated in the peacekeeping operation in Rwanda, Nigeria was experiencing coups and counter coups against democratically elected governments. For example, General Ibrahim Babaginda (August 27, 1985 – August 27, 1993) had overthrown his boss General Muhammadu Buhari (December 31, 1983 – August 27, 1985) in 1985. This was after Buhari had overthrown civilian president Shehu Shagari (October 1, 1979 – December 31, 1983) in 1983. Babaginda stepped aside from government and appointed a civilian, Earnest Shonekan (August 26, 1993 – November 17, 1993) as interim Head of state. In less than three months, Shonekan was overthrown in another coup launched by General Sani Abacha (November 17, 1993 – June 8, 1998). Just as ethnic factors exacerbated the conflicts in

⁴¹⁵ United Nations, *Rwanda – UNAMIR*. n.d.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

Rwanda, Nigerians were already disturbed that the leadership of the country was mostly coming from the north. Shagari, Babaginda and Abacha were all northerners. It was an ethnic paradox for Nigeria to support peacekeeping in Rwanda when the causes of the conflicts in Rwanda had been severally replicated in Nigeria. However, it was believed that the international condemnation of the coup in Nigeria, might have encouraged the military leaders to embark on peacekeeping as a way of saving face and attracting support. If not, why should coup plotters seek peace in other countries where coup plotters violently seized power?

3. Organization of African Unity (OAU) Mission Intervention Force in Chad (Operation Harmony II) 1981-1982.

The Republic of Chad is a landlocked country between the North and Central Africa. Her neighbours include Libya to the north, Central African Republic to the south, Sudan to the east, Niger to the west, Nigeria to the south-west and Cameroon to the south-east. It lies within an area of 1.28 million sq km (495,800 square miles) with a population of 17,458,423 as at September 2022.⁴¹⁷ N'Djamena is the capital of Chad. Though French and Arabic are the main official languages, it has over 200 ethnic groups.



Figure XXXIV. Map of Chad. Source: BBC News, Chad Country Profile. n.d.

Conflicts overtook conflicts few years after the independence of Chad in 1960. The conflicts were mostly aggravated due to the external intervention of France and Libya. *Chad's post-independence history has been marked by instability and violence, stemming mostly from tension between the mainly Arab-Muslim north and the predominantly Christian and animist south.*⁴¹⁸

Conflicts started when the autocratic regime of Chad's first President François Tombalbaye increased taxes in 1965. This led to the first uprising by the peasants of Guéra and other uprisings. President François Tombalbaye was assassinated after a coup d'état and was replaced by General Felix Malloum. The inability of Malloum to restore and sustain peace led to a civil

⁴¹⁷ Worldometer, 10 September 2022.

⁴¹⁸ BBC News, Chad Country Profile, 29 April 2021.

war which took place for nine months between the rebels of Hissene Habré and government forces. The conflict in Chad continued through the incursion of Libya in 1978 until the French military intervened.

Nigeria was aware that conflict within the neighbouring Chad would definitely spill over to her territory especially with refugees and ammunition. Therefore, Nigeria cooperated with France by being instrumental to achieving the first cease fire through a meeting that was initially convened in Kano, Nigeria on 11 March 1979. Nigeria and other member states were determined not to allow France to play a dominant role in the crises which was seen as an African affair. Thereafter, a Transitional Government of National Union (GUNT) was established as a way of creating peace. That led to the appointment of Goukouni Weddeye as the leader of the transitional government. Malloum left Chad and relocated to Nigeria as a way of furthering the peace process. Subsequent conferences were held in Kano and two others in Lagos Nigeria, under the auspices of the OAU with the warring factions in attendance. Within a power sharing formula, Goukouni Weddeye became the head of government. Rivalry continued and this led to another round of fighting in March 1980. The Nigerian troops were forced to leave Chad because the newly elected President of Nigeria, Shehu Shagari, was not as keen as his military predecessor, Olusegun Obasanjo. The renewed crises led to the second Chadian civil war.

In order to forestall the ensuing conflicts, the OAU (now AU) Council of Foreign Affairs Ministers met in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, where they adopted resolution CM/Res. 766 (XXXIV) which declared that “[the council] APPROVES the dispatch of an OAU Peace Keeping Force...to Chad for the purpose of maintaining law and order as stipulated by the Lagos accord”. This declaration was later adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity during their 18th Session in Nairobi, Kenya, in June, 1981. This action set the legal framework for the first peacekeeping effort embarked by the continental body. This collective action became more significant because, hitherto, Article IV (g) of the OAU charter stipulated the “Non-interference by any Member State in the internal affairs of another.

Funds and troops were raised from the member states and Nigeria provided 2000 personnel which was the largest troop. Major-General Geoffrey Ejiga of Nigeria was appointed as the commander of the peacekeepers. Within the logistics, *Chad was divided into three zones for the purpose of troop deployment: north, east and central. Zairean troops were to take the northern zone at Faya Largeau; the Nigerian contingent was to man the eastern sector at Abeche; while the Senegalese were to take control of the central region at Mongo.*⁴¹⁹

The recurring conflict in Chad was due to the delay by OAU to intervene. This gave room for bad peace which was mostly unappeasable and unsustainable.

The peace that returned to Chad encouraged the OAU that it is possible for them to resolve crises and restore peace within the African continent. The contribution of Nigeria to the resulting regional peace led to better international recognition and lessons on how to improve her peacekeeping in situations where a president is succeeded by another as in the case between Nigeria's military Head of State Olusegun Obasanjo and President Shehu Shagari. It is pertinent

⁴¹⁹ Sesay, A., 1989.

that continuity within the government of a country should also bring about continuity in their participation in peacekeeping. The initial withdrawal of the Nigerian troop did not augur well for the possibility of the early sustenance of peace.

3.3.3. The Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) Peace Operations

The Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) was set up in West Africa by members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) as a multilateral force to address insecurity and maintain peace in the region. This was based on the agreement signed in Freetown Sierra Leone, on 29 May 1981 through the Protocol on Mutual Defense Assistance. The force was supported by Nigeria, Guinea, Ghana, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso.

Through this body, ECOMOG intervened in the Liberian civil war between 1989 and 1996. It was a significant regional body which was likened to the Inter-African Force which was initiated by the Organization of African Unity, OAU, when it intervened in the 1981 crises in Chad.

Lieutenant General Arnold Quainoo of Ghana was the first Commander of the force and he was succeeded by a series of Nigerian commanders such as Maj-Gen. Joshua Dogonyaro, Maj-Gen. Rufus Kupolati and Maj-Gen. Ishaya Bakut. Operations of ECOMOG included the deployment of troops to Sierra Leone in 1997 against the rebellion of the Revolutionary United Front. It was also deployed to Guinea-Bissau in 1999 during the civil war in the country.

In conjunction with the United Nations, ECOMOG formed ECOMIL in 2003 as an intervention troop during the Second Liberian War from 1999 to 2003. It was later succeeded in 2003 by the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) to monitor a ceasefire agreement in Liberia after the resignation of Charles Taylor and the consequent disarray in the country.

Despite the well-meaning initiative that led to the formation of this force, the troops were accused of human rights abuses and looting. During their mission in Liberia, their acronym, ECOMOG, was nick named as "Every Car or Movable Object Gone."

1. ECOMOG Operation Harmony in Liberia and the UN Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) 1990-1997

...we will never know the number of Nigerian civilians who lost their lives in the crisis in Liberia. The cost of this operation has been variously estimated. I will put the estimated cost of the operation to Nigeria at \$8 billion and the men and officers who paid the supreme price were between 500 and 1,000. - President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria.

The Republic of Liberia, is located on the coast of West Africa bordering Sierra Leone to the northwest, Ivory Coast to the east, Guinea to the north and the Atlantic Ocean to the south and southwest. It has a population of around 5 million and covers Liberia has a land area of 111,369 square kilometers (43,000 square miles) with over 21 ethnic languages. Monrovia is the capital city and English is their official language. Though it was never colonized, Liberia gained Independence in January 7, 1822. This makes Liberia the first African republic to proclaim independence and recorded as Africa's first and oldest modern republic.



Figure XXXV. Map of Liberia. Source: Britanica, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Liberia>. n.d.

Crises began when the regime of President Samuel Doe, established in 1980, became authoritarian and corrupt. This led to the invasion of the country by Charles Taylor in 1989 on the platform of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, NPFL. Doe was later captured and killed, in September 1990 by a splinter group of NPFL known as the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia, INPFL led by Prince Johnson. The NPFL and INPFL continued to fight for supremacy against the government until a peace agreement was reached in 1996. Charles Taylor was elected President in August 1997. It was this particular situation, ceasefire and the renewed conflicts of 1999 that led to the involvement of the peacemaking efforts by the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS and the United Nations.

The Security Council deliberated on the Liberian crises on 22 January 1991 after the intervention of ECOWAS. They supported the Yamoussoukro IV Accord as an excellent framework for the peaceful resolution of the war in Liberia.

On 19 November 1992, the Security Council, adopted resolution 788 (1992), and imposed a complete embargo on all forms of the deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia. The only exception was for the peacekeeping forces of ECOWAS. *On 20 November 1992, the Secretary-General appointed Mr. Trevor Livingston Gordon-Somers (Jamaica) as his Special Representative for Liberia.*⁴²⁰

Civil war in Liberia claimed the lives of almost 150,000 civilians and led to a complete breakdown of law and order. It displaced scores of people, both internally and beyond the borders, resulting in some 850,000 refugees in the neighbouring countries.

Nigerian troops were very significant in the peacemaking operation in Liberia. It has been described as “the military backbone of the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), from 2003-2018, helping to restore security throughout a country that had undergone a brutal civil war.”⁴²¹ They were among the first to arrive in 2003 and the last to leave in 2015. Ironically, the same Nigeria

⁴²⁰ United Nations, n.d.

⁴²¹United Nations, 16 February 2018.

that helped to stabilize other countries could not stabilize herself from non-state actors who turned the streets to anarchy and death beds from 2010 into 2022. From 2015 when Nigeria had retired army generals as President, Minister of Defense and National Security Adviser, various communities were already being forced to pay taxes to terrorists.

It is reported that at least 20,000 Nigerians served in Liberia, with more than 1,500 women.⁴²²

The Security Council established the United Nations Observers Mission in Liberia UNOMIL, on 22 September 1993 by resolution 866 (1993), for an initial period of seven months. They worked in conjunction with ECOMOG as a way of the implementation of the Cotonou Peace Agreement. It is on record that UNOMIL was the first United Nations peacekeeping mission that was set up to cooperate with a peacekeeping operation that was already set up by another body. The mission was made up of military and civilian components. The military component was under the supervision of the Chief Military Observer (CMO) who reported to the Secretary-General through a Special Representative. With the endorsement of the Security Council, the Secretary-General set up the fund to encourage African countries to send troops.

After the ceasefire which later led to the second Liberia war, it could be seen that the truce was an example of bad peace. Both wars were never just. Killing hundreds of people in quest of power can never be justified. The parties involved in the conflict did not genuinely commit to the peace agreement. This is a major problem with conflicts in Africa. For example, many decades after the Biafra war of Nigeria between 1967 and 1970, Biafrans continued their agitations in 2017 as a consequence of perceived marginalization. Every peacemaking mission that does not interrogate the deep causes of conflicts may find it difficult to find lasting solutions. It is the inability to clearly pacify warring factions that leads to recurrence of insurgencies. One way to ensure sustainable peace is to establish a government of inclusivity among warring factions.

On the other hand, war in Africa has been exacerbated due to the support and supply of ammunitions by foreign countries in exchange for natural resources. The sophisticated ammunitions used by the warring parties were not manufactured in Liberia. There is a need by the United Nations to sanction foreign countries who supply weapons of mass destruction during conflicts.

UNOMIL and ECOWAS cooperated by drawing clear lines. The military component of UNOMIL was designed to monitor and ensure compliance with the ceasefire, supervise the embargo on the delivery of arms and military equipment, disarmament and demobilization of the combatants. This was implemented by stationing 25 observers at the UNOMIL headquarters while 8 observers were stationed at each of the four regional headquarters.

The civilian component included humanitarian, political and electoral personnel who observed and conducted the entire election process.

The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Nations Development Programme (UNDP), World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Population Fund and the World Food Programme (WFP) provided extensive humanitarian activities.

⁴²² United Nations News, 13 March 2003.

The supply of Naval Ships by the Nigerian Navy, NN, repelled the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) when they used canoes as vehicles for launching artillery attacks on ECOMOG and the Liberian citizens. Nigeria also provided Gun Fire Support and engaged in the evacuation of refugees from areas that were under heavy attacks. This evacuation made it easier to ensure the supplies of humanitarian relief materials.

It was the efforts of the NN that made it easy for ECOMOG forces to capture the Roberts Field International Airport near the capital. The NN ships were also used to transport of troops within Liberia during the operations of ECOMOG.

The Nigerian Navy organized various search and rescue missions within the territorial waters of Sierra Leone and Liberia during the operations of ECOMOG.

Nigeria was also involved in the policing of ships which conveyed humanitarian materials. They secured the areas during the period of berthing and discharging of relief materials.

The Nigeria Air Force, NAF extensively used her aircraft during the wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone. The aircrafts were stationed at the Lungi International Airport in Monrovia to provide support to the ground troops and to carry out reconnaissance through observation, detection, infra-red, photography, radar, electronic and other acoustics for information gathering. Other aircrafts deployed included the Dornier 228, Alpha Jets and the C-130 military transport planes. Nigeria used NNS AMBE and NNS DAMISA to convey equipment and personnel to help to stabilize Liberia.

It is important for peacekeeping countries to be very proactive in taking actions that could prevent conflicts. Such actions must be directed at the root causes of conflicts so that they could be prevented. For example, the following analysis shows that greed, ethnicity, poverty, inequality, land and food crises and the ignorance of the people leads to frictions. It is important for respective governments and international organizations to address these issues frontally before they manifest into full blown conflicts. It is cheaper to prevent wars than to embark on peacekeeping and peace building missions that usually involves huge resources and take lives which can never be replaced.

	Bomi	Bong	Charpolu	Grand Bassa	Grand Cape Mount	Grand Gedeh	Grand Kru	Lofa	Margibi	Maryland	Greater Monrovia	Nimba	River Gee	Rivercess	Rural Montserrado	Sinoe	TOTAL
Root Causes of War																	
Greed/corruption	57%	60%	71%	71%	56%	54%	44%	62%	76%	52%	69%	60%	49%	48%	58%	45%	63%
Identity (tribal/ethnic)	30%	42%	35%	42%	32%	30%	23%	52%	52%	26%	39%	47%	25%	29%	38%	31%	40%
Poverty	28%	34%	35%	37%	25%	20%	30%	33%	36%	30%	28%	27%	27%	33%	35%	31%	30%
Inequalities	17%	33%	27%	34%	17%	14%	11%	31%	37%	15%	31%	32%	11%	8%	23%	9%	27%
Land tenure/access	3%	4%	4%	4%	3%	2%	1%	4%	2%	1%	3%	6%	2%	0%	1%	1%	3%
Food crisis/food prices	2%	0%	1%	0%	3%	3%	3%	0%	1%	4%	1%	0%	2%	5%	1%	7%	1%
Don't know	22%	24%	13%	12%	22%	24%	25%	19%	13%	21%	15%	24%	26%	23%	23%	23%	19%
Other	9%	8%	7%	7%	9%	13%	13%	11%	5%	11%	10%	6%	9%	11%	8%	11%	9%
Identified groups or people responsible for the war in Liberia	77%	74%	74%	83%	76%	70%	71%	76%	82%	68%	79%	73%	71%	72%	80%	72%	76%
Groups and individuals at the root of the wars*																	
Charles Taylor	59%	51%	38%	44%	53%	40%	35%	48%	41%	42%	43%	42%	35%	51%	43%	48%	45%
Prince Johnson's INPFL	40%	50%	38%	49%	36%	28%	25%	43%	48%	32%	45%	40%	25%	28%	42%	29%	42%
ULIMO	35%	48%	44%	48%	39%	17%	21%	56%	49%	23%	40%	43%	18%	25%	42%	19%	40%
LURD	40%	43%	40%	46%	40%	17%	19%	47%	43%	16%	40%	41%	17%	23%	40%	21%	38%
NPFL	21%	43%	32%	44%	21%	24%	26%	47%	54%	27%	36%	38%	23%	29%	38%	26%	37%
MODEL	26%	32%	28%	42%	24%	13%	24%	27%	32%	15%	30%	32%	21%	24%	25%	25%	29%
Samuel Doe	19%	18%	7%	17%	16%	5%	8%	12%	12%	8%	12%	24%	7%	9%	9%	8%	14%
AFL	4%	13%	6%	11%	5%	4%	3%	8%	14%	4%	10%	17%	1%	5%	9%	9%	10%
Krahn	12%	5%	5%	7%	17%	7%	11%	6%	8%	12%	10%	8%	13%	8%	10%	7%	9%
Gio	11%	7%	6%	5%	14%	11%	7%	4%	6%	9%	10%	4%	9%	8%	9%	6%	8%
Mandingo	11%	9%	6%	4%	10%	2%	0%	13%	10%	2%	7%	8%	3%	4%	6%	2%	7%

* Responses included over 30 groups or individuals. Only those responses mentioned by at least 10 percent of respondents in any county are presented here.

*Figure XXXVI. Root Causes of War in Liberia. Source: PeaceBuildingData.Org.
http://www.peacebuildingdata.org/research/liberia/results/civil-war/root-causes-civil-war.*

During the civil war in Liberia which took place between 1990 and 1997, it was reported that 2.5 million people were killed while one-third of the population left as refugees.

Nigerian troops stayed in Liberia for 15 years to ensure stability. The Liberian war was finally stabilized and elections were held on 19 July 1997 in accordance with the 1996 peace agreement which ended the First War. Elections were held for the position of the President, Senate and the House of Representatives. Charles Taylor won the Presidential election with 75.3% votes on the platform of the National Patriotic Party and he was sworn in as president on 2 August 1997. The elections were supervised by the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia in conjunction with ECOMOG.

When Charles Taylor resigned in August 2003, he was granted asylum in Nigeria by the government of President Olusegun Obasanjo.

Though it did not succeed, Nigeria offered asylum to Yahya Jammeh, Gambia's longtime autocrat as a way of restoring peace in Gambia.

2. ECOMOG Peacekeeping in Guinea-Bissau

The Republic of Guinea-Bissau is a country located in West Africa covering 36,125 square kilometers (13,948 square miles) with an estimated population of 2 million. It borders Guinea to the southeast and Senegal to the north.



Figure XXXVII. Map of Guinea-Bissau. Source: Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bissau>.

Series of protracted war of liberation which took place between 1963 and 1974 gradually saw Guinea-Bissau becoming a failed state.

The mission of the peacekeeping force of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Guinea-Bissau deployed peacekeeping troops in 2012 after a military coup against Prime Minister Carlos Gomes Junior after the disputed presidential election. The mission stayed in the country for eight years.

In January 2020, Nigeria deployed 183 military personnel to Guinea Bissau. In April 2022, another set of 173 troops consisting of 163 soldiers and 10 officers were also deployed to stabilize the country after a failed coup to oust President Umaro Sissoco Embaló. In August 2022, the Nigerian navy shipped military hardware and contingent to Guinea Bissau under the

auspices of ECOWAS as a Stabilization Support Mission. The military wares, included trucks, cars, and tankers, were among the equipment shipped on NNS KADA. Since gaining independence from Portugal in 1974, Guinea Bissau has experienced four coups which has plunged the country in turmoil.

Peacekeeping in Guinea Bissau cannot be classified as a consequence of Just War. The coup d'état which took place in 1980, 2003, 2010 and 2012 where attempts by a few persons to seize power. The attempted coup of 2022 reportedly left 11 persons dead. It could be stated that the continuing coup d'état in Guinea Bissau is the consequences of Bad Peace. After every coup, there ought to be sustainable peace mechanisms established to ensure peace.

When, in July 1961, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC) launched a guerrilla war against Portuguese rule, it was expected that the country will be united with one voice. However, since 20 January 1973, when PAIGC leader Amilcar Cabral, was assassinated by PAIGC dissidents and unilaterally declared Guinea-Bissau independent, coup have succeeded coup. The ensuing unrest did not make way for development. Little wonder that the country was classified as one the 'poorest' countries in Africa. The Human Development Index positioned Guinea-Bissau as 177 out of 187 countries on the planet.

Guinea-Bissau is reportedly known as a route for cocaine trafficking between Latin America and the consumer markets in Europe. It was alleged that most of the 'cocaine coups' were the results of desires by military elites to take over the illicit trade. With such a situation and a continuing tussle for power, stabilization efforts by ECOMOG is not enough to ensure lasting peace. The European Union has a huge role to play by investigating the sources of drug supplies and to block their entrances into the European markets. Once it become impossible to use Guinea Bissau has a leeway for the illicit trade, the lust for power may be greatly reduced. Secondly, political isolation and economic sanctions must be imposed on the country by the international community whenever a coup succeed.

Under the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2048 of 2012, 11 senior members of the Guinea Bissau military were banned from travelling through countries that are members of the United Nations.⁴²³ This was in response to the military coup that seized power in 2012.

Normalcy was successfully restored in the country.

The negotiations which resulted in a peace treaty signed in Abuja Nigeria in 1998 was most helpful. A close analysis of the intermittent conflicts in Guinea-Bissau shows that there is a lack of sustainable transitional justice and conflict resolution mechanism that could end the problems caused by internal political divisions, military-civilian power struggles resulting from corruption, authoritarianism, marginalization and drug-trafficking.

Therefore, the 'top-down' model applied in peacekeeping and peacebuilding must be jettisoned for grassroots mechanisms which must take into full cognizance, the existing cultural and social institutions that could permanently establish an all/encompassing framework for sustainable conflict resolution.

⁴²³ Guinea Bissau sanctions regime. n.d.

3.4. Analysing Nigerian Peacekeeping

Despite huge security challenges back home, Nigeria has participated in at least 42 peacekeeping missions and six have been commanded by Nigerian senior military officers (Congo, Angola, Lebanon, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Chad. The financial cost of peacekeeping in Chad (1979-82) was borne by Nigeria under the auspices of the OAU. It was reported that the operation cost Nigeria about \$82m. The cost was later written off. Nigeria also bore the main cost of the operations of ECOMOG. On the other hand, Nigeria has occupied the chair position of the UN Special Committee on Peace Keeping Operations since 1972. In 2020 Nigeria was re-elected, for the 48th time, to chair the United Nations Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, regarded as UN's most strategic committee which is also known as C-34. This Special committee which consists of 147 Member States, focuses on Peacekeeping Operations was established in 1965 by the General Assembly and it reviews and provides crucial recommendations on United Nations Peacekeeping Operations.⁴²⁴

Nigeria's role in peacekeeping has become consistent and exemplary due to its commitment to burden sharing, ability to navigate difficult paths from conflict to peace, and the ability to swiftly deploy troops and police officers to any part of the world amongst the countries serving in various operations. Data from the UN Peacekeeping Department classified Nigeria as among the world's 15th largest troop contributor to UN Peacekeeping operations and the eighth in Africa. For example, in 2016, Nigeria contributed 2,170 peacekeeping personnel composed of 403 policemen, 46 military experts and 1, 721 troops, out of which 232 were females.⁴²⁵ In all of these, there are huge internal conflicts in Nigeria which the world seem not to be concerned about. Between 2015 and 2023, when retired army general Buhari was president, 63,111 Nigerians were killed by non-state actors. No tangible support was received from the international communities.

Due to international cooperation and the instrumentality of the United Nations within the past two decades, more civil wars have ended through negotiation and diplomacy, than it did in the previous 200 years.

However, some of the conflicts in Africa - especially the coups - had backings from foreign countries. Their aim is to have their stooges in offices where they could exploit the resources of such countries. Having at least 13 countries having military presence in Africa, with about 11 foreign military bases in the Horn of Africa,⁴²⁶ does not help matters. Africa must decide her future through an AU standing force, while Nigeria must focus more on solving her internal crises before participating in peacekeeping operations in foreign countries.

Trade and prosperity could occur through the interdependence of countries without setting up military bases in foreign countries. However, there must be individual liberty which forms a strong ingredient of peace and security.⁴²⁷

3.4.1. Problematic questions in peacekeeping

Corruption and Peacekeeping

A peculiar observation about the participation of Nigeria in these operations around 1993-1998, is that Nigeria was experiencing instability in government and huge systemic corruption.

⁴²⁴ BusinessDay, N. 2020, March 7.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Isilow H, 27 July 2023.

⁴²⁷ Dunne, 2001.

General Sani Abacha had snatched power through a military coup and was deeply involved in money laundering. When he died on 8 June 1998, there was another transition in government which was taken over by General Abdulsalami Abubakar on 9 June 1998.

During this period of peacekeeping in other countries, Abacha was stashing billions of hard currencies in foreign countries such as Switzerland, Jersey Island in United Kingdom, United States and Liechtenstein. Many persons thought that the money transfers which were mostly done in secret, were for international projects for the interest of Nigeria. For example, after Abacha died in 1998, \$750 million was recovered in 1999; \$1.2 billion was recovered in 2002; \$149 million was recovered from Jersey Island, UK in 2003; \$500 million was recovered in 2004 from Switzerland and another \$458 recovered in 2005 from Switzerland. \$1 billion was recovered in 2012 and \$380 million in 2015 - both tranches from Switzerland. \$227 million was recovered from Liechtenstein in 2014 and \$48 million from the United States the same year. \$322 million was recovered from Switzerland in 2017 and \$308 million from Jersey Island, United Kingdom in February 2020. In 2014, the Abacha family entered into an agreement by forfeiting several billions of dollars to the Federal Government as a plea bargain to drop charges against the late military ruler's son.⁴²⁸

This humongous corruption may have happened because Nigeria was simultaneously participating in various peacekeeping missions during the regime of Abacha which lasted between 17 November 1993 and 8 June 1998. Within this period of Abacha's regime, Nigeria participated in seventeen peacekeeping operations such as the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) 1992-1995, United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I) 1992-1995, United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) 1993, United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) 1993-1995; United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) 1993-1995; United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) 1993-1995; United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) 1993-1995; Nigeria Peacekeeping Force in Tanzania (TAPKM) 1994; United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) 1994-2000; United Nations Group in the Aouzou Strip, Libya/Chad (UNASOG) 1994; United Nations Prevention Deployment in Macedonia (UNPREDEP) 1995-2000; United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slovenia, Baranja, Western Sirmium in Croatia (UNTAES) 1996-1998; United Nations Observer Mission in Previakia (UNMOP) 1996-2000; United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA) July 1997; ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) Operation Harmony in Liberia 1990-1997; ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) Operation Sandstorm in Sierra Leone 1997-2000; United Nations Civilian Police Support Group, Dambe Region, Croatia 1998.

Since such operations usually involved the movement of personnel and funds, they were also linked with the corruption which was the highest ever recorded by a Nigerian leader.

Human rights abuses during peacekeeping

A disturbing aspect of peacekeeping is the abuse of the rights of the people of the local communities by peacekeepers. For example, during the peacekeeping operations in Haiti, there were several reports of rape.

⁴²⁸ Vanguard, 8 March 2020.

In 2011, four Uruguayan UN marines in the MINUSTAH mission were accused of gang raping a 19-year-old Haitian male in Port-Salut and recorded the event on a video which they posted on internet.⁴²⁹ In March 2012, three Pakistani MINUSTAH officers were found guilty of raping a mentally challenged 14-year-old boy in the town of Gonaives.⁴³⁰ In November 2007, 114 members of the 950-member Sri Lankan peacekeeping contingent in Haiti were accused of sexual misconduct and abuse. Based on this offence, *108 members, including 3 officers were sent back after being implicated in alleged misconduct and sexual abuse.*⁴³¹

There have been cases where peacekeepers impregnated some women and abandoned them at the end of their operations. Such women gave birth to children who may never connect with their father. The impoverished women are often left to bear the burden of parenting.

The cases of rape give vent to the argument that spouses of peacekeepers should be allowed to visit them periodically. There should be adequate home training before personnel are deployed. They should know the consequences for infringements against the rights of the people they are setting out to protect. The height of humiliation and inhumanity is when the people that are expected to protect others become predators.

During the peacekeeping operations in Liberia between 2003 and 2018, Nigerian peacekeepers were accused of several offences. About 73 Nigerian soldiers who were deployed to Liberia under the United Nations' Mission in Liberia (UNSMIL) came under investigation by the authorities of the Nigerian Army for alleged sexual assault and exploitation. Four years after returning from Liberia in 2018, the result of the investigation was neither released nor the offenders punished. In May 2022, the UN wrote to the Nigerian government to ensure that the affected officers are either brought to book or that the country will be expelled from participating in future peacekeeping operations. Part of the letter stated that *This was premised on the plan by the UN to suspend Nigeria from participating in international peacekeeping operations forthwith unless the outcome of investigations and disciplinary actions taken against the indicted personnel were forwarded to the organization.*⁴³²

⁴²⁹ Weisbrot, M, 3 September 2011.

⁴³⁰ "World Report 2013: Haiti". *Human Rights Watch: Haiti*. 2013.

⁴³¹ Reddy, B. Muralidhar, 5 November 2007.

⁴³² Sahara Reporters, 31 May 2022.

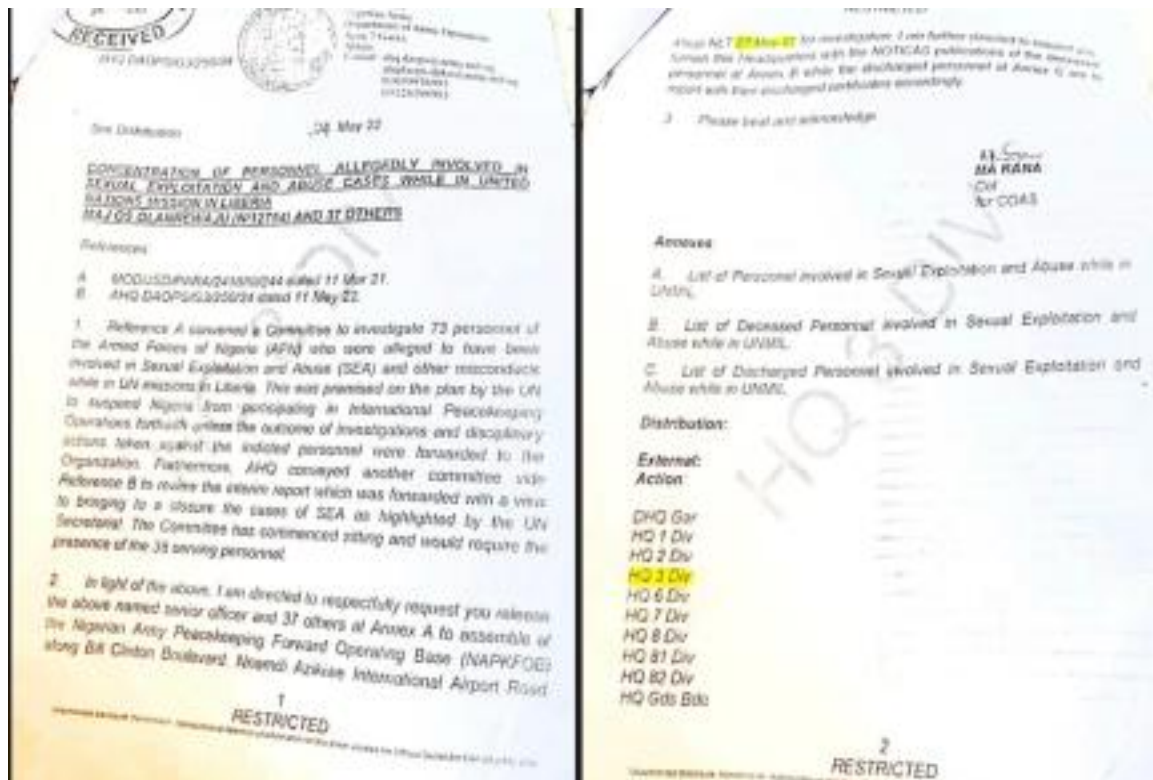


Figure XXXVIII. Letter to the Nigerian government from the UN. Source: Sahara Reporters. <https://saharareporters.com/2022/05/31/exclusive-73-nigerian-soldiers-liberian-mission-caught-sexual-abuses-un-threatens-suspend>.

3.4.2. The Cost of Participating in Two Peacekeeping Operations: Sierra- Leone and Liberia

It was an irony that while Nigeria sent her soldiers to keep the peace in Sierra-Leone after the conflicts that ensued from the attempt to overthrow the government of Joseph Momoh and the subsequent war (1991–2002), Nigeria was equally reeling from the negative impact of continuing military rule which started because of the overthrow of President Shehu Shagari in 1983 by Muhammadu Buhari. That coup led to the successive military rules of Badamosi Babaginda, Sani Abacha, Abdulsalam, all through the period of the wars in Liberia and Sierra-Leone. It was clearly hypocritical that a government who went to protect democracy in foreign countries were embroiled and submerged under military rule.

While Nigeria and other countries appeared on the scene, foreign powers were also involved in giving support to boost the war which left at least 50,000 persons dead. For example, Charles Taylor who had a hand in the war, was trained and supported by Muammar al-Gaddafi and Foday Sankoh while a Russian businessman known as Viktor Bout (a polyglot who spoke 7 languages such as English, Russian, Portuguese, Persian, Esperanto French and Arabic, and used different names such as Viktor Bulakin, Vadim Markovich Aminov, Viktor Budd, Victor Anatoliyevich Bout, and Viktor Butt), steadily supplied arms to Charles Taylor to aid the Sierra-Leonean war.

While General Babaginda annulled the 1993 elections, his coup-plotting successor, General Sani Abacha violently suppressed opposition voices who decried military rule.

It was at that period that more money was spent on security votes - which were introduced in the late 1960s when the Head of State General Yakubu Gowon budgeted for such slush funds to military administrators to gather information and quell dissenting voices.

While Nigeria was spending a lot of money to maintain peace during military regimes back home, huge sums of monies were equally being transported for peacekeeping in the West African countries under the auspices of ECOMOG. A huge cost of 90% expenses were reportedly shouldered by Nigeria.

Thereafter, in 1991, the GDP of Nigeria dwindled from 8.2% to 1% in 1994. Inflation rose and three years later, in 1997, Wright and Okolo, 1998⁴³³ recorded that the external debt of Nigeria rose to \$37 billion as cited by Abubakar Mohammed.⁴³⁴

The two case studies above, shows the deep commitment of Nigeria towards peacekeeping. She puts her money where her heart is! However, it should also be noted that amongst others, Nigeria's peacekeeping operation in Chad between 1979 and 1982 cost the country USD 82 million. By 2009, Nigeria had provided more than 80% of ECOMOG funding for all its peacekeeping missions⁴³⁵. Spending on ECOMOG became more of Nigeria's responsibilities because neighbouring country believe that Nigeria is rich. The deployment of Nigerian troops for the operation in Mali in January 2013 gulped USD 34 million.⁴³⁶ It was recorded that in 1999, Nigeria spent \$8 billion and lost at least 500 soldiers.⁴³⁷

When retired Lt. General Victor Malu, the former boss of ECOMOG who was also the former Chief of Staff Nigerian Army, during a session of the commission of enquiry on communal clashes which occurred in the Middle-Belt, he mentioned that many corpses of Nigerian soldiers who were killed during the peacekeeping operations in Liberia were *buried secretly in the night to avoid national uproar and panic*.⁴³⁸ This is in addition to the cost of footing the medical bills of the troops who either sustained injuries or fell sick.

It was during these difficult economic pressures that the Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo was forced to speak out when he addressed the UN General Assembly in 1999: *The time has come.... for the Security Council to assume its full responsibility, specifically in Sierra Leone and other flash points in Africa. For too long, the burden of preserving international peace and security in West Africa has been left almost entirely to a few states in our sub region...Nigeria's continual burden in Sierra Leone is unacceptably draining Nigeria financially. For our economy to take off, this bleeding has to stop.*⁴³⁹

3.5. Conclusions

Nigeria has participated in peacekeeping missions in 20 countries within the African continent- Congo, West New Guinea, Chad, Angola, Namibia, Western Sahara, Somalia, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Tanzania, Aouzou Strip (Libya/Chad), Liberia, Sudan, Dafur, the

⁴³³ Okolo, A.P.A., 1987.

⁴³⁴ Mohammed, A. November 2015.

⁴³⁵ Abubakar, A. A., 2009. (In G. J. Jonah and I. S. Zabadi (Eds.), Peace Support Operations in the New Global Environment: The Nigerian Perspective. Abuja: National Defence College).

⁴³⁶ Adigbo, E. R., 2013.

⁴³⁷ The Guardian, 12 June 2003.

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

⁴³⁹ Olusegun Obasanjo, "Nigeria, Africa, and the World in the Next Millenium" in his address at the Fifty-fourth Session of the UN General Assembly, New York, 23 September 1999.

condominium of Abyei, South Sudan, Mali, Central African Republic and Guinea Bissau. Among these countries, peacekeeping missions have taken place more than once. For example, three peacekeeping missions have taken place in Somalia (1992 -1993; 1992-1995 and 2021). Four missions have taken place in Angola (1989-1991; 1991-1992; 1992-1995 and 1997. Three missions have taken place in Congo (1960-1964; 2000 and 2010. Two operation took place in Sudan (2004 and 2011) and two took place in Rwanda (1992-1993; 1993-1995).

As of May 31, out of eight missions, the three UN missions with the highest number of personnel were in Africa. Two others - Mali and Sudan/South Sudan were also on the list before the troop withdrew from Mali on the order of the Malian military junta. The largest of the group was the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA) with nearly 17,000 personnel, which became operational in September 2014. The United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) was the second largest with more than 15,000 personnel, followed by MONUSCO, the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo with around 14,600 members.⁴⁴⁰ The size of the personnel on the African soil shows that the continent continues to experience instability despite the presence of the African Union which has an objective *to defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence*.⁴⁴¹

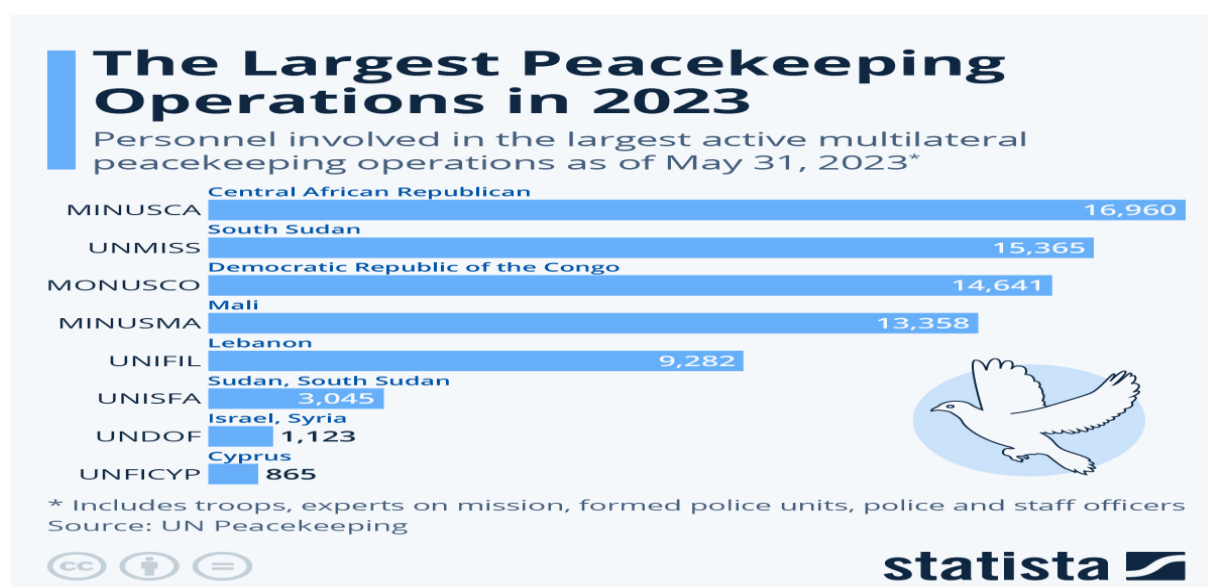


Figure XXXIX. The largest peacekeeping operations globally. Source: Anna Fleck, 29 August, 2023. *The Largest UN Peacekeeping Operations in 2023* [Digital image]. <https://www.statista.com/chart/24939/personnel-involved-in-the-largest-peacekeeping-operations/>.

Despite her multifarious internal conflicts, Nigeria has participated in 41 peacekeeping operations globally, to build and sustain peace in troubled countries. Since 1960, over 200,000 Nigerian troops have served in these operations with Nigerian senior military officers commanding some of these missions. Apart from coups, three factors have common

⁴⁴⁰ Fleck, A., 29 August, 2023.

⁴⁴¹ African Union, n.d.

characteristics in some of the conflicts which led to the participation of Nigeria in peacekeeping in Africa. Firstly, they were caused by power tussle at a period immediately after gaining independence. Secondly, the conflicts were worsened because foreign countries supported them with the supply of ammunitions. Thirdly, the quest for resource control played a major factor which caused the conflicts and attracted foreign countries. The wars in Africa had backings from either colonialists or other super powers who saw such conflicts as proxy wars between super powers who had economic interest in harvesting the natural resources of conflicting countries. The cooperation between the United Nations and other regional bodies such as the African Union and ECOMOG created a template for the possibility of peace. However, due to internal crises, the UN, AU and ECOMOG have not been able to respond swiftly to internal crises within the countries of Africa. This is due to respect for sovereignty. Respecting the sovereignty delays actions needed to arrest the situation. Conflicts which could have been resolved at the initial state grew into full blown wars. From the 1984 massacre in Rwanda to the 2003 intermittent conflicts in Sudan; the Democratic Republic of Congo and the continuing attacks by Boko haram and ISWAP in Nigeria, such conflicts worsened because there were no practical actions taken by the United Nations and the African Union.

There is a need to establish a standby regional force that could swiftly respond in times of crises with the invitation of the government. On the other hand, proactive actions should be formulated through mediation and other conflict prevention mechanisms.

Between 1999 and 2022, the two political parties that ruled Nigeria did not make meaningful impacts towards the transformation of the security and economy of the country. Despite her huge natural resources, Nigeria became the poverty capital of the world and third on the terrorist index. With huge budgetary allocations, security agencies have become weak and too demoralized to fight insurgencies due to the misappropriation of the funds by concerned authorities. Due to the lack of morale, 243 Nigerian soldiers reportedly tendered resignation letters in August 2022.⁴⁴²

There is also a need to formulate concrete strategies that will usher in a new set of leaders with better managerial abilities. One step towards achieving this, is to merge new political parties that could oust the All Progressives Congress and the Peoples Democratic Party that misruled the country since 1999.

The Nigerian government should consider reducing her participation in peacekeeping missions and focus on expanding and strengthening the capacity of the security agencies. This should be followed by respect for the constitution of the country based on the rule of law. This is specially so because office holders swore on oath to protect the constitution which is the backbone of the country's sovereignty.

Campaign promises which form the foundation of the social contract has been severally breached by politicians. This has led to insensitivity in governance and distrust by the citizenry. There is a need for re-orientation of public office holders.

This chapter has succeeded in achieving two set goals of this research. It has identified Nigeria's peacekeeping, identified its weaknesses and proffered solutions mitigating against delays in conflict resolutions.

⁴⁴² Sahara Reporters, 19 August 2022.

Chapter 4

Missing Conditions for Effective Peacekeeping

Well, Nigeria has played a constructive role in peacekeeping in various parts of West Africa. But unless and until Nigeria itself is democratic and respects human rights, it too may well be a source of much greater instability as political repression limits the ability of the people of Nigeria to achieve their full potential. - Susan Rice

Introduction

Mobilizing for deployment to keep peace in another country could be exciting as it is uncertain, especially when loved ones are left behind with hopes and fear of distance and possible death. Fear, because in some cases, peacekeepers have been deployed to areas with active conflicts like Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Though non-use of force except in self defence and in defence of the mandate, is one of the cardinal principles of United Nations peacekeeping, *since 1948, 3,844 fatalities of UN Peacekeepers have been recorded...fortunately, the rate of attacks on peacekeepers has fallen in the last 25 years, from 1.6 deaths per 1,000 people deployed in 1993, to less than 0.4 since the turn of the century.*⁴⁴³ By September 2023, the total number of UN peacekeepers fatalities have reached 4150.⁴⁴⁴ Hope, because peacekeepers are both ambassadors of their respective countries and beacon of hope in countries in conflict. It is expected that the coming of peacekeepers signals the end of fear, conflicts and destructions. However, there are problems and hinderances associated with the efficient participation of Nigeria in peacekeeping. Some of such problems are either similar or peculiar when compared to the participation of peacekeepers from developed countries. In whatever condition Nigeria finds herself in peacekeeping missions, it is hinged on the legal background and concept of her goals.

4.1 Legal background of Nigerian Peacekeeping

Nigeria became a member of the United Nations in 1960. As earlier stated, between 2014 and 2015, Nigeria served as a temporary member of the United Nations Security Council. By 2013, Nigeria became the fifth largest contributor in the number of peacekeepers to the United Nations. She also offered a record-breaking 373 female peacekeepers. To mark the 2020 International Day of the United Nations Peacekeepers which is annually held on 29 May, the United Nations posthumously awarded 3 Nigerians with the Dag Hammarskjöld Medal (Henry Ukomadu, a police sergeant, Moshood Lasisi, an Army warrant officer and Gabriel Shogaolu, a civilian). They were among the 80 other military, police and civilian peacekeepers, who lost their lives in the line of duty while serving with the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) between 2017 and 2019.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴³ Eight facts about United Nations Peacekeeping in today`s world, n.d.

⁴⁴⁴ UN, 2023.

⁴⁴⁵ Premium Times, 29 May 2020.

There are no direct references to the word *Peacekeeping* in the United Nations charter. Rather, there are inferences that suggest the need for peacekeeping. What gives bearing and legitimacy to peacekeeping in the United Nations charter could be found in 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 of the charter 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.

4.2. The political tension as a leading factor

Let your plans be dark and impenetrable as night, and when you move, fall like a thunderbolt. — Sun Tzu, (The Art of War)

Every political tension in the Nigerian sub region mostly results in conflicts that spill into Nigeria and other neighbouring countries. Other internal conflicts within Nigeria have led to a rise in the number of Internally Displaced Persons and the exodus of Nigerians to the neighboring countries. Such situations lead to the need to deploy peacekeepers.

The politics of selecting the soldiers and personnel that will participate in peacekeeping missions is a hindrance to effective participation because officers and inexperienced private persons that do not merit deployment are given preferences by their superiors who have vested interests. This is coupled with the intentional delay or slashing of the earnings of peacekeepers by senior officers under various guises. In some cases, the corpses of soldiers that die in the course of peacekeeping are delayed while their families are left incommunicado. Problems arising from poor logistics, short-changing of materials for soldiers, and absence of holidays, are factors that demoralize peacekeepers.

However, with the huge spending on ECOMOG, Nigeria does not seem to benefit substantially from her efforts at maintaining regional peace. Several times when the Nigerian army wishes to embark on attacks against terrorists, it is usually announced in the media before the time. This strategy has brought to question the will by the Nigerian government to sincerely fight insurgencies amidst her campaign promises to do so. Despite acquiring 12 Tucano fighter jets in 2021 to fight insurgencies, terrorism continues.

During the 2015 Presidential elections campaign, retired Major General Muhammadu Buhari who was the Presidential candidate of the APC, made a very impressive speech at the Chatham House in London.⁴⁴⁶ He presented his plans on how he would secure Nigeria and make her economically vibrant. On the issue of insecurity, he was able to convince his listeners because of his experience as a former army general. He harped on the huge insecurity that pervaded Nigeria and gave hope to a country drowned in the blood of her people. It is widely believed that those words won him the election as he skillfully laced the national problems against the backdrop of the weakness of his political opponent and sitting President Jonathan Goodluck.

It was a period when Nigerians were very angry at the re-occurring massacre of their citizens without appropriate response from the government. To worsen the situation, the government

⁴⁴⁶ Excerpt from the speech by Muhammadu Buhari; Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in Africa: Nigeria's Transition, Chatham House, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 26 February 2015.

could not identify those that were killed. No names or list were released. In many cases, victims were hurriedly buried in mass graves so that the press is not aware of the accurate numbers. Corpses were picked and gathered like fallen fruits into baskets. In several cases, some were killed and burnt to ashes without graves because terrorists usually razed villages and human beings to ashes. To further worsen the situation, there are no mechanisms in place to accurately record the number of deaths. That is why the population of the country is always estimated despite previous censuses.

It was widely believed that those words won Muhammadu Buhari the election. He read the speech with so much sincerity of purpose, confidence and deep conviction.

During that speech, he said that *Boko Haram has sadly put Nigeria on the terrorism map, killing more than 13,000 of our nationals, displacing millions internally and externally, and at a time holding on to portions of our territory the size of Belgium. What has been consistently lacking is the required leadership in our battle against insurgency.*

*I, as a retired general and a former head of state, have always known about our soldiers: they are capable, well trained, patriotic, brave and always ready to do their duty in the service of our country...Let me assure you that if I am elected president, the world will have no cause to worry about Nigeria as it has had to recently; that Nigeria will return to its stabilizing role in West Africa...We will always act on time and not allow problems to irresponsibly fester, and I, Muhammadu Buhari, will always lead from the front and return Nigeria to its leadership role in regional and international efforts to combat terrorism.*⁴⁴⁷

Sadly, these flowery campaign promises were hardly fulfilled. In February 2020, thirty Nigerians were killed and set ablaze by Boko haram terrorists in the village of Auno in Borno state. For security reasons, many vehicles were parked beside the road in front of an army barricade which was built to check the influx of insurgents at night. The gate to the city was usually closed by 10 p.m. Travelers who could not arrive before that time were forced to pass the night there. Terrorists crept in when the travelers slept, killed them in their sleep and took away several children and women as captives. During that period, the President of the country was attending a conference of the 33rd Ordinary Session of Presidents and Governments of the African Union at Addis-Ababa, Ethiopia. When he returned, he paid a condolence visit to the state and for the first time, he was booed by the people who chanted “*Bama yi! Bama so!* (We don’t want! We are not doing!).⁴⁴⁸

This was the same state where President Buhari won one of the highest votes in the 2019 Presidential elections when he scored 841,736 over his closest rival Abubakar Atiku who scored 5,414 votes.⁴⁴⁹ A juxtaposition of Buhari’s campaign promise with the reality of distrust, disappointment, and public outrage after about five years in office, was an indication that he failed in delivering his campaign promise. During that condolence visit which was mainly to the government house, residents set up big banners with the words of Malala Yousafzai *With guns you can kill terrorists; with education you can kill terrorism.*

During the condolence visit to Borno state in February 2020, President Buhari blamed traditional leaders for permitting the terrorist actions of Boko Haram. According to him, *This*

447 Ibid.

448 Punch, 12 February 2020.

449 Sahara Reporters, 26 February 2019.

*Boko Haram or whoever they are, cannot come up to Maiduguri or its environs to attack without the local leadership knowing, because traditionally the local leadership is in charge of the security in their own respective areas. In my understanding of our culture, I wonder how Boko Haram survives up to this time.*⁴⁵⁰

Many wondered why Buhari made such a statement when it was common knowledge that traditional rulers have no control over security. He turned the fight against terrorism into blame game, which many considered as a way of hiding his failure. When he paid this visit to Borno state, he visited the palace of Abubakar Gabai the Shehu of Borno. He did not visit Auno the community where the massacre took place, even though the residents eagerly expected him. The distance between the airport from where he took off and the community is 15 kilometers. In addition to the statement by Buhari, the Nigerian army Theatre Commander, Olusegun Adeniyi blamed those that were killed in Auno for not yielding to the advice of travelling around that area at the time that they did. A country's security force has the statutory duty to make all parts of the country safe. The separation of some parts of the country specially for the use of terrorists and unarmed citizens is an anomaly. *If you are going to ply the Damaturu-Maiduguri Road, for a slow car, make sure you are on that road by 3 o'clock in the afternoon so that you can clear off before 5 o'clock. And if you are driving a big truck, make sure you have started your journey around 12 or 1pm so that within 5 hours you have cleared all the roads... they refused to obey rules and regulation...Soldiers shouldn't be diverted from their night operations to go and protect vehicles of people that found themselves where they were not supposed to be. That road closes by 5p.m.*⁴⁵¹

However, The Governor of Borno State Babagana Zulum did not take the matter lying low. He blamed the soldiers for their inefficiency. *I am being pushed to the wall to say the truth...Since my inauguration as the governor, Auno town has been attacked for about six times now. And the reason is that the military has withdrawn from Auno town. We have made repeated plea to the military to re-establish a base in Auno since it is one of the flashpoints of the Boko Haram, but nothing has been done to that effect.*⁴⁵²

Education and access to basic health care and infrastructures became a serious challenge. UNICEF reports that *in addition to devastating malnutrition, violence and an outbreak of cholera, the attack on schools is in danger of creating a lost generation of children, threatening their, and the countries future.*⁴⁵³

By 2017, over 57% of schools were closed. *Since 2009, across the northeast, over 2,295 teachers have been killed and 19,000 have been displaced. Almost 1,400 schools have been destroyed with the majority unable to open because of extensive damage or because they are in areas that remain unsafe.*⁴⁵⁴

This was a visible expression of the desire of the people to access proper education for human empowerment and the development of the society. Insurgency had deprived them of access to proper education, basic health care and social infrastructures. It is important to note that Tukur

450 Haruna, in Premium Times, 3 February 2020.

451 Haruna, H., in Premium Times, 10 February 2020.

452 I

bid.

453 UNICEF, 29 September 2017.

454 ibid.

Buratai under the government of President Muhammadu Buhari, was Nigerian Chief of Army Staff while Babagana Monguno is National Security Adviser. Both security chiefs are originally from Borno state which has become the hot bed of terrorism. Many have argued that if both persons that occupy the highest position of security cannot protect their state where their families and friends reside, then it will be difficult for them to secure other parts of the country. The sad irony of the security situation in Nigeria was that after the great speech and promises by Muhammadu Buhari at the Chatham House, he found himself accosted with the reality of the situation when he became President. About five years in office, he confessed that he was surprised at the rising security situation in the country. This was the same person that used his military background as a credential during his campaign. This statement infuriated Senator Abaribe who later moved a motion on the floor of the senate that President Buhari should resign. On another occasion which took place in June 2019, President Buhari said that God will punish the perpetrators of the bombing that took place at a football viewing center in Mandarari, Konuga Local Government Area of Borno state. 30 persons were killed and attacked at a viewing center in Mandarari, Konduga Local Government Area of Borno State and 40 more were injured.⁴⁵⁵ Nigerians were angry at the call for divine vengeance from God when Buhari categorically promised that he would end Boko haram few months after resuming office based on his military experience. Among Nigerians that angrily responded to Buhari's excuses and inability to end terrorism was Olapade Agoro, a former Presidential candidate and chairman of National Action Council (NAC). According to Agoro, *If the Most Righteous God of justice were to mark the signs of inequity, it becomes apt to mention that President Muhammadu Buhari would be chief among those to be severely punished of all past and present Nigerian leaders if his political life misdemeanors were to be visited.*⁴⁵⁶

The northern parts of Nigeria are the worst hit in terms of insecurity. For example, Zamfara state has huge deposits of gold but remains the poorest in the country partly due to the insecurity. Terrorists operate at least 105 camps where they carry out their nefarious activities. It has been reported that 6,319 persons have been arbitrarily killed; 3,672 others have been kidnapped; N2, 805,049,748 (\$7.1m) has been paid as ransom while 6,483 widows and 25,050 orphans have been left behind by slain victims as of September 2021. In terms of animals, 215,241 cows, 141,404 sheep, 20,600 of other animals (such as camels and donkeys) have been rustled. 3,587 houses, 1,487 motor vehicles and motorcycles have been set ablaze.⁴⁵⁷

In August 2021, Nigerians were shocked when a retired Navy Commodore, Kunle Olawunmi, made very scathing revelations on national television about the sponsors and ethnic agenda of those behind terrorism in Nigeria. This was immediately after the terrorist attack on the premises of the Nigeria Defence Academy in which three officers were killed.⁴⁵⁸ In 22 statements. Many of his statements have been extensively recorded here because it forms a fundamental core of this project. Olawunmi confidently said as follows:

1. *Some Governors, Ministers and Senators are sponsors of Boko Haram and the Government knows them.*
2. *Bureau De Change operators are also Sponsors of Boko Haram which is also known.*

⁴⁵⁵ Punch newspaper, 17 June 2019.

⁴⁵⁶ Sahara Reporters, 3 May 2018.

⁴⁵⁷ Vanguard, 26 September 2021.

⁴⁵⁸ Pulse News, 24 August 2021.

3. *Another security breach is that every Friday, the Nigerian Defence Academy, NDA and all government institutions are opened for Jumat prayers. They come on Friday for worship. Later they become members of the mess who will later spy on the institution and plan their attack.*
4. *This government does not want to resolve this problem, rather they are escalating it.*
5. *The solution is not kinetic solution but non-kinetic. You identify the center of gravity, which had been identified. The center of gravity is the sponsors of Boko haram and bandits.*
6. *Most of these sponsors are known within the intelligence community.*
7. *The Directorate of Military Intelligence, Department of State Services, DSS, and Police intelligence knows the sponsors very well. The DSS knows very well with tons of files of those sponsoring evil in this country.*

From the above statements, the causes and solutions to the security problems of Nigeria have been summarised by somebody who is privileged to know how the system operates.

As contained in this statement, it means that if the defence academy could be attacked without apprehending the culprits, then it is logical to reason that the security of unarmed civilians cannot be guaranteed. Four hundred sponsors of terrorism were arrested in Nigeria, but the government continues to foot-drag at prosecuting them. This further confirms that there is no political will to fight insurgency.

The Minister of Justice, Abubakar Malami and Shehu Garba the spokesperson to former President-General Buhari, were quick to respond whenever there are actions against Fulani militias in the southern region of the country. When Ondo State Governor Oluwarotimi Odunayo Akeredolu, asked Fulani militias to vacate the Ondo forests in the southern region, Abubakar Malami the Minister of Justice described the order as unacceptable. According to him, it is *for example: it is as good as saying, perhaps, maybe, the northern governors coming together to say they prohibit spare parts trading in the north.*⁴⁵⁹

Shehu Garba, the special assistant to General Buhari on media and publicity said that *you can't order herders out of Ondo*. Malami and Garba also condemned the formation of the Amotekun security outfit in the south and the ban on open grazing by southern governors who believed that armed herdsmen are behind the insecurity in the southern parts of the country.

In contrast, when the Emir of Muri, Abbas Tafida, issued Fulani herdsmen 30-day ultimatum to vacate the Taraba forests of northern Nigeria, Malami and Garba remained silent.

Thereafter, the United Arab Emirate shocked the world when it released the names of the sponsors of terrorism. Six persons were mentioned as sponsors of terrorism in Nigeria - *Abdurrahman Ado Musa, Salihu Yusuf Adamu, Bashir Ali Yusuf, Muhammed Ibrahim Isa, Ibrahim Ali Alhassan, and Surajo Abubakar Muhammad.*⁴⁶⁰ This exposure was followed with the silence of the government. This exposure occurred shortly after 400 persons were reportedly detained for complicity in terrorism. There was not immediate report of their arraignment.

During the Independence speech of 1st October 2021, President Muhammadu Buhari announced on national television, that a federal legislator was a sponsor of agitation for secession and

⁴⁵⁹ The Cable News, 19 May 2021.

⁴⁶⁰ Punch Newspaper, 15 September 2021.

terrorism.⁴⁶¹ He refused to mention the name of the legislator neither was the legislator arrested. This shows that the government lacked the political will to fight terrorism. Unfulfilled International Support heightened tension in Nigeria. Several countries and partners had promised to support Nigeria to fight terrorism. Though there has been support in terms of training and sales of equipment, there is a need to give physical military combat assistance to confront the terrorists.

4.2.1. Unfulfilled International Support

In April 2021, President Buhari requested military support from the American Secretary of State, Anthony Blinken, who promised thus: *And the United States is committed to supporting Nigeria as it meets these challenges. And what that involves primarily is helping Nigeria continue to build its capacity through training, through resources, through information sharing, through equipment, and all of that done, very importantly, with full respect for human rights.*⁴⁶²

It has been argued that, due to the urgency of the security situation in Nigeria, it would have been better to make such a request directly to President Joe Biden of the United States of America. The statement by Blinken does not show any direct commitment to send military forces to boost the fight against terrorism. Requesting for such supports, in an urgent situation, from the American Secretary of State, could be likened to the President of Burkina Faso requesting such support from Nigeria through Nigeria's Foreign Affairs Minister, Geoffrey Onyeama.

4.3. Logistics and organisational shortcomings

Mobilizing for deployment to keep peace in another country could be exciting as it is uncertain, especially when loved ones are left behind with hopes and fear of distance and possible death. Fear is because in some cases, peacekeepers have been deployed to areas with active conflicts like Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Though non-use of force except in self defence and in defence of the mandate, is one of the cardinal principles of United Nations peacekeeping, *since 1948, 3,844 fatalities of UN Peacekeepers have been recorded...fortunately, the rate of attacks on peacekeepers has fallen in the last 25 years, from 1.6 deaths per 1,000 people deployed in 1993, to less than 0.4 since the turn of the century.*⁴⁶³ Peacekeepers are both ambassadors of their respective countries and their physical presence portray hope to countries in conflict. However, there are problems and hinderances associated with the efficient participation of Nigeria in peace keeping. Some of such problems are either similar or peculiar if compared to the participation of peacekeepers from developed countries. Logistics is another bottle neck in the participation of peacekeepers. There seem to be weaknesses in the central logistic body which ought to have a functional template which could ensure efficiency for the ECOWAS sub regional Operations. Such logistic issues are related to vehicles, efficient communication, kits and medicals.

⁴⁶¹ Guardian News, Nigeria at 61: Full text of President Muhammadu Buhari's Independence Day speech 2021.

⁴⁶² US Department of State. 2021.

⁴⁶³ Eight facts about United Nations Peacekeeping in today's world, 2019.

Apart from the problems of logistics during peacekeeping operations outside the country, there are also problems of logistics within the country as it relates to ensuring security within the country. There have been several cases where the airforce missed targets in pursuit of terrorists. Various incidents have been recorded by the Nigerian Airforce where they missed target and attacked civilians several times. For example, On 17 January 2017, a jet belonging to the Nigerian Air Force mistakenly bombed a camp for Internally Displaced Person, IDP, located at Rann village under the Kala Balge Local Government Area of Borno State. At least 90 persons were killed.⁴⁶⁴ The Air Force claimed that they thought that the camp was an encampment of members of the Boko Haram sect. There is no record to show that the families of the deceased were compensated. The order to attack was made by Major General Lucky Irabor, Commander of the Multi-National Joint Task Force who was also the Theatre Commander of Operation Lafiya Dole in Northeast Nigeria. In January 2021, he was promoted to the position of Chief of Defence Staff. In December 2024 at least 10 persons were bombed in Sokoto state by 'mistake' by the Nigerian army when they targeted the hideout of the Lakurawa terrorist group.⁴⁶⁵

It has been observed that when Nigerians are killed by plane crashes, all the names of the passengers are published within 24 hours. Sadly, when many are killed by the accidental discharges by the military aircrafts or slaughtered on land across the country, their names are neither published nor are their families compensated. Many are buried without a name to their graves because they are buried in mass graves. During such tragedies, President Buhari seldom spoke. Rather, his senior special adviser on media and publicity, Garba Shehu released tweets to express the mood or emotional reaction of the President.

The problem of logistics and missing targets, is also tied to indiscipline of security agents. It is expected that after mixing up with other countries in international peacekeeping, Nigeria ought to have imbibed adequate experience in maintaining peace back home. Unfortunately, this has not been the case as worse scenarios continue to emerge in the country.

Since President Muhammadu Buhari resumed office in 2015, the security situation of Nigeria worsened. It was expected that with his military background and trusted elections campaign promises, peace will be restored. Sadly, this was not the case. The situation went so much out of control that the government lost count of Nigerians that were being killed. Within a week in the month of April 2021, the following tragedies were recorded:

6 killed in Ekiti state on April 20.⁴⁶⁶

40 students kidnapped at Greenfield University, Kaduna on April 21.⁴⁶⁷

18 persons kidnapped in Oyo on April 22.

45 killed in Zamfara on April 22.

83 killed in Zamfara on April 23.

3 killed from Greenfield University, Kaduna on April 24.⁴⁶⁸

17 killed at Guma LG, Benue State, 23 April.⁴⁶⁹

Bandits kidnapped many at Haske Baptist Church, Mannai Tasha Village, Kaduna State;

⁴⁶⁴ Stephanie Busari and Ibrahim Sawab in CNN, 20 January 2017.

⁴⁶⁵ Reuters, 27 December 2024.

⁴⁶⁶ BBC Pidgin, 20 April 2021

⁴⁶⁷ Africa cgtv, 21 May 2021.

⁴⁶⁸ Aljazeera, 23 May 2021.

⁴⁶⁹ Vanguard, 17 May 2021.

one killed - 25 April⁴⁷⁰

8 security operatives killed at JTF checkpoint, Rivers state⁴⁷¹

30 Soldiers killed at Army location, 156 Battalion, Mainok area, Borno State - 25 April⁴⁷²

Many students kidnapped, Fed. University of Agriculture, Makurdi - 25 April.

20 soldiers killed by Airforce Fighter Jet - 25 April.

9 persons and 23 cows killed at Awkuzu, Anambra state - 26 April.

7 killed at the IDP camp, Abagana, Benue state - 27 April.

Kano government closes school for fear of attack - 27 April.

Amid these tragedies, the President did not make personal comments, neither did he visit the scenes of these tragic incidences. It was shocking that Mallam Garba Shehu, the spokesperson to the president, made a scathing remark when he said that *people are reporting killing as if it had never happened before*.⁴⁷³

At this precarious situation in Nigeria, in April 2021, the government sent a contingent of 144 police officers from Nigeria to Somalia to boost stabilization efforts in support of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) through the United Nations.⁴⁷⁴

Nigerian police officers and soldiers have excelled during peacekeeping operations in other countries.

In year 2020, Catherine Ugorji of the Nigerian Police who served at the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) was selected as one of the two runners-up for the UN Woman Police Officer of the Year award.

1,300 UN policewomen were deployed for UN peacekeeping operations and 21 of them were nominated for the award which was eventually won by Chief Inspector Doreen Malambo of Zambia, who served with the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS). Ugorji was remarkable for her leadership of “three Formed Police Units (FPU) in Gao; introduced tactical operations that have been instrumental in reducing crime in the area, in support of the Malian security forces and the host population...worked diligently to improve living conditions for women police officers so they can serve safely and with dignity....her work to extend the outreach of the FPU to the Ansongo area, close to the Mali-Niger-Burkina Faso border area, where terrorists and spoilers of the Malian peace agreement are increasing their influence.”⁴⁷⁵

When juxtaposed with how the police and soldiers treat Nigerians back home, the President of the country and the Inspector General of Police have been blamed for tolerating unprofessionalism and giving security agents the support that challenged the rights of citizens. Others believe that the unstable health of the President affected the administration of the country. Nigerians complained and protested variously that the health of the President was affecting his work. Several calls were made that he should resign. To add further insult to injury, the Special Adviser to the President on media publicity, Femi Adesina responded to Nigerians thus: *He simply focuses on what he is doing, ignoring the noise of the market. Kick like a dying*

470 Punch, 25 April 2021.

471 Punch newspaper, 25 April 2021.

472 Sahara Reporters, 25 April 2021.

473 Vanguard, 25 April 2021.

474Sahara Reporters, 20 April 2020.

475 Premium Times, 30 October, 2020.

*horse, shout yourselves hoarse, curse, murmur like a ghost, hiss like a snake, President Buhari keeps his eyes on the ball.*⁴⁷⁶

Terrorists have successfully attacked various institutions in Nigeria due to intelligence failure on the side of government. Either the intelligence reports are not taken seriously or no proactive measures are taken to prevent the occurrences. Such lapses in logistics were experienced in the various attacks on correctional centers in Nigeria. For example, before the attack of ISWAP on the Kuje correctional center in Abuja, warning signs and intelligence were already gathered but were not taken seriously. Some hours before the attack, the State Security Service, SSS, warned that there would be a possible terrorist act but it was not specific. Such intelligence reports were not applied because of slow, poor and bureaucratic process of information management. Such lapses do not occur when Nigerians embark on peace operations in foreign countries. This is because peacekeeping is an assemblage of various countries who come with various technology and the highest best practices. Nigeria must replicate such information gathering mechanism especially through the use of the local community as informants. This could also be improved when toll-free numbers are provided for Nigerians to report suspicious happenings.

On the other hand, when investigative panels are set up to review what went wrong in terms of logistics and dissemination of information, the reports are neither released nor the lapses efficiently corrected. That is why several correctional centers were attacked one after another in quick succession. Between 2015 and 2022, *there have been at least 18 prison breaks in Nigeria, with nearly 9,000 inmates released and nearly half of them still on the run*⁴⁷⁷

Reports by the International Center for Investigating Reporting, ICIR⁴⁷⁸ highlights 18 cases of jailbreaks which occurred during the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari.

On 17 different occasions between 9 August 2016 and April 2024, the number of detainees and prisoners - including terrorists who escaped from various correctional centers after attacks or other disasters on such centers, was 5813. With such a situation, the same persons that caused the insecurity went back into the society. This recycling of terrorism through the attacks on correctional centers shows the lapses and lack of effective intelligence reports which could have prevented the occurrences. The irony is that such logistic problems do not usually occur when Nigeria embarks on peacekeeping missions abroad.

4.4. Personnel/societal shortcomings

In comparison to the over 230 million Nigerian population, the number of security agents is not commensurate to the size of the Nigerian armed forces. The manpower of Nigeria is not enough to be deployed for peacekeeping missions when assessed from the various conflicts that have taken place in the country since independence.

In 2019 the size of Nigerian army was 223,000.00. This was 0% increase from 2018. The size for 2018 was 223,000.00, a 3.72% increase from 2017. The size for 2017 was 215,000.00. This was a 7.5% increase from 2016. Nigeria military size for 2016 was 200,000.00. This was a 0% increase from 2015.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁶ Sahara Reporters, 23 April 2021.

⁴⁷⁷ The Africa Report, 7 July 2022.

⁴⁷⁸ ICIR, 23 July 2022.

⁴⁷⁹ Macrotrends, Nigeria Military Size, 1985-2022.

Between 2020 and 2021 Nigeria had 371,800 police officers. Therefore, the ratio of police to population in Nigeria was 1:540. This ratio of 1:400 is below the standard recommended by the United Nations. There are currently plans to increase the force to 650,000, adding 280,000 new recruits to the existing 370,000.

In 2020, the force underwent major overhauls when President Buhari Signed the Nigeria Police Bill 2020 into Law. The goal was to provide for a more effective force based on transparency and accountability in the management of resources. *Among others, the Act establishes an appropriate funding framework for the Police in line with what is obtainable in other Federal Government key institutions, enhances professionalism in the Force through increased training opportunities, and creates an enduring cooperation and partnership between the Police Force and communities in maintaining peace and combating crimes nationwide.*⁴⁸⁰

Nigeria has one of the largest Air Force in Africa, consisting of a recorded 15,000 personnel. Its fleet of aircraft include eight Chinese Chengdu F-7 fighter aircrafts, 12 Dassault-Dornier Alpha Jets, three JF-17, Thunder Block II, 12 Super Tucano aircraft, 24 M-346 Fas, Helicopter gunships, armed attack drones, and military transport aircraft. Some of the equipment were deployed to fight the war in Liberia and Sierra Leone. In other countries, Nigeria mostly sent personnel such as soldiers, police officers and medical teams.

Ironically, with all these powerful ammunitions, terrorists who move with motor bikes and other vehicles, have been able to overwhelm the country. For example, on 5 July 2022 terrorists operating as Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWAP) moved with motor bikes into the federal capital city of Abuja, bombed the correctional center and set other detained terrorists free. A total of 879 of the 994 inmates escaped, and more than 400, including over 50 terrorists. On the night of the Kuje attack, 65 various security personnel were on guard duty, including 31 soldiers from the 176 Special Forces Guards Brigade Battalion, Gwagwalada; 5 personnel of MOPOL 21, and 5 personnel of MOPOL 50; 2 personnel of the counter-terrorism unit of the Nigeria police; 2 personnel of the Kuje police division; 7 personnel of the Nigeria Immigration Service; three personnel of Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC), and 10 personnel of the correctional service armed squad. One civil defence officer lost his life to gunfire.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁸⁰ Proshare, 2020.

⁴⁸¹ Premium Times, 2022.

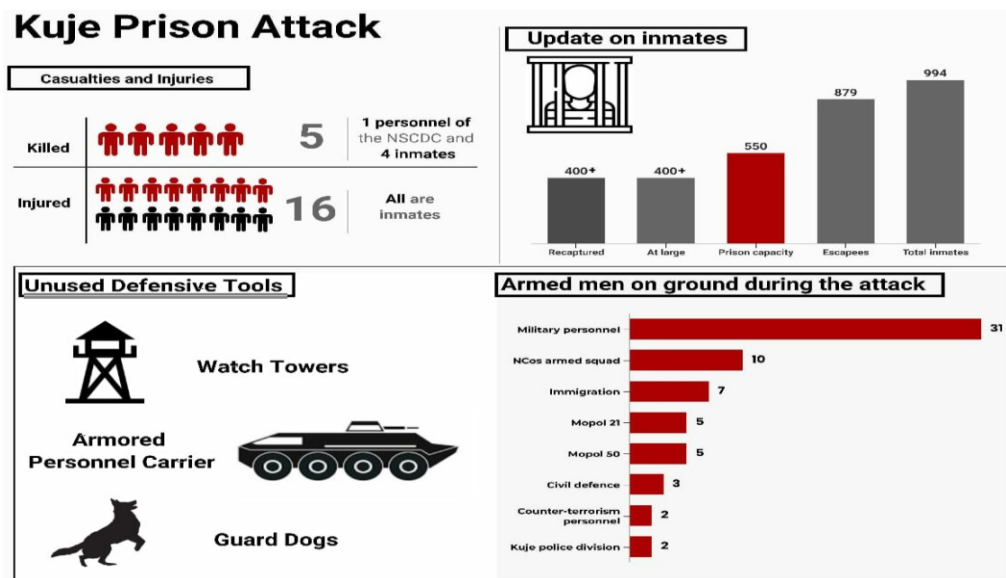


Figure XL. The attack on Kuje Correctional Center. Source: Premium Times, <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/556204-investigation-why-terror-attack-on-nigerias-kuje-prison-was-successful.html>.

The Kuje prison attack was a national embarrassment. It was ironic that despite all the aerial equipment owned by Nigeria, these terrorists who arrived with motor bikes and vehicles, successfully carried out their attacks with little or no resistance. It is expected that a country that sends troops to maintain peace in other countries, should have the domestic capabilities to counter such attacks. However, it is believed that for such operations to take place, there must have been some inner informants working against the government. Jonathan Goodluck the president of Nigeria who preceded president Muhammadu Buhari, had announced that there were terrorist elements and supporters of Boko Haram within his government. In his words, *some of them are in the executive arm of government, some of them are in the parliamentary/legislative arm of government, while some of them are even in the judiciary; some are also in the armed forces, the police and other security agencies.*⁴⁸² Bola Tinubu succeeded Buhari as president. During his administration, Bandit kingpin, Kachallah Bello Turji, announced that the Minister of State for Defence, Bello Matawalle, was backing terrorism in the North-West.⁴⁸³ Furthermore, the government of Zamfara state where Metawale was a governor, severally accused Bello Metawalle as being a sponsor of terrorism. Tinubu did not make any move to change or investigate the minister. On the other hand, the national assembly did not summon Metawalle for interrogation. The allegations and suspicions against Metawalle were further heightened when in 2024, Bashir Hadejia, his ally and former aide, was arrested over suspected links to terrorism financing.⁴⁸⁴

If these allegations are true and no internal cleansing is carried out, it means that the aberrations will continue in successive governments and it may be very difficult to end insurgencies in the country.

⁴⁸² BBC, 2012.

⁴⁸³ MSN, 2024.

⁴⁸⁴ Foundation for Investigative Journalism, 2024.

4.4.1. Manpower

In comparison, Egypt leads in terms of military power in Africa. This is followed by Algeria, South Africa and Nigeria. *Nigeria is credited with 181,000 total military personnel, 172,400,000 available manpower, those fit for service stood at 40,710,000, citizens reaching military age stands at 3,456,000. Out of the total military personnel, 124,000 are active while 57,000 are reserved.*⁴⁸⁵

With an estimated population of 232.6 million citizens as of 2024, the number of Police officers rose to 650,000; Army 230,000; Navy 25,000 and the Airforce 18,000 personnel. That brings the total to 923,000. Out of this number, some of them are posted abroad for peacekeeping missions or as security attaché to embassies.

It means that one security personnel protect 232 citizens while one police officer protects 327 citizens. Out of these security agencies, some politicians have 10 officers attached to them. The President has over 200 security agents. The Vice President has around 100. The Senate President has at least 50. Apart from the human security, the politicians move around with bullet proof vehicles and wear bullet proof vests inside their clothes. The Governors siphon security votes and protect themselves and families with around 100 security officers. The people are helplessly on their own. The numerical strength of the Nigerian army is below expectation at a period where internal insurgency, kidnapping and external infiltration continue to ravage the country. Sending troops outside the country amid huge domestic tension, is an aberration. Sometimes troops are hurriedly drawn from different units and quickly deployed when regions like the northeast are under regular attacks. Ironically, `repentant` Boko Haram members have been re-integrated into the society and there are growing suspicions that some of them could be enlisted into the Nigerian armed forces.

When conditions are going wrong in Nigeria, politicians in power do not speak or take actions to condemn the act because they do not wish to lose favour from their parties. Records have shown that some politicians and public office holders put their political parties above loyalty to country. For example, there was a sheer display of gross insensitivity, on Tuesday 27 April 2021 on the floor of the Nigerian Senate. The lawmaker representing Lagos Central District, Remi Tinubu, bitterly and rudely interrupted Senator Smart Adeyemi representing Kogi West. Adeyemi was emotionally speaking against the horrible security situation in Nigeria and he was urging President Buhari to act quickly by seeking foreign help to address the huge insecurity. He went further to suggest that the national assembly should be closed until security is restored. Simply because Adeyemi belongs to the same ruling political party, APC - just as Remi Tinubu, she quickly challenged Adeyemi by asking him *Are you in PDP? Are you a wolf in sheep's clothing?*⁴⁸⁶ That is why many federal legislators are silent to the plights of Nigerians. They prefer to be silent when the government is derailing in order not to fall out of political favour. This altercation occurred at a time when the Niger State Governor, Sani Bello, lamented that Boko Haram had hoisted their flag in the Shiroro Local Government Area of the State. The terrorists violently demand tax from the locals. The sect had become better equipped because they bought more ammunitions from the ransom paid by the government and private citizens to secure the release of kidnapped persons which mostly included students.

485 Global Fire Power, 2023.

486 Sahara Reporters, 27 May 2021.

4.4.2. Recruitment by nepotism

A decision that has kept Nigerians disunited between 2015 through the administration of Muhammadu Buhari and Bola Tinubu, was in the conscious appointment of persons from the ethnic tribes of the presidents into sensitive and lucrative positions against the law of the Federal Character. For example, during the appointment of Judges for the Court of Appeal in June 2021,⁴⁸⁷ there were glaring nepotism. Out of the 18 Justices sworn in, 11 were from the north and 7 from the southern part of the country. Buhari also made sure that those that handled the security and economy were mostly from his ethnic region. In the case of Bola Tinubu, he made sure that the offices of the chief of army staff, comptroller-general of immigration, inspector-general of police, attorney-general, chairman of the economic and financial crimes, director of state service, etc, were all occupied by people from his tribe. Such nepotism weakens the morale of the people and patriotism from other sections of the country. In the release of the supplementary list of persons recruited into the Nigerian Navy in 2021, all the 44 names were reportedly candidates from the northern part of the country⁴⁸⁸. However, this report was denied by the Nigerian Navy through the Director of Information, Naval Headquarters, Commodore Suleman Dahun, who claimed that the circulated list did not emanate from the Nigerian Navy headquarters. According to him, the circulation of such information was *a pitiable ploy of mischief makers and idle minds with intent on creating ill feelings amongst the Nigerian public thereby stoking sectional and religious sensibilities*.⁴⁸⁹

Such imbalances, perceived or real, against the requirement of the Federal Character Commission, are some of the factors that makes a section of the country to feel marginalized.

Such perceptions trigger internal conflicts.

Recruitment of cadets into the Nigerian State Security Service has been judged as a direct affront on the Nigerian constitution because it was based on sheer nepotism and ethnicism.

During the 2017 recruitment exercise, *the SSS recruited 51 persons from Katsina State alone whereas, all the six states in the south-south got a combined 42 candidates. Also, all the five states in the south-east got less than 50 states*.⁴⁹⁰

In 2020, out of a total number of 628 cadet trainees at the Bauchi facility, 535 were identified as persons from either the Northeast or the Northwest. Only 93 were from either the Southeast, South-South or North-Central. It was reported that *at least 71 of them hail from Bichi Local Government Area, Kano State – the director-general's home local government area*.⁴⁹¹

4.4.3. Language and Training

When officers from different countries and tribes are brought together, communication becomes a hinderance as interpreters cannot be employed in all instances. Though Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish are the six official languages of the UN, peacekeeping within the Africa Union could be complicated because the language is not monolithic. Depending on the delineation in terms of tribes and dialects, there are between 1,250 and 2,100

487 Premium Times, 27 June 2021.

488 Sahara Reporters, 12 July 2021.

489 Daily Post, 13 July 2021.

490 Premium Times, 18 May 2017.

491 Gazette News, 29 September 2020.

languages in Africa. In Nigeria, there are 371 spoken languages. Various countries have their training techniques in terms of adaption to languages needed for peacekeeping. Receiving new directions and methods of training on the field could be difficult. For example, ECOMOG has Francophone and Anglophone countries. Six West African countries are classified as anglophone – Nigeria, Sierra Leone, The Gambia, Liberia, Ghana, and part of Cameroon. The other eleven countries – Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mali, Togo, Benin, Burkina Faso, Niger, Chad are francophone countries. It means that, for communication to be effective in ECOMOG peacekeeping, officers, especially the leaders, must have working knowledge of both languages and missions must provide for translators.

Through cooperations, the Australian Department of Defence, Global Affairs Canada's Peace and Stabilization Operations Programme, and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs provides language training for Nigeria peacekeepers through the platform known as Individual E-Learning for Peacekeepers from Nigeria (IELP Nigeria). The Peace Operations Training Institute offers 29 courses in English with translations in Spanish and French. These e-learning courses for peacekeepers are free of charge for military and police personnel. The trainings are also for civilian employees of the Ministry of Defence and other agencies of government that are involved in peacekeeping. Though all the peacekeepers participate in the language training, the level of the understanding of these languages cannot be effectively calculated because the tests are mostly by e-learning. However, they are deemed to be successful because focus is more on the basics. Furthermore, the participants are also supported by translators who accompany them to missions.

In order to improve local capacity for military officers, proficiency language courses were organized by the Nigerian Army Resource Centre (NARC) in collaboration with Laclic Services Limited (LSL) to enable her personnel to gain knowledge and the use of Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa which are the three major Nigerian languages.

If peacekeeping must be effective, personnel from different countries who work together, must be able to communicate without hindrances. One way to achieve this, is for the various governments of participating countries to train her personnel in the languages of peacekeeping.

4.4.4. The resignation of Nigerian Soldiers

Regard your soldiers as your children, and they will follow you into the deepest valleys; look on them as your own beloved sons, and they will stand by you even unto death. Sun Tzu.

The corruption that leads to the lack of equipment also leads to demoralization of the security agents. Many soldiers have been killed in the war against Boko haram and some Nigerian soldiers decided to desert or formally resign. By July 2020 when combat with Boko haram was still on, three hundred and fifty-six Nigerian soldiers reportedly left the army because of “*loss of interest*”.⁴⁹² Such broken morale is linked to the continuing lack of ammunition and welfare for the soldiers. Many of the soldiers who were assembled from various formations in the country died without the knowledge of their families. Those that complained like Martin Idakpini were arrested and detained under horrible conditions.⁴⁹³ For over a decade, their lives

⁴⁹² Premium Times, 11 July 2020.

⁴⁹³ Premium Times, 14 January 2021.

were under risk because they were fighting against a sect that was better armed. In an atmosphere of poor leadership, it is not unexpected that the soldiers will eventually become demoralized.

In addition to the 356 soldiers that exited the force, 24 others returned home to play traditional roles in their respective communities. Their voluntary discharges were approved by the Chief of army staff in accordance with the Nigerian Army Administrative Policy and Procedure 27 Paragraphs 3 and 4.⁴⁹⁴

In August 2022, it was confirmed that another set of 243 soldiers repented due to low spirit of service and alleged corruption in the system.

When soldiers resign from active service, it is pertinent that the government review the conditions of service in order to find solution to the problem.

It was a security risk to note that some of the soldiers that deserted the army moved to other countries like Cameroon to escaped arrest. Some might have escaped with their rifles and other military gadgets which could be used for other criminal purposes. Some soldiers and police officers who were sacked or in active service were also arrested in cases involving kidnapping and armed robbery. For example, in May 2019, the police command in Anambra State announced the arrest of a four-man kidnap gang which was led by a soldier in active service. They had successfully kidnapped one Uchenna Ezeonu in an area known as Ekwulobia. The names of the kidnappers were given as Obasi Peter, Benjamin Nicholas and Ojiegbe Obinna. All the kidnappers wore military uniforms to deceive and kidnap members of the public who thought that they were soldiers on duty. The leader of the gang known as Ojiegbe Obinna, a lance corporal, was serving with the Nigerian Army and was among the soldiers deployed to the 101 Special Forces Battalion, to fight Boko haram in Maiduguri, Borno State.⁴⁹⁵

Two reasons could be deduced from this case. Either the soldier needed more money which reflected their poor remuneration, or that the soldier was simply exercising his criminal habits. In extension of this, some soldiers have been arrested for giving intelligence report to Boko haram and selling ammunitions and other supplies to them. It is very difficult to fight a group that has their informants and spies within the Nigerian army. In September 2016 the revelation was made by Maj. Gen. Lucky Irabor, the theater commander in northeastern Nigeria during the trial of 16 officers and troops who were accused of various offenses connected to their activities in the fight against Boko haram. The commander confirmed that *some soldiers were selling arms and ammunition to Boko Haram. He called it a betrayal of the Nigerian people.*⁴⁹⁶

During the investigation, it was discovered that though 21 anti-aircraft guns were assigned that year to that artillery brigade, just one was received! This was happening at a period when other senior military officers were being investigated for diverting funds meant to equip the army. Meanwhile, Alex Badeh, a four-star general and Chief of Defense Staff was relieved from his position based on revelation that he diverted about \$24 million.

During that period, various civil society organizations also demanded that the Chief of army staff, Lt. Gen. Tukur Buratai should also be investigated because he allegedly bought properties in Dubai, United Arab Emirates.

494 *ibid.*

495 Premium Times, 26 May 2019.

496 Voice of America, 4 September 2016.

The discontent that led to the loss of morale by the soldiers is quite different from the morale they have when they are deployed as peacekeepers to foreign countries. This is especially so because the condition of service outside the shores of Nigeria is quite better because it is managed by the United Nations.

It is due to the loss of morale that also forced Nigerian soldiers to give way to the Boko haram sect to take over some towns and villages and taking women and children hostage. Some of the children were used as suicide bombers while the young girls were forcefully married. Through the various videos by commanders and soldiers that appeared on social media, they called for equipment and logistic supports to aid their fight against the terrorists. Such public outcries were usually rebuffed with strict disciplinary actions while the problems remained unresolved. The killing of soldiers and civilians continued.

Though the Nigerian army debunked the statement that the soldiers were not resigning because of the loss of morale, there are reports that some soldiers deserted by simply dropping their guns and uniforms.

On 7 July 2020 *troops of 25 Brigade on patrol were ambushed by terrorists on Damboa-Maiduguri Road. In the ensuing fight, 37 soldiers were killed in action and “about 60” unaccounted for, according to security sources briefed following the losses, which also included nine gun trucks.*⁴⁹⁷ Situations like this only confirm the lack of logistics and weapons. There are indications that when Nigerian soldiers are killed, the number of casualties is usually kept secret to avoid a mutiny by soldiers and the dampening of their morale. In some cases, the families of killed soldiers are not immediately notified until several months after.

There have been several calls for the removal and replacement of service chiefs due to the reoccurring massacre of soldiers and civilians. The Senate had summoned the service chiefs on separate occasions to urge them to step up their tactics and strategies but nothing drastic changed. At a point, the chief of army staff relocated to the troubled region as a way of boosting the confidence of the soldiers, but nothing changed. It was while he relocated, that 81 persons were killed and 13 others injured at Faduma Kolomdi,⁴⁹⁸ in that same region of Borno state which is the home of the Chief of Army Staff. It is ironical that terrorists continued to wreak havoc on Katsina state home of the President and the Borno state home of the chief of army staff.

4.5. Financing and Budgetary shortcomings

No one starts a war - or rather, no one in his sense ought to do so-without first being clear in his mind what he intends to achieve by the war and how he intends to conduct it.

— Carl von Clausewitz

The economic implication of financing peacekeeping operations especially within the West African sub region has been a monumental expenditure for the government of Nigeria. The Nigerian troop remained in Liberia for 15 years and the material and human capital expended was a huge financial burden. With a current estimate of about 94 million persons living in extreme poverty, Nigeria gradually became the poverty capital of the world because of regular spending in many areas- including peacekeeping that did not yield financial returns. This is

⁴⁹⁷ Premium Times, 11 July 2020.

⁴⁹⁸ The Guardian, 11 June 2020.

coupled with the fact that the cost of running the administration of government is very high due to the many offices, and the underlying corruption and debt servicing. In recent years, budget for recurrent expenditure has been far higher than budget for capital expenditure. This accounts for the slow rate of development. For example, with a record-breaking budget of N10.33trn (\$28.5bn) for the year 2020, the government will spend N2.45trn on debt servicing, compared with its N2.14trn allocation for investing in infrastructure. The economic growth rate was 0.8% in 2017 and 1.9% in 2018.⁴⁹⁹ In 2024 the budget was N27.5 trillion and N8.25 trillion (30 percent) was budgeted for debt servicing with an economic growth rate of 3.46%. N3.25 trillion (12% of Budget) was provisioned for the Military, Police, Intelligence & ParaMilitary (BusinessDay, 2023). Despite the growing budget for security, the challenges in this area continue to also increase.

Peacekeeping operations have resulted in huge economic loss to Nigeria since 1960, with little or nothing to show for it. Nna-Emeka recorded that the cost of peacekeeping operations in Congo for Nigeria, was put at 14,785,572 pounds sterling.⁵⁰⁰ This figure excluded her USD1 million UN bond issued to defray the cost of the operation. On the other hand, in 1982, Nigeria underwrote \$US80 million cost of OAU peacekeeping operations in Chad to make up for the funds pledged by United Kingdom and United States of America which were not released after the withdrawal of Libyan forces.⁵⁰¹ The domestic loss for Nigeria became the prosperity and stability of other nations while the country continues to heighten its debt profile which has expanded to about \$87.239 billion as at March 2021. In 2014, there was mutiny in Maiduguri by soldiers who vented their anger at the continuing loss of their colleagues to Boko Haram insurgents who had superior fire power. During his visit to the camp, General Amadu Mohammed was pelted with stones and shots were fired by the soldiers who also complained about the poor feeding, poor equipment, care and delay in their salaries. They refused to respond to taking orders because of negligence by government. Twelve Nigerian soldiers were court martialed and sentenced to death because of their involvement in the mutiny. *Five other soldiers were acquitted and one was convicted on another count.*⁵⁰²

In another instance, families of the soldiers protested that their husbands should not be deployed into battle with Boko Haram because of their ill-treatments. Wives and children of soldiers protested by laying siege at the Maimalari Barracks in Maiduguri and at the 21 Armoured Brigade in Giwa Barracks where they locked the gates leading to the barracks. They were reportedly shouting on top of their voices We won't allow our husbands to be killed as the military authorities refused to equip them with sophisticated weapons that can match the ones of Boko Haram.⁵⁰³

In July 2018, mobile police officers deployed to support the army against Boko Haram protested with sporadic gun shots in response to the delay of their allowances for seven months. They complained that they were given deplorable welfare supports as they mostly slept on bare floors. Their protest disrupted social and economic activities in Maiduguri the Borno state capital.⁵⁰⁴

⁴⁹⁹ Egbejule, E, Smith, T, 2019.

⁵⁰⁰ Nna-Emeka, O., 2010.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² BBC News Africa, 2014.

⁵⁰³ Business Day, 2014.

⁵⁰⁴ Omonobi, K, Marama, N & Yakubu, D, in Vanguard Newspaper, 3 July 2018.

While such treatments continue in the domestic fronts, Nigerian peacekeepers had also complained that their allowances have been slashed or delayed by the Nigeria military authorities. All these issues bordering on welfare demoralizes the active participation of persons deployed for peacekeeping missions.

Nigerian soldiers who returned from peacekeeping engaged in violent protested at Akure the Ondo state capital by barricading the Lagos-Ibadan-Abuja highway in July 2008. In the process, they harassed travelers and looted shops in response to the delay and slashing of their allowances by the army authority. 27 of the former U.N. peacekeepers were initially sentenced to death after being convicted of mutiny for participating in the protest. Their sentencing was later commuted to 7 years imprisonment. A court had previously convicted five military personnel for stealing \$68,541 from Nigerian troops that returned from the U.N. peacekeeping missions in Liberia. The convicted personnel diverted funds meant for the peacekeeping troops by paying the soldiers less than the \$5,040 approved for each of them by the United Nations⁵⁰⁵ Such experiences will discourage future peacekeepers.

In September 2021, retired police officers staged protests at the national assembly in Abuja due to delay in their pension funds and other entitlements.⁵⁰⁶

On the domestic front, \$2.5 billion budgeted for equipping the Nigerian army was diverted by politicians to campaign for the 2015 Presidential elections under the administration of Jonathan Goodluck. To a large extent, it weakened the military strength of Nigeria and her effective participating in peacekeeping missions. In August 2021, Nigerian soldiers who were sentenced to death for protesting the lack of ammunition were released from prison after spending 7 years in detention⁵⁰⁷. Meanwhile, government continue to integrate so-called repentant terrorists whose insurgencies put the soldiers in that condition. People that were internally displaced by the same terrorists continue to live in very deplorable conditions.

It is an irony that while the pensions and emoluments of police officers and soldiers that served in missions and within Nigeria are being delayed, state governors who served and looted treasuries while in elected offices for between 4 and 8 years, receive life pension which are speedily paid. Their monthly pensions go with houses in choice areas, local and international medical care, staff salaries, etc.

On the other hand, Nigerian police and soldiers have not treated Nigerians fairly while discharging their duties. They often brutalized Nigerians when they protested to seek social justice. However, to serve a country for 35 years is worth commendation and respect. Pensioners must receive automatic alert by the 28 of every month. These are senior citizens and must be accorded due respect. In developed countries, pensioners travel with public transport free of charge and receive free medical treatments with other discounts.

All the state legislatures in Nigeria must put an end to life salaries for former state governors. For example, the monthly pension for a former governor of Delta state is a whopping N4.2 million (\$10,500) while minimum wage of Nigerian workers is N30, 000 (\$75).

It means that the monthly wage of an ex-governor can pay 140 workers monthly.

The minimum wage of workers in Kano state is N18, 000 (\$45). Meaning that the monthly pension of an ex-governor in Delta state can pay 233 Kano state workers.

⁵⁰⁵ Reuters, 30 August 2009.

⁵⁰⁶ Punch, 22 September 2021.

⁵⁰⁷ Sahara Reporters, 17 August 2021.

Some states have 10 former governors that must receive this amount monthly without struggle. That is how Nigeria gradually became the poverty capital of the world.

Nigerians argued and hoped that the struggles of security pensioners will teach serving police and army officers some lessons. Instead of oppressing Nigerians when they protest social injustice, the security personnel must respect and cooperate with the citizenry. Whatever comes around, goes around.

During peaceful protests, Nigerians have been tear-gassed, arrested and arraigned in court by serving police officers where they are made to pay millions of naira to fulfill bail conditions.

Would it have been fair for the protesting pensioners to be beaten and tortured by the serving security officers as the pensioners previously did? Whatever comes around, goes around.

Government must realize that it is a national security risk to owe former security personnel of their entitlements. They know how to use the gun and they understand the logistics of national security architecture. They could be frustrated into being kidnappers and armed robbers. Instead, the pensioners could be used as vigilantes to get extra cash with their regular pensions. Their pensions were deducted as monthly taxes when they were in office. The big question is: Where is the money?

4.5.1. Defense budget from 1960 – 2024 and its security implications

Annual budgets are unavoidable national expenditures needed to sustain peace and development. Like many sovereign countries, Nigeria has been very focused in terms of budgeting for defense to secure domestic and international stability. It is necessary to analyze the defense budget and the conflicts that took place within the budget periods. Are there gaps between budget and its efficient implementation? How has the huge cost of annual budgets been successfully utilized to forestall the occurrences and recurrences of similar conflicts? The main causes of conflicts in Nigeria have been ethnic, religious and perceived marginalization which has led to various violent agitations and militancy. These are similar causes of conflicts in neighboring countries where Nigeria had contributed to peacekeeping.

Defense budget increased during and after the 1967 civil war especially due to the expansion of the military force in terms of manpower and equipment. In a trend of reversal, it was unfortunate that during the inaugural speech of President Olusegun Obasanjo in 1999, he regretted dwindling professionalism in the military he superintended between 13 February 1976 and 1 October 1979 before he returned as civilian President from 29 May 1999 to 29 May 2007. In his 1999 inaugural speech, he said that ... *Professionalism has been lost... my heart bleeds to see the degradation in the proficiency of the military.*⁵⁰⁸

The place of defense in the constitution of Nigeria is what gave rise to the need of a budget. The Constitution of Nigeria entrenches the roles of a country's armed forces as elucidated in Section 217-220 (1) *There shall be an armed force for the Federation which shall consist of an army, a navy, an air force, and such other branches of the armed forces of the Federation as may be established by an Act of the National Assembly.* It further elucidated the purposes of the armed forces as follows:

1) Defending Nigeria from external aggression

508 Obasanjo was quoted by Herbert M. Howe in 'Ambiguous Order: Military Forces in African States'. Lynne Rienner, Boulder/London, 2001.

2) Maintaining its territorial integrity and securing its borders from the violation on land, sea or air.

3) Suppressing insurrection and acting in aid of civil authorities to restore order when called up to do so by the president but subject to such condition as may be prescribed by an act of the national assembly and

4) Performing such function as may be prescribed by an act of the national assembly.

At the end of this analysis, recommendations will be made to beef up strategies for effective utilization of military resources in line with global best practices in a world where modern methods of military combats and defense have surpassed the familiar conventions.

Year	Value	Year	Value	Year	USD Value
1960	23,379,990	1981	2,135,475,000	2002	896,913,200
1961	28,279,990	1982	1,651,914,000	2003	587,461,900
1962	38,639,980	1983	1,627,393,000	2004	639,990,100
1963	45,499,980	1984	1,210,916,000	2005	674,208,100
1964	54,319,980	1985	1,091,663,000	2006	776,148,000
1965	65,939,970	1986	516,893,500	2007	971,321,400
1966	55,719,980	1987	201,691,200	2008	1,615,533,000
1967	239,959,900	1988	271,106,000	2009	1,504,486,000
1968	369,039,800	1989	170,705,500	2010	1,990,100,000
1969	684,459,700	1990	277,297,800	2011	2,384,936,000
1970	662,339,700	1991	243,705,800	2012	2,316,478,000
1971	639,259,500	1992	173,657,700	2013	2,418,760,000
1972	904,095,600	1993	289,231,100	2014	2,357,666,000
1973	1,020,224,000	1994	319,694,500	2015	2,065,558,000
1974	1,351,141,000	1995	639,406,700	2016	1,723,204,000
1975	3,028,585,000	1996	701,412,900	2017	1,621,218,000
1976	2,644,426,000	1997	818,784,500	2018	2,043,052,000
1977	3,138,199,000	1998	1,149,685,000	2019	1,860,260,430
1978	3,022,642,000	1999	491,671,400	2020	2,567,917,820
1979	3,070,825,000	2000	368,644,100	2021	\$4.47bn
1980	3,029,915,000	2001	570,632,300	2022	\$3.11bn
				2023	\$3.2 bn
				2024	\$5.13bn
				Total	\$ 674.73bn

Figure XLI. Nigeria Military expenditures in US dollars from 1960 to 2024.

Total amount: \$674.73 billion as of 2024. Source: World Bank, Nigeria Military Expenditure, <https://www.indexmundi.com/facts/nigeria/military-expenditure>, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.XPND.GD.ZS?end=2020&locations=NG&start=1960>. Edited by the Author.

YEAR

BILLIONS OF US \$

% OF GDP

2020	\$2.56	0.6%
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Observation

It is not a commensurate budget in terms of the huge security situation in the country. The irony of it is that the budget is lower than what was budgeted for members of the national assembly who will receive 125 billion naira (284.090 million euro). The cost of running government is higher than what is allocated for basic infrastructures. For example, the combined budget for Education and Health is 94 billion naira (213,636 million euro). This is 31 million naira less than what was budgeted for the national assembly.

2019	\$1.86	0.46 %
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Observation

Security report in 2019 shows that between January and September 2019, thirty- four persons were kidnapped within the Federal Capital territory.

It was characterized by the killing of protesters. On 10 September 2019, Nigerian soldiers killed fifteen Shiites during the Ashura procession: three in Kaduna North, Kaduna; six in Katagum, Bauchi; three in Gombe, Gombe; two in Goronyo, Sokoto; and one in Katsina⁵⁰⁹ several attacks by Boko haram, killing of Boko haram members by the Nigerian army, herdsmen razing villages and killing many. Nigerian army, herdsmen razing villages and killing many.

It has been reported that at least 25,794 Nigerians may have been killed⁵¹⁰ in various violent crises during the first tenure of President Muhammadu Buhari between 2015 and 2019. He is a retired army general who also appointed other retired military experts into his cabinet. It was expected that his presidency would have been an opportunity to seriously address the issues of insecurity in the country. The number of persons killed is related to the number of deaths and attacks executed by Boko haram, herdsmen, and victims of extra-judicial actions of security agencies. The report further states that Borno state of Nigeria recorded the highest number of the death of 9,303 persons. This was followed by Zamfara (1,963), Adamawa 1,529, Kaduna 1,488, Plateau 771, Taraba 649, Benue 1,642, Niger 252, Rivers 730, Cross River 467, Ogun 301, etc. Further report shows that the highest record of death was in July 2015 (1,299) and January 2019 (1,077)

While Boko haram were responsible for the killing of 5,598 persons, herdsmen and other sectarian violence claimed the lives of 4,917 Nigerians. State actors and the military were responsible for the death of 4,068 persons.

2018	\$2.04	0.51%
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Observation

The Nigeria military defense budget in 2018 at \$2.04B, is a 26.02% increase from that of 2017.

2017	\$1.62	0.435
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Observation

The Nigeria military defense budget in 2017 at \$1.62B, is a 5.92% decline from that of 2016.

2016	\$1.72	0.43%
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Observation

509 Council on foreign relations, 17 September 2019.

510 Folarin, in Punch, 18 June 2019 citing Nigerian Security Tracker of the Council on Foreign Relations of the United States Foreign Policy and International Affairs.

The Nigeria military defense budget in 2016 at \$1.72B, is a 16.57% decline from that of 2015.

2015	\$2.07	0.42%
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Observation

The Nigeria military defense budget in 2015 at \$2.07B, is a 12.39% decline from that of 2014.

2014	\$2.36	0.41%
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Observation

2013	\$2.42	0.47%
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Observation

Insecurity continues to pervade Nigeria as Boko haram unleashes terror. Communal and religious conflict is on the increase

2012	\$2.32	0.50%
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Observation

At the height of Boko haram insurgency in the northeastern part of the country, Nigeria was among the first to deploy troops to fight against Islamic militants and stabilize the government of Mali in 2013.

2011	\$2.38	0.58%
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Observation

Post election crises destroyed lives and property especially in northern Nigeria.

The report further shows that during the regime of Goodluck Jonathan between June 2011 and May 2015, a number of 34,884 persons were killed across the country. The month of March 2014 recorded the highest number of deaths with 3,456. In that number, Boko haram and the military were responsible for 12,765 deaths.

2010	\$1.99	0.54%
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Observation

Kidnapping and insecurity pervades Nigeria as Boko haram unleashes terror. Communal and religious conflict is on the increase.

2009	\$1.50	0.51%
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Observation

Insecurity pervades Nigeria as Boko haram unleashes terror. Communal and religious conflict is on the increase.

2008	\$1.62	0.49%
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Observation

Insecurity pervades Nigeria as Boko haram unleashes terror. Communal and religious conflict is on the increase

2007	\$0.97	0.37%
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Observation

Insecurity pervades Nigeria as Boko haram unleashes terror. Communal and religious conflict is on the increase.

2006	\$0.78	0.35%
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Observation

Insecurity pervades Nigeria as Boko haram unleashes terror. Communal and religious conflict is on the increase.

2005	\$0.67	0.40%
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Observation

Insecurity pervades Nigeria as Boko haram unleashes terror.

2004 \$0.64 **0.49%**

Observation

Boko haram insurgency gathers momentum.

2003 \$0.59 **0.57%**

Observation

Boko haram insurgency gathers momentum.

Peacekeeping: Nigerian troops were stationed in Liberia between 2003 and 2018 with the cooperation of the United Nations Mission in Liberia, UNIMIL. That was a period of 15 years when series of domestic crises was affecting Nigeria from Boko haram, herdsmen and the Niger Delta crises. Nigeria sent about 20,000 peacekeepers including 1,500 women. More than 100,000 ex-combatants were disarmed during the operation.⁵¹¹

The war in Sudan also known as the Dafur crises reached crescendo in 2003 when President Olusegun Obasanjo was chairperson of the African Union. He appointed Abdulsalam Abubakar a former Nigerian head of state as his special envoy to Chad and Sudan. Further meetings and negotiations led to the Darfur and Abuja peace agreements.

Within the period when Nigerian peacekeepers where outside her shores, various ethno-religious conflicts between tribes and between Christian and Muslim communities were on the rise.

For example, between September 7 and 17 in year 2001, the religious crises in Jos Plateau state killed more than 300 persons⁵¹². Churches and mosques were set ablaze simply because a Muslim politician, Alhaji Muktar Mohammed was appointed as a coordinator of the federal programme set up to fight poverty. In October 2001 another of such riot was recorded in Kano state where over 100 persons were killed⁵¹³. This was in revenge to the killings of Muslims in Plateau State. In November 2002 a riot broke out in Kaduna killing about 200 persons simply because a journalist named Isioma Daniel wrote an article on 16 November 2002 in the *ThisDay* newspaper. The article which promoted the Miss World Beauty Pageant was considered blasphemous by Muslims. In the article, the journalist opined that *'The Muslims thought it was immoral to bring ninety-two women to Nigeria and ask them to revel in vanity. What would Mohammed think? In all honesty, he would probably have chosen a wife from one of them.'*⁵¹⁴ This statement sparked the anger that led to the riot. The pageant was later moved to London away from Kaduna where it was initially scheduled. The *Jyllands-Posten* Danish newspaper cartoon of 30 September 2005 about Mohammed also led to crises in which over 100 persons were killed in Borno and in Onitsha.⁵¹⁵

Other conflicts between herders over land and cattle in Benue and Plateau states also caused several deaths. The irony of these deaths is that the President of Nigeria during this period was a retired army general who ought to have the managerial acumen to prevent and promptly

511 United Nations Peace Keeping, n.d.

512 Minchakpu, O. C., in Christianity Today. 1 October 2001.

513 BBC News, 20 May 2004.

514 Isioma, D, 16 November 2002.

515 Olsen, T., in Christian Today, 23 February 2006.

intervene in such crises. If such crises could not be contained at home, it becomes an irony that such a country is sending her troops to maintain peace in other countries.

2002 \$0.90 **0.95%**

Boko haram insurgency
gathers momentum.

Observation

Boko haram insurgency continue to gather momentum.

2001 \$0.57 **0.78%**

Observation

Pockets of crime and insecurity reported in different locations in Nigeria.

2000 \$0.37 **0.54%**

Observation

Pockets of crime and insecurity reported in different locations in Nigeria.

1999 \$0.49 **0.86%**

Observation

1998 \$1.15 **0.55%**

Observation

Peacekeeping: Ahmad Tejan Kabbah was elected president of Sierra Leone on 17 March 1996. He was overthrown in a bloody military coup on 25 May 1997 by forces loyal to Major John Koroma. The insurgency brought about gross instability. In March 1998 Nigeria was compelled to lead other West African countries with the cooperation of a local paramilitary outfit known as Kamajor, to reinstate the government of Kabbah. The operation was an opportunity for the Nigerian military Head of State General Sani Abacha to catapult himself into international acceptability because his infamous government equally came into power through a military coup. Peace was restored through a peace accord signed by the warring groups in Lome, Togo to end the crisis. Thereafter, the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone, UNAMSIL joined the peace keeping operation.

1997 \$0.82 **0.44%**

Observation

1996 \$0.70 **0.41%**

Observation

Peacekeeping: Nigerian contingent were deployed to Sierra Leone on the platform of the ECOWAS Military Observers Group, ECOMOG.

1995 \$0.65 **0.48%**

Observation

Peacekeeping: A group was deployed to Israel under the auspices of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation, UNTSO.

1994 \$0.32 **0.78%**

Observation

Peacekeeping: Military observers were deployed by Nigeria to the Aouzo strip on the platform of the United Nations Aouzou Strip Observer Group, UNASOG to maintain peace in the disputed region between Libya and Chad.

1993 \$0.29 **0.93%**

Observation

Peacekeeping: Training teams were sent to the Gambia as Nigerian Army Training & Assistance Group (NATAG) 1993.

A battalion was deployed to Rwanda on the platform of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, UNAMIR between October 1993 and March 1994

1992 **\$0.17** **0.56%**

Observation

Peacekeeping: Between 1992 and 1995 training teams were sent to Sierra Leone and to Cambodia between 1992 and 1993 as the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, UNTAC. A battalion and staff officers were also sent to Somalia as the United Nations Operation in Somalia, UNOSOM 1992-1993

Battalion and staff officers were deployed to the former Yugoslavia under the United Nations Protection Force, UNPROFOR in 1992

Military observers were deployed to Mozambique under the United Nations Operations in Mozambique, ONUMOZ

1991 **\$0.24** **0.77%**

Observation

Peacekeeping Military observers were deployed by Nigeria to Iraq-Kuwait in 1991 under the United Nations: Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission, UNIKOM.

Within the same period, observers were deployed to Angola between 1991 and 1992 on the platform of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II)

Another mission was deployed to Western Sahara as the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara MINURSO in 1991

1990 **\$0.28** **0.83%**

Observation

1989 **\$0.17** **0.58%**

Observation

Peacekeeping: Military observers were deployed to Namibia between April 1989 and March 1990 under the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG)

Defense expenditure in 1988 and 1989 was about N1.3 billion and N1.7 billion respectively. However, due to high inflation, its value was reduced by about 30%. *Capital expenditure nominally trebled, from N256.6 million in 1986 and 1987 to N750 million in 1988 and 1989. This increase reflected new investments in equipment, construction, and other long-term capital improvements, although at levels substantially lower than in the early 1980s. The N2.1 billion defense budget for 1990, however, represented a real growth of 16 percent over 1989.*⁵¹⁶

1988 **\$0.27** **0.88%**

Observation

Peacekeeping: Nigeria sent military observers between August 1988 and February 1991 to the United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer (UNIMOG)

1987 **\$0.20** **0.77%**

Observation

516 Country-Data, June 1991.

Peacekeeping: In conjunction with ECOWAS Monitoring Group, ECOMOG, Nigeria contributed immensely to Peacekeeping operations in Liberia from 1987. This mission reportedly cost Nigeria about \$8 billion.

Resources were not taken from the national budget for defence, but it was believed that the cost for executing the operation was mainly from the coffers of Nigeria when the sitting President Ibrahim Babaginda was Chairman of ECOWAS thrice. Report in the Financial Times of London (27 August 1991) shows that Nigeria spent about 80% to the tune of \$250-\$500 million for the sustenance of ECOMOG during the Liberian War.

Between the decades of 1977 -1987, expenditure for the military fell precipitously from US\$906 million to US\$180 million. This reduction amounts to about 80%. Relative to GNP, military spending dropped steadily from 3.5 percent to less than 1 percent in 1987, while as a portion of total government expenditure it fell from more than 14 percent to 2.7 percent in 1987. The value of arms imports (measured in constant 1987 dollars) averaged US\$93 million annually between 1977 and 1980, surged to an average of US\$434 million annually between 1981 and 1984, dropped to about US\$340 million during 1985-86, and fell to US\$60 million in 1987. Likewise, the armed personnel numbers of forces declined from 3.7 per 1,000 persons in 1977 to 1.3 in 1987.⁵¹⁷

The reason for the above situation was that domestic crises were at its lowest compared to the situation between the decades of 2010 -2020.

1986	\$0.52	1.31%
Observation		
1985	\$1.09	1.44%
Observation		
1984	\$1.21	1.56%
Observation		

One of the impediments to the development of the military in Nigeria is that the expenditure largely focused on recurrent costs such as salaries, training, allowances, and other overhead expenses which are related to personnel. Since the independence of 1960, *such costs ranged from 55 to 88 percent. General Staff Headquarters, which operated under a separate account budgeted at N35 to N55 million annually between 1984 and 1987, received N124 million in 1988. Between 1988 and 90, particularly the increases in capital investment and equipment procurement relative to personnel-related expenditures, reflected in part determined efforts to modernize and to upgrade capabilities and readiness while completing demobilization.*⁵¹⁸

1983	\$1.63	2.22%
Observation		
1982	\$1.65	2.27%
Observation		

Peacekeeping: Between 1982 and 1983 Nigeria sent a brigade to Chad tagged Harmony II. This was enforced on the platform of the Organization of African Unity.

1981	\$2.14	2.77%
Observation		

⁵¹⁷ *ibid.*
⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Peacekeeping: Nigeria sent battalion and staff officers to Chad through the bilateral agreement of Harmony I - 1981-1982

1980	\$3.03	3.30%
Observation		
1979	\$3.07	4.32%
Observation		
1978	\$3.02	5.33%
Observation		

Peacekeeping: Nigeria sent battalion and staff officers to Lebanon United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, UNIFIL between 1978 and 1983.

1977	\$3.14	6.02%
Observation		
1976	\$2.64	5.79%
Observation		
1975	\$1.35	4.34%
Observation		

When assessed in global terms, the level of Nigeria's militarization became remarkably low since the mid-1970s. This could be because of the end of the civil war. Survey of 144 countries compiled by the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, shows that *Nigeria's ranking on five key measures of "militarization" declined sharply between 1975 and 1985. Nigeria's average global ranking on indicators of "military buildup" (armed forces per 1,000 population and the ratios of military expenditure to GNP, central government expenditure, population, and armed forces) fell from 47 in 1975, to 88 in 1980, and to 118 in 1985.*⁵¹⁹

1974	\$1.02	5.48%
Observation		
1973	\$0.90	5.39%
Observation		
1972	\$0.90	5.39%
Observation		
1971	\$0.64	4.39%
Observation		
1970	\$0.66	5.28%
Observation		

Peace Keeping: The civil war that lasted between 1967 and 1970 created a fertile ground for the military to entrench itself into power. It set the tone for successive military coups and the plundering of the nation's resources. The period necessitated the need to increase spendings that could win the war and sustain the peace. Such expenditure was needed in the areas of stabilizing post war environment, procurement of arms which were mostly foreign, construction of basic infrastructures for the military, salaries, and pension for the increased number of personnel which rose between 200,000 and 300,000 until the late 1970s.

Defense spending as a percentage of total federal spending surged from about 6 percent before the war to 43 percent in the last year of the conflict. It remained high-34 percent during 1970-

⁵¹⁹ Ibid.

71 and about 20 percent from 1971 to 1974--before beginning a downward trend that continued through the 1980s.⁵²⁰

1969	\$0.68	10.32%
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Observation

1968	\$0.37	9.16%
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Observation

1967	\$0.24	5.81%
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Observation

Domestic conflict: The Biafrans declared independence from Nigeria on 30 May 1967. It was led by Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu. The declaration led to a civil war between Biafra and Nigeria. Biafra was formally recognised by countries like Haiti, Zambia, Tanzania, Ivory Coast and Gabon.

1966	\$0.06	1.10%
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Observation

1965	\$0.07	1.40%
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Observation

Peacekeeping: Between 1965-1966 Nigeria sent Military observers during the India-Pakistan conflict (UNIPOM)

1964	\$0.05	1.23%
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Observation

Peacekeeping: Through bilateral agreement, Nigeria sent a battalion to Tanzania in 1964

1963	\$0.05	1.10%
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Observation

1962	\$0.04	1.10%
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Observation

Peacekeeping: Nigeria participated as Military observers in new Guinea between October 1962 - April 1963⁵²¹ under the platform of the United Nations Security Force in West New Guinea (UNSF)

1961	\$0.03	0.85%
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Observation

1960	\$0.02	0.70%
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Observation

Peacekeeping: This was the year of the Nigerian independence from Britain. Nigeria participated in her first peace keeping operation in Congo under the auspices of the United Nations Operations in Congo (UNOC). The operation lasted between 1960 -1964.

A controversial aspect of Nigeria`s defence budget, is that despite the huge amount of financial resources budgeted for security, the expenditure remains largely non-transparent. Though the statutory allocations to security agencies and other security votes to the respective states are enormous; yet, the security challenge in the country persists. Therefore, it beats the imagination, why the country is not getting value for the money invested in the security sector. This has been worsened by using tax payers` money for the integration of terrorists who reportedly

520 bid.

521 United Nations Peace Keeping, n.d.

surrendered. Though Nigeria has not been at war after the 1967-1971 civil war, budgets for defence continue to rise as a response to the menace of terrorist attacks within the territory of the country. Despite her efforts towards various peacekeeping operations across the globe, the inability to sustain peace within the country, has led to the country's continuing decline in global rating. For example, the *Armed Forces of Nigeria dropped to 39th place globally in the 2024 Global Firepower (GFP) rankings, marking their second consecutive decline after being ranked 36th in 2023 and 35th in 2022.*⁵²²

4.5.2. Security Votes in Nigeria

I used to think that the causes of war were predominantly economic. I came to think that they were more psychological. I am now coming to think that they are decisively "personal," arising from the defects and ambitions of those who have the power to influence the currents of nations.

B. H. Liddell Hart

Security votes were initially designed to eradicate conflicts and criminal attacks in Nigeria. Now, the persons that are supposed to release such funds have decided to derail and misappropriate them for economic and psychological reasons that are mostly personal. The history of 'security votes' in Nigeria dates to the late 60s during the military regime of General Yakubu Gowon. The regime dished out some funds to State Administrators to placate the political elites and traditional rulers to solicit their cooperation with the military government. In some cases, it became effective for gathering information against persons that could be antagonistic to the government in the years of coups and counter coups. The release of security votes continued into the successive civilian government of Shehu Shagari (1979-1983) and other governments till date. When Major General Muhammadu Buhari overthrew the democratic government of Shagari in 1983, he was so concerned about fighting corruption that in 1984 he arrested and jailed Adamu Atta the former Governor of Kwara State for *embezzling \$2.7 million (equal to \$6.3 million today) in security vote*⁵²³ The irony of this arrest is that when the same Muhammadu Buhari became an elected democratic President from 2015, the mismanagement of security votes have reached a point of disarray in such a proportion that the amount was not only increased, but grossly unaccounted for. For example, in the 2018 national budget, Buhari expanded the number of the recipients of the funds from 30 to 190 federal government ministries, departments and agencies, MDAs. It was reported that he did this to financially empower his loyalists to have enough money to support him in the 2019 elections. Buhari inherited the disbursement of security votes from the fourth republic of Olusegun Obasanjo between 1999 and 2007. The same Buhari that arrested Attah in 1984 vitalized the release of security votes which are mostly unaudited. In 2011 the former President of Nigeria Jonathan Goodluck instituted a committee on how to cut federal spending. The committee was headed by Steve Oronsaye who recommended that many MDAs should be merged and scrapped.⁵²⁴ The report was largely rejected and unimplemented by the governments of Goodluck and Buhari. These are the same MDAs that Buhari was releasing security votes to. Statistics reports that apart from other allocations, security agencies receive separate security

⁵²² Segun Adeyemi in MSN news, 8 January 2025.

⁵²³ Adediji, B. Oyeniran 2013.

⁵²⁴ Vanguard, 15 June 2020.

votes. For example, in the 2018 budget proposal, as analyzed by Transparency International,⁵²⁵ the the Nigerian Army (NA) and Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA) were expected to receive the largest sums: roughly \$11.6 million (N4.2 billion) each. DIA's 2018 security vote would be more than twice what it received in 2017. DIA would also receive \$2.6 million (N920 million) separately budgeted for its defense advisers (military attachés) stationed overseas. Compared to all other MDAs, the DIA by far receives the largest percentage of its budget—over 18 percent—in the form of security vote. The SSS would receive about \$4.7 million (N1.7 billion) in 2018. Other budgets for security votes include that of the Ministry of Defence (\$4.2 million / N1.5 billion), the Nigerian Air Force (\$3.3 million / N1.2 billion), the Office of the National Security Adviser (\$3.1 million / N1.14 billion), the Nigerian Navy (\$3 million / N1.08 billion), National Intelligence Agency (\$1.4 million / N505 million), and the Nigeria Police Force (\$1.1 million / N388.6 million). Apart from these security agencies, it is also strange that MDAs such as museums, academic institutions and theatre directors receive security votes with classified expenditures.

Apart from what the States receive from the federal government as monthly security votes, they also use their various state legislators to budget for separate security votes. *In 2017, for example, Kogi State set aside 4.6% of its total budget as security vote, Adamawa budgeted 3.8%, and Ondo State just 1.4%.*⁵²⁶ These funds are usually disbursed through the offices of the Secretary to the State Government or other Permanent Secretaries as directed by the Governors.

On the local government level, security votes are widely unaccounted for. Joint accounts operated between States and local government councils make it easy for Governors to manipulate allocations of security votes among others. That is why State Governors are very influential in the elections of State Legislators, Local Government Chairpersons, and their Councillors. Governors arm-twist them into submission against the general development of the communities. The Governor could even decide not to disburse security votes to the local government councils. For example, Transparency International also cited that *in Bayelsa...government chairmen receive as much as N40 million (\$110,000) a year. In 2013, a former local government chairman in Ogun State was jailed for six months for embezzling N4000000 (over \$17,500) in security vote outlays over a six-month period. In Rivers State, over \$1 million in security votes were doled out in 2006 to the chairman of just three of the state's twenty-three local governments. In 2015, local government chairmen in one area in northern Delta State received a N36 million (\$100,000) annual security vote while local government councilors each received more than N6 million (\$16,700) a year.*⁵²⁷

Despite these monetary allocations, the above agencies have not been able to actualize their statutory responsibilities. There have been numerous brutal attacks on Nigerians across the country resulting in mass burials. There are cases in states like Benue, Katsina, Borno, Yobe, Sokoto where terrorists kidnapped, killed many and razed villages in operations that lasted for more than one hour without any counter responses from security agencies. It is expected that the State Security Service ought to have the capacity to gather intelligence reports that could thwart such attacks during their planning stages.

⁵²⁵ Transparency International report by Matthew Page, 2018.

⁵²⁶ *ibid.*

⁵²⁷ *ibid.*

With the regular news that some states are frequently attacked by terrorists, the Governors continue to siphon security votes even when their people are being killed in large numbers. Among others, Plateau State has been in the center of such attacks from ethnic clashes and invasions by bandits and murderous Fulani herdsmen. In June 2013, Gunmen attacked three villages in Taroh community in Plateau state killing at least 28.⁵²⁸ In January 2014 gunmen stormed Shonong, in the Riyom area of Plateau state, leaving some 30 people dead.⁵²⁹ On 20 May 2014, two bombs exploded in Jos the capital city of Plateau State and killed about 118 people and injuring more than 56 others.⁵³⁰ These tragedies did not deter the Plateau State Governor Jonah Jang from embezzling State funds budgeted for security!

*During Jang's governorship (2007-2015), Plateau State officials allegedly embezzled funds from the state security vote. According to witness testimony to a 2016 judicial commission of inquiry, functionaries within the SSG withdrew a total of N16.7 billion (over \$100 million) in 'classified expenditures' from state coffers—N150 million at a time—and delivered it to the governor in cash.*⁵³¹

Though unconstitutional, the term 'security vote' has become a norm in governance. It is money traditionally released to the three tiers of government – federal, 36 States and 774 local government areas including the federal capital territory. Its illegality has been a subject of many debates. Since there are regular security agencies such as the Army, Police, Navy, etc in all the States, why is another funding necessary when these security agencies receive regular salaries which have been budgeted for as separate expenditures? This is considered a duplication of budget. The irony is that despite the duplication, the issue of security continues to be of growing concern especially with the Boko haram attacks, kidnapping, and herdsmen militia. The Nigerian government releases this monthly fund without legislative backing. In contrast, the United States of America which remains the highest military spender in the world has legislative backing for such expenditure. The Congress has the responsibility to authorize and appropriate funding for issues of security and intelligence. *This oversight function is a powerful tool used by the US legislature to ensure that funds allocated for national security and intelligence are expended for the uses to which they have been appropriated.*⁵³²

In the case of Nigeria, there is no accountability for expenditure on security votes. The disbursement is secretly classified, and contracts awarded do not pass through public bidding or tenders in accordance with the Public Procurement Act of the country. State governors have used it as conduits for corruption over the years. The accounts are never published. For example, it was reported that a former Governor of Abia State known as Theodore Orji diverted security votes into a private account throughout his 8 years in office. This amounted to 48bn naira is estimated to be 120m euro. During his defense before the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, Theodore Orji who later became a Senator representing Abia Central Senatorial District in the National Assembly, said that what he received as security votes during his tenure was 38.8billion naira. According to him, he shared the amount with “*members of the state*

⁵²⁸ BBC, 28 June 2013.

⁵²⁹ BBC, 7 January 2020.

⁵³⁰ BBC, 20 May 2014.

⁵³¹ Transparency International report by Matthew Page, 2018.

⁵³² Rosenbach, E. & Peritz, A.J. 2009.

House of Assembly, security informants, traditional rulers, military units, the police, the Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC) and security agencies as what he called statutory allocations".⁵³³

This corrupt diversion was possible because of the lack of accountability. In the case of the USA, the Congress uses the technique of "reporting requirement" which is a check and balance technique of monitoring and evaluating the implementation of government policies by way of accountability and transparency. Security votes fuel corruption within the government of Nigeria. In 2019, lawyers asked the court to mandate state governors to publish their monthly security expenditures as received. The court struck out the case as lacking jurisdiction.

In 2019, the Nigerian government dished out at least 241.2bn naira as security votes to states. The federal government spends 18bn naira (\$50m) for security votes. The 774 local government councils receive 20m naira (\$56,000) monthly as security votes. These are in addition to the huge international support for insecurity. According to Transparency International, "In just one year, these cash-in, extra-budgetary, expenditures add up to over nine times the amount of the US security assistance to Nigeria since 2012 (\$68.6 million) and over 12 times the \$53.5 million (£40 million) in counter-terrorism support the UK promised Nigeria from 2016-2020. In 2020, the court struck out a case filed by filed by Legal Resources Consortium, Legal Defence and Assistance Project, and Chino Obiagwu, a Senior Advocate of Nigeria in which they requested the court to mandate the 36 State Governors to publish expenditures of their security votes. The court order given by Justice Muslim Hassan, dismissed the case because it lacked jurisdiction. According to the Judge, the High courts in the respective states should be approached for such judgements."⁵³⁴

State	Monthly Amount	Annual Amount	Remarks
NIGER	N1.308B	N15.7B	
BENUE	N3.092B	N37.1B	personnel and overhead costs + security vote + others
PLATEAU	N216.667M	N2.6B	
KOGI	N400M	N4.8B	
KWARA	**		
NASARAWA	N100M	N1.2B	
ZAMFARA	N600M	N7.2B	
KATSINA	N17.583M	N211M	
KANO	**		
KADUNA	N400M (N175M + N225M)	N4.8B	[N175M (Security vote) + N225M Security Vote and Preventive Supportive

⁵³³ Nation Newspaper, 17 May 2020.

⁵³⁴ Premium Times, 7 June 2020.

TARABA	N316.667M	N3.8B	
YOBE	N316.667M	N3.8B	
BORNO	N806.25M	N9.675B	
BAUCHI	N1.417B	N17B	
EKITI	N100M	N1.2B	
OSUN	N400M	N4.8B	
OGUN	N80-N100M	N960M-N1.2B	
ONDO	N600M	N7.2B	
LAGOS	**N1.429B	N17.149B (N15.559B N1.59B)	** N1.297B (Public + order and safety) + N132.5M (Social Protection)
CROSS RIVER	N500M	N6B	
RIVERS	N1.5B	N18B	
DELTA	N2B	N24B	
EDO	N900M	N10.8B	
BAYELSA	N1BN	N12BN	
IMO	N333.333M	N4B	
ABIA	N700M	N8.4B	
ANAMBRA	N850M	N10B	
ENUGU	N600M	N7.2B	
EBONYI	NA		
JIGAWA	NA		
GOMBE	N192.9M	N2.315B	
KEBBI	N600M		
SOKOTO	NA		
ADAMAWA	NA		
AKWA-IBOM	N1.8BN	N21.6BN	
KOGI	N666M	N8BN	
OYO	N1BN	N12BN	

*The allocations were unpublished.

Figure XLII. Monies released by the Federal government of Nigeria to States for Security Votes.

Source: Vanguard Newspaper, <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/09/security-votes-n241bn-spent-annually-unaccounted-for-says-transparency-intl/> 19 September 2019.

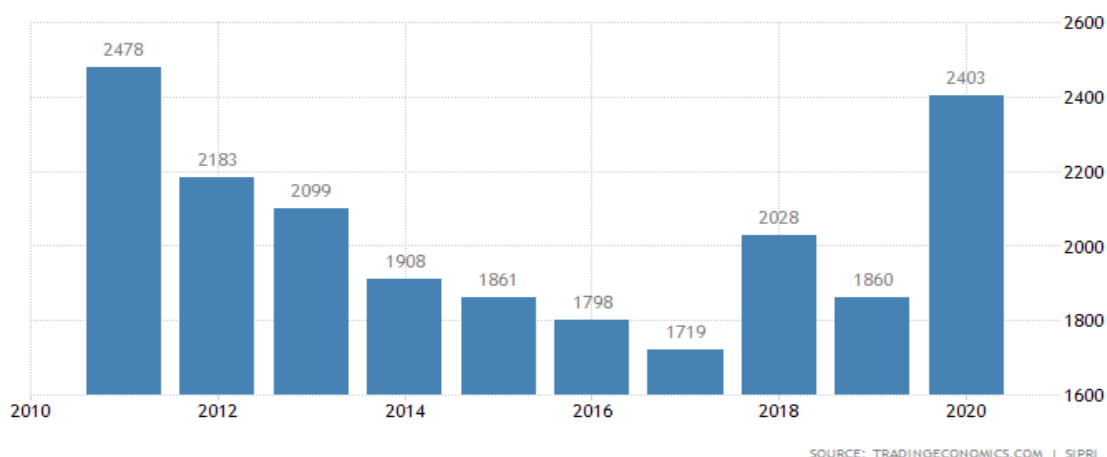


Figure XLIII. The Trend of Military Expenditure in Nigeria within a decade -

Military Expenditure in Nigeria increased to 3191.90 USD Million in 2023 from 3109.40 USD Million in 2022. Military Expenditure in Nigeria averaged 1262.83 USD Million from 1960 until 2023, reaching an all time high of 4466.40 USD Million in 2021 and a record low of 23.40 USD Million in 1960.

Source: Microtrend, Nigeria military expenditure.

<https://tradingeconomics.com/nigeria/military-expenditure>.

Military expenditure drastically moved up in 2024 due to the emergence of the Islamic State of West African Province, ISWAP, in addition to the existing Boko haram, Fulani herdsmen, other bandits and the subtle Eastern Security network which the government was anxious to suppress. By 2024, defence budget in Nigeria maintained the highest priority with \$4 billion. The budget made Nigeria to occupy the 56th position in the world and 4th in Africa (after Algeria Morocco and Egypt) in terms of defence expenditures.

4.5.3. Misappropriation of Military Funding

Despite the huge sums of money spent on the military, several cases of misappropriation have been recorded. For example, \$1billion was taken from the treasury of Nigeria by President Buhari, to buy equipment for the military⁵³⁵. The few equipment bought did not make significant

impacts against the fight against terrorism. On several occasions, Boko Haram troops invaded military bases, neutralized soldiers and carted away their ammunitions because Boko Haram had superior weapons. The Chairman, Senate Committee on Army, Senator Ali Ndume stated that “Most of the arms and ammunition they use are the ones they succeed in carting away from the Nigerian soldiers and other armed forces or security agencies”⁵³⁶

It is quite strange that the same persons entrusted with the positions to secure Nigeria have been indulged in misappropriating funds meant to equip the army and to provide adequate welfare for the officers. An overview of the roles played by the various National Security Advisers justifies this statement.

⁵³⁵ Premium Times. 23 April 2018.

⁵³⁶ Punch, 27 April, 2021.

General Andrew Owoye Azazi⁵³⁷

*Azazi died in a helicopter crash in Okoroba, Nembe Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, in December 2012, alongside the Governor of Kaduna State, Patrick Yakowa, Warrant Officer Kamal Mohammed; a prominent politician from Kaduna, Dauda Psokho; the pilot, identified as Commander Muritala Daba; and co-pilot, Lt Col. Adeyemi Sowole.*⁵³⁸ The sum of \$9m was traced to an account in a bank located in Texas, United States of America, allegedly owned by a former National Security Adviser, General Andrew Owoye Azazi⁵³⁹. It is very clear that the stash was a product of corruption from monies budgeted for the military. While in office, General Azazi bought choice properties in Abuja, the Federal Capital territory of Nigeria. Within his 21 months in office, he supervised military expenditure of at least *N304.552 billion (762m euro) which was allocated to the intelligence community to check the growing insecurity in the country.*⁵⁴⁰ If the value of his property was considered in terms of his salary and emoluments, he needed to serve for 274 years

*to earn N1.5 billion, the value of one of his apartments.*⁵⁴¹ Meanwhile, within that period, Boko haram insurgency was ravaging Nigeria while soldiers were being killed at the frontline because of inferior ammunitions compared to what the terrorists had.

Sambo Dasuki

He was appointed in June 2012 as National Security Adviser by President Goodluck Jonathan. Prior to the 2015 Presidential elections, he advised that the security situation in Nigeria needed to be addressed before the election could take place. He assured that Boko haram would be crushed before the election. That was how the election was postponed by the Independent National Electoral Commission, INEC, from 15 February 2015 to 28 March 2015.

As National Security Adviser, he was embroiled in the \$2 billion arms deal which was later known as Dasukigate. This was money budgeted for the procurement of arms for the Nigerian army. The money was evidently shared amongst political cronies of the President to aid victory in the 2015 elections.

An investigative panel was set up and on 1 December 2015 Dasuki was arrested by the State Security Service (SSS) for the misappropriation of the \$2 billion arms deal.

Though several courts ordered that he should be granted bail, the government refused. However, on 24 December 2019 he was released with Omoyele Sowore the revolutionary campaigner who was also at the detention facility of the SSS.

Babagana Mohammed Monguno

Retired Major General Monguno was appointed as the National Security Adviser on 13 July 2015 by President Muhammadu Buhari. He was previously the Chief of Defence Intelligence and Commander of the Brigade of Guards between July 2009 and September 2011.

⁵³⁷ Punch, 28 May 2021.

⁵³⁸ *ibid.*

⁵³⁹ *ibid.*

⁵⁴⁰ *ibid.*

⁵⁴¹ *ibid.*

In March 2021 he claimed that monies budgeted to buy ammunitions for the military cannot be accounted for, by the previous Service Chiefs. In his words, *“I’m not saying the former service chiefs diverted the money, but the money is missing. We don’t know how, and nobody knows for now”*⁵⁴²

In 2021 there were allegations that he was threatening the life of the Chairman of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, Abdurashheed Bawa, because of an attempt to investigate the misappropriation of finances in the office of the National Security Adviser. There were strong allegations that Monguno acquired several properties in Abuja by proxy to hide the looting of the finances of his office. Misappropriation leads to the poor provision of facilities. Consequently, this lack demoralizes Nigerian troops which led to the resignation of some soldiers. The soldiers that complained of poor ammunitions were arrested, detained or demoted. For example, the Theatre Commander of Operation Lafiya Dole, General Olusegun Adeniyi was demoted for sharing a video in which he called on the government to send adequate ammunitions to the soldiers on ground. However, the security agents did well by arresting some persons connected to Nigerians who resided and transferred funds from the United Arab Emirates to Boko haram terrorists in Nigeria.

4.6. Conclusion

With the huge annual budgets for security and her respect amongst the comity of nations, Nigeria has no reason to be unsecured. So much has been spent on security in Nigeria since 1960. Apart from the allocations by the federal government, the 36 states and 774 local government councils receive monthly allocations to tackle insecurity. However, these amounts of monies have been grossly underutilized and mismanaged. Security situation has worsened within the past two decades. *This confirms the hypothesis of this research which states that Nigeria has paid more interest in international peacekeeping than on domestic crises. The scientific methodology of systematic qualitative content analysis which I set out to use, has been effective because statistics from available and reliable sources made it possible to review and evaluate Nigeria’s security expenditures in relation to the continuing conflicts and terrorism.* Remedies to prevent the embezzlement of security votes should include the inclusion of new national laws where the release of security votes becomes unconstitutional. However, if it must become constitutional, such laws should empower the respective State assemblies to carry out oversight functions to supervise the spending of such votes.

Like the United States of America, there are no periodic public reports on how such monies are spent. Existing laws must be effectively applied in dealing with cases related to the misappropriation of such funds. In the case of Nigeria, that is where the Code of Conduct Tribunal and the Act establishing the Economic and Financial Crime Commission should be explicitly applied. The Act establishing the Commission has power `to prevent, investigate, prosecute, and penalize economic and financial crimes. As Part of the functions of the EFCC, *Part 2 6(f)* states that it has the right for *the adoption of measures which includes coordinated preventive and regulatory actions, introduction and maintenance of investigative and control techniques on the prevention of economic and financial related crimes*⁵⁴³

542 Premium Times, 12 March 2021.

543 Nigeria EFCC Act. Pdf.

Hinderances to effective peacekeeping by Nigeria includes logistics, administration, funding, manpower, language and training. A more holistic approach needs to be taken by peacekeeping countries to ensure efficiency, equitable participation and contribution.

Regional peacekeeping seems to be a convenient approach to peacekeeping as personnel are more familiar with the terrain due to cultural similarities, though language differences remain an impediment.

There is a need for the Nigerian government to expand the numerical strength of the security agencies and respect the constitution of the country based on the rule of law. This is specially so because they swore on oath to protect the constitution which is the backbone of the country's sovereignty. On the other hand, laws should be the parameters needed to hold government accountable.

Though there were attempts to suppress citizens' voices, the social media has been a potent tool for citizens' awareness raising and mobilization.

Campaign promises which form the foundation of the social contract has been severally breached by politicians. This has led to insensitivity in governance and distrust by the citizenry. This situation has been compounded by the fact that some persons in government and within the security agencies are members of terrorist organisations. This could be a reason why there has been bombing of civilians by the air force. Sadly, such bombings are usually described as 'mistakes' and the families of the victims were never compensated.

Respect and love for political parties above country has been a challenge for national cohesion. Such political affiliations also give vent to nepotism during appointments and employments. Despite huge allocations, security agencies have become weak and demoralized to fight insurgencies due to the misappropriation of the funds by the National Security Advisers who were meant to disburse and supervise the funding.

Finally, pledges after pledges, the international community have failed to adequately live up to their promises to support Nigeria against insurgency.

The analysis of these impeding factors has succeeded in helping this research to unearth the reasons why insecurity continues in a country that is among those that are at the forefront of peacekeeping since 1960.

Furthermore, this chapter has succeeded in achieving two set goals of this research. It has identified the implications and consequences of delaying in the conflict resolution. It has also identified neglected factors which have led to heightened conflicts. Therefore, it shall go further to find ways through which these lapses could be addressed.

Security is pivotal to societal development. It is a priority for every country to ensure that all machineries and resources are effectively and efficiently put in place in order to facilitate working of the other sectors of the economy, politics and social lives of the country. Both in ancient and contemporary societies, security is classified as a "first order" priority.⁵⁴⁴

It is interesting to observe that expenditures for oil producing African countries are relatively higher. If so, it is logical to reason that the natural resources of a country attract security issues and agitations of survival of the fittest. For example, in 2014 *military spending in Africa*,

544 Okechukwu, E & Anyadike, N., 2013.

*increased by 5.9 per cent, with the top two spenders Algeria and Angola, both major oil producers, increasing their spending by 12 and 6.7 per cent, respectively.*⁵⁴⁵

The issue of security in Africa has been of serious concern between 2018 and 2019. This has been because of various agitations and conflicts in the continent ranging from the Boko haram incursions in Nigeria to the militia attacks in Niger, Cameroon, Mali, Burkina Faso and the uprising in Egypt, South Sudan, Algeria and the Central African Republic. *Global military expenditure is estimated to have been \$1917 billion in 2019, the highest level since 1988.... At an estimated \$41.2 billion, military expenditure in Africa accounted for 2.1 per cent of the global total in 2019. The marginal growth in spending in 2019 was the first increase in African military expenditure for five years. Despite the annual decreases in 2015–18, increases in other years meant that total African military spending grew by 17 per cent over the decade 2010–19.*⁵⁴⁶ In the Nigerian constitution, section 14(2) (b) states that “the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government.” This aspect of the law has driven government to budget a sizeable part of her resources into security. The following data shows the ratio of the defense budget of Nigeria vis-à-vis her gross domestic product.

Chapter 5

Conflict Resolution Efforts

*The quality of our lives depends not on whether or not we have conflicts, but on how we respond to them.*⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁵ Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 13 April 20150

⁵⁴⁶ Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, SIPRI Facts Sheet, April 2020.

⁵⁴⁷ Global Peace Career, n.d.

Introduction

5.1. Negotiations as possible ways of conflict resolution

Conflict is a continuing process that occurs against a background of any relationship or events. They are consequences of perceptions, thought patterns and the emotional reactions involved. Negotiations are ways through which conflicts could be resolved with the aim of reaching an agreement instead of victory. In the process of resolving conflicts, there must be adequate gathering of information, outlined strategies and careful planning before the negotiation process begins. With these factors, it helps to objectively balance the win-win solution based on the goals, and underlying interests where both parties do not feel cheated. The justification for the position taken by both parties must be objectively appraised. Inability to recognise the strength in the arguments of the other party could lead to a failure in the negotiation process. It is better to focus on the substantive issues instead of the personalities involved. In so doing, it will be based on principles that could generate results in place of assertiveness, stubbornness, emotions or undue pressure. Negotiation is about give and take. *Even in what appears to be win-lose situations, there are often win-win solutions; look for an integrative solution; create additional alternatives, such as low-cost concessions that might have high value to the other person; frame options in terms of the other person's interests; look for alternatives that allow your opponent to declare victory.*⁵⁴⁸ Negotiations have succeeded in international relations as enumerated below:

5.1.1. Negotiating peace treaty between two countries - President of Egypt Anwar al-Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

The benefit of negotiation was show-cased when Egypt and Israel decided to drop their egotism for a peaceful settlement after the negotiation was concluded in Washington in 1979 at the intervention of President Jimmy Carter in the Camp David accord. There was a need to end the brutal carnage. During the events that took place between the Israelis and Egypt, Syria and Jordan during the Six Day War of June 1967, the Israeli forces defeated the combined armies of Egypt, Syria and Jordan and ruthlessly captured the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights and the Sinai Peninsula resulting in casualties. *Egypt's casualties numbered more than 11,000, with 6,000 for Jordan and 1,000 for Syria, compared with only 700 for Israel. The Arab armies also suffered crippling losses of weaponry and equipment*⁵⁴⁹ It is the benefit of such techniques of negotiation that the people of Eritrea and Ethiopia are currently enjoying as conflicts gave way to peace. Dialogue and negotiations are essential elements of conflict resolution.

The processes of negotiation are primarily in five stages - Preparation and Planning; Definition of Ground Rules; Clarification and Justification; Bargaining and Problem Solving; Closure and Implementation.⁵⁵⁰ For example, during the negotiation process that led to the peace between

⁵⁴⁸ Wertheim. E; n.d.

⁵⁴⁹ Encyclopaedia Britannica, 17 December 2024.

⁵⁵⁰ iEdunote, n.d.

Israel and Egypt, Jimmy Carter used these techniques by choosing a neutral location for the negotiation through preparation and planning which was tagged *A Framework for Peace in the Middle East*.

The rules of negotiation included listening to the grievances of parties involved. Clarifications and justifications for the need for peace was highlighted by the convener in ways that reminded the parties about the lives they lost and may continue to lose, and why a peaceful settlement is helpful to the entire region. In the course of bargaining, a give and take system was used. This led to such decisions as *Egyptian recognition of the State of Israel; Egyptian allowance for Israeli ships to pass freely through the Suez Canal; Israeli military and civilian withdrawal from the Sinai alongside an Egyptian agreement to keep the Sinai demilitarized and cessation of State of War*.⁵⁵¹ The closure and successful implementation of the peace deal led to a positive change in the entire geopolitical landscape of the region through the cessation of War.

Alexandra García Iragorri⁵⁵² cites Fred Iklé (1964) who defines negotiation as *a process in which explicit proposals are put forward ostensibly for the purpose of reaching agreement on an exchange or on the realization of a common interest where conflicting interests are present*.⁵⁵³

This definition highlights the fact that the product of negotiation is to reach a common goal in the presence of *conflicting interests*.

Iklé, goes further to identify five main elements of negotiation:

1. Extension of agreements - geared towards prolonging existing arrangements.
2. Normalization of agreements - to put an end to violent conflict, or to reestablish diplomatic relations whenever there is a break in such actions.
3. Redistribution of agreements - demand for change on one's own favor, at the expense of the other.
4. Innovation agreements - setting new relationships or obligations among the parties. This is to sustain commitments and interest in the peace actions.
5. Effects not concerning agreements - propaganda, intelligence or dissuading the opponent.⁵⁵⁴

Alexandra García Iragorri further cites the '12 commandments of negotiation'. According to Iklé (1964, 87), negotiators need to follow these rules to stay in the negotiation and to remain as respected actors. These rules are:

1. Never kill a negotiator.
2. Avoid disputes about status.
3. Adhere to agreed agenda.
4. Honor partial agreements.
5. Maintain flexibility.
6. Reciprocate concessions.
7. Return favors.
8. Refrain from flagrant lies.
9. Negotiate in Good Faith.
10. Avoid emotionalism and rudeness.
11. Expedite and rationalize negotiation process.
12. The community spirit.

These rules are important because an enemy could be tomorrow's ally. It is important to maintain diplomatic relations as ways of deepening ties and protecting good and peaceful neighbourliness. For example, when the coups occurred in Niger Republic, Mali and Burkina Faso in 2023, ECOWAS suspended diplomatic relations with the countries and imposed some economic sanctions on them. However, negotiators were later sent to the military governments

⁵⁵¹ Honest Reporting on The Breakthrough: How Israel and Egypt Made Peace in 2019.

⁵⁵² Iragorri, A.G, *Negotiation in International Relations*, n.d.

⁵⁵³ IKLÉ, F. C., 1964.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid.

of these countries to find ways on how to rectify the situation and revert to civilian rules.⁵⁵⁵ Though the military governments of the three countries welcomed and protected the negotiators, they made sure that the negotiators were not harmed. It was in this same spirit of mutual understanding and respect, that made ECOWAS to suspend the sanctions in order to give way for future cooperations.⁵⁵⁶

If the success of strategic negotiation could lead to achieving peace and winning the Nobel Peace prize by Anwar al-Sadat and Menachem Begin, the concept should be given a paramount place in resolving conflicts in Africa. However, some internal conflicts in Africa have been fueled by external forces. It makes negotiation difficult because the external forces are focused on inciting the conflicts to create an environment that could aid their looting of the natural resources of the people and the supply of ammunitions. For example, during the various violent conflicts in Zamfara state of Nigeria, it was discovered that the conflicts were fueled by external forces who were bent on looting the gold deposits in the state. *Those who sponsor illegal mining also fund banditry and cattle rustling in these communities.*⁵⁵⁷

Section 1(1) of the Nigerian Minerals and Mining Act, 2007 gives the federal government absolute ownership and total control over all mineral resources in the country. However, this right has been encroached upon by politicians, traditional rulers, business and government officials, who connive with foreigners to exploit the natural resources. Some Chinese involved in illegal gold mining have been arrested and unlawfully released in Zamfara state. Others were arrested and released in Osun state. Sponsors of illegal mining usually supply the ammunitions used during violent conflicts. In the ensuing conflicts in Zamfara state, an estimate of 5,000 persons have been killed between 2015 and 2020.⁵⁵⁸

5.1.2. Unifying leader figure in the campaign to resolve the problem of apartheid - South Africa's Desmond Tutu

Unifying a people is a way of avoiding conflicts. Whenever there is discrimination by way of religion, region, tribe, race or political affiliation, people begin to feel marginalized. It is this feeling of marginalization that brings about conflict. For example, the Igbos in eastern Nigeria declared the 1967 war because they felt marginalized. The agitation for secession was re-ignited in 2014, decades after the war because some of the people still felt marginalized. The Rwandan genocide from 1 October 1990 to 18 July 1994 began because of marginalization, hate, and discrimination between the Hutus and Tutsis. Within a period of 100 days, 1,000,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu were reportedly killed. Peace negotiation was signed after the August 1993 Arusha Accords in Tanzania. This led to the entrance of peace-keeping forces of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), but it was already too late.

When Paul Kagame finally came into power under the Rwanda Patriotic Front, he also used unification, reconciliation, and negotiation as tools for promoting a united country. With consistency and focused leadership, Rwanda is currently developing at a steady pace as the

⁵⁵⁵ Voice of America, 14 December 2023.

⁵⁵⁶ Punch, 20 February 2024.

⁵⁵⁷ Ogbonnaya Maurice, 16 June 2020.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid.

country reduced the percentage of people living below the poverty line from 57% in 2005 to 45% in 2010.⁵⁵⁹ Between 2022 and 2024, poverty level reduced by 2 percentage points.⁵⁶⁰

There is a similarity between what catapulted the Nigerian civil war in 1967 and the genocide of Rwanda in 1994. In the case of Nigeria, a coup took place on 15 January 1966 organized by officers mostly from the Igbo tribe. The Prime Minister from the northern part of the country, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and others were killed and replaced with Major General Aguiyi Ironsi from the Igbo-speaking tribe.

The northern officers staged a counter-coup on 28 July 1966 known as the "July Rematch". It was masterminded by Lt. Colonel Murtala Muhammed and other military officers from the north. Major General Aguiyi Ironsi was killed. This led to the termination of Ironsi's regime and Lt. Colonel Yakubu Gowon was appointed Head of State by the coup conspirators.

In the case of Rwanda, the trumpet of the genocide was finally blasted following the assassination of Rwandan president Juvénal Habyarimana on 6 April 1994. He was in an airplane with Burundian president Cyprien Ntaryamira when they were brought down with surface-to-air missiles as it prepared to land in Kigali, Rwanda. Both of them were Hutus. That action started a revenge and the mass slaughter of the Tutsis. The following 100 days became black days of blood in the history of Rwanda. The assassins of Habyarimana remain a mystery. Doyle reported for BBC that the assassins "could turn out to be one of the great mysteries of the late 20th Century."⁵⁶¹ In both cases, peace was finally restored only when concrete steps were taken to unify the people.

5.1.3. Peaceful termination of the apartheid regime, better organized and more peaceful world - Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk

The will to forgive and put our bitter pasts behind us is a potent instrument for development and a way of positively looking ahead, unbridled by the anger of the past. One of Nelson Mandela's powerful quotes *As I walked out the door toward the gate that would lead to my freedom, I knew if I didn't leave my bitterness and hatred behind, I'd still be in prison.*⁵⁶² Forgiveness goes a long way into healing wounds and galvanizing people towards looking ahead without harbouring grudges against their ugly pasts.

Efforts to end apartheid began when a series of steps were taken in negotiating and scheduling agendas as initiated by the government of FW de Klerk between 1990 and 1993. Various political organizations were involved with the governing National Party and the African National Congress in planning for a peaceful change in the political situation of South Africa. These actions ended in an election won by the African National Congress on 27th April 1994. The election changed the political system and charted a new path for the history of South Africa as it ushered Nelson Mandela as the first black President of the country who, as a way of unifying the people, formed a government of national unity.

The efforts by Klerk and Mandela in galvanizing people of all races toward speaking with one voice and forming a common platform was the ointment that healed the wounds of the past. This was boosted by the efforts of notable figures like South Africa's Desmond Tutu.

⁵⁵⁹ Rosamond Hutt, World Economic Forum, 07 April 2016.

⁵⁶⁰ World Bank, Poverty and Equity Brief, Rwanda 2023.

⁵⁶¹ Mark Doyle, BBC World Affairs correspondent, 29 November 2006.

⁵⁶² Nelson Mandela quotes, n.d.

5.1.4. For their work for a better organized and more peaceful world - Kofi Annan and United Nations

Kofi Annan served as the Secretary General of the United Nations between January 1997 and December 2006. During that period, he reportedly combined *pragmatism and humility* in the turbulent years of the UN. His vision and enduring spirit succeeded in building solidarity towards progress. This steadfast conduct resulted in an enviable expansion of the United Nations and several peace operations. For example, despite the political might of the United States of America, Annan was courageous to state that the invasion of Iraq which was superintended by the United States of America in 2004 was in breach of the UN Charter's law on the use of force.

However, Annan regretted his failure to act promptly in applying the UN mandates to ensure peacekeeping operations in Rwanda and Srebrenica, Bosnia, in the 1994–1995 crises.

*Annan succeeded as Secretary General through the skills of soft leadership: the elusive ability to make others connect emotionally and intellectually to a larger cause that transcended their immediate self-interest.*⁵⁶³

Annan continued to serve humanity after his retirement from service as he focused on humanitarian activities, poverty alleviation and conflict resolution with his establishment of the *Kofi Annan Foundation* and the *Group of Elders*.

5.1.5. Contribution to sustainable development, democracy and peace - Wangari Maathai.

If such attributes are used by African leaders, conflicts will drastically be reduced. In contrast to sustaining democracy and peace, the former president of Gambia Yahya Jammeh, refused to concede defeat to Adama Barrow after he lost presidential election in 2016. His refusal caused tension in the West African region. It took the intervention of other West African leaders by use of diplomacy, before Jammeh was forced to go into exile.

The exemplary conduct of former President Jonathan Goodluck of Nigeria after he lost election in 2015 was in line with what the works of Wangari Maathai entailed. There was so much tension and a palpable fear of war in the days leading to the Presidential elections. Jonathan Goodluck was the incumbent while his opponent Muhammadu Buhari who was a retired military officer, had threatened that *if what happened in 2011 should again happen in 2015, by the grace of God, the dog and the baboon would be soaked in blood.*⁵⁶⁴ This statement was fully loaded. However, while announcing the result, the incumbent made a phone call to Buhari and conceded defeat. That singular action sustained peace in Nigeria at a period when many expected post election violence.

Apart from elections, other conflicts could have been avoided if contending parties had taken steps to achieve sustainable development, democracy and peace.

5.1.6. Prevent nuclear energy from being used for military purposes and non-violent struggle for the safety of women and for women's rights.

⁵⁶³ Ramesh Thakur, 22 August 2018.

⁵⁶⁴ Binniyat, L., 15 May 2012.

"For their non-violent struggle for the safety of women and for women's rights to full participation in peace-building work. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Leymah Gbowee

Marginalization is a root cause of national conflicts. Eastern Nigeria went to war in 1967 based on the premise of alleged marginalization. In 1929, there was an uprising from eastern Nigeria known as the Aba Women's Riot. It was caused by the introduction of taxation through the detested indirect rule system.

The Nigerian fifty-naira currency note was re-issued in 1989 and it shows the figure of seven persons. Just one of them is a female. Outside Nigeria, history is replete with stories of women who protested government policies and marginalization and succeeded in getting their demands met. Other examples of non-violent women's struggles were also reported in the 1789 Versailles Women's march which catapulted the French Revolution in 1789; the 1913 Women's suffrage parade which witnessed the march by women to establish their rights to vote. In 1908, a series of public demonstrations organized by the United Kingdom's Women's Social and Political Union culminated in "Women's Sunday," a political rally of more than 250,000 people⁵⁶⁵ which became the largest in the history of Britain at that time.

In 1970 Women Strike for Equality was organized on 26 August 1970 in New York City and it was reportedly the largest gathering for women's rights since the suffrage protests.⁵⁶⁶ The protest established feminism and ignited similar marches in other countries like Iceland in 1975- which led to the enactment of a gender equality law. This created the platform where, for the first time in history, a woman name Vigdis Finnbogadottir became president of Iceland in 1980. The 1976 Women march for peace took place around the world *Catalyzing public support for peace and creating turning points in movements to end violence*.⁵⁶⁷ Such marches took place in Northern Ireland in 1976 organized by two women Mairead Corrigan and Netty William who ended the conflict of *Troubles* and ended up winning the 1976 Nobel Peace Prize. It was such similar united actions that were employed by Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Leymah Gbowee and other Liberian women in 2003 against the Liberian war that gave them the preference to jointly win the Nobel peace prize in 2011.

Sirleaf's and Gbowee's activities were numerous. For example, when Liberia's second civil war broke out in 2000, *soldiers on both sides of the conflict looted and burned villages, raped women, and recruited young boys to fight. Thousands of individuals fled their homes and made their way to Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, where they lived in camps without much food or drinking water*.⁵⁶⁸

In response, social worker Leymah Gbowee decided to bring women from her church together to protest the war. She also organised women for national prayers which were also joined by Muslims and other internally displaced women. She and her supporters used the radio to extensively speak for peace.

⁵⁶⁵ Rachel Vogelstein and Rebecca Turkington Five women's marches throughout history that triggered political change. n.d.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁸ Global Nonviolent Action Database, 22 October 2010.

Market women also joined wearing white and carrying banners with the inscription “The women of Liberia want peace now.” The women also agreed *that they would go on a sex strike, denying their partners intimacy until the war had ended.*⁵⁶⁹ They held a candlelight vigil to pray for those in the camp. When the international community called for peace talk, the women loudly added their voices and went on to name themselves as the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace, and wrote position statements for peace and met with Taylor to end the war. Thereafter, Taylor agreed to have a peace meeting to end the war. The women also met with the other war lords who also agreed to have a peace meeting in Accra, Ghana. Ghanaian women also showed solidarity. The women surrounded the building of the peace talks and insisted that the delegates will not leave until a peace agreement was reached. At a point, Gbowee threatened to remove her clothes to shame the men. *On 11 August, Taylor resigned from the presidency of Liberia and terms for the peace agreement were announced. Taylor was exiled to Nigeria, UN Peacekeeping forces (UNMIL) were ordered to enter Monrovia, and a transitional government was put in place to begin the process of holding democratic elections.*⁵⁷⁰ On 4 August, international peacekeeping troops entered Liberia and by December, UNMIL started the disarmament process and ex-combatants were encouraged to surrender their weapons in exchange for cash. The women also participated in the transition process towards democratic elections. They registered voters and set up polling stations. The resounding activities of Sirleaf gave her the political support that led to her election on 23 November 2005, as the first female president of Liberia.

Thereafter, the 2017 Women’s March⁵⁷¹ drew about five million women in the United States of America and from over two hundred and fifty countries globally, to promote women activism against abuse and all forms of marginalization.

5.1.7. Other examples

I wish to highlight the reasons why other peace prize winners emerged and develop a summary as to how their activities could also be harnessed as conflict prevention and resolution mechanisms.

1960: Albert Lutuli of South Africa.

*"The Nobel Committee for the second time chose a prize-winner who was being persecuted by his own authorities"*⁵⁷²

He was a teacher and trade unionist who became the President of the Liberation movement known as the African National Congress (ANC). He consistently fought the apartheid regime hinged on his philosophy of nonviolence and campaign of civil disobedience against the apartheid policy. Human rights protection was the basis of his struggle.

2005: Egypt's Mohamed El Baradei, head of the UN's nuclear watchdog, shared the prize with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA):

⁵⁶⁹ *ibid.*

⁵⁷⁰ *ibid.*

⁵⁷¹ Courtney, W; Rennison, J; Lindsay W & Nicole, B., 22 January 2017.

⁵⁷² BBC News, 9 October 2015.

*"For their efforts to prevent nuclear energy from being used for military purposes and to ensure that nuclear energy for peaceful purposes is used in the safest possible way"*⁵⁷³

Mohamed ElBaradei is a scholar, diplomat and interim Vice President of Egypt between 14 July 2013 and 14 August 2013 when he resigned. He was the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency between 1997 and 2009. As a lover of democracy and the preservation of human rights in his country, ElBaradei was very active in protests that rocked Egypt in 2011 which led to the ousting of President Hosni Mubarak.

2015: Tunisia's National Dialogue Quartet, is a group made up of four organizations: the Tunisian General Labour Union, Trade and Handicrafts, the Tunisian Confederation of Industry, the Tunisian Order of Lawyers and the Tunisian Human Rights League:

*"For its decisive contribution to the building of a pluralistic democracy in Tunisia in the wake of the Jasmine Revolution of 2011."*⁵⁷⁴

2018: Winner Dr Dennis Mukwege from the Democratic Republic of Congo is a world-renowned gynecologist and human rights activist. He has treated thousands of rape victims. The Nobel Prize committee stated that he *"helped to give greater visibility to war-time sexual violence."*⁵⁷⁵ The joint award (with Nadia Murad of Iraq) comes a decade since the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 and 1820 (2008) as the documents which declared that the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war and armed conflict constitutes both a war crime and a threat to international peace and security.⁵⁷⁶

In related situations like Rwanda, there was deliberate impregnation of Tutsi women by Hutu men who were HIV-infected. This action was reportedly sponsored by the Hutu-led government.

In the 1990s of former Yugoslavia, rape was also used as an instrument of ethnic cleansing. More than a quarter of a million women and girls, by some estimates, were raped in the conflicts of the Democratic Republic of Congo as documented in the 2008 film *The Greatest Silence* by filmmaker Lisa Jackson. As of 2011, an average of 48 rape cases were recorded per hour.⁵⁷⁷

Men have also been raped. Oxfam and Human Rights Watch reported many cases of the rape of males in eastern Congo.⁵⁷⁸

All of these undermine the social fabric of communities and promotion of oppression.

2019: Nobel Peace Winner Abiy Ahmed Ali, Prime Minister of Ethiopia *"for his role in ending the 20-year war between Ethiopia and Eritrea."*⁵⁷⁹ The conflict broke out over time in intermittent skirmishes and it was all about the ownership of a border around a town called Badme. The ensuing conflict reportedly claimed estimated lives of over 100,000 persons

⁵⁷³ The Nobel Prize 2005.

⁵⁷⁵ Irish Times, 5 October 2018.

⁵⁷⁶ Barrow, March 2010.

⁵⁷⁷ BBC News, 12 May 2011.

⁵⁷⁸ Oxfam International, 15 April 2010.

⁵⁷⁹ BBC News, Nobel Peace Prize, 11 October 2019.

between the months of May 1998 and June 2000. With the bold steps taken by Ali, the two countries are no longer in the state of war. Families have been reunited after many years of living apart. Relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea which was severed for 20 years has finally been rekindled. In another aspect, Ali also brokered a power-sharing deal in neighboring Sudan, after a political crisis that led to the ousting of President Omar al-Bashir who ruled the country for around three decades. Abiy accomplished these achievements just within a year in office. This exemplary feat shows that success is not only measured by time but by strong decisive will, passion and consistency.

Ali took further steps by releasing the country's political prisoners, denounced their torture and freed jailed journalists incarcerated by the previous regime. It was an historical experience when Ethiopian airlines landed in Mogadishu, Somalia, for the first time in 41 years. Among his many accomplishments, Ali also supported the planting of trees throughout the country as a practical way of curbing the effects of climate change which continue to wreak havoc across the land. Ethiopia's gross domestic product increased and by 2020, it had become *one of the fastest-growing economies in the region*. Abiy also showed his commitment to gender equality by appointing women to half of his cabinet. Ethiopia's parliament also appointed the country's first female president, Sahle-Work Zewde, and the nation's first Supreme Court chief, Meaza Ashenafi, was sworn into office.⁵⁸⁰

However, it should also be noted that despite being a Peace prize winner in 2019, the tolerance of Prime Minister Ali was challenged in 2020. He was forced to order the country's military to counter the attack by Tigray People's Liberation Front, (TPLF) because the regional power had attacked the country's military base which Ali described as "the last straw." He further described the group as *fugitives from justice ... using the civilian population as human shields.*⁵⁸¹ with all the tendencies of "*criminal hubris and intransigence*"⁵⁸² Ironically, Ali was forced to lead Ethiopia to War. In order to cause disaffection between the government of Ethiopia and Eritrea, TPLF reportedly dressed its soldiers with the same uniform used by the Eritrean army, to attack Ethiopian settlements. The aim was to give the false impression that Ethiopia was being attacked by Eritrea a country with whom Ali had made peace since 2018 after a conflict that lasted for about twenty years. The deceit by TPLF is akin to the tactics similarly used by the Germans when they invaded Poland in September 1939. Prior to the invasion, the Germans dressed as Polish soldiers and attacked *the customs house at the then German border village of Hochlinden*.⁵⁸³ On 31 August 1939, the Germans dressed as Polish soldiers and attacked the Gleiwitz radio station within the German territory with a statement in Polish *Attention! This is Gliwice. The broadcasting station is in Polish hands*⁵⁸⁴ This was to give a false impression of Polish invasion. This orchestrated falsehood and stage-setting was what Germany used as a reason for attacking Poland. By the next day of 1st September 1939, the Second World War had been fully ignited.

⁵⁸⁰ ABC57, 11 Oct. 2019.

⁵⁸¹ CTV News, Cara Anna and Elias Meseret, 6 November 2020

⁵⁸² *ibid.*

⁵⁸³ History Hit TV, 31 August 2018.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

The power of negotiation as exemplified by Ali is needed to promote peace in Africa. The role of third person intervention when sincerely applied without selfish intentions could bring about the needed peace in Africa. Conflicts must not be left to continue and manifest into wars before regional blocs or influential individuals intervene. A stitch in time saves nine.

For example, the 1967 civil war in Nigeria could have been avoided if serious and sincere negotiations had been employed earlier. The civil war that broke out in August 1955 between North and South Sudan happened because Britain and Egypt- who previously occupied both countries – planned to unify both states as a country through a planned 1956 independence. That war lasted for sixteen years. If Egypt and Britain had applied the concrete negotiation technique of Abiy Ahmed Ali, the war could have been prevented.

The Rwanda war temporarily ended in 1993, because of the intervention of the Organisation of African Union (OAU) now AU. However, on 6 April 1994 a rocket shot down the aeroplane carrying the Rwandan president Juvénal Habyarimana and Burundian president Cyprien Ntaryamira, killing both instantly. This tragedy renewed the war. This shows that though peace was temporarily achieved, mechanisms for continuing negotiations were not put in place to sustain it. Some parties were still aggrieved. This is an example of bad peace. The tool of negotiation was excellently used by Nigeria in bringing an end to the Liberian war in 2003. This was achieved when the then-President of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo, offered his Liberian counterpart Charles Taylor asylum in Nigeria as a way to assist in ending instability in Liberia. Most African countries continue to suffer from the exploitative political structures bequeathed to them many years after independence. In Nigeria, the long years of colonial rule and the iron years of military subjugation coupled with its peculiar corruption, is the bane of today's civilian regime. Nigerians inherited exploitation, corruption and draconian rule. Now politicians have modernized it through actions bordering on ritual killing, political disenfranchisement and certificate forgery. In all, just like the colonialists and the army, today's civilian regime continues to use the gun to oppress the same people they swore on oath to protect; a country they swore to preserve and an economy they promised to develop.

A notable lesson from the achievements of Ali is that despite his academic sojourn in London, he returned home to apply his knowledge. This is a clarion call for Africans in diaspora to furrow pathways towards returning home to build their countries which are rich in natural resources. The Ethiopian Prime Minister achieved the feat of winning the Nobel peace prize at the age of 43. Similarly, Adama Barrow the President of Gambia returned home from England and won an election that took power from Yahya Jammeh who was in power for 22 years. George Weah was an international footballer who spent 14 years playing for clubs in France, Italy, and England. In 1995, he won the prestigious title of the FIFA World Player of the Year and went further to win the Ballon d'Or. He severally won the African Player of the year awards in 1989, 1994 and 1995. In 1996, Weah was named the African Player of the Century. He returned home and became the President of Liberia in 2018. Africans in diaspora must change the very ugly narratives of African poverty and insecurity. Though there is a general misconception that Africa is poor, yet a huge amount of the raw materials that drive industries in developed countries come from Africa. Statistics shows that in 2018, over 65 % of goods imported to the EU from Africa were primary goods (food and drink, raw materials and energy). Conversely, in 2018, almost 70 % of goods exported from the EU to Africa were manufactured goods mostly from Africa's raw materials.

1960: For Nonviolence and campaign of civil disobedience - South Africa: Albert Lutuli

Some of the conflicts and wars in Africa were caused by the inability of the people to resort to alternative means of addressing their grievances. The conflicts started like skirmishes just like that of Ethiopia and Eritrea before it became a full-blown war. An estimated one hundred thousand persons died in that war.

In the case of the Nigerian civil war of 1967, the war was declared by Odumegwu Ojukwu without recourse to alternative solutions like the campaign for civil disobedience. Several causes of the war included ethnic and religious riots in the Northern part of Nigeria, military coup and counter coup, control over the oil-rich region of Niger Delta, and the subsequent attack on persons of Igbo extraction that lived in the North. An estimated one million persons died in that war. Decades after the 1967 civil war, proponents of Biafra have resorted to applying the method of civil disobedience every 30 May and on Mondays, as a method of honouring those that were killed during the Nigeria-Biafra civil war. *During the two and half years of the war, there were about 100,000 overall military casualties, while between 500,000 and 2 million Biafran civilians died of starvation.*⁵⁸⁵

2018. Building of a pluralistic democracy and giving greater visibility to war-time sexual violence - Dr Dennis Mukwege:

One of the greatest consequences of war is the vulnerability of women and children. Women are raped and abused during war by the soldiers that ought to protect them, by enemy soldiers or by peacekeeping forces after war. How could the activities of Mukwege be employed before war? Before the commencement of war, government and international bodies must build secured protection centers where women, children and other vulnerable persons are isolated. This will keep them safe from any predatory form of attack. If this technique was applied, some incidents could have been avoided in the conflict regions of Borno state of Nigeria. Ironically, several miscalculations have been recorded from Nigerian security agencies. On 17 January 2017, the jet of the Nigerian Air Force bombed the camp for Internally Displaced Persons in Rann, Borno State by mistake. They thought it was an enclave for Boko haram terrorists. 115 persons were killed and over 100 injured.⁵⁸⁶ Killing such persons that ought to be protected within a secluded area must be avoided.

Rape against women should not be of concern only in times of war. The issue of rape against women when Nigeria is not at war with other countries has equally become a source of concern that promotes internal social tension. In May 2020, a female University student Vera Uwaila Omozuwa was raped and killed inside the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Benin City Nigeria. Youths went on rampage and destroyed the church.⁵⁸⁷

In less than 72 hours after the death of Vera, a teenager named Barakat Bello was reportedly raped and killed in her home in the city of Ibadan.⁵⁸⁸ If sexual violence during war and peacekeeping must be addressed, it is paramount to initially address it at the domestic front so

⁵⁸⁵ ICE Case Studies on the Biafra War, 14 February 2017.

⁵⁸⁶ BBC News Online, 24 January 2017.

⁵⁸⁷ Egbejule, M., in Guardian Newspaper, 1 June 2020.

⁵⁸⁸ Olatunji, K., in Guardian Newspaper, 4 June 2020.

that persons dispatched for peacekeeping or war could fully imbibe local culture, its dangers and the consequences of committing such an act.

Adequate security must be given to such centers in order to avoid aerial attacks. Opposing forces must bear consequences whenever they cross such lines. For example, during one of the conflicts between the Israelis and Palestine between 21 July and 3 August 2014, Israeli forces shot at the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, UNRWA protection shelter for Palestinian refugees with artillery and mortar strikes which reportedly killed 44 civilians, including 10 UN staff.⁵⁸⁹

5.2.1. Conflict and dispute resolution

These are the means and methods used to bring an end to conflicts. Such means may include negotiation, mediation, diplomacy and peace building. Conflict resolution is a panacea for world peace and security. There are tendencies that countries would have disputes in relation to border, political, economic or social interests. International conflict is deeply rooted in national interest and the natural instinct for survival. In times of war, conflicts could be concluded with a peace agreement, which is a *"formal agreement... which addresses the disputed incompatibility, either by settling all or part of it, or by clearly outlining a process for how... to regulate the incompatibility."*⁵⁹⁰ Most conflicts could initially be approached with a request for cease fire in order to create an atmosphere for peaceful negotiations. In the case of a ceasefire, it is a form of temporary agreement agreed upon by the warring parties mostly through the intervention of a third party. Unlike a peace agreement, it only *"regulates the conflict behaviour of warring parties and does not resolve the issue that brought the parties to war in the first place"*.⁵⁹¹ The Security Council has been empowered by the Charter of the United Nations UNSC to act in ensuring international peace and security. From inception, in 1948, 71 peacekeeping operations have been deployed around the world. With the multiplication of threats to world peace, the staff of peacekeeping operations has increased significantly, growing from 12,000 in 1996 to over 76,000 peacekeepers in February 2023.⁵⁹² Peacekeeping has been a viable method used in preventing a conflict from growing into a full-blown war. It is a way of restoring and sustaining peace after a war. Peacekeeping is usually implemented by troops of member states serving under the United Nations. In some other cases, regional organizations have been given authority to implement peacekeeping just like the ECOWAS Monitoring Group in Liberia (ECOMOG) in 1998 and the ECOWAS Mission in Liberia (ECOMIL) in 2003. In 2003, the United Nations Security Council converted ECOMIL to UN International Stabilization Force. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has also been mandated to implement peace keeping in former Yugoslavia in 1994. *In December 1995, NATO sent an unprecedented 60,000 troops to ensure that all sides would abide by the Dayton accords, which was replaced by a smaller force of 32,000 troops a year later.*⁵⁹³

589 Summary of the report of the United Nations Headquarters Board of Inquiry, by the Secretary-General.

590 Uppsala University. Department of Peace and Conflict Research.

591 *ibid.*

592 Permanent mission of France to the UN, *United Nations Peacekeeping*. 2023.

593 Congressional Research Service, Bosnia and the European Union Military Force (EUFOR): Post-NATO Peacekeeping, 5 December 2006.

The idea of having comity of nations via the United Nations, is to ensure global peace, security and other cooperation and regulations for equity and respect for sovereignties. In matters that concern international security, the United Nations empowers the Security Council to be the last resort for decision making or use of force. However, for political reasons, some countries bypass the Security Council in ways that seemingly disrespects the body but saves time from unnecessary delays. Reasons adduced for taking unilateral actions could probably be a way of avoiding the bureaucratic process of dialogue and negotiations when one of the conflicting parties is already killing helpless persons. Whether actions are taken unilaterally by a particular country or multilaterally by several countries, the resultant peacekeeping are usually a UN affair. Conflict resolution has been a part of Nigeria`s foreign policy. That is one of the reasons why she embarks on peacekeeping across continents. Some of the methods used by the Nigerian government towards resolving conflicts are as follows:

a) Niger Delta Militants

Crude oil is mostly produced in the Niger Delta region. The department of Petroleum Resources stated that Nigeria has a total of 159 oil fields and 1481 wells in operations. The Niger Delta Basin is the the most productive region of the nation with 78 of the 159 oil fields.⁵⁹⁴ Though most of the oil fields are small, and spread across the southern region, it is recorded that as of 1990, the small fields accounted for 62.1% of all Nigerian production. This contrasts with the sixteen largest fields which produced 37.9% of Nigeria`s petroleum at that time.⁵⁹⁵

Since the 1990s in Nigeria, the militants of the Niger Delta region of the country have been agitating for their rights with respect to the distribution of the proceeds of oil which is produced from the region and accounts for at least 85% of national revenue. The amended 1979 constitutional gave the federal government full ownership and rights to all Nigerian territory and declared that domain compensation for seized land would *"be based on the value of the crops on the land at the time of its acquisition, not on the value of the land itself."* The mplication of this is that the Nigerian government could distribute the land to oil companies as it deemed fit.⁵⁹⁶

The hanging of popular activists from Ogoni land in the Niger delta region was a turning point in the agitation for socio-economic inclusion. In May 1994, nine activists from the movement that later became known as 'The Ogoni Nine', among them Ken Saro-Wiwa, were arrested and accused of incitements to murder following the death of four Ogoni elders. Saro-Wiwa and his comrades denied the charges, the military regime had detained them for over a year before the military tribunal set up by the late General Sani Abacha found them guilty. *The activists were denied due process and upon being found guilty, were hanged by the Nigerian state.*⁵⁹⁷

This singular action by the government precipitated renewed agitations for resource control and

⁵⁹⁴ Niger Delta Environmental Survey Final Report Phase I of the Environmental Resources Managers Ltd; Volume I: Environmental and Socio-Economic Characteristics, September 1997

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁶ Human rights watch 1999. The Price Of Oil Corporate Responsibility and Human Rights Violations in Nigeria`s Oil Producing Communities.

⁵⁹⁷ Mathiason, N., 5 May 2009.

saving of the environment from degradation. This resulted into violent and criminal activities such as kidnapping, murders, oil pipeline vandalization and oil bunkery by various militant groups such as the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta, Niger Delta People Volunteer Force (MEND), the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA), Niger Delta Greenline Justice Mandate (NDGJM) and the Niger Delta Vigilantes (NDV).

In 26 June 2009, the government of Nigeria granted amnesty to the militants and 8000 later surrendered their armunitions.⁵⁹⁸ In the year 2000 the Niger Delta Development Commission was also established in order to improve and sustain development plans in the region as a way of resolving the conflicts. The amnesty was as a result of detailed negotiation geared towards a conflict resolution where both parties are appeased. The government was aware that apart from the huge insecurity which the militants represented, there was also huge economic loss to the revenue of the government as militants continued to bomb oil installations which spilled millions of barrels of crude oil.

As a result of the amnesty program, a body was specially set up to cater for the militants. They were trained in various professions within and outside Nigeria and placed on monthly financial remuneration. However, it was reported that some of the persons included in the amnesty program were products of politics. They were neither militants nor existed in human forms. As alleged, some ghost names could have been fraudulently added to the group and their payments were pocketed by those involved in the racket.

5.2.2. Amnesty for Terrorists

In 2020 the government of Muhammadu Buhari initiated a move to integrate 'repentant' terrorists. One of the sources through which the Buhari's government funds the integration of terrorists, is through money paid into the account of the Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFUND) by registered companies in Nigeria. By law, it is compulsory for every company in Nigeria to pay 2% of its profit as tax into that account.

Nigeria is bleeding and the international community remained silent for too long. If the world continues to watch in silence, Nigeria may just slide into the chaos that could be worse than the Rwanda genocide of 1994.

The consequences of international inaction could spread like a huge conflagration outside Nigeria. The bill for the integration of terrorists was sponsored by Senator Ibrahim Gaidam, a member of the ruling political party known as the All Progressives Congress, APC representing Yobe East Senatorial District of Nigeria. The bill is titled '*National Agency for the Education, Rehabilitation, De-radicalization and Integration of Repentant Insurgents in Nigeria*'.

The federal government of Nigeria did not wait for the bill to be signed into law before it quickly started its implementation using public resources. When such a situation arises, it is the responsibility of the international community to act or for civil society organizations to sue the government to the International Criminal Court. Many have argued that the need to sue Nigerian leaders to court is to ensure national and international security based on the following reasons:

⁵⁹⁸ ReliefWeb, 29 Nov 2009.

1. Contrary to international standards and best practices, the government is integrating members of the deadly Boko haram sect into the society under the guise that they have repented. Now dastard killing and kidnapping for ransom in Nigeria continue to be a daily occurrence. Many throats have been slashed. Heads have been cut off in broad day while villages have been razed. The integrated terrorists are the same group that killed 11 UN officials in 2011 and injured over 60 persons. This is the same group that was declared by the international community as a terrorist group.

2. The same terrorist sect opened fire on a United Nations aid helicopter in the northeastern state of Borno on Saturday, 4 July 2020 killing two civilians.

3. Murderous herdsmen continue to kill, kidnap, maim and rape women in their farms and the government had deliberately refused to declare them as terrorists because they enjoy the support of government. Very little has been done to bring killers to face justice while killing continues unabated.

4. Unarmed Pro democracy activists have been arrested and unlawfully detained while the sponsors of violence remain untouched. The government continue to order security agencies to shoot at unarmed protesting citizens to death.

5. The European Parliament has declared that around 6,000 Nigerian citizens have been killed under the watch of this terrorist-friendly government since 2015. Very little has been done to curtail the situation while Nigerian soldiers become regular casualties under terrorists who have higher fire power.

6. Mass graves across Nigerian states now dot our geographical landscape. Many were hurriedly buried by security agents so that the actual number of the massacred could be hidden from the media and the public. There is institutionalized silence that allow the people to die.

7. The anti-social media bill and hate speech laws have been designed by Senators so that Nigerians will be too afraid to speak out against injustice.

8. There has been countless attack on faith and religious freedom. Christians and Pastors have been kidnapped, slaughtered, and shot at close range. Mosques and Muslims have also been attacked and bombed.

9. Section 5(m) of the bill reads in part, *“The agency shall implement programmes geared towards the rehabilitation of beneficiaries, engage the services of offshore and Nigerian institutions in the pursuits of the educational needs of ex-agitators.”* This means that the terrorists could be spread abroad under the guise of seeking foreign education.

The 2006 action plan of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy as enshrined in resolution 60/288, aims *to consistently, unequivocally and strongly condemn terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, committed by whomever, wherever and for whatever purposes, as it constitutes one of the most serious threats to international peace and security; To take urgent action to prevent and combat terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and, in particular...*

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The idea of amnesty has been abused in Nigeria. Resources made available for the amnesty program has been siphoned and diverted. Fictitious names were added to the lists of the militants that were granted amnesty. Some of the names were not in existence. Various cases of theft were registered against some chairpersons who managed the program. For example,

⁵⁹⁹ United Nations, n.d.

Kingsley Kuku who was the Chairman of the Presidential amnesty program was accused of conniving with Allen Onyema the Director of Air Peace airline by diverting amnesty funds into the business of the airline. The *United States Department of Justice* has alleged that billions of naira stolen from the Presidential Amnesty Programme by a former head of the office, Mr Kingsley Kuku, were transferred to bank accounts in the United States where they were laundered and used to purchase airplanes to start Air Peace as well as luxury homes and vehicles...Between 2010 and 2018, over \$44.9 million was allegedly transferred into his (Allen Onyema) Atlanta-based accounts from foreign sources.⁶⁰⁰ When Kuku was summoned by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission to account for financial impropriety, he escaped to the United States of America.

Prior to the appointment of Kuku, Paul Boro was the Chairman. He was sacked in 2018 because of financial impropriety. Most of the persons that were granted amnesty did not repent genuinely. They later returned to crime. For example, in 2015, Governor Ortom of Benue state, granted amnesty to over 500 criminals. Amongst them was a notorious militia named Terwase Akwaza popularly known as Gana. He surrendered with over 700 arms to the government. However, he was said to have reneged on his promise to repent and returned to his hideout in the Sankera axis of the state alongside his followers and gang members. This was shortly after being fingered in the murder of an aide of the governor on Special Security, Deneen Igbana, in 2016 in Makurdi.⁶⁰¹

The idea of granting amnesty to criminals have been a source of siphoning public funds while those that pretend to have repented are either fake or mostly return back to their criminal activities. In all of these, it has been reported that in the IDP camp located about 2km from the Rindebin area in Bauchi local Government Area of Bauchi State, Nigerians that were displaced by these same terrorists, including children, steadily feed on onion leaves as alternatives to food. Most of those leaves may soon dry up.

5.2.3. Biafra

Another conflict that has emerged from the ashes of the past is the continuing agitation to secede by a section of the eastern part of Nigeria predominantly made up of the Igbo tribe who occupy Ebonyi, Anambra, Imo, Enugu, Abia states of Nigeria. They are determined to have the Republic of Biafra. Secession is permitted under international law. Attempts were made between 1967 and 1970 to actualize this Republic spear headed by the late Odumegwu Ojukwu. This resulted in a war and the attempt failed. Many years after the defeat of the Biafran forces and the subsequent reconciliation on both sides, a renewed agitation to secede apparently started from 2005 under the platform of the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra headed by Ralph Uwazurike. On 16 June 2015, the Supreme Council of Elders of the Indigenous People of Biafra, another pro-Biafra organization, sued the Federal Republic of Nigeria for the right to self-determination so that their region could become a sovereign state.⁶⁰² Nigeria was amalgamated as a country under British rule in 1914. In the events leading to the Nigeria coup of 1966, many Igbo were killed in the north and there was a reprisal against

⁶⁰⁰ Sahara Reporters, 9 Sept 2020.

⁶⁰¹ Sahara Reporters, 9 September 2020.

⁶⁰² Sunnewsonline, 18 July 2015.

northerners who lived in the Eastern part of Nigeria. This tension created the platform of bitterness on which the idea for self determination was hatched. This group sought to be on their own due to reasons of socio-economic and political tensions exacerbated by perceived marginalization.

Biafra, according to the agitators, existed long before the amalgamation and independence of Nigeria as a republic. Chukuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu in pursuit of a more agreeable arrangement for peaceful co-existence of all regions in Nigeria proposed for a confederated Nigeria.

In January 1967, the Nigerian military leaders and the agitators met in Aburi, Ghana and agreed on a loose confederation of regions. The Northerners were at odds with the Aburi Accord. Obafemi Awolowo who was the leader of the Western Region warned that if the Eastern Region seceded, the Western Region would also secede. This was what persuaded the northerners.⁶⁰³

The stage was set for a conflict. The Eastern region voted in a referendum amongst themselves and they agreed to secede. Ojukwu went ahead to announce the Republic of Biafra. The Federal government was infuriated. Further efforts to resolve the dispute locally and internationally failed. Other countries quickly took sides in support of the conflicting parties. While countries like Tanzania, Gabon, Ivory Coast, and Zambia recognized Biafra, countries like France, Norway, South Africa and other non state actors like Caritas International and the Catholic Relief Services simply provided assistance to Biafra.

Military equipments were imported and supplied and a barrage of gun shots began to rent the air from all sides within the Nigerian territory. The war has started. The federal government used both military might and the strategy of blockade to stop food from entering into the Biafran territory. The war became tense and Ojukwu abandoned his people and fled to Ivory Coast leaving behind Philip Effiong to take charge. Effiong called for a ceasefire on 12 January 1970 and submitted to the Federal Military Government.⁶⁰⁴

With the continuing renewed agitation and hostility by some people from the east to re-secede, they based their reason on the same matter of marginalization. The Federal government of Nigeria continue to make some arrests, detention and releases as a way of suppressing the agitation with apparently no wish to negotiate.

Conflicts are misunderstanding or irreconcilable differences between persons, group of persons or between countries. Conflict management are the methods employed to solve issues of disagreement. Post II World War era found it imperative to formulate strategies for the resolution of international conflicts to avoid the reoccurrence of such tragedies. Carnevale and Pruitt (1992) defined Conflict as *preferences that contradict each other*.⁶⁰⁵ Such a definition makes conflicts appear as simple misunderstandings with no consequences. In some cases, the conflict may be a disagreement between two governments. How the citizens interpret and react to the conflict could either worsen the situation or make way for peace. On the whole, the position of the government usually supercede other positions. For example, Nigerians protested the ceding of the Bakassi peninsular to Cameroon before and after the judgement of the International Court of Justice. The government on Nigeria stood its ground and respected the judgement of the court. The position taken by government finally settled all agitations.

603 Biafran Secession, Nigeria 1967-1970, 16 December 2000.

604 *ibid*.

605 Carnevale, P. & Dean G. P., 1992.

Not all conflicts are destructive. In some cases, it reveals weaknesses and opportunity for amendments that could be to the benefit of everyone involved. There are positive sides of conflicts. The positive side can only be appreciated when the party that is being accused listens deeply and accepts the sense in the arguments. Conflict of interest do not always lead to violence or wars. Unresolved conflicts could manifest into crises that may be too late to resolve. During the administration of President Buhari of Nigeria, the government hardly accepted any form of criticism. In many cases, the critics are harrassed, arrested or silenced. For example, at a critical stage of the country, citizens became very disenchanted with the huge poverty and insecurity in the country. Food products were donated by the United Arab Emirates; maize were borrowed from ECOWAS, national debt burden rose to 85 billion USD. Unemployment rose incredibly that some doctorate degree holders applied for cleaning jobs that paid less than 50 USD monthly. Fuel prices and electricity tariffs were increased. Various groups protested while unarmed peaceful protesters were either arrested, detained, injured or killed. At that time, the former President of the country Olusegun Obasanjo cried out that the Buhari's administration was turning Nigeria into a failed state.

There are various ways the government of Nigeria have employed in addressing and preventing conflicts. However, the resort to violent repression against unarmed citizens whenever they protest on the street, is an aspect of bad governance that painted the government of President Buhari in bad colours. While protesting for the release of Ibrahim El-Zakzaky the spiritual leader of Shiite Muslims, many of his followers were killed and arrested. The right to the freedom of expression by way of protest and association is enmeshed in international laws and in the 1999 Nigerian constitution as amended.

The Federal Character formula was introduced into the Nigerian Constitution as a conflict resolution mechanism to give equal representation to Nigerians who come from the six geo-political zones of the North Central, Northeast, Northwest, South-South, Southwest and Southeast. It is believed that the equal representation will douse ethnic tension and give everyone a sense of belonging. It was enshrined in Section 14 (3) of the 1979 Constitution that "the composition of the government of the Federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from few states or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that government or any of its agencies" Pursuant to this, section 147 (3) states that the appointment of Ministers, shall reflect the Federal Character of Nigeria...the President shall appoint at least one Minister from each state who shall be an indigene of such state. Section 171 (5) further states that Appointment to the offices of the Secretary to the Government, Head of Service, Ambassadors, Permanent Secretaries shall have regard to the federal character.

As a check and balance mechanism, the Federal Character Commission was established in 1996 with the clear mandate to formulate equitable strategy that will ensure proper representation as subjected to National Assembly approval, of the distribution of all positions in all areas of public service and other government security agencies.

5.2.4. Crises resolution methods and reasons why crises remained unresolved

The months of August and September 2019 witnessed the climax of xenophobia in South Africa. Citizens of other African countries were killed, and their assets and business premises were looted or razed. Reprisal attacks against South Africans and their businesses took place in other countries like Zambia and Nigeria. The National Association of Nigerian Students quickly gave a 7-day ultimatum to all South Africans to leave Nigeria with their businesses. Tension was heightening. The Inspector General of Police Mohammed Adamu quickly summoned the executive members of the students' body to address the matter of the security implication. That meeting brought an end to the intentions of the students' body. In Nigeria, Mobile telephone company MTN and the Shoprite supermarket chain were most hit as items were looted and business premises vandalized. To forestall an escalation of the crises, security agents were deployed to troubled zones and business premises with South African affiliation. The business premises were closed for some time and the President of South Africa Cyril Ramaphosa sent envoys to various African countries like Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal, Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia, with a clear mandate of repairing the country's image, by appeal and to make amends. Another diplomatic team was scheduled to meet with the African Union as a way of assuring the continental body of South Africa's commitment to the goals of Pan-Africanism and the continuing need for African unity. The hostility towards Ramaphosa at the funeral ceremony of former Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe in Harare was very visible as the crowd booed him throughout his speech.⁶⁰⁶ After accepting the apology, President Muhammadu Buhari of Nigeria called for nation-wide calm and asked citizens not to engage in any form of reprisal attacks against South Africans and their businesses. In return, Nigerian President visited his South African counterpart where they made joint statements and called for continuing mutual international relation. They agreed to employ swift reactions at early signals in the future and to ensure efficient policing. This diplomatic approach to the crises were to the crises were very effective at both resolving the conflict and protecting national security and international peace.

The menace of Fulani herdsmen continued to take center stage on national discourse. Women were raped in their farms and others were killed or kidnapped for ransoms. On many occasions, crops of farmers were intentionally destroyed and eaten by cows. These actions caused several clashes between farmers, the community, and herders who were bent on land grabbing.

Various regions took steps to form security networks against such invaders. The western region formed the Amotekun Security outfit while Governors of the eastern region formed the *Ebube Agu* Security Network to curtail criminalities. However, these outfits were not effective in tackling the continuing attacks by herders.

As a concrete step towards addressing the security challenges, the governors of 17 states in Southern Nigeria have resolved to ban open grazing of cattle in their states. This critical decision was part of the 12 resolutions which was reached by the governors during a meeting in Asaba, Delta State capital as read by the Chairman of the group, Oluwarotimi Akeredolu of Ondo State.

As a way of enforcing peace in troubled Liberia, the Nigerian government under President Olusegun Obasanjo granted political asylum to Liberia's former President Charles Taylor in

⁶⁰⁶ Thuso Khumalo in Voice of Africa. 16 September 2019.

Nigeria as a way of taking him away from Liberia so that the peace process would progress unhindered. Taylor arrived in Nigeria on 11 August 2003. Obasanjo granted this asylum for humanitarian and strategic reasons because it was the period when Liberian rebels had seized the ports and prevented humanitarian aids from reaching starving Liberians. It was after Taylor left for Nigeria that Liberian rebels surrendered the ports to Nigerian soldiers on August 14, 2003,⁶⁰⁷ thereby permitting the entrance of humanitarian aids and paving the way for further meaningful reconciliations.

It is also on record that another exiled warlord Yormie “Prince” Johnson, who was videotaped when he slayed former Liberian President Samuel Doe escaped to Lagos Nigeria as a way of dousing the tension in Liberia. Roosevelt Johnson, another former Liberian warlord and a rival to Charles Taylor, also escaped to the Nigerian city of Jos at the height of tensions. They always saw Nigeria as a haven! However, granting asylum to Charles Taylor was followed by harsh criticisms and legal fire works as it challenged the impunity of granting asylum to war criminals. Nigeria led other West African countries to apply the instruments of conflict resolution to negotiate with the ousted President Yahya Jammeh to relinquish power to the elected President Adama Barrow who defeated him in the December election of 2016. This peace effort was made easy because the majority of Gambians supported external intervention. The West African force of 7,000 stayed in Gambia for six months after the installation of Barrow to sustain the peace from sliding into bad peace. This was especially so because there was palpable fear that loyalists to Jammeh and his Jola minority group could be targets of attack or supporters of violence. As a way of addressing incessant religious crises, the Nigeria Inter-Religious Council (NIREC) was established on 11 September 1999, as a voluntary association of 50 members made up of 25 Christians and 25 Muslims. This platform also includes religious and traditional rulers who use their positions to promote peaceful interactions, tolerance and better understating among the leaders and subjects. It is believed that this is a conflict prevention and resolution mechanism to promote sustainable peace and religious harmony across the various states of the federation.

5.2.5. Nature of conflicts

Every form of conflict - whether by individuals, group of persons, companies or governments operating locally or internationally, arises because people see things from different perspectives. For example, the United States of America saw from their perspective, that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction and had capability to produce more. This idea and perspective was convincingly propagated to other countries who quickly believed. Unfortunately, after the invasion of Iraq, it was discovered that both the perspective and the propaganda were all ruse. Another feature of conflict is that people share different belief systems. For example, the Boko Haram insurgents of Nigeria share different belief system. According to them, Western education is fake and detrimental. They further believe that the Islamic Sharia law should be the only standard of judgement. In their belief system, whoever is not a muslim is not fit to live! Not all Muslims share this ideology.

The nature of conflict could also arise when persons or countries have interests in a particular issue. This could be in the form of interest in natural resources, economy or political positions.

⁶⁰⁷ Shadare, W, & Akpan, A, in Guardian newspaper, 5 August 2003.

For example, Iraq invaded Kuwait in order to seize her oil resources and find a way of getting out of her debt.

When interests are foisted on other persons or countries, conflict arises because nobody wish to be controlled by the selfish desires of others.

Private international conflicts could also arise when there is a breach in business agreement between companies from two different countries. Such conflicts are usually resolved by special courts or tribunal.

Conflicts could involve nation-states, people and organizations within or outside nation-states. It also includes inter-group conflicts within a country when one group is agitating against the government for increased or equitable distribution of resources or for independence just the way the people of eastern Nigeria are agitating for the sovereignty of the Biafra Republic.

In cases involving disputes within a country, international law does not permit the intrusion of external forces in respect to sovereignty. Unfortunately, such international abstinence has seriously challenged human rights as the leaders of most countries - especially developing countries, resort to the use of the machinery of state to influence, intimidate, harass and subject citizens to all forms of cruel treatments in order to force them to retreat or surrender. In many cases, the citizens are killed.

To be able to resolve conflicts, mediators must draw a line as the meeting point or common ground where all aggrieved parties will meet in agreement. The common ground will overlap and be interdependent. This point must take into consideration the various positions and aspirations held by opposing parties. Opponents must be allowed and encouraged to freely express their areas of grievances and what they want. Reconciliation takes into cognition the vital points of disagreement and the sacrifices each party must make to ensure the peace that will be beneficial to both parties. Parties may be reminded about what they both stand to lose or gain if the issues are resolved or left unresolved. Conflict resolutions entail the processes put in place to achieve a certain goal. The mode and method involved in developing a conflict may take the forms of abstinence from contractual obligations, aggression, or silence. Indeed, through conflicts our aspirations are re-defined, and a new paradigm shift achieved. This shift may take the form of war or peace over time and space.

The existence of conflict is hinged on interpersonal and intrapersonal levels which are sometimes inter-connected. In resolving a conflict, a common ground may also be reached without directly benefiting each of the opposing parties but pointing to a desired end. In such a situation, there may be a temporary agreement maintained by the mediator over a period, to sustain peace. For example, the United Nations may decide to take hold of a disputed land space between two or more aggrieved parties for a period deemed fit for a re-visitation of the issue in order to sustain temporary peace.

In the case of the dispute in the Bakassi Peninsula between Nigeria and Cameroon, it was gradually growing into a military conflict but for the wisdom of the Presidents of Nigeria and Cameroon. The conflict was resolved by the International Court of Justice in 2002 with a support mechanism designed by the United Nations. The authority of 40 villages were handed over to Cameroon after the conclusion of the matter.

Though the UN sometimes resolve conflicts, in most cases, the countries involved engage in diplomacy to reconcile differences. In some situations, respected mediators are involved as third parties from the UN, regional bodies, or respected individuals. For example, President

Jimmy Carter of the United States of America graciously mediated in the Camp David Accords between Egypt and Israel and the accord was signed by Egyptian President Anwar El Sadat and the Prime Minister of Israel Menachem Begin on 17 September 1978. The peace agreement which was eventually reached was well received by the international community. In recognition of their agreement to make peace, Sadat and Begin were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1978. Subsequently in year 2002 Jimmy Carter also received the Nobel Peace prize in appreciation of his role in the resolution of the historical conflict.

Negotiating a peace process or peace making is an intricate aspect of peace building. It is the delicate point where the conflicting parties agree to be involved in reconciliation. It is the mutual agreement that gives way to peacekeeping.

However, conflicts are sometimes renewed due to unsettled differences and new demands from the temporary peace. This is an example of bad peace or unfinished businesses. Some conflicts remain unresolved as a result of the following reason:

1. Fear of sovereignty:

When some conflicts are considered internal issues, third countries or the international community may decide not to interfere in order to respect international law. Unfortunately, when such silence persists, many lives are lost and infrastructures destroyed. Respect for sovereignty should not be respected above respect for lives.

In October 2022 the United States of America and the United Kingdom issued terror alerts in Nigeria and began evacuating some of their diplomats.⁶⁰⁸ It would have been expected that such countries would have helped Nigeria to overcome the security challenges because they have embassies and investments in Nigeria but due to the seeming lack of deeper international cooperation, Nigeria could not receive the needed international help.

It is on record that it was such delays from international communities in responding to warning signs, that led to the Rwanda massacre between 7 April and 15 July 1994.

2. Lack of political will:

When there is no political will to address a political crisis, the conflict persists. An example is the civil war in Rwanda where the United Nations and other international communities refused to intervene when human beings were being slaughtered. In Nigeria, despite the murderous atrocities of Fulani militants, President Buhari refused to declare them as a terrorist group because he is of the same ethnic origin with them.

The evolving internal conflicts continue due to weakness and low political will to fight insurgencies despite the acquisition of military hardwares and huge financial budgets.

Intelligent reports made by retired Navy Commodore Kunle Olawunmi and others were jettisoned by the government while sponsors of terrorism were hardly prosecuted. The aftermath of their attacks led to internal displacement of persons and beyond the country as statistically represented.

3. Means and resources are not employed:

Leaders may be economical in releasing the needed resources for conflict resolutions. Resources may include personnel and equipment. Some of such resources are selfishly misappropriated. Though Nigeria has spent huge sums of money for security, the security situation has not improved commensurately. For example, when terrorist activities ravaged the

⁶⁰⁸ Radarr Africa, 24 October 2022.

country, it was a big question why Nigeria could not effectively deploy her military equipment by air and land, against ragtag terrorist groups who used motor bikes to operate. On several cases, the terrorists operated in communities without any form of intervention by security agencies. For example, *in October 2023, suspected Boko Haram militants shot at villagers and set off a land mine in Yobe State, killing at least 40 individuals. On December 23 and 24, unknown gunmen attacked 17 villages in Plateau State and killed at least 150 individuals.*⁶⁰⁹

4. Fear to tame the superpowers:

When a country is considered powerful in terms of military might, it may restrain other countries from intervening to avoid further complications. In most cases, diplomatic and economic sanctions are applied. For example, when Russia intervened in Ukraine in 2014, the United States of America and the European Union sanctioned her. The sanctions have contributed to the collapse of the Russian ruble and the Russian financial crises from 2014. They have also caused economic damage to several other EU countries, with the total losses estimated at €100 billion⁶¹⁰ By 2024, the war in Ukraine has become a significant economic shock for Europe. This was compounded by the financial cost of accommodating refugees, increase in military spending, challenges of energy supply and increase in the prices of food prices on national income.

5. False perceptions:

Some conflicts may be left unchallenged due to the wrong impressions given to the international community. The case of Sri Lanka is a ready example. The real situation on ground was not adequately reported by the UN personnel who ought to have issued regular updates in the conflict between the government and Tamil rebels who were accused of war crimes in the country's brutal 26-year conflict which ended in May 2009 after at least 100,000 persons had been killed.

When the United States and the United Kingdom led the invasion of Iraq between 20 March 2003 – 1 May 2003, they gave the wrong impression that Saddam Hussein was ware housing weapons of mass destruction. Hussain was killed and the country destroyed before the perpetrators confessed that the information leading to the attack was falsely perceived.

6. Insincerity and failure of effective communication by the media:

Sometime, unverified and fake news are published to promote hidden interest. Events in some countries that are not considered major international political actors may not be reported with the seriousness it deserves. Meanwhile, media attention could easily be given to the slightest tragedy in countries considered to be big actors. For example, between 2015 and 2021, an average of 5,000 Nigerians were killed annually. In several cases, an entire village could be wiped out. Such news are mostly not published on international media probably because the government strives to suppress the news. It has been reported that when a massacre occurs, government agencies could hurriedly bury the victims to avoid counting. For example, it was reported that at least 431 houses were razed and 100 persons were killed while their graves were mostly unknown, when the Nigerian army invaded the Okuama community of Delta state in retaliation of the killing of 17 soldiers.⁶¹¹

⁶⁰⁹ US Department of State, 2023.

⁵⁸⁷ Damien Sharkov, 19 June 2016.

⁶¹¹ Vanguard, Okuama-Ewu, 12 May 2024.

Information could be distorted for insidious purposes detrimental to the populace. The invasion of Iraq based on the purported acquisition of weapons of mass destruction was both misleading and counter productive.

7. Distrust:

Agencies that ought to intervene could be nursing feelings of distrust and uncooperative alliances amongst actors and the government of a particular country. In many cases, citizens are afraid to give information to the police for fear of being exposed. Information is key to security. If sensitive information are hidden it becomes difficult to take appropriate actions that could prevent conflicts. Most Nigerians do not trust their leaders because some actions taken by those in power are either shrouded in secret or falls short of the law. This gives room for speculations. For example, when Bola Tinubu resumed office as president of Nigeria in 2023, he bought a new presidential jet and other vehicles and kept the prices as secrets. Billions of naira were allocated into the unconstitutional office of the so-called First lady. He also refused to obey the court order which demanded that he should disclose what was repatriated from the loot of late military dictator, Sani Abacha and how it was spent.⁶¹² National budget were grossly inflated and duplicated while urging the people to pay more taxes and to endure. On the other hand, national and state infrastructures were named after him, his wife and son and he renovated the presidential lodge known as Aso Rock with billions of naira after it has been renovated by his predecessor.⁶¹³ He also traveled abroad consistently for medical care on tax payers' money without disclosing his ailment and the financial implications on the country. These actions created distrust amongst the people.

8. Failure to dignify opponents:

Some countries seem to always be in constant acrimony. If the other country makes any move or suggestion to act on the crises of a third country, a ready opposition comes into force. Russia, China and the United States seem to be in this category within the UN Security Council. They mostly use veto power as an instrument of disagreement.

Any member among the Permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (China, France, Russia, United Kingdom and the United States of America) may decide to use her veto power to abstain from the adoption of a substantive draft despite the level of international support. This situation is a challenge on modern international politics because the use of veto may be dictated by a selfish wish of the user against the common good of many. For example, Russia and China used their veto powers to prevent the granting of support for the international intervention in the war in Syria. Thereafter, Russia unilaterally intervened in Syria after drawing a secret pact with the Syrian government. The resultant destruction of lives and property is monumental and remain a scar on the conscience of humanity. When Russia came under pressure from its war with Ukraine, it withdrew support from President Bashar al-Assad of Syria and the country fell to the opposition fighters.⁶¹⁴

9. Tussle for supremacy:

Just like in the situation where some countries refuse to dignify one another, intervention at conflict resolution could create a platform for the show of supremacy.

⁶¹² Reuters, 9 July 2023.

⁶¹³ Foundation for Investigative Journalism, December 2023.

⁶¹⁴ Aljazeera, 8 December 2024.

10. Disrespect for international law:

Some countries considered as big power sometimes act unilaterally against international law. In many cases, they succeed in doing so without reprisals. The attack of Russia against Ukraine is an example.

11. To prevent more casualties:

Sometimes a country may restrain itself from employing military techniques or force as a way of resolving a conflict when all other means of negotiation had failed.

In the case of the kidnapped Nigerian girls kidnapped in 2014, the girls were kept in the kidnappers' den located in the tricky Sambisa Forest in the northeastern part of Nigeria. The Nigerian military claimed to be aware of the location of the girls, but had to restrain itself from using military bombardments to avoid killing the same girls it set out to rescue. In desperate warfare, the enemy may use innocent persons as human shields to create avenue for escape. Based on these conditions, the Nigerian military had to be meticulous in its rescue mission.

12. Dangerous terrains:

You may need local hands to direct your way. Inability to understand the terrain could lead to ambush from the camp of the enemy or result in a misguided mission. The creek of the Niger delta region of Nigeria is a good example. The militants hide in the creeks there to carry out their deadly operations. It takes local information and rigorous logistic planning to be able to get into the creeks. In some cases, getting into the creek may not be as difficult as getting out of it because there may be booby traps and land mines.

13. Coalitions and other interests:

A country may have a hidden agenda towards the economic resources of another country. In that situation, they could form coalition or act unilaterally to advance their interest in that country through conflict. Their presence may even fuel the prevailing conflict, if any. For example, Iraq invaded Kuwait on 2 August 1990 against the rules of the United Nations. As a way of preventing the repayment of its \$14 billion debt to Kuwait, Iraq alleged that Kuwait was slant-drilling across the border into Iraq's Rumaila field.⁶¹⁵ Iraq further estimated that US\$2.4 billion worth of Iraqi oil was "stolen" by Kuwait and demanded compensation. Focused on irredentism, Iraq attacked Kuwait before the United Nations intervened to rescue Kuwait.

14. Unilateral tendencies:

Conflicts remained unresolved because some countries unilaterally took decisions on their own to either intervene in a crisis or begin a new conflict. They mostly left the situation worse than how they met it while at the same time creating international political tension. An example is the unilateral invasion of Ukraine by Russia and the support given by Russia to Syria. At the end, Russia left Syria worse than he met it, until the government of Syria collapsed under Bashar al-Assad.

15. Failure of leadership:

Some persons in positions of authority could be slow or unwilling to act when conflicts are ongoing. They just make political statements and use of diplomatic languages without making any practical and visible impact. For example, during the administration of President Muhamadu Buhari (2015-2023), he usually summoned all security chiefs for meetings immediately after major terrorist attack. Thereafter, nothing happens till the next attack.

⁶¹⁵ Cooper, Tom; Sadik, Ahmad. Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait; 1990.

Another instance was when the wife of Buhari's successor - Oluremi Tinubu, during her 2025 new year's message, encouraged Nigerians to take care and protect the dignity of elders. The irony of her statement lies in the fact that few weeks before she made this statement, two elders from the Okuama community were tortured to death by the Nigerian army under unlawful detention. An army where Oluremi's husband is commander-in-chief! The elders were James Oghoroko, President-General of the Okuama community in Delta State, and Dennis Okugbaye, the community's 81-year-old treasurer. It is not enough to make media statements.

16. Conflict of interest:

In some cases, regional organizations may prefer to act in cases involving their member states instead of inviting the larger international community. For example, during the conflict in Liberia, the Economic Community of West African States waded into the crises under the name of ECOMOG. It was after some time that the United Nations merged ECOMOG into the United Nations Mission in Liberia, (UNMIL).

5.2.6. Conflict resolution and the management of war

The art of war is of vital importance to the State. It is a matter of life and death, a road either to safety or to ruin. Hence it is a subject of inquiry which can on no account be neglected. Sun Tzu.⁶¹⁶

To maintain the sovereignty of a country, there must be a ready structure that could easily be mobilized for action against external enemies or internal insurrections.

War management is all about strategy. It includes all the planning, campaign processes and the deployment of human and capital materials to dispossess the enemy.

Carl von Clausewitz (1780–1831), defined military strategy as "the employment of battles to gain the end of war."⁶¹⁷ Battle could be seen from the angle of all the ingredients and preparations for engagement. B.H. Liddell Hart define strategy as "the art of distributing and applying military means to fulfill the ends of policy."⁶¹⁸ Both definitions highlight the political essence of war and the place of strategy. Clausewitz's famous statement that *War is not merely a political act, but also a real political instrument, a continuation of policy carried out by other means*, resonates.

Apart from the assemblage of human and material resources for the implementation of war, it is essential to equally handle the internal pressures of the country to avoid upheavals at that critical time, especially from opposition parties. War must be carried out with the consent of the majority and generality of the people. Fighting an external war and ending up in internal insurrections could be very disastrous for the country and the army. There must be a cohesion between the army at home that have not been deployed to fight the war, and those that are on the field. There must be efficient communication and equal nationalistic zeal. The legislature, especially from the opposition, may not have the same view about a war, but it is advisable that the head of a country, receives the votes and confidence of majority of the legislature. Fighting an external war and and being left with a domestic coup could shatter a country and its survival. War must be carried out based on the constitutional convenience of a country, a clear expression

⁶¹⁶ Giles, L. SunTzu, The Art of War, Kegan Paul, 2005.

⁶¹⁷ Von Clausewitz, 1909.

⁶¹⁸ Liddell Hart, B.H., 1967.

of its motives and objectives, its targets and clear operational and tactical excellence. War is about effectively sustaining and managing the internal and external pressure. *Ultimately, war is about changing the enemy's mind.*⁶¹⁹ It entails the ability to win the peace. Lessons learned from Iraq and Afghanistan are typical examples of wars which did not draw clear maps and concrete timelines for winning the peace. The Aghan war cannot be described as a Just War. It equally failed to win the peace which was never peaceful while the war lasted.

Strategy is the key to winning wars. Sun Tzu believes that *“If you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the result of a hundred battles. If you know yourself but not the enemy, for every victory gained you will also suffer defeat. If you know neither the enemy nor yourself, you will succumb in every battle.”*⁶²⁰ Knowing the enemy and knowing yourself is the balance of strategies. It takes more than the assemblage of men and materials. It includes spying on the enemies to know their strength and weaknesses. On spying, Tzu recognizes five strategic types to include (1) *Local spies*; (2) *inward spies*; (3) *converted spies*; (4) *doomed spies*; (5) *surviving spies*.⁶²¹ While managing the war, the commander must put the environment, terrain and the capacity of the enemy into due consideration.

It is imperative to build a group myth within your soldiers.

Soldiers must psychologically understand and believe that there is a revered soul in their profession and this must be hinged on the imperative need to defend and be deeply patriotic to the country no matter the challenges.

Propaganda should be effectively managed as a component of war. Historically, it was effective in 1914 and in the years of the Cold War, during the post-1945 colonial conflicts, including the Vietnam War. It is imperative to manage the internal and external tides of opinions, no matter the nature of government.

Balance the punishment with the reward.

Favouritism must not be given to soldiers. There must be equal treatment and promotion for those that excel and those that need to be punished. The punishment must be commensurate with the offence so that soldiers do not lose faith or become disillusioned to service.

Always appeal to emotions and keep them satisfied.

When soldiers are treated as colleagues with the needed empathy, it motivates them. Their personal needs, health and welfare must be given due concern. Good food should not be served to soldiers only when there are national celebrations. On several occasions, Nigerian soldiers have complained of welfare and ammunitions. Those of them that complain are arrested and detained and their families are abandoned. The government must not give opportunity for soldiers to complain and lose morale. They must be treated as a family. Sun Tsu aptly describes it thus: *Treat your men as you would your own beloved sons. And they will follow you into the deepest valley.*⁶²²

Lead from the front.

⁶¹⁹ Hopkinson, W., 20 September 2012.

⁶²⁰ Giles, L., & Kegan P, 2005.

⁶²¹ Ibid.

⁶²² Ibid.

A commander must lead from the front and show examples. His presence boosts the confidence and morale of the soldiers.

Keep your team busy.

Soldiers should not be left idle. There must be regular duties and trainings that should keep them satisfied. They could also carry out humanitarian or other national services to the community. During the period of fuel scarcity in the United Kingdom in September 2021, British soldiers were involved in the transportation and delivery of fuel. During the flood crises in the Danube River Basin in Hungary that took place in 2013, soldiers were involved in building barricades to mitigate against the flow of the flood.

Unite people around a cause.

Whenever there are national concerns and challenges, soldiers should be led around a collective patriotic course in order to avoid dissenting voices that could lead to mutiny. Their faith and belief in the goals of the government must be particularly structured. It is within this frame of thought that Sun Tzu states that commanders must *engage people with what they expect; it is what they are able to discern and confirms their projections. It settles them into predictable patterns of response, occupying their minds while you wait for the extraordinary moment — that which they cannot anticipate.*⁶²³

5.2.7. The works of African Nobel Peace Prize winners as a parameter for renewed peace in Africa

*War does not determine who is right – only who is left.*⁶²⁴ Bertrand Russell.

The achievements of African Nobel Peace prize winners have not been fully explored and harnessed for continental peace. If effectively harnessed, their works could be used as role models and yardsticks to develop sustainable peace in Africa. Research at the causes of conflicts in Africa, shows that if the activities of Nobel Peace prize winners are expanded and promoted in schools and by various governments and non-governmental institutions, the multiplying impact could develop and sustain peace in a broader sense. I have listed below, a summation of the activities of the winners and juxtaposed them with the causes of conflicts in Africa. In so doing, we could develop pathways to peace as a template for causes and solutions. Who are those Africans that have won the Nobel peace prize? What activities led to their winning such coveted prizes? Have they effectively impacted towards achieving regional or continental peace with their esteemed prizes?

According to my hypothesis, if the causes of conflicts and wars in Africa are tailored along the line of peace as engineered by Nobel peace winners, conflicts could easily be prevented and alleviated in the continent.

The various conflicts in Africa have led to the *'destruction of lives and property, the internal displacement of people, a region-wide refugee crisis, poverty and disease, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, human and drug trafficking, illegal exploitation of natural resources and banditry.*⁶²⁵

⁶²³ Ibid.

⁶²⁴ The Tribune, n.d.

⁶²⁵ Afolabi, B. T, 2009.

To arrest conflicts from the period of warning signs before it becomes full blown wars, it is paramount to

know the root causes of such conflicts and formulate strategies towards nipping them in the bud. It will be meaningful if the ideals of peace, propagated by the activities of Nobel peace prize winners is technically applied for practical results. Assumed marginalization, bad governance, the violations of human rights, inequality in the distribution of national resources, coupled with small arms proliferation, are mostly the causes of agitations and conflicts. This is exacerbated by the delay in responding to the early warnings. Bernard Mayer posits that the causes of conflicts could be viewed from three dimensions. These are '*conflict as perception*,' '*conflict as feeling*' and '*conflict as action*.' ⁶²⁶ As a figment of perception, he believes that conflicts emanate from the self conviction that '*one's own needs, interests, wants, or values are incompatible with someone else's*'. As a product of feeling, conflict is usually the offspring of emotions expressed through '*fear, anger, bitterness, sadness, hopelessness or the combination of these*'. The third dimension are the culmination of activities and actions expressed in ways that could be '*violent or destructive*'.

How and why did Nobel peace prize winners emerge? What activities did they focus on? How could such activities be replicated and transformed into prevention of conflicts, peacekeeping and peacemaking?

Since its inception, thirteen Africans had won the Nobel Peace Prize as of the time of publishing this research. This number is significant because it clearly reflects a continent in need of peace. It shows the efforts made by individuals and groups of persons towards addressing issues peculiar with their environments. It is appropriate to identify models that have led to ensuring and promoting peace in the African continent so that they could be used as pathways towards promoting peace in the continent.

The problems that lead to the conflicts which give rise to peacekeeping, need to be reviewed from the platform of the activities of African Nobel peace winners. How could peace be preserved, and conflicts avoided, if the activities of peace winners are used as models for conflict resolutions and the transformation of society? How and why were the winners deserving of such coveted honours? How do we apply their peace initiatives as models for promoting sustainable peace in African countries?

Hungary has a population of 9.7m citizens as of the time of writing this research. As a country, they have won 19 Nobel prizes by 2023. The population of Africa is estimated to be 1.316b and it has won 24 Nobel prizes by 2023. This means that Hungary as a country has won more than half of what the entire African continent has won. This shows that there is a need to improve upon many aspects of the social, political and economic lives of Africans.

The other observation about the Nobel prizes won by Hungary is that they have not won any Nobel Peace prize apart from the one they jointly won under the European Union in 2012 for their contribution *to the advancement of peace and reconciliation, democracy and human rights in Europe*. In contrast, out of the 24 Nobel prizes won by Africans, 13 of the prizes were on Peace. That again shows the level of existing conflicts in Africa. Nobel Peace prizes are mostly won in regions of conflicts. For Africa to develop and exhibit exemplary leadership, it must strive towards ensuring peaceful environments by using her Nobel Peace winners as exemplary

⁶²⁶ Mayer, B. S. The Dynamics of Conflict Resolution, 2019.

models. No meaningful development can take place amid conflicts and chaos. There is no good war, neither is there bad peace.

5.3. Conclusions

Available figures have shown that it is cheaper to prevent conflicts than to cater for the various consequences of avoidable conflicts. More interests have been shown for peacekeeping in other countries. This is the realization of one of the goals of this research. Though Nigeria is not fighting a war, she has found it difficult to maintain peace at home. When added, the total number of IDPs is 3,558,038 as of December 2024 while that of refugees is 90,852. When added together (3,648,890), the number is higher than the population of Bayelsa state of Nigeria (2,394,725) and slightly smaller than the population of the federal capital territory of Nigeria (4,802,443). In further comparison, the number is higher than the combined population of Montenegro (638,479), Malta (539,607), Iceland (393,396), Luxembourg (638,479) and Estonia (1,360,546) which is 3,570,507. It is an irony that this is a country that is not at war.

When Nigeria went for peacekeeping in Liberia in 1990, her population was 2.076 million, which was far less than the number of internally displaced and returnee persons in Nigeria in 2024. When Nigeria went for peacekeeping in Sierra-Leone in 1991, their population was just 4.349 million which was a little over the number of internally displaced and returnee persons in Nigeria in 2024. When Nigeria was at the forefront of West African countries that prevented war in Gambia in 2017, their population was 2.214 million. That number was far less than displaced persons in Nigeria. Why is Nigeria not able to secure itself? The relics of Nigeria's participation is in Liberia where a highway was inaugurated in December 1988 and named after the former Nigerian military Head of State. It was called the Ibrahim B. Babaginda Highway!

Some challenges to effective peacekeeping are as follows:

1. One significant aspect of the weak response to terrorists' attacks in Nigeria, is that terrorists could enter a community, kill the people and exit without military interception. Several times when terrorists attack villages in Nigeria, they operate for as long as an hour without the intervention of government forces or foreknowledge of such attacks. There must be a line of communication between agitators and government officials in order to make room for possible and early reconciliation. After such massacres, there are mostly no investigations and follow up to attack or arrest the criminals. The crime ends immediately after being announced in the media.
2. In contrast, the international response by ECOWAS countries through ECOMOG, was so swift that if it is applied to the internal crises in countries like Nigeria, the problems would have been resolved with military interventions. The first meeting by West African leaders was held on 7 August 1990 in Bamako, Mali. Agreements were quickly reached that ECOMOG should be a military intervention body to implement the peace plan in Liberia. Just one week after the mission was agreed upon, it was dubbed *Operation Liberty* and military forces were quickly drawn from the cooperating countries who by 20 August 1990, were already drawn from *Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, The Gambia, and Sierra Leone began to assemble at Queen Elizabeth Quay in Freetown, Sierra Leone, for onward deployment in Monrovia.*⁶²⁷

627 As cited in *Africa Research Bulletin*, 15 September 1990.

3. Due to the multifarious problems that have affected internal security in Nigeria, government has embarked on various actions to address the problems of the Niger delta militants, Biafra, Federal character, etc. Till date, there are various forms of agitations in that region.

4. Unilateral decisions by superpowers are challenges to international relations.

5. There is the need to employ a holistic approach to determining the ways to ensure sustainable peace in Nigeria and beyond. Only sustainable peace in Nigeria could justify her peacekeeping activities in other countries. Some of the actions that could be employed include the birth of a new Nigerian constitution, the use of electronic voting, regional restructuring, establishment of state police, introduction of diaspora voting, national dialogue, reconciliation and quick international intervention.

The thematic activities of non-violence, unification, forgiveness, negotiations, persistent quest for peace, respect and protection for vulnerable persons, pluralistic democracy, non-violent struggle, prevention of nuclear energy from being used for military purposes, are elements that have been used by African Nobel Peace Prize winners. This research scientifically understands that the techniques used by Nobel Peace Prize winners, could form a template on which the problems of conflicts could be addressed. There is an imperative need to apply the techniques of these winners as preventive measures to conflicts. This must be backed with respect for the rule

of law. The application of these elements could lead to sustainable peace in Africa. This could also encourage patriotism among the citizens of African countries. For such to happen, governments must focus on projects that empower their citizens and bridge the gap between the people. Whenever there are high rates of unemployment, poverty, marginalization and lack of basic infrastructures, the people become antagonistic to government, and they throw away all patriotic gestures which are needed to collectively propagate and sustain peace and enhanced democratic values by leaders and other citizens.

National and selfish pride could be the reasons why conflicts ensue and are prolonged. The role played by some of the enumerated Nobel Peace prize winners shows what could be achieved if bold steps are taken towards negotiation, reconciliation, and the consequent healing. One of the parties may just be waiting for the other party or a third party to make a move towards reconciliation because during crises, both parties usually suffer in terms of security, economy and social tensions.

Various conflict resolutions mechanisms have been employed by the Nigerian government to address conflicts. Among these were the amnesty granted to the Niger Delta militants based on negotiations; the constitutionalisation of the federal character, integration and rehabilitation of repentant terrorists and the formation of other peace committees and panels.

However, conflicts remain unresolved mainly because of the lack of genuine political will and the fear of sovereignty exercised by the international community.

Some of the panels formed to address critical issues came up with reports that were neither published nor implemented. Such panels included the one set up to investigate the EndSARS protest against police brutality in 2020; the one set up in December 2019 to investigate the invasion of the High court by the Department of State Services and the one set up to investigate the former Chairman of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission in November 2020.

Sixteen Africans have won the Nobel Peace Prize for 12 times since its establishment in 1901. Their activities include the use of negotiation during conflicts, campaigns for non-violent

resistance; contribution to sustainable development, democracy and peace; prevention of the use of nuclear energy; peaceful unification against apartheid; building of pluralistic democracy; creation of greater visibility to war-time sexual violence and better organized activities for a more peaceful world.

As of 2022, the Peace Prize has been awarded to 110 individuals and 27 organizations. Eighteen women have won the Nobel Peace Prize, more than any other Nobel Prize. This emphasizes the role women have played and continue to play towards global peace.

The Norwegian Nobel Committee awards the Nobel Peace Prize annually *"to the person who shall have done the most or the best work for fraternity between nations, for the abolition or reduction of standing armies and for the holding and promotion of peace congresses"*⁶²⁸

This research proposes that all the various activities which earned the winners such prestigious honours, should be a template which the Nigerian government and indeed, the African Union, must harness to build sustainable peace in different countries and the African continent. Since more women have won the peace prize, there is a need to offer women more responsibilities in governance as a way of promoting continental and global peace.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1. Summary - findings and hypotheses

It is cheaper to prevent conflicts than to cater for the various consequences of avoidable conflicts. More interests have been shown by Nigeria for peacekeeping in other countries than in sustaining peace within the country. This is the realization of one of the goals of this research. Though Nigeria is not fighting a war, she has found it difficult to maintain peace at home. When added, the total number of IDPs and Returnees is 3,947,631. This number is higher than the population of the entire Federal Capital Territory, which is 3,652,000 as of 2022. This situation gives credence to the fourth hypothesis of this research which states that *Nigeria has paid more interest in international peacekeeping than on domestic conflicts.*

One of the very active contributors to peace making and peacekeeping in Africa and the United Nations is the Federal Republic of Nigeria. She began her first Peacekeeping effort in 1960 in the Congo, the same year that she gained independence from colonial Britain. With an estimated population of 250 million people, it is a country rich in multi-ethnicity and huge natural resources, situated in West Africa. Despite her multifarious internal conflicts, Nigeria has participated in at least 42 peacekeeping operations globally, to build and sustain peace in troubled countries. Since 1960, over 200,000 Nigerian troops have served in these operations with Nigerian senior military officers commanding some of these missions.

⁶²⁸ Excerpt from the Will of Alfred Nobel, 31 May 2013.

There is a need for the Nigerian government to reduce participation in peacekeeping, expand and strengthen the capacity of the security agencies. This should be followed by respect for the constitution of the country based on the rule of law.

The participation of Nigeria in peacekeeping drew his legal backing from her interest in enhancing her international relations and from the Charter of the United Nations which promotes international security as an instrument for pursuing global peace. The fact that Nigeria believe in the traditional African concept of collectivism, highlights the understanding that the cooperation of African countries in peacekeeping is of mutual benefit and connected to the historical belief that Africa was more peaceful, inclusive and communal before her geographical boundaries were forcefully devised by colonialists.

Political tensions in West Africa and the African continent pose threats for the security of Nigeria. In order to secure her national territory from the spill over of conflicts from other countries, Nigeria also cooperates with other regional bodies to fight terrorism and other conflicts.

However, the efforts by the Nigerian government to secure her territory have been marred by various internal conflicts exacerbated by some persons in government who support terrorism or misappropriate the huge funds budgeted to secure the peace of the country.

Despite the huge annual budgets for security and her respect amongst the comity of nations, Nigeria continue to be unsecured.

So much money has been spent on security in Nigeria since 1960. Apart from the allocations by the federal government, the 36 states and 774 local government councils receive monthly allocations to tackle insecurity. However, these amounts of monies have been grossly underutilized and mismanaged. The misappropriation and the lack of political will to fight terrorism, has contributed to a worsening security situation in the largest country in the African continent.

This confirms one of the hypotheses of this research which states that Nigeria has paid more interest in international peacekeeping than on domestic crises.

Machiavellian political theory forms the crux of this research because the causes of conflicts which leads to peacekeeping are mostly due to the fact that most rulers believe that they *must not be constrained by law*.

The *Social Conflict theory* of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engel is also used because it mirrors the class struggle as causes of conflicts. It posits that when the higher class uses their position of power to sustain power, the lower class fights for democratization, liberalization, and equitable distribution of resources. The conflicts in Nigeria are mostly based on the demand for rights against the social structure built on contradictions and conflicts.

The West African region have suffered regional insecurity due to the insecurity of its neighbours. This confirms the regional security complex theory (RSCT) on international relations as developed by Buzan and Wæver in which they believe that closeness to each other *is potent for security because many threats travel more easily over short distances than over long ones*.

The evolution of peacekeeping began with the Suez Canal crisis, or the Second Arab–Israeli war after the invasion of Egypt in 1956 by Israeli forces. The United Kingdom and the France joined in the invasion. Their goal was to take back the control of the Seuz Canal and to remove

Gamal Abdel Nasser- the Egyptian president, from office. The intervention of the United Nations peacekeeping force, marked the beginning of peacekeeping.

Hybrid warfare has become rife in Africa. It uses cyberwarfare, diplomacy, propaganda, intervention in foreign elections, political interference, military intervention, information warfare, loans and diplomatic assertiveness. The Hybrid adversaries are proxies, state or non-state actors. Russia, United States of America, France, China, etc, continue to exert their geopolitical presence in Africa through hybrid warfare.

In considering Just Wars, there is neither good wars nor bad peace. Though war could be needed in self-defense, it could also be used to prevent war against a tyrant or to punish a guilty enemy. When Nigeria went for peacekeeping in Liberia in 1990, their population was 2.076 million, which was far more than the number of internally displaced and returnee persons in Nigeria in 2021. When Nigeria went for peacekeeping in Sierra-Leone in 1991, their population was just 4.349 million which was a little over the number of internally displaced and returnee persons in Nigeria in 2021. When Nigeria was at the forefront of West African countries that prevented war in Gambia in 2017, the population of Gambia was 2.214 million. That number was far less than displaced persons in Nigeria. Why is Nigeria not able to secure itself? The relics of Nigeria`s participation is in Liberia where a highway was inaugurated in December 1988 and named after Nigeria`s military Head of State as the Ibrahim B. Babaginda Highway.

One significant aspect of responding to terrorists` attacks in Nigeria, is that terrorists could enter into a community, kill the people and exit without military interception. After such massacres, there are mostly no investigations and follow up to attack or arrest the criminals. The story of the crime ends immediately it has been announced in the media. There is an imperative and primary need for the government of Nigeria to focus more attention on ensuring peace and security within the territory of the country.

In contrast, the international response by ECOWAS countries was so swift that if the same response is applied to the internal crises in countries like Nigeria, the problems would have been resolved with strategic military interventions. There was no ECOMOG before the Liberian conflict. ECOMOG was quickly put together because of the Liberian conflict. The first meeting by West African leaders was held on 7 August 1990 in Bamako, Mali. Agreements were quickly reached that ECOMOG should be a military intervention body to implement the peace plan in Liberia. Just one week after the mission was agreed upon, it was dubbed *Operation Liberty* and military forces were quickly drawn from the cooperating countries who by 20 August 1990, were already drawn from *Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, The Gambia, and Sierra Leone began to assemble at Queen Elizabeth Quay in Freetown, Sierra Leone, for onward deployment in Monrovia.*⁶²⁹ If this could happen, it is logical to reason that, with genuine political will, sustainable peace could be achieved in Nigeria. The force and diplomacy that was applied to the peacekeeping operations in Liberia justifies the first hypothesis of this research which states that *Some wars are just; but peace is `just` as some wars.*

629 As cited in *Africa Research Bulletin*, 15 September 1990, p 9801, it was noted that Togo decided not to send troops to ECOMOG because there were no official cease fire agreements between ECOMOG and the warring factions of Liberia.

Due to the multifarious problems that have affected internal security in Nigeria, government has embarked on various conflict resolution mechanisms to address the problems of the Niger delta militants, terrorists, Biafra, Federal character, etc. However, such actions were either lopsided or politicized.

Unilateral decisions taken by superpowers in times of conflicts and perceived conflicts, are challenges to international relations. This is especially so because the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council - China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States, wield too much power within a body that comprises of 193 members. There is a need to expand the number of permanent members to 15; whereby each continent will have 3 members each. There is the need to employ a holistic approach towards determining ways to ensure sustainable peace globally.

Only sustainable peace in Nigeria could justify her peacekeeping activities in other countries. Some of the actions that could be employed include the birth of a new Nigerian constitution, the use of electronic voting, regional restructuring, establishment of state police, introduction of diaspora voting, sustainable economic empowerment of the masses, formulating a national dialogue strategy, reconciliation and quick international intervention. If these could be achieved, then the second hypothesis of this research would have been addressed - *Political, social, and economic polarization between the ruling class and other Nigerians, drives continuing agitation from the citizenry.*

The thematic activities of non-violence, unification, forgiveness, negotiations, persistent quest for peace, respect and protection for vulnerable persons, pluralistic democracy, non-violent struggle, prevention of nuclear energy from being used for military purposes, are elements that have been used by African Nobel Peace Prize winners. This research scientifically understands that the techniques used by Nobel Peace Prize winners, could form a template on which the problems of conflicts could be addressed. There is an imperative need to apply the techniques of these winners as preventive measures to conflicts in Africa and beyond. This must be backed with respect for the rule of law. The application of these elements could lead to sustainable peace in Africa and encourage patriotism among the citizens of African countries. For such to happen, governments must focus on projects that empower their citizens and bridge the economic gap between the people. Whenever there are high rates of unemployment, poverty, marginalization and lack of basic infrastructures, the people become antagonistic to government and to one another. They throw away all patriotic gestures which are needed to collectively propagate and sustain peace and enhanced democratic values.

National and selfish pride could be the reasons why conflicts ensue and are prolonged. The role played by some of the enumerated Nobel Peace prize winners shows what could be achieved if bold steps are taken towards negotiation, reconciliation, and the consequent healing. One of the parties may just be waiting for the other party or a third party to make a move towards reconciliation because during crises, both parties usually suffer in terms of security, economy and social tensions.

Several times when terrorists attack villages in Nigeria, they operate for as long as an hour without the intervention of government forces or foreknowledge of such attacks. There must be a line of effective communication between agitators and government officials in order to make room for possible and early reconciliation.

The government of Nigeria had set up various bodies to formulate strategies for peace. However, government did not do enough to implement reports due to the lack of genuine political will. In some cases, the reports were never released to the public.

Despite embarking on various peacekeeping efforts in other countries, Nigeria is beclouded by ethnic, religious, social and political conflicts and agitations.

Ungoverned space in the form of unused forests create safe habitation for terrorists. Such spaces would serve better purposes if opened and turned onto productive farms for food security. Government institutions abused the rule of law and engaged in unlawful detentions, manipulation of the judiciary and legislature by the executive body. Persons that were indicted for corruption were either promoted or celebrated. Ethnic marginalization, breach of election promises and hate speech and purveyance of fake news continue to challenge peace and security.

Though actions were taken to address terrorism through the integration of terrorists, it has not yielded commensurate results. For example, though the army through General Lucky Irabor, the Chief of Defence Staff (CDS), claimed that at least 51,828 Boko Haram terrorists and their family members surrendered to the Federal government between July 2021 and May 2022, the security situation of the country did not improve. That number is higher than the number of civilians killed in the first month of the Russia-Ukraine war.

There is a need to have a national dialogue to bring all contending parties to the table for national healing and reconciliation in order to ensure a stable and justice-able polity in Nigeria. The lack of strict actions to legally address hate speech has been a factor that has encouraged unrest in some parts of Nigeria. Political and religious figures in Nigeria are more prone to using hate speech as a divisive medium of carrying out their selfish goals and as an agent provocateur to cause social tension.

Hate speech through religious and ethnic colouration has been used by politicians to divide the people. Such hate and the purveyance of fake news cuts deep emotional and psychological scars which becomes difficult to heal.

Agitations for cessation in Nigeria became rampant due to murderous insecurity, failed election promises and perceived marginalization. Ironically, groups from the Southwest and Southeast who have been in government, are parts of the agitators.

When measured by the standards of the United States Agency for International Development in terms of order and security, legitimacy, checks and balances, fairness, and effective application, the detention of Nnamdi Kanu, the celebration of Ibori, the pardon of Diepreye Alamieyesiegha, unfair appointments, the detention of El-Zakzaky, the manipulation of the judiciary and legislature, corruption of the judiciary, the Giwa versus Pinnick legal tussle, the detention of Dasuki and the impunity of government, they all fall short of the rule of law.

AU has not been proactive and swift in responding to security challenges in African countries especially from the diplomatic to the forceful. More African countries need to participate in peacekeeping as a way of developing their personnel. Such participation will encourage continuous update of military equipment and ammunitions among participating countries.

Biometric identification of personal data is an inalienable need in modern security management. Without the possibility for forensic analysis, it will be difficult to effectively investigate and prosecute cases of security breach.

While different Islamic sects usually have intermittent clashes, such clashes between different Christian denominations hardly occurred. Determined religious tolerance and education should be advocated by Muslim leaders in order to eradicate Muslim-Muslim clashes and Muslim-Christian clashes. Such advocacies should be vigorously done with the support of the National Orientation Agency and the media.

Though security expert-level committees have been formed in Nigeria as advisers and clearing houses for the exchange of information and provision of applicable solutions in tandem with best practices and operations capabilities, political is still low. Regional cooperation does not have standby forces for quick international responses. This could be made more effective when transportation and logistics support arrangements are made to help countries deploy and support their forces.

The cooperation between the United Nations and other regional bodies such as the African Union and ECOMOG created a template for the possibility of peace. However, due to internal crises, the UN, AU and ECOMOG have not been able to respond swiftly to internal crises within the countries of Africa. This is due to respect for sovereignty. Respecting the sovereignty delays actions needed to arrest the situation. Conflicts which could have been resolved at the initial state grew into full blown wars.

From the 1984 massacre in Rwanda to the 2003 intermittent conflicts in Sudan; the Democratic Republic of Congo and the continuing attacks by Boko Haram and ISWAP in Nigeria, such conflicts worsened because there were no practical actions taken by the United Nations and the African Union. This situation gives value to the third hypothesis of this research - *Laws on sovereignty and procrastination by the international community fuel and prolong internal crises, especially in developing countries.*

There is a need to establish a standby regional force that could swiftly respond in times of crises with the invitation of the government. On the other hand, proactive actions should be formulated through mediation and other conflict prevention mechanisms.

Various conflict resolutions mechanisms have been employed by the Nigerian government to address conflicts. Among these were the amnesty granted to the Niger Delta militants based on negotiations; the constitutionalisation of the federal character, integration and rehabilitation of repentant terrorists and the formation of other peace committees and panels.

However, conflicts remain unresolved mainly because of the lack of genuine political will and the fear of sovereignty exercised by the international community.

Sixteen Africans have won the Nobel Peace Prize for 12 times since its establishment in 1901. Their activities include the use of negotiation during conflicts, campaigns for non-violent resistance; contribution to sustainable development democracy and peace; prevention of the use of nuclear energy; peaceful unification against apartheid; building of pluralistic democracy; creation of greater visibility to war-time sexual violence and better organized activities for a more peaceful world. This justifies the fifth hypothesis of this research - *Making better use of the activities of African Nobel Peace Prize Winners is an essential pillar for strengthening national and continental peace. This can play a prominent role in resolving conflicts in Africa.*

As of 2022, the Peace Prize has been awarded to 110 individuals and 27 organizations. Eighteen women have won the Nobel Peace Prize, more than any other Nobel Prize.

This research proposes that all the various activities which earned the winners such prestigious honours, should be a template which the Nigerian government and indeed, the African Union, must harness to build sustainable peace in different countries and the African continent.

On the other hand, since more women have won the peace prize, women should be given adequate responsibilities in governance as a way of promoting continental and global peace.

6.2. Novel scientific results

Through the historicisation and analysis of available resources, this research has succeeded in achieving the set objectives through the following results:

1. I have confirmed by the findings in this research, that despite the huge funds released to fight conflicts and terrorism in Nigeria, the result is still low. On several occasions, innocent citizens have been bombarded by the army by “mistake”. This is contrary to the high political will and enthusiasm shown during peacekeeping in foreign countries. Rather than declare terrorists as enemies of the nation, they are being integrated at the expense of tax payers, while those displaced by terrorists continue to live in camps for Internally Displaced Persons - which are often attacked by terrorists.

This result has fulfilled two of the goals of this research. One goal is *to investigate the differences in tactics used in Nigeria's international peacekeeping and domestic peacekeeping in view of current domestic insurgencies*. The other goal is *to determine the cost implication of Nigerian peacekeeping and budget for national defence*.

2. I have confirmed that Nigeria shows quick interest in peacekeeping than in securing her national security. It is evident that the government is yet to exercise adequate political will to recognize and end crises before they manifest and become full blown conflicts. To avoid violent confrontations with the security agencies, there is a sustained silence of fear by Nigerians towards bad governance.

This result justifies two of the hypotheses of this research which initially presumed that *Nigeria has paid more interest in international peacekeeping than on domestic crises*. and *to analyze the political, social and economic impacts of Nigerian peacekeeping*.

3. A novel aspect of this research, is that I have conceptualised the idea of using the activities of African Nobel Peace Prize winners as templates to promote peace and development in Nigeria, the African continent and beyond. The traditional African concept of collectivism encourages African countries in peacekeeping towards achieving mutual benefits that are reminiscent of the peaceful, inclusive and communal existence it enjoyed before her geographical boundaries were forcefully devised by colonialists. Using the activities of the peace winners as a template, reignites the hitherto communal existence.

4. The final result of this research is that it has shown that there is a need for the Nigerian government to redefine and effectively apply the three RRRs of Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Reconciliation in quest of national security and healing. After doing this, the country could

collectively fight for a brand new Nigerian constitution, regional restructuring, electronic voting and dispora voting. These are areas that could address some of the critical issues at stake.

6.3. Practical applicability of the findings

This research is applicable to academic discourse because it has justified the significance of its study and the hypothesis raised.

Firstly, it has highlighted how the basic goal of the United Nations vision '*to promote international cooperation and to achieve peace and security.*' applies to Nigeria and the efforts of the regional bodies such as ECOMOG and the AU at peacekeeping in relation to best practices. The study identified the lapses that have led to insecurity. It has proceeded to making recommendations that could ensure better participation at peacekeeping. It has shown the role played by Nigeria as a strong supporter of global peacekeeping since 1960 despite the huge economic implications and the security challenges at home and how those challenges could be surmounted.

Secondly, this research portrays the connectivity between peacekeeping and Military Science. It has analyzed the role played by the Nigerian military leadership in creating the template for Nigeria's peacekeeping and the role of the military as contingents of peacekeeping operations. Some retired soldiers such as General Olusegun Obasanjo and Major-General Muhammadu Buhari later became elected Presidents under civilian governments through which they pursued the peacekeeping policy.

Thirdly, this research reviewed an aspect of the United Nations' basic principles of peacekeeping which states that the disputing parties must permit the intervention of a third party. It gives justification to the third hypothesis of this research - *Laws on sovereignty and procrastination by the international community fuel and prolong internal crises*, especially in developing countries. It has been proven that this UN policy leads to delayed international intervention which results in incalculable loss of lives. Such delays could be avoided to save lives without wasting time to wait to be invited by a misruling government. Respect for sovereignty should be subjective to respect for the preservation of lives. For how long should the sovereignty of a country be respected while the leaders continue to abuse the rights of the people to live?

The fourth applicability of this research is that it is written in Europe by a Nigerian who has a clear understanding of the socio-political trajectories of Nigeria. Therefore, it provides available resource materials directly from a Nigerian, for Hungarian and other foreign students who may wish to conduct research on the same subject.

The fifth applicability of this research is the recommendation that the activities of winners of the Nobel Peace Prizes should be systematically applied as a template to end conflicts in Nigeria and beyond.

Finally, this research birthed the concept of *Revolution Without Ammunition*, RWA, developed by the author. The concept is a panacea for continuing conflicts. It encourages that the people must always act, speak and reject bad governance before it reaches a point of irreversible tragedy. Most conflicts are caused by the decision of leaders but the consequences of the conflicts are usually suffered by the rest of the people.

The result of this concept led to the publication of three books by the author: *Revolution Without Ammunition - Pathways towards Nigerian Second Independence. Part 1,2 and 3.*

These publications fulfill one of the set goals of this project which is to *develop a theory that could be applicable in Nigeria and beyond, as a conflict prevention mechanism.* This result is also in connection with another objective of the research which set out to *determine the principles of conflict resolutions and how it relates to Nigeria's foreign policies.*

Revolution Without Ammunition proposes that instead of citizens to allow their countries to degenerate into conflicts through the decisions of a few persons, concrete actions must be collectively taken by the citizenry to avoid the destructions. The instruments of RWA include nonviolent activities such as sit-at-home, boycotts, intense nonviolent protests, massive electoral voting and other activities that could weaken malfeasance in government. RWA is a nonviolent method of preventing conflicts from expanding into mindless destructions.

In view of the applicability and in recognition of the author's hypothesis that *some wars are relatively just; but peace is 'just' as some wars*, the research offered recommendations as to how conflicts could be resolved before they manifest into wars.

The findings in RWA and the holistic application of the works of Nobel Peace Prize winners, justifies one of the goals of this research – *to identify and recommend models that could lead or have led to ensuring and promoting peace in the African continent.*

Apart from strategic prevention of conflicts, post-conflict peace-building must be robust and encompassing of all actions that could clearly *identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.*⁶³⁰

When conflicts have been prevented or peacekeeping operations successfully completed, the imperative need for sustainable peace must not be undermined. This could be achieved through *nurturing, empowerment, and communications.*⁶³¹ It is through nurturing, that psychological stability and emotional maturity are encouraged. Empowerment entails well founded inner security built on functional social structures and protection. Effective and reliable communication is necessary to surmount ignorance and establish mutual communal existence. Finally, during the research into the impact of hate and free speech in Nigeria, the author was able to discover that a bill which was titled *Protection from Internet Falsehoods and Manipulations Bill* - also known as the anti-social media bill which had passed second reading at the Nigerian senate, was a plagiarised document from the parliament of Singapore. Quick action was taken to apply this discovery by drawing the attention of the Nigerian senate and the media. The story was extensively published by various media houses in Nigeria and Singapore. Embarrassed by this discovery, the bill was quickly stopped from further consideration by the Nigerian senate.

⁶³⁰ Ibid.

⁶³¹ Gilman, R. 1993.

6.4. Recommendations

1. Harness the works of Nobel peace prize winners.

There is an important need for Nigeria and indeed, African governments to put together all the activities and works of African Nobel peace prize winners which gave them the outstanding qualifications to win the coveted peace prizes.

Their concepts should be extensively taught in school curriculums and physically applied by governments as national security policies, models and parameters for the sustainable development of national peace and articulated within the framework of the rule of law. If this is done, it will bring about a cultural reorientation that could bring an end to the wanton destruction of lives and property, refugee crises, the conflicts that lead to the internal displacement of people, injustice, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, banditry, human and drug trafficking, regional and internal conflicts over natural resources.

On the other hand, such a policy will promote the concept of *Preventive Diplomacy* that was successfully used in Macedonia. Such diplomacy is achieved through humanitarian assistance, conflict early warning, fact-finding, early deployment, confidence-building measures, and the demilitarization of areas that are susceptible to conflicts.

This recommendation justifies the hypothesis of this research which states that *there is an imperative need to harness the activities of African Nobel peace winners for the enhancement of continental peace.*

2. Nigeria should suspend participation in peacekeeping for at least four years.

Nigeria should bring all her personnel back home to secure the country. New officers should be recruited into the army as a way of boosting its numerical strength. In an estimated population of around 250 million citizens, Nigeria has 371,800 police officers, 223,000 soldiers, 25,000 navy and 18,000 air force personnel. The period of abstaining from peacekeeping should be used to overhaul and stabilize the security architecture and save funds for the country. This is necessary because Nigeria embarks on peacekeeping and spends so much resources in other countries when her people are being killed or kidnapped almost on daily basis. The international institutions - United Nations, African Union and the Economic Community of West African States - which Nigeria supports for peacekeeping, has not done much to practically assist Nigeria in her fight against insurgency. One challenge that has mitigated against fighting insurgency in Nigeria evolves from the hypothesis of this research which postulates that *laws on sovereignty and procrastination by the international community fuel and prolong internal crises, especially in developing countries.*

3. Nigeria should adopt a brand-new constitution which must include the restructuring of the country along six geopolitical zones for more autonomy to the states.

Most of the agitations for cessation and conflicts are hinged on perceived marginalization and class struggle which are reflected by some wordings enshrined in the 1999 constitution. Conflicts could be resolved in Nigeria through respect for justice and the rule of law.

The new Nigerian constitution should make provisions for a system that shows equity and fairness. This could be achieved by enshrining important laws such as regional restructuring, establishment of state police, diaspora voting, periodic national dialogue and the removal of the

power of the President to appoint Service Chiefs, Inspector General of Police, the Comptroller General of Customs and Chairman of the Economic and Financial Crime Commission. These are offices that gives too much power to the president. Such powers have led to autocracy.

I hope that in the near future, I shall use this research and the first recommendation stated herein, to catapult further studies that could find a meeting point and interconnectivity for stable, concrete and effective professionalism between the efficient Nigerian peacekeepers in foreign countries and the personnel at home. The goal shall aim at embarking on further research for efficient policing within Nigeria through equal and justiciable standards in line with global best practices. Peace is not inevitable.

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3. Opinion review at the NKE/NUPS Conference, 2019. In English
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6. Conference on Permanent forum for People of African descent (UN, Switzerland, 10 May, 2019. In English)
7. Migrants and Refugees as true mirrors of host countries. (Conference of “Uncertain Notes from the Semi-periphery” Budapest, 28 August, 2020. In English)

ANNEXES

List of Nigeria`s peacekeeping operations⁶³²:

1. United Nations Operation in Congo (ONUC) 1960-1964
2. United Nations Security Force in West New Guinea (UNSF) 1962-1983
3. United Nations India-Pakistan Observer Mission (UNIPOM) 1965-1966
4. United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) 1978-1983
5. Chad Operation (Operation Harmony I) Bilateral 1979
6. Organization of African Unity (OAU) Mission Intervention Force in Chad (Operation Harmony II) 1981-1982.
7. United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group 1988-1991
8. United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM I) 1989-1991
9. United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) 1991-1992
10. United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) 1992-1995
11. United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia 1989-1990
12. United Nations Mission for Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) 1991 onwards
13. United Nation Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission (UNIKOM) 1991
14. United Nations Interim Mission Kosovo (UNMIK) 1991
15. United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) 1992-1993
16. United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I) 1992-1995
17. United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) 1992-1995
18. United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Yugoslavia 1992-1993
19. United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) 1992-1995
20. United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL) 1992 onwards
21. Organization of African Unity (OAU) Monitoring Group in Rwanda 1992-1993
22. United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) 1993
23. United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) 1993-1995
24. United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) 1993-1995
25. Nigeria Peacekeeping Force in Tanzania (TAPKM) 1994
26. United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) 1994-2000
27. United Nations Group in the Aouzou Strip, Libya/Chad (UNASOG) 1994
28. United Nations Prevention Deployment in Macedonia (UNPREDEP) 1995-2000
29. United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slovenia, Baranja, Western Sirmium in Croatia (UNTAES) 1996-1998
30. United Nations Observer Mission in Previakia (UNMOP) 1996-2000
31. United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA) July 1997
32. ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) Operation Harmony in Liberia 1990-1997
33. ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) Operation Sandstorm in Sierra Leone 1997-2000
34. United Nations Civilian Police Support Group, Dambe Region, Croatia 1998
35. United Nations Mission in Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) 2000 onwards

⁶³² Nna-Emeka, O. (2010) "Nigeria in International Peacekeeping Operations" in M. Ikejia ni-Clark (ed.) *Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution in Nigeria: A Reader*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited; cited by Chilaka Francis Chigozie, and Odoh Samuel Ituma in *Nigerian Peacekeeping Operations Revisited*, Singaporean Journal of Business Economics and Management studies Vol.4, no.2, 2015. Also edited by author.

36. United Nations Transition Authority in East Timor (UNTAET) 2000
37. ECOWAS Mission in Liberia (ECOMIL) August-October 2003
38. United Nations Mission in Sudan (AMIS) 2004 onwards
39. United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) 2004
40. United Nations-African Union Hybrid Operation in Dafur (UNAMID) 2007 onwards
41. United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo 2010 onwards
42. United Nations Organization Interim Security Force for Abyei 2011 onwards
43. United Nations Organization in the Republic of South Sudan 2011 onwards
44. United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali 2013 onwards
45. United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in in the Central African Republic 2014.
46. Nigeria Peacekeeping in Somalia, 2021.
47. ECOWAS mission in Guinea Bissau (ECOMIB), 2020, 2022