Peacekeeping Operations in International Peace and Security: A Case Study of Nigeria

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Abstract:

The international environment is increasingly transiting through a complex phase characterized by violent conflicts and wars. This has exposed the reality that without the proactive intervention of peacekeeping troops to manage some of these hostilities, the tendency is the world will become more anarchic with devastating consequences on human beings and their material holdings. This is what the paper purpose to bring to the fore. Specifically, the paper will make a case study of the role Nigeria has been playing in enhancing the achievement of international peace and security. To craft the perspective articulated within the text, the paper leaned on the content analysis of existing literary materials within the social science academic traditional. By way of recommendation, the paper maintains that if the benign legacy of conflict prevention is to be sustained, it is imperative that peacekeeping operation be reorganized to focus more on adhering to Early Warning Signals (EWS) emanating from conflict prone areas so as to promote conflict prevention more than conflict resolution that is more expensive.

Introduction

The search for international peace and security has dominated intellectual discourses and the practice of global diplomacy since the end of the Second World War. The threat to international stability was heightened by the evolution of a bi-polar order as a result of the ideologically motivated Cold War from 1945. Thus, the concern exhibited by foreign policy establishments and national governments across the world in the post war era was not without basis. This was due to the fact that a newly evolved international order characterised by anarchy and lawlessness had

evolved to re-define the theory and praxis of international relations as crafted by the treaty of Westphalia in the 17th Century.

Expectedly, this historical phenomenon culminated in clashes betwixt these newly birth sovereign entities; clashes whose origin were often traced to the clandestine maneuverability of states in the foggy theatre of the international environment all in the pursuit of their geo-strategic interests. And because all states are involved in the effort of aggregating their national interest, they naturally become susceptible to biases in the course of promoting international peace, security and the resolution of conflicts. Therefore, the responsibility for the resolution of international conflict is left to umpires that are not aligned to any state or their interest. In this instance, this responsibility has been borne by the United Nations (UN) and other allied regional and Sub -regional institutions like the European Union (EU), the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Arab League (AL) and many more of these organizations spread across the different regional blocs of the world (Kegley and Wittkopf, 1995).

This paper purposes to examine the nature of the international environment with regards its peace and security profile in contemporary international order. The paper will work on the assumption that the world is characterized by intense competition and hence the resulting conflicts that have characterized the birthing of sovereign state actors within the global space. A more ambitious objective of the paper will be to bring to the fore some of the legal instruments existing within the UN humanitarian framework that give legitimacy for intervention in international and domestic conflicts despite the sovereignty status of states. Finally, the specific role of Nigeria in ensuring the achievement of international peace and security will be contextualized.

This paper is divided into nine sections including the introduction constituting section one. The second section deals with the methodological approach the paper relied on to weave its perspective. The thirds part was specifically directed at question of the nature of international environment since the institutionalization of state structures as the main drivers of international relations. The fourth section focuses on the analysis of the international legal instruments legitimizing intervention during armed conflicts. The fifth section proceeds to examine some aspects of the African charter of human and people's rights that are relevant to the protection of human rights. The sixth section was specifically addressed to the issues of Nigeria's role in conflict prevention diplomacy and the promotion of peace and security. The seventh part follows; this brings to the fore Nigeria's role in Chad in the attempt to reconcile the contesting factions in the Chadian conflict. The eight part discusses the ECOMOG campaigns in conflict management and finally, the conclusion of the paper is makes up the final (ninth) section.

Methodology

For the purpose of this study, the paper had deliberately depended on the qualitative research methodology to craft its thrust. By qualitative research, we are inferring studies whose data are not sourced through statistical instruments of analysis. Data was generated through the following mediums; observations, interviews and the exploration and analysis of contemporary literary materials within the domain of international relations and specifically the area of peacekeeping. In particular, materials like books, journals, media-based reports, official memoirs, government gazettes all proved relevant in the date generation process. In addition, some aspects of the paper relied on primary data collection method whereby some individuals in the field of international law and conflict resolution were interviewed and their views incorporated in crafting the thrust of the overall discourse.

The International Environment since the Institutionalization of States:

In the process of scouring through literatures of conflict, war and the management of these phenomenon, it was discovered that experts have made effort at identifying the reasons for instability between human groups and between states—the geographical space that accommodates these human beings. These studies have begun with the individual as the unit of analysis and broadened their scope to the realm of the state and the international system ultimately. The result of Preliminary investigations have revealed different assumptions including that;

1. Aggressive behaviour is innate and biologically programmed into the human species

2. Aggression is the result of frustration by other humans or circumstances; these frustrations create massive back-lashes leading to violent conflicts

3. A third school posits that aggressive behaviour is essentially learned or a modelled behaviour which is usually (but not necessarily) copied by the young from their elders in both formal and informal socialization processes (Mitchell, 1985: 123).

By this provision, younger/weaker states emulate the aggressive behaviour of older/ stronger states. These perspectives are relevant in linking the nexus between individual aggressiveness and general social and political violence (Mitchell, 1985). From the above, it has become evident that the aggressive tendencies of man subsisting in a territory called 'state' has origin in his biological constitution (Paige, 2009). It is this make-up that has produced the multiple wars that have littered the firmament of the history of human relations (Paige, 2009). Again this violent tendency in man has ensured that conflicts are hardly preventable nor resolved amicably by the use of traditional conflict resolution mechanism. Consequently, by the time most domestic and international conflicts come to an end, the uncured damage to human beings and their holdings are often devastating. For instance, by the time the world was emerging from the bunkers of World War II,

over ten million people had been killed, empires devastated, new states birthed and the old geo-political order permanently altered (Kegley and Wittkopf, 1995: 76).

The truism of this reality (as articulated by the realist model) was captured by none other than the oracles of Post-World War II realist paradigm including the theologian scholar, Reinhold Niebuhr, the quintessential diplomat, George Kennan (in Fukuyama, 1992) and Professor Hans Morgenthau (1985). All these neo liberal realist classicists had sustainably articulated the classical thoughts that the starting point for understanding world politics is to recognize that the course of human history shows that nations active in international politics are continuously preparing for, actively in, or just emerging/recovering from the throes of organized violence in the form of war with its attendant bloodshed, devastations to national, regional and international peace and security becoming the norm (In Fukuyama, 1992: 247). Even in ancient times Plato (in Sagan, 1979) had submitted the hardly disputable thesis that 'war must be regarded as the fundamental fact of political life, indeed of all life, and that every decision of consequence must be made with that fact in mind'. This trend and conflict dynamic has by 1991 produced twenty seven battle fields across the world (Fung, 1996: 65). In fact many more theatres are being created as the years role-by and individual nation's interests and those of the strategic coalitions they align with becoming increasingly more complex.

In fact the realist thinking that has shaped the nature of relations between the system of states in the international environment since the frequently referenced treaty of Westphalia could be connected to the classical orientation of Niccollo Machiavelli (1469-1527). In 'The Prince' Machiavelli has explicitly contributed what he calls the justification for rulers to kill to maintain their positions of power and to 'advance the *virtu, fame*, and honour of their states' if they are to survive and influence international activities to their benefits (Paige, 2009). 'It is better to rule by craftiness of a "fox," but when necessary rulers should not shrink from the bold lethality of a "lion." He prescribes citizen militias to strengthen the power of the republican state' in their competitive stance against other state actors (Paige, 2009).

These perceptions have greatly influenced the behaviour of every unit within the system to conduct affairs in a manner that promotes its benefits and reduces it losses (Craig 1994: 17). This condition has clearly made every actor extremely selfish in the pursuit of its will and interest. Therefore, in the light of the non-existence of state actors to moderate the global environment in an egalitarian and equitable manner, the imperative for the mobilization of neutral international troops to confront international insecurity has become a necessity. Ironically, in referencing earlier epochs, it was discovered that in the 19th Century international peace and stability was largely dependent on parity in power relations between coalitions. In the century following on the contrary, peace was a product of what Rueck (1985: 113) had described as the 'preponderance of the leading coalitions' to achieve peace. Thus, without mincing words, it could be safely asserted that the

major instrument that determines peace and security in an anarchic global system is undoubtedly the ability to acquire and maintain power which deters any potential threat (Waltz, 1971).

International Legal Instruments Legitimizing Intervention in Global Disorder:

This section aims at bringing to the fore the existing legal instruments instituted by the UN system and other allied regional organizations to ensure adherence to international law with regards intervention to prevent or manage conflicts and the best approach to follow during the process of intervention with regards obedience to the rules of Engagements (RoE) during operations. In this instance, the kind of intervention inferred is the one that references forced military incursion into a territory, non-military actions like sanctions by the United Nations in the affairs of states that is (are) recognized in international law as sovereign entities, based essentially on humanitarian considerations. There are two core elements to this definition. First, there is a clear lack of consent on the part of the target state and, second, the intervention is motivated by humanitarian concerns, such as human sufferings or threats to lives (Ludlow, 1999). Some have argued for a wider definition of humanitarian interventions in order to understand the best ways to deal with the increasingly complex humanitarian crises in the world today. This thinking is premised on the assumption that humanitarian activities and international interventions today take many forms. This conclusion is important because the norm in contemporary international relations acknowledges activities like foreign aid and development programs initiated by states and organizations like the UN and non-governmental organizations (NGOs); diplomatic and economic sanctions or attempts at third party mediation as humanitarian interventions (Ludlow, 1999).

But for the purpose of this paper, the challenge that should warrant intervention should naturally include basically the challenge to human rights. These rights have two core components associated with them in a closely interrelated manner. Obviously, the consensus of all approaches is that right to life must be considered uppermost. The right to life necessarily implies the need for the following physiological requirements; food, water, shelter and security (Dakas, 2014). The fact must be borne in mind that scholars are not in consensual agreement with regards a comprehensive or prioritized list of rights. However, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 is instructive in availing us the issues that should take the place of primacy in this regards. This document accordingly has listed in order, the right to life, liberty and security of person, freedom from slavery or servitude and freedom from torture or cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment. While this list clearly does not reflect the rights that all people currently enjoy, they do represent an international consensus on the rights that all humans ought to enjoy (Dakas, 2014).

The above provisions which are sourced from the Charter of the UN and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights have been domesticated into the African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights. Article 4 in line with the UN charter states that;

> Human beings are inviolable. Every human being shall be entitled to respect for his life and integrity of his person. No one may arbitrarily be deprived of this right.

In the same vein, the adherents of the Solidarists school of international law point to certain specific provisions of the United Nations' (UN) charter to justify their call for intervention in the case of human rights abuses (Hobbes, 1651). Let's take the following provisions into view; Chapter vii of the Charter especially provides the needed locus for intervention in the event of crass human rights abuse(s). Note too that Article 42 of this chapter (vii) consist the clearly spelt-out provision that gives permission and even out rightly authorizes the Security Council to take the needed action by air, sea, or the deployment of land troops as may be deemed appropriate to maintain or restore international peace and security in any identified violent conflict theatre (Ludlow, 1999, Ebo, 1994). Under Article 43, all members of the UN shall undertake to make available to the Security Council troops-for Peacekeeping or Peace Support Operations-when the need for the aforementioned intervention arises (Ludlow, 1999).

Of particular note is the 1948 Convention on Genocide which makes genocide a crime under international law and commits all members of the international community to "prevent and punish" it (Ludlow, 1999). On the same human rights concern and what could easily be termed the failings of international and regional organizations the Solidarists have further maintained that Human rights violations and widespread suffering cause instability and thereby threaten international peace. The authors of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights seem to acknowledge this while stating 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." Since violent human rights abuses and large-scale human suffering threaten international peace and stability, the UN may intervene forcefully to preserve them' (Ludlow, 1999).

Finally, the moral and ethical conception and argument that justifies intervention in the face of humanitarian challenge—irrespective of the sovereignty statutes in international law as derived from Simon Caney (1997), who has coherently noted that all human cultures irrespective of history and orientation; be they of the Judeo/ Christian and Islamic creed; or even of the trinity of Jains, Hindu or Buddhist values, the sanctity of human life is upheld as it is greatly revered. In the same vein, it is nearly inconceivable to imagine any culture that welcomes drought, famine, disease, murder and malnutrition which are all vehicles for conveying humanitarian disasters. 'Consequently, cosmopolitan principles of humanitarian intervention that seek to eradicate these are not imposing values on societies which those societies reject'. Caney (1997) proceeds in the same virile thrust to present a mental imagery wherein a state is persecuting a cultural minority either through violent onslaughts or through the deprivations of the means of sustenance and those charged with the responsibility for ensuring that justice is maintained just stand aloof. In such a scenario, humanitarian intervention can be justified if it intervenes and protects the minority victim population.

Having articulated the normative framework that gives legitimacy for intervention in conflicts, it is necessary to say that the UN and other allied regional and sub-regional organizations as listed previously have proven relevant in the complex craft of conflict prevention and resolution. It has thus become acceptable norm in the reasoning of international actors and foreign policy think-tanks across the world that 'if conflict cannot be prevented, it must be contained, managed or resolved by all possible means' (Fung, 1996). Consequently, by the end of the Second World War, Peace-keeping as a strategic technique for managing conflict scenarios had evolved. While in operation, Peace-keepers are not expected to fight but to contribute in creating, of course in a relatively benign manner, an environment that will facilitate the disengagement of troops engaged in conflict. This is to give room for the resolution of the conflict question through diplomatic and political initiatives (Fung: 1996: 65). 'such middle ground solution was conceived in 1948 when the UNSC deployed soldiers without arms as 'mere observers' to Palestine to supervise a truce brokered by the legendary Count Bernadotte during what is popular referred to as the first Arab-Israel wars.

Historically, this seemingly ad hoc arrangement known as the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) 'marked the formal birth of what is widely known as the United Nations Peace-Keeping (Alan, 1990). Since then, as many as sixty nine peacekeeping operations have been deployed to many parts of the world especially within the African violent theatres. According to Mbugua (2014) 'As at September 2014, 16 UN peacekeeping missions were in operation, of which 9 are in Africa'. In an ironic twist, Mbugua (2014) further maintains that as at the same 2014, the African continent contributes the largest numbers of troops for peacekeeping missions on the globe and 'it also hosts the largest troop and police contributing countries such as Ethiopia with (6,528), Rwanda (4,709), Nigeria (4,619), Ghana (2,992) and Senegal (2,967); that are the top five peacekeeping staff contributors among the African states to the UN', (2014).

The African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights

In this section, the paper will address the specific aspects that cover areas that discuss the issues of human rights. This is due to the fact that it is these legal provisions that give locus for intervention in violent conflict environments. In other words, it is the legal codes that give legitimacy to peacekeeping troops to move into a territory to prevent human rights abuses and humanitarian disasters.

It is therefore necessary to maintain that the Charter of the AU have provisions that equips the organization to tackle contemporary threats to regional peace and security. The current African leaderships have recognized that peace and human security are critical to African development initiatives and have made it a cardinal priority by establishing the African Union peace and security architecture. This includes the protocol relating to the establishment of the peace and Security Council (PSC); the African standby Force; the continental early warning system and the panel of

the wise. This is apart from the African Union peace fund. Another key area that the AU have focused on is its determination to promote human rights. The primary responsibility of the OAU was to protect the national sovereignty of member states and as such did not allow interference in their internal affairs. The AU also respects national sovereignty, but has gone further to authorize rights of intervention in grave circumstances in line with the global resolve for humanitarian protection under the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). The AU also respects national sovereignty, but has gone further to acknowledge the right of the Union to intervene in a member state in order to restore peace and stability to prevent genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity (Article 4 (h)). Article 3, sub-sections 1 (e) and (f) of the constitutive act emphasizes the promotion and the guarantee and respect for the basic human rights and citizens of states. Notwithstanding these arrangements, the AU is still grappling with numerous challenges including funding, lack of stand by forces to intervene in conflicts and frequent interference by external powers. Thus this negates the desire to 'find African solutions to African problems' (Sharkdam, 2014).

The role of Nigeria in Peacekeeping Operations:

In this section, the paper will concentrate its attention to analysing the areas and the manner in which the Nigerian government has contributed to the prevention of violent conflicts and the management of the same phenomenon on the African continent and the world at large. Of course this discourse will be approached on the basis of Nigeria's participation in these activities under the international and sometimes sub-regional peacekeeping initiatives. The paper will also bring to the fore the military institution that has played an enviable role in the prevention and management of conflicts during peacekeeping operations from the moment Nigeria became an independent country in 1960. In this vein, it is imperative to mention from the outset that apart from certain bleak but insignificant aspects of the Nigerian military; like its rebellion against constitutionally instituted governments leading to coups and counter coup d'états and other activities like a protracted sour civil military relations, the Nigerian military has played an important role in stabilizing international peace and security (Kolade, 2015).

Nigeria in the Chadian Conflict:

Between 1970s and 1980s, Nigeria moved into Chad to help in the management of the violent conflict that was threatening the survival of that country. However, Nigeria's intervention was not purely on humanitarian or benevolent basis. Chad is one of the countries that is of strategic importance to Nigeria's security interest. A country bordering Nigeria's north eastern fringes should naturally be of utmost importance to Nigeria's national interests. This neo-realist paradigm was largely responsible for Nigeria's foreign policy decisions during this period. The Chadian menace was a major challenge for the Nigerian authority under the administration of the then president, Alhaji Shehu Shagari. However, this violent phenomenon was inherited from the days of Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, the predecessor to Shehu Shagari. As observed above, for both geo-

political and security concern, Chad had constituted and important source of concern for Nigeria. This is basically because any time the security situation in Chad became precarious, it always affected the Nigerian states of Borno and her contiguous territories. These negative effects covered the areas of massive refugee flow of displaced Chadians to Nigeria. In addition, small and light weapons proliferation (SLWP) became evident at such auspicious times. This development played out most significantly during the riotous religious ferments that characterized these troubled times in both Maiduguri and Kano in 1982 and 1983 respectively. (Olayiwole, 2003: 108). In fact, the intervention of external forces in this crisis often resulted in its escalation constituting a big security issue across the entire African continent. (Kolade, 2015).

True to the fears of the Nigerian government, the conflicts in Chad greatly impacted on the security situation in Nigeria's north east and western regions. It must at this juncture be borne in mind that the extremely porous border between Nigeria and Chad influenced the flow of arms into Nigeria which also necessitated the decision of Nigeria's federal authority to organize and host a meeting in 1979 in Kano to broker peace between parties to this conflict. This high-powered subregional meeting recorded the presence of the Chadian President, Felix Malloum and his Prime-Minister, Hessen Habre who led the Forces Armees du Nord (FAN). The popular armed forces under the leadership of Ghoukoni Waddeye and the popular movement for the liberation of Chad (MPLT) led by Aboubacar Abderrahemane were all in attendance to this landmark diplomatic initiative aimed at peacebuilding. There were equally in attendance ministerial delegations from all countries sharing common borders with Chad: Libya, Sudan, Niger and Cameroun. The OAU was also represented by its assistant Secretary General for political affairs, Peter Onu (Olayiwole, 2003: 109) . After seven days of intensive deliberations, an accord was signed between the conflicting parties. It was recommended that;

- The existing government be dissolved forthwith.
- President Felix Malloum and his Prime Minister step down from the helm of governance.
- That a transitional government of national unity composed of recognized factions be formed.
- Nigeria provides a   neutral peace
  – keeping force to supervise the demilitarization of N'Djamena and general cease-fire.
- Nigerian troops provide security and protection to all Chadian leaders after all factions had moved to a radius of 100 km from the capital.
- The Nigerian troops take control of the Chadian airspace to ensure safety and free movement

This noble initiative of the Nigerian government in the pursuit of a robust foreign policy that is shaped by an afro-centric orientation aimed at assisting a neighbour in trouble that could result in its disintegration. However, the French authorities in Paris misconstrued the peace initiative by the Nigerian government. They perceived Nigeria's massive military build-up on land and air and the

proactive role it played during the conference as an affront to the French hegemonic interest in her African colonial estate. Hence, she conspired against Nigeria and the entire military campaign ended in failure (Olayiwole, 2003: 108).

The ECOMOGs Campaigns and Conflict Management

Nigeria was very instrumental when the Economic Community of West African states (ECOWAS) moved into both the violent conflict ravaged countries of Liberia and Sierra Leone. Nigeria's intervention drew legitimacy when it keyed into the existent legal framework operational at both the UN and the OAU/AU charters which endorsed intervention when humanitarian predicaments were observed (Sanda, 2004: 303). It is important to add at this juncture that the behaviour of Nigeria and her foreign policy orientation as global actor was determined by her understanding that peace does not just happen. It has to be conceived and arsidously pursuit to achieve (Schirch, 2004). Thus, referencing the ECOWAS initiative in Liberia and Sierra Leone, Peter Opara had opined that intervention had become imperative and the best tool that will ensure the stability of the continent and the survival of its civilizational legacies. This position is arrived at with the knowledge that the ECOWAS' dream of economic integration and one market system cannot be achieved if other concomitant issues like regional politics and defense and security concerns are not central to the overall thrust.

Thus, acting on this understanding, the Heads of States in 1978 had unanimously agreed to modify the treaty that constituted the community, which previously did not accommodate any collective security provision. This time, the summit adapted within its protocols a non-aggression component to its constitutive Act. The defense pact that was adopted in 1981, agreed to provide mutual assistance to signatories of the pact in the case of any external aggression and internal armed conflicts. This legal instrument gave legitimacy to the existence and operations of the ECOMOG in Liberia and Sierra Leone. The successes recorded by the ECOMOG in her engagements in West Africa, according to Nigerian's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (because of the leading role played by Nigeria) have affected her global rating as a key model in regional conflict resolution efforts. For instance, the UN in its resolution 788 that was adopted in 1992 arrived at the consensual conclusion that the ECOMOG represents a good model of a systematic co-operation between the UN and regional organizations as conceived of in chapter of the charter of the world organization (the UN).

Even before this highly commendable feat was achieved in Liberia and Sierra Leone, Nigeria had participated in many other peacekeeping operations. Nigeria had contributed troops to operations in Africa, Asia and the Middle East regions of the world. The records are as follows: sending a battalion to Congo (UNOC) 1960-1964; Military observers to new Guinea (UNSF) 1962-1963; battalion to Tanzania by bilateral agreement 1964; Military observers during the India-Pakistan conflict (UNIPOM) 1965-1966; battalion and staff officers to Lebanon (UNIFIL), 1978-1983; battalion and staff officers to Chad (Harmony I, via bilateral agreement) 1981-1982; brigade to

Chad (Harmony II, under the auspices of OAU) 1982-1983; military observers during Iran-Iraq conflict (UNIMOG) 1988-1991; division to Liberia (ECOMOG) 1990 to date; military observers for Iraq-Kuwait (UNIKOM) 1991, and to Angola (NAVEMII) 1991-1992; training teams for Sierra Leone (NATNG) 1992-1995; military observers to Namibia (UNTAG) 1989-1990; to western Sahara (MINURSO) 1991; and to Cambodia (UNTAC) 1992-1993. The country also contributed a battalion and staff officers to Somalia (UNOSOM) 1992-1994; (Ahmed, M.S, 2010), battalion and staff officers to the former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) 1992; military observers to Mozambique (ONUMOZ) 1992; a battalion to Rwanda; (UNAMIR) 1993; training teams to the Gambia (NATAG) 1993; military observers A ouzo strip (UNASOG) 1994; and to Israel (UNTSO) 1995; Liberia (ECOMOG) 1987; Sierra Leone (ECOMOG) 1996; Darfur (UNAMID) 2003. (El-Rufai, 2012).

The above facts establishes Nigeria's foreign policy thrust as one that is determined to contribute to the preservation of international peace and security (Yoroms, 2004). In monetary terms, the contributions of Nigeria to regional peace missions in Liberia and Sierra Leone alone were in excess of US $10 Billion. This is apart from the large numbers of human beings (Nigerian soldiers) killed in the effort to build peace in the different areas the country was engaged in. In addition, Yoroms (2004) had summed the matter by maintaining that;

Nigeria also on its own volition has expended more than $90 Million through the OAU peace keeping force that was deployed to Chad in the early 1980's. In 1990's Nigeria through ECOWAS launched ECOMOG and also bore most of the cost attendant to such endeavour and in turn had made the ECOMOG experience an ideal model and benchmark for UN in the way that it views the role of regional peace keepers, and the need to partner with such regional groups that have a lot at stake in keeping the peace in troubled regions. Other areas of success will include the Nigerian role through the leadership of President Olusegun Obasanjo in reversing the military coup d'etat that took place in Sao Tome, and also the ability and leadership that was exercised by Nigeria in convincing former Liberia President, Charles Taylor to accept exile in Nigeria thereby paving the way for a peaceful elections in Liberia and a successful return of that country to a democratic regime.

Conclusions

In conclusion, it is clear that since the establishment of the United Nations in 1945, the world has experienced more incidences of violent conflicts that have increasingly threatened the global order. In reality, except for the highly proactive initiative of Count Bernadotte in conceiving the international peacekeeping and peace support initiatives, these challenges would have been more devastating largely due to the avarice that influences the formation of the foreign policies of individual nations within the international system of states. Interestingly, the annals have confirmed that Nigeria is active in this initiative thereby contributing immensely to the

preservation of international peace and security. As at today, Nigeria is adjudged one of the biggest Troops Contributing Countries (TCC) to the UN, AU and the ECOWAS. It is the view of this paper that if the benign legacy of intervention in violent conflict prone areas is to survive, it is imperative that peacekeeping and peace support operations be reorganized to focus more on adherence to Conflict Early Warning Signals (CEWS) emanating from conflict prone areas so as to promote conflict prevention initiative more that conflict resolution that is more expensive.

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