



## NIGERIAN ARMY AND THE FUTURE OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY: UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS (UNPKO) AND NIGERIAN ARMY IN PERSPECTIVE

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### ABSTRACT

In the last five and a half decades, Nigerian army had participated in not less than 48 peacekeeping operations around the world. Nigerian army answered several called from the UN for the purpose of promoting global peace and security in and out of Africa. The first mission of peacekeeping that Nigerian army was involves was the Congo mission of the 1960s. The outing of the Nigerian army in that Congo mission and other subsequent missions were highly impressive. However, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as things took their new shape as a result of many factors, the new millennium proves very difficult for troop contributing countries in the politics of peacekeeping operations. This study examined the multiple challenges inherent in the new millennium with regards to peacekeeping and advised Nigerian government on the way forward. This study gathered relevant data through unstructured interview from fifteen (15) respondents. Our respondents voluntarily answered the interview; all our respondents are professionals in their various disciplines. The identity of all respondent was not disclosed throughout the work for security and other related reasons. The study reveals that the 21<sup>st</sup> century peacekeeping operation appears very complex and expensive. Similarly, Nigeria and the Nigerian army are found to encounter several internal and external challenges in the contemporary world. However, Nigeria cannot fall her arms and allow things fall apart. Therefore, the study pointed out some relevant strategies the Nigerian government can adopt to enhance her chances of benefiting from peacekeeping involvement especially in the new millennium.

**Keywords:** United Nations, Peacekeeping Operations, New Millennium, 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Strategies, Nigerian Army.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Military as an institution is constitutionally mandated and traditionally empowered to provide defence to nations against any external aggression. They are equally use as an instrument of foreign policy pursuit by democratic nations around the world, a very strong bastion of democracy and reliable insurance against internal conflict (Nwolise, 2007).

Globally speaking, military is use by nation states not only for ensuring external territories are well guarded but additionally military is used for other purposes such as conquering and

colonizing other societies around the world. Political history has shown that such nations like; United Kingdom (UK), Portugal, France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Italy and numerous others notoriously used their military in expanding their imperial missions around the world particularly in Africa and other third world countries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, it is not out of place to ascribe the military as powerful instrument in the hands of political leaders for the purpose of achieving foreign policy objectives of democratic countries.

Nigeria as independent state closed to six decades has a very strong army built with great potentials of giving the country a strong place in world politics. Since the establishment of the United Nation Organizations (UN) in 1945, the use of military for imperial expansion is no longer fashionable. The UN is seen as a world body with rules and regulations that guides modus operandi of democratic nations on the world stage. Therefore, towards the middle of 20<sup>th</sup> century to the present, the role of military has shifted to a noble course of promoting international peace and security through the instrumentality of the UN peacekeeping operations (UNPKO).

Records shows that Nigeria had participated in over 40 peacekeeping operations around the world in promoting the primary goal of the UN: maintaining and promoting international peace and security (Abba, Osman & Muda, 2017). Nigeria is proud to be part of success story of the UN in its relentless efforts to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war (Agwai, 2004). Indeed, Nigerians are very much happy and feel fulfilled that the Nigerian Army has lived up to its expectations and responsibilities in ensuring international peace and security are maintained. However, it has been crystal clear to all observers of international politics in recent past, Nigeria is thrown into series of social conflicts. Whether the country's army and economy may be capable of shouldering further responsibilities of promoting global security or otherwise is what this paper attempt to answer.

Similarly, this paper attempt to appraise the role of the Nigerian army in the promotion of UNPKO with a view to highlight the areas that urgently needed to be address particularly in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Nigeria cannot continue to expose her military to the tedious task of promoting global peace and security without commensurate positive benefit. Peacekeeping operations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century have evolved to become a very complex and expensive phenomenon. Some nations used UNPKO as a means of generating revenue for economic development. In contrast, Nigeria invests so much resource without a great deal needed benefits.

## **2. NIGERIAN ARMY IN THE UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS**

Peacekeeping operations mounted by the UN are missions specifically designed to restore and or preserve peace in certain areas of conflict. They are usually initiated by the UN Security Council, the body empowered by the UN Charter (UN Charter, 1945). The first UN peacekeeping mission was mounted in the year 1948 when the UN set in military observers to supervise the truce in the Arab-Israeli conflict (Obasi, 2004). From the inception of the UN in 1945 to year 2015, about 70 peacekeeping missions were imitated by the UNSC. Out of this number, 16 of these missions were still ongoing, the rest were successfully concluded (UN Peacekeeping Operations Archive, 2015).

The involvement of Nigerian army in the UNPKO dates back to 1960 when the Nigerian army was invited to participate in the UN Peacekeeping operations in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Over the years, the Nigerian army had become a major actor in the global politics of peacekeeping operations not only under the auspices of the UN but also under the umbrella of Organization of African Unity (OAU) now African Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and at some point under bilateral arrangement (Nigeria-Chad).

From 1960 to 2016, Nigerian army had participated in not less than 48 peacekeeping operations around the world (Abba, 2017). Nigerian army was involved in peacekeeping operations in the Middle East, Europe, Africa, America and Asia-Pacific. Nigeria becomes a popular country around the world principally not because of her military and economic prowess but rather because of her military contributions in the global peacekeeping missions around the world (Abba, 2017). The table below confirmed the enormous contributions of the Nigerian army in the promotion of international peace and security.

**LIST OF THE PEACE MISSIONS IN WHICH NIGERIA HAS PARTICIPATED AND CONTRIBUTED TROOPS FROM 1960 - 2016**

S/N	Name of Mission	Period	Remark
1.	UNOC-United Nations Operations in Congo	1960 –1964 (UN)	Concluded
2.	UNSF-United Nations Security Force in West New Guinea	1962 –1963 (UN)	Concluded
3.	UNIPOM- United Nations India – Pakistan Observation Mission	1965 –1966 (UN)	Concluded
4.	UNIFIL – United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon	1978 –1983 (UN)	Concluded
5.	UNDOF – United Nations Disengagement Observer Force in Syria	1974 to date (UN)	Ongoing
6.	UNIMOG – United Nations Iran/Iraq Military Observer Group	1988 –1991 (UN)	Concluded
7.	UNAVEM I, II & III – United Nations Angola Verification Mission	1989 –1999 (UN)	Concluded
8.	UNTAG – United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Namibia)	1989 –1990 (UN)	Concluded
9.	UNAMIR – United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda	1993 –1996 (UN)	Concluded
10.	MINURSO – United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara	1991 to date (UN)	Ongoing
11.	UNIKOM – United Nations Mission Iraq – Kuwait Observation Mission	1991 – 2003 (UN)	Concluded
12.	UNTAC – United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia	1993 –1993 (UN)	Concluded
13.	UNOSOM I & II – United Nations Operation in Somalia	1992 –1993 (UN)	Concluded
14.	UNOMOZ – United Nations Operation in Mozambique	1992 –1994 (UN)	Concluded
15.	UNPROFOR – United Nations Protection Force (Yugoslavia)	1992 –1995 (UN)	Concluded
16.	UNCRO – United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia	1995 –1996 (UN)	Concluded
17.	UNMIBH – United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina	1995 –2002 (UN)	Concluded
18.	UNASOG – United Nations Aouzou Strip Observer Group (Libya/Chad)	May–Jun 1994 (UN)	Concluded
19.	UNMOT – United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan	1994–2000 (UN)	Concluded
20.	UNPREDEP – United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (Macedonia)	1995–1999 (UN)	Concluded
21.	UNTAES –United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium	1996–1998 (UN)	Concluded
22.	UNAMSIL –United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone	1999–2005 (UN)	Concluded

23.	MONUC – United Nations Organization Mission In The Democratic Republic of The Congo	1999–2010 (UN)	Concluded
24.	MONUSCO – United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo	2010 – Present (UN)	Ongoing
25.	UNTAET – United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor	1999 –2002 (UN)	Concluded
26.	ECOMIL – ECOWS Mission in Liberia	Aug. to Oct. 2003 ECOWAS	Concluded
27.	OPERATION HARMONY I Chad (OAU)	1979 –1980 (OAU)	Concluded
28.	OPERATION HARMONY II Chad (OAU)	1981 –1982 (OAU)	Concluded
29.	ECOMOG – ECOWAS Monitoring Group-Liberia	1990 –1997 ECOWAS	Concluded
30.	UNMIK – United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo	1999 to date (UN)	Ongoing
31.	ECOMOG – ECOWAS Monitoring Group in Sierra Leone	1997–2000 ECOWAS	Concluded
32.	UNMIL – United Nations Mission in Liberia	2003–To date	Ongoing
33.	AMIS – African Union Mission in Sudan	2004 – 2007 (AU)	Concluded
34.	UNAMID – African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur	2007 To date UN/AU	Ongoing
35.	UNMIS – United Nations Mission in Sudan	2005 – 2011 (UN)	Concluded
36.	UNOMIG – United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia	1993 – 2009 (UN)	Concluded
37.	UNMEE – United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea	2000 – 2008 (UN)	Concluded
38.	MINURCAT – United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad	2007 – 2010 (UN)	Concluded
39.	ONUB –United Nations Operation in Burundi	2004-2006 (UN)	Concluded
40.	UNOCI – United Nations Operation in Cote D’Ivoire	2004 to date (UN)	Ongoing
41.	UNMISS – United nations Mission in South Sudan	2011 to date (UN)	Ongoing
42.	UNISFA – United Nations Interim Force in Abyei	2012 to date (UN)	Ongoing
43.	ECOMIB- ECOWAS Mission in Guinea Bissau	2012 - date ECOWAS	Ongoing
44.	AFISMA – African – Led International Support Mission in Mali	2013 to date (AU)	Ongoing
45.	MONUSCO- UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo	2010 to date (UN)	Ongoing
46.	MINUSMA- UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali	2013 to date (UN)	Ongoing
47.	UNSOM- UN Assistance Mission in Somalia	2013 to date (UN)	Ongoing
48.	MINUSCA- UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic	2014 to date (UN)	Ongoing

(Source: Abba, 2017, Ateyobi, 2007)

Military is essentially noted elsewhere in the introductory part of this work as a major instrument of foreign policy. It has been argued by many scholars around the world that more military power a state possesses, the more the state may influence activities, particularly in the operation of international politics (Ateyebi, 2004). The world is generally threatened by conflicts and hence, political leaders are seriously preoccupied with strategies and modalities of building conflict management mechanism. On this note, the use of military as an instrument of foreign policy becomes significant.

Responding to global need, Nigeria took a bold step in ensuring effective participation in international events aimed at maintaining and promoting global peace and security especially through the instrumentality of the peacekeeping operations under the UN and other regional bodies such as OAU now (AU) and ECOWAS. Nigeria did not in any case use her military

for imperial expansion nor economic gains or territorial aggrandizement as observed in some western nations.

From independence to date, Nigeria has been at the forefront of contributing her army toward global peace. The impetus for this action is basically born out of the existing World Order that promotes the unity of all nations. Therefore, Nigeria cannot be left out of this important task, as security is a necessary ingredient for any meaningful economic and social development at both national and international level. Nigerian leaders have practically devoted considerable efforts and resources both in human and material toward the attainment of global peace and security. Nigeria's commitment and achievement in peacekeeping operations are describe as laudable and highly impressive (Nwolise, 2009). The foreign policy objective of Nigeria from independence to date encourages the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security. Its equally advocate for a peaceful co-existence among neighbors.

However, the new millennium (21<sup>st</sup> century) has brought numerous changes in the politics of peacekeeping operations around the world. The end of the Cold War couple with the collapse of the Berlin World in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century resulted into many development which affected traditional UN peacekeeping operations around the world. Some of these developments include; proliferation of communal conflicts (intra states wars) in Africa and other third world countries, tactical military withdrawal of western nations from participation in UNPKO around Africa, peacekeeping operations evolved in the 21<sup>st</sup> century into a very complex and expensive activity. The characteristics features of the new millennium made peacekeeping operations very cumbersome, elaborate, difficult and outrageously expensive.

### **3. NEW MILLENIUM AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS SECURITY FEATURES**

The 20<sup>th</sup> century obviously closed with one fundamental feature of world politics; the end of the Cold War (1989) and the emergence of a Unipolar World Order with United States of America (US) dictating world politics. The end of Cold War saw the disintegration of the United Soviet Socialists Republic (USSR). US rose to prominence as the leader of the world with penchant for power and unrestraint use of her military in advancing her national interest around the world. Perhaps, the use of military as an instrument of foreign policy by US was evident at the demised of the Cold War. US deployed her military in 1990 in chasing out Iraqi forces from Kuwait. Similarly early this century (2003) single handedly US forces forcefully dethroned Saddam Hussein clandestinely under the guise of fighting war on terror and weapons of Mass Destructions (WMDs). Saddam Hussein was later captured by occupied forces in Iraq and subsequently executed by newly contracted government in Iraq all under the supervision of US government. Similarly, Iran was under series of threats and sanctions for many years for reasons best known to US and her allied forces in Europe and other western world.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, UN as a global institution vested with powers to promote global peace and security eventually becomes an instrument in the hands of US (he who pays the piper dictates the tune). It is a well known phenomenon that the US dictates most of the outcomes of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) since the collapse of the Berlin world. US determine international security issues without any recourse to any international implications

as long as it favors her national interest. There are two world “organizations”, the UN with global membership and the almighty US with global reach and power (Daws, 2011). UN led operations with substantial military requirements can only be assured when Washington approves it. In today’s international community, nations state cannot consider its security solely a function of the areas directly surrounding it; rather, the security of one is absolutely tightly linked to the security of all (Murphy, 2010). In a nutshell, the hegemony of US over global politics particularly in the realm of security, political and economic issues tremendously altered the post Cold War politics.

September 11<sup>th</sup> attack on the US also brought new dimension in the fight against terror and insurgency around the world. When terror attacks hit US Trade twin towers and Pentagon (US defence House) on September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001, the whole human race was thrown into mourning. Thousands of people lost their lives and properties worth in billions got destroyed in that singular act. US swiftly responded by declaring ‘war against terror’. President Bush Jr. in a historic gathering addressing people in the White House says “you are either with us or against us” he went further declaring Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, North Korea etc as “axis of evils”. War on terror significantly affected global politics and to a large extent introduces new challenges in the security of international politics. In this 21<sup>st</sup> century, international terrorism is seen as the greatest threats to our global security as amplified by US War on terror. The attempt to eliminate the security threats posed by terror in post September 11 World Order has brought a lots of distractions and disharmony in the world.

The proliferations of intrastate wars in the world preceding the end of the Cold War also tremendously affect the security of the world and posed a serious threat before the eyes of the western world. This is more pronounced in the third world countries and Africa in particular. The breakdown of law and order in these communities, mostly between government (leaders) and youth (indigenous armed factions) who were deprived access to state resources and rendered unproductive in their home state. It is unadventurous wisdom that civilians have become the main victims in such civil wars (Daws, 2011). Most countries in Africa continue to experience these ugly incidents of youths carrying arms against the state. Lack of democratic structures and constitutional government create very unpredictable future for many countries in Africa. The woes of the third world nations are obvious. Egregious human right violations have continued and many moves toward national independence have ended up in brutal dictatorship. The growing phenomenon of intrastate conflicts in Africa created a heavy burden on the UN in the new millennium to the extent the world body tactically keep withdrawing and handing over regional conflicts to regional bodies like the ECOWAS and AU. The proliferation of uncivil actors from belligerents and warlords to spoilers and criminals whose interests are served by continued conflict is certainly a factor behind the ugly reality of civil wars in third world countries in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Countries in Africa that suffers this internal conflicts includes but not limited to Somali, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Chad, Central African Republic (CAR), Angola, Rwanda, Burundi, Cote d’Ivoire and Nigeria recently engulf with deadly Boko Haram that nearly break the country and render it nearly a failed state (Abba, 2017b).

Other vital feature of 21<sup>st</sup> century global politics includes but not limited to climate change, environmental degradation, outrageous population growth, urbanization and it attendant social conflict, proliferation of nuclear armaments and Weapons of Mass Destructions (WMDs), HIV/AIDS and other deadly diseases, advancement in information technology, women's rights and proliferation of non state actors who become very powerful and instrumental in world politics. These and several other features in post Cold War era created a very complex international scene. Management of societal conflicts continues to grow in terms of expenditures. The fear of the unknown remains one of the serious challenges facing global actors in the new millennium.

Peacekeeping operations in post Cold War era equally proves very expensive and to a large extends evolves with many complexities. Military troops in PKO perform several duties beyond and over the traditional role of the military. They are involves in specialized duties like humanitarian activities, conduct of elections, construction of roads and bridges, etc. the UN as an institution saddled with the responsibilities of ensuring international peace and security become highly politicized by the new millennium. As noted earlier, US and her western allies continue to withdraw their support toward maintaining security in Africa, particularly refusing to deploy their arm personnel in Africa. In their wisdom, African conflicts require African solutions.

African countries/leaders decided to take the bull by the horn to confront her political and security issues through the instrumentality of the African Union (AU). Nigeria and South Africa spearheaded the transformation of the OAU to AU for the purpose of promoting African integration and unification. However, the big question this study attempt to answer is; the strategies that Nigeria will adopt in respect to peacekeeping operations in the new millennium. It is very obvious Nigeria would not continue with her father christmas role in the politics of UNPKO in which are army are found all over the globe responding to the call of the UN. The new millennium presented fresh challenges and Nigeria is expected to redefine her approaches to security issues in Africa and elsewhere with respect to peacekeeping involvement.

Critically speaking, Nigeria faces series of challenges in the past involving peacekeeping operations particularly in Africa and elsewhere in the world. She invests heavy resources in securing peace and security in some trouble countries in Africa without reasonable economic benefits from those activities. Toward the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Nigeria spent money running into billions USD for the restoration of peace and sanity in Liberia and Sierra Leone. The country actually led many PKOs particularly in the African continent both in terms of deployment of military troops and financial burden of the operations.

This study observed that, Nigeria as a developing country with poor economic base and seemingly heavy population growth in the near future cannot continue to shoulder any further military expedition. The economy of the country had been ruined in recent time with activities of corrupt state official who steal the state resources and enrich themselves (Abba, *et. al.*, 2017). The immediate past president of the country was once quoted saying "stealing is not corruption". Equally speaking, the country is suffering from the hangover of deadly insurgent group, the Boko Haram (Abba. *et. al.*, 2017). The Nigerian Military capacity has

been tested in recent years by the Boko Haram insurgents group. The strength of the army force of the country was nearly stretched to unbearable extend. Until the coming of the new government on 29<sup>th</sup> May, 2015, Nigeria was under the siege of the deadly Boko Haram. She lost many of her territories especially in the North East region of the country (Borno, Yobe and Adamawa). Similarly, there was a critical evidence of rising tension in the trouble Niger-Delta region of the country where dissatisfied youth carries arms against the state. The militancy in this trouble Oil rigion of the country has severely affected the volume of Oil production. Hence, it reduces the daily earning of the country thereby causing serious economic impediment for the new government (Buhari regime). In the midst of all these growing difficulties, the international oil market was severely hit by the fall of the Oil prices. Major source of Nigeria's foreign exchange earning largely comes from the sale of her crude oil. Nigeria was bitterly affected by the low flow of income.

With all these challenges facing Nigeria in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, there is need for a rethink in her approaches to peacekeeping operations to avoid creating a very difficult situation for the country in the nearby. If at all, Nigeria will participate in PKO around the world, she needs to be very strategic and calculative in approach and execution.

#### **4. STRATEGIES THAT NIGERIA NEED TO ADOPT IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM WITH RESPECT TO UNPKO**

##### **4.1 To develop a comprehensive national policy on peacekeeping operations**

For Nigeria to achieve any strategic benefits from involvement in the peacekeeping operations in the new millennium whether under the UN or any regional body like ECOWAS or continental body such as AU; there is need for the country to develop a sound policy framework that will guide her operations and participation in peacekeeping. Nigeria will not continue to throw away her weight without strategic planning and expect it to yield anything fruitful in the near future. 21<sup>st</sup> century challenges require Nigeria to have a unified national policy framework that will coordinate the activities of all the stakeholders involves in the execution of peacekeeping operation. These stakeholders or officials involves include the ministry of defence, ministry of foreign affairs, the police, the legislature and other relevant agencies that have been involves in the process. The national policy should be work out in such a way that it provide the guiding principles that will start from pre-deployment exercise to deployment, and with a clear mandate and the exit formula. Once the decision is taken at the highest political level that Nigeria is to be involved in any mission, how the decision is transmitted to the executing authorities through the appropriate officials should be very clear and straight forward to allow smooth operation without bureaucratic bottlenecks

A policy framework is a logical structure that is established to organize policy documentation into groupings and categories that would make it easier for officials at all levels to find and understand the contents of various policy documents (Saliu, 2016). We understand that, Armed Force of Nigeria (AFN) has a doctrine that provides the legal framework for military deployment to Peace Support Operations (PSO) but it did not involve the police and relevant agencies of government who are also saddle with the responsibilities of promoting peace and security. They operate independently of each other which is not healthy for the country. There are hardly any concerted efforts between the security agencies to work together for the

smooth planning and execution of PSO. According to Adewuyi, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century the enactment of the national policy on peacekeeping is actually long overdue to ensure strategic guidelines needed to be followed by stakeholders religiously to allow Nigeria benefits tremendously from UNPKO (Adewuyi, 2009)

The changing phase of peacekeeping operations suggest that nations state need to coordinate their activities to enable them explore more benefits attached to peacekeeping more than only achieving image booster and associated prestige. Given the array of people involved in contemporary peacekeeping, there is need for synergy among relevant departments and stakeholders to ensure all relevant personnel are co-opted and the execution is done in a way that Nigeria will benefits. The national policy should also be very clear on the role Nigeria will play in any peacekeeping operations whether in Africa or outside Africa. The Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) that Nigeria will sign with all these organizations should also be very comprehensive without any ambiguities. Nigerian stakeholders should have closed monitoring and active collaboration with Nigeria representative in the UN Headquarters. The opinion of most people interviewed lamented the lack of the national policy and hence opines that the national policy is to provide the strategic impetus, guideline, doctrine and the national interest as to what benefits and conditions before the nation deploys its troops for any PSOs. Accordingly, the National Policy on Peacekeeping Operations (NPPKO) should be very comprehensive, total and inclusive to ensure total capture of everything required from the beginning to the end of the exercise. Additionally it should be built on the principle and philosophy of national interest.

#### **4.2 Define her national interest in international politics and peacekeeping operations in particular**

Nigeria is believed by many to be operating an obsolete foreign policy that was long overdue for review to reflect contemporary global realities (Gambari, 2004; 2008, Saliu, 2016). That obsolete foreign policy continues to affect the participation of Nigeria in peacekeeping operations around the world and Africa in particular. If a nation goes out of it borders, it should be guided based on strategic purpose. The people interviewed believed that Nigeria at this time does not have the comfort of connecting her impressive records of participating in peacekeeping operations to any specific national objectives that are scientifically quantifiable, understandable and digestible (General opinion of the people interviewed). Post Cold War political environment is vulnerable to nations that lack defined national interest.

National interest is well thought-out as the simplest means of understanding or explaining how and why nations do what they do when they engage in international action. National interest therefore, provides explanation or rationalization for state behavior in international politics. The peacekeeping records of Nigeria cannot be fitted to any national interest of Nigeria because, argued by many that, Nigeria is wasting her huge resources without much desired result that will reflect her national interest position. Nigeria should define her national interest in the politics of peacekeeping so that she will not continue to throw away her resources without commensurate results. If she is going to any peacekeeping mission, the country needs to define her interest in any mission and pursue definite strategic advantage that will bring positive development to her country and the people at large.

National interest and/or values should be the principle objective compass that will guide national behaviors of state on the world stage particularly with the present realities of new World Order. The US involvement in peacekeeping support operations is generally hinged on her national interest and values. US involvement in the Congo operations in the 1960s was designed to halt the expansion of communism in Africa. Equally, US participation in Bosnia and Yugoslavia operations under NATO was to bring order and exert western influence in the region. US role in the Gulf war of the 1990s and subsequent displacement of Saddam Hussein of Iraq in 2003 was nothing but to protect her interest in that region with huge oil deposits. Even in Africa, some countries like Ghana and South Africa participate in peacekeeping operations to derive some strategic economic advantage. Ghana recently embarked on a wet-lease contract agreement with the UN to provide all the necessary Contingent Owned Equipments (COEs) based on the UN standard requirements. Ghana did that by borrowing huge money from Bank of England to the tune of 55million pounds to ensure her military is fully equipped with functional equipments that is world class standard (Adewuyi, 2009). This is strategically undertaken by Ghana because the country will be expecting huge return from this investment through UN reimbursement policy. What is obtainable in Ghana here as per peacekeeping operations and its strategic relevance to nations has been corroborated by our interviewees that countries like India, Pakistan, Bangladesh Finland equally enjoys economic benefits from their participation through the UN policy of reimbursement

Therefore, Nigeria is expected in the 21<sup>st</sup> century to shift away from her obsolete foreign policy of Africa as a centre piece of her foreign policy without attaching any string that will bring strategic economic and political benefits to the country's national interest. Thus, the 57 years of Nigeria's political independence and diplomatic relations on the world stage with reference to peacekeeping operations is largely rewarding but most often with mixed feeling and frustration. Nigeria is spending huge resources in the promotion of peace globally and Africa in particular without much benefit. The decision making process of peacekeeping operations in Nigeria is foggy and that is why Gambari (2008) question the rationale for dispersing plenty resources in this activities which did not bring anything reasonable for strategic national development. What is Nigeria's interest participating in peacekeeping operations in Africa and the world at large? This question, Nigerian political and military leaders need to answer it in a very clear and precise manner without any element of ambiguities. When national interest of Nigeria is comprehensively defined in relations to her involvement in peacekeeping, it will answer this question.

There is no doubt; peacekeeping has brought some benefit to Nigerian state, but Nigeria as a developing country needs to be more strategic with a defined policy that will enhance her national interest domestically and internationally. Nigerians have persistently continues to questioned the external relations goals of Nigeria's blind involvement in peacekeeping operations around the world without commensurate advantages accruable to the country in terms of strategic economic benefits since several other developing countries are doing so for economic returns (Gambari, 2008; Iliya, 2009; Sanda, 2010; Saliu, 2016).

According to the people interviewed, Nigeria cannot continue to be a Father Christmas, particularly in the 21<sup>st</sup> century where nations are engulf in the swimming pool of

globalizations with its attendant consequences. A foreign policy guided by moral abstractions, without consideration of the national interest is bound to fail. No nation in human history has ever overlooked the imperatives of its national interest in the pursuit of its external relations without dire consequences. Nigeria cannot be an exception to this general rule of international politics. Nigerian leaders should see the involvement of the country in peacekeeping operations whether under the auspices of the UN or otherwise as a forum for accelerating her strategic national economic interest and social development.

## **5. COORDINATION OF ACTIVITIES BETWEEN AND AMONG STAKEHOLDERS OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS**

The stakeholders involved with peacekeeping operations in Nigeria include two major ministries and other federal government agencies; these include, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), Ministry of Defence (MOD), the Nigerian Police Force (NPF), the National Assembly (NASS) and host of others. The stakeholders need to work together cooperatively for the overall success of any mission in the face of numerous challenges posed by the new millennium. For any peacekeeping operation to be successful there is need for synergy between the principal stakeholders to coordinate their activities. The stakeholders would critically weigh the implications of participation in any peacekeeping operations, whether under the UN or any other organization and advise the government on the way forward. These stakeholders will liaise with the Nigeria Permanent Representative to the UN for the purpose of drafting MoU that will be beneficial to the Nigerian government and the peacekeepers. The input of every stakeholder is very crucial to the overall success of the exercise at the end (Ateyobi, 2007). Each of the stakeholders has unique inputs to inject into MoU. The MOD will bring their military expertise to bear on the agreement, making sure it will create opportunity for both Nigerian military and the federal government of Nigeria as a whole. They would not allow anything that will jeopardize the interest of Nigerian military and internal security of the country. While the MOD may be busy advancing military and security interest of the country, the MFA will vigorously study the external relations of Nigeria with the country involved and the implications of Nigeria's participation in the mission. The MFA will study the extent laws of Nigeria's foreign policy objectives and advise accordingly whether Nigeria can go ahead to participate or otherwise. The MFA will critically study the implications of Nigeria's involvement based on the provision of National Policy on Peacekeeping Operations (NPPKO). The NASS will study the situation and advise the federal government and give their approval for the military to go ahead and participate in the peacekeeping mission. Constitutionally, the NASS has the final approval for any military expedition outside the shores of Nigeria.

The respondents noted with dismay how Nigerian government felt to coordinate the activities of these stakeholders and lamented how it affected the performance of Nigerian contingent in peacekeeping operations. MoU signed in the past was so bogus that it does not help the government of Nigeria economically (Enahoro, 1997) and hence called for the need to have comprehensive and total understanding between the stakeholders for the benefit of Nigeria.

## **6. BUILDING MILITARY CAPACITY OF THE NIGERIAN TROOPS**

Nigeria as a troop contributing country lacks full complement of a military unit with its full supporting elements on ground for deployment to UN peacekeeping operation on a short notice. Consequently, units and commands going for peacekeeping needs to beef up with other officers and soldiers from other units and commands in order to meet up with the UN standard requirement. This situation gave birth to unnecessary delay in forming troops for deployment and it also create difficulty in command control and integration of troops which ultimately affects troop efficiency and performance. In 21<sup>st</sup> century for Nigeria to strategically navigate the peacekeeping world, she needs to build up her military strength to reflect the standard requirement of the UN.

Nigeria as major TCCs in the world need to build up her military capacity to have a well reserved force with all the full complement and pre-requisite training required for deployment to any part of the world on a short notice. Nigeria to boost her investment in peacekeeping operations particularly under UN led, the country is expected to build and sustain battalions that are fully equip with all the military complements required by the UN and keep them ready for deployment at any time with short notice. According to Muraina (2014), a fully equipped and maintained battalion is expected to earn \$1,284,425.80 monthly". Perhaps, if Nigeria will raise up to 5 battalions that are fully equipped and committed to PKO under the UN, Nigeria could earn the sum of \$77,065,548.00 in just one year.

With Nigeria aspiring to become a major power in 21<sup>st</sup> century, it has no alternative than to continue to build a military capacity to be able to deploy effectively within African sub-region, continental Africa and at the international levels. Nigeria's contributions to the UN primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security remain unprecedented in Africa and in the world comparable only to India, Canada and the Scandinavian countries (Saliu, 2016). For Nigeria to deliberately maintained her status and diversify her financial benefits from the UN led peacekeeping operation is generally argued by the respondents that she will be encourage to raise a standing battalion fully equipped to respond swiftly into action to render services needed by the UN without delay. The battalion so earmarked could be beefed up to UN standard in terms of men, material and equipment and be ready to deploy at short notice. This would enhance Nigeria's chances of benefiting economically from her participation in peacekeeping operations in the new millennium.

## **7. IMPROVE THE NIGERIAN ARMY PEACEKEEPING CENTRE (NAPKC)**

Human capacity development is necessary for constant improvement in productivity and efficient performance in any given organization. In military, human capacity development is a necessity in the operation of COEs in the field and ultimately it enhances military proficiency of peacekeepers. That is why; most TCCs trained their military personnel in the employment and usage of the acquired COEs especially with regards to peacekeeping operations (Obiakor, 2007). Advancement of technology in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has brought lots of scientifically sophisticated equipments around the world. Military facilities are not exceptional. For Nigeria to achieve any significant progress in the politics of peacekeeping, she need to upgrade not only her military facilities across the country but the human resource

(army) should also be given prominent priorities in order to expose them to the new techniques of fighting and protecting people.

The FG of Nigeria established the Nigerian Army Peacekeeping Centre (NAPKC) to run individual courses and conducts collectives training to build the military capacity of the country for peace support operation both within and outside the country. The NAPKC has the following areas of training; Pre-deployment Training (PDT), command and staff operations skill courses, train-the –trainers' courses and drivers training

Nigeria needs to upgrade the capacity of the centre to train large number of personnel to meet the requirement of the UN. The curriculum of the centre needs to be review to reflect the contemporary realities of the world. The government of Nigeria needs to inject more funds to the centre to mitigate the challenges of local logistics which was observed as one of the major limitations of the center. The NAPKC is one of the centres of excellence that Nigerian government is proud to have because it's fully recognized by UN and so far trained over 12,000 personnel in the last 5 years (NAPKC, 2015).

However, despite the array of equipments at the centre, major training facilities required for operating various COEs associated with essential logistics services, air operations, and movement control among others are absent at the centre (Obiakor, 2007). As such, requisite human capacity needed in the manning of some of this equipments in UN led peacekeeping is not enough to guarantee troop excellence performance. Obiakor (2007), said troops get to the theatre of operation for UN peacekeeping where proficiency is required, personnel often could not operate those equipment efficiently which eventually impede on the performance. Though, the centre has improve as a results of their collaboration with other foreign training institutions around the world such as African Contingency Operations Training Assistance (ACOTA), Pacific Architecture Engineers (PAE), German Technical Assistance Team (GTAT), Peace Operation Training Institute (POTI) and the British Monitoring and Training Team (BMATT); but there is still large vacuum needed to be exploited by the Nigerian government to make the NAPKC a world class centre for training of personnel with vigour to confront the challenge of peacekeeping operations around the world especially considering the new trend of challenges posed by new millennium.

## **8. PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP POLICY (PPPP) SHOULD BE ENCOURAGE IN THE BUSINESS OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS**

Peacekeeping operation since inception is a complex and very expensive project. The UN relies on the TCCs to supply the troop requirement for any peacekeeping operation since the UN has no standing army at its disposal. However, most of the TCCs are largely dominants in third world countries with poor state of economy (Enahoro, 1997). The procurement of COEs and other logistics for peacekeeping operations to be successful prove substantially very expensive which the economy of these countries cannot stand. Therefore, many countries in the circle of TCCs involve Public Private Partnership (PPP) in the purchase of these equipments in order for them to meet the UN standard requirements. Nigeria with her multiple economic challenges in recent time need to involve partners in the private sector to ameliorate her doubting economic difficulties. The respondent further argued that Nigerian leaders cannot fall their arms and allow the country to be ridicule in the eyes of the world

because of poor economic situation. They suggest Nigeria to invite private individuals to invest in the procurement of these COEs for the Nigerian troops to go to the field with functional and serviceable equipment which will help the country to gain good return from the UN reimbursement policy. The involvement of private enterprises would be required to mitigate the challenge of inadequate funds to purchase COEs. Defence Headquarters (DHQ) could simply utilize the PPP initiative to provide the needed logistics that will support the military and enhance the effectiveness and combat readiness of the military which may eventually attract favorable reimbursement accruable to the country. This will make Nigeria to deploy her troops with full scale of their COE and also enhance their performance, morale and military proficiency.

The idea of involving the private sector in peacekeeping operations is a crucial matter in mitigating the financial constraints face by Nigeria in procuring expensive equipment that will translate into physical success in the field. It could be a fundamental requirement to sufficiently sustain the troops in the mission area. In the recent past, it has been observed by many of our respondents how Nigeria failed woefully in the area of logistics and COEs to the embarrassment of the country and her military. This situation arose as a result of substandard facilities, unserviceable equipments and poor kitting. All these reflect the poor economic state of the country, therefore, inviting the private groups declared by one of the respondents is not a bad idea but it will equip the military and boosts their capability and efficiency. Contemporary realities reveal that many countries use the idea of PPP in promoting their economic activities. Therefore, Nigeria cannot be in isolation especially when it comes to this important international investment that will bring more prestige and build foreign reserve to the country.

## **9. PARTICIPATION IN POST CONFLICT PEACE BUILDING**

Post conflict peace building and reconstruction in the new millennium is one of major avenues through which TCCs derived positive advantages from the host countries through acquisition of contracts. Nigeria has contributed most in funding PKO within and outside the West African sub region. But very sad, the country did not derived any financial benefits from these participations. Nigeria's businessmen and contractors ought to have benefited from the post conflict reconstruction projects in countries like Liberia, Sierra Leone. The area of focus in post conflict peace building should be in the reconstruction of roads, re-erection of destroyed bridges and houses, supply of medical equipments, and social services, etc

The objective of the post conflict engagement is for Nigeria to create and have a potent sphere of influence in countries where she has conducted peacekeeping operations. This engagement could be in form of having agreement to allow Nigerian government, institutions and private business men from Nigeria to participate in post conflict reconstruction and private cooperative agreement. This could be achieved by deploying Nigerian professionals and experts such as doctors, teachers, nurses, lawyers, engineers, judges etc. this people will serve as harbingers to create an enabling environment for more enduring and future fruitful engagements. Other avenues of post conflict strategic engagement can be in the area of inviting Nigerian transnational companies to seek favorable contracts in post conflict reconstruction activities. All these activities could be positively complemented by

professional Nigerian military engineers who may be engage in revamping broken down social infrastructure. All these would surely lay a solid foundation for more enduring diplomatic relations between Nigeria and such countries where she participated in the restoration of peace and order. Foreign policy intervention that may usually expose military personnel of Nigeria to the dangers of PKO should not just go free. The contemporary world politics did not believe in free lunch.

Nigeria has abundant opportunities to explore in the area of post conflict reconstruction exercise. Even in the UN led peacekeeping operations, Nigeria has the advantage of securing juicy contract from the UN after the restoration of peace and security in mission areas. Nigeria's strategic economic interest would be better served if she utilizes the opportunities offered by participating in peace support operations around the world. Nigeria could ensure that during signing of MoU and Status of Forces of Agreements (SOFA), relevant clauses of economic interest are well inserted to the advantage of Nigeria. US intervention forces in Liberia yielded some economic advantage through the acquisition of contract in Rubber industry spanning a period of over 50 years agreement.

In the area of trade, Nigeria could use her abundant oil resources for promoting her trade agreements with some of these countries that she was involved in promoting peace and security. Similarly, private industries in Nigeria that are producers of basic social needs such as Lever Brothers, Cadbury and Pharmaceuticals could seize the opportunity to expand their business frontiers in the conflict areas. By virtue of armed deployment to restore order in conflict ridden communities, morally s not wrong for Nigeria to explore opportunities that will transfer some level of economic development back to Nigeria. The inherent economic competition in the new world order under the dictate of US has no room for free exercise in any international intervention.

## **10. EXPANSION OF QUALITY PARTICIPATION TO INCLUDE SPECIALIZED SERVICES**

Nigeria as a developing country need to expand her opportunities of exploring other relevant and legitimate avenues of acquiring resources from participating in UN led peacekeeping operations. It is not by deploying troops and COEs that TCCs will earn foreign exchange but equally by involving in other services such as providing medical services, engineering work, communication technology and aviation services. Peacekeeping in the new millennium has gone beyond deployment of military troops and hardwires to specialized services with less risk and high return in terms of reimbursement.

Engineering is one of the most important departments that will generate huge money for TCCs in peacekeeping operations. It will involve construction of access roads, bridges, culverts and supply of water to mission areas. Nigerian Army Engineers (NAE) posses a formidable record in the construction of these facilities and if properly equip and integrated in peacekeeping, will definitely compete favorably with other countries. Another very important area Nigeria needs to explore in peacekeeping operation in this post Cold War era is in the field of communication technology. The Nigerian Army Signal (NAS) could be a source of financial benefit to Nigeria if they will explore it opportunities. Equipping the NAS with the right and sophisticated communications gadgets capable of being used in UNPKO

and compatible with her operational exigencies would serve the purpose of improving the earning of the country. Communication is very crucial in peacekeeping operations and nations like Bangladesh provide reasonable communication signals of UN requirement and eventually it lift the earning of that country.

Provision of medical services to UN peacekeeping missions is another crucial area in which TCCs derived cool financial benefits compared to troop's contributions. UN peacekeeping operations anywhere in the world require the services of medical teams that will provide the health needs of peacekeepers in the stations and field. Nigeria has probably the best medical doctors around, all she needs to do is to equip her hospitals with standard UN requirement and bid for the provision of medical services in the future UNPKOs.

There are 4 levels of hospitals noted in UN peacekeeping missions. Each level, when fully equipped to UN requirement will yield foreign exchange earning to the country providing such services. Nigerian government could just upgrade one of the Nigerian armed forces hospitals and equipped it with facilities to meet UN specification for wet-leasing arrangement to UN led peacekeeping operation. This will strategically improve the economic gains of Nigeria's participation in peacekeeping operation. Nigeria need to strife hard to earn reimbursement from the UN for quality services like the medical and technical activities than concentrating in troop contribution which may account for more casualties (death toll). Countries like Ghana; Nigeria's closed neighbor in West African sub-region fully equipped her military hospital and wet-leased it to UN peacekeeping operation which is generating her huge sum of money in foreign exchange. In other words, Ghana is making good fortunes from her medical investment in the UN led peacekeeping operation. Other countries like India also engaged in supplying medical services to the UN missions and they get reimbursed for the services rendered at the end of the day.

Another crucial area Nigeria need to navigate to boost her financial earnings from participating in the UN led peacekeeping operation is the aviation industry. The significance of aircrafts in peacekeeping operations cannot be overemphasized. Both the fixed wings aircrafts and the helicopters are used in the conveyance of troops, aerial patrols, and supply of heavy cargoes, search and rescue operations and above all medical evacuations amongst others (Danfulani, 2007). TCCs engage the UN by supplying their air assets based on MoU sign between the two parties. Wet-leasing these air assets will yield the country handsome financial benefits and the UN will continue to be using these assets while TCCs will be reimbursed continuously under the deal signed through the MoU. In Africa, South Africa is one of the countries that took the advantage of deploying her air assets to UN led missions which enable her derived impressive reimbursement from the UN. Pakistan also used to wet-lease her helicopters which help the UN in the movement of troops and other services from one place to another (Okoosi-Simbe, 2007). Nigeria is expected to systematically equip her military capabilities with modern aircrafts and helicopters that would give her opportunities to wet-lease them out to UN operation for onward use by peacekeepers for the benefit of the country through the UN policy of reimbursement. Apart from the fund accruable from the air assets, the crews are provided with opportunities for employment and ultimately their

efficiency and proficiency improve maximally. Additionally, aircraft maintenance and serviceability status will surely be enhanced positively under the arrangement

Generally speaking, these auxiliary services in the complex peacekeeping operations of the 21<sup>st</sup> century millennium are very crucial in determining the success of UN peacekeeping operations. Hence, it is very crucial in the life of UNPKOs. Nigeria as a growing economy need to explore her potentials in improving her participation in the area of providing those important social services than continuously engaged in the supply of military troops for UNPKO.

## **11. ADEQUATE LOGISTICS AND OPERATIONAL PLANNING**

The success of peacekeeping operations anywhere in the world whether under the UN or any other body, largely depends on the strength of logistics arrangement and adequate planning. Logistics in peacekeeping planning is the science that deals with planning, procurement, movement, distribution and administration of forces in the field (Nwolise, 2007). The forces can only make any reasonable advances based on the logistics provided from the beginning of the operations (deployment point) to the period of exit of the operation (closure of the exercise). Respondents observed the need for Nigeria to increase her commitment in providing all the logistics requirements for the peacekeepers for the overall success of the troops anywhere they found themselves. Operations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century significantly depend on the adequate arrangements of all logistics requirements of the army before deploying them to the field.

Peacekeeping logistics is categorized into; major equipments and self-sustained equipments. This major equipment includes powerful machines such as the Armored Personnel Carriers (APCs), support vehicles. Machine guns and mortars (Obiakor, 2007). Whereas, the self-sustained category as explain by Obiakor (2007) includes; catering services, communication and other office equipment, electrical and minor engineering items, explosive ordnance disposal, laundry and cleaning facilities, basic medical and night observation devices. Provision of logistics in peacekeeping operations field is a duty of TCCs in the contemporary world. Therefore, nation's states should ensure the collective provision of logistics support for their military to achieve maximum effectiveness and general troop proficiency. According to one of the respondent, AFN could also deploy helicopters as they will perform wide range of essential services to meet the challenges of logistics movement form one place to another during peacekeeping support operations. These helicopters he stresses should be able to discharge their functions of providing essential services required in the field for 24 hours without interruption except on weather conditions

The effective provision of logistics services will enhance the credibility of the Nigerian troops and increase her financial benefits drivable from the UN reimbursement policy. It has been noted by many people interviewed, that Nigeria is very poor in fixing her logistics to support her troops during operations. This situation, affect the benefits accruable to the country. For the country to widen her chances of benefiting from the UN led peacekeeping operations through the reimbursement policy, then she need to be effectively and efficiently committed to ensure logistics and planning are upheld uppermost.

Adewuyi, (2009) reveal that Nigeria has a National College of Logistics (NACOL) established in 2002 located in Lagos; with the aim of improving the skills of Nigerian army in the area of logistics to facilitate the procurement, distribution, maintenance and replacement of material and personnel in an effective and efficient manner. All the government of Nigeria could do to widen her logistics arrangement is to upgrade the college and equip it with modern facilities to reflect the requirement set by the UN. Observed by Esaghae (2013), any successful administrative planning for logistics; enhances battle readiness and troop performance. The successful execution of any military operations is largely hinged on coordination of logistics facilities he said. These logistics he said include; movement, reinforcement, supply of spare parts, vehicles, medicals, arms and ammunitions.

## **12. CRITICALLY UNDERSTANDING THE IMPLICATIONS OF MOU BETWEEN NIGERIA AND UN IN UNDERTAKING UNPKO**

The legal instrument that regulates and guides the practice of peacekeeping operations between the UN as the traditional financier of PKO and TCCs is the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). All agreements are content therein in the MoU signed by the two contracting bodies. Therefore, for TCCs to derive maximum financial and other material benefit from the UN led peacekeeping operations, it must be very critical in understanding the content of the MoU. The MoU provides the policies, procedures concerning reimbursement of COEs and other services between the participating countries and the organizations responsible for the operations. Any inadequacies from the MoU will affect the reimbursement arrangement. Nigeria suffered from these inadequacies in the past as observed by our respondents which ultimately affect her financial benefits from lots of UN led peacekeeping operations. The problem of Nigeria in this regard is that, the drafting and signing of the MoU between Nigeria and the UN is usually done by Nigeria's representative at the UN Headquarters (UN HQ) in New York on behalf of Nigeria. There is need for proper understanding between the Defence Headquarters (DHQ) and the Nigeria's representative in the UN HQ. Liaising with the DHQ will provide the Nigerian representative in the UNHQ with details explanations of what is required. The complex nature of undertaking peacekeeping operations especially in the new millennium will not be allowed to be handle by few people who reside in the UN HQ without involving the important segment of the people who are going to be in the field (the military). The central figure in peacekeeping operations still remained the military; therefore, their input is highly crucial right from the beginning (drafting and signing of MoU) to the end of the operations. In the process of drafting the MoU; skills and highly experienced people are required to enable them study the document logically and manipulate it to the advantage of Nigeria. All the stakeholders involved in peacekeeping (the MOD, MFA, NPF, NASS and other relevant bodies) should work cooperatively to come up with a reasonable outcome that will be advantageous to Nigeria government. Unlike in the previous arrangement, Nigeria loss substantial amount of resources from poor drafting and understanding of the critical provisions of MoU signed by Nigeria and the UN led peacekeeping operations in United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) and the African Mission in Sudan (AMIS). Nigeria is required to fully study the contractual agreement to be sign between the country and the UN for her to derive the maximum financial benefits accruable to the country. She need to supply goods specifically

stated in MoU or else UN will not reimbursed any goods supply short of the standard specified.

### 13. CONCLUSION

For a very long period of time, Nigeria has been an active country in the realm of peacekeeping operations around the world. She led (under OAU and ECOWAS) and equally followed (under UN) in numerous peacekeeping operations since 1960 to date. Nigeria has spent billions of UDS in a quest for global peace and security without demanding anything in return in the past. However, as the 20<sup>th</sup> closed, the 21<sup>st</sup> century emerged with numerous challenges and difficulties especially for third world countries and Africa in particular. These challenges range from new threats of disintegration to unipolar world where US dictates everything; emergence of powerful non state actors, new threat of terrorism, Weapons of Mass Destructions (WMDs), nuclear armaments and host of other challenges. In a midst of these uncertainties, UN continues to lose her integrity in the world because she consistently supports US positions on several world issues without minding the interest of other smaller countries. In other words, US comfortably direct the affairs of the UN.

Nigeria faced with numerous challenges and threats both at home and abroad can no longer withstand shouldering peacekeeping operation without attaching string. Peacekeeping operations have grown with complexities and expenditure. The post Cold War era proves very uncertain not only for developing countries but even developed countries cannot predict the future. Based on these uncertainties, Nigeria is hereby advised to be wary of undertaken any further responsibilities in the name of promoting international peace and security. However, the paper submits that Nigeria can strategically navigate the world of peacekeeping if necessary. Peacekeeping and peace support operations cannot be wiped out completely as long as human exist. Therefore, no doubt demands will continue to come for participation of the Nigerian army in peace maintenance and promotion around the world.

Global security is equally in the interest of Nigeria and Nigerians, as we cannot live and develop in the world devoid of peace and security. Nigerian army has contributed immensely to maintenance of global security in the past. The Nigerian army is advised to implement dynamic military strategy and doctrine that will protect the national interest, security and territorial integrity of the country. Parochial application of military tactics and strategies do not always yield quick and effective dividends in contemporary peace support operations in the new millennium.

In conclusion, this paper called on Nigerian government and military elites to very strategic in calculative in any future engagement for any peacekeeping operations to avoid waste of national resources without corresponding advantage. Peacekeeping in recent time has become an investment avenue where nations put in their little resources and it will yield appreciable outcome through the UN policy of reimbursement.

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