

**NIGERIA'S INITIATIVE IN WEST AFRICAN PEACE KEEPING: A  
CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE LIBERIAN CIVIL WAR**

**BY**

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## **DEDICATION**

This research is dedicated to my parents Alh Ismail Garba Adam and Professor Aisha Abdu Ismail. May Allah reward them abundantly.

## **DECLARATION**

I Hauwa Firdaus Ismail declare that this thesis is based on research and all sources and references used have been duly acknowledged.

## APPROVAL PAGE

The thesis titled “Nigeria’s Initiative In West African Peace Keeping: A Critical Examination Of Liberian Conflict”, has been read and approved for having fulfilled the requirements for the award of Master of Science (M.Sc) degree in Political Science, Bayero University Kano.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Since Independence the defense and promotion of world peace ranked as one of the pillars of Nigeria's foreign policy objectives, with Africa as its focal point. The promotion of sub-regional and continental unity, peaceful coexistence and economic integration has been ranked as the most significant areas Nigeria indulged in. The unwillingness of the United Nations and United States of America to intervene and the Nigerian leadership position in Africa and West Africa sub region saddles her with the responsibility to respond to the eruption of civil war in Liberia. The intervention was under the auspices of ECOWAS, with the aim to release the foreign citizens held hostage by the warring groups especially the citizens of ECOWAS member states, and to avoid spillover effect. The decision to intervene led to the creation of Standing Mediation Committee which led to the formation of Economic Community of West African State Monitoring Group. ECOMOG faced major challenges and shortcomings due to objections and lack of experience but the commitment, devotion and resources given to the mission resulted in a cease-fire, evacuation of expatriates, disarmament, demobilization of warring factions and negotiated peace accords, restoring peace and stability and creating favorable environment for transparent elections. National Role Conception Model was used as a theoretical framework because it explains Nigeria's behavior towards Liberia and the reasons for intervention, the study being qualitative in nature employ descriptive and analytical techniques, the study found out that despite the wide criticisms both from home and outside and the challenges the intervention faces, success was recorded which paved way for similar interventions in other crisis in Africa. The study also recommends that Nigeria's foreign policy should be re- assessed and re-evaluated for well articulated national interest.

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## **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

A. A.F.C-	Allied Armed Forces of the community
A.F.L-	Armed Forces of Liberia
A.U-	African Union
C.R.C-	Central Revolutionary Council
D.D.R-	De-mobilization, Dis-armament and Reconstruction
D.F.C-	Deputy Field Commander
ECOMOG-	Economic Community of West African State Monitoring Group
ECOWAS-	Economic Community of West Africa States
F.C-	Field Commander
F.H.Q-	Force Headquarters
I.D.P-	Internally Displaced persons
I.N.P.F.L-	Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia
I.P.T.F-	International Police Task Force
INGU-	Interim Government of National Unity
L.D.F-	Lofa Defence Force
L.P.C-	Liberian Peace Council
MEDEVAC-	Medical Evacuation

MOJA-	Movement for Justice in Africa
N.A.F -	Nigerian Air Force
N.D.P.L-	National Democratic Party of Liberia
N.G.O-	Non Governmental Organization
N.P.F.L-	National Patriotic Fronts of Liberia
N.R.C-	National Role Conception
N.T.G-	National Transition Government
NIBATTS-	Nigerian Battalions
NIGCON-	Nigerian Contingent
O.A.U-	Organization of African Union
P.M.A.D-	Protocol for Mutual Assistance on Defence Matters
P.P.P-	Peoples Progressive Party
P.S.O-	Peace Support Operations
PAL-	Progressive Alliance of Liberia
R .2 .P-	Responsibility to Protect
S.M.C-	Standing Mediation Committee
S.S.R-	Security Sector Reform

SWAPO- South West African People Organization

T.W.P- True Wing Party

U.N- United Nation

U.N.H.C.R- United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees

U.S- United States

ULIMO- United Liberation Movement for Democracy

ULIMO-J- United Liberation Movement for Democracy (Johnson Faction)

ULIMO-K- United Liberation Movement for Democracy (Kromoh Faction)

UNIMIL- United Nation Mission in Liberia

UNOL- United Nation Office in Liberia

UNOMIL- United Nation Observer Mission in Liberia

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **1.1 GENERAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

#### **1.2 Background to the Study**

Since Independence, Nigeria has come a long way in playing a significant role in international relations with a focus on African liberation and unity. The country has occupied a prominent position in Africa and its foreign policy outlook has been significantly boosted to the extent that the country had occupied a strategic influence on the continent to assume a status of front line liberation struggles of South Africa in the 1960's and 70's. Sharing a common history of slavery, colonialism and struggle against both, made successive Nigerian leaders to profess Africa as the centre-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy, particularly West Africa, which is seen as its sphere of influence.

“Nigeria has become an important player in international politics, and has assumed leadership role for Africa, and a major contributor to international peacekeeping and peace-building operations, both regionally and globally” (Jega, 2010:3). Nigeria has been instrumental in bringing peace in Africa, especially in the West African sub-region. The country is a regional power with a determination to exercise influence in what it considers its sphere of influence.

Scholars, political analyst, philosophers and historians see the Nigerian role in peacekeeping, as the personal interest of Nigeria's leaders, while others see it as

the Nigerian national interest, more especially for national security, humanitarian consideration as well as regional stability, and for economic interest. For instance, former President Ibrahim Babangida declared that:

In a sub-region of 16 countries, where one out of three West Africans is a Nigerian, it is imperative that any regime in this country should relentlessly strive towards the prevention or avoidance of the deterioration of any crisis which threatens to jeopardize or compromise the stability, prosperity and security of the sub-region ... We believe that if a crisis is of such level that has the potentials to threaten the stability, peace and security of the sub-region, Nigeria in collaboration with others in this sub-region is duty-bound to react or respond in appropriate manner necessary to ensure peace, tranquility, and harmony (Cited in Okolie, 2010:113).

In addition, the fact that civil war or violence may spill over to other sub-regions, which may cost lives and properties as well as destabilize socio-economic and political development is a very good reason for Nigeria which is seen as the leader or the African brother's keeper to intervene in conflict areas. Nigeria worked with other member states of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to form a collective response to the security and humanitarian challenges posed by civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone (Okolie A., 2010:102).

The participation in the resolution of the Liberian political crisis following the siege of the country by the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) rebel forces whose main mission was removing the then President Samuel Doe and installing Charles Taylor as their president, was a watershed in Nigerian peace mission efforts in Africa. Following a prolonged military warfare between the

NPFL and Samuel Doe's troops over who should be the country's president, Nigeria's active interest in resolving the conflict and building peace afterwards led to the restoration of peace and democratic process in Liberia.

Although Nigeria's intervention faced many challenges because, the NPFL made it personal, due to President Babangida's friendship with Samuel Doe, whose political power was challenged, Taylor's camp threatened to kill Nigerians if anything happens to Liberians as a result of the intervention. These threats were not limited to Nigeria only but the whole region; for instance, Taylor promised that he was embarking on a regional revolution to remove all dictatorial and exploitative regimes in the sub-region (Yoroms 2004;306 ). Despite these threats, the intervention was largely successful due to the political will and doggedness of ECOWAS members, particularly Nigeria, which provide the necessary leadership.

### **1.3 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM**

The rate at which Africa has been engulfed in civil wars, in the last three decades is disturbing, both to Africans and the International community. Since the mid 1980s, African countries have engaged in one form of civil war or another which include ethno-religious civil wars, civil strives of different dimensions as well as wars of liberation and independence struggle. Congo, Libya, Burundi, Somalia, Sudan, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Ethiopia and Cote d'Ivoire are good examples which are in the post war phase with fragile and compromised peace processes. These civil wars are largely intra-state civil wars which are more complex to resolve. This means that the continent is in serious dilemma and therefore requires collective effort in finding solutions to the conflicts.

The fact that the war in Liberia and as a member of ECOWAS directly impacts on the economic fortunes of both the organization and all its member states with the

fear of spillover effects, ECOWAS citizens in Liberia, as well as the plea to intervene and stop the war from Doe deemed it necessary for Nigeria and ECOWAS to intervene.

The study therefore critically examine Nigeria's initiative in West African peace keeping focusing on the Liberian civil war.

#### **1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The aim of this research is to generally examine Nigeria's foreign policy, by particularly analyzing its peace keeping initiative in Liberia. The objectives of the study are:

- i. To examine Nigeria's reasons for the intervention in Liberia's civil war
- ii. To examine Nigeria's National interest in resolving the crisis.
- iii. To find out the success of Nigeria's initiative in the Liberian civil war.
- iv. Finally, to highlight the challenges and consequences of Nigerian's intervention.

#### **1.5 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY**

The study is about Nigeria's initiative in West African Peacekeeping in Liberia. Civil war and war outbreaks have now become the order of the day, among nation states, groups within societies and ethnic or religious groups.

Nigeria has and is still witnessing conflict outbreaks which are not yet fully resolved and the attempt to build peace in Nigeria was not quite successful, but yet is one of the major players in contributing to solving, transforming civil wars and promoting peaceful co-existence in the globe and the West African sub-region in particular.



The study will help in providing answers and better understanding of Nigeria's foreign policy. It will also be useful to both the public and the policymakers in analyzing Nigeria's major goals in assuming leadership in Africa and play a crucial role in taking enormous responsibility in promoting peace, security, stability and prosperity in the sub-region.

## **1.6 METHODOLOGY**

The study utilized secondary sources of data collection, from relevant literature. Such literature includes those textbooks, academic journals, monographs, unpublished dissertations, seminar and conference papers, articles from magazines and newspapers and the internet. The importance of secondary sources of data collection cannot be overemphasized because it allows the researcher to have an in-depth knowledge of how and why certain phenomenon occurs, and also complement, validate, or critically examine claims by authors.

The research, employed historical method for analyzing data. This involves descriptive, analytical and narrative approach, placing historical facts in time series for objective and in-depth analysis. Historical method involves combining of data from different kind of sources in order to search for pattern that will answer the researcher's questions, as well as interprets past events to predict future ones. Although this method is faced with the problem of reproduction of facts, the method did provide the author with critical insights into the study.

## **1.7 SCOPE**

The research will first be conducted on a large scale by analyzing Nigeria's peace keeping initiatives in the globe generally that is the research will trace the history and dynamic of Nigeria's involvement in peace keeping operations and

engagements by the UN, Africa and West Africa sub-region, and then narrow down to the case study, which is Liberia.

## **1.8 LIMITATION OF THE STUDY**

However, the study is limited by the inability of the researcher to visit Liberia for the collection of primary data, due to financial and logistical constraints.

## **1.9 CHAPTER OUTLINE**

The study consists of five Chapters, Chapter One which is the general overview of the study consists of introduction, statement of the problem, aims and objectives of the study, justification of the research problem, scope and limitations of the study, methodology, and chapter outline. Chapter Two is focused on reviewing related literature on civil war in Africa and peace keeping initiatives around the globe, and West Africa. The chapter also comprise of the theoretical framework.

The historical background of Liberia, and the genesis of the Liberian civil war as well as the peacekeeping operations in Liberia, are the focus of Chapter three. It also examines the history and dynamics of Nigerian's involvement in peace building operations as well as its engagements in the UN, Africa and West African sub-region,

Chapter four assesses and evaluates Nigeria's initiative in Liberia, the problems and challenges encountered and the success of the Nigerian initiative. Chapter Five as the concluding chapter is concerned with summarizing and concluding the research findings, as well as providing recommendations.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 INTRODUCTION**

Conflict is as old as human history, because human history shows that it is a natural consequence of human interaction. Whenever people interact, there is usually disagreement, differential opinion, clash of ideas, principles, values, or interests that occur among people. Conflict is said to be an inevitable part of human existence, however, it can be managed.

When conflict escalates, it becomes violent and transforms into civil or international war, which destroys human lives, properties, and infrastructures. It also brings about inhuman acts such as rape, extra-judicial killing, looting, extortion and robbery. Breakdown of law and order and its resultant violence also occurs in the political, social and economic aspects of life which obviously bring about underdevelopment. It is the negative aspect of war that makes other societies, nations or organizations to intervene in order to manage or resolve and prevent another breakout of conflict.

Peace and conflict are two different sides of the same coin because conflict is a part of human existence. The absence of conflict does not mean that peace is realized. Peace is both psychological, cultural and to some extent relative.

In this chapter, the review of relevant literature, covering the occurrence and effects of conflict and the concept of peacekeeping, as well as the theoretical framework of the study was discussed.

## **2.1 INTER STATE CONFLICT AND CIVIL WAR**

The concept of conflict is highly diverse as it is controversial. However, in this study, a very simple notion of conflict is adopted which fortunately reflects the situation in Liberia, leading to the intervention of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group, popularly known as ECOMOG. The term ‘conflict’ can be used in two senses. It refers to an incompatibility in a multi-party or multi-issue situation, in other words, a state of affairs in which two or more irreconcilable views or options are posited towards the solution of a particular problem. In the second sense, conflict refers to the violent expression of this incompatibility or irreconcilability. Even though the two conceptions overlap, it is in the latter sense that the term conflict is used within the context of this chapter. It is difficult to establish the precise causes of this conflict largely because conflicts differ from each other in terms of the combination of factors that give rise to them, and also because conflicts are social phenomena involving human beings and are not given to rigid scientific explanations. However, crises and conflicts in Africa, especially at the national and sub-national levels, can be seen to revolve around the four important issues of identity, participation, distribution and legitimacy (Stedman, 1993).

Conflict spots various parts of the globe we live in basically due to cohabitation among peoples of diverse social, political and ethnic background. In other words, conflicts arising from interactions amongst peoples may be traced to racial, religious, ethnic and political differences. Over the years, such conflicts either local or cross-border had been prosecuted with vehement hatred and sustained with

the most sophisticated weaponry, resulting in colossal human wastage, horrendous destruction of property as well as displacement of persons. (Salami 2013).

Conflict is seen as the presence of antagonistic encounters, disagreement, collisions of interest, values, ideas, principles and disharmony between individuals or groups in a given society. It could be between countries and/or between organizations. There are diverse views on how and why conflicts occur; scholars have not agreed on a standard position. For instance, the quotation below argues that conflict occurs when:

When there is a sharp disagreement or clash, for instance, between divergent ideas, interests, or people and nations. Conflict is universal yet distinct in every culture. It is common to all persons yet experienced uniquely to every individual; it is a visible sign of human energy and often the result of competitive striving for the same goal, rights and resources. (Oyenshola 2005:101)

Conflict exists whenever unacceptable activities occur. It is neither good nor bad, but inherent in every social affiliation, whenever two or more people are gathered, there is conflict or probability of conflict. However the concern is not in the occurrence of conflict but its management. Hassan, (2006:96) asserts that conflict is a process of exhibiting two parts, a desirable positive aspect (dialectician) which breaks conservatism and ensures social progress and an avoidable negative aspect leading to destruction, if not contained or reconstructed (cited in Mohammed,2006:96).

Conflict occurs when different groups are in disagreement, or in competition, which has negative consequences on the groups, individuals,

societies, organizations and even those that are not part of the conflict; both on the individual, the economic, political and social structures of the societies. Meanwhile, Forsyth (1990) argues that conflicts occur when the actions or beliefs of one or more members are unacceptable to and, hence are resisted by one or more groups, or members (Oyeshola, 2005:106).

This means that conflict happens when one or two members of the society who are in opposition with one another presents four qualities. That is when one group share the sense of oneness, injustice, the possibility that one of the opposition parties cause that injustice, and a certainty that they can distress the other side so that they can minimize the injustice.

Wilson and Hanna (1990:55) describe conflict as a “struggle involving ideas, values and/or limited resources” (cited in Oyeshola, 2005:105). Coser (1956:8) is of the same view that conflict is a “struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals (cited in Samuel, and Leo, 2010:159). Conflict in the most general sense, results whenever two individuals, social groups or political institutions seek the same property or irreconcilable goals. Similarly, Pruitt and Rubin (1986) share similar standpoint with Raymond. They perceived that conflict results from divergence of interests or beliefs, and that the parties’ current aspirations cannot be achieved simultaneously (cited in Oyeshola, 2005:106).

The central argument is that the occurrence of conflict is perceived largely as the consequence of human interaction, that is, whenever two or more individuals meet, or even between and among groups, organizations, societies and nation-states, they tend to disagree over values or ideas, or struggle over limited resources.

Conflict can be said to be ethnic, religious, social, political, economic or cultural. This means that conflict can arise based on these backgrounds. Furthermore, Karim and Adekunle, (2010) sees conflict as the struggle and rivalry for objects to which individuals attach importance. These objects can either be material or non-material. While Nwankwo (2010) argues that conflict is dynamic and assumes various forms and shapes, depending on the attitude of parties. It grows and reduces changes in form and shape, actors and other important variables. Akpuru-aja (2007) identifies conflict as an attitude, behavior or an action, or a process that introduces strains and stresses in the relationship between two or more parties on the attainment of a set of interests or goals (cited in Karim, and Adekunle, 2010).

Conflict arises due to societal disparities, and how the societies manage, organize and reproduce itself between the existing classes in the society. As such, conflicts occur when two or more incompatible parties struggle for attaining their goals, interests and objectives. It is also seen as chronic because of constant social difference. Conflict and its many manifestations disrupt established system, orders and inter-group relationships causing them to lose balance and become unstable.

Oruwari describes conflict as being within two major categories viz interest related and value related. He described interest related as those that are concerned with trade issues, state security, regional influence dispute between labor and government, while value related are concerned with matters related to political ideology, religious beliefs, cultural right, national sovereignty, and socio-political status of minorities.

All the above traits of conflict pointed to the inability of the government to equally distribute resources which shows lack of capacity and failure of the government.

This leads to tension in the various groups in the society. Conflict therefore is seen as a negative aspect of life from which people try or stay away. But according to Schilling (2012; 97) conflict is not just an evil or negative thing as it has long been assumed. It has a twofold capacity which if handled constructively is an opportunity for gainful change which might help groups realize their interests, aspirations and reaffirm their identity.

The traditional socio- economic, ethnic and political problems generated by being a multinational and multilingual state combine to serve as source of friction amongst peoples, when such variables are not taken cognizance of by the statecraft. The cumulative effect of the neglect of the socio-political differences amongst the people, by the managers of the state enterprise, is conflict, which sometimes lead to full scale wars with all the attendant consequences. In all of this, the stakes are always very high and they are typical of the economic and political values that are features of nation building. In most cases, the conflicts involve external powers invited to lend support to the parties in the conflict or inserting themselves into the conflict because of their interest in the outcome or the parties involved in the crisis (Zartman, 1991: 2).

Civil war is seen as an armed conflict or war between organized groups within the same state with the aim of taking over control of the country to achieve change of government. The nature of civil war is a high-intensity conflict which involves armed forces and result to large number of casualties, distortion of public infrastructure and consumption of significant resources.

According to the Civil War Trust, the term come from a latin phrase “bellum civile” which means war of or pertaining to civilians which aims to drastically overthrow or change a setting government or gain independence.



Small and Singer (1982,210) argued that civil war is any armed conflict that involves (a) military action internal to a metropole, (b) the active participation of national government (c) and effective resistance by both sides (cited in Sambanis pg 816). Sambanis pointed out 11 characteristics of civil war in his code of war (COW). Armed conflict can only be classified as civil war when it has the eleven characteristics.

(1) The war takes place within the territory of a state that is a member of the international system with a population of 500,000 or greater. (2) The parties are politically and militarily organized, and they have publicly stated political objectives. (3) The government (through its military or militias) must be a principal combatant. (4) The main insurgent organization(s) must be locally represented and must recruit locally. (5) The start year of the war is the first year that the conflict causes at least 500 to 1,000 deaths. (6) Throughout its duration, the conflict must be characterized by sustained violence, at least at the minor or intermediate level. (7) Throughout the war, the weaker party must be able to mount effective resistance. (8) A peace treaty that produces at least 6 months of peace marks an end to the war. (9) A decisive military victory by the rebels that produces a new regime should mark the end of the war, because civil war is understood as an armed conflict against the government, continuing armed conflict against a new government implies a new civil war. If the government wins the war, a period of peace longer than 6 months must persist before a new war is coded. (10) A cease-fire, truce, or simply an end to fighting can also mark the end of a civil war if they result in at least 2 years of peace. (11) If new parties enter the war over new issues, a new war onset should be coded, if the same parties return to war over the same issues, the continuation of the old war is coded. (829-831)

From the above assertion civil war can be said to occur when two or more groups within a territory of state, with the population of 500,000 or higher and the government as a primary participant with a clearly spelt political objective which is mostly to oust the government in power and install a new one from the faction of the warring groups, as it is the aim of each group. Civil war most at least last for a duration of one year, with high level of casualties, IDP's and refugees.

## **2.2 PEACE AND PEACEKEEPING**

Like any other concept in Social Science, the concept of peace is multifaceted and value loaded. Its meaning however can be seen at different levels. In general peace is said to be the absence of war.

The International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (1972:487) sees peace in two distinct perspectives:

Negative peace is the absence of organized violence between such major human groups as nations, but also between racial and ethnic groups because of the magnitude that can be reached by internal wars; and positive peace is a pattern of cooperation and integration between major human groups.

This means that when there is negative peace, there may be tension or incompatibility between the groups but violence does not occur; while positive peace is seen when there is harmony as well as co-operation and order between and among groups and individuals. There may be absence of peace when there is no war. Galtung (1990), also share similar perspective with the above quotation in his contribution to the definition of peace which he broadened the concept of peace as either negative or positive peace. The former, according to him, entails the absence

of direct violence, war, fear, conflict at individual, regional, national and international levels; while the latter suggests the absence of unjust structure, unequal relationships and justice (cited in Basiru,2010:68).

Ibeanu (2002) asserts that peace is a process involving activities that are directly or indirectly linked to increasing development and reducing conflict, both within specific societies and in the wider international community (cited in Best, 2010:10).Mohammed, H. (2006:6) on his part views peace as the absence of any real or imaginary tension or discord that could create disharmony among individuals, groups or nations leading to instability, confrontation, violence or war. He went further to argue that peace is both a process and state of affairs. It entails a sustainable process of calmness (without friction), stability (without bickering) and tranquility (without heart wobbling).

According to Schilling (2012; 25), Peace encompasses all aspects of a good society that one might envisage for oneself universal rights, economic well-being, ecological balance and other core values. It describes a situation where justice and fairness reign, it seeks to promote and improve the quality of life.

Peace, however, entails stability, order, social harmony, peaceful co-existence, structural value and the absence of intimidation of citizens by those in power, pervasive poverty, police brutality, monopolization of resources and power, as well as any form of violence or conflict. However, for achieving and enhancing true peace, societies pass through long-term and multi-layer processes of peace. These include peace enforcement, which serves the purpose of enforcing decisions by any regional body or the United Nations against wrong national authority; peacemaking, which aims at bringing ongoing conflicts to a negotiated end; peacekeeping, on the other hand, entails keeping conflict at low level, that is, any

form of agreement that has established a permissive environment; while peace building, applies to a situation of low level of conflict and high prospects for development.

Peacekeeping was first used as a technique to deal with conflicts during and cold war era which may otherwise lead to dangerous confrontations between the superpowers, with the primary goal of halting armed conflict between hostile parties and monitoring their military movements, while its secondary purpose is to create a stable environment for negotiation.(Kaarbo and Ray 2011). Peacekeeping encompasses a wide range of missions but its main function is to facilitate the transition from a state of conflict to that of peace. This according to Dawson (2004) rests on three principles that is, peacekeepers are required to maintain the consent of the host state(s) and immediate parties to the disputes; act impartially and behave in a non violent and non threatening manner, with the aim to facilitate the transition from a state of conflict to a state of peace. According to Margaret Vogt (1992 ;164) “The concept of peacekeeping was an adaptation of the provisions contained in chapter VI of the charter of the United Nations, giving that organization the jurisdiction to work towards the creation of an environment that is appropriate for international peace. The objective of the pacific settlement of disputes, contained in articles 33 (1) stresses the necessity for parties to a conflict to seek resolution first of all by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements or other peaceful means of their choice.

Peacekeeping is generally seen as the deployment or intervention of the UN or other international organizations military or police personnel and some civilians in order to restore and maintain peace without the application of force or any coercive action except in self defense. Peacekeeping is therefore, a third party intervention

that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace. Peacekeeping became a prominent strategy for intervention in the international community making it much more elaborate and diverse including preventive diplomacy, human right monitoring, humanitarian assistance, electoral monitoring, peace building, demobilization, rehabilitation processes.

Sorenson and Wood sees peacekeeping as not only the means to maintain peace and security but also to facilitate the political process, protect civilians, assist in disarmament, demobilization, or reintegration of former combatants, support the organization of election, protect and promote human right and assist in restoring the rule of law (Cited in Tope 2011;20).

Salihi 2001 share similar view as he looked at peacekeeping as a form of military – cum –civilian activities embarked upon by the UN principally and regional, multilateral and even unilateral arrangements with the aim of tempering a conflict situation by freezing hostilities between the parties and encouraging them through the institutional framework provided by the authorizing body to resolve their differences by means of negotiation.

Traditional peacekeeping operations as described by Adeleke (1995; 570) are usually initiated by UN on an ad hoc basis to deal with conflicts that threaten international peace and security. Peacekeeping therefore can be said to be a process intended to maintain fragile peace where warfare has been halted and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peace makers. Peacekeeping is also seen as a conflict control method whose objective is to diffuse tension and to restrain international conflicts and to stop them from escalating into armed confrontation. (Onoja 1998;5). Vogt (1992 :164) further stated that;

Peacekeeping was therefore conceived as an inter-positron force emplaced between two or more warring factions, charged with the responsibility of monitoring the compliance of the warring factions to the terms of a pre-determined cease-fire. ... The development of a peacekeeping force normally presupposes existence of a ceasefire agreement . . . all the parties to the conflict accepted the requirement that their dispute be peacefully settled and that a neutral third party observation of the process is required. The consent of all the parties to the dispute is required . . .

The above quotation stress that before peacekeeping troops are sent to a warfare area the all the warring factions are required to give their consent and accept that their dispute should be peacefully settled by a natural third party. Peacekeeping therefore is the containment, moderation, termination and even prevention of disputes between or within states by a neutral third party intervention internationally or regionally using forces to restore and maintain peace.

### **2.3 CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND RESOLUTION**

The conflict situation in Liberia, led to the intervention of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group,(ECOMOG). Conflict is a simple contest of parties, each trying to impose a unilateral solution to a problem. The challenge to humanity here is to resolve and manage the crisis through multilateral efforts to replace the attempt of each party to impose its will through a unilateral action (Zartman, 1991: 1). Although it is true that cooperation requires compromise over ends and means, it is equally true that people prefer to

accomplish their objectives by themselves as much as possible. Of course, the desire to act alone may sound out of place in an interdependent world; it is basic to the egotistical nature of rational actors. For instance, in Namibia, Vietnam, Algeria, the Falklands, the West Bank, Kuwait, Afghanistan, the Western Sahara, the Horn of Africa, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Burundi, Nigeria and so on; the parties in conflict at any point in time had always wanted to resolve the problem unilaterally, by holding on, and denying the claims of the challenging party. The opposing party equally insisted on unilateral solution to the crisis. But when two attempts at unilateral solution run up against each other, the end product is conflict. Thus if in the final analysis, one side does not prevail, as in the Liberian case, multilateral negotiation must come to the rescue. Therefore, conflict management and resolution becomes more attractive through multilateral means than through unilateral approach. The multilateral solution has a very high and useful utilitarian value in conflict management. In the approach there is less destruction of lives and property, as peace returns to the society, trade and commerce would go on smoothly. The approach allows for agreement and a common definition of the conflict is found to placate the parties to the conflict. The multi-lateralist system usually is a neutral third party basically on a diplomatic peace initiative and a representative of an international organization. But the international organization itself has its operational guidelines in all its activities, including intervention. Multilateral diplomacy in conflict resolution involves intervention in various ways, ranging from preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and post-conflict peace-building. The terms identified above are fundamental to collective security. They are integrally related and are basically the ingredients that make intervention or multilateral conflict resolution a worthwhile experiment. As noted earlier, intervention in the internal affairs of other states can only be realized under the umbrella of an international organization, which may be the UN or other regional

organizations, with the approval of the UN. But international law, which is the law that helps to organize the international society, forbids intervention in the internal affairs of other states

## **2.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The study was situated within the National Role Conception theory which is associated with the works of K.J Holsti. National Role Conception explains the foreign policy behavior and roles played by countries in the international system. The model assumed that policy makers have several kinds of decisions, commitments, rules and actions suitable for their state and the function the state should perform in the international or subordinate regional arena.

Holsti sees National Role Conception as the general foreign policy behavior of governments, and policymakers own definition of decisions, commitments, rules and actions suitable to their state and the function their state should perform on a continuing basis in the international system or in subordinate regional system. (Holsti 1970; 245 -256)

That is the decisions taken by the policymakers are seen as their image of the appropriate orientations or functions of the state towards external environment. Typical national role conception is seen as the regional defender with the function of protecting other states in a defined area, or a mediator with the continuing function of assisting in international conflict resolution. (ibid)

The model is seen as the image of the appropriate orientations or functions of their state in the external environments. National role conception influences actions, goals, interests on policies of the country as National interest define national role. For instance as Nigeria aspire to be the regional hegemony her policy makers will define roles to play in order to attain that objective. Folami (2010)described



National role conception as a function of three basic influencing factors namely, perception of the political or ruling class, their interpretation of a national out-look and the expectations of the domestic and international publics.

National Role Conception is considered as the moving force of foreign policy. It is best understood within the framework of role nation- state play in either regional or global politics. Holsti 1970 argues that states have role they play in international politics and that stronger states play the role of usurper, balancer, or defender of other states, region or fill certain self – imposed or universally expected roles in the international community.

The problems which may weaken the relevance of this model are in a situation of making decisions and applying actions, the policymakers are influenced or restricted by the expectations of peer groups, organizational rules, social norms, cultural values and tradition as well as world opinion. Another shortcoming of NRC is where unpredicted or highly ambiguous situation occurs in the external environment, policymakers are faced with the problem of adjusting to the situation as swiftly as possible to the new situation or threats. A sudden change of power shift by a state (political instability) is also another shortcoming of this model as political leaders are in the position to implement new policies without threat of domestic political consequences. NRC and foreign policy decisions will not perfectly fit. (Holsti 1970;298-299)

Nigerian national role and behavior towards other nations since independence have been significantly shaped by colonialism. The common painful experience of colonialism and slavery shared by the African countries have major influence on the international behavior of Nigeria and its disposition towards Africa, because immediately after independence Nigeria took up the task to remove Africa from all

form of colonialism and bring back the principle of brotherhood, unity and collective progress which was in place before colonialism. Adebayo 2005 stated that since 1970's Nigeria's national Role Conception have had the appearance of Holsti's regionally oriented roles which include liberation supporter, regional subsystem collaborator and developer. These have manifested in the anti apartheid and liberation movements in south Africa, Namibia, Angola and Zimbabwe (Cited in Folami 2010;217). Nigeria offered herself as the protector, leader and spokemanship of the continent. Therefore the Nigerian Role Conception has been guided by a number of ideological orientations which include Pan - Africanism Capitalist democracy and Africa – centered policies.

The regional leadership role of Nigeria along side with its size of land, population, mineral resources and abundance of oil empowered Nigeria since independence to be her brother's keeper in the affairs of Africa and the world at large. Concerned by the war's devastating effect on Liberia's civilian population, and the lack of international engagement, in the August of 1990 Nigeria spearheaded the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and dispatched peacekeeping forces through the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) to quell the violence. The United Nations did not address the Liberian crisis in political terms until November 1992, considering Liberia a regional problem best dealt with by ECOWAS. This was also a period when the US and European powers were focused on the repercussions of the end of the Cold War and devoted little attention to supporting political solutions to the Liberian war and were happy to support the ECOWAS peace plan. This plan called for: an immediate ceasefire, the establishment and deployment of an ECOWAS ceasefire monitoring group (ECOMOG), the establishment of an interim government that would exclude Doe and Taylor, and the holding of free and fair

elections within a year. But the peace plan was to have little effect on the conflict in Liberia and ECOMOG was unable to enforce a ceasefire. From 1990 to 1992, Liberia was divided into two zones with Taylor controlling close to 90 percent of the country in what was called 'Greater Liberia' while an Interim Government of National Unity, headed by Dr. Amos Sawyer, was established in Monrovia with the support of ECOMOG. The November 1990 ceasefire lasted only briefly and ended abruptly when Taylor attacked Monrovia in October 1992 in a second attempt to gain political and economic control by force. In response to Taylor's aggression, a new armed force called the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) was established by the Krahn and Mandingo refugees based in Sierra Leone, supported by both Sierra Leone and ECOMOG. Taylor's breach of the ceasefire precipitated a counter attack on NPFL territory by ECOMOG with ULIMO and a re-armed AFL. (Salami 2013).

It is within this context that the research is based upon which will guide to the understanding of the Nigerian status in the region, its foreign policy behaviors, and the role it played in Liberia, alongside the ECOWAS, UN, USA and the European powers.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF LIBERIA, THE GENESIS OF THE WAR AND THE PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS.**

#### **3.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter traces the historical background of Liberia and the genesis of the civil war, Nigeria's participation in the United Nations, African liberations struggles as well as peacekeeping operations in the West African sub region with emphasis on the ECOMOG mission in the Liberia civil war.

#### **3.1 BRIEF HISTORY OF LIBERIA**

Liberia is located in the West African sub – region bordering the North Atlantic oceans to the counties southwest, it covers an area of 111,369 square kilometer and lies between the latitude of 4 and 90N and latitude of 7 and 12W. The country shares borders with Sierra Leon to its west, Guinea to its north and Cote D'ivore to its east. Figure 1 below is the map of West Africa highlighting Liberia within its neighbors.

Fig. I MAP OF WEST AFIRICA SHOWING LIBERIA AND IT’S NEIGHBORS



Source: Department of Geography 2014, BUK

Liberia was founded in 1822 as a result of the settlement of Americo – Liberians on the coast of Monrovia. They were freed American slaves who were recaptured from slave ships after the abolition of slave trade by the European powers. The Americo – Liberians colonised the country and their fellow native Africans. Liberia gained independence in 1947 with the help of the American colonization society, however the Americo – Liberians remained in control of the political and social spheres of the country until 1980.

The population of Liberia is approximately 4, 092, 310 as at 2014 the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) World Fact Book stated. The population include sixteen indigenous ethnic groups and many other foreign minorities. The indigenes comprise about 95% of the population, with 25% of the Congo people( the freed American slaves). Therefore 16 official ethnic groups, the largest of which is the Kpelle (20.3%), In Central and Western Liberia within Liberia, twenty indigenous languages are spoken, with English as the lingua franca of the country.

According to the CIA World Fact Book, the country is a Christian dominated society with about 85.6% of the population while only 12.2% are Muslims largely coming from the Mandingo and Vai ethnic groups, 05% practices traditional religion and 1.5% subscribe to no religion.

Liberia is divided into 15 counties, which is sub-divided into ninety districts. The oldest of which are Grand Bessa and Monserrado, Nimba is the largest and Monserrado is the smallest and also the most populous county. Figure 2 below is the map of Liberia highlighting the counties.

Fig.2 Map of Liberian Counties



Source: Department of Geography 2014, BUK

The country is rich in natural resources including iron, ore, timber, diamond and gold. Majority of the indigen engage in agricultural productions on land owned by the Americo – Liberians and some foreign companies, while the Americo – Liberians engage themselves in governmental administration and commerce.

### **3.2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE LIBERIAN CIVIL WAR**

The Republic of Liberia is the oldest Republic in the continent dating back to 26<sup>th</sup> July, 1947. The descendents of the Americo – Liberians ruled among themselves for over 100yrs governing under a one party system.(Sesay, 1992) The True Wing Party (TWP) which is controlled by the group, given the fact that they only represent 5% of the total population of Liberia, they however control and dominate socio-political and economic spheres with almost entirely the exclusion of the majority group with little or no attention to the indigenes with regards to their law, customs and religion, in fact there existed a time in 1996 where the country had two different laws, that is the law of Liberian indigenes and that of the Americo-Liberian.

The authoritarian nature of the Americo-Liberians over the indigenous populace, in terms of transfer of rights that is the forceful transfer of people's lands to the foreign corporations, forced labour, and the act of cruelty by the leaders to the settlers was another factor. The Turbman Administration, tried to incorporate the indigene allowing them to participate in government but were not given any key position while the Americo-Liberians with only 2% of the population occupied the most strategic positions. Elections were taken seriously to determine which family from the Americo-Liberian emerged on top and who ever win will surround himself with his family members through appointing them into strategic positions within and outside the country for example Sesay, (1992) noted that it is during the



William Tolbert administration that his younger brother, Steve Tolbert was the Minister of Finance and Frank Tolbert who was the President's elder brother, was the President of Senate and Senator for Montserrado county, The President two daughters were both appointed as deputy ministers in the ministry of education was in charge of instruction while the other was supervising a son-in-law who was also appointed as minister of Defense, In addition to this, the corrupt government has a strong network of security agencies, in order to scrap out all opposition existence (cited in Vogt 1992)

. Despite this subjugation of the indigenous population into rigid control and concentrating wealth and power in their own hands, this administration reigned for unchallenged twenty seven years, this was possible due to the fact that the majority were grateful to the President for improving some of the unacceptable behaviors of the previous government, which made them to tolerate the violation of their rights and freedom.

It was not until the early 1970s when some few determined indigenous Liberians decided to challenge the dictators by founding a Pan Africa Organization which is called the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA) which objectives were to raise the masses consciousness and mobilize them to act against oppression. (MOJA) also registered a sister organization (SUSUKA) to cater for those in the rural areas. Subsequently organization such as Progressive Alliance of Liberia (PAL) come to being which was latter registered as a political party with the name of Peoples Progressive Party (PPP) thus breaking the history of one party system in 1979.

The PPP tried to force the government out of office by calling a general strike, which massively failed because the government extremely dealt with the

plotters and the sympathizers by executing the leaders of the party so that no one will ever think of plotting to overthrow the administration again. The government had then arrested the members of the PPP and charged them with treason and secession. However the incident that set off the civil war was a sequential attempt of state reforms presented by the Tolbert administration whose efforts to establish change were subverted by the overlapping loss of state revenue from longstanding mineral and agricultural exports and the resultant economic decline experienced by Liberia in the 1970s which only aggravate the situation.(see Vogt,1992) International aid to Liberia fell significantly from \$80 million in 1975 to \$44 million in 1976,while inflation rose 11.4 percent the same year. The sudden increase of rice price in 1979 instigated riots which followed by the killings of the populace. This marked the end of the long term rigid domination by the Americo-Liberian dictators which was in place since 1847 and the onset of political violence in 1980 when the group of seventeen non commissioned members of the Liberian army led by Master Sergeant Samuel Doe mobilized themselves and seized power, by killing president Tolbert alongside 27 of his senior members of the administration two days before executing the PPP leaders. And for the first time an indigene in the person of Sergeant Samuel Kanyon Doe as the head of state.

Doe was of the youngest and lowest –ranking soldier to seize power in Africa(Meredith 2005:548). Doe made grand promises about liberating the masses from corruption and establishing equitable distribution as well as handing over power to democratic dispensation. Nwosu (1999) noted that in his first broadcast he promised a new lease of life when he stated. “Our dear Liberian people, let me assure you that this new government is in the interest of our people... the government shall undertake to bring about equal economic and social opportunities for all” .cited in (Salihu 1999:108) The role played by the PPP and the MOJA

leading to the coup made Sergeant Doe appoint them in the first cabinet of People Redemption Council which made indigenous Liberians to believe that the Americo – Liberians dictatorship has really come to an end not knowing that it was going to become what Meredith called the “same Taxi different driver” (Meredith 2005: 549). In that sense, towards the end of a year in office Doe’s second in command was executed after being charged with trying to overthrow Doe’s administration, those appointed in the cabinet from the MOJA and the PPP started to withdraw. Their withdrawal led to the appointment of people from his ethnic group to sensitive and strategic positions.

Doe went on to suspend the Constitution, ban all political activities, soldiers were executed after secret trials, journalist and students leaders were detained for criticizing his administration, academics who caused displeasure were flogged, corruption and economic mismanagement became the order of the day, the Liberians currency was devalued and all of a sudden Sergeant Samuel Doe, became just like the Americo – Liberian dictators.

Doe had the support of the United State government according to (Meredith 2005). The country served as a transmission station for Voice of America broadcast throughout Africa, the American Embassy in Monrovia served as a transfer point for intelligence gathered in Africa, base for Omega navigation system for shipping around the Atlantic coast. US military planes had landing and refueling rights at Roberts field and lastly an air field built by USA as a staging ground during the second world war.

It was under USA pressure that Doe agreed to lift the ban on political activity and prepare for elections, thus declaring his intention for contesting the elections as a civilian president as well as the formation of a political party under which he will

contest, that is the National Democratic Party of Liberia (NDPL). The harassment and intimidation of other political parties, with the aim of discouraging them from contesting or registering their political parties prevailed. For instance the arrest of the popular university Professor Amos Sawyer and fifteen others, claiming they were plotting a coup, and Issuing Decree 88A making it a criminal offence to spread lies and rumors, and protecting government officials from criticism, He banned two of the most popular political parties, saying that they are advocating socialism, and shutdown the most popular independent newspaper that is The Daily Observes.

Despite all the harassment and intimidation, a massive turn out of voters was noted due to the fact that it was Liberia's first full suffrage election. Doe rigged the election and made himself the civilian president of Liberia with six years mandate.

However one month after the election an attempt was made to overthrow his government by his former army commander Thomas Quiwonkpa. The attempted coup however was not successful, Quiwonkpa and others were executed, alongside the people of Gio's and Mano's who are believed to be from his tribe, Charles Taylor, a former director of the General Services Agency during Doe's Administration and also a close associate of Quiwonkpa was sought and arrested by Doe on the charges of corruption and embezzlement of funds, after three month in prison Taylor mysteriously escaped and went to Cote D'voire.

In late 1989, Charles Taylor had already recruited young Liberians mainly from the Nambia country and has the support of two west African countries, namely the Cote D'ivoire President Houphouet – Buiging who was a family friend to the Tolbert's, who's son was a husband to the Ivorian presidents daughter. During Doe's coup, he promised the Ivorian president to spare the live of Tolbert's son but

later captured and killed him. The other regional supporter was the Burkina Faso's military leader who was also a member of the Ivorian president's family linked by marriage, Burkina Faso provided Taylor with a training ground. Libya also supported Taylor and provided his camp with ammunitions

Taylor's first target was to attack Nimba security post, which he did and almost immediately Doe's army retaliated by killing prominent opposition leaders and destroying infrastructural facilities in the country.

In a short period of time Taylor recruited orphans and inmates of the prisons in the towns he has captured. They were organized into small boys unit and moved into villages, killing and raping then moving on to another village with Monrovia as their destination.

In May 1990, Taylor's force reached the port of Buchanan which later became the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) headquarters, they captured the Roberts field airport using it to ship in arms from Burkina Faso and went on to capture more, and by June Monrovia was under siege by Taylor from the east and from the west by a breakaway faction led by a former army who had participated in Taylor's original invasion in the name of Prince Johnson and his Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL). With the intensive nature of the war, Doe had no choice than to lock himself in his mansion refusing to give up, and letting civilians pay his price of dictatorship and ruthless domination by either being starved to death or killed by either of the groups. Other foreign nationals were evacuated by their countries leaders.

The first attempt to intervene and settle the civil war was made by the United States by trying to help Doe find political asylum in order to bring an end to the

Liberian war, but the attempt failed and Doe stayed in Liberia to fight the war from his mansion.

The lack of interest to intervene by any organization, UN or any other super power to the Liberian war, and the level of intensification of insurrection in Liberia made it almost impossible to ignore by the ECOWAS in which Liberia is a member. It was in the Gambia Banjul meeting of ECOWAS that the Nigerian president Ibrahim Babangida proposed for the creation of a Standing Mediation Committee (SMC) which consist of four member states with the mandate to tackle sub – regional civil war, which later led to the creation of Economic Community of West African State Monitoring Group. ECOMOG which got involve with the civil war under the premise of cease fire and peace deal.

The SMC's mandate was to call for immediate cease fire, prevention of civil war spill over to the neighboring countries, establishment of Interim government which will exclude all the warring factions and holding of free and fair elections within a year. This plan short lived as the factions did not accept the mandate more especially NPFL as they insist that they will not lay down their arms until Doe steps down which he also refused.

Liberia was at that time divided into two zones. Only ten percent of the country was controlled by the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) which was established by the ECOMOG which was headed by Dr Amos Sawyer and ninety percent was controlled by Taylor which was popularly known as the Greater Liberia.

The capture of Doe who was tortured and killed by the INPFL and the attack to gain political and economic control by force by the NPFL led to the creation of other warring factions which before the end of the war totaled to seven different

groups who were motivated not by ideological differences but rather personal grievances and economic interests. Some of these groups split from the initial warring factions such as the Johnson's INPFL and the NPFL Central Revolutionary council (NPFL-CRC) split from Taylor's NPFL while others fresh groups like the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO) which also later split into two different factions namely ULIMO-J (mostly led by Resolvet Johnson) and ULIMO-K (mostly Mandigo led by Alhaji Kormah). Then the Lofa Defence Force (LDF) and the Liberian Peace Council (LPC). In 1995 the seven factions formed the Liberian Council of State in conformity with the Abuja Peace Accords, but fighting continued despite the accord until 1997 when elections were conducted and Taylor emerged the winner with seventy five percent of the vote.

### **3.3 NIGERIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS**

On attaining independence in 1960, Nigerian government under the Tafawa Balewa's Administration seeks membership in the UN and succeeded in becoming the 99th member state without facing any obstacle.

In his speech at the United Nation General Assembly Sir, Abubakar Tafawa Belewa pledged Nigeria's commitment to promotion of peace and development in the international community through the UN platform. He also promised that Nigerian nation will contribute in promoting the UN mission to achieving decolonization, independence and progress in other African territories.

Nigeria's first peacekeeping mission under UN was in late 1960 during UN involvement in promoting peaceful co - existence in the Congo crisis by sending troops on a peacekeeping and fact - finding mission.

Ohumobhi (2008) further stated that Nigeria was also in the forefront of

diplomatic actions opposing the racist European - settler government in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Portuguese, colonial domination in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea - Bissau, and Cape Verde, and in support of South West Africa (Namibia) it also gave US dollars 8400, 000 to the official of South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) to support diplomatic lobbying at the UN and \$165,674 to train future officials who would administer an independent Namibia (Cited in Oculi 2008;40)

From 1960 to the 1980s Nigerian foreign policy agenda in the UN was the commitment to decolonization from Africa and the world, Nigeria endorse total support of armed liberation movements against colonialism in Africa and the globe. In the UN Nigeria's commitment and attention towards the white minority rule in South Africa, that is financial and Material support in conjunction with the Organization of African Union (OAU) yield democratic rule in 1980.

Nigeria deployed 7,000 troops to the UN interim force in Lebanon in 1978 - 1984 which however withdraw due to the Israel forces direct attack which suffered loses of some personnel. Nigeria was involved in political and diplomatic level to condemn Israel and other western Nations who supported Israel domination of southern Lebanon. (Sanda 2010;85)

The Bosnia and Herzegovina civil war on the other hand required the International Police Task Force (IPTF) operation; the Nigerian police were engaged for Peace Support Operation (PSO). The United Nations occupies a central position in the Nigerian's diplomacy over the years; Nigeria has continuously engaged in UN missions. As Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida puts it: "There is no major issue in international affairs since 1945 that has not attracted the attention and action of the United Nations. Nigerian commitment to the principles upon which the UN was



founded has never been in doubt”. (Saliu 1999:35).

Nigeria has also been involved in fourteen peacekeeping and peace observer missions, with over 200.000 Nigerian's troops served in one peace keeping operations mission or the other. These contributions and supports given by Nigeria strengthening UN's capacity for preventive diplomacy and post civil war peaceful co- existence around the world (Akindele; 1999:15).

Oche, (2005) stated that in 2000 Nigeria took African's struggle against corruption to the UN's General Assembly and succeeded in its adoption of a resolution not only condemning corruption and illegal transfer of funds abroad but also calling for the repatriation of such funds to their countries of origin. (cited in Oculi:12).

The engagements of Nigeria in the UN and Nigeria's post independent oil boom give Nigeria a special power in the UN, to the extent that its voice is heard at the global level on issues of collective security

### **3.4 NIGERIA'S ROLE IN REGIONAL AND SUB - REGIONAL PEACEKEEPING**

Nigeria's foreign policy has been guided by certain fundamental objectives and principals, which have undergone several transformations and evolve since they were first formulated shortly after independence. Yet the specific interests, priorities and emphasis of Nigerian foreign policy have been fairly consistent.

In Section 9 (ai - (e) of the 1999 constitution states the foreign policy objectives of Nigeria as follows; The promotion and protection of national interest; The promotion of African integration and support for African Unity; and Promotion for international cooperation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discrimination in all its manifestation,

respect for international law and treaty, obligations, as well as settlements of international disputes by negotiation, mediation conciliation, arbitration and adjudication and; - promotion of a just world economic order.

While Salihu (1999), pointed the following five principles guiding the conduct of Nigerian foreign policy; Non – Alignment policy although it is not relevant today ; The legal of equality of all states; The non - interference in the domestic Affairs of other states; Multilateral diplomacy; and Afrocentrism.

Akendele described the entire post independence foreign policy posture of Nigeria has been inspired by consciousness of the injuries which slave trade and colonialism has inflicted on the collective pride and dignity of the black race, and by an awareness of the special responsibility which destiny is believed to have imposed on Nigeria as the largest black concentration of black men and women on earth, for the restoration of that human dignity and collective black pride.(Cited in Salihu 1999)

The above quotation was the reason for Nigerian commitment for decolonization, Nigeria joined hands with others from 1960 - 1980's to efficiently hasten the movement towards political independence in all colonial territories, the anti - colonial Campaign was spearheaded by Nigeria and other states by endorsing the armed confrontation, liberation movements against colonial domination in Africa, Nigeria sees independence not just as political right but rather legal right. In this respect Babangida observed in 1990 that;

The defense of humanity and freedom of the black man is an issue dear to us all - Nigeria has never be and can never been indifferent to the plight of the black man, wherever he may be. This is natural in view of the role which providence has cast for Nigeria in Africa. It has been a cardinal factor in our foreign

relations to provide the African continent focus and leadership in the struggle against colonialism, exploitation and racial oppression. Similarly, we have endeavored, over the years, to restore the confidence and pride of our kith and kin in despair, whose forefathers left the African shores in most humiliating conditions. (cited in Akintola; 1999: 10).

Financially Nigeria has deployed significant resources in pursuit of its foreign policy even in period of declining fortunes. For instance, the country provided €15million pound sterling to the peace keeping operations in Belgian Congo in the 1960, \$ 80 million for the Organization of African unity (OAU) peace keeping in Chad in 1982, and was estimated to have spent US \$ 10-\$ 14 billion on peace keeping in Liberia and Sierra lone. It contributed US \$ 20million to the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) in the 1989 election in Namibia (Jega 2010; 229)

It is understandable for Nigeria to react in this way having share a common history of slavery and colonialism and their struggles against both. Nigeria give emphasis on decolonialization of every African state in other to eliminate white minority rule in south Africa and south Rhodesia made her mobilized international support to hasten the process which leads to the imposing of arms embargo by the UN Security Council of, and was letter ignored by the trading partners of both countries.

Nigeria's long term chairmanship of UN - Special committee against apartheid and its continuous struggle for the majority rule of both countries with financial and material support until the pressure brought about majority rule in both the countries.

On the promotion of peace in Africa, Nigeria was instrumental to offering

assistance for the restoring of peace among the civil waring parties in the region. Agwai (2010;2) further stated that:

The commitment to global peace has continued to define Nigeria's foreign policy since her independence in 1960 and nowhere is it more evident than in Africa which has remained the cornerstone of her foreign policy. Today Nigeria is the leading peace -keeping nation in Africa and has shown tremendous leadership in all regional and continental efforts in civil war management (in Sanda 2010:79-80).

Nigeria has committed financial, material and humanitarian support towards Peacekeeping operations in Africa than any other Country in the continent. Some of the peacekeeping initiatives in the region and sub -regional Africa involved, Congo (ONUC) 1960 - 1964, New guinea (UNSF) 1962 - 1963, Tanzanian bilateral agreement in 1964, Chad (Harmony I) 1981 - 1982, Chad (HARMONY II). 1982 - 1983, Liberia (ECOMOG) 1990, Angola (UNAUDEM III) 1991 - 1992, Sierra Leone (NATAG 1991) Angola (UNAUDEM III) 1992 - 1995, Namibia (UNTAG) 1989 - 1990, Somalia (UNOSOM) 1992 - 1994, Mozambique (ONUMOZ) 1992, Rwanda UNAM112 1993, Gambia (NATAG) 1993, and many others. Hamman & Omojuwa (2013:29)

The promotion of regional integration and development is one of the fundamental objectives of Nigerian foreign policy, it is Nigeria played crucial role in the formation of the Organization of Africa Union (OAU) now known as Africa Union (AU). The formation of OAU brought several challenges at the beginning and led to the creation of two different group known as the Casablanca which was smaller and consist of the radical group while the other group was the Monrovia group where larger in number and more conservative, Nigeria happen to fall into this

later group. The Lagos meeting presents a forum of reconciliation among these two groups which led to the adoption of the Lagos Charter, which subsequently defined the OAU agenda as the promotion of Africa unity and solidarity with the objective of the idea. The Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) was first developed by president William. Tubman of Liberia in 1965, however the agreement was not formally actualize until when General Gowon of Nigeria and General Eyadema of Togo reintroduced the idea in 1972 and draft proposals for the community, the process followed some crucial stages and meetings between 1972 - 1974 it was in 1975 the Africa countries met in Lagos, Nigeria to finalize the process by signing the ECOWAS treaty, which created the ECOWAS with the objectives of promotion of cooperation and integration within west Africa and to establish an economic and monetary union eventually.

Nigeria has emerged from a relatively obscure position under colonial domination to a major power in international affairs. This position as well as the commitment underpinning it, has been expressed more forcefully in the defense of Africa which, in cooperation with other countries within the continent and in the Diaspora, has helped in keeping alive the pan - Africa ideal (Kuna 2005).

### **3.5 THE LIBERIAN CRISIS AND PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS.**

Throughout its history, Liberia has been plagued by civil war, usurpation of power, class-based domination and ethnic hostilities, all of which culminated in a devastating 14 year civil war between 1989 and 2003. By the time this war was brought to an end in 2003, over 250,000 people of the country's three million people died. Abductions, torture, rape and other human rights abuses has been committed on a massive scale. Estimates were that at least one child in ten had been abducted and forced into service as a child soldier or sex slave. The country's

infrastructure had been destroyed. There were no electrical grids, public running water facilities, sewage systems or other utilities. Mass population movements had taken place both inside and outside of the country. Indeed, displacement was virtually universal as almost all Liberians, at one time or another, were forced to leave their homes. The massive internal displacement, with many Liberians fleeing to Monrovia, the country's capital, increased pressures on urban services and transformed the livelihoods of the population. Whereas before the war, 75 percent of the population gained their livelihoods through agriculture, in 2008 – five years after the peace agreement – almost a third of the country's population lived in Monrovia. The civil war disrupted the traditional tribal organization that existed in the Liberian countryside before the war.

The history of Liberia's civil war is a complex and at times tortuous one, characterized by a multiplicity of armed actors and the intervention of various sub-regional and international forces. The nature of the war can be summarized in two points:

1. The war in Liberia lasted for 14 years. While the civil war is typically divided into two phases (1989-1997 and 1999-2003), in reality it consisted of several independent uprisings under various regional leaders and warlords. Successive phases of civil war and peacemaking cycled one after another until the civil war was finally brought to an end in 2003.

2. Displacement was as the result of the civil war but also contributed to the war. IDPs were often not protected and were susceptible to forced recruitment by militias. Refugees in neighboring countries were similarly pressured to join various rebel groups, who at one time or another, led incursions into Liberia. Liberia has

distinct ethnic groups and much of the civil war and resulting displacement was shaped by these ethnic divisions.

During the Liberian civil war, violence and brutality were systematically used to create terror as a means of controlling populations in particular regions. The majority of the displaced have been impoverished, dispossessed, oppressed or war victims, having little or no income, employment or survival opportunities in the areas where they sought refuge. Villages and IDP camps in Lofa and Bong counties were emptied and reportedly looted by both government and dissident forces, forcing many civilians to seek refuge in camps around Monrovia. Insurgent attacks on the southwestern Atlantic Port of Robertsport, Grand Gedeh County, as well as on the strategic southern port town of Harper, forced thousands of dispossessed civilians to flee. In 2003, the heavy fighting in border areas with neighboring Côte d'Ivoire caused the displacement of thousands of families.

Furthermore, the ceaseless cycle of assaults and counter assaults caused severe displacement among farming communities in rural Liberia, and furthered urbanization. Although over 80 percent of all uprooted Liberians returned home when the civil war appeared to have ended and Taylor was elected into office in 1997, Taylor's rule led to renewed civil war beginning in 1999, resulting in further displacement.

Two patterns of displacement prevailed. People associated with or protected by one of the warring factions took refuge from the fighting in locations within their own regions, often in towns and cities. Others fleeing from the same warring factions were far more likely to go to Monrovia, where humanitarian assistance was believed to be available. At the time of the Accra Agreement, the United

Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) had set up camps for some 500,000 to 600,000 Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) in several population hubs across Liberia. In May 2003, the UN reported that there were over 200,000 IDPs in Liberia, spread across 19 camps 60 percent of which were in Monrovia. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and UN agencies provided protection, relief and basic services for IDPs living in these camps. However, those IDPs who were not in camps, but sought shelter in public buildings, empty dwellings, sports fields and schools were much more vulnerable. Thousands more IDPs sought safety by living with families in places less affected by the civil war.

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected President of Liberia in 2005 and, at her request, UNHCR formally closed the camps it had managed. The closing of the camps signified that the formal programme of protection, relief, and services for IDPs was over, and the IDPs could no longer claim to constitute a formal category that warranted assistance and/or protection from evictions. In closing the camps, the government's intention, shared by UNHCR and other assistance agencies, was that IDPs would leave the precarious lives they had resorted to in the cities – especially in Monrovia – and return to their presumably peaceful villages of origin. IDPs, like refugees, received return packages and assistance delivered to their original communities. However, the closure of IDP camps was controversial within the UN and among NGOs. All parties were well aware that few communities would be prepared to absorb such large numbers of returnees, especially considering their inability to support those residents who had never left. Moreover, a large proportion of IDPs no longer had families to which they could return or land or resources necessary for survival. In spite of the government's desire to 'close the IDP file,' in essence, a large number of IDPs remained without solutions. Many IDPs negotiated with the landlords of land that had previously belonged to IDP



camps so that they might stay for some time and pay rent. Many others continued to squat on state-owned or private land until they were evicted, while still others returned to their villages in order to take advantage of assistance packages available to returnees. IDPs who went back to their villages sometimes returned to the camps when assistance ran out.

Once the IDP camps were closed, those who had fled to Monrovia during the civil war were no longer considered to be IDPs, but rather part of the larger community of urban poor. While the continuing migration to Monrovia is now largely driven by economic factors rather than civil war, the urban growth experienced by Monrovia and other Liberian is a direct consequence of the war. Monrovia's population in particular increased dramatically during the civil war. By early 1995, Monrovia's population stood at 1.3 million, triple what it had been in 1986.<sup>50</sup> While more recent IDPs have sought shelter and managed to integrate in various communities around Monrovia, most of the earlier IDPs were absorbed in slum communities in the city center.

It is important to note that in counting IDPs and calculating assistance packages, UNHCR, at the request of the government, did not include the thousands of Liberians who were internally displaced outside of the camps. These constituted a large and underserved population. Rather, the number of IDPs was based on those who had registered with the World Food Program for food assistance in camps and return assistance was only provided to those returning from camps.

In addition to those who were displaced within the country, between 500,000 and 700,000 Liberians are estimated to have crossed into other countries in the West African region as refugees, though they were not always registered as such.

Between 2004 and 2007 UNHCR repatriated 160,000 refugees from Ivory Coast, Guinea, Sierra Leone and Ghana, and has continued to repatriate individual refugees from these countries ever since. As is often the case, there were many more Liberian refugees who returned spontaneously than those who participated in the organized repatriations. In the case of refugee returns, UNHCR not only provided return packages to returnees— as they had done for the IDP population — but also invested significant resources in community revitalization to receive the returnees and give an economic push. This strategy, by and large, produced disappointing results. Rural Liberia was not yet ready to respond to such development incentives. (Shilue and Fagen, 2014:12)

The Accra Peace Agreement of August 18, 2003 created a framework for a two year National Transition Government (NTG) in Liberia. Liberian businessman, Charles G. Bryant was selected by the various factions to steer the transition. The NTG replaced the government under the 1986 constitution and ruled until elections were held in 2005 which elected Ellen Sirleaf Johnson. In 2006 the Liberian Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established to promote peace, security and reconciliation. (Shilue and Fagen 2014:14).

The United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) was established formally by the Security Council (Resolution 1509) in September 2003, replacing the previously established UN Office in Liberia (UNOL) and subsuming ECOMOG. ECOWAS in turn formed the Economic Community of West African States Mission in Liberia (ECOMIL). UNMIL was authorized for two years, October 2003 to July 2005, and charged with assuming responsibility for security and the restoration of democracy in Liberia. Its force consisted of 15,000 military personnel and 1,115 police. It was mandated:

- (a). to observe and monitor the implementation of the ceasefire agreement and investigate violations of the ceasefire;
- (b). to establish and maintain continuous liaison with the field headquarters of all the parties' military forces;
- (c). to assist in the development of cantonment sites and to provide security at these sites;
- (d). to observe and monitor disengagement and cantonment of military forces of all the parties;
- (e). to support the work of the Joint Monitoring Committee.

Since its establishment in 2003, UNMIL has been regularly re-authorized although its military component has been reduced. It remains one of the largest peacekeeping missions in the world. (ibid)

Like many countries ravaged by war, Liberia experienced challenges with developing and maintaining effective security and justice systems. Almost all Liberian security forces were involved in the war and thus have faced difficulty in being seen as neutral or objective. Prior to the war, the justice system in Liberia was manipulated by powerful individuals who used these structures with impunity to maintain and legitimize their power. The prospects for stability and peace building are enhanced by the extent to which security sector reform is predicated on the state of security broadly defined, as opposed to the narrower focus on the security of the state. Immediately after the war in 2003, both the national government and international agencies concentrated and prioritized specific security-related activities, including the implementation of a disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation and reintegration process targeting more than 100,000 ex-combatants, forming a Truth and Reconciliation Commission,

instituting reforms in the security sector, re-establishing the rule of law and holding elections. (Shilue and Fagen 2014:15)

A program of De-mobilization, Disarmament and Reconstruction (DDR) was implemented as quickly as possible in order to prevent a return to the war. While there was widespread recognition of the need to establish rule of law in Liberia, this has to be based on the state's possession of a monopoly of force. Both DDR and Security Sector Reform (SSR) are ways of consolidating the state's monopoly of force and in Liberia they were implemented concurrently. The idea was to keep former combatants focused on material gain through employment rather than on coup attempts or continued fighting. Over 100,000 were disarmed and demobilized combatants and were transferred into a reconstituted military.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **NIGERIA AND ECOWAS PEEACEKEEPING OPERATION IN LIBERIA**

#### **4.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter engages in the analysis and evaluation of the problems and challenges encountered by Nigerian led peacekeeping operations, through the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in Liberia as well as the achieved success of the peacekeeping operations. As stated earlier the study adopts secondary mode of data collection as well as the quantitative analysis. The study will be explanatory in nature.

#### **4.1 NIGERIAN CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND THE CREATION OF ECOMOG**

Nigeria played an important role which led to the resolution of the Liberian crisis between 1990 and 1997. But between 1990 and 1993 towards the end of General Ibrahim Babangida's regime (1985-1993), Nigeria's role in the Liberian peace process became a major issue which preoccupied Nigeria's external relations within the West African Sub-region. (Salami; 2013).

Problems and challenges are inevitable in civil war resolution and in every affairs of life. The challenges and problems faced by ECOMOG in Liberian crises cannot be overemphasized. Since the establishment of ECOMOG, it has been deployed in Liberia, Sierra-Leone and Guinea-Bissau. During its different deployments, it faced several financial and logistical problems and challenges.

Nigeria's pivotal role may not be unconnected with its concern for human disaster that such a large scale civil war may produce. Coupled with this, is her long standing experience in peace-keeping operations in various parts of the globe, including Africa. The experience paid off as it was fully brought to bear in the ECOMOG operations in Liberia. At independence in 1960, Nigeria clearly spelt out the role she intended to play in the world affairs in the pursuit of peace and security within the framework of its obligations at the multilateral level. One of the Balewa's foreign policy thrusts, which of course, are very relevant to our purpose, is the 'promotion of international peace and security as well as measures aimed at reducing world tensions' (Oni, 2002: 8).

The test of Nigeria's commitment to world peace came within a few months after her independence. The country was feasibly represented in the Congo mission, under the United Nations, between 1960 and 1964. There, Nigerian military, police and civilian personnel did creditably well. Henceforth, the country participated in many UN sponsored peace-keeping missions across the globe. In chronological order, Nigeria's presence had been felt in many UN sponsored peace-keeping missions including the Liberian Mission, 1993 – 1997 (UNOMIL – UN Observer Mission in Liberia) (Oni, 2002: 10-11).

Nigeria's location, size, human and material resources defined its role in security focus because it finds itself situated in a region of comparatively much smaller and weaker states and so wishes to use its size and material resources to impose itself as the regional and sub- regional leader.

Nigeria has a national role conception which has determined her role, and has thus recommended activist involvement in African issues generally. (Alli: 2012:7). This has led to several contributions by the country towards national liberation and other civil war transformation and peace building operations throughout the African sub region and the world over. In 1990 when the civil war erupted in

Liberia and the lack of interest to intervene by the westerners and other peace accords made Nigeria to spearhead the ECOWAS member countries to intervene and end the civil war and build peace.

National defense policy is also another determining role in which Nigeria acted to protect, in this regard Nigeria's intervention in civil war zones especially in Africa and the West African sub region is seen as the defense of its national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Regional stability, humanitarian consideration and personal interest are other reasons for intervention in the Liberian crisis. Nigeria and the ECOWAS community fears that the civil war may spill over to other West African countries as it happened in Sierra Leone and feels it is compulsory for intervention whose first mandate was to achieve cease fire so as to evacuate its citizens, as the protection of lives of Nigerian and other West African citizens was one of the motivating factors for intervening. The protection of her nationals anywhere is one of Nigeria's defense policy and unfortunately a sizable number of its citizens resides in other African states as more than 10,000 Nigerian citizens were in Liberia during the war. There was also concern over the possible influx of refugees and the potential destabilizing effect and the large amount of resources it will demand. And without regional security economic activities will be static in the region.

As Babangida uses the humanitarian line to defend the intervention in these words:

... We are in Liberia, because events in the country have led to the massive destruction of property, the massacre by all the warring parties of thousands of innocent civilians including those of foreign nations, women and children some of whom had sought sanctuary in churches, mosques, diplomatic missions, hospitals and other red cross protection contrary to all recognized standards of civilized behavior and international ethics and decorum....  
(Johnson 1996:290).

As for personal relations , the then president of Nigeria and the Ghanaian President Rawlings were seen as Doe's friends whose power was challenged. Doe was said to visit Nigeria and personally appealed to Babangida to intervene and save his regime. According to (vogt 1993; Hutchful 199; Aguda 1996) Samuel Doe may also receive planeload of arms apparently delivered by Brigadier General David Mark. (Cited in okoli 2010;113) The relationship between these presidents was also the reason why ECOMOG was not seen as a neutral party, that was also why Taylors camp did not accept ECOMOG as a military force but rather another enemy who wants to deny Taylors camp to enjoy political power. And thus see ECOMOG as another faction in the war and therefore attack them.

In an attempt to further justify Nigeria's involvement in the Liberian crisis Babangida in the Imperative Features of Nigerian Foreign Policy and the Crisis in Liberia 1990 stated that.

There is therefore no gainsaying the fact that when certain event occurs in this sub region, depending upon their intensity and magnitude, which are bound to affect Nigeria's politico-military and socio-economic environment, we will not stand by as a helpless and hapless spectator. We believe that if the events are such that have the potentials to threaten the stability, peace and security of the sub region, Nigeria in collaboration with others, in this sub region is duty-bound to react or respond in appropriate manner necessary to either avert the disaster or to take adequate measures to ensure peace, tranquility and harmony (cited in Adisa, 1992: 225).

This helped to sustain and legitimize the Nigerian led mission in Liberia.



## **4.2 NIGERIA IN LIBERIA: THE CHALLENGES AND CONSTRAINTS**

The success of Nigerian led intervention in Liberia was not without some difficulties. A discussion of such constraints is not meant to write-of the whole operation, rather, it is meant to serve as an eye opener for future operations, since the sub-region may never see the last of military interventions in peace-keeping process within the sub-region. Except human beings ceased to interact, our position remains the most realistic way of looking at the competition for political power and sharing of scarce resources within the West African Sub-region.

The deployment of ECOMOG generated a serious legal argument as critiques contested the legitimacy of ECOMOG on several grounds one of which was ECOWAS was established as a regional organization whose sole purpose was to foster economic integration and therefore lack the capacity to assume responsibility for mutual security. The decision to deploy ECOMOG was contrary to Article 3, Section 2 of the OAU charter and the corresponding article of the UN which prohibit interference in the domestic affairs of member states and that of the 1978 ECOWAS protocol on Non Aggression (Adisa 1992;213). But the justification for the intervention was based on the belief that since economic integration cannot be achieved without regional stability and the situation in Liberia had gone beyond the non –interference policy of OAU and UN as the killings in Liberia could no longer be treated as an internal affairs. ECOWAS also justify the need to intervene on the basis of the Protocol for Mutual Assistance on Defence Matters (PMAD), which includes the provision for Allied Armed Forces of the community (AAFC). According to Article 16, the head of state of the member under attack may request assistance from the community (Arthur 2010;10 ).

Article 4 of the protocol also authorize ECOWAS to initiate collective intervention in any internal armed conflict, within any state, engineered and supported actively from outside likely to jeopardize the security and peace of the entire community.(ibid)

The problem with the above justification was, Deo requested the assistance from Nigeria, and Nigeria took the concern to ECOWAS. Some members of the ECOWAS community (francophone countries) where not in support of the decision to intervene, using the non interference policy and the lack of military sources, because they provide support to Taylor and sees the ECOWAS intervention as a support to Samuel Doe. This aggravates tensions between the member states but finally reach a consensus of intervening.

Indeed, one of the major tasks of ECOMOG was to monitor a complete ceasefire and halt destruction of lives and property. But at the time ECOMOG forces landed at the Freeport of Liberia, a ceasefire had not been achieved and so there was no ceasefire to monitor. The warring factions were still at each other's neck and in fact, Taylor's NPFL welcomed the multinational forces into Liberia with ferocious attacks (Iweze, 1993: 219). This problem was compounded the more because of the absence of a Force Headquarters (FHQ). The FHQ was not properly in existence at the time ECOMOG arrived in Liberia. The allied forces did not also have enough intelligence reports about the situation in Liberia. There were no military maps on Liberia which would have helped in no small way in the gathering of intelligence reports (Iweze, 1993: 221). These developments affected the morale and disposition of the troops towards the whole operation. In an ideal legal military intervention, leading to peace-keeping operations, the impartial third party should have secured a ceasefire before the allied forces would move into the troubled-region, to create a buffer-zone for effective ceasefire monitoring and safety of all mortals involved in the operations. What is more, the core of

peacekeeping operations is the FHQ and therefore, should be the first to be set up so as to receive the troops and brief them on the situation on the ground.

The initial high command of ECOMOG forces also had serious command problems and this manifested indiscipline among the rank and file of the forces. The conduct of the first Field Commander (FC) in person of Lt. Gen. Arnold Quainoo, within the short period of his command did not help matters. The inability to take firm decisions affected the operations of the forces, he became negligent in his duties by allowing Prince Yomie Johnson of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), a breakaway faction of the NPFL, an unrestricted access into the FHQ. This situation gave credibility problems to ECOMOG as an impartial arbiter. For one, NPFL and AFL as well as other interest groups accused ECOMOG of taking sides with INPFL, to the detriment of the others. Secondly, the situation finally paved the way for Prince Johnson to capture Doe, during the latter's surprise visit to the FHQ (Iweze, 1993: 229). An impartial arbiter would have organized a rescued mission to retrieve Doe, dead or alive. But this was not the case as the FC himself ran for cover and for some time he shifted his office into the ECOMOG war-ship. This had a demoralizing effect on the troops as the Sierra Leone and Ghanaian troops also left for the ship, leaving the Nigerian soldiers at the FHQ (Iweze, 1993: 230). The FC at some point even believed that ECOMOG had no business being in Liberia and so should be withdrawn. It was in the midst of these confusion and uncertainties that a Nigerian officer, Gen. J.N. Dogonyaro, was posted to Liberia to replace the former F.C. Part of the initial problem of the multinational intervention force was the anomaly in the appointment of a Deputy Force Commander (DFC), which had been conceded to Guinea and who should be an officer not below the rank of a Colonel or a Brigadier. However the only officer of the rank of a Brigadier in the Guinean army was the Head of state. The next senior officer was Lt. Col. Lamine

Magasoumba. The promotion of Magasoumba to the rank of a Major General, on arrival in Sierra Leone undermined discipline and control, such that when the Guinean contingent became contagiously unruly, the DFC supported them instead of calling them to order in line with military tradition. The Guinean contingent was always complaining of being assigned to do difficult duties, a situation they interpreted to mean that it was a deliberate attempt by the Anglophones to eliminate the Francophones (Iweze, 1993: 226). An act of indiscipline also played out when the Sierra Leonean president, Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, visited to bid the troops fare well. A Ghanaian battalion commander was rude to the ECOMOG chief of staff, who was a brigadier and a Nigerian, when the latter ordered the former to 'bring the parade to attention and hand over to me'. The Ghanaian officer looked at the Nigerian superior officer and said he as a Ghanaian could not hand over to a Nigerian. Although the Nigerian ECOMOG chief of staff stood his ground, the Ghanaian officer only complied grudgingly (Iweze, 1993: 223). Situations like these dampened the morale of the troops as indiscipline was encouraged leading to some soldiers engaging in some unethical practices of stealing consumables, automobile tires, abandoned cars and motor bikes while some equally engaged in abduction and rape of defenseless female individuals. It took quite a lot of efforts on the part of the new Commander, to stem such vices. Irregular supply of funds was another fundamental problem that faced the ECOMOG operations in Liberia. The initial dependence of the ECOWAS Secretariat on the good will of the troops contributing countries to take care of their contingents at least for some days, created some financial and related crisis. This problem became clear after each contingent had exhausted its initial supplies and the ECOWAS Secretariat could not immediately raise funds to support the forces. The ECOWAS Secretariat could not also provide enough drugs for the troops on schedule. The Ghanaian contingent that came with a field hospital, were

busy taking care of their soldiers. Nigerian troops return back from peacekeeping missions protesting the nonpayment of their full allowances even when provisions for it has been made only for the troops to be court marshaled at the end. This can cause them to be engaged in violence and other dubious attitude. The troop's allowance which was put at \$3per day was too meager for soldiers, who were injured or even killed. Members of the Nigerian Armed Forces deserve better for being used as instruments for the implementation of our foreign policies abroad. The least that can be done is trying to undo the mistakes of the past is by giving them adequate and continuous funding, training and remuneration as they remain on standby to sacrifice their lives for their fatherland and the world. (Iweze, 1993: 238). Even when the allowance was increased to \$5 per day, the payment was not as regular as it should be. There were also inadequate supply of uniforms, boots and related needs of the troops. These shortcomings diminished the morale of the soldiers as a fighting force that should be giving a special care. Prince Yomie Johnson must have exploited the situation to donate uniforms and boots for ECOMOG soldiers in return for some arms like the '105 HOW' weapons which he needed to blow up the state house, the Liberian Executive Mansion (Iweze, 1993: 231). It is important to note that in operations such as Peacekeeping, regular supply of funds was necessary to discourage the troops from looting and other vices. The unwillingness to appropriately fund the mission by other ECOWAS member states and the lack of contribution to the "empowerment fund" established by Nigeria for contributions by other ECOWAS member states for the mission made the troops to threaten to withdraw from the mission for lack of funding. This cause Nigeria to single handedly provide for the financial support, which receive negative response by Nigerians at home as Nigerian infrastructures were in desperate need of repair and the funds could have been used for that or used to reduce foreign debt or even

used to reduce poverty as more than half of its population are below the poverty line.

Adebayo 2002;48-53 pointed out another constraint, that the Nigerian led mission also exposes the lack of unity among the ECOWAS leaders, as ECOWAS was divided to two rival camps known as the Anglophone and Francophone. The siding of ECOWAS leaders with one faction or the other escalated the conflict and prolonged the ECOMOG mission, thus ruining the credibility of ECOMOG mission. (Cited in Arthur 2010;16)

Nigeria faces critical housekeeping challenges which cannot allow it to protect obvious hegemonic advantages effectively. That is the need to provide effective and efficient leadership role was a challenge, because the country was busy been the brother's keeper outside. Sanda (2007) argue that though Nigeria is a regional hegemony because of its endowments, lack of effective leadership at home does not allow her to be seen as a deliberate leader in West Africa (cited in Alli 2012:8). Nigeria's role in sub regional security is highly personalized as it was driven by the president instead of a well articulated strategic vision. Lack of comprehensive security policy and coordination in Nigeria is undermining its operations as every government or administration comes with its own policy. Also the clumsiness and lackadaisical nature of some of the officials in the nation's intervention in security matters contradicts its efforts in transforming civil war.

Alli (2012) identifies three main challenges in Nigerian leadership in security policy. These challenges are (i) at the domestic level in which the country is been faced with several security challenges, its failure to apply responsibility to protect (R2P) domestically, as the country continue to experience all forms of security challenges ranging from ethno religious civil war, to widespread of robbery, terrorism, and kidnapping which negatively impact on its effectiveness in international relations and also face strong domestic oppositions.(ii) at the sub regional level Nigeria face th

e challenge of suspicion from other member countries of ECOWAS about its real intent of intervention.(iii) while at the extra regional powers level, the western powers also have their interest on African civil wars especially for the protection of their economic interests in the region which cause an obstacle to the Nigerian leadership role in the sub regional security policy.

#### **4.3 WEAPONS SUPPLY AND LOGISTICAL PROBLEMS.**

The experience with arms supply during the Liberian operation was not in any way pleasant to members of the Nigerian Armed Forces. For example, in Liberia, it had become quite disturbing discovering that some of the arms and ammunition meant for use during the operations were not inspected before they were delivered to the operation areas. The basic rifle was still the FN rifle that had been in the Army's inventory since the 1960s. The rifle was no match to the AK- 47 s used by the rebels which not only fired more rounds per second but could operate effectively under the harshest conditions. Therefore a high level of weapon failure and breakdown (especially in the heat of battle) was recorded. This must have badly affected the performance of the troops. It also meant more casualties in both dead and wounded.

In spite of noticeable concentration of efforts on getting ships ready for ECOMOG sealift operations, considerable long periods of non-availability of ships were observed. The Nigerian Navy's participation in Liberian operations exposed more than ever the inadequacies in its sealift capabilities. As for the Nigerian Air Force NAF, there was an imbalance in its tactical air power structure. NAF lacked both attack and transport/evacuation helicopters. It lacked sufficient C – 130 aircraft too which would have proved invaluable to NIGCON for the purpose of medical evacuation (Medevac), re-supply and insertion of troops to critical areas. The

army's amour and artillery units on the ground also lacked sufficient rocket propelled grenades as well as adequate trailers and lifts for the movement of heavy guns and armaments to operation areas (Bulus 2011).

The forces also encountered problem of logistics which had to do with lack of effective communication, inadequate transport facilities and almost non-availability of officers trained in logistics support. In all these problems, one thing was very clear and that was the fact that Nigerian government remained steadfast in its mission. This has shown absolutely that Nigeria's military establishment is a very important factor in the domestic and international political future of the West African Sub-region.

Training and doctrine according to Hamman et'al was another major problem faced by the Nigerian army as the troops should be in training grounds six months before the mission but where not engage in any kind of training, this problem manifested itself in the operation as the Anglophone oriented troops were operating alongside their francophone counterpart. There is also the problem of poor administration in deployed units which has caused significant embarrassment to the country, as lack of promotion opportunities, observing holidays, medical care, medical evacuation, burial pay and allowances are what made some of the soliders in deployed areas engage in illicit actions and or even become another part of the warring factions, this problem is largely attributed to poor unit and sub –unit leadership.

Manpower is another shortcoming faced by the Nigerian army as lack of sufficient personnel at home and abroad which creates command and control problem.



#### **4.4 COMBAT EXPERIENCE IN LIBERIA.**

Various lessons from the combat experience in Liberia and Sierra Leone should be taken into consideration in the event of ECOMOG deployment to any country. The Nigerian Armed Forces had intervened in these two crises ill - prepared much to the advantage of various rebels operations and advances. In Liberia, the first field commander, General Quainoo of Ghana had indicated at a time that of the 3,000 men who participated in Liberia , only about half of them were battle ready while the rest were mainly ‘ drivers , cooks clerks , mechanics etc . The troops were hastily brought under commanding officers who did not have enough knowledge of the soldiers under their command and with whom they had not trained. This no doubt affected command and control in the mission areas. Various Nigerian Battalions (NIBATTS) became victims of guerrilla style attacks. This can be seen in the high number of Nigerian deaths recorded as a result of ambushes and hit and run tactics easily employed by the rebels against ECOMOG troops and these occurred more in the Sierra Leone mission. The fact is that the Nigerian Armed Forces were not skilled in this area of combat. This deficiency was even made worse by the inadequate exposure of Nigerian troops to diverse terrains during combat training exercises.

In the event of a rebel uprising, one cannot say for sure how prepared ECOMOG is. This will largely depend on how much the government has been allocating over the years to military training with emphasis on Special Forces and counter-insurgency. All round the world unnecessary delays and shortages in remuneration are known to affect the morale of troops and tempt them into engaging in looting and shabby deals. Missions in Liberia and exposed the inadequacies of basic battle craft expedients like maps, intelligence and communication equipments. Closely

related to the problem of troop movement and deployment was the problem of troop rotation and its non implementation. The policy was that troops serving in mission areas should be rotated every six months. In Liberia and Sierra Leone this did not happen as it was common to find troops serving in the same operational area for one to four years. This was caused by lapses in administration and logistics. (Bulus 2011) .

The lack of unity among the ECOWAS community about a clear role and mandate of ECOMOG seriously destabilized the effectiveness of the mission. ECOMOG troops also disregard the principal of neutrality and the use of force unless in self defence was also violated, and thus ECOMOG was seen as another faction of the war by other warring factions and external analysts.

#### **4.5 SUCCESS RECORDED BY THE NIGERIAN LED ECOMOG IN LIBERIA.**

Despite the challenges and lots of criticisms success was recorded as Liberia returned to normalcy through the ECOMOG intervention which was led to several peace agreements between November 1990 to August 1996 ending with the Abuja II agreement,

After fourteen years of crises in Liberia, peace was finally restored into the country in the year 2003 with the support of ECOMOG and many national and intentional peace building programmes. With the determination of Nigeria led intervention in Liberia ECOMOG helped saved lives, returned foreign nationals to their homes especially those from the ECOWAS member countries, restore democracy and paved way for stabilization.

The ECOMOG intervention promote cooperation and solidarity between and among the ECOWAS member state because at the initial process of the idea of intervening threatened the membership of the sub regional organization

(ECOWAS). The management and transformation of civil war is now one of the ECOWAS policies that is from the non interference policy to emphasizing on non in-differences and collective responsibility for peace and security on the basis of adherence to constitutionalism, good governance and human rights (Alli 2012; 37). The Liberian crisis also reawakened the spirit of brotherhood and the need for Africans to be their brothers keepers, a value long associated with Africa but which have been dampened by colonialism and individualistic capitalist value.(Nwolise1992;67). Okoli also noted that a key achievement under Nigerian leadership was the regional consensus on matters of regional security. (Okolie 2010;110). The promotion of good governance through the fostering of participatory democracy, rule of law, respect for human rights and a balanced and equitable distribution of resources are the focus of ECOWAS as its efforts and strategy to avert conflict in the Sub region (Arthur 2010;17) .

#### **4.6 PEACE BUILDING AND RETURN OF DEMOCRACY TO LIBERIA**

The civil war in Liberia which lingered for a long time and caused great devastation in the country started as a result of leadership issue. Peace was restored in Liberia with the effort of ECOMOG, several international Peace building bodies, Liberian initiative and particularly with the victory of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as a president of Liberia. The elections on November 23, 2005, brought Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as the first female president in Africa. These elections were the first truly legitimate and relatively fair elections in Liberia's national history. The process owed a great deal to international support and. The time between the signing of the CPA and demobilization was a precarious one and the importance of mobilizing social networks within Liberia was key. In particular, Liberian women's groups played a key role in promoting transparency and participation. In 2005, Liberian women embarked on a nationwide voter and civic education

campaign aimed at encouraging women to participate in the voter registration process. In a five day period they registered over 5,000 women. President Sirleaf's success at the polls and her subsequent inauguration was (and still is) a milestone, not only for the women of Liberia but for all the women of Africa. Likewise, the women's activities continue to generate positive results both for their own rights seriously at risk due to domestic violence and sexual abuse and for Liberia's people. Ekiyor, T. and Gbowee, L., The Liberian media and political opponents have also accused her of having failed to oppose Taylor's rise to power, although the only evidence of this comes from the early years of his rise to power when his intentions were not yet clear.

Since her inauguration in 2006, the Liberian government has shown a commitment to achieving lasting and durable peace by launching numerous peace building programs, including strengthening the capacities of state actors to resolve civil war. Efforts have also been focused on initiatives to strengthen national and local capacities. This is not to say that the Sirleaf government is immune from accusations of corruption and mistaken policies. However, there is no doubt about the president's commitment to the daunting tasks to bring durable peace and development to Liberia.

Following the decision to place Liberia on the agenda of the UN's Peacebuilding Commission, President Sirleaf emphasized a number of particularly important areas for the Commission to address:

- access to justice
- management of land and natural resources
- political polarization
- the relationship between the State and its citizens

- youth issues.

The government and the PBC adopted the Statement of Mutual Commitments (SMC) to guide the PBC's engagement. The SMC established the three Peace building priorities: rule of law, security sector reform and national reconciliation, and these have been further developed in the Liberia Peace building Program. In an attempt to fill important peace keeping gaps, a 'Strategic Roadmap for National Healing, Peace building and Reconciliation' was formulated in March 2013.

However, despite these advancements, intra-communal cohesion and trust, both of which are important indicators of reconciliation, have yet to be achieved. Some communities remain fragmented and perceptions of entitlement and legitimacy are often distorted. Reform and civil war resolution mechanisms at local and national levels do not adequately address inter-ethnic, inter-religious and inter-generational tensions over natural resource management and long-term secure access to land. Muslims in counties in the center of the country have been especially affected and, in numerous cases, have not been able to recover land lost during the civil war. These remain critical challenges to peace and reconciliation in Liberia. Liberia was added to the Peacekeeping Agenda because both national officials and the international community considered the hard won peace to be threatened on several fronts. Numerous reports, both by the UN and donors, affirm that the country remains fragile and peace consolidation is still needed. The need for continuing emphasis on reconciliation and peace consolidation are beyond debate. (James and Patricia 2014).

It is important to underscore that the 14 year Liberian civil war (1989 - 2003) polarized communities that once co-existed. The major warring factions and their supporters divided along ethnic religious and social lines to a greater extent than

had been the case historically. The role of the relief community in the supporting the basis social needs and services of Liberia provided an essential safety net for most Liberians, but the Liberian government has been challenged to resume its responsibilities for social services which the humanitarian community provided for many years.

While Liberia will unquestionably benefit from the present focus on infrastructure development in its post-civil war recovery process, there is a critical need for policies by both government and non-governmental institutions to address some of the consequences of the country's massive and long-term displacement, particularly its impact on urbanization.

Slums, as Mike Davis argues, have both positive and negative implications for a country's development. In the case of Liberia, growing urbanization fueled by internally displaced persons (IDPs) who were not properly reintegrated into their various areas of origin has exerted pressure on fragile environments, limited resources and exacerbated health hazards. The slum communities have a potential for productivity and social contribution which has yet to be realized. Instead of policies aimed at expulsion and exclusion, the authorities should be seeking their positive inclusion the urban fabric. (James and Patricia 2014).

Liberia has made significant progress on various fronts, especially infrastructure development and security issues. Yet, current prospects for sustainable peace in Liberia remain tenuous. IDPs still contemplate return, but those who wish to do so are unable to find livelihoods, shelter, food security and health services in their places of origin. Addressing these gaps would facilitate the return of IDPs and decrease the pressures triggered by urbanization. Alleviating this situation constitutes unfinished business for the peace process and the Liberian government.

Although the government of Liberia has made great strides in setting up and developing its internal security apparatus, without the significant role played by the international community in helping to preserve peace in Liberia since the end of the civil war in 2003, Liberia could have relapsed into civil war. Support for security sector reform and for DDR by UNMIL and by the US government likely prevented further displacement and probably enabled some IDPs to return to their communities. As UNMIL and UN entities that once provided assistance continue to draw down, Liberia will be challenged to assume the responsibilities of providing services to its displaced citizens needing assistance and international support will continue to be needed.( James and Patricia 2014).

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION**

#### **5.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter presents the general summary of the study as well as the conclusion and the recommendation.

#### **5.1 SUMMARY**

Nigeria has played several roles in restoring peace to Liberia and many West African Countries in crises, and has supported many countries in peacekeeping particularly in the West African sub-region.

In December 1989, with the civil war in Liberia, ECOWAS set up its military force which Nigeria was a backbone in order to intervene in Liberia the force ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), was the first of its kind and did not gain both domestic and international supports at the beginning as “ECOWAS is an economic organization rather than a security organization, with no legal right to create a military group such as ECOMOG.” Despite the criticisms, difficulties (financial and logistic), and lack of experience the intervention recorded success which led to its deployment in two countries: Sierra-Leone and Guinea-Bissau. In those countries it successfully helped restore peace and fostered respect for democratic rules such as organization of free elections.

The search for peace in Liberia has been one of the most constant diplomatic engagements in Africa, as it has been characterized by a firm concentration since



the beginning of the mission, until it achieved its purpose. The ECOWAS Monitoring Group of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOMOG) has been hailed, with some justification, as a landmark in regional peacekeeping in Africa, if not a pointer to the new shape of peacekeeping in the post- Cold War period.

The study found that new type of vicious and intractable civil war is making traditional peacekeeping outdated, and mandating a different, and tougher approach to peace keeping than in the past. The very nature of post-Cold War civil wars faces both peacekeepers and peace negotiators with daunting new challenges. These civil wars are cruel and protracted, making no distinction between combatants and civilians, and often have no discernible political agendas (unlike the Cold War insurgencies), and are relatively resistant to external pressure. On the whole, the international community has been slow to recognize these changes and, since Somalia, reluctant to get involved, assuming (rightly or wrongly) that international intervention will have limited efficacy. Given this situation, marginal countries, particularly those in Africa, have no option but to design their own collective security system. This was specifically recognized by the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, who proposed An Agenda for Peace that regional organizations take the lead in regional peacekeeping. The ECOMOG operation in Liberia is an often painful example of the transition from the old to 'new' modes of peacekeeping, which tend to be regionally-based.

## **5.2 CONCLUSION**

Scholars have deliberated and conducted research on conflict and the peace process in Liberia, West Africa, Africa and the world in general. The consensus is that conflict is due to irreconcilable values, while peace could be either positive or

negative. Peacekeeping therefore ensure the absence of conflict and the maintenance of peace. Although studies have been conducted on Nigeria's initiative in Liberia, this study brings a fresher perspective on the discussion, criticisms and counter criticisms. The Liberian crisis can be said to be as a result of ethnic as selfish interest among the warring parties, as each party wants to be in power to enjoy the privileges with its ethnic group making the war a very long bloodshed of the innocent citizens and foreigners trapped in the country. It was under this situation Nigeria in collaboration with the ECOWAS member countries initiated a peace process with the aim to bring an end to the civil war which led to the formation of ECOMOG military force to intervene in Liberia. The decision to intervene by heads of states of ECOWAS and deploy a peace keeping force to Liberia marks a turning point as it made the member states realize that the westerners are not interested in solving African problems as they intervene only when it suites them or they have economic interest to protect their country issues as such the African problem is left for the Africans to solve.

The study has shown that Nigeria has been and is still playing a defining role in peacekeeping operations in the West African sub region and the globe, as it has and still is providing a leadership role in the ECOWAS Organization. Despite the critical security, socio economic and political problems at home, Nigeria has deployed a significant amount of resource in the Liberian peacekeeping operation as it was the major contributor of fund and recourses in the mission. This shows the importance of the principle of Africa as the center piece for Nigerian foreign policy. Nigeria plays a significant role in the sub regional security policy as the ECOMOG mission would have failed if Nigeria has not participated.

The sacrifices of Nigeria and other West African countries were too costly, yet their success was so radiant that it should be used for the benefit of the sub-region.

Nigerian ECOMOG fought earnestly and courageously in restoring peace to Liberia. ECOMOG can do better if ECOWAS countries leaders fight for unity in the region, for a better financial and logistical support to the institution. Considering all the above facts, it can be concluded that ECOMOG is a necessary peacekeeping institution in Liberia and West Africa.

### **5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS**

The ECOMOG intervention in restoring peace to Liberia was largely successful due to the political will and doggedness of ECOWAS members, particularly Nigeria, which has also helped to expand the concept of peace support operations. It is necessary to always make vital recommendations in any research work to tackle the existing problems and to improve on other basic issues for positive advancement in the study area and other areas for which the recommendations may be useful. Based on these facts the following significant recommendations are made:

- Policy makers should never take chances and wait until a need arises before trying to upgrade defence capabilities.
- Inspection of ammunition/weapon should be done properly and constantly before going to the battle field. For example, in Liberia, it had become quite disturbing discovering that some of the arms and ammunition meant for use during the operations were not inspected before they were delivered to the operation areas.
- Nigeria should jointly engage the international community in a partnership for trade, investment as well as financial and logistic support for conflict resolution, peacekeeping and regional security.

- A well defined foreign policy needs to be re-assessed and re-evaluated to provide a clearer vision of well articulated national interest, and re-prioritizing of attainable foreign policy which will take Nigeria to greater heights in its global undertakings.
- It is instructive to also note that inexperienced officers, particularly those who had never had experience of Peacekeeping operations, should not be allowed to be at the top of the allied forces command.
- In a sub regional peacekeeping operation Nigeria should not fund the mission single handily, other ECOWAS member states should also pay their share.
- Nigeria should focus on internal development and policies of poverty eradication as 50% of the population a living below poverty line, rather than investing huge amount of funds in international activities without gaining positive outcome.
- Before sending ECOMOG troops to any mission, clear mandates and logistics should be properly addressed so that the troops will not be seen as another warring faction.

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