

Theoretical And Doctrinal Foundations Of Nigeria's Peace Support Operations – A Critique

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Abstract: *The theoretical and doctrinal focus of the Nigerian peace support operations is based on what has been described by one security practitioner as “fire next door.” This is based on pure humanitarianism devoid of national interest. This has been the philosophy of Nigeria’s peace keeping since in the 1960s, now nomenclatured as Peace Support Operation (PSO). The problem with the Nigerian and indeed African approach to PSOs is that a deeper investigation are not carried out on the dynamics of structural violence, based on the global social relations as the basis of world peace crises. In most cases, the secondary causal variables of crises such as ethnic differences, sectional and cultural differences are seen as the causes of the peace crises. Such approaches are not focused on the dynamics of economic inequalities as the structures that generate the crises, violence and wars, especially, in the periphery of capital. This research work, therefore, investigated the causes of structural violence that always lead to wars that Nigeria has always been called upon to keep peace. We have found out that the global uneven-development, a product of the political economy of capital is responsible for the wars that Nigeria is been called upon to keep peace. In this regard, Nigeria is playing a negative sub-imperial role to sacrifice and sustain the mess Euro-American capital has created. The fact is that others create the crises while Nigeria is called upon to keep peace a “fire next door” humanitarian endeavours.*

Keywords: *Inequality, exploitation, structural violence, peacekeeping.*

I. Introduction

Without a very clear understanding of the causation of crises that have been engulfing most of the Third World or the periphery of capital, we would continue to sacrifice men and materials in the cause of blind ally in the name of Peace Support Operations. Alveres (1991:xv) said that the extension of the personality of the West to the non-Western world can be directly correlated with an increase in the sum total of poverty, pain, and destruction in that part of the globe. As such, we are gradually reaching the stage when it will be possible to proclaim the arrival of a new principle: “the greatest unhappiness of the greatest possible number.” Caude Alveres said that he would want to agree with those historians who tend to see the colonial and neo-colonial disruptions of southern nations as having been very often exaggerated. He said he would differ a bit: that the colonial impact has been small precisely because we are at the beginning of the real colonial age. As the comprehensive disintegration of the non-Western societies was yet to come. In his opinion, the traumatic event would only be precluded, if the Western paradigm is checked immediately in its influence over the southern real world and its mind, if it is relativised or relegated to where it once had its origins (Alveres 1991: xvi).

Camilleri (1978:7) said, the moral and psychological trauma which the Vietnam War helped to create within the consciousness and institutions of American society has provided perhaps the most explicit revelation of the bureaucratic growth and political polarisation characteristic of all advanced capitalist and even socialist societies. The ensuing pyramid of power reduces most people to (mere) spectators of a profound social disorder which they perceive but cannot correct. As for the small elite situated at the top of the pyramid, it is hardly in a position to take remedial action as its basis of power lies in the maintenance of the status quo. Thus the global infrastructures of violence are laid by the most advanced industrial nations as they dominate the trade flows of the underdeveloped countries, monopolise their manufacturing outlets by channeling their great bulk of investment capital both private and public and also determine the prices of their main exports (Camilleri 1978:9). Thus Joseph A. Camilleri stressed;

In spite of the powerful military components underpinning the pyramidal structure of the world economy, it has not been possible thus far – and undoubtedly it will become increasingly difficult in the future for the existing economic disparities to be maintained without violent resistance. However, the forces of the existing order, far from acceding to the increasingly militant demands of distributive justice, appear more determined than ever to defend present institutions and power structures, and where necessary to do so by force.

The international system thus appears set on a collision course which will inexorably lead to more violence (Camilleri 1978:9).

The global economic inequality has been generating global violence which is always more tensed up in the periphery of capital or Third World. It has been the basis of the phenomena of failed states across the Southern hemisphere resulting in civil wars which call for peace-keeping, peace-enforcements, peace-building and Peace Support Operations (PSOs). Boutros Ghali, a former UN Secretary General was cited by UNICEF (1995:3) publication as saying that "...the direct aggression by one country against another has now become rare, the traditional concept of security, the international security of states that was the original purpose of the United Nations – has been largely achieved." Boutros Boutros Ghali has identified direct aggression or direct violence between one state and another but he did not address the issue of structural violence which is basically a product of the nature of the integration of the Third World economy into the advanced capitalist system. The then Secretary General did not go beyond ruminating within the traditional Western view which borders on reductionism rather than the causes of insecurity globally. He stressed;

..there is today a *new crisis in human security*. And its most obvious manifestations are increasing internal conflicts, mass migration to marginal lands and urban slums, frustrated aspirations, rising social tensions, and the disaffection of large numbers of people from their societies, their value systems, their governments and their institutions. Internationally, the new threats include the increase in the number of failed states and in the need for international intervention... (Boutros Ghali cited in UNICEF 1995:3).

Structural dependence and indeed its features of underdevelopment results in structural violence, a product of the lopsided nature of the global political economy of stark inequality between the industrialised countries and the underdeveloped states of the Southern hemisphere (Camilleri 1978, Offiong 1980; Walshe 1994). The structural violence of the global political economy is an enduring feature of capital which intensity is felt more in the periphery more than in the core of capital. In this respect, Marx and Engels (1977: 289) said, "While, therefore, the crises first produce revolutions on the continent (Western mainland Europe), the foundation for this, nevertheless was always laid in England. Violent outbreaks must naturally occur in the extremities of the bourgeois body since the possibility of adjustment is greater here than there." These features of capital still remain with us today and not until we bend backward to locate the trends of the political economy of imperialism we would not be able to trace capitalism and its global infrastructures of violence resulting in civil wars that call for Peace Support Operations in most of the Third World.

However, the cult of recency and indeed crude recencism have made us to locate civil wars at the evils of leaders alone and lack of good governance. In as much as the foregoing are true, they are not the primary causal variables of the crises that degenerate to civil wars which call for Peace Support Operations for which Nigerians and Nigeria have made enormous sacrifices which have been "appreciated" by the international community, principally the advanced capitalist world for which Nigerians have been playing sub-imperial roles. Nigeria's sub-imperial role which is a negative one and not positive one was expressed by two Federal Ministers, Zanna Buka Dipcharima (Trade) and Waziri Ibrahim (Economic Development) in the House of Representatives debate on government proposals for the 1962-68 National Development Plan and they were against rapid economic changes. According to Osoba (1978:64-9) they were against quick economic changes because of fear of imperialism as they felt that imperialists have got various means to defend their monopoly including the mass media and even assassinations. And so the status quo must be maintained.

In the area of defence policy of which Peace Support Operations is a sub-set, its aid to Nigeria's foreign policy is in much weakened position. It was in this respect for the whole of Africa that Kwame Nkrumah suggested the formation of an African High Command to make Africans more effective to intervene to save the Congo. Nigeria shot that idea or dream in the foot. In the view of Nkrumah, such a Command was essential because separately, African countries did not have the military strength to exercise any real weight in international politics; with a united force their views could not be ignored (Nkrumah 1966:86). Almost fifty years after Kwame Nkrumah floated the idea of an African High Command and was shot down, the neo-conservative United States lobbyist scared of its energy security concerns and its anti-terrorism campaign of the Department of Defence have spearheaded the creation of a unified and separate African Command (AFRICOM) reported by *Time Magazine* of August 2006. In addition Nigeria is seeking a military cooperation with the United States. International Politics is said to be nothing but the struggle for power. The dictum of capitalism is the "survival of the fittest" as such the powerful getting closer to a weaker nation shows a point of weakness and can result in further weakening of the weaker state. This is the crux of the matter that of imperialism and the continuation of Nigeria's sub-imperial role which Victor Malu was the only courageous Service Chief to have spoken against it.

II. The Place Of Theory

Theoretically, one is of the view that Nigeria in her Peace Support Operations plays a sub-imperial role not in the positive but in the negative stance. As with the Nigerian defence policy that has not been adequately

informed by the knowledge of theoretical issues involved in defence policy thinking (Asobie 1988:17), the same can be said of Nigeria's Peace Support Operations. The hard-headed defence policies of the advanced nations are extensions of their economic diplomacy based on realism or power politics which define their actions in trans-Atlantic chattel slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism and their current roles in global political economy. Equally, is the dismantling of socialism, an anti-thetical economy to capitalism led by the capitalist struggles that crumbled the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. These facts from their historical stand points have been properly documented in a publication by Sayers and Kahn (1975) titled *The Great Conspiracy*. The global conspiratorial dynamics of capitalism and their machinations in the Congo made Nkrumah (1966:29) warned: If we allow the independence of the Congo to be compromised in any way by the imperialist and capitalist forces, we shall expose the sovereignty and independence of all of Africa to grave risk. The struggle of the Congo is therefore our struggle. It is incumbent on us to take our stand by our brothers in the Congo in full knowledge that only Africa can fight for its destiny. In this struggle we shall not reject the assistance and support from our friends, but we will yield to no enemy, however strong.

Thus the *Challenge of the Congo* is here with us from the 1960s to date in the various Civil Wars in Africa, caused by underdevelopment extending to the entire Third World requiring Nigeria's pervasive Peace Support Operations in a negative sub-imperial role. One is not against Peace Support Operations but the eulogisation of Nigeria's Peace Support Operations is premised on the dominant paradigm by majority of scholars of Nigerian foreign policy both national and foreigners who view her role in theory and reality as a purposive and truly independent actor in international politics. This is the realist paradigm which informs the official view of the Nigerian state and its dominant classes. However, a second school of thought with a critical minority since 1970s sees the structural integration of the Nigerian economy and its national comprador/rentier bourgeoisie into the international capitalist order constituting a major constraint on the ability of the bourgeoisie, even if it were willing to change radically this structure of dependence (Osoba, 1978:69). This is the theory that informs the dynamics of the whole historical focus of Nigeria's Peace Support Operations. In this respect Nwolise (2007:2001) said:

President Sukarno in his days rightly identified neo-colonialist machinations as the key obstacle to the development of the fatherland (Indonesia), and insisted that neocolonialism must be smashed if the country will move forward. In Nigeria, our leaders defend and promote neo-colonialist interests. Nwolise was hot on the use of Nigeria for PSOs by Europe-American imperialism and abandoned her mid-stream and after peace to harvest the gains excluding Nigeria. Such has been the ball game in Nigeria's PSOs from the Congo to date (Nwolise 2007: 200-211). However, Nwolise did not tell us of the infrastructures of dependence that forces Nigeria to play a negative sub-imperial role in PSOs, negative in the sense that her sacrifices are far greater than she benefits from Peace Support Operations. In the first Peace Keeping Operations by Nigeria in the Congo in the early 1960s, our troops looked the other way while Rome burnt. Such was the way other UN Peace Keepers behaved hence we sacrificed Patrice Lumumba to the forces of imperialism despite the fact that the UN had more than 20,000 troops in the Congo (Nkrumah 1966:93) cited Mr Boucetta, Morocco's representative at the UN 917th meetings. Fawzi, a representative of the United Arab Republic said at the UN 916th meeting on the Congo thus:

Are we in the United Nations, merely to adopt paper resolutions and express futile resentments if those resolutions are flouted and looked on with disdain? Are we to continue forever to talk about helping the Congo, while imperialism helps itself to the Congo...? A new, more realistic and responsible approach by all of us to the present situation and eventually to other situations has become imperative...to attain this objective it is evident that the obstacles in our way should be promptly removed. By far the biggest and the worst of such obstacles is imperialism, recurrent, obstinate and dominating at present the whole of the Congo scene. No one here or elsewhere can doubt that, as long as there is imperialist presence in the Congo even under a different name there will continue to be dissension, 'stoogism' and disruption of every concept of Congolese independence and territorial integrity (Nkrumah 1966:91 cited Fawzi, a representative of the UAR at the UN 916th meeting on the Congo).

In our crudity based on contemporaneity in historical moments, we abhor critical, scientific, dialectical linkage between the past and the present and as such we project into a fuzzy future based on eclecticism. The fact that we beat our chest on our success in the Congo in the early 1960s in Peace-Keeping (Simbine-Okoosi: 2007:33) smarks off a terrible ignorance of the global infrastructures of peace crises. The entire edited work of Alexander Ogomudia contains a lot of well researched work on PSOs based mostly on contemporary historical moment but lacks indepth theoretical perspectives on the global infrastructures of peace crises. As such, the persistent peace crises in the Congo DRC, the depth of the crises that happened in Rwanda and Burundi; the escalations of the Angolan crises prior to the death of Johannes Savimbi and that of Mozambique; the cessations and rebirth of peace crises in Darfur Sudan, Somalia, Corte de Voire and the Great Lakes are explained away in ethnic irredentism. Hence, African strategies, including the conventional security strategies with a mere window dressing of alternative security strategies are employed covering up the culprit

and only exposing the local collaborators without a linkage to global infrastructures of violence. We should heed the warning of Babu (1981:14) thus:

... the ruling classes of Western imperialist powers have vested interest in our misinterpreting realities of current affairs since our ignorance can be exploited for their strategies of world domination, especially their economic exploitation of Africa.

We look at the issues of PSOs from the doctrine of humanitarianism, moral indignations and the so-called world peace which inform basic UN position on Peace Support Operations. The UN has never turned to examine imperialism, their local collaborators and crises they generate even in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The former Organisation of African Unity (OAU) now African Union (AU) with the triumph of the Monrovia group headed by Nigeria instead of the Casablanca group headed by Kwame Nkrumah prepared the OAU and now AU for a sub-imperial role as Nigeria in continental peace matters. Hence its sub-servience to imperialism in its idea of peace and Peace Support Operations in the African continent and beyond. Lenin (1978:84) defined imperialism as a stage in the development of capitalism resulting in the emergence of monopoly financial capital dominating the global economy through a pronounced export of capital and the emergence of giant trust internationally leading to the division of the backward territories among the capitalist powers having been completed. Parenti (1992:1099) defined imperialism to "...mean the process whereby the dominant economic and political elements (ruling classes of advanced capital-my emphasis) of one nation expropriate for their own benefit the land, labour, raw materials and markets of another nation." This is the basis of global structural violence resulting in wastages of Nigeria and other nations' human and material resources including the advanced capitalist nations in global Peace Support Operations.

The definition of imperialism by Amicar Cabral brings out the basis of imperialism and its local collaborators as generators of structural global violence. Unless we grasp the basic kernel of his definition we will continue to ruminate in received paradigm. He defined imperialism as:

... the world-wide expression of profit motive and ever-increasing accumulation of surplus value by monopoly financial capital in two regions of the world; first in Europe and later in North America...if we wish to place the fact of imperialism within the general direction of the evolution of the epoch –making factor that has changed the face of the world, capital and the process of its accumulation-we might say that imperialism is piracy transplanted from the seas to dry land, piracy reorganised, consolidated and adapted to the aim of plundering the material and human resources of our people (Cabral 1980:127).

III. Beyond The Dynamics And Pretense Of The Present

We are always deceived by the humanitarianism of the perpetrators of global violence. We are equally deceived by their slogans of democracy, human rights and good governance which actually they partially practice at their home states but perpetuate the reverse in the underdeveloped countries. Underdevelopment perpetuated in the backward societies by imperialism is the greatest generator of global stark inequalities and the basis of structural violence and indeed terrorism. This is the thesis of this research which states that calls always for PSOs and for which we have sacrificed very hugely in men and materials results in our continued maintenance of the status quo. The enormous human and material resources we sacrifice in Nigeria's far flung humanitarian Peace Support Operations have not always been done with a thorough analysis of the situations we have always found ourselves in the various Peace Support Operations across the globe. If we had cared to do that, we would have done better in our PSOs world-wide.

Babu (1972:316) said "if by looking into the past we know the present, to know the future we must look into the past and the present". Our intellectual penury in the examination of the historical process, records and the forces behind them have made us accept consciously or unconsciously such historical forces which are powerful, vicious and diabolical as partners in progress. Abdulrahman M. Babu's methodology which is acceptable to us and is applied as the fundamental basis of this research work is the dialectical process which shuns the prevailing cult of recency and crude recencism of Euro-American scholarship and their African cohorts. Thus dialectical analysis focuses on interconnections and the relatedness of different elements of social, especially economic structures, social structures, political structures and the cultural belief systems. Our method assumes some relationship between all the social structures (Ake1981: 4, Tedheke 1998: 85).

Johan Galtung distinguished three types of violence relevant to the comprehension of peace and the conditions that create lack of peace or unpeaceful situations. He itemised them as; (i) direct violence, that is, physical, emotional and psychological violence; (ii) structural violence, that is, deliberate policies and structures that cause human sufferings, death and harm, and (iii) cultural violence, that is, cultural norms and practices that create discriminations, injustices and human sufferings. Galtung also expanded the concept of peace that also specified two aspects of peace which are (i) negative peace, that is, the absence of direct violence, war, fear and conflict at the individual, national, regional and the international levels; and (ii) positive peace, that is, the absence of unjust structures, unequal relationships, justice and inner peace at the individual level (Galtung 1996, Francis 2007: 18).

Galtung, a liberal scholar did not sufficiently give us the inner kernel of structural violence, especially at its global dynamics that give birth to violence at the individual, national, regional, continental and indeed international levels. As such, John Galtung can be classified as belonging to the structural-functionalist paradigm which states that certain structures when in disequilibrium result in conflict or war. The inadequacy of Galtung's structural violence thesis and his proliferations of forms of violence divorcing the direct and the cultural from the social structure demands another paradigm to explain the dynamics of violence and indeed structural violence. In his theory of dialectical materialism Karl Marx gave out the structural contradictions based on production relations that give birth to irreconcilable contradictions that give rise to endemic structural violence. The neo-Marxist or the dependency and underdevelopment school also talks of the structures of dependency and underdevelopment that have given birth to the peace question in the Third World. Thus Magubane (1969:538) emphasized correctly the role of social structure in the understanding of African conflicts. In this respect, he argued that serious efforts at understanding African conflicts cannot ignore the question of the ownership of the primary productive forces. This would include the consideration of the material basis of society, the nature of the social system, the political organisation, the structure of social consciousness, the ideological and socio-psychological orientation of the members of the society, views of the ruling classes and various social groups and the rivalry between the various groupings within the ruling circles (Magubane 1969 cited by Nnoli 1978:19). The foregoing instead of fragmenting peace studies apply the holistic model in understanding the peace question.

According to Nwankwo (1987:23), we as a people and indeed the military have a poor understanding of the African condition as we ignore the structural contradictions and the crises of hegemony which promote upheavals, violent crises which resulted in coups and counter forces. An aspect of this structural contradictions is a very weak dependent economy of peripheral capitalism based on enclave and weak economy which perpetuates centrifugal forces instead of centripetal forces or the *resolution of the national question*. Another aspect of this contradiction is the heavy dependence of the backward societies of the Third World on imperialism that has evolved heavily asymmetrical relations of exploitation leading to economic crises that create foundations for political crises and the increasing violence in dependent capitalist states or social formations. Violence and crises that degenerate into most intra-state shooting wars that Nigeria is called to arms for Peace Support Operations all over the globe are cases in point.

The contradictions that call Nigeria to arms for peace are imperialistic and neo-colonialist despite the fact that Nigeria beats its chest of tremendous achievements in her Peace Support Operations across the world. Halloran (1996:6) cited Kishore Mabhubani, an intellectual and a senior official of Singapore that it is difficult for a European or North American to understand the momentous nature of the psychological revolution taking place in East Asia countries because they cannot step into East Asia minds. Since their minds have never been wrapped in the cellophane of colonialism which the Asians see as the greatest threat to their security. This positive conclusion by Kishore Mabhubani is a product of a correct and a well focused assessment of the dynamics of imperialism as a global perpetrator of violence and wars since its emergence at the demise of feudalism in Europe at the end of the Middle Ages. This is the *Long View of History* (Novack 1968) of structural violence and indeed intra-state wars resulting in failed states of post colonial 20th century in Africa and the Third World which have extended to the 21st century.

Walter Rodney asserted that "...the processes by which captives were obtained on the African soil was not trade at all. It was through warfare, trickery, banditry and kidnapping. When one tries to measure the effects of European chattel slavery on the continent, it is very essential to realise that one is measuring the effect of social violence rather than trade in any normal sense of the word" (Rodney 1972:104). Africans were dehumanised in this structural violence which was transferred by capitalist imperialism from its nascent emergence as a world dominating economic system and was intensified under colonialism and indeed neo-colonialism. These structures of global violence are never discussed concretely by the dominant Western intellectuals of the liberal tradition which is the dominant literature in Peace Support Operations to situate the historical origins of the capitalist structural violence. Martin (2005:69) noted that:

... from the trans-Atlantic slave trade of the 15th-19th centuries to the diseases, epidemics and wars of present time, the West has consciously, consistently and systematically pursued policies designed to control, reduce and eliminate altogether African population for the avowed purpose of gaining exclusive access to the continent's best agricultural land to service its commodity requirements, as well as its vast mineral resources, particularly those deemed strategic.

The historical chain of structural violence or terrorism on Africa became intensified after the industrial revolution of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. With the James Watts's device and perfection, slave labour became obsolete but another role for Africa in structural violence will be invented and it was that of colonialism that dove-tailed from the so-called legitimate commerce. Attention of the West was focused on the bulkanisation and annexation of African territories for the exploitation of the material and human resources of

our people and also to realise surplus value. With this event, another spate of structural terrorism or violence was unleashed on Africa and Africans. Moana Jackson cited by Martin (2005:2) said:

For hundreds of years, the states of Europe developed a culture which was lived beyond Europe. They developed that culture before capitalism was invented as an economic theory. They invented it before socialism was concocted as a theory. Its current expression, the recurrent ideology of neo-liberalism, is simply the latest manifestation of the centuries –old culture of indigenous dispossession.

Structural violence has been the inner kernel of capitalism on a war path which was not new but has been the dynamics of the historical process of globalised capitalist imperialism from its mercantile age through the trans-Atlantic chattel slavery till today. Despite the fact that capitalism pretended to be humanistic, it has in theory and practice been the most barbaric of all civilisations and indeed the most violent producing two so-called World Wars out of the greed of the realisation problem. Apart from the horrendous and the holocaust attendant to the trans-Atlantic chattel slavery, the pogrom by Belgium capital in the Congo in which Walter Rodney claimed that about six million Africans were massacred, the Herero massacres by Germany and that of Algeria and Libya by France and Italy respectively, colonial wars of conquest were forcibly imposed on Africans because of the greed of capital in its realisation problems and others which detailed accounts were given by writers all proving to have endemic structural violence against the backward peoples (Rodney 1972, Martin 2005; Tedheke 1998).

The rise of mercantilism and consequently the development of capitalism intensified accumulation on individual and world scale by emergent nascent capital. This was the period of accumulation without production or what Karl Marx called *primitive accumulation*. It was the interment of the Africans without which capital would not have resurrected and blossomed today to become the highest organised elements of structural violence or terrorism on humanity, mostly the Africans of the 20th and the 21st century. Such was not just discovered in post-feudal Europe and North America but a cultural value inherited from the Greek of antiquity. The cultural core value of the Greek informed their morality and it became, therefore, difficult to establish female virtues of trust, sympathy and considerations that were necessary for democratic urban life (Lowry 1991:9). These are the same values being peddled and bandied around by the International Monetary Funds (IMF), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (BRD) popularly known as World Bank and the so-called multinational corporations today, values carried over to post-Cold War global politics. Thus Lowry (1991:11) concludes:

From the point of view of modern economic theory and security analysis this background is very important because it is the intellectual ferment from which our tradition of rational calculation of social values and calculated dealings with others have descended.

The fact that the global ruling ideas take dominance over the United Nations and its agencies, the philosophical underpinnings of this world body have always been evasive and eclectic. As such, illusions are foisted on the rest of us and pushed down our throats, no matter how unsavoury it tastes. According to Meszaros (1986:xv), “The myth of ‘organic unity’ dominated ideological discourse ever since social intercourse had to conform to the material imperatives of securing the continuity of production within the potentially explosive framework of the hierarchical social division of labour that repeatedly changed its forms in the course of history but not its exploitative substance.” The first modern dynamics of structural violence was the trans-Atlantic chattel slavery in black skins, followed by the period of colonialism, neo-colonialism and now globalisation. These are all phases of capitalist imperialism and its structural violence on humanity. It is a product of capitalism and its law of uneven-development in which this social system creates in its anti-human forms the structures that result in violence in individual countries and across the globe. It results from the eternal greed of capital which leads to its periodic crises one of such is the current so-called global financial meltdown. How this causes structural violence and how Nigeria is called to arms for PSOs is the next focus of this work. *The Long Views of History* became necessary to establish a scientific linkage between structural violence and the global carrier of this violence and how such results into failed states and intra-state wars which keep Nigeria on edge for global and pervasive Peace Support Operations.

IV. Cold War And Post Cold War Structural Violence And Nigeria's Peace Support Operations

Unless reality is fully understood it cannot be transformed in a way that is desirable. As such the mystification of social and political processes through the use of secondary causal variables and posing them as primary or prominent important contradictions instead of the secondary contradictions they are, poses serious dangers to understanding the global infrastructures of violence. For example, Nigeria and indeed most of Africa, and the Third World limit their analysis of structural violence to inter-ethnic struggles, in other words, to primordial considerations. Nothing is said about the structural imbalances in the global political economy and indeed the ever increasing deteriorating terms of trade that always result in crises of confidence between the people and their governments in the so-called developing countries. Nothing is equally said about the intrigues

of the advance industrial societies in the affairs of the underdeveloped countries (Offiong 1980:243). This was the case of the backward societies in the period of the Cold War and also the same thing in post-Cold War Africa and some other Third World societies that are held captive in Adam Smith's *comparative advantage* or the global international division of labour. The international division of labour makes the Third World junior partners in the global stratifications in political and economic power relations which make them easier targets for distablisations for the economic interests of the dominant international capital or imperialism.

The issues in structural violence in the international division of labour that places the Third World in serious disadvantages have resulted in the distabilisation of many of these countries during the Cold War period and even in post-Cold War Africa. That was not all, the economic and indeed strategic interests of the advance industrialised countries, especially, those of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) also dictate the dynamics of the international relations between the industrialised Northern hemisphere and the underdeveloped and dependent Southern hemisphere. There are two strands in the imperialist scheme of distabilisation, the struggle to dominate and control regions of strategic mineral or raw material resources and the murderous deterioration in terms of trade against the backward societies. These two dynamics of imperialist interests have led to wars and crises in intra-state affairs in many Third World Countries for which Nigeria has always been called to arms in Peace Support Operations.

The first post-independence Nigeria Peace Support Operations was in the Congo, an area which abounds in strategic minerals. Martin (2005) located the co-occurrence of post-Cold War civil wars in the Great Lakes of Africa in the strategic minerals in the area needed by the industrialised states. Offiong (1980:181-3) also detailed the proportion of strategic mineral supply from Southern Africa to the Western World. He also states how the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had to distabilise the Congo (former Zaire) now the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) through the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisations' encouragement of the Belgians not to leave the then Congo Leopoldville resulting in the crises that led to calling Nigeria under the United Nations to Peace-Keeping Operations in the Congo from 1960-64. Daniel Offiong had detailed the enormity of Western dependence on strategic minerals from the Southern African Sub-region which impacted negatively on the stability of the Congo and the invitation by Patrice Lumumba to the UN to send in Peace Keepers. The fact remains that Nigerian analysts stop at the Cold War politics of the Congolese crises from 1960-64 and even the coup that brought Colonel Joseph Desire Mobutu to power but would not examine the issues of foreign economic interests in the crises of the Congo now DRC. In restricting the African crises to primordialism or other secondary causal variables Nnoli (1978:13) warned: By diverting attention away from imperialist exploitation and the resultant distortion of African economic and social structures, ethnicity performs the function of mystification and obscurantism. Consequently, it helps to perpetuate imperialism and militate against the imperative of revolutionary struggle by hampering the development of a high level of political consciousness by its victims.

The lack of understanding of the dynamics of the Congolese crises, the linkage between that crisis and the strategic mineral needs of the West covered-up in something called Cold War politics between the West and the East would make us not to see the real strategic interests involved. The post-Cold War crises in the Great Lakes Region of Africa have dismissed the Cold War thesis as Nigeria and Africa have equally been called to arms for peacekeeping in that region spreading from Burundi, Rwanda, Congo Brazzaville now Republic of the Congo to DRC and Angola, an area which abounds in strategic minerals in demand by the NATO global hegemonist of imperialism. This dismissal of the Cold War thesis would not ignore totally its role in the first Congolese crises but rather restricts it to secondary causal variable where it rightly belongs. If Cold War politics is anything to go by, it must be situated between capitalism and socialism in their struggle for world hegemony. This brings out the economic dimension. If Nigeria consciously or unconsciously aided the interest of the West in the Congo, then it played a negative sub-imperial role in Congolese peacekeeping from 1960-64. One is not passing blames because it could be an unconscious act and out of ideological deficiency. According to Cabral (1980:122):

The ideological deficiency, not to say the total lack of ideology, on the part of national liberation movements-which is basically explained by ignorance of the historical reality which these movements aspire to transform – constitutes one of the greatest weaknesses, if not the greatest weakness of our struggle against imperialism.

Nothing proves the foregoing case more than Nigeria's sub-imperial role in the Congolese Peacekeeping of 1960-64 and Nigeria has not advanced today beyond the dictates of the Congolese Peacekeeping philosophy and doctrine. This is the *Challenge of the Congo*, the challenge not to surrender to imperialism in its global hegemonic drive, in its drive to maintain us as junior partners in the international division of labour. The challenge not to aid the sorcerer that created the diseases and call us to provide the cure but to identify it and work for real interest of humanity. Over a century ago, a Guatemalan foreign minister was quoted to have said prophetically: "It would be strange if the remedy should come from the United States, the same place which brings us the disease" (Galeano 1973:17). The ideological mishap would make Nigeria

to perform a sub-imperial role either knowingly or unknowingly in the Congo and to date. This ideological poverty which is the *Challenge of the Congo* would make Nigeria's Peace Support Operations to aid others' interest instead of Nigeria's national interests. We have cited earlier Osisioma B.C Nwolise who said that Nigeria defends neo-colonial interests rather than those of Nigeia.

The same thing that resulted in the collapse of Nigeria's First Republic also brought the collapse of Ghana, Tanzania and the 1964 Brazalian coup. This was the fall in the prices of primary export crop commodities of these states. In Ghana, Nkrumah doubled the production of cocoa from 209,000 metric tons in 1958 which were sold for \$204, 471, 080 to 427,700 metric tons in 1963 that sold for \$220,157, 1960 (Offiong 1989 244-5). This drastic fall in world commodity prices resulted in the 1964 coup in Tanganyinka (now Tanzania) that resulted in the invitation to Nigeria to restore peace in that country. The collapse in commodity prices have been contributing to great instabilities resulting in one crisis after the other in the Third World. It is a product of global economic structural violence. In the 1960s, the deteriorating terms of trade resulted in coups and counter coups in many countries in the Third World. The same was true in the post-Cold War Africa as the terms of trade have worked against the stability of the African continent in the 1990s resulting in intra-state crises across Africa. According to Walshe (1994:29).

Roughly speaking, from '86 to '90 Africa lost about \$60 billion simply by the fall in price of exports. Now that's more than \$12 billion a year lost, simply because prices of cocoa, coffee, cotton, and the rest, including copper, is coming down. It is not that Africa is producing less, rather the terms of trade were shifting against the continent.

Walshe concluded thus:

The second point is the extra ordinary debt service problem. The clearest way to see this is that Africa as you know, has had stagnating economies over the last decade. If you were to take 1980, the gross national product of Sub-Saharan Africa, the total goods and services produced, were equal to \$205 billion. If we come through to 1990, the gross national product had fallen to \$144 billion. So Africa had become poorer, while the population was expanding. The debt service problem had become greater in that context....the debt for Sub-Saharan Africa for 1980 was \$56 billion outstanding, which if you work it out, was about 28% of its GNP. By ...1990 the GNP had shrunk and the debt had gone up enormously from \$56 billion to \$161 billion. If you work that out, it is about 110% of GNP. Now people think of the debt service issue as a Latin America problem. The debt service ratio for Latin America is, I think, at the moment about 35% to 38%. Africa is 110%.

The Chadian Peacekeeping Operation was also at the beginning of a global economic crises for which Nigeria became the sole sponsor of the operation. The Chad Mission Harmony I of 1979 was bilateral between Nigeria and Chad and the Harmony II of 1981-82 was sponsored by the OAU but whose bills Nigeria picked up because the Organisation could not pay. Nigeria equally made the heaviest commitments to ECOWAS mission (ECOMOG) in Liberia 1990-1997; and to Sierra Leone 1998-2002 among others. In these and other similar peace missions, Nigeria virtually bore the financial expenses (Nwolise 2007). The doctrine of humanitarianism, being our brothers' keeper or fire next door philosophy in addition to maintenance of the so-called global peace and security influenced and motivated Nigeria in these matters. However, the causes of these violence, especially, the primary causal variables are hidden because if known such would expose the global material relations of structural violence of imperialism and its local collaborators across the globe for which Nigeria has been called for peacekeeping under the UN, OAU (AU), ECOWAS and bilateral arrangements.

V. Global Structural Violence Of Imperialism And Nigeria's Peace Support Operations: What Are The Gains?

We take the enemy to be Charles Taylor, Forday Sanko, Johanes Savimbi, Mujahadeen, Janjaweez, among others, - all are half truths but who created them? Recent revelations confirmed that Charles Taylor worked for Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). It is the global infrastructures of capital and indeed its imperialist violence against humanity. It happens in two ways, direct violence by imperialism in colonial wars of conquest, imposed wars, for example, those of Vietnam, Nicaragua and the Middle East that have polarised those regions, extending the spheres of global violence thus calling for peacekeeping. As we confront the flash points across the globe of humanitarian disasters in peacekeeping, a product of the degenerate strategies of imperialist world domination, we are equally playing a sub-imperial role. Global structural violence today calling for recurrent peacekeeping or Peace Support Operations are deadly virus comparable to HIV/AIDS that escaped from imperialist laboratory in its global hegemonic drive, an aspect of biological terrorism. In Africa, we have succumbed to it in all its negative forms such as killing ourselves in intra-state wars calling for PSOs leading to a monumental wastage of material and human resources in the continent. This is why we can no longer ignore a thorough study of these phenomena of structural violence in Africa.

Economics of structural violence have been the fundamental issue in global flash point multiplication that have called for PSOs all over the world. Economics of structural violence have resulted in Cold War and

post-Cold War global politics in failed states in the Third World. Global intrigue of capital to maintain its global hegemony has been at issue in the intensification of these crises that always called Nigeria to arms in Peace Support Operations across the globe. Intensity in global structural violence and indeed in Africa according to Martin (2005) has been on the agenda of imperialism from its mercantile period of the trans-Atlantic chattel slavery through colonialism to date. Nigeria's ignorance of the situation makes us to absorb imperialism from blame and as such we blame only their African purveyor belts as the criminals and we jump in relief as they are being tried across the globe for war crimes. One can never defend these humanitarian criminals that have sent millions of Africans and world citizens to their untimely deaths and many crippled for life in their madness in aid of imperialist interest to weaken, especially, Africans after the trauma of colonialism and now neo-colonialism.

Bowen (1996:3) has noted that much recent discussions in international affairs have been based on the misleading assumption that the world is fraught with primordial ethnic conflicts. Some of these conflicts involve ethnic or cultural identity, but most (if not all) are about getting more power, land or other resources. They do not result from ethnic diversity, thinking that they do sends us off in pursuit of wrong policies, tolerating rulers who incite riots and suppress ethnic differences. However, as the tradition of Western scholars, J.R. Bowen did not tell us the external arm of structural violence. Joseph Desire Mobutu was encouraged by the CIA and indeed the entire Congo crises was a product of imperialist manipulations in something called Cold War politics. Offiong (1980:163-194) has detailed American Cold War politics in CIA's distabilisation in Africa and across the globe. Sayers and Kahn (1975) gave account of the horrendous distabilisation of the young Russian Communist State until the former Soviet Union finally fell in the late 1990s to Western strategy of *Containment of Communism*. Camilleri (1976) titled his book *Civilisation in Crisis: Human Prospect in a Changing World*.

We should be able to know what we are sacrificing for and how to go about it not in ignorance in the name of nebulous humanitarianism and global peace or security. Nigeria has lost out in sacrifices in both human and material resources enormously since her advent into PSOs from 1960 to date. We have sacrificed in conflicts generated by imperialism and their local collaborators in and outside Africa. Simbine-Okoosi (2004) said that Nigeria gained immensely despite her enormous contributions and that these gains are in most cases intangible. These gains she said include exposure of our peacekeepers and allowances paid to our soldiers by the UN and other minor gains. Accepted that these are gains, what about Nigeria's sacrifices? In Liberia and Sierra-Leone alone, Nigeria spent between \$9 billion to \$12 billion as stated in the findings of Nwolise (2007: 201) and Atoyebi (2007:194) respectively. The so-called Nigerian gains from peacekeeping from 1960 to date are, therefore, pyrrhic victories or gains. Peace researchers that want to lure us to sleep are as dangerous as imperialism itself. We need to sacrifice for global peace but we have to know what we are sacrificing for. That Nigeria has sacrificed enormously and gain just marginally have to be truly established. The issue of gains should not be blown out of proportion because it will criminally lure Nigeria and indeed Africa into deep sleep of terrible ignorance. Cheik anta Diop of Senegal said "I would want to sleep but the indolence of this generation would not allow me to sleep."

Nigeria's enormous sacrifices have been done to sustain the global status quo of structural violence hence it is sub-imperial in nature. Imperialism and their African collabaoators created the African crises which are crises of underdevelopment. Nwakwo (1987:16) said that our problem lie in the acceptance of the misinterpretations of African realities by Euro-America conventional social science which lags behind the essential features of the African condition. As such the amorphous nature of categories used by Euro-American reactionary social science for explaining the African condition has been uncritically plagiarised by the African ruling class and their intellectual megaphone who employ such concepts which are inappropriate but still being juxtaposed on the African reality. As a result, the error of language has nursed a corresponding error of policy (Otero cited by Frank 1972:1). Hence Nwankwo (1987: 15) strongly stressed that:

The main task of political analysis should be to understand and explain, theoretically and empirically, how to mobilise and control active social forces operating in the milieu of militarised neo-colonialism. A related task is to recommend the necessary action in accordance with the cognised necessity, and from there to facilitate the struggle for dynamic stability.

Falola and Ihonvbere (1985:6) have observed that in a distorted, crises ridden and backward peripheral, capitalist society...where it has been the tradition of the dominant class to localise the unequal and exploitative relations of production, exchange and distribution, the state can hardly meet the basic needs of the people. Hence they correctly assert that "... the intra-bourgeois class struggle to win access to the state and thus preside over the allocation of public funds prompts the manipulation of the means of coercion, politicisation of the bureaucracy and armed forces, and the use of ethnic, and state and religious chauvinism." Thus Nwankwo (1987:19) noted that arising from the foregoing is a correlation between peripheralisation of socio-economic formation in a neo-colonial society and the regulated use of coercion in order to perpetuate the status quo. He asserts that the armed forces is part and parcel of class dynamics in society. Thus the violence which neo-

colonial society unleashes to perpetuate itself is equally capable of generating counter force for its own destruction (Nwankwo 1987:9 cited Falola and Ihonvbere 1985:6). The forgoing gives depth to the external and internal features of structural violence in neo-colonial social formations in the underdeveloped countries. It led to the collapse of countries like Uganda, Somalia, DRC, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cote d' Ivoire among others and their militaries. Thus it is dangerous to ape peace and security analysts of Western orientations who put their views forcefully to rationalise and justify their positions and pay, both in the military and capitalist sponsored Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Peace Support Operations' warped intellectualism.

Nigeria has been bearing the enormous burden of PSOs from 1960 to date and has committed a lot of human and material resources to the so-called global peace and security. Nigeria lost three soldiers in Liberia out of a total UN Peacekeeping casualties of 41 soldiers (Olurin 1979:60). Nigeria also lost six soldiers in Somalia. The crisis in Liberia and Sierra Leone claimed about 660 Nigerian soldiers, excluding some 800 others who were buried secretly to avoid public outcry (Atoyebi 2007:195 cited Malu 2004 Guardian 2004:15). Thus Nigeria has always been making the supreme sacrifices in terms of resources in human and material without adequate remunerations or returns. Nigeria has fallen into this trap and indeed vicious circle because of the lack of articulation of national interest in its defence, foreign policy and indeed Peace Support Operations. It is so because her PSOs and indeed doctrine is based on humanitarianism of fire next door and something called global peace and security. She does this to the advantages of imperialism that has been causing structural violence for all humanity, hence Nigeria's role in PSOs is negative sub-imperial role with little or very ephemeral gains which are pyrrhic.

VI. Conclusion

Nigeria's PSOs both at the continental level and the global level is done without a clear grasp of the infrastructures of global structural violence. This is a product of lack of understanding of the dynamics of the forces in operation in the global political economy, a product of the poverty of ideas. The ideological confusions in Nigeria's PSOs has been possible because Nigeria and indeed Africa has been caught in the web of the metropolitan imperialist globalising capital, its processes of warped class formations in the backward capitalist societies and their linkage with global dominant classes and their hegemonic hold over Nigeria's and Africa's official minds and indeed most of the colonised peoples. Marx and Engels (1977:38) said that with the world market at its grip, the bourgeoisie of the advanced industrial capitalist countries that pioneered industrialisation destroyed all old industries and drew all nations at the pain of extinction to adopt the bourgeois mode of production. Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels did live to see only the form and not the content of bourgeois mode of production in peripheral capitalism which has created the difference hence the sharp intensity of structural violence in the backward societies. This is what Peace Support Operations have always avoided hence we are always aiding the criminal and blaming the victim thus sustaining global imperialist hegemony, as such, our PSOs is steep in sub-imperial stance.

From the early 1960s Congo crisis (from 1960-1964) Nigeria has been playing a subservient role in its Peace Support Operations. She may have been beating its chest as the Vanguard of peace enforcement in Sierra Leone and Liberia and as the leading force in the West African sub-region and the continent of Africa. She may equally have been tumping its chest in its far flung Peace Support Operations across the globe. The naked truth is that Nigeria has been operating under the dynamics of the imperialist dictates and worst of all within the global purview of the forces of structural violence which she can do nothing to ameliorate. One of the factors that has kept Nigeria's PSOs prostrate is the lack of economic transformation of the Nigerian political economy, a product of prostrate ruling class that does not see farther than it's nose. Galeano's (1973:14) opinion on Latin America suites Nigeria thus: "Harnesses as they have always been to the constellation of imperialist powers, our ruling classes have no interest whatsoever in determining whether patriotism might not prove more profitable than treason, and whether begging is really the only formula for international politics. Sovereignty is mortgaged because, "there is no other way." What can explain the Nigeria predicament of sub-imperial role than the sudden sack of a Service Chief because he spoke against a military pact between Nigeria and the United States? It was a patriotic statement for which he paid dearly for. That it is time for Nigeria not to play a negative sub-imperial role was his crime. Cry the beloved country! Who will rescue us from a decadent sub-imperial peace support operation? Certainly not these neo-colonised minds whether in khaki or mufti!

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