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An Appraisal of Nigeria Peace Keeping Process in Darfur -Sudan

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Abstract

The art of external intervention as a strategy for conflict resolution and crisis management has been prominent among nations of the world. In Africa, Nigeria has been championing the course of peace in this respect since her independence. Peace keeping is a third party intervention which operates with a set of guiding principles that include the consent of the parties in conflict, impartiality and non use of force except on self defense. Again, foreign policy of any nation serves as a mirror of its domestic reality. It begins with identification and articulation of national interests. Nation's interest represents and serves the principal consideration in the formulation and execution of national policies especially in international relations. It's against this background that Nigeria maintained that 'Africa is the centre peace and security' in her foreign policy. Consequently, this paper is focused on the appraisal of Nigeria peace keeping efforts in Darfur region of Sudan from 2004-2015. Content analyses were used and system theory was adopted as a foundation to the research. Some of findings made are: 1. Nigeria's much engagements in peacekeeping operation are affecting her domestic affair. 2. Nigeria lack understanding of the nature of the conflict among parties, various forces at play and psychology/beliefs of the combatants before involving in the conflict process. 3. Terrain, climatic conditions as well as other challenges in Darfur has advert effect on the peace keepers. Recommendations proffered are 1. Nigeria should make adequate operational plans, mandate and focus that are well spelt out with achievable objectives before engaging in future peacekeeping operation. 2. Nigeria should understand understanding of the nature of the conflict among parties, various forces at play and psychology/beliefs of the combatants before involving in the conflict process. 3. Nigeria should adequately make necessary provision that will enable the peace keepers perform their duties appropriately and professional.

Keywords: Peace-Enforcement; Peacekeeping; Peace-building; Conflict Resolution and Sanction.

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Introduction

The territory of Sudan has since pre-colonial era been embroiled in conflict and strife at one time or the other, going as far back as the 7th century BC when the armies of ancient Egypt ventured into the area known as Kush. This was primarily to guard the forts built along the Nile to protect the trade routes supplying produce and slaves from the Nubian hinterland. Over the years, the conflict prone areas had been the south of Sudan and the western Darfur region. The Jumhuriyya as-Sudan or Republic of Sudan in the Sudan is the largest country in Africa and the 10th largest country in the world by land area. It is bordered by Egypt to the North, Red Sea to the Northeast, Eritrea and Ethiopia to the East, Kenya and Uganda to Southwest, Chad to the West and Libya to the Northwest. The country's name is derived from Arabic Bilad-al-sudan meaning "land of the blacks". Sudan gained her independence in 1956. The country has been on civil war 2 times and the 3rd one is the present armed conflict in the western region of Darfur. The conflict has attracted so much international attention because of the perceived genocide against black Darfurians by Sudanese government using Arab fighters. Pressure by international community prompted African Union and the UN to finally intervene in the conflict for interest of peace.

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According to Aliyu, (2005: 164-170); the present day territory of Sudan combines land of several ancient kingdoms including Kush, Darfur, and 3 Nubian kingdoms which thrived until the 19th century. Although Egypt claimed all of the present Sudan during most of the 19th century and established a province Equatorial in Southern Sudan to further this aim; it was unable to establish effective control over the area which remained an area of fragmented tribes subject to frequent attacks by slave raiders. In the later years of the Turkiyah, the British missionaries travelled from what is now modern day Kenya into the As-Sudd to convert the local tribes to Christianity. During the 1870s, European initiatives against the slave trade caused an economic crisis in the southern Sudan, precipitating the rise of Mahdist forces.

Theoretical Frame Work.

The theory used in this research work is systems theory. System theory was developed by David Easton in 1964. To him system theory in political system is like any other systems such as economic system. Every system has a sub-system and the sub-system well organized makes up the whole system work effectively. What makes political system so special is that it is in this system that "authoritative allocation of values" are made or authoritative value are assignments are made i.e.

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decision that are binding for all. Political system cut across state, regimes and government levels. System is a collection of elements that are related to each other by some pattern of behavior and actions. Any decision that affects one part of the system affects the whole system, thereby causing dysfunction. The purpose of the political system is to convert input (decision and supports) into output (decision). All these take place in the environment. The environment here is the society. Hence, political system "is a set of interactions abstracted from the totality of social behavior through which values are authoritatively allocated for a society". Therefore, what affects sub-system affects the whole.

Quade, E. S. (1975) analyzed same system theory in another form by calling it holistic theory. Onyema, (2002) gave precise analyses of Quade's perspective of system theory using another point of view. In the same theory, it is argued that there is interaction within a system and sub-systems within the holistic entity is seen in the proposition that every system is made up of a number of interacting sub-systems. The system is the entity of that whole. Onyema, further analyzed that "whole is greater than the sum of its parts because the various parts of a system i.e. the sub-systems in isolation, are not equal to the entity or the entire system. Just as parts of a car do not constitute a functional car till they are assembled in the right order". Using mathematical approach to explain system theory; he argued that 4 is greater than 2 + 2. He summarized it *thus*:

The essence of system analysis within the holistic theory is to emphasis the fact that various sub-systems must not only be coupled in the right order and sequence, but that they must interact harmoniously and in a symbiotic relationship to make the whole or the system function satisfactorily...... System or whole is one in which the various sub-systems interact in harmonious relationship towards the achievement of state objectives. An ailing or defective state on the other hand, is one in which the sub-systems are either not interacting at all; or are interacting in a dysfunctional; antagonistic or anti-thetical relationship.

Conceptual Literature Review

Causes and effects of Darfur Crisis.

The analysis of the genesis of present conflict in Sudan's Northwestern region of Darfur will be totally incomplete without a general overview of the history of crisis and conflict in Sudan as observed by UN, (2005:17). Indeed, the struggle for self-determination, equity and development by the people of Southern Sudan against successive regimes and power elites from the North can be said to have gingered the struggle of other marginalized people and regions from the peripheral

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north; Malwal, (1991:117). According to Deng, (1974:5) the mutiny, which later spread an orgy of violence against Northerners throughout the Southern Sudan, was gingered by the perceived psychological fear of Northern domination after independence by Southerners. Such fears were understandable given the marked disparities and inequality between the two Sudan in virtually every facet of human endeavors. The violence was finally put under control, and Sudanese unite behind the declaration of independence in 1956. While the first phase of the war ended with negotiation and signing of Addis Ababa Peace Agreement of 1972, the regime of General Jafa'ar Nimeiri was to latter weakened the agreement and its abrogation a decade after led to the resumption of hostilities;

Deng, (1998:1). Peace was finally achieved between the North and the South with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement [CPA], in December 2005. The agreement provided for the holding of a referendum by South Sudan people to determine whether they will remain in a united Sudan or become an independent country. The independence referendum was held between 9 and 15 January 2011 with South Sudanese overwhelmingly voting for separation from Sudan. On July 9 2011 the new state of South Sudan was proclaimed with its capital at Juba. The racial, religious and cultural division between the Arab and Islamic life in North and the majority Animist South aptly referred to as 'Southern Problem', was indeed the problem of the whole of Sudan as noted in Aliyu, (2005:164-174). Hassan, (2010: 21) saw this racial division of Sudan between Arabized and Islamized Northerners and Animist African Southerners as nothing but an oversimplification of Afro-Arab racial mixture of Sudan and the simplification was over-reified in the popular narration and discourse of the conflict in Darfur. Deng, (1998:4) pointed out that the current realities has shown majority of ethnic groups in Darfur are certainly Negroid and non-Arab. The Nuba of Southern Kordofan are little touched by Arabism and are mostly non-Muslim. Thus North-South racial dichotomy and identity crisis that has come to characterize the politics of Sudan and shaped its history of conflict, was never an issue limited to North-South relations alone. It is a national issue, as the crisis over identity coupled with long history of marginalization, neglect and underdevelopment has gingered conflicts between the power elite in Khartoum and the people of the peripheral regions of Northwestern and Northeastern Sudan. Thus, the conflicts in Sudan can be said to revolve around the crisis of identity, on which the history of political domination and exclusion, unfavorable policies and uneven development had come to shape.

The root cause of the present conflict in Darfur is complex and intricate. Ethnic animosities, environmental stress, drought, famine and desertification, the issue of land ownership and access to

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land based resources, availability of light weapons were important issues that gingered the conflict. These coupled with Khartoum deliberate policy of arming and co-opting the Arab groups in its war with the south and other disgruntled element in Darfur, deep seated grievances relating to identity crisis and governance issues and the emergence of armed oppositions noted as African have come to be the major factors fuelling and shaping the conflict. The conflict can be said to have stemmed from cumulative effects of long years of neglect, marginalization, competing economic interests and political polarization that engulfed the region due to Khartoum's manipulating policies. These points were noted in Hassan, (2010:22); UN, (2005:22; Saka and Omede, (2005:379). The intervention of African Union (AU) and United Nation (UN) everything is coming under control and if more efforts are made by the world organization; lasting peace will be achieved in Darfur in no distance time.

Methodology

Research method gives the general approach used by researcher which varies from every individual according to Bibie, (1986: 87). In another development, Black (1970:84) asserted that content analysis is all about discussing relevant data obtained from libraries such as text books, journals, magazines, documents, etc. "Content analysis is a research technique for an objective, systematic and qualitative description of data generated". — Akindele, (1989). In the light of the above the searcher adopted content and descriptive analysis in the research to give explanations to the topic under discussion. In the same vein, primary and secondary data are the means of data collection. All the data obtained from secondary data were analyzed using content analysis while the data from primary source were analyzed using descriptive method hence the researcher was among the troops who participated in UN Operation in Darfur — Sudan in 2012 as member of NIBATT 33. Therefore, personal experiences and witness to what happened in Darfur region of Sudan played vital roles in gathering data for this research.

Nigeria peace efforts in Darfur region of Sudan during African Union.

It has been Nigeria's belief that socio economic development and integration in Africa can only be achieved under an atmosphere of peace and stability. The implication of Nigeria's participation in peacekeeping in Africa is that Africa's problem is Nigeria's problem as some of the African countries have a common boundary with Nigeria. Since Nigeria became United Nation member on its gain of independence in 1960, she has been consistently committed to the cause of peace keeping globally. She sent her first troops to participate in the UN peace mission in the Congo only few days to her independence. The key thing in global peacekeeping is the men and women who risk their

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lives in the interest of peace. Nigeria had more of these people than any other country in the world. Abiola in Arinze, (2013:80) asserts that Nigeria cannot ignore African problems rather she must maintain the principle of Afrocentrism. This is so because; one out of every five African is a Nigerian. He further added that in the entire African continent, no national economy has the numerous potentials that the Nigeria economy has strategically; Nigeria has to be involved in crisis management in Africa. The situation in Darfur region of Sudan is a reminder of Nigeria's continues commitment to peace keeping in Africa.

The agreement on the 28th of May 2004 led to the dispatch of the Armed Protection Force of about 300 troops from Rwanda and Nigeria to the western Sudanese region of Darfur. Another peace talks was held in May and June 2004, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and from August the peace talks continued in Abuja, Nigeria. The AU summit in Addis Ababa, on July 7, 2004 focused on the Darfur crisis. President Obasanjo acting in his capacity as African Union Chairperson, appointed former Nigerian Head of State General Abdul-salam Abubakar as his special envoy to Chad and Sudan on the Darfur conflict. According to Adeniji, (2004:10) "the Special envoy visited Darfur for assessment of the humanitarian crisis and the report of the visit was a major catalyst that spurred the AU to intensify efforts for peaceful negotiation. This gesture encouraged dialogue between rebel groups and the central government in Abuja in August 2004 for peace talks. This led to the signing of Abuja Peace agreement and consequently led to Darfur Peace agreement". This showed that Nigeria devoted enormous time, human and material resources to the Sudanese peace process. With this development, one can posit that, Nigeria stays committed to the peace process through thick and thin more than any other country in African continent.

Following this analysis; Arinze, (2013:83) identified Nigeria interest in Sudan crisis as state survival and security, as well as the pursuit of wealth, economic growth and power. The conflict in Darfur was seen as a threat to Nigeria's security largely because of its potential to spill over into neighboring states to Sudan and ultimately into Nigeria. This is the primary interest according to him. Arinze, (2013:83) articulated the secondary Interests of Nigeria. The maintenance of peace and security especially on the continent of Africa, is an abiding interest which Nigeria is signatory such as the United Nations charter, the constitutive act of the African Union and the ECOWAS treaty. This has provided normative and legal basis for Nigeria's leadership and contribution towards, several peacekeeping missions at continental and global levels. The establishment of peace and security provided the necessary foundations for democracy political stability and development which

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are global values towards which Nigeria is similarly committed. This makes it imperative for Nigerian to be involved in resolving the Darfur crisis. Nigeria's quest for a permanent seat on the United Nation's Security Council is premised upon her contributions towards peacekeeping and conflict resolution in a war ridden continent. She has served as a non permanent member of the Security Council. This makes Nigeria's contribution towards global peace and security through her involvement in the resolution of crises such as that of Darfur an obligation. This will definitely enhance her credentials and improved her future chances of attaining the much coveted permanent UNSC seat. Human Right Watch, (2006:52) opined that Nigeria was among the largest troop contingent support to the then African Union mission in Sudan –AMIS. However, Nigeria's contribution to the crisis in Darfur Region is significant and reasonable, the facts and data on ground reveals that more should have been done.

In Darfur crisis; Nigeria was not only a key actor in the political efforts to mediate the crisis but also provided the bulk of troops as well as the former military head of the African Union-United Nations hybrid peacekeeping force in Darfur. However, the robust nature of Nigeria's involvement in the mediation requires the identification of Nigeria's national interests with respect to the conflict, especially in view of the fact that Nigerian service men are ready to lay down their lives in the quest for peace in continent.

Nigeria's efforts in Sudan during the United Nation Peacekeeping Process.

In the year 2007, the International Criminal Court (ICC) indicted two Sudanese men, Ahmed Haroun, Sudan's minister of Humanitarian Affairs, and Al; Kushayb, a JanJawi militia leader, on 51 counts of war crime and crimes against humanity committed in Darfur. The government of Sudan refused to cooperate with the ICC, and despite warrants remained free in Sudan. On 25 September 2007, the UN Security Council passed resolution 1769 authorizing the deployment of 26,000 peacekeepers and police under a UN – African Union hybrid mission in Darfur (UNAMID). The deployment began after 25 September 2007. The UN Security Council passed resolution 1778 authorizing a European Union Mission in Eastern Chad and North Eastern Central African Republic (EUFOR) supported by a small UN Peacekeeping Mission (MINURCAT). The EUFORMIRCAT deployment was not fast enough. Widespread violence and insecurity persist throughout the border.

On May 10, 2008, Darfur rebels launched attacks on the capital of Khartoum causing further instability within the region. Government of Sudan continued to carry out aerial and ground attacks with complete disregard for the protection of civilians. It is in connection with this that Sudanese

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President Omar al Bashir was wanted for crime against humanity. Amnesty international and other human rights organizations focused on achieving the full deployment of UNAMID Force, which Sudan continued to obstruct but half of UNAMID was on the ground, while civilians from Darfur, Eastern Chad, and the Central African Republic continue to suffer ongoing mass displacement, killings, rape, and other religious human rights violations. U.S and international action is essential to ensure a full and speedy UNAMID deployment, unhindered humanitarian access, and attention to the broader conflict region; as opined by International Crisis Group, (2009). Although, on 24 February 2010; another Sudanese peace agreement as latest one was signed in Doha where president Al-Bashir posited that the "war is over", yet the situation on ground needs proper commitment and reasonable implementation. Here Nigeria demonstrated her commitment to African peace by sending battalions to Darfur region. Nigeria had largest troop contingent support to then African Union mission in Sudan-AMIS. The researcher happened to be one of the soldiers deployed at this period specifically in NIBATT 33.

Challenges facing Nigeria's Peacekeeping process in Sudan.

Nigerian's contingent deployed in Darfur region of Sudan faced remarkable complex operational, environmental, economic and political challenges. These challenges ranges from lack of operational policy for peace support mission, budgetary and Administrative Constraints, mandate, Contingent Owned Equipment, Lack of Clarification on AU/UN Mission Mandate, etc.

Summarily, the challenges of troops deployed in Darfur are as follows:

- a. After signing of the DPA in Abuja, the non signatories and splinter groups became uncooperative and AMIS and Humanitarian agencies were targeted on several incidences.
- b. All AMIS activities are restricted to day time hours due to curfew imposed by GoS. No intervention can be done at night despite the freedom of movement by AMIS/UN troops as stipulated in DPA and other protocols.
- c. AMIS mandate is not well defined and its weak, this has encouraged warring parties to continue committing crimes with impunity.
- d. Language barrier, limits troop interaction with locals as such intelligence information gathering is limited. Troops and MILOB have to go for patrol with locals who understand English language for interpretation and translations of English and Arabic languages.
- e. The force levels are too small to make an effective patrol; sector 1 alone covers 43,000 sq km.
- f. Terrain in Sudan generally is characterized by sand dunes, rocky hills, with no road network such that some areas are inaccessible in dry and rainy seasons. In other sectors like some part

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of sector 7 and sector 4 are mountainous and vehicle movement is highly restricted (the Jabel Marra mountains).

- g. Unfriendly climatic conditions throughout the year, which are characterized by high temperatures, sandstorms, floods during rainy season and cold during winter have negative effect on troops. And mismanagement of the meager resources by corrupt AMIS personnel.
- h. Lack of logistic support, poor vehicle maintenance and limited medical facilities especially during AMIS.

Achievements of Nigeria in Africa Peacekeeping Process in the Region.

Resolution in Darfur and restoration of peace in the region was a major challenge to Nigeria as a power to be reckoned within the continental politics. While international community was still debating over the nature of conflict in Darfur, Nigeria did not waste time in re-launching and injecting greater impetus to search for peace in Darfur. Following this trend, Joseph (2012) asserted that Nigeria has always been actively involved in the search for peace in Sudan. As a first step in demonstrating Nigeria's commitment in resolving conflict, the then president, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo deployed military expedition to Sudan, in line with Nigeria's spirit of good neighborliness. The President canvassed for an African solution to the worsening humanitarian crisis in Darfur where government-supported militia group, the Janjaweed has killed more than 300,000 non-Arabs. The principle of non-interference in domestic affairs of member states of African Unity (AU) which prevented the Organization from putting pressure on successive Sudanese government, dominated by the Arabs in Northern part of Sudan, to refrain from carrying out policies that appear to be genocide against its own people, particularly the natives from the Southern Sudan was ignored by A.U. under Obasanjo's leadership of the A.U. Ibid, (2012:19) believes that this paved way for the AU and other members of international community to get involved in finding a peaceful resolution to Darfur crisis. Beyond its pan-African policy of maintaining peace and security on the continent, Nigeria has additional reasons to be concerned about developments in the Sudan. The two countries share a long history of relations in Islamic learning and exchanges.

Ugwu in Joseph, (2012) believed that there are a large number of Sudanese Nigerian origins in Sudan, totaling about 3 million, many of who took permanent residence in the country. There are second and third generations of Nigerians whose ancestors left Nigeria in a bid to perform Holy Pilgrimage to Saudi Arabia by land over the years. As a result of difficulties of making the long journeys in those days, many of these Nigerians had little or no alternative but to remain in Sudan.

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Since the advent of civil war in Southern Sudan in early 1980s, Nigeria has been engaged in search for peace in the country. It hosted series of Peace Talks in Lagos, Abuja and Kano in the late 1980s and early 1990s, all intended to facilitate the resolution of the long-raging conflict. As a start in finding a peaceful resolution of the Darfur crisis, former President, Olusegun Obasanjo, while in office as President of Nigeria and AU Chairman appointed his predecessor in office, General Abdusalami Abubakar as his Special Envoy to Sudan. This appointment indicated Nigeria's poise for an active engagement in the Sudan, in a manner that was intended to inject credibility and sound judgment into the peace process.

After preliminary contacts, fact finding missions and consultations with all stakeholders in the Darfur crisis, the first round of inter-Sudanese Political Talks was convened in Abuja on August 23, 2004 under the auspices of the African Union. At the Peace Talk in Abuja, Government of Sudan, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) were all represented. Both political and humanitarian issues were raised and discussed at the Peace Talk. Nigeria's hosted series of peace talks between the Sudanese Government and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement at various times in Abuja and other major cities in Nigeria is predicated on her efforts to understand the nature of the conflict after listening to the positions of both parties. One can conveniently say that Nigeria has done a lot to the African nations particularly Sudan.

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Main UN Bodies in Peacekeeping



Source: Adopted from UN Peacekeeping operations Principles & Guidelines. P.67

Solutions to Challenges of African Peace Process.

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To proffer solutions to challenges of African peace efforts, Arinze (2012) articulated the following recommendations to enable African states achieve sustainable peace in the continent:

- a. If Nigeria armed forces are to participate in peacekeeping operations in the future, the mandate should be clearly spelt out and with achievable objectives. The mandate should be precise and finite; and there must be a reasonable arrangement for safety and security of the Nigerian personnel.
- b. Nigeria Afro-centric policy must be based on cogent and coherent strategic objectives. Africa is the second largest continent in the world and the one with highest diversity of states but Nigeria has not been utilizing its manifest destiny to lead the continent effectively and to use such leadership to achieve her national interests and continental aspirations. As far as the Armed Forces are concerned, Nigeria should concentrate efforts on two roles; regional security such as the Gulf of Guinea Guard force, the emerging sub regional standby forces and the planned upcoming Africa standby force (ASF) and secondly UN operation because Nigerian personnel have invaluable experience in peacekeeping operation.

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- c. There is need for a total review of the nation's defence doctrine to take these into considerations. There is a readiness by policy makers to recognise that the world has changed, but is not to adapt institutions to new situation.
- d. As regarding peace keeping operation, government should review the role of each institution plays and the relationships between the institution. In this regard, government should create a national coordinating body to bring together relevant ministries and agencies for strategic planning as well as evaluation of peacekeeping missions with clearly spelt out goals achievable for each mission. Government should work within the UN system to support the use of appropriately skilled civilian for peacekeeping missions.
- e. Government should also set up a coordinating body for Nigerian peacekeeping efforts within mission countries. The national body should help to consolidate some Nigerian enterprises in key sectors to make them able to meet international standards in terms of quality of staff, expertise and services so that they would be engaged in reconstruction works, genuine investments and participation in those countries economics. Abel, (1990) suggested that there should be equitable distribution of resources of Sudan. The government should negotiate with the rebel groups on this issue on a more serious and determined way. It has to be concerned with their feelings, demands and grievances and show more genuine commitments to satisfying them.
- f. The A.U. mechanism for mediation as well as third party intervention should be reactivated and strengthened. Within Africa, majority of countries have so far remained supportive partners than peacemakers. It is not surprising therefore, that these countries have sabotaged any genuine desire for restoring peace in Sudan within the A.U. framework. Most importantly, developed countries should refrain from indulging in the politics of oil, but rather allow the people to evolve efficient means of exploiting their oil reserves and equitably distributing their resources for the benefits of all the rest of the citizens without any discrimination on the grounds of sex, race or religion.

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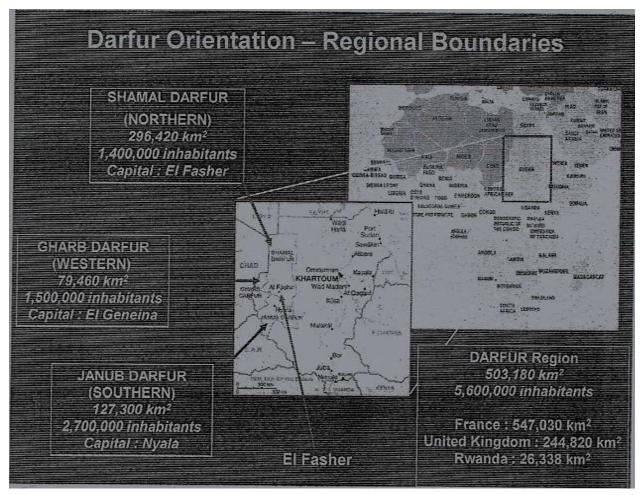
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Map of Africa showing Sudan, Darfur region and other sub-region



Source: except from Humanitarian Information Unit: Dept of State in Darfur.

Findings

After all the rigors of the investigations, it was discovered that:

- 1. Operational policy and strategic plans, mission mandate and focus are not always clarified. Rule of engagement (ROE) is always conflicting both in AU/UN peace mission; though Nigeria's peace efforts in Darfur during African Union have been very enormous.
- 2. Nigeria lack precise understanding of the nature of the conflict among parties, various forces at play and the psychology/beliefs of the combatants before involving herself in the conflict resolution process.
- 3. Nigeria's efforts in Sudan during the UN peacekeeping process have been more effective than those of most countries of the world who contributed to the peace process.
- 4. Challenges facing Nigeria's efforts in peacekeeping process in Sudan tend to be affecting our domestic affairs.

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- 5. Achievements of Nigeria in Africa peacekeeping process in the region have helped to sustain peace in Sudan and provide solutions to challenges of African peace process. More so, solutions to African problem are within only if Africans could look inward and apply pragmatic approaches.
- 6. Nigeria's efforts in African peace have direct relationship with her diplomatic fight to be included in UN permanent Security Council and equally to showcase her "big brother Africa" concept.
- 7. Terrain and climatic condition in Darfur posses much challenges to the peace keepers and the peace keepers have been facing lots of difficulties ranging from series of ambushes from the rebels, flood, scorching sun, dusty wind, etc.
- 8. Interference of the Western world in African politics, economy and other resources has contributed adversely in the psychic of African leaders. This has led to lack of focus, inability to take decision that establishes independent and self control of human and material resources as independent nations simply because every decision take in UN comes from the Western world. Africans only follow their directives without much contribution in the decision making process.

Recommendations

For peace to reign in Darfur; a conflict sensitive approach is required. A conflict sensitive approach requires that programs and policies be examined continuously to ensure that they work to promote peace and stability rather than exacerbate or revive conflict factors. It calls for a political transformation, away from disempowerment and apathy, towards greater inclusion and participation. Additionally, greater capacity building efforts are needed at all levels of government to manage conflict as well as to ensure that policies and programs contribute to peace. The challenge is to involve all Sudanese in this peace building efforts. UN, (2006:8). Solutions to the challenges of African peace efforts are as follows:

- 1. If Nigerian armed forces are to participate in peacekeeping operations in the future, the mandate should be clearly spelt out and with achievable objectives. The mandate should be precise and finite; and there must be a reasonable arrangement for safety and security of the Nigerian personnel.
- 2. Nigeria Afro-centric policy must be based on cogent and coherent strategic objectives. As far as the Armed Forces are concerned, Nigeria should concentrate efforts on two roles regional security such as the Gulf of Guinea Guard force, the emerging sub regional standby forces and the upcoming Africa standby force (ASF) and secondly UN operation because Nigerian personnel have invaluable experience in peacekeeping operation.
- 3. There is need for a total review of the nation's defense doctrine. There is a readiness by policy makers to recognize that the world has changed, but is not to adapt institutions to new situation.

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- 4. Nigeria government should review peace keeping operation, the role of each institution plays and the relationships between the institution. In this regard, government should create a national coordinating body to bring together relevant ministries and agencies for strategic planning as well as evaluation of peacekeeping missions with clearly spelt out goals to be achieved for each mission. Government should also work within the UN to support use of appropriately skilled civilian for peacekeeping missions. These will reduce the negative effects of UN Operations on Nigeria as a country.
- 5. Government should set up a coordinating body for Nigerian peacekeeping efforts within mission countries. The national coordinating body should help to consolidate some Nigerian enterprises in key sectors to make them able to meet international standards in terms of quality of staff, expertise and services so that they would be engaged in reconstruction works, be involved in genuine investments and participation in those countries economics and also government should consider strategic relationships with those countries to extract some specific mutually beneficial concessions and considerations. Nigeria must understand the precise nature of any country's conflicts in terms of what issues at stake, the claims and counter claims of the parties, the various forces at play and psychology of the combatants before involving herself into it. These equally will enable Nigeria to maintain her high level standards and operational procedures among allied nations of the world.
- 6. Since Africa and the International Community showed interest in the crisis in Darfur, which has witnessed loss of many lives, problems of refugees, famine leading to humanitarian catastrophe, it is important that attention ought not to be focused only on sending military missions and enforcing the imperative of disarmament among the warring factions, but attempts must be made to resolve the issues that are responsible for the lingering and destructive crisis in Darfur. There should be equitable distribution of resources of Sudan. The government should be concerned with people's feelings, demands and grievances and show more genuine commitments to satisfying them.
- 7. There is need for the developed countries to refrain from indulging in the politics of oil, but rather allow the people to evolve efficient means of exploiting their oil reserves and equitably distributing their resources for the benefits of all the rest of the citizens without any discrimination on the grounds of sex, race or religion. Most importantly, Africa should look inwardly to find solution to their problems bearing in mind the national interest rather than personal interest first. We should not depend on the West for our continental challenges.

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Conclusion

The most contributions of this study are among other things; it unveils the causes and effects as well as challenges in Darfur. It equally showcased efforts, achievements of Nigeria in her peace keeping processes in Africa. Solutions to the African problems were revealed. Systems theory was used as the theoretical foundation to the study. Many literatures were visited and hypotheses were proposed as a foundation to the study. Many findings have been made and some of the findings include that African solutions to their crisis are within therefore, Africa should look inwardly for solutions. Nigeria as a country should not allow other countries' problem to drill her national interest. More so, Nigeria should understand details of other country's crisis before involving herself and if she must be involved; necessary plans should be made to achieve complete success in future peace keeping engagements.

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