

**NIGERIA MILITARY STRATEGY AND AFRO-CENTERED POLICY:
A REFLECTION OF WEST AFRICA**

EZEIFEDI, Ugoeze Emmanuel, Ph.D

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES,

IMO STATE UNIVERSITY, OWERRI.

email: ezeifediugoeze@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper examines the degree to which military spending, both on monetary and human terms have affected the development of Nigeria. The main aim of the paper dwells on balancing the two inevitable edges confronting national development, i.e., aspiring leadership position through Afro-centered policy of Nigeria and the need to ameliorate the sufferings of Nigerian citizens, on one hand. On the other hand, the paper attempts to improve Nigeria military strategy during peacekeeping so as to reduce human cost of it. The descriptive approach was adopted in discussing the dynamics of challenges confronting Nigeria in her quest for leadership position in Africa through spending on military peacekeeping operations in West Africa. It was discovered that while Nigeria appears beautiful for military and financial support to African States, with Liberia and Sierra Leone as clear examples, nationals at home are plunged into regrettable suffering of diverse form. The paper attempts to balance up the Afro-centered policy and domestic needs by proffering useful recommendations.

Keywords: Military, Strategy, Afro-centered, Policy and Expenditure.

Introduction

Peace-Keeping is a deliberate effort to maintain durable peace in a nation or between nations that experience war. In the world today, war appears more as the inevitable destiny of nations. Many historic efforts made to prevent wars worldwide, till today, have remained illusory. This is why Lt. General Albrecht Von Boguslawski asserted that, "War was the law of nature, while perpetual peace advocated by the philosophers of the eighteenth century, was a dream, and not even a beautiful one". It is against this backdrop that economically and militarily viable nations must try to ensure that they intervene in weaker nations during conflict or war time. Nigeria as a big brother in Africa has taken African burden upon itself in its "Africa as the centre-piece" of her foreign policy. Some of the peace initiatives that Nigeria has been involved include: Congo (ONUC) 1960-1964, Battalion Operations: New Guinea (UNSF) 1962-1963, Military observers: Tanzania (Bilateral agreement) 1964, Battalion Operations: India-Pakistan (UNIPOM) 1965-1966, Military observers: Lebanon (UNIFIL) 1978-1983, Battalion Operations and Staff officers; Chad (HARMONY I, Bilateral agreement) 1981-82, Battalion Operations and staff officers: Chad (HARMONY II, OAU) 1982-83, Brigade Operations: Iran-Iraq (UNIIMOG) 1988-91, Military Observers; Liberia (ECOMOG) 1990-Division Operations; Iraq-Kuwait (UNIKOM) 1991, Military Observers: Angola (UNAVEM II) 1991-92, Military observers: Sierra-Leone (NATAG) 1991, Training Team: Angola (UNAVEM III) 1992-95, Detachment: Namibia (UNTAG) 1989-90, Military Observers; Western Sahara (MINURSO) 1991, Military Observers: (Cambodia UNTAG) 1992-93, Military Observers; Somalia (UNOSOM) 1992-94, Battalion Operations and Staff officers, former

Republic of Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) 1992, Battalion Operations and Staff officers: Mozambique (ONUMOZ) 1992, Military Observers: Rwanda (UNAMIR) 1993, Battalion Operation; Gambia (NATAG) 1993, Training Team; Aouzo Strip (UNASOG) 1994, Military observers; Liberia-ECOMOG: Sierra Leone-UNMIL; and Dafur peace initiative.

In monetary terms, the contributions of Nigeria to regional peace missions in Liberia and Sierra-Leone are in excess of US \$10 Billion, and that is not factoring in the human price that was expended in order to attain, maintain and ensure such peace. Nigeria also on its own volition has expended more than \$90 million through the OAU peace keeping force that was deployed to Chad in the early 1980s. In the 1990s Nigeria through ECOWAS launched ECOMOG and also bore most of the cost attendant to such endeavour and in turn had made the ECOMOG experience an ideal model and benchmark for UN in the way that it views the role of regional peace keepers, and the need to partner with such regional groups that have a lot at stake in keeping the peace in troubled regions. Other areas of success will include the Nigerian role through the Leadership of President Olusegun Obasanjo in reversing the military Coup d'etat that took place in Sao Tome, and also the ability and Leadership that was exercised by Nigeria in convincing former Liberia President, Charles Taylor to accept exile in Nigeria thereby paving the way for peaceful elections in Liberia and a successful return of that country to a democratic regime (Ibegbu, 2010)

While pursuing African concerns, West African neighbours have always received first attention before other African nations. This study is strictly on Nigeria's peacekeeping operations in Liberia and Sierra-Leone from 1990 to 2005. The first Liberian crisis in 1990 in which Nigerian soldiers died in mass, Sierra-Leone (1991) and latter Liberia again in 2002: All these interventions claimed a lot of money from the nation's treasury and the lives of precious Nigerian soldiers. It is imperative that Nigeria's Afro-Centredness policy is reappraised so that succeeding generations will find out if such policy that has claimed lives and much finance by military should be sustained or jettisoned.

The necessity that propelled this work at this time is anchored on the premise that many Nigerians are of the opinion that "Africa as the centre-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy is a useless policy, to them it had not encouraged any significant development at home. More allusion was made to the nation's extravagancy by the citizens during the Liberian and Sierra-Leone crises and the extent to Nigeria's intervention.

The question at this point is should the nation continue on this policy option?, If yes, what benefit can she derive?. This study will present a good balance sheet for a better national decision in relation to the military dimension of "Africa as the centre-piece" of Nigeria's foreign policy.

Conceptual Framework

The paper adopted empirical theory of political analysis. This theory was propounded by Aulus Cornelius Celsus. It measures the application of science in the study of the development and deployment of military force for the purposes of war or deterrence (Alastair, 1979). War is taken as real and has to be planned for in advance. Information and Intelligence services are vital for relating means to ends desired for understanding the intentions of adversaries.

Empirical theory of strategic studies is considerably the conceptual and quantitative. Both the development and deployment of military force in battle derived from strategic offensive and defensive concepts such as damage: limitations, countervailing strategy, austere cantonment, counterforce,

decapitation, dense pack, deterrence, dentology, discriminatory weapons, especially, the newest generation of aircraft (strike)bombers, computers modeling of ICBMs and SLBMs that can attain sufficient accuracy for military planners to choose only enemy targets they wish to destroy (collateral damage), and Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) (Jonathan, 1985). It is, indeed, this theoretical underpinning that has summarized the true behaviour the Nigerian military should adopt in peacekeeping or wartime. The manner of adherence to its assumptions or principles would, to a reasonable degree determine the success or failure of military apparatuses.

The Need for Defense Policy

As Ekoko & Vogt (1985) have asserted, the very problem is the near total absence of an institutional specialized framework for the articulation, formulation and coordination of national strategic and tactical doctrines. This view does not, however, play down on the need for Nigerian defence policy. Instead, it exposes the seriousness of the lapse in the development and use of the Nigerian military force to attain the aims, goals and objectives of national strategy. The problem of national defence is serious because it touches on the credibility of Nigeria to deter an aggression or prevail in battle to protect irreducible and variable national interests. On this note, Kpuru-Aja (1999: 161) avers,

...an issue bordering on whether Nigeria has the instruments of national power to be responsive and not reactionary to external stimuli or threats. To have defence policy is to have a well articulated and formulated set of principles and laws governing the development and deployment of the military force and other elements of national power to attain the goals of national interest.

Defense policy narrows down the complexities involved in harnessing and coordinating elements of national power to meet the requirements of military engagements and by extension, political objectives of a nation. It promises the projection of defense force from a position of a clear political directive, and more from a position of strength and weakness.

Nigeria needs a well schemed defense policy for the following reasons, Nigeria:

- i- has a vast area of 923,769 square miles with well endowed natural, economic and human resources. Nigeria has no less than 33 strategic minerals, including oil and gas resources;
- ii- is the most populous country in the Black world and this population could foster military might;
- iii- is surrounded by weak and crisis-ridden neighbours that cannot defend themselves against external aggression, let alone, protecting other nations:
- iv- has within its neighbourhood, the French military presence in Francophone countries;
- v- has Africa as the centerpiece of its foreign policy which implies leadership aspiration in the continent; and
- vi- has the ambition to secure a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council.

A nation that has not developed its defense strategy to compete with other powers regionally and globally kept on pursuing a radical policy of peacekeeping. Kpuru-Aja (1999) speaking on the primacy of defense policy avers,

For Nigeria to attain each of the defence requirements, there is no room for wishful thinking.... defence policy is imperative, designed to ensure the utilization and coordination of military and non-military variables to create a general climate of national security. Defence is not strictly military, bullets and barrel of gun. Defence is not also the maintenance of high defence budget and expenditure unrelated to effective protection of porous borders in the air, at sea and on land.... defence is not just measured by numerical strength of the military force but qualitative force posture in both war and peace time.

Peacekeeping as a national policy is not bad ideology but a nation without a well formulated defense policy only ends up massacring their troops in times of aggression. This was the case of Nigeria whose soldiers were massacred in peacekeeping effort in Liberia and Sierra Leone. If there had been properly thought out scheme of military operations before such exercise, it would have fetched Nigeria more honour and glory, though Nigeria was thanked by the international community as well as in the region. One surmise that this encomium was not entirely for military prowess displayed by the Nigerian contingents in Liberia and Sierra Leone but for the reasonable number of military personnel who died and those deformed forever. Ironically this advance guerrilla military strategy in Liberia and Sierra Leone farther proved that Nigeria's strength in warfare was still underway(Akpuru-Aja, 1999).

Another issue that falls under defense policy is that while peacekeeping is imperative, it should be known that the domestic environment should not be allowed to suffer negligence and denial of 'physiological needs'. The Nigerian peoples must live fine, experience political stability among others. A nation that was lumped into political crisis in 1993, could engage itself into maintenance of peace in another nation, where such prevailed.

As important as maintaining peace in war-thorn country so also it worth considering the cost of maintaining peace during wartime in another nation. Paradoxically, all these have not formed the foundation for peace keeping in West Africa up to the 21st century. Nigerian peoples suffer job lost, unemployment, hunger, poor health care, insufficient food production and supply, and poor infrastructural facilities. However, instead of considering these in formulating foreignpolicy, the nation engages in unplanned military expenditure which later affects the soldiers in peacekeeping operations. On this Aja(1999) asserts, Most informative, defence in food sufficiency, political stability, economic prosperity, social harmony and environmental protection. This is the wholistic view of defence as an instrument of national protection ordering.

For the appraisal of Nigeria defence policy and for a well formulated policy there is the need to properly structure Nigerian political economy. Economy and military superiority are inseparable. This implies that Nigeria economy should assume a prominent place in Nigeria's international relations at this formative stage. Great nations of recorded history have sought economic diplomacy over radical military policy at the preliminary stage of their economic development. Since scholars maintain the view that buoyant economy fosters growth in every sphere of national life, economic relations with the developed economies of the world should occupy Nigeria's attention than endless military adventure(Ezeifedi, 2018). The heavy cost of peacekeeping operation on Nigeria further retard economic development. It is pertinent to assert that Nigerian peacekeeping exercise fetches good name in the world due to much spending incurable in intervening in other nations' crisis. But Nigerian image all over the world is at stake because of criminal enterprises nationals in the Diaspora perform(Ezeifedi,2017). Nigerian youths whose needs are not catered for in the nation often migrate to other nations where their evil engagements have tarnished the good name attributed to the nation given her active participation in African peace initiatives.

While Nigeria threw wealth around, poverty rate continues toincrease. Since 1990, the value of Naira had been in a sharp decline. Nigeria had been at the importing end, while exportation remains mainly on crude oil(Ezeifedi, 2018). It is more pathetic that foreign investments are at a low ebb and unemployment increased at geometrical progression. Social vices such as prostitution, kidnapping, arm

rubbery etc increased. This situation had remained challenging to scholars, ie, what should be a way forward. A nation that is named "giant of Africa", due to much military spending in regional affairs, is also known for having nationals whose sufferings as a result of poor health care, poor infrastructural facilities, low standard of living, poor educational standard attract the welfare of well meaning nations.

While other continents were struggling to end vestiges of poverty in such regions, Africa comfortably relaxed at the receiving end. Hunger and disease among other social variables have always forced people to react. The Liberian and Sierra Leonean crisis were precipitated by these social realities and its consequent loss of confidence on leadership of these countries by their followers. Other nations of the world attack political crisis from the side of eliminating hunger and ushering in economic prosperity of their citizens. In nations where the standard of living of the people is guaranteed, the main cause of political crisis is eliminated. But in the case of Africa poverty is on the increase everyday. Instead of successive government to solve this problem, the leadership of these nations sought absolute comfort.

Most of the crisis that upsurge in Africa, at the root is the poverty of the people. It should be seen, however, that any attempt to eliminate or reduce political crisis in West Africa must tackle this from the root, i.e, poverty. Instead of waiting till when problem upsurge in any country, Nigerian government should intervene in the crisis of West African nations, first, by using a fewer number of Battalion and military hardware to ensure lower cost compared to antecedent. Secondly, the nation should ensure those hungry rebels and other citizens of such West African countries live fine. Thirdly, place under strict check, ruthless and profiteering leaders. Peacekeeping may only last a while when it is backed up by the economic survival of the warring factions. It is quite alarming that since 1991, Nigerian troops hardly kept absent in Liberia.

In this contemporary time, it is preferable to fight gallantly to ensure that West African nations are brought together in all spheres for the pursuit of economic prosperity as well as exchange political ideas than a nation bleeding itself dry for others. Today, the highest point of regional cooperation in the world is the connectedness of people for economic, political and social gains. Only when this sub-regional integration of West African people becomes more obvious can one say attention will be shifted from mustering troops for peacekeeping.

Nigeria's Military Operations

In planning peacekeeping, there is hardly an established method or scheme of doing this. A builder must calculate his cost before building, but Nigeria's peace initiative towards other crisis-ridden states is contrary to this. This is the reason Nigerian soldiers who went to war in both Liberia and Sierra Leone were not properly prepared since they were going to merge with other nations battalions. The following are difficulties that the Nigerian military as well as the nation have encountered in peacekeeping venture. These areas need to be restructured and integrated in defence policy(Aja, 1999).

Joint Operation Strategy

Operation strategy is the method of operation a nation's military is trained to apply in wartime or to use when maintaining peace in a crisis-ridden state. In the case of ECOMOG peace initiative in Liberia and Sierra Leone, it is expected that soldiers are retrained to cope with challenges, should peacekeeping turns to peace enforcement. Joint military strategy, according to KpuruAja(1999) should entail the following:

- i- Strategic planning: the security and defense value of the peacekeeping force depends considerably on the contents, qualities and clarities of strategic thinking and strategic planning. The inability of the ECOMOG force to evaluate their military strength before

going into Liberia posed a bottleneck in the Monrovia landing. Nigeria military integrated with other West African military were expected to engage themselves in a strategic thinking before embarking on peacekeeping operation so as to gain strategic advantage in peacekeeping than blood-shed of soldiers who went for peacekeeping. Commenting on the importance of strategic thinking in peacekeeping, General President Eisenhower D. of the USA was reputed to have asserted: 'In preparing for battle, I have always found out that plans are useless, planning are indispensable' (Akpuru-Aja, 1999: 162).

Obasi Igwe (1989), lays credence to strategic thinking when he said:

Strategic planning in a broad sense deals with creation, maximization and utilization of national power, and intimes of war, their coordinated application to the assigned task of the army.

In fact, the failure of ECOMOG to engage in a serious strategic planning before engagements caused a heavy reliance on Nigeria contingents and the eventual much expenditure incurred by Nigeria.

ii- Strategic Evaluation: this is also known as strategic assessment. It is a continuum; demands periodic review to determine the strengths, opportunities, humiliating factors against the set goals and objectives. It is necessary to determine whether actions are guided by the tenets of strategic plan with a view to reviewing commitment.

This view on strategic evaluation needs critical consideration with regard to Nigerian role in ECOMOG effort in Sierra Leone:

For whatever venture or adventure, strategic evaluation is vital for not only in the useful direction of resources, but a veritable guide against the common temptation of taking things for granted, or taking the opponent for granted'. (Akpuru-Aja, 1999; 19-23)

Nigeria could not evaluate when the other states' military in ECOMOG began to stop showing commitments. This was why by the time they pull out of ECOMOG and went back to their states ECOMOG operation in Sierra Leone was sustained by Nigerian Battalions (NIBATTS). The result of this was much financial cost as well as Nigeria soldiers who became casualties of rebels' onslaught.

iii- Strategic Monitoring: In military operation, the first thing to do is to determine a winning strategy. Advance without knowing the battle condition of the attacking force or that of opponent, may be seeking victory, but in the end defeating oneself. Sun Tzu said, "the rules of the military are five: measurement, assessment, calculation, comparison and victory". Rebels took NIBATTS by surprise on several occasions due to underestimation of rebels' capabilities during peace enforcement.

iv- Strategic Struggle: For Li Quan, struggle is the pursuit of advantage (Harkary, 1988: 101). Struggle here covers advantage seeking in position, location, behaviour, fire power, tactics and general battle management. Apart from the military action involved, the object of struggle is usually over resources or assets on land, sea, air / space. Wang Xi asserts that struggle means struggle for advantage in every contest. Those who achieve the target advantage are victorious. One should determine whether to use light or heavy arms, and assess whether to approach indirectly or directly, by not allowing opponents to take advantage of one's toil.

In Liberian and Sierra Leonean crisis, the reasons many Nigerian Soldiers became victims are mainly two: failure to understand that peacekeeping endeavour was a struggle for advantage between the ECOMOG contingents and the rebels. This is why peacekeeping later changed to peace enforcement. When the Nigerian soldiers were taking off for these engagements, they failed to go with sufficient arms that could fetch them the desired advantage. For this reason, the struggle between the NIBATTS and Sierra Leonean rebels were fierce. Nigeria's` side also failed to take cognizance of the fact that in a struggle for advantage, opponents can use any measure to trap their enemies. Women were used as bait by rebels,

especially, in Sierra Leone to take Nigerian Soldiers hostage. Interview with soldiers at 34 artillery brigade, Obinze made it clear that Nigerian Soldiers made folly of themselves in Liberia and Sierra Leone. They took advantage of the helplessness of Liberian and Sierra Leonean women in wartime. For this reason, in Sierra Leone, 'bottom politics' gave rebels more advantage at the beginning of the crisis.

v- Strategic Reconnaissance: This is intelligence data driven. Without strategic and tactical intelligence, the conduct of war or composition as planned would run into stormy weather. To foster strategic intelligence, strategic reconnaissance is 'an aerial action of searching wide areas, usually by air, to gain information about the enemy movements, locations, force concentrations that should aid in making or finalizing strategic or large scale decisions'(Akpuru-Aja, 1999:18).

Before ECOMOG / NIBATTTS landing in Freetown and its suburbs, the rebels had taken possession of strategic locations for smooth attacks. NIGCON did not spend quality time to spot out such danger zones. They delve into peacekeeping exercise that claimed the lives of soldiers. In two pathetic occasions, reinforcement were sent to aid smooth operations in Freetown, a night before the battalions resumed operations, rebels launched attacks which claimed the lives of many soldiers and rendered many deformed forever.

Since peacekeeping is inevitable, Nigeria military policy must take these measures into account when planning for peacekeeping in any country within West Africa. This is so because inter or intra war is inevitable.

Peacekeeping Budget and Expenditure

The cost of military peacekeeping in Nigeria had further retarded development in some areas where energy and finance should have been invested. The situation here is likely a father Christmas who does not have enough to eat in his own house. Critics have advocated that a nation that is not going through war should curtail military spending in order to take care of the economic situation at home. Against this backdrop, KpuruAja (1999), asserts:

...Nigeria has been witnessing high defense budget and expenditure. This is no case against adequate provision for defense needs. This Issue is disturbing against the lack of clarity on what is to be Defended, the bearing of defense expenses. Critics observe that it is against the philosophy of security and defense to spend more on gun than bread, particularly when a country's socio-political and psychological environment is relatively free from fear of external aggression.

It is disturbing to neglect other necessities and focus more on military spending in peacekeeping. To have a clearer understanding of what peacekeeping has cost Nigeria in cash not in life of soldiers, one will look at Budgetary Allocation to Defense 1993-1999, when Liberia and Sierra Leonean ECOMOG operations were hot.

Nigeria political economy has not been particularly impressive since the attainment of independence in 1960. The contradictions are beyond the concern of this study. It is paramount to note that Nigeria over-relies on oil as the commanding height of its economy. Igwe (1989), opines that creative role is underdeveloped by successive Nigerian leadership. Against this, the nation has been witnessing high defense budget and expenditure. Worst still, the issue is disturbing against the lack of clarity on what is to be defended, the bearing of defense expenses.

Since 1960, similarly, Nigeria has the misfortune of successive governmental instabilities up to the outset of democracy. This situation has been worsened by the exceptional military rule. The politicization of every profession and indeed, all sectors in Nigeria readily works against what the country considers national interests and values. Oni (2002), notes that it is clear that the Nigerian military contingents in

Liberian and Sierra Leonean crisis initially lacked clear political directive precisely, on how to engage force in a situation of violence.

The Nigerian economic condition should ensure balance between gun and bread. The people and their welfare should occupy strategic planning and national budgets. In the philosophy of defense, the people are indeed, the prime object of protection. If the people are not healthy and productive, how then would Nigeria create the economy upon which defense depends? The formulation of Nigeria's defense budget and planning shall be more achievable by integrating vital defense needs relative to the strength of the national economy. Babangida (1985), agrees that it is an emblem of poor strategic policy for a nation to allow corruption and external military commitments to reduce the capacity of the economy to absorb. So too, personnel salaries and emoluments of the military corps should be fitting and appropriate. The dynamics of development in many countries such as Russia, Germany, Poland and Malaysia reveals that boosting the level of home defense, manpower is to reduce both high defense budget and expenditure but also external military engagements. If defense budget and expenditure are too high, they become too wasteful and subversive of national power.

Determining Safe-Landing and Landing Time

Both in Liberian and Sierra Leonean peacekeeping exercise, the first set of casualties recorded was during landing.

We saw the beginning of the peacekeeping, though, it was not easy. We sailed through Popo bitch, in the ship called River Magidan. When we were entering Liberia, Charles Taylors' soldiers opened fire on us. We survived only with air cover from Nigeria contingent. But, we lacked enough arms and ammunitions for peace enforcement...We went for peacekeeping, but it became obvious that peace enforcement was imperative(Fubara, 2012)

According to Lt Abiodun of 34 Artillery Bregade, Obinze, ECOMOG dominated by Nigerian contingent never bordered determining safe landing points because they never prepared to enforce peace. It is important to determine where Nigerian soldiers would receive warmth reception. Had it been Yomie Johnson was hostile like Taylor's force, ECOMOG troops, Nigeria by extension would have been massacred during landing. This would have happened because of poor preparation.

The mistake for peacekeeping operation in Liberia was hasty mobilization. Since ECOMOG was a joint operation it would have been wise enough to retrain troops in a military strategy that would have reduced the difficulties posed by communication noise and barrier during operations. While troops waited for such training, signal came from Lagos ordering that troops be mobilized without delay to Liberia. Such hasty mobilization would have claimed more lives if not for the air cover from Nigerian air force. In every military peacekeeping operation, there is always a better time to be determined before embarkation and engagement.

Military as a Profession

For Nigerian military to be fully recognized as another element in assessing international power capabilities, it should detach itself from partisan politics and focus on possible means of developing its professional arts. This is one way to secure a place in the UN Security council. However, the Nigerian military is highly politicized:

...the highly politicized and deprofessionalised military is a variable of both internal and external threat to Nigeria. One way out is for the military to embrace the pride of military professionalism, subordinate itself to the political realm and get consumed in the constitutional business and logic of defense as the

military instrument of foreign policy...the determination of the military to remain in the barracks should not be revoked by irresponsible governance on the part of the politicians (Akpuru-Aja, 1999: 10).

There is the imperative to establish a security community. As professor Adisa(1985) notes, a security community is to serve the purpose of articulating, formulating and analyzing defense policy. It should comprise of a section of civilian strategists, defense intellectuals, military generals, diplomats and statesmen, captains of industry and media practitioners who are articulate and security conscious. With these professional attributes, the Nigerian military would be matched to a position of honour in the world.

Conclusion

The democratic regime in which Nigeria has come under should be able to bring about desirable change in the foreign policy of Nigeria. Going by the true definition of foreign policy, it should be able to bring about benefits to a nation implementing it. Nigeria as a developing nation has a lot to take care of internally. Any policy to be formulated should not place Nigeria into much spending. In fact, the most befitting policy that can address the economic and social lapses in the nation is economic diplomacy- wooing Direct Foreign Investment (DFI). However, since war is inevitable, Nigeria is expected to play leadership role in crisis-ridden countries in West Africa. In doing this, Military or defense policy should be restructured to take care of the following during peacekeeping operations:

- i- Planning a joint operation strategy such as ECOMOG that would not place Nigeria under much spending.
- ii- Budget and defence expenditure have to be moderate.
- iii- Determining safe-landing and landing time during arms hostility in a nation where peace is to be maintained;
- iv- Put the political economy of the nation into consideration, when planning peacekeeping initiative.

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