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Chapter Ten:
Military Means to Conflict Resolution:
Peacekeeping, Peace-enforcement and Peacemaking

By

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Introduction

Peace is the state of freedom from hostility, civil commotion, dissension, war or strife. It also implies the elimination of the causes of conflict through the restoration of justice (cited in Nwolise, 2004:1-2). It therefore means that the removal of the causes of conflict is what is referred to as conflict resolution in the real sense of the word (Nwolise, 2004:1-2). Peace and conflict resolution are important concepts in literature for achieving a sustainable and better living condition in any human society. According to Ross (1993:14), "conflict occurs when parties disagree about the distribution of material or symbolic resources and act because of the incompatibility of goals or a perceived divergence of interests." In the same vein, Nwolise (2004:1) observes that "a careful study of human history reveals that conflict has been humanity's unending affliction…" Also, studies have shown that conflict is inevitable to human society because people have different beliefs, values and expectations that become the platform for conflict in a society (Bassey, 2002; International Development Centre, 2001; Onigbinde, 2008). And for a society like Nigeria with multi-ethnic groups to experience harmony; there has to be deliberate efforts by all to overcome the menace of conflict in the area of political, social, economic, cultural and religious differences to achieve development (Gberevbie, 2012). It

is not out of place therefore to state that conflict is natural to human beings. Even an individual do suffer from personality conflict - a condition in which the individual is confused about who he or she is, a situation that leads to depression in life and in some cases end in suicide. If an individual could suffer personality conflict by not understanding self, then imagine a social setting with aggregation of individuals (Ross, 1993; Bassey, 2002).

According to Mupedziswa (2009), "the term conflict relates to discord disagreement or clashes experienced in the context of human relations. It suggests an inability to reconcile and mediate disputes between individuals, groups or organizations." He argues further that "conflict is an intrinsic aspect of human relations which might be caused by actual or perceived/imagined opposition to one's interests." It can occur between two or more individuals or between countries. Conflict can happen because of easy availability of arms of war, economic decline unemployment, corruption, state collapse, inequalities, population pressure, ethnic abuse and natural resources. Furthermore, conflict can also occur over ownership or control of basic resources such as crude oil deposit in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, access to water, or power politics for the authoritative allocation of values for a society (Akpan and Akpabio, 2009). One important point to note is that conflict and development are diametrically opposed to each other (Mupedziswa 2009).

According to McGowan (2006), "instability and conflict can take many forms, ranging from what Donald Morrison and associates have called 'turmoil,' which involves such events as riots, demonstrations, and strikes to 'interstate conflict' such as liberation and interstate wars." On this part, Sandole (1987) argues that people with different beliefs, values

and expectations effectively live in different worlds. One result of this is that they talk past each other. The more that they do, the more they may experience frustration and hostility. The frustration-hostility nexus at any level can escalate over time into self-perpetuating violent conflict system that could lead to a state of anarchy in the society (cited in Bassey, 2002). Man is essentially a social being that lives and co-habits with other men in a community, implying that conflicts are bound to occur in the affairs of men. But even though conflict is natural to man, conflict in itself is not good; when conflict escalates, it leads to disruption of social life, halt the advancement in human endeavour and bring about discomfort to man and his society in terms of hunger and misery (Nnoli, 1998). Therefore, man as a rational being has come to realize that peace as an alternative to conflict is most desirable and should be pursued at all cost to enable him live a more comfortable life. One mechanisms of achieving peace is through force, the use of coercive instruments. This chapter discusses the military force means of conflict resolution through different avenues such as peacekeeping, peace-enforcement and peacemaking.

Military Force

The military comprise of individuals authorized by the government to carry instruments of coercion in the interest of the state. The military is a very vital and important institution in the life of any nation-state. It plays a role of preserving the state and safeguarding it from both external aggression and internal insurrection. The military as an institution in the history of man is continuously in the process of stabilizing society for orderly living. For instance, the superpower nations of the world today; arrogate to themselves the title of "superpower nations" by the reason of their military might (Osgood, 1985; Erskine, 2000; Abubakar, 2004; McGowan, 2006).

However, another important role in which the military institution has been utilized that is the major focus of this section is in the area of conflict resolution. This is more pronounced in situations where conflict has escalated to the height of warfare or when conflict had degenerated into armed combats by the disputants. It is under this scenario that the role of the military comes to fore in conflict resolution in nations like Somalia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Libya, Ivory Coast and Mali (James, 1990; Goulding, 1993; Daniel, 1997). Conflict theorists; often use three terms to describe the roles of the military in conflict resolution to include: peacekeeping, peace-enforcement and peacemaking.

Peacekeeping as a means of Conflict Resolution

The United Nations (1991) refer to peacekeeping as "…an operation involving military personnel, but without enforcement powers, undertaken by the United Nations to help maintain or restore international peace and security in areas of conflict." Also, Goulding (1993), UN Under-Secretary-General for peacekeeping operations defines peacekeeping as:

> Field operations established by the UN with the consent of the parties concerned to help control and resolve conflicts between them, under UN command and control, at the expense collectively of the member states, and with military and other personnel and equipment provided voluntarily by them, acting impartially between the parties and using force to the minimum extent necessary (Goulding, 1993).

James (1990) posits that "peacekeeping involves non-coercive intervention and is based on the consent of the parties to a conflict and non-use of force, except in self-defence." Peacekeeping is the art usually carried out by the military that aims at keeping combatants from attacking each other, this is done by putting some kind of barriers between them. These barriers are often made up of neutral soldiers (peacekeepers) from the United Nations (UN) or a group of neutral nations (third parties).

Nwolise (2004) points out the objectives of peacekeeping to include: (1) the control of conflict; (2) diffusion of tension; and (3) the provision of a stabilized and conducive atmosphere for conflicting parties to talk peace, and resolve the conflict." During peacekeeping operations, the soldiers do nothing to settle the disputant's differences or help negotiate a peace agreement; the soldiers performing peacekeeping missions simply keep the two sides apart. According to Curran and Woodhouse (2007), a peacekeeping operation is characterized by deployment of a robust force to create a secure area for a civilian-led peace-building operation. Over the years, the United Nations have shown leadership in spearheading peacekeeping operations around conflict spots allover the world. These people who put on helmet or beret in the UN blue colour are called 'blue helmets' and the areas where they patrol are called 'blue lines.' Most countries who usually contribute soldiers to UN operations are usually neutral nations, not related in any way that shows bias to the disputants. According to Abubakar (2004), peacekeeping is a temporary measure aimed at defusing tension and reducing the probability of further armed conflict. In the same vein, Okeke (2008)

sees "peacekeeping as a term used to designate a wide variety of actions aimed at resolving national, regional and international conflicts." According to him, peacekeeping is a technique pioneered and developed

by the UN, and regard simply as the stationing of neutral, lightly armed troops as an interposition to separate combatants and promote an environment sustainable for conflict resolution, as a prerequisite based on the desire of the warring parties for peace and stability.

In UN operations, it is the Security Council that is empowered by the Charter to authorize the mandate, while the General Assembly appropriates the funds/budget of the mission. One of the fundamental things we should know is that peacekeepers do not meddle in the affairs of disputants. Their operations are limited to observing the peace settlement, which must have been entered and kept for some time before the deployment of the peacekeepers. The peacekeepers do not carry heavy arms, but light ammunitions and functions to interpose themselves physically between the warring parties. Their arms are for self-defence. The essence is that any side that attempts to break the peace agreement or cease fire must first attack the peacekeepers before getting to their enemy. Most other times, peacekeepers monitor the cease-fire agreement and reports back to the UN. They function to ensure free elections and also make sure that respect for human rights are adhered to.

Scholars have identified the advantages of peacekeeping operations in troubled areas or nations of the world to include: (1) first step to peaceful settlement; (2) prevention of conflict escalation; (3) diffusion of tension amongst warring parties; (4) maintenance of cease-fire agreements; (5) creation of peaceful atmosphere for peace-talk by warring parties; it saves lives, properties and resources from being wasted, and infrastructures from being destroyed by disputants (UN, 1991; Goodrich, 1974; Nwolise, 2004). On his part, Murphy (2008) argues that "peacekeeping operations were intended to end hostilities by peaceful means and create a climate in which the peacemaking process could be

successfully applied." However, peacekeeping operation is not without its disadvantages which include: (1) the ability of peacekeeping to freeze or prolong a conflict as it was in Liberia (1990-1997); (2) peacekeeping operations waste resources such as human, finance and material of the states that contribute the peacekeepers soldiers (Nwolise, 2004).

Peace-Enforcement as a means of Conflict Resolution

Peace-Enforcement operations occur when there is a mandate to enforce a ceasefire by taking coercive action against either party or both (usually when there is a violation of existing cease-fire). According to Nwolise (2004), peace-enforcement is the use of force against one or more parties to a conflict by a multinational force; it embraces conflict suppression and regulation aimed at preventing a party to a conflict from manifesting disruptive behaviour. Peace enforcers are more heavily armed than peacekeeping forces. Peace-enforcement therefore involves the use of force beyond self-defence. Peace-enforcement is necessary because there are conflicts; where a particular party becomes adamant and constitute an obstacle to peace. This party to a conflict either makes it difficult to reach a cease-fire, or even when cease-fire agreement is reached, it doesn't comply with such agreements. In this regard, "peace-enforcement does not involve identifying an aggressor, but it may involve the threat and actual use of force to compel or coerce the implementation of international norms or mandate" (Daniel, 1997).

Once the international community or third party clearly identifies such party that fails to comply with the peace agreement; may decide to intervene and enforce it or apply force to reach one. The operation of USA led coalition against Iraq on Kuwait (1991), ECOWAS Monitoring

Group (ECOMOG) in Liberia and Sierra Leone (1990-1997), UN mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1994) (Nwolise, 2004). And more recently, UN operations in Libya and Ivory Coast (2011-2012) are good examples of peace-enforcement missions. In such situations, the soldier carry heavy arms that can overwhelm those of the aggressive side. According to Abubakar (2004), peace-enforcement is a measure to compel or pressurize a recalcitrant party to abide by an agreed resolution of legally empowered international organizations such as the United Nations (UN), European Union (EU), African Union (AU) or Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

Emphasizing the importance of peace-enforcement as a means of conflict resolution, Momah (1993:41) argues that the world is now in an era where peace-enforcement will most likely be more predominant than peacekeeping." This situation is more likely to happen "because belligerents now exploit the weaknesses observed in the peacekeeping process to strengthen their positions to the detriment of the people, nation and international peace and security" (Nwolise, 2004). According to Murphy (2008), "the two most important characteristics that distinguished traditional peacekeeping from the more robust peace-enforcement operations are the use of force and the issue of host state consent to the presence of the UN force."

Peacemaking as a means of Conflict Resolution

Akindele (1990) refers to peacemaking as "the art and act of settling disputes or conflict through mediation, arbitration and reconciliation" Peacemaking is the process of forging a settlement between the disputing parties. While this can be done in direct negotiation with just the two disputants, it is often also accomplished with a third-party mediator. This

third party assists in the process and communication problems, and helps the parties work effectively together to draft a workable peace accord. According to Abubakar (2004), peacemaking embodies mediation techniques through diplomacy or pacification to bring opposing parties to reach a compromise. Peace-makers can be individuals, organizations, states or collection of states (Nwolise, 2004). Peacemaking is not the final step in the peace process. As exemplified in the Middle East and Bosnia, it takes more than a peace accord to bring peace to a region.

Peace accord is just the beginning and must be followed by long-term peace building. Peace-building refers to the process of normalizing relations and reconciling differences between the warring factions or "the deliberate and systematic build-up of interactions, dense and durable, initiating a state in which the resumption of conflict would be impossible" (Malitza, M., cited in Nwolise, 2004:31). Though peacemaking encapsulates mainly non-coercive diplomatic means of achieving peace, recent understanding has widened the concept to include coercive slants, in which case the military stands involved. The UN in 1999, following the avalanche of problems of peacekeeping, proposed a peacemaking operation that would not only monitor a cease fire but enforce it if it breaks down. The peacemakers engage in the process of disarmament and demobilization which ensures that the warring parties do not fall back into arms conflict after the peacemakers are withdrawn. According to Nwolise (2004), "peacemaking is more meaningful after the cessation of hostilities, and involves things like assisting refuges and displaced persons to return and resettle in their homes; removal of abandoned mines especially in residential areas…"

Conclusion

Since conflict has been observed by different scholars to be inevitable to the human existence in a society, it is therefore imperative that measures must be put in place to resolve it and bring about peace, which is needed for development to take place in any society. Studies have shown that conflict and development are diametrically opposed to each other in any human society. The implication of this position is that where there is no peace, development is not likely to take place; and people are more likely to face deprivation of the basic necessities of life arising from the ills of instability such as war, destruction, hunger and misery. The outcome of this situation is more likely to be the absence of the enhancement of the living standard of the people in such a society. Therefore, peace and conflict resolution are *sine-qua-non* for development to take place in any human society for quality and meaningful living.

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