



Nigeria's Foreign Policy from Independence: *Challenges for the 21st Century*

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ABOUT THE BOOK

Nigeria's Foreign Policy from Independence is an introductory, but concise book that introduces students and readers to the basic elements of foreign policy and how Nigeria makes and conducts her foreign policy since independence. It also introduces the major concepts and issues in international relations, the constitutional basis of Nigeria's foreign policy, fundamental objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy and its administration, Nigeria's foreign policy in Africa, Nigeria's bilateral relations in Africa and Nigeria and the emerging trends in the international system.



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Nigeria's Foreign Policy from Independence: Challenges for the 21st Century - Dr. Ruwhuoma Doris Chukwu



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DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to the Almighty God

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My acknowledgment is to God for helping me. All His provisions for my educational pursuits are the testimony of this book. All who have stood by me are so numerous. I say Thank You to all of you. May God continue to help us in Jesus Name.

PREFACE: NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY FROM INDEPENDENCE: CHALLENGES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

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Nigeria's Foreign Policy from Independence is an introductory, but concise book that introduces students and readers to the basic elements of foreign policy and how Nigeria makes and conducts her foreign policy since independence. It also introduces the major concepts and issues in international relations, the constitutional basis of Nigeria's foreign policy, fundamental objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy and its administration, Nigeria's foreign policy in Africa, Nigeria's bilateral relations in Africa and Nigeria and the emerging trends in the international system.

As an independent nation, Nigeria has stood out as the most populous black country in the world and contributed immensely to the search for solutions to pressing international issues, notably in African affairs. Nigeria has also participated actively in global affairs and used the platform of international organizations to advance her national interests, cognisant also of its regional and global obligations and responsibilities. The author has presented a strong case for Nigeria to press for a foreign policy that puts the Nigerian people at the center. One of the strong points also emanating from the contributors of this book is the imperative for Nigeria to address emerging challenges for the 21st Century.

The book is written in simple English to help students and general readers have first-hand knowledge, understanding, and information on

the making of foreign policy and conducting international relations with states, individuals, and organizations as actors. I applaud the writers of this text and hope that their example will inspire scholars and learners in the discourse of Nigeria's foreign policy.

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CHAPTER ONE

PROLOGUE

1.1 Proem

The history of mankind has evolved over the years. Law has played a central and vital role in the growth of man and society as a whole. States have over the years developed for themselves certain principles in their course of development. These principles emphasized inter-state relationship as no one State could live as an Island. However, as relationships increased among States, it became necessary to regulate and set common standards to avoid chaos and anarchy. International law laid these standard rules and principles, to also promote international co-operation and development.¹

Since State have naturally been known to be equal before the law, their opportunity to influence the law is affected by their human and material resources. Nigeria, as one of the sixteen African countries that attained independence in 1960, has been able to make some remarkable imprints in her inter-state relations within West Africa as a region, Africa as a continent and even the larger international community as a whole.² These imprints are better appreciated through the direction of her foreign policies in Africa since independence that will lay out the obvious challenges for the twenty-first century.

1.2 Scope of work

Several works have studied various angles of Nigeria's foreign policy, but this work sets out to further analyse Nigeria's foreign policy including its constitutional basis, as well as the challenges it faces in the midst of the global trend of events that are likely to dominate the international community in the 21st century. These trends no doubt have their roots in the past, as there can be neither a present nor future without a past.

¹U.O. Umozukid (1999). Introduction to International Law. Ibadan, Nigeria, p.233

²Oluko (1981): *Essays on Nigerian Foreign Policy*. London p.1

It is in this light that the work will take a brief historical analysis of pre-independent Nigeria, to show how the consensual method of gaining independence was one of the fundamental factors affecting her perception of the world and her consequent reception of the world.³ Analysis on Nigeria will also examine the resources available to her as a nation because it is a nation's capability that determines her strength and scale of involvement, authority, power, influence or importance in international issues. Every State in the international system uses what it has, to get what it needs, hence the basic parameters for measuring a nation's standing in the committee of States, will be examined in specific relations to Nigeria. Nations fail to achieve their objectives not for lack of efforts but because of the limited nature of their resources at a given circumstance. Nigeria as an actor, is subject to this inevitable rule of the game of international politics based on matching resources or capabilities with national goals and ambitions, to avoid constant failure, frustration or even humiliation.⁴

The work will also clarify the relevant terms that run through inter-state relations with special emphasis on foreign policy. Examining the terms will make particular references to the Nigeria situation. The Constitutional basis of Nigeria's foreign policy will be examined because the operations of these policies would not have been effective without a legal backing. Nigeria's guiding principles in her external relations will be examined from the constitutional basis to its implementation by the various administrations in the sub-regional, regional, and continental arenas. The operations of these policies will be better appreciated through the various roles played by Nigeria in the OAU and the ECOWAS. All these analysis will be seen in chapters two, three and four. Chapter 5 will examine the global trends of events as it affects Nigeria's relations in Africa. It is the analysis of these events that will set the way forward for Nigeria's relation in Africa and the entire world community in the twenty first century.

1.3 Conceptual Clarification

Policy: The concise Oxford English Dictionary defines policy as political Sagacity, statecraft, prudent conduct, craftiness, course of action, etc, adopted

³A.Z. Duke Abiola (1999): From Abubakar to Abubakar. Abuja, Nigeria p.g

⁴G.A. Obiozor (1994): The Politics of Precarious Balancing. NIIA. Lagos pp.1-5

by government, party, organisation, individual, etc. Policy can also be defined as a framework designed to teleguide an individual, organisation or government in the planning and implementation of objectives, projects or programmes. It is a guiding principle which forms the focus for any action taken in any regard.⁵ It is simply a course of action adopted by an individual, organization or government. In foreign policy matters, many actions are taken without any course adopted or plotted. Such actions are usually instant responses to situations but such actions are usually instant responses to situations but such responses are not made without regard to prior laid out rules and principles.

1. Constitution: The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, defines Constitution as the system of laws and principles, usually written down, according to which a country or an organisation is governed. Since not all Constitutions are written, we can see a Constitutions as a set or body of principles and rules determining the structures, powers and limitations of the governments of a country as well as defining the rights and duties of the governed.⁶ A Constitution, in its most basic sense, refers to a State's organic or fundamental law, which prescribes the basic organs of government and their operations, the distribution and use of power, and the relationship between the individual and the state.⁷ As a repertoire of norms or standards according to which a country is governed, it embodies statements that defines the relations not only between the rulers and ruled, but also the institutional framework of government, the rights and duties of citizens, and many important procedures to be followed in connection with those matters like foreign policy matters. The constitution defines the prime conditions for the exercise of legitimate power, who shall exercise political power, how they shall exercise their powers and the limits of those powers.⁸ Nigeria has a written constitution known as the Federal Constitution unlike England whose Constitution is unwritten.⁹ Thus the Federal Constitution of Nigeria is an elaborate document in which the organization of the government, its powers and its harmonious relations with individuals are all evidently and meticulously set down.

⁵OP cit p.10

⁶Ndoh C.A. (1997): Guide to Constitutional Development in Nigeria. CRC publications Oweeri p.1

⁷W. Alade Fawole. Nigerian Forum. NIIA Publication. July/August 2000 p.218

⁸Ayandiji Aina aB Ogunbanjo in Racall. No. 2 Hope Publications. Ibadan 2001. P. 89. There views here are basically from K.c. Wheare's Modern Constitutions. Oxford University Press. London 1966 and C.F. Strong, Modern Political Constitutions. Malthuse Press, London 1963

Sir U Udoma (1994): *History and the law of constitution of Nigeria*. Oxford UK pp 321-324

2. Democracy: The word “democracy” is derived from two Greek words; demos, meaning, “people” and “Kratien” meaning to “rule”. It is for this that it is commonly defined as government by the people or a rule by the people.¹⁰ More to that, it is an ideology constructed around the liberal values of individual freedom, equality, limited government, and that a free society provides the best environment for constructing social institutions and ordering human relations.¹¹ By the definitions above, the people are said to govern themselves, in which case everybody is supposed to be involved in the process of governance, however, everybody cannot be a governor. It is this definitional problem that has made Satori 1962 conclude that democracy is dangerous to define. He insists that apart from its descriptive functions, that it also has a normative and a persuasive function resulting into a two-fold problem of definition, which are what democracy is, and what it ought to be. He identified three concepts including popular sovereignty, equality, and self-government. For practicalization purpose, majority rule came in as the fourth concept. Democracy is a people-oriented government. It is a participatory system of government. However, in whatever perception of democracy, the most important thing is participation by a wide spectrum of people and group.¹² This is the experience of Nigeria today as we can see in the various Legislative Houses of the Federal, State and Local Governments.

3. Federalism: It is the mode of political organization which unites separate polities within a political system so as to allow each maintain its fundamental political integrity. It is a form of government in which power is distributed among general and constituent governments in a manner designed to protect the existence and authority of all the governments. It is a system that enables all units in a government to share in the system of decision-making and decision-executing processes.¹³ Nigeria's constitutional development entrenched this political organization into the system of governance. The federal system was introduced in 1954 to prevent any one of the three dominant regions of the Northern, Western and Eastern Regions which took shape in 1939, from dominating the other and to give each a share in the exercise of political and economic power in co-ordinate relationship with the centre.¹⁴

¹⁰ Olusanya, G. and Akindele, R.A (edited) 1990: *The Structure and Processes of Foreign Policy making and implementation in Nigeria. 1960-1990*. NIIA Lagos p.508

¹¹ Roy Olton and Jack Plan C. (1979). *The International Relations Dictionary* Cilo Press Ltd. Oxford p.61

¹² Op cit. 509. The views of Sartori are in his book. *Democratic Theory*. Detroit: Wayne state university press, 1962.

¹³ *Encyclopaedia of Social Science* (1968) vol. 5 The Macmillan Press, USA. P.353

¹⁴ Aluko, O. (1981). *Essays on Nigerian Foreign Policy*. London pp.2-3, Supra

4. A Nation: The word, nation, originally means a group of people being in the same place. Over the years, its usage and meaning underwent some modifications. The concept shifted from the idea of a group, a strange people, indigenous groups or tribes, to a more concrete definition. Lawyers and diplomats in the early 1990s regarded a nation as any sovereign State, whatever its form of government. The League of Nations extended the definition to all sovereign States inside and outside Europe regardless of their form of government or character of their social development. The United Nation further regards all sovereign countries as a nation. A nation is a collection of people bound together by cultural, traditional, geographical and historical factors. Nigeria, by these definitions is a nation.

5. A State: A State is an entity that possess certain qualifications. Article 1 of the Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of States 1933, defined a State as an International Person with a Permanent Population, a Defined Territory, a Government and a Capacity to enter into relations with other States. The Arbitration Commission of the European Conference on Yugoslavia in Opinion No. 1, defined the State as a community, which consists of a territory and a population subject to an organized political authority and is characterized by sovereignty.¹⁵ The State simply and generally, must be an entity that has exclusive right over certain people and a defined area or territory. Nigeria as a State, lies within the West coast of Africa and has over 300 ethnic groups and operates a federal system of government. A State is a geographical and political entity. The State is the arena of politics and is the Laboratory for Political Scientist.

6. Sovereignty: Sovereignty is a concept that is tied to statehood. It was originally seen as the concept of the absolute and unlimited authority in a state to which all persons and things were subject. However, with time there was a departure from this traditional meaning. The idea of sovereignty goes back to Aristotle but the earliest use of the term is credited to the French Philosopher Jean Bodin, who in 1576 defined it as the supreme power of the State over citizens and subject, unrestrained by law. The impact of the doctrine of sovereignty has been in the relations between States, who saw themselves as

¹⁵Encyclopedia America No., Vol. 25, p.347

sovereigns and had the authority to do anything that affects their interests. These rights were subsequently restricted.¹⁶

It is generally an exercise of authority over persons and area. It can also connote the legal competence, which a State enjoys in respect of its territory. The States' competence and exercise of these rights may be limited by treaty.¹⁷ Most of these treaties are multilateral or bilateral. The United Nations Charter, which is a multi-lateral treaty, has to a very large extent limited the exercise of sovereign rights of States. Other conventions like the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic and Consular Relations, the various Conventions on Armed Conflict and others on the Environment as well as other Regional Conventions, all originated from the U.N. Charter, restricting the sovereign rights of States.

7. Treaty: As stated in the introductory statement above, international law has been concerned with the rules guiding inter-state relations and other forms of relations in the world community. These relations between States require some form of agreements. These agreements have the ultimate aim of creating certain rights and obligations on the parties in the international arena. The laws guiding treaty relationships have been codified as the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties 1969. In Article 2, it defines a treaty as an international agreement concluded between States in written form and governed by international law. A Treaty consists of a preamble, Body and final clauses concluding with a testimonial and the Signatures are sealed.¹⁸ Nigeria has made several treaties in her inter-state relations, in pursuit of her foreign policy objectives.

8. Third World: In the modern sense, Third World refers to the developing countries of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Cuba and Latin America, which are still developing. Most, if not all of these countries are victims of imperialist's colonialism.¹⁹ In contemporary international relations, Global North and Global South are Terms used to indicate the developed and undeveloped States.

¹⁶The New Encyclopedia Britannica Vol. 11, p.56

¹⁷Brownlie, Ian (1990): *Principles of Public International Law*. 4th edition, London, pp.107-126

¹⁸Connell, D.P.O (1970): *International Law*. 2nd edition, Vol. 1 Stevens and Sons Ltd., London, pp.153-188

¹⁹See footnote 3. P.11, supra

9. Cold War: This is the extreme state of tension and hostility that developed between the IX. Western powers and the Communist bloc of Eastern Europe after World War II. The period was characterized by political manoeuvring, diplomatic wrangling, psychological warfare, ideological hostility, economic warfare, a major arms race, peripheral wars, and other power contests failing short of an all-out 'hot' war.²⁰ the East West hostility however ended with the collapse of communism in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic USSR. During this period of cold war, Nigeria adopted the policy of non-alignment towards the two powers that be.

10. Apartheid: This literally means apartness, but as a policy, is the Republic of South Africa's official policy of racial segregation established through openly discriminatory legislation. The policy was designed to perpetuate continued control of the state by the white minority against the black majority. Nigeria strongly opposed this system in her foreign policy objectives.

11. Foreign Policy: Various scholars have given different definitions of foreign policy. All the definitions see it as a product of interaction between the domestic and external environment of a state. It is the bedrock on which state's external relations are laid. A State's relations with other States and bodies as well as her disposition to global issues are directed by her foreign policies. It is in this light that Professor Charles Lerche and Professor Abdul Aziz Said have maintained that the foreign policy of a state usually refers to the general principles by which a state react to the international environment. Professor Cecil Crabb see foreign policy as consisting of two elements: National objective to be achieved and the means for achieving them. According to him, it is the interaction between national goals and the resources for attaining them.

Professor F.S. Northedge described it as interplay between the outside and the inside. Professor Joseph Frankel defined it as a dynamic process of interaction between the changing domestic demands and supports and the changing external circumstances.²¹ Rosenau J. in his book, the adoption of national societies: A theory of political system, behaviour and transformation, stated

²⁰Ibid p.13

²¹O. Aluko (1981): *Essays on Nigerian Foreign Policy*. London, pp. 2-3 views from the writers are as stated in this source, *Supra*

that foreign policy is the category which deals with defense, security, international political relations between states and other actors in the international systems. These other actors may be states, international organization, some individuals or the environment of the world system irrespective of whether the elements of the environment concerned are social, cultural, or structural. ²²All these definitions no doubt see foreign policy as a dynamic process as well as a product of interaction between the domestic and the external environment.

The foreign policy of any nation is, in reality the extension and pursuit of its national interests at the international arena. It is actually a manifestation of a nation's domestic reality that is reflected in the international arena hence the common goal of all foreign policies is the protection of the national image, the promotion of economic interest and the enhancement of national security, prosperity, prestige/honours and peace.²³ Foreign policy objectives are policies directed by the prevailing national interest vis-à-vis the international arena for the overall benefit of states.²⁴ It is a nation's interest that determines her foreign policy. Since State's interest is influenced by historical, political, social and economic factors, the work will later analyze all these forces to properly understand Nigeria's foreign policy since independence.²⁵ The foreign policies of any state lay emphasis on the principles of sovereignty, security, autonomy, welfare and status and prestige.²⁶

Various writers, in different perspectives, have analyzed the foreign policies of Nigeria. Olajide Aluko in his *Essays on Nigerian foreign policy*, says the logic of events, and the colonial legacy have both largely fore-ordained Nigeria's initial foreign policy options. After analysing Nigeria's external relations from independence in the early 1960s to late 1960, to the early 1970s and the 1980s, he concluded that Nigeria has played a significant role in West Africa, Africa and in the larger international community and in agreement with Professor Joseph Frankel, Scored her "a regional power in Black Africa". R.A. Akindele in addition to his various stands on Nigeria's foreign policy, remarked in an

²² Opt cit. p.14

²³ Lamido Sule (2000): *Keynote Address on Nigeria's Foreign Policy. In: Selected Readings on Nigeria's Foreign Policy and International Relations*. Vol. 1 Number 1, pp. xiii-xxii.

²⁴ G. Obiozor: Opt cit pp.159-160

²⁵ Duke Abiola, op cit p.10.

²⁶ Aworawo David, "The Dynamics of Nigeria-Gabon Relations". The Nigerian Forum. NIIA Publication. May-July 1999 p.102

enlightenment programme on foreign policy and international relations, that it is knowledge by decision makers, of their country's capacity and capability, knowledge of their country's strength and weaknesses, in relation to those of other countries that must inform the making of a realistic foreign policy. This remark has been singled out among other positions of Akindele because of its implication for the challenges it poses for the formulation of Nigeria's foreign policy in the twenty-first century because whatever goal we want to pursue, must be based on our capacity and capabilities as well as on our strengths and weaknesses. A nation can only get what it wants depending on what it has.

G.O. Olusanya and R. A. Akindele in their Preface on the Structure and Processes of Foreign Policy Making and Implementation in Nigeria 1960-1990 concluded that in designing the constitutional structure for foreign policy, the framers of both the 1979 and 1989 constitutions did not see foreign policy narrowly as the conduct of the political and diplomatic relations between Nigeria and the rest of the world, but rather as the totality of transactions – economic, trade, cultural, financial, political and diplomatic between Nigeria and other states. This view clearly sees foreign policy as the conduct of all external relations; be they sale of crude oil or timber or the playing of football or the going to the “Holy Lands for pilgrimage or the visits of foreign presidents, signing of treaties etc as all foreign policy issues. Joseph Garba in his *Diplomatic soldiering* stated that Nigeria had a dynamic and vibrant foreign policy in the years 1975 to 1979. According to him the years will not only go down in Nigeria's history as a time when the main actors in government had a strong national commitment and shared objectives, but one in which the country also had sufficient economic resources to pursue her national interest with vigour. He sees foreign policy in this light as the pursuit of national interests in external relations with strong economic resources. In other words, foreign policy goals cannot be achieved without strong economic resources. He however, warned that in the dramatically changing international environment, with super-power rapprochement and the virtual disappearance of Africa from the international equation, Nigeria, must turn concertedly and even aggressively to a new focus on foreign policy. Nigeria should see foreign policy beyond a mere extension of domestic politics in order to face the challenges of the twenty-first century.

Zainab Duke-Abiola in her book from Abubakar to Abubakar (50 years of

Nigeria's foreign policy) examined Nigeria's external image and her impact in Africa and the entire world, and concluded that Nigeria's foreign policy experienced periods of instability, corruption, indiscipline, mismanagement, ineffective propaganda and lack of direction between 1960-2000. Dr. M.A. Ajomo then, in a Paper on international law and foreign policy in the Draft Constitution confirmed foreign policy, as the basis for measuring a country's contribution to the peace and concord within the international community. In collaboration with the ideas earlier stated, D. M. Mamman in a Paper in the Nigerian Forum March – April 1999, stated that the foreign policies of States, the World over, are not only determined and shaped by factors of geographical location, population, economic endowment, national ideology, personality and the perception of policy makers, but they are increasingly affected by the structure and configuration of power in the international system. According to him, foreign policy, if it means anything, is the strategy of defending nations interest through diplomacy. General Abdulsalam Abubakar in an address at the 1998 Annual Patron's Dinner of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, stressed that no foreign policy can be stronger than the total domestic capacity that sustains such foreign policy. By this statement, he accords the domestic strength and environment a higher priority in the execution of a sound foreign policy.

Professor Stephen Okecha in a lecture on Nigeria's Foreign Policy, a Science Based Appraisal, asserts that the whole question of foreign policy is to a large extent, a power-game. He insisted that the amount of respect accorded any nation states in the international arena derives unquestionably from her power. The “power” of any country according to him, is not necessary a function of her territorial size or population or geographical location, but on the state of her scientific advancement. Major-general I.O.S. Nwachukwu in a forward on Basic issues in Nigerian Foreign Policy: IBB's Foreign Policy Pronouncements 1986-1991) noted foreign policy as a reflection of a nations domestic reality, which begins with the identification and articulation of national interests. He further stated that our foreign policy strategies should aim at facilitating support measures within the international system for our domestic economic policies. That Nigeria's external relations must pay more attention to those issues that have bearing on our national economic interests. This view conforms to Professor Hartman's view that the achievement of national goals is the crucial test in the evaluation of a foreign policy. The 1979

Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria emphasized the promotion and protection of the national interest as one of the objectives of Nigerian's foreign policy. Dr. Aderemi Oyewumi in the Nigerian Forum Nov – Dec 1995 says the elements of foreign policy are the factors that determine the external relations of States. These factors according to him include domestic structure, economic strength, military capability, ideology and the historical experience of the state concerned. The application of all these expressions will become clear as the work progresses.

12. International Relations: The term in a very broad sense embraces all intercourse and interactions among States and all movements of peoples, goods and ideas across national frontiers. It is field of study that analyzes foreign policies or the political processes between nations. It also focusses on diverse issues such as international trade unions, international migration, tourism, international trade, transportation, communication and the development of international values and ethics. States are the principal Actors in international relations that international relations can be seen to be concerned particularly with the process by which sovereign States adjust their national interests to one another. It is an interaction between sovereign independent nations in the struggle for power and dominance of the international system. Nigeria's effort at integrating these principles is the major focus of this work.

13. International Law: As earlier stated in the introduction, international law is the law that regulates the affairs of the world community. It is the law that restricts the actors, regulate their behaviours and ultimately impose some sanctions. It is the law that sets out a series of principles which society should follow. It attempts to create a framework, which moderates and even balances interests. With the increase of contacts and relations among states, mandatory rules no doubt became necessary for the promotion of international co-operation and peace. International law created these rules.

International law developed in accordance with the prevailing courses of international relations and in harmony with the reality of the age. It evolved from its primary concern to maintain and preserve peace to embrace all the interest of contemporary international life. Its developments place it above religion, race and continents, because, as problems arose in the international

community, international law has to face up to them by finding at least immediate, if not lasting solutions to them. Such problems included: the use of the outer space, the exploitation of the Deep seabed as the common heritage of all mankind, Apartheid, Fascism, Neo-Colonialism, the new International Economic Order, Weapons of Mass Destruction, Disarmament, Environmental Protection, International Co-operation, Human Rights and other issues. States have in the course of their developments embraced the ideas of sovereignty and equality of States and the principles of non-aggression and non-intervention within the frame of a commonly accepted legal framework for international relations. International law provided the required accepted method whereby these relations could be conducted in accordance with commonly accepted standards of behaviour.²⁷

International law is on the whole, a body of rules and regulations which have evolved over time and which states have accepted for the conduct of their transactions in all spheres of international relations; particularly in military, political, diplomatic and economic fields. These rules developed as customs, practices and conventions which States have expressly consented to and are therefore, accepted as regulating their relations. States generally obey the rules and regulations of international laws not only because it is in their individual and collective interest to do so, but because the logic of reciprocity compels them to.²⁸ The Directive principles of Nigeria's foreign policy have given international law its rightful place.

14. International Institutions: They are Unions formed in the international system to promote international relations. They are theatres for the conduct of multi-lateral diplomacy. They also serve as invaluable instruments used by States in the conduct of their foreign policies, especially for building support and consensus behind their foreign policy interest, and thus collectively legitimizing their preferences in the international system. They exist at the pleasure of the collectivity of State, which created them.²⁹ International institutions came with the increase in the relations among states. The process of international institution building dates back to the Congress of Vienna of 1815, which marked the end of the Napoleonic wars, when the victorious

²⁷ See Oche Ogaba and Peters S.B. in footnote 24, pp.1-31. *Supra*.

²⁸ Umozurike, *op cit* pp.1-14

²⁹ See R.A. Akindele *op cit* pp.35-37

powers established the concert of Europe for the management of peace on the continent. A giant step was taken in 1919 when the League of Nations as the first global institution established by mankind for the maintenance of international peace and security. It collapsed in 1939 with the outbreak of the Second World War, and was succeeded by the United Nations in 1945. However, despite its weaknesses, the United Nations remains the most sophisticated diplomatic machinery ever designed for the maintenance of international peace and security.³⁰

It is in the light of the above emergence and evolution of international institutions that George Obiozor, says that it is the search for security through balance of power that led to the conceptualization and reality of international institutions. Their existence according to him has tended to serve a limited purpose towards the control and containment of global violence. Claude on his part said that “international organization is fundamentally, even though not exclusively, a reaction to the problem of war.”³¹ International institutions could be said to exist as evidence of man's search for morality, idealism and peace.³² International institutions can be referred to, as assembly of sovereign states in pursuit of common goal geared towards peaceful co-existence. Membership in international organizations provides States the opportunity for contacts, interactions and negotiation with other States in the conduct of their foreign policies.³³ This point will be given more credence as the work progresses, because most addresses made on behalf of Nigeria in some of these forums highlighted the objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy. International Organizations are used as instruments of foreign policy by their member-state. They provide a forum for the collective management of global order in the search for solution to common problems. They also act as modifiers of state conduct and behaviour.³⁴ International institutions have been classified as universal or global, or regional. They may also be general or specialized. They may have comprehensive or limited competence. They may be advisory, regulatory or supra-national. They may be executive, judicial and political. They may be ad hoc, provisional or permanent in relations to their duration

³⁰ Ogaba Oche op cit pp.1-3

³¹ Obiozor G.A. op cit p. 135

³² L. Claud JR. (1971) *Swords into Plowshares – The Problems and progress of International Organizations* New York. P.215

³³ Akindele. Op cit. 36.

³⁴ Akindele R.A. *Nigerian Forum*. Sept, Oct. 2000, pp.250-251

and as single-purpose or multi-purpose according to the nature of their purpose. They may also be governmental or private.³⁵

In view of all these classifications, the world has over 4,500 International Organizations in existence. Beside the United Nations and its specialized agencies with a global mandate and agenda in economic, social, agricultural, educational, industrial, monetary and other technical fields, there are also some prominent continental, regional and sub-regional organizations. They include the League of Arab States, the Organization of American States (OAS), the Organization of African Unity (OAU) now African Union (AU), the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) the European Union (EU), the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the Commonwealth of Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) etc.³⁶

At independence in October 1960, Nigeria acquired the legal capacity to conduct both bilateral foreign relations with similar sovereign States and multi-lateral diplomatic relations through international organizations. Transition to full independence as a sovereign State certainly posed enormous challenges as well as offered opportunities to use the conduct of foreign policy to advance and protect the nation's interest in social, economic and diplomatic fields. It also made her contribute to the shaping of the international system in the image of the country's valued preferences, and to participate with other States in the management of the global order, in terms of peace, security and human welfare. Nigeria became the 99th member State of the United Nations on October 7, 1960.³⁷

15. Globalization: Globalization refers to the process of the intensification of economic, social, cultural, political and environmental relations across international boundaries. As defined by the IMF, it means greater integration of goods, services and capital between countries in the international system.³⁸ Ohuabunwa (1999) opined that "Globalization can be seen as an evolution which is systematically restructuring interactive phase among nations by

³⁵Op cit. pp. 135-136

³⁶Umozurike op cit pp. 233-235.

³⁷Akindel. Op cit p. 43

³⁸Daniel Omoweh, op cit p.46

breaking down barriers in the areas of culture, commerce, communication and several other fields of endeavour". Globalization is also seen as the relative liberalization and homogenization of the globe as a result of the technological revolutions since the 1940s. Globalisation is aimed at sweeping away all barriers to the formation of a single world market and increased volume of trade.

It is principally aimed at the transcendental homogenization of political and socio-economic relations across the globe. It deals with the increasing breakdown of trade barriers and the increasing integration of World market. It is geared towards universal homogenization of ideas, cultures, values and even life styles, as well as the deterritorialization and villagization of the world. According to Gordimer (1998), Globalisation is principally concerned with the expansion of trade over the oceans and airspace, beyond traditional alliances, which were restricted by old political spheres of influence.³⁹ Globalization, under liberalization entails the removal of administrative barriers to international movement of goods, services, labour and capital, which in turn increases economic interaction among nations. It is in this direction that globalization can be argued to be a phenomenon of capital mobility. It is this aspect to the definition that brings the concept of economic globalization.

The concept of economic globalization is manifesting in the global nature of the market, increased role of multinational companies, rapid spread of information technologies, investments and the speeding up of global economic integration with the inter-regional organisations, taking the lead. The internet diplomacy under economic globalization has turned the world into a global village speeding up communication among countries, facilitating contacts and expanding international exchanges. Economies based on different values and social systems are now more closely inter-connected and many non-State actors like transnational corporations have emerged on the international stage.⁴⁰

16. Terrorism: The New Lexicon Webster Dictionary defined terrorism as the policy of using acts inspiring terror as a method of ruling or of conducting political opposition. The Oxford English Dictionary sees it, first as

³⁹<http://www.postcolonialweb.Org/Africa/akindeleib.html>

⁴⁰Yijun Zhang: Economic Globalization and State Sovereignty. Foreign Affairs Journal. No. 58, Dec. 2001.

government by intimidation and secondly as a policy intended to strike with terror those against whom it is adopted, the employment of methods of intimidation, the act terrorizing or condition of being terrorized.⁴¹ It could be described as the use of, or the threat of violence to pursue political ends. It often involves a small group, united around a particular cause unleashing violence against society in order to frighten the populace, demoralize the leadership, and achieve set political goals.⁴² Terrorist acts have existed long in the history of mankind, but post war terrorism can be said to have been in the late 1960s and has continued, on and off. Since the end of the cold war in the late 1980s, the world has witnessed the emergence of new security challenges of terrorist acts, hinged on transnational threats and national vulnerabilities.

These threats stand as one of the features of globalization. The greater integration of the economies of the world, the universalisation of liberal democratic and market values, as well as the information and communication technology revolution have resulted in the rapid transformation of the international scene. Distances have been shortened across space and time, making movements across the world very easy. Threats across international borders also move with relative ease as a result of the sophisticated technologies, information and communication infrastructures provided by the process of globalization.⁴³ The year 2000 alone recorded over one hundred acts of international terrorism and political violence incidents. Acts of terrorism are now being principally used as a symbol, tool, method, or a process of force taking in the form of random and systematic intimidation, coercion, deprivation and destruction of human lives and property. It is often intentionally used by these various groups to create a climate of extreme fear in order to obtain avowed realistic or imaginary goals.⁴⁴

17. Diplomacy: Diplomacy according to Ernest Satow is the act of negotiation between States by their representatives, usually in very tactical manner to achieve a peaceful end. The Oxford English Dictionary defines it as the management of international relations by negotiation. The New World Encyclopaedia defines it in a broader form, as the act of negotiating and

⁴¹These dictionaries definitions of terrorism are from a paper presented by Mr. Mike M. Okiro Commissioner of Police, Lagos State, at the National Summit Organised by the centre for criminal Justice Reform and Citizen awareness. Held at the NIIA, Lagos 30th Nov, 2001, p.3

⁴²Joy U. Ogburn Keynote address at the National Summit on the security challenges of terrorism in the 21st Century global community NIIA Lagos.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Op cit.

arranging treaties between nations. According to it, it relates to the forms of international negotiations between independent States as well as the management of envoys i.e. the personnel accredited to foreign countries. The Encyclopaedia Americana sees it as comprising the procedures and processes of negotiating agreements usually between sovereign States.

It further states that individuals engaged in diplomacy are called diplomats and are usually members of the diplomatic service of their governments. Generally, diplomacy has been seen as the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent States. It could be briefly seen as the conduct of business between States by peaceful means. DUC de Brglier sees it as the best means, civilization has devised to prevent force in international relations. The methods applied usually vary from place to place depending on the prevailing circumstances of the political conventions of each age.

In process of conflict, the practice embraces not merely negotiations but adopts the use of a complex range of moral and psychological weapons to achieve any peaceful resolution. It is an age long practice that have undergone modifications with the growth of society. As the number of sovereign States increased so did the complexities of the decision-making process, the machinery for conducting foreign relationship and the nature of the task of the diplomats, as well as the number of diplomats. A wide variety of practices and precedents developed during the 18th century and steps were taken to regularize the system of diplomatic representatives at the Conferences of Vienna in 1815, 1818, 1961 and 1963.⁴⁵ Diplomacy is the practical implementation of foreign policy.

Generally, the diplomatic agents recognized, are Ambassadors, Envoys-Extra Ordinary, Ministers Plenipotentiary, Ministers Residents, Charge d' affairs, Secretaries of Legation and Attaches. Their powers and dignitaries are graded successively in the order named. There are also diplomatic agents commissioned by the State to reside in a foreign town or port to protect the interest of the State and its subjects there, and to watch over the States

⁴⁵The New World Encyclopaedia, Vol V, 1972 and The Encyclopaedia Americana Vol. IV

commercial rights and privileges. These diplomatic agents are known as Consuls. A Consular service is a branch of a nation's foreign services that deals mainly with commercial functions. A Consul function only if he receives written authorization known as Exequatur. The functions are to protect their State nationals, issue visas, authenticate documents and perform other legal service on behalf of Nationals or States having business in the receiving State.⁴⁶

The growth of international law brought to light the concept of diplomatic privilege, which is an exemption from police regulations, arrests, taxation and payment of customs duties accorded representatives of foreign countries and members of their households. The Osborn Concise Law Dictionary refers to it as diplomatic immunity and defines it "as exemption or immunity of an accredited representative of a foreign sovereign. The laws governing this are contained in the diplomatic and other privileges Act of 1964 and 1978 and the 1966 Vienna convention on Diplomatic and Consular Relation."⁴⁷

All inter-state relations are conducted in very high diplomatic expressions to protect State interests. If it is taken that the foreign policy of a State is hinged upon its national interest, the quality of diplomacy at the disposal of the State is critical to the pursuit of those interests in the international arena. The level of diplomacy displayed by Nigerian administrations in pursuit of her national interest will be seen in the course of the work. All these terms highlighted above will be given more credence as the study progresses.

⁴⁶ Osborne's Concise Law Dictionary, Leslie Rutherford and Sheila Bone (edited). Sweet and Maxwell London 1992

⁴⁷ Obiozor op cit pp. 1-2

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Define the following terms

- i. Constitution
- ii. Democracy
- iii. Federalism
- iv. A Nation
- v. State
- vi. Cold war
- vii. Foreign Policy

CHAPTER TWO

SETTING

2.1 Brief on Nigeria

As earlier stated, a State is bound to naturally use what it has to get what it wants, and whatever it has, will also be used to assess her position in the international arena, since the foreign policy of a State is an extension of her domestic situation and realities. There are indeed basic parameters for measuring a States standing in the comity of Nations. In fact, there is a general consensus that the size, population and location of a community are important factors in her ability to respond to international events. The military power of a State to a large extent also affects the conduct of her foreign relations. The level of economic development or industrialization also play a key role in her capability to assume certain responsibilities in world affairs. The amount of a states resource she is willing to allocate in the pursuit of international issues is also important.⁴⁸ The level of stability of a State, as well as the conduct of her citizens is also a parameter because they will serve as tools for perception and reception in the international arena.⁴⁹

It is in sum, the national capability of a State that determines the scope and scale of her involvement, authority, power, influence or importance in the issues concerned at specific times and circumstances in the international arena. The basic factors that make up this capability include geographical location, size of population, economic resources and industrial efficiency, education and technological skill, and moral cohesion.⁵⁰ The political experience of a State also affects the direction of her foreign policies. It is in the light of the above, that the work will focus on the following in relation to Nigeria.

⁴⁸ S.B. Peters. In: Selected Readings on Nigeria's Foreign Policy and International Relations. pp. 25-43, Supra.

⁴⁹ Duke-Abiola op cit. 5-8

⁵⁰ Op cit

2.1.1 Geography

Nigeria is located on the West Coast of Africa. As neighbours on the West, she has Dahomey (present day Benin Republic), Chad on the North-East, Cameroon on the East, on the South, is the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulf of Guinea which is in the Island of Fernando Po. The North of Nigeria is the Savannah region, which allowed easy communication and movement of people. In the South is the tropical rain forest area which has giant trees and thick shrubs that made movement difficult. South of the rain forest area is the mangrove region which stretched down to the Atlantic Coast. The coastline is intersected by a network of lagoons, creeks and waterways. Nigeria is watered by the Rivers Niger and Benue and their tributaries.⁵¹

2.1.2 History

Nigeria as it is known today, was a purely artificial entity created for the administrative convenience of Great Britain. Nigeria's initial contact with Europe was established through trade in slaves and later the legitimate trade but was limited to the Coastal areas. The activities of explorers and missionaries later exposed the interiors of Nigeria. The first annexation of Nigeria started with the Lagos Island in 1861 and consolidated British power in the Niger Delta. Britain, though made no serious attempt to colonize Nigeria until the activities of the Royal Niger Company and the exploration of Frederick Lugard. By 1900, Northern Nigeria was declared a British Protectorate with Lugard as the High Commissioner. Nigeria by this time had been divided into three parts of the Colony of Lagos, the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, each administered by three different administrations directly responsible to the United Kingdom.

By 1906, the Colony of Lagos and Southern Nigeria were united as one and known as the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria or the Southern Province. By 1914, the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria and the Southern province were merged to form the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria. By 1924, the British Mandated Territory of Western Cameroons was ruled as part of Nigeria.⁵² Thus, Nigeria was an amalgam of separate colonial territories ruled or administered by Great Britain.⁵³

⁵¹ Okochi Ibe N.A. (1990) Nigeria's African Policy. Cross Continental Press Limited p.7

⁵² James Coleman, (1963) Nigeria: Background to Nationalism Berkley etc. University of California press p.46

⁵³ Refer to our earlier statement of the purely artificial entity created for British's administrative convenience in the preceding page

2.1.3 The People

Nigeria has over 300 ethnic groups with the Hausa-Fulani, the Igbos and Yorubas as the major. The Hausa-Fulani inhabits the Northern part of Nigeria, the Igbos on the Eastern part, while the Yorubas are on the West.⁵⁴ The British were well disposed to the Northern emirates because of the system of government already in place there, hence the indirect rule system of administration was introduced, but this was not the case with the South. However, the South had more attraction economically than the North. This made development easier in the South than the North.⁵⁵ James Coleman, (1963) *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* Berkley etc University of California Press.

2.1.4 Size and Population

Nigeria has a total land mass of 954,000sq.kms with a population estimated between 50 to 100 million which are spread all over the land but with the highest concentrations in the urban regions of Oyo, Kano, Sokoto, Imo, Borno, Rivers and Lagos States.⁵⁶ Mr Kunle Adeyemi of the Ministry of external Affairs in a key note address on Nigeria's foreign policy, at a National Seminar in 1992 said, "the responsibility conferred on Nigeria by her size, status and economic potentials is more significant considering that one of every African, is a Nigerian, while one, of every six black persons is a Nigerian.

2.1.5 Religion

Majority of the Nigerian population are mainly Moslems and Christians found in all the regions of the country. The Moslem population are dominant in the North and parts of the west and the Middle Belt while the Christians dominate the East and West and the Middle Belt as well.

2.1.6 The Economy

In 1960, Nigeria was a major exporter of groundnuts, cocoa, palm oil and palm kernels, cotton, hides and skins, wood and timber, rubber, tin ore, columbite and crude petroleum.⁵⁷ Nigeria is also blessed with minerals such as coal, iron ore, lead, zinc, limestone and uranium. Nigeria's economy in addition to these was agricultural.⁵⁸ After the Nigerian Civil War in 1970, Crude petroleum

⁵⁴Each of the 3 main ethnic groups numbered over 5 million by the time of Nigeria's independence

⁵⁵Obiozor op cit pp. 5-6

⁵⁶Obiozor op cit pp. 5-6

⁵⁷Kalu Ezera (1964) *Constitutional Development in Nigeria*. Cambridge University Press, pp.100-116

⁵⁸Nigeria. *The Political and Economic Background*, Prepared by the Royai institute of international Affairs London. Oxford University Press. 1960, p.4

dominated the country's economy till date. By the end of 1974, Nigeria had an annual production of over 100 million metric tons of crude petroleum and ranked among the ten largest producers of oil in the world. The quality of her crude was regarded as among the best available because of its low sulphur content and lighter specific gravity.

Nigeria operates a mixed economy in which government owns and runs railroads, public utilities, mining, iron and steel and agricultural enterprises.⁵⁹ Radio and television services were formerly owned by government but are now also privately owned. The private sector is dominant in agriculture, small and medium-scale industry, commerce and construction. Both the government and private businessmen (mostly foreigners) jointly own and operate banking, insurance and several manufacturing industries.⁶⁰ The neglect of agriculture since the 1970s, moved Nigeria from self-sufficiency in basic food stuffs, to a heavy dependence on imports. After experiencing growth rate of 8-10% per annum during the early 1970s, the increase in agricultural product declined to around 4% per annum towards the end of the decade. By 1981, it was 3/4%, 3.7% in 1982 and thus continued the downward trend that saw the increase in the country's food import bills.

Nigeria possesses also the largest deposit of natural gas in Africa. It is said that proven reserves are assessed at more than 2,400m cu. m, most of which is located within petroleum deposits in and around the Niger Delta region of the country. The Liquidified Natural Gas (NLNG) company is currently appropriating the use of the total oil associated gas in the country. The manufacturing sectors of the Nigerian economy has not had a very good success story. Manufacturing accounted for 5.4% of Gross Domestic product (GDP) in 1975 and only rose to 7% in 1984 about 9 years after. It has recorded gradual increase from then, till date. The construction sector is more significant although its share of GDP fell from 20% in 1980 to 8% in 1983. Manufacturing in the country is heavily reliant on imported raw materials and components, hence it is vulnerable to disruption when imports are restricted. Since the 1960s, industrial development in Nigeria has mainly taken the form of import substitution of consumer goods. Transportation and power section of the economy have also not had a very good success story.⁶¹

⁵⁹Ibid. p. 106

⁶⁰Obiozor, op cit pp, 6-8

⁶¹Ibid pp, 6-10 Most of these information are not original to the author

2.1.7 Political Development

The early annexation of Lagos paved way for early political enlightenment in the area. The Legislative Council set up after the annexation made provisions for elected African members whose jurisdiction covered the Southern Province. By 1939, the Southern Province had been sub-divided into three, for administrative convenience while the Northern Province remained an unbroken unit. The Legislative Council arrangement in Lagos was later replaced by an All-Nigeria Council with representatives from each of the three regions of Nigeria. It was under this arrangement that the Northern Province was coming into direct contact for the first time with the rest of the country despite the 1914 amalgamation. The Colonial Governor of Nigeria at the time of the All Nigeria Council, Sir Arthur Richards brought the Richards constitution that formed the basis of the administration of Nigeria then.

Nationalists' agitation that started during the Second World War led to a series of Conferences among Nigerians that saw a replacement of the Richards Constitution with the McPherson Constitution by 1951. Fear of domination by the educated Southerners, and with the British co-operation, brought a lot of agitation from the Northerners, that also delayed the attainment of independence and sowed the seed of the persistent disharmony between the North and south.⁶² The constitutional developments and the nationalist agitations during the Second World War also led to the formation of political parties. In 1944, in collaboration with Herbert Macauley, Nnamdi Azikiwe formed the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroon's (NCNC) which according to Akinyele, gave Nigeria a country-wide nationalist movement.⁶³

By 1951, a Yoruba cultural association, the Egbe Omo Oduduwa founded by Obafemi Awolowo in the mid 1940s transformed into a political party, the Action Group. This Party (the AG), was a focus of the Pan Yoruba feeling. The nationalistic feeling among the Northerners also brought a transformation of a cultural organization, Jami'yyar Mutanen Arewa, founded in 1949, 'to a Political Party of the Northern People's Congress (NPC) in 1951, led by Ahmadu Bello with the goal to reconcile tradition, modernity and the defense of the North! There was also the Northern Elements Progressive Union

⁶²James O. Connell (1967) Political Integration. "The Nigerian Case" African Integration and disintegration. Case Studies in Economic and Political Union. Ed. Arthur Hollywood. Oxford University Press London, p. 133.

⁶³Ibid pp.51-151

(NEPU) led by Aminu Kano and the United Middle Belt Congress led, by J. S. Tarka. These parties no doubt were centered on sectional nationalism, hence in the 1959 federal election that preceded Nigeria's independence, none of them won an over-all majority. There was the need to form a coalition government at the Centre in Lagos. Each of the regions were controlled by the parties; NPC for the North, the AG for the West and the NCNC for the East.

At the Centre in Lagos, were the Governor-General, the Federal Executive Council headed by a Prime Minister, the House of Representatives and the Senate.⁶⁴ These major 3 political parties with their various regional interests illustrates the chronic disunity that has become a major feature of Nigeria's political life. The call for a self-government moved by Chief Anthony Enahoro as a representative of the Western Region in 1953 which was supported by the (AG) under Chief Obafemi Awolowo, and the NCNC and stoutly opposed by the NPC, sowed the seed for the North-South dichotomy in the country. The acrimony and bitterness that followed the formation of political parties and the debates on self-government, though began Nigeria's march to independence but also made it obvious that Political integration was going to be a difficult task. They produced disintegrative rather than integrative forces. Our nationalism has continued to emphasize ethnic consciousness on sub-national consciousness.

Nigeria became independent on October 1, 1960 under a constitution that left the position of the Queen of England as the ceremonial Head of State of Nigeria. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa became the Prime Minister for a short while, the foreign Minister. Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe became the Governor-General and by 1963 when Nigeria became a Republic, was the first non-executive president of Nigeria. The Action Group was left out 'of the immediate post independent government at the center. They were in the opposition' in the Federal House of Representatives, while the Northern Peoples Congress NPC and the National Council of Nigeria Citizens NCNC formed a coalition government at the Federal level.⁶⁵ It was this situation that ushered in the first national political crisis that led to the treasonable felony and conspiracy trial and subsequent imprisonment of Chief Awolowo, and

⁶⁴ Akinyele, A.B. (1974): *Foreign Policy and federalism: The Nigerian Experience*. Ibadan University Press

⁶⁵ Obiozor op cit pp. 24-56

other crisis that overthrew Nigeria's first Republic in January 1966 when the Nigerian Armed Forces made its first *coup d'etat*, with the impression that it will create a united Nigeria. This impression was never a reality as it rather intensified the national crisis, when a section of the Armed Forces organized and executed a counter coup against the regime of General Aguiyi Ironsi on July 29th 1966 barely six months after the first coup. The first coup took the lives of the Prime Minister, Tafawa Balewa, Regional Premiers, Akintola and Sir Ahmadu Bello and the Minister of finance Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh. The second coup took the lives of the Head of State General Aguiyi Ironsi who was kidnapped on the 29th July 1966 with several other Eastern officers.

This scenario no doubt shows that the ethnic and regional cleavages which were directly responsible for the failure of the civilian elites and their government have also found their way into the Armed Forces elites. It was this cleavages that led the ground for the Civil war when the Military Governor of the Eastern Province, Colonel Odimegwu Ojukwu, staged a lot of protest and declared the State of Biafra after a September tribal revolt in the North, claimed the lives of a lot of Ibos. The Civil war, which started on July 6th 1965, ended on January 1970. By July 1975 there was another coup. February 1976 witnessed an attempted coup that returned the country to a civilian government on October 1979 under a Presidential System of Government. By December 31st, 1983, the military struck again because of the prevailing intractable political troubles.⁶⁶ By 1995, another *coup d'etat* brought the regime of Alhaji Ibrahim Babangida who stepped aside in 1993 for a three month Interim Government headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan, which after been declared illegal, null and void by the court led to his resignation and paved the way in November 18th 1993 a day after, for the ascension of General Sani Abacha as the Head of State of the Country. General Abacha's reign lasted until his death on June 8th 1998. General Ibrahim Abubakar came in, and his reign ushered Nigeria's third Republic on 29th May 1999. The political development of Nigeria has been affected by ethnic and tribal pressures.

Military: Nigerian military is made up of the Navy, Army and the Air Force. The entire defence force is put at over 100,000 personnel. The Army is more, and comprised of one Armoured Division, a composite Division Consisting of

⁶⁶Ibid pp.10-12

the Air borne and Amphibious Brigades, and two Mechanised Division, each made up of three Brigades, four Artillery Brigades; four Engineering Brigades and four Reconnaissance Artilleries. Other weapons are tanks with fighting vehicles. Artillery firepower has guns of various capabilities. The Navy has frigates, corvettes, fast attack and patrol crafts. The Nigerian Air Force (NAF) is organised into four main branches and three main commands. Its combat unit and the Tactical Air Command (TAC) could boast of combat aircraft and helicopters. The military with its personnel's has assorted kinds of weapons with varying sophistication's on air, sea and land warfare's. There are also the paramilitary formations such as the Coast Guards, Post Security Police and the Security and Civil Defence Corps under the ministry of internal Affairs as well as the Nigerian Police Force.⁶⁷

The Nigerian military from our analysis of the political developments above, can be seen to have lacked solidarity and discipline. From 1966, the Armed Forces have overthrown two Civilian governments and three military governments. There have also been three attempted coups against two military governments giving a total figure of eight coups in 38 years.⁶⁸ Thus it is obvious that the Nigerian military need a high standard of discipline to stand as a reliable force in Nigeria's foreign policy directives. All the explanations on foreign policy and the abstract on Nigeria, takes us to the constitutional basis of Nigeria's foreign policy because the place of the law in Nigeria's foreign policy is very vital.

⁶⁷Ibid pp.13-14

⁶⁸Ibid pp.14-15

1. Write exhaustively on the Brief history of Nigeria
2. Comment on the following;
 - a. The People
 - b. Size and Population
 - c. Religion
 - d. The Economy
 - d. Population Development

CHAPTER THREE

THE CONSTITUTIONAL BASIS OF NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

3.1 Introduction

Law as we know is the rule regulating human activities in the society. Law has played a vital role in the relations among states. International law, as earlier said, laid the rules governing all inter-state relations. It is the law that gives a legal backing to any rule or order in so much that an action backed up by the law is justified. Nigeria's foreign policy without laws guiding it is bound to be ineffective, and will not give a good image of the country. The laws guiding Nigeria's foreign policy are enshrined in the constitution. This uniqueness of the constitution as earlier stated makes it very important, and in relation to the chapter, gives it a very important role in the direction of Nigeria's foreign policy. Since its amalgamation in 1914, Nigeria has been caught in a vicious cycle of constitution making and abortion.

3.2 The Constitutional Reforms

The first ever constitutional reform started with Lord Lugard who was the High commissioner of Northern Nigeria 1900-1906, Governor of Northern and Southern Nigeria 1912-1914 and Governor General of Nigeria Council in 1914-1919. He introduced the first ever constitutional reforms in Nigeria, with the establishment of the Nigerian Council in 1914 after the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorate. This reform was in a bid to administer the vast territory of Nigeria.⁶⁹ According to Sir Lugard, "the Nigerian Council, is an attempt to bring together representatives from all parts of a vast country for purposes of discussion at least once in the year, since distances and lack of means of communication render it impossible for them to assemble as frequently as is necessary as in the case of a legislative council."⁷⁰ The membership of the Council comprised of the Governor, as the President,

⁶⁹ C.A.Ndoh (1997): *Guide to Constitutional Development in Nigeria*. CRC Publications. Owerri, Nigeria pp.8-27

⁷⁰ Sir, U.Udoma (1994): *History and the Law of Constitution of Nigeria*. Oxford UK p.41 Views are from Sir Williams Greary, Nigeria under British rule. Pp 268-271. Sir Alam Burns. *History of Nigeria*. Cap xxix passim *Laws of Nigeria 1923*. Vol. III Cap III P. 13; Order-in-Council no.9 of 1915.

the Lieutenant Governors, Secretaries to the Governor, first class Residents and such other European persons holding office in Nigeria as the Governor may appoint as official members. The Governor also nominated certain representatives as unofficial members.

By implication, the 1914 constitution and functions showed it was an administrative council for the review of European affairs in Nigeria. The Council turned out to be a forum for the exchange of information relative to the expansion of European trade. In this situation, it is obvious to say that the constitutional basis of Nigeria's foreign policy between 1914 and 1919 was generally the promotion of European economic interest. The criticism that attended the Nigerian Council led to its abortion and the making of another constitution in 1922.

3.2.1: Sir Hugh Clifford Constitutions of 1922

In 1919, Sir Hugh Clifford as Governor of Nigeria succeeded Lord Lugard from 1919 to 1925. On assumption of office, Sir Clifford decided to review the Nigerian Council, which he saw as fallen short of expectation and sought for political reforms. At this period also, the National Council of British West Africa (NCBWA) in 1920, had sent delegates to London to petition the British Government and Crown. It was in the midst of these that Sir Hugh Clifford sought the approval of the colonial office for the establishment of the Legislative Council for the colony and protectorate of Nigeria, which came into existence in 1923. The Nigerian Legislative Council was composed of forty-six members, twenty-seven of who, (including the Governor) were official members, fifteen were nominated by the Governor, while four were elected.

The legislative council was a mere advisory body. It had no legislative power as the Governor was not bound to accept its Advice.⁷¹ Among the various reforms introduced by this constitution was in the judiciary. The innovation introduced into the system of the Administration of justice had some external relations implications. This innovation gave legal practitioners access to practice in the protectorate courts. There was the West African Court of Appeal, which was the court of Nigeria as well as Supreme Courts of other

⁷¹Op cit pp.30-34.

British territories that acted as a link between British territories in West Africa consisting of the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast (Now Ghana) and Nigeria. There was right of appeal from the West African Court of Appeal in certain specified cases and subject to certain conditions, to Her majesty's Privy Council in Great Britain.⁷² This judicial innovation can be said to prepare the ground for closer ties between Nigeria and the other British territories of West Africa, ties that were later formally pronounced in the post-independence constitutions of Nigeria. Nigeria's relations with the British by this constitution remained non-negotiable.⁷³ The political consciousness and other innovations by Sir Hugh Clifford's constitution continued to wax that by 1946 another constitutional reform was made for Nigeria.

3.2.2: Sir Arthur Richard's Constitution of 1946

Sir Arthur Richard as Governor-General of Nigeria from 1945 introduced a new constitution of Nigeria. This Constitution came as a move to secure greater participation by Nigerians in the discussion of their affairs. The Constitution set up a legislative council of forty-five members, twenty-eight of whom were Nigerians, four elected and twenty-four nominated. Regional houses of assembly were created for the three regions and an additional House of chiefs for the Northern region. Election into the Houses of Assembly was from the existing native authorities, which in turn elected five of its members as representative to the Central Legislative Council. The Constitution generally introduced the principle of unofficial African majority in the Legislative Council, integrated the Northern and Southern Protectorates for the first time for legislative purposes, brought the Native authorities into the machinery of National government, created a framework for future Nigeria by dividing the country into three Regions of North, West and East. The Legislative bodies were created to consider and advice on matters referred to them by the Governor. It still kept powers in the hands of British Officials and did not diverge from the colony type.

The constitution brought into force the concept of regionalism, which according to Kalu Ezra was the beginning of the process of fragmentation in the country.⁷⁴ The Arthur Richards constitution was the result of accumulated

⁷²Op cit pp. 52-54

⁷³Ibid pp. 88-94

⁷⁴Ibid pp. 95-96

knowledge and deliberate planning in an effort to curtail agitation for self-government and stem the tide of advancement in Nigeria. Instead of verification, there was regionalization with the tendency to re-emphasize ethnicity or separate nationalities. The three regions created, soon became a bait for some aspiring Nigerian partisan politicians in terms of leadership and in search of political power, and in some cases, as a means of accumulating wealth and funding financial empires in tropical Africa by means of commercial banks, most tempting material blandishment of colonial imperialism. The Regional Houses of Assembly who acted as mere advisory bodies in addition to other deficiencies, made the 1946 Constitution lack the attributes of a good constitution. From our analysis of a constitution in chapter one, where it is stated that the primary task of a constitution is to give authority to government and to define the areas in which such government shall exercise authority. It is also the duty of a constitution to deal with the question of the distribution of legal powers and functions among the organs of the State to create a system of checks and balances.⁷⁵ In terms of foreign policy, the Governor General as the head of the Central Executive and Legislative Council directed it while the three regional governments embarked on different external search for political and economic powers. The criticisms that followed the principles laid out by the constitution led to its review and abortion.

3.2.3 The MacPherson Constitution of 1952

Sir John Macpherson arrived Nigeria in 1948 as the Governor General. His attempt to find solution to the political problems that had been created by the Richards' Constitution led to the setting up of a Constitution Drafting Committee headed by Hugh Foot. Through the efforts of this committee and the decisions of the General Conference of 1950 held at Ibadan, Macpherson introduced a Federal Constitution in Nigeria in 1951 and became the first Governor General of the Federation of Nigeria. The 1951 Constitution increased regional autonomy and established larger and more representative legislature with wider power in the Regions and at the centre. The Legislative Council was replaced with a Central House of Representative of 136 members. A Revenue Commission was set up, and revenue was clearly shared between the Centre and the Regions. The Executive Council was replaced

⁷⁵Ndoh, C.A: Ibid. pp. 41-47

with Council of twelve Nigerian Ministers with the Governor as chairman, six official members and twelve Nigerian Ministers, drawn from the House of Representatives.

The provisions in the Constitution which gave the members of the house of Assembly duly elected as members of the House of representatives, and those members appointed, Ministers, still retaining their seats as members of the Regional House of Assembly was a great defect in the federal nature of the Constitution. This is because, in a federation, each government, whether regional or central or general should be able to operate directly and independently of the other on the peoples constituting the federation within its own sphere of the exercise of power or function. Ministers in the Council of Ministers found themselves in split loyalty.⁷⁶ The formation of a united foreign policy in this situation was still not possible. Formal external relations were still limited to Her Majesty's economic interests.

The system of Constitutional arrangements whereby devolution of powers and functions was to be from the Central or General Government to the Regional Government, the King pin of the Constitution was rejected as being incompatible with the autonomy of the Regional government and federalism.⁷⁷ The political consciousness introduced by the 1951 constitution led to the demand for several rights and revisions by the elites. These demands were deliberated at the July and August 1953 Conferences in London under the chairmanship of the Secretary of State for Colonies Oliver Lyttleton who eventually drew up a replacement of the 1951 Macpherson Constitution.

3.2.4 Lyttleton Constitution of 1954

This constitution marked the inauguration of a truly Nigerian Federation consisting of three Regions of East, West and North, each with its own executive powers and autonomy. It introduced full ministerial responsibility, and also provided for the appointment of a premier in each of the three Regions. Legislative Powers were shared between the Centre and the Regions. The Public Service, Judiciary and the Marketing Boards were recognized. The issue of revenue allocation was addressed, to be based on the principle of derivation. The members of the House of Representative were increased to

⁷⁶Op cit p 143

⁷⁷C. Ndoh ibid. 49-54, His views are from G.O. Olusanya. The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria. 1939 pp. 132-134. as appeared originally in the report of the constitution drafting committee on the constitution pp. 16. He also made reference to Coleman Eme Awa. 1964. Federalism in Nigeria. Berkeley and Los Angeles University of California Press.

184. The Constitution established the principle that Federal Law prevails over Regional Law in case of any conflict.

The 1958 Constitutional Conference fixed October 1 1960 for an independent Nigeria, which was to be preceded by a federal election. A motion for independence by the House of Representatives had a unanimous resolution. These made the British parliament reciprocate by passing the "Nigeria Independence Act" on July 29th 1960 that granted independence to the Federation of Nigeria. Other striking issues deliberated at the conference was the creation of more regions in Nigeria. The Minorities Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Henry Willink was set up to resolve the minority issue that had already sprang up in Nigeria. Revenue Allocation Delimitation and Electoral Commission to supervise election were set up. The Independence Civil Service Commission was also agreed to be set up to protect the Civil Services.⁷⁸

British-Nigeria relationship came to exist as the result of a combination of several motives notable among which was commercial. It was with a view to controlling the trade of the River Niger so as to exclude France and Germany that treaties were concluded with Nigerian rulers. We can see the evolution of colonial empire, especially in West Africa as the Europeans starting first, as travellers, traders, administrators and missionaries, then treaties of commerce and friendship, afterwards, a declaration of priority of treatment or the establishment of a "sphere of influence". Finally establishment of a Protectorate, properly so-called by virtue of which the protecting power, claims at first, only external sovereignty, then the establishment of a strong bureaucratic machinery for controlling the activities of the protégés. This involves, in turn the appointment of Consuls; and later Residents and all that follow in their train, to the appointment of Governor-General culminating in the grant of independence.⁷⁹

Legislations in Nigeria were made by the British Parliament and the British Crown. Apart from legislations enacted specially for particular dominion, the British parliament legislated for the overseas dominion, only in broad matters of general imperial concern like declaration of status, social and economic

⁷⁸Udoma: *ibid.* p.55.

⁷⁹*Ibid.* p.210.

development, legal organisation of the empire, international relations of the empire, war and defence and finance. Constitution making and not general legislation was the chief concern of the Crown in Nigeria that was never entrusted to the Nigerian government. Nigerian legislatures had never possessed constituent power even after they acquired a representative character in 1951. The Crown regarded Constitution making as its exclusive preserve, with which the Nigerian legislatures must not be allowed to intermeddle. The main significance of the crown's exclusive constitutional power was that it enabled it to determine the rate of constitutional development in Nigeria. We thus had six Constitutions in the following forms:

- i. Nigerian Council (Order in Council 1913).
- ii. Nigerian Council (Legislative Council) Order in Council 1922.
- iii. Nigerian Council (Legislative Council) Order in Council 1946.
- iv. Nigerian Council (Constitution) Order, in Council 1951.
- v. Nigerian Council (Constitution) Order in Council 1954-1960

Crown Legislation in Nigeria operated with an overriding force by virtue partly of the Colonial Laws validity Act and partly of express provisions to that effect in the constitutional instruments. Constitutional development in Nigeria is the story of gradual relaxation and withdrawal of this control, which culminated in complete independence from the powers of the British Crown and Parliament in 1960. Constitutional development was an evolutionary process in five phases characterised by the diminishing control exercised from London.⁸⁰ Issues of external affairs such as external relations and questions relating to aliens, including naturalisation of aliens and deportation or immigration into Nigeria were matters strictly vested in the Governor-General.

3.2.5. The 1960 Constitution and Foreign Policy

The 1960 constitution conferred full independence on the entire federation of Nigeria. It established the post of the Head of State i.e. the Queen of England and the Office of a Prime Minister. The Independence Constitution removed all the vestiges of the existing powers of the British Parliament to legislate for the territory of Nigeria. The Independence Act mainly provided for the internal and external independence of Nigeria. Nigeria's external relations

⁸⁰ B.O. Nwabueze (1982). A constitutional history of Nigeria. C. Hurst and company. London pp.

under the exclusive legislative list was along the line of promotion of African interests, non-interference, non-alignments, non-violability, equality of all States and the promotion of international peace. The regional governments were vested with the powers to carry out external relations under Chapter 1 Part 1, Item 5 and Part II). At independence, a new British Representative, a High Commissioner, was appointed to conduct the external relations of the British government with the government of Nigeria.⁸¹

3.2.6 The Republican Constitution of 1963 and Foreign Policy

This was the constitution that gave Nigeria a Republican status. It retained most of the features of the 1960 Constitution with some amendments. It was a constitution that came as a result of a law passed by the National Assembly. An outstanding feature of this constitution unlike the others was the adoption of an indigenous President instead of the Queen as the Head of State. The Constitution in this attempt theoretically erased the last traces of colonialism in Nigeria. It also laid down the procedure for the creation of regions or states, The Supreme Court assumed the position of the highest Court of Appeal instead of the Privy Council. The country still retained the parliamentary system of government.⁸²

The Independence Constitution did not necessarily terminate the jurisdiction of the British Crown over Nigeria. The termination was made in the third anniversary of Nigeria's independence that inaugurated the Republic of Nigeria. The Queen by the 1963 constitution ceased to be the sovereign of Nigeria. Her functions devolved upon the President of the Republic and the governors of the regions. Legislation for the federation was now made by the president and the federal and Regional legislatures.⁸³

As international relations were a function of the federal government, the federal government represented the Nigerian State in its relations with foreign countries. The accrediting Ambassadors and other Foreign Agents was now made by the President. Before October 1963, Nigeria's High Commissioners in the Commonwealth countries were there as officers appointed by and representative of the government and not as diplomats accredited by the Head

⁸¹E.M. Joy Igweike (1982): Introduction to the 1979 Nigerian Constitution. Macmillan Press, Nigeria 1982 p.36.

⁸²Ibid pp.56—58.

⁸³Ibid pp.57-61.

of State, for the Queen cannot accredit a diplomat to herself.⁸⁴ Nigeria being a Republic enabled her become a member of the Commonwealth. Nigeria before then was only within the Commonwealth but not a member because membership is only opened to independent Sovereign States by virtue of equality of status.

By the Republican Constitution, Nigerian citizens no longer owed allegiance to the Queen but to the Republic. The Federal character contained in the 1954 constitution continued. Matters of foreign trade was within the powers of the Federal and Regional legislatures.⁸⁵ The Constitution also empowered the regions to disavow or annul any treaty including those already concluded by the Federal or Central government. There was an uneasy relationship between the Regions and the Central government in the area of foreign policy. For instance, while Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Premier of the Northern Regional Government would not want any diplomatic relations with Israel, partly due to religious differences and partly due to Middle East politics, Israel maintained diplomatic presence in Lagos with the Central government.⁸⁶ These powers for the Regional government to carry out external relations were under Chapter XI, Part 1 item 5 and Part II. The 1960 Constitutional provisions on Nigeria's external relations under the Exclusive Legislative list was still along the line of promotion of African interests, non-interference, non-alignment, non-violability, equality of all states and the promotion of international peace in the 1963 Republican Constitution. The foreign policy provisions of the 1963 constitution were basically the same with the 1960 constitutional provisions.

3.2.7 The 1979 Constitution

The constitutional developments so far in the country no doubt prepared the ground for some striking events that transformed and affected the historical development of Nigeria, including her external relation disposition.⁸⁷ Thus the coming into being of the 1979 constitution was as a result of these events.

3.2.7.1 Features of the 1979 Constitution

The Constitution adopted a Presidential System of government in place of the

⁸⁴Nwabueze: Ibid pp. 72-76

⁸⁵Ibid pp 76-80

⁸⁶Ibid. pp. 139-141

⁸⁷See the Political Development of Nigeria in Chapter One, pp 35-9 supra.

parliamentary system, making powers to be shared in the different levels of government. The foreign policy provision in the 1979 Constitution is in chapter II and it states “The state shall promote African unity, as well as total political, economic, social and cultural liberation of Africa and all other forms of international co-operation conducive for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect and friendship among all peoples and States and shall combat racial discrimination in all its ramification.”⁸⁸ The foreign policy provisions under the Exclusive Legislative list in the 1979 Constitution fall under six headings including:

- i. Pan-Africanism and black solidarity.
- ii. Citizenship.
- iii. Fundamental Human Rights.
- iv. The War Provisions.
- v. The Treaty Provisions.
- vi. The Foreign Policy Institutions.

3.2.8 The 1989 Constitution

The 1989 Constitution, unlike the 1979 Constitution made various provisions like the establishment of Transitional Council for the Local Government Area to assist in the administration. It had fundamental objectives and directive principles of state policy including political, economic, social, educational, foreign policy, citizenship, fundamental rights, the legislature and so many other provisions. The foreign policy provisions were in chapter II, under Fundamental Objectives & Directives Principles of State Policy. It states that the foreign policy objectives shall be:

- i. Promotion and protection of the national interest.
- ii. Promotion of the total liberation of Africa and support of African Unity;
- iii. Promotion of international co-operation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of racial discrimination in all its manifestation;
- iv. Respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication; and
- v. Promotion of a just world economic order.⁸⁹

⁸⁸Ndoh: Ibid, pp 61-62

⁸⁹The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. A.82. 1989. Vol.. 12.

3.2.9 The 1994/95 Constitutional Conferences

The Conference came as a result of the problems the country faced following the annulment of the June 12 1993 Presidential election. This election was monitored by National and International observers who declared the election the freest and fairest election ever held in Nigeria's political history. Chief M.K.O. Abiola, the elected president, in protest to the annulment, secretly left the Country to seek international support against the military regime of then President General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida. In attempt to resolve the crisis, an Interim National Government (ING) was inaugurated under the headship of Chief Ernest Shonekon. The inability of the ING to tackle the problems, prepared the way for General Sani Abacha, after three months. Gen Abacha consequently established the Constitutional Conference, which was inaugurated in June 1994 by Decree No.3 of 1994. The Constitutional Conference was charged to find a lasting solution to the country's chequered political history. The Conference indeed came up with sound recommendations that needed proper implementation.⁹⁰

3.2.10 The 1999 Constitution

The 1999 Constitution like the 1979 and 1989, constitutions also has provision for all Arms of the government including the Rights of the Citizens. Its provisions cover the powers of the Federal and State Government, as well as the Judiciary. Fundamental objectives and directive principles of State policy under which the foreign policy objectives will be seen, are stated in Chapter II of the Constitution. Provisions for Citizenship is in Chapter III, while Chapter IV has the Fundamental Rights of the Citizens. The legislative powers of the National Assembly are stated in Chapter V. The 1999 Constitution has modified provisions from 1979 and 1989 Constitutions.

Nigeria's foreign policy objectives as spelt out in section 20 of the 1999 Constitution are same as the 1979 Constitution. Under the Exclusive Legislative list, in Part one of the second schedule of the 1999 Constitution, the Federal government is vested with legislative powers dealing with foreign policy, among others. The Federal government controls the political and diplomatic relationships between Nigeria and the outside world as well as her economic, trade and financial external transactions.⁹¹

⁹⁰Jadesola Akande (1982): *Introduction to the Nigerian Constitution*. Sweet and Maxwell. London. p.19.

⁹¹Ndoh: *ibid.* pp.62-87.

Although the power to act in international affairs and contract international obligations was given exclusively to the federal government, responsibility for implementing international treaties entered into by the federal government is given exclusively to the government, only with respect to those treaties whose subject matter fall within the-Exclusive Legislative list. Treaties whose subject-matter falls within the Concurrent Legislative List have divided and joint responsibility between the Federal government and the National Assembly. The 1979 Constitution in Part II, Section (4), gives the power within the National Assembly, to make laws while section 12 (b) of the 1999 Constitution specifically states that “No treaty between the federation and any other country shall have the force of law except to the extent to which any such treaty has been enacted into law by the National Assembly”. Subsections (2) and (3) further explains the power of the National Assembly on treaty implementation.⁹² It is in recognition of the fact that in international law, an agreement, whatever its designation, cannot produce effects unless it is duly ratified through constitutional procedures, that the Constitution made this provision.

In view of the linkage between defence and foreign policy, the 1979, 1989 and 1999 constitution gives complementary role to the federal government and the National Assembly in the conduct and management of Nigeria's external relations, which includes defence against external aggression and the protection of the territorial integrity of the nation. There are also complement role differentiation, institution co-operation and checks and balances between the President and the National Assembly in appointment and in the conduct of external affairs in Sections 147 (2) and 171 (4) of the 1999 Constitution.

In order to control and guard the federal government in foreign affairs in view of the divergent interest of the component regions of the federation, the 1979, 1989 and the 1999 constitutions taking its root from the 1951 Macpherson Constitution, all legitimised 'the federal character principle in the institutional structure and process of decision making at the federal level. Section 14 (3) of the 1999 Constitution insist that the composition of the government at the federal or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs

⁹²R.A. Akindele (2000). The 1999 Constitution and Foreign Policy. In: Selected Readings on Nigeria's foreign Policy and International Relations. NRA, Lagos. pp. 60-63.

shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria. For the implementation of this principle, the President is directed under Section 147 (3) to appoint at least one minister from each State who shall be an indigene of such State.⁹³ Emphases were placed on foreign policy in several forms in the Constitution from independence. Foreign policy components were specifically provided for. The preamble of the 1999 Constitution following the previous constitutions has significant foreign policy implications. The third preamble provides that the people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria solemnly resolved, "to live in unity and harmony as an indivisible and indissoluble Sovereign Nation under God dedicated to the promotion of inter-African Solidarity, world Peace, international cooperation and understanding" International values such as the principles of freedom, equality and justice etc, as basis for good governance and welfare of all people resident In Nigeria are also emphasised. Foreign policy issues are also stated in the exclusive legislative list, Item 7 is on "borrowing of moneys within or outside Nigeria for the purposes of the federation or any State". Item 20 is on "diplomatic, consular and trade representation". Immigration into and emigration from Nigeria, as well as citizenship, nationalisation and aliens are the focus of Items 30 and 9. Item 26 specifically mentioned "External Affairs" which obviously means the Federal government has responsibility for the conduct of Nigeria's foreign relations in all its ramifications. This explains why issues of extradition, export duties, exchange control, passports and visas, public debt of the federation, service and execution of civil and criminal processes by any foreign court of law, foreign trade etc are also put on the Exclusive List.⁹⁴

It is with all the constitutional provisions that legitimised the broad principles of Nigeria's foreign policy. The principles all revolve around the goals of self-preservation, security, prestige/honour and peace.

⁹³ Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. NO. 24 SA. 1999.

⁹⁴ Bola A. Akinrinwa (2001). *Nigeria in the Word: Issues and problems for the sleeping Giant*. Pumark Educational Publishers Lagos, pp.44-48

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is a Constitution
2. Write brief note on the following;
 - a. Construction Development in Nigeria
 - b. Sir Hugh Clifford Constitution 1922
 - c. Sir Author Richard Constitution 1946
 - d. The MacPherson Constitution 1952
 - e. The Independence Constitution 1960

CHAPTER FOUR

**THE FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVES
OF NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY
AND ITS ADMINISTRATION**

4.1 The Fundamental Objectives and Principles of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

Nigeria's geo-political environment has indeed imposed on the country certain obligations, responsibilities and commitments, which are reflected in her foreign policies. These geo political facts have had tremendous impact on the conception, articulation and practice of Nigeria's foreign policy.⁹⁵ From all the Constitutional provisions on foreign policy there are indeed some outstanding objectives that runs through all the foreign policy provision. Scholars and Writers have over the years described Nigeria's foreign policy as cautious, and conservative, moral and legitimist, vibrant and dynamic, timid and leisurely, dead and alive, etc, based on its operations by the various governments involved. These governments were no doubt guided by certain objectives and principles as spelt out in the constitutional provisions. It is the interaction of the domestic and external forces that combine to shape the objectives and principles.⁹⁶ These guiding principles have informed Nigeria's foreign policy and the pursuit of her national interest both in her bilateral and multilateral relations. Although there may have been variations in styles and dynamism over the years, Nigeria's foreign policy considerations have remained fairly consistent.

Nigeria has had a relatively stable foreign policy objectives and principles since independence. These objectives and principles, which have guided Nigeria's foreign policy, were first articulated at independence by the Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa in his first address to the United Nations General Assembly

⁹⁵Cyril Obi and Iwebunor Okwechime. In: *Selected themes in Nigerian Foreign Policy and International Relations* (1999). Ilorin. Pp.75-55

⁹⁶J.E. Okolo: *In Alternative Political Futures for Nigeria*. p.483

on October 7 1960. The address stated thus “it is the desire of Nigeria to remain on friendly terms with all the Nations and to participate actively in the work of the United Nations Organisation. Nigeria, a large and populous country has absolutely no territorial or expansionist ambitions. We are committed to uphold the principles upon which the United Nations is founded. Nigeria hopes to work with the African countries for the progress of Africa and assist in bringing all African countries to a state of responsible independence”.

This statement according to Alhaji Sule Lamido, then Nigeria's Foreign Affairs Minister, has remained the bedrock of Nigeria's foreign policy.⁹⁷ Joseph Garba sees the entire Address as a thought-out and forward-looking prescription for Nigeria's foreign policy. According to him, while listening to the original tape of the Address in recent years, I have been struck by how durable are the goals he enunciated.⁹⁸ The historical pronouncement also referred to, as the “Balewa Doctrine”, was the basis of Nigeria's foreign policy objectives and principles. The main objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy, according to George Obiozor are self-preservation, national security, prosperity, defence of National honour and peace. These main objectives are guided by five broad principles of non-alignment, defence of sovereign equality of states, non-interference in the domestic affairs of other nations and commitment to the defence of Africa and Pan-Africanism.⁹⁹

The overall, being the promotion and protection of Nigeria's national interest in its interaction with the outside world and relationships with specific countries in the international system.¹⁰⁰ Broadly, from this principle, we have the following:

- i. The protection of the sovereign and territorial integrity of the Nigerian state;
- ii. The promotion of the economic and social well-being of Nigerians.
- iii. The enhancements of Nigeria's image and status in the world at large;
- iv. The promotion of Unity as well as the total political, economic, social and cultural liberation of our country and Africa;

⁹⁷ Sule Lamido. Keynote Address: “Nigeria's Foreign Policy”. In Selected Readings on Nigeria's Foreign Policy and International Relations. NIIA enlightenment course series Vol. 1 Number 1. 2000. P.xiii.

⁹⁸ Joseph N. Garba (1991): *Diplomatic Soldering*. Spectrum Books Ltd. Nigeria

⁹⁹ Bola Akinterinwa op cit, p.812

¹⁰⁰ G.O. Olusanya and R.A Akindele (1986): *The Fundamentals of Nigeria's Foreign Policy and External Economic relation in Nigeria's External Relations. The first twenty-five years*. University Press Limited Ibadan p. 2.

- v. The promotion of the rights of black people and others under colonial domination;
- vi. The promotion of international co-operation, conducive to the consolidation of world peace and security, mutual respect and friendship among all peoples and states;
- vii. Redressing the unbalance in the international power structures which has tended to frustrate the legitimate aspiration of developing countries;
- viii. Respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all neotemies
- ix. The promotion of world peace based on the principles of freedom, mutual respect and equality of all persons of the world.¹⁰¹

What all successors to Balewa have done is essentially changes in style, intensity of personal involvement, selection of new priorities and not changes in the substance of Nigeria's foreign policy agenda.¹⁰² General Obasanjo in a broadcast to the Nation on 29 June 1976 as the Head of State identified the permanent and fundamental foreign policy objectives as:

- i. The defence of our sovereign independence.
- ii. The creation of the necessary political and economic conditions in Africa and in the rest of the world, which would foster Nigeria's national self-reliance and rapid economic developments and facilitate the defence of the independence of all African countries.
- iii. The promotion of equality and self-reliance in Africa and the rest of the developing world.
- iv. The promotion and defence of social justice and respect for human dignity, especially the dignity of the black man.
- v. The promotion and defence of world peace.¹⁰³

President Ibrahim Babangida introduced two additional guiding principles of Nigeria's foreign policy. They are the principle of reciprocity based on mutual respects and the principle of economic diplomacy to promote trade and investments as well as complement domestic economic reforms like, trade liberalisation and commercialisation of public enterprises.

¹⁰¹ Sule Lamido: *ibid.* pp. xiii-xiv.

¹⁰² George Obiozor (1992): in preface to *Basic issues in Nigerian Foreign Policy*; IBB's Foreign Policy pronouncement. (1986-1991) NIIA. pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

¹⁰³ Joseph Wayas. (1979): *Nigeria's Leadership role in Africa*. Macmillan Press Ltd. London.

4.2 Nigerian Administrations and the Principles of Foreign Policy

From 1960, Nigeria has had at the national level, different governments led by Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Major General Aguiyi-Ironsi, General Yakubu Gowon, General Murtala Mohammed, General Olusegun Obasanjo, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, General Mohammed Buhari, General Ibrahim Babangida, General Sani Abacha, Chief Ernest Shonekon, General Abdulsalami Abubakar and General Olusegun Obasanjo (Retired). Each of these administrations have pursued these foreign policy principles and objectives in different styles.

4.2.1 The Balewa Administration

Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was first appointed Nigeria's Prime Minister on September 2, 1957, and occupied that position when Nigeria gained independence on October 1, 1960 until January 15, 1966 when his government was overthrown in the first military coup d'etat. Balewa's deep political experience as far back as 1947 afforded him opportunities to properly handle Nigeria's foreign policy formulation and execution.¹⁰⁴ His principles formally covered Nigeria's external relations and represented Nigeria's official national orientation in world affairs. In his first official pronouncement on foreign policy on August 20, 1960, Balewa insisted that Nigeria would follow an independent policy consistent with the moral and democratic principles on which our constitution is based and founded on. The foreign policy thrust of Balewa's government centred on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, non-violability of national boundaries, legal equality of all States, promotion of international peace and the principle of non-alignment or positive neutralism. These principles continued to re-echo in most major policy statements of the Balewa administration.

It was in pursuit of the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States to guard Nigeria's independence that Balewa opposed the radical Pan-Africanism of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and the Casablanca groupings of African States. He also opposed the idea of an African Common Market. On the contrary, he insisted on the building of existing cultural and economic links and improvement of inter-territorial communications and transport facilities and pooling of resources for higher education and scientific

¹⁰⁴Akinterinwa (2001): ibid. pp483-484.

research for the various young independent African States. In pursuit of the second principle of non-violability of national boundaries, he declared that Nigeria despite her size and population has absolutely no territorial or expansionist intentions, stressing that small and big nations must co-exist. On the legal equality of all states he insisted that it must be respected by all nation-states and at all times; for the promotion of international peace. He stated his administration's preparedness to maintain the observance of fundamental human rights, oppose colonialism and racial discrimination and all forms of aggression and strive at all times to make the world a secure place for man. It was in pursuit of this principle that his administration promoted the objectives and principles of the Commonwealth of Nations and the United Nations, which Nigeria was a member.

On the principle of non-alignment, he is quoted as saying that although “we shall never forget our old friends”, Nigeria will “not align herself with any particular bloc” and that Nigeria would “not blindly follow the lead of anyone”. Several efforts were made by the Balewa administration in the pursuit or disregard of these well thought out objectives. The contradictions and inconsistencies were manifest. His administration in 1961 severed diplomatic relations with France following France's testing of the atomic bomb in Western Sahara in strong pursuit of these principles. However, his administration's refusal to attend the Belgrade Conference of Non-Aligned Nations gave the impression of a pro-Western Position”. There was also hesitation by his administration to open formal diplomatic relationships with Sino-Soviet bloc. It was not until December 1961 that a formal relationship was established with the Soviet Union. The signing of the Anglo-Nigerian Defence Pact was abrogated after strong opposition from Nigerian student because it was a digression of the foreign policy objectives of the administration. Various criticisms were made on most of his external relations that fell short of the desired objectives but on the whole, the administration laid a solid base for Nigeria's foreign policy foundation, which other administrations had to build upon.¹⁰⁵

4.2.2 Aguiyi Ironsi/The Gowon Administration 1966 – 1975

Major General Aguiyi-Ironsi who took over from Sir Balewa from January 15

¹⁰⁵Ibid. pp.485-486

1966 lasted for only six months. It is on record that within this short period, this administration adopted a vibrant posture towards Nigeria's foreign policy. The Ironsi's regime adopted a radical approach towards racism and apartheid. This attitude was manifest in the close down of the Portuguese Mission in Lagos in February 1966. Aircrafts and ships going to and from South Africa were also prohibited from stopping at Nigeria's ports, and even from over-flying Nigeria's air space.¹⁰⁶

The second Coup d'etat in Nigeria's political history in May 24 1966 brought the administration of Nigeria under Major General Yakubu Gowon. This administration lasted till July 1975. Nigeria's foreign policy objectives were put to various test while this administration lasted. The administration went through a period of political crises from July 1966 to January 1970, which witnessed the Nigerian Civil War and the post civil war era of 1970-1975. The period of the administration built on the foreign policy principles laid by Balewa with slight changes necessitated by the war situation. The period of Gowon's administration between July 1966 to 1970 during the war, made impact on Nigeria's foreign policy.

During this period, both sides of the conflict, the Nigerian and Biafran sides all solicited for arms from the outside world to fight the war. While the United States and Britain refused to supply arms to the Nigerian government, the Soviet Union consented after initial reluctance. This move threatened Britain's position with Nigeria. France, Portugal, South Africa and Benin Republic, Ivory Coast, Zambia, Tanzania were among countries that tilted towards the secessionist Biafran government. The moves by these countries and the need to win the war affected Nigeria's non-alignment stance and posed dogged pursuit of her foreign policy objectives without fear or favour. Saddened by the posturing of her international traditional "friends", Nigeria looked elsewhere for friends who were ready to do business; selling weapons and receiving cash. Thus began Nigeria-Soviet friendship. Nigeria severed diplomatic relations with Benin Republic because of the latter's support of the Biafran government.¹⁰⁷ The country's foreign policy during the war was aimed at making the external environment consistent with Nigeria's domestic situation.

¹⁰⁶ Nigeria Forum vol. 19, NIIA, Lagos, pp.121-122

¹⁰⁷ Zainab Duke-Abiola. (1999): *From Abubakar to Abubakar (40 years of Nigeria's Foreign Policy. Newsbreak Communications Ltd. Abuja. pp 66-68*

The Post Civil war era of 1970-1975 also witnessed another dimension in the foreign policy pursuit of the Gowon administration. The buoyancy of the post-civil war Nigerian economy especially in the petroleum industry enabled Nigeria to assume a more independently assertive position in foreign relations. Most principles of Nigeria's foreign policy experienced regeneration, re-emphasis and new application. Nigeria's war experience reinforced her principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and also gave her strong opposition to racism and racial discrimination. The overall effect of these experiences in the application of the principles of Nigeria's foreign policy was making Africa a top priority of her foreign policy. Nigeria emerged as a champion of liberation movements in Southern Africa and strong opponents of apartheid in South Africa. To help extricate West Africa from neo-colonial stronghold, Nigeria spearheaded the creation of the Economic Community of West African State (ECOWAS).

To renew her non-aligned stand in world affairs, Nigeria continued its traditional economic relationship with the West bloc and supply of substantial technical and agricultural assistance and cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union and China.¹⁰⁸ There was in fact a glaring change in her foreign policy priorities. Before 1967, the Commonwealth, Africa, Europe and the World were the priority concern of Nigeria's foreign policy but during the war, Nigeria removed the Commonwealth from the dominating position it occupied in her foreign policy, relegated Britain to a second position with the Soviet Union and moved Africa to the first position. Even before Britain decided to enter Europe, Nigeria decided to adopt a more realistic attitude towards Europe by recognising it as a new and principal trading partner of Nigeria in the sixties and seventies.

Nigeria also offered leadership to the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries in their struggle to negotiate as one body with the European Economic community and in their efforts through the Third World countries, to bring about a just, better and more satisfying new world economic order.¹⁰⁹ The outbreak of the civil war in Nigeria and the consequent threat to the country's national survival compelled Nigeria to become more outward looking in her

¹⁰⁸ J.E. Okolo: *ibid.* in *Alternative Political Features for Nigeria*. Pp. 486-487.

¹⁰⁹ *Op cit.* pp.89-94

foreign policy objectives. Nigeria's foreign policy objectives during the Gowon administration could be said to have been highly cautious. Making reference to Professor F.S. Northedge who says foreign policy is an interplay between the outside and the inside in collaboration with Professor Joseph Frankel's view as a dynamic process of interaction between the changing domestic demands and supports and the changing external circumstances, we can see a display of this in Gowon's foreign policy pursuit.

4.2.3 Murtala/Obasanjo's Administration (1975-1979)

The military coup d'etat against the government of General Gowon brought in the leadership of the government under General Murtala Mohammed as head of the third military government, but his death in February 13, 1976, ushered General Olusegun Obasanjo. This administration sought to advance the principles of Nigeria's foreign policy by taking bold and resolute steps on all international issues affecting Nigerian and African interests. The administration declared Africa as the centre piece of her foreign policy and adopted a policy of total liberation of Africa. The administration combined the inputs of the academic, advisory bodies, bureaucratic elites and the intelligentsia to overhaul Nigeria's foreign policy system, substance and apparatus. The reward of all these efforts was the pursuit of a vibrant and dynamic foreign policy goals by the administration. These were made manifest among others in the followings:

- i. The 1976 victory of the Nigerian position in the OAU over the Angolan crisis in spite of all the external interest in the matter.
- ii. Nigeria's active involvement in the Zimbabwe crisis which crystallized into the recognition of the Patriotic Front, leading to the latter's opening of an office in Lagos just like the South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) and the two South African Liberation Organisations; the Pan-African Congress (PAC) and the African Nationalist Congress (ANC) also did.
- iii. Nigeria's strong opposition not only to apartheid but to countries and enterprise supporting apartheid. It was this stance that led to the nationalisation of the assets of British Petroleum in August 1979.
- iv. Nigeria's uncompromising stand in the total liberation of Africa. President Obasanjo's address to the OAU Summit meeting at Khatourn in July 1978 clearly indicated that Nigeria's primary concern was the independence of Africa and its freedom from

external control or intervention from any direction. All statements made in this address in relation to African liberation, unity and solidarity was a combination of every principle of Nigeria's foreign policy. It is said to be the clearest statement of Nigeria's foreign policy position on Africa. The statement though did not introduce any new idea on foreign policy principle but brought a new orientation. There was a combination of economic and military means with conscious dynamic political leadership to the nations assertiveness and amplification of its foreign policy principles.¹¹⁰ Nigeria in her policy objectives advocated functional co-operation in Africa as she emerged the rallying point for newly independent countries. Nigeria played active roles in providing tangible support in materials, fund and aid to various liberation movements in Africa.

This administration continued to give Africa and African affairs pride of place in Nigeria's foreign policy in the self-execution of the festival for Arts and Culture (FESTAC) that involved Africa, in Nigeria in 1977. This festival promoted African Arts and Culture and boosted Nigeria's image abroad.¹¹¹ Nigeria extended strong support to the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Mozambique. Scholarships were given to young South African blacks to study in Nigeria. A South African relief fund was inaugurated by the administration in 1976. The administration's commitment to the principle of non-alignment and non-violability made her insist on the withdrawal of French military presence in Chad and strong condemnation of Tanzania's role in the overthrow of President Idi-Amin Dada of Uganda. Nigeria's foreign policy objectives during these administrations met great consistency and coherence.¹¹¹ The administration's resolve to return the government of Nigeria to a civilian government was met in 1979 when the civilian administration of Alhaji Shehu Shagari came into government on October 1, 1979.

4.2.4 The Alhaji Shehu Shagari's Administration – 1979-1983 (The Second Republic)

The 1979 Constitution that came with this administration was to guide and direct Nigeria's external relations in addition to previous achievements of past administrations. President Shagari's administration to its credit, continued to

¹¹⁰Op cit. pp.488-489.

¹¹¹Duke-Aiola op cit pp.102-103

uphold the support to the uncompleted struggle for total liberation of Africa. It was based on this, that Shagari proclaimed the success of the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe's elections and the ascendancy of Robert Mugabe to power, "a victory for Africa and the third world" and an impetus for the total liberation of Africa. A grant of 5 million dollars was made to the new government by the administration. The administration denounced racism, particularly the apartheid system as immoral and against everything the Nigerian government and people stand for. The government in this effort, continued the threat of economic retaliation used by his immediate predecessors against Western States, who were aiding the apartheid government of South Africa.

The administration's pursuit of complete economic and political independence of Africa through advancement of the integrative and co-operative regionalism in ECOWAS and the hosting of the first extraordinary summit of the OAU resulted to the signing by OAU Head of States of the Lagos Plan of Action as the blue print for an economic community of Africa. Also at the UN General Assembly on October 7, 1980, Shagari called for a "decade of reparation and restitution for Africa as a master plan for the economic recovery of the continent whose human and natural resources had been exploited over the years to the benefit of the industrialized countries."¹¹³ Nigeria under this administration also mediated in the Somalia-Ethiopia conflict, the Chad conflict and the inter-state dispute between Morocco and the Polisario Movement in the Western Sahara. Nigeria's peaceful disposition to African issue incapacitated this administration from retaliating to the killing of five Nigerian soldiers by Cameroun troops¹¹⁴ in the disputed border town of Ikingi around the Bakassi Peninsular on May 16, 1981. The administration's pacifist response, according to Bolaji Akinyemi to this crisis, had made the dispute the most problematic issue in Nigeria's defence and foreign policy that has culminated in the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruling of the border dispute in favour of Cameroun.

Nigeria also forcibly expelled about 2 million illegal aliens as a result of economic domination during the period of this administration. Nigeria, under this administration, was able to bend OPEC's price rules by cutting the prize of

¹¹³M. Mamman. *Four Decades of Nigeria's foreign policy (1960-2000): An overview*. Nigerian forum March-April 1999 pp.15-16.

¹¹³J.E. Okolo: *ibid.* p.489-490

¹¹⁴*ibid.* p.490

her high-quality light crude and exceeded OPEC production quota without creating international disagreement especially among OPEC members. This oil glut which resulted in low oil prices coupled with corruption, mismanagement, inefficiency and other factors during the period of this administration, brought about a downward slide in Nigeria's vibrant and dynamic foreign policy posture of 1976-1979 and its overthrow on December 31, 1985.¹¹⁵

4.2.5 The Buhari Administration 1983-1985

The weak economic and moral structure inherited from the Shagari administration had foreign policy implication for the Buhari administration. It was in pursuit of this implication that the administration started with a zeal to redeem the inherited bad image of the country abroad. To this extent, he began with the War Against indiscipline (WAI) at home and extended his campaign outside, against drug trafficking.¹¹⁶ His desire to pursue a principled stand on foreign policy led him to a selection of men, best suited for this purpose. There was also a careful limited of Nigeria's active involvement in Africa which had remained the centre-piece of her foreign policy, to those areas where it was likely to have more meaningful and immediate result. The result of this move was a principled approach to the Namibian problem, Chad, Western Sahara, ECOWAS and commitment to end racism in South Africa.

There was continued Nigerian Government support for sovereign right of the Angolan government and the legitimate aspirations of Namibians for independence from apartheid South Africa. There was also more commitment to the Polisario and Recognition was given to the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR). There was strong support for ECOWAS that moved the government to start the construction of the ECOWAS Headquarter at Abuja. Keeping with the principle of fighting racism and apartheid, Nigeria struggled and retained the chairmanship of the United Nations Anti-Apartheid Committee where it continued to advance its objectives. The attempted kidnapping of Alhaji Umaru Dikko, a politician and minister under the Shagari Administration strained Anglo-Nigerian relations and brought the principle of "reciprocity" as a basic principle to guide Nigeria's external relationship.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵M. Mamman: *ibid.* p.16.

¹¹⁶*Ibid* p.16

¹¹⁷J.E. Okolo: *ibid.* pp.490-491 and I.O.S. Nwachukwu. Foreword pp.xi-xvi.

The various processes taken by this administration towards Nigeria's foreign policy were aborted on August 27 1985 when the administration was overthrown in a coup d'etat.

4.2.6 The Babangida Administration 1985-1993

On assumption of office, General Babangida promised to pursue a principled foreign policy towards Africa's regional issues and international affairs. There was a major restructuring of Nigeria's national needs and foreign policy objectives. The daunting domestic problem that confronted the administration constituted serious threats to the country's foreign policy. It was in response to this that the administration concentrated on the economic components of the country's foreign policy. This was achieved by the introduction of the principle of economic diplomacy to Nigeria's foreign policy aimed at increased inflow of foreign capital and expansion of foreign trade. The idea behind this foreign policy initiative was based on the existing relationship between politics and economics as it forms the basis for relationships among States. A country with a weak economic base cannot make any meaningful impact in the international arena. On the domestic front, the administration introduced the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP).¹¹⁸

The Babangida administration like her predecessors canvassed for complete political freedom and independence for Namibia through the UN, Commonwealth and the OAU. The government also tried to resolve the disagreement between the MPLA and UNITA group in Angola. The release of Nelson Mandela – the foremost political prisoner, by the Pretoria government of South Africa in 1990 was a fruitful result of the efforts of Nigerian governments over the years.¹¹⁹ Nigeria sought real economic co-operation within the framework of the ECOWAS and multilateral and bilateral considerations like the Rivers Basin Authorities and the Economic Joint Commissions. ECOWAS has been the most important and social integration on the West Africa Sub-region to which Nigeria is fully committed.¹²⁰ Nigeria made great sacrifices in promoting peace and security in the West African sub-region. She contributed immensely to the ECOWAS Monitoring Group

¹¹⁸M Mamman in Nigeria Forum, p.17

¹¹⁹Nwachukwu: *ibid.* p.xvi.

¹²⁰*Ibid* p.xxviii.

(ECOMOG), an interventionist meditative force to end the protracted Liberian and Sierra Leonean Civil Wars.

The administrations emphasis on culture as an important aspect of foreign policy led to the establishment of the British Council, the GOC institute, Alliance Francoise, the Russian cultural Centre and the United States Information Services. Because of the importance placed on Human Rights, Nigeria under this administration was one of the first countries to ratify the African charter on Human and People's Rights.¹²¹ Under the Babangida administration, Nigeria re-established diplomatic relations with Israel on May 14, 1992 after 19 years of severed relationship. Nigeria also had formal recognition to the new Palestine State under this administration. The visit of President Frederick De Klerk to Nigeria on April 9, 1992 also initiated a dynamic process towards ending over 30 years of conflict with South Africa.¹²² In the areas of multilateral diplomacy, Nigeria under Babangida, served in the Eminent Persons Group of the Commonwealth on South Africa and was equally appointed a member of the 8-member-nation committee of the commonwealth Foreign Ministers. Nigeria also secured the Secretary-Generalship of the Commonwealth of Nations and the Presidency of the UN General Assembly during this period.

Nigeria's efforts at implementing her foreign policy objectives in Africa and the Black World, led to the setting up of the Technical Aids Corps Scheme, which was designed to assist needy sister African, Caribbean and Pacific States with technical manpower to help their struggle for self-reliance and economic development.¹²³ The Shonekan Interim National Government (ING) September 1993 – November 1993 was too short for any meaningful foreign policy to manifest. The circumstances surrounding its birth, equally led to her exist.

4.2.7 The Sani Abacha Administration 1993 – 1998

The June 12, 1993 Presidential election annulled by President Babangida created problems for Nigeria internally and externally. Abacha's government efforts to face this myriad of inherited problem led him to rule with absolute

¹²¹Views are from M. Mamman and I.S.O, Nwachukwu. Pages 18 and xxxiii respectively, supra.

¹²²Zainab-Abiola: *ibid.* pp.146-149

¹²³M Mamman: *ibid.* pp. 18-19

defiance. He was thus dreaded both nationally and internationally. It is in this regard that Nigeria was said to have been a “pariah” or isolationist State during this administration. Under this circumstance, Nigeria was unable to reach an agreement with the multilateral credit institutions. This had adverse effects on Nigeria's foreign policy and image. Nigeria's inability to conduct a transparent democratic exercise during this period also increased the disenchantment of the international community. The UN Fact-Finding Mission's visit to Nigeria in March 1996 heightened the already ill feeling.

The country's negative image was reinforced by the involvement of Nigerian citizens in drug trafficking and advanced fee fraud (419). Relations with the Commonwealth was extremely strained after the judicial murder of minority rights activist/writer Kenule Saro Wiwa and eight of his kinsmen inspite of international pleas for leniency. The West effectively clamped partial sanctions on Nigeria, restricting credit lines to her and frustrating her efforts to get a Nigerian elected to the exalted position of the African Development Bank (ADB) Presidency in Abidjan in 1995. As a result of the disillusion of the West towards Nigeria during this administration, Nigeria shifted relations to Asia-China, Turkey, Iran and Libya. From 1993, no assistance was received by Nigeria from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.¹²⁴ Nigeria's foreign policy directives towards sports during this administration was not encouraging. In 1996, Nigeria withdrew her national soccer team from the African Nations Cup Championship hosted by South Africa. Nigeria also boycotted the Edinburgh games and was suspended from the 1998 edition. Nevertheless, Nigeria's victory at the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta brought the importance of sports in foreign policy as Nigeria received international acclamation.

On the religious aspect of foreign policy, the official visit of His Holiness Pope John Paul II (Former Cardinal Wotjyla) to Nigeria in 1998 also boasted the international image of Nigeria despite disregard to the rule of law and the human rights abuses of the administration. The world stood still for Nigeria for those few days. The occasion was beamed “Live” on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), the Cable Network News (CNN) and the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA). That visit in a way strengthened Nigeria's

¹²⁴Zainab: *ibid.* pp 150-178

relations with the Vatican City (The Papacy). Nigeria's relation with Britain went sore during this administration. Her relations with Canada was severed with the close down of Nigeria's diplomatic mission. Under this administration, Nigeria in collaboration with Malaysia, Indonesia, Iran, Egypt, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Turkey formed a new Group called D-8 fashioned after the G-7 of the seven industrialised States of the West. Nigeria received Libya's President Muammar Ghaddafi in violation of the UN air embargo imposed on Libya in 1992.¹²⁵

The Abacha administration was involved in regional conflict management as a pre-requisite for effective economic integration in the West African sub-region. Nigeria through the ECOMOG succeeded in bringing peaceful settlement of the Liberian and Sierra Leonean crises. Thus, Nigeria remained resolved to continue to strengthen the ECOWAS and quicken the pace of regional economic integration. Nigeria was no longer involved intimately in African problems. This was the state of Nigeria's foreign policy until General Abacha passed away on June 18 1999.¹²⁶

4.2.8 General Abubakar's Administration (June 8, 1998 – May 29, 1999)

To move Nigeria away from the dark period of the Abacha regime, General Abubakar introduced fundamental changes in foreign policy issues. He took an internal step of releasing some political detainees and holding wide consultations with various groups and individuals. This move was kind of a veritable thaw in the relations between Nigeria and the international community as well as relaxation of tensions. There started a revival of the cordial relationship between Nigeria and the different nations as well as international organizations. Visits were made by representatives of international institutions, Nation's envoy, and even South African President Dr. Nelson Mandela.

Nigeria still maintained her interests in West Africa but the United States and the European Union viewed the administration with scepticism. Abubakar's resolve and commitment to return the country to democracy eased a lot of tension both internally and externally. His address to the UN stressed this commitment. In fact he used the opportunity to re-launch Nigeria into the

¹²⁵ M Mamman: *ibid.* p.19

¹²⁶ Zainab-Abiola: *ibid.* pp 178-194

centre stage of the world map. Nigeria's relations, with Canada resumed, America promised to assist Nigeria's efforts at democratisation.¹²⁷

In response to the globalisation process of the New World Order (NWO), the administration adopted the policy of liberalization, privatisation and commercialisation of public enterprise to attract foreign investors. The administration was disposed to bringing about macro policies that would equip the Nigerian business community with new management skills through process innovation and information systems required to boost economic productivity in the state of globalisation.¹²⁸ General Abukbakar was conscious of the fact that no foreign policy can be stronger than the total domestic capacity that sustains such foreign policy hence his unending effort at building a conducive domestic atmosphere through consultation and dialogue.

4.2.9 The Obasanjo Administration (on May 1999 - 2007)

True to his word, General Abdusajarni Abubakar eventually returned the country to a democratically elected president under General Obasanjo (Retired) May 1999. On assumption of office, Obasanjo embarked on a revitalization drive in order to boost the country's diplomatic image abroad. The administration sought to return the country to normalcy in diplomatic relations. Ambassador and Defence attaché's that were recalled since 1995 from Nigeria's missions abroad were replaced, while new foreign missions were opened in Asia, Europe and South America. Upon its full return to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM), Nigeria was appointed a member of the Commonwealth Ministerial Meeting Action Group (CMAG). The European Union and Japan lifted the suspension placed on economic co-operation with Nigeria since the Abacha administration.

President Obasanjo's outing at the UN General Assembly renewed the determination of his government to ensure good governance, transparency, accountability and respect for human rights and the rule of law. Nigeria was also elected into the executive board of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) at the 30th general conference of the Organisation.¹²⁹ Various mechanisms were put in place by

¹²⁷ General Abubakar. "Nigeria's foreign policy in a changing world", An address at the patron's Dinner of NIIA. Abuja Dec. 12 1998

¹²⁸ M. Mamman: *ibid.* p.20

¹²⁹ E.O. Osunlana: "Nigeria's foreign policy at forty", *Nigerian Forum*, May 2001. Pp.130-137.

this administration in pursuit of Nigeria's foreign policy objectives in a dynamic way. All the analysis no doubt shows that the principles of Nigeria's foreign policies were enshrined in the constitution. Before 1960, Nigeria's foreign policy were within Britain; her colonial Master and the Commonwealth of Nations. At independence up to the Republican status of the Nigerian government, the foreign policy of Nigeria though were provided for in the constitutions but the federal nature of the government in the various regions did not give a uniform pursuit of foreign policy objectives. The relationship between the domestic environment and foreign policy were brought to light from the civil war event in Nigeria from 1966-1970. This event, to a large extent shaped Nigeria's foreign policy directions. Other political and economic factors in the Nigerian environment affected the pursuit of Nigeria's foreign policy objectives. The 1979 constitution gave Africa a major place in her foreign policy objective because of the prevailing circumstances Nigeria found herself from 1967. The foreign policy provisions in the 1979 Constitution are consistent with the 1989 and 1999 Constitutions. All the Constitutional provisions emphasised the broad principles and objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy, which all the administrations actualised, though in diverse styles.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Write a short note on the following administration and state their contributions to the development of Foreign Policy in Nigeria

- a. The Balewa administration
- b. General Aguyi Ironsi/Gowon administration
- c. General Murtala/Obasanjo's administration
- d. Alhaji Shehu Shagari's administration

CHAPTER FIVE

NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN AFRICA

5.1 Introduction

The Continent of Africa is made up of a total of 54 states. By subdivision, these 54 states fall under 4 regions of North, South, East and West Africa. Nigeria's relations with these States have been on the bilateral and multilateral dimensions. It is on this basis that the chapter will first of all examine Nigeria's multilateral relations with these States under the auspices of the Organisation of African Unity. (OAU), the recent African Union (AU), the Africa Economic Community (AEC) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). The analysis will then, be narrowed to Nigeria's bilateral relations as well as her Francophone relations. Nigeria's relations with the Francophones will be examined because of the striking challenges it has continued to place on Nigeria's relations Within Africa and even beyond. A study will also be made on Nigeria's regional relations with particular reference to West Africa.

5.2 Nigeria's Diplomatic Role in the Establishment of the OAU

Events that culminated to the establishment of the OAU in 1963 dates from the Manchester Conference of 1945. There is no doubt, that Nigeria, though not independent then, made some contributions. Before October 1st 1960 when Nigeria gained her independence, matters of foreign interest were the responsibility of her Colonial power, but the major political parties earlier mentioned in chapter one, had concerned themselves with the question of Pan-Africanism which was the major preoccupation of the OAU. The National Council of Nigeria and the Camerouns (NCNC) was represented at the Manchester Pan-African Conference and also at the Mini-Pan-African Conference held at Kumasi at the initiative of Dr, Nkrumah in December 1953. In December 1958, Nigeria's political parties were represented at the All

African Peoples Conference held in Accra. By December 1959, during the last Federal election in Nigeria, the Principal Political Parties which were aspiring to the leadership of Nigeria after independence, had to spell out their African Policies among others. All the parties emphasised their commitment to peaceful and friendly relations with African Countries on all matters of interest.

The question of Pan-Africanism was first raised after the federal election in the New House of Representatives by two honourable members; Mr. E. C. Akiwu and Dr. Kalu Ezera, who both saw the need for Nigeria to play a prominent role in matters relating to Africa. The Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa agreed with them on the need to give a very good coverage on African issues, insisting that “the federal government will see that in all countries in Africa which are independent, Nigeria will be represented in these countries either by Ambassadors or Commissioners or by Consul -Generals or Consuls”. The Prime Minister also hoped that a parliamentary delegation will visit some of those countries as a way of forging understanding and developing closer relations. All these were actualised by Prime Minister Abubakar.

The leader of the Nigerian delegation to the Second Conference of Independent African States (CIAS) at Addis-Ababa in June 1960, Hon. Y. M. Sule emphasised on the need to promote Pan- Africanism. The Second Conference was at Addis Ababa, from June 15th to 24th 1960. Nigeria, through Hon. Y.M. Sule, made her debut on the African scene, where she opposed Ghana's proposal for a political union for Africa. Her position was respected and led to a resolution on African Unity. The question of African Unity was inscribed on the agenda of the next regular session of the conference of Independent African States. It was at the end of this conference at Addis Ababa that there was a split between African leaders into the Brazzaville, Casablanca and Monrovia groups. Nigeria belonged to the Monrovia Group, the first meeting of the Group was at Monrovia in Liberia from May 8 to 13 1961 at the initiative of Nigeria and Liberia hence the Conference was labelled Monrovia — Lagos Group, whose sole aim was bringing together all independent African States. The Casablanca group of States boycotted the Conference.

The outcome of the Conference was more in line with the principles of Nigeria's African Policy, hence Prime Minister Balewa boasted on his return in Lagos that "I am glad to tell you that the declared policies of the federal Government received universal support". By the 20th of August 1960 "the Prime Minister in a speech to the last session of the House of Representatives before Nigeria's independence outlined his' government's policy for the conduct of foreign affairs in which he stated that Nigeria was determined to encourage the development of common ties between all the States of Africa. He summed his speech by saying that Nigeria would do everything in her power "to foster cooperation among the countries of Africa.

Also at the United Nations Organization Forum in New York on the 7th of October 1960, Sir Abubakar declared his uncompromising position on co-operation among African States, instead of a political union, which will infringe on the "sovereignty of African States. From July 1961, Balewa and Mr. Jaja Wachukwu as foreign Ministers became the Chief Spokesman for Nigerian diplomacy, and together, carried on the message against a political union for Africa.¹³⁰

Nigeria also worked hard to bring both the Casablanca and the Monrovia groups together. The Algerian Provisional Government recognised by the Casablanca States was not invited to the Monrovia Conference, but Prime Minister Balewa sent an invitation to the Government to attend a meeting of Heads of African States scheduled in Lagos for Jan. 1962. Balewa also paid a state visit to Guinea in December 1961, in apparent move to woo the Casablanca States. For instance, to erase the feeling among African States that Nigeria's Defence pact with the United Kingdom might be regarded as neo-colonial, the pact was abrogated in Dec. 1961 by Nigeria, in an attempt to bring the Casablanca Group to the Lagos meeting of African States. The Lagos meeting was attended by 20 States and agreed to the formation of a Permanent Organization of Inter-African and Malagasy States. A Charter was adopted for the proposed organization on Jan. 30th.

The Algerian issue which was a major contention between the two groups, as the Monrovia Group did not want. Algeria represented while the Casablanca

¹³⁰Joseph Okpaku, Cole D Dede et al (edited (1991): Nigeria and the Organisation of African Unity. Third Press Publishers Lagos p 25.

Group was for them, was resolved by the middle of 1962, on July 5, 1962 when Algeria won her independence. Thus, reconciliation between the 2 groups brightened, and the pace was set for the Addis Ababa Conference of May 1963 that ushered in the signing of the OAU Charter. Concessions were made in the OAU Charter to accommodate the Casablanca view but the Charter was in essence a copy of the Lagos Charter, the departures being the compromise areas to accommodate the Casablanca Group. Prime Minister Balewa also returned from the Addis Ababa Conference to declare, just like he did after the Monrovia Conference, that "all the decisions reached were in accord with the policies of the federal government" and that he was "happy that our stand has been vindicated".¹³¹ Thus Nigeria can be said to have played a very vital role in the establishment of the OAU from the brief analysis above.

5.3 Nigeria's Diplomatic Role in the Development of the OAU

Having played a vital role in the establishment of the OAU, whose Charter Provisions were in line with her government policies, there is no doubt that Nigeria would be committed to the actualization of the Charter. In April 1964, at the end of an eight day state visit of President Senghor to Nigeria, a communiqué issued by both government expressed satisfaction on the steady progress made towards the development of African Unity and renewed their determination to uphold the noble principles enshrined in the OAU Charter. Also in July 1964, Sir Balewa at an OAU Summit at Cairo stated Nigeria's believe that "only through strict adherence to the principles of our Charter and through increased contacts between our peoples at all levels that we can achieve unity in Africa". This stand was re-echoed by Gowon in Ethiopia in May 1971, in Kenya same month, in the Central African Republic in June 1971, in Nigeria in January 1972, in Gerona (Cameroun) in August, 1972 and others. All the communiqués stated Nigeria's stand and those of his host or guest on total commitment to the principles and purposes of the OAU Charter.

Subsequent heads of States of Nigeria have never compromised their stand on African unity as enshrined in the OAU Charter. Nigeria's desire to see the OAU grow and live up to expectation was demonstrated in not only words but in action. Nigeria was one of the four African Countries that offered their

¹³¹Ibe Okochi (1990) Nigeria's African Policy. Cross continental press limited. Yaba, Nigeria. Pp.39-54.

capitals for the Secretariat of the OAU. She offered free office accommodation and diplomatic immunity to the personnel of the headquarters of the OAU's Scientific Technical and Research Commission (STRC) with branches in Niamey, Bangui, Younde and Muguga (Kenya). Nigeria paid her contributions regularly and promptly and was said to have paid 7.63% of the OAU regular budget, the second largest after Libya (10%).

Nigeria made an excellent record of attendance at all the OAU meeting and always had powerful representations at such meetings. Nigeria played host to various QAU Conference between 1964 and 1970. She hosted the second ordinary session of the. Council of Ministers in Feb.1964, the 5th extra ordinary session of the council in June 1965 and another extra ordinary session, the seventh, in Dec, 1970.¹³² During the Nigerian civil War, two principles of the OAU charter were put to test in efforts to solve the crisis. They include the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States (Article 3 (2)) and the principle of respect for the inalienable right to independence (Article 3 (3)). The effort of the OAU in this crisis strengthened Nigeria's commitment to the promotion of the OAU Charter. General Gowon succeeded in not only promoting unity and solidarity among African states but also made the OAU serve as an instrument of Nigeria's foreign policy.¹³³ Successive regimes in Nigeria followed the stand of Gowon, though in various forms.

5.4 Nigeria and Liberation Struggles in Africa

The collective pursuit of the total decolonisation of Africa was expressed in Article II (d) of the OAU Charter which states; "to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa". In Article III (f) of the Charter, Member States of the OAU solemnly declared their adherence to the principle of "absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent". The African Liberation committee was also set up to actualise these goals. Nigeria indeed played a vital role in the achievement of these, goals. One of the main foreign policy objectives of Nigeria which all segments of the society agreed to, was support for the liberation struggles as well as the total emancipation of all oppressed peoples on the Africa continent from the

¹³²Ibid. pp 129-130.

¹³³Olajide Aluko in Nigeria's External Relations: The first twenty-five years. University Press Limited Ibadan, Nigeria 1986, p.90.

clutches of colonialism racism and apartheid.¹³⁴ All the Nigerian governments since independence have been committed to this objective. Where they have differed has been the level of the degree of commitment.

While the Balewa regime attitude adopted a moral and moderate attitude towards racism and apartheid, the Ironsi short regime was radical, as was displayed in the close down of the Portuguese mission in Lagos in February 1966. It also prohibited aircraft and ships going to and from South Africa from stopping at Nigeria's ports, and even from over-flying Nigeria's air space. General Gowon widened Nigeria's stand in various ways that was strengthened by the Murtala/Obasanjo government and subsequent Nigeria regimes. Nigeria's various efforts through the OAU Liberation Committee among others paid off in winning independence for Angola, Zimbabwe Mozambique, Namibian and the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990 and the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa in 1994.¹³⁵

Nigeria also spearheaded the promotion of regional defence Pacts as parts of her efforts to decolonise Africa. She advocated for the setting up of an African Task Force which would help defend African countries in the front line of colonialists struggle, as well as assisting in the liberation struggles. Nigeria indeed created strong awareness on African leaders on the need to liberate Africa from colonialism and racism.

5.5 Nigeria and the Settlement of Disputes in Africa

Since the formation of the OAU, Nigeria has been closely associated with efforts at resolving differences and disputes between African States. She was a member of the Ad hoc Commission of the OAU, set up to settle the border conflicts between Morocco and Algeria and between Ethiopia, Somalia, and Kenya in 1963-64. She was the Chairman of the twenty-one-member Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration in 1965. She was active in other Bodies set up by the OAU to deal with disputes concerning member States like Guinea and Senegal and the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1971. She was active in the OAU's attempts to resolve the tribal massacres in Burundi in early 1972, and the Sudan Civil war. When there was an armed clash

¹³⁴ African Research Bulletin Vol. 4, No. II, p. 901A.

¹³⁵ Nigerian forum Vol. 19, NIIA. Lagos pp. 121-122.

between Tanzania and Uganda in August 1971, General Gowon tried both by direct contact with the two Countries and by consultation with other African States to secure a settlement through the OAU.¹³⁶

In the Congo crisis, Nigeria advocated for peace and stability which She believed could be achieved by an unflinching support for the United Nations presence and opposition to any other intervention and never supported any of the Congolese factions.¹³⁷ Nigeria is said to have sent 2 battalions of Nigerian troops and 400 policemen at the request of the then U.N. Secretary General, Mr. Harnmerskjoid.¹³⁸ Nigeria played a leading role in the effort to restore and maintain peace in war torn Chad Nigeria was known to have taken a peace initiative on Chad. Nigeria was responsible for the bulk of the cost of the OAU peacekeeping force in Chad. Nigeria was also a member of the OAU Committee of Wisemen set up to resolve the dispute over Western Sahara. Nigeria supported the admission of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) to save the collapse of the OAU.

Nigeria also provided a leadership role in 1975 when the government of General Murtala Mohammed recognised the Movement for Political Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in Angola. This recognition was based on the conviction that the MPLA was most dynamic, nationalistic and people oriented. This conviction by the Nigerian government, spurred other governments in Africa to accord the MPLA Recognition. However, the ensuing war between the MPLA and the UNITA rebels continued in Angola, but Nigeria also played a significant role in bringing the factions together. Nigeria is also known to have played significant roles in the Tanganyika crisis in 1964 when she sent a battalion of troops to help stabilise the crisis. This step was in keeping with Nigeria's declared readiness to assist in finding solutions to problems within Africa.

Demonstration of Nigeria's willingness to play a leadership role in the resolution of African regional conflicts, is her involvement in efforts to bring peace to Liberia and Sierra Leone. These efforts no doubt is outside the

¹³⁶ O. Aluko (1981) Essays on Nigerian foreign policy. George Allen and Unwin. Ltd. London p. 26

¹³⁷ Ibid. p.27.

¹³⁸ Ibid. pp.30-31.

auspices of the OAU but was later endorsed by the OAU. The effort was under the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), who under the ECOWAS Monitoring Observer Group (ECOMOG) initiated the peace processes.¹³⁹ Nigeria's attitude to boundary problems was that of matured restraint and patience in search for peaceful solutions. This attitude was demonstrated in the manner of her handling of her own border problems with Cameroun and Chad and also in her efforts to restore peace between Algeria and Morocco and between Ethiopia and Somalia. The same attitude of restraint and maturity which has presently made her loose the Bakassi Peninsular to Cameroun was demonstrated in her reactions to the ill treatment meted out to her citizens in Equatorial Guinea, Congo-Kinshasa (Zaire), Ivory Coast, Ghana, Sudan and Ivory Coast. There was never a case of retaliation by Nigeria; rather, she resorted to appeals and persuasion to redress the situation. The toughest measure she ever took was to evacuate all her nationals resident in Equatorial Guinea.¹⁴⁰

5.6 Nigeria and Economic Cooperation and Integration in Africa

Nigeria's participation in the OAU's economic activities has been that of active support and encouragement of vital economic issues. These contributions range from fostering economic cooperation among members States, to promoting economic development and integration within the continent. The need to adopt a practical approach to economic cooperation and integration among African countries had long been the position of Nigeria from the early years of the formation of the QAU. Nigeria had long insisted on negotiations to develop and strengthen cooperation in trade, transport, communication and natural resources. This position of economic cooperation rather than a political union was the main thrust of the disagreements between the Monrovia and the Casablanca camps in the early years of the OAU.

It was in line of economic cooperation that the OAU Charter stated that one of the obligations of member African States was "to coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve better life for the peoples of Africa. To this end, member States agreed to coordinate and harmonise their general policies in economic cooperation, including transport and communication.

¹³⁹ Okochi Ibe: *ibid*, p. 187.

¹⁴⁰ Akinyemi, A.B. (1974): *Foreign Policy and federalism. The Nigerian Experience*. Ibadan University Press. Nigeria p. 48.

Nigeria on her own, initiated several bilateral joint ventures and other functional economic integration arrangements.¹⁴¹ Nigeria's bilateral relations with other African Countries were indeed wide ranging. This will be examined later in the chapter. One major aspect of Nigeria's economic co-operation with other African Countries has been through the establishment of the African Development Bank (ADB). The ADB was established in 1964 to provide support for the economic and social development programmes of African Countries. Nigeria had a share capital of nine percent. She established a Nigerian Trust Fund in 1976 within the ADB in keeping with its commitment to assist other African countries whenever possible. The fund was able to finance various development project in various African Countries.

As part of her efforts at economic co-operation within the continent, Nigeria was one of the six countries that represented Africa at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation also known as North-South Dialogue, which held several meetings in Paris between 1975 to 1977. Nigeria also actively participated in the first Extraordinary Session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU at Kinshasa devoted exclusively to economic matters. Nigeria, in subsequent other meetings of the OAU consistently advocated the need for economic co-operation among African State.¹⁴² Since 1970, Nigeria has lost no opportunity at OAU Summit meetings to stress the importance of economic co-operation. Nigeria was able to use intergovernmental agencies to foster economic co-operation in Africa.

Nigeria's bilateral agreement with Niger, Cameroun and Chad led to the formation of the Chad Basin Commission and in association with eight other States established the River Niger Commission for the promotion of joint development.¹⁴³ It is worthy to note that the concentration of bulk of Nigeria's external trade with Western Europe and America does not underestimate her trading obligations within the African region. According to Mr. Aluko, the reason is more of political than economic. The efforts of the Nigerian Trust Fund in assisting African Countries no doubt prove her economic commitment to Africa.

¹⁴¹Okpaku Joseph et al; Nigeria and the OAU, pp. 35-41

¹⁴²Okochi be; *ibid.* p. 227.

¹⁴³Joseph Garba (1987): Diplomatic Soldering. Spectrum Publishers, Ibadan, pp. 11-121.

Economic diplomacy adopted by the Babangida administration was also manifested in Nigeria's foreign policy to Africa in the OAU. Nigeria was said to have strongly conversed in 1987 for the adoption of an OAU common position on the debt crisis which revolved around debt conciliation and injection of funds. With respect to Nigeria's trade figures with OAU countries between 1988 and 1992, exports worth about N15.2 million was traded in 1992 alone. The bulk of Nigeria's trade relations were with Ivory Coast, and Ghana, followed by Cameroon, Senegal and Algeria. The bulk of Nigeria's import came generally from Morocco, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Republic of Benin, Egypt, Niger, Ghana and Togo with total imports in 1993 amounting to about N1.6 billion. Nigeria's efforts at economic integration for Africa culminated in the signing of the African economic community Treaty in Abuja and marked the opening of the economic phase of Nigeria's foreign policy Agenda in Africa.¹⁴⁴

5.7 Nigeria and Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs in Africa

Here, we will be examining Nigeria's response to issues bordering on environmental disasters and human conditions in Africa. Nigeria was a prime mover for the adoption and ratification of the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights which came into force on 21st October 1986. The OAU through this Charter was able to establish a legal instrument of great political and social significance for upholding the fundamental human and people's rights and for defending and protecting the rights and interest of the African peoples. Nigeria was among the first countries to ratify this Charter. It was her leading role in this respect that led the 25th ordinary session of the OAU Assembly of Heads of States and Government held at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in July 1989 to honour her along with other citizens of OAU members by electing Professor U.O. Umozurike to serve on the African Commission on Human and People's Rights.

Nigeria is said to have pledged continuing assistance to refugees in the Southern Africa region which she later fixed at two hundred and fifty U.S. dollars. She ranked highest among African Countries. Ghana who pledged one hundred thousand U.S. dollar was the closest to Nigeria. This pledge was made at the Southern Africa Refugees Returnees and Displaced Persons

¹⁴⁴Okochi be NA: ibid, pp. 57-73.

(SARRED). Conference held at Oslo, Norway in August 1988. Nigeria's Commitment to the problems of African refugees had been through multilateral and bilateral channels, which had been on, earlier before this conference. She had earlier pledged the sum of fifty million U.S. dollars to the African Fund for Refugees. She had donated so much to the problems of Refugees in Africa. No doubt her Ambassadors were elected Chairman of the OAU Commission of fifteen on Refugees in 1984, 1988 and 1990 respectively.

Nigeria's energetic participation as Chairman of this commission was able to achieve the following:

- i. Establishment of OAU Special Refugee Contingency Fund.
- ii. Fact-finding Missions on Refugees in Africa.
- iii. Promoting Greater Awareness about, and international support for African Refugees.
- iv. Bilateral Assistance to Refugees. Apart from the various donations, Nigeria has provided substantial financial assistance on a direct bilateral level to African Countries with huge refugee populations, like Mozambique, Namibia etc. Nigeria maintains a liberal policy on the provision of resettlement and education opportunities for refugees from any part of Africa. This is practical in the setting up of a Nigerian Refugee Commission.

Nigeria has also rendered relief to some African countries that were in disaster. In 1971 Nigeria made a donation of fifty thousand pounds for the alleviation of suffering caused by famine in the drought affected areas of Kenya. Nigeria also gave a relief aid of about N2.5million to six drought stricken West African States. Relief materials worth millions of naira were also donated to Niger Republic. Nigeria also made a gift of one million naira to Egypt after the Arab-Israeli war of October 1973 to aid the war victims.¹⁴⁵ There is indeed no doubt about Nigeria's contribution, to Humanitarian and Human Right affairs of Africa under the auspices of the OAU. According to Ogunsanwo, additional aids offered 'African countries before the 1990s stands as:

Mali	-	N431,599
Senegal	-	3331333

¹⁴⁵ Osita, Agbu: Nigerian Forum, Vol. 20 Nos. 3-4 March/April, 1999, PP. 26-27.

Upper Volta	-	407,895
Chad	-	320,176
Mauritania	-	214,912
Niger	-	342,105
Ethiopia	-	200,000
Sierra Leone	-	20,000
Somalia	-	110071893

Aids extended to some countries on independent including:

Guinea Bissau	-	N500,000
Cape Verde	-	60,7775
Sao Tome and Principe	-	60,775
Mozambique	-	675,890 ¹⁴⁶

Unspecified aid to African Countries:

Niger	-	N644,000
Zambia	-	500,000
Sudan	-	400,000
Sao Tome and Principia	-	124,000 ¹⁷

Apart from these aids, Nigeria also offered technical assistance to several African countries like Botswana, Gambia, Swaziland and Algeria, while scholarships were awarded students from; Sudan, Gambia, Guinea, Uganda Liberia and Kenya still in the 1980s. Nigeria has still continued to give aids to African countries though in reduced percentage because of her economic problems. However, there is no doubt that Nigeria's foreign policy towards humanitarian and human rights affairs in Africa under the auspices of the OAU has been remarkable.

5.8 Nigeria and Social and Cultural Matters in Africa

Nigeria has also made some marks on social and cultural issues especially in sports. Nigeria hosted the second All-African Games in October 1971 and the third All-African Games in January 1973.¹⁴⁷ After a long period of passive response to African sports issues, Nigeria in 2000 co-hosted with Ghana the

¹⁴⁶Stephen O. Olugbemi (edited) (1986) *Alternative Political Futures for Nigeria*. Nigerian Political Science Association Publication. Lagos. pp. 524— 526.

¹⁴⁷Op cit. pp. 523 - 526

African Cup of Nations and also bided for the 2003 edition. The hosting of the 1977 FESTAC by Nigeria was a boost on Nigeria's African cultural foreign policy promotion inspite of the huge cost of the festival that has continued to receive criticism, Nigeria hosted the festival to foster African Unity and cultural promotion.

5.9 Nigeria and the Transition to the African Union (AU)

At the 36th Summit of Heads of Government of the OAU in Lome, Togolese capital in the month of July 2000, the leaders approved a legal text for the creation of an African Union in line with a 1999 pledge they made in Libya. The Consultative Act states that it is guided by the common vision among Africans to have a United and strong Africa and build a partnership between government and all segments of civil society. It also states that the move was in line with the continent's consciousness that the prevailing conflicts in Africa constituted a major impediment to the socio-economic development of the continent hence it is to promote unity, peace, security and stability in the region as a prerequisite for the implementation of Africa's development and integration agenda. The principles of the treaty include (a) sovereign equality and interdependence among member States, (b) the establishment of a common defence policy for the African continent, (c) prohibition of the use of force or threat to use force among member States of the Union, (d) the right of the union to intervene in a member State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, such as war crime, genocide and crimes against humanity, (e) the right of member States to request intervention from the Union in order to restore peace and Security, (f) Condemnation and rejection of unconstitutional changes of governments, (g) promotion of sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels (h) the integration of African economies and the co-ordination and harmonization of the policies between the existing and future regional economic communities for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union among other socio-economic and political objectives.

The Provisions of the African Union according to president Olusegun Obasanjo is “essentially the same as that of the African Economic Community signed in Abuja 1991.” According to him “the African Union is the final goal of African Unity that African leaders have been pursuing for more than 40 years”. He urged all Nigerians to join in making this African dream a reality, insisting

“that neither wars, nor conflicts and diseases, nor excruciating poverty can discourage us from pursuing the great endeavour for the unity of our continent.

In keeping with Nigeria's long-established tradition of commitment and dedication to the course of African Unity, President Obasanjo restated Nigeria's preparedness to devote her energy and to commit men and resources towards the establishment of the Union. He said Nigeria must work assiduously with other African Countries in order to ensure the success of its institution such as the Assembly, the Executive Council, the Pan-African Parliament, the Court of Justice, the Commission, the Permanent Representatives Committee, the Specialized Technical Committee, the Economic, Social and Cultural Council and its financial institutions (the African Central Bank, the African Monetary Fund and the African Investment Bank) which are designed and structured to achieve efficiency and success.¹⁴⁸ This statement from President Obasanjo no doubt, shows Nigeria's strong Commitment to the African Union.

5.10 Nigeria and the African Economic Community (AEC)

The first OAU economic summit hosted in Lagos in 1980 under the Shagari administration demonstrated Nigeria's belief in inter-state cooperation and an economically strong and independent Africa. It was this summit that was to be a precursor to the establishment of the African Economic Community.¹⁴⁹ General Ibrahim Babangida who became the Chairman of the OAU hosted the QAU summit in 1991 and got the heads of state to sign the treaty establishing the AEC.¹⁵⁰ Though the AEC has not become fully functional, the Obasanjo administration has shown commitment to the actualization of economic integration in Africa. As part of the administrations Africa integration project, there was a commitment to establish and nurture stronger bilateral relations with African countries. In fact, the ECOWAS is one of the major pillars in the architecture of a larger African integration project whose objectives would be realised as soon as the AEC becomes fully functional. It is the administration's commitment in this integration process that a new ministry of integration and co-operation in Africa has been created.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ M. Mamman In the Nigerian Forum. Vol. 20, No. 3-4 NIIA. March/April, 1999, p.16

¹⁴⁹ The Punch Newspaper, 18th July 2000, The News magazine Vol. 17, No 7, 20th August 2001 and Internet Reports.

¹⁵⁰ Op. cit

¹⁵¹ W.A. Fawole in Nigerian Journal of International Affairs. Vol. 26, No.2, 2000, p. 22.

5.11 Nigeria and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)

Nigeria's long-standing interest in African affairs led it to the forefront for the establishment of this new partnership for Africa's development. In fact, the Obasanjo's Administration and Thabo Mbeki's Administration in South Africa are known to be the brain behind the establishment of NEPAD. The idea behind NEPAD is basically to revision development partnership on the basis of good governance within Africa. The constituent elements of NEPAD include trade, debt relief, conflict resolution, aid, etc. The idea behind NEPAD is basically the establishment of effective and democratic governance to attract external aid. Membership to NEPAD is in addition, not only subject to certain standards of governance but also economic management. NEPAD's stated aim is to achieve the overall 7 percent annual growth necessary for Africa to meet one of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as established by the UN General Assembly at the Millennium session as targets for the promotion of human development.¹⁵² NEPAD is intended to serve as a common platform for economic planning and negotiating with international partners.

¹⁵² Simon Matwell and Karin Christiansen. "Negotiation as Simultaneous equation: Building a new partnership with Africa." *Journal of International Affairs*. Vol. 78, No. 3, The Royal institute of International Affairs, July 2002.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Write a brief note on Nigeria's Diplomatic role in the establishment of the OAU
2. Outline the role of Nigeria in the liberation struggles in Africa
3. Discuss the role of Nigeria in the settlement of disputes in Africa
4. Explain the role of Nigeria in the activities of African Union (AU) and the African Economic Community (AEC)

CHAPTER SIX

NIGERIA'S BILATERAL RELATIONS IN AFRICA

6.1 Nigeria's Bilateral Relations in Africa

Nigeria's bilateral relations with other African Countries were wide-ranging. They include:

Diplomatic Relations

In keeping with Prime Minister Balewa's statement in parliament, that the Federal Government would see that Nigeria will be represented in all independent countries of Africa, by either an Ambassador or Commissioners or by Consul-General or Consuls, Nigeria, immediately after independence embarked on the realization of this objective. As at date, Nigeria has established diplomatic missions in all States of Africa.

Agreements on the Abolition of Visa: Nigeria concluded this agreement with Cameroun, Benin, Niger, Chad, Togo, Morocco and Guinea, but implementation has proved difficult because of the various immigration rules in these countries.

Agreements on Bilateral Cooperation, Conventions on Joint Commission and Treaties of Friendship and Cooperation: Nigeria concluded this agreement with Cameroun, Niger and Central Africa Republic. These agreements bordered on economic, technical, industrial and peaceful relations between Nigeria and these countries.

Convention on the Establishment of Common Customs Post: This agreement was mainly between Nigeria and her immediate neighbours; Benin, Niger, Chad and Cameroun.

Agreements Governing the Movement of Persons, and Goods: This also was reached by Nigeria with her immediate neighbours as above.

Right of Establishment: Nigeria concluded this agreement with Cameroun in order to protect the real estates and fixed assets of nationals of both States.

Trade Agreements: Between 1960 and 1973, Nigeria concluded trade agreements with not less than 12 African countries including Cameroun, United Arab Republic, Senegal, Mali, Togo, Tunisia, Guinea, Congo-Kinshasa, Niger, Chad, Benin and Algeria. In these agreements, the countries pledged to grant each other most favoured nation treatment in all matters affecting import and export.

Monetary Agreements: Nigeria concluded this agreement with Cameroun, but with Niger through the Resident Account clause contained in the trade agreement, by which Niger was to open a resident account with any commercial bank in Nigeria for the receipts of proceeds of sales of goods imported into and sold in Nigeria, to be used for the reimbursement of commitments of the government of Niger in Nigeria. By the agreement with Cameroon, the value of each money order issued in the two countries would be expressed in the countries currency.

Secondment of Nigerian Officers: Nigeria between 1960 and 1966 concluded this agreement with Malawi, Uganda and Tanzania and in 1972 concluded with the Gambia.

Cultural, Social and Technical Cooperation Agreements: Nigeria initiated this agreement with Cameroun, Senegal and Ethiopia between 1960 and 1973 and has continued with other Africa States.

Air Service Agreements: This agreement which Nigeria initiated with Togo and the United Arab Republic in 1966 and later Sierra Leone and Algeria and others dealt with the rights and privileges of Airlines, validity of Certificates, revocation and or suspension of Rights, regular Airborne equipment, mode of operation, Tariffs, Transfer of excess receipts, consultation, settlement of disputes and other issues.

Agreements on Tele-Communications: This agreement started with Cameroun and Niger in 1965 and 1971 respectively and was aimed at maintaining and developing the existing telephone and telegraph links between them.

Conventions on Judicial and Police Cooperation: This agreement was also initiated with Niger and Cameroun and also embodies extradition terms.

Agreement for the Supply of Electric Energy: This was made between Nigeria and Niger Republic for the supply of Electricity from Nigeria's Kainji Dam to Niger Republic for a period of twenty years.¹⁵³ It is worthy to note that there was no guiding principle in all of these bilateral relations. It is a continuing process aimed at strengthening Nigeria's relations with countries in the continent.

6.2 Nigeria's Francophone Relations

This study is given priority in this work in view of Nigeria's leadership role in Africa and the likely oppositions, having the Francophone as immediate neighbours. In fact Nigeria's foreign policy goals and leadership role in West Africa receives the greatest challenge from these States, whose allegiance to the French government is uncompromising. It is this French factor among others that have directed Nigeria's relationships with these countries. The Francophone countries include those countries where French is either the main or one of the official languages. They include; Algeria, Benin Republic, Burundi, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Djibouti, Gabon, Guinea, Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire), Malagasy, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Togo, Tunisia, Burkina Faso, Zaire, Seychelles, Mauritius Reunion. These countries were all French or Franco-British or Franco-Spanish territories who acquired the French Status through the unique French system of colonial administration of Assimilation and of recent, the creation of a French community, French Union and French Common Wealth. In agreement with Oscar B. Ede, France entered into colonial acquisition not necessarily for the Psychology of being one of the powers in the 19th Century European imperialist conquest, but with a vision of creating a French empire in order to acquire the status of an imperial power with the attendant self-respect.

In pursuit of this objective, France has continued to maintain a strong link with her erstwhile Colonies. Despite the independence of these countries, their constitutional, judicial and political set-up retains the French pattern. The

¹⁵³Ibe Okochi: *ibid*, pp. 57 - 89, All the Ideas on Nigeria's Bilateral Cooperation's are from this source.

Presidents in these countries emulate their French counterpart and depend on him for their stay in office. There is always a strong presence of French intelligence as well as administrative and diplomatic personnel in most Francophone States. The result of this is that most of their foreign and domestic policies have to be cleared locally with these French officials and with Paris.

In so much that these *Francophone countries* depend on France, for their political existence, economically, the reverse is the case. France needs Africa more than Africa needs France. France industrial growth and nuclear development depend on raw materials from Africa. France relies heavily on African oil where her two largest state owned oil companies; *La Societe Nationale Elf-Aquitaine* (SNEA) known as Elf in Africa and *La Campaigne Franpoise de Petroles* (CFP) have their largest operations. In fact SNEA (E1F) has very aggressive exploration and exploitation drive in Africa. The activities of these companies in Gabon, Cameroun, Congo-Brazzaville, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Niger, Equatorial Guinea, Tunisia, Algeria, Mauritania and even non-Francophone countries including Nigeria, South Africa, Namibia, Morocco attests to this fact. France also enjoys a special privilege for importing raw materials from the France zone, as international currency and price fluctuations do not affect such transactions. Also its monetary arrangement with these former territories especially in West and Central Africa through the CFA (*Colonies Francaisesesd Afrique*) has been a very strong leverage on the economy of these countries. France aid to these Francophone countries is also another strategy of controlling the destinies of these State. Two institutions in France are given this responsibility and have continued to carry out this task effectively. In view of the strategic importance of these countries to France's economy, France has continued to play outstanding role in the affairs of other strategic African countries in addition to the Francophone countries. This fact explains France's intervention and military policies in Africa. The French factor in some of the crisis in most African countries has affected the resolution efforts of the OAU, ECOWAS and even other individual countries. In fact, Nigeria's efforts at resolving the Chad Libyan border crisis has not been made difficult by Libya, but the French factor. France has adopted various strategies in most of these countries to maintain her economic interests in Africa. To actualise its complete control on some African states, France in the 1960s made some fifteen Francophone countries to enter into defence and

military assistance agreement with Pairs. By this agreement, France was allowed to station some 20,000 troops and military bases in Africa from then.

The strong alliance these Francophone countries have with France have continued to make them tow the line of France in their relations with other non-Francophone countries and have also affected their behaviour in the OAU and the ECOWAS. The oppositions encountered by Nigeria in some of her continental efforts like those in Angola, South Africa (apartheid), Chad, ECOWAS and even the Nigerian Civil War, have been traced to this factor. Even the Socialists inclinations of some of these countries have not erased the French factor in their inter-state relations.

Nigeria's contiguous Francophone neighbours are Benin, Niger, Cameroun and Chad. More than 15 States of Nigeria are border land location and have more than 35 gate way local government areas. These borders cut across various ethnic groups which on both sides disregard the borders in their daily activities Nigeria has however, maintained a non-aggressive and puritanical approach to border problems unlike her neighbours who despite their military inferiority are very aggressive on such issues. Nigeria's relations with the Francophone countries generally, have been largely influenced by the French factor. Despite the radical, moderate and pro-French positions of these countries, the French factor has continued to affect their relations with Nigeria. While Nigeria's relations with the pro-French State have been successful on the economic front, the political and diplomatic fronts have proved difficult. France influence in Africa has seriously affected Nigeria's relations in the continent because France has long entrenched itself in the continent and is still expanding to other non-Francophone countries including Nigeria. Since France's aspirations are different from Nigeria's; agreement between them remains difficult.¹⁵⁴ Having established an age long foothold in Africa, there is no doubt that she will remain a factor to be reckoned with in all Nigeria's relations with not only the Francophone countries but other African countries as well. Nigeria's loss of the Bakassi Peninsular to Cameroun by the ICJ judgment is a clear case of the influence of the French factor. It is a factor that has to be seriously checked in all Nigeria's external relations.

¹⁵⁴Oscar O.B. Ede (1986). "Nigeria and Francophone Africa" in *Nigeria's External Relations*. The first twenty-five years. University Press Ltd. Ibadan pp. 176-195. All views from the sub-title (Nigeria and the Francophone Countries) are from this source

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is Nigeria's relations?
2. Outline the various ways Nigeria is involved in bilateral relations
3. Comment on Nigeria's franco-phone relations

CHAPTER SEVEN

NIGERIA'S WEST AFRICAN RELATIONS

One main objective of the Federal government since independence has been the establishment of benign political relations not only with African States at large, but with West African Countries. The broad underlying principles of Nigeria's relations with the sub-region were clearly defined in the early 1970s at the end of the Civil War. Prior to this time, Nigeria had no specific policy towards the region, as the general principles of economic cooperation, economic development and decolonization towards African continent as a whole applied to it. The various governments, both military and civilian have taken steps towards the actualization of this objective.¹⁵⁵

7.1 Nigeria's Role in the Establishment and Development of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

The formation of the ECOWAS and its development is an outstanding model on which Nigeria's steps towards regional integration can be assessed. This first attempt to achieve collective self-reliance in West Africa was made in 1963 when a Conference on Industrial Harmonization in the sub-region was held in Lagos. Nigeria by this act can be said to have played a major role in the formation of the ECOWAS, as subsequent Conferences and meetings that culminated in the signing of the 1975 ECOWAS Treaty took its root from this 1963 Lagos Conference. The major aim for the creation of the ECOWAS is to promote cooperation and development in all field of economic activities especially in the fields of industry, transport, telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial questions, and in social and cultural matters for the purposes of raising the standard of living of its people, increasing and maintaining economic stability, as well as foster close relations among its member States and contributing to the progress and development of the African continent.

¹⁵⁵ Omotayo Olaniyan. (1986). *Nigeria Journal of International Affairs*. Vol.12, Nos. 1 & 2, 1986, p.137

All Nigeria's administrations - Military and Civilians, have addressed themselves to the realization of these objectives in various ways. A number of factors made Nigeria spearhead the establishment and development of the ECOWAS aims. They include Nigeria's experience during the civil war, when Ivory Coast gave recognition to Biafra. This action by Ivory Coast made Nigeria realise that benign rapprochement with neighbouring countries was essential to Nigeria's national security that will also promote political stability. Nigeria's large revenue from crude oil made her assist most of the economically backward States of the region. Thirdly, the commitment of the administrations to make Nigeria the Industrial Centre for Africa which will start from the region, because regional cooperation and collective self-reliance through free trade will lead to a balanced economic growth and development.¹⁵⁶ The fourth factor is Nigeria's aim to become a political regional leader that will make her to be reckoned with in the continent and the entire global society. The fifth factor is Nigeria's intention to use the ECOWAS as an instrument for weakening the excessive dependence of most of the Francophone States on France. It was generally felt that the continued ties between France and her former West African Colonies would be an impediment to full integration of the sub-region. Generally, Nigeria's roles in the ECOWAS have been hinged on security, economic and political considerations.¹⁵⁷ According to Philip Asiodu the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Industry under Gowon administration, an integrated West African economic community with harmonized industrial planning, could help stimulate Nigeria's economic growth and development. On security consideration, a sure way of reducing the security risks and minimizing external danger was an institutional arrangement, which would promote good neighbourliness and reduce the inordinate Francophone dependence on France and increase Nigeria's bargaining power against Europe. The then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ibrahim Gambari, summed it up when he confirmed that a West African integration scheme would offer a rational outlet for external aid to African neighbours and provide an institutional framework for Nigeria's leadership, and the erosion of France's political and economic influence.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Ibid pp135-137

¹⁵⁷ Ibid

¹⁵⁸ Olajide Aluko (1981). *Essays on Nigeria Foreign Policy*. George Allen and Unwon ltd. London., pp.11-14

Activities in the development of ECOWAS were slow, because the first four years were devoted to building up the Organization. Nigeria had a lot to contribute to the development economically and humanly. Nigeria had sound economic and human strength at the foundation of the Organization, coming at the time of the oil boom, and her population as at 1975, was said to have accounted for 57% of the entire region.¹⁵⁹ The Gowon administration under which the ECOWAS came into existence had sensitized the people to the relevance of integration in the West African sub-region and of the continuous role which the country must play. The various successive military and civilian administrations have continued to recognise this fact. The Minister of National Planning Chief M.S. Adigun in June 1984, remarked that "Nigeria would continue to play active role in the affairs of the ECOWAS because in it lies to a great extent our people's ability to liberate themselves from their economic predicaments and socio-political instability".¹⁶⁰

7.2 Economic Contributions in the ECOWAS

Thus, over the years, Nigeria has emphasised and assisted in the creation of the Organisation's structures. It believes in the building of strong regional institution as a pre-requisite for the establishment of a meaningful regional integration arrangement. Nigeria's annual contribution which was 32.5% of the Organisation's budget was always paid regularly for the effective operation of the Organization's activities. Further financial assistance has also usually been extended to the Secretariat in times of financial crisis. Bilateral steps have been taken to invest in some economic ventures of some member States. For instance, Nigeria's investment in iron mining in Benin, Uranium in the Republic of Niger, Cement and Sugar Projects in Benin, and in Petrochemicals in Senegal, are some examples. Also, a number of Bilateral Joint Economic Commissions were set up between Nigeria and several member States of ECOWAS.¹⁶¹ The series of Commercial Treaties on Fishing Rights; Transport and Communications and on both Cultural and Industrial Cooperation's signed by Nigeria and each of her neighbours at different times fecundated from the activities of the Joint Commissions. Nigeria's participation in joint projects in the sub-region was however stimulated by the Third National

¹⁵⁹ Olatunde Ojo on "Sponsorship and Membership of ECOWAS". In the structure and processes of Foreign Policy making and implementation in Nigeria, 1960-1990 (1990) Vintage Publishers international Ltd. Ibadan, pp.346-363

¹⁶⁰ R. Omotayo Olaniyan in *Nigeria's External Relation: The First twenty-five years*, pp.131. But Source is World Bank Report

¹⁶¹ Nigeria Standard. June 6, 1984. Lagos, p.9

Development Plan (1975-1980) which perceived such projects as proper strategy towards the attainment of industrial development.¹⁶² Nigeria's aid programmes to countries in west Africa was directed towards building infrastructural facilities and income generating projects that would benefit the citizens of the countries directly. To this end, Nigeria invested in the exploitation of strategic raw materials in the West African sub-region such as phosphate in Togo, Iron and Bauxite in Guinea, etc. Nigeria also concluded arrangement to go into joint venture with Zambia in the processing, of Copper, and Guinea in production of aluminum and aluminium products during the first Obasanjo administration.¹⁶³

Some ECOWAS Countries including Nigeria have taken the initiative to establish favourable conditions for cooperative efforts in the field of Hydro-Multi-Purpose Electricity programmes. Practical steps were taken to institutionalize these established interstate cooperative ventures.¹⁶⁴ In terms of sub-regional road network, Nigeria also made great contributions. For instance, Nigeria built the road connecting Ilela in Sokoto State and Birnin Konni to Niger Republic. This road is a major high way through which goods and materials enter both countries. Nigeria also built the expressway from Lagos to the outskirts of Cotonou in the Republic of Togo.¹⁶⁵ When the United Nations Transport and Communications Decade Programme started in March 1977, the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) Conference of Ministers adopted a resolution, calling for the declaration of support for the development of transport and communications on recognitions of their social importance in African economy. This resolution was endorsed first by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), and secondly by the UN General Assembly who accordingly proclaimed the transport and communications Degree for Africa 1978-88, it was agreed that the following criteria should be used as guide:

- i. Regional projects
 - ii. Sub-regional project
- (Hi) National projects with regional or sub-regional impacts.

¹⁶² Op cit. p.131

¹⁶³ Frank A Daniels. "Nigerian Diplomatic Practice and Relations in the ECOWAS sub-region". Seminar paper on Diplomatic

¹⁶⁴ Ibid p.7

¹⁶⁵ Ibid p.17

Within the projects, international highways were constructed. In Nigeria, the standard railway from Lagos to Maiduguri and from Port Harcourt to Sokoto was constructed.¹⁶⁶ Nigeria's desire to assist countries in the ECOWAS with the sole aim of strengthening economic integration was evident in 1981 when she concluded agreement to supply Ghana with 300 vehicles at a total cost of N1.165m. The vehicles comprised of 200 Peugeot GL cars and 100 Volkswagen cars. The two foreign Ministers signed on behalf of their respective countries.¹⁶⁷ Nigeria has also given active support for the formation of such sub-regional institutions such as the West Africa Clearing House, and the ECOWAS Bank which are vital to monetary co-operation and trade expansion in the sub-region.¹⁶⁸

7.3 Security Contributions in the ECOWAS

The Nigerian administrations had clearly identified national security with regional security. It is for this reason that the various administrations had been actively involved in most multilateral approaches to regional security. The ECOWAS protocol on non-aggression was adopted in 1979. By this protocol, member States formerly recognized the current borders between them and agreed to respect them. In 1981, at the Summit of the Authority of the Heads of State and Government, attempt was made to consolidate the protocol through the adoption of the Mutual Assistance Pact by which members pledged mutual aid and assistance for defence against armed regression. The concern about security with Nigeria's neighbours led to further special security accord, like the Quadripartite Agreement between Benin, Nigeria, Ghana and Togo, which was aimed at strengthening legal co-operations and elimination of crime in all forms through the apprehension and trial of fugitive offenders. Other objectives of the agreement include the reduction in the smuggling of goods and illegal trafficking in currency across the borders. In addition to these sub-regional security arrangements, Nigeria internally has continued to address this problem to present. In a three day national workshop on "cross - Border Armed Banditry in the North East zone, organized by the Nigerian Institute for International Affairs (NIIA), the Director-General of the National Boundary Commission, Alhaji Dahiru Bobbo stressed that joint exploitation and utilization of natural resources by

¹⁶⁶ Ibid p.18

¹⁶⁷ New Nigerian Newspaper. February 4, 1981, p.1

¹⁶⁸ Olaniyan, R.O. Ibid p.131

Nigeria and her immediate neighbours could promote trans-border cooperation for peaceful co-existence.¹⁶⁹

7.4 Nigeria's Political Relations in the ECOWAS

One main objective of Nigeria's relation with the West African sub-region since independence has also been the establishment of benign political relations. This was clearly defined in the early 1970s after the Civil War. The political relations with the countries in the sub-region has been demonstrated by the various States and Official visits made among the States. These visits always resulted in the signing of some treaties expressing co-operations in various areas of interests for the States. Senegalese President for instance, in May 1980 paid a four-day official visit to Nigeria, at the end of which a Permanent Nigerian - Senegalese Commission to promote bilateral Industry and trade exchanges was to be set up. By 1985, President Abdou Diouf, successor to Songhor also paid another visit to Nigeria, all to strengthen relations between the two countries in the sub-region.¹⁷⁰ Nigeria's relation with Ghana had been cordial until 1983 when Nigeria expelled illegal aliens in the country, majority of which were Ghanaians. Nigeria's relations with Cameroun and Chad have been with much caution and restraints geared towards promoting peace in the sub-region. Peace has been the guiding principle in all her political relations in the sub-region. The closure of Nigeria's borders from 1984 to 1986 has not even affected Nigeria's political relations with the countries in the sub-region.

7.5 Nigeria and Conflict Resolution within the ECOWAS

At the political and security levels, member States of the ECOWAS have signed protocols on non-aggression and mutual defence and have established a standing committee on mediation. It is Nigeria's commitment to these Agreements and in pursuit of peace within the sub-region that have continued to avert war between Nigeria and her neighbours especially Cameroun over the Bakassi Peninsular border. But for the tact and wisdom exhibited by Nigeria in this matter, it would have resulted to a full-blown war. It is still this Nigeria's commitment that has made her accept the recent ICJ judgment on the Bakassi Peninsular with Calm. Nigeria since 1992 has continued to play

¹⁶⁹ Omotayo Olaniyan. In: Nigeria's External Relations: Agenda for the Future. Nigerian Journal of international Affairs. Vol.12, No.1 & 2.1986. pp. 145-146.

¹⁷⁰ Bola Akinterinwa (2001) Nigeria in the World: Issues and problems for the sleeping Giant. Pumark Educational Publishers. Lagos pp. 221-227, The source is This Day Newspaper, November 14, 1999.

leading role in conflict resolution through the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in the sub- region. Nigeria's role in this direction can be assessed in her military contributions through the ECOMOG in Liberia and Sierra Leone conflicts.

In August 1990, Nigeria, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea and Sierra Leone sent troops to Liberia to monitor and observe an ECOWAS mediated peace arrangement in the Civil War. Nigeria had 15,000 troops out of the total 17,000 deployed under the ECOMOG. Nigeria's leading role through the ECOWAS in this crisis in Liberia prevented a forceful overthrow of the government through an internationally supervised election in July 1997 that was won by Charles Taylor, the leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia NPFL, one of the revolutionary forces.¹⁷¹ Nigeria's involvement in the restoration of peace through the ECOWAS in Sierra Leone is also commendable. ECOWAS through ECOMOG intervened in Sierra Leone in May 1997 when the elected government of President Ahmed TejanKabbah which had been battling an insurgence led by the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) was overthrown by the Military. In the course of this overthrow, about twenty-four Nigerian soldiers deployed under bilateral arrangement with Sierra Leone were killed. Nigeria's efforts through the ECOMOG: in Liberia and Sierra Leone earned her an international recognition as ECOMOG, at a time, came to be known before the international community as the Nigerian led intervention force. Nigeria is said to have lost some 500 soldiers in Liberia between 1990 and 1997, while \$8. billion was expended within the period as well.¹⁷² In Sierra Leone, Nigeria is said to have incurred an expenditure of about a million dollars per day on peace enforcement. Little wonder, President Obasanjo swore even before his election, that he would withdraw Nigerian troops from Sierra Leone in response to the popular sentiment of Nigerians who saw it as wasteful involvement, when the national economy was suffering a thirty-two-billion-dollar external debt. President Obasanjo's position in the Sierra Leonian crisis reaped off barely two months after he was sworn-in in July 7, 1999, when the government of Tejan Kabbah and the RUF rebels led by Foday Sankoh signed the Lome Peace Accords which he was a witness with 3

¹⁷¹Ibid pp.114-1116

¹⁷²Bukar Bukarrambe " Nigeria's foreign policy in Africa, 1960-1999". In: *Selected feadings on Nigeria's Foreign Policy and International Relations*. Vol. 1, Number 1, 2000 pp. 111-114.

other ECOWAS President and Representatives of the OAU and the Common Wealth. It was this bid to get out of Sierra Leone that sub-regional leaders and Nigeria hurried the peace agreement that was hesitated to be implemented in Sierra Leone. Thus, Obasanjo's attempt to impose a solution in Sierra Leone was a partial success as several accusations continued to come on Nigeria's military officers in the ECOMOG operations.¹⁷³

In addition to the ECOWAS initiative through ECOMOG, there had been a Status of Forces Agreements (SOFA) between Nigeria and Sierra Leone by which Nigeria is obligated to provide military and security assistance to Sierra Leone. According to the provisions of the SOFA, Nigeria agreed to provide "Military and Security Assistance for the sustenance of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Sierra Leone". The provision of the assistance was to be done within the framework of the Nigerian Forces Assistance Group (NIFAG). It was this agreement that made Nigeria even send her troops before the ousting of Tejan Kabbah when the ECOMOG came in.¹⁷⁴ Nigeria had supported the government of President Joseph Momoh when he was later ousted in a Military putsch led by Captain Valentine Strasser in April, 1992. It was a Nigerian Military helicopter that rescued him and flew him into exile in Guinea. It also provided friendly artillery fire support to Strasser's troops fighting the rebel RUF forces in the Civil War.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³Ibid pp 114-116

¹⁷⁴W. Alade Fawoie. "Obasanjo's foreign policy under Democratic rule: Nigeria's Return to Global reckoning. *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*. Vol. 26, Number 2, 2000, pp 31-34.

¹⁷⁵Bola Akinterinwa: Ibid pp.261-263

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Explain the role of Nigeria in the establishment of ECOWAS
2. Mention Nigeria's contribution to the economic development of ECOWAS member state
3. Write the role of Nigeria in conflict resolution among ECOWAS member states

CHAPTER EIGHT

NIGERIA AND EMERGING ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

8.1 Introduction

Nigeria's relations with Africa have been dictated by all the prevailing circumstances of both internal and external environments of the times. Joseph Garba's exposition on foreign policy in his *Diplomatic Soldiering*, where he warned that in the dramatically changing international environment, with super-power rapprochement. Nigeria, must turn concertedly and even aggressively to a new focus on foreign policy, must be highly considered here because of all the emerging casts in global politics that will dominate the twenty-first century. Nigeria definitely has to brave up to these issues not only in her African relations, but in all her external relations as they form the major challenges of the 21st Century. It is in the light of all these that this concluding chapter will examine such issues as External Debts, HIV/AIDS Scourge, Environmental protection, Human rights, Globalization, Terrorism and Democracy. Knowledge of these issues in addition to the analysis of the previous chapters will point the way forward for Nigeria's foreign policy.

8.2 External Debts

External debt has gained global attention since the 1980s hence it forms part of Nigeria's global foreign policy. Nigeria's legendary continental pre-eminence in the 1970s was based on a buoyant economy from the oil boom. Not only was Nigeria not indebted until the first jumbo loan of 1978, it possessed the requisite economic leverage to bankroll an activist foreign policy. This was clearly evident from the leading roles it played in the struggle to secure independence for Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Namibia and in the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa.¹⁷⁶ Nigeria found herself in' external borrowings in the form of loans, aids and grants, from donor countries of the

¹⁷⁶W.Alade Fawole. *Nigerian Journal of international Affairs*, Volume 26, Number 2, 2000. p.29.

Paris club and the international financial institutions. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is the organization that sets the standards for world monetary and fiscal behaviour. Lending agencies such as the London and Paris clubs rely on the MF assessment in their relations with debtor nations.

IMF prescriptions from which debtor nations can hardly escape include drastic reduction in public sector expenditure, mass retrenchment of workers in the public service, wage freeze, reduction in spending on education, health care, infrastructure, transport, etc. These prescriptions in real terms, means state abandonment of its social obligations to the people, removal of all subsidies, on petroleum, fertilizer etc, with adverse effects such as arbitrary price increases; whole sale privatization of state-owned enterprises, etc.¹⁷⁷ These are the major problems Nigeria and Africa, as well as other developing countries are grappling with. Thirty-three of the forty-one Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) of the world are in Africa. Africa's debt sharply increased from \$84 billion in 1980 to \$200 billion in 1999.¹⁷⁸ Nigeria's external debt stands at about thirty-two billion dollars (\$32 billion). Of this amount, three percent is owed to the United States, twenty-five percent to the United Kingdom, nineteen percent to Japan, French, Seventeen percent, and Germany fifteen percent etc.¹⁷⁹

Efforts to overcome the problems associated with external debt have led to such terms as debt recovery, debt relief, debt rescheduling, debt reduction, debt forgiveness, debt cancellation, debt swap, debt repudiation etc. These terms run in all relations between these developing countries and the donor countries and the international financial institutions. It has proved such a major obstacle to the development of these countries that President Obasanjo on behalf of the G-7 countries, at the United Nations Millennium Summit Strongly urged the creditor nations to seize the historic moment to unshackle the economies of the developing countries by cancelling all their external debts to enable them meet up the 'challenges of the new millennium'.¹⁸⁰ In December 2000, Nigeria signed an agreement with 15 — member countries of the Paris Club to which she is indebted for the purpose of rescheduling the

¹⁷⁷ Ibid pp.3435

¹⁷⁸ Bola Akinnwa (2001). *Nigeria in the world: Issues and Problems for the sleeping giant*. Pumark Educational Publishers Lagos. P.491.

¹⁷⁹ Charles W. Corey <http://us embassy.state.gov/Nigeria/wwwhcf18.html9/29/2003>.

¹⁸⁰ Ad. Obe (edited) 2001, *A New Dawn Vol. 2. A collection of speeches of President Olusegun Obasanjo*. Spectrum Books Limited Ibadan pp.86-88,

debt service arrears, which had accumulated up to July 31 2000, as well as the maturities falling due between August 2000 and July 2001. Under the agreement, the market related portion of the debt is being rescheduled for repayment in 18 years including a three year moratorium period at a fixed interest rate of 4.61% per year for the first six years ending 2008. Thereafter, the interest rate would be reviewed and fixed for the remaining life of the agreement. This is the sixth of such agreement out of 15 envisaged under the agreement.¹⁸¹

The approaches of these donor countries have revolved around rescheduling and reduction. None of them are ready for forgiveness and cancellation, thereby leaving the developing countries in helpless state. All Nigeria's external relations would no doubt be affected by her external debt position. The administration of Obasanjo is so committed in the privatization of State-owned enterprises to satisfy its creditors. The administration is committed to its implementation both for seeking debt relief as well as restoring investor's confidence in the economy. The economic restructuring has recently been endorsed by the IMF, which consequently offered the country a \$1 billion stand-by credit facility.¹⁸² Thus, all the problems associated with external debt will no doubt pose a major challenge to Nigeria's relations in Africa and beyond. Since the World Bank and the IMF have advocated free-market liberalism, which leaves the economies of the debtor countries to unrestricted penetration by foreign business, Nigeria has to guard against grave consequences of this on her economic growth.

8.3 HIV/AIDS Scourge

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) is a fatal illness caused by infections with the Human Immunodeficiency virus (HIV). The HIV suppresses one's immunity, predisposing the individual to certain infectious agents which under normal circumstances are harmless.¹⁸³ AIDS is an illness that has received global attention towards the last lap of the 20th Century. According to President Obasanjo, it is a pandemic that has finally caught the imagination of the health authorities globally. The scale of attention,

¹⁸¹The Guardian Newspaper 25th May 2003, p.64.

¹⁸²W Aade ibid. p. 35.

¹⁸³Group captain L.A. (Editor) the Airman Vol. 9, No.3, June - Aug 2003, Journal of the Nigerian Air force. ISSN 0794— 3504 pp.42-45.

materially, scientifically and even morally that is being given to HIV/AIDs is rising. For now, there has not been a globally accepted cure for anyone infected with the HIV virus, however, anti-retroviral drugs can extend the life of those infected. There are indeed global efforts to combat and contain the spread of the killer disease that has affected people living in all parts of the world, though Africa has the larger percentage of infected people.

Statistics of HIV/ AIDS in Africa shows such gory details as:

- i. In less than twenty years, a staggering 11.6 million Africans have died from HIV/ AIDS, almost three million of whom have been children.
- ii. An estimated thirty-four million Sub-Saharan Africans are currently infected with the HIV virus;
- iii. Every five minutes, some youngsters between the ages of 15 and 24 are been infected with HIV in Africa;
- iv. In some African countries, as much as one out of every three persons is HIV positive;
- v. In some other African countries, a quarter of pregnant women are infected each year, and this statistic is expected to increase,
- vi. At least one third of African babies born to HIV - infected mothers will likely be unintentionally infected via prenatal transmission or breast-feeding;
- vii. More than 90 percent of the world's AIDS orphans live in Africa, and Africa has 80 percent of all AIDS deaths and 70 percent of all new HIV infections;
- viii. HIV/ AIDS has drastically cut the life expectancy in some African countries, by more than thirty years in the hardest hit regions.

This statistic shows that HIV/ AIDS is a pandemic and poses serious threats to Africa and Nigeria as a sub-regional leader. Studies have proved that vaccines represent the best long-term hope for ending the AIDS epidemic. However, while an effective and affordable vaccine is being sought, prevention and treatment, stands as the only real option for now. The only preventive measures or weapons include information, education and communication, all linked to treatment programmes for those already infected. Responding to the HIV/ AIDS epidemic requires the dissemination of information to enable people protect themselves. As an epidemic that has caught global attention, Nigeria's efforts at prevention and treatment is highly required, Moreso when Africa seems to be the worst hit. HIV/ AIDS epidemic is indeed a challenge

Nigeria has to face up to in her external relations in the 21st Century.

8.4 International Environmental Protection

The environment is the physical surroundings, conditions and circumstances in which man lives. The environment is made up of the entire physical and human conditions on earth. These conditions include the resources of the earth which need to be exploited in order to maintain and improve upon the living standard of man. The exploitation of these resources has constituted a great danger not only to man but also to nature itself. For instance, the conduct of atomic and hydrogen tests in the atmosphere has been a serious cause of pollution that is a threat to the existence of human, animal and vegetable life on this planet earth.¹⁸⁴ All industrial activities exude pollutants into the air, water or soil. Air pollution has global consequences to plant and animal life and to the soil and water. Air pollution leads to the depletion of the Ozone layer in the upper atmosphere and reduces its ability to filter hazardous ultraviolet radiation from the sun with serious consequences to life and the environment. The burning of fossil fuels and forests on its own increases the atmospheric carbon dioxide and leads to increased warmth on earth. Industrial accidents have led to widespread poisoning with dire consequences to human lives. Mining has not only the effect of depleting non-renewable resources but, in its open-cast variety, degrades the land. Mining accidents, offshore or on-shore, pollute both the land and the seas with harmful effects on animals and vegetation. The sea is polluted by wastes from chemicals as well as oil from ships.

The quality of water in streams, rivers and, lakes, especially in the industrialized countries, has become dangerous for man and the living resources. Little wonder that industrialized countries have continued to dispose of their chemical toxic wastes in developing countries. Overgrazing and over-cultivation can also induce hazards to the environment. Natural occurrences such as drought could result to desertification, while excessive rains can cause soil erosion. Insufficient rains encourage the breeding of pests.

To the extent that these environmental hazards may be caused by activities beyond national borders and their effect transcends such borders, they have

¹⁸⁴The severance of diplomatic ties between Nigeria and France in 1960 was as a result of the three various atomic tests in the Reggane area of the Sahara by France. Nigeria, being conscious of the effect of the test on the environment of Africa, Protested the action.

no doubt become matters of international concern requiring international cooperation. International environmental protection is thus concerned with the preservation and protection of the air, water and soil from pollution or degradation and preservation of the heritage of mankind for the benefit of the present and future generations.¹⁸⁵ There are various customary rules for the protection of the international environment. These rules were embodied in the various municipal and later international laws. Nigeria's effort at environmental protection is embodied in the Federal Environmental Protection Agency Act 1988 No. 58. At the international level there are divergent opinions on the exact point when international environmental law emerged, however, its origin can be traced to international legal developments that occurred in the second half of the 19th Century. These laws have evolved over three distinct periods of the post-industrial revolution up to 1945, post United Nations era and from Stockholm to Rio era. The major principle that features in all the phases of the development of international environmental law is the responsibilities of States in ensuring that activities within their jurisdiction or control did not cause damage in other States or in areas beyond national jurisdiction such as in outer space or the high seas. This responsibility extends to activities under a state's control, such as those carried out by its nationals or on ships, oil platforms or aircraft registered in its territory. The 1972 UN Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment provided the basic framework on which subsequent agreements, reports and conferences were built upon. The World Charter for Nature of 1982, the release of the famous Brundtland Report "our common future" by the World commission on Environment and Development in 1987, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development of 1992, as well as subsequent Multilateral Environmental Treaties, Conventions and Protocols, all show the trends towards a global and regional environmental law and policy.

While the global approach to environmental protection focuses on the entire world, the regional attempts to address trans-boundary environmental problems with countries sharing common geographical boundaries, similar infrastructure and similar patterns of economic development, cultural and political outlook.¹⁸⁶ For Nigeria to meet up the challenges of the twenty-first

¹⁸⁵U.O. Umozurike. Second edition (1999). Introduction to International Law Spectrum Law Publishing, Ibadan pp.253-256

¹⁸⁶Ibibia Lucky Worka (2002). Environmental law and Policy of Petroleum development' strategy and mechanisms for sustainable management in Africa. Anpez center for environment and Development. Port Harcourt pp. 50-73; 279-2

century she has to be conscious of environmental protection. As a regional leader, she has to set high environmental standard that other neighbouring countries must emulate. The numerous policy guidelines, operational standards, regulations, legislations, as well as structures put in place over the forty years of oil and gas production to control environmental practice in the country should continue to be modified. The establishment of the Niger Delta Development Commission to address the environmental problems of the Niger Delta should be replicated in other parts of the country where desertification and erosion are threatening the environment. Environmental damage has to be guided against, because of possible spill over to neighbouring countries as well.

8.5 International Human Rights

Human Rights are those rights which the international community recognizes as belonging to all individuals by the very fact of their humanity. As rights innate to man, every legal system tries to protect these essential rights of her subjects. While the municipal system tends to protect individual rights, at the international legal level, States and other legally recognized entities are under obligation to respect and promote those rights. Human rights revolve around the principles of equality, liberty and freedom.

Various efforts were made since the history of man on the protection and promotion of human rights but the UN Charter of 1945 appears to have received a more universal attempt in this regard. The preamble reaffirms "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small". The purposes of the UN include the development of friendly relations on the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and the promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. All these rights embodied in the UN charter were spelt out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948, which was approved by the General Assembly of the UN. The Declaration has been reaffirmed in numerous Conventions, Declarations and Resolutions of the UN and other international organisations. It has been adopted in the Constitutions of States. From the European and American Conventions of Human Rights and in the Banjú (African) charter on Human

and Peoples Rights and various other COVENANTS.¹⁸⁷ The African charter followed the two regional conventions in guaranteeing the usual civil and political rights. These rights are centered on — freedom from torture, the right to dignity, non- discrimination on the basis of “race, ethnic group, colour, sex, language, religion, political or any other opinion, national and social origin, fortune, birth or other states”. It protects equality before the law, upholds dignity and prohibits all forms of degradation, particularly slavery, the slave trade, torture, cruel and inhuman or degrading punishment or treatment. The Charter guarantees the right to fair hearing, the elements of which include the right of appeal, the presumption of innocence, right to defence and by Counsel of one's choice, as well as the right to be tried by an impartial Court or Tribunal. Nobody may be tried under retroactive legislation or for an act of omission that was not an offence at the time it was committed.

Other rights are derogative, that is, they may be contracted or excluded under specified circumstances. These include the very right to life, the most fundamental of all rights. Article 4 maintains that “Human beings are inviolable, every human being shall be entitled to respect for his life and the integrity of his person. No one may be arbitrarily deprived of this right”. The African charter recognizes that life may be taken in accordance with the law. The charter by implication allows the importation of international human rights standards in its application and interpretation. The charter is not just a legal document but a political and moral instrument. For Nigeria, the Willinks Commission set up in 1958 by the British Colonial government to look into the demands of the minorities recommended the adoption of some of the norms of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights into the Nigerian constitution. These norms were adopted and introduced into Chapter 5 of the independence constitution of 1960 as fundamental rights. These were subsequently entrenched in the. 1963, 1979, 1989 and 1999 Constitutions of the federal Republic of Nigeria. Deliberations on human rights issues during the 1979 and 1989 Constitutional Conferences revolved around the intricacies of imposing economic and social rights as legal as against moral obligation on the government. Nigeria is signatory to many human rights Declarations and Covenants.¹⁸⁸ Thus, Nigeria has to improve her human rights

¹⁸⁷ Op cit pp. 144-158

¹⁸⁸ Human Rights as a universal concern. A Nigeria case study, A publication of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs 1998, pp. 1-35.

record especially in the face of democracy. As an issue that occupies important place in international relations and diplomacy, human right has to be highly protected by all States for peaceful co-existence. Since the major powers in the international system have placed issues of human rights and respect for the rule of law at the top of their foreign policy agenda, developing countries have to seriously ensure its protection to avoid undue interference. For Nigeria, it stands as a major challenge in all her external relations in the 21st century.

8.6 Challenges of Globalisation

With the exposition made on globalization in chapter one, it is obvious that it is an inevitable process that the 21st Century will grapple with. The shrinking of the world by rapid development of information technology now transfers critical decision in economic transactions to transnational forces.¹⁸⁹ Since Global or world economy is being liberalized rapidly, there is a widening and deepening of international flow of trade, finance and information, in a single global market Actions, reactions and interactions will become much more rapid with faster information flow, and leaders of government will have no control over the speed and flow of such information that will be invading the privacy of their air and visual waves. There is the serious challenge to national sovereignty as multinationals penetrate national boundaries and demonstrate little or no sensibility to local conditions or jurisdictions. States are no longer secured; the result is a shift from bilateral to multi-lateral diplomacy.

The effect is the formation of supranational groups and organizations to find collective solutions to those challenges which transcend the capability of individual States. This interdependence of States has made regional organizations a political imperative. There is no doubt that globalization increases potentials of nation-states but also increases the risks to some States by exposing domestic producers to very volatile global markets and capital flows that are very large relative to domestic economy.¹⁹⁰ African economies are the worst affected. Nigeria cannot operate in isolation of the globalization processes. She must adopt strategies that will defend her sovereignty. She must embrace regional co-operation like the industrialized nations have done through the European Union (EN) and the North American Free Trade Area

¹⁸⁹R.A. Akin and Bassey Ate (Edited) (2000): Selected Readings on Nigeria's foreign policy and international relations p. XXL

¹⁹⁰J. Isawa Elaigwu (2000). Nigeria: A rebirth for the twenty-first century. Aha publishing Jos pp. 3-10.

(NAFTA). Nigeria must enhance her co-operative strength through regional co-operative efforts and multilateral arrangements¹⁹¹ to meet up the challenges which globalization exposes her, not only in her African relations but other extra-African relations in the 21st Century.

8.8 The Challenges of Terrorism

The advance in technology as a result of globalization has posed serious security challenges on transnational threats and national vulnerabilities. Threats across international borders could move with relative ease as a result of the sophisticated technologies, information and communication infrastructures provided by the processes of globalization. The transnationalization of threat constitutes the new form of globally networked terrorism that poses a serious security challenge to the 21st Century World Community. If the world faces this security challenge, then Nigeria as a member of the World Community also has to tackle this challenge, not only in her African relations but the world at large. Studies have shown that this globally networked terrorism are influenced by the resurgence of ethnic nationalism, religious fundamentalism and the unipolar basis of the world community based on the United States leadership. Though the security challenges of terrorism in the 21st century require a comprehensive global response, Nigeria, as well as all Africa and the world, has to acknowledge the threats, it poses first of all. In fact, global co-operation must be founded upon honesty and regard for the rules of international law, so that international order can be sustained in a manner that is beneficial to all States. Nigeria has to be conscious of the intermingling world we now live in and guide against all forms of resurgence of ethnic nationalism and religious fundamentalism, as internal threats could now easily transcend national borders. Nigeria has to build up her military capabilities and employ high diplomatic practices to fight against global terrorism. This fight for Nigeria, Africa and the world community, also involves the sharing of information and intelligence between countries as they co-operate across borders to meet the challenges of terrorism in the 21st Century. Security discourse has to transcend the state to the realistic global situation since the advances in technology and the nature of

¹⁹¹Op cit.XXi

the international processes undermine the state. The trend towards supranational entities and regional trading blocks also require that security efforts have to extend to transnationally transmitted threats, particularly non-military ones such as pollution, diseases and the activities of international criminal networks. Domestic roots of conflict have to be identified, addressed and resolved to avoid escalation that will pose, serious security problem to the States.¹⁹²

8.9 The Challenges of Democratisation

Democratic theory presupposes that the individual can make social policy judgments, and that a free society provides the best environment for constructing social institutions and ordering human relations.¹⁹³ In fact, it is now generally agreed that good governance, respect for the rule of law, the promotion of human rights, accountability, as well as probity in public life, are essential ingredients of democracy. For Nigeria to meet up the democratic challenges of the 21st Century, these objectives and principles of democracy must be highly esteemed because of the relationship between internal policies and foreign policy. Nigeria must consolidate democratic rule since it has become a subject of international concern, especially, with the unipolar world with the spread of American values of democracy. Democracy must be highly defended in Nigeria, for her foreign policy to meet up the varying challenges of the 21st Century. Since democracy creates a link of solidarity with other democracies, Nigeria's bilateral relations will be greatly enhanced. Nigeria must support unconditional promotion and protection of democratic tradition in the whole of the continent. Since democratic governance, and good governance has become a prominent political conditionality for assistance and interstate cooperation, it should therefore be respected by Nigeria.

8.10 Other Issues

In so much that most writers have criticized Nigeria's restriction of her foreign policy to Africa, the prevailing circumstances of the international environment, while directing Nigeria's foreign policy to a broader perspective, still focuses on regional efforts. Nigeria's focus on Africa and even West

¹⁹² Challenges of terrorism have been put up from the views of Professor Ogwu's keynote address at the National summit on the security challenges of Terrorism in the 21st Century. 30th November, 2001. NIIA Lecture theatre, Lagos.

¹⁹³ See Chapter 1 on Democracy.

African region is a “MUST” to meet up the challenges which the emerging international environment poses. The prevailing internal environment especially with the democratic set up, places Nigeria's foreign policy higher than the African values but with African focus to achieve the desired goals. Africa still has to occupy a place in Nigeria's foreign policy to meet up the challenges of the international environment. It is through the African nexus that the Regional Cooperation's will be effective.

Nigeria as a State cannot live in isolation of her neighbours. Since boundaries are generally shared by one or more States, and Nigeria, having many States as her neighbours, cannot afford to overlook these States, because, what happens in any of them could naturally have a spill over effect. Thus the well being of other African States may guarantee stability and peace in Nigeria and vice versa. In addition: Nigeria's defence policy must be driven by the imperatives of a need to defend our nation, not only from a full-scale external attack and internal insurrection, but also from the fallout of ripples from conflicts in other West African States. Emerging new security challenges like the terrorists' organisations, illegal trafficking in arms, drugs and diamonds, etc, call for combined application of all tools at our disposal as a nation to bear and to avert conflict. Collective security based on the ECOMOG in the West African sub region, and developing more effective security and defence strategies will continue to offer the best guarantee for determining and insuring against new security risks to Nigeria. Nigeria must be very conscious of the French factor in her African relations in the 21st Century. Nigeria has to explore new avenues for closer co-operation and collaboration with South Africa, as both States might act as poles of growth, integration and security within the continent. Since South Africa possesses a strong industrial base strengthened by the impact of its Western relationship, and also actively involved in regional institutions like the SADC, OAU and ADB, Nigeria's co-operation with her, would enhance Nigeria's efforts within the continent. Both countries could move towards the actualization of the African Economic Community (AEC). An important corollary would be a common approach on external debt and trade in which South Africa could use its leverage with Western creditors.

Both countries as maritime powers with security interests in the South Atlantic and even the Indian Ocean would use the geographical distribution of ocean and land areas for defence and foreign policy in respect of South America and African continents. On solving regional conflicts, both countries

under the ECOWAS and SADC can earn from each other's security architecture and serve as models for other sub-regions. Considering the strained resources in Africa, and the burden of new security challenges, it is possible that new solutions could be found in defense multilateralism such as this. Both countries can also exploit the enormous international goodwill that they share to consolidate African democracy and also attempt to negotiate and obtain a fairer and more equitable deal for Africa in a highly globalised world.¹⁹⁴ Multilateralism in an African context has emerged as an indispensable complement to bilateralism. Multilateral cooperation aimed at seeking joint solutions to global problems is especially illustrated by multilateral efforts at peacekeeping, peace-making and peace building. There is also the emerging global interdependency through trade, communication, technology etc. Nigeria's ability to meet up the challenges of the 21st Century is largely dependent on her responses to the global issues. Nigeria in collaboration with other Africa countries must fight the menaces of external debt. The economies of most Africa countries are tied to the dictates of external debt, and to free these economies, external debt must to be squarely addressed. If we consider the argument of Mr. Shridath Ramphal, former Secretary — General of the Commonwealth that “debt increases dependence on aid, slows growth, inhibits foreign investments, creates instability and soaks up money that could be spent on health, education and other vital services”, then we must admit that Africa's main problems of under development and poverty cannot be separated from heavy debt burden.¹⁹⁵ Nigeria's foreign policy towards Africa must be geared towards a collective effort on debt cancellation, debt swap debt repudiation, etc.

- I. Nigeria's fight against HIV/AIDS scourge within Nigeria and Africa has to be on the increase in view of the threat it poses to the population. This fight should be towards enlightenment programmes and improved health facilities.
- ii. Human rights must be protected at all cost, as it poses a major challenge to Nigeria's external relations in the 21st Century.
- iii. Environmental protection must be given high value in our policy formulation and implementation.
- iv. The challenges of Globalisation calls for regional cooperation's and multilateral arrangements with sound economic and technological

¹⁹⁴20 Joy Ogwu. Nigerian Forum ISSN 081 9-01 86. special issue on the challenges of Democratization in Nigeria, Volume one March-April, 2000 pp. 118-124.

¹⁹⁵Bota Akinterinwa: *ibid.* p. 491.

base. Without a strong economic and technological base, communication and trade cannot be established, even at the regional, continental or intercontinental world.

- v. Terrorists' challenges calls for improved security within and outside Nigeria to avoid spill over effects.
- vi. Democratic principles must be upheld within and outside Nigeria. Military dictatorship must be condemned at all levels. Democracy must be enthroned in all States of Africa because of its global acceptability Nigeria being in the forefront in the transition to the Africa Union is not ignorant of these challenges, which are embodied in the constituent instrument. These emergent trends of global issues must be squarely addressed to meet up the challenges of the 21st Century.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Mention and explain 5 emerging issues in International relations
2. Explain the challenges of Globalization in Nigeria

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