

**THE INTERNAL POLITICS AND NIGERIAN
FOREIGN POLICY (1993 - 1998)**

BY

ABDULLAH AB UBAKAR

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DECLARATION

I Abdullah Abubakar with registration Number MIAD/SOC/SC/18134/98-99 hereby declare that this thesis is the product of my own research and has not been presented for higher degree in any other University. All Quotations have been acknowledged and distinguished by endnotes and quotation marks.



ABDULLAH ABUBAKAR

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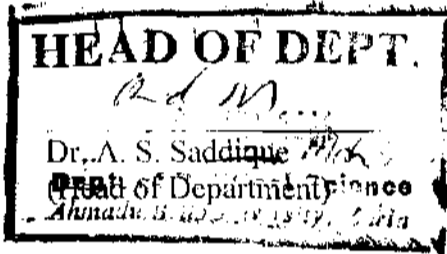
CERTIFICATION

This research project titled "THE INTERNAL POLITICS AND THE NIGREIAN FOREIGN POLICY (1993 – 1998) by ABDULLAH ABUBAKAR meets regulation approved as meeting the requirement of the post – Graduate school, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria for the award of Masters of International Affairs and Diplomacy.

ASM

Dr. A. S. Mohammad
(Supervisor)

30-3-2000
Date



30-3-2000
Date

Dr. Ayuba Hudu
(Post Graduate Co-ordinator)

Date

AH
Dean Post – Graduate School



22/10/04
Date

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to all those who paid the supreme price of death in the course of the trial periods of the century.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am grateful to all whose names are too numerous to mention especially my family, Lecturers, friends and others who have contributed emotionally, mentally, financially and all that... to the successful completion of this programme.

May Allah reward them accordingly.

AB TRACT

Since ages, nations have come to constantly face with the fact that their survival is delicately tied in a complex way, to among several other things, one important factor over which they have no iron clad guarantee of control but which they as a matter of necessity and must seek to influence. This factor is the external environment that is the sum total of the behaviours of other states. In other words states must necessarily strive all the time within the resource capability to secure and determine those external conditions that hold varying implication not only to their survival as independent and sovereign actors in International politics; i field but also to their ability to be heard and respected.

We must then see that these politics, orientations, objectives and strategies nations gets committed to as a relationship to other nations have specific domestic interests. The point is that foreign policy is the attitude and commitment towards the external environment and that, the strategy for achieving domestic goals and external objectives, has a domestic motivating forces.

Recognizing the need, necessity and importance of domestic currents unfolding *and* largely responsible for the foreign policy goals we have set for our selves primarily attempts to look at some of these domestic factors in Nigeria from 1993 - 1998 as they affect and shaped foreign policy in Nigeria having in mind the Federal character of the Nigerian state.

One remarkable feature of Nigeria is that it is a federation. And by implications this seems to influence every important policy be it domestic or foreign. Federal structure here refers to the form of allocation of resources and power between the central government and the state. By and large Nigerian federalism is bedded and endemic-crisis-wise. This is largely due to its pluralistic and heterogeneous nature characterized by among others cultural diversity, social cleavages etc, which always manifest at the level of politics. And by extension generate conflicts and tension which usually threatened the stability of the federating states and has consequential effect with the external environment.

It is hoped that this work shall contribute to the ongoing scholarship on the role of the domestic emergent currents unfolding vis-a-vis foreign policy formulations and implementations in Nigeria.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Title Page	i
Certification	ii
Declaration	iii
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgement	v
Abstract	vi
Table of Contents	viii
 CHAPTER ONE	
1.0 Background of the Study	1
1.1 Introduction	2
1.2 The Research Problem	3
1.3 Aims and Objectives	4
1.4 Hypothesis	4
1.5 Methodology	5
1.6 Significance of Study	5
1.7 Theoretical Framework	5
1.8 Scope of the Research	9
1.9 Definitions of the Key Concepts	9
1.9.1 Domestic Factor	9
1.9.2 Foreign Policy	10

1.9.3 Ethnicity	11
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CHAPTER TWO

2.0 Tracing the Emergence of Nigerian Federalism	15
2.1 Introduction	15
2.2 Federalism in Nigeria	15
2.3 Constitutional Development and Federalism	19
2.4 Federalism and External Relations	23
2.5 Conclusion	25

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Background Nigerian Foreign Policy	27
3.1 Introduction	27
3.2 Post Colonial Foreign Policy in Nigeria	27
3.3 Nigerian Foreign Policy during the First Republic (1960 - 1965)	28
3.4 Nigerian Foreign Policy under the Military Regime (1966 - 1967)	29
3.5 Nigerian's Foreign Policy under Gowon (1967 - 1975)	30
3.6 Nigerian's Foreign Policy under Murtala - Obasanjo Regime	32
3.7 Nigerian's Foreign Policy under Shagari Regime (1979 - 1983)	33
3.8 The Buhari/Idiagbon Regime and Nigeria Foreign Policy (1983 - 1985)	35
3.9 Conclusion	36

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0	Internal Dynamics and International Politics (1993 - 1998)	41
4.1	Introduction	41
4.2	General Ibrahim Babangida and Nigerian Foreign Policy (1985 - 1993) . . .	41
4.3	General Abacha and Foreign Relations	43
4.4	Foreign Policy under Abacha	47
4.5	Conclusion	50

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0	Conclusion	53
5.1	Recommendation	54
	Bibliography	58

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Nigeria, undoubtedly, is endowed with human and physical material resources to warrant it to be a key figure in international politics. By around 1975 Nigeria was becoming a politically stable a wealthy state and influential at least in the West African sub-region and the African continent. This could be largely attributed to its population coupled with the oil resources. The prospect of domestic peace and stability were enhanced by the end of the country's civil war given its policy of national reconciliation, rehabilitation, and reconstruction which to some extent was successful. Moreover, because of the rise in price of oil, so much was earned, because its oil production quota as a member of OPEC. Unfortunately, these sources of strengths also accounted for its weakness. Issues bordering on national unity have eluded resolution, this is attributed to the intense competition for a share of the nation's resources by the various strata of the elite in the country. Consequently, in Nigeria, there also exist that linkage between internal or national politics and the process of foreign policy. the internal polity and its political arrangement affect the conduct of international relations. This is because the intense competition for resource hence control of political power turns to affect the nature and quality of foreign policy.

The point must be made that there is a direct relationship with the whims and caprices of the elite and foreign policy. the way it is formulated, articulated and implemented in highly elitist circle¹. Hence, the country's foreign relations have always

reflected the needs and aspirations of the national - "super - elite" business, bureaucratic, military and traditional ruling group². The history of Nigerian foreign policy, has therefore, been to some extent related to a search for national consensus..."³

1.1 INTRODUCTION

At independence in 1960, Nigeria inherited a weak social - political structure, a defective and unbalanced federation, and intensification of ethnic consciousness and rivalries, a subverted indigenous ethos of government and culture, and above all, an inexperienced leadership. Most of the apparatuses of the state (civil service, a police force, etc) operated increasingly to the disadvantage of the country as they attempted to work more towards regional sentiments; and a judiciary wedded to the protection of the interest of the power elite etc, could not meet or support the aspirations of an emergent state. The parliamentary constitution did not contain adequate provision for positive socio-economic transformation and national integration, it encouraged regionalism. All the major political parties, important instruments for social and political mobilization, were ethnically based. The north/south conflicts, which had been husbanded by the British as part of their divide and rule tactics, were so pronounced that they impacted negatively, on all political decision. Within each region, minority groups, which genuinely and legitimately complained about the domination of the majority group's sought relief in the creation of more state, but were either ignored or ruthlessly suppressed. The British left unresolved a major problem of the structure of federalism

in Nigeria from all indication, there was little doubt that independent Nigeria, despite the euphoria that greeted her birth, was headed for a turbulent and crisis-ridden future.

The subsequent political groupings and leadership structures the country was engulfed with after the first civilian experiment were nothing but settings which promoted more domestic conflicts, economic and political instabilities. The long years of military rule and the military planned transitions which in themselves were not meant to put in place genuine civilian structures of good governance ended up worsening the already existing national political and economic confusion.

It is therefore clear that a country with so much political changes, political instability and a lack of coherent and nationalistic posture or oriented leadership which have continually failed to turn its economy on, hence the life of its citizens, can not be so organized to fashion a vibrant foreign policy.

1.2 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The point being made is that, domestic currents unfolding in the country have variable effect on foreign policy. These events, which stemmed from the problems of regionalism and statism, multi-ethnic and religious nature of the state which largely arose from the different levels and different paces of the development of the various ethnic groups and section of the country which were brought to the fore by the methods of British colonization and colonial domination in which patterns of penetration, concentration of social-economic activities and practices of indirect rule discriminated between and among the composite ethnic-regional groups in the country,⁴. The

implication of these on foreign policy formulation can not be ignored. There is the need therefore to examine the relationship between foreign policy and domestic politics and see how Nigerian domestic situation has affected its foreign policy between 1993 to 1998.

1.3 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The basic aim of this work is to investigate, highlight and critically analyze why and how political practices in Nigeria have always had a multiplier effect on the country's foreign policy from 1993 - 1998. Furthermore, we intend to see how domestic dynamics affects the formation of Nigeria foreign policy. We shall also proffer suggestions on the way forward on how the country's foreign policy should best be pursued.

1.4 HYPOTHESIS

This research will adopt the following hypotheses:

- i) The nature of a state and its attendant laws of motion conform with its foreign policy goals.
- ii) Foreign policy is pursued on the strength and ideosyncracies of those charged to do so.
- iii) Foreign policy starts where domestic policy ends.

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1.5 METHODOLOGY

This work shall basically use secondary sources of data such as analyzing articles in journals, newspapers, textbooks, press release, notes from papers, seminars etc.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

This work seeks to improve our knowledge on the currents in Nigeria foreign policy. We hope to add to already existing literature of the Nigerian foreign policy but in a more profound manner with clarity in issues unfolding. It shall further throw challenges and proffer solutions or identified foreign policy problems.

1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The analysis of the foreign policy of any nation can be approached from a number of theoretical perspectives. There is the political power theory approach. In addition, there is the linkage approach. In this work, the dialectical materialistic approach will be adopted on to bring out concrete meaning to the whole issues under discussion.

Dialectical materialism as a tool of analysis helps the researcher investigate or inquire into the inner, complex relationship inherent in phenomena, that is, social phenomena, the struggle of opposite forces in the unity of the same phenomenon. Using this approach, we hope to capture and come to terms with the fundamental, necessary regular and recurring relationships within our variables, as well as the transient forms in which they manifest themselves.

The historical approach helps in identifying the powers of phenomena coming into being, maturing and giving way to new ones. It is our view that an excursion into the past, will open up better an understanding of the issues at stake. The principles of historical materialism shall then be adequate in tracing the development of the Nigerian State, classes and social groups, so that we can capture the fundamental in that development and as such be in a better position to explain what is unfolding before our eyes domestically and why and how it determines foreign policy.

The materialistic conception states that human activities are basically centered at the material productive life of a society. This production process and the benefits that accrue to the principal participants is at the centre of determining the way, manner and divisions in which human activities are conducted.⁵

This is so because in the process of production, people turn to enter into certain relations which are production relations and are independent of their will and choice. Production relations are of course those which come about in the process of production, distribution, exchange and consumption of goods and services. The main issue in this relation is the ownership of means of production. In this process, two things are central. The economic activities of that particular historical era is referred to as the 'base', while the other levels of the manifestation of these relations is expressed at the level of the formal existence of the state, politics, law etc. These are called the superstructure.⁶

Our position in adopting this approach is that state actors in terms of their domestic and international activities are determined principally by their material economic interest. Or put differently, international relations or the acquisition of power

at the domestic level is determined so much by the material interest people have. Through this they seek power to promote it and at the same time at the international level use the power to foster those interest internationally. Thus, there is a serious correlation between domestic politics and international relations. What happens at the local front affects greatly the way and manner the country does. This is in terms of who it relates with and for what reason.

On the other hand, the nature of domestic activities and the direction of the main political and economic actors take determines who relates to them from outside the country. For instance, if the country is heading towards solid industrial activity and progress, then genuine investors will come in to make their profit and by so doing the contributing to the development of the national economy. But if there is massive ethnic and religious conflicts, resistance to democratic rule, threat or insecurity of life and property, glaring corruption by state officials and the entire system etc, then foreigners, foreign countries and foreign investors will be scared to come into the country or to be specific do business or even investing in the country.

The centrality of the dialectical materialist approach is that the political economy of the colonial state was understandably limited by its rationale, it was intended to subjugate, dominate, and exploit the Nigeria people and their resources. By its objects interests and mode of operation, the policies and practices of the colonial state, as pointed out earlier shielded for decades some communities and administrative regions from, and exposed or encouraged others to participate in the main stream of its transformatory activities in the form of commerce, education and acquisition of revalry

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values, skills and techniques of social organization. As a consequence, while new social forces developed at an early date during the colonial period in some communities and regions, such development was delayed in other areas. This apparent political disjunction in the processes of development of the Nigerian political economy became the roots of communal or thno - regional consciousness (ethnicity) as a social force in Nigeria. It generated fears as well as the facts of undue predominance of members of one administrative or political region, or one community or locality or groups, over others, in the struggle for opportunities, resources and ascendancy to power.

The point to be made is that this trend did not change even for a bit after independence. In fact, these currents were further natured, expanded and deepened by the political economy of the post-colonial state. And by implications leaders from varying regions could not come out with a unified national strategy for the country's foreign policy.

Coleman⁷ argues, that there was dualism in foreign policy goals of Nigeria. Different regions pursued their foreign policy differently. This was over, however, by the end of 1966⁸. There after, some level of credibility ensued in the height of the nations foreign policy formulation and implementation. However, it must quickly be added that this does not translate to mean that the country has gotten the desired unity, stability and sense of belonging at domestic level. In fact the leaders that cropped up since the end of the civil war have been trying to fine-tune and arrive at a suitable and of course, acceptable modulation for enduring unity and stability vide quite a number of policies over the years, in order to bring sanity to tarry in the stead of chaotic and

wanton mismanagement that ensured hitherto. And by that it was and is hoped that, national unity and integration would be promoted.

1.8 SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

The area of our study is the geographical entity call Nigeria. The study shall cover the period from 1993 - 1998. Nonetheless, the nature of our study is such that it will force us to go as far back to the period of colonialism in Nigeria and of the planting of the seed of ethnicity and regionalism with the attendant foreign policy implications there to.

1.9 DEFINITIONS OF KEY CONCEPTS

The point is foreign policy is seen as a single policy with a single purpose fashioned out of the generic consensus of conflicting domestic environment.

1.9.1 DOMESTIC FACTOR

These are the dynamics of socio-cultural economic and political factors that affects foreign policy. They are those varieties of conflicting factors of social, cultural, economic and political relevance in a nation that come to bear negatively or positively on the conduct of its foreign policy⁹

1.9.2 FOREIGN POLICY

Foreign policy consists of the overall orientation and policy intentions of a particular country toward another, the objective that a country seeks to achieve in her relation or dealings with other countries; the means for achieving that particular goal or objectives. Therefore, foreign policy is reflected in the interaction of nation states within the international system. The goals or objectives which a nation seeks to achieve and the means at her disposal for achieving them are the main ingredients of foreign policy, because it is this that make the attainment of foreign policy possible.

To start with any nation most seek to assure its own security - its ability to repel threatened attacks from without and to protect its own existence and well-being.

The general quest to acquire new territory due to reasons of security and expansion for the acquisition of iron ore deposit, farmlands, harbours and the mouths and navigable courses of rivers etc.

Furthermore economic motives have determined other objectives of foreign policy. Negotiations have been entered, treaties conducted wars been fought to promote trade. For ideological reasons could also account for the motive force behind nation relating to each other.

For whatever reason(s) the foreign policy of any nation comprises the objectives that it seeks in its international relations and the means and methods by which it pursues them.

Professor Aluko, a leading scholar in international relations contend that "Nigeria's foreign policy only, like that of any other country is an interaction between domestic and external environment".¹⁰

According to Idang "Nigeria's foreign policy, like any other country's foreign policy is to a large extent a product of many domestic factors and forces. These factors and forces taken together not only place certain limits upon the actions and the choices of individual makers of Nigerian foreign policy, but also set the framework within which the domestic political contest where foreign policy must be fought."¹¹

Idang also explored the interaction between the domestic political process and foreign policy.

1.9.3 ETHNICITY

A secondary contradiction that has bedeviled Nigerian political life since independence has been ethnicism. Though ethnicity has been an important variable in numerous efforts made to explaining the socio-political and economic dynamics of the state, it is an ideology that has seriously been ingeniously manipulated by various segments of the petty bourgeoisie and the governing class for the furtherance of their exploitation proper. It is in the light of this therefore, that we can better able locate the real motive force behind the emergence and dominance of ethnically based political parties during the first and second republics. And that the leadership in Nigerian political history by and large uses ethnicity to garner political supports and conceal their ineptitude.

Lucy Mair an anthropologist sees ethnicity as an ethnic group or (tribe) as a people sharing the same historical experience, having the same culture, speaking the same language and sharing the belief about the future together.¹² And so liberal theorists generally, just like Mair, sees ethnic groups as groups organized around a set of common activities which may be political, social, economic or psychological.

An ethnic group has its members, people whose common conviction interest and fate tend to propound a common cultural symbolism-depicting their cohesiveness.

Kasfir, argues that, "... four ways of recognizing ethnic groups are:

- a) Culture
- b) Language
- c) Traditional Political Organization
- d) Territoriality.

Therefore, members of an ethnic group should have the same culture, speak the same language, have common customs and history and occupying the same territory.

For the Marxist, it disagree with the perspectives of liberal scholarship. It sees ethnicism as a necessary aspect of the superstructure.

Marxist contend variously that socio-cultural differentiation is not on itself a sufficient reason for the persistence of ethnic loyalties, just as biological variations, is an insufficient explanation for the emergence of racialism.

Ethnicism forms an ideology whose explanation can only be sought at the social base of production. It is important to explain under what conditions, given cultural differences politics becomes the focus for the emergence of ethnic loyalties and conflicts.

The point to be made is that the varying struggles for economic control of the state by the various fractions of the bourgeoisie tends to follow ethnic lines. Consequently, the warring fractions within the ruling class thus assumes the form of an ethnic struggle between the fractions. In this way ethnicity thus provides both an ideology and a veritable platform to political mobilization and support from their various groups. In the case of Nigeria, ethnic organizations invariably metamorphosed into political parties under the aegis of communal champions who invariably inherited the mantle of political leadership and the economic power that went with it, from the colonialist¹³.

And by extension exacerbated by the inheritors of political power in Nigeria and the neo-colonial political economy and skewed federalism under which they operated.¹⁴

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CHAPTER TWO

2.0 TRACING THE EMERGENCE OF NIGERIAN FEDERALISM

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is basically a review of relevant literature on the issues of domestic politics in Nigeria and how this has informed the nature and manner of foreign policy the country has pursued over the years. The aim and focus is really to trace the nature of emergence of federalism in Nigeria and how it is being practiced.

2.2 FEDERALISM IN NIGERIA

In a generic term federalism is a constitutional compromise between confederalism and unitarism. It provides an arrangement for the co-existence of national unity and sub-national self-determination. And so, in a federation, several states sometimes called provinces regions or cantons, share power and authority with an inclusive federal or central government. Each level of government is constitutionally autonomous in the exercise of, and responsibility over powers allocated to it. But because the overall society and economy are the same for the federating units, there is usually in a federation an array of functions, and even responsibilities, over which both levels of government have concurrent jurisdiction.¹

Although, not all multi-nations-states adopt federal system of government, federalism is usually resorted to in a situation where there are many nationality or ethnic groups with differences in their socio-cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. The

motive forces which define the yardstick of such multinational groups federating into one political system differ from one experience to another. In Nigeria and India for instance, Federation was by a process of desegregation of previously colonized, and united groups or in U.S.A. and Canada it was by aggregation of previous autonomous or quasi autonomous communities or political systems.

Growth and development of Nigeria federalism has been fraught with a lot of trauma. At the Ibadan General conference in 1950 to review the Richards constitution, there was disagreement over political representation among the regional leaders which irked the northern delegates so badly that the 1914 exercise of amalgamating the northern and southern groups of provinces was regrettable describe as "the mistake of 1914". The point was that the southern delegates felt the country was not demarcated well. They argued that both in number and size, the north was made to be bigger and hence more advantageous than the other two regions.

In 1953, some of the nationalist from the southern section of the country agitated for an early independence while the North opposed it because it felt it was educationally backward to compete with the south. There was also quarrels over Lagos as capital territory or part of the old western region. This is because the north wanted to have access to sea ports and the develop economy of Lagos. And because the British supported them Lagos was made to remain as federal territory. In early 1960s, there was disagreement over the accuracy or inaccuracy of the 1962 - 63 population census, and finally the national crisis of 1966 - 67 following the first military coup d'etat leading to the "civil war". All these events called into question or tested the strength and weakness of the existence of Nigeria as either a federation.

The point should also be made that even within the context of federation, there had been a forceful demand at various periods for a re-organization of the components

units so as to create a healthy balance among the ethnic-regional groups. As earlier mentioned, Nigeria is composed of several hundreds of ethnic-linguistic groups with a number of distinct cultural and linguistic zones and by its constitution good for federalism.⁴

There are basically, the Hausa/Fulani in the North, the Yoruba in the West and the Ibos in the East. The cultural differences among these groups is extremely important in the political orientation of Nigeria. This is because they provide the environment in which political parties are being developed. It is the background out of which arise the social and cultural forces that motivate and influence political decision.⁵

British penetration into other parts of Nigeria took distinctively regional pattern and by extension different forms of local administration were practiced in different parts of Southern Nigeria. In the North, however, the system of indirect rule was adopted. This was largely due to existing pre-colonial structures of governance which found them conducive and advantageous.

British colonization and colonialism in Nigeria, as elsewhere, was motivated by the desire for economic exploitation of the peoples and resources of the era with minimum cost to the British. The delineation of the new state into administrative units, districts, division, provinces, etc, was guided by the above objective. The same consideration was paramount in the appointment of officials (district officers, divisional officers, residents, and provincial commissioners, chief commissioners and so on). Similarly, the structures of governance introduced between 1900 and 1960 were meant to serve specific colonial purposes in the overall goal of economic exploitation. The

argument over direct and indirect rule notwithstanding. Therefore, the creations of the internal structures were the discretion of provincial administrations, and creation of three regions, all following the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern Protectorates in 1914.

The point worthy of note is that though, the creation of internal administrative units was, on the surface, based on the nature of pre-existing boundaries and political identities the most important considerations were the nature and manner of incorporation of the units into the colonial state, and above all, administrative convenience⁶. In most ^{of southern regions} places, the British often created local alien ruling classes and houses with little roots, if any, in traditional ruling classes in their bid to safeguard British rule. So, the native authorities or traditional rulers (Emirs, Ogas, Chiefs, Warrant Chief etc), were mere agents by which colonial policies were canvassed, mediated, implemented and nurtured. This was highly demonstrated in area of collection of taxes, recruitment of force labour through coercion of the peasantry into the cultivation of cash crops, and maintenance of law and order. By and large, all the institutions established, namely: courts, native courts, native treasury, native police, native person's, were designed to facilitate effective and efficient social control with maximum maintenance of colonial law and order. And so perceivably colonial state was an apparatus for the exploitation, repression, depersonalization, and dehumanization, humiliation and degeneration to the people.

2.3 CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND FEDERALISM

Constitutionally speaking, during the colonial period there were important developments, the most important for our purpose being the Clifford Constitution of 1922, the Richards Constitution of 1946, Macpherson of 1954. But basically speaking they all had the same common feature of not designed to build a Nigerian State in the true sense of it.

The Clifford Constitution of 1922 established a legislative council for Lagos and legislated generally for Southern Nigeria and did not cover the North. The Richard Constitution of 1946, which came into effect in 1947, brought the North and South under a single legislative authority. And by implications North and South were denied common experience fundamental for the creation of a common outlook on the nation. Even with the Richard's constitution the constitution was just a measure of administrative strategies for better administration of the colonial state.

The full effect of the above constitutional arrangements was fatal for Nigerian nation-state. To start with a common constitutional framework for the country which evolved piece meal served to accentuate political diversities in an already diverse country. Worse still, the division of the South into East and West in 1939, acute political maneuver to stem the tide of uprising and protest in the South, created a structural defect by ways of imbalance in the federation. It was as earlier posited that, until 1947 that, the South, North and East were placed side by side to legislate for Nigeria. Of course, the southerners had participated in legislative affairs (colonial) for about 25 years earlier. This only served to deepen suspicion and misunderstanding

among the various regional representatives and bred divergences in political outlook and mutual contempt.

The regionalism introduced by the Richards constitution of 1946 and more forcefully by Macpherson constitution of 1951, which were largely a product of the mental reservations of the British of treating Nigerians as one entity, served by the large, as a further catalyst towards general crisis in the country. It was not then surprising that all the political parties that emerged and contested for power, (NCNC 1944, NPC, 1949, and AG. 1951) had clearly tribal and ethnic definitions, and the Nigerian Youth Movement, the first truly nationalistic front for educated elite, disintegrated. Thereby ushering in regionalism which became the Nigerian political way of life and manipulation of tribal and regional sentiments, the principal pre-occupation of those charged with political power. Census and elections were manipulated to bring in leaders from a particular place with a particular frame of thinking. This gave rise to blatant violence, arson and gross mismanagement of the nation's resources. All these were to get and retain power at all cost.

Furthermore, another important feature of 1951 constitution which more or less institutionalized conflict and instability was the unbalanced nature of the federation. Added to this was the delay in devolving power and major responsibility for governance to Nigerians until 1954. This meant that Nigerians had less than a decade of managing their political affairs before independence. Consequently, the new Nigerian state at independence had to be managed by a leadership that lacked collective consciousness and sense of public morality, essential ingredients of politics directed towards development,

worse still colonial state guided by its "divide and rule" policy was an undemocratic edifice backing up by force and coercion, which had little positive to teach emergent leaders. Therefore, there was no adequate provisions in terms of the constitutions or administrative processes and procedures for positive economic, socio-political and social-cultural transformation and natural integration, instead it encouraged regionalism⁷.

The dynamics of Nigerian politics therefore, became a front for the various ethnic groups for a division of national resources. The only way to be assured of socio-economic amenities lay in having your state or regional person at the top echelon of the structures charged with that responsibility.

These conflicts and of course crisis situations were necessitated by the struggle not only to win and retain power at regional levels but also to control the centre which was politically weak. Therefore, these struggles assume the forms of combat and extremely vicious, usher in leaders through blatant violence, arson. Therefore, gross mismanagement were not ruled out in the quest and desire for power and power retention in both regions and at the centre. Therefore, Nigerian problems are derive in large measure from the tensions which arose between the larger ethnic groups (Hausa/Fulani, Ibo Yoruba) and not from the ethnic differences but Nigerian's problem is not a result of differences between various ethnic groups but others from the competition between the people for wealth and power.⁸

The point is that regional basis of party formation and electioneering processes based on fraud conflict with any meaningful attempt for implementing any national plan have become common. General Gowon contends that these conflicts arose as a result of

defects in the federal arrangements.⁹ He refuses to see it as more of inherited structures of colonial role that brought the leadership problem and the attendant crisis therefrom. His argument stems from the fact that the component parts of the federation are unequal, and therefore the derivation was unbalanced. Be it as it may, the germane question is that, what has those who benefitted from it done to modify the structures on attainment of independence? These leading to agitation for creation of more regions and states by the minority to take care of their special interest.

Another fundamental issue that has been embedded and endemically unresolved, is the issue of revenue allocation formula. This has seriously caused tension within every regime. The crisis it generates have been or remained a stumbling block to a genuine national stability, this is partly due to the inability of the leadership to seriously and objective address the issues squarely in a holistic manner.

Up to 1967 the revenue allocation formula had been based on the principles of derivation. This principle was out of place in the new spirit. As Adebayo Adedeji observed; "the derivation principles deviated the development of a national and equitable system of revenue allocation. It poisoned inter-governmental relationships and... exacerbated inter-regional rivalry and conflict.

Perhaps more than any other single factors it hampered the development of a sense of national unity and common citizenship in Nigeria.¹⁰

Though, Balewa's administration was in the know of this, but for the excessive regional acrimony the government at the centre became powerless despite the fact that the revenue allocation formula hampered national unity.

All in all as it can be said that, the unstable structure of national power which the elites of different regional groups struggle for power at all cost as has been illustrated questioned the legitimacy of the political leadership in the country. This has affected greatly the stability of our domestic policies.

The military government worsened issues. This was because the government assume the form of unitary government instead of genuine federation. And plagued the country into experiencing coups and counter coups. This is because federation is something that must be allowed to evolve through genuine practical and peculiar historical experiences of a particular country.

Due to these problems associated with governance, there has been several calls for reforms which ranges from diarchy, to parliamentary system. But one central issue is that of national presidency be informed regionally. There has been disagreement and dissatisfaction over the power game of the federal system.

2.4 FEDERALISM AND EXTERNAL RELATIONS

The federal system has proved to be a very effective principle in creating unity and harmony in countries that have adopted. This is not to say that it is crisis free. Even developed countries which have adopted it have themselves had their own problems. What is important however, is that wherever it is practiced, where social justice does not exist, where basic social facilities of life e.g. water, education, food, housing etc, are lacking or disproportionately allocated, then there will definitely be

problems. And the way and manner these issues are address affects also the way international relations are handled.

As we said earlier, Nigeria emerged at the end of the colonial period as a federation with large and fairly autonomy region, which have at one time or the other threatened to secede. If we accept that a nation's foreign policy is the reflection of aspirations at home, then it is logical to expect that the domestic problems of unity will extend to foreign policy¹¹. It is basical y the responsibility of the federal or center to handle issues relating to foreign relations. In fact in most federal constitutions it is usually spelt out clearly on the exclusive list that foreign relations will be controlled predominately by the central government.

Unlike hitherto been the case during the regional government where each region had its foreign policy objectives and orientations, in a federal set up it is the sole responsibility of the center to formulate and implement foreign policy objectives. The same constitution that gave the regions some levels of autonomy, it also by implication gave the region the opportunity to double into international relations. And by extension the central government could not clearly and categorically legislate, formulate and implement international agreements without the due approvals of the regional government. This was a serious defect on the Nigeria unity. It is absolutely necessary that all Nigerians should work together so that the country can play a leading role in world affairs and achieve the unity and stability it needs¹². It must be added, also that this gave impetus to the fact that any policy under a federal set up must be a matter of rule reflect the character and composition of the state in a bid to avert been alienated.

Despite all the crises that Nigeria went through, it finally emerged as a potentially stronger united federation. The central government became upper most in every sphere of political life without question by the constituent regions. And by and large brought the effective control of foreign policy under the federal government.¹²

After saying all these, it will only be proper to round this review by noting the provisions of section 14(3) of the 1979 constitution which inter-alia states that:

"... That composition of the government of the federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity and also to command national loyalty and there by ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few states or from a few ethnic or sectional groups in that government or in any of its agencies."¹³

2.5 CONCLUSION

This review has opened up the complex nature of the Nigerian federal state right from when it was constituted. It has revealed how this forced union of so many ethnic groups has enthroned nothing but the stark craze for political power in order to attract as much economic benefits as possible to themselves. Given this, the relation to or disposition towards the state is never to use it to foster national economic progress and unity. Rather for self centered reasons, the state is used to maximize corruption and all kinds of illegalities that are too destructive to the domestic political environment. It is the various dimensions of these kinds of activities by various regimes that have informed their kind of foreign policy.

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CHAPTER THREE

3.0 BACKGROUND NIGERIAN FOREIGN POLICY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

A lot of commitment in terms of human and material resources have been evolved in the pursuits of foreign policy objectives of Nigeria since time immemorial. In this chapter, we shall analyze the various foreign policy objectives of both civilian and military regimes since independence.

3.2 POST COLONIAL FOREIGN POLICY IN NIGERIA

The last ten or so many years back there has been great changes in world affairs. There was the collapse of the Soviet hence the enthronement of a unipolar world order. Hitherto then, the collapse of Germany after the second world brought in the major conflicts the world experienced for years. This is the conflict between the Soviet led communist group and capitalist group led by the United States which became so intensified that international politics was based on whose side you were.

This process in itself helped the liberation struggle which then led to the independence of most African states. This independence made independent African countries now to begin to play a major role in international affairs. However, most of these actions were determined so much on what happened at the local level.

3.3 NIGERIAN FOREIGN POLICY DURING THE FIRST REPUBLIC (1960-1965)

In the years following independence, the country's civilian leaders became increasingly embroiled in conflicts resulting from their attempts to consolidate and enhance national unity and above all authority over some 250 linguistic units with various groups scattered across the country's vast land. The country was so badly fragmented that the emergent political elite was preoccupied with internal wrangling and how to curb them than paying much attention to international issues. The point being made is that, the withdrawal of the British colonialists marked another historical phenomenon in the sense that the various political groups sought to consolidate their positions and to control state power at the centre by encouraging and sponsoring ethnically rooted coalition that were highly disruptive and anti-national unity and by implications almost dealt a blow to the concept of federalism in Nigeria.

Tafawa Balewa, on August 20, 1960, outlined the basic objectives of the Nigerian Foreign Policy and recognized its primary duty to safeguard and promote the interests of the federation and of its citizen.³ The Prime Minister sought to define in sovereign foreign policy in terms of broadcast national interest inhibited by narrow sectional, party or personal concern⁴. Nigeria, the Prime Minister said Nigeria would join the Common Wealth and United Nations "in so far as it is compatible with our national interests and membership"⁵. The Prime Minister continued and said "we consider it wrong for the federal government to associate itself as a matter of routine with any power block"⁷. On paper the above was posited but in practice given the country's historical rule. Given the cordial relationship between Nigeria and Britain and

the final granting of independence, Nigeria's foreign policy in the first republic was so Pro Britain and indeed the west. In fact, Nigeria's declaration for a British defence pact did confirm this. Of course this was vehemently opposed

In summary Balewa's foreign policy postures, was marked by caution, pessimism and relative inactivity. We must certainly re-emphasize the fact that despite the country's claim of non-alignment it was clearly evidenced that the country embraced the Western countries while shying the Eastern bloc.⁸ However, the country's role in South Africa, Rhodesia and contributions to O.A.U. were really positive issues recorded within this time.

At the global level, Lagos sought to maintain close relations with Britain and other Western Government. For, this was seen as the way to maximize economic development, a key element in promoting greater domestic integration. "Moderate" and "pragmatic" are the terms that Western scholars most frequently use to describe the international conduct of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa's government (1960 - 1966)⁹.

3.4 NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE MILITARY REGIME (1966-1967)

General Aguiyi Ironsi on January 15th 1966 became the new head of State and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of Federal Republic of Nigeria upon seizure and control of power via a coup that ensued. This was as a result of the first military coup in Nigeria. Although the actual organizers could not take over yet the hierarchy of the military still quickly organized and took over its foreign policy will continue to

be based on non-alignment, respect for the sovereignty of all states and friendly relations with countries.¹⁰

The new military regime did not, however, change anything from the inherited foreign policy. Instead it sought to curb the domestic crisis by promising to reserve the loans from the Soviet Union to speed up development for the Nigeria populace by ways of provision of employment via establishments of industries to cushion the mounting pressures at the home front. The intended assistance or loan from Soviet union be it as it may did not in itself suggest any change in the country's foreign policy neither did a change in the leadership nor a change in government from civilian to military suggest any revolution in the country's foreign policy. In fact, as Izah, puts it, "under Ironsi the government reaffirmed that it would honour all treaty obligations and financial agreement entered into by civilian government."¹¹

The point to note is that the domestic politics of the Ironsi period was not very sound and was very unstable. Ironsi promulgated his unification decree which was widely rejected by many sections of the Nigerian state. He was also looked upon by being too Pro-East. There was therefore, much crisis which never allowed him time to be properly organized. However, these tensions continued until he was overthrown.

3.5 NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY UNDER GOWON (1967-1975)

Gowon's era marked a historical phenomenon as far as foreign policy is concerned. 1966 - 1978 marked a reshaping of the nation's foreign policy in almost three ways. This affected three main circles i.e. Commonwealth, the World and Africa.¹² What

basically informed the rethinking of the country's foreign policy by and large was the experience of the civil war which made it clear to the leadership that there was the need to de-emphasize the notion of commonwealth from dominating our foreign policy postures for Africa. This also was informed by the role of O.A.U. during the said crisis (civil war) which stood by the country tooth and nail. In recognition of the role played by its neighbours Nigeria also focused its foreign economic policies toward West African unity.

The Gowon military regime normalized its hitherto severed relations with Zambia, Tanzania, Gabon, Ivory Coast and few others who backed the secessionist (Biafra). In fact, this period also witnessed closer ties between the country and other African nations. As pointed out, internal constraints and of course, to some extent, external dynamics, threw his regime out. And by 1975 -1979 we again witnessed a change in the country's foreign policy orientation.

Foreign policy under the Gowon regime was affected domestically first and very important by the civil war. The war which lasted for thirty months was able to open up Nigeria as to who its true friends were. In fact, Britain never came to Nigeria's aid until the Soviet Union did. Added here was that America too was busy with the Vietnam war and had little time for Nigeria. France which officially looked like it was supporting Nigeria was discovered later to be supporting Biafra. On the basis of this Nigeria had to rethink seriously its posture towards the Western block.

Again, Nigeria noted the support some African countries were given to Biafra these included Ivory Coast, Gabon, Tanzania and Zambia which actually did grant

diplomatic recognition to Biafra. Thus after the civil war Nigeria pursued the policy of non-alignment more seriously. In fact in the 1973 O.A.U. Summit, Gowon stated clearly that Nigeria will from hence focus more on relationship that will improve her trade that looking up big powers.

After the civil war, Nigeria's economy improved greatly through increase in price of Petroleum. Nigeria now develop its new terms of dealing with the outside world. It now started looking at issues interms of benefits and mutual respect.

3.6 NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE MURTALA - OBASANJO REGIMES

General Yakubu Gowon was toppled through a military coup on July 29, 1975. This brought in General Murtala Mohammed as Head of State. The Murtala regime preached probity and national accountability at the domestic front.

Murtala regime opined that "Nigeria's national interest which would be pursued at the international level will focus the need for peace, stability and unity which would guarantee an orderly development of all resources for the planned improvement of the economic and social improvement of the people."¹³

The regime stood vehemently against the West further exploitation of Africa by declaring clearly its stance clear and point blank. This step was derived from its Pan-Africanist stance. This was again demonstrated by its position over the issue of Angola and Southern African States. The regime contributed a lot in making sure the MPLA gain victory over the retrogressive elements and seeing to the fact that by 1980 Zimbabwe attain independence. Nigeria ended up sending a peace keeping force to Chad

to mediate which was eventually to be forced out by their government.¹⁴ The point is that the fact that there was some relative peace at the domestic front enabled the regime to do all these with pride.

Nigeria foreign policy between 1976 and 1979 towards ECOWAS was both consistent and progressive despite the assassination of Murtala on 13th February, 1976. The period marked a radical and progressive position in the eyes of international world and made the country a force to be reckoned with in the arena of international politics.¹⁵ In fact the hosting of FESTAC in 1977 was the light of proving to be central in not just the Unity of African but the entire black race.

3.7 NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE SHAGARI REGIME (1979 - 1983)

The Shagari regime came to power on 1st October, 1979 to become the second civilian president having defeated four other candidates in the Presidential Election. In fact, it must be stated that Shagari inherited a dynamic and well defined foreign policy from his predecessor. This was strengthened by a buoyant economy. The foreign policy he inherited warranted the Buhari/Idiagbon (1983 - 1985) period marked another regime of military rule. The regime took the mantle of leadership as an off-shore of Murtala/Obasanjo regime. This was largely informed by the kind of reception accorded to that regime. The general discontent, dissatisfaction and gross abuse of official procedures coupled with domestic constraints was given as reasons for the seizure of power by the regime. The administration had a confused image of itself and the kind of values it wants to pursue both domestically and internationally. Therefore, this inability

to declare a clear image of itself not ng the country's values and heterogeneous nature didn't help it define a clear image as well as those of other actors in the external environment.

Shagari's problem of foreign policy formulation was more of choice rather than goals because the goals were already clearly defined and set up for implementation given the enabling environment.¹⁶

that The N.P.N-led and control government's foreign policy was limited by both external environments and domestic issues coupled with the other parties positions on foreign policy - though the U.P.N, M.P.P. out rightly had its normalization proposal, between Nigeria and Israel, the G.N.P.P. was more of working towards world peace at all course. The only different was of P.R.P. which was unique, more and much elaborate. The P.R.P. manifesto contained "a concerted attack on imperialism on global scale the termination of reactionary puppet African regimes and the replacement of fascist dictatorships with humane democratic regime."¹⁷

It went further that, the party shall work for the political union of African states in support of creating African high command to direct and see to the effective military struggle against Pretoria and regimes in Southern Africa, and at the same time counter military takeover against progressive regimes and to enhance the collective security of the continent.¹⁸

But for P.R.P, other parties in 1979 did not care much about foreign policy - perhaps due to consensus regarding the principles in Nigerian foreign policy as

enunciated by the former Primer Minister Tafawa Balewa which remained constant in guiding Nigerian foreign policy.

Basically, the politicians and their parties must have calculated the perhaps rightly too, that, foreign policy was no longer that new and untested field from which significant domestic political gains could be made at the polls. Again they must have also calculated the foreign policy agenda of the parties right not be a sufficient condition and significant decisive in determining the choice of candidates.¹⁹ And perhaps the explanation could be found in the general hysteria and itches all over the places both home and abroad on return to democracy which over whelmed the emergent political class. This could also be seen in the kind of parties that were registered to contest leadership positions. The point been made is that given the context of all the political process that ensued in the second republic, the success or failure of parties at the polls had no bearings whatsoever on their proclaimed foreign policy outlines.

In fact the poor management of the economy fragrant corruption and the declining living standard showed how bad domestic conditions were. Thus the attitude of the regime at home definately showed low level of non seriousness.

3.8 THE BUHARI/IDIAGBON REGIME AND NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY (1983 - 1985)

The Buhari/Idiagbon military regime came to power on the 31st December, 1983 when it overthrew the Civilian Regime of Alhaji Shehu Shagari. The regime displayed the intention and practical disposition to be radical and a commitment to address

currupcion. The politicians of the second republic were arrested enmasse and locked up on allegations of currupcion while they held office.

This show of serious nationalism and probity in the handling of public affairs domestically really manifested in a correlation with its foreign regime had a well defined and directed foreign policy. It defined its interests clear. There were clear attempts to pay debts and also to curb crime at the borders. The minister of external affairs Bolaji Akenyemi was chosen from the Nigerian International Affairs Lagos. This appointment did brought in some harmonous working relationship between the Institute and the Ministry of External Affairs. Also, the appointment of Major General Joe Garba (rtd) to replace Alhaji Maitama Sule at the UN really did improved Nigeria's image and workings in the International arena²⁰.

3.9 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the continuity in Nigeria foreign policy objective would seem amazing for a country that is only slightly over 30 years old and with a startling record of regime and leadership changes... Consequently, in dealing with Nigerians basic foreign policy objective as articulated by Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa over thirty years ago. What all successors have done is essentially changes in style, selection of new priorities and not changes in the substance of Nigerian foreign policy agenda in the past thirty-two years.²¹ However, what is consistent in this chapter is that the way and manner the domestic political terrain played itself, dictate the way and manner each regime articulated and implemented its foreign policy.

It could be observed that the emergent ruling class after independence had to grapple with the onerous herculean task of redressing the negative impact of the divisive nature of colonial rule. And by extension cannot continue to blame the present socio-economic and political condition on our colonial past parse. Nor find solace in the ethnic clashes (civil war) and the tragedy of the negative impact of the oil problematic of the 1970s as the dominating and perpetual reasons of our present situation of savagery, barbarism and factious chauvinism of whose detrimental consequence constitute a grievous danger to the generality of the citizenry. The national question is at stake and so there has to be a concerted collective effort to constructively face the challenges of our times. Issues bordering on collapsed educational and health system, continuous decline in the overall standard of living, low GDP and GNP, increasing crime rate, rising unemployment, erratic power supply and the general tendency of brain draining in search of greener pasture abroad, all these are issues that calls for serious and immediate attention and lasting solution of whose consequential effect has untold implications for our foreign policy obligations. It is necessary to involve the people in taking part actively and of course freely too, in discussions and deciding issues of general welfare affecting them be it domestic or international.

The point is, people must be politically educated by ways of increasing their level of awareness or cognition of issues in a bid to making them partake vigorously in the socio-political and economic life of the country. This we know is not possible under the kinds of military or civilian regimes that transpired but that we must work toward attainment of these noble objective which shall in essence paved way for genuine

domestic political process that shall inform our foreign policy goals for international peace and justice.

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CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 INTERNAL DYNAMICS AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS (1993-1998)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The nature of the domestic political process and social environment and the manner which political issues are attended to, do have a consequential effect on the conduct of foreign policy of a nation on one hand generally. On the other hand; the consequential impact of the domestic sources of foreign policy may well be very remarkable in shaping the conduct and style of a country's foreign policy and diplomatic activities especially in new nations struggling to put together a national agenda around which cultural diversity and religious pluralism can find a consensus expression.

It is on this basis that this chapter focuses on the foreign policy of 1993 - 98. However, to understand this, we have first to look at the Babangida's regime before it. This period is indeed relevant in the history of Nigeria because of nature and way internal politics and economic development was pursued. Thus, we will look here at the way the two military regimes were able to sort out foreign policy issues given the crisis that the country constantly witnessed.

4.2 GENERAL IBRAHIM BABANGIDA AND NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY (1985 - 1993)

General Babangida came to power in August 1985, when he toppled General Buhari in a coup d'etat when Babangida came into power, he embarked on a political and

economic transition programme. On the political front, he embarked on a transition which was to terminate in 1988 with the handing over of power to a civilian president. However, the handover date and the transition generally kept on shifting. Though local government elections were conducted earlier on, state executive and legislative elections too were conducted also and later on the federal legislature too was inaugurated, the presidential elections continued to be a myth until it was finally annulled. From the economic angle, he embarked on a structural adjustment programme which was implemented in 1986 which was expected to usher in positive economic results. The result was hike in price of essential goods because of the withdraw of subsidies and devaluation of the Naira as dictated by the terms of the IMF structural adjustment facility. But this regime also witness massive resource in flows from the Gulf oil sales of course this was poorly managed as the improved resources did not in any way reflected on the condition of life of Nigerians. The result of this was frequent revolts and strikes by workers and students against the harsh conditions of living they were subjected to. Most workers were even retrenched as most industries folded up or went out of production.

In response to the domestic political and economic instabilities, the government engaged in what was more of propagand units foreign policy objectives. First, it stated that African problems and solutions will constitute their main focus in their foreign policy. the government also said its focus was to relate with countries to gain economically. It therefore, embarked on what it referred as economic diplomacy. All in all, it is difficult to attribute much success to foreign policy here. First, the constant

shift in transition programme was not taken kindly by the international community. Though the intervention in Liberia could be praised to be a major attempt at peace keeping and enforcement the poor economic conditions at home could not attract foreign investment and concern.

4.3 GENERAL ABACHA AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

General Sani Abacha came to power after the exit of the Interim National Government (ING) led by Chief Abacha which was put together by Babangida who himself stepped aside in August, 1993. Babangida was forced to step aside because of the crisis that followed his annulment of the June 12th 1993 Presidential Elections. What then followed was a wave of internal revolts particularly from the Southwest part of the country.

On assumption to power as the Head of State and Commander in Chief of Nigerian Armed Forces, Abacha the leaders of the new Junta repealed the Decree (61) enabling the functioning of I.N.G and dissolved its cabinet at all levels of government including the political parties. He brought into being a Provisional Ruling Council. In addition a Federal Executive Council of 33 ministers were appointed to appease the various segment of the Nigerian Society.

In order to find some kind of solution to the General crises going on and allay the fears of sections of the society on domination by others the government embarked on some political mission by among other ways arranging a forum in the name of constitutional conference composed of both elected and nominated members. This was

against the background of calling for a sovereign national conference which the agitators for recognizing the June 12th Election. Therefore, this diversionary tactic helped to suspend the tension for a while before it blew up again.

The so-called democratization process was opened with the constituting of NECON and registration of five parties in 1995. Though NECON was teleguided². From the top it produced voters register, delimited and delineated wards, constituencies, and districts at local, state and senatorial levels as the case may be.

In spite the promulgation of Decree 18 and setting up of five failed Bank tribunals to try bank workers involved in distressing the banks, creation of more state to become 36, establishment of federal character commission etc. It could not surmount the continued tension and domestic pressures unfolding. We must quickly mention the fact that, the annulment of June 12 Presidential Election helped to heighten the crisis situation in some part of the country. This could be attributed to the kind of political apathy condition, which is generally apparent in the country - people are not politically conscious of events in their proper historical perspective and so, eyes were close to even supporting people who are directly responsible for the woes of this country.

Therefore, de-annulment was seen as synonymous to democratization of the country³. In the government's towards ameliorating and controlling the tension mounted on it, it resort to mass arrest and detention of individuals whose actions and behaviours were seen as a threat to the equally clamped down on.

Some professional associations also came out and condemned the regime. NUPENG, PENGASSAN and a few other unions went on strike. The government

immediately dismissed the NLC executives by banning it and other officials of NLC. There was no any serious attempt for dialogue by the government with the opposition. Instead there were violence-physical assault and attacks on the persons and residences of opposition leaders⁴.

In its bid to diffuse the ever persistent tension, the state created new states totalling 36 hoping that the newly established federal character commission will work out modalities for distribution of positions in the public service in accordance with its terms of reference which inter alia includes promotion monitoring and enforcement of the idea of proportional allocation of position at all levels of governmental service in essence this was to evolve equitable distribution of positions. By implications it was hoped to curtail, if not resolved the issues surrounding marginalization of certain areas from others.

In spite of all these cosmetic reforms, continued pressures kept on mounting for a quick return to civil rule within the country and even outside.

In the area of oil sector which accounts for most of our revenue earnings in the country was not being conducted properly this was demonstrated by lack of any serious financial accountability. Most of the revenue accruals were not directly remitted to the proper accounts and therefore, not pass into budgeted areas instead they were held in some accounts for onward swindling abroad for personal purposes of top government officials. And by extension this created a lot of suspicion even among the ruling class which further aggravated the tension to its height.

Resentment and hostilities on the performances of oil companies and the policies of government vis-a-vis the groups and communities in the oil producing areas of the

Niger Delta ensured. The government's inability to resolve the crisis in this area further compounded the problems. In fact OMPADEC proved ineffective. In his quest to further nature his political ambition the General dissolve his coalition cabinet which earlier composed of both NRC AND SDP stalwarts and a few from professional organization for an alternative one which could rightly be said to be a pure conservative team which certainly embark on massive propaganda for his remaining in power for life. These maneuvers certainly did not go down well with the populace. And so, mounting pressure continued even within the military brass which earned some people trials for alleged coup plot. The point being made is that, in March 1995, an alleged coup plot led to the detention of retired and serving military officers including some few civilian by the regime.

While the Nigeria people were set for a return to civilians rule in October 1st, 1998 which was the supposedly terminal date of military disengagement, it was met with raging controversial as to the possibilities of the General metamorphosing to a civilian president.

Nigeria was towering towards the course of disintegration and anarchy. Thus, the new policy thrust of the Abacha regime was said to be guided on principles of pragmatic engagements in which the country relates to outside world in defense or its domestic interest.

Despite the internal crises confronting it, it kept appealing for international understanding and recognition of Nigeria sovereignty⁶.

4.4 FOREIGN POLICY UNDER ABACHA

The Nigeria economy was not doing any good given the strike and inflation that set in even at the wake of the regimes taking over in November 1993.

Akpan, M. argues that "the Head of State was determined to revamp and restructure comprehensively Nigerian foreign policy to make it more result oriented". As announced in 1997. In appreciation of the role of economic revitalization and diplomacy, the regime geared its foreign policy priority to the enhancement of good relationship to countries and international bodies whose cooperations and capability will enable Nigeria attain its desired economic heights and alternately allowed its domestic goods.

The point should be made that all these be their at they may, should be properly seen and located within the framework of class perspective.

A country's domestic environment should intimately reflect on external relations. That is to say that, a country's foreign policy is so to speak conditioned by the country's domestic interest. And so by implications foreign transactions are normally geared towards accommodating and of course fulfilling national i.e. domestic objectives. Without an iota of doubt, the internal wrangling and circumstances, which ushered in Abacha's regime of 1993 - 1998 did affect the conduct of the country's foreign policy.

The internal crises were characterized by fragility, political impasse and a lot of maneuvers to destabilize the federal basis of the country. Issues bordering on human right abuse and democratization process became an issue of dream. Basically, the

greatest problematic confronting the regimes (then) foreign policy was political. Because it emerged out of the chaotic situation that threatens imminent political conflagration.

There was opposition at Commonwealth, political embargo as well as economic sanctions from the West, in Africa too, it was crisis ridden, by and large the foreign policy was seriously confronted with challenges both externally and domestically⁷. Therefore, given the currents forced to put agenda of economic development in place, this to curb the threats and embargo and various sanctions from international environment.

The regime attempted to increase the in-flow of foreign investments, foreign exchange (monitoring and miscellaneous) Decree No. 17 1995 and Nigerian investment promotion commission decree No. 16 of 1995 sought to provide a suitable atmosphere for a will be foreign investors.

The point is putting in place the enabling environment for foreign investors is just one thing but, contending with internal dynamics to cushion this is something else. Therefore, the administration utilized the difficulties placed on it to further seek other relations from other globe of the world. In fact close and some Asian countries, which used to have minimal economic ties now recorded a high level of economic transaction with the country.

In the human right aspect the regime's record was terrible and continued to attract a lot of foreign concern and condemnation which earned it poor political light. For instance, commonwealth gave us a serious knock over the flagrant abuse of human right. This was exemplified on the occasion of execution of Ken-Saror-Wiwa and eight other

Ogini people and the commonwealth sees nothing to show to necessitate re-admission of the country into the organization⁸.

In fact countries like Canada, Britain and host of other European countries, reduced their diplomatic ties with us. In fact some, even went further to imposed sanctions on Nigeria at ever the levels of official contacts and Air travels and links all suspends.

UN and its agencies where Nigeria had been largely influential in the past saw it been treated with great reserve⁹.

The fact of the political crises heightened to the extent of bomb blast in major towns and cities remained unquestionable, this seriously testify the lingering political crisis. The campaign against the regime continued both within and outside the country with vigour. In fact the opposition gained support and sympathy from some sections of international community to the extent of embarking funds to support the pro-democracy fronts¹⁰.

Generally, Nigeria's foreign policy in West Africa remained same. The crisis in Sierra Leone and Liberia drew increased attention and also warranted the re-election of Nigeria as Chairman of ECOWAS; Nigeria which has in particular a historic commitment to playing a leadership role in West Africa¹¹. In fact, it is pertinent to maintain that Africa remained the cente piece of the country's foreign policy. But the point is, in spite of the wanton dehumanization and deprivation couple with hunger and starvation in the country why and how could the regime spent that much on Liberia and Sierra Leone? When the country itself is in great need of same attention?

The relationship with South Africa was also another case in point. Nigeria's withdrawal and refusal to participate in 1996 African Cup of Nations hosted by South Africa was largely due to misunderstanding, which started in 1995 following the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and Oginine.

Given the sour relations between Nigeria and the West, the government had to look elsewhere to redeem its lost glory and where it will be given attention at the international arena. It got warm reception in the waiting arms of the 'Eastern block' Here, China, North Korea, Malaysia and Russia with a few others were involved. For example, sometimes in 1997 Mr. Li Peng, the Chinese Vice Premier visited Nigeria and entered into agreements on oil, power and steel industries with the Nigeria officials. The Chinese were also given the contract to reconstruct railway services.

And by extension these countries gradually made in ways into Nigeria economy. They took advantage of the globalization process coupled with not so - friendly relations with western nations to break into Nigeria economy. For instance, while Russia planned a substantial huge investment for Nigeria, Poland recorded significant break through in maritime business.

4.5 CONCLUSION

Since foreign policy is not an isolated phenomenon, it must therefore, be seen as basically a doctrine and a system of action that should be explain within the contextual parameters of governmental actions.

The point is that, those objectives the leadership of a state has chosen, its political conditions, psychological attitudes, emotional tension, its economic ideology, geographical situation and of course host of other factors must be properly analyze, understood and appreciated on its own merits within the contextual framework as related to concrete situations.

What we are saying is simply that to come to terms with understanding a foreign policy, must consider this whole notion of complex idea of contextualizing situation.

Therefore, foreign policy of a given state should be seen as part and parcel of overall social process, which could have its attendant complicity. These internal dynamics or constraints could assume the forms of economic, political, geographical, ideological, psychological and perhaps others.

But the point should also be made that these factors are in constant interaction and change, these we have draws values above using the currents as they unfolded.

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CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 CONCLUSION

Summarily, what we did was to attempt drawing out a few key areas bordering on determinants of foreign policy by ways of going into historical background of the country, limiting ourselves to the issues of federalism, ethnicity and national unity, all as a relationship to foreign policy postures of the Nigerian state, with emphasis on the period covering Abacha tenure.

We have analytically demonstrated that domestic political process and of course social environment cum the manner and pattern in which socio-political and economic issues are attended to, do undoubtedly have a consequential and varying effect on the generally conduct of a nations foreign policy. And so equally showed the way in which these domestic factors since independence played a crucial and of course dominating role in the determination of the substance and style of the country's foreign policy activities. We then posit further that these factors, were only smokes screen of the real and actual reflection of the class struggles there from. For instance, a terrible secondary contradiction of ethnicity has been an ideology used by various segments of the petty bourgeoisie for the furtherance and consolidation of their exploitation and subjugation.

therefore, these domestic factors of divergent differences of interest forms an ideology whose actual meaning could only be gotten at the social base of production. The point is that, the varying struggles for economic control of the state by the various fractions of the bourgeoisie tends to follow ethnic lines. And consequently, the fractions

within the ruling class itself thus assumes the form of an ethnic struggle between the fractions.

And finally, we argued along side Okwadike N. that sees ethnicism as an element of the superstructure of society, ethnic consciousness can only be a major significance in the process to the extent that it is congruent with the production relations which (like other secondary contradictions of religion culture regionalism etc) from the superstructure" (emphasis mine) using the tools of materialist conception of history our work becomes empirically validated!

5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

Below are recommendation for consideration and adoption to reduce the burden of domestic pressure and of course tension on external relations in order to making sure the national interest takes care and consider the national question realistically. Policy directions should be fashion out in the overall interest of the citizenry. It is obviously pertinent for regimes to recognize, acknowledge, appreciate and of course critically analyze the role of domestic factors as it relates to national interest - the general and continuous ends which a nation (peoples nation) acts. This should encompass issues bordering on the societal needs for developing higher standards of living; security in terms of any possible threat of aggression.

In fact, provisions of all necessary and sufficient conditions of peace, unity, stability and internal relationships at both domestic and international levels. To this effect we hold here in the immortal words of Late Dr. Amilca Cabral a theorist, master

strategist and certainly practitioner of revolution the founder and first secretary general of the party for the independence of Guine and Cape Verde on why we fight, that, the people are not fighting for ideas, or for the things in anyone's head, they are fighting for material benefit, to guarantee the future of their children, and see their lives go forward... war on colonialism... will remain meaningless as long as it does not improve the conditions of life of the people (with much emphasis).

The point been made is that a framework for the definition of the nations goals and the policy processes should be conditioned by the national interest. By this the network of power relationships in which the state has developed and expressed in terms of its reflection of the historical experience as earlier analyzed shall be dealt with, and sanity will come to tarry in the stead of the neo-colonial policies. We cannot continue to blame our woes on the colonial past parse, we must also situate and contextualise issues within the framework of the class character and configurations of the state and its machinery.

It is noted with high concern, that those disgruntled, selfish and over ambitious segment of the elite class always resort to atavism of ethnicity in advancement of their myopic and narrow~~774Xinterest~~ by implications unserious works tend to see this ethnicity 'ting'a as essential component of our unity in diversity.

This is not true, it is a disputable distortion of the entire historical realities of our peoples. Therefore, the differences and conflicting postures of the numerous sections of the country on issues of interest, be it domestic or foreign, could be efficiently, effectively and articulately reduced vide objective and wholistic assessment of each

segments claim through dialogue against the background of really educating Nigerians on such impending catastrophes as they unfold.

government should always come out with clarity on issues regarding conflicting interest on good time for possible solution immediately.

It is equally necessary that government sensitize by ways of properly educating the populace on the need, necessity and importance of international relations vis-a-viz the country's survival since no nation is an Island unto itself.

Government should have a way of strategically and effectively too, gauge the real feeling of the people as against the terrible sensational, primordially parochial and of course inciting reports of large numbers of press and other media that are supposedly the expressions of the public opinion.

With the attainment of real democracy, which shall pave way for objectivism, it is hope that matters of great importance be the domestic or foreign, shall receive the judgement it deserved. The almost one man show of ECOMOG which is even against the spirit of ECOWAS, needed reforms at UN and Bretton Woods Institutions and the overall needs of democratizing the international relations to usher in multi-literalism, upon recognizing of sovereign equality of nations and their territorial integrity shall internately become the driving force across the globe.

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