AFRICAN *AND* NIGERIAN FOREIGN POLICY:-
A CRITICAL *EVALUATION OF NIGERIA'S ROLE* IN THE ERADICATION OF COLONIALISM AND APARTHEID FROM THE CONTINENT

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BY

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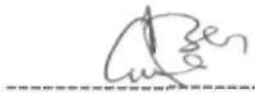
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MARCH, 2000

DECLARATION

I declare that this work is my original research work and has not been done or presented elsewhere.



Researcher's Signature

20/3/2020

Date

CERTIFICATION

This Thesis Entitled "Africa and Nigerian Foreign Policy : A critical Evaluation of Nigeria's Role in the Fradication of Colonialism and Apartheid from the Continent" by Emmanuel Benedict Idu meets requirements governing the awards of the degree of Masters of International Affairs and Diplomacy of Ahmadu Bello University and is approved for it s contribution to knowledge and literary Presentation.

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ABSTRACT

Many Foreign Policy scholars have written extensively on Nigeria's foreign policy especially as regards its role in the international community. But basically the objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy has the desire of making Africa the cornerstone of these objectives.

This study is therefore an attempt to look at the contribution of Nigeria's foreign policy with regards to the eradication of colonialism and apartheid from the continent. The eradication of colonialism and apartheid and ultimately independence of African States has always been emphasized as the objective of Nigeria's foreign policy.

This research work attempts to bring out the shortcomings and failures of Nigeria to eradicate the twin evil of colonialism and apartheid from the continent when these efforts conflict with the nations national interest.

The study is divided into five chapters namely introduction, bedrock of the foreign policy of African States, efforts at eradication of colonialism and apartheid by Governments in Nigeria, contradictions and then conclusion.

Even though African States and indeed Nigeria have similar problems and their wish to fight these problems by fashioning out Afro centric foreign policy. Nigeria had from independence championed this cause and did everything with her means to nip these evils in the bud.

In trying to achieve these desires however, Nigerian leaders have wavered along the lines of concrete actions and sometimes allowed themselves to be used or dictated to by Western imperialists.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my mother Mrs. Juliana Idu and every child around the world.

ABBREVIATION

1.	AG	-	Action Group
2.	ANC	-	African National Congress
3.	BP	-	British Petroleum
4.	ECA	-	Economic Commission of Africa
5.	ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
6.	IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
7.	MPLA	-	Moviemento Popular de Libertacao
8.	NCNC	-	National Council for Nigerian Citizens
9.	NPC	-	Nigerian Peoples Congress
10.	OAU	-	Organisation of African Unity
11.	SWAPO	-	South West African People's Organisation
12.	ZANU	-	Zimbabwe African National Union.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.00 GENERAL INTRODUCTION, LITERATURE REVIEW AND THE RESEARCH PROBLEMATIC

1.01 Introduction

Africa is peopled by several ethnic groups who apart from, the fact that they traded with each other before colonialism, have close affinity with each other. They have cultures, languages that are similar to those of their neigbours in another country, but because of arbitrary drawing of boundaries by colonialists they are placed in different States.

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With the advent of colonialism, came also international division of labour with Africans becoming raw material exporters and importers of manufactured goods. Even as raw material exporters, they do not have the power to determine the price of their goods.

At independence from colonial regime African States were confronted with common problems, ranging from economic to political, hence their desire to work together.

Nigeria, unlike some African States like Ghana who called for Pan Africanism, insisted that all African States were sovereign and should respect each others

boundaries, Nigeria equally called for the independence of other States in Africa from colonialism and apartheid.

Nigeria matched her call for an end to colonialism and apartheid by financial contributions to the Organisation of Africa Unity and directly to liberation movements.

1.02 **Statement of Research Problem**

Nigeria has the belief that Africa is the centerpiece of her foreign policy. To this end the country has matched words with actions as demonstrated by the actions of successive governments who in making their foreign policy, has it's focus on the continent, concrete actions by way of programmes and polices which has Africa as the primary area of concern.

Above all, in nations desire to achieve independence for African countries successive leaders of Nigeria have always criticized and condemned Apartheid and colonialism in international fora and made financial contributions to nation, which were under the colonial regime. Despite these commitments Nigeria had sometimes wavered in her sincerity to end colonialism and Apartheid from the continent, it is this that this study seeks to concentrate on.

1.03 **Research Questions**

The following questions will be considered:-

1. What was Nigeria's role in the elimination of colonialism and apartheid from Africa?
2. How committed was the nation towards this objective?

1.04 **Literature Review**

According to Aluko (1977:1) it is not easy to write about the factors that determine the foreign policy of African states, and this is because most of them have just gotten independence and so do not have an established pattern of interests in their foreign policy; secondly even though independent their foreign policy has not been stable; thirdly it is difficult to differentiate between the declaration of a head of state and what he actually does externally and fourthly there is a problem of generalization. It is because of these difficulties that the foreign policy of African states is broadly categorized under external and internal situations. Even then identifying these internal and external environment is not easy, this is because they are enormous and also unfinished. Commenting further the environment in which the foreign policy of African states operate is in reality limited by economic and military interests. But lacking military and economic potentials of Great Powers, African States do not desire to dominate their continent or the world at large. Their main interest are with unity, and stability,

independence and economic development at home and abroad. But basically the external interest of African states, with the exception of North African countries, is to see an end to colonialism and racist rule and then the unity of the continent. Also they are equally rule and then the unity of the continent. Also they are equally interested in the pursuit of global peace.

Alkali (1996:64) writes that both the international and domestic environment together with the country's history in conjunction with contemporary nature of state politics in Nigeria have played a role and even shaped the foreign policy of the country.

Gambari (1999:5) on the other hand is of the view that Nigeria's foreign policy is founded on the domestic political arrangement and the internal politics of the nation. To this end the foreign policy of the nation is not related to the needs of the mass of people in the country, but rather it is formulated, articulated and implemented by the elites. So the foreign policy of the country is done to reflect the needs and aspirations of the elites, who in most times are divided along ethnic, regional, religious and ideological lines. It is no wonder therefore that the country's foreign policy is related to a search for national consensus to achieve or project the goals of the nation to the outside world.

changes this role has changed. This changes is demonstrated in the large size of her missions. But of most importance is the role Nigeria is playing in West Africa, Africa and the international environment. She has become regional power bloc whose opinions are sought on maters relating to Africa.

Even though it is time that Nigeria's economy is heavily dependent on that of western nations, for trade, investment and technology, the nation has been able to use her large internal market opportunities and foreign investment especially in the oil industry to influence issues pertaining to Africa.

Akiyemi (1978:X) in his analysis believes Nigeria's posture and influence on the international scene has changed considerably since independence in 1960 when the nation declared a policy of non-alignment as the guiding principle of her foreign policy. Right from this time Nigeria has undergone changes be it in her political, economic and social environment. Nigeria's relationship around the world has grown since the civil war, with the accompanying discovery of oil and the new confidence of not only the elite but also the public. These factors have brought with it fundamental changes in the policies toward other African and non-African states.

Akinyemi (1974:1) argues that federalism has an impact on foreign policy. To this end the ruling elites of the first republic pursued their domestic interests and projected their policies to the world. These elites were therefore pawns in the hands of those who wanted their polices to be carried out.

Adeniran (1985:188) states that the relationships and operations within the institution or machinery for policy making and the structure of authority for policy execution are the two important features that determine Nigeria's foreign policy output.

But Gambari (1985:202) says that the quest for national consensus has always been the brain behind the formulation of Nigeria's foreign policy since the nation became independent. The reasons for these are; foreign policy shortly after independence was a new thing and so Tafawa Balewa accommodated the views of those in the opposition; the independence government being a coalition of did not want to antagonize any section of country, but most importantly this action was in consonance with the prime ministers personality and political views; a solid national consensus strengthens a nations foreign policy but above all it will command greater external regard and attention over those which changes after each election; finally by supporting a national consensus on foreign policy all post independence Nigerian government hoped to transcend the conflicts

between the "neo-socialist radical impulse and the pro-capitalist, western oriented, conservative weight over, foreign policy direction"

Ojo (1985:270) is of the view that what is common to Nigeria's foreign policy over the years is the concept of national development and integration. To this end, despite the differences in style, approaches and strategies, successive regimes in Nigeria have each tried to use foreign policy as an instrument of national integration through it's contribution to successful implementation of economic plans and as a way of fostering national integration by external accomplishments which confers the feeling of national pride and personal identity.

1.05 **Theoretical Framework**

Power Theory

Hans Morgenthau in his book "Politics Among Nations" published in 1948 popularised the Power theory. Power theory is based on realism, and realism sees the state as the main actor in the international system. This theory believes that universal conformity is not possible and so international conflicts must arise and persist, as few nations want to surrender their sovereignty to international institutions. But international institutions are bound to fail since they lack power to sustain the states. To this end the responsibility of states in

the international system is to promote the interests of it's people against the opposition of other states.

According to the realist the behaviour of states in the international system can best be understood in terms of international politics defined as the struggle for power. To this end all government are preoccupied with this struggle and every government must adjust it's actions to it's power requirements. Besides power position and power distribution in the international system allow, a state only a limited number of policy choices. So a state can either choose the status quo i.e the maintenance of the balance of power, or expansion i.e imperialism or prestige i.e the demonstration of power held by a state. (Olatunde 1985:7)

The central theme of the realist theory is the concept of interest and so in the international system a state can only survive when t pursues it's national interest intelligently. As long as the state system persist, the only constructive way to participate in international politics is through skilled diplomacy and not morality or ideology (Safra 1998:357).

The choice of the power theory for this study is basically to demonstrate how Nigeria used it's economic power which is hinged on oil to pursue it's national interest, which is the end to colonialism and Apartheid from Africa. Nigeria

therefore gave money to liberation movements to prosecute arms and fight the imperialists, castigated nations which did business with the colonialist government in Africa, nationalized companies in Nigeria whose government romanced with the colonial regimes. But above all Nigeria used her power to project her interest in Africa and in the world as the mouthpiece of the continent. She also in the pursuance of her economic interest aligned with western nations to develop her economy in variance of her principles in Africa.

1.06 **Methodology**

This study will concentrate on the foreign policies of specific governments that at one time or the other ruled Nigeria and also their contributions towards seeing to an end to colonialism and apartheid and a critical evaluation of these contributions.

To this end this research will use the secondary source of data, which includes textbooks, magazines, newspapers, radio and seminar papers.

1.07 **Objective of Study**

This research work entitled "African and Nigerian foreign policy: a critical evaluation of Nigeria's role in the eradication of colonialism and apartheid in the continent", has the following objective:-

1. To assess the foreign policy goal of each Government in Nigeria especially as regards the eradication of colonialism and apartheid.
2. To assess Nigeria's contribution to the eradication of apartheid and colonialism in Africa against the background of her overall national interest

1.08 **Significance of Study**

African states and indeed Nigeria are products of western colonialism. The balkanization of Africa is a product of this colonial past. The consequence of balkanization of Africa states is that ethnic groups are divided and put into different nation states and are exploited and denied their right to independence and self government. Nigeria at independence made her foreign policy and centred it around the context of Africa. That is Nigeria' foreign policy is always either Afro centric or concentric cycle, this is in an attempt to identify with the plight of Africans, and to reject non-alignment. To this end Nigeria over the years has consistently fought against colonialism and Apartheid, this is by way of making financial commitments, denouncing nations, which supported colonialism and Apartheid, and many more positive actions carried out against these twin evil. The essence of this research is to critically evaluate Nigeria's role in the eradication of colonialism and Apartheid from the continent

Also this research will enable Government functionaries, foreign policy formulators and implementators to be conscious and aware of the shortcomings in the implementation of the nations foreign policy. They will be in a position to take positive step towards doing better in the future.

1.09 **Scope and Limitation**

This research work will focus on foreign policies of governments that ruled the country, their efforts at liberation from colonialism and Apartheid, programmes carried out on the continent by the nation in order to actualize her foreign policy position. Issues behind the foreign policy of African states and then a critical evaluation of Nigeria's Afrocentric Foreign Policy. This study is therefore limited to efforts to end colonialism and Apartheid, which started at the time of Independence of Nigeria up to 1991 when all African states became independent.

1.10 **Organisation of the Study**

This study has been divided into Five Chapters. Chapter One serves as a general introduction to the work as a whole. Chapter Two contains the background to the foreign policy of Africa and Nigeria while Chapter Three looks at the foreign policies of Government that ruled Nigeria and their efforts at liberation. Chapter Four looked at the contradiction in Nigeria's African policy and Chapter Five is made up of remains of the Chapters, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

2.00 BEDROCK OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF STATES IN AFRICA

2.01 Introduction

The continent of Africa is made up of sovereign states which suffered economic, social and political problems during the era of colonialism and subjugation by European countries. Even after many years of political independence these countries still have problems, as they are dependent on the western industrialized nations for the sale of their goods and most of all for loans and aids.

The main interest of these African States is unity, stability, independence and economic development at home and abroad. Also their main external interest is with the continent where they wished and saw to an end to colonial and racist rule, which ultimately will lead to unity of the continent.

Economic Problems

African countries are raw materials producers and this, was bequeathed on them during the colonial era. Their trade links are therefore more to the western industralised countries, rather than to themselves and they also import finished goods from these industralised nations. The consequence of these dependence on raw materials is that they are subject to fluctuations in world market, even then this trade is to their disadvantage because they do not determine the prices

of the goods they sell, but the prices are determined by trans-national organizations. The fluctuations in the prices of commodities has with it the consequence of lowering income and gross national product. Also the establishment of international commodity agreement to stabilize world prices and assign quota shares to nations and the development of synthetic substitutes have also had undesirable effects. Also apart from the fact that the prices of these commodities are falling without a corresponding discovery of a solution or an alternative source of revenue, African countries right from independence, up to date are experiencing debt problems. This is a serious economic problem for African states (Abdul Salami and Longe 1988:6).

Even though industrialization has been taking place since independence, the nature of African economy is basically raw material export centred and the import of manufactured goods. The implication of this is that none of them could pursue a vigorous and adventurous policies abroad for long. This has weakened their determination to quickly end colonialism and apartheid. To reduce their dependence on aid and loan from the western industrialized powers, they have resorted to the creation of regional groupings such as the Economic Community of West African States and developed river basins (Aluko, 1977:3).

Colonialism

Lugard (1972:66) stated clearly that "..... let it be admitted at the outset that European brains, capital and energy have not been, and never will be, expended in developing the resources of Africa from motives of pure philanthropy; that Europe is in Africa for the mutual benefit of her own industrial classes."

After the scramble for Africa by the colonial powers, the colonialist neglected their territories and the colonies were expected to be economically self-supporting. Taxes were imposed, railway lines were laid down for commercial purposes and cash crop were introduced in neglect of food production (Tordoff 1993:40).

By the 20th century however Africans started reacting against white minority role. This reaction followed the tyrannical and abusive character of the whites. The whites treated Africans who had become educated unequal to them and forbade them from access to prerogatives enjoyed by the colonialists. The Africans therefore, in their condemnation of colonialism, rejected their domination and control by the whites (Hanna 1964:153).

Political Problems

In the course of the scramble for Africa by the Europeans boundaries were drawn and so people of the same ethnic group were placed in different boundaries. Even after independence African States still related with the brothers and sisters on the other side of the boundary (Akinyemi et. al. 1984:33).

The colonialists who arbitrarily drew up boundaries also made some states to be richer materially than others. This has resulted in competition for their scarce material resources by political leaders. They therefore, will continue to control political power so that they can steal from the treasury. Moreover, because these nations are dependent on western powers for finance there are usually which continue to control the political and economic decisions of these independent states. So any attempt to dislodge local leaders by opposing groups is suppressed from outside the country, hence political instability (Hinjari 1985:19 and Ajayi, 1995:4).

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Non-Alignment

African States in order to free themselves from the problems of relationships with non-African powers have pledged not to align themselves with any ideology or power block. In fact the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U) in (Article 3.7) enumerates among the principles to which African States adhere "the affirmation

of a policy of non alignment vis-a-vis the blocs." At independence therefore African States confronted with antagonistic blocks represented by American and Russia reacted against the bipolar system (Gonidec 1981:105).

This concept of Pan Africanism was developed by blacks in the New World and was "reaction to their enslavement over the loss of their true identity, language and culture. The nationalist in Africa accepted Pan-Africanism as a way of achieving unity in Africa. They believed it was only through unity that Africa, can overcome her poverty from the grip of foreign exploitation and control. They were several attempt to achieve unity especially that in 1960 by Ghana, Mali and Guinea and by 1961 these 3 countries in West Africa tried to form the Casablanca group, this group provoked the formation of other groups such as Monrovia group led by Nigeria and Brazzaville group led by Houphoyet Boigny. However, African Unity triumphed, when despite these divisions a meeting of 32 independent African countries met in Addis Ababa and formed the O.A.U. So even though Nkrumah wanted a unified political Institution, no African country was willing to surrender independence to United State of Africa rather the territorial integrity of States was stressed at the O.A.U's briefings (Isichei 1977:319).

2.02 **The Background To Nigeria's Foreign Policy**

The area now known as Nigeria is peopled by 3 major ethnic groups, the Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba all inhabiting the 3 geographical areas of north, east and west. The Ibo's for instance govern themselves without giving any power to a chief. They run their affairs on a segmentary pattern. This is a village system which began through one big family from grand parents to grand children. These families though are in groups are all held together by loyalty to religious beliefs and their ancestors. (Davidson 1965:14).

The Yorubas had a centralised political system with the Alaafin as head but who also had a number of provincial kings under him. The north on the other hand also operated a centralised political system with a distinct local government system. Power in this system is concentrated on the emir and is devolved to other political heads in the local government. (Osae and Nwabora 1968:9).

In 1900 the British took over the direct administration of the separate entities from the Royal Niger Company and by 1914 the whole country was amalgamated. Amalgamation however did not bring unity because the British used different standards to administer the north and the south (Nwabora 1968:20).

Nweke (1985:233) writes that this separate system of administration and manner of penetration of the colonialist into Nigeria was later to manifest in the way foreign policy is made in Nigeria in the following ways. Firstly Nigeria was subjugated economically and politically such that indigenous made of production was replaced by capitalist mode of production; secondly the colonial economy transformed Nigeria economy into a raw material exporter; thirdly when the colonialist withdrew after independence the crop of Nigerians who took over the reigns of power continued to make Nigeria an appendage of the western countries; fourthly Nigeria's foreign policy is determined by the calibre of leadership, administration in power and nature of the ideology held by those in power.

Despite the differences of opinion or approaches to foreign policy by the different political parties, Nigerian leaders at independence through the Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, agreed that Nigeria would not align itself to any power; apart from this national interest would be promoted and the country will belong to the United Nations and the common wealth. On Africa the government said his government will pursue clear and practicable policies and that cultural and economic cooperation would be favoured for the continent before any talk on common market. The prime minister said also that colonial

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boundaries even though arbitrary and artificial would be respected for the sake of peace and non interference.

These principles articulated by the Prime Minister at independence became the guiding principle of Nigeria's foreign policy and have retained their vitality despite the changes of regimes and vagaries of domestic policies. (Otubanjo 1989:4).

Nigeria before independence in 1960 had three major political parties the National Council for Nigerian Citizen (N.C.N.C.), the Action Group (A.G) and the Nigerian Peoples Congress (N.P.C) all of these parties were confined to the three regions that make up Nigeria i.e the east, west and north respectively. The nature of the parties and their divisions was to form the framework for political and economic development of the nation - More so each of the ethnic group as represented by their parties was engaged in competition for wealth, power and influence, as well as bitterness, hostility and distrust with the result that they were not United in presenting a common front in their quest for independence.

Each of these parties also had different view of when Nigeria should be granted independence. For instance the Action Group member requested that Nigeria should be granted self government in 1956, but Ahmadu Bello substituted the move stating that Nigeria should be granted independence 'as soon as

practicable'. Even though these parties were different on when to get independence there was something common to all of them, and that is, the leaders of the parties each agreed that because of the size and resources of the country, Nigeria was destined to play a big role in Africa, if not in the world.

So even though many people felt Nigeria should not develop any foreign policy because it did not face any external threat the political parties while preparing for the 1959 federal elections each formulated a policy for foreign relations. (Garba 1987:16).

For instance the first prime minister of Nigeria Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa viewed decolonization as equal to political independence i.e national anthem, a seat at the United Nations and a twenty one gun salute for Balewa the deputy to Sir Ahmadu Bello of the Northern People Congress perceived such issues as pan Africanism, non alignment and decolonization in moralistic terms rather than practical terms.

In one of his speeches he defended the inevitability of colonialism by saying "it is the will of Allah that they (the British) should be here in Nigeria. The British were fulfilling the will of God". His views on foreign policy can be likened to his morality when he said at independence in 1960 that " we are grateful to

British officers who we have known first as masters, then as leaders and finally as partners, but always as friends".

It is as a result of this kind of statement that it is sometimes argued whether Nigeria has foreign policy. But before independence in August 1960 before the Federal House of Representative the Prime Minister had declared that Nigeria was "adopting clear and practical policies with regard to Africa". He also stated clearly 2 months after independence that Nigeria had no territorial or expansionist desires.

Nigeria also stated clearly through the prime minister that Nigeria was going to support and defend the observance of human right and fight for racial discrimination. Nigeria therefore joined the United Nations, Non-aligned movement and commonwealth. She also established ties with the United States and Britain.

To achieve her foreign policy Nigeria adopted contradictory postures. She together with Soviet Union at the United Nations favoured and voted for an end to colonialism but she refused to have a diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and eastern Europe. But despite these contradiction the two other parties in Nigeria the Action Group and the National Congress for Nigerian citizen gave

the ruling party their support. The Action group for example which preached socialism preferred the nation to align with capitalist democracies while the N.C.N.C under its leader Nnamdi Azikwue opposed socialism. (Alkali 1996:64).

2.03 Factors Influencing the Foreign Policy of Nigeria

(i) The factors which influence the foreign policy of Nigeria include; the type of political leaders. While a radical leaders pursue radical, dynamic and patriotic foreign policy e.g during the Murtala/Obasanjo regime others leaders which are conservative pursue unprogressive and sometimes unpatriotic policies.

(ii) Nigeria's colonial history i.e with respect to her attachment to Britain also determine our foreign policy. It is not no surprising therefore that the focus of our foreign policy has been the Commonwealth and the United Kingdom.

(iii) The nature of the economy determines the formulation of foreign policy. A buoyant economy encourages independent and dynamic foreign policy. For instance the Gowon's regime was characterized by a bouyant

economy, as such Nigeria was able to go into expensive foreign policies such the formation of the Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS). The government of Babangida on the other hand was dependent a foreign support because of the debts owed by the country.

(iv) The stronger a nation is the greater it's ability to pursue a non-alligned posture. Nigeria was able to quell the insurgence in Siraleone and Liberia because of the number of soldiers.

(v) Public out cry and protests or lobbying by pressure groups could also determine the policy of a country. The Nigerian public for example were against the international monetary fund (IMF) Loan and so this made Babangida to abandon the idea for the Structural Adjustment Programme.

(vi) The Foreign Policies of Nigeria during the military regimes were usually more solid and dynamic than in a republican government.

(vii) Due to the experiences of the civil war in Nigeria, she formulates foreign policies which would not make her experience another war or go into war with another country.

(viii) Religion also influences foreign policty. Since Nigeria is a secular state, she formulates policies that would not have any religious undertones. Both Christian and Islamic nations of the world are friendly to Nigeria.

(ix) The activities and treaties of international organizations all have some impact on the foreign policy of Nigeria. As such since Nigeria is a member of the United Nations, she complies with the provisions and orders issued by the world organisation. Example, because of the sanction on Libya by the United Nations, Nigeria should not make policies toward Libya nor should she have relations with her, (National Concord 1998).

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2.04 **Nigeria's Foreign Policy**

All Nigerian leaders since independence apart from calling for the respect of sovereignty, non interference in internal affairs of member states, have also argued that because of Nigeria's size, endownment and population, God has placed on her the leader ship of the continent. As a demonstration of this fact, Africa is the 'centre price' of Nigeria's foreign policy (Izah 1991: 4).

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In furtherance of the above objective Nigeria's constitution in 1989 clearly states that Nigeria's foreign policy among others include:

a. the promotion and protection of the national interest;

b. the promotion of the total liberation of Africa and support of African unity (Ikogho 1993:35).

2.05 **Nigeria's Efforts And Actions On The Continent**

Nigeria according to Agbi (1989:159) played an important role together with Ethiopia in the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) in May 23, 1963 in Addis Abba, Ethipia. The formation of the O.A.U. demostrates Nigeria's commitment to unity and peaceful coexistence of African States.

During the Congo Crisis, Nigeria insisted that the crisis should be left to Africans to handle and she called on the super powers not to be involved. Nigeria also called on African State and the international community to deal with the constituted government in Congo. Nigeria's views was respected by the United Nation Organization, which went ahead to appoint Nigeria's external affair minister, in person of Jaja Nwachukwu as chairman of the conciliation commission established to settle the crisis (Izah 1991:149).

According to Garba (1987:28) Nigeria contributed money to the decolonisation of African States. This was her contribution to the O.A.U. towards decolonisation. In her eagerness to eradicate colonialism from the continent, the government of Murtala/Obasanjo committed herself to the independence of Angola, and even clashed over this with the American Government.

To demonstrate her eagerness to have an economic cooperation in the West African subregion, Nigeria wrote Aluko (1981:12) played a central role in the formation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975. The main objective of the organisation was promoting communications, eduction, cultural exchange and information; research and health; energy and heavy industries.

The Government of Gowon also through her delegate to the Economic Commission of Africa (ECA) in Nairobi on 24th February 1975 agreed to make crude petroleum available to African States at concessionary rates provided those countries would not resell it and had refineries (Aluko 1981:193).

In pursuance of her diplomacy on the continent, Nigeria constructed a road linking Nigerian boarder with the capital of Benin at a cost of $3 million, she supplied Niger with power from the Kianji dam and reactivated the Chad basin

commission and also the Niger River commission in the 1970's. This was also accompanied by the establishment of the Chad basin fund, comprising of Chad, Niger and Nigeria, with the latter being the principal contributor, (Akinyemi 1989:270).

According to Izah (1991:48) the Congo crisis was the first test of Nigeria's - African diplomacy especially in the area of peace keeping where it sent late major general Aguiyi Ironsi as commander of the United Nations force.

Aluko (1981:31) commenting further stated that since the formation of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) Nigeria has played a role in the resolution of conflict between African States. For instance she was a member of the adhoc commission of O.A.U. set up to resolve the boarder conflict between Morocco and Algeria, and between Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya during 1963 - 1963. Also when the assembly of heads of States set up the 21 member commission of eradication conciliation and Arbitration in 1965, a Nigerian was made a chairman. This is apart from other bodies set up by the O.A.U. to deal with disputes in Africa.

But the most important role of Nigeria at peace keeping was the part Nigeria played in supplying men, material and resources in the resolution of the crisis in

Libreria through the formation of the Economic monitoring group (ECOMOG) (Olagunju and Oyovbaire 1991:274)

Nigeria has over the year's injected capital into the economies of sister Africa nations. This is in form of investments especially in Petroleum in Togo, Sugar and Cement projects in Benin and Mifergni iron project in Guinea. The country has also sent high level manpower in form of technical assistance to other African States, apart from the fact that she has awarded scholarships and fellow ships to their students in Nigerian universitites, the award of facilities for vocational and technical training and also the provision of equipment and medical supplies. (Mahadi 1989:270).

Despite the efforts of Nigeria in Africa, and the fact that the continent is at the centre of the nations foreign policy, African states have not been fair at all to Nigeria especially in her trying times.

For instance during the civil war in the country in 1967 to 1970 African countries such as Benin allowed their territory to be used to supply materials to the rebel region at a token sum. (Mahadi 1989:262) Nations such as Ivory Coast, Tanzania and Central African republic actually recognised Biafra's secession during the civil war. Infact it was Ivory coast which granted asylum to chief

Emeka Ojukwu after the war and challenged Nigeria's role in the Economic community of West African States. Alkali 1996:130).

Also in 1995 after the hanging of Saro Wiwa and eight Ogoni men Zimbawe and South Africa called for tough sanctions to be placed on Nigeria and called for Nigeria's expulsion from the common wealth. (Newswatch 1995:10).

Recently two innocent Nigerians were beaten, their shops destroyed and the country's mission in Senegal was attacked, by angry Senagalese fans. This action was a result of humiliation suffered by the "Lion of Senagel" in the hands of "Nigeria's Super Eagles". The Super Eagles gained a 2 - 1 victory over the Senagalese in the on going Nigeria - Ghana 2000. (B.B.C. 1999).

CHAPTER THREE

3.00 EFFORT AT LIBERATION BY SPECIFIC REGIMES

3.01 Tafawa Balewa's Government (1960-1966)

The Prime Minister in October 6, 1960 as the Nation was being admitted as the ninety-nineth member of the United Nations Organization articulated the following principles as Nigeria's foreign policy;

a. *defence of the nations sovereignty and territorial integrity;*

b. *creation of necessary economic and political condition to secure the* Government, territorial integrity and national independence of other African countries and their liberation from imperialism and all forms of foreign domination;

c. creation of necessary economic conditions for the economic, political, social and cultural development of Africa;

d. promotion of the rights of all black and oppressed peoples throughout the world;

e. promotion of African Unity;

f. promotion of world peace based in freedom, mutual respect and equality of all peoples of the world;

g. respect for the territorial integrity of all nations; and

h. non partisanship in east-west ideological disputes and freedom of association and action in the international system (Ashiwaju and Areola 1995:207).

According to Garba (1987;25) quoting an editorial in the Daily Times, writes that the foreign policy of this Government "will consider it wrong for the Federal Government to associate itself as a matter of routine with any of the power bloc." He went farther to state that, apart from non-alligiment, national interest will be promoted and so the country would be a member of the commonwealth and United Nations Organisation. Concerning Africa the government will pursue an economic and cultural cooperation before any talk on common market for the continent.

Justifying Nigeria's decision not to allign with any super power or ideology, Akinyemi (1989:13) says that the nations commitment to this was because peace in Nigeria would be strengthened if there were world peace. Ultimately also the country would be able to achieve her national interest which included political integration, socio-economic advancement and the general well being of the citizens. Commenting further, Nigeria's decision to respect all nations despite her size and wealth was to assuage neighbouring African State, that it would not recolonize her.

Finally Nigeria's foreign policy adopted the principle of guaranteeing liberty and freedom of the individual; permiting rule of law and; the acceptance of the will of majority of the people as the source of the legitimacy of any government.

Izah (1991:130) concludes that the second and third aspect of Nigeria's foreign policy was adopted by the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.). The country also contributed money to the liberation comiittee of the organisation during this era. For instance she paid N100,000 the first year; N74,000 and N84,000 the second and third year.

3.02 General Yakubu Gowon's Government (1966 - 1975)

The early phase of this governments policy was on how to end the threat to secession by the Biafra and so the country's foreign policy at this time was how to end the war. To this end the government, unlike the previous regime courted the eastern bloc for arms having being denied arms by Britain and her allies (Otubanjo 1989:5).

After the war, however the tone of Nigeria's foreign policy to the world and particularly to Africa changed. The Nigerian Government made clear and definite her support for the organisation of African Unity and the liberation movements. Infact the government in it's second national development plan of

> Nigeria gives for the struggle for human dignity and eradication of all racialism and colonialism in Africa and our determination to pursue there goals will continue to be intensified until the whole of Africa is free from the stain of degradation". (Usman 1979:165).

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Nigeria was able to achieve her foreign policy objectives on the tone of the head of state which was often and on oil. Gowon in a meeting of heads of states at the United Nations Organisations in 1973 called on African States to liberate at least one African Country from colonialism every three years. The government also made financial contributions to liberation movements on the contnent (Dudley 1982:296).

To demonstrate the governments commitment to see an end to colonialism and apartheid on the continent, the Gowon regime, rather than allowing the infernational press institute to hold its general assembly in Lagos with South African delegates in attendance refused entry visa to South African journalists and this forced the institute to move its meeting to Europe. The government apart from this prohibited trading reletions with South Africa, refused the entry of

South African republic into Commonwealth, contested the credentials of South African delegations in many international fora, and lastly resumed diplomatic relations with portugal, when the latter had divest itself of all her colonies. (Akinyemi 1975:109).

Earlier in 1970 at an Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) summit in Mogadishu, Somalia, General Gowon said his government would continue to give African liberation movements encouragement and support. These support according to him would be morally and financially. Besides repeating this on several occasions, General Gowon made sure Nigeria paid her dues to the Liberation committee of O.A.U., and constantly appealed to European colonisers to give independence to African States. Apart from all these efforts this regime condemned apartheid and the wests policies and association with south Africa. (Adeniran 1985:194).

3.03 **Murtala/Obasanjo's Regime (1975 - 1979)**

According to Akinyemi (1975:111) justifying the dynamic nature of the foreign policy of this regime states that both Brigadier Mohammed and Obansanjo were members of the Nigerian Foreign Affairs elite before assuming leadership of the country.

The following which are the recommendations of the Adedeji Adebayo foreign policy review panel in 1976 formed the objective of Nigeria's foreign policy during the regime:-

a. The defence of national sovereighty, independence and territorial integrity;

b. The creation of the necessary political and economic conditions in Africa and the rest of the world to facilitate the defence of the independence and integrity of all African countries while at the same time fostering national self reliance and rapid economic development.

c. The promotion of equality and self-reliance in African and the rest of the developing countries of the world;

d. The promotion and defence of social justice and respect for human dignity of the blakman; and

e. The defence and promotion of world peace (Ashiwaju and Areola 1995:205).

Nigeria's foreign policy during Murtala/Obasanjo regime was real dynamic and independent foreign policy. Two different but important diplomatic achievements were referred to during this period. The first was Nigeria's role during the Angola war of independence which marked the beginning of the country's leadership role in African affairs. The singular act by Nigeria in commiting both financial and military strength in favour of movement for the

liberation of Angola (M.P.L.A) against two other rival movements dealt a blow to America's covert military operations in Angola. The other was Obasanjo's swift nationalisation of British Petroluem (B.P) holdings in Nigeria, because of its deep involvement in bursting the United Nations oil sanctions against racist South Africa (Sunday Times 1982:2).

The Government of Nigeria, during this era not only recognised the Moviemento Popular de Libertacao (M.P.L.A) but threw its diplomatic and financial assistance behind it. A monetary donation of ₦13.5m was given to the Angolan Prime Minister, Lopo do Nasci Mento. Also after only six weeks of coming into power this regime reprimanded West Germany over a report that, the West German Government had entered into an agreement with South Africa for the sale of a nuclear reactor. The Murtala/Obasanjo Government said clearly that any association between West Germany and South Africa was not advancing African interests and negates the friendly relations between West Germany and the countries on the continent. The statement of the Government for the former to end the agreement achieved its objective as the deal was cancelled (Akinyemi 1975:112).

According to Akinyemi (1978:IX) three conlcusions ca be reached by the Government's efforts to back the M.P.L.A., the first is that in taking this action

when the O.A.U. could not or would not make up its mind Nigeria signalled it would not base its position on African issues on the organisation's positions; the second is that the Govenment signalled its efforts to embrace the M.P.L.A. led to a situation whereby Nigeria and the United Stattes developed a friction in their relations and this was the first time in the history of Nigeria's foreign policy that Nigeria would confront the Anglo-Saxon superpower.

3.04 **Shehu Shagari Government (1979 - 1983)**

According to 1979 consitution:-

> "The State shall promote African Unity as well as total polical, economic, social and cultural liberation of Africa and other forms of international cooperation conducive to the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect and friendship among all peoples and States and shall combat racial discrimination in all its manifestations."

In her commitment to end colonialism, the Government worked together with Jimmy Carter of United State and put pressure on Britain not to execute "its diabolical plan to assassinate ZANU forces." The regime gave $10m to

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Zimbabwe at independence and continued to commit herself towards the liberation of South Africa and Namibia by supplying their liberation movements with money (Mahmud 199:103).

Before he assumed leadership in an electionering campaign in 1979, Shagari and his party - National Party of Nigeria stated categorically that they would pursue a foreign policy that would put an end completely to colonialism and apartheid. Also on assuming leadership of the country in October 1, 1979 Shehu Shagari pledged that Africa would be the corner stone of his foreign policy. He also expresses his Government determination to see to an end of racial bigotry and colonialism in Southern Africa and oppression in the continent and other places of the World (Adeniran 1985:198).

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According to Nweke (1985:234) Shagari in a budget address to the joint session of the national assembly in 1980 stated that:-

> "Africa remains the corner stone of Nigeria's policy. My administration is committed o the total liberation of Africa and the abolition of racism in all its manifestations. We shall neither relax nor relent until all Africans and all black-men are free... we want a new

> world, where no man and nation is oppressed, where men as well as nations are judged by the content and the quality of their human resources rather than military or economic powers."

To demonstrate his commitment and his disgust for colonialism and apartheid, Shehu Shagari in United States in 1980 threatened to use the oil power of the country as a weapon to fight apartheid should the need arise (Nigerian Standard 1980).

3.05 **Buhari/Idiagbon Regime (1983 – 1985)**

The foreign policy of this Governemnt was clear, calculated and a realistic pursuit of Nigeria's interests and aspirations. Even though Africa still remained its primary concern. The economy and security of the nation formed the central objective of the foreign policy. Other objectives include the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), relations with individual countries, inter-Governmental organisations in Africa and the commitment to end colonialism in Southern Africa (Otunbajo 1989:8).

Nigeria's commitment to an end to colonialism is demonstrated by paying her dues to the O.A.U, liberation committee, rendering of financial assistance to liberation movements such as the African National Congress (A.N.C) and S.W.A.P.O. The country participated actively in the O.A.U. Committee for the liberation of Africa in Accra and Tanzania in 1955. Nigeria also denounced economic links of African States with South Africa calling it a betrayal of the plight and sufferings of African brothers and sisters in the region (Mahmud 1990).

3.06 General Ibrahim Babangida's Regime (1985 - 1993)

The External Affairs Minister Professor Bolaji Akinyemi in November, 1985, enumerated the following as the objective and principles of Nigeria's foreign policy:-

1. The strengthening of African solidarity through continental and regional organisations and institutions such as the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).
2. The promotion of peace and stability on the African continent and security in the West African subregion as well as commitment to the principles of respect for the provisions of the O.A.U. charter, especially as they relate to the inviolability of inherited frontiers, sovereign equality and territorial

integrity of all countries, and peaceful accomodation and settlement of all disputes without foreign interference.

3. Active participation in and support for international organisations such as the United Nations.

4. Support for the rights of peoples to self determination and freedom from colonial and foreign subjugation and for all liberation movements in the legitimate struggle for national indepence and

5. Unwavering support for all efforts to dismantle the system of apartheid in South Africa and all forms of racial bigotry and prejudice (Ashiwaju and Areola 1995:209).

CHAPTER FOUR

4.01 CRITICAL EVALUATION OF NIGERIA'S ROLE IN THE ERADICATION OF COLONIALISM AND APARTHEID

Dudley (1982:280) justifying the fact that Nigeria's effort at ending colonialism was not decisive commented that, the country "maintained trading relations with South Africa in 1962 when South Africa became a republic." Also when Rhodesia proclaimed independence in 1965, Nigeria unlike some Commonwealth nations in Africa, like Tanzania, felt the action was not too important as to break her relations with Britian. Nigeria also, unlike Tanzania, agreed to Britain's views that limited economic sanctions and not force was adequate in dealing with the unilaterial declaration of independence by Rhodesia.

Commenting further on the unilateral declarazion of independence by Ian Smith in Rhodesia, Oculli (1987:317) wrote that his action was taken because Ian Smith knew that Britain could never use force on her because of her investment in Rhodesia. It was no surprise therefore that Britain adviced against such action. The Prime Minister as a cover-up for Britain, said Britain had not "let African members of Commonwealth down."

Okolo (1989:66) criticizing Nigeria's role in the eradication of the twin eveil of colonialism and aparteid in Africa, says that even though she nationalised British and American companies and prevented Henny Kissinger,

American Secretary of State from visiting Lagos, the country was not able to go beyond these actions because the nation's economy was tied to those of the western economy. Moreso, many transnational organisations in Nigeria and South Africa originated from the western world and because of this economic attachment, Nigeria was unable to force them to take actions which might be of importance to the liberation movements.

Apart from this Nigeria depended on a single commodity for revenue i.e oil, and so retaliatory measures could be taken on her if she was not modest on issues affecting the economic interests of the western powers (Okolo 1989:67).

Occuli (1987:318) though commended Nigeria's effort in the eradication of colonialism and apartheid, observes that when these contributions are weighted with the resources plundered from the nation by the ruling elite in collaboration with those at the metropolitan centre, these contributions are insignificant and does not show commitment to the eradication of these twin evils.

Another reason why the nation could not assist Angola in 1980, was that Nigeria depended on the United State to feed her population. Nigeria spends $1.9m to import food from the United Sate and so fears what may occur when this food is not coming from there (New Nigeria 1980:20).

Usman (1979:149) faults the commitments of Nigeria to liberate an African country every three years and this is especially with the role of the country in Guinea Bissau, Guinea Bissau did not get any significant assistance either unilaterally or through the Organisation of African Unity. Amilcer Cabral leader of the liberation movements in Guinea Bissau said even if assistance was given to the P.A.I.G.C. it was insignificant and does not measure up to need of the liberation movements or the promise made at Addis Ababa in June, 1971. Nigeria was geographically close to Guinea Bissau and has the wealth to assist be it in cash or armaments, but did not do so.

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Also even though the crusade against apartheid was one of the corner stone of Nigeria's froegin policy, the Government of Gowon offered one of her car assembly factories to Peugeout Automobile of France inspite of the fact that France was the chief arms supplier to South Africa (Akinyemi 1975:106).

Nigeria did not justify her foreign policy initiative through statement of commitment when United State Ambassador Donald Easum presented his credentials to Gowon in 22 May 1975. Henry Kissinger, the American Secreary of State had earlier removed Easum from his post as the Assistant Secretary of State for African liberation. When Easum was presenting his letter Gowon did

not honour him for his commitment to African cause or reiterate Nigeria's commitment to liberate Africa even though he said in an O.A.U. Conference that African country should be liberated even three years. Also in 1975 when Kenya took the initiative to resolve the differences between 3 liberation leaders Agostinho Neto, Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi all of Angola there was no Nigerian initiative and all Nigeria did was to send congratulatory meassage on the installation of the Provisional Government of Angola. That Government collapsed ten months later (Akinyemi 1975:108).

4.02 Nigeria Strained Relations with United States over Angola

There were strains in relations between Nigeria and the United States in the early 1970s because of United States cooperation with Portugal a colonial master in Africa and United Statets economic involvement in South Africa, which Nigeria viewed as giving support to the white minoirity rule in Southern Africa.

But the major problem was when the Federal Government recognised the M.P.L.A. as the sole Government in Angola on 25th November, 1975. This move by Nigeria was a radical change, because until then Nigeria had always favoured a postponement of Angola's independence. As a result of this Nigeria's policy came into direct conflict with the United States. During that period

Nigeria provided the M.P.L.A. with military and financial aid and then proclaimed it would send troops if necessary. Also a few weeks before the Addis Ababa Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U) summit in January 1976, Nigeria launched an important diplomatic offensive to secure diplomatic recognition of the M.P.L.A. by African States. this came at a time when President Ford of the United State sent a comminque to African Heads of State not to recognise the M.P.L.A. The Nigerian comminque which came after that of President Ford considered the letter "an attempt to insult the intelligence of African nations" and so with a mere one vote majority the O.A.U. sumit decided against a recognition of the M.P.L.A. which, also on three occasions in 1976 Nigeria refused to receive the United States Secretary of State, Henny Kissinger and a further friction was that the United State Information Service facilities in Kaduna and Lagos were taken over (Alkali 1996:130).

4.03 **Nigeria Strained Her Relation With Britain**

Even though Nigeria and Britain had a cordial and warm relations for many years and in their relations there were no signal of any danger, the issue of African liberation caused a strain of relations. This happened when General Obasanjo nationalised British Petroleum part of Shell and the Barclay's Bank and also refused to allow any British Company to tender for the construction of the Tin Can Island in Lagos as a reprisal against British policy towards the independence

of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and the dismantling of the sin of apartheid in South Africa (Ashiwaju & Areola 1989:213).

4.04 Nigeria Strained Her Relation With France

There were tensions and hicups between Nigeria and France over the latter's support for the racist and apartheid regimes in Southern Africa. To demostrate Nigeria's displeasure with France, Nigeria's External Affairs Commissioner Joseph Garba, in an address at the University of Ibadan in 1977 castigated France for her roles in South Africa and warned France not to assume that Nigeria and Africa will always use verbal protests over her actions and collaborations with the apartheid regime but that France's continued political insensitivity to the hopes and aspirations of the oppressed people of South Africa cannot be ignored in the name of trade and economic cooperation (Alkali 1996:132).

4.05 Nigeria's African Policy Contradiction In Gunea Bissau

An examination of Ngieria's policy towards liberation movements in Guinea Bissau has been at the level of the press and diplomatic statements rather than a reality. In June 1971 at an Organisation of African Unity sumit at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, General Gowon urged African countries to try and liberate one African country within three years.

This statement is a further clarification on that made by Nigeria's External Affairs Commissioner in June 17th, 1971 in Addis Ababa where he stated that "Nigeria feels embrassed that after eight years of Africa effort to liberate the remaining countries which are under colonial domination, we have not achieved one total success. I seriously believe that if we commit ourselves to achieving some results that within 2 or 3 years, we can liberate at least Guinea Bissau. The liberation movement in that country is an excellent example of a determined move to throw out the usurpers from their territory. I seriously believe that if this organisation gives them weapons they could throw the Portuguese out in no more than 2 years." But exactly one year and two months after the Statement above the Nigerian Government did not give the liberation movements of Guinea Bissau any significant assistance either unilaterally or through the Organisation of African Unity.

Infact, Amilcar Cebral the leader of liberation movements in Guinea Bissau in an interview with Uche Chukwumerije of the Africn scope 6 months after the External Affairs Commissioner's statement, stated clearly that even if assistance was given to the P.A.I.G.C. by Nigeria it is insignificant. He also stated that contributions from the O.A.U. was purely for administrative purpose and not for war needs. When asked by Chukwumerije what kind of assistance the

P.A.I.G.C. needs from African Countries, Amilcar Cebral states "first financial and secondly material. At the moment, so little of it comes from African Countries" (Usman 1979:145).

4.06 Nigeria African Policy Contradictions In Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe Nigeria faltered yet again over her commitment to liberate African States. Towards the end of 1971 the British Government reached an agreement with the white minority settlers legitimizing white rule. African States however reacted condemining the action of Britain, the Nigerian Government however, stated that "now that the proposals have been rejected, the Federal Government sincerely hopes that the British Government will consult without delay with all its friends in the Commonwealth, and the United Nations organisations with a view to tightening sanctions against the illegal regime of Iam Smith, while at the sametime searching for a more judicious and widely acceptable solution to the Rhodesian question." This statement was an embarrasment to the liberation movements in Zimbabwe, and rather than weakening Britain it served to comfort her. It is also a contradiction of Nigeria's African Foreign Policy (Usman 1979:148).

4.07 Nigeria's African Liberation Efforts

Even though the international community had awoken itself to the evils of colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid by the time Nigeria got

independence in 1960, she committed herself towards the eradication of the evils from the continent. For instance she played a significant role in the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U) which not only made the liberation of the continent its priority, but also set up a special fund to be managed by the specially created liberation committee. Nigeria paid her contributions to the committee regularly and became the largest contributor to the fund. Apart from these Nigeria encouraged defualting members to pay their contributions; intensified diplomatic efforts against colonialism and racism at the United Nations and other international fora; the Balewa regime even imposed a general levy of one shilling each on every Nigerian going to a cinema.

After the 1966 military coup, Nigeria adopted the policy of boycott, and confrontation with the colonial and racist regimes in South Africa. The military Government cllosed down Portuguese mission in Lagos, banned South African white and Portueguese from coming to Nigeria and above all criticised openly western powers in support of colonialism and racism in Africa.

During the Murtala/Obasanjo regime Nigeria allowed the liberation movements to open offices in Lagos and pay official visits to the country. The country also handed out directly monies to the liberation movements and so the African National Council of Zimbabwe was given US $32,750 through its leader Bishop

Abel Muzorewa and also a cheque of US $250,000 was handed over to the liberation movements of Zimbabwe by Joseph Garba.

Apart from financial and material support to the liberation movements Nigeria took economic measures against colonial powers. She called for a ban on the importation of South African goods into the country as well as supported the expulsion of South African from the Commonwealth. The Federal Government also championed the efforts to get South Africa expelled from the International Labour Organisation. It is this actions that earned the nation the uninterrupted Chairmanship of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid for a longtime (Ajala 1989:177).

CHAPTER FIVE

5.00 SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.01 Summary

Foreign policy of any country is a combination of internal and external factors surrounding the country. Moreso the foreign policies of many nations is there to promote and protect the interests of that nation and these interests are made up of territorial intergrity, the promotion of economic, military strategic and diplomatic interests, the increase and maintenance of power and prestige, so as to influence international events and to defend a nations vital interests.

Most African States are products of colonialism and imperialism by western powers. They were at the stage of development before their development was stagnated. But worst of all the colonial masters forcefully took away their raw materials and also exploited them.

Apart from this after independence they were faced with several problems such as political and economic instability, most of these nations cannot stand on their own economically and so have to look else where for financial favours.

Politically African nation have arbitrarily drawn boarders which rather than serve as a relief has continuously led to tensions and war. The elites are not helping matters as they seek to exploit the resources in their nations for their selfish ends.

After independence which was won through nationalism and struggles, African leaders united themselves to free their nation from political, economic and racial discrimination.

Nigeria at independence in 1960, despite her problems and frictions amongst the major political parties felt God has made her, together with her resources and size to be the leader of Africa. She therefore committed herself towards the eradication of racial injustice and colonialism in the continent.

It is because of this that Nigerian leaders at independence and subsequent leaders have always made Africa as the centre piece of her foreign policy. Nigeria committed herself therefore to see to the liberation of the remaining dependent States from the white powers. She committed money, materials and moral support towards these objectives.

Apart from this Nigerian leaders made sure that African States benefitted from her enormous resources by engaging in technical assistance with other countries, providing relief materials to countries in need and also spearheading the formation of many organisations and reconciling leaders and nations that had problems with one.

Even though Nigeria was zealous and selfless in her efforts to liberate African States from the shackles of colonialism and apartheid she never took any decisive action against any of the western powers because her economy was tied strongly to the western economy. Besides most of the transnational organisations which operated in Nigeria had offices in Southern Africa and so Nigeria could not force them to take action that would have been of importance to the liberation movements in their legitimate struggle. Besides, Nigeria's commitment especially in the case of Guinea Bissau were only public statement which had no concrete action. Worst of all the assistance Nigeria gave to these liberation movements was insignificant and cannot be compared to the resources of the nation or to the amount of assistance given by the western powers.

5.02 **Conclusion**

Nigeria's foreign policy over the years has been consistent and attacks colonialism and apartheid on the continent. Nigerian leaders have also matched action with their speech by making Africa the cornerstone of their foreign policy.

This is justified by the many sacrifices either materially, financially and morally which the country has made for the continent. The leaders have not shied away from responsibilities that come the way of the nation, neither did the country neglect the plight of African States during colonialism and Apartheid.

In the pursuance of her African Policy Nigeria places much emphasis on her economic interest as against the end of apartheid and colonialism to the bewilderment of liberation fighters and African leaders.

Moreso the nations continuous attachment to the western powers via her economy and the over dependence on a single commodity, oil has not been a good avenue towards achieving an end to the twin evils of colonialism and apartheid from the continent.

5.03 **Recommendation**

All African nations are politically independent today but are economically tied to the economies of western industrialised countries for aid or sale of their raw materials. To this end Nigeria, through the Organisation of African Unity must implement section three of Tafawa Balewa's foreign policy which states that there should be a "necessary conditions for the economic, political, social and cultural development of Africa" in other words Nigeria should encourage the formation of regional as well continental economic organisations which would fuse together all African economies so that their continued exploitation by the western power will, if not completely stopped or reduced to its bearest minimum.

Besides, the security council of the United Nations must be reformed to ensure transparency, efficiency and accountability. To this end Nigeria must be at the forefront for this reform, and being the "gaint of Africa" and considering what she had done to end Colonialism and Apartheid from the continent, she should struggle for and fight for the dmocratisation of the United Nations by placing herself and not any, other nation on the seat of the United Nations security council.

Nigeria should also use the enormous wealth, which God has blessed her with to free Africa from "Post colonial Colonialism," so that all she has done for the continent in the past would not be in vain.

Nigeria shold not relinguish her leadership role to any nation. She is the leader not only of Africans but blacks all over the world and so she shouldn't allow South Africa, which is peopled by whites to take away from her this leadership role.

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