

**Implications of the Transformation from the  
Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the African  
Union (AU) on Nigeria's Foreign Policy from 2002 –  
2014**

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## ABSTRACT

The transformation of the OAU to the AU in 2002, is said to come with certain caveats and implication in the way Nigeria now formulate and pursue her foreign policy and national interest in the community of nations. The study was able to evaluate the impact of the transition of this ‘Pan-African’ regional organization on Nigeria’s external policy in line with her commitment to collective security in Africa. It goes on to study how the removal of the ‘non-interference clause’ and its replacement with the principle of ‘non-indifference clause’ in the AU Constitutive Act implied also on Nigeria’s foreign policy. It further examined the impact of this transition in line with some of the policy initiatives introduced by the AU such as the New Partnership for Africa’s Development NEPAD, and the African Peer Review Mechanism APRM on Nigeria’s external relations.

The study, finally concludes that despite the changes that came with the transition and Nigeria’s commitment to ensuring the success of these changes, the degree of impact the transition is suppose have on Nigeria’s foreign relations tends to be hampered by a number of challenges such as insurgency, non-cooperation amongst member states in tackling the problem of insecurity, double-standards in the application of the ‘non-indifference’ doctrine, bad governance, corruption, weak institutional mechanism in proffering solutions to African problems among other contending problems.

**Keywords:** African Union, Collective Security, Non-Indifference, Non-Interference, Regional Integration and Nigeria’s Foreign Policy

## ÖZ

2002 yılında AU ABÖ dönüşüm, Nijerya şimdi formüle ve onun dış politika ve uluslar toplumda ulusal çıkarlarını takip şekilde bazı uyarılar ve ima ile geldiği söylenir.Çalışma Afrika'da kolektif güvenlik için ona bağlılık doğrultusunda Nijerya'nın dış politikası bu 'Pan-Afrikan' bölgesel bir örgütün dönüşümün etkisini değerlendirmek başardı. Bu AU Bünye Yasası 'non-kayıtsızlık maddesinin' ilkesi ile 'karışmama fıkra' ve onun yerine kaldırılması Nijerya'nın dış politikasına da ima nasıl çalışmaya devam ediyor.Araştırma ayrıca, bu tür Afrika'nın Kalkınması NEPAD için Yeni Ortaklık ve Nijerya'nın dış ilişkiler Afrika Akran Değerlendirmesi Mekanizması APRM olarak AU tarafından tanıtıldı politika girişimlerinin bazı doğrultusunda bu geçişin etkisi incelenmiştir.

Çalışma sonunda böyle isyan gibi sorunlar bir dizi engel olma eğilimindedir geçiş ve bu değişikliklerin başarı sağlanması için Nijerya taahhüdü ile gelen değişikliklere rağmen, etki derecesi geçiş varsayalım Nijerya'nın dış ilişkileri üzerinde sahip olduğu sonucuna , güvensizlik sorunu, 'non-kayıtsızlık', kötü yönetim, yolsuzluk, diğer yarışma sorunlar arasında Afrika'nın sorunlarına çözüm proffering zayıf kurumsal mekanizmanın açıdan çifte standart mücadelede üye ülkeler arasında non-işbirliği.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Afrika Birliği, Kolektif Güvenlik, Sigara-İlgisizlik, Sigara-Girişim, Bölgesel Entegrasyon ve Nijerya'nın Dış Politikası

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to God Almighty for his grace, enablement and protection over me all through my study and secondly, to my family; my parents Rev. Prof. & Mrs. Jotham M. Kangdim for their continued support, assistance and love ensuring my stay here is worthwhile '(Popcy & Mumcy) I hail wuna'. To my brothers and sisters: Kamshak, Bobby, Boyoz, Aunty H., Government, Dr. Dakom, Site-Engineer and Diddy I really appreciate the love, prayers and concern you've all shown to me, God bless you.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAI	African-American Institute
Africom	African Command
AMIS	African Union Mission in Somalia
ANC	African National Congress
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
AUCU	African Union Constitutive Act
BH	Boko Haram
CD	Citizens Diplomacy
CEWS	Continental Early Warning System
CMPs	Concert for Medium Powers
DFID	Department of International Development
DTAC	Directorate of Technical Aid Corps
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Monitoring Group
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ED	Economic Diplomacy
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FESTAC	Festival of Arts and Culture
FNLA	National Front for the Liberation of Angola
HRV	Human Rights Violations
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.
ICJ	International Criminal Court of Justice

IMF	International Monetary Fund
ING	Interim National Government
LPA	Lagos Plan of Action
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MPLA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Trade Organization
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NIIA	Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
NIPSS	National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies
NIPCR	National Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PAC	Pan African Congress
POW	Panel of the Wise
PSC	Peace and Security Council
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SWAPO	South West Peoples Organization of Namibia
TAC	Technical Aid Corps
UN	United Nations
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNITA	Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UNIMIL	United Nations Missions in Liberia
UNMIS	United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNSC	United Nations Security Council



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# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

Since Nigeria gained her independence from her erstwhile colonial master Britain on 1st October, 1960, Nigeria's leaders have planned her foreign policy framework making 'Africa its centerpiece'. The Nigerian state's external policy focused on the continent given her commitment to the total decolonization of Africa, supporting liberation movements, enhancing regional integration, mediating in conflict resolution, contributing to peace support missions, assisting in technical aid corps, contributing in economic and humanitarian aid among other forms of issues.

After gaining independence, most African states grappled with a series of serious and intricate challenges spanning the economic, socio-cultural, political, environmental, and health sectors and the continent witnessed numerous conflicts, hunger, political instability, political disunity, economic backwardness, and state failure. Such malaise was captured in the early 1990s with the horrendous genocide in Rwanda and the debilitating crisis that led to the 'Failed State' experience of Somalia. These catastrophic outcomes constituted a crucial turning point in terms of appraisals regarding the necessity of overhauling the virtually defunct Organization of African Unity (OAU) so as to provide African solutions to African problems. Such transformation was considered compelling given that the Rwandan Genocide and the Somalia fiasco were both avoidable but for the general indifference of the international community. The failure in both cases of actors such as United Nations

(UN) and the government of the United States of America meant that Africa would have to look inward with a renewed vision of proffering solutions to its own problems. The principle of good neighborliness anchored on the shared African philosophy of 'Ubuntu' which literally referred to 'human kindness and goodness', was to become the central focus of the new thinking.

The period that marked the ideological rift between Washington and Moscow and the eventual rise of the United States of America as a global power led to a serious paradigm shift within the international system; this had far-reaching foreign policy implication on African states and Nigeria in particular.<sup>1</sup> Likewise the apparent dominance of neo-liberalism characterized by the rise of the market via capitalism and globalization could not have come without foreign policy implications for African states too. Equally, the rise of multiple centers of power, particularly at the various regional levels, such as the European Union (EU), the BRICS, the ASEAN, G8, G20 and G77, were all pointers that would ginger some thoughts of reforms in Africa and the OAU. It was in such spirit that the OAU was eventually 're-baptized' marking the birth of the new African Union (AU).

The transformation of the OAU into the AU at Durban, South Africa in 2002, resulted in a fundamental shift in the charter of the former to a more collective, collaborative and robust content in the Constitutive Act of the latter. Together with the accompanying shift in the philosophical fundamentals for inter-state affairs and engagements in the continent which has been a great feat, but not without challenges

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<sup>1</sup> Alli, W.O., (2010), *The Changing Environment of Nigeria's Foreign Policy*, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Lagos, Nigeria.

and implications on the foreign policies of member states. The removal of the ‘Non Interference’ clause and its replacement with that of ‘Non-Indifference’ in the AU Constitutive Act, would require changes or shifts to the stance of states whose foreign policies were largely centered upon the professed core values of African corporation, solidarity and integration through various forms of Pan-Africanism.

Since its founding in 1963, the OAU and its stated mandates of decolonization, anti-apartheid struggle and later, the Non-Aligned Movement during the Cold War era, all seemed by the 1990s to have been overtaken by time and change. Just as Ashiru (2013) noted, fresh issues such as transnational terrorism, religious fundamentalism, insurgency, spread of weapons, unconventional warfare, uncontrolled migration policy, climate change, secessionism/irredentism and stalled multilateral trade negotiations were beginning to stare Africa in the face.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, with the successful ending of colonialism in Africa and the resolve displayed by the organization in ending apartheid in South Africa, it became evident that there was a need for the OAU to re-structure and re-direct some of its aims and objectives as well as for member-states to also review some of its foreign policy framework so as to meet the prevailing challenges and realities of the twenty first century. As stated in Chapter 2 Section 19 of Nigeria’s Constitution, Nigeria’s foreign policy was now

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<sup>2</sup>Ashiru., O., (2013), Nigeria’s Foreign Policy in a Changing World, An Excerpt Speech by the Honorable Minister of Foreign Affairs at an even organized by the Association of Retired Ambassadors of Nigeria in Lagos, available at: <http://trumpetmediagroup.com/trumpet-nigeria/opinion/nigeria's-foreign-policy%3A-new-realities-in-a-changing-world/page-9.html>/accessed 17th August, 2013.

to be founded on “promotion and protection of Nigeria’s national interest, promotion of African integration and support for African unity, promotion of international cooperation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discrimination in all its manifestations, respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, conciliation, arbitration, mediation, and promotion of a just world economic order, and enhancing Nigeria’s image and reputation abroad”.<sup>3</sup>

### **1.1 Statement of the Research Problem & Objective of the Study**

Multilateral diplomacy is an important aspect of the foreign policy of states availing them of the opportunity to come together with other states either at the sub-regional, regional or global level in order to further enhance their external policy objectives and pursue their national interests as well as enabling such states to have a platform in which they can discuss issues that will further lead to the collective development of their sub-region, region and/or the global system.

It is pitiable that this aspect of regional integration was not really successful within the African continent following the creation of the OAU, in 1963. Though saddled with the responsibility to promote unity, cooperation and cohesion amongst Africans in the area of culture, politics, economics, security, it faced a series of challenges such as the incessant conflicts, economic underdevelopment, poverty, corruption, bad leadership, human rights abuses and the likes which marred and threaten the

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<sup>3</sup> Nigeria’s Federal Constitution.

collective security of the continent. To confront these problems, the organization was transformed into the AU in 2002 with certain changes in its constitutive act which aimed to ameliorate some of the inadequacies of the preceding OAU. One aspect that has not been given due attention within the literature is the impact the transformation has had on African states especially as it relates to framing of their idea of foreign policy.

It is therefore, in this light that this research will try to explore the impact of the shift from the OAU to the AU on Nigeria's external policy in line with her commitment to collective security in Africa; evaluating some of the changes in the new AU constitutive act such as the replacement of the non-interference with the non-indifference clause; and how certain policy initiatives introduced by the new AU such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) among others impacted on Nigeria's foreign policy. The objective of this thesis will be to look at the degree to which Nigeria was able to channel and re-direct its foreign policy actions in line with such change.

## **1.2 Research Questions**

This thesis desires to ask the resulting research questions:

1. How has the transformation from the OAU to AU had significant implications for the foreign policy of Nigeria?
2. How has the removal of the OAU's non-interference clause and its replacement with the non-indifference clause in the AU constitutive act impacted on commitment to the principle of collective security of key AU players and Nigeria in particular?



### **1.3 Significance of the Study**

This research work is timely and important for a number of reasons. The AU is an evolving institution with a lot of difficulties as it struggles achieve some of its objectives. It is in this respect intended that the findings and recommendations of the study, may be of use to policy makers when initiating and making foreign policy decisions and actions. Furthermore, as an academic exercise, it is the desire of the study to help contribute to existing knowledge in the area of foreign policy, regional integration, diplomacy and international institutions.

### **1.4 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

The study has both thematic and time scope limitations for the purpose of manageability and focus. It aspires to examine issues around the historic transition to the AU and implications for the foreign policy of Nigeria as its frame of reference. The central temporal or time scope of the work shall be the tight period from when the transformation took place to date. i.e. 2002- 2014.

A study of this nature require some level of interaction between the researcher and certain experts responsible for designing and framing the country's foreign policy and also within the AU in order to either corroborate or reject the secondary sources. The study faced certain difficulties because some of these experts when consulted were not willing to divulge certain information which they considered to be 'classified' and also based on 'security reasons' were not obliged to do so.

### **1.5 Theoretical Framework**

In order to help buttress this research study, the researcher will try and adopt the theory of collective security as a theoretical framework for this study. This theory, is traceable to the Kantian philosophy and idea of 'Perpetual Peace' and also to the

Wilsonian '14 Points' which served as the precursor to the creation of the then League of Nations. The League of Nations was an international organization established after World War I and geared towards maintaining international peace and security, preventing the outbreak of another world war, defending the territorial integrity of nation states and also creating an avenue for the principle of balance of power to be entrenched in the geopolitics of states so as to deter the emergence of one aggressor over another state. Most of the proponents of this theory, are of the view that collective security is realizable through the structural arrangement and integration under an international organization like the United Nations for example.<sup>4</sup>

Relating this theory to the study, entails that since the OAU was established by the newly independent African states to achieve total emancipation of the region from colonization, promoting unity, integration and cohesion amongst member-states, promoting the pan-African spirit, protecting the rights of citizens of member states and ensuring that any action that would threaten the collective peace and stability of the region is totally dealt with. These are said to be the issues this principle of collective security promises to deal with in which the OAU was not able to tackle under the pretext of the doctrine of non-interference in to the internal matters of any independent state as specified in the charter establishing it. In order to further strengthen this collective feelings amongst AU member states and also proffer solution to the problem of non-interference in the continent, the transformed AU via its constitutive act saw the replacement of the non-interference clause and its subsequent replacement with the non-indifferent clause which suggests that member

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<sup>4</sup> Butfoy, A. (1993), *Collective Security: Theory, Problems & Reformulations*, *Center of International Relations*, Department of Politics, Monsah University.

states would no longer be indifferent towards problems affecting other members. Also, through the emerging African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), the Union was able to lay more emphasis on collective security and also prescribed ways to deal with actions considered threatening to the collective stability of the continent.<sup>5</sup>

This thesis will examine the impact the transformation to the AU on Nigeria's commitment to ensuring that such collective feeling, solidarity and security contributes to bringing about the peace, socio-political, economic and human development which the OAU was not able to provide.

## **1.6 Research Methodology**

This study is both descriptive and analytical in its approach. It shall combine the qualitative research methodology with triangulation to bring out a patterned meaning between variables in the theme to be investigated.

### **1.6.1 Reliability and Validity of this Method**

Reliability and validity was ensured through the efficacy of the method of data collection. According to Golafshani (2003), triangulation is a powerful technique in research design that facilitates validation of data through cross verification from more than two sources, strengthening credibility and defensibility of results.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Touray, O. (2005), The Common African Defence and Security Policy, *African Affairs*, vol. 104, Iss.417, pp. 635-656

<sup>6</sup> Golafshani. N., (2003), Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research, *The Qualitative Report* Vol. 8 No. 4. pp. 597-607

The researcher held three principles of objectivity in mind so as to achieve the goals of triangulation as a method of social research namely: ‘Authenticity’, which explains if the evidence is obtained genuinely without any questionable biases. Secondly, ‘representativeness’, explains if the data collected is distinct or not; and finally ‘meaning’, that is to discover the degree to which the data collected is flawless and easily understood.

### **1.7 Method and Sources of Data Collection**

For the purpose of this research, the data and literature will be drawn largely from secondary sources such as books, articles, journals, newspapers, magazines and through the analysis of the statements of foreign policy experts by way of key informant interviews (KII) especially from the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) Lagos, the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies Kuru (NIPPS), and the National Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Abuja (NIPCR). The views and opinions of academics as well as other public commentators will also be succinctly used by the researcher in order to corroborate secondary sources.

### **1.8 Structure and Organization of the Thesis**

This thesis has been structured and organized in the following manner: the first chapter of the study tries to offer a historical overview and background of what the study tries to investigate. It first looks at the background issues, states the aims and objectives of the study, its significance, scope and limitations, provides the theoretical framework and explains the methodology that will be adopted in carrying out this research.

The second chapter, tries to critically analyze and offer conceptual clarifications on certain key terms and review relevant literature concerning the said topic such as the OAU, AU, Nigeria's foreign policy and role in international institutions, Nigeria's role in multilateral diplomacy, Nigeria and the OAU/AU and also the role of this institution in relation to the principle of collective security.

The third chapter tries to evaluate the early development of Nigeria's foreign policy from independence to date in line with the idea of regional integration and cooperation especially as it relates to the OAU/AU.

The fourth chapter will try to look at the shift from the OAU to the AU especially issues relating to why it changed, Nigeria's role in the transition process, certain policy shifts from the OAU to the AU.

The fifth chapter, will try to identify and analyze the impact of this transformation on Nigeria's external relations specifically on her resolve regarding adherence to the principle of collective security in the continent, the impact of the removal of the non-interference clause and its subsequent replacement with the principle of non-indifference in the new Constitutive Act of the AU. Finally, it will look at the overall impact of this transformation on Nigeria/AU relations.

The last sixth chapter will give the summary, conclusions and recommendations considering the extent to which the study was able to achieve its objectives based on the available literature and from the responses obtained from the Key Informants, which will either corroborate the secondary literature or not.

## Chapter 2

### CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS & LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Conceptualizing Literature Review & Foreign Policy

This chapter first conceptually clarifies the meaning of certain terms relevant to the topic being investigated. Thereafter, it will attempt to briefly survey what other scholars have written in relations to this topic. According to Meekayaa, (1992), literature review, “is a search for the discovery of information and evaluation of the information under the topic or theme of study”.<sup>7</sup> Akuzuiko, (1990), described literature review as “reading through and recording work or researches that are already done on the research problem one intends to investigate and or on a related area.”<sup>8</sup> Emma, (2004), defined literature review as “a process in which a researcher relates his topic of interest to existing knowledge already contributed by other researchers too”.<sup>9</sup> It is along such lines that the chapter aims to proceed.

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<sup>7</sup>Meekaya, U.J. (1992), *The Preparation of Presentation of Research Projects: An Electric guide*, Jos Planning Research Publications.

<sup>8</sup>Akuezuilo, E.O. (1990), *Research Methodology and Statistics for beginning Research Students*, Awka: Christian Printing and Publishing Company.

<sup>9</sup> Emma, E.E. (2004): *Research Methodology: A Practical treatise for students*, Jos: FON Printing Press.

Since the development of the modern state structure christened by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, most states' behaviours, actions and agendas in which decisions are taken have been attributed to the concept of policy. The term "policy" literally entails the framework in which decisions and actions of states, organizations, institutions and groups that actually constitute the social system tend to operate. Therefore since every state that functions within the international system is more often than not guided and constrained by certain guidelines and structures which in turn affect its decision making, the need to understand what foreign policy actually encompasses will give us a clearer picture about what this thesis tries to analyze.

Different scholars offer several meanings and definitions as to what foreign policy actually entails. According to Lamido (2002), there is actually no definite consensus among political scientists and international relations experts as to what foreign policy is, and what it is not, because its usage and applicability depends within the context one looks at it. To him, the term foreign policy, is seen as the sum-total of a country's policies in its interactions with other members of the international community. These policies comprise the country's perceptions, attitudes and behaviours on issues, as well as towards other state and non-state actors in the international arena.<sup>10</sup> Adetula (2006), supported this definition by Lamido, adding that the term foreign policy is the totality of all activities of a state aimed at obtaining

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<sup>10</sup> Lamido, S. (2002), *Nigeria's Foreign Policy in the 21st Century*, A Lecture Delivered by the Honorable Minister of Foreign Affairs at the National Institute for Strategic Studies, Kuru.

appreciation and endorsement of its viewpoints and support for its objectives within the international environment.<sup>11</sup>

Another definition offered by Morgenthau (1948), is that foreign policy refers to the decisions that set out the goals or objectives that a nation seeks to achieve and the actions that are taken to implement the decisions.<sup>12</sup> According to Onyisi (2011), foreign policy is the expansion of domestic policies which, to all intents and purposes enables any nation's relevance and participation in the international system.<sup>13</sup> Another definition proffered by Alli (2010), states that it is a plan through which governmental elites and political leaders seek out to influence the global terrain so as to accomplish a particular political goals.<sup>14</sup> From such definitions, one can say that the term foreign policy entails a framework of decision making undertaken by states in the pursuit of their national interest within the international system.

## **2.2 Conceptualizing Collective Security**

In the introductory chapter of this study, the researcher noted that he had opted to study the theory of collective security in order to be able to look at some of the reasons behind the transition of the OAU to the AU, most analysts having tended to

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<sup>11</sup> Adetula, V.A. (2006), *Development, Conflict, and Peace Building in Africa*, *Center for Peace and Conflict Studies*, University of Jos, Nigeria.

<sup>12</sup> Morgenthau, (1948), *Politics among Nations*, University of Chicago, New York.

<sup>13</sup> Onyisi, F.C. (2011), Continuity and Change in Nigeria's Foreign Policy, *Journal of Research and Development*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 223-230.

<sup>14</sup> Alli, W.O., (2010), *The Changing Environment of Nigeria's Foreign Policy*, *Nigerian Institute of International Affairs*, Lagos, Nigeria.



observe that the OAU had failed in its pursuit of this notion of collective security. The transformation to the AU, therefore, tried to overcome this failure. Consequently, having a better conceptual comprehension of what this principle of collective security entails will go a long way in this study because it will enable readers to have a clearer picture of what the concept entails and secondly, it will also enable the researcher to examine if this concept has meaning within the new AU framework in relation to its impact on Nigeria's foreign policy.

According to Kupchan & Kupchan (1995), the concept or idea of collective security is referred to as a system and structure in which states have attempted to prevent wars globally in which institutions such as the League of Nations and United Nations were created based on this philosophical foundations.<sup>15</sup> As noted, this concept has its roots in the philosophical ideas of Immanuel Kant's 'perpetual peace' and Woodrow Wilson's '14 points' agenda that served as the precursor to the formation of the then League of Nations in 1919 which was itself established to bring about peace, unity and security of the international system in order to avert the re-occurrence of another world war.<sup>16</sup> According to McLean (1996:91), the term collective security is referred to as a system for maintaining world peace and security through the concerted effort and agreement of all nations. In which the sole aim is institutionalizing a permanent structure of the balance of power which the whole global community agrees to prevent and neutralize any act of aggression by any state on another sovereign state

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<sup>15</sup> Kupchan C.A. & Kupchan C.A. (1995), The Promise of Collective Security, *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 52 – 61.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid

within the institution.<sup>17</sup> Johnson and Niemeyer (1954), noted that the term collective security traditionally refers to the structural security arrangement by states that made up the then League of Nations in order to protect the territorial integrity of states from any perceived aggressor and also as a caveat to prevent the outbreak of another war that would affect the international system.<sup>18</sup> Another definition by Mwagwabi, is that the term collective security simply means the institutionalized and universal arrangement in which nation-states have agreed to join and pull their resources together in order to tackle any act of aggression or the illegitimate use of force by another state that would ultimately affect the peace and balance of power in the international system.<sup>19</sup>

From the above, we can see that the basic idea behind this principle, theory and concept of collective security was specifically designed to serve as the legitimate framework to secure, protect and defend the sovereignty of nation-states from any form of incursion by any other state within the international system. This principle has been the basic driving force behind international institutions like the United

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<sup>17</sup> Mclean, I. (1996:91), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*, Oxford University Press Inc., New York.

<sup>18</sup> Johnson, H.C. & Niemeyer, G. (1954), Validity of an Ideal, *International Organization*, vol. 8pp. 19-20.

<sup>19</sup> Mwagwabi (2009), *The Theory of Collective Security & its Limitations in Explaining International Organization: A Critical Analysis*, available at: [https://www.academia.edu/760834/Theory\\_of\\_Collective\\_Security\\_and\\_Its\\_Limitations\\_in\\_Explaining\\_International\\_Organization\\_A\\_Critical\\_Analysispdf](https://www.academia.edu/760834/Theory_of_Collective_Security_and_Its_Limitations_in_Explaining_International_Organization_A_Critical_Analysispdf) accessed: 27th February, 2014.

Nations, League of Nations, and other regional, sub-regional and military organizations or institutions such as the African Union (AU), European Union (EU), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the like in which security and avoiding violence or war is a basic objective.

### **2.3 Conceptualizing Non-Interference**

The Westphalia accord became the foundation of the modern international system, ultimately contributing to the emergence of numerous international institutions and organizations. A fundamental foreign policy guideline and basic irreducible principle that drives these international institutions, is the concept of non-interference or non-intervention. This principle, has become a quintessential element in international discourse even in the twenty first century because respect for the independence of states cannot be overemphasized.

According to McLean (1996:371), the concept or principle of non-interference is defined as a basic foreign policy action and also an important principle of international law which states that no nation or country should intervene or interfere in the internal affairs of any state because states by their formation and nature are sovereign and immutable to any form of external control. Intervening in the domestic matter of any independent sovereign entity is a total derision of the authority of such a state and also violates international norms.<sup>20</sup>

Chatham House (2007), on the other hand defined non-interference as a norm of international law premised on the belief that no government or cluster of governments has the authority to meddle, covertly or openly, for whatever reason

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<sup>20</sup> McLean, .I. 1996:371.

into the domestic affairs of any government. Any form of violent intervention or interference that derides the character of the state, whether social, political, economical or otherwise is a violation of the international law.<sup>21</sup> This principle became what most states used in order to challenge and deter any country that might want to meddle in their internal affairs and because of that, relevant clauses have been entrenched in most charters of international organizations such as the UN, EU, and AU. It has become problematic for states to bridge and violate this principle even if there is a justifiable reason for such states to intervene on humanitarian premises in certain dire cases of protracted conflicts, genocide, human rights abuses and crimes against humanity.

## **2.4 Conceptualizing Non-Indifference**

This thesis seeks further to look into the impact of the removal of the non-interference doctrine that existed in the old OAU Charter and its replacement with the principle of non-indifference in the AU Constitutive Act. Of particular concern here is how this change impacted on Nigeria's foreign relations.

According to Murithi (2008), the concept of non-indifference as found in the AU Constitutive Act, centered on the premise that in order to foster more African unity, solidarity and guarantee security for Africans, AU member-states will not fail to intervene and assist when other African countries are facing humanitarian challenges,

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<sup>21</sup> Chatham House (2007:1), *The Principle of Intervention in Contemporary International Law: Non-Interference in a state's Internal Affairs used to be Rule of International Law: Is it still?* available at: <http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/International%20Law/il280207.pdf> accessed: 27th February, 2014.

intractable conflicts, bad governance and ultimately states that are culpable of engaging in crimes against humanity.<sup>22</sup> In line with this Dersso (2011), explained in simple terms the meaning of this doctrine of non-indifference of the transformed AU to connote the idea or notion of a solemn promise to African people that the organization will not stand by and do nothing while other African citizens face humanitarian challenges. Thus, the Constitutive Act made certain normative provisions and established an agenda for enhancing and promoting peace, security, delivering good governance and ensuring the socio-economic growth of the continent under the aegis of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM).<sup>23</sup>

Apuli (2011), observed that this doctrine of non-indifference boils down to the desire of African leaders to find African solutions to African problems rather than allowing any other external or neocolonial force to dictate and meddle in African issues.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Murithi, .T. (2008), *The African Union's Transition from Non-Intervention to Non-Indifference: An Adhoc Approach to the Responsibility to Protect?* Available at: [http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/ipg/ipg-2009-1/08\\_a\\_murithi\\_us.pdf](http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/ipg/ipg-2009-1/08_a_murithi_us.pdf) accessed: 19th February, 2014.

<sup>23</sup> Dersoo, S.A. (2011), Africa Should Come to the Aid of Somalis- Applying the Principle of Non-Indifference, *Institute for Security Studies* available at: <http://www.issafrica.org/iss-today/africa-should-come-to-the-aid-of-somalis-applying-the-aus-principle-of-non-indifference> accessed: 27th February, 2014.

<sup>24</sup> Apuli, K.P. (2011:1), The Principle of African Solutions to African Problems under the Spotlight: The AU & the Libyan Crises, *Open Society Institute, African Governance Monitoring & Advocacy Project Afrimap*.

From all these definitions, one can say that the non-indifference clause in the AU constitutive act is a principle which seek to explain that the AU along with other members will not keep quiet and turn a blind eye whenever there is a problem affecting any other member state.

## **2.5 Nigeria's Relations with the OAU**

Arikpo (1975), in an article titled "Nigeria and the Organization of African Unity" discussed Nigeria's involvement in the establishment of the OAU and efforts for the achievement of its main objectives.<sup>25</sup> Aluko (1981), has written at least two renowned articles on Nigeria's relations with the OAU. The first article was written as part of the celebrations to mark the 10th Anniversary of the OAU titled 'Nigeria's Role in Inter-African Relations with special reference to the Organization of African Unity'. Here he noted changes and continuity in the nature of Nigeria's activities in the OAU, his major argument being that although Nigeria contributed substantially to the founding of the organization in 1963, yet, in the earlier years of the life of the OAU, the country played less of a leading role within the organization than the size and economic potential of the country actually dictated and represented.<sup>26</sup> In another event commemorating the 25th Anniversary of the Organization in 1986, in a paper titled 'Nigeria and the OAU' Aluko, discussed the role played by Nigeria in the OAU and briefly developed a hypothesis that over the years, Nigeria changed its attitude towards the OAU from one of positive support to one of negative indifference and cynicism towards the organization. Without bothering to offer an in-depth analysis

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<sup>25</sup> Arikpo, O. (1975), Nigeria and the Organization of African Unity, *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs* Vol. 1 No. 1, pp. 1-11.

<sup>26</sup> Aluko, O. (1981:23-40), *Essays on Nigerian Foreign Policy*, George Allen and Unwin Publishers, London.

and explanations for this change, he went on to examine, in some detail, Nigeria's role in promoting the objectives and principles of the organization concluding that, despite certain fundamental flaws and mistakes, overall Nigeria's role and commitment within the OAU has been balanced and correct.<sup>27</sup> Orobola (1979), produced an interesting doctoral dissertation on 'Nigerian politics and the Role of Nigeria in the Organization of African Unity'. His central argument was that Nigeria played a key if not a decisive role in the establishment of the OAU and also through the OAU, she was able to contribute as a liberation supporter against the white settler regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia.<sup>28</sup>

Galadami (2005), in his work 'Peace Support Operations in Africa', argued that Nigeria has contributed immensely to the OAU which saw her engaged in various peace keeping support operations under the umbrella of the OAU and subsequently in the transformed AU in order to make sure that peace, prosperity and development returned to the continent and countries affected by these conflicts.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Aluko, (1986), Nigeria and the OAU, in Olusanya and Akindele, pp. 89-97.

<sup>28</sup> Orobola F., (1979), Nigerian Politics and the Roles of Nigeria in the Organization of African Unity, A Doctoral Dissertation submitted to the Graduate School of Rutgers University.

<sup>29</sup> Galadima, H. (2006:298), Peace Support Operations in Africa, in Best (2006), *Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa*, University for Peace, Ibadan, Spectrum Books Limited.

## **2.6 Transformation from the OAU to the AU**

Dede (2010), in a paper titled 'The Evolution of the African Union', offered some critical and defining moments leading to the shift from the OAU to the AU specifically highlighting some of the challenges the OAU faced which includes: her inability to resolve protracted conflicts that has bedeviled the continent since decolonization, political instability witnessed in most states, absence of true democratic ideals coupled with the lack of political will among African leaders to face up to these challenges. These problems he blamed on the incapacitated nature of the OAU. He concluded that the shift to the AU was a milestone and landmark achievement that would ameliorate at least some of the difficulties confronting the continent.<sup>30</sup>

Daniel, (2002), in an article titled 'Can the Past Shape the Future?' argued that the switch from the OAU to the AU was one of the greatest gift presented to Africa as it ushered into the twenty first century. Because, the story and history of Africa, has not only been a story of failed promises and false starts; it has been a narrative of woes and wars, disasters and diseases which many African countries were fractious, the difference of ethnic groups exaggerated by arbitrarily drawn borders coupled with the divide and rule legacy of colonialism, a continent characterized by series of repressive and authoritarian governments, coup detat, famine and with very few people groomed for the important responsibilities of statecraft, in which the OAU seemed overwhelmed by these vices and the only possible way these problems can be adequately addressed was a change in the structure and operations of the OAU as

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<sup>30</sup> Dede, .B. (2010), The Evolution of the African Union, *Federal Ministry of Cooperation and Integration in Africa*, Abuja.



a possible panacea to confronting these problems. He concluded that despite the challenges the OAU faced which eventually led to its demise, the organization was not a total failure because it had been able to live up to its initial mandate of eradicating colonialism from Africa.<sup>31</sup>

Adejo, (2001), in a paper titled ‘From the OAU to the AU: New Wine in Old Bottle?’ argued that there is really no significant change embodied in the transition from the OAU to the AU but rather a continuation of the same institution. He described the AU as nothing but an ‘old wine in a new bottle’ in the sense that some of the challenges that bedeviled the OAU will continue to have sway in the AU.<sup>32</sup> In supporting Adejo’s argument, Onuoha, (2004), in ‘Nigeria and the Politics of the African Union’, contends that those saying that unlike the AU, the OAU was a complete mess, an incompetent organization, a mediocre club, ‘Organization of African Disunity’, and alliance of African dictators are quite delusional because there is actually no significant and fundamental distinction between the OAU and the re-born AU. Given the fact that the same people that constituted the OAU were still the ones at the helm of affairs of the present AU, the same problems the OAU faced are still the same challenges the AU is facing and even the Constitutive Act of the AU shared affinity with the Charter of the OAU therefore, there is nothing special about the change from the OAU to the AU.<sup>33</sup> Kura (2013), in paper ‘The burden of history:

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<sup>31</sup> Daniel, I. (2002), Can the Past Shape the Future? In *This day Newspaper*, July 14 pp.42.

<sup>32</sup> Adejo, A.M. (2001), From OAU to AU: New Wine in Old Bottle? *African Journal of International Affairs*, pp. 119-141.

<sup>40</sup> Onuoha, .J. (2004), Nigeria and the Politics of African Union, *Nsukka Journal of the Humanities*, No. 14, pp. 360-373.

AU and the Challenge of Integration' argued that despite the transmutation from the OAU to the AU in Sirte, 2002 the Union is still grappling with the problem of achieving regional cooperation in the continent.<sup>34</sup>

## **2.7 Nigeria and the AU**

Shinkaiye, (2002:11), in 'Nigeria's Role in Shaping the African Union' critically observed the role played by Nigeria in shaping the AU stating that the transformation to the AU was a doomed project if not for the resilience and astute role played by Nigeria and South Africa in ensuring that the transition project took effect. He also noted the role played by Nigeria in the process of designing and framing the Constitutive Act, providing some of her best experts on foreign policy affairs such Professor Adele and making sure that her policy towards Africa did not change even in this new organization.<sup>35</sup>

Dummoye, (2002:246), in 'Nigeria and the Transition from the OAU to the AU' suggests that Nigeria played a vital role in the process which led to the transition from the OAU to the AU. Because historically, Nigeria has actually made it categorically clear that the interest of Africa remain its focal foreign policy objectives that was why it played a vital role in the formation of the then OAU. To him, it was not a surprise to see Nigeria as one of the key players ensuring that this

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<sup>34</sup> Kura, S.Y.B., (2013:8), *The Burden of History: AU and the Challenge of Integration*, A Paper Presented at a conference commemorating AU at 50, Held at the University of Jos, Nigeria.

<sup>35</sup> Shinkaiye, J.K. (2002:11), Nigeria's Role in Shaping the African Union, Ministry of Cooperation and Integration In Africa (2002), *The African Union and the Challenges of Cooperation and Integration*, Ibadan, Spectrum Books Limited.

union succeeds despite the fact that other African states became dis-interested in the transformation process. Therefore, Nigeria's contribution to the AU has been objective, analytical and based on the belief it has that the union will be the only remedy that will lead to further integration and social development which has eluded the continent.<sup>36</sup>

Birai, (2002:234), in his work 'Costs and Benefits of Nigeria's Membership of the AU' looked at Nigeria's relationship with the AU by trying to measure the pros and cons of Nigeria's membership of the AU especially in this era of globalization characterized by multilateral, bilateral and economic diplomacy. He suggested that Nigeria's engagement with the AU in these jet age era will foster more economic prosperity, economic integration and above all bring about the desired development which the continent lacked.<sup>37</sup>

## **2.8 African Union and Collective Security in Africa**

Oyavbaire, (2010: 35) tried to examine idea of collective security within the new AU in a paper titled "Political Stability and the African Union" where he argued that protecting and defending the fundamental human rights of citizens is an important role the state has to play in order to achieve a stable political system in the continent. He further noted this as a responsibility for the AU. He noted that one of the greatest

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<sup>36</sup> Dunmoye, .R. (2002:246), Nigeria and the Transition from the OAU to the African Union, In Ministry of Cooperation and Integration in Africa (2002), *The African Union and the Challenges of Cooperation and Integration*, Ibadan, Spectrum Books Limited.

<sup>37</sup> Birai, .U. (2002:35), Costs and Benefits of Nigeria's Membership of the African Union, in Ministry of Cooperation and Integration in Africa (2002), *The African Union and the Challenges of Cooperation and Integration*, Ibadan, Spectrum Books Limited.

problems that bedeviled the then OAU was the political instability been witnessed in most African states which actually affected the organization in carrying out its mandate effectively.<sup>38</sup>

Ochoche, (2002), in his article ‘The Military as Institution for Peace and Stability in Africa’ argued that the AU can ensure collective security is guaranteed in the continent by encouraging states to have a strong, professional and apolitical military institution that assists the Union in minimizing and normalizing any act that will threaten peace, stability, security and development of the region. In his argument, he faulted the military in Africa for failing to hold sacred to this professional calling because they tend to dabble and intervene in civilian and political affairs.<sup>39</sup>

Ogwu (2002:186), in ‘The AU and the Problems of Collective Defense and Security’ examined the AU and the inherent challenges associated with collective defense and security within the continent. She specifically looked at certain sections of Article 3 of the Constitutive Act in which African leaders seek to promote peace, safety and stability of the entire continent through the enforcement of the principle of non-indifference to checkmate the activities of states who carryout acts that are against universal tenets. She further noted that even though this principle exists on paper, its

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<sup>38</sup> Oyavbaire, .S. (2010:35), Political Stability and the African Union, in Eze, O.C. (2010), Beyond 50 Years of Nigeria’s Foreign Policy: Issues, Challenges and Prospects, *Nigerian Institute of International Affairs*, Lagos.

<sup>39</sup> Ochoche, S.A. (2002:165), The Military as an institution for Peace and Stability in Africa, in Ministry of Cooperation and Integration in Africa (2002), *The African Union and the Challenges of Cooperation and Integration*, Ibadan, Spectrum Books Limited.

applicability tends to be problematic because the organization itself is weak in carrying out this task and secondly, most of the leaders that are culpable of committing such heinous crimes are major donors and financiers of the Union and therefore, indicting them is tantamount to losing the financial aid rendered. She concluded that for the AU to be able to carry out this mandate effectively it should try and minimize its overreliance on states for funding in order to avoid becoming totally subservient to the whims and caprices of such leaders.<sup>40</sup>

Kwaja (2013), in a paper titled ‘The European Union Security Strategy for Africa & The AU Peace and Security Council’ tried to examine the emerging efforts by the AU in ensuring that security and welfare of member states is given serious importance. He further argued that with the coming to reality of the new security and defense components of the the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) which includes: the Peace and Security Council (PSC), the Panel of the Wise (POW), the African Peace Fund (APF), the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) will serve as the entry point for delivering the much needed collective peace and security that has eluded the continent because all these components have within it an overall interrelated pillars

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<sup>40</sup> Ogwu, .J.U. (2002:186), *The African Union and the Problems of Collective Defense and Security*, in Ministry of Cooperation and Integration in Africa (2002), *The African Union and the Challenges of Cooperation and Integration*, Ibadan, Spectrum Books Limited.

in the form of peace and security, governance and human rights, trade and regional integration as key developmental issues.<sup>41</sup>

In conclusion, this chapter has tried to offer conceptual clarifications on certain key terms that are essential to the study and also through the review of relevant literature concerning the topic under investigation, the study was able to examine works concerning Nigeria's foreign policy and multilateral diplomacy, Nigeria's role within the OAU/AU, the transition from the OAU to the AU and finally, the AU and collective security.

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<sup>41</sup> Kwaja, C.M.A. (20013), *The European Union Security Strategy for Africa and the African Union Peace and Security Council*, A Paper Presented at a Conference and Roundtable Commemorating AU at 50, Organized by the Department of Political Science, University of Jos, Nigeria.

## Chapter 3

# NIGERIA'S INITIAL FOREIGN RELATIONS IN RELATION TO REGIONAL COORPORATION IN THE REGION

### 3.1 Early Development and Principles Guiding Nigeria's

#### Foreign Policy

Asobie (2010:1), stressed that when discussing the early development of Nigeria's foreign policy, we must know that Nigeria had been part and parcel of the international system prior to colonialism. This assertion was further cemented during the period of colonialism especially with the successful amalgamation of the southern and northern protectorates in 1914. No doubt, however, it was as an independent and sovereign entity that Nigeria's international role truly began to manifest in 1960 when it was granted independence.<sup>42</sup>

According to Fawole (2003:38), Nigeria's foreign policy today, is predicated on the vision of the country's first Prime Minister and Head of government from 1960-1966 Alhaji Sir. Abubakar Tafawa Balewa who meticulously articulated the basic

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<sup>42</sup> Asobie, H.A. (2010:1), Nigeria's Foreign Policy 1960-2010: An Overview, in Eze, O.E. (2010), Beyond 50Years of Nigeria's Foreign Policy: Issues, Challenges and Prospects, *Nigerian Institute of International Affairs*, Lagos.

principles and guidelines that were to project the country's external relations.<sup>43</sup> These fundamental principles were mostly outlined in the form of speeches notably in his address to the House of Representatives on August 20th, 1960, his Independence Day celebration speech on October 1st, 1960 and finally his acceptance speech on the occasion that marked the acceptance of Nigeria into the United Nations on October 8th 1960. Through these speeches, the premier presented a detailed and clear analysis of global issues considered to be of greatest importance to Nigeria, her peoples and above all her national interest. The core philosophical foundation that would dictate the country's external policy was to be the ideology of 'Afrocentrism or Africa as the center-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy'. By implication the issues, problems and interests of Africa were seen as being of utmost importance to the Nigerian government, indicating how and why most of the policies pursued by Nigerian governments have been conducted within this originally laid out parameter.<sup>44</sup>

Today many scholars and experts on Nigeria's external relations are able to a large extent to agree that Nigeria has been able to carry out this philosophical basis of Africa being the center-piece guiding the country's foreign policy. Irrespective of the particular regime type and/or personal idiosyncrasies of the regime's leader, the

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<sup>43</sup> Fawole, W.A. (2003:38), *Nigeria's External Relations and Foreign Policy Under Military Rule (1966-199)*, OAU Press Limited, Ile-Ife, Nigeria.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid pp. 39 & 40.



ideology of ‘Afrocentrism’ has clearly remained the basis of discourse and pursuit of national interest internationally.<sup>45</sup>

The cardinal principles that would determine Nigeria’s early relations with the international community in line with Balewa’s vision have been summarized by Fawole (2003:41) as follows:

1. It is the wish of Nigeria to be friendly with all states and to contribute effectively to the workings of the United Nations.
2. Nigeria, notwithstanding her massive territorial boundary and population, does not have any expansionist agenda that would violate the territories and sovereignty of other states.
3. Nigeria being a member of the Commonwealth, will not forget her old friends, but nevertheless it shall not be in alliance with any of the global power blocs. Rather Nigeria will be paramourly committed to the principles and ideals in which the United Nations Organization was established.
4. Nigeria will try and use its resources and will power to ensure the whole of Africa is free from colonial rule.<sup>46</sup>

Scholars such as Asobie, (2010:1), Dokubo, (2010:243) & Ezirim (2010) have identified various distinct phases in the development of Nigeria’s foreign policy. These have included: the first phase referred to as ‘The Age of innocence, uncertainty and timidity from 1960-1974’, a second phase, from 1975-1984 referred

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<sup>45</sup> Onyisi, C.F. (2011), Continuity & Change in Nigeria’s Foreign Policy, *Journal of Research and Development*, Vol. 2 No. 1. pp. 223-230.

<sup>46</sup> Fawole (2003), p. 41.

to as ‘The Era of Awakening’, a third phase was from 1985-1992 referred to as the ‘Epoch of Realism’, a fourth phase from 1993-1998 known as the ‘The Dark Age’ and finally the period since 1999 which may be described as ‘The period of Renaissance’.<sup>47</sup> The key features of such phases will be concisely discussed below.

### **3.2 Nigeria’s External Policy in the First Republic 1960 – 1966**

Most African countries at independence were faced with this responsibility of pursuing and designing policies geared towards nation-building, creating a distinct identity that would reflect their desired relationships with the international community and contribute to their socio-economic and political development. Nevertheless, they soon realized that this was an illusion because the international system was overshadowed by the bi-polar conflict involving the USA and the USSR which to them was a big shock because they were faced with the reality that international politics was not idealistic as it had seemed, but was rather based on certain realist fundamentals. Confronted by this reality, emerging African states had to go back to the drawing board and design other methods to pursue their national interest within such an international system, addressing also the question of whether to align with any of the super-powers or to remain neutral. Nigeria as with several

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<sup>47</sup> Asobie, H.A. (2010:1), Nigeria’s Foreign Policy 1960-2010: An Overview, Dokubo, (2010:243), Nigeria’s Foreign Policy in a Changing Security Environment, in Eze, O.E. (2010), Beyond 50Years of Nigeria’s Foreign Policy: Issues, Challenges and Prospects, *Nigerian Institute of International Affairs*, Lagos. & Ezirim, G.E. (2010), 50 Years of Nigeria’s Foreign Policy: A Critical Review, available at: [https://www.academia.edu/345652/Fifty\\_Years\\_of\\_Nigerias\\_Foreign\\_Policy\\_A\\_Critical\\_Review](https://www.academia.edu/345652/Fifty_Years_of_Nigerias_Foreign_Policy_A_Critical_Review), accessed: 2nd March, 2014.

other emerging African states opted not to take sides with any of the two power-blocs hence, it adopted the policy of non-alignment.<sup>48</sup> This position was expressed by Tafawa-Balewa on August 20th, 1960 when addressing the Nigerian Parliament a few months to independence when he suggested a future foreign policy objective of non-involvement in the ideological tussle between the East and the West, given the right of any independent state to belong to any association of her choice in the global arena.<sup>49</sup> According to Nigerian UN Mission House, (2009), the Prime Minister in his acceptance speech on the 7th of October, 1960 just a week after the country was granted independence when addressing the United Nations General Assembly after it was adopted as the 99th member of the organization stated “so far I have concentrated on the problems of Africa. Please do not think that we are not interested in the problems of the rest of the world; we are intensely interested in them and hope to be allowed to assist in finding solutions to them through this organization, but being human we are naturally concerned first with what affects our immediate neighbors.”<sup>50</sup>

This period in the nation’s foreign policy history is often described to be that of uncertainty, naivety, timidity and innocence. During that period, critical issues that

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<sup>48</sup> Obiozor, G.A. (1993:1), *Analyzing Nigeria’s Role in International Institutions* in Owoeye, .J. (1993), *Nigeria in International Institutions*, The Press Limited, Bodja, Oyo.

<sup>49</sup> Akindele, R.A. (1975), *Nigerian Parliament and Foreign policy 1960-1966*, *Quarterly Journal of Administration*, Vol. 9 NO. 3, pp. 279-291.

<sup>50</sup> Nigeria’s Prime Minister’s Maiden Speech at the United Nations General Assembly on October 7th, 1960, available at: <http://redesign.nigeriaunmission.org/maiden-speech-at-the-un/> accessed: 24th February, 2014.

called for Nigeria's input and contributions example of which include the crises in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the political cum ideological battles involving the various rival groups during the formation of the OAU, and the search for a comprehensive policy towards the Middle-East, Nigeria failed to show that it could actually be a major player within the region let alone global player.<sup>51</sup> According to Dokubo, (2010:244), the failure of the Nigerian government to take a robust position during that time was largely due to the weak coalition government formed by the Balewa's regime, which was characterized by the lack of a clear-cut ideology, politics based on ethno-religious sentiments, and the limited power of the Prime Minister whose policies tended to be hijacked by parliament.<sup>52</sup>

Nevertheless, despite the prevailing challenges confronting the country in achieving a clear-cut foreign policy objective in the post-independence era, the Balewa government was still able to achieve its 'Afrocentric' policy by playing a vital part in the founding of the OAU in 1963.<sup>53</sup>

### **3.3 Nigeria's Foreign Policy under the Military 1966 – 1975**

In its fifty-four years (54) of existence as a sovereign entity, the military ruled over Nigeria for more than thirty-nine years (39). This institution has naturally hold great influence over the country's foreign policy. The military meandered towards politics first on January, 15th, 1966 in a coup leading to the assassination of the Prime Minister Tafawa-Balewa, the Northern Region Premier Mallam Ahmmadu Bello,

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<sup>51</sup> Ogunsanwo, .A. (1986), *Our Friends, Their Friends: Nigeria's External Relations 1960-1985*, Lagos, Alfa Communications.

<sup>52</sup> Dokubo, p. 244.

<sup>53</sup> Ifidon, p.4.

and other notable politicians especially from northern extraction. Their objective was to reduce northern dominance and hegemony in the country's seat of power.<sup>54</sup>

When General J.T.U. Aguyi Ironsi became Head of State after the military takeover, people expected him to actually punish the soldiers involved in the first coup that led to the death of the Prime Minister, but rather he remained docile and was unwilling to court-marshal Major Kaduna Nzeogwu the master-mind of the pogrom. As a result of his passive stance regarding this sensitive matter coupled with the pronouncement of 'Decree 101' by the Ironsi government leading Nigeria adopt to a 'Unitary system of government', some angered within the north pressurized their soldiers within the region to act fast and ensure that the north regained its rightful place in the governance of the country leading to a counter coup on July, 29th, 1966. General Ironsi was assassinated and Colonel Yakubu Gowon was ushered in as Head of State.<sup>55</sup> The emergence of General Yakubu Gowon as the Head of State after the death of Ironsi marked the beginning of what Joseph Garba referred to as 'diplomatic-soldiering' of the Nigerian military in foreign policy duties which traditionally and professionally, was not their primary responsibility and calling.<sup>56</sup>

According to Fawole (2003:52), General Gowon remains the longest serving leader in both the military administration as well as the civilian administration in the nation's history but his foreign policy posture was not clearly felt until the 1970s as a

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<sup>54</sup> Ademoyega, .W. (1981:7), *Why We Struck: The Story of the First Nigerian Coup*, Ibadan, Evans Brothers Nigeria Limited.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. p. 9.

<sup>56</sup> Op Cit.

consequence of the prolonged civil war. Throughout the period of the civil war from 1967- 1970, the focus of the administration was channeled towards uniting and confronting the Biafra-secessionist regime of Colonel Dim Odimegwu Ojukwu.<sup>57</sup> According to Nnoli (1976:15), even though the civil war affected Nigeria's domestic and foreign policies, one thing that did not change was the government's commitment to pursuing its 'Afrocentric' policy of integration, fighting colonialism and uniting the region as a whole. This was also why General Gowon continued to fight and challenge the colonial and racist regimes in Angola, South Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique, Cape Verde, and Guinea Bissau. The actions and behaviours of these colonial governments were acceptable neither to Nigeria, nor to Africa as a whole.<sup>58</sup> Fawole (2003:73) further noted that the systematic isolation of South Africa from certain global sporting events such as the 1972 Munich Olympic Games, 1975 Davis Cup tennis competition, 1976 Montreal Olympics and the 1976 World Amateur Squash Championships amongst other forms of isolation that this apartheid regime faced were directly, indirectly and/or covertly orchestrated by Nigeria in order to ensure that the continent was totally liberated from imperial domination.<sup>59</sup>

Obuoforibo (2011), observed that in order to further strengthen cooperation and unity between Nigeria and her immediate neighbors especially the French speaking states who had supported the Biafra regime during the civil-war and were now afraid of Nigerian retribution, General Gowon and his Togolese counterpart President

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<sup>57</sup> Fawole, p. 52

<sup>58</sup> Nnoli, .O. (1976:15), Nigerian Policy Towards Southern Africa, *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 2, No. 1&2,

<sup>59</sup> Fawole, (2003:73).

Gnassingbe Eyadema initiated the formation of a sub-regional organization to help integrate their neighbors as well as bring about economic development. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), as it is known, was formed in 1975.<sup>60</sup> Consequently, General Gowon was elected to chair the OAU in 1973 which further served as a moral boost for Nigeria in terms of recognition that her support and commitment towards the development and unity of Africans remained the cardinal principle of her foreign policy. Nonetheless, Gowon was still perceived as too moderate and a gradualist who believed in the collective approach and forgetful of the fact that international diplomacy is nothing short of ‘real politik’, a quality his critics felt he lacked and which was probably partially responsible for his overthrow in a coup while he was attending the OAU summit in Kampala in 1975.<sup>61</sup>

### **3.4 Nigeria’s External Relations under the Military 1975 – 1979**

The coup that led to the overthrow of General Gowon on May 29th, 1975 ushered in General Murtala Ramat Mohammed as the Commander in Chief with General Olusegun Obasanjo as second – in – command.<sup>62</sup> According to General Joseph Nanven Garba the then foreign affairs minister, Nigerians witnessed a paradigm shift

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<sup>60</sup> Obuoforibo, .G. (2011), Nigeria and ECOWAS in Light of the Current Happenings, *Journal of Arts and Contemporary Society*, vol. 3. pp. 71-84.

<sup>61</sup> Kenoye, K.E. (1990:19), *Nigeria’s Foreign Policy under Two Military Governments 1966-1979: An Analysis of the Gowon and Mohammed/Obasanjo Regimes*, Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press Limited.

<sup>62</sup> Ogunsanwo, .A. (1980), *The Nigerian Military and Foreign Policy: Processes, Principles, Performances & Contradictions*, Research Monograph, *Center for International Studies*, Princeton.

in the nation's external relations, especially with the west; because Nigeria was now able to stand her ground and would not be a stooge dancing to the whims and caprices of the imperial powers.<sup>63</sup> Many commentators, scholars and pundits have also described the Murtala era as the 'golden-age' of the country's foreign policy based on the vibrant and intellectual credentials of those responsible for fashioning the country's diplomatic policies.<sup>64</sup>

In her resolve to pursue the principle of Africa as the corner-stone of Nigeria's external policy, the regime supported liberation movements against the white supremacist administration in Southern Africa and also assisted in the total liberation of Angola from colonialism. Nigeria accepted the '*Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola*' (MPLA), which in English is referred to as the 'Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola,' headed by Augustinho Neto, as the sole legitimate and legal government representing the people of Angola in place of Jonas Savimbi's western-backed '*Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola*' (UNITA) - National Union for the Total Independence of Angola'.<sup>65</sup>

General Mohammed was able to confront western powers whenever he felt it was necessary and expedient. In a memorable speech to the OAU's extra-ordinary summit in Adisa Ababa, Ethiopia, in January 1976, he stated boldly that Africa had 'come of age' and did not need foreign counselors because Africa is old enough to

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<sup>63</sup> Kenoye, p.23

<sup>64</sup> Garba, J.N. (1987), *Diplomatic Soldering: Nigeria's Foreign Policy 1975-1979*, Ibadan, Spectrum Books Limited.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid p. 23.



choose her friends and foes as it deemed fit.<sup>66</sup> Unfortunately, General Mohammed could not complete his tenure as he was assassinated on February 13th, 1976 in a failed coup but his successor General Olusegun Obasanjo continued to pursue similar foreign policy objectives until 1979 when he eventually handed over power to an elected civilian government led by Alhaji Shehu Shagari.

### **3.5 Nigeria's Foreign Policy in the Second Republic 1979 – 1983**

One of the promises made by the Murtala/Obasanjo regime to Nigerians after the 1975 coup was a smooth transition to civilian rule, a promise which General Olusegun Obasanjo fulfilled after the demise of General Mohammed. Alhaji Shehu Shagari came to power after an election in which in his party's manifesto, one important objective was to continue pursuing the foreign policy objectives centered on 'Afrocentricism'. Many observers were optimistic that the democratically-elected government would channel and enhance the foreign policy credentials of the state but were at the end of the day disappointed because the government did not actually deem it necessary to redirect its external policies in a manner that would lead to the nation playing a more prominent international role.<sup>67</sup>

The government truly faced a series of challenges domestically especially concerning the depleted state of the economy, the urgent need to revitalize the neglected agricultural sector and to improve, expand, and deliver effective social services to a rapidly growing population. Yet, foreign policy should not have been neglected because it is the quintessential element in which every country pursues and safeguards its national interest globally. Dokubo (2010), observed however, that despite

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<sup>66</sup> Op cit p.28.

<sup>67</sup> Dokubo, p. 251.

the relatively care-free attitude of the government in relation to foreign policy, the civilian administration tried to maintain policy towards Africa, as illustrated by government efforts to help in mediating in conflicts within the region such as the Somalian, Ethiopian and Chadian conflicts.<sup>68</sup>

Countering this position, though, Bukola (2007), noted that participation in the ill-fated OAU peacekeeping mission in Ndjamena further increased the level of embarrassment the country was facing in the eyes of its neighbors because of her failure to play that 'giant of Africa' role it claimed to be playing. Secondly, the country's attitude towards her immediate neighbor Ghana which led to the expulsion of her citizens as illegal-aliens further soiled the reputation of the country as a 'big-brother' within the region and sub-region.<sup>69</sup> With these and other structural and institutional challenges confronting the government, the military now found the opportunity to return to power in the 1984 coup.<sup>70</sup>

### **3.6 Nigeria's External Relations under the Military 1983 – 1985**

After the coup that toppled the civilian regime of Alhaji Shehu Shagari in 1983, General Muhammad Buhari became Commander in Chief and the Chairman of the Provincial Military Council. According to Fawole (2003:127), the nature and pattern of General Buhari's approach to foreign policy throughout his tenure clearly depict the situation that led to his emergence to the foray of politics. Stating categorically that the regime intervened in order to salvage the country from total collapse based

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid. p.253.

<sup>69</sup> Bukola, A. (2007), Nigeria and the World: A Review of Nigeria's Foreign Policy (1960-2007), *Nigerian Army Quarterly Journal*, Vol. 3 No. 4.

<sup>70</sup> Ezirim, p.6

on the premonition that the deposed civilian regime bastardized the economy, legalized and institutionalized corruption thereby destroying the nation. He urged Nigerians to support him in making sure that these fatal errors are corrected because Nigerians do not really have any other place to call their own.<sup>71</sup>

Even though the focus of the regime was to revitalize and tackle the deplorable state of the economy, foreign policy was not totally swept under the carpet that was why the government appointed Professor Ibrahim Agboola Gambari a foreign affairs expert as External Affairs Minister while the late General Joseph Nanven Garba, a diplomat per-excellence as the Permanent Representative of the country at the United Nations.<sup>72</sup>

Nwanolue & Iwuoha (2012), observed that like other preceding governments the Buhari's regime made 'Africa' the core element in their foreign policy, but due to the depleted state of the economy, the government embarked on certain policies that tended to contradict such a view directly hurting her immediate neighbors.<sup>73</sup> The government pursued three key policies which they felt would help in revamping the ailing economy: the sudden change of the country's currency, closure of the nation's border and expulsion of illegal aliens mainly from the neighboring countries of Chad, Benin Republic, Niger and Togo greatly affected these dependents.<sup>74</sup> Even though

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<sup>71</sup> Fawole, p. 127

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Nwanolue & Iwuoha (2012), A Reflection on Nigeria's Past: Africa as the Center Piece of Nigeria's Foreign Policy Revisited, Developing Country Studies, Vol. 2 No. 4, pp. 76-85.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

the government tried to justify their actions as based on Nigeria's national interest and also as a security measure for stopping certain politicians accused of corruption from the deposed civilian administration from escaping the country. The actions of the government created mistrust of Nigeria from the international community since it described itself as playing a 'big brother' role shouldering the responsibility of assisting needy African states.<sup>75</sup>

Even though the regime's reputation in the eyes of her neighbours left much to be desired, the government tried to continue with the Afrocentric policies of her predecessors in ensuring that the decolonization agenda of the OAU succeeded by consistently supporting the liberation groups such as: the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, the South West Peoples Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia and the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) from Morocco.<sup>76</sup>

In conclusion, even though Buhari's government grappled with daunting challenges domestically, it never relegated its sub-regional and regional engagement and cooperation within the continent before her tenure was brought to a dramatic end in another coup in 1985.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Gambari, I.A. (1989:32), *Theory and Reality in Foreign Policy Making: Nigeria after the Second Republic*, Atlantic Highlands, NJ, Humanities Press Inc.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid. pp. 87-99.

<sup>77</sup> Op cit. 99

### **3.7 Nigeria's External Policy under the Military 1985 – 1993**

According to Akindele (1990), except for the Mohammed/Obasanjo regime, no other military government came into power at a more auspicious time and with greater reception than the Babangida regime in 1985.<sup>78</sup> The national euphoria that greeted the regime had nothing to do with any expectation that the regime was going to outshine its predecessors but simply because Nigerians needed the change and had grown weary of the harsh and draconian policies of the Buhari's government. Akinrinade (1992), observed that even though the Buhari's regime had stayed for only twenty months in power, it had squandered its small goodwill by its tyrannical display of power, curtailing and abusing the fundamental human rights, censoring media and abrogating press freedom. This was further coupled with the harsh economic and austerity policies which soiled her relationship with her neighbors too, and, in fact, the regime almost turned Nigeria into a virtual military garrison with its 'War against Indiscipline' (WAI) ideology.<sup>79</sup>

Fawole, (2003:151), further contends that Babangida was much more subtle and responsive to public opinion popularly reviewing some of the outrageous jail terms passed on ousted politicians of the second republic and embarking on an open-door government policy in which the views and opinions of Nigerians were consulted on certain government decisions. An example was the long protracted deadlock on

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<sup>78</sup> Akindele, R.A. (1990), *The Structure and Process of Foreign Policy and Implementation in Nigeria, 1960 – 1990*, Vantage Publishers, Lagos.

<sup>79</sup> Akinrinade, S. (1992), From Hostility to Accommodation Nigeria's Policy in West Africa 1984-1990, *Nigerian Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 47-77.

Nigeria securing the IMF facility loan in order to restore the ailing economy.<sup>80</sup> These actions by the regime actually made Nigerians begin to have a sense of belonging in the affairs of their country and belief that things would eventually change for the better. On the international scene too, Nigeria's image began to improve and confidence that Babangida was going to move away from the acute xenophobic behaviour ascribed to the Buhari's regime,<sup>81</sup>

The pledge made by General Babangida to make foreign policy a major priority of his administration was demonstrated by the caliber of people he appointed as foreign affairs ministers such as Professor Bolaji Akinyemi, General Ike Nwachukwu and Dr. Rilwanu Lukman. All these people came with vast experience in foreign policy analysis. As Minister of Foreign affairs, Akinyemi came with grandiose ideas to enhance and redirect the focus of the nation's external relations in which the Head of State gave him the latitude to carry out his responsibility effectively. Ideas such as the 'Concert of Medium Powers', 'Black Bomb' and 'the Technical Aid Corps' were policies that Akinyemi initiated and pursued and all these policy ideas were aimed at exhibiting Nigeria's 'Afrocentric' posture as its foreign policy objective; the concert of medium powers and the black bomb were all geared towards south-south cooperation and regional integration while the technical aid corps was based on the philosophy of Nigeria, rather than giving financial assistance to countries with dire

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<sup>80</sup> Fawole p. 151.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

needs, instead helping in providing the technical and skilled personnel to train their nationals and improve their technical capacity.<sup>82</sup>

According to Akinrinade (1992:59), in her resolve to foster more unity and solidarity within the continent and sub-region the government mediated conflict particularly in Liberia and Sierra-Leone under the umbrella of the Economic Community of West African Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). Also, to further encourage economic integration within the sub-region, under the leadership of Babangida as chairman of the ECOWAS, the organization introduced a policy that allowed citizens of ECOWAS member states to move freely and transact legitimate business with other countries without any recourse for visa and other travelling permits.<sup>83</sup>

Furthermore, the government, under the OAU, continued to support liberation movements in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia which eventually led to the independence of Zimbabwe; it granted asylum to members of the African National Congress and demanded the subsequent release of Nelson Mandela from prison in 1990; with the crucial role played by General Babangida's regime within the continent of Africa, it was not a surprise when he was made chairman of the OAU in 1991.<sup>84</sup>

Despite the dynamism and viability displayed by the government in restoring Nigeria's dented image abroad embarking on open-door policy and constructive

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<sup>82</sup> Nwanolue, & Iwuoha, (2012), p. 80

<sup>83</sup> Akinrinade, S. (1992:59).

<sup>84</sup> Fawole p. 164

engagements with the international environment, the regime squandered and rubbished its own accomplishments towards the end of its tenure when it canceled the June 12th, 1993 elections which had been described by many commentators, pundits and academics as one of the freest, fairest and most peaceful elections conducted in the nation's fifty-four years existence as an independent nation. These had seen late Chief Moshood Abiola of the Social Democratic Party emerging as the winner.<sup>85</sup> In which General Babangida till today has not explained to Nigerians why the elections was annulled.

### **3.8 Nigeria's Foreign Policy under the Military 1993 – 1999**

According to Obi (2006), after the annulment of the 1993 elections by the Babangida government, Nigeria was under immense pressure from the international community. Domestically too, various civil society groups started protesting and agitating as to why an election that was remarkably peaceful and devoid of electoral malfeasance was cancelled outrightly by the government without any justifiable reason. It was as a result of these pressures from within and without that General Babangida decided in his own words to 'step-aside' and inaugurated an 'Interim National Government' (ING) a 'pseudo-government' that was totally condemned and rejected as illegal by the international community and by other advocates of democracy. It was headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan pending another transition period on the close of which new elections would be conducted to ensure the emergence of a democratically elected leader.<sup>86</sup> Barely three months after the inauguration of the 'Interim National

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Obi, E.A. (2006), *Fundamental of Nigeria's Foreign Policy: A Study on the Role of Nigeria in Foreign Policy Making*, Onitsha, Book Point Limited.



Government', it was overthrown in a palace coup following which the Chief of Defense Staff, General Sani Abacha ultimately emerged as the Head of State.<sup>87</sup>

Knowing well that it lacked the legitimacy and mandate of governance, the Abacha government pursued a series of anti-social, anti-civilized behaviours and formulated policies that totally defied international norms and practices of law and governance.<sup>88</sup>

Akintola (2007), observed that during Abacha's reign, the government was totally hostile to any country that tried to question and challenge any of her policies. In fact, scholars termed that period as the 'dark age of Nigeria' because the country gradually nose-dived and became a 'pariah-state' isolated from the scheme of things in global politics.<sup>89</sup> To worsen the situation, the regime was engaged in total abuse of the fundamental human rights of citizens, the régime was also accused of complicity in the assassination of pro-environmental and democratic activists like Ken Saro Wiwa, Aladja Kudirat Moshood Abiola, Pa. Alfred Rewane and anyone who dared to challenge the regime was forced into exile. These actions, further exacerbated Nigeria's image globally which led to her suspension from the Commonwealth of Nations and the Organization of African Unity.<sup>90</sup> Despite these deficits, the government continued to participate in supporting the ECOWAS especially in its

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<sup>87</sup> Fawole (1999), *Paranoia, Hostility and Defiance: General Sani Abacha and the New Nigerian Foreign Policy*, Ille-Ife, Obafemi Awolowo University Press Limited.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid. p. 182

<sup>89</sup> Akintola, B. (2007), Nigeria and the World: A Review of Nigeria's Foreign Policy 1960-2007, *The Nigerian Army Quarterly Journal*, Vol. 3 No. 4.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid

peacekeeping support missions in countries like Liberia and Sierra Leone until the demise of General Abacha in 1998.<sup>91</sup>

After the demise of General Abacha, General Abdulsalam Abubakar became the Head of State, and in his acceptance speech, he made it categorically clear that his focus would be to conduct a successful transition back to democracy and civilian rule. The transition period became the focal point of discourse and agenda of the regime. On 29th May, 1999 when Abubakar finally handed over power to a democratically elected civilian government to be headed by Chief. Olusegun Obasanjo.<sup>92</sup>

### **3.9 Nigeria's Foreign Policy from the Fourth Republic 1999 – to date**

According to Faith & Shodipo (2013), the premonition that Nigeria might once again return to international limelight was glaring based on General Abubakar's transition agenda. Therefore, the inauguration of a new civilian president of Nigeria on May 29th, 1999 became an epoch moment in the nation's political history. The number of international dignitaries and world leaders that graced the occasion was a clear manifestation indeed that the country had a geo-strategic role to play within the continent of Africa and the international system as a whole.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Op cit.

<sup>92</sup> Dokubo, p. 256.

<sup>93</sup> Faith, & Shodipo, (2013), Personality, Foreign Policy and National Transformation: An Assessment of the Olusegun Obasanjo's Administration (1999 – 2007), *Covenant University Journal of Politics & International Affairs (CUJPIA)*, Vol. 1, No. 2 pp. 192-212.

Obasanjo himself offered reassuring words to the members of international community that Nigeria would bounce back and repair its dented image amongst her erstwhile allies and other countries within the continent that looked up to her for leadership role. The newly sworn-in President stated “Nigeria will continue to pursue a dynamic foreign policy that will further promote friendly relations with other states and will play a very constructive role within the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and other multilateral organizations the country belonged to and it is the resolve of this government to bring back the nation to her previous position within the continent and committee of nations”.<sup>94</sup>

Soon afterwards, the President began what many scholars referred to as ‘shuttle-diplomacy’ in order to reconcile Nigeria with her allies. He embarked on policies to attract foreign investors into the economy as well as continuing Afro-centric policies within the continent as a whole.

Adeniran (2008), observed that the government contributed significantly to the shift from the OAU into the AU in 2002 believing it would lead to further regional cohesion and integration and would suit the contemporary realities of the dynamic changes within the international system as whole. Furthermore, Nigeria did not stop at the transformation level alone but rather helped in the conceptualization of the new vicissitudes that came with the changes brought by the new union such as the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD), the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), and the emerging African Peace and Security Architecture

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<sup>94</sup> Chief. Oluesegun Obasanjo, 1999 Inaugural Speech as Nigeria’s President, available at: <http://nigeriaworld.com/feature/speech/inaugural.html> accessed: 26th February, 2014.

(APSA). The establishment of the Ministry of Cooperation and Integration in Africa further showed the government's commitment to regional cooperation and development within the continent as whole.<sup>95</sup>

When President Obasanjo eventually transferred power to another elected government headed by Alhaji Umaru Yar'Adua in 2007, the newly sworn in President vowed to continue the pursuit of these foreign policy principles and added another dimension which is referred to as 'Citizens-diplomacy' and is based on the notion that the welfare and well-being of all Nigerians and Africans is of prime importance to the government and will further, strengthen cooperation, development and unity amongst the continent as a whole. Even after the demise of Alhaji Umaru Yar'Adua in 2010, his successor Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan continued to follow this principle and ideology adopted by his predecessor.<sup>96</sup>

Conclusively, one can say that Nigeria's external policy since independence has been in line with the set out principles and guidelines outlined by the founding fathers. Even though due to the personal idiosyncrasies of the various leaders, on the whole, Nigerian governments tried within their limits and ability to pursue and direct foreign

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<sup>95</sup> Adeniran, T. (2008), Foreign Policy, External Image and International Relations, In Oyovbaire, S. *Governance and Politics in Nigeria: The IBB and OBJ Years*, Ibadan, Spectrum Books Limited.

<sup>96</sup> Salihu, H.A. (2010), Citizen Diplomacy and the Future of Nigeria's Foreign Policy in n Eze, O.C. (2010), *Beyond 50Years of Nigeria's Foreign Policy: Issues, Challenges and Prospects*, *Nigerian Institute of International Affairs*, pp. 311-338

policies that would lead to regional cooperation and unity of the continent as a whole.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Ashiru, .O. (2013), *Nigeria's Foreign Policy: New Realities in a Changing World*

## Chapter 4

### THE TRANSITION FROM THE OAU TO THE AU

#### 4.1 Early Developments of the OAU

Global and regional integration happened to be one issue that dominated the minds of most power players within the international system in the post-world war I & II eras. Considering the devastation that ensued after the end of World War II, the need to create a body, organization and framework that would subsequently lead to international cooperation, promote global peace and most importantly prevent the outbreak of another world war, led to the formation of institutions such as the United Nations Organization, the European Economic Community, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Warsaw Pact and the likes in other to further promote cooperation amongst the various states within the global system.<sup>98</sup>

According to Khanna (2010), the existence of such organizations clearly points to the fact that global and regional integration is today a quintessential element of the international system and if states are to survive, thrive and achieve sustainable development, engaging in inter-continental and regional cooperation will create the avenue for them to achieve their goals. It was such consciousness that was

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<sup>98</sup> Keohane, R.O. (1988), International Institutions: Two Approaches, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 4, pp. 379-396.

entrenched on the founding fathers of the Organization of African Unity.<sup>99</sup> According to Dede (2010:5), the evolution of the OAU was based on the spirit and ideology of the 'Pan-African Movement' founded by W.E.B. Dubois, Marcus Garvey and other intellectuals of African descent in the diaspora that believed in the unity and emancipation of all black races around the world. It was this spirit of Pan-Africanism that influenced African intellectuals such as Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Julius Nyerere, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Obafemi Awolowo, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Leopold Senghor and other young and vibrant Africans scattered around the world.<sup>100</sup> These men saw the need for the continent of Africa to be united, seek her independence and challenge colonialism, seen as the common enemy of Africa since the 18th century 'scramble for Africa project', which was nothing short of the disarticulation and plundering of the African economy and resources by the European imperialists.<sup>101</sup>

The shock wave of political independence of some African countries which Ghana spearheaded in 1957 served as the turning point for the actualization of the African dream of having a continental organization that would lead to the total liberation of the region from colonialism and further enhanced this pan-Africanist spirit. That

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<sup>99</sup> Khanna, V.N. (2010), *International Relations: The World Community in Transition*, New Delhi, AITBS Publishers.

<sup>100</sup> Dede, (2010:5), *The Evolution of the African Union*, In Ministry for Cooperation and Integration in Africa, *The African Union and the Challenges of Cooperation and Integration*, Ibadan, Spectrum Books Limited.

<sup>101</sup> Ake, C. (1981), *A Political Economy of Africa*, New York, Longman Inc.

belief culminated in the founding of the OAU in 1963.<sup>102</sup> Jega (2010), has stated that the establishment of the OAU clearly portrayed the region's commitment to ensuring that the continent be united irrespective of cultural diversity and historical exigencies. He argued that a huge burden now fell on the newly independent and frontline African states to ensure that this spirit continued irrespective of the daunting challenges that lay ahead.<sup>103</sup> At its establishment, the OAU consisted of thirty-two member states and by 1994, membership grew to fifty-three when the Republic of South Africa was adopted after apartheid ended marking the end of colonialism in the continent.<sup>104</sup>

## **4.2 Objectives and Principles of the OAU**

Article II of the OAU Charter upon establishment in 1963 clearly stated what the organization strived to achieve which includes: promoting unity and solidarity among African states, eradicating every element of colonization from Africa, coordinating and ensuring better life and opportunities for Africans, defending the independence and sovereignty of African states, ensuring the attainment of cooperation amongst member states and respecting the fundamental rights and freedoms of African peoples.<sup>105</sup> In pursuing this, all states were expected to by the

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<sup>102</sup> Dede, (2010:6)

<sup>103</sup> Jega (2010), Nigeria's Foreign Policy and the promotion of Peace, Development and Democracy, *Musa Yar'Adua Center*, pp. 1-12 available at: <http://www.yaraduacentre.org/files/Nigeria%20at%2050.pdf> accessed: 27th January, 2014.

<sup>104</sup> Dede, (2010:6).

<sup>105</sup> Article II of the Charter Establishing the OAU stating the purposes and principles guiding organization, available at: [http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/OAU\\_Charter\\_1963\\_0.pdf](http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/OAU_Charter_1963_0.pdf) accessed: 22nd December, 2013.



principles guiding the control and behaviour of states which was clearly articulated in Article III of the Charter. It further stated that: all members should respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of one another and their mutual rights to exist; members should be given equal and fair treatment irrespective of their historical antecedents or ethnic and religious affiliations. Conflicts and disputes should be settled amicably through non-violence, diplomacy, conciliation, mediation and arbitration, no member shall interfere in the domestic matters of other member nations unless they were called upon by the said country. The organization was totally resolved in achieving one of its prime mandates which was that of emancipating the continent from all forms of dependency and subservience on any external country.<sup>106</sup>

### **4.3 Nigeria's Foreign Policy and the OAU**

According to Sesay and Owoeye, (1993:120), no country, no matter how powerful it may be economically, politically and militarily can achieve her foreign policy objectives single-handedly because both the domestic and external terrains are largely beyond the purview of decision makers and therefore they need to collaborate with other countries so as to achieve national objectives.<sup>107</sup> Therefore, it was not far-fetched to say that Nigeria and the OAU exhibited a symbiotic relationship, in the sense that they both needed each other to further their interest and objectives.<sup>108</sup> Just as Ogwu (1986), clearly observed that one issue that clearly portrayed these form of cooperation between Nigeria and the OAU for example, during the Biafran Civil

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<sup>106</sup> Article III of the OAU Charter.

<sup>107</sup> Sesay, A. & Owoeye, J. (1993:120), Nigeria in the OAU: Reflections and Prognosis, in Owoeye, J. (1993), *Nigeria in International Institutions*, Ibadan, The Press Limited.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid

War, the OAU provided a cover as well as a platform for Nigeria to advertise some her foreign policy objectives especially those related to the continent of Africa.<sup>109</sup> This argument was also supported by both Sesay and Owoeye (1993:120), that since Nigeria stated Africa was the center piece of her foreign policy, if clearly manipulated, the OAU served as a valuable vehicle for achieving both her foreign and domestic policies. Furthermore, it was clear from the outset that the OAU, in spite of some of its shortcomings, could become the most powerful and important political body within the continent where every member state could clearly articulate and project its foreign policy objectives for the international environment to know.<sup>110</sup>

Asobie (2010:11), observed that although the country did not become independent until 1960, some two years after the debate on African unity had started, it was nonetheless largely because of its unique position as the most populous African state, and potentially the most powerful that Nigeria was able to leave its mark on the charter of the OAU. Thus, it was not a surprise on the eve of the country's independence, when Prime Minister Balewa made it known that his country would not play a backstage role in Pan-African politics. During the past few months, "one articulated, as I have watched events occurring in other countries in Africa; I have come to realize that Nigeria has not only a right but also tremendous duty to become independent so that she may play her proper part as the country of the African

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<sup>109</sup> Ogwu, J. (1986:62), *Nigerian Foreign Policy: Alternative Futures*, Lagos, NIIA/Macmillan Press Limited.

<sup>110</sup> Sesay & Owoeye, (1993:121).

continent having far the largest population we shall inevitably occupy an important position.”<sup>111</sup>

Consequently, Adetula (2013), noted that Nigeria was one of the unofficial leaders of what later became popularly known as the Monrovia group of states. Essentially, this group of independent African states took a functional and gradualist approach to African unity, unlike their Casablanca or radical counterparts whose leader, was Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and who advocated for a political unification of all the independent African countries. The Monrovia group argued that it would be premature for these newly independent countries to talk of a political union taking into account their cultural, historical, social and economic diversities hence, they pleaded, at least for the moment, for unity based on cooperation in the cultural and economic spheres and areas which they believed were less sensitive and controversial.<sup>112</sup>

It was in this light that Nigeria participated fully in the Monrovia meeting of moderate states in May, 1961 which ultimately led to foundation of the OAU.<sup>113</sup> The moderate and gradualist positions articulated by this group, ultimately constituted

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<sup>111</sup> Asobie, H.A. (2010:11), Nigeria’s Foreign Policy, 1960-2010: An Overview, In Eze O.C. (2010), *Beyond 50Years of Nigeria’s Foreign Policy: Issues, Challenges and Prospects*, Nigerian Institute of international Affairs.

<sup>112</sup> Adetula V. (2013), *Regional Integration in Post-Colonial Africa: Review of Theoretical Foundation and Historical Context*, PhD, Professor of Regional Integration, University of Jos.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

most of the principles and objectives that led to the creation of the OAU Charter. Nigeria contributed immensely in ensuring that these principles were clearly entrenched even after the organization was established in 1963.<sup>114</sup> Chibundu (2009), highlighted that Nigeria made it abundantly clear at the very first session of the OAU Heads of State and Governments summit which took place in Egypt in 1964, where Prime Minister Balewa and Finance Minister Festus Okotie Eboh stressed that Nigeria would not voluntarily surrender its sovereignty to a ‘Unified Régime’ in the continent or subscribe to the idea of a Regional Military High Command. Based on our cultural, ideological and colonial differences, African unity can be achieved through a systematic and pragmatic approach predicated on functional cooperation among member states, respecting the sovereignty and equality of all states, and not meddling in their domestic issues. Rather than subscribing to what Nkrumah’s Casablanca group were advocating, which was the total political unification of the continent under one centralized government and administration, inter-African unity was realizable in stages through genuine cooperation, particularly in the economic, social and cultural fields.<sup>115</sup>

Akinyeye (2010), observed that since the founding of the organization, Nigeria, had paid particular attention to fostering functional cooperation within the OAU by engaging in various forms of cross-border trade and cooperation with its immediate neighbors. Through the establishment of both the Lake Chad and Niger River basins in 1964, Nigeria engaged in further economic activities within the sub-region that

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<sup>114</sup> Asobie, p. 19.

<sup>115</sup> Chibundu, V.N. (2009), *Foreign Policy: With Particular Reference to Nigeria (1961-2008)*, Ibadan, Spectrum Books Limited.

gave birth to ECOWAS in 1975 aiming to further bring about the much desired development within the sub-region.<sup>116</sup>

On the continental level, Ihonvbere (1984), observed that Nigeria's foreign policy towards economic development of the continent was clearly visible when it hosted the first ever OAU economic summit in Lagos in 1980. In his inaugural speech, Nigeria's President Alhaji Shehu Shagari stated that it was time for African states to establish a new memorandum for a, "bold economic take-off which would ensure the completeness and security of Africa's independence". The approval of the Lagos Plan of Action, an economic recovery and development plan that projected the total emancipation and economic development of the continent by the year 2000, further served as a pointer that Nigeria and other OAU member states ought to ensure that the continent achieved the much needed economic growth and development.<sup>117</sup>

Sesay and Owoeye (1990), further observed that besides trying to foster economic cooperation among OAU members, Nigeria has also been playing a prominent role in the peaceful settlement of inter-African conflicts.<sup>118</sup> Ogwu (1986:78), noted Nigeria's commitment towards the peaceful settlement of conflicts within the continent was particularly evident in the role she played in the crises that broke out in

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<sup>116</sup> Akinyeye, Y. (2010), *Nation-States and the Challenges of Regional Integrations in West Africa*, Paris, Kathala.

<sup>117</sup> Ihonvbere, J.O., (1984), The Political Economy of Nigerian Foreign Policy Towards Southern Africa since Independence, *American Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 4. pp. 361-378.

<sup>118</sup> See Sesay and Owoeye, p. 125

the Congo barely a year after the inception of the OAU. Being an advocate of gradual and systematic medium in conflict resolution, Nigeria opposed the move of some OAU member-states to impose a settlement on the various factions, insisting that the Congo crisis was an internal affair and as such it was the sole responsibility of the legitimate government of that country. This position was clearly in line with the OAU's principle of respect for the internal sovereignty of independent states. All the same, this stance by Nigeria attracted vehement criticism, particularly from Ghana which viewed it as a 'betrayal of Africa'.<sup>119</sup>

Okpokpo (1999), also observed that during the continued lingering border disputes between Nigeria and her neighboring countries such as Equatorial Guinea, Cameroun, Niger and Chad, Nigeria never resorted to violence in resolving the dispute but rather tried to look for alternative mediums of conflict resolution.<sup>120</sup>

In sum, Bukarambe (2010:84), observed that despite the daunting challenge, mistrust and vices the country faced in projecting both her domestic and foreign policy, the country tried within her limits to adhere to both the objectives and major principles of the OAU Charter.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Ogwu, p.78

<sup>120</sup> Okpokpo, E. (1999), *The Challenges Facing Nigeria's Foreign Policy in the Next Millennium*, *African Studies Quarterly*.

<sup>121</sup> Bukarambe, B. (2010:84), *Nigeria's Foreign Policy in Africa, 1960-2010: An Interpretative Analysis*, In Eze O.C. (2010), *Beyond 50Years of Nigeria's Foreign Policy: Issues, Challenges and Prospects*, *Nigerian Institute of International Affairs*

#### 4.4.1 Success and Achievements of the OAU

The OAU, as a regional organization established with the central aim of uniting Africa and ensuring her total decolonization, had achieved some degree of success within her forty-years of existence before being transformed into the AU. Gbenga (2002), observed that the organization had not failed, because it was indeed able to end colonial control of Africa. This was mainly as a result of the efforts and commitment of the organization to confront and pressure colonial regimes to grant independence to these countries.<sup>122</sup> Cespedes (2006), furthermore, noted that no other organization had been able to challenge the colonial and white-minority leadership in southern-Africa, and that her effort was adequately rewarded with the independence of countries like Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Namibia and ending of apartheid in South Africa.<sup>123</sup>

Commenting on whether the OAU was a success or a failure, Legum (1975), noted that despite certain inherent challenges, the OAU served positively as a platform and forum which African problems and policies were discussed and debated allowing each member state to contribute and air her own views without any fear of victimization or intimidation.<sup>124</sup> Also, in the area of conflict management, the

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<sup>122</sup> Gbenga, .O. (2002), A Death and a Birth, *The Comet Newspaper*, July 14th, edition, p.15

<sup>123</sup> Cespedes, J.R. (2006), The Organization of African Unity, A lecture Series in Contemporary History, available at: [https://www.academia.edu/2254863/Lectures\\_on\\_Contemporary\\_History\\_-\\_The\\_Organization\\_of\\_African\\_Unity\\_OAU\\_](https://www.academia.edu/2254863/Lectures_on_Contemporary_History_-_The_Organization_of_African_Unity_OAU_) accessed: 16th March, 2014.

<sup>124</sup> Legum, C. (1975), The Organization of African Unity Success or Failure? *Royal Institute of International Affairs*, pp. 208-219.

organization was able to mediate and settle conflicts involving certain member states example of such including the Nigerian civil war from 1967-1970, the Chadian and Western Saharan conflicts in 1982 and the Liberian conflict of 1994.<sup>125</sup>

Panov (1979), highlighted too that the creation of the African Development Bank and the African Institute for Economic Development and Planning was a clear manifestation of the organization's commitment to intra-African economic development and cooperation.<sup>126</sup>

Finally, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo noted that the OAU was not a failure in all ramifications given the fact that it was able unite the region for forty years, her ability to deal with colonialism and the white supremacist regime in South Africa. Even though she had not been able to totally eradicate conflict from the continent, the AU would proceed from where the OAU stopped.<sup>127</sup>

#### **4.4.2 Challenges and Failures of the OAU**

In as much as the organization was able to succeed in carrying out some of its initial mandate the organization also grappled with series of challenges. Onuoha (2004), states that most scholars and commentators when making a postmortem analysis of

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid

<sup>126</sup> Panov, V.P. (1979), *The Organization of African Unity*, The Great Soviet Encyclopedia, available at: <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Organization+of+African+Unity+OAU> accessed: 9th March, 2014.

<sup>127</sup> Nigerian Army Information Briefs, (2005), *The African Union*, Lagos, Institute of Army Education Printing Press.



the OAU point to the fact that the organization had not actually lived up to its optimum expectations and it has been referred to as a mediocre, a moribund and irrelevant club, the “Organization of African Disunity”, and “Alliance of African Dictators”.<sup>128</sup>

Egwu (2006), suggested that the challenges which the OAU faced in carrying out its mandate were both institutional and ideological. By institutional, he argued that for instance the non-interference clause within the OAU charter which totally repudiated any form of involvement by any member country in the internal businesses of any other member nation was problematic because it allowed leaders to carryout various inhumane atrocities on their citizens without repercussion. By referring to ideological constraints, he pointed to the fact that members pursued diverse ideology and ideals. Most times, policies, issues and debates were conducted in line with these ideological divisions rather than having issues discussed on a more objective basis, and this had done a lot of dis-service to the organization.<sup>129</sup> Daniel, (2002), observed that the OAU lacked the necessary power to question and sanction the actions of African leaders who engage in unconventional behaviours which totally negate universal principles and ideals which ultimately, gave tyrants such as, Col. Idi Amin Dada of Uganda, Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, Col. Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, King

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<sup>128</sup> Onuoha, J. (2004), Nigeria and the Politics of the African Union, *Nsukka Journal of the Humanities*, pp. 360-373.

<sup>129</sup> Egwu, S. (2006:411), Beyond Revival of Old Hatreds: The State and Conflict in Africa, In Best, S.G. (2006), *Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa*, Ibadan, Spectrum Books Limited.

Bokassa of Central African Republic and the likes additional capability to repress their citizens and siphon off wealth and resources.<sup>130</sup>

Kwaja (2009), argues that the docility and silence of the OAU in resolving conflicts in the continent clearly points to the inept nature of the organization, citing its inaction during the horrendous carnage in Rwanda that took over 500,000 lives, and the conflicts in Sudan, Congo, and Mali as evidence of its complete failure in containing violence and bringing about peace within the region.<sup>131</sup> Adejo (2001:131) was able to summarily present the challenges which hampered the OAU from effectively carrying out its mandate as including: the problematic nature of the OAU charter which actually served as leeway for African leaders and dictators to make a total mockery of it, the over-dependency of the organization on member states for funding, the emergence of dictatorial and fascists leaders to perpetually subvert the authority of the organization. Other challenges also has to do with the failure of the organization to help and mediate in the Rwandan and Burundi genocides, the long protracted civil conflicts in Angola, Sudan, Ethiopia, Chad and Eritrea, the inability of the organization to mediate in the disintegration and total state collapse in countries like Somalia, Liberia and Sierra Leone, and also the inability of the

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<sup>130</sup> Daniel, I. (2002), Can the Past Shape the Future? In *This Day Newspaper*, Jul. 14, p.42.

<sup>131</sup> Kwaja C.M.A. (2009), Strategies for Re-building State Capacity to Manage Ethnic and Religious Conflict in Nigeria, *The Journal of Pan-African Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 105-115.

organization to help the region with the burden of underdevelopment, bad governance, corruption, poverty and HIV/Aids.<sup>132</sup>

Therefore, with all these vices, African leaders, bureaucrats, technocrats, diplomats, scholars and media practitioners thought it wise that the organization should be remodeled in a way that would make it able to tackle the challenges it grappled with and meet the prevailing challenges of the twenty first century. After a series of intensive meetings, summits and debates, the organization was finally to be transformed into the AU in 2002.<sup>133</sup>

#### **4.5 The Shift to the AU and the Preponderances of the time**

According to Onuoha (2004), the transition from OAU to the AU in South Africa on July 8th, 2002 was one of the major events the region witnessed in its recent history, displaying the true African culture to the international community. It was described by various commentators as a new dawn for the entire continent in which Africa would now take its rightful place and earned respect within the committee of nations.<sup>134</sup> Prior to the eventual transition of the organization, there had been various calls, and pressure coming largely from some African leaders, academics, civil society groups as well as from the media arguing that in order for the continent to meet the contemporary realities of the twenty first century it seriously needed to look inward into the structure and institution of this regional organization.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Adejo, (2001:131), *African Journal of International Affairs*

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Onuoha, J. p.360

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

It had become increasingly evident that the OAU could not address the problems facing the region and if it actually wanted to be a major player in global affairs, redirecting and restructuring the organization in order to confront its problems required change. Galadima (2006:295), further observed that the demise of the Soviet Union marked the finale of the age-long East/West ideological confrontation within the global system. The end of the Cold War brought enormous modifications within the global system now molded by a new world economic order anchored by the spread of liberalism, globalization and democratization. In this new world order, Africa was literally an orphan in the sense that most major powers were less willing to show interest in the affairs of Africa, which was left alone to face its own vices. As Ashiru (2013), highlighted, as a result of the whirlwind of globalization, Africa was totally exposed to a series of challenges which by implication had serious consequences for the socio-political and economic stability of the region.<sup>136</sup> Against this background the transition to the AU was seen as a welcome development which was well received within the continent.<sup>137</sup>

#### **4.6 Rationale for the Shift from the OAU to the AU**

At the fourth extraordinary meeting of the Heads of State and Government held in Sirte, on the 8th-9th September, 1999, African leaders deliberated on the way forward for the continent in terms of fostering unity, solidarity cohesion, and integration, and also promoting the socio-political and economic advancement of the people of Africa irrespective of ideological, cultural, ethnic or religious affiliations. African leaders did not actually repudiate the success recorded by the OAU, in fact

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<sup>136</sup> See Ashiru

<sup>137</sup> See Adejo, p. 133.

they applauded the organization for having been able to keep the continent together for four decades but noted that there were new perilous challenges which the OAU framework would not be able to tackle adequately. The responsibility for tackling these challenges lay solely on the shoulders of these leaders who believed that the only possible way of confronting these problems, was the restructuring of the preexisting arrangement of the OAU.<sup>138</sup>

Agubuzu (2010:365), observed that the metamorphoses of the OAU in to the AU came as a surprise to many Africans. It was an idea and notion based on the premonition that solutions to African problems such as poverty, bad leadership, conflict, diseases, hunger, lack of accessibility to essential services, corruption, human rights abuses and likes, lies solely on Africans alone rather than relying on any external power to help her solve her own problems and the sooner Africans possess this awareness the better for them.<sup>139</sup>

Onuoha (2004:362), further noted that the end of the cold war and the subsequent emergence of globalization and liberalization in the 1980s also played a role in the transition to the AU. That period, saw the transformation of the European Economic Community (EEC) to the European Union (EU), and the formation of common

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<sup>138</sup> In the Fourth Extraordinary session of the Heads of States and Governments held in Sirte, Libya on the 8th -9th September, 1999, articulating reasons why the OAU needs to be restructured and reorganized to meet up with contemporary realities of the international system, available at: [http://www.au2002.gov.za/docs/key\\_oau/sirte.htm](http://www.au2002.gov.za/docs/key_oau/sirte.htm) accessed: 17th March, 2014.

<sup>139</sup> Agubuzu, L.O.C., (2010:365),

economic markets in South America and Asia, Africa could not remain an exception to such rapid change within the international system.<sup>140</sup> Just as Khor (2010), observed, in an increasingly competitive global economy, Africa's small, poor countries, would have a very hard time attracting investments and breaking into new markets. The EU, had shown how greater unity at the regional level can enhance leverage on the global scale. This explains why Africa was also in a hurry to unite. This assertion was further corroborated by Salim Ahmed Salim, the former Secretary General of the OAU, stressing that "frankly, we have to be in a hurry... because the world is not waiting for us".<sup>141</sup> Thus, the shift to the AU, was to further ensure that Africa no longer play solely a marginal role in this globalized market economy but rather participate actively like her other counterparts in the Americas, Asia and Europe.<sup>142</sup>

#### **4.7 Principles and Objectives of the AU**

Article 4 of the AU- Constitutive Act clearly states the following as principles guiding the operationalization of the AU: respecting the sovereignty, equality and independence of member states; respecting the pre-existing boundaries of states prior to the attainment of their independence, contribution of Africans in the happenings of the organization, creation of a common security agenda for the region, ensuring peaceful mediation in resolving disputes involving members states, prevention of the use of force on any member states, and the obligation of the organization to intervene in situations such as: war crimes, genocide and other crimes against humanity;

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<sup>140</sup> Onuoha, (2004:362)

<sup>141</sup> Khor, M., (2010), *Globalization and the South: Some Critical issues*, Spectrum Books Limited, Ibadan.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

promoting gender equality among members, upholding sacred to democratic principles and ideals, respecting the purity of human life, condemning and rejecting any action that would lead to unconstitutional changes of government.<sup>143</sup>

As Agubuzu (2010:368), observes unlike the OAU, the AU in both structure, and organization was geared towards changing the region to vibrant economic development and improvement of good governance. This was a much broader agenda than the commitment to ending both colonialism and apartheid which her predecessor set out to achieve. The adoption of the doctrine of non-indifference further totally repudiated corruption, bad governance, human rights violations, and any other vices that contradicted international norms.<sup>144</sup>

#### **4.8 Similarities & Differences between the OAU and the AU**

Some scholars such as Onuoha and Adejo, have argued that there is actually not much significant disparity between the OAU and the AU but rather a recirculation of ‘old wine in a new bottle’ because looking at both the objectives and principles of the OAU and the AU certain aspects such as promotion of unity, harmony and integration among member states, were clearly stated in both the Charter of the OAU and the Constitutive Act of the AU.<sup>145</sup> Sesay (2008:7), additionally noted that the AU usually generates mixed feelings and reactions from certain segments of individuals and intellectuals within academia especially those he tagged as ‘afro-pessimist’ who

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<sup>143</sup> Article 4 of the African Union Constitutive Act stating the principles of the Union, available at: [http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/aboutau/constitutive\\_act\\_en.htm#Article4](http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/aboutau/constitutive_act_en.htm#Article4) accessed: 18th March, 2014.

<sup>144</sup> Agubuzu, p.368.

<sup>145</sup> See both Onuoha (2004), & Adejo (2001).

totally rejected the notion that the AU is even slightly distinct from the OAU but rather, it is the OAU with only the letter ‘O’ which was eliminated from the initials, and “African Utopia” rather than “African Union”.<sup>146</sup>

Nevertheless, when looking at both the similarities and differences between the OAU and AU, Sesay (2008), Onuoha (2004), Adejo (2001) & Agubuzu (2010), have opined that unlike the OAU, the AU will eventually have a common parliament, Central Bank and a Court of Justice like the European Union. The AU in her Constitutive Act has been able to incorporate all the objectives of the OAU Charter, (eradication of colonialism which clearly is obsolete and immaterial now), yet now encouraging the creation of a common Customs Union that will further lead to more economic integration, cooperation and development within the region which by implication will have eliminated the restrictions on free movements of goods and services, opened up new markets and thereby accelerated trade and commerce.

Article 3 of the AU Constitutive Act clearly condemns and rejects any unconstitutional and undemocratic changes of government and supports democracy, good governance and adhering strictly to the principle of rule of law while in the OAU, there was no provision made to tackle such issues. The principle of non-interference in the domestic concerns of member states under the OAU has been limited under the AU in the sense that the newly created Peace and Security Council

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<sup>146</sup> Sesay, A. (2008:7), *The AU: Forward March or About Face-Turn?* Claude Ake Memorial Papers, No. 3, *Department of Peace and Conflict and Research, Uppsala University & Nordic Affairs Institute*, available at: <http://nai.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:278874/FULLTEXT01.pdf> accessed: 16th March, 2014.



upon request will be allowed to intervene in cases of war crimes, gross abuse of human rights, genocide and other crimes against humanity, therefore, the new Union will be non-indifferent towards such issues. Here had rested a fundamental weakness of the OAU.<sup>147</sup>

In sum, there are certain important provisions of the AU Constitutive Act that were absent in the OAU Charter and they include: Article 17 & 18 which created the Pan African Parliament and the African Union Court of Justice, Article 19 & 22 which created both the AU Central Bank and the Economic, Social and Security Council, Article 23(2), which legalized the imposition of sanctions on any member state that failed to comply with the decisions and policies of the Union, Article 30 which legalized the suspension of any government that emerged via unconstitutional means and finally, Article 33 (2) which entailed the supremacy clause stating that the provisions of the Act take precedence and supersede any inconsistent or contrary provision of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC) which was modeled after the European Economic Community. Making provisions through which mutual economic development within the continent can be realized via establishing free trade economic zones within AU member states, creating a centralized customs service, forming a uniform Central Bank and the introduction of common currency that will be legally accepted within the continent.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> See Article 3, of the African Union Constitutive Act.

<sup>148</sup> See certain provisions and Articles of the African Union Constitutive Act established in 2002.

#### **4.9 Nigeria's Role in the Transformation into the AU**

According to Nweke (2008), Nigeria's role concerning regional cooperation and integration cannot be overemphasized because since independence, the country has been involved in series of multilateral commitments at the sub-regional, regional and global level and this has been one of the cardinal principles behind her foreign policy.<sup>149</sup> In line with her commitment towards regional cooperation, Gambari (1989), noted that Nigeria, based on its Afro-centric policy, has committed huge resources and contributed immensely in the formation of various multilateral organizations such as the ECOWAS, the ECOWAS Monitoring Group ECOMOG and the OAU.<sup>150</sup> Chibundu (2009), records that as at today, Nigeria belonged to more than three dozen international institutions and been able to contribute within her limits in such organizations.<sup>151</sup>

Shinkaiye (2010:19), observed that throughout the evolutionary process that translated into the transition to the AU, from Sirte to Addis Abba to Tripoli, to Lome and Sirte again, no other country in the continent other than Nigeria played an important role in the determination to launch the AU, which was largely attributed to

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<sup>149</sup> Nweke, R.C. (2008), *The Role of Nigeria in Restoring Peace in West Africa*, An Unpublished MA thesis presented at the Faculty of Arts, University of Malta, available at: <http://www.diplomacy.edu/sites/default/files/30112010145910%20Nweke%20%28Library%29.pdf> accessed: 14th March, 2014.

<sup>150</sup> Gambari, I.A. (1989), *Theory and Reality in Foreign Policy Making: Nigeria after the Second Republic*, Atlantic Highlands, NJ Humanities Press International Inc.

<sup>151</sup> Chibundu, V.N. (2009), *Foreign Policy: With Particular Reference to Nigeria (1961-2008)*, Ibadan, Spectrum Books Limited.

its consistent traditional Afrocentric policy. Not only was it a participant of the inner caucus of states consisting of Algeria, Mali, and South Africa, and Lesotho, but it acted as Council chairman, in all the meetings that were held until the Act establishing the AU was adopted.<sup>152</sup> Furthermore, when there was perceived tension and mistrust amongst member states about the intention of Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi on an alternative pattern of union that would be referred to as the 'United States of Africa' it was Nigeria, through its moderate and gradualist approach to foreign policy which prevailed on derided members to continue the process of the transformation which they had hitherto threatened to boycott.<sup>153</sup> Nigeria along with South Africa also persuaded member states to believe that African unity and cooperation was highly commensurate with rapid economic growth, development and investment in research, development, science and technology.<sup>154</sup> Onuoha (2004:5) also stated that during the transition period, with the selection of Professor Adele to become one of the six experts involved in the drafting of the new Constitutive Act of the Union largely due to his vast experience in pan-African studies, regional integration and constitutional drafting when other African states were reluctant to participate, clearly demonstrated Nigeria's commitment in ensuring that the dream and vision of a united Africa and Union was realizable.<sup>155</sup> Finally, none other than President Obasanjo noted that the, "African Union is definitely not a fly-by-night idea originating from an African leader; it is part and parcel of the Pan-African dream of African peace, cooperation, integration and unity,

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<sup>152</sup> Shinkaiye, J.K., p.19.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> Dede, p. 9

<sup>155</sup> Onuoha, p. 5

therefore it is the beginning of the end of Africa's search for ways and means to actualize this age-old vision of Pan-Africanism and Nigeria will continually remain faithful, consistent and committed to the achievement of our shared continental goal of peace, security, stability, cooperation and integration in Africa."<sup>156</sup>

In conclusion, this chapter has set out to examine the transformation of the OAU to the AU. It starts by looking at the early proceedings which culminated into the formation of the OAU, its objectives and principles, its success and challenges, the eventual transformation in 2002, the rationale behind the transformation, the objectives of the AU, the similarities and differences between the OAU and AU and finally, Nigeria's participation in both the OAU and the AU. Consequently, the next chapter will try to evaluate the impact these transformation have had on Nigeria's foreign policy.

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<sup>156</sup> Ministry of Cooperation and Integration of Africa, (2010), *The African Union and the Challenges of Cooperation and Integration*, Ibadan, Spectrum Books

## Chapter 5

### IMPACT OF THE TRANSFORMATION ON NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

#### 5.1 Introduction

According to Onuoha (2004), the transition from the OAU to the AU was expected to bring in new vigor through which African states would channel their foreign policy framework so as to effectively tackle the challenges confronting the continent having learnt from the mistakes and failures of the OAU.<sup>157</sup> It was against this background that Mommoh (2014), opined that the transformation of the OAU to the AU had significant implications on the external policy of Nigeria as well as other member states. Invariably, this transformation also made African states refocus their foreign policies in order to cope with current realities.<sup>158</sup> Momoh, noted that the transition of the OAU to the AU had particular implications on Nigeria's foreign policy because, at independence Nigerian leaders had designed the foreign policy principle of "Africa as her centerpiece". Any event, action, policy, program or initiative emanating from within the continent, was of concern to Nigeria based on this

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<sup>157</sup> Onuoha, J. (2004), Nigeria and the Politics of the African Union, *Nsukka Journal of Humanities*, pp. 360-373.

<sup>158</sup> Interview with Mommoh, Z. (2014), on the 'Implications of the Transformation of the OAU to AU on Nigeria's Foreign policy' *National Consultant, DFID/PATHS2 Nigeria/AU*.

‘Afrocentric’ policy. Consequently, the transition to the AU would result in a paradigm shift in Nigeria’s foreign policy.<sup>159</sup>

The current chapter will try to answer the question regarding the implication of the transformation in line with Nigeria’s general commitment to the principle of collective security within the region. The chapter will further evaluate how the transformation impacted on Nigeria’s foreign policy in line with the removal of the non-interference clause of the old OAU Charter and its subsequent replacement with the principle of non-indifference in the current AU Constitutive Act. Finally, the chapter will examine additional implications these changes have had for Nigeria’s foreign policy.

## **5.2 Nigeria’s Foreign Policy and Commitment to Collective Security in the continent**

According to Gebresilassie (2012), the doctrine or concept of collective security is an evolving idea which has different meanings and interpretations depending on the situation as well as the context one looks at it. In general terms, collective security was premised under the premonition that peace, order and tranquility is a basic indivisible measure in which states unanimously come together in order to deal with any action or behaviour that will threaten the security and survival of such states.<sup>160</sup>

While Egbebulam (2012), looked at the concept of collective security as the institutionalized mechanism which seeks to maintain international peace and security

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<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Gebresilassie H.F., (2012), *Collective Security at Stake? Challenges of the Current Security System*, available at: <http://aigaforum.com/articles/collective-ssecurity-at-stake.pdf> accessed: 28th May, 2014.

and ultimately reduce tension amongst states in the international system. As noted in chapter two, this principle or theory, has been the basis behind the formation of international institutions such as the League of Nations, United Nations, and NATO.<sup>161</sup>

Muyanwa (2010), was of the view that the transformation of the OAU to the AU was also seen as a way by which African states would be able to collectively tackle the security challenges which constitute a serious threat to peace and stability within the region.<sup>162</sup> This position was also argued by Gambo (2013:4), stating that looking at the high level of insecurity and conflict which affected the continent of Africa in the post-colonial era, clearly showed the failure of the OAU.<sup>163</sup>

With its transformation, the AU came up with an institutionalized security agenda to collectively deal with any potential threat to all Africans. Kwaja (2013), noted that the newly established security mechanism of the AU is succinctly captured in the emerging African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) also referred to as

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<sup>161</sup> Egbebullam J.C (2012), The Failure of Collective Security in the Post-World War I and II International System, *Transience Journal*, Vol. 2 Issue. 2, pp. 23-29.

<sup>162</sup> Muyanwa, J. (2010), AU Comes up with solution to continental security challenges, available at: <http://www.fes-ethiopia.org/media/documents/global-security/James%20Muyanwa.pdf> accessed: 29th May, 2014.

<sup>163</sup> Gambo, A.N. (2013:4), African Union and the Security Conundrum in Africa: The Imperative of Paradigm Shift, *Center for Conflict Management & Peace Studies*, University of Jos.

‘Akosombo Decisions’ of 2003.<sup>164</sup> The APSA 2010 assessment report observed that from its inception, APSA was seen as the entry point for delivering peace and security in the region in an overall strategic framework, which had four interrelated priority pillars: peace and security; governance and human rights; trade and regional integration; and key development issues.<sup>165</sup> The key components and structures of the APSA include: the Peace and Security Council (PSC), the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), The Panel of the Wise (POW), the African Standby Force (ASF), and the African Peace Fund (APF).<sup>166</sup>

According to Alli (2012), the transformation to the AU accompanied by the subsequent emergence of the APSA had come with certain policy implications on member states especially as it related to the aspect of collective regional integration in areas of peace, stability and security. He further argued that, due to the failure of the OAU to provide a concrete and institutionalized mechanism to deal with threats to security within the region, the transformed AU was able to establish this mechanism through which African states could monitor potential problems, share intelligence, and be more proactive in dealing with any action that posed a regional

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<sup>164</sup> Kwaja, C.M.A., (2013), *The European Union Security Strategy for Africa and the African Union Peace and Security Council*, A paper presented at a Conference and Roundtable Commemorating AU at 50, Organized by the Department of Political Science University of Jos.

<sup>165</sup> The African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), available at: <http://www.peaceau.org/uploads/report-of-the-apsa-assessment-study-july-oct-2010-eng.pdf>, accessed: 29th May, 2014.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid



threat.<sup>167</sup> This position was also supported by Ogaba (2014), when he stated that the transformed AU and the subsequent inclusion of the APSA as a collective security framework of the AU clearly showed the commitment of the organization to tackling the security challenges currently facing the continent, a feat for which the AU needed to be commended.<sup>168</sup>

Alli (2012), observed that Nigeria's commitment to the principle of collective security within the region of Africa boils down to her Afrocentric policy, complimented by the caveat that a threat to any African state, is also a threat to Nigeria because her safety relied on the security and safety of other member states as well.<sup>169</sup> In addition to this, Akindele (2003) noted that Nigeria's role in Africa was also based on the perception that by her sheer size, abundant natural, human and material resources and considering her military capabilities, a symbolic identification as the 'Giant of Africa' was bestowed upon Nigeria. Therefore, as a regional hegemon, she is expected to play a major role within the continent, as well as shoulder this 'big brother' responsibility of protecting African countries that look up to her for direction and assistance.<sup>170</sup> Etekpe (2013), noted that such behaviour was clearly exhibited by Nigeria in that despite her military and economic might she

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<sup>167</sup> Alli W.O. (2012), *The Role of Nigeria in Regional Security Policy*, Friedrich-Ebert-Stifung, Abuja, Nigeria.

<sup>168</sup> Interview with Professor Ogaba Oche, (2014), Director of Research, *Nigerian Institute for International Affairs*.

<sup>169</sup> Alli, W.O. (2012:19)

<sup>170</sup> Akindele, (2003), *Civil Society, Good Governance and the Challenges of Regional Security in West Africa*, Vantage Publishers, Ibadan.

refused to engage in war with Cameroun in the disputed oil rich 'Bakassi peninsula', instead opting for a diplomatic resolution of the dispute. Even after the International Criminal Court of Justice (ICJ) ruled that Nigeria secede Bakassi to Cameroun in 2006, Nigeria abided by that judgment despite the public outrage and protests from civil society organizations in Nigeria, challenges from the academia, and even from Nigerians residing in Bakassi. Nigeria did not defy the judgment but ensured that peace returned to the region, vowing to deal toughly with anyone who engaged in any act that might truncate the stability of the region. It was an act for which the AU commended Nigeria.<sup>171</sup> Omeje (2007), criticized the Nigerian government for agreeing to secede Bakassi to Cameroun saying that it was one of the greatest diplomatic blunders of the Obasanjo's regime, because the government violated the Constitution she swore to uphold. Stating that the 1999 Constitution reads in part "no treaty between the federation and any other country shall have the force of law except to which such treaty has been enacted into law by the National Assembly". Therefore, for the government to agree to go to the ICJ with Cameroun and subsequently agreeing to abide by the judgment without first of all getting ratification from the National Assembly, was an affront on the Constitution by the government.<sup>172</sup> Akinyemi (2004), also observed that Nigeria's commitment to ensuring peace and stability in Africa coupled with her 'big brother role in Africa'

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<sup>171</sup> Etekpe, A. (2013), ICJ Judgment on Bakkassi Peninsula and Lake Chad: Litmus Test for Peace and Integration in Africa, *Academic Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 6, pp. 286-294.

<sup>172</sup> Omeje, K. (2007). "The Territory is Cameroon but the People are Nigerians: Resolving the Bakassi Peninsula Conflict" in Moyo, B. (ed.) *Africa in the Global Power Play: Debates, Challenges and Potential Reforms*, London: Adonis and Abbey Publishers Ltd.

was further manifested in the manner it brought peace and guaranteed a smooth transition to civilian rule in Liberia. Notwithstanding the atrocities committed by Charles Taylor, (then leader of Liberia), on the ECOMOG troops led by Nigeria, Nigeria was the only country in Africa that accepted to grant him asylum in 2003. Despite the outcry and criticisms from many prominent Nigerians and media practitioners, the government believed that one of the necessary preconditions for peace to return to the troubled nation, was for Taylor to leave the country. Accepting the pariah Taylor was a sacrifice Nigeria was willing to make. This deed further showed Nigeria's commitment to ensuring the peace and stability of the region and Nigeria received praise from both the UN and AU. At the end of the day, scholars and foreign policy pundits posited this singular act by Nigeria as a major foreign policy achievement of President Obasanjo.<sup>173</sup> In a later press release, Amnesty International (2005), praised the Nigerian government by voluntarily agreeing to surrender Taylor to the ICJ in 2005 to face the charges levelled against him which included: orchestrating genocide and committing crimes against humanity in Liberia and Sierra-Leone. Nigeria's role was seen by many as exemplary and showed a country that respects international treaties and international law.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> Akinyemi, (2004), *Charles Taylor: A Foreign Policy Challenge for Nigeria*, A Key Note Lecture Delivered at the Department of Jurisprudence and International Law, University of Lagos.

<sup>174</sup> Amnesty International, (2005), Nigeria Surrenders Charles Taylor to Special Court for Sierra Leone, Press Release, available at: <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AFR44/018/2005/en/499b17ce-fa19-11dd-999c-47605d4edc46/afr440182005en.pdf> accessed: 17th June, 2014.

As a foreign policy implication, Aremu (2014), argued that through the established APSA security framework of the AU, Nigeria is now expected to further strengthen her security cooperation with other member states where they can openly engage collectively in dealing with any issue that would affect the harmony and security of the region. The APSA framework also allowed Nigeria and other AU-member states to frame more proactive foreign policies in dealing with regional security issues especially in sharing of intelligence and responding swiftly to security threats which was not the case under the old OAU.<sup>175</sup> Obi (2008), argued that the transformed AU created the opportunity for Nigeria to further push and lobby for the creation of a viable defense and security framework within the five sub-regions of Africa as a way of effectively assisting the AU in dealing with immediate security challenges and other forms of transnational crime. This was achievable with the successful establishment of the ECOWAS Standby Force along with other Standby Forces in the other sub-regional organizations of Africa to specifically maintain peace and security within the sub-continent and the region as well.<sup>176</sup> Mommoh (2014), further supported this saying that the establishment of the ECOWAS Standby Force was a foreign policy breakthrough for Nigeria which was long overdue given the fact that such a proposal was originally made to the OAU in 1998 without any success. The

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<sup>175</sup> Interview with Professor Aremu Fathai, Head of Department Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria. 29th March, 2014.

<sup>176</sup> Obi, C.I. (2008), Nigeria's Foreign Policy and Transnational Security Challenges in West Africa, *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 183 – 196.

AU finally approving and ratifying such a proposal, was a major foreign policy victory not only for Nigeria but for the entire region and sub-regions.<sup>177</sup>

Abegurin (2009), noted that in line with the AU's position on the need for member states to establish frameworks that would help in resolving conflicts, engage in massive awareness to her citizenry on the need to embrace peace and also serve as a platform where they can also tackle the problem of insecurity in the continent, the Nigerian government through the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs established the National Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (NIPCR) in 2002.<sup>178</sup> The NIPCR, since her creation was able to work closely with the AU and also assisted her in formulating sound policies and programs that would promote peace, prevent conflict and provide mechanisms through which conflicts are resolved.<sup>179</sup> Kwaja, (2013), further noted that the NIPCR being a government think-tank and research based institute, assisted many African countries such as Niger, Benin Republic, Chad, Cameroun, and Equatorial Guinea through training, capacity building, and educating them in ways they can effectively contribute to ensuring peace and prevent conflicts in their states.<sup>180</sup>

Ogaba (2014), Stated that most times, there seemed to be indecision on the part of the OAU to mediate conflicts because of the absence of a clear-cut security

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<sup>177</sup> See Interview with Mommoh, (2014).

<sup>178</sup> Abegurin, O. (2009), *African Global Politics in the 21st Century: A Pan-African Perspective*, Mac-Millan Publishers, Lagos.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> Kwaja, (2013:7).

mechanism to deal with such issues. He argues that the transformation into the AU coupled with the introduction of the APSA security framework would not only assist states in solving conflicts but also enabled them to make effective policy decisions.<sup>181</sup>

Elaigwu (2014), narrates that conflicts and violence have direct implications for Nigeria's foreign policy because whenever and wherever they occur, they have the tendency of extending beyond their borders which in turn creates serious security risks for neighbouring states such as the influx of refugees, and the proliferations of arms and ammunitions. Therefore, the need for Nigeria and other AU member states to be more proactive to these security concerns is important for both her national interest and also the collective interest of the region. Hence, with the transformation to the AU and the subsequent introduction of the APSA security mechanism, Nigeria along with other member states can effectively cooperate in fighting the common enemy of 'conflict and violence' that has stifled the stability of the region for 'donkey-years'. An example was how Nigeria along with her West African counterparts in 'Operation Unicorn' unanimously agreed to help end the violence in Cote d'Ivoire in 2011 when former President Laurent Gbagbo was not willing to vacate office to Alassane Quattara who was duly elected by the people.<sup>182</sup> Also, the current conflict in Mali where there has been a resultant mass influx of refugees to Nigeria coupled with other humanitarian challenges threatening the entire sub-region

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<sup>181</sup> See Ogaba, Interview.

<sup>182</sup> Interview with Professor Joseph Issawa Elaigwu, (2014), Professor Emeritus of the Department of Political Science, University of Jos, President and Founder, Institute for Governance and Social Research, Nigeria, 28th March, 2014.

and continent, Nigeria had cooperated with both the Malian government in order to find a way to tackling the conflict and also reducing the humanitarian challenge.<sup>183</sup> Ogunsanwo (2012), on the other hand, noted that despite Nigeria's involvement in the Ivorian conflict, she was treated with ignominy and disdain. Stating that, President Quattara's first state visit to Senegal in May, 2011 and the glowing accolades showered on Nicholas Sarkozy the then French President during Quattara's inauguration, in which no attention was given to President Jonathan was a clear manifestation that Nigeria's role was not felt at all. He went further to criticize both the Nigerian government and foreign policy framers for not seriously scrutinizing Nigeria's peace keeping diplomacy given the fact, that the recipient state, most often than not failed to reciprocate her gesture.<sup>184</sup>

Akinteriwa (2005), observed that Nigeria's record and contribution to peacekeeping operations worldwide, and particularly Africa, is impressive and second to none in Africa. The record is a reflection of unwavering commitment to peace as instrument of national and African development.<sup>185</sup> This position was also supported by Agbakwuru (2013), stating that despite Nigeria's inherent security challenges Nigeria's commitment to peace and security in Africa cannot be overemphasized, as

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<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Ogunsanwo, A. (2012), "Challenges and Prospects of Nigeria's Foreign Policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century" in Thomas Imobighe and Warisu Alli (eds) *Perspectives on Nigeria's National Politics and External Relations: Essays in Honour of Professor A. Bolaji Akinyemi*, Ibadan:

<sup>185</sup> Akinterinwa, B. (2005). "Nigeria and Permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council: Dynamics and Difinienda" in Akinterinwa, B. (ed.). *Nigeria and the United Nations Security Council*, Ibadan: Vintage Publishers Limited.

this can be clearly seen in her peace keeping support missions in which she has participated in 40 out of the 55 peace keeping operations since her independence. Again, she has contributed about \$13billion on this cause in the continent and other UN-led missions. Out of the 40 peace keeping missions also, four of them were headed by top military officers from Nigeria.<sup>186</sup> Again, the UN Special Committee Report of 2010 showed that Nigeria had approximately 6,000 men and women participating in peace keeping missions worldwide, a figure surpassed only by Bangladesh, India and Pakistan.<sup>187</sup> Campbell (2013), noted that Nigeria's willingness to participate in the peace keeping support mission in Mali further showed the country's commitment in ensuring that any form of instability in the west-African sub-region is totally neutralized. Furthermore, by agreeing to contribute 900 out of the 3,300 forces required in Mali despite the current security challenges Nigeria is facing, further demonstrated that whenever there is a problem in the continent, she always tries to contribute her bid in order to solve such problems, a contribution both the AU and other international institutions praised her for.<sup>188</sup>

Okwere (2014), also observed that the consequence of conflicts and violence in Africa include significant economic and developmental challenge to the continent as

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<sup>186</sup> Agbakwuru, J. (2013), Nigeria Spends 13 Billion Dollars on Peace Keeping, Vanguard Newspaper, 31st October, 2013.

<sup>187</sup> UN Department of Peace Operations Report 2010, available at: <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/POC%20A%2064%2019.pdf> accessed: 28th May, 2014.

<sup>188</sup> Campbell, J. (2013), Africa in Transition: Nigeria's Role in the Mali Intervention, *Council on Foreign Relations*.



well. For example, he states since the ‘Boko-Haram’ insurgency started in Nigeria in 2009, both Nigeria and other African states especially her neighbours have recorded huge economic losses because trade and other commercial activities have been drastically reduced. He further argued that, for Nigeria and other AU members to achieve any meaningful economic development, the need for close security cooperation and collaboration is vital not only for their own interest, but for the collective interest of the continent as a whole. He further cited example, with the joint-security effort between Nigeria and Cameroun in rescuing the French family kidnaped by ‘Boko-haram’ in Cameroun in 2013 as a positive step in the right direction in which other African states, were also enjoined to replicate.<sup>189</sup>

To sum up, Folarin (2014), was of the opinion that the transition from the OAU to the AU further strengthened Nigeria’s foreign policy commitment to collective security within the continent. The country continued to be actively involved in conflict resolution within the continent and also at the sub-regional level; and this was clearly exhibited in the way it participated in most of the peace keeping missions after the transformation to the AU, leading for example the AU-Peace keeping Mission in Darfur in 2007, and contributing to the French-led Peace keeping mission in Mali in 2013.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> Okwere, A. (2014), Nigeria’s Security Quagmires: What Role can Foreign Policy play? Available at: <http://blog.policyng.com/read.php?rid=127> accessed: 24th June, 2014.

<sup>190</sup> Interview with Prof. Sherrif Folarin, Head of Department of Political Science and International Relations, Covenant University OTTA and Director International Office and Linkages, Covenant University

There is no doubt that the transformed AU with her new security machinery was expected to provide a comprehensive framework where African states could collectively deal with the insecurity that had continued to stifle the peace and stability of the region. While all AU members have officially supported this policy, it has nevertheless faced difficulties which have in turn affected states' ability to effectively design their foreign policies. Ogaba, (2014) is of the opinion that the transformed AU accompanied by the APSA security mechanism has not been able to deal very effectively with insecurity within the region. Considering the fact that most African states are weak, the organization suffers from inadequate funding to sustain the framework, coupled with non-cooperation from member states especially in intelligence sharing has continued to affect Nigeria and other countries in their foreign policy process in dealing with insecurity within the region.<sup>191</sup> For example, the Nigerian government and foreign policy experts were of the view that several of her neighbors, Cameroun, Chad and Mali in particular, have not fully cooperated with her by providing intelligence information and assisting her in dealing with the current conflict the country is facing as a consequence of the 'Boko-Haram' insurgency.<sup>192</sup> Akinboye (2013), observed that because of the manner in which corruption has been institutionalized and legalized in the country in which it has adversely affected Nigeria's image abroad, stating that successive governments are competing amongst them on who has the highest ranking in corruption. Again, he questioned the genuine nature of Nigeria's engagement in global peace keeping and humanitarian missions on the basis of ensuring collective security in the region, because several times, it has been alleged that the leaders were using these peace-

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<sup>191</sup> See Interview with Ogaba (2014).

<sup>192</sup> Mommoh (2014), Interview.

keeping engagements as a pretext to siphon money abroad.<sup>193</sup> Obioma (2013), offered a differing view on Nigeria's Afrocentric policy and her commitment to the stability of the region which saw successive leaders investing enormous time, energy and resources in the prosecution of this policy without her being appreciated by her peers. He argued that disappointingly, most of the countries that benefited from Nigeria's largesse turned their backs against her. Citing example, with the recent xenophobic attack against Nigerians living in South Africa, considering the role Nigeria played in ensuring her freedom from apartheid. Also, countries like Chad, Mali, and Niger were alleged to have become a 'safe-haven' offering training facilities for terrorists to operate against her. In fact Nigeria's bid to occupy one of the permanent seats of the UN Security Council was subverted by her African counterparts. Hence, Nigeria's foreign policy and commitments to AU and her security mechanism can be likened to 'Father Christmas' diplomacy always given out gifts without being reciprocated<sup>194</sup>.

Just as Ashiru (2013), noted that although the region and Nigeria are battling with terrorism and other forms of insecurity, the Nigerian government will not relent in her efforts on preventive diplomacy because she remained fully committed to the

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<sup>193</sup> Akinboye, S.O. (2013), *Combating the scourge of corruption in Nigeria's Fourth Republic* in Akinboye, S.O. & Olurode, L. (2013), *Democracy, Good Governance and Corruption in Nigeria*, Lagos, Frideich Ebert Stifung.

<sup>194</sup> Obioma, J.D (2013). "Nigeria's Father-Christmas foreign policy : A Case of Unrequited Love, available at: <http://theeconomyng.com/news174.html> accessed: 27th July, 2014.

AU's collective position that any action that would stifle the peace and security of the entire region is totally dealt with.<sup>195</sup>

### **5.3 Nigeria's foreign policy and the principle of non-indifference**

In the early 1990s the continent of Africa was rattled by a series of conflicts that led to grave and serious humanitarian crises and the destruction of billions of dollars' worth of resources. Both the international community and the OAU failed to intervene in order to salvage the situation. It was in this light that Annan (1998:239), observed that available data showed that Africa had witnessed more than 30 wars since the post-Cold War era began, most of which would have been avoidable if serious and concerted efforts had been made to resolve crises before they escalated and spread. The catastrophic events in Rwanda and the ultimate state collapse in Somalia perhaps most clearly showed the failure of the OAU to respond to humanitarian situations in Africa.<sup>196</sup>

Against this backdrop, Taylor (2013), noted that the transformation of the OAU to the AU, was precipitated by a paradigm shift in the institutional framework of the Union and based upon the belief that events such as those in Rwanda and Somalia could not be allowed to continue. Thus, in its new Constitutive Act, the AU moved from the hitherto prevalent principle of non-intervention to the doctrine of non-indifference. The latter clearly states that the AU will no longer be indifferent towards the plight of any member state, hence the organization will intervene in

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<sup>195</sup> See Ashiru, (2013), Nigeria's Foreign Policy in a Changing World.

<sup>196</sup> Anan K. (1998:239), "The Cause of Conflict and the Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa" in Heyns and Stefiszyn Eds. *Peace and Justice in Africa: A Reader*, Pretoria: Pretoria University Law Press.

cases and situations such as those involving war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity and any unconstitutional change of government in any member state.<sup>197</sup> This was clearly demonstrated in the significant role the AU played in ensuring the adherence to this principle which saw her direct involvement in conflicts in Darfur in 2005 and Somalia in 2007 while states such as Madagascar and Guinea Bissau were suspended in 2009 and 2012 respectively as a result of the unconstitutional changes in governments in these two countries.<sup>198</sup> Williams (2007), noted the stance of none other than AU commission chairman Alpha Oumar Konare who stressed the importance of this principle stating, “we have to assume our principle of non-indifference to mean courteous and united interference. Because if we cannot tell each other the truth, we are heading for disaster. We could content ourselves with observing and issuing communique. Therefore, we should resolve our security problems collectively to stop mess and waste in Africa.”<sup>199</sup>

Ogaba (2014), highlighted that the replacement of the non-intervention clause and the incorporation of the non-indifference clause was a wake-up call for Nigerian leaders not to engage in any anti-social behavior that totally negated the principles

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<sup>197</sup> Taylor, I. (2013), African Unity@50: From Non-Interference to Non-Indifference, available at: <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/06/25/african-unity-at-50-from-non-interference-to-non-indifference/> accessed: 14th March, 2014.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

<sup>199</sup> Williams, P.D. (2007), From Non-Intervention to Non-Indifference: The origins and developments of the African Union Security Culture, *African Affairs*, Vol. 16, NO. 423, pp. 253 – 279.

and ideals of good governance.<sup>200</sup> Adetula (2014), noted that the non-indifference clause in the AU Constitutive Act has significantly impacted on Nigeria's foreign policy because Nigeria cannot afford to be indifferent whenever there is a perceived threat to her security and national sovereignty. Nigeria has the right to be non-indifferent towards African issues because, whatever affects any member state, Nigeria is indirectly or directly affected. Therefore, as a major player in African politics and also as a nation that wants to play a dominant role in global politics, Nigeria cannot afford to fold her hands and keep quiet when things are not going right. An example occurred in 2004, when there was crisis in Liberia. Nigeria did not wait for the UN to mediate in the conflict, but rather she herself intervened, and was able to form a truce among the various warring factions in the country. Her success was applauded by both the UN and the AU especially as it related to reducing the humanitarian challenge the conflict would have brought.<sup>201</sup> Kolawole (2008), explained that the removal of the non-intervention clause in the AU Constitutive Act impacted on Nigeria's foreign policy because it was able to clearly justify why Nigeria intervened in Liberia which was clearly based on humanitarian grounds. Further example was the swift response by Nigeria in restoring peace to the island of Sao Tome and Principe when the then President Frederique De Menezes was toppled in a coup-d'etat during a state visit to Nigeria in 2003. Nigeria prevailed on the coup plotters and ensured that not only was the deposed president returned to power, but he was also accompanied back home by Nigeria's president as a sign of solidarity with the people and the constitutional government of Sao Tome. In the same vein, Nigeria did the same thing in Guinea Bissau in 2005 when President Kumba Yala

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<sup>200</sup> See Ogaba, O. (2014), Interview.

<sup>201</sup> See Adetula, V.A.O., (2014), Interview, 26th March

was removed in a coup where it also ensured that he was reinstated because he was democratically elected.<sup>202</sup>

All the above foreign policy measures taken by Nigeria stood in line with the principles and philosophy of the transformed AU.<sup>203</sup> Folarin (2014), noted that there seemed to be some suspicion about Nigeria's geo-strategic interest in her peace-keeping missions, questions raised as to whether her involvement was directed to plunder resources or to over-extend Nigeria's territorial might. Against all odds however, whenever Nigeria engaged in any peace keeping support mission, as soon as peace was restored and humanitarian crises resolved, Nigeria did not hesitate to leave such territories.<sup>204</sup> Egbebulam (2012), noted that the institutional changes within the AU enhanced Nigeria's commitment and loyalty to the AU that is why it has continued to participate actively in the AU peace keeping missions in Darfur, Somalia, Central African Republic and recently, Mali and why Nigeria was among the countries that jointly supported the actions and resolutions of the AU to suspend Madagascar in 2009, and Guinea Bissau in 2012 for seriously violating this important clause of the Constitutive Act of the Union by overthrowing democratically elected governments.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> Kolawole, .D. (2008), *Nigeria's Foreign Policy from Independence: Trends, Phases and Changes*, Julius Associates Press, Lagos.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid.

<sup>204</sup> See Interview with Professor Sherrif Folarin.

<sup>205</sup> Egbebulam, J.C. (2012), Nigeria and Conflict Resolution in Africa: The Darfur Experience, *Transcience Journal of Global Studies*, Vol. 3, Iss. 2, pp. 16-23

Mommoh (2014), reasoned that the transformation of the AU came in a century driven by globalization accompanied by the speedy flow in information and advance in technology where people and governments can no longer keep quiet and watch certain acts that are not universally acceptable to be allowed. The replacement of such non-intervention with the non-indifference clause of the AU happened to be one of the caveats that come with the changes in the twenty first century Mommoh argues.<sup>206</sup>

Despite the impact of this non-indifference clause in the foreign policy of AU states, scholars and other commentators tend to also challenge this principle. According to Ogaba (2014), this principle of non-indifference, still remains problematic because the AU still finds it difficult to intervene, mobilize its peace keeping force in conflict prone states, it suffers from non-compliance from certain member states, and the AU is sometimes accused of not really living up to her bidding. An example was the Arab revolts that sparked from North Africa and some parts of Middle-East around 2010 when everyone was watching and waiting for the AU to react and respond in order to avoid carnage and other humanitarian situations, it remained silent, however, because the Union depended heavily financially on the deposed regimes and leaders of countries like Libya, Tunisia and Egypt where these revolutions had a significant impact.<sup>207</sup> Taylor (2013), found the roots of the challenge faced by this principle in

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<sup>206</sup> See Mommoh, Z. (2014), Interview.

<sup>207</sup> See Ogaba (2014).



the weak nature of African states and also the AU, lacking the capacity to be able to ensure a strong adherence to this doctrine.<sup>208</sup>

#### **5.4 The African Union and Nigeria's Foreign Policy**

The transition to the AU saw the introduction of certain policy initiatives and schemes such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). The introduction of these mechanisms by the AU came with certain foreign policy implications for Nigeria and other AU member states which made it evident, pushing them to redirect their foreign policies in line with these changes. Therefore, this aspect of the impact of the transition to the AU would examine how these AU initiatives impacted on the country's external relations.

Agubuzu, (2010), observed that the transition into the AU coincided with Nigeria's vision of pursuing a foreign policy that would not only lead to political integration but would enhance economic cooperation amongst member states. Given the fact President Olusegun Obasanjo in his second-stint in office from (1999-2007), focused his attention on economic diplomacy as a foreign policy agenda centered on creating employment opportunities for Nigeria's teeming population and also encouraging foreign direct investments into the Nigerian economy. Looking at one of the rationale behind the transformation into the AU, was the desire to further enhance economic integration of all member states, hence Obasanjo's foreign policy agenda of economic diplomacy is said to be in line with the vision of what the transformed AU

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<sup>208</sup> Taylor, I. (2013), African Unity at 50: From Non-Interference to Non-Indifference, available at: <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/06/25/african-unity-at-50-from-non-interference-to-non-indifference/> accessed: 28th May, 2013.

wanted. Thus, the transformation has created the platform for the Nigerian government to further pursue this foreign policy objective.<sup>209</sup>

Alli (2010:233), observed that the transformation of the AU which subsequently led to the introduction of the New Partnership for Africa's Development NEPAD initiative aimed at formulating and re-designing a blueprint that would further strengthen economic cooperation and also achieve socio-political development of the continent.<sup>210</sup> Hence, the transformation to the AU further strengthened Nigeria's commitment to achieving further economic integration with other member states especially in the area of trade, investments, commerce, and finance.<sup>211</sup> Folarin (2010:399), is of the view that the introduction of the NEPAD initiative by the transformed AU had implications for Nigerian foreign policy because it created a medium and a platform through which Nigeria and other AU-member countries would be able to design sound economic and public policies that would address the socio-economic and political problems bedeviling the continent.<sup>212</sup> Ajaebili (2011),

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<sup>209</sup> Agubuzu, L.O.C., (2010:371), Nigeria, the African Union and the Prospect of Continental Integration in Eze, O.C. (2010), Beyond 50 years of Nigeria's Foreign Policy: Issues, Challenges and Prospects, *Nigerian Institute for International Affairs*.

<sup>210</sup> Alli, W.O. (2010:233), The Changing Environment of Nigeria's Foreign Policy, In Eze O.C. (2010), Beyond 50 Years of Nigeria's Foreign Policy: Issues, Challenges and Prospects, *Nigerian Institute of International Affairs*.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

<sup>212</sup> Folarin S. (2011), National Role Conceptions & Nigeria's African Policy 1985-2007, Unpublished PhD Thesis Submitted to the Department of Political Science and International Relations, Covenant University OTA, Nigeria.

supporting Folarin's argument, was of the view that the transformation of the AU has been able to impact on Nigeria's foreign policy because it was able to provide her with an economic and development model that would not only help her in achieving economic growth and development, but would also enable her to achieve the economic diplomacy she intended as a foreign policy objective.<sup>213</sup>

Okajare (2012), observed that the introduction of the NEPAD initiative further proved Nigeria's strong leadership credentials in the continent, given the fact the President Obasanjo was made the chairman of the Heads of States Implementation Committee of NEPAD from 2003-2007. Also, since the introduction of this initiative, Nigeria has been chairing two important committees of NEPAD namely: the Corporate Governance and Economic committee and the committee on infrastructure. Hence, Nigeria's commitment to the NEPAD initiative cannot be overemphasized.<sup>214</sup> Asika (2004), observed that the introduction of this initiative, has clearly impacted on Nigeria's foreign policy because, as of today, the government has been able to implement some of the policy recommendations of NEPAD which saw the establishment of the Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Program, the Short-Term Action Plan on Infrastructure and the NEPAD health

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<sup>213</sup> Ajaebili, C.N., (2011), the Option of Economic Diplomacy in Nigeria's Foreign Policy, *International Journal of Humanities*, Vol. 1 No. 17, pp. 277-280.

<sup>214</sup> Okajare, S.T. (2012), Between Principle and Practice: NEPAD As An Indicator of Afro-Centricism in Nigeria's Foreign Policy, *European Scientific Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 14, pp. 210-222.

strategy with all aiming to aid in actualizing economic, infrastructural recovery and delivering primary health care to Nigerians.<sup>215</sup>

Chibundu (2009:51), noted that to further strengthen cooperation amongst member states, the government in 2003, established the Federal Ministry of Cooperation and Integration in Africa, focusing more on enhancing regional cooperation amongst AU-member states and also serve as the government agency that would specifically deal with African issues and problems thereby, reducing the work-load of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.<sup>216</sup> Ogunsanwo (2010), stated that the establishment of the Federal Ministry of Cooperation and Integration in Africa, impacted on Nigeria's foreign policy because, it further strengthened Nigeria's relations with other countries and sub-regional groupings within the region yielding positive results in the area of tourism, commerce, trade and investments, arts and culture, and sports.<sup>217</sup>

Adeyemi & Ayodele (2007), were of the view that Nigeria's foreign policy towards regional integration in Africa, has been consistent right from the time the country gained her independence. This consistency was seen in her role towards the establishment of the OAU and continued even after the transformation to the AU.

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<sup>215</sup> Asika, C. (2004), *The Prospects and Challenges of NEPAD*, *National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies*, NIPPS, Kuru, Nigeria.

<sup>216</sup> Chibundu, V.N. (2009:51), *Foreign Policy: With Particular Reference to Nigeria (1961 – 2008)*, Spectrum Books Limited, Ibadan.

<sup>217</sup> Ogunsanwo, A. (2010), *Towards a Dynamic Nigeria's Foreign Policy*, In Eze, O.C. (2010), *Beyond 50 Years of Nigeria's Foreign Policy: Issues, Challenges and Prospects*, *Nigerian Institute of International Affairs*, Lagos.

They further argued that through her ‘Technical Aid Scheme’ where experts like lawyers, doctors, nurses, engineers, and academics were sent to other African states to help and add value to such societies. Nigeria, under the leadership of Obasanjo was able to finally prevail on the AU to establish the ‘Directorate of Technical Aid Corps’ (DTAC) within the Union that would be able to assist and cater for other member states that are facing different problems. It would further strengthen cooperation, unity and peaceful coexistence amongst members. It was a feat President Obasanjo described as a foreign policy victory for Nigeria and the entire continent.<sup>218</sup> Daura (2010:114), stated that the creation of the ‘Directorate of Technical Aid Corps in Africa’ by the transformed AU has had significant impact on Nigeria’s foreign relations with other countries in Africa because it has been able to boost the conduct of Nigeria’s foreign policy at both sub-regional and regional levels. The incorporation of this scheme, has also further strengthened south-south cooperation between Nigeria and other AU member states that have benefited from this scheme especially countries like the Gambia, Sierra-Leone, Equatorial Guinea, Burundi, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Namibia and Zambia.<sup>219</sup> Eze (2010), too observed that the shift to the AU coupled with the creation of the DTAC has become a reliable instrument for sustaining the NEPAD initiative, given its emphasis on the socio-economic development of the recipient states. Consequently, the DTAC, has

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<sup>218</sup> Adeyemi, L.O. & Ayodele, B. (2007), The Challenges of Regional Integration for Development in Africa: Problems & Prospects, *Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 15, No. 3, pp. 213-218.

<sup>219</sup> Daura, M. (2010:114), Beyond Twenty-Two: A Prospective Analysis of the Technical Aid Corps Scheme, In Eze, O.E. (2010), Beyond 50Years of Nigeria’s Foreign Policy: Issues, Challenges and Prospects, *Nigerian Institute of International Affairs*, Lagos

also impacted on Nigeria's foreign policy because through Nigeria's commitment to this noble cause, it has attracted interest of some international organizations, like the Commonwealth which eventually, led to the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the African Union, the Commonwealth and the Nigerian government, on the 24th March, 2003. The 'MoU' centered on three key areas of: increasing the representation of Nigerian professionals on the database of experts of the AU and the Commonwealth, extending the DTAC programme to countries within the AU and Commonwealth and finally, the establishment of the 'Justice Improvement Programme for Africa', where Nigerian judges and prosecuting counsels will be recruited by the DTAC directorate on behalf of the Commonwealth and the AU for deployment to Gambia, Sierra-Leone, Burundi and any other country that lacked such legal experts.<sup>220</sup>

According to Elaigwu, (2014), the transformation not only impacted on Nigeria's foreign policy in terms of economic, political and technical integration alone, but rather had implications too for the manner in which Nigerian leaders conduct their affairs among their peers. An example was the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), a policy the transformed AU initiated in order to bring about good governance and accountability in managing states resources. The transformation and the subsequent introduction of the APRM was meant to checkmate the excesses of African leaders.<sup>221</sup> Aremu (2014), also opined that the transformation coupled with

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<sup>220</sup> Eze, O.C. (2010), Technical Cooperation as a Vehicle for Development and Integration of Africa, In Directorate of Technical Cooperation in Africa (DTCA), *Nigerian Technical Cooperation Fund (NTCF) at Mid-Term (2004 – 2009)*, pp. 50 – 62.

<sup>221</sup> See Interview with Elaigwu (2014).

the APRM means that governments now know that there is a limit and level to which certain actions and behaviours can be tolerated within the community of states knowing fully well that their actions are assessed and reviewed. Therefore, states and leaders can no longer commit certain acts that totally negate universal norms, values and tenets and expect to get away with it.<sup>222</sup> Folarin (2014), was also of the view that the transformation of the OAU with the introduction of the peer review mechanism has implication on Nigeria's foreign policy considering the fact that Nigeria claimed to be the 'giant of Africa'. For Nigeria to actually lay claim to that position, she now requires a positive assessment of her performance from her peers.<sup>223</sup>

According to the 2009 report of the Technical Working Committee on Nigeria's foreign policy, it was stated that the transformation of the OAU had contributed to a point to the development of Nigeria's external policy. The report goes on to say that Nigeria has been consistently submitting her yearly reports to the AU in order for her to be assessed, a deed only the Republic of South Africa has replicated.<sup>224</sup> Mommoh (2014), maintained that for Nigeria to actually submit her yearly performance report to the AU, is a clear manifestation that the country wants to show other AU member states that she is willing to be judged and criticized based on her performance behaviour, other countries must follow if they want to be taken seriously and also achieve sustainable growth, development and good governance.<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> See Interview with Aremu, (2014).

<sup>223</sup> See Interview with Folarin, (2014).

<sup>224</sup> See NTWG Country Report (2009): Nigeria.

<sup>225</sup> See Interview with Mommoh.

Hammed & Kabo (2013), noted that one of the main problem of governance in the continent has been the inability of African leaders to effectively tackle the problem of corruption in the region. They maintained that the introduction of the APRM by the transformed AU would go a long way in dealing with this prevalent scourge if member states would employ the measures the APRM program prescribed.<sup>226</sup> Inokoba & Ibegu, (2011), were of the view that that the introduction of the APRM had significant implications on Nigeria's foreign policy and democracy especially as it relates to the way the government tackled the issue of corruption in the country. They went on to argue the significance in respect of the establishment of the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) in 2002, and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in 2003, saddled with the responsibility and powers to investigate all allegations of corruption by leaders, citizens and corporate entities. Based on the act establishing both the ICPC and EFCC, these two agencies have the powers to fish out and take to court Nigerians and non-Nigerians resident in Nigeria who engage in acts that would tarnish the image of Nigeria by engaging in fraudulent acts such as financial impropriety, money laundering, advanced fee fraud and other forms of economic scam.<sup>227</sup> The introduction of these two anti-graft agencies has helped the country to further consolidate her nascent democracy because these agencies were able to deal decisively with political leaders perceived

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<sup>226</sup> Hammed H.A. & Kabo, S.E. (2013), African Peer Review Mechanism and Crises of Good Governance in Africa, *Journal of Law, Policy and Globalization*, Vol. 19, pp. 14 – 25.

<sup>227</sup> Inokoba, P.K. & Ibegu, W.T. (2011), Economic and Financial Crime Commission and Political Corruption: Implication for the Consolidation of Democracy in Nigeria, *Anthropologist*, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 283-291.



and accused of engaging in acts of corruption.<sup>228</sup> The former chairman of the EFCC Mallam Nuhu Ribadu in 2006 when addressing the Nigerian Legislative Assembly, commended the Nigerian government for following the recommendations of the AU-APRM policy of eradicating all forms of corruption and bad governance in the public sphere. He stated that as of 2006, out of the 36 States Governors, 31 of them are being investigated by the anti-graft agency for corruption and 15 of them subsequently have been charged officially to court.<sup>229</sup> Agubuzu (2010:363), was of the view that these reformist measures being undertaken by Nigeria are beginning to yield positive results. With the arrest, trial and subsequent sentencing of prominent politicians and government officials, such as the former Governor of Bayelsa State Diepreye Alameisiegha, James of Ibori of Delta State, Lucky Igbenedion of Edo State and the former Inspector General of Police, Tafa Balogun, corruption has now reduced knowing fully well that there are no sacred cows in the fight against corruption.<sup>230</sup> Aremu (2014), opined that the establishment of the anti-corruption agencies based on the recommendations of the AU- APRM initiative, has improved Nigeria's image amongst her peers for trying to concertededly deal with corruption. Also, based on the achievements of these two agencies in Nigeria, other AU member states such as Kenya, Rwanda, Angola, Ghana, Guinea, Burkina Faso, Zambia, Namibia and South Africa have gone on to establish their own agencies to deal with this pandemic.<sup>231</sup> Folarin (2014), was quick to criticize the government's

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<sup>228</sup> Ibid.

<sup>229</sup> BBC News, (2006), Nigerian Governors in Anti-graft Probe, available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/5387814.stm> accessed: 17th June, 2014.

<sup>230</sup> See Agubuzu, (2010: 363).

<sup>231</sup> See Interview with Prof. Aremu

commitment to eradicating corruption in the country recently stating that notwithstanding the setting up both the ICPC and EFCC, to fight corruption, it is actually not clear if the government is taking the fight against corruption seriously because questions were seriously asked which has also generated local and international outcry about the recent clemency and state pardon given to DSP Alamiyesigha by President Jonathan to the extent that the proposed visit by the US President Barack Obama to Nigeria was cancelled. Therefore, for the government and her foreign policy machinery to be taken seriously and gained global reckoning, she has to show more commitment to totally eradicating the scourge of corruption in her body polity.<sup>232</sup>

In order to restore Nigeria's dented image and reputation abroad, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs jointly collaborated with the Federal Ministry of Information and Orientation, to embark on a policy of re-branding Nigeria. According to Adefemi & Yanda (2012), the re-brand Nigeria project with the slogan 'Good People, Great Nation' was a policy aimed at imbuing Nigerians with ennobling moral character and patriotic zeal. The re-branding of Nigeria project was also meant to restore the confidence of Nigerians in themselves, who have been hurt by the unfair stereotyping of all Nigerians based on the actions of a few.<sup>233</sup> With the transformation into the AU it was now suggested that for Africa to actually play a leading role in global affairs, members had to also deal with how other states within

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<sup>232</sup> See Interview with Prof. Folarin, 2014.

<sup>233</sup> Adefemi, B.J. & Yanda, A.M. (2012), Assessment of the Effectiveness of Re-branding Nigeria, *International Journal of Management & Administrative Sciences*, Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 11 – 22.

the international system, perceived of them. Nigeria's re-branding project, was a clear manifestation of her efforts on re-orientating the psyche and behaviour of her citizens, leaders and government in order to gain the respect of her peers.<sup>234</sup> Therefore, Agubuzu (2010:365), summed up by saying that the combined effects of Nigeria's ongoing political, economic and value system reforms coupled with her relentless effort to curb corruption and economic crimes would further enhance her status as a top-ranking member state of the AU with the necessary moral, economic and political power to play a critical, positive role in continental integration.<sup>235</sup> Just as Nnamani (2013), rightly puts it, Nigeria's commitment to the AU-APRM mechanism boils down to the fact that she plays a major role in the continent and other countries are waiting and watching how Nigeria reacts to this initiative championed by the transformed AU to see whether she supports it or not.<sup>236</sup> Akinboye (2014), questioned the effectiveness of this rebrand Nigerian project saying that the 'good people, great nation agenda' has not been fully backed up by diplomatic conduct abroad. He also, queries that proffering cure to a disease without really looking into the cause of the disease is not the right treatment, hence. Hence, until the fundamental domestic sources of Nigeria's image problem are addressed, her aspiration as a regional and global hegemon, will be nothing but a wish-wash.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>234</sup> Ibid.

<sup>235</sup> See Agubuzu, (2010:365).

<sup>236</sup> Nnamani, K. (2013), APRM: Nigeria Ready for Second Review, *This Day Newspaper*, 18th December, 2013.

<sup>237</sup> Akinboye, S.O. (2014), Issues and Contradictions in Nigeria's Foreign Policy, A Paper Presented at the Inaugural Lecture Organized by the Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Lagos, Nigeria.

Elaigwu (2014), was also quick to ask the pertinent question, as to what extent the outcomes of the peer review have been implemented in Nigeria? He further noted that the APRM has so many interlocking challenges which affect her from being fully operational and meaningful within the AU and the continent at large. This is because of the dilemma it creates, which is ‘peer review’ on the one hand and ‘peer condonation of vices’ on the other hand. Problems exist given the fact that many African leaders and governments are not willing to submit their reports in order to be evaluated. Also, many African leaders, have lacked the courage to confront their peers and to tell them that their actions tend against universal and civilized tenets.<sup>238</sup>

Likewise, Mouayian (2012), was of the view that in terms of governance, the transformation to the AU has had little or no significant implications on the nation’s external policy and governance as well because the initiative itself had failed to tackle critical issues relating to the socio-political dynamics of governance. The initiative also failed to include civil society, media and other professional organizations in initiation and implementation of the policy mechanism. Thus, he says, for the policy to make significant impact, it must be an all-inclusive policy allowing every segment of the society to participate.<sup>239</sup>

In conclusion, this chapter set out to assess how and why the shift to the AU impacted on Nigeria’s foreign policy. The transformation to the AU in 2002 has been seen to come with certain foreign policy implications in the manner in which Nigeria

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<sup>238</sup> See Interview with Elaigwu, (2014).

<sup>239</sup> Mouayian, K.V. (2012), *An Assessment of the African Peer Review Mechanism: A Case Study of Nigeria*, An Unpublished PhD Thesis Submitted to the Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Warwick, UK.

along with other AU-member states conduct their affairs and pursue their interest in the international system. The transformation saw a shift in the way the organization instituted a security framework that would allow states to collectively tackle any potential threat to the peace, security and stability of the continent. This security mechanism was under the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) with her five components, was specifically designed to ensure that any threat to peace and security of the continent is counterbalanced. The introduction of this security framework impacted on Nigeria's foreign policy because it created the podium for her and other member states to effectively develop a security policy that would collectively deal with any action that would threaten the peace and stability of the region. With the creation of this security instrument, it further showed Nigeria's commitment to ensuring that collective security is achieved in Africa given the way and manner she participated and mediated in various conflicts that threatened the collective security and stability of the region.

The transformation further witnessed a paradigm shift, which saw the removal of the non-interference clause in the Charter of the OAU and the subsequent replacement of the principle of non-indifference. Nigeria would no longer be indifferent towards any problem affecting any member-state because Nigeria is either directly or indirectly affected whenever African issues are been discussed. Therefore, the removal of that clause has impacted on Nigeria's foreign policy especially on how it reacts to African problems, allowing for it, in fact encouraging it to take proactive stance.

Furthermore, the transformation tried to come up with initiatives that would foster economic integration and ensure that member-states continue to deliver good

governance and are more accountable to their people. Hence, initiatives such as NEPAD and APRM, as foreign policy measures, enabled Nigeria to pursue policies and programs that would effectively lead to the attainment of economic development, cooperation, integration and above all enhance good governance and accountability for Nigeria and also other AU members.

## Chapter 6

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The main findings of the thesis are succinctly summarized and conclusions drawn within this chapter. Certain policy recommendations and suggestions for useful areas of subsequent research are also made.

#### 6.1 Summary

It has been the objective of this thesis to try and unravel the implications of the transformation of the OAU into the AU on Nigeria's foreign policy. In its methodological discourse the study adopted both descriptive and analytical approaches which were combined with qualitative research methodology and triangulation in order to bring out a patterned meaning between the issues it set out to investigate. Most of the data available to the researcher was drawn from secondary sources such as books, articles, journals, newspapers, magazines, and reports, but was supported also through the analysis and opinions of key foreign policy experts by way of key informant interviews.

The study's introduction outlined the aim and objective of the study, asked the research questions, stated the scope and limitations to the study, explained the significance the study has, and provided a theoretical framework for the research before finally stating the methodology to be adopted in order to come up with substantive evidence of what the study set out to investigate.

Thereafter, the study dealt with clarifying certain specific concepts and their relevance and reviewing relevant literature in relation to the topic. This was followed by a look at the development of Nigeria's foreign policy from independence to the present day, examining how the various governments were able to channel and direct the foreign policy focus of the country in line with the key principles, objectives and commitment to regional cooperation in the continent outlined from the era of independence onwards.

The thesis then proceeded to examine the objectives and principles of the OAU, her achievements and the problems she was confronted with which eventually contributed to her transformation in 2002 into the AU. Further evaluation was then made of the similarities and differences between the OAU and AU before analyzing the role of Nigeria itself in both the OAU and AU. The penultimate chapter of the thesis, specifically studied the implication the transformation had on Nigeria's foreign policy. Here it was also seen how the new security structure geared towards the maintenance of peace and security, the APSA has, with consideration to Nigeria's pre-existing commitment to collective security in the region, had an impact on Nigeria's foreign policy. It was further evaluated also how the removal of the non-interference clause in the OAU Charter and its subsequent replacement with the non-indifference principle in the Constitutive Act of the Union affected Nigeria's foreign policy. Nigeria/AU relations examined too in the context of certain policy initiatives introduced by the Union after her transition such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development, and the African Peer Review Mechanism. The consequences of these policies for Nigeria's foreign policy were considered



particularly in terms of the areas of economic integration, technical cooperation, promotion of good governance and accountability.

The study adopted the theory of collective security which has its foundation in the Kantian enlightenment tradition and Wilsonian 14 points agenda. This theory, premised her argument on the promotion of peace, security and stability of the international system through an institutional framework. Furthermore, the theory also believed in the collective efforts of states in dealing with any potential and perceived threat to the safety and stability the global environment.

Relating this theoretical paradigm to the African context, one can see that most African states in their post-independence period, witnessed a series of major challenges such as instability, insecurity, conflicts, poverty, bad governance, corruption, human rights violations and the like. The OAU, the first pan-African regional organization created to foster unity, and solidarity, decolonize the continent and guarantee that any perceived or actual danger to the collective peace and stability of the continent was seriously dealt with, in most cases failed to meet the aforementioned challenges. The need to establish the means to successfully do so, coupled with other contemporary demands of the twenty first century, saw the transformation of the OAU into the AU in 2002.

Nigeria's foreign policy, right from independence, has been founded on the principle of 'Afrocentricism' which clearly explains that the interest of Africa comes first to Nigeria and thus, any problem that affects any country in Africa, invariably affects Nigeria's interest directly or indirectly. As a country that wants to be a major player

at both the regional and global level, Nigeria could not afford to be indifferent towards the problems the continent is grappling with therefore, along with other member states, she therefore, had to refocus her foreign policy aims and objectives in order to ensure that the region and continent remained stable. Hence, as a foreign policy measure or principle, Nigeria and other member-states within the AU have taken a serious position that any state or government that engages in any behaviour that threatens the peace, security, harmony and development of the region is seriously sanctioned.

Consequently, the establishment of the AU saw the introduction of the ‘principle of non-indifference’ in the new AU Constitutive Act, replacing that of ‘Non-Interference’ that had existed in the OAU Charter. This change was based on the recognition that African states would no longer keep quiet and watch things go wrong in other states without doing anything. This principle, further gave justification for humanitarian intervention, rejecting also any unconstitutional changes of government and is also seen as a vehicle that will further enhance cooperation amongst the various member states when they collectively come together and proffer solutions to problems facing the continent or any member state.

The introduction of this clause in the Act of the AU, clearly impacted the manner in which Nigeria’ conducts her foreign policy within the region given the fact that Nigeria sees herself as a regional hegemon, therefore, she cannot afford to keep quiet and watch certain things go wrong. Therefore, Nigeria as a foreign policy measure, was committed to ensuring the success of this policy and was able to intervene based on the laid down parameters as in the case of Liberia, Sierra-Leone, Sao Tome and

Principle and to show respect for the collective stance of the AU in sanctioning countries like Madagascar and Guinea Bissau for overthrowing constitutionally elected governments.

The shift to the AU, also witnessed the introduction of certain schemes such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development, and the African Peer Review Mechanism, The former initiative is an economic development driven policy aimed at uniting and integrating all African states to achieve economic growth and development. It has improved regional relations by fostering economic cooperation between Nigeria and other AU member states.

The APRM initiative on the other hand, is a policy geared towards achieving good governance and enhancing accountability in the management of state's resources. This policy, enabled states to voluntarily submit their yearly performance report in order to be assessed and peer-reviewed. Through the recommendations emergent from the APRM, Nigeria was able to pursue policies that would enhance good governance, and promote accountability in the management of state's resources by given 'zero-tolerance' to corruption.

## **6.2 Conclusion & Recommendation**

Historically, the OAU was initially conceived as a regional organization concerned with political and socio-cultural integration as well as decolonizing the continent. Several decades after her establishment, it became vividly clear that the organization was overwhelmed with enormous challenges, stemming from intra and inter- state disputes, ethno-religious conflicts, bad governance, corruption, human rights abuses and the likes. These issues became a serious security concern for both the

organization and the continent at large because most often than not, whenever these conflicts occur, their ripple effects have either direct or indirect implications on states within the African region. Due to the inability of the OAU to tackle these problems, the organization was transformed into the AU in 2002 as a panacea to handling the challenges confronting the continent as it prepared to be ushered into the twenty first century.

The transition to the AU and some of the fundamental changes that ensued, especially related to the adoption of the new Constitutive Act, aimed to make it more viable and functional especially as far as concerned regional and continental engagements. It was a great accomplishment, but not without certain foreign policy implications for member states. Some of these fundamental changes especially the removal of the non-interference clause and its replacement with the non-indifference clause, coupled with the NEPAD and APRM initiatives ushered in a new perspective in the manner through which Nigeria and other AU member states pursue and formulate their foreign policies.

In conclusion, from the evaluation of this study, it can be expected that the transition to the AU will continue to contribute to a new approach in Nigerian foreign policy, refocused and redirected so as to be in line with the current realities of global politics.

The study has proffered the following recommendations:

The changes and policies the transformation came with, if effectively implemented would help effectively in tackling most of the problems facing the region. On the

contrary, the policies to a large extent, have not been able to make significant impact because most African states and leaders tend to violate them and the organization is too weak to ensure strict adherence. It is therefore, firstly proposed that the organization should be further strengthened in a way that member states would be obliged to abide by the principles and rules set out by it.

Secondly, Nigeria has since independence focused her foreign policy on “Africa”. Yet, this has not been able to yield any meaningful result because most states within the continent continue to question the sincerity and genuineness of Nigeria’s engagement in African affairs. Also, looking at most of the countries that benefited from Nigeria’s benevolent foreign policy gesture in the past, in which today they continue to challenge and oppose her openly. A clear example was given by Akinboye (2014), was the embarrassment she received in 2010 when she was vying for the non-permanent membership of the UN Security Council in which what ought to be a consensus election for Nigeria was subverted by the absence of the Guinean Permanent Representative, which was further compounded by Liberia and Sierra Leone voting against her. These were countries Nigeria sacrificed a lot to ensure their survival.<sup>240</sup> Therefore, Nigeria’s continued pursuit of this ‘African centered’ foreign policy has been a great dis-service to her because, her efforts has not been duly appreciated by her peers. Hence, it is suggested that Nigeria should start looking into her own national interest and problems first rather than focusing all her energy on trying to offer solutions to African problems without any form of commensurate reciprocity.

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<sup>240</sup> See Akinboye, 2014.

As regards collective defense and security, it is strongly believed to be one area the AU, Nigeria and other member states need to work and cooperate together considering the spade of conflicts, insecurity and the growing rise of terrorist and insurgent activities currently grappling the continent ranging from the 'Boko-haram' terrorist organization in Nigeria, the Tuareq rebels in Mali, the Al-shabaab militia in Somalia, the lord's resistance army in Uganda and Congo, the Janjaweed militia in Sudan and still more. The AU and her member-states through her APSA security framework should work concertedly to ensure that peace and stability is restored in the region. This can be done through effective cooperation among member states especially through intelligence sharing, effective surveillance, effective cross-border policing, bringing back credibility and professionalism between Nigeria's security forces as well as the AU force in which the public has totally lost confidence on them, effective funding, training and mobilization of the various security architecture in Nigeria and Africa so as to enable them confront any action that would constitute a threat to the security and stability of the region.

Finally, the study, suggests that the personnel of the AU and those responsible for designing Nigeria's foreign policy should be people that are equipped with the requisite skills and intellectual acumen of engaging in real diplomatic activities, making foreign policy decisions and also know what is involve in achieving true regional integration as a whole, rather than allowing politicians or individuals with little knowledge about foreign policy to handle such sensitive portfolios.

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## **Appendix**

## **Transcribed Interviews.**

**Interview with Dr. Mommoh, Zakeri on the ‘Implications of the Transformation of the OAU to AU on Nigeria’s foreign policy’  
*National Consultant, DFID/PATHS2 Nigeria/AU. 26th March, 2014.***

**Question One: Is there any fundamental distinction between the OAU and the AU?**

Thank you very much! I think there is a dissimilarity between the OAU and the AU because looking at the OAU and the charter establishing it, the organization tends to focus on political aspect of regional integration within the African continent because most of its objectives were: ensuring the continent is free from colonialism, fighting apartheid, unifying the continent culturally and socially. But looking the African Union, and the constitutive act behind its establishment, you will see that the AU tends to focus more on both political and economic integration largely due to the demands of the 21st century in which economic development and cooperation served as a very strong vehicle behind regional integration. When you also look at the OAU, it was specifically established to tackle this decolonization project within the continent but the AU, tends to be more different in its approach because the challenges facing Africa was no longer colonialism or apartheid but rather issues such as poverty, inequality, underdevelopment, corruption, bad governance, human rights abuses and all what not. Therefore, when you look at it from these angles, one will say there is a difference between the OAU and the AU.

**QUESTION TWO: How has the transformation to the AU had significant implications on Nigeria's Foreign Policy?**

Of course the transition to AU had implications on Nigeria's foreign policy. As you well know, Nigeria's foreign policy has been predicated on the principle and idea that 'Africa is the center-piece' of Nigeria's foreign policy. Therefore by implication, one will say that anything that affects Africa invariably, affects Nigeria. Also looking at the events that led to the transformation that led to the establishment of both Pan-African organizations, Nigeria had actually demonstrated serious commitments towards African issues and debates which is why it has expended enormous resources in so many developmental projects that concerns Africa in areas such as: peace keeping, technical aid corps, sub-regional cooperation, trade, commerce as well.

In line with some of the changes that the AU had such as NEPAD, APRM, APSA all these are ideas aimed at bringing and resolving perennial challenges facing the continent such as poverty, unemployment, inequality, violence, insecurity etc. and any nation that aspires development, should be willing and incorporate these ideas as well. Therefore, this transformation I believe has significant implications on Nigeria's foreign policy.

**QUESTION THREE: How has the removal of the OAU's non-interference clause and its replacement with the non-indifference clause in the transformed AU constitutive act impacted on the commitment to the collective security of key AU players and Nigeria in particular?**

Let me say that, in this globalized world today, no nation is an island therefore, this principle of non-interference I feel there is a limit to which the debate can go.

The removal of this clause in the then OAU charter and its subsequent replacement with the non-indifference clause, also has implications on the foreign policy of member states. First, leaders violate gross human rights violations of her citizens and hide under this principle and commit impunity you can cite cases of countries like Libya, Ivory-Coast, Nigeria, Congo, Central African Republic, Zimbabwe etc. and expect people not to react. This principle clearly, demonstrates the desired change we all are anticipating within the continent. Secondly, nations pursue, project and design her foreign policy in order to protect her collective interest as well. So whenever conflicts occur, they tend to come up with what I refer to as 'band-wagon effects' which could lead to proliferation of arms and ammunitions, humanitarian consequences, influx of refugees which I belief will tamper on some of the laid down interests of such states, as you well know all these trappings come with certain economic, social, and political consequences. Thirdly, I don't really see this principle of non-interference as tenable today, because globalization is gradually eroding territoriality. The internet and other information and communication tools allowed citizens to share ideas, discuss issues and also aspire for the kind of change they have; therefore, you don't really expect citizens to be quiet and other state actors not to interfere whenever there are overwhelming reasons for her to intervene. Therefore, in this contemporary era, I tend to see a limit to which border affects non-interference as a principle as a whole. All these changes I suppose have become some of the caveats behind this changes and impacts on not only Nigeria's foreign policy but of other sovereign states as well.



**Interview with Professor Aremu Fathai, Chair and Head of Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Ilorin, Nigeria, 29th March, 2014.**

**Question One: Is there any fundamental distinction between the defunct OAU and the AU?**

It depends on the angle that you are looking at it. If you look at it from the institutional and legal angle, it appears there are difference(s) between the OAU and the AU based on the charter and the constitutive act of the establishing both organizations. But looking at it, from both operational and political angle, there is no major difference between the OAU and the AU because of most of the issues they are confronted are basically the same for example, in terms of funding, capacity to respond to issues in Africa, man power and so forth.

**Question Two: How has the shift to the AU had significant implications on Nigeria's Foreign Policy?**

At the inception of the OAU, I would say that Nigeria played a major role which had significant impact on her foreign policy but in the present AU set up, Nigeria's role within the continent tends to be marginal in which countries like Libya and South Africa played more important role in the transformation process. What one should expect is that for the transformation to have significant impact on Nigeria's foreign policy, Nigeria's view in the AU leadership should be more proactive because other countries within the continent look up to Nigeria to be able to create and provide these leadership role. I also feel, why the transformation has actually not really had much significant important on Nigeria's external policies was due to decline in economic fortune and the nature of leadership issues which the country witnessed.

Therefore, I will say that the transition to the AU has not really provided the leverage that one will expect to have a major impact on Nigeria's foreign policy.

**Question Three: What are the opportunities available for Nigeria to promote her foreign policy within the new AU framework?**

I think there are opportunities for Nigeria to use the AU to achieve its foreign policy objectives and it will have to find ways to do that. First, Nigeria should try to develop and improve her relationship with other key AU players within the continent because no nation can exist on its own and therefore, Nigeria could not do it alone. Secondly, Nigeria should harmonize her positions and relationship with South Africa, Algeria, Egypt and at least one Francophone country may be Cote-d'ivoire or Senegal. If Nigeria can be able to gain the support of these key players it can easily mobilize support in the AU as a whole which in turn, will enhance her foreign policy because, things have changed in Africa, the Africa of the 1960s and 1970s is not the same with Africa of today because back then, Nigerian can easily mobilize and seek the needed support to champion any course of action but as it is now, even small countries are conscious of their position.

**Question four: How has the removal of the OAU's non-interference clause and its replacement with the non-indifference clause in the transformed AU constitutive act impacted on the commitment to the collective security of key AU players and Nigeria in particular?**

I think there is a paradigm-shift between the non-interference and the subsequent replacement with the non-indifference clause in the AU constitutive act. Let me say that, this principle is not only applicable to Africa alone but rather it is a global practice. But my main concern and problem with this principle within the African continent is the capacity and willingness to intervene when there is the need to do so

in cases such as genocide, human rights violations, humanitarian purposes, crimes against human humanity and also when the intervention is doable. As it is now, that capacity and willingness to act under the AU framework tends to be lacking.

**Interview with Professor Joseph Isawa Elaigwu, Professor Emeritus of Political Science, University of Jos and President Institute for Governance and Social Research, Jos, 29th march, 2014.**

**QUESTION ONE: What is your take about the African Union sir?**

Let me say that, the African Union is a supra-national and a regional organization that is useless without its member-states, hence, when one talks about some of the issues that the AU was established for such as promoting regional integration, unifying the continent socially, culturally, economically and economically. Also some of the issues that tend to affect African states such as corruption, bad governance, human rights abuses, poverty, insecurity and what not, are all issues that are inherent within individual member states. Hence, my statement which says that the African Union is nothing but an organization that is useless and meaningless without its member states. Based on that, the AU can only provide the framework for individual nations to behave in a manner that meets the objective of either the charter or constitutive act that established the union.

**Question Two:**

**How has the removal of the OAU's non-interference clause and its replacement with the non-indifference clause in the transformed AU constitutive act impacted on the commitment to the collective security of key AU players and Nigeria in particular?**

I will say that Nigeria's commitment to the doctrine and principle of non-indifference was nurtured based on the idea that Nigeria is the giant of Africa and therefore, as a regional hegemon, Nigeria believed that it had to set the pace and example of other countries to follow rather than been docile in situations that require urgent intervention especially when it will affect collective peace, security and well-being of citizens. Invariably, I will say that Nigeria since the transformation of the AU and the coming to fusion of the non-indifference clause Nigeria have tried to mediate and not keep quiet on critical issues that needs urgent attention. Nigeria has clearly showed that true the various peace keeping missions it participated within the continent overtime but my problem with this doctrine of non-indifference has to do with how states will design foreign policies and decisions that can be able to balance extra-territorial demands with national demands especially when it comes to peace keeping missions. Do not forget that, most of this conflicts when they occur, they occur and nations failed to react, it has direct consequences and implications on neighboring states largely due to most of the caveats that come with them. For example, a conflict in any of Nigeria's neighbor such as Chad, Niger and Liberia and it failed to intervene considering the nature of Nigerian borders we know that it will constitute serious security risk that will ultimate affect the collective security and interest of Nigeria as well.

**QUESTION THREE: In what way(s) has some of the changes and policies initiated by the AU such as NEPAD, APRM, APSA, and Peace support operations been able to affect Nigeria's foreign policy?**

In as much I belief in the philosophy behind some these changes initiated by the AU such as NEPAD, APRM, APSA in which some of us were initially involved. I would say that this policy initiatives if implemented effectively, will actually change the

dynamics in which nations design their foreign policies not only in Nigeria but Africa as well, but my main concern with these policy initiatives take example the African Peer Review Mechanism, it is an interesting initiative, but the dilemma it creates is where my concern and reservation is; because we have peer review on one hand and peer accommodation and condonation of vices on the other hand, for example, how many African leaders have had the courage to review the actions of their peers and tell them what they are doing is wrong. Young man, your guess is as good as mine! Look at the issue of poverty, corruption, bad governance, insecurity, human rights violations and what not, these are issues NEPAD aspired to tackle, from your take you can be able to assess whether or not NEPAD has been a success or failure.

**Question Four: One of the rationale behind this shift from the AU is the idea of proffering African solutions to African problems. In your views has that idea been achieved under this AU framework?**

I think the AU based on the philosophy behind its transition was noble and commendable because the international system has changed so also the nature of global politics in which some of the challenges that were facing the continent, the OAU was not able to handle. Even though, one of the aim of the transformation is to proffer African solutions to African problems, so far, the AU is still lagging behind because of some reasons such as: many African states are weak, poor, unwilling to cooperate with the AU, and above all lack of political will in ensuring that the idea works. Let me give you an example, with the APRM initiative of NEPAD, most AU-member states are not willing to cooperate with the AU to submit their reports in order for them to be assessed, even Nigeria that has been peered about three to four

times, has the reports and recommendation been adopted by Nigerian leaders. You know the answer. I strongly feel, Africans are not fully ready and willing to proffer African solutions to African problems.

**Interview with Professor Sherrif Folarin, Head of Department of Political Science and International Relations, Covenant University OTTA, Ogun State 27th march, 2014.**

**Question one: sir, what do you have to say about the OAU and the circumstances that led to its transformation into the AU?**

The OAU let me first of all say it was a child of circumstances that most African states found themselves and when it was established, it came at a time most African states saw the need for a regional organization because in the 1960s as you well know, colonialism was still looming. The OAU I would say, was able to achieve the objectives and mandate it was created.

**Question two: What are some of the successes and reasons that led to the transformation into the African Union?**

Just as I said, the ability of the organization to achieve the objective it was created which was decolonizing the African continent was a major success, its formation and survival in spite of the delicate and complicated nature of Africa was also another major victory, and its ability to create a platform in which African states share their views internationally, could also be seen as a success. But looking at the events of the twenty first century, which created a paradigm shift in global politics which in turn comes with some of its challenges, it became imperative for African leaders to make the organization more vibrant, and viable in order to meet up with this

contemporary realities, that I believe was one of the reasons behind the transformation of the OAU into the AU.

**Question Three: Is there any major change the AU made since inception?**

I would say, there has been some degree of change since the inception of the AU in 2002 because, looking at its Constitutive Act it tried to come up with new initiatives and ideas that will lead to these changes such as NEPAD, APRM, APSA and borrowing from the UN's MDG programme as well.

**Question four: In your own opinion sir, how far has the AU gone in achieving these mandates it was transformed into?**

The AU within ten years of its existence, it has been able to clearly demonstrate the determination of the organization to achieve its set out objectives and breaking new grounds and bringing the desired development the continent desired. Example in the area of conflict management, economic development, and promoting good governance the AU performed above average. The Conflict in Somalia and Darfur we saw the role the AU-standby force played in resolving the conflict, even though the mission was under the auspices of the UN, most of the soldiers deployed there, were drawn mostly from AU-member states and headed by African soldiers. I would say that the AU has been able to husband and manage these conflicts from blowing out of proportion. Be that as it may, I will advise for more political will from African leaders, which will be able to go a long way in ensuring the union achieved its stated objectives. Take for example, again with the APRM, I think if not for Nigeria and South Africa that had initially supported this initiative, most African leaders are not in support of it. That clearly, demonstrates the level of unwillingness and lack of cooperation among many African leaders.

**Interview with Professor Victor Adetula, Professor of Regional Integration, Department of Political Science and Center for Development Studies, University of Jos, 26th march, 2014.**

**QUESTION ONE: In your opinion sir, what are some of the challenges facing the African Union today?**

I would say the challenge facing the African union is not peculiar to most regional integration projects within the African continent. When looking at some of the challenges facing the African Union, I think lack of national capacity of the integrating countries of Africa to be able to come up with a strong agenda that will move the organization forward in spite, of the rhetoric's. The AU, as you well know is an integrating project but I will say 'how do we sing the Lord's song in the land of slavery'? The second major challenge facing the AU I believe is the lack of clear-cut ideology in designing sound and effective policy framework that will move the continent forward but rather, the AU tends to adopt this 'big-bang theory' of achieving sustainable change and development in a haphazard manner rather than adopting a gradualist and systematic way of policy initiation and implementation. Another critical challenge facing the AU today I believe is the absence of a concise and coherent model of regional integration. What we have I feel is a model which tried to follow certain vested imperialist interests and unless Africans sit down, think and come up with a model that focus mainly on African issues, it will be very difficult under these circumstances for the AU to actually come out of the woods.

**Question two: What is the way forward in your own opinion sir?**

I think what we have today in the AU still represents the contemporary reality in which its main center of focus is geared towards asking relevant development questions and seeing how these projects can be achieved. Even though within the



discourse of regional integration project in Africa, the functionalist or gradualist school model in which Nigeria represents and its views and opinions which has always proven to be successful even during the era of the OAU, has not been given fair treatment even within the literature. Most often than not, this school is blackmailed, labelled and brandish in a negative light. Hence, for the AU to be more functional, viable and effective I tend to advocate for the gradualist and systematic change within the AU framework, institutions and operations which I believe in the long run, will yield the desired result.

**Question Three: How has the removal of the OAU's non-interference clause and its replacement with the non-indifference clause in the transformed AU constitutive act impacted on the commitment to the collective security of key AU players and Nigeria in particular?**

I would say the removal of the non-interference clause and its replacement with the non-difference clause in the AU constitutive act, will actually play a significant role in the foreign policy of African states. First of all, the idea of this policy clearly states that AU member states will no longer keep quiet and watch certain acts and behaviours that are simply not in line with universal principles and ideals such as bad governance, corruption, human rights violations, unconstitutional changes of governments as well conflicts which has serious humanitarian implications. You read and saw the situation in Rwanda, Somalia, Liberia, Sierra Leone and other African countries that were grappled with serious armed conflicts and violence in which the international community failed to act. Most times this conflicts whenever they occur, they tend to create so many exigencies that will affect especially neighboring countries in terms of dealing with illegal arms trade, refugee crises, blood bath and what not. It is the responsibility of any sensible government and country to put the

interest and wellbeing of her citizens first before any other thing. Considering the state of our border today, whenever there is a conflict in any neighboring country with Nigeria and Nigeria fails to intervene, you and I know what will happen at the end of the day. So I feel the removal of this clause has now given reasons for states not to be docile especially when they ought to, secondly, it also allayed the fears among some states that intervening in a just cause cannot also be termed as violation of the sovereignty and integrity of an independent state. Therefore, the removal of this clause actually has implications on not only Nigeria's foreign policy but the foreign policies of most states in the global system.

**Interview with Professor Ogaba Oche, Director of Research,  
Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Lagos, 30th March, 2014.**

**Question One: Is there any significant implication on foreign policy of member states in respect to the principle of non-indifference?**

In theory and on paper, the non-indifference doctrine is supposed to change the way nations react to intervention which constitutes certain aspects of foreign policy, but in practice it leaves much to be desired. Let me say that despite the presence of the non-indifference clause in the AU constitutive act, the union still finds it difficult to intervene and mobilize its peace keeping troops in conflict prone states. For example in Mali, Somalia and Sudan one had expected a reactionary measure from the AU but it had to wait for UN and ex-colonies in the case of Mali to first of all intervene before it finally reacts. In line with this, a lot has to be done in order to ensure the functionality of this doctrine.

**Question Two: So what does the future hold for the AU and other member states in relation to the doctrine of non-interference?**

I feel compliance to these principles on the part of the AU and individual member states is important when we are to achieve this principle. Secondly, I also feel the AU should moderate some of this principles and give room for international assistance given the fact that a lot of African states are actually weak states.