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ФЕДЕРАЛЬНОЕ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ АВТОНОМНОЕ  
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	3
<b>CHAPTER 1. THE CONCEPTUAL AND HISTORICAL BASIS OF NIGERIAN FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS AFRICAN COUNTRIES</b> .....	25
1.1. The Historical Basis of Nigerian Foreign Policy.....	29
1.2. The Legal and Institutional System of Nigerian Foreign Policy .....	49
1.3. The Nigerian Foreign Policy Conceptual Approach towards Africa.....	63
<b>CHAPTER 2. THE NIGERIAN SUB – REGIONAL FOREIGN POLICY IN WEST AFRICA</b> .....	69
2.1. The Nigerian Relationship with Neighboring Countries (Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Republic of Benin) .....	74
2.2. The Nigerian Diplomacy in ECOWAS.....	82
2.3. The Role of Nigerians in Conflict Management in ECOWAS.....	99
<b>CHAPTER 3. THE PAN – AFRICAN DIMENSION OF NIGERIAN FOREIGN POLICY</b> .....	128
3.1. Nigerian Participation in the Formation of OAU/AU.....	135
3.2. Nigeria’s Foreign Policy Impact Towards the African Economic Initiatives ....	151
3.3. The Nigerian Multilateral Diplomacy: Key Features and Tendencies .....	164
<b>CONCLUSION</b> .....	184
<b>LIST OF SOURCES AND REFERENCES</b> .....	189
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATION</b> .....	211

## INTRODUCTION

**The relevance of the research** problem is due to the increasing role of Africa in the modern system of international relations, including the emerging model of world economic development. Despite lagging behind in the advanced areas of the economy, the African continent occupies a leading position in the world in those raw materials that have no analogues in the world and are vital for the development of defense and innovative technologies of the XXI century. Africa, in fact, is the most important and unique global strategic reserve of raw materials. In addition, there is an inexhaustible labor market in Africa, the demand for consumer goods, investments, modern technologies, high-tech machine-technical products is growing, which attracts the world's leading states: China, Japan, Russia, USA, Great Britain, France, etc. The development of Africa in the coming decades may change its position in the new model of world development, and it may become a center of global importance.

The relevance of the research problem is also due to the activation in international relations of one of the leading states of the continent and the leader of the West African region — Federal Republic of Nigeria. With an important geostrategic position, rich natural resources, and a large population, Nigeria positions itself in Africa as a "regional power." Since 1999, the country has been pursuing an active foreign policy at the global level, but its priority is to create a wide range of international partnerships for national and sub-regional development. Nigeria is an active member of the African Union, ECOWAS, the Gulf of Guinea Commission, etc. With the proactive participation of Nigeria, a roadmap was developed for the implementation of the Agenda for the period up to 2063, the Economic Initiatives of the African Union aimed at eradicating poverty in Africa. The implementation of Nigeria's foreign policy in the 21st century in the African direction has enabled neighboring countries to cope with complex problems, the resolution of which has become the basis for their economic recovery.

After gaining independence, Nigeria has consistently shown commitment to promoting the African vector of diplomacy, acting as a defender of the interests of the "black diaspora" on a global scale, defending the positive image of Africans in the international community.

In addition, the relevance of the study is due to the intensification of Nigeria's position at the global level, in particular, at the UN, where it advocates comprehensive reform of the UN, strives to be a representative of the African Union and fights for granting it permanent member status in the United Nations Security Council. The achievement of these goals could enhance the authority of Nigeria and change the position of Africa in the international community as a whole, which indicates the great scientific and practical significance of the topic of the dissertation research.

**Literature review.** The increasing role of Africa in the modern system of international relations attracts the attention of scientists from different countries. The present study thus correlates with the existing views and ideas of scientists from Russia, Europe, the USA, and Africa. Generally, foreign policy is the objective that guides the activities and relationships of one state in its interactions with other states. Thus, the literature reviewed includes African authors, Russian scholars, Western academicians (American and European), etc.

In Russia, Nigerian foreign policy and other related courses are studied primarily in the context of African studies, with the leading experts working at the Research Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences. In order to study and understand the issues raised, this thesis divided the existing historiography of the study into two groups: Russian and English.

**Historiography in Russian can be grouped into the following:**

The *first group* of historiography includes studies examining the Africa-centeredness of Nigeria's foreign policy and the impacts of Pan-Africanism in forming Nigeria's foreign policy. The historiographic group primarily includes the works of Russian researchers and scholars who have written about Nigerian foreign policy and

have used various sources, such as published books, journals, and online sources, to express their views. This has been thoroughly covered in the scientific works of several Russian scholars: A.L. Emelianova, I.P. Konovalov and V.G. Shubin, A.A. Shvedov, Nigusie Kassaye W. Michael, K.A. Pantserev, E. Korendyasov, L.V. Ponomarenko and E.S. Gromoglasova<sup>1</sup>.

In particular, the monograph written by A.L. Emelianov<sup>2</sup> provides insight into the limitation of African democracy, which has vehemently hindered the implementation of Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy. In addition, this research focuses on Nigeria's foreign policy institutions in the context of foreign policy implementation.

The analysis of foreign policy in the context of civil war in Africa is presented in the collective monographs of I.P. Konovalov and V.G. Shubin, which highlight the role not only played by Western countries in Angola conflicts but also the beneficial interest of Western powers<sup>3</sup>. This thesis thoroughly examined the influence of the Western powers on the peacekeeping mission in Africa.

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<sup>1</sup> *Емельянов А.Л.* Имитационная демократия: африканский вариант // Новая и новейшая история. 2015. № 5. С.35-41; *Коновалов И.П., Шубин Г.В.* Современная Африка: войны и оружие. М.: Социально-политическая мысль, 2012. 476 с.; *Шведов А.А.* Независимая Африка: внешнеполитические проблемы, дипломатическая борьба. М., 1983. 350 с.; *Ныгусие Кассаяе В. Микаэль.* Хайле Селассие I император Эфиопии. М.: РУДН, 2016. 424 с.; *Pantserev K.A.* The States of Sub-Saharan Africa on the way to the Global Information Society // Journal on Systemics, Cybernetics and Informatics. 2010. Vol. 8. No. 6. P. 46-52.; *Evgeny Korendyasov.* Russia Returns to Africa. Africa's Growing Role in World Politics // Institute for African Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, 2014. P. 7.; *Шубин В.Г.* Горячая «холодная война»: Юг Африки (1960 – 1999 гг.). М.: Издательский дом «ЯСК», 2013. 368 с.; *Он же.* Объединенная Африка? // РСМД. 2014. URL: <https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/analytics/united-africa>. (Date of access: 17.06.2021).; *Громогласова Е.С.* Современный военно-силовой контртерроризм: международно-политический и правовой аспекты // Вестник РУДН. Серия: Международные отношения. 2016. Vol. 16. № 9. С. 426-436.

<sup>2</sup> *Емельянов А. Л.* Имитационная демократия: африканский вариант // Новая и новейшая история. № 5. 2015. С. 35-41

<sup>3</sup> *Коновалов И.П., Шубин Г.В.* Современная Африка: войны и оружие. М.: Издательство «Социально-политическая мысль». 2012. 476 с.

The works by A.A. Shvedov<sup>4</sup> characterize Nigeria's foreign policy and African diplomacy that can be traced to Pan – Africanism features, such as anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, anti-racism, anti-Apartheid, and black power. It tells about the level of cooperation between Nigeria and other African countries.

Of considerable interest in the light of the study of Nigeria's foreign policy are the works of one of the leading Russian Africanists S.V. Mazov<sup>5</sup>, which provides a comprehensive analysis of the Soviet Union's policy towards Africa and Nigeria, in particular, after its independence in 1960. The author presented an in-depth study of the patterns of Nigeria's foreign policy in the context of the government's attempt to create a new the status quo after getting rid of colonialism.

On the issue of Pan – Africanism, which became a school of thought for Nigusie Kassaye W. Michael while reviewing the activities of the Organization of African Unity that was later transformed into the African Union and what Emperor Haile Selassie I stood for in the context of Pan – Africanism<sup>6</sup>. This allows this thesis to assess how Pan-Africanism shaped Nigeria's foreign policy objectives.

The works by K.A. Pantserev analyzed the problem of information policy in Sub Saharan African states<sup>7</sup>. This allows this thesis to assess Africa's centeredness and centrality in international relations.

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<sup>4</sup> *Шведов А. А.* Независимая Африка: внешнеполитические проблемы, дипломатическая борьба. М.: Политиздат, 1983. 350 с.

<sup>5</sup> *Мазов С.В.* Советско-нигерийские отношения накануне и в начале гражданской войны в Нигерии, 1966-1967 гг. (по материалам российских архивов) // Электронный научно-образовательный журнал «История». 2020. Т. 11. Выпуск 8 (94) [Электронный ресурс]. URL: <https://history.jes.su/s207987840011017-7-1/> (дата обращения: 10.11.2021); *Мазов С.В.* Политика СССР в Западной Африке, 1956-1964: неизвестные страницы истории холодной войны. М.: Наука. 2008. 335 с.

<sup>6</sup> *Nigusie Kassae M.* Emperor Haile Selassie I and the Organization of African Unity. Devoted to the 50th anniversary of the African Union // Moscow: Vestnik RUDN: World History. 2013. Vol. 13. No. 3. P. 57-71.

<sup>7</sup> *Pantserev K.A.* The States of Sub-Saharan Africa on the way to the Global Information Society // Journal on Systemics, Cybernetics and Informatics. 2010. Vol. 8. No. 6. P. 46-52; *Панцеров К.А.* "Твиттерные революции" в странах Северной Африки-обратная сторона развития информационного общества // Азия и Африка сегодня. 2016. №. 4. С. 14-19; *Он же.* Страны

The works of N.A. Zherlitsyna<sup>8</sup> allowed the author to study the peculiarities of the foreign policy of the countries of North Africa to establish the degree of commonality of their national interests with the interests of Nigeria, as well as the similarity of their approaches to the implementation of the ideology of afrocentrism.

On the issue of the Gulf of Guinea Commission, E. S. Gromoglasova<sup>9</sup> examines the activities of Boko-haram, which has hindered economic development in West African countries. In addition, this thesis pays attention to economic and political crises in the context of regional economic integration.

The *second group* includes works on Nigeria's bilateral and multilateral relations, conflict management in Africa, taking into account the role of Western countries in peacekeeping missions in Africa. Undoubtedly, some reputable Russian researchers and scientists, such as T.S. Denisova, V.R. Filippov, Yu.N. Zotova and I.V. Sledzevsky, N.A. Dobronravin, V.G. Shubin, E.S. Lvova, and G.M. Kostyunina<sup>10</sup> have

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Африки южнее Сахары на пути к созданию искусственного разума: миф или реальность? // Азия и Африка сегодня. 2020. №. 10. С. 32-41.

<sup>8</sup> *Жерлицына Н.А.* Стратегическое партнерство России и Алжира в условиях кризиса: потенциал и вызовы // Вестник университета. 2015. №. 8. С. 24-31; *Она же.* Перспективы сотрудничества России со странами Магриба в свете новых глобальных вызовов // Вестник Волгоградского государственного университета. Серия 4: История. Регионоведение. Международные отношения. 2016. Т. 21. №. 2. С. 96-103; *Жерлицына Н.А.* Перспективы российско-марокканского сотрудничества: потенциал и вызовы // Вестник университета. 2015. №. 12. С. 66-72.

<sup>9</sup> *Громогласова Е.С.* Современный военно-силовой контртерроризм: международно-политический и правовой аспекты // Вестник РУДН. Серия: Международные отношения. 2016. № 16 (9). С. 426-436.

<sup>10</sup> *Денисова Т.С.* Тропическая Африка: эволюция политического лидерства. М.: Институт Африки РАН, 2016. 596 с.; *Она же.* ЭКОВАС и проблемы регионального миротворчества. К 40-летию ЭКОВАС // Азия и Африка сегодня. 2015. Т. 1. № 9. С. 37-43.; *Филиппов В.Р.* Африканская политика Парижа в период пандемии // Институт Африки РАН, 2020. № 11 (3). С. 151-168.; *Зотова Ю.Н., Слэдзевский И.В.* История Нигерии в новое и новейшее время. М.: Наука, 1981. 358 с.; *Добронравин Н.А.* Нигерийская модернизация, локализация демократии и перманентный кризис федерализма // Европейский университет в Санкт-Петербурге, 2010. URL: [https://eusp.org/sites/default/files/archive/M\\_center/M\\_17\\_10\\_for\\_site.pdf](https://eusp.org/sites/default/files/archive/M_center/M_17_10_for_site.pdf). (Date of access: 13.03.2022); *Шубин В.Г.* Горячая «холодная война»: Юг Африки (1960 – 1999 гг.). М.: Издательский дом «ЯСК», 2013 г. 368 с.; *Она же.* Объединенная Африка? // РСМД, 2014. URL: [https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics\\_and-comments/analytics/united-africa](https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics_and-comments/analytics/united-africa). (Date of access: 17.06.2021).; *Львова Э.С.* Истории колониального раздела Африки // Под небом Африки моей. История, языки, культура народов Африки. Том 7. М., 2015. С. 18-24.; *Костюнина Г.М.*



written intensively on the issues of political leadership, regional economic integration, bilateral and multilateral relations, etc.

In particular, the monograph by T.S. Denisova examines the causes of poor governance in Africa and the features and prospects of political development in Nigeria<sup>11</sup>. In addition, this thesis pays special attention to the bilateral relations between Nigeria and African states.

The works by V.R. Filippov analyses the geopolitical situation in the Francophone countries of Tropical Africa in the context of economic and humanitarian crises<sup>12</sup>. This allows this thesis to assess the mutual relationship between the French government and Francophone countries.

The monograph by Yu.N. Zotova and I.V. Sledzevsky analyzed the reasons for the collapse of the Nigeria's first republic (1960 – 1966) and the changes in the socioeconomic structure of Nigerian society during the XX century<sup>13</sup>. This allows the thesis to assess the extent to which Nigeria engaged in the activities of African states in that period.

The works of N.A. Dobronravin examine the history of Nigeria as a single administrative entity that dates back to 1914, when the two British protectorates that emerged at the beginning of the century, Northern and Southern Nigeria, and the Lagos colony, were united<sup>14</sup>. In addition, this thesis pays attention to policy implementation in African states.

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Интеграционные процессы в Африке: история и современный этап. // Российский внешнеэкономический вестник. 2016. № 4. С. 34-50.

<sup>11</sup> *Денисова Т.С.* Тропическая Африка: эволюция политического лидерства. М.: Институт Африки РАН, 2016. 596 с.; *Она же.* ЭКОВАС и Проблемы Регионального Миротворчества. К 40-летию ЭКОВАС // Азия и Африка Сегодня. 2015. Т. 1. № 9. С. 37-43.

<sup>12</sup> *Филиппов В.Р.* Африканская политика Парижа в период пандемии // Институт Африки РАН. 2020. № 11 (3). С. 151-168.

<sup>13</sup> *Зотова Ю.Н., Следзевский И.В.* История Нигерии в новое и новейшее время. М.: Наука, 1981. 358 с.

<sup>14</sup> *Добронравин Н.А.* Нигерийская модернизация, локализация демократии и перманентный кризис федерализма // Европейский университет в Санкт-Петербурге. 2010. URL: [https://eusp.org/sites/default/files/archive/M\\_center/M\\_17\\_10\\_for\\_site.pdf](https://eusp.org/sites/default/files/archive/M_center/M_17_10_for_site.pdf). (Date of access: 13.03.2022).

The works of V.G. Shubin, a reputable Russian Africanist researcher, are of great importance. The works titled «Hot Cold War: South Africa (1960 -1999)»<sup>15</sup> examined the relationship between Africa and Russia on how Russian troops participated indirectly in the civil war in South Africa and Angola in favor of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, and others. This thesis examines Russian contributions to African states in the context of peacekeeping missions.

The works of E.S. Lvova<sup>16</sup> played an essential role in studying Western interest in Africa. Her research was characterized by overwhelming attention to the strategies of Western countries and changes in their policies during the colonial period in African countries. This allows this thesis to assess the extent to which Western countries changed their foreign policies during the anti-colonial campaign on the continent.

The significant interest in the light of the study of Nigeria's involvement in ECOWAS is the work of G.M. Kostyunina. which provides a comprehensive analysis of Nigeria's participation in the formation of ECOWAS. She claimed that ECOWAS was created during the oil boom period in the world, which provided Nigeria with huge oil revenue to attend to the myriad of problems that confronted the region and sustained the survival of ECOWAS during the turbulent years<sup>17</sup>.

The *third group* is represented by literature that highlighting the peculiarities and development of Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy, which has found its way into the practical embodiment and involvement in the activities of interstate institutions of regional and subregional nature. It includes works related to Nigeria's participation in the activities of international, regional, and subregional organizations when solving security problems. The historiographic group is devoted to problems, among which it

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<sup>15</sup> Шубин В.Г.. Горячая «холодная война»: Юг Африки (1960-1999 гг.). М.: Издательский дом «ЯСК», 2013. 368 с.

<sup>16</sup> Львова Э.С. Истории колониального раздела Африки // Под небом Африки моей. История, языки, культура народов Африки. М., 2015. Т. 7. С. 18-24.

<sup>17</sup> Костюнина Г.М. Интеграционные Процессы в Африке: история и современный этап // Российский внешнеэкономический вестник. 2016. № 4. С. 34-50.

is necessary to highlight works by G.M. Kostyunina., L.Y. Prokopenko and Y.Y. Etinger<sup>18</sup>.

The works by L.Y. Prokopenko examined the African renaissance and how most African countries create their foreign and domestic policies, which have contributed to the development of African cultures<sup>19</sup>. In addition, this thesis pays attention to cultural diplomacy promoting bilateral and multilateral relations in Africa.

The monograph by Y.Y. Etinger<sup>20</sup> analyzes the Nigerian Afrocentric influence in Africa. analyzes the Nigerian Afrocentric influence in Africa. He argued that the nature, forms, and evolution of inter-State relations of African countries are very important for understanding the implementation of Afrocentrism. This thesis pays special attention to Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy's influence in establishing the African Union.

*In English historiography*, issues relating to various aspects of Nigeria's foreign policy have been widely covered. Of particular interest are studied by African and Nigerian scholars the formation and development of Nigeria's foreign policy.

African researchers and scholars who viewed Nigerian foreign policy as an instrument used in pursuing the objectives of Pan-Africanism are O. Aluko titled «The New Nigerian Foreign Policy: Developments Since the Downfall of General Gowon»<sup>21</sup>. The works of M. Timothy titled «Problematic Power: The Debate about Nigerian Foreign Policy in the 1980s» gave an insight into the ever-consistent Nigerian foreign policy concept, which is unlikely to change no matter the circumstance or the

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<sup>18</sup> *Костюнина Г.М.* Интеграционные процессы в Африке: история и современный этап // Российский внешнеэкономический вестник. 2016. № 4. С. 34-50; *Прокопенко Л.Я., Шубин В.Г.* Африканский ренессанс // Ученые записки Института Африки РАН. М., 2001. № 24. С. 70-123.; *Этингер Я.Я.* Межгосударственные отношения в Африке. Политические проблемы, эволюция, организационные формы. М., 1972. 319 с.

<sup>19</sup> *Прокопенко Л.Я., Шубин В.Г.* Африканский ренессанс // Ученые записки Института Африки РАН. М., 2001. № 24. С. 70-123.

<sup>20</sup> *Этингер Я.Я.* Межгосударственные отношения в Африке. Политические проблемы, эволюция, организационные формы. М. 1972. 319 с.

<sup>21</sup> *Aluko Olajide.* The New Nigerian Foreign Policy: Developments Since the Downfall of General Gowon. // The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs. 1976. Vol. 66. No. 264. P. 405-414.

interpretation of any administration<sup>22</sup>. N.O. Ejitu on the historical origin of Nigerian foreign policy, titled «Nigerian Foreign Policy and the Democratic Experiment: The Lessons of History and Options for the 21st Century, 2016,» noted the reasons for the setback in the implementation of Nigeria’s foreign policy<sup>23</sup>.

Meanwhile, A.B. Akinyemi’s doctrine of «Reciprocity in Nigeria’s Foreign Policy»<sup>24</sup> gave a deep understanding of various components that determine the country’s national security interests and systemic relationships. It was argued that Reciprocity in Nigeria’s Foreign Policy was the first serious effort to identify and define Nigeria’s national interest in political, economic, social, and security terms<sup>25</sup>. In his work “Concentricism in Nigeria’s Foreign Policy, 2006”, Dauda S. clearly articulates the impacts of Nigeria’s foreign policy objectives on African states<sup>26</sup>.

Some African authors who shared their view on Nigeria’s Afrocentric foreign policy impacts on African states are S. Oshewolo titled «Bringing back the issues: Nigeria’s Afrocentric Policy Under President Olusegun Obasanjo»<sup>27</sup>, who claimed that Afrocentric foreign policy describes Nigeria’s leadership status and role towards Africa. B.A. Akinterinwa titled “Africa in Nigeria’s Foreign Policy: Beyond Forty-Five Years of Unwavering Commitment”<sup>28</sup>, documented that the leadership role played by Nigeria at the regional and continental levels has created a strong bond between

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<sup>22</sup> Timothy M. Problematic Power: The Debate about Nigerian Foreign Policy in the 1980s // Journal of International Studies. 1983. Vol. 12. No. 2. 127 p.

<sup>23</sup> Ejitu N. & Chinyere S. Nigerian Foreign Policy and the Democratic Experiment // International Journal of Applied and Advanced Scientific Research. 2016. Vol. 1. No. 1. P. 9-18.

<sup>24</sup> Akinyemi A. B. Doctrine of Reciprocity in Nigerian Foreign Policy // Nigerian Institute of International Affairs. 1987. Vol. 6. No. 5. P. 1-3.

<sup>25</sup> Akinyemi A. B. Mohammed/Obasanjo Foreign Policy. In Oyeleye Oyediran (ed.) // Nigerian Government and Politics under Military Rule. 1966 – 79. London: Macmillan, 1979.

<sup>26</sup> Dauda S. Nigeria’s Foreign Policy. In Ashaver, Benjamin T. Concentricism in Nigeria’s Foreign Policy // Journal of Humanities and Social Science. 2014. Vol. 19. No. 6. 7 p.

<sup>27</sup> Oshewolo S. Bringing back the issues: Nigeria’s Afrocentric Policy Under President Olusegun Obasanjo // Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics. 2019. Vol. 57. No. 3. P. 324-342.

<sup>28</sup> Akinterinwa B. A. Africa in Nigeria’s Foreign Policy: Beyond Forty-Five Years of Unwavering Commitment. In Oshewolo S. Bringing back the issues: Nigeria’s Afrocentric policy under President Olusegun Obasanjo. 2019. Vol. 57. No. 3. 325 p.

Nigerian and African states. C.I. Obi in his work titled «Nigeria's foreign policy and transnational security challenges in West Africa»<sup>29</sup> stresses that the Afrocentric foreign policy primarily encourages Nigeria to respond to transnational security challenges in the African continent.

In Europe, African studies have also developed widely, and many European scholars have studied Nigeria's foreign policy in the context of its implementation in the West African region. Undoubted interest are the scientific works of scholars such as S.P. Claude and M. Sinclair<sup>30</sup>.

The works of S.P. Claude played a vital role in the study of Nigerian foreign policy effectiveness. He emphasizes the impact of Nigerian foreign policy in the first republic (1963 – 1966)<sup>31</sup>.

The works of M. Sinclair gave insight into Nigeria's participation in West African economic integration. He believed that Nigeria's role in the late 1960s and 1970s was to woo other West African states, the subregion of Africa it belongs, into a regional economic agreement for harmonization of economic policies of newly independent African states, trade liberalization, and the joint coordination of economic development<sup>32</sup>.

Among the American authors who wrote about Nigeria's foreign policy in the context of cultural relations and on Nigeria's participation in peacekeeping activities in West Africa and in regional and sub-regional organizations as well as bilateral relations

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<sup>29</sup> *Obi C. I.* Nigeria's foreign policy and transnational security challenges in West Africa // *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 2008. Vol. 26. No. 2. P. 183-196.

<sup>30</sup> *Claude S. P.* Development of Nigerian Foreign Policy // *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 1964. Vol. 2. No. 3. P. 12-154.; *Sinclair M.* An Analysis of Nigerian Foreign Policy: The Evolution of Political Paranoia. Braamfontein: The South African Institute of International Relations, 1983. 241 p.

<sup>31</sup> *Claude S. P.* Development of Nigerian Foreign Policy // *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 1964. Vol. 2. No. 3. P. 456-457.

<sup>32</sup> *Sinclair M.* An Analysis of Nigerian Foreign Policy: The Evolution of Political Paranoia. Braamfontein: The South African Institute of International Affairs, 1983. Vol. 1. No. 1. 10 p.

with the leading countries of the world. They are M. Jade, J.Y. Gani, and P.C. Katharina<sup>33</sup>.

In the context of cultural relations, Jade M. wrote about Nollywood (the Nigerian movie industry); she argues that Nollywood has emerged as the most effective soft-power instrument to transmit the country's cultural narrative that poses as a tool in facilitating cultural diplomacy in Africa<sup>34</sup>.

In reviewing the ECOWAS Integration Process, J.Y. Gani view the formation of ECOWAS as a good sign for West-Africa's security architecture. He claimed that the role of Nigeria in establishing The Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), which posed as an indigenous regional mechanism for conflict management, is of good interest to the continent at large<sup>35</sup>. Additionally, P.C. Katharina in her work titled "International Organisations and Peace Enforcement: The Politics of International Legitimacy," claimed that the principles and norms established by the ECOWAS for peacekeeping missions have served as a model for African organizations in considering regional peace enforcement operations<sup>36</sup>.

Of particular interest are studies by African and Nigerian scholars on various aspects of the activities of regional and subregional organizations in Africa. Among the African scholars who wrote on ECOWAS integration is J.B. Olatunde in his work titled «Nigeria and the Formation of ECOWAS,» which gave deep insight into Nigeria's role

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<sup>33</sup> *Jade M.* Global Nollywood: The Nigerian Movie Industry and Alternative Global Networks in Production and Distribution // *Global Media and Communication*. 2012. Vol. 8. No. 2. P. 117-133.; *Gani J. Y.* ECOMOG and West African Regional Security: A Nigerian Perspective // *African Issues*. 1993. Vol. 21. No. 1-2. P. 84-91; *Katharina P. Coleman.* International Organisations and Peace Enforcement: The Politics of International Legitimacy. In Eunice N. Sahle. *Democracy Constitutionalism and Politics in Africa / Contemporary African Political Economy*. 2017. Vol. 4. No. 1. 189 p.

<sup>34</sup> *Jade M.* Global Nollywood: The Nigerian Movie Industry and Alternative Global Networks in Production and Distribution // *Global Media and Communication*. 2012. Vol. 8. No. 2. P. 117-133.

<sup>35</sup> *Gani J.Y.* ECOMOG and West African Regional Security: A Nigerian Perspective // *African Issues*. 1993. Vol. 21. No. 1-2. P. 84-91.

<sup>36</sup> *Katharina P.C.* International Organisations and Peace Enforcement: The Politics of International Legitimacy. In Eunice N. Sahle. *Democracy Constitutionalism and Politics in Africa // Contemporary African Political Economy*. 2017. Vol. 4. No. 1. 189 p.

in ECOWAS integration processes. He believed that is another effort to institutionalize the concept of Pan-Africanism<sup>37</sup>. In addition, this thesis pays special attention to the issues of institutionalization in the context of a regional organization.

In reviewing the peacekeeping mission in Africa, the works of M. Dauda titled "Nigeria's Role and Its Peacekeeping Challenges in Africa: An Assessment," gave a chronological assessment of Nigeria's involvement in the UN peacekeeping mission across the globe<sup>38</sup>. Meanwhile, Schlesinger S, in his Journal "Can the United Nations reform?", gave an accurate understanding of the basic justifications for the call for UN reform, which revolves around two major factors: the changing international environment in which the UN operates and the need to adapt it to the attendant challenges<sup>39</sup>. This thesis concluded that the African quest for the United Nations Security Council permanent seat would reposition the continent in the international community.

It is imperative to mention that this study also made use of scholars' research works and contributions from Peoples' Friendship University, Russia (RUDN University), the contribution from the thesis of D.O. Omo – Ogbebor on the topic: «The Role of Nigeria in West African Regional Integration Process 1999 – 2016» (2017)<sup>40</sup> and Gbadebo Afolabi on the topic: «Basis Priorities of Foreign Policy of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1976 – 2020)»<sup>41</sup>.

There is a wide range of topics on Nigerian foreign policy, but no author has been able to cover it, especially the period and the topic under study. Moreover, a complex

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<sup>37</sup> *Olatunde J.B.* Nigeria and the Formation of ECOWAS // *International Organization*. 1980. Vol. 34. No. 4. P. 571-604.

<sup>38</sup> *Dauda M., Mohammad Z. & Mohammad F.* Nigeria's Role and Its Peacekeeping Challenges in Africa: An Assessment // *European Journal of Social Sciences Studies*. 2017. Vol. 2. No. 3. P. 15-20.

<sup>39</sup> *Schlesinger S.* Can the United Nations Reform? // *World Policy Journal*. 1997. Vol. 14. No. 3. 47 p.

<sup>40</sup> *Омо-Огбебор Д.О.* Роль Нигерии в интеграционных процессах в Западной Африке (1999 – 2016). дис. ... канд. ист. наук: 07.00.15. М.: РУДН, 2017. 29 с.

<sup>41</sup> *Афолаби Г.* Основные приоритеты внешней политики Федеративной Республики Нигерии: 1976 – 2020: дисс. ... канд. ист. наук: 07.00.15. М.: РУДН, 2021. 25 с.

analysis of many news sources published in these past years makes particular relevance to the research topic.

Thus, the historiographic base of the thesis provides a detailed overview of the historical aspect of the study. Nevertheless, the nature of bilateral relations between Nigerian and African states was not considered, which explains the research relevance within the period under study.

**The object of the study** is the African vector of Nigeria's foreign policy.

**The subject of the study** is the process of formation of Nigerian foreign policy, its directions, mechanisms and forms of implementation within the African continent.

**The purpose of the study** is to identify the key areas and features of Nigeria's foreign policy with other African states.

In order to achieve this purpose, the following **research tasks** should be solved:

- consider the historical foundations of Nigeria's foreign policy;
- explore the experience of relations between Nigeria and neighboring countries (Niger, Chad, Cameroon and the Republic of Benin);
- determine the role of the Nigerian leadership in maintaining peace and security in West Africa;
- to investigate the influence of pan-Africanism on the formation of Nigeria's foreign policy;
- determine the role of Nigeria's foreign policy in relation to African economic initiatives;
- to reveal the advantages of Nigeria in the struggle for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council.

**The chronological scope of the study** covers the period from 1999 to 2021. The lower boundary of the study was determined in 1999 due to the inauguration of President Olusegun Obasanjo as the democratically elected President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, which ended the period of military rule in the country and determined the activities of the Fourth Republic, while the upper boundary of the study



is based on the need to examine the current status of Africa centeredness of Nigeria's foreign policy.

**Main sources of Data.** In the course of the thesis research, several sources were used, divided into; standard legislation, clerical, journalistic, and statistical groups in Russian and English.

The first group is made up of *regulatory and legislative sources*, which include the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1960)<sup>42</sup>, (1963)<sup>43</sup>, (1979)<sup>44</sup>, (1989)<sup>45</sup>, (1999)<sup>46</sup>, Draft law on the adoption of the Law on Measures to Combat Terrorism<sup>47</sup>, the Treaty of ECOWAS 1975<sup>48</sup>, the Revised Treaty of ECOWAS 1993<sup>49</sup>, the Treaty of Casablanca Group 1961<sup>50</sup>, the Treaty of Monrovia Group 1961<sup>51</sup>, the Convention establishing the Niger Basin Authority<sup>52</sup>, the Treaty establishing the

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<sup>42</sup>Nigeria Independence Act, 1960 8 & 9 Eliz.2 CH.55. [https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1960/55/pdfs/ukpga\\_19600055\\_en.pdf](https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1960/55/pdfs/ukpga_19600055_en.pdf). (Date of access: 17.05.2021).

<sup>43</sup>The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1963 // ConstitutionNet. [https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/nig\\_const\\_79.pdf](https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/nig_const_79.pdf). (Date of access: 20.07.2021).

<sup>44</sup> The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979 // ConstitutionNet. [https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/nig\\_const\\_79.pdf](https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/nig_const_79.pdf). (Date of access: 11.07.2021).

<sup>45</sup> The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria: Extraordinary. 29 (76). 1989. Promulgation Decree No 12. 1989.

<sup>46</sup> The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999. [https://Nigeria\\_Constitution\\_1999\\_en\\_pdf](https://Nigeria_Constitution_1999_en_pdf). (Date of access: 11.06.2021).

<sup>47</sup> Bill for an Act to Provide Measures to Combat Terrorism and for Other Related Matters. 2011.

<sup>48</sup> The Treaty Establishing the Economic Community of West African States Lagos, May 1975.

<sup>49</sup> Revised Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States. Treaties / Agreements / Charters / Protocols / Conventions / Declarations.1993.

<sup>50</sup> The Casablanca Group Treaty of 1961. DBpedia. URL: <https://dbpedia.org/page/Casablanca>. (Date of access: 17.05.2021).

<sup>51</sup> The Monrovia Group Treaty of 1961. URL: <https://www.google.com/search?q=The+Monrovia+group+Treaty+of+1961>. (Date of access: 12.11.2021).

<sup>52</sup> The Convention Creating the Niger Basin Authority, <https://treaties-un.org/doc/publication/UNTS/volume%201346/volume-1346-A-22675> English.pdf. (Date of access: 20.09.2021).

African Economic Community of 1991<sup>53</sup>, and the Treaty of the Gulf of Guinea Commission<sup>54</sup>.

The second group represents *administrative sources* that include the Charter of the United Nations in 1945<sup>55</sup>, the Resolution of the Legislative Council of Nigeria in 1954 on the Constitution of Nigeria<sup>56</sup>, UN Security Council Resolution S/RES/1001<sup>57</sup>, the seven-point Agenda of President Umaru Musa Yaradua<sup>58</sup>, the Charter of the Organization of African Unity in 1963<sup>59</sup>, The ECOWAS Accra Summit to Review the Regional Security Situation<sup>60</sup>, the ECOWAS Protocol on the Free Movement of People<sup>61</sup>, the Solemn Declaration of the 50th Anniversary of the African Union<sup>62</sup>, the New Partnership for Africa's Development program<sup>63</sup>, The Decision to establish the Monitoring Group at ECOWAS ECOMOG 1990<sup>64</sup>, the Report on the Transcript of the

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<sup>53</sup> The Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community of 1991. URL: [https://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/treaties/en/aec/trt\\_aec.pdf](https://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/treaties/en/aec/trt_aec.pdf). (Date of access: 20.09.2021).

<sup>54</sup> The Treaty of the Gulf of Guinea Commission, URL: [www.cggrps.org](http://www.cggrps.org). (Date of access: 11/06/2021).

<sup>55</sup> The United Nations Charter // URL: <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/chapter-7>. (Date of access: 13.05.2021).

<sup>56</sup> Nigerian Constitution Order in Council. 1954. with the Supplement to Official Gazette. 1960.

<sup>57</sup> Abuja Agreement Resolution 1001, 1995. URL: <https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/past/unomilFT.htm>. (Date of access: 28.06.2021).

<sup>58</sup> President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua Seven-Point Agenda of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Nigeria High Commission // Nigerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Abuja, Aso Rock. 2010.

<sup>59</sup> The Charter of Organization of African Unity, 1963. URL: [http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/attachments/156\\_OAU\\_Charter\\_1963.pdf](http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/attachments/156_OAU_Charter_1963.pdf). (Date of access: 13.05.2021).

<sup>60</sup> Accra Summit to Review Regional Political, Security Situation. ECOWAS heads of state welcome the West African region's enormous progress. May 17, 2015.

<sup>61</sup> Supplementary Protocol on the Code of Conduct for the Implementation of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, the Right of Residence, and Establishment. 1985.

<sup>62</sup> AU 50th Anniversary Solemn Declaration Adopted by the 21st Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union, at Addis Ababa held on 26 May 2013.; The 50th Anniversary Solemn Declaration. Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want. URL: [https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/36205-doc-50th\\_anniversary\\_solemn\\_declaration\\_en.pdf](https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/36205-doc-50th_anniversary_solemn_declaration_en.pdf). (date of access: 11.11.2021).

<sup>63</sup> New Partnership for Africa's Development. AU. URL: <https://au.int/es/node/3625>. (Date of access: 18.11.2021).

<sup>64</sup> ECOWAS, SMC Decision A/DEC. 1/8/90, On the Cease-Fire and Establishment of an ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group for Liberia, 21 O.J. ECOWAS Spec. Supp. 6. 1992.

UNGA<sup>65</sup>, Report of the African Union on the Reform of the Security Council UN<sup>66</sup>, UN General Assembly Resolutions of 1991<sup>67</sup>, Reviews of United Nations peacekeeping activities<sup>68</sup>, Agenda of the African Union for the period up to 2063<sup>69</sup>, Proceedings of the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885<sup>70</sup>, reports of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)<sup>71</sup>, Resolution on Security Council Reform 2005<sup>72</sup>, UN Agenda for Achieving the Millennium Development Goals for 2015<sup>73</sup>.

The third group is *journalistic sources*, represented by official statements and speeches of heads of state and government, Nigerian politicians, and diplomats. Their works include analyses of Nigeria's foreign policy. It includes the speeches and directives of former President Olusegun Obasanjo on 29 May 1999<sup>74</sup>, President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan on 29 May 2011<sup>75</sup>, Manifesto of the General Progressive

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<sup>65</sup> Report of the UNGA transcript. The Chad Basin, Lifeline for People Nature and Peace. 2019.

<sup>66</sup> African Union Report on UN Security Council Reform. Audit of the African Union Review High-Level Panel. 2005.

<sup>67</sup> General Assembly Resolutions. 1991 A (XVIII), UN GAOR, 18th Session. Supplement No. 15 Resolutions and Decisions, at 21, UN Doc. A/5515 (1963).

<sup>68</sup> Review of United Nations Peacekeeping. UN Digital Library. 1996. URL: <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/231641?ln=ru>. Date of access: 18.11.2021).

<sup>69</sup> The AU Agenda 2063. URL: [https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/33126-doc-01\\_background\\_note.pdf](https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/33126-doc-01_background_note.pdf). (Date of access: 22.11.2012).

<sup>70</sup> The Berlin Conference of 1884/85. [https://cpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/cobblearning.net/dist/c/31/files/2015/02/Colonialism\\_Independence\\_-Part-II-blog-23k1x9z.pdf](https://cpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/cobblearning.net/dist/c/31/files/2015/02/Colonialism_Independence_-Part-II-blog-23k1x9z.pdf). (Date of access: 22.11.2012).

<sup>71</sup> The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. URL: <https://en.unesco.org/about-us/introducing-unesco>. (Date of access: 18.11.2021).

<sup>72</sup> Resolution on Security Council Reform. 2005. URL: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2005/ga10367.doc.htm>. (Date of access: 28.06.2021).

<sup>73</sup> The UN 2015 Agenda for Millennium Development Goals. URL: <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/blog/2015/07/mdg-2015-report/>. (Date of access: 18.11.2021).

<sup>74</sup> Inaugural Speech by President Olusegun Obasanjo, 29 May 1999, Federal Ministry of Information, Abuja

<sup>75</sup> Inaugural Speech by President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan on 29 May 2011, Federal Ministry of Information, Abuja, Nigeria.

Congress<sup>76</sup>, speeches of President Muhammadu Buhari on 29 May 2015<sup>77</sup>, President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua on 29 May 2007<sup>78</sup>, Nelson Mandela at the United Nations<sup>79</sup>, the interview with President Olusegun Obasanjo 2017<sup>80</sup>, the statement of first and only Prime Minister of Nigeria, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa<sup>81</sup> and the statement of first President of Nigeria, Nnamdi Azikiwe<sup>82</sup>.

The fourth group is *statistical sources*, which include materials prepared by various international institutions, such as the World Bank and ECOWAS<sup>83</sup>.

Thus, this study's source base provided various global news and events, making it possible to achieve the intended goal adequately.

**Methodology of research.** From the methodology perspective, this thesis uses the principles of historicism, scientific objectivity, and reliability. The principle of historicism made it possible to analyze the past and present events that have triggered bilateral and multilateral relations and to determine the next line of action. The principle of objectivity allowed this thesis to critically examine the historical event and facts used to justify the legal and institutional points of view. The principle of reliability allowed this thesis to use only primary sources to form the scientific basis of the thesis.

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<sup>76</sup> Manifesto of All Progressive Congress. All Rights Reserved. 2014. URL: <https://www.allprogressivescongress.org/manifesto/>. (Date of access: 18.11.2021).

<sup>77</sup> Inaugural Speech by President Muhammadu Buhari on 29 May 2015, Permanent Mission of Nigeria to the United Nations.

<sup>78</sup> Inaugural Speech by President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua. Nigerian Federal Ministry of Information & Communications, Vision 2020, Abuja, Aso Rock, 29 May 2007. URL: <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=10516490>. (Date of access: 18.11.2021).

<sup>79</sup> Speech Delivered by Nelson Mandela at the United Nations. 2010 // <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NOr4F2eNDq8>. (Date of access: 18.11.2021).

<sup>80</sup> An interview with Olusegun Obasanjo: Up close and a little too personal // African Argument. September 28, 2017.

<sup>81</sup> Statement by Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria at the United Nations General Assembly, New York, October 7, 1960. Maiden General Assembly Statement at the United Nations. URL: <https://nigeriaunmission.org/maiden-speech-at-the-un/>. (Date of access: 22.11.2012).

<sup>82</sup> Statement by Nnamdi Azikiwe. First President of Nigeria. The Future of Pan-Africanism. Black Past. 2009. URL: <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/speeches-global-african-history/1962-nnamdi-azikiwe-future-pan-africanism/>. (Date of access: 22.11.2012).

<sup>83</sup> The World Bank. Country Data. IBRD-IDA. 19 May 2008. URL: [www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org). (date of access: 05.11.2021).

**Methods of the research.** The study highlights some techniques used to determine the approach, which made it possible to study the Africa-centeredness of Nigeria's foreign policy in a satisfactory, comprehensive, and reliable manner, as well as to open up in depth the problems raised and to obtain reasonable solutions.

The study used various research methods, such as comparative and problem-chronological methods. This thesis analyzed the comparative methods in the context of mutual interest between Nigerian and African states and the Nigerian contributions to regional and international organizations.

Chronological methods were also used to determine the features of Africa's centrality in Nigeria's foreign policy. This thesis used these principles and methods to analyse the key areas and characteristics of Africa's centeredness of Nigeria's foreign policy from 1999 to 2021.

**The scientific novelty** of the study is as follows:

- a new perspective of studying the historical foundations of Nigeria's foreign policy in the context of its afrocentricity is presented, which made it possible to establish the main determinants that are the key to understanding the current stage of the foreign policy of this African state;

- the features and main stages of the development of the institutional system of Nigeria's foreign policy are revealed, which contributed to the identification of a causal relationship between the strengthening of state institutions and the promotion of the African vector in the country's foreign policy;

- a high degree of influence of historical traditions on the regularities of the implementation of the African vector in the foreign policy of Nigeria at the present stage has been established;

- In the context of studying Nigeria's activities in regional and global organizations, the degree of Nigeria's readiness to play the role of a responsible Power and participate in the development of regional norms was assessed for the first time;

— the economic initiatives of the Agenda of the African Union for the period up to 2063 and the place of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in their implementation are revealed;

— the evolution of the concept of Nigeria's foreign policy in the period 1999-2021 has been studied, which made it possible to trace the process of changing its priorities in relations with African countries in the context of the regional and international situation.

The work uses a wide range of sources in Russian and English (including documents of international organizations such as the UN, ECOWAS and the Gulf of Guinea Commission), many of which are being introduced into scientific circulation for the first time, which allowed a comprehensive and comprehensive study of the key directions and features of Nigeria's foreign policy in relations with other African states.

#### **The main provisions for the defense.**

1. The African vector of Nigeria's foreign policy has made it absolutely inevitable for Nigeria to prioritize the African direction of its foreign policy in the interests of continental unity and complete decolonization of the African continent. Since 1999, the key interest of Nigeria's foreign policy has been the creation of a wide range of international partnerships for national and sub-regional development.

2. Modern Nigeria is one of the leading African States claiming regional leadership and demonstrating its economic influence in regional and sub-regional multilateral institutions such as the African Union, ECOWAS, the Gulf of Guinea Commission, etc. The concept of regional integration has given Nigeria the opportunity to exert its leading influence in West Africa. The leadership status attributed to Nigeria in the region is based on its role in peacekeeping operations, in resolving political crises, etc.

3. Since the Year of Africa in 1960, Nigeria has intensified efforts to establish and develop friendly relations with its neighbors, namely Benin, Niger, Chad and Cameroon, as well as with other countries of the West African subregion. In addition,

the guiding principle of Nigeria's regional foreign policy was the principles of good neighborliness and friendship. As an active participant in the Niger River Basin Commission, the Lake Chad Basin Commission and the Gulf of Guinea Commission, Nigeria not only maintained friendly relations with the member States of these international organizations, but also developed and implemented their development programs.

4. Nigeria was one of the founders of ECOWAS and has often initiated political and security decisions through this organization, which are important for the entire region. The West African region has been an integral part of Nigeria's foreign policy. In the context of regional security, the Nigerian army is actively involved in ensuring peace under the leadership of responsible regional security organizations such as ECOWAS–ECOMOG.

5. Nigeria's participation in the Organization of African Unity (OAU, African Union since 2002) is associated with the afrocentric vector of its foreign policy. Nigeria took an active part in the struggle for decolonization in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and the fight against apartheid in South Africa. In the context of cultural diplomacy, the Nigerian film industry has become the most effective tool of soft power to convey the cultural narrative of the country, and also acted as a tool to promote cultural diplomacy in Africa. Another aspect of Nigerian relations in Africa was based on the principles of partnership. Nigeria considers itself the natural leader of black Africa. But many African States, especially South Africa, are now openly challenging Nigeria's claims to the role of leader, in turn, French-speaking African states continue to rely on France in matters of internal and external security.

6. The African direction of Nigeria's foreign policy in the XXI century. It contributed to solving complex problems in the system of modern public administration, which served as the basis for the economic recovery of African countries. Nigeria's participation in the economic initiatives of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the Agenda of the African Union for the period

up to 2063 contributed to the deepening of economic cooperation with the States of the continent.

7. Nigeria strives to maintain multilateral diplomatic relations through international global organizations such as the United Nations. Thanks to the UN, Nigeria was able to take part in numerous peacekeeping missions, which earned it the international status of a partner in ensuring global stability and a leader in peacekeeping in African affairs. Finally, Nigeria was one of the leading African countries that supported the demand for a comprehensive reform of the UN.

**The theoretical significance of the study.** The study's theoretical significance lies in the overall outcomes obtained by this thesis. Theoretical conclusions and provisions make a specific contribution to the study of the Africa-centeredness of Nigeria's foreign policy in ensuring the inclusion of small African countries in modern international relations. For instance, Modern Nigeria is one of the leading African states, claiming regional leadership and demonstrating its economic influence in regional and subregional multilateral institutions such as the African Union, ECOWAS, and the Gulf of Guinea Commission.

The study will be of great importance to the African continent, especially the West African region, as it will enable them to access several measures to tackle and implement foreign policy across the globe. The study would enable them to have the opportunity to understand a better way of strengthening bilateral and multilateral relations and how to deal with the international community for mutual interest.

**The practical significance of the study.** The materials of the dissertation can be used as practical recommendations when considering relevant issues in ECOWAS, the Gulf of Guinea Commission, the Niger River Basin Authority, the Lake Chad Basin Commission, the African Union and the United Nations. The conclusions presented in the dissertation on regional integration processes and the participation of African States in the activities of international organizations deserve special attention.



In addition, certain provisions of the dissertation can be used to develop lectures and read courses on the history of African foreign policy, problems of international relations and security in West Africa.

The factual materials contained in the work, the main provisions and conclusions can be used in the work of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, the Ministry of Economic Development of the Russian Federation and the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation, in particular, to develop and clarify a number of aspects of Russian foreign policy towards African countries.

**The reliability and validity** of the research findings are carried out by using a representative information base. The introduction contains a wide range of sources, both in Russian and English, as well as various scientific research methods.

**Approbation of the thesis:** The main results and conclusions of the dissertation are reflected in 4 scientific publications included in the List of the Higher Attestation Commission and the List of the RUDN.

**The structure of the thesis:** The thesis “African Vector of Nigerian Foreign Policy 1999 – 2021” consists of the following: an introduction, three chapters, a conclusion, a list of sources and literature, and a list of abbreviations.

## **CHAPTER 1. THE CONCEPTUAL AND HISTORICAL BASIS OF NIGERIAN FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS AFRICAN COUNTRIES**

The historical basis of Nigeria's foreign policy towards African countries can be traced to the time of Nigeria's foreign policy formation in 1960, which could be attributed to the Oliver Lyttleton Constitution of 1954<sup>84</sup>, John Macpherson Constitution of 1951<sup>85</sup>, Arthur Richards Constitution of 1946<sup>86</sup> and Hugh Clifford Constitution of 1922<sup>87</sup>. It is imperative to note that all the listed constitutions laid the foundation upon which Nigeria's foreign policy was formed. For instance, Item 18, Section II, Part I of The Implementation of Exclusive Legislative List, Nigerian Constitution Order in Council 1954 -1956<sup>88</sup> was a sessional document on foreign policy, which became the first severe foreign policy document of Nigeria. It is a product of joint efforts of the Governor-General, his Chief Secretary, and the British Colonial and Commonwealth Reactions Offices<sup>89</sup>. Meanwhile, the Hugh Clifford Constitution of 1922, which replaced the abolished old legislative council for the Lagos colony and the Nigerian council, was believed to have initiated the foundation of Nigeria's foreign policy.

Accordingly, the concept of Nigeria's foreign policy from its concession is termed 'Afrocentrism.' At the initial stage, Nigeria's foreign policy objectives, which

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<sup>84</sup> The Oliver Lyttleton Constitution of 1954. URL: <https://nigerianscholars.com/tutorials/west-african-constitutional-development/oliver-lyttleton-constitution>. (date of access: 03.03.2022).

<sup>85</sup> The John Macpherson Constitution of 1951. URL: <https://nigerianscholars.com/tutorials/west-african-constitutional-development/john-macpherson-constitution>. (date of access: 03.03.2022).

<sup>86</sup> The Arthur Richards Constitution of 1946. URL: <https://nigerianscholars.com/tutorials/west-african-constitutional-development/arthur-richards-constitution>. (date of access: 03.03.2022).

<sup>87</sup> The Hugh Clifford Constitution of 1922. URL: <https://nigerianscholars.com/tutorials/west-african-constitutional-development/hugh-clifford-constitution/>. (date of access: 03.03.2022).

<sup>88</sup> Nigerian Constitution Order in Council. 1954. with the Supplement to Official Gazette. 1960. Part D. 47. (20). Pp. 46 – 68.

<sup>89</sup> Colonial Office of Great Britain: Report of the Resumed Conference on the Nigerian Constitution Came.1959. London: HMSG 1954. P. 57-59.

were devoted to Africa-oriented policies in the interest of continental unity and the total decolonization of the African continent,<sup>90</sup> witnessed a setback in its implementations because of the political will of Great Britain and the United States. Nigeria's foreign policy in the first republic was influenced by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Governor-General Sir James Wilson Robertson, and another Western element, which in turn limited the country from pursuing the Pan – Africanism objectives adopted by the continent<sup>91</sup>.

However, the foreign policy credentials of the Murtala Muhammed and Olusegun Obasanjo regimes before the inception of the second republic in 1979 were intimidating and radical. The regime put more emphasis on Africa as the centerpiece of its foreign policy than the previous government. For the first time in Nigeria's history, Nigeria looked at the United States and Britain straight in the eyes and not only recognized the nationalist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in Angola but also donated a considerable amount of money to the government – led a party against the will of the Western world<sup>92</sup>.

Meanwhile, Nigeria's foreign policy objectives of President Shehu Shagari's administration in the second republic are to advance and defend the cause of Nigeria before the comity of nations and to reposition Africa as the cornerstone of Nigeria's foreign policy<sup>93</sup>. For instance, President Shehu Shagari's administration hosted the first Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit in Lagos, where it called for a decade of

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<sup>90</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court. 98. (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13).

<sup>91</sup> Nigerian Constitution Order in Council. 1954. with the Supplement to Official Gazette. 1960. Part D. Vol. 47. No. 20. P. 46-68.

<sup>92</sup> *Garba J.* Diplomatic Soldering: The Conduct of Nigerian Foreign Policy. In Oluyemi O. Fayomi, Felix C. Chidozie & Lady A. Ajayi. Nigeria's National Image and Her Foreign Policy: An Exploratory Approach. // Open Journal of Political Science. 2015. Vol. 5. No. 3. P. 180-196.

<sup>93</sup> Inaugural Speech of President Shehu Shagari on October 1, 1979. URL: <https://nigeria1960.wordpress.com/2013/06/10/inaugural-speech-of-president-shehu-shagari-on-october-1-1979>. (date of access: 13.04.2021).

reparation and reconstruction of the African states as a master plan for the economic recovery of the continent whose resources had been exploited to the benefit of the West<sup>94</sup>. Moreover, President Shehu Shagari's administration suffered some setbacks because of Nigeria's economic fortune, which was depleted due to corruption, inflation, and Western influence<sup>95</sup>. The Western influence was the main obstacle to achieving Nigeria's foreign policy objectives during President Shehu Shagari's administration. However, the structure of Nigeria's foreign policy laid down by the Governor-General during the colonial period allowed Great Britain to interfere in the implementation of Nigeria's foreign policy<sup>96</sup>.

Subsequently, the conceptual antecedent of Nigeria's foreign policy owes much to the vision of President Olusegun Obasanjo, who introduced citizenship diplomacy, economic diplomacy, Nigeria's role as regional hegemony, and the call for UN reform as a critical priority in the Fourth Republic<sup>97</sup>. President Olusegun Obasanjo declared support for Nigerians home and abroad in his inaugural speech in 1999 and pledged to rebuild Nigeria's relations with African states<sup>98</sup>.

In line with this judgment, Nigeria's conceptual foreign policy approach toward African states took a new dimension. Nigeria started rebuilding and strengthening its

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<sup>94</sup> The Lagos Economic Summit of 1980. The South African Institute of International Affairs. URL: [https://media.africaportal.org/documents/Lagos\\_Economic\\_Summit.pdf](https://media.africaportal.org/documents/Lagos_Economic_Summit.pdf). (date of access: 13.04.2021).

<sup>95</sup> *Nwalie G.A.* Nigeria Role in the Leadership of Africa: Perspective of International Relations // Academia.edu. 2020. URL: <https://www.academia.edu/10314154>. (date of access: 05.11.2021).

<sup>96</sup> Inaugural Speech of President Shehu Shagari on October 1, 1979. URL: <https://nigeria1960.wordpress.com/2013/06/10/inaugural-speech-of-president-shehu-shagari-on-october-1-1979>. (date of access: 13.04.2021).

<sup>97</sup> *Ebenezer E.L. & Opeyemi I. A.* Nigerian Foreign Policy: Fourth Republic Diplomatic Escapade // Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities & Social Sciences. 2016. Vol. 9. No. 4. P. 708-721.

<sup>98</sup> Inaugural Speech of President Olusegun Obasanjo, 29 May, 1999. Federal Ministry of Information, Abuja.

bilateral and multilateral relations with African states. Ashiru O. (2013)<sup>99</sup> identifies several factors of Nigeria's foreign policy which has contributed to the environmental development of Africa.

These determining factors include the eruption of multiple power centers in regions and regional economic groupings, such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); the formation of the African Union (AU) (formerly known as the Organization of African Unity (OAU)); Nigeria's increasing population; and the continued existence of domestic and external challenges arising from issues such as terrorism, climate change, arms proliferation, transnational crimes, oil bunkering, militancy, and migration<sup>100</sup>.

Accordingly, the foreign policy objectives introduced under President Obasanjo's administration have helped to rebuild the damaged relationship between Nigeria and other states, as well as ensure that Africa remains a natural habitat in which Nigeria can exercise maximum influence in the pursuit of its national goals and foreign policy objectives as stipulated in Chapter II, Section 19 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 as amended<sup>101</sup>.

Furthermore, it has become an established norm for independent and sovereign nations to engage in external relations. Thus, since independence and with the establishment of the Ministry of external relations, the Nigerian government has continued to engage in foreign relations and the making of foreign policy<sup>102</sup>. In this

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<sup>99</sup> *Ashiru O.* Nigeria's Foreign Policy. In Ese C. Ujara & Jide Ibietan. *Foreign Policy in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: A Critical Analysis of Some Unresolved Issues // Journal of International and Global Studies*. 2017. Vol. 10. No. 1. P. 41.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>101</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court. 98. (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, pFGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13)

<sup>102</sup> *Ofoegbu R.* The Structure and Process of Foreign Policy Formulation and Implementation: A Study of the Ministry of External Affairs. In Nurudeen O.M. & *Kikelomo A.M.* *Elite Perceptions and Nigeria's Foreign Policy Process // Alternatives Turkish Journal of International Relations*. 2014. Vol. 13. No. 3. P. 42.

light, Claude S. P. (1964) argued that the period of Nigerian foreign policy effectiveness has hugely impacted Nigerian – African relations<sup>103</sup>.

### **1.1. The Historical Basis of Nigerian Foreign Policy**

**Overview of Nigeria’s Foreign Policy in the First Republic** – Nigeria’s foreign policy has been witnessing a drastic transformation since the inception of Nigeria’s independence in 1960. On attaining independence, Nigeria became a bonafide member of the United Nations, Commonwealth Relations, etc. The root of Nigeria’s foreign policy can be traced to Lyttelton Constitution in 1954, in which the foundation of Nigeria’s foreign policy was laid. The Lyttelton period is associated with the devolution of power for foreign affairs from Britain to the Federal Government of Nigeria<sup>104</sup>.

Accordingly, the process can also be traced to Item 18, Section II, Part I of The Implementation of Exclusive Legislative List, Nigerian Constitution Order in Council 1954- 1956<sup>105</sup>. Meanwhile, the offices of Nigeria’s external relations during this period were associated with the External Affairs Branch in the office of Chief Secretary of the Federation, who was indirectly in charge and responsible for Nigeria’s foreign policy departure<sup>106</sup>.

However, when Nigeria attained self-governing status under the British government on 1 April 1957, Prime Minister Alhaji Tafawa Balewa personally took charge of the country's external relations portfolio. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations was officially created in 1961, with Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa appointing Jaja Wachuku as the inaugural Minister of Foreign

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<sup>103</sup> *Claude S. P.* Development of Nigerian Foreign Policy // The Journal of Modern African Studies. 1964. Vol. 2. No. 3. P. 456-457.

<sup>104</sup> *Osita C.E.* Interrogating Nigeria’s National Interest. In Ejitu N. & Chinyere S Nigerian Foreign Policy: Democratic Experiment // International Journal of Applied and Advanced Scientific Research. 2016. Vol. 1. No. 1. P.10.

<sup>105</sup> Nigerian Constitution Order in Council. 1954. with the Supplement to Official Gazette. 1960. Part D. Vol. 47. No. 20. P. 46-68.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

Affairs and Commonwealth Relations. Before Jaja Wachuku's tenure, Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa doubled as the Foreign Affairs advocate of Nigeria from 1960 to 1961<sup>107</sup>.

According to Fawole W. A. (2003), Tafawa Balewa, during his early days as Prime Minister, retained the service of a Briton Peter Stallard as the secretary of the Nigerian government. Stallard was a de facto foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Minister until 1961<sup>108</sup>.

More importantly, after Nigeria was granted independence, Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa in his inaugural speech on 7 October 1960 at the Plenary of the 15th Regular Session of the United Nations General Assembly, exactly six days after Nigeria gained independence and became the 99th member of the organization, declared that Nigeria hoped to work with all African states for the progress of Africa and to assist in bringing all African territories to a state of responsible independence and help in finding a lasting solution to the problem affecting Nigeria's immediate neighbors<sup>109</sup>.

Furthermore, Nigeria's foreign policy concept is traced to the then Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa's administration, which instituted Nigeria's sovereign statehood and its dynamic foreign policy concept. The concept of dynamic foreign policy first penetrated the intellectual discourse on Nigeria's foreign policy in the first republic. This was on the occasion of the parliamentary debate on Nigeria's foreign policy; accordingly, the then Minister of foreign affairs, Jaja Anucha Wachuku, presented a proposal to the honorable house to confirm Nigeria's foreign policy. As proclaimed by the Prime

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<sup>107</sup> Nigeria Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Great Nation, United in Diversity. <http://www.nigeria-consulate-frankfurt.de/English/MFA-Nigeria/mfa-nigeria.html>. (date of access: 06.05.2021).

<sup>108</sup> Fawole W. A. (ed.). Nigeria's External Relation and Foreign Policy Under Military Rule, 1966 – 1999 // Ile-Ife: Obafemi Awolowo University Press Limited. 2003. Vol.7. No. 1. P 13-14.

<sup>109</sup> Statement by Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria at the United Nations General Assembly, New York, October 7, 1960. Maiden General Assembly Statement at the United Nations.; Ashaver, T.B. Continuities and Discontinuities in Nigerian Foreign Policy // International Journal of Development and Sustainability. 2014. Vol. 3. No. 2. P. 289.

Minister, it would be approved by the honorary chamber on 20 August 1960; thus, the house declared his approval of the interpretation and conduct of the government and congratulated the government on its achievements in the international community from the moment the country gained independence<sup>110</sup>.

Accordingly, the then shadow foreign Minister Anthony Enahoro amended the proposal to read: The Honorable Chamber considers that the foreign policy of the federal government is proclaimed by the Prime Minister and approved on August 20, 1960; this Honorable Chamber lacks dynamism and regrets that the interpretation and behavior of the government are not consistent with the progressive opinion in Africa<sup>111</sup>. In retort, the Foreign Affairs Minister Jaja Anucha Wachuku went on to reel out the foreign policy engagements of Nigeria and how these engagements were dynamic and that if these measures were not dynamic, then he does not know what dynamic constitutes<sup>112</sup>.

By placing the concept of dynamism at the center of this discourse, especially making it the essential requirement of any foreign policy undertaking, the strip of dynamism has gained strength. It has been the fundamental basis for developing and evaluating foreign policy in Nigeria. During the discussion, it was arduous to realize the concept of dynamism, its usefulness, and its importance in the foreign policy process. Relatively, the statement that aimed at conceptual operationalization was the radical rhetoric of Anthony Enahoro that the lower groups in the country represent the authentic voice and the true nature of the people of the country and that, as such, any foreign policy measure beyond their sympathies lacking in enthusiasm and not dynamic<sup>113</sup>.

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<sup>110</sup> *Pine A.* Nigeria Foreign Policy, 1960 – 2011: Fifty-One Years of Conceptual Confusion // Modern Ghana News, an Internet Publication. October 04, 2011.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> House of Representatives Debates on Federation of Nigeria, August 20, 1960, cols 2669 – 71

<sup>113</sup> *Pine A.* Nigeria Foreign Policy, 1960-2011: Fifty-One Years of Conceptual Confusion // Modern Ghana News, an Internet Publication. October 04, 2011. URL:



Thus, this is the case when the foreign policy of sequential administration is considered conservative or dynamic. While the administrations of Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and Shehu Shagari were considered conservative, the administration of Musa Yar'Adua was considered dynamic. Due to the public appeal of the denomination of radicalism and dynamism, it is politically unreliable for successive regimes from the time of independence in the first republic to mark their foreign policy as dynamic due to the Western world's influence.

However, it should be noted that the national interests of the nation, and not the outpouring of dynamism or its absence, are a barometer of measuring its foreign policy. To buttress this, Abegunrin O. (2003) Nigeria prosecuted a dynamic foreign policy towards the United States of America while sustaining a fundamental principle of consistently having Africa as the focal spot of its foreign policy<sup>114</sup>. He believed Nigeria's foreign policy is deeply rooted in Africa, highlighting political and economic cooperation, peaceful dispute resolution, and global non-alignment, which sometimes conflict with the United States' foreign policies and national goals. However, under the first republic, the ineffectiveness of dynamic foreign policy concept was caused by the laid down structure and influence of the Western world<sup>115</sup>.

Nevertheless, during this period of dynamism, Nigeria witnessed both civilian and military administrations with various approaches to executing their foreign policy objectives, as observed in the evolution of Nigeria's foreign policy from one

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<https://www.modernghana.com/news/354264/nigeria-foreign-policy-1960-2011-fifty-one-years-of-concep.html> (date of access: 06.05.2021).

<sup>114</sup> *Abegunrin O.* Nigerian Foreign Policy Under Military Rule, 1966 – 1999 // Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger. 2003.

<sup>115</sup> Colonial Office of Great Britain: Report of the Resumed Conference on the Nigerian Constitution Came.1959. London: HMSG 1954. Pp. 57 – 59.; Nigerian Constitution Order in Council. 1954. with the Supplement to Official Gazette. 1960. Part D. 47 (20). Pp. 46 – 68.

administration to another since 1960<sup>116</sup>. Additionally, Nigeria's foreign policy has been guided by certain principles and objectives in the context of international relations, which includes the protection of the country's national interest, among others are, sovereignty and protection of territorial integrity<sup>117</sup>, devotion to Africa-oriented policies in the interest of continental unity, and total decolonization of the African continent.

It is imperative to note, that Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy has been in existence since the inception of Nigeria's first republic, Article 19 (b) of the 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria<sup>118</sup>. Thus, the idea of Africa as a central part of Nigeria's foreign policy is based on the understanding that Nigeria's participation in the system of international relations will be examined through binoculars in Africa. Jaja Anucha Wachuku argued that Nigerian foreign policy should be centered on Africa because charity begins at home<sup>119</sup>, however, this concept is associated with Afrocentrism.

The problems that practically expressed this African focus were the remnants of colonialism on the continent, Apartheid in South Africa, the liberation wars, ideological and indirect conflicts (proxy wars), among others. It is crucial to note that the Nigerian representative at the Sixteen Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1989 voted in favor of South Africa during the deliberation of Apartheid and its destructive consequences. It could be seen in the assertion made by Joseph Nanven

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<sup>116</sup> *Ebegbulem J.C.* The Evolution of Nigeria's Foreign Policy: From the Pre-Independence and Post-Independence Perspectives // *International Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Studies*. 2019. Vol. 6. No. 11. P. 1-12.

<sup>117</sup> *Akindele R.A. Olusanya G.O.* The Structure and Processes of Foreign Policy Making and Implementation in Nigeria, 1960-1990 // *Lagos: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs*. 1990. Vol. 5. No. 1. P. 55-71.

<sup>118</sup> The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979 // *ConstitutionNet*. [https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/nig\\_const\\_79.pdf](https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/nig_const_79.pdf). (Date of access: 11.07.2021).

<sup>119</sup> *Pine A.* Nigeria Foreign Policy, 1960-2011: Fifty-One Years of Conceptual Confusion // *Modern Ghana News, an Internet Publication*. October 04, 2011. URL: <https://www.modernghana.com/news/354264/nigeria-foreign-policy-1960-2011-fifty-one-years-of-concep.html> (date of access: 06.05.2021).

Garba, the President of the Sixteen Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly<sup>120</sup>.

Moreover, outside of these politically urgent factors, the problem of a familiar racial universe, cultural neighborhood, shared historical experience, and the ideals of Pan-Africanism have even more oiled the wheels of this conceptualization of foreign policy. Indeed, pursuing an African-oriented foreign policy based on Africans' racial and socio-cultural affinity.

As part of Africa's centredness of Nigeria's foreign policy, Nigeria was immensely involved in the struggle for decolonization in Angola, Mozambique, and Namibia. There was the struggle against Apartheid in South Africa and the process of creating a name for itself 'advanced nation' even though it was geographically far from the Southern region of Africa. Nigeria is central to the formation of ECOWAS, restrains the destruction of public order in Liberia and Sierra Leone, and has contributed hugely to the following areas: peacekeeping operations and providing economic incentives for less economically demanding African states<sup>121</sup>.

Another aspect of Nigeria's foreign policy in Africa is regarded through its activities within the African Union. These relations are based on the principles of partnership. Nigeria considers itself the natural leader of black Africa. However, many African states, particularly South Africa, now openly challenge Nigeria's claim to be the leader of Africa. The francophone African states also rely on France for their internal and external security. This situation is an indication that Nigeria's capabilities have greatly diminished over the years.

It is crucial to mention that Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy was consistently centered on uniting and promoting Africa's political, economic, and sociocultural

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<sup>120</sup> United Nations General Assembly Declaration on South Africa. 1989. URL: [http://psimg.jstor.org/fsi/img/pdf/t0/10.5555/al.sff.document.nuun1990\\_01\\_final.pdf](http://psimg.jstor.org/fsi/img/pdf/t0/10.5555/al.sff.document.nuun1990_01_final.pdf) (date of access: 06.03.2022)

<sup>121</sup> *Saliu H.A.* Reflections on fifty years of Nigeria's foreign policy. In Segun Oshewolo. *Major Contentions on Nigeria's Afrocentric Policy // India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. Vol. 75. No. 3. P. 353.

activities. Despite a few dissenting voices on its foreign policy decisions towards Africa. This fact is validated by Nigeria's commitment to the decolonization of Africa and the right of Africans to self-determination. For instance, Nigeria deployed its diplomatic prowess through global support, such as direct bilateral financial and material aid to the Liberation Movements across the African continent.

In the context of cultural relations, Nollywood (the Nigerian movie industry) has emerged as the most effective soft-power instrument to transmit the country's cultural narrative and a tool for facilitating cultural diplomacy in Africa. Nollywood has overshadowed both Hollywood and Bollywood in Africa and is the essential source of movies on the continent<sup>122</sup>. The South African multinational cable television corporation, DStv, offers a dedicated Nollywood movies channel (African Magic) that transmits these movies across African states with tens of millions of subscribers. Thus, Nollywood not only accrues an economic gain for Nigeria but also dispenses valuable entertainment and transmits Nigerian cultural values across the continent and beyond. Sledzevski I. V. (2019)<sup>123</sup>, examined the cultural and religious of the peoples of tropical Africa in the conditions of globalizing the post-secular world. He argues that the role of Christianity and Islam in the cultural self-determination of the peoples of tropical Africa in the 20th–early 21st century has impacted African theological thought, which indirectly influences the religious component in the cultural identity of Africans relating to African foreign policy.

It is also of significance to note that Nigeria engaged in a vital role in the liberation of Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe)<sup>124</sup>, Sao Tome

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<sup>122</sup> *Miller J.* Global Nollywood: The Nigerian Movie Industry and Alternative Global Networks in Production and Distribution // *Global Media and Communication*. 2012. Vol. 8. No. 2 P. 117-133.

<sup>123</sup> Африка: интеграция и социальное развитие: Ежегодник – 2019 = Africa: Integration and Social Development: Yearbook – 2019: сб. статей / под ред. Следзевский И. В., РУДН, 2019. С. 8-34.

<sup>124</sup> Inaugural Speech of President Shehu Shagari on October 1, 1979. URL: <https://nigeria1960.wordpress.com/2013/06/10/inaugural-speech-of-president-shehu-shagari-on-october-1-1979>. (date of access: 06.03.2022).

and Principe, Cape Verde, Angola, and South Africa<sup>125</sup>. Aluko Olajide views Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy as an instrument used in pursuing the objectives of Pan-Africanism<sup>126</sup>, which in turn leads to the unification of the continent. Additionally, he became a school of thought for Nigusie Kassae M (2013) while reviewing the activities of the Organization of African Unity that was later metamorphosed into the African Union and what Emperor Haile Selassie I stood for in the context of Pan-Africanism<sup>127</sup>.

However, Oshewolo S. (2019b)<sup>128</sup> claimed that the Afrocentric foreign policy describes Nigeria's leadership status and role towards Africa. He believed that Nigeria's contributions have always brought a sense of entitlement in shaping the activities of international relations in Africa. According to Obi C. I. (2008)<sup>129</sup> Afrocentric foreign policy primarily connects the pursuit of Nigeria's foreign policy to its quest for leadership on the continent. Thus, the Afrocentric foreign policy facilitated Nigeria's ambitions towards gaining international recognition and helped to harmonize the continent to achieve the Pan-African objectives<sup>130</sup>.

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<sup>125</sup> *Gambari I. A.* Nigeria at the United Nations: Prospects and challenges. In Segun Oshewolo. Major Contentions on Nigeria's Afrocentric Policy // *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. Vol. 75. No. 3. P. 353.; *Sanda J.G.* Peacekeeping in Nigeria's Foreign Policy: An Assessment. In Segun Oshewolo. Major Contentions on Nigeria's Afrocentric Policy // *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. Vol. 75. No. 3. P. 353.

<sup>126</sup> *Aluko O.* The New Nigerian Foreign Policy: Developments Since the Downfall of General Gowon // *The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*. 1976. Vol. 66. No. 264. P. 405-414.

<sup>127</sup> *Nigusie K.M.* Emperor Haile Selassie I and the Organization of African Unity. Devoted to the 50th anniversary of the African Union // *Moscow: Vestnik, RUDN, World History*. 2013. Vol. 13. No. 3. P. 57-71.

<sup>128</sup> *Oshewolo S.* Bringing back the issues: Nigeria's Afrocentric policy under President Olusegun Obasanjo // *Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*. 2019. Vol. 57. No. 3. P. 324-342.

<sup>129</sup> *Obi C.I.* Nigeria's foreign policy and transnational security challenges in West Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 2008. Vol. 26. No. 2. P. 183-196.

<sup>130</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court. 98. (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13).

Ultimately, Nigeria, in its first republic, used Afrocentric foreign policy as a tool to exemplified its leadership role in Africa and beyond<sup>131</sup>. Notably, it is indicated in such areas as the eradication of colonialism and white minority rule in countries such as Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa, and its aid to countries like Angola, Benin, Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe and its peacekeeping in countries such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, and the Democratic Republic of Congo<sup>132</sup>.

**Key Features and Tendencies of Nigeria’s Foreign Policy in the Second and Third Republic** – the second republic of Nigeria's foreign policy was observed during President Shehu Shagari tenure. This event marked Nigeria's second attempt at democratic governance following the chain of events that began in January 1960 and culminated in the Nigeria – Biafra civil war of 1967 to 1970<sup>133</sup>, which saw Nigeria's first experience of military rule from 1966 till 1979.

However, President Shehu Shagari, in the second republic, inherited a foreign policy that was radical in departure from Murtala Muhammed and Olusegun Obasanjo. Moreover, the foreign policy credentials of the Murtala Muhammed and Olusegun Obasanjo regimes were intimidating and radical. For the first time in Nigeria’s history, Nigeria looked at the United States and Britain straight in the eyes and not only recognized the nationalist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in Angola but also donated a vast amount of money to the government – led the party in Angola<sup>134</sup>.

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<sup>131</sup> The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979 // ConstitutionNet. [https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/nig\\_const\\_79.pdf](https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/nig_const_79.pdf). (Date of access: 11.07.2021).

<sup>132</sup> *Sanda J.G.* Peacekeeping in Nigeria’s Foreign Policy: An Assessment. In Segun Oshewolo. Major Contentions on Nigeria’s Afrocentric Policy // *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. Vol. 75. No. 3. P. 353.

<sup>133</sup> *Nwalie G.A.* Separatism and Secession in Nigeria: case study of Biafra Agitation for Sovereignty between 2000 and 2019 // Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. 2020. Vol. 1. No. 1 P. 63.

<sup>134</sup> *Garba J.* Diplomatic Soldering: The Conduct of Nigerian Foreign Policy. In Oluyemi O. Fayomi, Felix C. Chidozie & Lady A. Ajayi. Nigeria’s National Image and Her

In this light, V. G. Shubin (2013) argued that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) decision in the Angola conflict was contrary to the position of some great power states, such as the United States and Great Britain. He claimed that the USSR engaged in a strategic alliance with the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, contributing to the movement's success. He was of the opinion that the strategic alliance between the USSR and Angola helped to survive South Africa's military incursions in Angola from the National Union for the Total Independence of Angolan in the early 1970s until late 1980s<sup>135</sup>.

Accordingly, the foreign policy objectives of the President Shagari administration, which aimed to promote African unity, suffered some setbacks because of Nigeria's economic fortune, which was depleted as a result of corruption, inflation, and Western influence<sup>136</sup>. Western influence was the main obstacle to achieving Nigeria's foreign policy objectives under President Shehu Shagari's administration. Nigeria's foreign policy structure, which the Governor-General laid down during the colonial period, allowed Great Britain to interfere in Nigeria's foreign policy implementation<sup>137</sup>.

During the Ibrahim Babangida administration, the concept of economic diplomacy was introduced into Nigeria's foreign policy shortly after the end of the second republic. The Ibrahim Babangida administration introduced an economic

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Foreign Policy: An Exploratory Approach // Open Journal of Political Science. 2015. Vol. 5. No. 3. P. 180-196.

<sup>135</sup> *Shubin V.* (Eds). Russia and Angola: the Rebirth of a Strategic Partnership? // Global Powers and Africa Programme, Occasional Paper № 154. P. 6.

<sup>136</sup> *Nwalie G A.* Nigeria Role in the Leadership of Africa: Perspective of International Relations // Academia.edu. 2020. URL: <https://www.academia.edu/10314154>. (date of access: 05.11.2021).

<sup>137</sup> Inaugural Speech of President Shehu Shagari on October 1, 1979. URL: <https://nigeria1960.wordpress.com/2013/06/10/inaugural-speech-of-president-shehu-shagari-on-october-1-1979>.; The Hugh Clifford Constitution of 1922. URL: <https://nigerianscholars.com/tutorials/west-african-constitutional-development/hugh-clifford-constitution/>. (date of access: 03.03.2022).

diplomacy concept to facilitate export trade and investment and increase financial assistance from friendly states<sup>138</sup>.

In line with this judgement, foreign Minister Ike Nwachukwu, in his speech at the National Assembly plenary session entitled “The Dynamics of Foreign Policy of Nigeria,” reiterated the direction of Nigeria’s foreign policy implementation in Africa. He declared that Nigeria’s foreign policy is the apparatus responsible for promoting the national economic recovery program<sup>139</sup>. For instance, in 1975, at the peak of Nigeria’s economic recovery following a devastating civil war, Nigeria nudged other subregional countries to establish ECOWAS<sup>140</sup>.

The Ibrahim Babangida administration adopted economic diplomacy as a foreign policy instrument in a bid to tackle Nigeria’s financial challenges through the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) and subsequently to re-energized Nigeria’s hegemony in Africa, as documented by Imuokhede B. K. (2016)<sup>141</sup>. Chidozie F. (2014, p.53)<sup>142</sup> argued that the image crisis experienced during the Ibrahim Babangida regime was due to the widespread corruption within the country. He asserted the annulment of the June 12, 1993, presidential election to usher in a democratically elected government. Instead, He created a contraption tagged as an interim government, which General Sani Abacha later overthrew in a palace coup. The requirements imposed on the framework of foreign policy on the issue of economic diplomacy were dictated by the economic

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<sup>138</sup> *Saliu H.A.* Nigeria’s Economic Diplomacy Under Babangida. In Saliu H. A. Review of Debate on Nigeria’s Economic Diplomacy // Journal of African Research & Development. 1997/98. 27/28. No. 1. P. 318-325.

<sup>139</sup> *Saliu H.A.* The Foreign Policy Legacies of the Babangida Regime. In Oluyemi O. Fayomi, Felix C. Chidozie & Lady A. Ajayi. Nigeria’s National Image and Her Foreign Policy: An Exploratory Approach // Open Journal of Political Science. 2015. Vol. 5. No. 3. P. 180-196.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>141</sup> *Imuokhede B.K.* Repositioning Nigeria Foreign Policy for National Development: Issues, Challenges and Policy Options // Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences. 2016. Vol. 7. No. 2. P. 1-14.

<sup>142</sup> *Chidozie F., Ibietan J. & Ujara E.* Foreign Policy, International Image and National Transformation: A Historical Perspective // International Journal of Innovative Sciences & Humanities Research. 2014. Vol. 2. No. 4. P. 49-58.



pressure applied to the economy of Nigeria due to the introduction of the so-called Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). The most incredible attention was on the promotion of exports, debt restructuring, foreign direct investments, the adoption of neoliberal economic measures, and deep participation in the interaction of the international economy. The political aspect of the economic diplomacy program was that Nigeria would revive and develop the goodwill and friendship of the leading countries in the world<sup>143</sup>. Nevertheless, the main problem of SAP was Nigeria's inability to achieve economic benefits from its foreign policy ventures, especially in the subregion.

To reinforce this, Saliu H. A. insisted that the thrust of this policy was to make Nigeria's foreign policy serve the purpose of economic development at home, given that the regime inherited a prostrate economy from its predecessors<sup>144</sup>. He believed that Nigeria could only survive the situation by seeking and securing the goodwill and support of friendly nations that have had a long history of good relations with Nigeria. However, the economic reform under the Ibrahim Babangida administration was compelled to correct the economic downturn experienced during the period of military interregnum, which its administration inherited, as well as rekindle Nigeria's relationship with friendly countries<sup>145</sup>.

**Redeeming Nigeria's Image in the Fourth Republic** – the emergence of Olusegun Obasanjo as Nigeria's second executive president in 1999 paved the way for the fourth republic. The fourth republic has given rise to changes in the concepts of

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<sup>143</sup> *Saliu H.A.* The Foreign Policy Legacies of the Babangida Regime. In Oluyemi O. Fayomi, Felix C. Chidozie & Lady A. Ajayi. Nigeria's National Image and Her Foreign Policy: An Exploratory Approach // Open Journal of Political Science. 2015. 5 (3). Pp. 180 – 196.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid

<sup>145</sup> Nigeria. Structural Adjustment Program: Policies, Implementation, and Impact // The World Bank. 1994. 1 (1). p. 1.

Nigeria's foreign policy<sup>146</sup>. The key priority of Nigerian foreign policy since the beginning of the democratic dispensation, also known as the fourth republic, is to redeem the image destroyed during the military regime<sup>147</sup>. To achieve the set objectives, Foreign Minister Sule Lamido introduced the following concepts of Nigeria's foreign policy: citizen diplomacy, economic diplomacy, and the call for UN reform<sup>148</sup>.

In light of this, President Olusegun Obasanjo's administration engaged in shuttle diplomacy to restore the image of Nigeria destroyed by the past administration and promote cordial relations with all nations, especially the African states. According to Sanubi F. A. (2017)<sup>149</sup> shuttle diplomacy is another way of improving Nigeria's multilateral relations in the international community. He believed that if wholly implemented, it would help to correct the image of the Nigerian in the outside world. However, President Olusegun's administration introduced shuttle diplomacy to rekindle bilateral Nigerian-African relations and reposition Nigeria as the giant of Africa before the international community<sup>150</sup>.

It is imperative to note that the Olusegun Obasanjo administration was interested in the involvement of Nigerians both home and abroad in the activities of governance and national development. In line with his judgement, his contributions to national

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<sup>146</sup> *Ajaebili C.N. & Oyewole A.N.* The option of Economic Diplomacy in Nigeria's Foreign Policy. // *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. 2011.1 (7). Pp. 277 – 280.

<sup>147</sup> Inaugural Speech of President Olusegun Obasanjo, 29 May, 1999, Federal Ministry of Information, Abuja

<sup>148</sup> *Ajaebili C.N. & Oyewole A.N.* The option of Economic Diplomacy in Nigeria's Foreign Policy // *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. 2011.1 (7). Pp. 277 – 280.

<sup>149</sup> *Sanubi Franklins A. and Oke Chris I.* Diplomatic Shuttles in Foreign Policy: were Obasanjo Trips during his Tenure of any benefits to Nigeria // *Journal of Social and Management Sciences*. 2017. 12 (1). Pp. 139 – 152.

<sup>150</sup> Inaugural Speech of President Olusegun Obasanjo, 29 May 1999, Federal Ministry of Information, Abuja.

development served as a medium in which the people's living standards were improved<sup>151</sup>.

Although the concept of citizen diplomacy appears self-explanatory, it is not precisely so; nevertheless, in the context of diplomacy as a political concept depicting the involvement of average citizens engaging the representatives of another country or cause either inadvertently or by design, Agbu O. (2009)<sup>152</sup>. Ozoemenam M. (2007) viewed citizen diplomacy as a constructive and well-organized action taken by the Nigerian government to achieve the objectives set by policymakers<sup>153</sup>. Okocha C. (2007)<sup>154</sup> argued that citizen diplomacy is tailored toward protecting the image and integrity of Nigerian citizens both home and abroad and retaliating against countries that are hostile and who brand Nigeria as a corrupt nation.

While Bola Akinterinwa (2007)<sup>155</sup> explains further that as conceptualized individuals, Nigerians are to be the primary focus of any foreign policy endeavor, in order words, they are to be made principal stakeholders and first beneficiaries of Nigeria's foreign policy efforts in any of Nigeria's foreign policy concentric circles.

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<sup>151</sup> Report of Activities of President Olusegun Obasanjo, Understanding Obasanjo's leadership and lesson // The Nations. January 20, 2013. URL: <https://thenationonlineng.net/understanding-obasanjos-leadership-and-lesson>. (date of access: 29.05.2021).

<sup>152</sup> Agbu O. Nigerian Foreign Policy Under President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua: Challenges and Prospects. In Oluyemi O. Fayomi, Felix C. Chidozie & Lady A. Ajayi. Nigeria's National Image and Her Foreign Policy: An Exploratory Approach // Open Journal of Political Science. 2015. 5 (3). p.187.

<sup>153</sup> Mbachu O. Citizen Diplomacy: The Challenges for Nigerian Defense and Security in the 21st Century. In Okeke, Vincent O. S. Citizen-Centric Diplomacy: The Challenges for Nigeria's Defence and Security in the 21st Century // International Affairs and Global Strategy. 2014. 27.p. 26.

<sup>154</sup> Okocha C. & Nzeshi O. Nigeria to Adopt Citizenship Diplomacy. In Ebenezer E.L. and Opeyemi I.A. Nigerian Foreign Policy: a Fourth Republic Diplomatic Escapade // Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities & Social Sciences. 2016. 9 (4). P. 710.

<sup>155</sup> Akinterinwa Bola. Foreign Policy under the Yar'Adua Administration. In Ebenezer E.L. and Opeyemi I.A. Nigerian Foreign Policy: a Fourth Republic Diplomatic Escapade // Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities & Social Sciences. 2016. 9 (4). P. 710.

Importantly, they are to be specially empowered to respond to the changing challenges of globalization wherever they may be found.

Also, Ogunsanwo A. (2007)<sup>156</sup> asserts that citizen diplomacy could mean that from the inception of the policy, Nigerian citizens abroad would become the central element of Nigeria's national interest. Thus, the country's unimpaired diplomatic machinery should be intended towards protecting its interest and economic welfare. He further indicated that, any diplomacy that does not take this into consideration would not be annexed for the diplomatic missions abroad.

Meanwhile, Abati R. (2009)<sup>157</sup> documented that the Nigerian government does not appraise the lives of its citizens regarding the dividend of democracy. Nigerians have been attacked in South – Africa; others were brutalized in Asia routinely, and even beheaded in Saudi Arabia. At home and in Diaspora, Nigerians are left to their survival tactics. They have learned not to expect anything from their government. Accordingly, the citizen diplomacy concept introduced in Obasanjo's administration reassured the citizenry of the inclusiveness in the foreign policy decision-making process<sup>158</sup>.

However, after the end of the Olusegun Obasanjo administration, citizen diplomacy appears not to have yielded the envisaged dividend due to some factors that are both domestic and international. Considering the citizen to be at the center of the national program reinforces the original purpose of the government. When those in power provide the necessary leadership, they will, without much effort, secure the trust of the general populace and create centers of national solidarity and more agents for

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<sup>156</sup> *Ogunsanwo Alaba*. Citizen Diplomacy: Challenges for Nigeria's Foreign Policy. In Ebenezer E.L. and Opeyemi I.A. *Nigerian Foreign Policy: a Fourth Republic Diplomatic Escapade // Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities & Social Sciences*. 2016. 9 (4). P. 710.

<sup>157</sup> *Abati R*. North Korea and Clinton's Citizen Diplomacy. In Ebenezer E. L. and Opeyemi I. A. *Nigerian Foreign Policy: a Fourth Republic Diplomatic Escapade // Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities & Social Sciences*. 2016. 9 (4). P. 711.

<sup>158</sup> Inaugural Speech of President Olusegun Obasanjo, 29 May, 1999, Federal Ministry of Information, Abuja.

national progress. It is imperative to mention that the Olusegun Obasanjo administration reintroduced the economic diplomacy concept to reform and rebuild a more robust economy in Nigeria. However, this concept involves the policy-making, decision-making, and advocating of the sending countries' business interests and requires the application of technical expertise that analyzes the effects of the countries (receiving country) economic situation on its political climate and the sending countries' economic interests. In line with this judgement, President Olusegun Obasanjo claimed that economic diplomacy is a guide to improving Nigerian-African economic growth. He believed that the reform encourages the private sector, diversifies the economy, and delivers forward-thinking leadership for the continent of Africa<sup>159</sup>.

Accordingly, the concept's scope comprises domestic and international economic matters, including the rule of economic relations between countries. The increased globalization and the resultant interdependence among countries have pushed economic diplomacy to go deeper into domestic decision-making to cover policies relating to the production and exchange of goods and services.

However, economic diplomacy was designed to encourage and promote investment, protect deals from inception to the signing of contracts, and even market the business activities of the entire nation. The concept encourages diplomats to conduct trade events and seminars, attend trade shows, visit potential investors, and be proactive in marketing the attributes of their country. As a result, the economic diplomacy concept under the Olusegun Obasanjo administration increased the economic growth and development of Nigeria<sup>160</sup>.

Finally, Olusegun Obasanjo foreign policy implementation during his military regime as Head of State from 1976 to 1979 and later as President in a democratic regime from 1999 to 2007 were considered to be different. For instance, Nigeria's foreign

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<sup>159</sup> An interview with Olusegun Obasanjo: Up close and a little too personal // African Argument. September 28, 2017.

<sup>160</sup> Inaugural Speech of President Olusegun Obasanjo, 29 May 1999, Federal Ministry of Information, Abuja.

policy under the Olusegun Obasanjo military regime was a radical departure due to its attributes in Nigeria's military decrees[1]. At the same time, the latter was conservative because of its rationale. This revolved around restoring Nigeria's image, which was destroyed during the military regime. However, Olusegun Obasanjo, as Nigeria's second executive President, added more value to Nigeria's foreign policy due to the determining factors associated with the concept of Nigeria's foreign policy<sup>161</sup>.

President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua's administration (2007 – 2010)<sup>162</sup> is not excluded as he introduced the seven-point agendas in order to enhance the Nigerian economy and the living standards of the people. The Umaru Musa Yar'Adua administration centered its foreign policy on Nigerian citizens and how to protect and ameliorate the living conditions of Nigerians. Ikedinachi A. P. (2015)<sup>163</sup> posited that the citizen diplomacy concept under President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua administration has minimal impact on Nigerian citizens in spite of the approach and its level of acceptance by the public. In Gbadebo A. opinion (2018),<sup>164</sup> President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua's concept of citizen diplomacy was channeled to internal affairs. According to him, President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua believed that the dilapidated infrastructure that could not be developed is more crucial to Nigeria and its citizens than the issue of the traditional foreign policy of Afrocentrism. Pantserev K. A. (2010)<sup>165</sup> the obstacle which revolves information policy under President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua's administration hinders Nigerian's participation in the international programs.

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<sup>161</sup> Inaugural Speech of President Olusegun Obasanjo, 29 May, 1999, Federal Ministry of Information, Abuja.

<sup>162</sup> Seven Point Agenda of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Nigeria High Commission // Nigerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Abuja, Aso Rock. 2010.

<sup>163</sup> *Ikedinachi Ayodele P.W., Muyiwa Adeniyi S. and Chidozie Felix C. A Critical Evaluation of Nigeria's Foreign Policy at 53 // Research on Humanities and Social Sciences. 2015. 5 (2). Pp. 137 – 147.*

<sup>164</sup> *Gbadebo A. The Impact of Afrocentrism upon Nigeria's Foreign Policy: Since Attainment of Independence to the Present Day // European Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences. 2019. 2 (1). Pp. 30 – 41.*

<sup>165</sup> *Pantserev K. A. The States of Sub-Saharan Africa on the way to the Global Information Society // Journal on Systemics, Cybernetics and Informatics. 2010. 8 (6). Pp. 46-52.*

Instantaneously, the health issues of President Yar'Adua started reflecting on the implementation of the policies and the agendas mapped out for the actualization of Nigeria's foreign policy. To this end, Nigeria's began skipping international programs. Adeniyi O. (2011)<sup>166</sup> Nigeria was elided in the high-ranking international meetings, lost many positions in multilateral organizations, forsook obligations, and found itself in a situation where many of its allies started wondering what had gone wrong with Nigeria. However, President Musa Yar's Adua's administration uses its seven-point agenda as an instrument to protect and cater to the welfare of Nigerian citizens and to promote the integrity of Nigerian institutions<sup>167</sup>.

Furthermore, President Musa Yar's Adua approaches to implementing citizen diplomacy affected Nigeria's commitment to international politics. During the later days of Musa Yar' Adua's administration, the Nigerian senate adopted a new doctrine called the "doctrine of necessity," which enabled the vice president to fill the vacuum that was created because of Musa Yar' Adua's inability to hand over power before his death in 2010<sup>168</sup>.

After he won the Presidential election in 2011, President Goodluck Jonathan brought a new idea called the transformation agenda into the political landscape to reconcile that which had affected the bilateral relations between Nigerian and African states<sup>169</sup>. The transformation agenda introduced by President Jonathan's administration was designed to revive every decaying sector in the country. However, the transformation agenda is also passive and considered citizen diplomacy. However, it

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<sup>166</sup> Adeniyi O. Power, Politics and Death A front-row account of Nigeria under the Late President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, Lagos // International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science. 2011. 6 (5). P.138 – 144.

<sup>167</sup> Yar'Adua, U.M. Inauguration Speech of President, Nigerian Federal Ministry of Information & Communications, Vision 2020, Abuja, Aso Rock, 29 May 2007.

<sup>168</sup> Doctrine of Necessity // Sahara Reporter, Feb 13, 2010. URL: <http://saharareporters.com/2010/02/13/goodluck-jonathan-doctrine-necessity>. (date of access: 28.04.2021).

<sup>169</sup> Inaugural Speech of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan on 29 May 2011, Federal Ministry of Information, Abuja, Nigeria.

was argued that the new agenda brought by President Jonathan failed to accomplish its purpose because of the high level of insecurity, the Boko Haram activities in Northeast Nigeria, and corruption in government offices<sup>170</sup>.

Subsequently, the foreign policy of President Jonathan's administration centered on the domestic agenda was a departure from the old policy, which had Africa as the centerpiece of foreign policy. President Jonathan's foreign policy priority was on investment and economic cooperation, which according to him, was the only avenue to deliver dividends of democracy to Nigerians<sup>171</sup>. According to President Goodluck Jonathan, growing the nation's economy is paramount to the country's national interest<sup>172</sup>.

In the same light, Adeola G. L. (2015)<sup>173</sup> claimed that President Goodluck Jonathan maintained, to a large extent, President Yar'Adua's foreign policy goals but adopted the instruments of shuttle and economic diplomacy in rebranding Nigeria's image in a bid to attract foreign investments. Aleyomi M. (2017) that citizen diplomacy was projected to improve citizen welfare and national image-building. In addition, the citizen diplomacy under President Goodluck Jonathan's administration was objectively channeled to consolidate good governance, both home and abroad, as well as revive every decaying sector in the country<sup>174</sup>.

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<sup>170</sup> *Mantzikos Ioannis*. The absence of state in Northern Nigeria: The case of Boko Haram // *African Renaissance*. 2010. 7. (1). Pp. 57 – 62; Walter Gam N. Cameroon. Too Much to Carry: The Perception and Ramifications of Boko Haram's Activities on Cameroon // *Conflict Studies Quarterly*. 2013. 5 (1). Pp. 67 – 87.

<sup>171</sup> Inaugural Speech of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan on 29 May 2011, Federal Ministry of Information, Abuja, Nigeria

<sup>172</sup> President Goodluck Jonathan. A Bad Account of an Equally Inglorious Era // *The Nations*. November 26, 2018. URL <https://thenationonlineng.net/jonathans-memoir>. (date of access: 06.07.2021).

<sup>173</sup> *Adeola G. L. & Ogunnoiki A.O.* The Pursuance of Nigeria's Domestic and Foreign Policy in the Fourth Republic: Complementarity or Contradiction. In Ese C. Ujara & Jide Ibieta. *Foreign Policy in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: A Critical Analysis of Some Unresolved Issues // Journal of International and Global Studies*. 2015. 10 (1). P. 44.

<sup>174</sup> Inaugural Speech of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan on 29 May 2011, Federal Ministry of Information, Abuja, Nigeria.



**The Recent Development in Context: Anti-Corruption and Economic Recovery** – after Muhammadu Buhari was sworn in as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in 2015, he introduced three key agendas to tackle the issues of insecurity, economic instability, and corruption in government offices<sup>175</sup>. The President believed that these three agendas if adequately addressed, would bring back Nigeria's core value and glory in the comity of nations.

However, President Buhari's new agendas were not a deviation from the previous foreign policy concept but were initiated by the government to address the prevailing domestic situation in Nigeria. President Buhari's administration sees issues confronting the country, such as the activities of Boko Haram insurgents, the ailing economy, and corruption inherited from the previous government, as a thrust caused by a specific element within the country<sup>176</sup>. However, they believe that diversification of the country's economy can revive and attract foreign investors into the country<sup>177</sup>.

Meanwhile, the Buhari administration opined that effective and dynamic foreign policy required a solid and functional domestic base from a prosperous Nigerian state<sup>178</sup>. Odubajo T. (2017)<sup>179</sup> documented that the foreign policy agenda of President Buhari's administration is targeted at courting regional cooperation, attracting foreign direct investments (FDIs), and partnering with states, especially Western nations, in the fight against corruption. President Buhari's administration, similar to its predecessors, adopted economic diplomacy as a foreign policy tool. Given this scenario, it becomes imperative to enforce his economic revival strategy, which to a

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<sup>175</sup> Inaugural Speech of President Muhammadu Buhari on 29 May 2015, Permanent Mission of Nigeria to the United Nations.

<sup>176</sup> NTA @GMN, Abuja, Nigeria, 4 February. 2019.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Speech Delivered at the Maiden Interactive Session with the Diplomatic Corps Held at Rotunda Hall, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Abuja on 12 December. 2015.

<sup>179</sup> *Odubajo T. Domestic Environmental Variables and Foreign Policy Articulation of the Buhari Administration in Nigeria's Fourth Republic // Brazilian Journal of Strategy and International Relations. 2017. 6 (11). Pp. 73 – 96.*

large extent, has attracted foreign investment despite the attacks of the Boko Haram insurgency in the northern part of the country<sup>180</sup>.

Finally, the foreign policy postures of President Muhammadu Buhari's administration have been mainly concerned and tasked with various reforms in bilateral trades, investment, security, and anti-corruption-oriented domestic and foreign policies. However, it is significant to note that its administration has been immensely criticized for misdirecting political will and resources. These criticisms have led to various arguments about the appropriateness of the administration's foreign policy strategies, the length of their successes, and the sustainability of their actions in promoting and improving Nigeria's image at home and abroad.

## **1.2. The Legal and Institutional System of Nigerian Foreign Policy**

**Background of Nigeria's Foreign Policy Institutions: Key Features and Tendencies to African Affairs** – The impact of Nigeria's foreign policy institutions on Africa is immense. The Nigerian foreign policy objectives and national interest centered on Africa make it highly inevitable for its institutional system to contribute hugely to African foreign policy<sup>181</sup>. It has become an established norm for independent and sovereign nations to engage in external relations. In other words, gaining independence by a state confers on that state the sovereign power to conduct foreign policy, which is seen in all independent countries of the world. For instance, Nigeria started the conduct of its foreign policy in 1960 (the year it gained independence from Britain) under the late Abubakar Tafawa Balewa<sup>182</sup>.

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<sup>180</sup> Inaugural Speech of President Muhammadu Buhari on 29 May 2015, Permanent Mission of Nigeria to the United Nations.

<sup>181</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court. 98 (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13).

<sup>182</sup> Nigeria Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Great Nation, United in Diversity. URL: <http://www.nigeria-consulate-frankfurt.de/English/MFA-Nigeria/mfa-nigeria.html>. (date of access: 06.05.2021).

Before 1960, the country had no independent foreign policy since Lagos was still a colony while the Northern, Eastern, and Western regions were Protectorates of Great Britain that controlled its external relations<sup>183</sup>. Thus, since independence and with the establishment of the ministry of external relations, the Nigerian government has continued to engage in foreign relations and the making of foreign policy. The Presidency and the National Assembly are two crucial actors whose roles are spelled out in the Constitution. As stated in the Constitution, the Presidency is in charge of the day-to-day responsibility for making policies, both domestic and foreign, while the National Assembly is empowered to make laws for governing the country in line with the country's domestic and external affairs. Moreover, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is also charged with managing the country's external affairs<sup>184</sup>.

Since the independence of Nigeria in 1960, Jaja Anucha Wachuku became the first substantive Nigerian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, later called External Affairs. Nigeria's foreign policy has been Africa oriented with several fundamental principles, such as unity and independence for all of Africa, the ability to exert influence in the region based on hegemon rights, peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts, noninterference in the internal affairs of other nations and regional economic cooperation and development.<sup>185</sup> To implement these principles, Nigeria is vigorously involved in the works of the African Union, the Commonwealth of Nations, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Non-Aligned Movement, and the United Nations. Lobashova E. V. (2021)<sup>186</sup>, while examining the foreign policy activity of Nigeria at the present stage, claims that the

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<sup>183</sup> Nigerian Constitution Order in Council. 1954. with the Supplement to Official Gazette. 1960. Part D. 47 (20). Pp. 46-68.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid

<sup>185</sup> Nigeria Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Great Nation, United in Diversity. URL: <http://www.nigeria-consulate-frankfurt.de/English/MFA-Nigeria/mfa-nigeria.html>. (date of access: 06.08.2021).

<sup>186</sup> Африка: региональная идентичность и традиция: Ежегодник – 2021 = Africa: Regional Identity and Tradition: Yearbook – 2021: сб. статей / под ред. Лобашова Е. В., РУДН, 2021. с. 85 – 98.

relationship between Nigeria and African countries is based on five existing principles of foreign policy, which are highlighted above. She argues that Nigeria must resolve its internal problem to implement its foreign policy goals in Africa effectively.

It is imperative to note that the Nigeria National Assembly (Upper chamber) and the Nigeria House of Representatives (Lower chamber), also known as the Senate and the House of Representatives, respectively, are the only statutory organs that can raise a motion on the floors of their respective houses and ratify any issue of foreign relations<sup>187</sup>. For emphasis, the Lower chamber makes laws and scrutinizes the work of the Executive arm of government, while the Upper chamber considers bills approved by the lower chamber and further enacts them into law. Nevertheless, both chambers together constitute the Parliament.

Again, the National Assembly has the authority to tame international treaties and agreements signed by the country. Chapter I, Section 12 of the 1999 Constitution, states that no treaty between the Federation and another country has the force of law, except to the extent that the National Assembly has enacted any such treaty. It is understood that no treaties or covenants signed or ratified in international forums, summits, or meetings can enter into force unless they are enacted into law by the National Assembly. The National Assembly decides which treaties or covenants should be tamed<sup>188</sup>.

For instance, military intervention, treaty ratification, and other foreign policy-related issues can only be implemented by the Executive arm of government, which is also known as the Presidency, after the consent approval of the National Assembly,

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<sup>187</sup> Federation of Nigeria. House of Representatives Debates. September 4, 1961. Col. 2813.; House of Representatives Debates on Federation of Nigeria, August 20, 1960, cols 2669 – 71.

<sup>188</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court. 98. 20, Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13).

Chapter 1, Part 12 of the 1999 Constitution, entitled ‘Powers of the Federal Republic of Nigerian’<sup>189</sup>.

Interestingly, the Presidency is the primary institution built around the office of the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to assist him in his day-to-day obligations. Since independence, its name has changed from the office of the Cabinet of Ministers, as it was previously known during the First Republic, to the Presidential Administration in the Second Republic and its current nomenclature – the Presidency<sup>190</sup>. Throughout the world, the President is central to the state’s foreign diplomacy, although some mechanisms and structures force the President and Presidency to adapt to internal pressure and constraints in foreign policy (Akinyemi A. B., 2009 cited in Folarin S., 2010)<sup>191</sup>.

According to Fawole A. (2003)<sup>192</sup> the executive power embodied by the President is very powerful in executing and enforcing the law. The President directs and enforces the nation's affairs, including domestic and foreign affairs. The President's executive-legislative list functions include conducting foreign affairs, holding top-level diplomacy, negotiating and signing bilateral and multilateral treaties/agreements, receiving ambassadors / high commissioners, and attending meetings.

Despite the President being the commander in chief of the armed forces, he cannot allocate the country's military resources for peace or war without the consent of the Senate. Section 2 of the 1999 Constitution, entitled Powers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, stated in article 4 (a) that the President should not declare a state of war between the Federation and another country unless with the permission of both sides of

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<sup>189</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court. 98. 20, Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13).

<sup>190</sup> Ibid

<sup>191</sup> Folarin Sheriff. Democratizing the Nigerian Foreign Policy Process: An Inquest for Recipes // EBSU Journal of Society. 2011. 1 (1). Pp. 61 – 78.

<sup>192</sup> Fawole A. Nigeria’s External Relations and Foreign Policy under Military Rule, 1966 – 1999. In Folarin Sheriff. Democratizing the Nigerian Foreign Policy Process: An Inquest for Recipes // EBSU Journal of Society. 2011. 1 (1). P. 66.

the House (National Assembly and House of Representative) joint meeting<sup>193</sup>. Article 5 of the same section also states that the President, in agreement with the National Defense Council, may send Federation troops to limited military service outside of Nigeria if he is convinced that national security is in imminent danger.

Provided that the President, within seven days after the actual combat, must have requested the consent of the Senate, the Senate must give or refuse the specified consent within fourteen days (Constitution of the Federal Republic, 1999)<sup>194</sup>. The President is also authorized to negotiate and implement treaties on matters included in the exclusive list. However, the Constitution states that such treaties must be adopted and approved by the National Assembly (Upper and Lower chambers) before they are considered law.

Despite the limitations of the President's authority, by the provisions of the Constitution, the President remains the highest authority and determining factor in the development of the country's policy. The President can send bills or treaties to the National Assembly to enact into law, though the National Assembly may decide to agree or not. However, the President can still reject signing the bills adopted by the National Assembly.

For instance, the current administration of President Muhammadu Buhari rejected signing into law the budget adopted by National Assembly. He argued that the budget was full of contradictions and accused the legislature of falsifying the budget sent to them. However, this resulted in the delay of the signing of the budget into law by the president<sup>195</sup>.

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<sup>193</sup> House of Representatives Debates on Federation of Nigeria, August 20, 1960, cols 2669 – 71.

<sup>194</sup> Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999. Powers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. [https://Nigeria\\_Constitution\\_1999\\_en\\_pdf](https://Nigeria_Constitution_1999_en_pdf). (date of access: 13.04.2021).

<sup>195</sup> Nigerian Annual Budget // Premium Times. October 10, 2018.

Accordingly, Nigeria's foreign policy objectives<sup>196</sup> centered on African affairs made it highly inevitable for all the institutional systems responsible for their foreign policy obligations to always consider the interest of the African continent in their decision-making process. The Nigerian institution, such as executive and legislative arms, are not fully independent as specified in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 as amended<sup>197</sup>, due to the foundation in which the institutions were laid<sup>198</sup>.

**Nigeria's Foreign Policy Making and Implementation** – the three major institutions responsible for the formulation and implementation of Nigeria's foreign policy are The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA)<sup>199</sup>, the Presidential Advisory Council on International Relations (PACIR)<sup>200</sup>, and the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs<sup>201</sup>.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (formerly known as the Ministry of External Affairs) is the statutory organ of the Nigerian government that is charged with the primary responsibility for the formulation, articulation, conduct, and execution of Nigeria's foreign policy, as well as management of the country's external relations<sup>202</sup>. The Ministry started as a small unit in the External Affairs Division office of Prime

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<sup>196</sup> Nigeria Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Great Nation, United in Diversity. URL: <http://www.nigeria-consulate-frankfurt.de/English/MFA-Nigeria/mfa-nigeria.html>. (date of access: 06.05.2021).

<sup>197</sup> Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999. Powers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. [https://Nigeria\\_Constitution\\_1999\\_en\\_pdf](https://Nigeria_Constitution_1999_en_pdf) (date of access: 13.04.2021).

<sup>198</sup> Nigerian Constitution Order in Council. 1954. with the Supplement to Official Gazette. 1960. Part D. 47 (20). Pp. 46 – 68.

<sup>199</sup> Nigeria Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Great Nation, United in Diversity. URL: <http://www.nigeria-consulate-frankfurt.de/English/MFA-Nigeria/mfa-nigeria.html>. (date of access: 06.05.2021).

<sup>200</sup> Presidential Advisory Council on International Relations. Institutional Processes of Foreign Policy: Foreign Policy Making and Implementation in Nigeria. (date of access: 21.04.2021).

<sup>201</sup> Nigerian Institute of International Affairs. URL: <http://www.niiianet.org>. (date of access: 21.04.2021).

<sup>202</sup> Nigeria Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Great Nation, United in Diversity. URL: <http://www.nigeria-consulate-frankfurt.de/English/MFA-Nigeria/mfa-nigeria.html>. (date of access: 06.05.2021).

Minister Tafawa Balewa, which was responsible for the conduct of foreign and Commonwealth Relations<sup>203</sup>.

The ministry has been redistributed by Nigeria's foreign policy objectives and functions on its current mandate<sup>204</sup>. For example, The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999, as amended, specified the goals and objectives of the Ministry. According to Chapter II Section 19 of the 1999 Constitution, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is obliged to implement the diplomatic principles of state policies, laws, and regulations, as well as saddled with the responsibility of drafting policy plans, drafting of laws, and regulations for its diplomatic work<sup>205</sup>. However, the Nigeria Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from its inception, has been maintaining the status quo in the formation and implementation of foreign policy, retaining the Afrocentric foreign policy concept irrespective of various foreign policy concepts introduced by different administrations<sup>206</sup>.

The Ministry's mandate as approved in the 2007 Reforms was dedicated to the vigorous pursuit of the vital national interest of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, and the promotion of African integration and unity, international cooperation for the consolidation of global peace, security, a just world economic order, and democratic values, etc. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Annual Report, 2012)<sup>207</sup>

It is imperative to mention that the office of the Presidency oversees the activities of Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs, who in return gave directives to senior officials in the departments and Nigerian missions abroad, such as embassies,

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<sup>203</sup> Ibid

<sup>204</sup> *Ofoegbu R.* The Structure and Process of Foreign Policy Formulation and Implementation: A Study of the Ministry of External Affairs. In Nurudeen O. M. & Kikelomo A. M. *Elite Perceptions and Nigeria's Foreign Policy Process // Alternatives Turkish Journal of International Relations.* 2014. 13 (3). P. 42.

<sup>205</sup> Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999. Powers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, [https://Nigeria\\_Constitution\\_1999\\_en\\_pdf](https://Nigeria_Constitution_1999_en_pdf). (date of access: 13.04.2021).

<sup>206</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court .98. (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13). P.34.

<sup>207</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs Annual Report, 2012. Abuja Nigeria.



consulates – general and permanent missions located in Geneva, Vienna, and New York on the implementation of foreign policy<sup>208</sup>.

There are also departments for bilateral and multilateral issues in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. For instance, the African bilateral affairs department oversees and regulates the activities of all 55 African countries<sup>209</sup> in line with the foreign policy guidelines. The African Multilateral Affairs department oversees the activities of the African Union, Economic Community of the West African States, East African Community, Southern African Development Community, etc. The Sub-Regional Organizations Division addresses the Gulf of Guinea Commission (GGC), Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC), and Niger Basin Authority (NBA).

Accordingly, these departments also create several policy divisions, such as foreign service inspectorate, research and statistics, procurement, staff, training, welfare, information, and communications technology. In the international organization department are the First United Nations and Second United Nations Division, which deal with the United Nations, Commonwealth of Nations, Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and other global international organizations Nigeria belongs. In the Department of Administration are Divisions such as Appointment, Employment, Promotion, Deployment and Discipline, Finance, Account, Salaries and Allowances, External and Internal Audit, among others. In the Department of Consular are Immigration, Legal, and Treaties Division<sup>210</sup>.

The Federal Republic of Nigeria's quest to strengthen and consolidate its foreign policy has necessitated the creation of an embassy abroad. Currently, Nigeria has 109 Embassies, High Commissions and Consulate – General of Nigeria in various countries

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<sup>208</sup> Nigeria Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Great Nation, United in Diversity. URL: <http://www.nigeria-consulate-frankfurt.de/English/MFA-Nigeria/mfa-nigeria.html>. (date of access: 06.05.2021).

<sup>209</sup> Ibid

<sup>210</sup> Nigeria Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Great Nation, United in Diversity. URL: <http://www.nigeria-consulate-frankfurt.de/English/MFA-Nigeria/mfa-nigeria.html>. (date of access: 06.05.2021).

representing Nigeria; furthermore, officers or foreign missions who are responsible for the affairs of Nigerian abroad are posted from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs<sup>211</sup>, Federal Ministry of Defence<sup>212</sup>, Nigeria Immigration Service<sup>213</sup> and Accountant General of the Federation<sup>214</sup>.

Foreign Service officers, administrative attach, finance attaches, defence attaches, immigration attach, and other domestic staffs are among the categories of officers posted to represent Nigerian missions. All the mentioned categories of officers are under Ambassador or Consul – General, who is the head of mission. The mission has various departments or sections, such as administration, political, economic, trade and investment, consular, immigration, visa and passport, and in some missions’ defense section<sup>215</sup>. The Nigerian missions abroad send their reports and correspondences to their various government offices in Abuja and especially to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for foreign policy decision-making by the Nigerian government have contributed to the development of the foreign policy of Nigeria and Africa by extension. The MDAs are responsible for carrying out the laws and implement policies of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and also represent the country in the meeting organized by international organizations, such as the African Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Gulf of Guinea Commission (GGC)<sup>216</sup>, Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC)<sup>217</sup>, Niger Basin

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<sup>211</sup> Ibid

<sup>212</sup> Federal Ministry of Defence. Federal Republic of Nigeria. URL: <https://defence.gov.ng/>. (date of access:10.04.2021).

<sup>213</sup> Nigeria Immigration Service. Federal Republic of Nigeria. URL: <https://immigration.gov.ng/>. (date of access:21.04.2021)

<sup>214</sup> Accountant General of the Federation. Federal Republic of Nigeria. URL:<http://oagf.gov.ng/>. (date of access: 21.04.2021).

<sup>216</sup> Gulf of Guinea Commission. URL: <https://cggrps.com/en/the-gulf-of-guinea-commission/>. (date of access: 21.04.2021).

<sup>217</sup> Lake Chad Basin Commission. URL: <https://www.preventionweb.net/organizations/1264>. (date of access: 21.04.2021).

Authority (NBA)<sup>218</sup>, Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)<sup>219</sup>, International Labour Organization (ILO)<sup>220</sup>, International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)<sup>221</sup>, World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF)<sup>222</sup>, etc.

They are also allowed to represent the country in inter-ministerial meetings organized by the ministry of foreign affairs, where they are briefed and presented with policy documents. In most cases, they deliberate and agree on the subject before representing the country abroad. For example, the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (FMARD) is responsible for the agricultural sector of the Nigerian economy. The agricultural transformation agenda can be achieved by growing the sector, providing food and generating employment that can transform the country into a leading global market.<sup>223</sup>

Nevertheless, the Ministry represents Nigeria at meetings organized by FAO and other related international organizations with a prepared mindset to secure and protect the integrity of the country and Africa in general. Moreover, the ministry relates to ICAO and IMO among other international organizations on matters relating to Nigeria's foreign policy in Africa

The Federal Ministry of Defence has contributed to African foreign policy in a number of areas. The defence was established on October 1, 1958, and has the statutory responsibility of overseeing the Defence profile of Nigeria from the perspective of the Armed Forces. The ministry regulates and supervises the operations of the Defence

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<sup>218</sup>Niger Basin Authority. URL: <https://www.africangreatlakesinform.org/link/niger-basin-authority>. (date of access: 21.04.2021).

<sup>219</sup> Food and Agriculture Organization. URL: <http://www.fao.org/home/en/>. (date of access: 21.04.2021).

<sup>220</sup> International Labour Organization. URL: <https://www.ilo.org/global/lang-en/index.htm>. (date of access: 21.04.2021).

<sup>221</sup> International Civil Aviation Organization. <https://www.icao.int/about-icao/Pages/default.aspx>. (date of access: 21.04.2021).

<sup>222</sup> World Bank, International Monetary Fund. URL: <https://www.imf.org/en/About/Factsheets/Sheets/2016/07/27/15/31/IMF-World-Bank>. (date of access: 21.04.2021).

<sup>223</sup> Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. URL: <https://fmard.gov.ng> (date of access: 10.4.2021).

Headquarters and Services, namely, Army, Navy, and Air Force, as well as Tri-Services Institutions/Parastatals<sup>224</sup>. More importantly, the ministry has been attending meetings with countries and international organizations, such as the African Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Gulf of Guinea Commission (GGC), Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC), Niger Basin Authority (NBA), on the issues of security and defence.

Since the inception of the Federal Ministry of Education in 1988, Nigeria has been using the platform to promote the educational system in West Africa<sup>225</sup>, which has contributed greatly to the growth of African foreign policy. The ministry is responsible for all training, innovation, teaching, and offering scholarships to Nigerian citizens. The Ministry represents Nigeria at meetings of the AU, ECOWAS, United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)<sup>226</sup>, and other international organizations that deal with education.

Another Ministry that has contributed greatly to African foreign policy is the Federal Ministry of Interior<sup>227</sup>. Nigerian citizenship, immigration services, business permits and expatriate quota are some of the things that the ministry is obligated to grant. The free visa policy for ECOWAS has been maintained by the ministry.<sup>228</sup> The ministry comprises Customs, Immigration, Police and Paramilitary service. Since their inception, these ministries have been representing Nigeria at meetings relating to issues on peace and security in AU, ECOWAS, GGC, LCBC, NBA, and other international organizations, most especially with countries that share borders with Nigeria.

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<sup>224</sup> Federal Ministry of Defence. Federal Republic of Nigeria. URL: <https://www.defence.gov.ng> (date of access: 10.4.2021).

<sup>225</sup> Federal Ministry of Education. Federal Republic of Nigeria. URL: <https://education.gov.ng> (date of access: 10.4.2021).

<sup>226</sup> United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. URL: <https://en.unesco.org/about-us/introducing-unesco>. (date of access: 21.04.2021).

<sup>227</sup> Federal Ministry of Interior. Federal Republic of Nigeria. URL: <https://interior.gov.ng>. (date of access: 10.4.2021).

<sup>228</sup> Supplementary Protocol A/SP.2/5/90 on the implementation of the Third Phase, Right to Establishment of the Protocol on Free Movement. Right of Residence and Establishment. 1990.

The Federal Ministry of Justice<sup>229</sup> has been observing the ECOWAS, AU, and International norms in discharging its duty. The ministry at every point ensures that the rule of law prevails, and that justice is accessible to all, irrespective of the personalities involved. The Ministry has the statutory mandate to oversee eight government parastatals, such as the Nigerian Law Reform Commission,<sup>230</sup> Council of Legal Education<sup>231</sup>, National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA)<sup>232</sup> and National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP)<sup>233</sup>. The ministry has been involved in a number of capacities, such as negotiating and vetting contract agreements, as well as participating in bilateral and multilateral relations on behalf of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.<sup>234</sup>

The Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development (FMWASD) was established in 1989. The ministry is saddled with responsibilities to advise the government on gender and children's issues and issues affecting individuals with disabilities and the elderly<sup>235</sup>. The ministry has been representing Nigeria at international meetings on issues of gender and cultural adaptation, especially with countries that share borders with Nigeria. The Ministry also initiates policy guidelines and leads the process of ensuring gender equality and main streaming at both the national and international levels for the benefit of the African continent.

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<sup>229</sup> Federal Ministry of Justice. Federal Republic of Nigeria .URL: <https://www.justice.gov.ng>. (date of access: 23.04.2021).

<sup>230</sup> Nigerian Law Reform Commission. Federal Republic of Nigeria. URL: <https://nlipw.com/nigerian-law-reform-commission-act/>. (date of access: 21.04.2021).

<sup>231</sup> Council of Legal Education. Institute of Advanced Legal Studies. URL: <https://cle.or.ke/>. (date of access: 21.04.2021).

<sup>232</sup>National Drug Law Enforcement Agency. Federal Republic of Nigeria. URL: <https://nigeria.tradeportal.org/media/NDLEA%20Act.pdf>. (date of access: 21.04.2021).

<sup>233</sup> National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons. Federal Republic of Nigeria. URL: <https://www.naptip.gov.ng/>. (date of access: 21.04.2021).

<sup>234</sup> Federal Ministry of Justice. Federal Republic of Nigeria. URL: <https://www.justice.gov.ng> (date of access: 10.4.2021).

<sup>235</sup> Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development. Federal Republic of Nigeria. URL: <https://evaw-global-database.unwomen.org/fr/countries/africa/nigeria/1989/federal-ministry-of-women-affairs-and-social-development> (date of access:10.4.2021).

The Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources has an obligation to regulate and implement policies in the oil and gas sector. The ministry also oversees the activities of stakeholders and agencies such as Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC)<sup>236</sup>, Petroleum Technology Development Fund (PTDF)<sup>237</sup>, and Department of Petroleum Resources (DPR)<sup>238</sup> in order to ensure compliance with all applicable laws and regulations in oil and gas<sup>239</sup>. The ministry has been representing Nigeria at meetings organized by petroleum sectors such as OPEC<sup>240</sup> and other international organizations.

The Federal Ministry of Youth and Sports Development (FMYSD) is responsible for coordinating, planning, researching, training, monitoring, and evaluating projects. In addition, the Ministry represents Nigeria at meetings organized for youth and sports in the West African Football Union (WAFU)<sup>241</sup>, Confederation of African Football (CAF)<sup>242</sup>, Federation of International Football Association (FIFA)<sup>243</sup>, and International Olympic Committee (IOC)<sup>244</sup>, among other sporting international organizations in the world that Nigeria participates in. The Federal Republic of Nigeria has been using the platform to unite African youth<sup>245</sup> and promotion of African foreign policy.

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<sup>236</sup> Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation. Federal Republic of Nigeria. URL: <https://nnpcgroup.com/Pages/Home.aspx>. (date of access: 23.04.2021).

<sup>237</sup> Petroleum Technology Development Fund. Federal Republic of Nigeria. URL: <https://ptdf.gov.ng/>. (date of access:23.04.2021).

<sup>238</sup> Department of Petroleum Resources. Federal Republic of Nigeria. URL: <https://www.dpr.gov.ng/index.php>. (date of access:23.04.2021).

<sup>239</sup> Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources. Federal Republic of Nigeria. URL:<https://petroleumresources.gov.ng> (date of access: 10.4.2021).

<sup>240</sup> Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries. Federal Republic of Nigeria. URL: [https://www.opec.org/opec\\_web/en/](https://www.opec.org/opec_web/en/). (date of access:23.04.2021).

<sup>241</sup>West African Football Union.URL: <https://www.cafonline.com/news-center/news/wafu-a-u-17-qualifiers-postponed>. (date of access:23.04.2021)

<sup>242</sup>Confederation of African Football.URL: <https://www.fifa.com/associations/caf/>. (date of access: 23.04.2021).

<sup>243</sup> Federation of International Football Association. URL: <https://www.fifa.com/>. (date of access: 23.04.2021).

<sup>244</sup> International Olympic Committee.URL: <https://www.olympic.org/the-ioc>. (date of access: 23.04.2021).

<sup>245</sup> Federal Ministry of Youth and Sports. Federal Republic of Nigeria. URL: <https://www.youthdevelopment.gov.ng> (date of access: 10.4.2021).

The Presidential Advisory Council on International Relations was established by former President Olusegun Obasanjo in 2001 and is made up of renowned Nigerian diplomats and experts whose main goal is to provide alternative policy options to the president.<sup>246</sup>

The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) was established in 1961, but adopted in May 1963, its primary objectives are to encourage and facilitate understanding of international relations on the circumstances, conditions, and relations of foreign countries and their peoples<sup>247</sup>. Since its founding, the Institute has held conferences, roundtables and lectures. The institute's aims is resolving foreign policy issues and serves as an instrument of foreign policy formulation in Nigeria. It also serves as an intellectual base upon which decision-makers rely for informed opinion and expert advice to make rational choices between contending policy options.

Finally, the impact of Nigeria's foreign policy institutions on Africa has been remarkable in all ramifications; from the above narratives, Nigeria's institutional system has contributed immensely to promoting African foreign policy. Since Nigeria gained independence in 1960, its foreign policy institutions have been devoted to the development of Africa in line with Nigeria's foreign policy objectives<sup>248</sup> and national interest<sup>249</sup>.

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<sup>246</sup> Presidential Advisory Council on International Relations // Institutional Processes of Foreign Policy: Foreign Policy Making and Implementation in Nigeria. (date of access: 21.04.2021).

<sup>247</sup> Nigerian Institute of International Affairs. URL: <http://www.niianet.org>. (date of access:21.04.2021).

<sup>248</sup> Nigeria's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2021). <http://www.nigeria-consulate-frankfurt.de/English/MFA-Nigeria/mfa-nigeria.html> (date of access: 13.04.2021).

<sup>249</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court.98. (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13), p.34.

### 1.3. The Nigerian Foreign Policy Conceptual Approach towards Africa

**Nigeria's Afrocentric Concept Towards Africa Affairs** – Solidarity and cooperation with African states has always been an essential element of Nigeria's foreign policy. Nigeria's first Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa, in his submission at the United Nations General Assembly in 1961<sup>250</sup>, expressed Nigeria's desire to work with other African countries for the progress of Africa and to help in bringing all African territories to a state of responsible independence<sup>251</sup>. In line with this, the Nigerian government articulated plans focusing purely on African affairs.

It is imperative to note that Nigeria has taken a position as a mouthpiece and reliable defender of Africa's interest in the international community, especially concerning the issues of decolonization of Africa and the struggle against apartheid. Nigeria's effort and role to end racism and other crimes against humanity in South Africa was undaunted. The issue of Africa's decolonization has been a fundamental aspect of Nigeria's foreign policy to assist and influence within the limits of its resources.<sup>252</sup>

Since its foreign policy formation, Nigeria has centred its foreign policy concepts on Africa, using its Afrocentric foreign policy concept to improve its relations with African states. However, it was believed that the leadership style laid down by the founding fathers necessitated the Afrocentric foreign policy concept. As a country that aspires to be first among equals on the African continent, Nigeria has consistently flexed

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<sup>250</sup> Maiden General Assembly Statement at the United Nations. URL: <https://nigeriaunmission.org/maiden-speech-at-the-un/>. (date of access: 07.03.2022).

<sup>251</sup> Enikanolaiye S. Nigeria's African Policy: An Overview. In Ese C. Ujara & Jide Ibieta. *Foreign Policy in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: A Critical Analysis of Some Unresolved Issues // Journal of International and Global Studies*. 2017. 10 (1). p. 41.

<sup>252</sup> Gambari I. Nigeria and the United Nations: The Pursuit of National Interest Through Multinationalism in a Changing World Order. In Victor Okoro U., Uche Uwaezuoke O., (ed.). *Afro-centrism as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy: A historical misnomer in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks in South Africa // Cogent Arts & Humanities*. 2020. 7 (1). Pp. 14 – 15.



its diplomatic muscle to advance the interests of fellow African countries<sup>253</sup>. Nigeria since its independence has entered into several bilateral and multilateral agreements with different nations of the world and international organizations to advance certain objectives in line with its national interests<sup>254</sup>.

However, many scholars and concerned Africans have argued that Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy is not driven by its national interest but by an obscure consideration of the morality and welfare of its neighbors. According to David O. W. (1973) foreign policy is determined by a number of factors including; as geo-demographic, economic, and military means, which are all components of national interest<sup>255</sup>. In other words, Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy is associated with its national interest. Thus, Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy was geared to actualize its national interest and foreign policy objectives, which is paramount to the state of Nigeria in interacting with the comity of nations for mutual benefit<sup>256</sup>.

For instance, Chapter II, Section 19 of the 1999 constitution of Nigeria highlights the following: (1) promotion of the national interest; (2) promotion of African integration and support of African unity; (3) promotion of international cooperation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discrimination in all its manifestation; (4) respect for international law and treaty obligations; (5) settlement of international disputes by negotiation,

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<sup>253</sup> *Nwalie G.A.* Nigeria Role in the Leadership of Africa: Perspective of International Relations // Academia.edu. 2020. URL: <https://www.academia.edu/10314154>. (date of access: 256.10.2021).

<sup>254</sup> Official Document of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Abuja on Nigeria's Bilateral and Multilateral Relations with the world.

<sup>255</sup> *David O. Wilkinson.* Comparative Foreign Policy Analysis. In Julius Emeka O. & Winston E. Langley. The Changing Nigerian Foreign Policy // Journal World Affairs. 1973. 135 (4). P. 309.

<sup>256</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court .98. (20). Government Notice No.103. The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13). P.34.

mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication; and (6) promotion of a just world economic order<sup>257</sup>.

To a greater extent, Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy has helped in the consolidation and promotion of a good neighborliness policy. Demographic, political, and economic reasons are some of the factors associated with the development of the policy which is related to security matters in Nigeria.

However, many academicians have tried to justify the subject using components of Nigeria's national interest and economic influence. Accordingly, proponents argue that Nigeria's Afrocentric policy has been driven without any specific interest in connection to the country's domestic interests and economic woes. Others claimed that Nigeria's rich socioeconomic and military capacity has made it possible for country to always intervene in conflict settlement within its immediate sub-region and Africa.

Akinyemi A. B. (1987) doctrine of «Reciprocity in Nigeria's Foreign Policy»<sup>258</sup> documented various components of the country national security interests and its systemic relationship, it was argued that Reciprocity in Nigeria's Foreign Policy was the first serious effort made in identifying and defining Nigeria's national interest in political, economic, social and security terms.

In the context of good neighborliness, the Afrocentric foreign policy showed that Nigeria owes some measures of responsibilities to its neighbors and Africa. This was amplified by Nigeria's former foreign affairs minister, Bolaji Akinyemi, to the effect that Nigeria has responsibilities to Africa<sup>259</sup>. By this, there is sufficient justification to support consideration for good neighborliness in African.

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<sup>257</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court .98. (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13). P. 34.

<sup>258</sup> *Akinyemi A.B.* Doctrine of Reciprocity in Nigerian Foreign Policy // Nigerian Institute of International Affairs. 1987. 6 (5). Pp.1 – 3.

<sup>259</sup> *Akinterinwa B.* Nigeria in the world: Issues and problems of the sleeping giant. In Victor Okoro U., Uche Uwaezuoke O., & et al. Afro-centrism as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy: A historical misnomer in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks in South Africa // Cogent Arts & Humanities. 2020. 7 (1). P. 14.

In a statement made by Nigerian first Prime Minister, Tafawa Balewa on 7 October 1960 at the United Nations General Assembly, justifying Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy and good neighborliness, he said that Nigeria would be paying more attention to the problems of Africa in comparison to the rest of the world. According to him, any human would first secure and protect its immediate neighbors before attending to the outside world<sup>260</sup>.

The integrity and welfare of Nigeria and its neighbors has been promoted and protected by this<sup>261</sup>. All of this was in tandem and consonance with Nigeria's first Prime Minister's ideas to be commensurate with Nigeria's name and status 'messiah' of the continent<sup>262</sup>. The concept of Afrocentric and good neighborliness was emphasized on when Jaja Anucha Wachuku, the Nigeria first Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared that any Nigeria's foreign policy that does not connote the interest of the common man in the continent of Africa is unrealistic. According to him, charity begins at home; thus, the dividend of Nigeria's foreign policy should be seen in the affairs of the people<sup>263</sup>.

Despite the cultural, linguistic, and economic barriers caused by African colonial masters, Nigeria has succeeded in promoting peace, prosperity, stability, and development. Nigeria's has also recorded successes in the promotion of political

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<sup>260</sup> Statement by Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria at the United Nations General Assembly, New York, October 7, 1960. Maiden General Assembly Statement at the United Nations.

<sup>261</sup> *Ogunnubi O.* Unlocking the Black Box of Nigeria's Hegemonic Foreign Policy. In Victor Okoro U., Uche Uwaezuoke O., & (ed.). Afro-centrism as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy: A historical misnomer in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks in South Africa // Cogent Arts & Humanities. 2020. 7 (1). P. 15.

<sup>262</sup> *Claude S.P.* The Development of Nigerian Foreign Policy. In Victor Okoro U., Uche Uwaezuoke O., & (ed.). Afro-centrism as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy: A historical misnomer in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks in South Africa // Cogent Arts & Humanities. 2020. 7 (1). p. 14.

<sup>263</sup> *Jaja A.W.* Establishing Nigeria Foreign Policy Identity, Lagos: Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In Victor Okoro U., Uche Uwaezuoke O., & (ed.). Afro-centrism as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy: A historical misnomer in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks in South Africa // Cogent Arts & Humanities. 2020. 7 (1). P. 14.

goodwill and mutual understanding among African countries, and has used its diverse cultural inheritance as a tool for strengthening diplomatic ties among African states<sup>264</sup>.

For instance, Nigeria has signed various bilateral and multilateral investments, taxation, and immigration treaties, which also include conventions, memorandums of understanding and agreements<sup>265</sup>. Nigeria has a bilateral agreement on cooperation, meetings on Joint Commission, and Treaties of Friendship and Cooperation, especially with those African nations that it has an abolition of visa agreement<sup>266</sup>. However, the agreements allow nationals of the affected countries to enter Nigeria without visas and vice versa. In particular, the agreements only apply to people who are allowed to stay in Nigeria for 90 days, while those in agreement with Nigeria or intending to work must submit to the specific countries Immigration Act<sup>267</sup>.

These agreements contained negotiable protocols on how to move these countries forward, especially on issues of economic, financial, and customs matters, frontier

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<sup>264</sup> Nigeria Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Great Nation, United in Diversity. URL: <http://www.nigeria-consulate-frankfurt.de/English/MFA-Nigeria/mfa-nigeria.html>. (date of access: 06.08.2021).

<sup>265</sup> Supplementary Protocol on the Code of Conduct for the Implementation of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, the Right of Residence and Establishment. 1985; Revised Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States. Treaties / Agreements / Charters / Protocols / Conventions / Declarations.1993.; Centre for Laws of Nigeria, Treaties of the Federation. [www.lawnigeria.com/Treaties.php](http://www.lawnigeria.com/Treaties.php). (date of access: 06.08.2021).

<sup>266</sup> *Okochi Ibe N.A.* Nigeria's African Policy: A Study of her role in the African Unification Movement 1960 – 1973. In Remmy Chuks Nweke. Restoring Peace in West Africa // Champion Newspapers Limited Lagos-Nigeria. 2010.

<sup>267</sup> Supplementary Protocol on the Code of Conduct for the Implementation of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, the Right of Residence and Establishment.1985.; Supplementary Protocol A/SP.2/5/90 on the implementation of the Third Phase, Right to Establishment of the Protocol on Free Movement. Right of Residence and Establishment.1990.; *Okochi Ibe N. A.* Nigeria's African Policy: A Study of her role in the African Unification Movement 1960- 1973. In Remmy Chuks Nweke. Restoring Peace in West Africa // Champion Newspapers Limited Lagos-Nigeria. 2010.

exchanges, free movement of persons and goods, cultural and technical matters, rights of establishment, and judicial and legal assistance conferences<sup>268</sup>.

However, most terms and conditions in the agreement have been violated. For instance, in Nigeria–South Africa relations, the issue of xenophobia has remained a constant irritant. The effect of xenophobic attacks on African migrants in poor neighborhoods in Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg in 2008, 2015, and 2019<sup>269</sup> instigated several African countries, such as Nigeria, Zambia and others, to boycotts the Africa economic summit in 2019 in Cape Town, South Africa. This led to the closure of the South African embassy in most of the affected states<sup>270</sup>.

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<sup>268</sup> Supplementary Protocol A/SP.2/5/90 on the implementation of the Third Phase, Right to Establishment of the Protocol on Free Movement. Right of Residence and Establishment.1990.

<sup>269</sup> South Africa migrant attacks // Aljazeera, 4 Sep, 2019. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/09/04/south-africa-migrant-attacks-why-cant-we-live-with-peace>. (date of access: 06.08.2021).

<sup>270</sup> South Africa closes embassy in Nigeria // France, 5 Sep, 2019. URL: <https://www.france24.com/en/20190905-south-africa-nigeria-embassy-xenophobic-violence-diplomacy>. (date of access: 06.08.2021).

## CHAPTER 2. THE NIGERIAN SUB – REGIONAL FOREIGN POLICY IN WEST AFRICA

Nigeria's foreign policy impacts its sub-regional diplomacy. The country needed to channel its foreign policy objectives to the West African sub-region in order to fulfill its national interest<sup>271</sup>. Issues such as political instability and economic imbalance were the root of Nigeria's interest in its neighbors. According to Emeka Nwokedi (1985), Nigerian foreign policy towards states in the West African is based on security and economic interests<sup>272</sup>.

This could be seen in the assertion made by Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa in his inaugural speech on 7 October 1960 at the Plenary of the 15th Regular Session of the United Nations General Assembly, exactly six days after Nigeria gained independence and became the 99th member of the organization, declared that Nigeria hoped to work with all African states for the progress of Africa and to assist in bringing all African territories to a state of responsible independence and help in finding a lasting solution to the problem affecting Nigeria's immediate neighbors<sup>273</sup>.

Similarly, the above declaration contributed to the unification of the continent of Africa. This became a school of thought for Nigusie Kassae M. (2013) while reviewing the activities of the Organization of African Unity that was later transformed into the

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<sup>271</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court.98 (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13). P.34.

<sup>272</sup> *Emeka Nwokedi*. Sub-Regional Security and Nigerian Foreign Policy. African Affairs. 1985. 84 (335) Pp. 195 – 209.

<sup>273</sup> Statement by Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria at the United Nations General Assembly, New York, October 7, 1960. Maiden General Assembly Statement at the United Nations.; Ashaver T.B. Continuities and Discontinuities in Nigerian Foreign Policy // International Journal of Development and Sustainability. 2014. 3 (2). P. 289.

African Union and what Emperor Haile Selassie I stood for in the context of Pan-Africanism<sup>274</sup>.

Perhaps Nigeria's relations with its neighbors can also be traced to the Monrovia group<sup>275</sup>. For emphasis, the Monrovia group was a short-lived, informal association of African states with a shared vision of the future of Africa and Pan-Africanism in the early 1960s. The name was derived from the conference held in the capital of Liberia, from the 8 to 12 May 1961, and was attended by Liberia, Chad, Ethiopia, Central African Republic, Congo, Gabon, Niger, Nigeria Libya, and Upper Volta.

In line with this, Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa and three other African presidents<sup>276</sup> on 22 May 1964 established the Lake Chad Basin Commission with a view to achieving the following: sustainable and equitable management of the Lake Chad and other shared water resources of the basin; promoting regional integration, peace, and security across the basin; and to preserve the ecosystems of the Lake Chad Conventional Basin<sup>277</sup>.

Subsequently, on 3 July 2001, President Olusegun Obasanjo and seven other African presidents<sup>278</sup> residing in Gulf of Guinea region, signed a treaty for the

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<sup>274</sup> *Nigusie Kassae M.* Emperor Haile Selassie I and the Organization of African Unity. Devoted to the 50th anniversary of the African Union. // Moscow: Vestnik, RUDN, World History. 2013. 13 (3). p.57 – 71

<sup>275</sup> The Monrovia Group Treaty of 1961. URL: <https://www.google.com/search?q=The+Monrovia+group+Treaty+of+1961>. (date of access: 09.06.2021).

<sup>276</sup> The three other African presidents were H. E. El Hadj Ahmadou Ahidjo, President of the United Republic of Cameroon 1960 - 1982; H. E. Mr. Fran Tombalbaye, President of the Republic of Chad 1960 - 1975; H. E. El Hadj Diori Hamani, President of the Republic of Niger 1960 - 1974.

<sup>277</sup> The N' Djamena Chad of 1964. Agreement Establishing the Lake Chad Basin Commission. 1964. URL: <https://www.adaptation-undp.org/partners/lake-chad-basin-commission-lcbc>.; The Treaty of Yaounde 1972. Agreement Establishing the Lake Chad Basin Commission Development Fund. 1972. URL: <https://iea.uoregon.edu/treaty-text/2824> (date of access: 10.06.2021).

<sup>278</sup> The seven other African presidents were Jose Eduardo DOS SANTOS, President of the Republic of Angola 1979 - 2017; Paul BIYA, President of the Republic of Cameroun 1982 - present; Denis SASSOU NGUESSO- President of the Republic of Congo- Assumed office 1997 and In office 1979 - 1992; Joseph KABILA, President of the Democratic Republic of Congo 2001 - 2019; EL Hadj Omar BONGO, President of the Republic of Gabon 1967 - 2009; Theodoro OBIANG NGUEMA

establishment of the Gulf of Guinea Commission<sup>279</sup>. The treaty is aimed at developing close and multifaceted cooperation among member states and to establish a relationship based on mutual understanding, good neighborliness and strong bonds of friendship.<sup>280</sup>

To buttress, George O. O. (2010) also said that the policy document made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria showed how the Gulf of Guinea Commission was set up. It was thought that when the Commission started, it would be a multilateral body that would work with the countries that share the geographical formation called the Gulf of Guinea. This group would work to promote the interests of the countries in the areas of the environment, politics, security, and economy<sup>281</sup>.

Accordingly, President Muhammadu Buhari on 23 November 2017 emerged as the new Chairman Gulf of Guinea Commission<sup>282</sup>. In his acceptance speech, President Muhammadu Buhari stressed Nigeria's position in curtailing the socio-economic and security challenges bedeviling the Gulf of Guinea. Furthermore, he stated that the members of the commission from Congo, Gabon, Cameroon, Nigeria, and Equatorial Guinea would only be able to achieve the set goals and objectives through a collective measure, by checking violations of domestic and international treaties in the Gulf of Guinea region.<sup>283</sup>

In line with this development, Khudaykulova A.V. (2016)<sup>284</sup> claimed that the approach and method used in fighting security challenges in developing countries,

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MBASOGO, President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea 1979 - present; Miguel TROVOADA, President of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe 1991 - 2001.

<sup>279</sup> The Libreville Gabon of 2001. Treaty of Establishing Gulf of Guinea Commission. URL: <https://cggrps.com/wp-content/uploads/Tratado-EN1.pdf>. (date of access: 21.05.2021).

<sup>280</sup> Ibid

<sup>281</sup> *George O.O.* From Rookie to Mandarin: The Memoirs of a Second-Generation Diplomat, Ibadan // Bolytag International Publishers. 2010. 1. (1). p.479.

<sup>282</sup> Statement by Muhammadu Buhari as the Chairman of Gulf of Guinea Commission // Independent, November 27, 2017. URL. <https://independent.ng/buhari-emerges-chairman-gulf-guinea-commission/>. (date of access: 21.05.2021).

<sup>283</sup> Ibid

<sup>284</sup> *Khudaykulova A.V.* Third World Security Theories. Vestnik RUDN. International Relations. 2016. 16. (3). Pp. 412 – 425.



particularly African countries such as Nigeria, Chad and Cameroon, etc., are different from the Western approach. She believes that many of the security threats and sources of unrest in African states are internally generated, such as the issue of Boko Haram in Nigeria, which has caused much havoc in the West African sub-region.

Nigeria's border with its immediate neighbors gives Nigerian leaders and their immediate neighbors a chance to rebuild relations that were changed by colonialism and boundary lines that separated the people into different territories. However, the tense relations between Nigeria and its immediate neighbors have created suspicion and fear of Nigeria based on its military capacity, population, and economic resources.<sup>285</sup>.

In line with this decision, Nigerian President Yakubu Gowon and his counterpart Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo initiated the creation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975 to promote economic cooperation among member states and raise the living standards of the people<sup>286</sup>. According to Omo-Ogbebor (2017)<sup>287</sup>, Nigeria's contribution to the ECOWAS was three to six times greater than the contributions of other nations. Going by the data showing annual statewide contributions, that ratio rose recently to over 60 percent of ECOWAS's total revenues, with the introduction of community levies.

However, Nigeria's massive contribution to ECOWAS's can be traced to the ECOWAS Community levy agreement, which was adopted in 1996 by the Authority of Heads of State. After the initial contribution regime seemed ineffective, this agreement became the major source of funding for ECOWAS.

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<sup>285</sup> Jackson Aluede A. Border relations in Africa and the Impact on Nation Building: A study of Nigeria and Her Limitrophe Neighbours Since the 1960s // African Journal of Governance and Development. 2017. 6 (1). Pp. 1 – 18.

<sup>286</sup>The Lagos Treaty of 1975. URL: [http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/attachments/351\\_ecowas%20treaty%20of%201975.pdf](http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/attachments/351_ecowas%20treaty%20of%201975.pdf); Treaty establishing The Economic Community of West African States Lagos, May 1975, Art. 12. (date of access:13.04.2021).

<sup>287</sup> Омо-Огбебор Д.О. Роль Нигерии в интеграционных процессах в Западной Африке 1999 – 2016. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени к.и.н. М., РУДН. 2017.

During its formative years, Nigeria had a foreign policy that was premeditated to respond to the frequent political instabilities across the region because of military coups, religious intolerance, lack of social-economic and the struggle for supremacy between Anglophone and Francophone countries in the region<sup>288</sup>.

Meanwhile, the quest to build a peaceful and enabling environment has encouraged Nigeria to be fully involved in conflict resolution in West Africa and beyond. To this end, President Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida alongside other Anglophone ECOWAS members initiated the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in 1990 to tackle or intervene in conflicting areas in West Africa. Through this medium, Nigeria has sent thousands of soldiers to peacekeeping missions in Africa, especially in Liberia<sup>289</sup> and Sierra Leone<sup>290</sup>.

Furthermore, on the role of the ECOMOG peacekeeping mission, Denisova T. S. (2015) reasoned that ECOMOG's role in quelling the military-political crises in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, and Mali, became successful thanks to Nigeria's involvement in the process<sup>291</sup>. While Bokeriya S. (2018) argued that ECOMOG's vital role in the peacekeeping mission in Liberia was as a result of the mandate given by ECOWAS, which served as an instrument of a dual nature; on the one hand, it is considered to restore peace, maintain security, strengthen governance and the rule of law, but on the other hand, it has unclear weaknesses, ambiguous or lack peacekeeping potential.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> *Nwalie G.A.* Nigeria Role in the Leadership of Africa: Perspective of International Relations // Academia.edu. 2020. URL: <https://www.academia.edu/10314154>. (date of access: 21.10.2021).

<sup>289</sup> Lome Ceasefire Agreement 1991. Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities and Peaceful Settlement of Conflict between the Armed Forces of Liberia, and The National Patriotic Front of Liberia, and the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia.

<sup>290</sup> Lome Ceasefire Agreement 1999. Peace Agreement Between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone.

<sup>291</sup> Денисова Т.С. ЭКОВАС и Проблемы Регионального Миротворчества. К 40-летию ЭКОВАС // Азия и Африка Сегодня. 2015. 1 (9). С. 37 – 43.

<sup>292</sup> *Bokeriya S. & Mansur A.T.* Mandates in the Success of a Peacekeeping Mission: A case study of Liberia // Asia and Africa Today. 2018. 1 (7). p.50

In addition to this submission, Obi C. I. (2009) claimed that Nigeria contributed approximately 80% of its military forces and 90% of the finance used to support the ECOMOG troops that were sent to Liberia and Sierra Leone for peacekeeping missions<sup>293</sup>. He believed that Nigeria used ECOWAS to form a regional force to intervene in the Liberia and Sierra Leone conflicts. All these efforts made Denisova T. S. (2015)<sup>294</sup> examine various ECOWAS initiatives and the problems member states encounter in their peacekeeping activities.

Moreover, the aim and purpose for establishing ECOMOG have been achieved despite the huge sacrifice incurred by Nigeria and other member states while pursuing the mandate set by ECOWAS in restoring permanent peace in the West African region<sup>295</sup>.

### **2.1. The Nigerian Relationship with Neighboring Countries (Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Republic of Benin)**

**Nigeria's Diplomacy Towards its Sub-region** – With its involvement in issues of African decolonization and its role in border and territorial dispute settlement, Nigeria has a free will to interact with its neighbors<sup>296</sup>. Since the 1960s, Nigeria has built and developed a cordial relation with all its neighbors, namely, Benin, Niger, Chad and Cameroon, as well as other countries in the West African subregion, with most of which it has bilateral agreements<sup>297</sup>. According to Nwoli O. B.C. (1989), the Nigerian

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<sup>293</sup> *Obi Cyril I.* Economic Community of West African States on the Ground: Comparing Peacekeeping in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, and Côte D'Ivoire // *Regional Organizations in African Security Journal*. 2009. 2 (1). Pp. 119 – 135.

<sup>294</sup> *Денисова Т.С.* ЭКОВАС и Проблемы Регионального Миротворчества. К 40-летию ЭКОВАС. // *Азия и Африка Сегодня*. 2015. 1 (9). С. 37 – 43.

<sup>295</sup> Lome Ceasefire Agreement 1999. Peace Agreement Between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone.

<sup>296</sup> *Sanda J.G.* Peacekeeping in Nigeria's Foreign Policy: An Assessment. In Segun Oshewolo. Major Contentions on Nigeria's Afrocentric Policy // *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. 75 (3). p. 353.

<sup>297</sup> *Adedoyin J. Omede.* Nigeria's Relations with Her Neighbours. *Studies of Tribes Tribals*. 2006. 4 (1). Pp. 7 – 17.

government established a strong relationship with its neighbors after gaining independence from Great Britain in 1960<sup>298</sup>.

However, there had been a few times when Nigeria and its neighbors had gotten into arguments about borders. These issues have made it hard for Nigeria and other West African countries to work together because they keep blaming each other for the problems caused by these acts. For example, in 1983, Nigeria faced a border dispute with Chad, and military action against Chad was even contemplated by the Nigerian government. The Nigerian and Chadian dispute, which started during the second republic, was a complicated problem over control of islands on Lake Chad.

It officially commenced when a Chadian Army chief – of – staff Idriss Deby led a force that invaded parts of Nigeria’s Borno State. In spite of this, the Nigerian force led by Muhammadu Buhari was able to expel the Chadians and briefly invade Chadian territory<sup>299</sup>. According to Ate bi (1992), since its independence Nigeria has had mixed border relations with its immediate neighbors, which in most cases have resulted in a breach of diplomatic relations between the affected countries<sup>300</sup>.

Subsequently, another problem arose in the early 1980s, when Nigeria decided to expel many illegal immigrants, mainly Ghanaians, but this dispute was also resolved amicably. During a press conference on January 5, 1983, Muhammadu Buhari objectively endorsed the Shagari regime's controversial 1983 expulsion of some 2 million laborers to their countries of origin in an effort to provide more jobs for

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<sup>298</sup> *Nwolise O.B.C.* The Civil War and Nigerian Foreign Policy. In Jackson A. A. Border Relations in Africa and the Impact on Nation Building: A Study of Nigeria and Her Limitrophe Neighbours since the 1960s // African Journal of Governance and Development. 2017. 6 (1). p. 17.

<sup>299</sup> Nigeria Interim Report. No. 24. February 29, 1984 //CSIS Africa Notes. p. 4

<sup>300</sup> *Ate B.E.* Introduction: Issues in Nigeria’s Security Relations with Immediate Neighbours. In Jackson A.A. Border Relations in Africa and the Impact on Nation Building: A Study of Nigeria and Her Limitrophe Neighbours since the 1960s // African Journal of Governance and Development. 2017. 6 (1). p. 16.

Nigerians. He also warned that, notwithstanding ECOWAS ties, the laws regarding alien laborers will continue to be enforced.<sup>301</sup>

Nevertheless, the guiding principle of Nigeria's regional foreign policy was that of good neighborliness and friendship<sup>302</sup>. Nigeria's borders with its immediate neighbors provide an opportunity for Nigerian leaders and their immediate neighbors to promote and build on existing relations, altered by colonialism and the creation of boundary lines separating the people into different territories, which is one of the legacies of colonialism on Africa that emanated from the resolution of the Berlin conference of 1884/85<sup>303</sup>. Vladimir I. Belov (2021)<sup>304</sup>, while reviewing issues related to Africa's regional identity and tradition, argues that the division of Africa into small sovereign states has helped to create a unique identity among peoples who became powerful symbols of national pride and interest.

However, the mixed relations between Nigeria and its neighbors have created suspicion and fear of Nigeria based on its military capacity, population, and economic resources<sup>305</sup>. As Jackson A. A. (2017) pointed out, issues such as irredentism, border disputes, and contention over mineral resources discovered in various border regions have created unrest and contention that have hindered cooperation among various African states, especially between the Limitrophe countries across the African

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<sup>301</sup> Nigeria Interim Report. No. 24. February 29, 1984 // CSIS Africa Notes. p. 4

<sup>302</sup> Statement by Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria at the United Nations General Assembly, New York, October 7, 1960. Maiden General Assembly Statement at the United Nations.

<sup>303</sup> Resolution of the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885. URL: [https://cpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/cobblearning.net/dist/c/31/files/2015/02/Colonialism\\_Independence\\_-Part-II-blog-23k1x9z.pdf](https://cpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/cobblearning.net/dist/c/31/files/2015/02/Colonialism_Independence_-Part-II-blog-23k1x9z.pdf). (date of access: 10.06.2021).

<sup>304</sup> Африка: региональная идентичность и традиция: Ежегодник – 2021 = Africa: Regional Identity and Tradition: Yearbook – 2021: сб. статей / под ред. Белов В.И., Ндонго Н.Дж. Мартьял, РУДН, 2021. с. 64 – 76.

<sup>305</sup> Jackson Aluede A. Border Relations in Africa and the Impact on Nation Building: A study of Nigeria and Her Limitrophe Neighbours Since the 1960s // African Journal of Governance and Development. 2017. 6 (1). Pp. 1 – 18.

continent<sup>306</sup>. Thus, the border areas between Nigeria and its neighbors have served as a medium to foster its national interest through political, economic, and sociocultural relations among the people<sup>307</sup>.

It is essential to explore the issues of border ambivalence between Nigeria and its immediate neighbors. There has been a period of cooperation as well as conflict between Nigeria and its immediate neighbors. According to Asiwaju A. I. (1993) the Nigerian government established bilateral relations with its immediate neighbors to foster political, economic, and security cooperation in the region<sup>308</sup>.

For clarity, Nigeria – Niger cooperation was established in 1971 to resolve various forms of challenges facing both countries, especially as it relates to the issues of borders and communities. For instance, the countries have organized several sessions of the council of Minister of the Joint Commission, which has conceived Warehouses in Konni and Maradi (Niger Republic), Border market, and Bilateral Chamber of Commerce<sup>309</sup>.

In 1981, Nigeria and the Benin Republic created a Joint Border Commission to address issues such as border conflict, smuggling, irredentism, etc. The commission was charged to deal with incursions by troops from the other side of the country. Following this development, a conference on Nigeria-Benin border cooperation was

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<sup>306</sup> Jackson A.A. Border Relations in Africa and the Impact on Nation Building: A Study of Nigeria and Her Limitrophe Neighbours since the 1960s // African Journal of Governance and Development. 2017. 6 (1). p. 11.

<sup>307</sup> The Monrovia Group Treaty of 1961. URL: <https://www.google.com/search?q=The+Monrovia+group+Treaty+of+1961>. (date of access: 09.06.2021).

<sup>308</sup> Asiwaju A.I. and Barkindo B.M. The Nigeria-Nigeria Transborder Cooperation. In Jackson A.A. Border Relations in Africa and the Impact on Nation Building: A Study of Nigeria and Her Limitrophe Neighbours since the 1960s // African Journal of Governance and Development. 2017. 6 (1). p. 17.; Bulletin on the West African Local-Regional Realities with the Support of the Sahel and West Africa. 2007.

<sup>309</sup> Agreement of Understanding and Treaties Between Nigeria and other Countries. Office of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Nigeria. URL: <https://www.osgf.gov.ng/resources/treaties>. (date of access: 10.06.2021).

held in Lagos, where the issues of border demarcation, illegal immigration, and the harassment of people were addressed.

Meanwhile, Muhammadu Buhari closed Nigeria's land border with its Limitrophe neighbors in April 1984, despite all the mutual agreement reached for free movement of human and material in the region. However, this decision was believed to have paved the way for the effective implementation of the change in Nigerian currency. It was argued that the border closure was a response to the threat of smuggled goods from neighboring countries into Nigeria through their border, which had crippled the Nigerian domestic industries.

Nevertheless, Muhammadu Buhari's decision to close Nigeria's land borders with its immediate neighbors was vehemently condemned by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). It was regarded as a breach of the ECOWAS protocol on an open border and free movement of persons and goods across the subregion<sup>310</sup>. Asiwaju (2003) stated that Nigeria's land borders were reopened immediately after Muhammadu Buhari's regime in 1986. However, the trend of open borders characterized Nigeria's foreign relations with its neighbors until the end of Buhari's administration<sup>311</sup>.

The period of the border closure affected the relations between Nigeria and the affected countries, especially the relationship of the people living between the border communities that had lived together for several years<sup>312</sup>. Nevertheless, President Buhari's new agendas towards border cooperation are not a deviation from the previous agendas, during his military era as head of state from 1983 to 1985 and later as President

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<sup>310</sup> Supplementary Protocol A/P.1/5/79 relating to Free Movement of Persons, Residence and Establishment. 1979.

<sup>311</sup> *Asiwaju A.I.* Boundaries and African Integration: Essay in Comparative History and Political Analysis. In Jackson A. A. Border Relations in Africa and the Impact on Nation Building: A Study of Nigeria and Her Limitrophe Neighbours since the 1960s // African Journal of Governance and Development. 2017. 6 (1). p. 18.

<sup>312</sup> President Buhari order for Nigeria land border closure // BBC News, 25 September 2019. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/tori-49817208>. (date of access: 10.06.2021).

in a democratic regime from 2015 until the present. For emphasis, Muhammadu Buhari during his military regime closed Nigeria's land border with its Limitrophe neighbors, despite all the mutual agreement reached for free movement of human and material in the region<sup>313</sup>.

**Promoting Border Cooperation** – It was in the national interest of Nigeria that Ibrahim Babangida reopened Nigeria's land borders with its Limitrophe neighbors in 1986, which were closed by Muhammadu Buhari, his predecessor, in April 1984. The Ibrahim Babangida administration sought a lasting solution to boundary issues with Nigeria's Limitrophe neighbors. This development led his administration to establish the National Boundary Commission (NBC) to resolve boundary challenges emanating from both internal and external boundaries with Nigeria's immediate neighbors<sup>314</sup>.

It is crucial to note that the National Boundary Commission (NBC) has organized several trans-border cooperation workshops. Nigeria through the National Boundary Commission has engaged its neighbours – Niger, Chad, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea and Republic of Benin in activities that promote trans-border engagements, confidence-building and peaceful co-existence. For example, the Nigeria-Niger trans-border cooperation workshop was held in 2002, the Nigeria-Benin Republic trans-border cooperation workshop was held in 1988, the Nigeria-Cameroon trans-border cooperation workshop was held in 1992, and the Nigeria-Equatorial Guinea trans-border cooperation workshop was held in 1992. Since this initiative started, the workshop has solved many boundaries and border issues in Nigeria and other countries. For instance, the National Boundary Commission under the leadership of Adamu Adaji has helped to resolve the territorial issues between Taraba and Plateau state as well as Abia and Akwa Ibom state, all situated in Nigeria. The Commission

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<sup>313</sup> Supplementary Protocol on the Code of Conduct for the Implementation of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, the Right of Residence and Establishment. 1985.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid.



urged the various communities to cooperate and support the completion of seamless border demarcation between them.<sup>315</sup>

In accordance with the National Boundary Commission's objectives of intellectual dialog, the NBC has resolved several borders – related issues in a friendly atmosphere. According to Asiwaju A. I. (1993)<sup>316</sup> the trans-border cooperation workshops serve as a laboratory where solutions to border conflicts and efforts in promoting regional integration are deliberated upon for the interest of the region.

Furthermore, the idea of the trans-border cooperation workshops was conceived by the then Commissioner of International Boundary in National Boundary Commission, Anthony I. Asiwaju. According to him, the entire project is aimed at establishing a border-specific bilateral cooperative policy and practice between Nigeria and each of the five adjacent countries<sup>317</sup>.

For instance, the National Boundary Commission has held several conferences and workshops on trans-border cooperation between Nigeria and its immediate neighbors. Following this, a workshop was held in 1988 in the ancient town of Badagry, titled the Nigeria-Benin Trans-border Cooperation Workshop. Another workshop was held in Kano between Nigeria and Niger in 1989. Yola hosted the Trans-border Cooperation Workshop between Nigeria and Cameroon in 1992. In 1992, the Nigeria – Equatorial Guinea Trans-border Cooperation Workshop was held in Calabar. The Nigeria – Niger Trans-border Cooperation Workshop of 2002 took place in Sokoto<sup>318</sup>.

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<sup>315</sup> NBC urges Plateau, Taraba communities to cooperate for smooth border demarcation // The Guardian, February 20, 2021. <https://guardian.ng/news/nbc-urges-plateau-taraba-communities-to-cooperate-for-smooth-border-demarcation/>. (date of access: 09.06.2021).

<sup>316</sup> Asiwaju, A. I & Barkindo B. M. The Nigeria-Niger Transborder Co-operation. (Eds.). In Jackson A. A. Border Relations in Africa and the Impact on Nation Building: A Study of Nigeria and Her Limitrophe Neighbours since the 1960s // African Journal of Governance and Development. 2017 6. (1). p. 20.

<sup>317</sup> Asiwaju A.I. & Igue O.J. The Nigeria-Benin Transborder Co-operation (Eds.). In Jackson A. A. Border Relations in Africa and the Impact on Nation Building: A Study of Nigeria and Her Limitrophe Neighbours since the 1960s // African Journal of Governance and Development. 2017. 6 (1). p. 20.

<sup>318</sup> Asiwaju A.I (ed.). Cross-Border Cooperation: Sub-Regional Integration and National Development. In Jackson A. A. Border Relations in Africa and the Impact on Nation

Over the years, border issues have confronted Nigeria and its neighbors, and these workshops have provided a platform to discuss them. An array of issues affecting border communities between Nigeria and its adjacent countries are discussed during the workshops to establish areas of cooperation between Nigeria and its neighbors.

It was evident from the trans-border cooperation workshops held that scholars and professional bodies, as well as traditional rulers from both sides of the international border, had presented their cases in an array of topical issues. According to Asiwaju A. I. (1992)<sup>319</sup> the workshops look at issues on local administration, culture, the border economy, legal issues and close with conclusions, delimitation questions on border security and recommendations. The trans-border cooperation workshop has contributed to border cooperation in the areas of political and socio-economic development between Nigeria and its immediate neighbors for the interest of the sub-region<sup>320</sup>.

The success of trans-border cooperation workshops through the National Boundary Commission influenced similar programs in West Africa. The Malian government in 1999 influenced by the Nigerian model and established the National Borders Directorate, which promoted the policy concept of the Border Country or Cross-Border Area in 2002.

In the same vein, The Economic Community of West African States launched its version of the program, titled ECOWAS Cross – Border Initiatives Program (CIP) in 2005 – 2006<sup>321</sup>. However, the commission focuses on local cross-border cooperation and has designed several means for promoting the cross-border concept and ensuring

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Building: A Study of Nigeria and Her Limitrophe Neighbours since the 1960s // African Journal of Governance and Development. 2017. 6 (1). P. 21.

<sup>319</sup> *Asiwaju A.I. & Igue O.J.* The Nigeria-Benin Transborder Co-operation (Eds.). In Jackson A. A. Border Relations in Africa and the Impact on Nation Building: A Study of Nigeria and Her Limitrophe Neighbours since the 1960s // African Journal of Governance and Development. 2017. 6 (1). p. 21.

<sup>320</sup> The Nigeria – Benin Transborder Cooperation: proceeding of the Bilateral Workshop at the Administrative Staff College of Badagry, Nigeria. May 9-13, 1988.

<sup>321</sup> The ECOWAS Cross-Border Initiatives Programme. Sahel West Africa Club Secretariat. URL: <https://www.oecd.org/swac/publications/cip.htm>. (date of access:10.06.2021).

its implementation in the years to come. The irredentism and boundary disputes arising from the manner in which the West African states were partitioned in Berlin, Germany in 1884/85<sup>322</sup> was mitigated by the Ibrahim Babangida administration in 1987 through the establishment of the National Boundary Commission, which then promoted border cooperation between Nigeria and its immediate neighbors<sup>323</sup>.

Notwithstanding, President Muhammadu Buhari in August 2019 ordered the closure of Nigeria's land borders, claiming that the illegal smuggling activities have hindered the economic development of Nigeria. According to him, Nigeria can only develop and enhance its economic infrastructure when there is no more illegal smuggling of goods and services from the neighboring states<sup>324</sup>.

## 2.2. The Nigerian Diplomacy in ECOWAS

**The Nigeria Role in the Formation of ECOWAS** – It is a fact of history that Nigeria played a prominent role in the formation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975<sup>325</sup>. The original intention of the community emanates from Article 2 of the Treaty of Lagos. Which was aimed to promote, regulate, and develop all fields of economic activities in order to improve the living standard,

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<sup>322</sup> Resolution of the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885. URL: [https://cpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/cobblearning.net/dist/c/31/files/2015/02/Colonialism\\_Independence\\_-Part-II-blog-23k1x9z.pdf](https://cpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/cobblearning.net/dist/c/31/files/2015/02/Colonialism_Independence_-Part-II-blog-23k1x9z.pdf). (date of access:10.06.2021).

<sup>323</sup> Ahmad M. B. The National Boundary Commission of Nigeria: 1987 – 2007. In Jackson A. A. Border Relations in Africa and the Impact on Nation Building: A Study of Nigeria and Her Limitrophe Neighbours since the 1960s // African Journal of Governance and Development. 2017. 6. (1). p. 20.

<sup>324</sup> President Buhari order for Nigeria land border closure. // BBC News, 25 September 2019. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/tori-49817208>. (date of access: 10.06.2021).

<sup>325</sup> The Lagos Treaty of 1975. URL: [http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/attachments/351\\_ecowas%20treaty%20of%201975.pdf](http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/attachments/351_ecowas%20treaty%20of%201975.pdf); Treaty establishing The Economic Community of West African States Lagos, May 1975, Art. 12. (date of access:13.04.2021).

maintain economic stability, and promote close relations between ECOWAS member states<sup>326</sup>.

Before the establishment of the Economic Community of West African States in 1975, the political, economic, and security problems in the West African region were handled individually by the state. However, collective efforts towards economic challenges gained traction in West Africa after the Nigeria–Biafra civil war in 1970. Out of enlightened self-interest, Nigeria's former Head-of-State, General Yakubu Gowon (Retired), liaised with the late Togolese President, Gnassingbe Eyadema, to establish a regional economic Organisation, ECOWAS, to concertedly manage the economic and political challenges in the West African region.

According to Sinclair Michael (1983), Nigeria's participation in West African economic integration attracts political and economic stability in its subregion. He believed that Nigeria's role in the late 1960s and 1970s was to woo other West African states, the subregion of Africa it belongs, into a regional economic agreement for harmonization of economic policies of newly independent African states, trade liberalization, and the joint coordination of economic development<sup>327</sup>. Nwalie George A. (2020),<sup>328</sup> while re – examining the Nigeria political leadership strategy in West Africa, argued that Nigeria's involvement in the creation of ECOWAS is to maintain its regional hegemonic status.

Notwithstanding, ECOWAS at the initial stage posits an economic organization that was bestowed with a task of ending economic instabilities in the region. However, the organization steadily adapts to prevailing security problems within the subregion

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<sup>326</sup> Peter Jenkins A. The Economic Community of West African States and the Regional use of Force // *Denver Journal of International Law & Policy*. 2008. 35 (2). p. 335.

<sup>327</sup> Sinclair M. An Analysis of Nigerian Foreign Policy: The Evolution of Political Paranoia, Braamfontein // *The South African Institute of International Affairs*. 1983. 1 (1). P.10

<sup>328</sup> *Nwalie George A. Nigeria Political Leadership Strategy in West Africa 1960-2019 // Vestnik RUDN: Global Security and Development Cooperation*. 2020. Pp. 87 – 100. URL: <https://www.elibrary.ru/item.asp?id=43935196>. (date of access: 05.12.2021).

on the grounds that the economy can only excel in a conducive atmosphere of nonviolence.

In line with this judgment, ECOWAS was obliged to evolve into an organization bearing the onerous burden of resolving an accumulated security problem in the subregion. Nevertheless, ECOWAS has since committed itself, through the Protocols on peaceful intervention in conflict areas, to providing security to states in distress and crises<sup>329</sup>.

According to Katharina P. C. (2017) the principles and norms established by the ECOWAS for a peacekeeping mission have served as a model for African organizations in considering regional peace enforcement operations. However, she argued that ECOWAS has always been at the forefront of pushing liberal interpretations of sovereignty, especially as it relates to the possibility of collective intervention during times of conflict<sup>330</sup>.

Another emphasis in creating the Economic Community of West African States was the liberalization of inter-community trade and related forms of cooperation, such as regional economic communities that were fully supported by ECOWAS member states<sup>331</sup>. Although other areas of ECOWAS activities considered are measures to facilitate the free flow of people, through the introduction of visa – free travel for

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<sup>329</sup> ECOWAS Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Mechanism, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security, 1999. URL: [http://www.zifberlin.org/fileadmin/uploads/analyse/dokumente/ECOWAS\\_Protocol\\_ConflictPrevention.pdf](http://www.zifberlin.org/fileadmin/uploads/analyse/dokumente/ECOWAS_Protocol_ConflictPrevention.pdf). (date of access: 14.06.2021).

<sup>330</sup> Katharina P. Coleman. International Organisations and Peace Enforcement: The Politics of International Legitimacy. In Eunice N. Sahle. Democracy Constitutionalism and Politics in Africa // Contemporary African Political Economy. 2017. 4. (1). P. 189.

<sup>331</sup> Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community of 1991. URL: [https://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/treaties/en/aec/trt\\_aec.pdf](https://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/treaties/en/aec/trt_aec.pdf); Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community signed in Abuja on 3 June, 1991. Department: International Relations & Cooperation. URL: <http://www.dirco.gov.za/foreign/Multilateral/africa/aec.htm> (date of access: 30.10.2021).

citizens of West African countries within the region and recognition of people's right to reside and settle in any country of the region<sup>332</sup>.

To buttress this, Olatunde J.B. (1980)<sup>333</sup>, argued that Nigeria's role towards ECOWAS integration processes is another effort to institutionalize the concept of Pan – Africanism. He claimed that Nigeria's interest is divided into two variables, first variables explain Nigeria's role in the initiation and maintenance of ECOWAS, giving insight into the future behavior of the organization, and the second variables expatiate on Nigeria's interest into African diplomacy as relates to the concept of Pam – Africanism.

Thus, Nigeria's role in the formation of ECOWAS was confirmed with its national interest and foreign policy pursuit, which was designed to promote regional integration and cooperation within West Africa<sup>334</sup>. Thus, Nigeria also has played an important role in mitigating the political and economic instabilities in its subregion<sup>335</sup>.

**Afrocentric Doctrine** – Nigeria's foreign policy during the formative years of ECOWAS were defined by the prevailing circumstances in the region that allow the kind of foreign policy which was premeditated to respond to the frequent political instabilities across the region because of incessant military coups, religious intolerance, lack of social – economic development, and supremacy struggle between Anglophone and Francophone countries in the region due to their historical experience<sup>336</sup>. However,

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<sup>332</sup> Supplementary Protocol on the Code of Conduct for the Implementation of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, the Right of Residence and Establishment. 1985.

<sup>333</sup> *Olatunde J.B.* Nigeria and the Formation of ECOWAS. // International Organization. 1980. 34 (4). Pp. 571 – 604.

<sup>334</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court. 98 (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13).

<sup>335</sup> Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community signed in Abuja on 3 June, 1991. Department: International Relations & Cooperation. URL: <http://www.dirco.gov.za/foreign/Multilateral/africa/aec.htm>. (date of access: 14.06.2021).

<sup>336</sup> *Nwalie G.A.* Nigeria Role in the Leadership of Africa: Perspective of International Relations // Academia.edu. 2020. URL: <https://www.academia.edu/10314154>. (date of access: 21.07.2021).

Nigeria's foreign policy has prioritized its support for the Economic Community of West African States for realizing its developmental and security goals. According to Olonisakin F. (2004) The ECOWAS initiatives have prevented West African countries from resorting to violence by resolution through political and diplomatic means<sup>337</sup>.

More importantly, Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy towards ECOWAS serves as an exemplar of its broader foreign policy concept; in this context, Nigeria sought to support ECOWAS for its foreign policy-related goals. To amplify this, Gill S. (1989) claimed that most countries promote multilateral relations to ensure a stable political and economic climate in the global space, which will secure the smooth running of goods and services across borders. He believed Nigeria's contribution to ECOWAS and other regional organizations conforms with its multilateral diplomacy<sup>338</sup>.

However, Nigeria has diverse views on why ECOWAS is important to its foreign policy pursuits. Among the phenomena is the centrality of three specific challenges that lie in the heart of Nigeria's foreign policy: its need to protect national security and power, on the one hand, and to act as a regional power, in other words, as an African leader, on the other hand; the second phenomenon is Nigeria's quest to redefine itself within the transforming regional and global orders in West Africa and beyond; lastly, Nigeria's interpreted utility of ECOWAS is that Nigeria hopes that the organization will help to project a well-coordinated and cohesive policy in pursuing its interests in the rest of the subregion<sup>339</sup>.

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<sup>337</sup> *Olonisakin F.* Reforming Security Sector Governance, Conflict, Security & Development. In Akinbode Fasakin. Transformations beyond the State: ECOWAS at Forty and the Security and Development Impasse in West Africa // Journal of International Politics and Development. 2016. 1 &2 (14). P. 192.

<sup>338</sup>Gill R.S. & Law D. Global Hegemony and Structural Power of Capital // International Studies Quarterly. 1989. 33 (4). Pp. 475 – 499.

<sup>339</sup> *Obi C.* Nigeria's Foreign Policy in Relation to the Economic Community of West African States. In J. Warner and T. M. Shaw (eds.). African Foreign Policies in International Institutions, Contemporary African Political Economy // Social Science Research Council. 2018. 1. (1). Pp. 311 – 312.

Meanwhile, the activities of non-state transnational actors at the domestic level also contribute to Nigeria's foreign policy successes towards ECOWAS and its member states. According to Adebajo A. (2008)<sup>340</sup> Nigeria remains West Africa's unarguable hegemon and pivotal state, though its external projection in ECOWAS and beyond is forecast upon a weak domestic base resulting in an inefficient foreign policy toward its subregion and beyond. While Omo – Ogbebor D. O (2017) Nigeria's funding to the 15 member bodies stood at three to six times what other nations contributed. That ratio rose recently to over 60 percent of ECOWAS's total revenues, with the introduction of community levies, according to data showing annual state-wide contributions<sup>341</sup>.

**Nigeria's leadership-** Nigeria's leadership role in ECOWAS could be determined by its financial contribution to ECOWAS and its member states. Nigeria huge contribution to ECOWAS's can be traced to the ECOWAS Community levy agreement, which was adopted in 1996 by the Authority of Heads of State as the major funding for ECOWAS after the initial contribution regime seemed ineffective. The Community Levy Protocol took effect in 2003 when all member states started its application. For emphasis, the protocol stipulates that the taxable base shall be all goods originating from third countries (non-ECOWAS countries) imported into the community.

Moreover, Nigeria paid more than \$1,177 billion to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) as its Community Levy contribution in the last 16 years because of the tax on imported goods. Nigeria's payment represents 40.42 per cent of the total payment of \$2,913,088,908 payment made by all the 15 member states and is higher than the payments made by 12 other countries put together, except Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire. Ghana paid about \$508,577 million, Cote d'Ivoire \$347,262 million,

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<sup>340</sup> *Adebajo A. and A. Mustapha (eds.). Gulliver's Troubles: Nigeria's Foreign Policy After the Cold War. In J. Warner and T. M. Shaw (eds.), African Foreign Policies in International Institutions, Contemporary African Political Economy // Social Science Research Council. 2018. 1 (1). p.312.*

<sup>341</sup> *Омо-Огбебор Д.О. Роль Нигерии в интеграционных процессах в Западной Африке 1999-2016: дис.... канд. ист. наук:07.00.15. М., РУДН. 2017. 191 с.*



while Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Gambia, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo paid a total of \$879,711 million<sup>342</sup>.

It is crucial to note that many countries were yet to comply with the payment of their community levy. Furthermore, the community levy data showed that many countries were yet to pay the total sum from their community levy assessments. Based on the assessment, if all countries had paid in full, the sub-regional body would have gotten more than \$3,710 billion as against the \$2,913 billion paid, leaving a deficit of \$797,215 million. Based on this assessment, Nigeria had paid 64 per cent of its payments, leaving an outstanding of 36 per cent<sup>343</sup>.

The Nigeria leadership role in ECOWAS cannot be overemphasized, the framework of Nigerian foreign policy formed the basic perception how it sees the ECOWAS member states from political, economic, and cultural standpoints. Nigerian foreign policy approach towards ECOWAS regional agenda is based on Afrocentric foreign policy doctrine, which was directed at its West African neighbors because Nigeria sees the West African region as an integral part of its foreign policy. Nigerian foreign policy towards ECOWAS regional agenda is guided by its 1999 constitution which outline the objectives of its foreign policy direction. In chapter II section 19 of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 constitution as amended, projects a dynamic foreign policy for Nigeria, through the promotion of economic development, integration and unity, peace and security in West Africa, Africa, and the world<sup>344</sup>.

Since 1999 the Nigerian foreign policy approach towards ECOWAS has witnessed a proactive response. Nigeria under President Olusegun Obasanjo administration reinforced the country's position as Africa's regional hegemony. For

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<sup>342</sup> Nigeria contributed \$1.17bn to ECOWAS in 16 years // Premium Times July 29, 2020. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/405792-nigeria-contributed-1-17bn-to-ecowas-in-16-years.html>. (date of access: 21.10.2021).

<sup>343</sup> Ibid.

<sup>344</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court. 98. (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, pFGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13)

instance, President Olusegun Obasanjo administration advocated four broad issue areas that Africa must address to attract lasting peace and security. These include: redirecting the mind, redefining sovereignty, a redefinition of security, and institutionalization of democracy (Obasanjo, 1999)<sup>345</sup>.

For emphasis, on February 26, 2012 Nigeria's former President Olusegun Obasanjo was charged with the responsibility to engage all political stakeholders in Senegal, where protests by opposition parties over presidential term dispute resulted in loss of lives and destruction of property<sup>346</sup>. In this light, President Goodluck Jonathan also was appointed by the ECOWAS in 2015, as a special envoy to head its mediation mission in Mali. Meanwhile, President Goodluck Jonathan facilitated dialogue with all Malian parties including President Ibrahim Boubacar Keita, opposition leaders, religious organizations and civil society which resulted in the quelling of the socio-political unrest in the country.

Apparently, Nigerian has exhibited its leadership role through various ECOWAS protocols in the peaceful resolution of the political crises in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Togo. Nigeria equally gets involved while playing the lead role in the Mano River dispute between Liberia, Guinea, and Sierra – Leone thus bringing an end to the sequence of hostility prevalent within the region. Finally, the Nigerian foreign policy towards ECOWAS regional initiatives has directly or indirectly contributed to the growth of the organization and the development of the region at large especially in spheres of the economic scheme, security formation, and promotion of political stability through democracy and good governance. Thus, Nigerian engagements in ECOWAS activities are carried out through bilateral and multilateral diplomacy to meet the expectations of the international community as a regional leader.

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<sup>345</sup> *Obasanjo O.* (1999). Who is Obasanjo. View Article: DOI: <http://olusegunobasanjo.org/hiscareer.php>. (date of access: 09.06.2021).

<sup>346</sup> Obasanjo O. Lead joint AU-ECOWAS mission to Senegal // Reliefweb, February 19, 2012. <https://reliefweb.int/report/senegal/general-obasanjo-lead-joint-au-ecowas-mission-senegal>. (date of access: 09.06.2021).

Following the affirmative analysis, it would be impossible for ECOWAS to initial any peacekeeping mission without the consent of Nigerians couple with the fact that the main structure of ECOWAS institutions are located in Nigeria (Legos, Abuja) and most of the vital positions in the commission are occupied by Nigerians. For instance, the 40th Ordinary Session of the Authority of ECOWAS Heads of State and Government appointed former Nigerian President, President Olusegun Obasanjo and President Goodluck Jonathan as an ECOWAS conflict resolution **chairperson** and special envoy to head its mediation mission in Senegal and Mali respectively, and from 1990 to 1999 Nigerian military commander Joshua Dogonyaro and eight other Nigerian military commanders<sup>347</sup> spearheaded the ECOMOG troops to Liberia, which in turn produced the expected result as required by the ECOWAS<sup>348</sup>.

Nigeria's foreign policy concept towards ECOWAS and its member states is based on the Afrocentric foreign policy doctrine, which is the premise of its foreign policy direction after attaining independence to support the cause of African countries struggling for independence in the 1960s. The Afrocentric foreign policy doctrine was efficient at the domestic level as it was directed at its West African neighbors because Nigeria sees the West African region as its natural territory<sup>349</sup>.

**Nigeria's Foreign Policy and the (ECOWAS)** – Nigeria's foreign policy objectives are aimed at rapprochement and active cooperation with neighboring

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<sup>347</sup> The eight other Nigerian military commanders were Maj-Gen. Rufus Kupolati, Field Commander. February 1991 – Sept. 1991; Maj-Gen. Ishaya Baku, Field Commander. Sept. 1991- October 1992; Maj-Gen. Tunji Olurin, Field Commander. October 1992 - October 1993; Maj-Gen. John Shagaya, Field Commander. Oct. 1993 - December 1993; Maj-Gen. John Mark Inienger, Field Commander. December 1993 - August 1996; Maj-Gen. Victor Malu, Force Commander. August 1996 - January 1998; Maj-Gen. Timothy Shelpidi, Force Commander. January 1998 - March 1999; Maj-Gen. Felix Mujakperuo, Force Commander. 1999.

<sup>348</sup> Abegunrin Olayiwola. Nigerian Foreign Policy Under Military Rule, 1966 –1999. In Victor Ojatorotu & Adewole Ayodeji Adeleke. Nigeria and Conflict Resolution in the Sub-regional West Africa: The Quest for a Regional Hegemon // African Studies Association of India. 2017. 10 (1). P. 46.

<sup>349</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court. 98 (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13).

countries and regional organizations, specifically the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) for the interest of the continent<sup>350</sup>. However, the conception of regional integration that created the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975<sup>351</sup> has provided an opportunity for Nigeria to exert its hegemonic influence in the West African region.

However, the path of Nigeria's engagement with the organization has been a mix of hits and misses. According to Warner J. (2016) Nigeria has not fully actualized its leadership role, despite all the natural resources and power possesses, as well as its institutional architecture that projects a vibrant foreign policy towards ECOWAS. However, he believed that the gap between the potential represented by Nigeria's natural resources and its performance as a regional leadership poses a conundrum in Nigeria's foreign policy<sup>352</sup>.

The main reason for Nigeria's foreign policy towards ECOWAS is that Nigeria sees the organization as being an integral part of its national security and territorial integrity. This could be traced to the declaration made by Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa in his inaugural speech on 7 October 1960 at the Plenary of the 15th Regular Session of the United Nations General Assembly, exactly six days after Nigeria gained independence and became the 99<sup>th</sup> member of the organization, declared that Nigeria hoped to work with all African countries for the progress of Africa and to assist in bringing all African territories to a state of responsible independence and help in finding

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<sup>350</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court. 98 (20). Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court .98. (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13). P.34.

<sup>351</sup> The Lagos Treaty of 1975. URL: [http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/attachments/351\\_ecowas%20treaty%20of%201975.pdf](http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/attachments/351_ecowas%20treaty%20of%201975.pdf); Treaty establishing The Economic Community of West African States Lagos, May 1975, Art. 12. (date of access:13.04.2021).

<sup>352</sup> Warner J. Nigerian Foreign Policy and Illusory Hegemony in Foreign and Security Policy Making: Pax-Nigerian and The Case of Boko Haram. In J. Warner and T. M. Shaw (eds.), African Foreign Policies in International Institutions, Contemporary African Political Economy // Social Science Research Council. 2018. 1 (1). P. 319.

a lasting solution to the problem affecting Nigeria's immediate neighbors<sup>353</sup>. Subsequently, Nigeria's political and economic policies towards ECOWAS were in connection with the objectives of Pan-Africanism and Nigeria's national interest<sup>354</sup>, which is rooted in the nationalist struggle and the immediate post-independence period. Nevertheless, Nigeria's leaders have always seen the country's natural resources and its demographic as the basis of aspiring to continental leadership.

More importantly, Nigeria's status as a West African powerhouse has made it more logical that the country aspires to leadership position and still regards ECOWAS as the arena for ventilating its hegemonic ambition in Africa. Nigeria's attributes to its subregion place the country in a position of influence and leadership, in a null shell exposes the country to a vulnerabilities position, where the quest for certain domestic constituencies and threats from within its immediate neighbors became uncertain.

To amplify this, Detlef Nolte (2010), in his comparison of regional powers, identifies certain criteria that need to be met to assume a leadership position, which are as follows: the domestic issues of such a state should allow it to play a stabilizing and leading role in the region; such a state should make known its willingness and capacity to assume the role of a regional leader, stabilizer and of course, if not peacekeeper, or at least peace maker; and lastly, it should be acceptable to its neighbors, the members of the security complex in which it operates as a leader responsible for regional security. Nevertheless, the offer of leadership and service delivery by Nigeria has spread across all West African regions.

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<sup>353</sup> Statement by Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria at the United Nations General Assembly, New York, October 7, 1960. Maiden General Assembly Statement at the United Nations.; Ashaver, T.B. Continuities and Discontinuities in Nigerian Foreign Policy // International Journal of Development and Sustainability. 2014. 3 (2). p. 289.

<sup>354</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court.98 (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13). P.34.

Nigeria's hegemonic position in West Africa can also be traced prior to the imposition of colonial borders. According to Adetula V. (2015) Nigerians in recent times had evolved long – standing historical, political, and economic relations with people from across West Africa, before Africa territories were divided by European powers in the name of colonization<sup>355</sup>.

Nigeria's foreign policy towards ECOWAS activities under the military regime places more emphasis on the security aspect rather than economic advancement, which was the primary reason why the organization was created. However, the role Nigeria played in ECOWAS would help to harmonize trade and investment practices for ECOWAS member countries<sup>356</sup>.

Finally, the constant changing of governments through the unconstitutional process was prevalent among ECOWAS members, thereby worsening the political and security situation in the region. This development was the reason political stability and security matters came to dominate the activities of ECOWAS in the 1980s and 1990s instead of economic integration, which was the primary reason why ECOWAS was formed. In addition, ECOWAS was created during the oil boom period in the world, which provided Nigeria with huge oil revenue to attend to the myriad of problems that confronted the region and sustained the survival of ECOWAS during the turbulent years<sup>357</sup>.

**Nigeria Democratic Transition** – since Nigeria transitioned to a democratic regime in 1999, following the decades of military rule that has breached several aspects of

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<sup>355</sup> *Adebajo A.* Only Nigeria Can Fulfill West African Dream. In J. Warner and T. M. Shaw (eds.), *African Foreign Policies in International Institutions, Contemporary African Political Economy* // Social Science Research Council. 2018. 1 (1). P.313.

<sup>356</sup> The Lagos Treaty of 1975. URL: [http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/attachments/351\\_ecowas%20treaty%20of%201975.pdf](http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/attachments/351_ecowas%20treaty%20of%201975.pdf); Treaty establishing The Economic Community of West African States Lagos, May 1975, Art. 12. (date of access:13.04.2021).

<sup>357</sup> *Костюнина Г.М.* Интеграционные процессы в Африке: история и современный этап //Российский внешнеэкономический вестник. 2016. №4. С.34 - 50.

Nigeria's foreign policy, President Olusegun Obasanjo took upon itself the mandate to restore the Nigerian lost image towards ECOWAS and its member states.

In his inaugural speech, President Olusegun Obasanjo stresses the on need for Nigeria to stay active at the central stage of regional and continental affairs. He declared that his administration would pursue a dynamic foreign policy aimed at developing friendly relations with all countries and will continue to play a constructive role in the activities of ECOWAS. He made known that his administration is determined to fully restore Nigeria to its former prestigious position in the comity of nations<sup>358</sup>.

During Olusegun Obasanjo's tenure as President of Nigeria, Nigeria's foreign policy approach towards ECOWAS was an active response, which in turn strengthened the country's position as Africa's regional power. On this basis, Africa continued to attract the attention of Nigeria's foreign policy, with particular emphasis on advancing the ECOWAS regional agenda, development, peace and security<sup>359</sup>.

For emphasis, Nigeria's foreign policy towards ECOWAS regional agenda is guided by its 1999 constitution which outlines the objectives of its foreign policy direction. Chapter II, Section 19, of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 as amended<sup>360</sup>. Projects a dynamic foreign policy for Nigeria, through the promotion of economic development, integration and unity, peace and security in West Africa, Africa, and the world.

The President Olusegun Obasanjo's administration contributed hugely to the restoration of peace in West Africa, especially in Sierra Leone and Liberia, despite

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<sup>358</sup> Inaugural Speech of President Olusegun Obasanjo, 29 May 1999, Federal Ministry of Information, Abuja; Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo. Nigeria First" in Call to Duty: A Collection of Speeches // Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos. 1978, p. 33.

<sup>359</sup> Obasanjo Speaks on Nigerian Troops in Sierra Leone // Pan African News Agency, 2 March, 1999. URL: <https://reliefweb.int/report/sierra-leone/obasanjo-speaks-nigerian-troops-sierra-leone>. (date of access: 26.06.2021).

<sup>360</sup> Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999. Powers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. [https://Nigeria\\_Constitution\\_1999\\_en\\_pdf](https://Nigeria_Constitution_1999_en_pdf) (date of access: 13.04.2021).

Nigeria's low economic status, which cannot provide the needed resource for any large – scale regional peacekeeping efforts as at then<sup>361</sup>.

However, after the reign of President Olusegun Obasanjo in 2007, his successors, President Musa Yar'Adua (2007 – 2010), President Goodluck Jonathan (2010 – 2015) and President Muhammadu Buhari, followed suit in pursuing a relatively low key foreign policy. President Musa Yar'Adua's administration maintained citizen diplomacy that was introduced by President Olusegun Obasanjo's administration, which sought to emphasize a people-centred approach to foreign policy<sup>362</sup>.

Notwithstanding, the main objective of President Musa Yar'Adua's administration was to lift Nigeria's economy to become one of the 20 largest economies in the world by 2020. The agenda has been properly conceptualized and comprehensively articulated; thus, the implementation strategies were adequately laid out to ensure the realization of ECOWAS Vision 2020, which Nigerians embraced with all its seriousness<sup>363</sup>.

However, the controversy surrounding the 2007 general elections, internal challenges posed by the rising insurgency in the Niger Delta region, the escalation of insurgent violence of the extremist Boko Haram activities in the northeast<sup>364</sup>, President Musa Yar'Adua poor states of health, and many other factors adversely affected Nigeria's foreign policy towards ECOWAS. To buttress this, Adeniyi O. (2011)<sup>365</sup> says Nigeria missed out in the high-ranking international meetings, lost many positions in

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<sup>361</sup> President Olusegun Obasanjo Speaks on Nigerian Troops in Sierra Leone // Pan African News Agency, 2 March, 1999. URL: <https://reliefweb.int/report/sierra-leone/obasanjo-speaks-nigerian-troops-sierra-leone>. (date of access: 26.06.2021).

<sup>362</sup> *Yar'Adua, U.M.* Inauguration Speech of President, Nigerian Federal Ministry of Information & Communications, Vision 2020, Abuja, Aso Rock, 29 May 2007.

<sup>363</sup> Ibid.

<sup>364</sup> *Walter Gam N. Cameroon.* Too Much to Carry: The Perception and Ramifications of Boko Haram's Activities on Cameroon // *Conflict Studies Quarterly*. 2013. 5. (1). Pp. 67 – 87.

<sup>365</sup> *Adeniyi O.* Power, Politics and Death A front-row account of Nigeria under the Late President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, Lagos // *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science*. 2011. 6 (5). p.138 – 144.



multilateral organizations, forsook obligations, and found itself in a situation where many of its allies started wondering what had gone wrong with Nigeria.

Meanwhile, President Musa Yar'Adua's administration used citizen diplomacy as an instrument to protect and cater for the welfare of Nigerian citizenry and to promote the integrity of the Nigerian institutions. In order words, the affairs of the regional organizations became secondary to his administration<sup>366</sup>.

Nigeria's foreign policy towards ECOWAS during President Goodluck Jonathan's administration was fully in support of regional peace and security. This could be seen, after President Goodluck Jonathan conceded defeat to Muhammadu Buhari in the keenly contested Nigerian 2015 elections, ECOWAS leaders applauded him at the summit of heads of state, which was held on 10 October, 2015<sup>367</sup>.

The shift in Nigeria's foreign policy towards ECOWAS portrays a huge spending on aid, extensive peace intervention, and support operations to contributing ideas on institutional reform for deepening democratic norms, regional peace and security, and cooperation in addressing transnational threats, which has both domestic and regional constraints on Nigeria influence and aspirations to leadership. All these efforts made Denisova T.S. (2015)<sup>368</sup> examine various ECOWAS initiatives and the problems member states encountered in their peacekeeping activities.

Although, it could be argued that Nigeria's status as a regional power and a key player in ECOWAS has been diminishing over time, due to domestic and regional security challenges, which had affected the economic development of the region<sup>369</sup>.

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<sup>366</sup> *Yar'Adua, U.M.* Inauguration Speech of President, Nigerian Federal Ministry of Information & Communications, Vision 2020, Abuja, Aso Rock, 29 May 2007.

<sup>367</sup> Accra Summit to Review Regional Political, Security Situation. 2015. ECOWAS heads of state welcome the West African region's enormous progress; ECOWAS Chairman congratulates President Jonathan, General Buhari. 2015. URL: <https://www.ecowas.int/ecowas-chairman-of-authority-congratulates-president-jonathan-general-buhari>. (date of access: 28.06.2021).

<sup>368</sup> *Денисова Т.С.* ЭКОВАС и Проблемы Регионального Миротворчества. К 40-летию ЭКОВАС // Азия и Африка Сегодня. 2015. 1 (9). С. 37 – 43.

<sup>369</sup> *Mantzikos Ioannis.* The absence of state in Northern Nigeria: The case of Boko Haram // African Renaissance. 2010. 7 (1). Pp. 57 – 62.

According to Irish J. (2014)<sup>370</sup> President Goodluck Jonathan in a bid to consolidate Nigeria's foreign policy decided to reach out to Nigeria's neighbors: Chad, Cameroon, Niger, and Benin at a meeting held in France to form a united front against Boko Haram insurgents.

Denisova T.S. (2016)<sup>371</sup> argued that the high level of insecurity after the Nigerian general election in 2011, which conceived the Boko – Haram insurgency, is associated with religious beliefs. She believes that the activities of the insurgents have continuously hindered the economic development of the Nigerian state and its subregion. However, President Goodluck Jonathan's administration was fully in support of ECOWAS zero tolerance for the unconstitutional and undemocratic change of government, despite the modification in its foreign policy objectives<sup>372</sup>.

Moreover, the emergence of Muhammadu Buhari as Nigeria's president on May 29, 2015, provided a new leadership at the helm of Nigeria's foreign policy. Having won the election based on promises to tackle the insecurity, fight against corruption and economic instability. President Muhammadu Buhari believes that his administration cannot be able to tackle the problems alone without the concerted efforts of multilateral institutions. To support this notion of multilateralism, Abolade A. (2005)<sup>373</sup> believes is one of the basic principles of Nigeria's foreign policy in which the country has never

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<sup>370</sup> Irish J. & Pineau E. West African leaders vow to wage 'total war' on Boko Haram. In J. Warner and T.M. Shaw (eds.), *African Foreign Policies in International Institutions, Contemporary African Political Economy* // Social Science Research Council. 2018. 1 (1). P. 317.

<sup>371</sup> *Денисова Т.М. Тропическая Африка: Эволюция Политического Лидерства* // Институт Африки Российской академии наук. М. 2016. 596 с.

<sup>372</sup> Inaugural Speech of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan on 29 May 2011, Federal Ministry of Information, Abuja, Nigeria; ECOWAS. *Treaties and Protocols* // Protocol of Good Governance and Democracy. 2001. URL: <http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/index.php/economic-community-ofwestafricanstates>. (date of access: 13.04.2021).

<sup>373</sup> *Abolade Adeniji. Power and Representations at the United Nations: A Critique of Nigeria's Bid for Permanent Seat in the Security Council* // *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*. 2005. 61 (2). Pp. 116 – 137.

renege in its dealing with the outside world, especially the ECOWAS and its member states.

Nigeria's foreign policy towards the ECOWAS regional agenda under President Buhari's administration is somewhat a reverse; emphasis is placed on internal issues rather than getting too involved with external matters that will drain the country's lean resources<sup>374</sup>. Although Nigeria's foreign policy towards ECOWAS regional security arrangement is not compromised, its continued support for ECOWAS's stand on unconstitutional change of government is unwavering, as demonstrated during the Burkina Faso and Gambian political crises.

Meanwhile, President Muhammadu Buhari, after his inauguration in 2015, embarked on shuttle diplomacy visiting Nigeria's immediate neighbors, Chad, Niger, Cameroon, and Benin, to seek ways of quelling Boko – Haram insurgent operation in northeast Nigeria. Oyeniya A.O. (2010), in his submission on terrorism in Nigeria, claimed that various groups in Nigeria agitate for the political, ethnic, religious interests of their people; consequently, their activities over the years have affected the economic development of the country<sup>375</sup>.

Moreover, Nigeria's foreign policy towards ECOWAS under President Muhammadu Buhari's administration is passing through a transformation period with no specific agenda except the old age Afrocentric slogan, which has dominated its foreign policy formulations since its independence<sup>376</sup>.

Finally, he claimed that President Muhammadu Buhari's approach towards ECOWAS and its member states conformed with his electoral campaign promises to

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<sup>374</sup> Inaugural Speech of President Muhammadu Buhari on 29 May 2015, Permanent Mission of Nigeria to the United Nations.

<sup>375</sup> Oyeniya A.O. Terrorism in Nigeria: Group Activities and Politics. In Ilisan Remo. *The Impact of Terrorism on Education: The North-Eastern Nigerian Experience // Journal of International Politics and Development*. 2016. 14 (1&2). P. 61.

<sup>376</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court. 98 (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13).

quell every manner of insurgencies in the West African region. Nigeria's role in the ongoing political crisis in Mali and other West African states is associated with the ECOWAS Mechanism for conflict prevention and management<sup>377</sup>. President Muhammadu Buhari's foreign policy strategy makes regional integration a priority within ECOWAS, including free trade, to ensure that a common tariff and currency are achieved by 2020 under Nigeria's guidance and leadership and to maintain strong, close, and frank relationships within the ECOWAS member states<sup>378</sup>.

### **2.3. The Role of Nigerians in Conflict Management in ECOWAS**

**The Nigeria Involvement in the Formation of ECOMOG** – during the formation of the Economic Community of West African States Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), President Ibrahim Babangida was seen to have spearheaded the formation of the group, essentially because of Nigeria's political will to determine and influence its subregion. According to Daniel B. C. (2007)<sup>379</sup> the Nigerian leadership status in West Africa and Africa at large are gotten out of its endowment of human and natural resources, which encouraged Nigeria's manifest destiny to remain more about influence than power.

Moreover, the ECOMOG was initiated as a result of the Liberian conflict, which became a school of thought for ECOWAS and its member states. Despite that, the international community stood aloof while Liberians were left to their fate at the commencement of the conflict. In line with this judgment, President Ibrahim Babangida, who posed as the most influential leader in the subregion, spearheaded the

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<sup>377</sup> ECOWAS Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Mechanism, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security, 1999. URL: [http://www.zifberlin.org/fileadmin/uploads/analyse/dokumente/ECOWAS\\_Protocol\\_ConflictPrevention.pdf](http://www.zifberlin.org/fileadmin/uploads/analyse/dokumente/ECOWAS_Protocol_ConflictPrevention.pdf). (date of access: 13.04.2021).

<sup>378</sup> Manifesto of All Progressive Congress. All Rights Reserved. 2014. URL: <https://www.allprogressivescongress.org/manifesto/>. (date of access: 29.10.2021).

<sup>379</sup> *Bach C.D.* Nigeria's Manifest Destiny in West Africa: Dominance with Power // *Africa Spectrum*. 2007. 42 (2). Pp. 301 – 321.

move for the formation of ECOMOG to intervene in the Liberian conflict<sup>380</sup>. According to Ochoche S. A. (1999), the decision to establish the regional intervention force, ECOMOG, was reached at the first session of the standing committee on Liberia held in Banjul, Gambia in August 1990 by the leaders of ECOWAS, who were their presence<sup>381</sup>.

To amplify this, Gani J.Y. (1993)<sup>382</sup> identifies the role Nigeria played in the formation of ECOMOG, he believed is a good sign for West – Africa security architecture. However, he believed that the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), which posed an indigenous regional mechanism for conflict management, has succeeded in quelling several civil wars in West Africa because of Nigeria’s involvement. According to Obi C. (2009) the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) troops, which were sent to Liberia as a regional peace interventionist force, was largely made up of Nigerian troops and mainly funded by the Nigerian Government<sup>383</sup>.

It could be argued that the Nigerian leading role in ECOMOG was justified with the belief that no sacrifice was too great in the cause of peace and greater political and economic integration of the West African subregion<sup>384</sup>, though, the critics believed it was a waste of resources by the Babangida administration, and that the Nigerian soldiers deployed to ECOMOG ceasefire mission in Liberia were sent to assist

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<sup>380</sup> *Bach C.D.* Nigeria’s Manifest Destiny in West Africa: Dominance with Power // *Africa Spectrum*. 2007. 42 (2). Pp. 301 – 321.

<sup>381</sup> *Ochoche S.A.* Conflict Resolution and Prevention in West Africa: The Role of Education for Tolerance and a Culture of Peace. In Victor Ojatorotu & Adewole Ayodeji Adeleke. *Nigeria and Conflict Resolution in the Sub-regional West Africa: The Quest for a Regional Hegemon // African Studies Association of India*. 2017. 10 (1). P. 46.

<sup>382</sup> *Gani J.Y.* ECOMOG and West African Regional Security: A Nigerian Perspective // *African Issues*. 1993. 21 (1-2). Pp. 84-91.

<sup>383</sup> *Obi C.* Economic Community of West African States on the Ground: Comparing Peacekeeping in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau and Cote d’Ivoire. In J. Warner and T.M. Shaw (eds.). *African Foreign Policies in International Institutions, Contemporary African Political Economy // Social Science Research Council*. 2018. 1 (1). p.315.

<sup>384</sup> *Daily Champion*, Lagos, Nigeria, December 24, 1990.

Babangida's friend, Samuel Doe to remain in power<sup>385</sup> but the Babangida administration denied the allegation, claimed that its administration was never subjective to the political conflict in Liberia<sup>386</sup>.

Subsequently, during General Sani Abacha reigned in 1993, ECOWAS remained his area of focus and ECOMOG was the most important regional cooperative unit intervening in every conflicting area in the West African region. While the disorderliness of the Liberian civil war led Ghana and other major participants in the peacekeeping mission to threaten of pulling out, General Sani Abacha remained resolute. In Adeniji O. (1997) the ECOMOG successes were attainable because of Nigeria's involvement and leadership role in the regional intervention force which was seen as a good counterbalance to its pariah status in the international community at that time<sup>387</sup>.

For emphasis, during the summit in Yamoussoukro, Ivory Coast in March 1998, the ECOWAS Foreign Ministers reached a consensus upon the recommendation for ECOMOG to officially take up the peacekeeping operations in West Africa. According to Abegunrin O. (2003) the Yamoussoukro accord recognized the dominant role that Nigeria played in the subregional intervention force which has produced a positive result<sup>388</sup>. Perhaps, what the Nigerian troops contributed to ECOMOG tells *the* story of Nigeria's enormous contribution in relation to member states.

**In Table 1. Chronological list of ECOMOG commander(s) in Liberia**

Commander	Country	Title	Date(s)
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<sup>385</sup> *Fafowora O.O.* Reflections on Nigeria's Foreign Policy, Diplomacy and Foreign Service since 1960, The Inaugural Foreign Service Lecture, Held at the Rotunda Hall of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Abuja on 20.02.2018. P.2.

<sup>386</sup> Sunday Times, Lagos, Nigeria, October 7, 1990, pp.13 – 14.

<sup>387</sup> *Adeniji Olu.* Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention in West Africa: Politics of Harmonization. In Victor Ojatorotu & Adewole Ayodeji Adeleke. Nigeria and Conflict Resolution in the Sub-regional West Africa: The Quest for a Regional Hegemon // African Studies Association of India. 2017. 10 (1). Pp. 46.

<sup>388</sup> *Abegunrin Olayiwola.* Nigerian Foreign Policy Under Military Rule, 1966 –1999. In Victor Ojatorotu & Adewole Ayodeji Adeleke. Nigeria and Conflict Resolution in the Sub-regional West Africa: The Quest for a Regional Hegemon // African Studies Association of India. 2017. 10 (1). P. 46.

Lt-Gen. Arnold Quainoo	Ghana	Force Commander	July 1990 – Sept. 1990
Maj-Gen. Joshua Dogonyaro	Nigeria	Field Commander	Sept. 1990 - February 1991
Maj-Gen. Rufus Kupolati	Nigeria	Field Commander	February 1991 – Sept. 1991
Maj-Gen. Ishaya Baku	Nigeria	Field Commander	Sept. 1991- October 1992
Maj-Gen. Tunji Olurin	Nigeria	Field Commander	October 1992 - October 1993
Maj-Gen. John Shagaya	Nigeria	Field Commander	Oct. 1993 - December 1993
Maj-Gen. John Mark Inienger	Nigeria	Field Commander	December 1993 - August 1996
Maj-Gen. Victor Malu	Nigeria	Force Commander	August 1996 - January 1998
Maj-Gen. Timothy Shelpidi	Nigeria	Force Commander	January 1998 - March 1999
Maj-Gen. Felix Mujakperuo	Nigeria	Force Commander	1999

**Table 1. Number of ECOMOG Commander(s) in Liberia**

**In Table 2. Chronological list of ECOMOG troops in Liberia Technical Team**

Country	Number of a dispatched soldier(s)	Date(s)
Nigeria	4908	January 13, 1995
Ghana	1028	January 13, 1995
Guinea	609	January 13, 1995
Tanzania	747	January 13, 1995
Uganda	760	January 13, 1995
Sierra Leone	359	January 13, 1995
The Gambia	10	January 13, 1995
Mali	10	January 13, 1995
Total dispatched	8,431	January 13, 1995

**Table 2. Number of EOCOMOG dispatched soldier(s) to Liberia**

**In Table 3. Chronological list of ECOMOG humanitarian assistance to Liberian refugees**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Number of refugees (s)</b>	<b>Date(s)</b>
Cote d'Ivoire	367,300	October 31, 1995
Guinea	395,000	October 31, 1995
Ghana	14,000	October 31, 1995
Sierra Leone	4,600	October 31, 1995
Nigeria	4000	October 31, 1995
Total number of Liberian refugees	784,900	October 31, 1995

**Table 3. A number of Liberian refugees spread across the Western African region**

The above chronological lists of ECOMOG show the deployment of military commanders, the number of dispatched soldiers, and the countries where most of the Liberia refugees seek asylum<sup>389</sup>. However, Tables 1, 2 and 3 show that Nigeria played an active role in ECOMOG peacekeeping operations in Liberia. Nigerian military commander Joshua Dogonyaro took charge of the affairs of ECOMOG belly two months after the deployment of the ECOMOG troops to Liberia, which in turn produced the expected result as required by the ECOWAS.

Interestingly, the ECOMOG developments began with the intervention in the Liberian civil war in 1990, which claimed the lives of almost 150,000 civilians and led to a complete breakdown of law and order. It displaced scores of people, both internally and outside the borders, resulting in some 784,900 refugees in neighboring countries, such as Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria<sup>390</sup>. To buttress this,

<sup>389</sup> ECOMOG in Liberia. UNOMIL Resolution 972, 1995. URL: <https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/past/unomilFT.htm>; ECOMOG in Liberia. Abuja Agreement Resolution 1001, 1995. URL: <https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/past/unomilFT.htm>; ECOMOG in Liberia. UNOMIL Resolution 972, 1995. URL: <https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/past/unomilFT.htm>. (date of access: 31.10.2021).

<sup>390</sup> The End of the Cold War the Economic Community of West African States. ECOMOG Intervened in Sierra Leone and Liberia. URL:



V. I Yurtaev (2019)<sup>391</sup> argues that the civil wars in Africa have produced many displaced persons as refugees. He claims that if these persons belong to the side of the enemy, their right of asylum is usually denied. According to Ajayi K. (2004) in 1995, 1996 and 1997, Nigeria contributed whopping sums of 75 percent, 85 percent, and 82 percent of troops, respectively, to the ECOMOG peacekeeping force<sup>392</sup>.

Furthermore, Nigeria's diplomatic and military contributions towards ECOMOG intervention have shaped the force processes and outcomes throughout Liberia<sup>393</sup> and the Sierra Leone<sup>394</sup> peacekeeping missions. For clarity, the change in ECOMOG field commander from Ghanaian to Nigerian within months of the deployment of the troops was in accordance with Nigeria's input, and the failure of the Ghanaian-led force to prevent the murder of Samuel Kanyan Doe, in turn, encouraged Nigerian to take over the command in 1999. In Prkr F. (2000) view after the death of Samuel Kanyan Doe, successive ECOMOG field commanders were Nigerians who were directly responsible to the Nigerian Ministry of Defence<sup>395</sup>. Adibe C. (2002) claimed that the ECOWAS members in August 1997 introduced an interposition force, ECOMOG II, to assist in the reinstatement of the legitimate government of President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah of

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<https://www.clingendael.org/publication/pretence-peace-keepingecomog-west-africa-and-liberia-1990-1998>. (date of access: 30.10.2021).

<sup>391</sup> Африка: интеграция и социальное развитие: Ежегодник – 2019 = Africa: Integration and Social Development: Yearbook – 2019: сб. статей / под ред. Н.С. Кирабаева, Л.В. Пономаренко, В.И. Юртаева, Е.А. Долгинова. М., РУДН, 2019. С. 152-164.

<sup>392</sup> *Ajayi Kunle*. Power Politics: Nigeria and Peace Keeping in the West African Sub-region. In Victor Ojatorotu & Adewole Ayodeji Adeleke. Nigeria and Conflict Resolution in the Sub-regional West Africa: The Quest for a Regional Hegemon // African Studies Association of India. 2017. 10 (1). P. 46.

<sup>393</sup> Lome Ceasefire Agreement 1991. Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities and Peaceful Settlement of Conflict between the Armed Forces of Liberia, and The National Patriotic Front of Liberia, and the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia.

<sup>394</sup> Lome Ceasefire Agreement 1999. Peace Agreement Between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone.

<sup>395</sup> *Prkie Francois*. Le Ghana dans la gestion de la crise Libérienne 'Ghana in the management of the Liberian crisis'. In Victor Ojatorotu & Adewole Ayodeji Adeleke. Nigeria and Conflict Resolution in the Sub-regional West Africa: The Quest for a Regional Hegemon // African Studies Association of India. 2017. 10 (1). P. 46.

Sierra Leone<sup>396</sup>. Again, Nigeria's participation was outstanding; the bulk of the force was formed by Nigerian troops, and all the commanders were Nigerian<sup>397</sup>.

**Below is a chronological list of ECOMOG commander(s) in Sierra Leone**

<b>Commander</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Date(s)</b>
Major General Gabriel Kamber	Nigeria	Force commander	2000
Brigadier General Abu Ahmadu	Nigeria	Force commander	2000
General Maxwell Khobe	Nigeria	Force commander	1999
Major General Felix Mujakperuo	Nigeria	Force commander	1999
Brigadier-General Abdul One Mohammed	Nigeria	Force commander	1998

**Table 1. Number of ECOMOG commander(s) in Sierra Leone**

In Adekeye Adebajo's (2008) out of the 13000 troops deployed to ECOMOG between 1998 and 1999, Nigeria contributed 12000 troops. He dismissed the argument against general assumptions that the reason behind Nigeria's involvement in Sierra Leone is to proffer its line reasoning. However, he believed that the reason Nigeria involved its military and foreign mission in Sierra Leone was to exercise its leadership role in the subregion<sup>398</sup>.

Subsequently, on the role of the ECOMOG peacekeeping mission, Denisova T.S. claimed that the ECOMOG's role in quelling the military – political crises in Liberia and Sierra Leone – became successful because of Nigeria's involvement in the

<sup>396</sup> *Adibe Clement*. Muddling through an analysis of the ECOWAS experience in Conflict Management in West Africa. In Victor Ojatorotu & Adewole Ayodeji Adeleke. Nigeria and Conflict Resolution in the Sub-regional West Africa: The Quest for a Regional Hegemon // African Studies Association of India. 2017. 10 (1). P. 47.

<sup>397</sup> The ECOWAS in peace and security in West Africa. Peacekeeping in a bad neighborhood. Accord. AJCR 2009/3.

<sup>398</sup> *Adekeye Adebajo*. Mad Dogs and Glory: Nigeria's Interventions in Liberia and Sierra Leone. In Victor Ojatorotu & Adewole Ayodeji Adeleke. Nigeria and Conflict Resolution in the Sub-regional West Africa: The Quest for a Regional Hegemon // African Studies Association of India. 2017. 10 (1). p. 47.

process<sup>399</sup>. While Bokeriya S. (2018) argued that the ECOMOG vital role in the peacekeeping mission in Liberia was as a result of the mandate given by ECOWAS, which served as an instrument of a dual nature. On the one hand, it considered restoring peace, maintaining security, strengthening governance and the rule of law, but on the other hand, it had weaknesses, unclear ambiguity or lacking peacekeeping potential<sup>400</sup>.

Abegunrin O. (2003)<sup>401</sup> revealed several sources recorded on Nigeria's expenditure to ECOMOG. He claimed that a source recorded Nigeria's expenditure at a total of US\$1 billion beyond the original ECOMOG budget of US\$500 million, while another source estimated Nigeria's total expenditure at over US\$2.8 billion. Meanwhile, Nigeria is reputed by yet another source to have spent in excess of US\$4 billion on a peacekeeping mission in Liberia and Sierra Leone and likewise expended the sum of US\$1 million daily on Sierra Leone alone<sup>402</sup>. Osita Agbu (2006) argued that the total cost of expenditure that Nigeria spent on the ECOMOG peacekeeping mission in the Mano River Union is estimated at US\$8 billion<sup>403</sup>.

Below is a chronological list of Nigeria's military expenditure as a percentage mission and in constant US\$m., of government spending 2000 – 2020.

<b>Year(s)</b>	<b>Percentage (%) Internal</b>	<b>Percentage (%) External</b>	<b>Percentage (%) Total</b>	<b>Constant US\$m.</b>
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<sup>399</sup> Денисова Т.С. ЭКОВАС и проблемы регионального миротворчества. К 40-летию ЭКОВАС // Азия и Африка сегодня. 2015. 1 (9). С. 37-43.

<sup>400</sup> Bokeriya S. & Mansur A.T. Mandates in the Success of a Peacekeeping Mission: A case study of Liberia // Asia and Africa Today. 2018. 1 (7). P.50

<sup>401</sup> Abegunrin Olayiwola. Nigerian Foreign Policy Under Military Rule, 1966 –1999. In Victor Ojatorotu & Adewole Ayodeji Adeleke. Nigeria and Conflict Resolution in the Sub-regional West Africa: The Quest for a Regional Hegemon // African Studies Association of India. 2017. 10 (1). P. 47.

<sup>402</sup> Olonisakin Funmi. Peacekeeping in Sierra Leone: The Story of UNAMSIL. In Victor Ojatorotu & Adewole Ayodeji Adeleke. Nigeria and Conflict Resolution in the Sub-regional West Africa: The Quest for a Regional Hegemon // African Studies Association of India. 2017. 10 (1). P. 47.

<sup>403</sup> Agbu Osita. West Africa Trouble Spots and the Imperative for Peacebuilding. In Victor Ojatorotu & Adewole Ayodeji Adeleke. Nigeria and Conflict Resolution in the Sub-regional West Africa: The Quest for a Regional Hegemon // African Studies Association of India. 2017. 10 (1). P. 47.

2000	0.5%	1.7%	2.2%	942m
2001	0.8%	1.7%	2.5%	1342m
2002	1.0%	3.9%	4.9%	2026m
2003	0.6%	1.9%	2.5%	1247m
2004	0.5%	2.2%	2.7%	1215m
2005	0.4%	1.8%	2.2%	1073m
2006	0.3%	2.5%	2.8%	1118m
2007	0.4%	1.6%	2.0%	1299m
2008	0.5%	2.9%	3.4%	1824m
2009	0.5%	2.8%	3.3%	1896m
2010	0.5%	2.7%	3.2%	2226m
2011	0.6%	2.7%	3.3%	2478m
2012	0.5%	3.0%	3.5%	2183m
2013	0.5%	2.9%	3.4%	2099m
2014	0.4%	2.8%	3.2%	1908m
2015	0.4%	3.4%	3.8%	1861m
2016	0.4%	3.9%	4.3%	1798m
2017	0.4%	3.2%	3.6%	1719m
2018	0.5%	3.5%	4.0%	2028m
2019	0.5%	3.1%	3.6%	1860m
2020	0.6%	4.4%	5.0%	2403m

**Table 1. Number of Nigeria's military expenditures as a percentage mission and in constant US\$m., of government spending 2000 – 2020**

The above chronological list best explains various aspects of Nigeria's military expenditure from 2000 to 2020, both at the domestic and international levels. Apparently, it is believed that Nigeria incurred more costs for conflict resolution and peacekeeping on foreign missions than domestic intervention. It is a clear example that Nigeria is committed to its region and Africa in general<sup>404</sup>.

The successive government in Nigeria over the years has contributed greatly to the West African peacekeeping mission, especially through the ECOWAS – ECOMOG comparative intervention force<sup>405</sup>, which has fostered relations among conflicting

<sup>404</sup> Nigeria Military Expenditure Database. SIPRI. 19 May 2008. URL: [www.sipri.org](http://www.sipri.org).; The World Bank. Country Data. IBRD-IDA. 19 May 2008. URL: [www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org). (date of access: 05.11.2021).

<sup>405</sup> Buhari Report in ECOWAS Final Summit. Final Communique: Forty-Eighth Ordinary Session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government. 2015.; ECOWAS Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Mechanism, Management,

parties and contributed to the progress and development of the West African region by the extension of the African continent<sup>406</sup>. However, Nigeria's contribution to peacekeeping operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone was never for its interest but to justify its leadership role in West Africa. Nevertheless, the Nigerian government must strengthen its political, military and economic capacities to maintain regional hegemony<sup>407</sup>, which would automatically pave the way for the country to continental leadership.

**ECOMOG Challenges** – the anglophone ECOWAS members established ECOMOG in 1990 to intervene in the civil war in Liberia. In spite of, the commitment of ECOMOG troops in Liberia civil war, the war lingered from 1989 to 1996 due to the political disagreement among ECOWAS members and conditions given by Charles Taylor, the leader of the National Patriotic Front Rebel Army. Although, the Economic Community of West African States did not expect that most of its peacekeeping mission or rather the intervention process in Liberia would become a long – drawn – out affair. Rather, anticipated a short, surgical police action, however, the nature of the conflict itself posits a seemingly simple solution. Though, the immediate cause of the conflict was the incursion of Charles Taylor National Patriotic Front Rebel Army from Cote d'Ivoire<sup>408</sup>.

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Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security, 1999. URL: [http://www.zifberlin.org/fileadmin/uploads/analyse/dokumente/ECOWAS\\_Protocol\\_ConflictPrevention.pdf](http://www.zifberlin.org/fileadmin/uploads/analyse/dokumente/ECOWAS_Protocol_ConflictPrevention.pdf). (date of access: 13.04.2021).

<sup>406</sup> ECOWAS, SMC Decision A/DEC. 1/8/90, On the Cease-Fire and Establishment of an ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group for Liberia, 21 O.J. ECOWAS Spec. Supp. 6. 1992; Lome Ceasefire Agreement 1991. Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities and Peaceful Settlement of Conflict between the Armed Forces of Liberia, and The National Patriotic Front of Liberia, and the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia.; Lome Ceasefire Agreement 1999. Peace Agreement Between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone.

<sup>407</sup> Obasanjo Speaks on Nigerian Troops in Sierra Leone // Pan African News Agency, 2 March, 1999. URL: <https://reliefweb.int/report/sierra-leone/obasanjo-speaks-nigerian-troops-sierra-leone>. (date of access: 26.06.2021).

<sup>408</sup> *Gus Liebenow J.* Liberia: The Evolution of Privilege. In Clement Adibe E. The Liberian Conflict and the ECOWAS & UN Partnership // Third World Quarterly. 1997. 18 (3). P. 472.

According to ECOWAS members, President Ibrahim Babangida and his counterparts from Sierra Leone and Guinea, etc., the rebel invasions were an act of thuggery that should have been repelled quite by the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL). Thus, the Armed Forces of Liberia's failure to quell these raids suggested a fundamental weakness in the ability of the central government in Monrovia, which was spearheaded by President Samuel Doe, who failed to effectively govern his people<sup>409</sup>.

However, the solution would be to shore up President Samuel Doe through the provision of arms and ammunition and, if needed, military advisers. However, Nigeria and other concerned countries did precisely that until it became obvious by the summer of 1990 that the invasions were not uncoordinated acts by some actors, who are the tribesmen<sup>410</sup>.

Notwithstanding, Charles Taylor National Patriotic Front Rebel Army, who felt discontented with President Doe's government, intensified its recruitment throughout Liberia to destabilize and frustrate the government of the day<sup>411</sup>. Meanwhile, with the impacts of the rebel forces occupying two – thirds of Liberia territory – the President Doe government became helpless and reduced to slight control of a few perimeters around the presidential mansion, and the civilian survivors of the conflict fleeing in large numbers to neighboring countries, this, in turn, attracted regional attention to establishing a politico – military presence in Liberia.

However, most of the observers expected that the reports emerging from West Africa in the early 1900s, alleging that the National Patriotic Front Rebel Army was trained and equipped by Libya, would trigger the international community such as the

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<sup>409</sup> *Adibe Clement E.* The Liberian Conflict and the ECOWAS & UN Partnership // Third World Quarterly. 1997. 18 (3). Pp. 471 – 488.

<sup>410</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>411</sup> *Gani Yoroms.* Regional Security, Collective Defence and the Problem of Peace Initiatives in West Africa: the Case of ECOMOG in the Liberian Conflict. In Clement Adibe E. The Liberian Conflict and the ECOWAS & UN Partnership // Third World Quarterly. 1997. 18 (3). P. 472.

United States to intervene in the conflict<sup>412</sup>. In any case, the international community only began by consulting with its African allies with a view to orchestrating a regional response to the Libyan threat, which has been the talk of the town. It was clear that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was looked to for leadership. According to Chike A. (1992) Africa's premier regional arrangement on noninterference in the internal affairs of member states has limited most of the members to willingly intervening in the conflict<sup>413</sup>.

However, the Organization of African Unity under the leadership of President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda as Chairman and former Tanzanian foreign minister, Salim Ahmed Salim, as Secretary – general, did not apply to the sui generis character of the Liberian conflict to the norm of non – intervention<sup>414</sup>. However, most people believe that their tactic was to liaise with Nigeria, the dominant West African State, to lead a regional force into Liberia within the framework of ECOWAS. The Ibrahim Babangida administration seized on the opportunity not only to exercise statesmanship but also to divert national and international attention away from mounting political abuses and socioeconomic problems in the region.

Subsequently, the chairman of ECOWAS President Dawda Kairaba Jawara convened a meeting of ECOWAS heads of state and government in Banjul, Gambia in 1990 to deliberate on the establishment of the ECOWAS Mediation Committee (SMS) that will be responsible for crisis and conflict management within the West African

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<sup>412</sup> *Osisoma Nwolise*. The Internationalisation of the Liberian Crisis and its Effects on West Africa. In Clement Adibe E. The Liberian Conflict and the ECOWAS & UN Partnership // Third World Quarterly. 1997. 18 (3). P. 472.

<sup>413</sup> *Chike Akabogu*. ECOWAS takes the Initiative. In Clement Adibe E. The Liberian Conflict and the ECOWAS & UN Partnership // Third World Quarterly. 1997. 18 (3). P. 473.

<sup>414</sup> *Salim Ahmed Salim*. Interview in West Africa London. In Clement Adibe E. The Liberian Conflict and the ECOWAS & UN Partnership // Third World Quarterly. 1997. 18 (3). P. 473.

region<sup>415</sup>. Furthermore, the summit accepted the proposal and constituted the membership of the Standing Mediation Committee (SMS) as follows: The Gambia, Ghana, Mali, Nigeria, and Togo. According to Adekeye A. (2002) The Community Standing Mediation Committee (SMC) was the final step towards the use of military force by ECOWAS, which was created in May 1990 to intervene in the Liberia conflict<sup>416</sup>.

At its inaugural meeting in July 1990, the committee deliberated on the issue of Liberian conflict settlement and agreed on a peace plan with the following tendencies: establishment of an immediate ceasefire by the warring parties; establishment and deployment of ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) to monitor the observance of the ceasefire by all sides to the conflict; agreement by the parties to the establishment of an Interim Administration in Monrovia, pending the election of the substantive government; and agreement by the parties to constitute a substantive government through nation – wide elections to be monitored by ECOMOG<sup>417</sup>.

Thus, the problem faced by the ECOMOG troops in Liberia has various forms, such as human rights abuses, mediation challenges, and political disagreement among ECOWAS members. These and other factors contributed to the inability of the ECOMOG troops to contain the conflict within Liberia, which in turn spillover/spread into Sierra Leone, etc.

In accordance with the official reports of the ministerial conference, there had been a substantial disagreement between members of the SMC, on the one hand, and the parties to the conflict, on the other hand, about vital issues on the proposed plan.

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<sup>415</sup> *William J Foltz & Henry Bienen (eds). Arms and the African: Military Influences on Africa' s International Relations. In Clement Adibe E. The Liberian Conflict and the ECOWAS & UN Partnership // Third World Quarterly. 1997. 18 (3). p. 473.*

<sup>416</sup> ECOWAS, SMC Decision A/DEC. 1/8/90, On the Cease-Fire and Establishment of an ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group for Liberia, 21 O.J. ECOWAS Spec. Supp. 6. 1992.

<sup>417</sup> The Freetown Final Report of 1990. ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee Ministerial Meeting. In Clement Adibe E. The Liberian Conflict and the ECOWAS & UN Partnership // Third World Quarterly. 1997. 18 (3). P. 473.



The issues at stake were the desirability and timing of a ceasefire, the desirability and composition of an interim government, and the usefulness of deploying a regional peacekeeping force<sup>418</sup>.

In the long run, it became inevitable for ECOWAS not to engage with Liberia's warring parties for a peaceful settlement. Moreover, ECOWAS reacted to its initial failure to negotiate a ceasefire between the warring factions that resulted in an uncontrolled crisis in Liberia. More importantly, the Liberia problem began with the frustration and disagreement between the ministers of the SMC and the rebel leader Charles Taylor, whom they considered contemptuously the principal cause of their failure in Banjul, Gambia.

In the SMC Ministerial submission: It became ambiguous in the Ministerial Meeting that the Charles Taylor National Patriotic Front Rebel Army (NPFL) was holding on firmly to its initial position of demanding the departure of President Samuel Doe before they could consider any other related matters. However, the constituted committee gained a clear impression that the NPFL had opted for a military solution. In line with this judgment, the Ministerial Meeting decided to push for another course of action that later saw the peaceful end of the Liberian crisis<sup>419</sup>.

Furthermore, the ministerial meeting proceeded with the formation of a Sub-Committee on Defense Matters to consider issues relating to the military arm of the proposed ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in Liberia<sup>420</sup>. The Sub Committee finally emerged with a blueprint of an ECOWAS military intervention force on July 20, 1990. In presenting the blueprint to the chairman of the ECOWAS summit, President Ibrahim Babangida and the ministers urged the heads of various governments to join hands in bringing the Liberian conflict to a speedy and peaceful end<sup>421</sup>.

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<sup>418</sup> Ibid.

<sup>419</sup> The Freetown Final Report of 1990. ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee Ministerial Meeting. In Clement Adibe E. The Liberian Conflict and the ECOWAS & UN Partnership // Third World Quarterly. 1997. 18 (3). P. 473.

<sup>420</sup> Ibid.

<sup>421</sup> Ibid.

Subsequently, the leaders of the SMC states scheduled a meeting in Banjul, Gambia on August 7, 1990 to adopt Decision A/DEC.1/8/90, which contains the following characteristics of what would later be known as the ECOWAS Peace Plan for Liberia: the formation and immediate deployment of ECOMOG to Liberia; immediate cessation of hostilities by all factions; generalized disarmament of the warring parties by ECOMOG; the formation of an Interim Government of National Unity pending the conduct of general elections; an embargo on the importation and acquisition of arms by the warring parties in Liberia; and establishing an atmosphere for the conduct of general and presidential elections in Liberia<sup>422</sup>.

The ECOWAS–ECOMOG peacekeeping mission resulted from the inability of the ECOWAS Mediation Committee (SMC) to resolve its internal problems, such as the desirability and timing of a ceasefire, the desirability and composition of an interim government and the usefulness of deploying a regional peacekeeping force<sup>423</sup>. The disagreement between the ministers of the SMC and the rebel leader Charles Taylor was a result of the party's decision not to involve third parties in the peace process<sup>424</sup>.

Additionally, the problem of ECOWAS – ECOMOG in peace intervention can be traced to the politics and intraregional rivalries between the francophone and anglophone groups in ECOWAS. The seven francophone members (except Guinea) signed the 1978 Non-aggression treaty, which codified in article 1 the refrain from the threat or use of force or aggression against the territorial integrity and political independence of the member states<sup>425</sup>. According to Adebajo A. (2004), several

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<sup>422</sup> ECOWAS, Decision A/DEC.1/8/90, Lagos: The Economic Community of West African States, 1990. In Clement Adibe E.T. *Liberian Conflict and the ECOWAS & UN Partnership // Third World Quarterly*. 1997. 18 (3). Pp. 474.

<sup>423</sup> The Freetown Final Report of 1990. ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee Ministerial Meeting. In Clement Adibe E. *The Liberian Conflict and the ECOWAS & UN Partnership // Third World Quarterly*. 1997. 18 (3). p. 473.

<sup>424</sup> ECOWAS, SMC Decision A/DEC. 1/8/90, On the Cease-Fire and Establishment of an ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group for Liberia, 21 O.J. ECOWAS Spec. Supp. 6. 1992.

<sup>425</sup> The Lagos Treaty of 1978. Protocol of Non-Aggression. ECOWAS Commission, Mediation Guidelines Adopted on 22 April, 1978 in Lagos, Nigeria. URL:

developments created divisions and weakened the Francophone members of the ECOWAS<sup>426</sup>. He believed that the divisions in ECOWAS were a result of President Ibrahim Babangida, who used ECOWAS to form a regional intervention force to intervene in Liberia in 1989.

Again, the ECOMOG performance was adversely affected by the problems related to command and control, its ad hoc nature, mediation challenges, poor coordination and harmonization between the contributing countries, poor coordination between ECOMOG field commanders and ECOWAS, weak political will, and lack of agreement about the nature and role of ECOMOG among West Africa's leaders<sup>427</sup>. Other challenges include resource, capacity, and institutional weaknesses within ECOWAS, human rights abuses, and allegations of corruption and high-handedness against some ECOMOG peacekeepers<sup>428</sup>.

Accordingly, ECOMOG's political challenges can be traced to the initial rejection made by Cote d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso to the ECOWAS peace plan for Liberia but rather joined other francophone countries in the region, namely, Togo and Mali, who stood as an opposition. This division had very serious repercussions not only for the performance of ECOMOG in Liberia peacekeeping but also its stance as a neutral force working to restore peace to the beleaguered country.

The division among the francophone and anglophone ECOWAS members has contributed to the inadequacy of the ECOMOG peacekeeping mission. However, the

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<https://ecpf.ecowas.int/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/ECOWAS-ENGLISH-230518.pdf>.  
(date of access: 29.10.2021).

<sup>426</sup> *Adebajo Adekeye*. Building Peace in West Africa. In Cyril Obi. Economic Community of West African States on the Ground: Comparing Peacekeeping in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, and Côte D'Ivoire // Regional Organizations in African Security.2009. 2 – 3. (2). p. 121.

<sup>427</sup> Report of the ECOWAS Workshop. Lessons from ECOWAS. Peacekeeping Operations:1990 – 2004. Accra, 10 – 11 February 2005.

<sup>428</sup> *Adebajo A*. Pax West Africana? Regional Security Mechanisms. In Cyril Obi. Economic Community of West African States on the Ground: Comparing Peacekeeping in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, and Côte D'Ivoire // Regional Organizations in African Security.2009. 2 – 3. (2). P. 121.

financial aspect and human rights abuses also contributed to the inability of the troops to function effectively<sup>429</sup>.

**Nigeria's Military Diplomacy in other Parts of Africa** – the Nigerian Army has since been actively involved in the management of regional and continental peace, either under the Organization of African Unity, currently the African Union, or a specific responsible regional security organization such as ECOWAS – ECOMOG. To buttress this, Kiseleva V. I. (1972)<sup>430</sup> argued that Nigeria has traditionally played and continued to play an important political, economic, and military role in West Africa and, by extension, the African continent. She claimed that Nigeria occupies a leading position in ECOWAS and any other subregional organization in West Africa. Garuba J. (1987) argued that Nigeria's increased moral stature and greater economic power have positioned the country to continue to play a leadership role in the continent<sup>431</sup>.

Similarly, the successive government in Nigeria over the years has continuously designed, shaped, and maintained a foreign policy that has continued to have impacts on the African continent. This could be seen in the assertion made by Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa in his inaugural speech on 7 October 1960, at the Plenary of the 15th Regular Session of the United Nations General Assembly, exactly six days after Nigeria gained independence and became the 99<sup>th</sup> member of the organization, declared that Nigeria hoped to work with all African countries for the progress of Africa and to assist in bringing all African territories to a state of responsible independence and help in finding a lasting solution to the problem affecting Nigeria's immediate neighbors<sup>432</sup>.

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<sup>429</sup> Convention on the Rights of the Child. General Assembly resolution 44/25 of 20 November 1989. URL: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx>. (date of access: 30.10.2021).

<sup>430</sup> *Kiseleva V P.* Africa Integration and Problems of Foreign Economic Activity. M., 1972

<sup>431</sup> *Garuba J.* Diplomatic Soldiering. In Francis Idowu Adebayo. The Liberian Conflict and the ECOMOG Operation: A Review of Nigeria's Key Contributions. 1987.8(3).P. 16.

<sup>432</sup> Statement by Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria at the United Nations General Assembly, New York, October 7, 1960. Maiden General Assembly Statement at the United Nations.; Ashaver, T.B. Continuities and

This statement demonstrated Nigeria's commitment towards bringing about cooperation, progress, and the promotion of regional peace and security. In the early period of Nigeria's independence, this statement is a vindication of Nigeria's expressed determination to adhere and abide by the purposes and principles of the Organisation of African Unity<sup>433</sup>, which superseded the Monrovia group<sup>434</sup>.

For clarity, Nigeria Army participated in a peacekeeping operation during the Congo crisis between 1960–1964. General Aguiyi Ironsi led over 6000 Nigerian troops out of the country for the first time in support of the United Nations Operation in Congo crisis<sup>435</sup>. Similarly, when the Tanzania Army revolted against their government in 1964, the Tanzania government invited the Nigerian Army to assist in suppressing the mutiny.

Again, the Nigerian Army was deployed to Chad in 1978 for a peacekeeping mission. In relation to Nigeria's commitment and sacrifices made to the decolonization processes in Africa, especially on how the Nigerian Airforce was actively involved in the evacuation of refugees back to Zimbabwe from various frontline states where they had gone on exile during the run – up to the First Zimbabwean election to enable them to participate in it<sup>436</sup>.

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Discontinuities in Nigerian Foreign Policy // International Journal of Development and Sustainability. 2014. 3. (2). p. 289.

<sup>433</sup> The AU Protocol, Constitutive Act, Supra note in, art 5 (2). The African Union Peace and Security Council (AU PSC) was Established under the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, 9 July 2002. URL: [http://www.au.int/ite/efaul/ile/97Peace\\_and\\_Security.pdf](http://www.au.int/ite/efaul/ile/97Peace_and_Security.pdf). entered into force. 2003. AU PSC Protocol. (date of access: 03.07.2021).

<sup>434</sup> The Monrovia Group Treaty of 1961. URL: <https://www.google.com/search?q=The+Monrovia+group+Treaty+of+1961>. (date of access: 09.06.2021).

<sup>435</sup> *Adeniran T.* Nigeria and the United Nations. In Charles B. Azgaku. The Role of Nigeria in Peacekeeping Operation in West Africa: 1960 – 2010 // Research on Humanities and Social Sciences. 2015. 5 (22). P.89.

<sup>436</sup> *Peter J. & Aminu A.L.* The Armed Forces and Nigeria's Foreign Policy, Reflection on Last Experience and A Note for the Future. In Charles B. Azgaku. The Role of Nigeria in Peacekeeping Operation in West Africa: 1960 – 2010 // Research on Humanities and Social Sciences. 2015. 5 (22). P.89.

Other areas where Nigeria's has participated in the maintenance of peace and security in Africa were the eradication of colonialism and white minority rule in countries such as Angola, Guinea – Bissau, Mozambique, Namibia, and South Africa, its aid to countries like Angola, Benin, Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe and its peacekeeping in countries such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Democratic Republic of Congo<sup>437</sup>, etc.

During the Olusegun Obasanjo regime as a Military Head of State spanning between 1976 and 1979, Nigeria was actively involved in West Africa conflict resolution<sup>438</sup>. Although the Olusegun Obasanjo regimes were intimidating and radical, they were committed to Nigeria and its subregion. The regime places more emphasis on regional and continental development than the previous government. For the first time in Nigeria's history, Nigeria looked at the United States and Britain straight in the eyes and not only recognized the Nationalist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in Angola but also donated a huge amount of money to the government – led party against the will of the Western World<sup>439</sup>.

In this light, V. G. Shubin (2013) argued that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) engaged in a strategic alliance with the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, which was contrary to the decisions of some great power states, such as the United States and Great Britain. He believed that the strategic alliance between both countries helped to survive South Africa's military incursions in Angola territory in support of its major adversary, the National Union for the Total

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<sup>437</sup> *Sanda J.G.* Peacekeeping in Nigeria's Foreign Policy: An Assessment. In Segun Oshewolo. *Major Contentions on Nigeria's Afrocentric Policy // India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs.* 2019. 75 (3). P. 353.

<sup>438</sup> *Friday Aworawo.* Nigeria and ECOWAS Since 1999: Continuity and Change in Multilateralism and Conflict Resolution // *Journal of African Studies.* 2016. 8 (2). Pp. 1–16.

<sup>439</sup> *Garuba J.* Diplomatic Soldering: The Conduct of Nigerian Foreign Policy. In Oluyemi O. Fayomi, Felix C. Chidozie & Lady A. Ajayi. *Nigeria's National Image and Her Foreign Policy: An Exploratory Approach // Open Journal of Political Science.* 2015. 5 (3). Pp. 180 – 196.

Independence of Angolan in the 1970s and 1980s<sup>440</sup>. Nwalie G. A. (2021) claimed that the USSR participated in the Nigeria-Biafra war. He argued that bilateral relations between Russia and African states have existed since the 1960s<sup>441</sup>. Filippov V. R. (2020) argued that African quest for continent peace has encouraged Mali to invite the Russian Wagner Group<sup>442</sup>.

However, the activities of the Boko Haram insurgence in the northern part of Nigeria, President Goodluck Jonathan in 2013, contributed 900 troops of the total force of 3300 military troops estimated by ECOWAS to savage the Mali conflict<sup>443</sup>. Again, Nigeria's role in the subregional and continental interventions force cannot be wished away. However, Nigeria's interest in conflict settlement and peace sustainability in Africa, in general, can also be linked to its national interest<sup>444</sup>. For instance, since Nigeria gained independence in 1960 from Great Britain, Nigeria has been playing a vital role in conflict resolution in Africa.

To amplify this, Adebajo A. (2002a), who has frequently equated Nigeria's peace process in West Africa and Africa to Pax Nigeriana, which is believed to have been created by Bolaji Akinyemi, Nigeria's former foreign affairs minister, to depict Nigeria's efforts at drafting the charter of the OAU<sup>445</sup>. However, Pax Nigeriana is

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<sup>440</sup> *Vladimir Shubin (Eds)*. Russia and Angola: the Rebirth of a Strategic Partnership? // Global Powers and Africa Programme, Occasional Paper №154. p.6.

<sup>441</sup> *Nwalie George A. & Egesi B*. Nigeria – Russia Relations: A Comparative Critical Review // *Ethnosocium and International Culture*. 2021. 10 (160). Pp. 81 – 86. URL: <https://www.elibrary.ru/item.asp?id=48032619>. (date of access: 12.03.2022).

<sup>442</sup> *Филиппов В.Р.* Африканская политика Парижа в период пандемии // *Институт Африки Российской академии наук*. 2020. 11 (3). С. 151-168.

<sup>443</sup> *Nigeria's Role in the Mali Intervention*. Council on Foreign Affairs Relations. 2013. URL: <https://www.cfr.org/blog/nigerias-role-mali-intervention>. (date of access: 11.03.2022)

<sup>444</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court.98 (20). Government Notice No.103. The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13). P.34.

<sup>445</sup> *Adebajo Adekeye*. Liberia's Civil War: Nigeria, ECOMOG, and Regional Security in West Africa. In Victor Ojatorotu & Adewole Ayodeji Adeleke. *Nigeria and Conflict Resolution in the Sub – regional West Africa: The Quest for a Regional Hegemon* // African Studies Association of India. 2017. 10 (1). P. 44.

arguably explained to represent Nigeria's ambition at playing a political, economic, and military role in Africa and not an adventure for a Greater Nigeria, as many have argued<sup>446</sup>.

Meanwhile, Nigeria's contributions and role towards Africa Conflict Resolution are conceived out of its military capacity, natural endowment, and geopolitics, which had induced the state of Nigeria to successfully influence the West African region<sup>447</sup>.

Finally, Nigeria's involvement in the maintenance of peace and security in Africa has been crucial to the existence of the continent but has also produced significant tensions between Nigeria's and other African states, especially the Francophone states, apparently because of Nigeria's military capacity, geopolitical and huge financial donation to regional organizations, an intergovernmental organization, such as ECOWAS and African Union.

**Nigeria's Relations with other West African Institutions** – since independence, Nigeria's foreign policy has been characterized by a focus on Africa and, by extension, West African Institutions. Nigeria's relations with the Lake Chad Basin Commission and Gulf of Guinea Commission are necessitated as a result of the following goals: to exercise hegemonic influence in the region; to regulate and control utilization of the water and other natural resources in the basin; to uphold African unity and independence; and to examine complaints and promote settlement of disputes, with a view to promoting regional economic cooperation and development. Nigeria, according to Akinkugbe O. O. (2013) set a highly respected profile in Africa that is considered emulating on various African issues, and that profile has largely been that

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<sup>446</sup> *Adebajo Adekeye*. The Curse of Berlin: Africa after the Cold War. In Victor Ojatorotu & Adewole Ayodeji Adeleke. Nigeria and Conflict Resolution in the Sub-regional West Africa: The Quest for a Regional Hegemon // African Studies Association of India. 2017. 10 (1). P. 45.

<sup>447</sup> ECOWAS Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Mechanism, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping.; Buhari Report in ECOWAS Final Summit. Final Communique: Forty-Eighth Ordinary Session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government. 2015.



of an active member of the international community, a central player on subregional and African affairs<sup>448</sup>

In line with this judgment, Nigeria participates in the activities of the Lake Chad Basin Commission<sup>449</sup> and Gulf of Guinea Commission<sup>450</sup>. Nigeria has enjoyed generally good relations with the abovementioned institutions in several dimensions.

Nigeria's quest to cooperate, regulate and control utilization of the water and other natural resources in its subregion has necessitated the establishment of the Lake Chad Basin Commission. The commission was established by a convention and statute signed on 22 May 1964 by Cameroon, Chad, Niger, Nigeria, and later by the Central African Republic, Algeria, Libya, and Sudan<sup>451</sup>. The goals and objectives of the commission are to regulate and control the utilization of water and other natural resources in the basin<sup>452</sup>; to examine complaints and promote the settlement of disputes; to promote regional cooperation; and to initiate, promote and coordinate natural resource development projects and research within the basin area.

The Lake Chad Basin Commission was also instituted in pursuance of achieving the following mandate: (1) to sustainably and equitably manage the Lake Chad and other shared water resources of the Lake Chad Basin; (2) to promote regional

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<sup>448</sup> Akinkugbe O. O. (Eds). *Olusegun Obasanjo The Presidential Legacy, 1999 – 2007* // Ibadan: Bookcraft. 2013. 1 (1). P. 334.

<sup>449</sup> The N' Djamena Chad of 1964. Agreement Establishing the Lake Chad Basin Commission. 1964. URL: <https://www.adaptation-undp.org/partners/lake-chad-basin-commission-lcbc>; The Treaty of Yaounde 1972. Agreement Establishing the Lake Chad Basin Commission Development Fund. 1972. URL: <https://iea.uoregon.edu/treaty-text/2824>. (date of access: 25.05.2021).

<sup>450</sup> Article 2 of Treaty of the Gulf of Guinea Commission, URL: [www.cggrps.org](http://www.cggrps.org). (date of access: 21.05.2021).

<sup>451</sup> Lake Chad Basin Commission. URL: <https://www.preventionweb.net/organizations/1264>. (date of access: 11.06.2021).

<sup>452</sup> Convention and statutes relating to the development of the Chad basin. Signed at Fort Lamy, on 22 May, 1964. URL: <http://www.fao.org/3/W7414B/w7414b05.htm>.; The N' Djamena Chad of 1964. Agreement Establishing the Lake Chad Basin Commission. 1964. URL: <https://www.adaptation-undp.org/partners/lake-chad-basin-commission-lcbc>. (date of access: 10.06.2021).

integration, peace and security across the basin; and (3) to preserve the ecosystems of the Lake Chad Conventional Basin<sup>453</sup>.

Of all these concerns, Ogilvie A. (2010)<sup>454</sup> argued that the Nigerian government has considered collaborative measures with other West African countries as the only panacea to address the tension in the Lake Chad region. For instance, on the issues of national security threat in Lake Chad, the collaborative measures by Nigeria and its neighbors to curb trans-border crimes and strengthen subregional security are considered during the signing of the Transborder Security Cooperation Agreement with Cameroon in 2012<sup>455</sup> and the establishment of the Multi-National Joint Task Force (MNJTF) under the aegis of the Lake Chad Basin Commission comprising Nigeria, Niger, Cameroon and Chad for effective joint border patrols<sup>456</sup>.

In the same light, the Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari, during the United Nations General Assembly Plenary in 2018, advocated for global action on the Lake Chad crisis. According to President Muhammadu Buhari, illegal immigration is not just a consequence of conflict but also of the impacts of climate change and lack of opportunities. The president emphasized the need for better cooperation over water, which constitutes a vital lifeline for people and nature in this semiarid region of West

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<sup>453</sup> The N° Djamena Chad of 1964. Agreement Establishing the Lake Chad Basin Commission. 1964. URL: <https://www.adaptation-undp.org/partners/lake-chad-basin-commission-lcbc>. (date of access: 10.06.2021).

<sup>454</sup> Ogilvie A. et al. Water, Agriculture and Poverty in the Niger River basin // Water International. 2010. 35. (5). Pp. 594–622.

<sup>455</sup> Agreement on Transborder Security Cooperation. Cameroon, Nigeria Agree to Bolster Cooperation against Transborder Terrorism. 2012. URL: [http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-07/06/c\\_138203390.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-07/06/c_138203390.htm). (date of access: 11.06.2021).

<sup>456</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Abuja, Nigeria and Africa Relations. URL: <http://www.foreignaffairs.gov.ng/africa/> (date of access: 11.06.2021).

and Central Africa<sup>457</sup>. Climate change according to Oguntade P. G (2012)<sup>458</sup> has the potential to reduce water availability in West Africa.

Similarly, President Muhammadu Buhari on May 25, 2021 at the opening of the Extraordinary Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC) summoned to deliberate on the recent happenings in Chad after President Idris Deby Itno died on the frontline while defending the territorial integrity of his country. President Muhammadu Buhari declared Nigeria ready to support the fight against insurgency in the Lake Chad region; he urged all leaders within the Lake Chad region and international development partners to rise to the need for peace and stability to be restored in the region<sup>459</sup>.

Furthermore, the challenges being faced by African states in Lake Chad have contributed to the under-development of the region and required a joint effort of countries in the lake and the support of the international community to avert the destabilization of many African states located in the region. As Nigeria's national interest is supreme and fundamental in its relation with the outside world, the issue of Africa, which has remained a cornerstone of its foreign policy,<sup>460</sup> has become a basis for its interest in the lake region, but since it could not do it alone, the successive administrations in Nigeria, including the present, have viewed the approach of seeking a collaborative effort of the international community with the support of countries located in the lake region to handle those challenges plaguing the West African region.

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<sup>457</sup> Report of the UNGA transcript. The Chad Basin, Lifeline for People Nature and Peace. 2019. URL: <https://www.iucn.org/news/eau/201911/chad-basin-a-lifeline-people-nature-and-peace>. (date of access: 10.06.2021).

<sup>458</sup> *Oguntade P.G and Abiodun B.J.* The Impact of Climate Change on the Niger Basin Hydroclimatology West Africa // *Journal Climate Dynamics*. 2012. 1 & 2 (40). Pp. 81–94.

<sup>459</sup> President Muhammadu Buhari Declaration on Lake Chad Region // Xinhua News Agency, May 25, 2021. URL: <https://newsaf.cgtn.com/news/2021-05-25/Buhari-urges-commitment-to-restoring-peace-in-Lake-Chad-region-10yN4JwR0lO/index.html>. (date of access: 10.07.2021).

<sup>460</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Abuja, Nigeria and Africa Relations. URL: <http://www.foreignaffairs.gov.ng/africa/> (date of access: 11.06.2021)

Following the 1999 inauguration of a civilian president, the Nigerian-Gulf of Guinea country's cooperation began to improve in the areas of regional economic cooperation and development.

In line with this judgment, President Olusegun Obasanjo, in conjunction with other African presidents residing in the Gulf of Guinea, signed a treaty for the establishment of the Gulf of Guinea Commission on 3 July 2001<sup>461</sup>. The treaty is targeted to develop close and multifaceted cooperation among member states and to establish a relationship on a basis of mutual understanding, good neighborliness and strong bonds of friendship<sup>462</sup>. This, among other factors, has been promoting and protecting the integrity and welfare of Nigeria and its neighbors within the context of unity and development<sup>463</sup>. All of this was in tandem and consonance with Nigeria's first Prime Minister's ideas to commensurate with Nigeria's name and status 'messiah' of the continent<sup>464</sup>.

Again, the concept of good neighborliness was given more credible and emphatic attention when Jaja Anucha Wachuku, the Nigeria first Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated that any Nigeria's foreign policy that does not connote the interest of the common man in the continent of Africa is unrealistic. According to him, charity begins at home; thus, the dividend of Nigeria's foreign policy should be seen in the affairs of the people<sup>465</sup>.

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<sup>461</sup> The Libreville Gabon of 2001. Treaty of Establishing Gulf of Guinea Commission. URL: <https://cggrps.com/wp-content/uploads/Tratado-EN1.pdf>. (date of access: 21.05.2021).

<sup>462</sup> Ibid.

<sup>463</sup> *Ogunnubi O.* Unlocking the Black Box of Nigeria's Hegemonic Foreign Policy. In Victor Okoro U., Uche Uwaezuoke O., & (ed.). *Afro-centrism as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy: A historical misnomer in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks in South Africa // Cogent Arts & Humanities.* 2020. 7. (1). P. 15.

<sup>464</sup> *Claude S.P.* The Development of Nigerian Foreign Policy. In Victor Okoro U., Uche Uwaezuoke O., & (ed.). *Afro-centrism as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy: A historical misnomer in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks in South Africa // Cogent Arts & Humanities.* 2020. 7 (1). P. 14.

<sup>465</sup> *Jaja A.W.* Establishing Nigeria Foreign Policy Identity, Lagos: Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In Victor Okoro U., Uche Uwaezuoke O., & (ed.). *Afro-centrism as the*

The emphasis on Nigeria's national interest in the Gulf of Guinea is in accordance with its foreign policy pursuit. Nigeria is a member of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), while a sizeable number of countries in the Gulf of Guinea are also members of the Economic Community of West African States. However, the Regional Maritime Security of Central Africa (CRESMAC) for Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) is based in Pointe Norie, Republic of Congo, while the Regional Centre for Maritime Security of West Africa (CRESMAO) is based in Cote d'Ivoire. The duo was established in February 2015<sup>466</sup>.

Having these two regional maritime securities in place and for effective coordination was the establishment of the Inter-Regional Coordination Centre in Yaounde, Cameroon, which was part of the Maritime Security Architecture of West and Central Africa, to fill the gap of coordination between the three regions in the war against criminal activities in the maritime domain of the Gulf of Guinea Region<sup>467</sup>.

Since Nigeria, according to Ujara E. C. (2014)<sup>468</sup> is regarded as the giant of Africa in terms of population, human resources, and natural resources put together, and in its national interest, the country is expected to take a leading role in solving the various problems confronting the Gulf of Guinea region and even beyond.

According to George O. O. (2010) in the policy document prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria showed the process into the establishment of the Gulf of Guinea Commission; nevertheless, it was contemplated that when the Commission took off, it would be a multilateral body devoted to cooperation among the countries that share the geographical formation known as the Gulf of Guinea and

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centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy: A historical misnomer in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks in South Africa // *Cogent Arts & Humanities*. 2020. 7 (1). P. 14.

<sup>466</sup> Official document of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the Gulf of Guinea Commission, African Sub-Regional Organizations (ASROD) Division, 14<sup>th</sup> September, 2018.

<sup>467</sup> Ibid.

<sup>468</sup> *Ujara Ese C. & Ibietan J. Citizen Diplomacy and Nigeria's International Image: The Social Constructivist Explanation // Covenant Journal of Business and Social Sciences*. 2014. 6 (2). Pp. 14 – 30.

would equally serve as a platform for promoting the interests of the constituent states in the areas of the environment, politics, security, and economy<sup>469</sup>.

Since the issue of the Gulf of Guinea Commission is vital to some African states that are members of the commission, they have adopted an approach of intimating major power on its activities. To buttress this Gromoglasova E. S. (2016)<sup>470</sup> argued that Africa and the world are witnessing a new stage in the war on terror, which has hindered economic development in most developing countries, especially West African countries, for example, Boko – Haram activities. She claimed that the GGC approach to reaffirming the responsibility of the state for suppressing terrorist groups operating from within its territory seems to become more acceptable, and if the state cannot suppress terrorist activity, it should accept the counter – terrorist interventions on its territory. Since the maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea region is beyond African countries, the Commission always consults with the US and other Western countries interested in the activities of the Commission for their possible assistance to get rid of criminals and development of the region.

After President Muhammadu Buhari emerged as the Chairman Gulf of Guinea Commission on 23 November 2017<sup>471</sup>. In his acceptance speech, the President declared Nigeria's readiness and position in curtailing the socio— economic and security challenges bedeviling the Gulf of Guinea. President Muhammadu Buhari in his submission claims that the members would only achieve the set goals and objectives of the commission through a collective measure<sup>472</sup>.

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<sup>469</sup> *George O.O.* From Rookie to Mandarin: The Memoirs of a Second-Generation Diplomat, Ibadan // Bolytag International Publishers. 2010. 1 (1). P.479.

<sup>470</sup> *Gromoglasova E.S.* The Use of Force in Modern Counter-Terrorism: International Legal and Political Aspects, Vestnik RUDN, International Relations. 2016. 16 (3). Pp.426 – 436.

<sup>471</sup> Statement by Muhammadu Buhari as the Chairman of Gulf of Guinea Commission // Independent, November 27, 2017. URL. <https://independent.ng/buhari-emerges-chairman-gulf-guinea-commission/>. (date of access: 21.05.2021).

<sup>472</sup> Ibid.

Again, President Muhammadu Buhari on July 7, 2021, in a virtual audience with the Executive Secretary of the Commission, Florentina Ukonga, reiterated Nigerian interest to fortify the Gulf Guinea Commission to enable the commission to perform the roles for which it was set up<sup>473</sup>.

In line with this development, Khudaykulova A.V. (2016)<sup>474</sup> claimed that the approach and method used in fighting security challenges in developing countries, particularly African countries such as Nigeria, Chad and Cameroon, etc. are different from the Western approach. She believed that most of the unrest and security threats in African states are internally generated, such as the issue of Boko – Haram in Nigeria, which has caused much menace in the West African subregion.

Meanwhile, the security situation in the West African subregion was not the only reason Nigeria showed much interest in West African institutions, but other factors put together that would harness the economic development of the region for the interest of the continent.

Finally, Nigeria's foreign policy subregional level is characterized by both economic and political imperatives, which are conducted on two levels, bilateral and multilateral relations. It is on this premise that both the successive and present administrations in Nigeria have taken the development of their subregion as a priority.

However, the President Muhammadu Buhari administration needs to open the door to new possibilities for re-engaging all the subregional institutions and moving claims to leadership at the subregional level to actualize the goals and objectives of these institutions. This would require a radical rethinking of Nigeria's foreign policy, including a major transformation of its decision-making and implementation apparatus.

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<sup>473</sup> President Muhammadu Buhari Interview with the Executive Secretary of the GGC, Florentina Ukonga // Premium Times, July 7, 2021. URL: <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/more-news/405617-its-in-interest-of-nigeria-others-to-strengthen-gulf-of-guinea-commission-buhari.html>. (date of access: 08.07.2021).

<sup>474</sup> *Khudaykulova A.V.* Third World Security Theories. Vestnik RUDN. International Relations. 2016. 16 (3). Pp. 412 – 425.

It also means opening up the policy space to innovative knowledge-based strategies, ideas and feeding these into a coordinated and impactful manner in projecting Nigeria's interests and influence into its subregion and the continent of Africa.



### CHAPTER 3. THE PAN – AFRICAN DIMENSION OF NIGERIAN FOREIGN POLICY

The Africanist movement of 1893 galvanized the civilized and educated people of African descent in the diaspora against the established order of European colonialism, racism, slavery and apartheid<sup>475</sup>. The root of Pan-Africanism can be traced back to the brutality of slavery in the Americas and the Caribbean people of African origin, who had been born in captivity since 1787<sup>476</sup>. For emphasis, Pan – Africanism begins as a movement and ideology situating its relevance to the encouragement of Africans to key into the pursuit of unity and solidarity of black people all over the globe<sup>477</sup>.

Pan-Africanism has been viewed by scholars as vital, with a connection to the economic, social, and political advancement of black people while also asserting and insisting on the uniformity of fate and destiny of African peoples within and outside the continent<sup>478</sup>. For instance, Nnamdi Azikiwe, first President of Nigeria in his 1962 address on the future of Pan-Africanism, proposes that Pan-Africanism should be concretized either in the form of regional states or one continental state, whichever is feasible, allowing this to be done voluntarily without upsetting the total sovereignty of the states concerned<sup>479</sup>.

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<sup>475</sup> Victor Okoro U., Uche Uwaezuoke O., & et al. Afro-centrism as the Centerpiece of Nigeria's Foreign Policy: A Historical Misnomer in the Aftermath of Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa // Cogent Arts & Humanities. 2020. 7 (1). p. 6.

<sup>476</sup> Pine A. Pan-Africanism And Nigeria's Foreign Policy: Some Contemporary Notes // Modern Ghana. December 16, 2020. URL: <https://www.modernghana.com/news/1050121/pan-africanism-and-nigerias-foreign-policy-some.html>; The History of Pan-Africanism. New Internationalist, 2000. URL: <https://newint.org/features/2000/08/05/simply> (date of access: 13.07.2021).

<sup>477</sup> Ibid.

<sup>478</sup> Victor Okoro U., Uche Uwaezuoke O., & et al. Afro-centrism as the Centerpiece of Nigeria's Foreign Policy: A Historical Misnomer in the Aftermath of Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa // Cogent Arts & Humanities. 2020. 7 (1). P. 6.

<sup>479</sup> Statement by Nnamdi Azikiwe. First President of Nigeria. The Future of Pan-Africanism. Black Past. 2009.

The Pan-African Movement became a roadmap for the formation of Nigeria's foreign policy<sup>480</sup>. The West African region was the center of Pan-Africanism in Africa. However, Nigeria from independence walked the path of Pan-Africanism and the right of all peoples to self-determination, and its foreign policy is based on its continued survival, security, and well-being, as well as regional, continental, and universal peace and security and the principles of the UN Charter<sup>481</sup>. Pan-Africanism, which influenced their social and political engagements, contributed to the decision-making process in Nigeria.

Pan-Africanism encourages Nigeria's foreign policy objectives. Nnamdi Azikiwe and Herbert Macaulay were influenced by the objectives of Pan-Africanism, in turn they incorporated these objectives into Nigeria's foreign policy to encourage anti-colonialism<sup>482</sup>. Many other Nigerians of Brazilian and West Indian background had previously encountered Pan-Africanism, which influenced their social and political engagements and contributed to the decision-making process in Nigeria.

Nnamdi Azikiwe, the first President of Nigeria, defined Pan-Africanism as the unity of newly independent African states. Capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism deprived Africa of its wealth and its will to live as a human being, even though he believed that slavery played a role in depopulating Africa<sup>483</sup>. He believed that Africans needed to restore their dignity before they could try to revive their stature in the council of nations.

Nigeria gained independence on October 1, 1960s, but before that, the country was under the control of colonialism and imperialism. Anti-racism, anti-apartheid,

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<sup>480</sup> The History of Pan-Africanism. New Internationalist, 2000. URL: <https://newint.org/features/2000/08/05/simply>. (date of access: 13.07.2021).

<sup>481</sup> Despite challenges, Nigeria's foreign policy stays its Pan – Africanist course // Vanguard News, August 21, 2021.

<sup>482</sup> *Pine A.* Pan-Africanism And Nigeria's Foreign Policy: Some Contemporary Notes // Modern Ghana News, an Internet Publication. December 16, 2020.

<sup>483</sup> Statement by Nnamdi Azikiwe. First President of Nigeria. The Future of Pan – Africanism. Black Past. 2009.

black power, cultural nationalism, and unity, continental economic integration and political unity, racial pride, and self-respect were some of the Pan-Africanism objectives.<sup>484</sup>

The framing of its foreign policy objectives and principles was affected by the historical inclusion of Pan-Africanism into the political and ideological structures of Nigeria. Nigerian foreign policy was founded on the eradication of colonialism and other forms of exploitation, domination, oppression and marginalization of Africans. In line with this judgement, Nigeria started a foreign policy concept called Africa as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy<sup>485</sup>.

The Pan-Africanism feature that has expressed enthusiasm for the formation of the United States of Africa is part of Nigeria's desire for continental unity and harmonious co-existence. Since independence, Nigeria's foreign policy objectives have been centered on promoting continental political unity, which is among the features of Pan-Africanism<sup>486</sup>.

However, Pan-Africanism is a critical element in Nigeria's foreign policy, which has shaped, encouraged, and centered Nigeria's foreign policy on African affairs. Nevertheless, the only panacea to end imperialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism, under-development and white supremacy is for the African leaders to jointly institute a national development entity that would adopt and implement a unified concept for of the African continent<sup>487</sup>.

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<sup>484</sup> Statement by Nnamdi Azikiwe. First President of Nigeria. *The Future of Pan – Africanism*. Black Past. 2009.

<sup>485</sup> *Jaja A.W.* Establishing Nigeria Foreign Policy Identity, Lagos: Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In Victor Okoro U., Uche Uwaezuoke O., & (ed.). *Afro-centrism as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy: A historical misnomer in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks in South Africa // Cogent Arts & Humanities*. 2020. 7 (1). p. 14.

<sup>486</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court. 98 (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13).

<sup>487</sup> *The History of Pan-Africanism*. New Internationalist, 2000. URL: <https://newint.org/features/2000/08/05/simply>. (date of access: 13.07.2021).

Subsequently, Nigerians played a leading role in the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. Before the formation of OAU, there were two significant ideological groups: the radical Casablanca group, which adopted radical Pan-Africanism ideas, and the Monrovia group, which adopted gradual institutionalization of the Pan-Africanism ideas into the continental body politic.

Nigeria's vision of Pan-Africanism has made its group succeed in influencing the other groups in adopting the objectives of the OAU ideology. The OAU was formed due to Nigeria's influence in the process, argued Fawole W. A. He claimed that the preparatory conference, which determines the final shape and structure of the organization, was held in January 1962 in Lagos due to Nigeria's influence<sup>488</sup>.

However, the issue of African solidarity, which was first internationalized by the Abubakar Tafawa Balewa administration, conformed with the well-established principles of traditional law, as well as the Charter of the OAU.<sup>489</sup> This was reflected in the document of its establishment, which are as follows: the Sovereign equality of all member states; Non-interference in the internal affairs of states; respect for the sovereignty and of each state and for its inalienable right to independent of existence; peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation; unresolved condemnation, in all its forms, of political assassination, as well as of subversive activities for neighboring states or any other states; absolute commitment to the total emancipation of the African territories, which are still dependent; and affirmation of a policy of nonalignment about all groups.

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<sup>488</sup> Fawole W.A. OAU/AU at 50: Interrogating Nigeria's Intellectual, Philosophical and Ideological Contributions to the Theory and Praxis of African Unity and Integration. In Segun Oshewolo. Rhetoric and Praxis: Nigeria's Africa Diplomacy and the Shaping of the African Union // The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs. 2019. 1 (108). p. 51.

<sup>489</sup> Charter of Organization of African Unity 1963, International Democracy Watch. URL: [http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/attachments/156\\_OAU\\_Charter\\_1963.pdf](http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/attachments/156_OAU_Charter_1963.pdf). (date of access: 26.07.2021).

Nigeria's role in the formation of the Organization of African Unity is linked to its national interest and foreign policy pursuit<sup>490</sup>, which encourages the state to influence other African states while deliberating on the concept and ideology of OAU. The OAU concepts were injected into by Nigeria using all of its sociopolitical will and economic endowment. The conflict between the Casablanca group and the Monrovia group was amicably resolved due to Nigeria's leadership role and influence, which gave a political, economic, and social-cultural direction to OAU<sup>491</sup>.

Due to the inability of the OAU to maintain its principle and objective, the calls for the transmutation of the organization to the African Union were inevitable.<sup>492</sup> Nigeria played a major role in the transformation of the OAU to the African Union in 2002. Based on Nigeria's commitment to regional and continental activities, Nigeria signed the Treaty to establish the African Economic Community, which was connected to the Pan – African Parliament (Accession and Jurisdiction) Act, 2004, and Treaty to establish the African Union (Ratification and Enforcement) Act, 2003<sup>493</sup>.

According to Wapmuk S., President Olusegun Obasanjo has an obligation to fulfill his leadership obligation as a member of the inner circle with countries such as Libya and South Africa<sup>494</sup>. The OAU heads of state and government summit in Lome, Togo acknowledged Nigeria's high-level diplomacy in 2000.

According to Abdullahi S. G. (2013)<sup>495</sup> the transformation of the OAU to AU is a gradual process that lasted for many years due to the input and approaches implied by

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<sup>490</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court .98 (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13), p.34.

<sup>491</sup> OAU/AU Treaty. URL: <https://au.int/en/treaties>. 2001. (date of access: 13.04.2021).

<sup>492</sup> Ibid.

<sup>493</sup> Federal Ministry of Justice, Abuja, Laws of the Federation, <https://lawnigeria.com/Federationinlaws-ALL.html>. (date of access:8.5.2021).

<sup>494</sup> *Wapmuk S.* Nigeria and the Establishment of the OAU and its Transformation to the AU. In Segun Oshewolo. Rhetoric and Praxis: Nigeria's Africa Diplomacy and the Shaping of the African Union // The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs. 2019. 1 (108). P. 55.

<sup>495</sup> *Abdullahi Shehu Gusau.* Littering the Landscape: An Analysis of the Role of Nigeria in the Transition of OAU to the AU // European Scientific Journal. 2013. 9 (8). P. 178.

the OAU leaders at their 4th Extra – Ordinary Summit in Sirte, Libya in 1999, which was hosted by Libya’s Muammar Gaddafi. He believed that President Muammar Gaddafi draft charter, which proposes the United States of Africa with one government, one leader, a single army, one currency, one Central Bank, and one parliament that makes laws for the whole continent that should be borderless, is appropriate for the unification of the continent.

Meanwhile, the transformation of the OAU to AU began with the adoption of the Constitutive Act of the African Union in Lome, Togo on July 11, 2000, entered into force on May 26, 2001<sup>496</sup> and were registered with the United Nations on August 10, 2001. However, the adoption culminated in the 2002 summit in Durban, South Africa, where the formation of the AU was officially announced to the world immediately after the disbandment of OAU on 9 July 2002<sup>497</sup>. According to Akinsanya O. (2014) the African leaders converged in the South African city of Durban on 9 July 2002 to form a successor of the Pan – African Organisation that will rekindle the spirit of Pan – Africanism, which was believed to be the only panacea to promote African unity<sup>498</sup>. The failure of the OAU to address the challenges that the continent faced necessitated the calls for the transmutation of the Organisation of African Unity to the African Union. The process for the OAU transmutation to AU started with the unanimous will of member states, who generally adopted the motion for the establishment of AU at the fifth Extraordinary Summit of the AU held in Sirte, Libya, from 1 to 2 March 2001<sup>499</sup>.

Nigeria's foreign policy instrument towards national and continental development as well as its impact on the economic wellbeing of African people is extremely complex and contentious., However, this has encouraged Nigeria to support and contribute to the African Economic Initiatives ‘AU Agenda 2063’, including

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<sup>496</sup> OAU/AU Treaty. URL: <https://au.int/en/treaties>. 2001. (date of access: 13.04.2021).

<sup>497</sup> Ibid.

<sup>498</sup> Akinsanya O. Nigeria’s Role in the Transformation of the OAU to AU. In Segun Oshewolo. Rhetoric and Praxis: Nigeria’s Africa Diplomacy and the Shaping of the African Union // The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs. 2019. 1 (108). P. 55.

<sup>499</sup> OAU/AU Treaty. URL: <https://au.int/en/treaties>. 2001. (date of access: 13.04.2021).

energy security, the fight against terrorism, conflict resolution, trade and economic relations, military – political, cultural and humanitarian issues in Africa.

Again, Nigeria is fully involved in the actualization of Africa's blueprint and master plan for sustainable development and economic growth of the continent (AU Agenda 2063). African heads of state and government adopted Thea Agenda 2063 in order to transform Africa into a global powerhouse of the future<sup>500</sup>.

Nigeria's foreign policy core objectives have been the promotion of peace, economic cooperation and integration, development, and the fight against all forms of discrimination. Meanwhile, the African Union (AU) has become the arena for ventilating the country's hegemonic ambition in Africa, which in turn has compelled the country to support African economic initiatives, such as AU Agenda 2063<sup>501</sup>.

Africa is the only part of the world without a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. The council structure of 1963, which entered into force on August 31 of 1965, limited memberships to non-permanent seats.<sup>502</sup>, There are five non-permanent seats along with the Asian continent. This means that there shall be only two and at most three non-permanent members on the continent in one term.

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<sup>500</sup> AGENDA 2063. A Shared Strategic Framework for Inclusive Growth and Sustainable Development // First Ten-Year Implementation Plan 2014 – 2023 // Electronic resource. African Union. URL: [https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/33126-doc-01\\_background\\_note.pdf](https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/33126-doc-01_background_note.pdf); Agenda 2063. First Continental Report on the Implementation Agenda. AUDA, NEPAD, AU Development Agency. 2013. URL: <https://au.int/en/documents/20200208/first-continental-report-implementation-agenda-2063>. (date of access:13.04.2021).

<sup>501</sup> *Efem N. Ubi & et al.* Nigerian Foreign Policy and Economic Development, 1999 – 2013 // International Area Studies Review. 2014. 17 (4). Pp. 414 – 433.; AGENDA 2063. A Shared Strategic Framework for Inclusive Growth and Sustainable Development// First Ten-Year Implementation Plan 2014 – 2023. // Electronic resource. African Union. URL: [https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/33126-doc-01\\_background\\_note.pdf](https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/33126-doc-01_background_note.pdf); Agenda 2063. First Continental Report on the Implementation Agenda. AUDA, NEPAD, AU Development Agency. 2013. URL: <https://au.int/en/documents/20200208/first-continental-report-implementation-agenda-2063>. (date of access:13.04.2021).

<sup>502</sup> United Nations Security Council, Amendment 1963. Agenda 103(a). URL: [https://www.un.org/en/ga/62/plenary/election\\_sc/bkg.shtml](https://www.un.org/en/ga/62/plenary/election_sc/bkg.shtml). (date of access: 22.8.2021).

In line with the above, the African leaders had requested a comprehensive reform of the United Nations to reposition African countries at the helm of affairs. Nevertheless, Nigeria has been one of the leading African countries fully in support of the demand for UN reform. Nigeria's support stems from both its Pan-African focus, especially the collective opportunities such reform might offer Africa and its people, and from national interest as a potential beneficiary of an enlarged Security Council<sup>503</sup>.

The United Nations Organization has been successful in achieving its fundamental principles and objectives in the area of peace and security. The organization had averted the third World War as projected by many scholars and political actors in light of the gap between the first and second World War, and the regional and communal conflicts that have emanated over the years<sup>504</sup>. Thus, the UN High-Level Panel, which recommends an additional six permanent seats and four non-permanent members in the Security Council, which will automatically increase the Council's membership from 15 to 25 would strike a balance in the Council's<sup>505</sup>.

### **3.1. Nigerian Participation in the Formation of OAU/AU**

**Pan-Africanism as a Critical Factor in Nigeria's Foreign Policy** – the historical insertion of the ideals of Pan-Africanism into the political and ideological structures of Nigeria had an immense impact on the framing of its foreign policy objectives and principles. From the inception of Nigeria's foreign policy, its

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<sup>503</sup> *Nwalie G.A.* Nigeria Role in the Leadership of Africa: Perspective of International Relations // Academia.edu. 2020. URL: <https://www.academia.edu/10314154>. (date of access: 22.8.2021).

<sup>504</sup> United Nations. Peacebuilding, A to Z Site Index // URL: <https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/commission/mandate.>; Nelson Mandela at the United Nations. 2010. // <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NOR4F2eNDq8>. (date of access:06.10.2021)

<sup>505</sup> Resolution on Security Council Reform, Document A/59/L.64. General Assembly Opens Debate on Group of Four Sponsored Draft Resolution on Security Council Reform. 2005.



fundamental goals and objectives were the eradication of colonialism and other external forms of exploitation, domination, oppression, and marginalization of Africans.

Nigeria initiated a foreign policy concept, 'Africa as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy to actualize its national interest and foreign policy objectives towards Africa'<sup>506</sup>. Nigeria's foreign policy evolved in Pan-Africanism which is due to its national interest. This encourages Nigeria's foreign policy concepts on African affairs<sup>507</sup>. Nigeria's national interests were designed and structured by the lovers of Pan-Africanism, who strongly believe in African unity and solidarity of black people all over the world<sup>508</sup>.

Chapter II, Section 19 of the 1999 constitution of Nigeria says that Nigeria's role in promoting African integration and supporting African unity is important and that Nigeria's national interest is important for African states<sup>509</sup>. According to Atah Pine (2020), Nigeria's foreign policy never wavered in its concern with African affairs, especially as they relate to the ideals of Pan-Africanism, in both civil and military rule<sup>510</sup>.

It is important to note that continental political unity is the predominant tendency of Pan-Africanism in Nigeria's foreign policy. Nigeria's enthusiasm for continental unity and harmonious co-existence is part of the Pan-Africanism feature that has

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<sup>506</sup> *Jaja A.W.* Establishing Nigeria Foreign Policy Identity, Lagos: Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In Victor Okoro U., Uche Uwaezuoke O., & (ed.). Afro-centrism as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy: A historical misnomer in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks in South Africa // Cogent Arts & Humanities. 2020. 7 (1). P. 14.

<sup>507</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court. 98 (20). Government Notice No.103. The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13).

<sup>508</sup> *Pine A.* Pan – Africanism And Nigeria's Foreign Policy: Some Contemporary Notes. // Modern Ghana News, an Internet Publication. December 16, 2020.

<sup>509</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court .98 (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13). P.34.

<sup>510</sup> *Pine A.* Pan – Africanism And Nigeria's Foreign Policy: Some Contemporary Notes. // Modern Ghana News, an Internet Publication. December 16, 2020.

expressed enthusiasm for the formation of the United States of Africa.<sup>511</sup> Pan-Africanism is one of the features of Nigeria's foreign policy objectives since independence. According to Samuel A. U. (2017)<sup>512</sup> Nigeria's desire to enhance good governance, human rights, and continental unity induces the country to provide material and other support to the democratic and electoral processes in Guinea – Bissau, Mali, Senegal, Liberia, Ghana, Niger, and other African countries.

On the issue of Afrocentrism, during the year of Africa in the 1960s, when the majority of African countries were struggling to attain political independence, During the 1960s, when most African countries were trying to become politically independent, Nigeria used all the tools at its disposal to help its fellow African countries. Nigeria saw independence as a way to end colonialism, racism, apartheid, and imperialism on the African continent. Nigeria, according to former foreign affairs minister Bolaji Akinyemi, has responsibilities to Africa<sup>513</sup>. And Nigeria's involvement and contributions to this discussion are justified by this reasoning.

Jaja Anucha Wachuku, the first Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, made the idea of Afrocentric more believable and important when he said that any foreign policy of Nigeria that does not consider the interests of the common man in Africa is unrealistic. The dividends of Nigeria's foreign policy should be seen in the affairs of the people, according to him<sup>514</sup>. Since the implementation of this policy, Nigeria has

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<sup>511</sup> The History of Pan-Africanism. New Internationalist, 2000. URL: <https://newint.org/features/2000/08/05/simply>. (date of access: 13.07.2021).

<sup>512</sup> Samuel A. Umezurike (Eds). Re-examining Nigeria's Contributions to the African Union and the Domestic Socio-Economic Ramifications // Journal of Economic and Behavioral Studies. 2017. 1 (9). Pp. 17 – 26.

<sup>513</sup> Akinterinwa B. Nigeria in the world: Issues and problems of the sleeping giant. In Victor Okoro U., Uche Uwaezuoke O., & et al. Afro – centrism as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy: A historical misnomer in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks in South Africa // Cogent Arts & Humanities. 2020. 7 (1). P. 14.

<sup>514</sup> Jaja A.W. Establishing Nigeria Foreign Policy Identity, Lagos: Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In Victor Okoro U., Uche Uwaezuoke O., & (ed.). Afro-centrism as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy: A historical misnomer in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks in South Africa // Cogent Arts & Humanities. 2020. 7 (1). P. 14.

been involved in numerous peacekeeping missions in Africa, and it has continued to create an environment that is conducive to the peaceful resolution of African conflicts.

Nigeria's cultural and foreign policy goals were inspired by Pan-African ideals. These efforts were focused on promoting humanity, especially the promotion of the dignity and personality of Africans<sup>515</sup>. Nigeria's foreign policy is focused on cultural nationalism and unity. This policy is carried out through cultural activities and carnivals both at home and abroad, especially through the hosting of conferences and workshops to promote African culture and civilization.

For instance, Nigeria hosted the famous second black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC '77) in 1977<sup>516</sup>. FESTAC '77, which was hosted in Lagos, was attended by blacks all over the world with well over two thousand arts exhibitions on display. At the end of the festival, the Federal Government of Nigeria established the Centre for Black African Arts and Civilization (CBAAC) to warehouse and coordinate research relating to the cultures and civilizations of the peoples of African descent.

Pan-Africanism has been mainstreamed in Nigeria's foreign policy objectives. Nigeria was deeply involved in the struggle for decolonization in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, as well as in the process of creating a name for itself as an advanced nation, even though it was geographically far from the Southern region of Africa. Nigeria has played an important role in preventing further unrest in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and has contributed greatly to peacekeeping efforts and economic development in less economically demanding African countries<sup>517</sup>.

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<sup>515</sup> *Pine A.* Pan – Africanism And Nigeria's Foreign Policy: Some Contemporary Notes // Modern Ghana News, an Internet Publication. December 16, 2020.

<sup>516</sup> FESTAC '77. The 2nd World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture. URL: <https://afterall.org/project/festac-77>. (date of access: 29.08.2021).

<sup>517</sup> *Saliu H.A.* Reflections on fifty years of Nigeria's foreign policy. In Segun Oshewolo. Major Contentions on Nigeria's Afrocentric Policy // *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. 75 (3). p. 353.

Nigeria's Pan-Africanism is a critical element of its foreign policy, which has shaped, encouraged, and even revolved around Nigeria's foreign policy. The only solution to end imperialism, neocolonialism, apartheid, racism, underdevelopment, and white supremacy is for all African leaders to jointly establish a national development entity that will adopt and implement a unified development strategy for people of African descent<sup>518</sup>.

**The Nigeria Role in the Formation of OAU/AU** – Nigeria played a crucial role in shaping the final shape of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was established in 1963 and its subsequent transmutation into the African Union (AU) in 2002<sup>519</sup>. Nigeria's first Prime Minister, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, was a key player in the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. Despite Kwame Nkrumah's contributions as Ghana's first president, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa also played a meditative role between the Casablanca and Monrovia member states<sup>520</sup>.

The OAU gave Nigeria a platform to extend its diplomatic reach and shape the outcomes of major events across the continent, according to Segun Oshewolo (2019). He claimed that Nigeria championed the campaign against colonialism and institutionalized racism in Africa through the multilateral framework of the OAU<sup>521</sup>.

However, the issue of African solidarity, which was first internationalized by the Abubakar Tafawa Balewa administration, conformed with the well-established principles of traditional law, as well as the Charter of the OAU.<sup>522</sup> This was reflected

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<sup>518</sup> The History of Pan – Africanism. New Internationalist, 2000. URL: <https://newint.org/features/2000/08/05/simply>. (date of access: 13.07.2021).

<sup>519</sup> OAU/AU Treaty. URL: <https://au.int/en/treaties>. 2001. (date of access: 13.04.2021).

<sup>520</sup> Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Addis Ababa. 2009. URL: <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/1963-sir-abubakar-tafawa-balewa-addis-ababa>. (date of access: 13.04.2021).

<sup>521</sup> *Segun Oshewolo*. Rhetoric and Praxis: Nigeria's Africa Diplomacy and the Shaping of the African Union // *The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. 1. (108). Pp. 49 – 65.

<sup>522</sup> Charter of Organization of African Unity 1963, International Democracy Watch. URL: [http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/attachments/156\\_OAU\\_Charter\\_1963.pdf](http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/attachments/156_OAU_Charter_1963.pdf). (date of access: 26.07.2021).

in the document of its establishment, which are as follows: the sovereign equality of all member states; non-interference in the internal affairs of states; respect for the sovereignty and of each state and for its inalienable right to independent of existence; peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation; unresolved condemnation, in all its forms, of political assassination, as well as of subversive activities on the part of neighboring states or any other states; absolute commitment to the total emancipation of the African territories, which are still dependent; and affirmation of a policy of non-alignment about all groups.

In reviewing the role played by various groups in the formation of OAU, Nigusie Kassaye W. M. (2013) asserted that Monrovia and Brazza – Ville groups got hold of several positions on the state in the national economy, and on the relations between the two countries. Meanwhile, the Casablanca group proposes establishing state control over all means of production, arguing that there are conditions for full economic independence and feasible political freedom<sup>523</sup>.

The outline principles have given a cogent understanding of the leadership formation of Nigeria in African affairs, as well as guided Nigeria's active role in the activities of the OAU. Nigerian foreign policy has prioritized regional integration and African unity in the 1960s, the formation of the Organization of African Unity. At the United Nations General Assembly in 1973, Nigerian former President Yakubu Gowon stated that Nigeria was moving towards becoming a leader on the African continent. He claimed that Nigeria would use its natural resources, such as natural gas, iron ore, coal, etc. to support the struggle for African unity and the liberation of Africans living under colonial or white minority rule<sup>524</sup>.

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<sup>523</sup> *Ныгусие Кассаяе В. Микаэль* Император Хайле Селассие I и Организация Африканского Единства (К 50 летию Африканского Союза) // Вестник Российского университета дружбы народов. Серия: Всеобщая история. Выпуск: № 3 (2013). С. 57-71.

<sup>524</sup> Gen. Yakubu Gowon. Statement at the United Nations General Assembly // The New York Times Archives. 1973.

Gbadebo Afolabi (2020) said that Nigeria is one of the countries that started the OAU and made its charter.<sup>525</sup> According to him, successive Nigerian President has contributed hugely to the leadership of OAU. For instance, in 1973, the Head of State, Y. Gowon, served as chairman of the OAU. Under O. Obasanjo's presidency, Nigeria was one of the initiators of a new pan – African organization – the African Union (AU), which was established in 2002.

Nigeria's leadership role in the formation of the Organization of African Unity has given the country a perception of hegemonic status in all affairs ranging from politics, social, cultural, and economic. Nigeria's role in West Africa can be seen as that of a stabilizer in the context of African unity. According to Sinclair Michael (1983), states can survive only when there is political and economic stability; however, these factors encouraged the state of Nigeria to participate in regional and continental integration. Nigeria's role in the late 1960s and 1970s was to woo other West African states into a regional economic agreement for harmonization of economic policies of newly independent African states, trade liberalization, and the joint coordination of economic development<sup>526</sup>. Nigeria's involvement in the establishment of OAU, according to Onyeisi C. (2011)<sup>527</sup> was to ensure the implementation of the primary objectives upon which the Organization of African Unity was founded.

It is important to note that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was created out of a need for African unity and development, which became inevitable during the 1960s. Hence, issues such as Pan-Africanism, anti-colonialism, and imperialism were top on the agenda of both leaders and Africans in the diaspora. Yakubu Y. A. says that

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<sup>525</sup> *Афолаби Гбадебо. Основные приоритеты внешней политики Федеративной Республики Нигерии: 1976-2020: дис. ... канд. ист. наук: 07.00.15. М.: 2020. 233 с.*

<sup>526</sup> *Sinclair M. An Analysis of Nigerian Foreign Policy: The Evolution of Political Paranoia, Braamfontein // The South African Institute of International Affairs. 1983. № 1 (1). P.10*

<sup>527</sup> *Onyeisi C. Continuity and Change in Nigeria's Foreign Policy. In Ikedinachi Ayodele Power Wogu & et al. A Critical Evaluation of Nigeria's Foreign Policy at 53 // Research on Humanities and Social Sciences. 2015. 2 (5). P. 142.*

the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was born out of intense politics among young African countries who all wanted to influence decisions and make a big impact on the development of their continent<sup>528</sup>.

Different African countries and groups have different views on the road to African development. The growth and development of the OAU was affected by the interplay of two factors. These events include A movement for the formation and consolidation of independent states within existing boundaries and A Pan – African movement aspiring to unite all the states of Africa to join forces for general and unified objectives.

However, the latter was proffered by the group later known as a radical group (Casablanca group) led by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana in 1961. The Casablanca group was composed of seven states that were radical, left-wing leaders: Algeria, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Libya, Mali, and Morocco. The states met in Casablanca and adopted a charter, which later became known as the Casablanca charter.<sup>529</sup>

The charter did provide for joint military command and the African common market. The group advocated for a socialist development of Africa around a central authority. The Casablanca group believes that there should be socioeconomic cooperation and unity of aspirations before there is total political integration. Nigeria felt that there was a need to reconcile the contending positions to get continental cooperation. In 1962, the Prime Minister of Nigeria, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, organized a conference of African and Malagasy States to consolidate peace and cooperation among the young independence states<sup>530</sup>, Nigeria initiated the Lagos

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<sup>528</sup> *Yakubu Y.A.* Nigeria foreign policy. In Halima S. A. Nigeria's Role Since the Formation of Africa Union: Its Leadership Status in Africa // Gusau International Journal of Management and Social Sciences, Federal University, Gusau. 2011. 1 (1). P. 38.

<sup>529</sup> The Casablanca Bloc Treaty of 1961. DBpedia. URL: <https://dbpedia.org/page/Casablanca>. (date of access: 03.8.2021).

<sup>530</sup> Dunmoye R. A. Nigeria and the transition from the OAU to the African. In Halima S.A. Nigeria's Role Since the Formation of Africa Union: Its Leadership Status in Africa // Gusau International Journal of Management and Social Sciences, Federal University, Gusau. 2011. 1 (1). p. 39.

Charter draft to advance its ideas about African unity. Moreover, Nigeria's immense role at the regional and continental levels conforms with its national interest and foreign policy pursuit.<sup>531</sup>

Meanwhile, the former group (Monrovia group) was more favored by the conservative group which included Nigeria, Tunisia, Somalia, Congo, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia, Liberia, Togo, and the twelve Brazzaville groups.<sup>532</sup> The approach of the Casablanca group was more radical than the approach of the Monrovia group. They promoted nationalism, as well as the gradual institutionalization of Pan-Africanism into the continental body politic.

It is a sign of Nigeria's success with its Pan-Africanist vision that the other groups are able to succeed by adopting the goals of the Monrovia group as the OAU ideology. In this light, Fawole W. A. (2014) posited that Nigeria exerted considerable influence in the process leading to the formation of the OAU. He contended that the preparatory conference, which ascertains the final shape and structure of the organization, was held in January 1962 in Lagos due to Nigeria's influence<sup>533</sup>. Nigeria used the Pan-Africanism vision that the founders of OAU stood for<sup>534</sup>. In this regard, Nigusie Kassae M. (2013) looked at the activities of the Organization of African Unity, which was later

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<sup>531</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court .98 (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13), p.34.

<sup>532</sup> The Monrovia Bloc of Treaty 1961. D. Bpadia. URL: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monrovia\\_Group](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monrovia_Group). (date of access: 03.8.2021).

<sup>533</sup> *Fawole W.A.* OAU/AU at 50: Interrogating Nigeria's Intellectual, Philosophical and Ideological Contributions to the Theory and Praxis of African Unity and Integration. In Segun Oshewolo. *Rhetoric and Praxis: Nigeria's Africa Diplomacy and the Shaping of the African Union // The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. 1 (108). P. 51.

<sup>534</sup> Organisation of African Unity. *The Emergence of a Pan-African Rhetoric*. Collections in the Archives. 2011. URL: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/organisation-african-unity-oau>. (date of access: 16.11.2021).



changed to the African Union and what Emperor Haile Selassie I stood for in the context of Pan-Africanism<sup>535</sup>.

In the end, the Monrovia groups ideas won out because Nigeria kept pushing and never gave up. The Monrovia group met with the Casablanca group and through numerous consultative activities, both groups were able to unite all African states to create the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. Halima S. A. (2013) contended that both groups realized that solidarity is of great importance to mitigate and to check the spread of divisive extra African influences all over the continent and thus the October 1961 event which conceived the 16th Session of the United Nations Organization (UNO), when Ethiopia called upon African states to join in the creation of the organization, which conforms with Article 52 of the UN charter<sup>536</sup>, of a regional organization of African states, which allow every region to tackle its problem without the influence and pressure of the outside world<sup>537</sup>.

Nigeria's role in the formation of the Organisation of African Unity is linked to its national interest and foreign policy pursuit<sup>538</sup>, which encourages the state to influence other African states while deliberating on the concept and ideology of OAU. Nigeria utilized all the elements of its sociopolitical will and economic endowment to inject the Monrovia group ideology into the OAU concepts. Moreover, the conflict between the Casablanca group and the Monrovia group during the formation of OAU was amicably resolved due to Nigeria's leadership role and influence in Africa<sup>539</sup>.

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<sup>535</sup> *Nigusie Kassae M.* Emperor Haile Selassie I and the Organization of African Unity. Devoted to the 50th anniversary of the African Union // Moscow: Vestnik, RUDN, World History. 2013. 13 (3). Pp.57 – 71.

<sup>536</sup> Charter of the United Nations. Article 52, Chapter VIII, Regional arrangements. Codification Division, Repertory of Practice of United Nations Organs. 2016.

<sup>537</sup> *Halima S.A.* Nigeria's Role Since the Formation of Africa Union: Its Leadership Status in Africa // Gusau International Journal of Management and Social Sciences, Federal University, Gusau. 2011. 1 (1). Pp. 35 – 47.

<sup>538</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court .98 (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13). P.34.

<sup>539</sup> OAU/AU Treaty. URL: <https://au.int/en/treaties>. 2001. (date of access: 13.04.2021).

**The African Union** – the calls for the transmutation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to African Union (AU) became inevitable due to the inability of the organization to maintain the principles and objectives of the organization<sup>540</sup>. Oftentimes, the OAU has been criticized for not being able to ensure good governance within African countries and being unable to give economic and political directions to conflicting countries on the continent. According to Dunmoye R. A. (2011) “the critics and cynics of OAU often go to the extent of castigating the organization as a toothless bulldog”<sup>541</sup>.

President Olusegun Obasanjo in his report at the African Union Twenty – First Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2013 reiterated that the main vision for transforming the Organization of African Unity (OAU) into the African Union (AU) was to enable Africa to redress the economic, social, and political challenges confronting the continent<sup>542</sup>.

Nonetheless, the issue of noninterference in the affairs of another state, which is among the key principles of the OAU charter, has been identified as a major setback related to organizational performance. Again, on the issues of dispute settlement among member states, the OAU has been criticized for its role, which was limited to mediating between disputants and has no power to impose a collective will on disobedient members. For instance, the OAU meditative role does not produce instant remedies to feud as evidenced in the prolongation and persistence of the Congo crises. In the Halima S. A. (2011) opinion, the OAU failed to play a decisive role fundamentally because its

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<sup>540</sup> OAU/AU Treaty. URL: <https://au.int/en/treaties>. 2001. (date of access: 13.04.2021).

<sup>541</sup> *Dunmoye R.A.* Nigeria and the transition from the OAU to the African. In Halima S. A. Nigeria’s Role Since the Formation of Africa Union: Its Leadership Status in Africa // *Gusau International Journal of Management and Social Sciences*, Federal University, Gusau. 2011. 1 (1). P. 41.

<sup>542</sup> President Olusegun Obasanjo. Statement Assembly of the Union Twenty-First Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Assembly/AU/6(XXI) Original: English. SC10056. 2013.

members were passionately split over the politics of the Congo crisis, which in turn prolonged and affected its role and performance in the crisis<sup>543</sup>.

Subsequently, after enduring some of the bloodiest resistance to independence, many leaders saw the OAU as a threat to the sovereignty of their young states. The charter of the OAU, which was signed on May 25, 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, reflected the compromise between the radical and moderate groups<sup>544</sup>. The OAU was prohibited from interference in internal state matters, which often made it an impotent bystander to many violations of human rights under the rule of dictators such as Former President of Uganda, Idi Amin, and Former President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mobutu Sese Seko<sup>545</sup>.

Moreover, the failure of the OAU to maintain its principles and objectives was promised. African states called for the creation of the African Union (AU) at the extraordinary summit in Sirte, Libya, on September 9, 1999. However, the main objective for the transmutation of the Organisation of African Unity to the African Union (AU) was to shift from state-centred to people-centred interests<sup>546</sup>. Notwithstanding, the political climate in which the AU was born greatly contributed to the creation of the organization. According to Vladimir Shubin (2014), the reform process adopted by the African Union is a positive step to continental and regional integration<sup>547</sup>. On this, Nigusie K. M. and Savicheva E. M. (2020) argued that Gaddafi M.'s involvement in the transformation of the OAU into the AU was a result of Libyan

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<sup>543</sup> Halima S.A. Nigeria's Role Since the Formation of Africa Union: Its Leadership Status in Africa // Gusau International Journal of Management and Social Sciences, Federal University, Gusau. 2011. 1 (1). Pp. 35 – 47.

<sup>544</sup> OAU Charter, The Addis Ababa Treaty of 1963. Refworld. URL: [https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/7759-file-oau\\_charter\\_1963.pdf](https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/7759-file-oau_charter_1963.pdf). (date of access: 09.08.2021).

<sup>545</sup> Ibid.

<sup>546</sup> OAU/AU Treaty. URL: <https://au.int/en/treaties>. 2001. (date of access: 06.08.2021).

<sup>547</sup> Шубин В. Объединенная Африка? // РСМД. 2014. URL: <https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/analytics/united-africa>. (date of access: 22.08.2021).

foreign policy, which intensified in Sub-Saharan Africa; nevertheless, they claimed that the Pan-Arabism of M. Gaddafi gave way to Pan-Africanism<sup>548</sup>.

In addition, the desire of Muammar Ghaddafi of Libya, Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, Thabo Mbeki of South Africa to revive the spirit of African Unity contributed to the materialization of the AU. Thabo Mbeki, Muammar Gaddafi, and Olusegun Obasanjo became the leading figures in the move toward the AU<sup>549</sup>. In this light, Kosukhin Nikolay D. (2001)<sup>550</sup> argued that the approach and behavior of the leaders in the continent of Africa towards the usual hijack of political power and its process in the various African states, are seen and referred to as a complex system of social relations.

Nevertheless, the successful creation of the AU was made possible due to the commitment and sacrifices of major actors such as Muammar Ghaddafi of Libya, Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal, and Bouteflika of Algeria, who are tired of the achievement recorded by the OAU<sup>551</sup>. President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and Thabo Mbeki of South Africa hijacked the project from President Muammar Ghaddafi to frustrate Libya's hegemonic ambitions and to advance their hegemonic desires<sup>552</sup>.

According to Fawole W. A. (2014)<sup>553</sup> Nigeria's intellectual, philosophical, and ideological contributions to the theory and praxis of African integration were

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<sup>548</sup> Савичева Е.М., Кассе Ныгусие В. Микаэль, Пономаренко Л.В. Особенности африканского вектора внешней политики Муаммара Каддафи: от арабского единства к panaфриканизму // Вопросы истории. 2020. № 1. С. 234 – 244.

<sup>549</sup> Nwalie G.A. Nigeria Role in the Leadership of Africa: Perspective of International Relations // Academia.edu. 2020. URL: <https://www.academia.edu/10314154>. (date of access: 22.08.2021).

<sup>550</sup> Косухин Н.Д. Политическая власть и политический процесс в Африке // Вестник Российского университета дружбы народов. Серия: Политология. 2001. №3. С 80-88.

<sup>551</sup> Segun Oshewolo. Rhetoric and Praxis: Nigeria's Africa Diplomacy and the Shaping of the African Union // The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs. 2019. 1 (108). P. 55.

<sup>552</sup> Ibid.

<sup>553</sup> Fawole W.A. OAU/AU at 50: interrogating Nigeria's Intellectual, Philosophical and Ideological Contributions to the Theory and Praxis of African unity and integration. In Segun Oshewolo. Rhetoric and Praxis: Nigeria's Africa Diplomacy and the Shaping of

acknowledged during President Obasanjo's speeches at different African and extra-African forums. While Tiekü T. k. (2004)<sup>554</sup> argued that President Obasanjo's rhetoric was intended to persuade African leaders to accept his ideas and advance Nigeria's historic role as the giant of Africa, promoting solidarity, security, and development.

For more emphasis on President Olusegun Obasanjo's ideologies towards OAU/AU affairs. The analytical evidence presented by Kayode Shinkaiye, Nigeria's ambassador to Ethiopia and permanent representative to the OAU/AU from 2000 to 2003, showing that the Nigerian Embassy in Addis Ababa in partnership with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the leadership of Alhaji Sule Lamido engaged actively in drawing up all the instruments establishing the AU<sup>555</sup>.

Again, Wapmuk S. (2014) argued that President Olusegun Obasanjo's active role in the preparatory meetings that conceived AU is to fulfill his leadership obligation as a member of the inner caucus together with countries such as Libya and South Africa<sup>556</sup>. Although, he claimed that Nigeria's high – level diplomacy was acknowledged in 2000 during the OAU heads of state and government summit in Lome, Togo.

Within the interval that the draft of the AU Constitutive Act was presented at the summit for deliberation and adoption, Presidents Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda proposed some amendments which were not taken because of the feeling that revisiting the Constitutive Act could prevent its adoption at the summit. However, President Olusegun Obasanjo argued that the Constitutive Act

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the African Union // *The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. 1 (108). P. 55.

<sup>554</sup> *Tiekü T.K.* Explaining the Clash and Accommodation of Interests of Major Actors in the Creation of the African Union. In Segun Oshewolo. *Rhetoric and Praxis: Nigeria's Africa Diplomacy and the Shaping of the African Union // The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. 1 (108). p. 55.

<sup>555</sup> *Segun Oshewolo.* Rhetoric and Praxis: Nigeria's Africa Diplomacy and the Shaping of the African Union // *The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. 1 (108). Pp. 55 – 65.

<sup>556</sup> *Wapmuk S.* Nigeria and the Establishment of the OAU and its Transformation to the AU. In Segun Oshewolo. *Rhetoric and Praxis: Nigeria's Africa Diplomacy and the Shaping of the African Union // The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. 1 (108). P. 55.

of the AU was not a perfect document, but sufficiently represented all shades of opinion within the African continent. He suggested the adoption of the AU Constitutive Act, and it was given consent to almost immediately<sup>557</sup>.

For emphasis, the African Affairs Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Embassy of Nigeria in Addis Ababa in view to perfect the legal proceedings for the establishment of the AU legal drafting and analysis, requested for the deployment of a lawyer from the Ministry to Addis Ababa, to help the Embassy to take care of the legal contents of its activities concerning the transformation of the OAU to AU<sup>558</sup>.

In line with this judgment, the Nigeria Embassy was able to produce, between November and December 2001, its own draft rules of procedure for the Assembly, the Executive Council, the Permanent Representatives Committee, as well as the Statute for the Commission and the draft protocol on the Peace and Security Council<sup>559</sup>. According to Tieku T. K. (2004)<sup>560</sup> the process leading to the transmutation of OAU to AU was defined by a clash of interests among major actors, which automatically influenced the system of operation after establishment.

Despite that, Nigeria's position prevailed. For instance, President Muammar Ghaddafi in 1999 during the process of OAU replacement, proposed a more radical approach that would lead to the establishment of a United States of Africa. It was believed that President Muammar Ghaddafi wanted to use the opportunity to cement

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<sup>557</sup> *Segun Oshewolo*. Rhetoric and Praxis: Nigeria's Africa Diplomacy and the Shaping of the African Union // *The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. 1 (108). Pp. 55 – 65.

<sup>558</sup> *Akinsanya O*. Nigeria and the African Union. In Segun Oshewolo. Rhetoric and Praxis: Nigeria's Africa Diplomacy and the Shaping of the African Union // *The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. 1 (108). P. 56.

<sup>559</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>560</sup> *Tieku T.K*. Explaining the Clash and Accommodation of Interests of Major Actors in the Creation of the African Union. In Segun Oshewolo. Rhetoric and Praxis: Nigeria's Africa Diplomacy and the Shaping of the African Union // *The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. 1 (108). P. 56.

his full return to the geopolitics of black Africa and to demonstrate his renewed commitment to the Pan – Africanism objective<sup>561</sup>.

Muammar Ghaddafi’s diplomatic moves in this regard were checked by the likes of Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, who never wanted him to succeed in his pursuit. Although, President Olusegun Obasanjo gave his consent to the Muammar Ghaddafi proposal, but adopted a more pragmatic approach to the issue of African integration. For clarity, President Olusegun Obasanjo made a persuasive argument in favor of incrementalism and gradualism as African march towards integration, during the 1999 OAU Summit in Sirte, Libya<sup>562</sup>.

Apparently, the adoption culminated in the 2002 Summit in Durban, South Africa, where the formation of the AU was officially announced to the world, immediately after the disbandment of OAU on 9 July 2002<sup>563</sup>. According to Akinsanya O. (2014) the African leaders converged in the South African city of Durban on 9 July 2002 to form a successor Pan – African Organisation to rekindle the spirit of Pan – Africanism, which were believed to be the only panacea to promote African unity<sup>564</sup>.

Finally, President Muhammadu Buhari of Nigeria at the 34th Summit of the AU, which was held virtually in 2021, called for a comprehensive reform of the structures and operations of the African Union, to make it more functional in meeting targets, warning that the organization would become stale, except it becomes more result –

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<sup>561</sup> Akinsanya O. Nigeria’s Role in the Transformation of the OAU to AU. In Segun Oshewolo. *Rhetoric and Praxis: Nigeria’s Africa Diplomacy and the Shaping of the African Union // The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. 1 (108). P. 55.

<sup>562</sup> Segun Oshewolo. *Rhetoric and Praxis: Nigeria’s Africa Diplomacy and the Shaping of the African Union // The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. 1 (108). Pp. 55 – 65.

<sup>563</sup> OAU/AU Treaty. URL: <https://au.int/en/treaties>. 2001. (date of access: 13.04.2021).

<sup>564</sup> Akinsanya O. Nigeria’s Role in the Transformation of the OAU to AU. In Segun Oshewolo. *Rhetoric and Praxis: Nigeria’s Africa Diplomacy and the Shaping of the African Union // The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. 1 (108). P. 55.

oriented<sup>565</sup>. President Muhammadu Buhari commended President Paul Kagame of Rwanda for presenting a special report on the need to reform the AU. He believed that his leadership demands a truly reformed, efficient, and effective AU Commission, one that is fully committed to the discharge of its duties and responsibilities.

The calls for the transmutation of the Organization of African Unity to the African Union were necessitated because the OAU was consistently unable to address the challenges facing the continent. The process for the OAU transmutation to AU started with the unanimous will of member states, who generally adopted the motion for the establishment of AU at the fifth Extraordinary Summit of the AU held in Sirte, Libya, from 1 to 2 March 200.<sup>566</sup>

### **3.2. Nigeria's Foreign Policy Impact Towards the African Economic Initiatives**

**The Role of Nigeria in African Economic Initiatives** – Due to Nigeria's regional hegemony status, the country is positioned to play a vital role in the economic initiatives of Africa. Nigeria's economic policy and its national interest, which are centered on Africa, have encouraged the country to cooperate with other African states in pursuing African economic initiatives, such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) economic initiatives<sup>567</sup>. However, the New Partnership for

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<sup>565</sup> Muhammadu Buhari Calls for Reform of African Union // Premium Times, February 7, 2021.

<sup>566</sup> Special Motion of Thanks to the Leader of the Great Socialist Libya Arab Jamahiriya Brother Muammar Al Ghaddafi Adopted by the Fifth Extraordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. United Nations General Assembly. A/55/951. 2001.; OAU/AU Treaty. URL: <https://au.int/en/treaties>. 2001. (date of access: 13.04.2021).

<sup>567</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court .98 (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13). P.34.



Africa's Development (NEPAD) is an African-led strategy for economic development and poverty eradication initiative from the African continent<sup>568</sup>.

NEPAD was adopted by African Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 2001 and was ratified by the African Union (AU) in 2002 to tackle Africa's development problems within the continent. The core mandate of NEPAD is to eradicate poverty, reposition Africa on the path of sustainable development, terminate marginalization of Africa, and empower women<sup>569</sup>. The NEPAD's five initiating countries are Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, and 15 members elected based on the AU's five regions, usually for two-year terms<sup>570</sup>.

NEPAD aims to provide an overarching vision and policy framework for accelerating economic co-operation and integration among African countries. NEPAD's four primary objectives are as follows:

- to eradicate poverty;
- promote sustainable growth and development;
- integrate Africa in the world economy;
- accelerate the empowerment of women.

It is based on underlying principles of a commitment to good governance, democracy, human rights and conflict resolution; and the recognition that maintenance of these standards is fundamental to the creation of an environment conducive to investment and long-term economic growth<sup>571</sup>.

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<sup>568</sup> The New Partnership for Africa's Development. Abuja, Nigeria. UN Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. 2001. URL: <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/RuleOfLaw/CompilationDemocracy/Pages/NEPAD.aspx>. (date of access: 15.11.2021).

<sup>569</sup> NEPAD. UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs Poverty. URL: <https://www.un.org/development/desa/socialperspectiveondevelopment/issues/new-partnership-for-africas-development-nepad.html>. (date of access: 10.11.2021).

<sup>570</sup> New Partnership for Africa's Development. AU. URL: <https://au.int/es/node/3625>. (date of access: 11.11.2021).

<sup>571</sup> *Adams A.J.* Rethinking Africa's Development through NEPAD: The Challenges and way forward. In Joseph C. Ebegbulem. *An Evaluation of Nigeria and South Africa Bilateral Relations // Journal of International Relations and Foreign Policy*. 2012. 1 (1). P. 35.

It is imperative to note that Nigeria played a vital role in the formation of NEPAD, without the involvement of Nigeria the creation of NEPAD would have been more strenuous, or unobtainable. According to Adams A. J. (2006)<sup>572</sup>, the establishment of NEPAD was forecasted by Nigerian leaders on the belief that the regional document will reposition Africa on the path of long – term development, which will reduce its marginalization in international economic relations.

Accordingly, Former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo, who lamented about African leadership, predicted that with the establishment of NEPAD, the whole of Africa's economy will grow while that of China, Europe, and North America would be stagnated by 2025. He believed that the economic progress in Africa will continue to advance, making Africa a haven for investment employment generation and wealth creation by 2040, this was written by Financial Times, Op – Ed titled, My Africa Utopia<sup>573</sup>.

Nigeria's involvement in NEPAD was believed to have encouraged and repositioned the African economic relations in the international community, in conformity with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)<sup>574</sup>, as well as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)<sup>575</sup>, which attracted an urgent call for action by all countries, especially from the African continent for a global economic partnership.

Subsequently, Nigeria believed that NEPAD represents a tacit recognition of the existence of a developmental crisis within the continent of Africa. To buttress this, Adams A.J. (2006) argued that the opportunities and economic interests of the regional

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<sup>572</sup> Ibid. P. 34.

<sup>573</sup> *Olusegun Obasanjo*. My Africa Utopia. AUDA-NEPAD, African Union Development Agency. 2015. URL: <https://www.nepad.org/news/olusegun-obasanjo-my-africa-utopia>. (date of access: 15.11.2021).

<sup>574</sup> UN 2015 Agenda for Millennium Development Goals. MDG Success Springboard for New Sustainable Development Agenda: UN Report. URL: [https://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015\\_MDG\\_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20rev%20\(July%201\).pdf](https://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20rev%20(July%201).pdf). (date of access: 11.11.2021).

<sup>575</sup> UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals. Department of Economic and Social Affairs Sustainable Development. URL: <https://sdgs.un.org/2030agenda>. (date of access: 11.11.2021).

initiative for African nations have been overstretched by African leaders and their Western allies, especially members of the G.8 group, such as France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, Japan, the United States, Canada, and Russia, who have pledged their support toward African economic development<sup>576</sup>. According to Omoweh D. A. (2003)<sup>577</sup> Nigeria is leading other African leaders in pursuing the mandate of NEPAD and ensuring the termination of every form of Africa marginalization in the international community. While Ebegbulem J. (2012) argued that NEPAD is thus a commitment by African leaders to quicken the economic integration of the African continent into the global economy, as well as call to the rest of the world to partner with the African continent.

On this premise, Wogu I.A. (2015)<sup>578</sup> claimed that Nigeria became actively involved in African economic initiatives, such as The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), because of its economic capacity. He believed that NEPAD initiatives were aimed at repositioning the course of Africa so that African states would see that the continent belonged to them and should take an active position in its development rather than to look elsewhere.

Moreover, the idea of asking for assistance from development partners without wanting to take responsibility was to stop through the concept of NEPAD. By doing so, Africans would take responsibility to develop their continent on their own, as they have human and natural resources to promote growth in the continent. The development

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<sup>576</sup> *Adams A.J.* Rethinking Africa's Development through NEPAD: The Challenges and way forward. In Joseph C. Ebegbulem. *An Evaluation of Nigeria and South Africa Bilateral Relations // Journal of International Relations and Foreign Policy*. 2012. 1 (1). P. 35

<sup>577</sup> *Omoweh D.A.* The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD): Another False Start? In Joseph C. Ebegbulem. *An Evaluation of Nigeria and South Africa Bilateral Relations // Journal of International Relations and Foreign Policy*. 2012. 1 (1). P. 35.

<sup>578</sup> *Ikedinachi Ayodele.* Power Wogu & et al. A Critical Evaluation of Nigeria's Foreign Policy at 53. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*. 2015. 2 (5). Pp. 137– 147.

partners, when they see seriousness on the part of Africans, would be willing to assist the continent without the usual begging for assistance.

In line with the African Union (AU) decision to improve the service delivery of NEPAD, President Muhammadu Buhari on May 24, 2019, approved the transformation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) into the African Union Development Agency – NEPAD (AUDA– NEPAD). It is believed that the mandate of the AUDA – NEPAD is to coordinate and execute regional and continental projects to promote regional integration towards the accelerated realization of Agenda 2063<sup>579</sup>.

Nigeria's role in NEPAD is embedded in its foreign policy principles, which encourages African economic initiatives<sup>580</sup>. However, the NEPAD was created by Nigerians and the Republic of South Africa to eradicate poverty in Africa and to place African countries both individually and collectively on a path to sustainable growth and development to halt the marginalization of Africa in the globalization process<sup>581</sup>.

Finally, NEPAD is based on the principles of good governance as a basic requirement for peace, security, and sustainable political and socio-economic development. It is based on African ownership and full utilization of African resources for development. It rested on African ownership and leadership and participation of all sectors of African society.

**African Union Agenda 2063** – the African Union economic initiative, AU Agenda 2063 was rooted in Pan Africanism and African Renaissance, which provides a robust framework for addressing past injustices and the realization of the 21st Century as the African Century<sup>582</sup>. The African heads of state and government signed the 50th

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<sup>579</sup> President Muhammadu Buhari. Approves NEPAD's Transformation into AU Development Agency // Premium Times, May 24, 2019.

<sup>580</sup> Official Gazette, Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) with the National Industrial Court .98 (20). Government Notice No.103, The Federal Government Printer, Lagos, FGP 027/32011/2, 200 (OL13). P.34.

<sup>581</sup> Central Bank of Nigeria into NEPAD. Facts: 1/1/1900. URL: <https://www.cbn.gov.ng/monetarypolicy/NEPAD>. (date of access: 15.11.2021).

<sup>582</sup> The History of Pan – Africanism. New Internationalist, 2000. URL: <https://newint.org/features/2000/08/05/simply>. (date of access: 13.07.2021).

Anniversary Solemn Declaration during the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the formation of the OAU/AU in May 2013 as an affirmation of their commitment to support Africa's new path for attaining inclusive and sustainable economic growth and development.

However, the declaration marked the dedication of Africa towards the attainment of the Pan-African vision of an integrated, prosperous, and peaceful Africa, driven by its citizens, representing a dynamic force in the international arena, and AU Agenda 2063 is the concrete manifestation of how the continent intends to achieve this vision within 50 years from 2013 to 2063<sup>583</sup>.

The need to envision a long-term 50-year development trajectory for Africa is important, as Africa needs to revise and adapt its development agenda due to ongoing structural transformations; increased peace and reduction in the number of conflicts; renewed economic growth and social progress; the need for people-centred development, gender equality and youth empowerment; and the increased unity of Africa, which makes it a global power to be reckoned with and capable of rallying support around its common agenda.

AU Agenda 2063 is initiated to consolidate the role of regional economic communities in rebuilding African economic relations. To accomplish this, the deliberate efforts of African leaders are required to nurture transformative leadership that will drive the agenda and defend African economic interests. Notwithstanding, Nigeria and other African countries aspirations for AU Agenda 2063 have reflected on the desire for shared prosperity and economic well – being, for unity and integration, for a continent of free citizens and expanded horizons, where the full potential of

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<sup>583</sup> AU 50th Anniversary Solemn Declaration Adopted by the 21st Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union, at Addis Ababa held on 26 May 2013.; The 50th Anniversary Solemn Declaration. Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want. URL: [https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/36205-doc-50th\\_anniversary\\_solemn\\_declaration\\_en.pdf](https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/36205-doc-50th_anniversary_solemn_declaration_en.pdf). (date of access:11.11.2021).

women and youth, boys and girls are realized, and with freedom from fear, disease and want<sup>584</sup>.

Subsequently, President Muhammadu Buhari of Nigeria, on 28 January 2018, during the opening ceremony of the 30th Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union currently holding at the AU headquarters in Addis Ababa Ethiopia. Declared Nigeria's intention to fight corruption in the continent. According to President Buhari, corruption is indeed one of the greatest evils on the African continent and should be approached in accordance with the African Union Agenda 2063. Under Aspiration 3, corruption erodes the development of a universal culture of good governance, democratic values, gender equality, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law.

Furthermore, AU Agenda 2063 is a vision designed by African leaders to eradicate poverty in the coming decades through enhanced investment in the productive capacities (skills and assets) of African people, improving incomes, creating jobs, and providing necessities of life, as well as transforming, growing the African economy through beneficiation and value addition of natural resources<sup>585</sup>. AU Agenda 2063 encloses not only the African leaders' aspirations for the future of the continent but also recognizes core flagship programs that can promote African economic relations and development, in order to promote African common identity through its history and cultural engagement.

Thus, Ogunbadejo O. (1980)<sup>586</sup> believed that Nigeria played a primary role in facilitating the OAU's transition to the AU in 2002, the establishment of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), and AU Agenda 2063. As mentioned, these are institutions that have been

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<sup>584</sup> Agenda 2063. African Union Commission, Popular Version, 03. 2015. URL: [https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/36204-doc-agenda2063\\_popular\\_version\\_en.pdf](https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/36204-doc-agenda2063_popular_version_en.pdf). (date of access: 11.11.2021).

<sup>585</sup> Ibid.

<sup>586</sup> Ogunbadejo O. Nigeria's Foreign Policy under Military Rule 1966-1979 // *Periodical International Journal*. 1880. 35. (4). Pp. 748-765.

playing a significant role in the administration and efficiency coupled with the integration process of Africa in its reform economic processes.

On other issues vital to Nigeria as relating to African economic initiatives, Nigeria, as a leading state in Africa, is participating to make the AU Agenda 2063 of the Africa Union work. The agenda is based on African aspirations for development<sup>587</sup>. The seven African Aspirations for AU Agenda 2063 according to the document were derived through a consultative process with the African citizenry<sup>588</sup>, and they are as follows:

1. A prosperous Africa, based on inclusive growth and sustainable development;
2. An integrated continent, politically united, based on the ideals of Pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa's Renaissance;
3. A peaceful and secure Africa;
4. An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice, and the rule of law;
5. Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, values, and ethics;
6. An Africa whose development is people driven, relying on the potential offered by people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children; and
7. An Africa as a strong, united, resilient, and influential global player and partner.

Finally, the African Union intends to finance the project through its internal mechanism, with domestic resource mobilization; in other words, the AU member countries will contribute at least 75% to 90% of the financing of AU Agenda 2063 on

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<sup>587</sup> Agenda 2063. African Union Commission, Popular Version, 03. 2015. URL: [https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/36204-doc-agenda2063\\_popular\\_version\\_en.pdf](https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/36204-doc-agenda2063_popular_version_en.pdf). (date of access: 15.11.2021).

<sup>588</sup> Ibid.

average per country. There is no doubt that Nigeria will be contributing hugely as relating to its annual contribution to AU's regular budget<sup>589</sup>.

The African economic initiatives, AU Agenda 2063, have identified numerous benefits, such as sustainable peace, renewed economic growth, and promotion of Africa unity, which was designed by Nigeria and other AU member states to reposition African economic relations in the international community. Nevertheless, these visions can only be attainable under the full implementation of Agenda 2063 aspirations, as mentioned earlier<sup>590</sup>.

**Nigeria's Foreign Policy and Its Economic Well – Being** – since independence, the guiding principles of Nigeria's foreign policy have remained enshrined in the 1999 Constitution as Amended in 2011, Chapter II, Article 19 of the Federal Republic of Nigeria Constitution<sup>591</sup>. These principles, together with Nigeria's national interest, have made it possible for Nigeria to center its foreign policy concepts on African affairs.

For instance, Nigeria's foreign policy core objectives have been the promotion of peace, economic cooperation and integration, development, and the fight against all forms of discrimination<sup>592</sup>. These objectives have hugely contributed to African economic initiatives, as well as the economic well – being of African people.

On attaining independence, the Prime Minister, Alhaji Tafawa Balewa's administration laid the foundation for making Africa the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy. This could be seen, in his assertion on 7 October 1960, at the Plenary of the 15th Regular Session of the United Nations General Assembly, exactly six days

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<sup>589</sup> *Bhaso Ndzendze & David Monyae*. China's Belt and Road Initiative: linkages with the African Union's Agenda 2063 in Historical Perspective // *Transnational Corporations Review*. 2019. 1 (11). P. 5.

<sup>590</sup> az.; Central Bank of Nigeria into NEPAD. Facts: 1/1/1900. URL: <https://www.cbn.gov.ng/monetarypolicy/NEPAD>. (date of access: 11.11.2021).

<sup>591</sup> Nigeria's Constitution of 1999 with Amendments through 2011. [Constituteproject.org](http://Constituteproject.org).

<sup>592</sup> *Efem N. Ubi & et al*. Nigerian Foreign Policy and Economic Development, 1999 – 2013 // *International Area Studies Review*. 2014. 17 (4). Pp. 414 – 433.



after Nigeria gained independence and became the 99th member of the organization, declared that Nigeria belong to Africa and Africa must claim first attention in Nigeria's external affairs<sup>593</sup>, as regarding security and economic well – being of African people.

Subsequently, Nigeria's foreign policy instrument towards national and continental development is exceedingly complex and contentious. To buttress this, Efem N. U. (2014), justified the discourse in the context of Nigeria's economic diplomacy side – by – side with Nigeria's bilateral and multilateral relations, basically, Nigeria economic relations that take place within and among states and non – state actors in the international arena<sup>594</sup>.

This is not to argue that issues of international economic relations are mutually incompatible with Nigeria's foreign policy. Naturally, Nigeria's international economic relations and interactions are guided by its foreign policy objectives, which conform with its national interests. Under this purview, Nigeria's foreign policy is regarded as the action and inaction of the country toward other or nonstate actors within the international system to safeguard its national interests.

In this light, Alli W. O. (2010) Nigeria's foreign policy is not selfless but an apologist who comprises career foreign service officers, and a few scholars believe that Nigeria's foreign policy has yielded tangible and intangible results for the country since its formation in 1960<sup>595</sup>.

However, Nigeria's effort at reconstructing and transforming the economic well-being of its people through its economic initiatives requires a robust policy. Nigeria

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<sup>593</sup> Statement by Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria at the United Nations General Assembly, New York, October 7, 1960. Maiden General Assembly Statement at the United Nations.; Efem N. Ubi & et al. Nigerian Foreign Policy and Economic Development, 1999 – 2013 // International Area Studies Review. 2014. 17 (4). Pp. 414 – 433.

<sup>594</sup> Efem N. Ubi & et al. Nigerian Foreign Policy and Economic Development, 1999 – 2013 // International Area Studies Review. 2014. 17 (4). Pp. 414 – 433.

<sup>595</sup> Alli W.O. The Changing Environment of Nigeria's Foreign Policy. In Efem N. Ubi & et al. Nigerian Foreign Policy and Economic Development, 1999-2013 // International Area Studies Review. 2014. 17 (4). p. 420.

needs to identify the areas of concentration in pursuing its economic goals and objectives for the benefit of its people. Thus, Nigeria's foreign political policy must seek a positive alignment with its foreign economic interests to maximize the economic well-being of its people<sup>596</sup>.

**Economic Diplomacy** – Over the years, Nigeria has been using its economic diplomacy, such as hard and soft power resources, to protect economic security and attract foreign investment and project power, particularly within Africa. For instance, during Nigeria's economic recovery in 1975, Nigeria led other West African countries to establish ECOWAS. The Nigerian President, Yakubu Gowon, played a very decisive role in making sure that ECOWAS saw the light of the day. In addition, he pledged to be responsible for a full one-third of ECOWAS's financial needs<sup>597</sup>. This was attainable and orchestrated because of the unexpected oil boom of the 1970s, which brought about a buoyant economy in turn increasing the momentum for Nigeria's rising continental hegemony.

Nigeria's leadership role and economic prosperity of the country during the period of ECOWAS creation offered the country a platform to pursue rigorous and active foreign policy. This is manifested in the leading role Nigeria played during the eradication of colonialism and white minority rule in countries such as Angola, Guinea – Bissau, Mozambique, Namibia, and South Africa, its aid to countries such as Angola, Benin, Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, and its peacekeeping mission in countries such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Democratic Republic of Congo<sup>598</sup>.

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<sup>596</sup> Nigeria's Constitution of 1999 with Amendments through 2011. [Constituteproject.org](http://Constituteproject.org).

<sup>597</sup> *Olusola Ogunnubi & Ufo Okeke-Uzodike*. Can Nigeria be Africa's hegemon? // *African Security Review*. 2016. 25 (2) Pp. 110 – 128.

<sup>598</sup> *Sanda J.G.* Peacekeeping in Nigeria's Foreign Policy: An Assessment. In Segun Oshewolo. *Major Contentions on Nigeria's Afrocentric Policy // India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. 75 (3). P. 353; *Adeniji A.* Power and Representation at the United Nations: a Critique of Nigeria's bid for Permanent Seat in the Security Council. *Olusola Ogunnubi & Ufo Okeke – Uzodike*. Can Nigeria be Africa's hegemon? // *African Security Review*. 2016. 25 (2) p. 115.

It is crucial to note that Nigeria is the largest oil exporter in Africa and has the largest natural gas reserve on the continent. Africa has been benefiting from Nigeria's economic resources, which in turn has given Nigeria the economic will to contribute to African economic policy, especially in its subregion.

Again, Nigeria's significance is intrinsically tied to its economic diplomacy, particularly within the West and Central African subregions. In line with this judgment, Nigeria has been playing a dominant role in these subregions while also sustaining its responsibility and guiding principles of its foreign policy to protect and maintain peace among its contiguous states, which has remained enshrined in the 1999 Constitution as Amended in 2011, Chapter II, Article 19<sup>599</sup> of the Federal Republic of Nigeria Constitution.

Moreover, Nigeria has the economic and financial powers to assert influence on regional and continental levels. However, this substantial economic prowess has not only given Nigeria the free will to intervene in regional and continental conflicts to foster development, maintain political and economic stability, and encourage a dynamic foreign policy that has greatly impacted the growth and development of the continent of Africa<sup>600</sup>.

It is clear that Nigeria's diplomatic behavior is rooted in its economic diplomacy and prowess, which provide the country an opportunity to be playing a subtle hegemonic role in the continent of Africa. For instance, Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo among other African political leaders Muammar Ghaddafi of Libya and Thabo Mbeki of South Africa pursued and became a leading figure in the move toward the transmutation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union

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<sup>599</sup> Nigeria's Constitution of 1999 with Amendments through 2011. [Constituteproject.org](http://Constituteproject.org).

<sup>600</sup> OB Amao & Uzodike U. O. Nigeria Afrocentrism and Conflict Resolution. In Olusola Ogunnubi & Ufo Okeke-Uzodike. Can Nigeria be Africa's hegemon? // African Security Review. 2016. 25 (2). P. 116.

(AU) in 2002<sup>601</sup>. Additionally, Nigeria has been able to play a leading role on behalf of Africa in multilateral institutional arrangements such as the UN, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU, now the AU), and ECOWAS.

Finally, the lack of inadequate infrastructure remains a critical constraint for economic growth and its stability in Nigeria, despite the huge efforts made by the successive Nigerian President, Ibrahim Babangida administration introduced the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP)<sup>602</sup> to tackle Nigeria's financial challenges, etc., but to no avail. In line with this judgment, President Olusegun Obasanjo's initiated economic reform, which was meant to improve Nigeria's and Africa's capacity for economic growth and job creation, was considered inefficient<sup>603</sup>. However, Obasanjo's administration has been celebrated as one that helped restore Nigeria's status in the international system after a period of military authoritarian rule that earned the country a negative foreign image. However, on the domestic front, the neoliberal economic reform program of the administration was not popular among Nigerians.

The impact of Nigeria's economic diplomacy on the economic well-being of its people has been insignificant. However, Nigeria needs to initiate a new domestic economic institution that will collaborate with international institutions or organizations, such as the World Trade Organization, for efficient regulation of the flow of commodities.

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<sup>601</sup> *Nwalie G.A.* Nigeria Role in the Leadership of Africa: Perspective of International Relations // Academia.edu. 2020. URL: <https://www.academia.edu/10314154>. (date of access: 22.08.2021).

<sup>602</sup> Nigeria. Structural Adjustment Program: Policies, Implementation, and Impact // The World Bank. 1994. 1 (1). P. 1

<sup>603</sup> An interview with Olusegun Obasanjo: Up close and a little too personal // African Argument. September 28, 2017.

### 3.3. The Nigerian Multilateral Diplomacy: Key Features and Tendencies

**Overview of United Nations Security Council** – historically, the United Nations was formed in 1945, immediately after the end of World War II by 51 countries who were committed to maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations, and promoting social progress, better living standards, and human rights. The United Nations was instituted in pursuit of achieving the following mandates: (1) to protect human rights; (2) to maintain international peace and security; (3) to uphold international law; and (4) to deliver humanitarian aid and support sustainable development and climate action. However, the negotiations that created the organization took into account the role played by the major victorious allies in the war<sup>604</sup>.

Significantly, the victory and structure of this organization necessitated the Security Council, which is the United Nations' most powerful organ because of the power wielded by its members from the time of its creation. The United Nations Security Council is charged with maintaining peace and security between nations<sup>605</sup>. For instance, Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter sets out the UN Security Councils' powers to maintain peace. It allows the Council to determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and to take military and nonmilitary action to restore international peace and security<sup>606</sup>.

For emphasis, the United Nations Security Council is composed of 15 members: five permanent members with the veto and double veto; the People's Republic of China, France, Russian Federation, United Kingdom, and the United States of America; and ten non-permanent members elected for two-year terms by the General Assembly.

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<sup>604</sup> United Nations. Peacebuilding, A to Z Site Index // URL: <https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/commission/mandate>. (date of access:06.10.2021)

<sup>605</sup> Akpotor A.S. & Agbeba P.E. The United Nations Reforms and Nigeria's Quest for a Permanent Seat. // *Journal of Social Sciences*. 2017. 24 (1). Pp. 51 – 55.

<sup>606</sup> United Nations Charter. United Nations, A to Z Site Index // URL: <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/full-text>. (date of access: 05. 10.2021).

However, the Security Council has the power to make compelling decisions on member states<sup>607</sup>.

Apparently, Africa is the only continent without a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council. Its memberships are limited only to non-permanent seats on the council. According to an amendment to the council structure of 1963, which entered into force on August 31, 1965<sup>608</sup>, Africa shares five non-permanent seats along with the Asian continent. This means that there shall be only two and at most three non-permanent members on the continent in one term. Nigeria tops the list of African countries by the number of times they have been on the Security Council. Nigeria has occupied the United Nations Security Council's non-permanent seats five times as it was in 1966 – 1967, 1978 – 1979, 1994 – 1995, 2010 – 2011 and 2014 – 2015<sup>609</sup>.

The United Nations Organization has been successful in achieving its fundamental principles and objectives in the area of peace and security. Directly or indirectly, the organization had averted the third World War as projected by many scholars and political actors in light of the gap between the First and Second World War, as well as the regional and communal conflicts<sup>610</sup>. Nevertheless, the organizational structure reform is long overdue, which will promote the democracy of states and consolidate peace and harmonies among member states.

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<sup>607</sup> United Nations Security Council. Permanent and Non – Permanent Members. A to Z Site Index // URL: <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/current-members>. (date of access: 05.10.2021).

<sup>608</sup> United Nations Security Council, Amendment 1963. Agenda 103(a). URL: [https://www.un.org/en/ga/62/plenary/election\\_sc/bkg.shtml](https://www.un.org/en/ga/62/plenary/election_sc/bkg.shtml). (date of access: 22.08.2021).

<sup>609</sup> United Nations Security Council. Non-Permanent Members, Nigeria, A to Z Site Index // URL: <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/nigeria>. (date of access: 22.08.2021).

<sup>610</sup> United Nations Charter. United Nations, A to Z Site Index // URL: <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/full-text>; United Nations Security Council. Permanent and Non-Permanent Members. A to Z Site Index // URL: <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/current-members>. (date of access: 05.10.2021).

**United Nations Constitutional Crisis** – the uncommon United Nations constitutional crisis, which was caused by the quest and expectations that some parts of the organization or organ, such as the UN Security Council, might evolve into something far more effective and powerful than anticipated. Thus, it has little or no impact on organizational efficiency as it relates to the maintenance of peace and security, as stipulated in Chapter VII of the UN Charter<sup>611</sup>.

The United Nations Charter confirms and endorses a highly differentiated international society, despite the rhetoric of state equality portrayed by its organizational structure. Excessive political power is reserved to five of the strongest states by giving them a dominant power and responsibility in the Security Council to bind all the other member states on the matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, as stipulated in Chapter VII of the UN Charter<sup>612</sup>.

For emphasis, the five members of the UN Security Council have the duty to determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and further make a recommendation or even decide on what approaches shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42 to maintain or restore international peace and security<sup>613</sup>.

To buttress this, Leland M. G. (1969) that the concessions given by the major powers were clear to justify the activities of the Charter, that the smaller powers hardly succeed in introducing important changes in the system, like in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals<sup>614</sup>, which determined the establishment of the international organization for the maintenance of peace and security, in turn created United Nations in 1945.

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<sup>611</sup> United Nations Charter, Chapter VII. Peace, Dignity and Equality on Healthy Planet // URL: <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/chapter-7>. (date of access: 05.10.2021).

<sup>612</sup> Ibid.

<sup>613</sup> Ibid.

<sup>614</sup> *Leland M.G.* (ed). The Charter of the UN. In Michael W. Reisman. The Constitutional Crisis in the United Nation // American Journal of International Law. 2017. 87 (1) P. 83.

The veto power assigned to each of the five permanent member states remains the only constitutional limitation to other states, due to its excessive power<sup>615</sup>. Although, the Charter was necessitated from the inception of the organization in 1945, due to the practices within the UN system, which paved the way for several constitutional control over Security Council activities. However, the Charter does not incorporate a constitutional theory of checks and balances between separate branches, but the reciprocal operation of the veto during the Cold War, and the resultant paralysis of the Security Council created a system that was functional equivalent<sup>616</sup>.

More importantly, during the Cold War, the General Assembly grew with the admission of many newly independent states, in the process many became restive about the Assembly's limited powers, as regards the Security Council position. Within the interval, specifically, in 1963, in response to the ongoing pressure from the newly enlarged General Assembly, a constitutional reform was carried out, which included an additional four nonpermanent seats to the six already existing seats on the Security Council, making it a total of ten nonpermanent seats<sup>617</sup>.

Meanwhile, the General Assembly tries to extend its range of activities into the area of peace and security, which indirectly portrays a threat to the Security Council, but as long as the Security Council remained paralyzed, both organs are always in harmony. The paralysis of UN Security Councils served as a justification for judicial activism<sup>618</sup>. Moreover, even when the General Assembly and the Security Council were simultaneously seized of a dispute, the latent constitutional and jurisdictional conflicts

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<sup>615</sup> United Nations Charter. United Nations, A to Z Site Index // URL: <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/full-text>. (date of access: 05. 10.2021).

<sup>616</sup> *Michael W. Reisman*. The Constitutional Crisis in the United Nation // *American Journal of International Law*. 2017. 87 (1) p. 84.

<sup>617</sup> General Assembly Resolutions. 1991 A (XVIII), UN GAOR, 18th Session. GAOR 18th Session, Supplement No. 15 Resolutions and Decisions, at 21, UN Doc. A/5515 (1963).

<sup>618</sup> *Military and Paramilitary Activities in and Against Nicaragua*. Jurisdiction and Admissibility, 1984 ICJ REP. 392, 433, para. 93, Nov. 26, 1984. URL: <https://www.icj-cij.org/public/files/case-related/70/070-19841126-JUD-01-00-EN.pdf>. (date of access: 20.10.2021).



receded if, as sometimes occurred, both organs were asked by the same parties to do substantially the same things to synchronize their cooperation<sup>619</sup>.

Other powers conferred on the General Assembly by the Charter include taking action in cases of a threat to the peace, breach of peace, or act of aggression when the Security Council has failed to act owing to the negative vote of a permanent member. In such instances, as stipulated in *Uniting for Peace*, 377 (v) Resolution of November 1950, the Assembly may consider the matter immediately and recommend collective measures to its members to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Nevertheless, some of the political leaders from the smaller states in the General Assembly had grown up operating in this changing environment to change the status quo. Most of the states aspired, individually, to admission to the most exclusive club and organization, such as BRIC, Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, EU, and AU in the world<sup>620</sup>, to limit or abolish the veto of the Security Council members. Unfortunately, none of these initiatives proved successful due to the political and economic power control by the various member states of the Security Council. Despite some irregularities in the Security Council decision remains final.

For instance, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya suit in the International Court against the United States and the United Kingdom for alleged violations of its rights under Act 14 of 1971, the Montreal Convention<sup>621</sup>, was considered an action orchestrated to deceive a government incriminated in state terrorism to evade condemnation and sanction by the Security Council<sup>622</sup>. However, Libya's request for interim measures and

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<sup>619</sup> *Nwalie G.A.* Nigeria Role in the Leadership of Africa: Perspective of International Relations // Academia.edu. 2020. URL: <https://www.academia.edu/10314154>. (date of access: 20.10.2021).

<sup>620</sup> *Michael W. Reisman.* The Constitutional Crisis in the United Nation // American Journal of International Law. 2017. 87 (1) p. 85.

<sup>621</sup> Montreal Convention of 1971. Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation No. 14118. URL: <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20974/volume-974-I-14118-english.pdf>. (date of access: 04.11.2021).

<sup>622</sup> *Michael W. Reisman.* The Constitutional Crisis in the United Nation // American Journal of International Law. 2017. 87 (1) p. 86.

the jurisdictional boundary between the International Court and the Security Council proved abortive, and the Court ran into a crisis with world constitutional issues that had been settled over five years ago.

The constitutional crisis between the General Assembly and the Security Council are created due to excessive political power given to Security Council member states, and the similarity in the functions of both organs, which is centered on maintenance of international peace and security, as well as the used of veto by the five Security Council members<sup>623</sup>.

**Nigeria's Aspiration for UN Security Council Reform** – in the contemporary period, due to the dynamic and complex nature of the international system, Nigeria among other African states has called for democratization and better regional representation in the UN Security Council. The country beliefs that United Nations reform would encourage its Permanent Membership seat at the Security Council. Notwithstanding, the call for the reform of the United Nations Security Council, has been longstanding<sup>624</sup>.

Nigeria has been one of the leading African countries fully in support of the demand for a comprehensive reform of the UN Security Council. Nigeria's support stems from both its Pan – African focus, especially the collective opportunities such reform might offer Africa and its people, and from its national interest as a potential beneficiary of an enlarged Security Council<sup>625</sup>.

The basic justification for the call for reform revolves around numerous factors, such as changing the international environment in which the UN operates and the need

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<sup>623</sup> United Nations Security Council. Non-Permanent Members, Nigeria, A to Z Site Index // URL: <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/nigeria>. (date of access: 22.8.2021).

<sup>624</sup> *Schlesinger S.* Can the United Nations Reform? // *World Policy Journal*. 1997. 14 (3). P. 47.

<sup>625</sup> *Nwalie G.A.* Nigeria Role in the Leadership of Africa: Perspective of International Relations // *Academia.edu*. 2020. URL: <https://www.academia.edu/10314154>. (date of access:06.10.2021).

to adapt to the attendant challenges, etc. According to Schlesinger S. (1997) the reformation of the United Nations (UN) can be done effectively only if certain misconceptions about its origins and its administration can be fully identified and dispelled. He believed that the UN was created for political reasons and remains torn between the maneuverings of democratic and dictatorial and Northern and Southern powers. The above – mentioned factors, have been transforming the realities of 1945 the fundamental principle, in which the UN was established<sup>626</sup>.

It is imperative to note that the United Nations was instituted with 51 nations when the process of colonialism was still at its very peak and Cold War dominated the agenda of the major powers. However, the colonies were therefore perceived and viewed as a basic instrument of power for the colonial masters, such as Great Britain and France, whom they automatically served to enhance their power ranking to assure a permanent seat on the Security Council<sup>627</sup>.

However, the situation has changed at the moment due to the system of operation and size of the organization, which has contributed immensely to the democratic value of its member states. For instance, the increase in the number of its memberships to 193 and the veto power given to five permanent members of the Security Council encouraged the maintenance of international peace and security. Again, the completion of the decolonization process had a significant impact on the structure and membership of the UN<sup>628</sup>.

Apparently, the geographical structure of the organization has also changed significantly. The European and American institutions at inception, the termination of

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<sup>626</sup> United Nations. Peacebuilding, A to Z Site Index // URL: <https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/commission/mandate>. (date of access:06.10.2021).

<sup>627</sup> *Nwalie George A.* Nigerian Multilateral Diplomacy: Case Study of Nigeria's Aspiration for United Nations Security Council Reform // *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies*. 2022. 18 (3). Pp. 194 – 203.

<sup>628</sup> United Nations Security Council. Non-Permanent Members, Nigeria, A to Z Site Index // URL: <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/nigeria>. (date of access: 20.11.2021).

a colonial rule meant that other regions such as Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Pacific now constitute a much larger portion of the membership. These changes have been a formidable basis for the call and need for reform of the Security Council to give a sense of belonging and a global character to these other regions<sup>629</sup>.

Again, the UN's inability to respond quickly to prevent the outbreak and spread of conflict in Rwanda and Sudan, etc. have contributed to the quest for its Council reform. Most scholars have attributed the slow and inadequate responses of the UN to the African trouble spots to Security Council failure, which is probably connected to the use and abuse of veto power conferred on its members. However, other contradictions can also be associated with the internal workings of the UN<sup>630</sup>.

For emphasis, the veto power accorded to the five permanent members of the Security Council has been regarded as undemocratic and unrepresentative of current membership. Thus, the issues of efficiency, transparency, and accountability in the workings and methods of the UN have also been of greater concern. However, it requires a system of devolution of powers to strengthen the General Assembly and the Secretariat, but not to the detriment of the Security Council<sup>631</sup>.

Subsequently, under the administration of Kofi Annan, the past UN Secretary-General was a proposal by the High-Level Panel (HLP) to redress the imbalance of presentation in the Security Council in fulfillment of the General Assembly Resolution

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<sup>629</sup> *Nwalie G.A.* Nigeria Role in the Leadership of Africa: Perspective of International Relations // Academia.edu. 2020. URL: <https://www.academia.edu/10314154>. (date of access: 05.11.2021).

<sup>630</sup> *Hassan A. Saliu a & Shola J. Omotola.* Can Nigeria get a UN Security Council seat? // South African Journal of International Affairs. 2008. 1 (15). P. 74.

<sup>631</sup> *Ibid.*

52(2)<sup>632</sup>, in conformity with the Millennium Declaration, which stresses the importance of a comprehensive reform of the United Nations<sup>633</sup>.

According to the High-Level Panel proposal and recommendations, we suggested two models for the reform of the UN Security Council. Both models suggest the increasement of more seats on the UN Security Council to redress the quest among the regional groups on the composition of the Council. The first model recommends an additional six permanent seats and four non-permanent members in the Security Council that would increase the Council's membership from 15 to 25.

The six new permanent members would be elected according to the following pattern: two to Africa, two to Asia (Japan and India), one to Europe (Germany), and one to Latin America (Brazil), while the four new non-permanent members would be as follows: one from the African States; one from the Asian States; one from the Eastern European States; and one from Latin American and the Caribbean States<sup>634</sup>.

Nevertheless, the panel recommended that the General Assembly should elect Security Council members by giving preference to the top three financial contributors to the regular budget of the UN in their relevant regional groups, the top three voluntary contributors, or the top three contributors of troops from their regional areas to the UN peacekeeping operations. In this light, Nigeria could be the most suitable candidate, taking into account its military troops to UN and ECOWAS for peacekeeping missions

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<sup>632</sup> General Assembly Resolution. Report of the Secretary-General. Security Council Fifty-second year. A/52/581, S/1997/866, 6 November 1997. URL: <https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/208005EA7179A9310525655B004C5737>. (date of access: 05.11.2021).

<sup>633</sup> *Osuntokun A.* Nigeria and the United Nations Reforms. In Hassan A. Saliu a & Shola J. Omotola. Can Nigeria get a UN Security Council seat? // South African Journal of International Affairs. 2008. 1. (15). p. 75.

<sup>634</sup> Resolution on Security Council Reform, Document A/59/L.64. General Assembly Opens Debate on Group of Four Sponsored Draft Resolution on Security Council Reform. 2005.

and its huge financial contributions to the UN regular budget, as well as ECOWAS and AU annual budget, respectively<sup>635</sup>.

In addition, Nigeria, Algeria, Angola, Egypt, Morocco, South Africa and Libya are the highest voluntary contributors in Africa<sup>636</sup>. Nigeria has contributed the highest military troops to AU/UN peacekeeping mission under the auspices of the ECOWAS-ECOMOG. Nevertheless, the country has maintained the same percentage of financial contributions with Egypt, South Africa, Algeria in the past years. *See Appendix for additional sample items.*

**Below is a Scale of Assessment of AU contributor**

Member State	Scale of Assessment% for 2014–15	Scale of Assessment% for 2016–18	Scale of Assessment % for 2018–19	Scale of Assessment% for 2020–21
Algeria	12.904	12.000	9.600	7.525
Angola	-	-	-	7.525
Egypt	12.904	12.000	9.600	7.525
Morocco	-	-	9.600	7.525
Nigeria	12.904	12.000	9.600	7.525
South Africa	12.904	12.000	9.600	7.525
Libya	12.904	-	-	-
Tier 1 (above)	64.52	48.000	48.000	45.151

**Table 1. AU scale of assessment as a percentage from 2014 and 2021 financial years.**

<sup>635</sup> United Nations Security Council. Non – Permanent Members, Nigeria, A to Z Site Index // URL: <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/nigeria>. (date of access: 20.11.2021).

<sup>636</sup> Saliu H.A. Reflections on fifty years of Nigeria’s foreign policy. In Segun Oshewolo. Major Contentions on Nigeria’s Afrocentric Policy // *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. 75 (3). P. 353.

The above scale of assessment shows the financial contributions from the top seven AU member states for the following period: 2014 and 2015<sup>637</sup>; 2016 to 2018<sup>638</sup>; 2018 and 2019<sup>639</sup>; 2020 and 2021<sup>640</sup>, which is based on the principles of ability to pay, solidarity and equitable burden-sharing to avoid risk concentration. However, emphasis is laid on Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa in conformity to the UN High-Level Panel.

In line with this judgment, the African Head of States and Government in their Mid-term Summit in Abuja, Nigeria in 2005, reached a consensus by choosing the first model of the proposal submitted by the UN High-Level Panel, which recommends an additional six permanent seats and four non-permanent members in the Security Council that would increase the Security Council membership from 15 to 25<sup>641</sup>.

In preference to the second model which recommends creating a new category of eight, four – year renewable – term seats and eleven new two – year non – renewable seats divided among the regional groups<sup>642</sup>. This position was formally adopted in Addis Ababa on 8 March, 2005 and became the official position of Africa on the reform of the UN Security Council<sup>643</sup>.

Finally, the first model of the High – Level Panel draft proposal and recommendations would help to redress the issues among the regional groups on the

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<sup>637</sup> African Union Handbook. Guide for those working with and within the African Union. 2015. <https://akb.au.int/displaybitstream?handle=AKB/896>. (date of access: 13.04.2021).

<sup>638</sup> African Union Handbook. Guide for those working with and within the African Union. 2017. <https://au.int/sites/default/files/pages/31829-file-african-union-handbook-2017-edited.pdf>. (date of access: 13.04.2021).

<sup>639</sup> Ibid.

<sup>640</sup> Ibid.

<sup>641</sup> Ibid/

<sup>642</sup> *Osuntokun A.* Nigeria and the United Nations Reforms. In Hassan Saliu A. & Shola Omotola J. Can Nigeria get a UN Security Council seat? // South African Journal of International Affairs. 2008. 1 (15). p. 75.

<sup>643</sup> African Union Report on UN Security Council Reform. Audit of the African Union Review High Level Panel.2005.

composition of the Security Council. Moreover, the first model would also attract fairness and equity in the usage of veto power<sup>644</sup>.

**Accessing Nigeria Candidacy in Quest for the UN Security Council Permanent Seat** – in line with the meeting held by African Head of States and Government in Addis Ababa on 8 March, 2005, which showed African desire and stance in choosing the first model of the proposal submitted by the UN High – Level Panel, which recommends additional six permanent seats and four non – permanent members in the Security Council<sup>645</sup>.

This judgment only permits two African states that have contributed hugely to the following aspects: the UN annual regular budget and their regional groups in Africa; UN peacekeeping troops; and the top three voluntary contributors to their regional organization and UN. In this regard, there have been three major African contenders who merit the prescribed conditions for qualification. Nigeria, South Africa, and Egypt fall into the category of those who merited the candidacy for UN Security Council permanent members seat as required by the UN High-Level Panel<sup>646</sup>.

Subsequently, Nigeria possesses the criteria that qualify its candidacy as one of the two African states to take over the slots melted for Security Council permanent seats in conformity with the proposal and recommendations of the UN High – Level Panel. Nigeria remains the highest contributor from Africa to the UN peacekeeping operations, and its annual regular budget is in accordance with the UN High – Level Panel criteria for Council qualification. For clarity, South Africa has yet to establish a record for

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<sup>644</sup> Resolution on Security Council Reform, Document A/59/L.64. General Assembly Opens Debate on Group of Four Sponsored Draft Resolution on Security Council Reform. 2005; United Nations. Peacebuilding, A to Z Site Index // URL: <https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/commission/mandate.>; Nelson Mandela at the United Nations. 2010 // <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NOr4F2eNDq8>. (date of access:06.10.2021)

<sup>645</sup> Resolution on Security Council Reform, Document A/59/L.64. General Assembly Opens Debate on Group of Four Sponsored Draft Resolution on Security Council Reform. 2005.

<sup>646</sup> Ibid.



global participation in peacekeeping missions, while Egypt is only participating with interest. In other words, its participation has so far been based on discriminatory and selective<sup>647</sup>.

Nigeria recently contributed the most peacekeeping troops to United Nations peacekeeping operations; in 2013, Nigeria contributed the fifth largest number of peacekeepers to United Nations peacekeeping operations. The United Nations also helped negotiate to adjust the border of Nigeria and Cameroon, resulting in the Greentree Agreement in 2006, given restoring peace and harmony<sup>648</sup>. To buttress this, Mbadiwe H. (2003) Nigeria's huge contribution to the UN under President Olusegun Obasanjo's administration was to re-integrate the country into the international community to restore the lost glory incurred by his predecessor Sani Abacha<sup>649</sup>.

Meanwhile, Nigeria's participation in regional, continental and international peacekeeping was without discrimination and interest. Nigeria was deeply involved in the struggle for decolonization in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, as well as in the process of creating a name for itself 'advanced nation', even though it was geographically far from the Southern region of Africa. Nigeria is central to the formation of ECOWAS, restrains the destruction of public order in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and has contributed hugely to areas such as peacekeeping operations and providing economic incentives for less economically demanding African countries<sup>650</sup>.

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<sup>647</sup> UN Department of Public Information. Review of United Nations Peacekeeping. UN Digital Library. 1996.

<sup>648</sup> Agreement Transferring Authority over Bakassi Peninsula from Nigeria to Cameroon. UN SG/SM/11745 AFR/1737. 2008. URL: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2008/sgsm11745.doc.htm>. (date of access: 07.11.2021)

<sup>649</sup> Mbadiwe H. Nigeria Foreign Relation in Obasanjo-Atiku Years. In Chika Oguonu. Nigeria and the NU // African Renaissance.2006. 3 (3). Pp.104 – 109.

<sup>650</sup> Saliu H.A. Reflections on fifty years of Nigeria's foreign policy. In Segun Oshewolo. Major Contentions on Nigeria's Afrocentric Policy // India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs. 2019. 75 (3). P. 353.

According to Gambari I. A. (1997),<sup>651</sup> Nigeria's participation in peacekeeping operations was not limited to Africa. He augured that more than 200,000 Nigerian troops have participated in the UN peacekeeping operation. For instance, Nigeria has participated in the following peacekeeping missions: United Nations India-Pakistan Observer Mission; United Nations Security Force in West New Guinea; United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon; United Nations Transition Assistance Group Namibia; United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara; United Nations Operations in Somalia; United Nations Protection Force; United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda; United Nations Groups in the Aouzou Strip; United Nations Iran – Iraq Military Observer Groups, etc.<sup>652</sup>.

Beyond Nigeria's contributions to the UN peacekeeping missions, another major credential is that Nigeria has served as the Chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, the main instrument through which the UN engaged in attending to the white minority rule in South Africa. Accordingly, in September 2019, Tijjani Muhammad Bande (Nigeria) emerged as the 74th President of the United Nations General Assembly<sup>653</sup>.

The Nigerian troops have acquired relevant military experience in terms of training and exposure to the use of modern technology in participation in UN peacekeeping missions. Nigeria's role in the UN and ECOWAS peacekeeping

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<sup>651</sup> *Gambari I.A.* Reform of the United Nations and Nigeria's quest for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. In Hassan Saliu A. & Shola Omotola J. Can Nigeria get a UN Security Council seat? // South African Journal of International Affairs. 2008. 1 (15). P. 75.

<sup>652</sup> *Hassan Saliu A. & Shola Omotola J.* Can Nigeria get a UN Security Council seat? // South African Journal of International Affairs. 2008. 1 (15). Pp. 71 – 85.

<sup>653</sup> *Nwalie G.A.* Nigeria Role in the Leadership of Africa: Perspective of International Relations // Academia.edu. 2020. URL: <https://www.academia.edu/10314154>. (date of access: 20.11.2021).

operations has given the country an edge over other contenders, especially South Africa and Egypt<sup>654</sup>, as relating to the criteria of the UN High-Level Panel<sup>655</sup>.

**Regional Context** – Nigeria within the regional context has incontestably emerged as a regional hegemon because of its role in conflict resolution and peacekeeping. Since Nigeria's independence in 1960, the country has declared its readiness, commitment, and intention, making Africa the centerpiece of its foreign policy<sup>656</sup>. It could be seen in the assertion made by Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa in his inaugural speech on 7 October 1960 at the Plenary of the 15th Regular Session of the United Nations General Assembly, exactly six days after Nigeria gained independence and became the 99<sup>th</sup> member of the organization, declared that Nigeria hoped to work and cooperate with the UN and its member states, especially in matters related to establishing democratic principles and supporting peace<sup>657</sup>, as well as Nigeria readiness to render practical, financial and diplomatic support to the OAU (now the AU)<sup>658</sup>.

Nigeria on several occasions had to forfeit the goodwill of the Western world in choosing to antagonize their interests by supporting the liberation of Angola,

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<sup>654</sup> UNCTAD Nations Treaty Collection: URL: <https://treaties.un.org>.; United Nations Report on MDG, Taking Stock of the Global Partnership for Development. <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>.; United Nations Report, 1991. URL:[http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/220/hdr\\_1991\\_en\\_complete\\_nostats.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/220/hdr_1991_en_complete_nostats.pdf) (date of access : 13.04.2021).

<sup>655</sup> Resolution on Security Council Reform, Document A/59/L.64. General Assembly Opens Debate on Group of Four Sponsored Draft Resolution on Security Council Reform. 2005.

<sup>656</sup> *Sesay A & Owoeye J.* Nigeria in the OAU: Reflections and Prognosis. In Hassan Saliu A. & Shola Omotola J. Can Nigeria get a UN Security Council seat? // South African Journal of International Affairs. 2008. 1 (15). P. 75.

<sup>657</sup> *Akpotor A.S. & Agbebaku P.E.* The United Nations Reforms and Nigeria's Quest for a Permanent Seat // Journal of Social Sciences. 2017. 24 (1). Pp. 51 – 55.; Statement by Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria at the United Nations General Assembly, New York, October 7, 1960. Maiden General Assembly Statement at the United Nations.

<sup>658</sup> *Olusanya G.O. & Akindele R.A.* Fundamentals of Nigeria's External Relations. In Hassan Saliu A. & Shola Omotola J. Can Nigeria get a UN Security Council seat? // South African Journal of International Affairs. 2008. 1 (15). P. 76.

Mozambique, Namibia, and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, as well as in the process of creating a name for itself ‘advanced nation’, even though it was geographically far from the Southern region of Africa. Nigeria restrains the destruction of public order in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and has contributed hugely to the areas, such as peacekeeping operations and providing economic incentives for less economically demanding African countries<sup>659</sup>.

Furthermore, Nigeria’s involvement in African conflict resolution and management has been noticeable and appreciated by the regional and intergovernmental organizations, such as the Economic Community of the West African States and the African Union where it belongs. Since the formation of the Organization of African Unity (now the African Union), Nigeria has been spearheading conflict resolution and peace management in the African continent<sup>660</sup>.

In this light, Nigeria through peacekeeping interventions has contributed to the quelling of internal and international conflict in Africa. Beginning from its participation in the Congo crisis shortly after independence, it has since remained committed to conflict resolution and peace management in Africa. For instance, Nigeria participated in the peacekeeping mission in Tanzania in 1964, Chad in the 1980s, before the United Nations intervention as well as Namibia from 1989 to 1990<sup>661</sup>, all in connection with conflict resolution.

Subsequently, Nigeria’s peacekeeping efforts in the West African subregion are particularly noteworthy, not essentially because of its immense role in the formation of the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) but also because most of its roles are

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<sup>659</sup> *Saliu H.A.* Reflections on fifty years of Nigeria’s foreign policy. In Segun Oshewolo. Major Contentions on Nigeria’s Afrocentric Policy // *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*. 2019. 75 (3). P. 353.

<sup>660</sup> *Ebo F.A. & Mandeh K.S.* The African Crises Response Initiative and conflict management. In Hassan Saliu A. & Shola Omotola J. Can Nigeria get a UN Security Council seat? // *South African Journal of International Affairs*. 2008. 1 (15). P. 76.

<sup>661</sup> *Saliu H.A.* Nigeria’s Participation in Peacekeeping Operations. In Hassan Saliu A. & Shola Omotola J. Can Nigeria get a UN Security Council seat? // *South African Journal of International Affairs*. 2008. 1 (15). P. 77.

immense and exceptional. For emphasis, Nigeria contributed greatly to the operational needs of all contingents (approximately 9000 personnel) in ECOMOG peacekeeping missions from 1991 to 1992<sup>662</sup>. Additionally, Nigeria spent \$8 billion on peacekeeping operations in the Liberia and Sierra Leone conflicts before the intervention of the United Nations.

Nigeria's role in peacekeeping operations in its subregion has continued to be manifested in the developmental aspirations of the continent. In particular, the transmutation of OAU to AU shows that Nigeria has been involved at every stage of the project. Again, Nigerian former President Olusegun Obasanjo chaired the AU between 2003 and 2004. The NEPAD initiative has also been enhanced by Nigeria's commitment, and a Nigerian diplomat, Ambassador Aluko Olokun, served as the head of its implementation committee<sup>663</sup>. This, among other factors, has been promoting and protecting the integrity and welfare of Nigeria and its neighbors within the context of unity and development<sup>664</sup>. All of this was in tandem and consonance with Nigeria's first Prime Minister's ideas to be commensurate with Nigeria's name and status 'messiah' of the continent<sup>665</sup>.

More importantly, given Nigeria's huge contributions to the peacekeeping mission and other developmental areas, such as economic and sociocultural in Africa, it may be appropriate to envisage a smooth path for Nigeria in the journey to being

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<sup>662</sup> Ibid.

<sup>663</sup> *Akinterinwa B* (ed.). Nigeria and the Development of the African Union. In Hassan Saliu A. & Shola Omotola J. Can Nigeria get a UN Security Council seat? // *South African Journal of International Affairs*. 2008. 1 (15). P. 77.

<sup>664</sup> *Ogunnubi O*. Unlocking the Black Box of Nigeria's Hegemonic Foreign Policy. In Victor Okoro U., Uche Uwaezuoke O., & (ed.). Afro-centrism as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy: A historical misnomer in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks in South Africa // *Cogent Arts & Humanities*. 2020. 7 (1). P. 15.

<sup>665</sup> *Claude S.P*. The Development of Nigerian Foreign Policy. In Victor Okoro U., Uche Uwaezuoke O., & (ed.). Afro-centrism as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy: A historical misnomer in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks in South Africa // *Cogent Arts & Humanities*. 2020. 7 (1). P. 14.

elected as one of the two new African representatives on the UN Security Council permanent seat.

Nigeria's involvement in the regional, continental and global levels, in terms of peacekeeping missions and other aspects, has qualified the country as one out of the two new required African representatives on the UN Security Council permanent seat.

Suffice it to say that since Nigeria attained independence, the successive Nigerian Presidents have shown much commitment towards promoting African diplomacy, as well as representing the good image of Africans within and in diaspora, in line with this judgement Nigeria remains one out of the two new required African representatives on the UN Security Council permanent seat.

**The Conclusion** summarizes the key findings of the work

1. To conclude this, we ascertain that the historical basis of Nigeria's foreign policy formations is attributed to the Oliver Lyttleton Constitution of 1954, John Macpherson Constitution of 1951, Arthur Richards Constitution of 1946 and Hugh Clifford Constitution of 1922. This period of time correlates with the devolution of power for foreign affairs from Britain to the Federal Government of Nigeria. It has been proven that the Nigerian Afrocentric foreign policy made it highly inevitable for the country to devote its foreign policy to Africa – oriented policy in the interest of continental unity and total decolonization of the African continent.

2. It has been established that Nigeria since independence, its foreign policy has experienced two complete stages. The first stage correlates with the first and second republic (1960 – 1966 and 1979 – 1983, respectively). During this period, the concept of Nigeria's foreign policy is attributed to dynamism, although its implementation can be explained to have witnessed a setback because of the political will of The Great Britain and United States, which in turn limited the country from pursuing the Pan-African agenda that was adopted by the continent of Africa. The second stage of the Nigerian foreign policy concept is Afrocentrism, which was related to the

administration of President Olusegun Obasanjo (1999 – 2007) and was determined by the change in foreign policy concepts. Under this circumstance, Nigeria's foreign policy was becoming more diversified on the one hand and, on the other hand, more independent on a sub-regional level, formulating its own view of the problems and prospects for development in West Africa and Africa in general. It should be noted that the Afrocentric foreign policy has been in existence since the first republic but gained its official recognition in the fourth republic.

3. In general, this research identifies three major institutions that are responsible for the formulation and implementation of Nigeria's foreign policy: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), the Presidential Advisory Council on International Relations (PACIR), and the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs. It was revealed that since Nigeria gained independence in 1960, the goals of its foreign policy institutions have been channeled to the development of Africa.

4. This thesis revealed that Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy has helped in the consolidation and promotion of a good neighborliness policy. It should be noted that the policy is associated and developed with numerous ideas and strategic considerations that include demographic, political, and economic reasons, which most people believed ball to security matters, especially within the context of what happens or does not happen around the state of Nigeria.

5. It is shown that Nigeria's foreign policy impact in its subregional diplomacy was rooted in issues such as insecurity, political instability and economic imbalance. It has been established that Nigeria's role in border and territorial dispute settlement has given the country a free will to interact and cooperate with its neighbors.

6. This thesis revealed that Nigeria's role in ECOWAS integration processes is another effort to institutionalize the concept of Pan-Africanism. It has been revealed that Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy towards ECOWAS serves as an exemplar of its broader foreign policy concept; in this context, Nigeria sought to support ECOWAS

for its foreign policy-related goals because it sees the West African region as its natural territory.

7. It was revealed that the Pan-African Movement became a roadmap for the formation of Nigeria's foreign policy. It was noted that Nigeria from its independence walked the path of Pan-Africanism and the right of all peoples to self-determination, and its foreign policy is based on its continued survival, security, and well-being of the people. It is shown that Nigerians who had studied in Britain and America, such as Nnamdi Azikiwe and Herbert Macaulay, were influenced by the objectives of Pan-Africanism; in turn, they incorporated these objectives into Nigeria's foreign policy simply to encourage anti-colonial and nationalist struggles in the continent of Africa.

8. Finally, the United Nations Organization has been successful in achieving its fundamental principles and objectives in the area of international peace and security. It has been argued that directly or indirectly, the organization had averted the third World War as projected by many scholars and political actors in light of the gap between the first and second World War. It has been established that Nigeria, among other African states, has called for democratization and better regional representation in the UN Security Council. This thesis concludes that the United Nations reform would encourage the Nigerian Permanent Membership seat at the Security Council.



## CONCLUSION

### **The research findings are presented as follows:**

1. The study has demonstrated that Nigeria's Africa-centred foreign policy has made it necessary for Nigeria to devote its foreign policy to an Africa-oriented policy in the interest of continental unity and total decolonization of the African continent. The historical concept of Nigeria's foreign policy is traced to the then Prime Minister, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa administration, which instituted Nigeria's sovereign statehood and its dynamic foreign policy concept. The concept of dynamic foreign policy first penetrated the intellectual discourse on Nigeria's foreign policy in the first republic. The study revealed that the foreign policy credentials of the Murtala Muhammed and Olusegun Obasanjo regimes before the inception of the second republic in 1979 were intimidating and radical. The regime put more emphasis on Africa as the centerpiece of its foreign policy than the previous government.

2. This thesis revealed that Nigerian foreign policy has undergone two complete stages. The first stage correlates with the first and second republic (1960 – 1966 and 1979 – 1983, respectively). During this period, the offices of Nigeria's external relations were associated with the External Affairs Branch in the office of the Chief Secretary of the Federation, who was indirectly responsible for foreign policy. In addition, the foreign policy of the President Shehu Shagari in the second republic was radical in departure. The second stage of Nigerian foreign policy was related to the administration of President Olusegun Obasanjo (1999 – 2007) and was aimed at creating a range of international partnerships for national and sub-regional development. This thesis suggests that, in the future, the stages of Nigerian foreign policy will revolve around the international partnerships that have already been established, which in turn will elevate the country to a position of continental hegemony over its rivalries South Africa and Egypt.

3. It establishes that the emergence of Olusegun Obasanjo as Nigeria's second executive president in 1999 paved the way for the fourth republic. Meanwhile, Nigeria's key priority in foreign policy during the fourth republic is to redeem the Nigeria image damaged during the military regime. President Obasanjo's administration from the beginning engaged in shuttle diplomacy to restore Nigeria's image and promote a cordial relationship between Nigerian and African states. The study made it clear that President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua's administration (2007 – 2010) is not left out, as he introduced a seven-point agenda to improve the Nigerian economy and living standards of the people. The YarAdua administration focused its foreign policy on Nigerian citizens and how to protect and improve their living conditions. The study further proceeds to note that President Goodluck Jonathan administration (2011 – 2015) brought a new idea called the transformation agenda into the political landscape to reconcile that, which had affected the relationship between Nigeria and other African states. The transformation agenda was designed to revive every decaying sector in the country for the benefit of Nigerian citizens. It showed that President Jonathan's foreign policy priority was investment and economic cooperation.

4. It was clear from the study that after Muhammadu Buhari was sworn in as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in 2015, he introduced three key agendas to tackle the issues of insecurity, economic instability, and corruption in government offices. The President believed that, if properly addressed, these three issues would bring back Nigeria score value and glory within the community of nations. Nigeria's foreign policy approach to relations with Africa was not aimed at overtaking smaller states or assuming a super-power status on the continent, but rather to promote and keep the flag flying for the benefit of all African states.

5. The study found that Nigeria is using its Afrocentric foreign policy to strengthen its relations with African states. Thus, Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy has helped in the consolidation and promotion of a good neighborliness policy. The policy is associated and developed with numerous ideas and strategic considerations,

including demographic, political, and economic reasons. The study further proceeds to note that Nigeria's foreign policy objectives and national interest centered on Africa make it possible for its legal and institutional system to contribute to African foreign policy.

6. It is a fact of history that Nigerian General Yakubu Gowon (Retired) played a prominent role in the formation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975. The study asserted that the original intention of the community emanates from Article 2 of the Treaty of Lagos. Thus, it aims to promote, regulate, and develop all aspects of economic activity in the West African region. The study further notes that Nigeria's foreign policy during the formative years of ECOWAS was defined by the prevailing circumstances in the region, which allowed for a foreign policy that was premeditated to respond to the frequent political instabilities across the region due to incessant military coups, a lack of social and economic development, and a supremacy struggle between Anglophone and Francophone countries. The study revealed that President Ibrahim Babangida spearheaded the formation of the Economic Community of West African States Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), essentially because of Nigeria's political will to determine and influence its subregion. The ECOMOG was initiated as a result of the Liberian conflict, which became a school of thought for ECOWAS and its member states.

7. It is established that Nigeria's participation in the Organization of African Unity (OAU and African Union since 2002) is tied to its Afrocentric foreign policy. Thus, Nigeria's role in the formation of the Organization of African Unity has given it a perceived hegemonic status in all affairs ranging from politics, social and economic. It is shown that calls for the transmutation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU) became inevitable due to the inability of the organization to maintain the principles and objectives of the organization. President Olusegun Obasanjo, in his report at the African Union Twenty-First Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2013, reiterated that the main vision for transforming the Organization

of African Unity (OAU) into the African Union (AU) is to enable Africa to redress the economic, social, and political challenges confronting the continent. In the context of cultural diplomacy, the Nigerian movie industry has emerged as the most effective soft-power tool for transmitting the countries cultural narrative and poses as a tool in facilitating cultural diplomacy in Africa. Other aspects of Nigerian relations in Africa are based on the principles of partnership. Nigeria considers itself to be the leader of black Africa. However, many African states, particularly South Africa, now openly challenges this claim. The francophone African states also continue to rely on France for their internal and external security.

8. There is no doubt that Pan-Africanism is a determining factor in the formation of Nigeria's foreign policy. Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ghana, Gambia and Liberia were believed to have been the strongholds of Pan-Africanism in West Africa. Historically, Sierra Leone and Liberia were used as places to settle ex-slaves, and they came in with a massive amount of enlightenment and education, which greatly impacted the formation and implementation of policy in West Africa. Pan-Africanism is a major philosophical and ideological current that encourages Nigeria's foreign policy objectives.

9. The study revealed that Nigeria's leadership status has placed the country in a position where it will continue to play a vital role in the economic initiatives of Africa. Thus, Nigeria's national interest and foreign policy objectives centered on Africa have encouraged the country to join other African states in pursuing African economic initiatives that are globally oriented, such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and AU Agenda 2063. Nigeria was one of the four founding sponsors of NEPAD, and its involvement in NEPAD was believed to have encouraged and repositioned African economic relations in the international community, in conformity with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), as well as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The African Union economic initiative, AU Agenda 2063, is shown to be rooted in Pan Africanism and the African Renaissance,

which provides a robust framework for addressing past injustices and the realization of the 21st century as the African Century.. This thesis made it clear that the African economic initiatives and AU Agenda 2063, have identified numerous benefits, such as sustainable peace, renewed economic growth, and promotion of Africa unity.

10. Since the 1960s, Nigeria has established friendly relations with its neighbors, including Benin, Niger, Chad, and Cameroon, as well as other countries in the West African subregion. In addition, the guiding principle of Nigeria's regional foreign policy was that of good neighborliness and friendship. Nigeria's foreign policy focuses on Africa and builds on West African institutions, like the Lake Chad Basin Commission and the Gulf of Guinea Commission. Nigerian involvement in West African institutions has contributed to good neighborliness and strong bonds of friendship in West Africa.

11. It is concluded that Nigeria has assumed a role as a forthright and reliable defender of Africa's interests in the international community. The study provides a strong clarification of why Nigeria, among other African states, has called for democratization and better regional representation in the UN Security Council. Nigeria has the criteria that qualifies it as one of the two African states to take over the slots melted for the UN Security Council permanent seat in line with the proposal and recommendations of the UN High-Level Panel. Its involvement in regional, continental, and global peacekeeping missions and other aspects has made the country one of the two new African representatives on the UN Security Council permanent seat. Suffice to say that since Nigeria attained independence, the successive Nigerian Presidents have shown much commitment towards promoting African diplomacy, as well as representing the good image of Africans in the international community.

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***List of Abbreviation***

- AfCFTA – African Continental Free Trade Agreement
- APRM – Africa Peer Review Mechanism
- AU – African Union
- BIT – Bilateral Investment Treaty
- BTT – Bilateral Taxation Treaty
- BRICS – Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa.
- CAF – Confederation of African Football
- ECCAS – Economic Community of Central African States
- CBAAC – Centre for Black African Arts and Civilization
- CLE- Council of Legal Education
- CRESMAC – Regional Maritime Security of Central Africa
- CREMAO – Regional Centre for Maritime Security of West Africa
- DICON – Defence Industries Corporation of Nigeria
- DPR – Department of Petroleum Resources
- ECCAS – Economic Community of Central African States
- ECOMOG – ECOWAS Monitoring Group
- ECOWAS – Economic Community of West African States
- EEC – European Economic Community
- EDF – European Development Fund
- EMCP – ECOWAS Monetary Co-operation Programme
- EU – European Union
- FAO – Food and Agriculture Organization
- FDI – Foreign Direct Investment
- FIFA – Federation of International Football Association
- FMARD – Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
- FMWASD – Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development

FMYSD – Federal Ministry of Youth and Sports Development  
FESTAC – African Festival Arts and Culture  
FNLA – National Front for the Liberation of Angola  
GGC – Gulf of Guinea Commission  
HLP – High-Level-Panel  
ICAO – International Civil Aviation Organization  
ILO – International Labour Organization  
IMF – International Monetary Fund  
IMO – International Maritime Organization  
IOC – International Olympic Committee  
LCBC – Lake Chad Basin Commission  
MDA– Ministries Departments and Agencies  
MFA– Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
MDGs – Millennium Development Goals  
MPLA –People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola  
NAPTIP – National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons  
NBA– Niger Basin Authority  
NBC – National Boundary Commission  
NDLEA– National Drug Law Enforcement Agency  
NEPAD – New Partnership for Africa's Development  
NIIA – Nigerian Institute of International Affairs  
NNPC– Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation  
NPFL – National Patriotic Front Rebel Army  
OAU– Organisation of African Unity  
OPEC – Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries  
PACIR– Presidential Advisory Council on International Relations  
PTDF – Petroleum Technology Development Fund  
SCO – Shanghai Cooperation Organisation

SAP – Structural Adjustment Program

SDGs – Sustainable Development Goals

SMS – Standing Mediation Committee

UN – United Nations

UNO – United Nations Organization

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNGA – United Nations General Assembly

USA – United States of America

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republic

WAFU – West African Football Union