CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Why do nations have foreign policy? Is foreign policy an outcome of internal policy outputs or is it an outcome of inputs from within its external environment? Questions of this nature often plague the minds of foreign policy analysts. The answers provided to this question are in most cases tentative and inconclusive.

It is obvious that foreign policy personifies a given nation externally. That is to say it shows the country's capability profile in pursuing as well as defending its interests in its relations with other countries. There is therefore, an imperative need in a discussion of the foreign policy of any given nation to make necessary reflections on its internal background. Though talking about foreign policy in this parlance is a general practice our concern here is how it is applicable to third world countries particularly Nigeria which is our main focus of study.

It is an obvious fact that, it is comparatively easier to talk about the foreign policy of the older states than that of the new states in the third world. The internal forces which enabled the attainment of
indépendance peut tourner subversive in nature bent on destroying the relationship and not on building a viable and stable political structure that could enable the assertion of spirited and meaningful foreign policy.

Besides, their most formidable task and challenge has been how to establish their place in the international community. The period during which most third world countries gained independence was marked by bipolarization of the world into two ideological camps: the NATO and WARSAW Pacts were at their zenith. This bipolarization affected the newly independent countries because they needed development assistance from the two blocs.

It was during this period that Nigeria gained freedom from the shackles of imperialism and colonialism. Thus one of the greatest task of the Nigerian leadership was how to establish its position under the prevailing circumstances. In fact, this was not an easy task because joining any of the power blocs would mean substitution of one restriction on freedom for another. On the other hand playing the lone wolf equally had its own drawbacks. No nation could be solely dependent on its own, because the world is a place of interdependence.
Thus the Nigerian leadership at the time of independence decided to go non-aligned with any of the power blocs. The reason behind this non-aligned stand was to be able to co-operate with both the power blocs without being a party to their ideological warfare and cold war rhetorics. The internal problems like economic development national consciousness and a widespread acceptance of drastic changes made them to take this stand.

The survival of the nation as a member of the international community is the primary aim of the decision makers. But survival has to go with certain factors such as expansion, economic development, political stability, trade agreements, international organization, regional co-operation and other matters of war and peace. Since all these aforementioned conditions cannot be achieved with equal vigour it is necessary for certain priority areas of interest to be set out. Interest once asserted become a permanent feature in the nation's foreign policy. This is because national interest is the focal point and the guiding principle of a nation's foreign policy.

There is ample literature on Nigerian foreign policy particularly on decolonization. The outstanding feature of Nigeria being a federation require division
of power between the centre and the states. But the problem is that the constitutional provisions regarding the division of powers between the centre and the states, and among the various organs in the Governmental structure has been in a vague nature. Federal Government and a spirited foreign policy go ill together. Despite the fact that foreign policy came directly under the Federal Government foreign policy decisions cannot be taken without the approval or consultation of the component states that constitute the federation. Yet, with a greater national commitment, discipline and proper co-ordination by the leadership of the internal socio-cultural and economic forces foreign policy can be pursued with some vigour and consistency. It is only under such situation that the Federal Government can perform effectively in its foreign policy commitments.

On the other hand, it has to be understood that, it is not that unless the aforementioned situation finally emerges the nation cannot perform effectively in any way worth so ever within its own capacity. Thinking in that way would amount to mere procrastination that would not benefit the nation.

For a period of nearly twenty five years in the Nigerian political history, there has been lot many foreign policy assertions and projections, more
particularly with regard to the issue of decolonization. Though implicitly such foreign policy assertions and projections tend to show the nation’s external commitments, they are in most cases not in consonance with the internal situation. Though laudable, such assertions and projections were mere statements and waste of money, time and energy because they were not properly correlated with the internal scene. Since the inception of Nigeria as a sovereign nation twenty eight years ago there has been the prevalence of continuous political crises such as economic instability and civil war.

The net effect of this is that Nigeria has not been able to assert herself in her international commitments commensurate with her size and abundant resources, both human and material. This need not be construed as implying that the prevalence of such situation would completely debar the country from carrying out her international commitments effectively. A case in point is India which inspite of several political and economic problems has established herself as an independent power and has gained a leadership position in the South Asian regional context.

Nigeria got her independence a little bit later than Ghana and some of the French speaking West African states, which tend to give Ghana a preeminent
position within the West African sub-region. But the independence of Nigeria in October 1960 changed the leadership position within the West African subregion. The change was quite a remarkable one, because it was Nigeria's efforts that helped to end the cleavages among the African Countries, in the later stage of the Pan African movement. This gave room for the establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in May 1963. In this same spirit of Pan Africanism, Nigeria has over the last twenty five years from 1960 to 1985 which is the period covered by this study participated actively in the efforts aimed at enabling the independence of Namibia and eradication of apartheid in South Africa.

The Concept of Foreign Policy in the Context of Linkage Politics:

The significance of the concept of linkage politics in the present study can be hardly over emphasised. There is therefore, the need to examine the concept as enunciated by some of its exponents. It is a known fact that political science has not provided the required answers, to the problems posed by this Shrinking World. Even at the level where the changes appear most pronounced the functioning of national units and events abroad are still regarded as
external to rather than part of a nation's politics. To be sure, it has long been recognised that national systems like all organised human groups exist, in are conditioned by, and respond to a larger environment. Nor is it denied that international political systems like all interdependent groups exist in, are shaped by, and are responsive to developments that occur within the units of which they are comprised. Yet these national-international linkages have in most cases not been subjected to systematic sustained and comparative inquiry.

The traditional subdivisions of political science are such that most analysts treat linkages as parameters rather than as data. Students of comparative politics tend to take the international environment for granted as if national systems were immune to external influence and had full control over their own destinies. Similarly, students of international politics tend to make a series of simplified assumptions about the international behaviour of national systems as if all such systems reacted in the same way to the same stimuli.

Consider the processes whereby the top political leadership of a national society acquires and maintains its position of authority. To what extent are these processes dependent on events that unfold abroad? Under what condition will the stability of cabinets and the
tenure of presidents be reduced or otherwise affected by trends in the external environment? Are certain leadership structures more vulnerable to developments in the international system than others? Political theory presently offers no guidance as to how questions such as these might be researched and answered. One is hardpressed to uncover even a tentative, much less a coherent, set of propositions that links the authority of national leadership to external variables. When the contribution of such variables to the rise or fall of a particular regime or leader is unmistakable political scientists are forced to fall back on detailed historical account to explain what happened.

Yet international system theory provides no basis for anticipating such an outcome. No models are available which attempt to assess the dependence of various types of international system of which they are comprised. Therefore, the need for linkage theory is multidimensional. Besides, political analysis would be greatly facilitated if propositions that link the functioning of national institutions, national stability and the goals of national political systems to variables in their external environment could be systematically developed. Much would be gained if the hypotheses linking the stability, functioning and organization of international systems to variables within their national subsystems were available.
According to Rosenau, "the concept of linkages which involves the overlap of national and international systems is strictly an empirical one. It is necessary to identify and analyze those recurrent sequences of behaviour that originate on one side of the boundary between the two types of systems and that become linked to phenomena on the other side in the process of unfolding. Polity outputs are defined by him as those sequences of behaviour that originate within a polity and that either culminate in or are sustained by its environment, whereas environmental inputs are considered to be those behavioral sequences in the external environment to which the polity outputs give rise. Similarly environmental outputs are those sequences of behaviour that start in the external environment of a polity and that are either sustained or terminated within a polity to which environmental outputs given conceptual clarity also requires distinguishing outputs and inputs in terms of their purposefulness."

What is understandable from Rosenau's contention is that polities are increasingly dependent on their environments and interdependent with each other in the sense that increasingly what transpires at home would unfold differently if trends abroad were different. However, this interdependence may or may not involve greater integration among the polities. This
is because transnational politics are a long way from supplanting national politics and if anything the world may well be passing through a paradoxical stage in which both the linkages and boundaries among politics are becoming more central to their daily lives.

In another context Frankel has this to say:

"An important variable is found in the capabilities or elements of power and the associated power status of the country. States can be arranged in broad spectrum at the one end of which we find very weak states which have only a few interests which they can pursue and defend and at the other great powers which have few interests which they are ready not to pursue and defend. The greater the power status, the broader the scope of the national interest." From Frankel's statement it is understandable that, a country's geographical position, its topography, nearness to sea, environmental conditions such as climate, vegetational pattern, its population etc all combined to form the elements of the nation's power status. Thus the boundaries of the scope of Nigeria's interests cannot be conceived as confined to African continent as can be the interests of her smaller and less powerful neighbours.
The contentions of Rosenau and Frankel are further compounded by the very fact that, at the micro level the chains have been forged by a tendency on the part of people everywhere to replace their links to whole system e.g. societies and states with greater attachments to sub-systems e.g. ethnic, racial, religious and class groups. This mounting subgroupism is conceived to derive largely from inability of whole system to confront and solve the big issues of our time and the resulting sense people have of having lost control over their own lives.

At the macro level changes appears to have been fostered by dynamic technologies that have shrunk physical and socio-political structures such that events and trends in one part of the world are increasingly shaped by developments in other parts. For instance, the capacity of the IMF to require third world countries to adopt new and more stringent domestic policies, the growing vulnerability of national embacies to terrorist acts and the opening up of space to military and industrial uses are but a few of the transnationalizing patterns that seems to be shrinking the world and rendering long standing legal and geographical boundaries evermore tenuous.

In essence, the ultimate result is that the legitimacy and authority of whole systems may be undergoing progressive diminution thereby rendering
Governments less effective and encouraging further the trend toward subgroupism, the distinction between foreign and domestic affairs has become increasingly obscure and the resulting tensions between and within subsystems has become in a number of ways inextricably woven into a world wide crisis of authority that in turn is marked by emergent structures and an over all pattern that can be labeled cascading interdependence.

Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to identify and to ascertain as to whether the role of Nigerian foreign policy with regard to South Africa and Namibia is in consonance with her internal environment. By so doing particular attention has been paid in identifying the areas where she has faired well and areas in which she has not faired well, in an analytic manner. In that same vein particular attention has also been paid to her geographical, socio-cultural, economic and political position and internal environment.

Besides, attention has been paid to the constitutional provisions on foreign policy formulation, projection and implementation. The constitutional aspect has been of fundamental interest to this study. This is because of the raging controversy over the constitutional provisions of foreign policy among
Nigerian scholars of foreign policy. This can be easily attested by the concentration of the scholars over this issue in seminars, debates and conferences organised by the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs. It has also been the interest of this study to see as to how the power of the Federal Government in foreign affairs, whatever its extent may be, is being controlled in accordance with the divergent interests of the component regions within the federation of Nigeria.

Scope of the Study:

Though the study relates to two prominent international issues, mainly South Africa and Namibia, it is not the study of the issues per se. The issues come in as two focal points of Nigeria's foreign policy during the period under survey. Of course sufficient background information of both the issues is included to provide a clear understanding of its historical and political legal ramifications. The study addresses itself to the foreign policy of Nigeria. But it is not the formal nature of the foreign policy which is of main interest here. An attempt is made to go beyond the foreign policy postures of Nigeria and to look into the various domestic forces on which the foreign policy hinges.
There are three such factors. Firstly, the large geographical expanse of Nigeria and its good resource base giving it the strength to bear the burden of an active foreign policy so much so that inspite of its not being contiguous state it is viewed as a "frontline state". Secondly, fluctuations in the economic life of Nigeria arising mainly due to its monocultured oil based economy has reflected a close bearing on the directions and tempo of Nigeria's foreign policy. Thirdly, the federal structure of Nigeria has contributed to uncertainties in the pursuit of Nigeria's foreign policy.

The study starts from 1960 and concludes in 1985. Nigeria became independent in 1960. Long before independence, there were expectations that an independent Nigeria would make a significant contribution towards the two above mentioned issues in particular and African politics in general. It may be mentioned that the expectations were not belied by the country. The period 1960 to 1985 is characterised by six phases.

Phase 1 1960 - 1966 civilian regime,
Phase 2 1966 - 1975 military regime,
Phase 3 1975 - 1979 military regime,
Phase 4 1979 - 1983 civilian regime,
Phase 5 1983 - 1985 military regime,
Phase 6 1985 - to the present military regime.
As can be seen, it is on the basis of the regime that the phases have been identified. It may be noted that, though the periodization has been done, the character of the regime has not basically altered the continuity and the direction of Nigeria's foreign policy with regard to South Africa and Namibia.

Methodology:

The study is based on descriptive/analytical approach. The basic source of information for the study is library materials, though it has been supplemented by personal interviews of some of the officials connected with Nigerian foreign policy. The data for this research study has been collected from both primary and secondary sources. With regard to the primary data there has been ample use of Government materials. There has equally been extensive personal consultations with experts on Nigerian foreign policy; officials of the Federal Ministry of External Affairs when the author made a field trip to Nigeria from April to June 1987. In the same manner discussions were also held with members of the diplomatic corps at the Nigerian High Commission in New Delhi. In particular the author had an extensive discussions with the Political Attache at the High Commission. Also all available press releases on the nation's foreign policy stand indicated in the speeches of the successive Presidents of the country have been used.
With regard to the secondary data an extensive use of existing literature in the form of books and articles on Nigerian foreign policy have been used in analysing the different views that are prevailing on the subject.

**Chapterised Frame Work:**

This study comprises six chapters. The first Chapter serves as the introductory Chapter while the Sixth i.e. the last Chapter serves as the concluding Chapter. On the other hand, Chapters II, III, IV and V constitute the core of the study because they are crucial in understanding the foreign policy of Nigeria.

Chapter II which is entitled "The geopolitical situation and environment", begins with an analysis of both the tangible and intangible elements that made Nigeria a power to reckon with within West Africa, Africa as a whole and overall global power calculus. The investigation is based upon the land and the people, climate, population, language, religion, literacy, historical background, political culture, constitutional history and political parties.

Chapter III which is entitled, "Foreign Policy and the constitutional process", analyses the constitutional provisions governing the foreign policy of
Nigeria dating from the time of independence with particular emphasis on the 1979 presidential constitution. This Chapter highlights the implications of certain provisions of the respective constitutions that may hamstring the conduct of the nation's foreign policy and makes necessary suggestions where the need be.

Chapter IV begins with an analysis of Nigerian foreign policy towards the eradication of the apartheid policy in South Africa. Similarly, the evolution of Nigerian foreign policy dating from the time of independence to 1985 when the present Government came into power has been traced and extensively discussed. Besides, policies towards current happenings in apartheid South Africa have also been discussed.

Chapter V analyses Nigerian foreign policy regarding the case of Namibian independence dating from the time of independence to 1985. Policies towards current happenings on Namibian independence have been discussed as well.
FOOT NOTES


2. Ibid., page 319.

3. Ibid., page 320.


6. Ibid., page 19.