The Racial Factor and Pan-Africanism in Nigerian Foreign Policy

JOHN TOR TSUWA, PhD
Department of Political Science,
Faculty of Social Sciences, Benue State University, Makurdi

&

AFONGU AONDOAKAA IORNUMBE
Department of Political Science,
Faculty of Social Sciences, Benue State University, Makurdi

Abstract
This paper assesses the racial factor and Pan-Africanism in Nigerian foreign policy. Nigeria’s effort to end racism and encourage Pan-Africanism had a very profound impact on the national liberation struggle of the African people. It has helped and indeed informed the development and articulation of a philosophy for the global engagements of the post-colonial African states. The paper adopts secondary sources of data and the role theory as a framework of analysis. The building of transnational and transcontinental solidarity among the people of African descent has been central to Nigerian foreign policy direction. The paper discovered that, Nigeria as a black nation has displayed a great commitment in the liberation struggles waged against slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racist regimes in African continent such as in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia among others. Again, it is important to note that, Nigeria spearheaded formation of the Organization of African Unity (now AU). The racial factor and pan-Africanism in Nigerian foreign policy proves Nigeria’s commitment to addressing the challenges of Africa as recognized by the framers of Nigerian foreign policy. The paper recommends that, Nigerian foreign policy should seek to protect the integrity of the black man across the globe.

Keywords: Racism, Pan-Africanism, Foreign policy

1.0 Introduction
The concept of racism represents any policy, belief, attitude, action or inaction which subordinates and discriminates individuals or groups based on their race. Racism is better explained in specific historical formation and context as an institution and an ideology which has lasted over several hundred years. Wolf and Guin (2013, p.23) offered a more useful definition of racism as the subordination of people of color by white people. While individual persons of color may well discriminate against a white person or another person of color because of their race, this does not qualify as racism according to our definition because that person of color cannot depend upon all the institutions of society to enforce or extend his or her personal dislike. Nor can he or she call upon the force of history to reflect and enforce that prejudice. . . . History
provides us with a long record of white people holding and using power and privilege over people of color to subordinate them, not the reverse. It is an ideology that is entwined within the cultural ideology of a society, at some level, everyone who is a cultural member shares many aspects of the ideology of race. That belief system plays out in our day to day interactions with each other whether we are blatantly (or consciously) racist or not. The system of race sets up certain hostilities and conflicts that are played out in our lives.

Pan-Africanism according to Geiss (1974) is an irrational concept and a matter of vague emotions. This attack appears to be borne out of the biasness in the literature of western scholarship. Esedebe (1984, p.4) explains the conflicting interpretation of Pan-Africanism by noting that, the present debate of the nature of Pan-Africanism stems largely from three unfortunate tendencies. There is the tendency to overplay one aspect of the phenomenon at the expense of the other. A second source of confusion is the rather heavy reliance on the records of the European colonial administration, all of which was hostile to the movement and did their utmost to suppress or even destroy it. Linked with this tendency is the practice of enumerating the publications of pan-African leaders and organizations instead of integrating the material in the text itself.

Irrespective of the above pitfalls, Legum (1962), King (1971) and Weisbord (1973) described Pan-Africanism as a movement of ideas and emotions that pave way for achievement of synthesis at one instance and remains antithesis at another. It is a general movement of international kingship and numerous short-lived movements with a predominant cultural element. It is an appeal to educational institutions, philanthropists and missionaries to help address the education of the Africans and Afro-Americans imbalance in America. Langley (1983) adds that, the concept of Pan-Africanism is a protest, a refusal, a demand and a utopia born of centuries of contact with Europe. It is a struggle in which Africans and men of African blood have been engaged since their contact with modern Europe. Pan-Africanism is a general term for various movements in Africa that has as their common goal the unity of Africans and the elimination of colonialism and white supremacy from the continent. However, on the scope and meaning of pan-Africanism, including such matters as leadership, political orientation and national as opposed to regional interest, they are widely, often bitterly, divided. Skinner (1982) adds that pan-Africanism is an organized political activity which consciously and deliberately attempts to create a band of solidarity based upon community of faith imposed by Trans-Atlantic slave trade and its aftermath.

Esedebe (1980, p.4) captures the essentials of pan-Africanism in seven major interrelated ideas. First, is the conception of Africa as the home of Africans and persons of African origin. Second, is reflective and organic solidarity among all peoples of African descent. Third, is collective and individual pride in African culture. Fourth, is associated with the pride is belief in a distinct African personality. Fifth, is rehabilitation of African’s past. Six, is the Africanization of church and state, thus preserving Africa for Africans at political and religious planes. Seven, is the hope of emergence of a united and glorious federation of African states. Asobie (2005) adds that, these ideas have much relevance for the foreign policy of contemporary African states.
Pride in the contributions of Africans to civilization can restore collective self confidence among African leaders can strengthen them to create novel political institutions and evolve new diplomatic strategies for dealing with Africa’s domestic and international problems. It will embolden them to reflect the thesis that liberal democracy constitutes the end of history. Exploring African ancient history and rehabilitating its glorious past will throw up empirical materials for innovative thing and creative social engineering. Pan-Africanism as pride in things African will provide a psychological platform for reflexively resisting the imposition of Euro-American solutions to African problems. Its represents the totality of the historical, cultural, spiritual, artistic and scientific worldviews of Africans from past times to the present, in other to preserve African civilizations and to struggle against slavery, racism, colonial and neo-colonialism.

The concept of foreign policy defines the interaction, relations and behaviour of nation-states both on domestic and external fronts. Northing (1968, p.15) describes foreign policy as an inside behavior of nation-states. Therefore, it is the protrusion of a country’s interest into the global state which translates to interaction of one country and another. Frankel (1975) defines foreign policy as a dynamic process of interaction between the changing domestic demands, supports and the changing external circumstances. Foreign policy involves the formulation and implementation of a group of principles which shape the behaviour pattern (statements and actions) of a state while negotiating with other states to protect or further its vital interest. Similarly, Holsti (1983,p.97) defines foreign policy as actions or ideas designed by policy-makers to solve a problem or promote some changes in the environment, that is, the policies or attitudes or actions of another state or states. This definition unravels the essential interactions between different policy sectors (governmental and non-governmental) and indicates the multitude of activities which a state’s foreign policy must deal with. These activities make foreign policy a dynamic activity of interest and objectives.

Nigerian foreign policy since independence focused on Africa as the centre-piece of her foreign policy. This made Nigeria to pursue policies that strengthened the overall interest of Africa. Nigeria’s foreign policy is guided by national interest which centres more on interest of the whole African continent. This has been the guiding principle in the conduct and practice of the country’s foreign policy. It is within this context that, Nigeria’s commitment to decolonization and eradication of apartheid was based. In the first decade of the post apartheid era, Nigeria worked assiduously with democratic South Africa in the pursuit of peace, stability and development in Africa (Alli-Balogun, 1986).

Therefore, the eradication of colonialism and racial discrimination in Africa was a logical objective of Nigerian foreign policy in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1960, the then Nigerian Prime Minister, Tafawa Balewa, in a speech to the United Nations General Assembly, outlined the contours of Nigeria’s foreign policy and her position that, apartheid was unacceptable to the Nigerian people (Adedeji, 1976 & Akimboye, 2013). In 1961, the Minister of External Affairs, Jaja Wachukwu unequivocally declared as an official position of Nigerian authorities that, colonialism and all its manifestations must be ended and that, Nigeria would be failing in its duty
if it did not use its full resources, intellectual, moral and material, in the struggle for the emancipation of the rest of Africa. This pronouncement was reiterated by Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa during the 1963 Africa Summit that, established the Organization of African Unity, when he emphasized that, Nigeria would never compromise her position on the question of colonialism and racial discrimination in Africa (Abati, 1999). These pronouncements were clearly declared and vigorously pursued by various administrations in post independence Nigeria.

2.0 Statement of Problem

Foreign policy is explained in terms of the national interest of national entity that originates such policy. This major determinant of a country’s foreign policy anticipated to sum up the entirety of the expectations in dealing with other state actors on a global stage. Nigeria has established herself as a strong advocate and reliable defender of Africa’s concerns and interest at the United Nations as presented by Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa especially on the question of decolonization and the struggle against apartheid (Balewa, 1964). On decolonization it has been a cardinal aspect of Nigeria’s foreign policy to assist, within the limit of its resources, in the decolonization process in Africa. Nigeria’s role was central to the struggle against apartheid, the institutionalized form of racism in South-Africa which was declared a crime against humanity and gross violation of universal declaration of human rights and an assault on the dignity of black man (Gambari, 2005). It is in the light of the above that this paper examines the racial factor and pan-Africanism in the Nigerian Foreign policy. To be specific, how does racial factor and pan-Africanism influence Nigerian foreign policy.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

The study has chosen the Role Theory because of its relevance in policy decision making and international politics. The major exponents of this theory are Georg Simmel, George Herbert Mead, Raph Linton and Jacob Moreno. The earlier manifestations of the role theory in political analysis were in the works of Merton (1957), Gross (1958) among others. Role theory flows from the old perception which suggests that political behaviour always manifests in the performance of a political role (Eulau, 1963). The role theory validates the psychological model in Political Science which suggests that political behaviour is the result of the demands and expectations of the roles which a political actor (institution, group, or nation) occupies (Isaak, 1975).

The theory also endorses and stresses the group approach to politics. It rather considers that each individual’s personality and attitude in a decision making process is contingent upon the attitude, expectations and demands of other members in a group. Hence decisions can be made only when individuals (President, Senator, Cabinet members) fill a set of roles. This is at the level of domestic politics. For international politics, it is a conception of certain national roles as first a product of group consensus and second a product of considered expectations and
demands of the international system. These expectations from the system matter in the conception of national roles because the group conceiving the roles leads a nation which is itself a subsystem or one of the components of the international system.

In role theory analysis, there are two levels of roles-roles of the policy makers in policymaking; and national roles or roles of the state. There are three sources of roles in either level. The first one is expectations of outsiders (society or international public) about roles of role occupants, or about roles a state should play internationally. The second is the perceptions of insiders (i.e. those filling the role) of their roles, or roles their states should occupy internationally. The third is interpretations of the roles by the occupants. At the first level of roles, the first source or influence on roles has to do with the expectations of the society or people about the roles of political actors. This stresses the peculiarities of an official or an institution as far as their traditional roles are concerned. In the same way, it also has to do with the expectations of roles the voter or citizen will fill. For instance, the citizen is expected to carry out their constitutional obligations. The President is expected to provide the leadership. The people or society have certain notions about what the President should or should not do, and such preconceived notions become the source of the behaviour of the President as he tries to, as a member of a political group, fill a role.

By society it is meant a broad spectrum of cultural norms, public opinion and legislative statutes, that find expressions through governmental officials, groups and private individuals. These bodies and their mechanisms represent legal restrictions to the power of the President. This validates the position of the role theory of the centrality and efficacy of the political group rather than individualism in studying political action or phenomenon. The expectations may thus constitute the roles (Isaak, 1975). At the second level of roles, that is, national roles, policy makers may be influenced by the demands, pressures and expectations of the citizens about the roles their country should occupy at given situations in international politics. The international community too, may have a set of roles it expects a nation to occupy in international affairs. The second influence on roles to be filled is the perceptions and expectations of the insiders. The insiders include the role occupant. This has to do with the way the occupants (President, Legislator, Minister, Cabinet Members) perceive of roles to occupy. This also refers to the role-occupants or policy makers own belief and feeling about the roles they wish to see their country occupy in international politics.

The third influence is how the group of role occupants interprets their own roles. This will include their own ideas about what roles to play, what they should or should not do, and how they should do it. These ideas reflect personal attitudes and ideology of what each occupant has that influence what they should do. Again at the level of national roles, these would include their interpretations of their country’s roles at the stage of foreign policy implementation.

The role theory is useful in explaining the racial factor and pan-Africanism in Nigerian foreign policy. First policy makers have constitutional and expected roles to play in the policy process. The underlying politics of policymaking is thus central for the study. Second, nations are considered as parts or components of a system with specific roles (negative, positive; passive,
active) which they play, without which the international system would have problems with states cohabitation. Hence, the foreign policies of states are underlined by national or international roles which require a critical understanding. Third, the roles nations conceive for themselves or assume in international politics are in a state of flux, in response to changing circumstances. The changing or dynamic roles; or the static roles (as the case may be) require a careful study and documentation. The final analysis is that the role theory is a behavioral and scientific approach to understanding foreign policy behavior. More specifically, the role theory ascribes behavioral and human qualities to states as players in international politics, aiding in identifying the behavior of states, predicting states attitudes, and according a distinct image to states.

4.0 Perspectives on Origin of Racism and Pan-Africanism

This aspect of the paper is not to trace an exhaustive history of the origin and course of racist and Pan-Africanist ideas but rather to determine, as far as is possible, their contents and many facets to aid the perspective in examining how contemporary theorizing has reviewed these aspects of integration. Specifically, Esedebe (1984,p.1) quoting the W.E.B. Dubois, ‘stated that, the Pan-African movement aimed at intellectual understanding and co-operation among all groups of African descent in order to bring about the industrial and spiritual emancipation of the Negro People’. It is therefore, a movement by African people that promotes the uniqueness of blackness and fought through intellectualism intended to liberate the people from western dominated ideologies. Diop (1962) and Chime (1977) argued that, Pan-Africanism was more of less synonymous with the concept of “African personality” or “Negritude”. He has described the idea of African personality as the basis and foundation of our humanism and aspires to being freed from the western grip. It requires that our people should speak through Africans. This is the only medium that, people of African origin can express to what they alone can show forth, how they see themselves, how they identify themselves in the context of the world situation and of the great problems of mankind. There two main theoretical foundations to the understanding of pan-Africanism. There are the idea and movement theses. According to the former, pan-Africanism grew out 19th century efforts to end slavery and slave trade. At this epoch blacks worldwide were being oppressed. Slavery existed in America, South America, across the Sahara and the Caribbean. Also the colonialization of African had begun with the advent of Berlin conference of 1884 and 1885.

As a result of colonization, decolonization and apartheid, the blacks across the globe began to realize that it would be to their advantage to work together in an effort to solve the problems associated with slavery, colonization and racism respectively. In other words, it is assumed that Pan-Africanism came as response to racism. Out of this realization, came the Pan African conferences of 1900 (London), 1919 (Paris), 1921 (London, Brussels, Paris), 1923 (London), 1927 (New York), and the last official one was in 1949. Some of the blacks that, participated in these meeting: Sylvester Williams, W.E.B. Dubois, Marcus Garvey, George Padmore and Mohammed Ali Duse among others. The belief that people of African descent throughout the diaspora shares a common history, culture and experience and should stick together. This belief is the principal idea behind Pan-Africanism. This principle finds expression
through history, literature, music, art, film, clothing and food which are of African based. This idea led earliest musicians of African origin like Peter Tosh (Equal Rights), Bob Marley (Buffalo Soldier) among others to author songs for the liberation of the blacks and ushered in Negro movement to this effect.

In order to appreciate the logic of Pan-Africanism, its origins in the throes of the Negro populations in America must be placed in the proper context. It is in these remote recesses of Negro history that, Africans began to find some of the aspirations and goals which later found clearer expression in the Pan-African movement. For the Negro’s situation was a summary of the position of the African in the global context. The same physical, social and spiritual alienation of the Negro could also be found among the African who side by side with these events, found themselves enmeshed in the webs of a shattering colonial system. More than that, the position of the Negro dictated to a considerable extent the way in which the African was regarded in the eyes of the world. This contributed in no way to the mass of ideology about the inferiority of the Negro which became rampant at this time. Such an unhappy and impossible situation was bound to produce a reaction.

This reaction found expression in various ways. It was seen, for instance, in the advent of the Negro Church, religious syncretism and fraternal co-operative associations, or in the emigration movements of the early eighteenth century. All these were attempts by the Negroes to insulate themselves, or escape totally, from their alienation. Pan-Africanism as an intergovernmental movement was launched in 1958 with the first Conference of Independent African states in Accra, Ghana. Before the Accra meeting, the 1945 Pan-African congress in Manchester marked a turning point in black internationalist activities around the Atlantic. Though ostensibly under W.E.B. DuBois guidance, its primary arrow head was socialist pan-Africanist George Padmore, the Congress was the first to include a significant number of Africans like Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, S. L. Akintola, Wallace Johnson and Ralph Armattoe. Ghana and Liberia were the only Sub-Saharan African states represented; the remainders were Arab and Muslim. Thereafter, as independence was attained by more African states, other interpretations of pan-Africanism emerged including “the Union of African States (1960), the African States of the Casablanca Charter (1961) the Malagasy States (1962), and the African-Malagasy-Mauritius Common Organization (1964). The above analysis revealed that, the history and ideology of racism is against which Pan Africanism was a contending response to rescue blacks’ discrimination from the white racists on the ground of colour. Put differently, in the postcolonial epoch, the nature of pan-Africanism and the problems facing pan-Africanist projects changed dramatically. For the first time, pan-Africanism became a broad-based mass movement in Africa and enjoyed its greatest success as an international liberation movement. It is on the basis of this position that, Nigeria pan-Africanist policy derives its strength.

5.0 Racial Factor and Pan-Africanism in Nigerian Foreign Policy

The Afro-centric foreign policy posturing of Nigeria was emphasized by Wachukwu (1961,p.26) when he averred that, “Nigerian foreign policy is based on three basic pillars; the concept that Nigeria is an African nation; it is part and parcel of the continent of Africa and
therefore, it is so completely involved in anything that pertains to that continent”. We are independent in everything but neutral in nothing that affects the destiny of Africa. The peace of Africa is the peace of Nigeria, its tribulations are our tribulations and we cannot be indifferent to its future (Dele, 2002). These three (3) pillars addressed the fact that, Nigeria is worthy African country well situated in this region and has the potency to decide the destiny of African continent. This has become the defining feature of Nigerian Foreign Policy since inception diametrically projecting that Africa’s unity or peace is incumbent on Nigeria’s disposition.

There are four principles underlying Nigeria relations with her neighbors. These are respect for the sovereign equality of all states irrespective of their size; respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of every African state; non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries; and the commitment to functional cooperation as a means of promoting inter-African unity (Aluko, 1981). Nigeria’s policy towards the rest of Africa has always based on these same four principles underlying her policy towards her neighbors and a commitment to fight colonialism and Whites supremacist regimes in some parts of Africa, a fifth principle was added; the total eradication of colonialism and racism from Africa. However, the fifth principle of Nigeria foreign principle proves that, Nigeria was determined in ending racism and colonialism in African continent.

On the issue of racism, Nigeria demonstrated her Afro-centric stand more in the area of the liberation of Africa. In 1961, Nigeria played a crucial role in the events that led to the suspension of South Africa from the Commonwealth. In addition, South African Dutch Reform Church was also expelled from Nigeria while contracts awarded to South African companies operating in Nigeria were cancelled. In pursuance of her anti-apartheid policy, Nigeria moved a resolution for the expulsion of South Africa from the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1961 arguing that the policy of apartheid was a flagrant violation of the ILO constitution. Under the Gowon administration, South Africa received robust moral and financial support. This was the era described as Naira Spraying Diplomacy (Idumange, 2010). Nigeria has used her oil wealth to lend support to African countries and also fight for their liberation and freedom from White racists and domination and subjugation especially South Africa.

Nigeria became the only country outside nation in South Africa that is member of the frontline states- Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania Zambia, and Zimbabwe. With the active participation of Nigeria provided leadership in search of enduring solutions to the South Africans through activities and parties in South Africa’s political development and the apartheid menace through monitoring, contacts and dialogue. As a frontline state, according to Eke (2009), Nigeria adopted multiple strategies of struggle, support and contact with the racist regime. Nigeria began early in March 1961 to demonstrate her unreserved role and commitment to the course of liberating South Africa from the stranglehold of apartheid when her exertion of pressure on world great powers and colonial masters reached an unprecedented proportion. Nigeria’s condemnation of racist atrocities in South Africa remained fierce; expression of solidarity was superlative, forthcoming and prompt with the oppressed, while aid-giving to the liberation movement was ready-made. Nigeria’s political support was amply illustrative in many
ways such as total commitment to the path of liberating South Africa from the stranglehold of apartheid by putting pressure on world great powers and colonial masters. The 1973 oil embargo transformed the Nigerian economy assuming new dimension to the nation’s foreign policy. With her strategic impact on World economies, Nigeria demonstrated a willingness to use its leverage to attain policy goal of liberating Africa from colonialism and apartheid.

Pan-Africanism in Nigerian foreign policy is considered as a driving force towards ending racism. It is a movement dedicated to the physical, cultural, emotional and intellectual liberation of the Africans. Thus, with Nigeria at the fore-front, Pan-Africanism stand for multi-racial unity in Africa with the African continent designated as a common home for all its inhabitants. Eventually, this Pan-African spirit accelerated the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) now AU in May 1963(Adeniran, 1986). In 1973, Nigeria proposed the formation of Economic Community of n West African States (ECOWAS). To further complement this political unity symbolized by the AU, African states also established the African Development Bank (ADB) as a Pan-African economic institution in August 1963. With specific reference to Nigeria, the emphasis is not so much on the commitment to the cause which all African states officially share, but rather unique national mind-set that, given its size and resource endowments it is destined to play a leadership role in African affairs.

The chapter II, section 19, (a and b) of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria specifies the Nigerian foreign policy objectives to include (a) promotion and protection of the national interest and (b) promotion of Africa integration and support for Africa unity. Though, national interest is paramount, Nigeria regards Africa as the centre-peace of her foreign policy. Nigeria is committed primary to peace and security, so as to ensure her survival as nation; she is also committed to economic and social well-being through economic development as well as end to colonialism, social discrimination and apartheid (Anyaele, 2005). This clearly demonstrated that, Nigerian foreign policy is committed towards promoting African peace and unity. Nigeria has also participated in Peace-Keeper in Africa, for instance in Congo (that started in July 1960, and ended in June, 1964), United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle-East (1974) as well as United Nations Peace- Making Force in Cyprus (1964). Nigeria participation in United Nations Peace-Making Mission had elevated the state image to a greater height since independence in 1960.

Again, in 1975 Nigeria provided financial assistance to the popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Nigerian government recognition of MPLA was on account of its own fact finding mission sent to Angola which the reported unmistakable presence of South African troops fighting inside Angola (Fawole, 2003, Fawole, 2013 and Aluko, 1981). Equally, Nigeria supported Mozambique and Zimbabwe independence in 1981 as well as eradication of racial regime in South Africa in 1994. Indeed, it was the general belief of Nigerian nationalists that Nigeria could not regard its own independence as complete, as long as African countries, especially other black people of Africa remained under the yoke of colonialism. Nigeria also mediated in the intra-regional conflict between Chad and Niger, border conflicts between Morocco and Algeria, Somalia and Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda in 1971.
Nigeria spearheads the Peace-keeping mission in Liberia and sierra-Leone (through ECOMOG). She dispatched troops to war torn Somalia, as well as Darfur region of Sudan among others. Since, the emergence of democratic regime in 1999, Nigerian state has been involving in peace-keeping mission within the African continent. President Olusegun Obasanjo had used his good office during his first tenure (1999-2003) to convince other African leaders (Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, John Kufor of Ghana among others) on the need for peace-making in places like Cote d’ Ivoire, Liberia, Togo, Sao-Tome and Principle. Hence Nigeria facilitated the signing of peace-accord among the warring factions, in Liberia, as well as the peaceful exit of Charles Taylor to Calabar in Cross-River State of Nigeria, in Togo as well as Sao-Tome and Principe.

Conclusion
The racial factor and pan-Africanism in the Nigerian Foreign Policy is built on the philosophy and spirit of co-operation among people of African descent in order to bring about the emancipation of the black People. The role theory provides explanation to racial factor and pan-Africanism in Nigerian foreign policy. This means policy makers have constitutional and expected roles to play in the policy process. Nigeria as part or component of the international system has specific roles which she plays without which the system would have problems with states cohabitation. Hence, the foreign policies of states are underlined by national or international roles which require a critical understanding. The roles nations conceive for themselves or assume in international politics are in a state of flux in response to changing circumstances. The changing or dynamic roles; or the static roles require a careful study and documentation. The final analysis is that the role theory is a behavioral and scientific approach to understanding Nigerian foreign policy behaviour.

Nigeria’s policy on racism and Pan Africanism had a profound impact on the national liberation struggle of the African populace. Nigeria’s struggle has led to the collapse of apartheid regime in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia and the total liberation of the continent from colonial rule. Again, it is important to note that, Nigeria spearheaded formation of the Organization of African Unity (now AU) in May 1963. Nigerian state has been involving in peace-keeping missions within the African continent which brought about peace such as Liberia, sierra-Leone, Cote d’ Ivoire, Togo, Sao-Tome and Principle. Having observed the immense contribution of Nigeria to the end of racism and promotion of Pan-Africanism, the paper recommends for the following:

i. Nigerian foreign policy should seek to protect the integrity of the black man both at home and abroad. It must be pursued in a way to promote our interest, friendly and reciprocal relations on a bilateral and multi-lateral basis across the world. And it must resist all forms of discrimination, domination and aggression against Nigerians and Africans in general.

ii. While considering Africa as the center piece of her foreign policy, Nigerian citizens should also form an integral part of the effort. To this end, the policy should be such that gives adequate protection to Nigerians at home and abroad to give them a sense of belonging.
iii. Maintenance of peace and security at home should be given more attention against leadership role of maintaining peace abroad while the house (Nigeria) is on “fire”.

iv. Nigeria should pursue the goals of democracy, good governance and respect for human rights at home to ensure the credibility of her leadership role abroad.

v. There is therefore the need to redefine Nigeria’s foreign policy to project her image and recapture her leadership role in Africa.

vi. Nigerians in the Diaspora should be properly recognized in the scheme of foreign policy articulation and implementation. They have a prominent role in advancing the foreign policy of the country, by implication her international image and hence should be given sufficient diplomatic attention. More so, Nigeria has a “vibrant Diaspora population that needs to be constantly engaged to contribute to national development”.

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