THE OBJECTIVES OF NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN RELATION TO RELATION TO AFRICA STATES BETWEEN 1960-2015

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ABSTRACT

This study delved of examining the historical perspective on the Nigeria foreign policy to African between the years 1960-2015. It was guided by Nigeria's foreign policy between 1960-2015. This article looked into the relationship of Nigeria, Uganda and other African countries since 1890s when Lord Lugard first came into contact with Uganda and later went to Nigeria in 1912. Nigeria and Uganda were both ruled under Britain, both of them shared the same antecedence of History in terms of good and bad leadership, corruption, religious and ethnics civil crisis. Nigerian foreign policies covered all African states in terms of financial, military and human resource assistance to many African countries eg she is central in the creation of OAU, ECOWAS and she alone created ECOMOG, she intervened in Chad civil crisis of 1975, she assisted Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa in their fight for independence. Nigeria was instrumental in bringing peace in sarrieleone and Liberia in the 1990s. The findings of this study was Nigeria used to be generous to many African countries yet her own country was not develop to standard of many African countries as it was seen in the western world where by their first priority is their home then other and when assistance is given to any country profit comes in from that country being assisted but in the case of Nigeria she was mock by scholars as fatherchrismas. This study recommend that Nigeria should first of give priority to herself, provide basic things needed by it citizens ie Quality Education, Drinking Water, Good Roads, Electricity, Skills Acquisition Centers and etc. the study suggest that further studies should be carry out to investigate why Nigerian leaders behaved the way they behaved and why are they not passionate about the development of their country.

1.1 Background to the study

Post-colonial Africa has experienced many difficulties, and the continent is host to some of the world's most underdeveloped and unstable countries (Rodney, 1972). Several factors led to this unfortunate situation, and socio-political reasons are one important aspect (revealinghistories.org.uk).These relations are a central feature of any country, but are important especially in Africa due to specific circumstances. The sociopolitical history and the unstable environment have created a special context, which has affected all actors in the relationships (Ngoma, 2006). The relationship between Nigeria to the rest of Africa tides back to the founding of OAU 'Organisation of African Union' in 1963 (sahistory,2016) later AU 'African Union'. Nigeria as backbone of OAU bailed the ACNC by taking tough position with regard to South African government and their military aides. Nigeria also influenced the foundation of regional co-operation effort in West Africa functioning as standard bearer for ECOWAS, ECOMOG, economic and military organization respectively. When civil war broke in Angola after independence from Portugal in 1975 (blackpast,2016), Nigeria mobilized its diplomatic influence in Africa in support of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) this hoped MPLA to be recognized by OAU over the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. Nigeria extended support to another card, Sam Nujoma's Southwest Africa people's organisation in Namibia, to stall Apartheid South Africa government there. In 1977 New general Olusengun Obasanjo's military regime donated $20 million to Zimbabwean movement against apartheid government of Rhodesian (digitalcommons,2016). Nigerian sent military equipment to Mozambique to help the newly independent country suppress the South African backed Mozambican National Resistance Guerrillas. Nigeria also provided some military training at the Kaduna first mechanized army division and other national support to Joshua Nkoma and Robert Mugabe's guerrilla forces during the Zimbabwe war in 1979 against the white prime minister (white) Ian Douglas Smith(nairaland,2016). Since the independence of Nigeria in 1960, there have been a number of conceptual ideological transitions in the Nigeria foreign policy machinery. Essentially, they all strive towards construction and definition of the thrust of Nigeria's foreign policy.

Under the framework of an Africa-centered foreign policy, Nigeria got involved deeply in the decolonization struggles in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, and anti-apartheid struggles in South Africa and in the process earning for itself the appellation a 'frontline nation', even though she was geographically far removed from the theater of the struggles which was in the Southern African region. Nigeria is central to the formation of ECOWAS, has contained the breakdown of social order in Liberia, Sierra Leone, etc, through its world acknowledged peacekeeping expertise, and has provided economic life wire to less economically resourceful countries. In terms of proactive engagement with major socio-political and economic issues of continental importance in the last fifty-five years, Nigeria tower far above any other African country.

The concept of economic diplomacy as a foreign policy plank was introduced in Nigeria's foreign policy during the Ibrahim Babangida administration. The government conceptualized economic diplomacy policy as, 'the promotion of export trade, investment and increased financial assistance from friendly countries'. Building on this, the then Foreign Affairs Minister, Ike Nwachukwu in his June 1988 speech entitled: The Dynamics of Nigeria's Foreign Policy, provided the policy direction when he stated that, ' it is the responsibility of our foreign policy apparatus to advance the course of our national economic recovery. The imperative of an economic diplomacy foreign policy framework was inspired by the economic pressures that were exerted on the Nigerian economy as a result of the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) (www.vanguardngr.com). The later government of General Sani Abacha from 1993-98 focuses on the disputes between Nigeria and Cameroon on land in the richest area of Nigeria which have been confiscated from Nigeria and was given to the Republic of Cameroon by the International Court of Justice ICJ. Nigeria disagreed with the judgment and never released Bakasi to Cameroon, and the rampant killing of politicians by the then government, this action led to the sanctioned of Nigeria from among members of the Commonwealth until 1999 when an elected government came to power, the Commonwealth re-admitted Nigeria and the European Union lifted all of the sanctions imposed on the country in 1995. The sanction was a reaction to the execution of Ken SaroWiwa, an activist slain by the Nigerian military regime of Sani Abacha. The United Nations Human Rights Commission on April 23 adopted by consensus a draft resolution condemning Nigeria's Human Rights record co-sponsored by the U.S. and many other nations, including South Africa. President Obasanjo's visit to former U.S. President Clinton was one of his first visits to heads of state. The United States welcomed the election of Obasanjo and re-established military ties with Nigeria.

The main objective of the study was to identify and examine the nature of the objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy between 1960-2015.

1.2 Theoretical perspective

The theoretical framework for this study is based on bilateral theory (Chime, 1977) and social complexity theory (Sjoberg 1960)A large number of published studies have examined the subject of bilateral and social complexity and the means by which it has been attained in the past. Many of these studies have considered the subject as a worldwide phenomenon, and in some cases their relevance to the African past is more implicit than explicit.

2.1 Related Literature

A major topic in any course on African international relations is the foreign policies of African states. According to (Delancey, 1980) on his work on "Aspect of International Relations in Africa" argued that Research and publication in this topic can be divided into two categories: studies pertaining to one state (case studies) and studies pertaining to several states (comparative studies) in which my research is going to focus on. Olajide Aluko, ed., The Foreign Policies of African States (1977) attempts to bridge the gap between case and comparative study. The volume contains analyses of the foreign policies of eleven states - Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zaire - written by ten authors. But, the editor has also written a comparative essay drawing on the eleven cases as data. Case Studies: Nigeria, with its large population, relatively broad resource base and large army, is one of the major powers on the continent.

Although this state played a passive role in the early years of its independence, it has come to play an active leadership role in continental affairs, especially since the conclusion of its civil war. As a result of its position in African affairs and as a result of the relatively large number of Nigerian academics, there are a large number of pub1ications on her foreign policy behavior. Two books by Nigerian authors are particularly important: A.B. Akinyerni , Foreign Policy and Federalism: The Nigerian Experience (1974) and G.J. Idang, Nigeria: Internal Politics and Foreign Policy (1973). Both devote most of their attention to the more passive period of Nigeria's foreign policy. B. Adebisi , "Nigeria's Relations with South Africa, 1960-1975" (1977) ; R.A. Akindele, "The Conduct of Nigeria's Foreign Relations" (1973); I.A. Gambari, "Nigeria and the World: A Growing Internal Stabi1ity, Wealth and External Influence" (1975) ; James Maya1 1, "Oi1 and Nigerian Foreign Policy" (1976); and 0. Ogunbadejo, "Nigeria and the Great Powers: The Impact of the Civil Liar on Nigerian Foreign Relations" (1976) are examples of the many journal articles available that analyze the more active period.

3 Methods and Procedure

The study employed a Historical and Descriptive Case Study design, because it is heavily reliant on various on descriptive and interpretation of the various views and ideas of respondents. It is qualitative, it depend on information from various sections of society. The research population included the political leaders, Nigerian/Ugandan High Commission, Nigerian/Ugandan Ministry of foreign Affairs, Nigerian/Ugandan National Library, Religious Leaders, traditional/cultural leaders, historians of both countries. A sample of 60 oral information will be selected, bearing in mind the fact that unlike questionnaires which require a large sample, oral interviews do not require a large sample since the in-depth or detailed information is collected from key respondents, according Amin (2005). This sample will be selected randomly among Nigerian High Commission in Uganda, Ugandan High Commission in Nigeria, Federal Ministries of Foreign Affairs of both Nigeria and Uganda, Political Leaders as well as Historians.

This study employed the descriptive data analysis technique to analyze data from logs, journals and dairies, key note presentations, News papers, and published reports and articles regarding the relationship between Uganda and Nigeria on socio-political aspects. This involved reading and re-reading transcripts, looking at the common similarities and differences between the two countries that enabled the researcher to develop themes and categories which were later interpreted.

4 Findings: The objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy 1960-2015

The objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy are informed by a national creed or principles that Nigeria firmly upholds as a sovereign nation. Such principles, like King (1996) posits, are consistent with the ideological framework which informs its policy. The conception of national roles, formulation of policies, and conduct of external relations are thus inextricably controlled by these basic principles or fundamentals. The principles have been declared, discussed or analyzed at various times. The fundamental principles are geared towards protecting and advancing Nigeria's national interest. The principles include:

Respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of nation- states

Non-interference in the internal affairs of other states

Promotion of African unity through functional cooperation

Elimination of colonialism and racism and the promotion of world peace, and

Non-alignment in the Cold War struggle between superpowers and their allies (Nigeria Constitution, 1999)

The first principle, respect for territorial integrity of sovereign states is informed by the idea that Nigeria's ability to defend its own sovereignty is strengthened when states respect each other's territorial integrity. Respect for territorial integrity assumes added importance in Africa where arbitrary and artificial boundaries created are subject to dispute, to engender continental and national stability. Ethelbert Umeh (2012) suggested tha sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa had opined that such boundaries should be respected and, in the interest of peace, must remain the recognized boundaries until such time as the people

concerned decide of their free will to merge into one larger unit. We shall discourage any attempts to influence such communities by force…since such interference could only result in unrest and…harm to the future of this great continent.

Nigerian borders cut across ethnic groups, or put differently, ethnic groups in Nigeria are by colonial design cut into other geographical entities. For example, the Yoruba of the southwest are divided between Benin Republic and Nigeria. The Efik-Ibibio, Ejagham and Ogoja peoples also straddle the borders along Nigeria and Cameroon; just as the Hausa-Fulani, Shuwa Arabs and Kanuri in the north also straddle the borders along Nigeria-Niger and Nigeria-Chad. Using ethnicity therefore as basis for self-governance would spell doom, and a s such Nigeria has since the OAU Cairo Resolution of 1964, remained committed to "respect the borders existing on their (states") achievement of national independence". This respect has earned for Nigeria the trust of smaller neighbours that it has no expansionist intentions (King, 1996), with the exception of Cameroon, which from the 1980s to the 2000s had strongly insinuated Nigeria"splanned military and political expansion. This suspicion was increased by the diplomatic and military row with Equatorial Guinea, the controversy over ownership of the oil-rich Bakassi peninsula, and the surreptitious and underground French incitement against Nigeria"s restless attitude in its neighbourhood.

The second principle, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states complements the first. Non-interference is not the same as non-intervention. Interference itself literally means an unwelcome involvement of an external or a second party in the national affairs of a sovereign state. Intervention however, is an acceptable development in international politics to help a state restore peace or to save a nation from an internal crisis that is becoming externalized or a huge humanitarian concernONOJA PATRICK (2003). The globalcommunity and African Union"s presence in Sudan is, for instance, the case of intervention which the United Nations tacitly sanctions. The case of interference however, has been the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 with the purported mandate to "Free Iraq and establish a democratic government of the people".

The principle of non-interference is one that Nigeria has not been able to fully enforce in the face of the overriding interest of the major powers, especially when African states cheaply seek help from the powers in tackling domestic issues. For instance the Kano Accord of 1979 establishing a Transitional Government of National Unity in Chad in the face of national crisis was deflated by HisseneHabre when he quit the peace arrangement to pursue a cause of toppling the entire regime. Habre sought and got the aid of the US, Egypt, Sudan and France to topple the transitional government of Weddeye in 1982. Weddeye courted and got Libya"s Gaddafi to oust. Habre to restore himself in 1983, and thereafter, there started a wild goose chase between the two as one party overthrew the other with the help of foreign nations. Chad had thus become a client state. Nigeria became concerned because Chad, by its clientele disposition to major powers, posed a serious security risk to its Nigerian neighbour. The same goes for Benin,

Cameroon and Niger, who had France"s military presence and looked up to that colonial power over every little domestic problem. However, Nigeria upholds this principle of non-interference as it relates to its African counterparts. It has not had a case of undue interference in the affairs of other African states. But it has intervened at critical moments on many occasions. Among such instances were the unilateral and subsequent multilateral intervention in the Liberian crisis from 1990 to the restoration of democratic rule in 2005, the engagement of the Sierra Leone warlords from 1994 to the eventual stabilization of the hitherto fragile democracy in that country in 1999. Other cases of Nigeria"s legitimate intervention was the resolution of the political crisis in The Gambia by the Obasanjo administration, containment of the military attempt to dislodge the democratic government of Sao Tome and Principe, and the diplomatic resolution of the Togo and Congo crises in the early 2000s.

The third principle, African unity, like the first and the second stems from the nationalist and pan-Africanist ideological orientation of its foreign policy. Promotion of African unity as a cardinal principle of Nigerian foreign policy is a cause to be approached commitedly but pragmatically- for, as Balewa put it-an understanding of one another by Africans is the first practical step to be taken before political union. It was this cautious disposition to African unity that characterized Nigerian's own contribution to the creation of the OAU in 1963.

Nigeria's African unity principle was tested when the Civil War that erupted over the secession of Igboland or "Biafra" in 1967 nearly tore it apart. The government of the day fought resiliently with the firm resolve to keep Nigeria together as an indivisible entity. After the war, Nigeria played a central role in the formation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975. This symbolized the fact that Nigeria believes in continental unity through functional cooperation. Nigeria also stood firmly behind Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe in their liberation struggles and to wrest them from the Western chessboard used to perpetuate division in Africa. The support is borne out of the fact that the nation realizes that an unstable and a hostile international environment has to be confronted head-long if the agenda to build unity is to be realizable. The statement made by Balewa in the 1960s about Nigeria"s own agenda for African unity which other nations, including Ghana should identify with seemed prophetic, as the Obasanjo administration from 1999 charted a new course and led the new vanguard for African unity. The efforts manifested in the establishment of the African Union (AU) in 1999, which replaced the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The repositioning of the African organization was considered important to meet the many new challenges of the continent, including war and conflict, hunger, poverty, diseases, global warming, neo-colonialism, democracy, globalization, and more.

The fourth principle, elimination of all appearances of colonialism and racism is again premised on its ideological background of nationalism and pan-Africanism. One of the manifestations of racial hatred and discrimination was the evil of colonialism. Both pose a serious threat to African and black progress and unity.

Nigeria thus considers itself burdened by the role to, like Balewa said "do anything towards the liberation of African countries" and with the responsibility to, according to Shagari (1979) "bring about the…rapid emancipation and development of all of the countries of Africa" and "ensure that all the oppressed peoples of Africa regain their freedom and dignity." The last phrase "oppressed peoples regain their freedom and dignity" suggests that Africa would face "colonialism after colonialism" or like most Third World scholars have often put it, "neo-colonialism" which is meant to perpetuate and accomplish the long-range objective of colonialism which is political and economic servitude. The successive political leaderships in Nigeria continued the crusade to end or at least discourage re-encroachment of colonialism through new strategies such as foreign aid, and cultural and ideological instruments. The Abacha regime was particularly anti-west, and carried out sweeping reforms in the main sectors of the domestic economy; while the Obasanjo administration attempted to promote a level-playing field with western economies through equal partnerships and foreign direct investment. On the African platform, the Babangida, Abacha and Obasanjo administrations led the debt reduction crusade to deflate neo-imperialism that is crystallized by the debt overhang. All these efforts did not however mean that there were no other contradictions that still kept Africa in the economic and political gridlock of the developed nations. African states still had foreign partners with whom there was economic understanding and from whom they still got grants and loans. Some other African states were still tied ideologically, militarily and economically to their former colonial masters. Even Nigeria that was championing the course of total emancipation from neo-colonialism was still guilty of taking facilities from the Breton Woods and subjecting itself to the conditionality from the financial cartels.

Non-alignment is the fifth major principle guiding Nigeria"s foreign policy. Fresh from independence, this was the primary norm guiding the foreign policy. Non- alignment as a principle is the idea by a group of states not to take sides during the Cold War, with either of the feuding ideological powers. It is distinct from neutrality in that it implies an active participation in international affairs, but such participation would not go beyond mediation and reconciliation levels in the face of East-West conflict. The judgment of issues would be based on their merits rather than from predetermined positions. For Nigeria, the "power-show" and ideological rivalry between the US and Soviet Union was considered irrelevant to the advancement of its national interest.

Nigeria favours the principle of non-alignment because it makes it more assertive and boosts its foreign policy objective of being a regional power. The principle discourages dependency in foreign policy by asserting the right to define and exercise options in international affairs free of ideological impediments, and helps in the shattering of unhealthy colonial ties and orients the country to develop new relations toward

developing countries with whom Nigeria would likely share a wider scope of common concerns. However, several scholars perceived that Nigeria was not as non-aligned as it claimed on paper. The Balewa administration was considered to be pro-West and anti-East policies. These pro-West images were possibly a result of Nigeria"s colonial experience, during which educated Nigerians were socialized into Western values (Philips, 1964). In addition, Nigerians were nurtured in all aspects of Western life, albeit primarily of the British variety, during the colonial period. The policy actions commonly cited to substantiate the claim that Balewa was pro-West were summarized by Anglin (1964) as "delaying the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union; imposing restrictions on the size of the Soviet mission in Lagos, on travel to Soviet bloc countries (especially for study), and on the importation of communist literature; discouraging Soviet bloc aid and trade; proposing a „two-China" policy and supporting India in its dispute with China." The other reasons he outlined were Balewa"s conclusion of a defence pact with Britain, permitting the establishment of "secret NATO radio station" in the country, refusing to attend the Belgrade Conference of Non-Aligned Nations, adopting a policy of silence on Cuba and Berlin and the resumption of US nuclear tests. The other policies were collaborating with the neo-colonialists in the Congo and opposing the creation of a union of African states (Anglin, 1964: 248). Though the Balewa administration later reversed some of these policies, the initial anticommunist policies created doubts as to its sincerity in the espousal of a non aligned policy on East-West issues. The amended policies included lifting the bans on travel to the USSR and on Soviet literature. The defence pact with Britain was abrogated following a series of domestic protests. Trade and cultural links with East European countries were marginally opened. Following the Nigerian Civil War, it is reasoned that the state learnt a lesson about the danger of relying on one power bloc or on the same group of countries. The Nigerian government quickly discovered that the traditional suppliers of arms, the UK and its allies, were not reliable: the US absolutely refused to sell arms to the Nigerian government during the war (Ogunbadejo, 1976). The "Biafrans" had succeeded in manipulating the west by an effective propaganda instrument that Nigeria was carrying out acts of genocide on them. Also, Britain and its allies had their own interests: for these two reasons, they were not in a position to respond positively to all of Nigeria's military support requests. Hence, Nigeria had to turn to the Soviet bloc for assistance, which came immediately. With the backing of Soviet Union, the concepts of dependence and non-alignment took on new significance for Nigerian leaders. The West was unreliable and the East was helpful (Adigbuo, 2007; Aluko, 1971). The two scenarios created here demonstrate the weakness of the non-alignment principle in Nigeria"s foreign policy and the risk of inconsistencies this portended in national role conception.

The principle of non-alignment formally characterized the foreign policies of the regimes up to 1993. In practice, it was rather the opposite. For instance, the Murtala-Obasanjo regime, despite the non-aligned posture, identified more with socialist states and openly confronted the capitalist world. The Shagari and Babangida administrations embraced western states and the latter even put up an economic diplomacy that would engage western investments in the domestic economy. The Abacha regime effectively ended the era of alignment with the west, as it began to show a bias for the isolated nations of the Middle East and socialist bloc from 1995 (Saliu, 2006b; Fawole, 2004). However, Obasanjo"s administration identified with the cause of non-alignment, but by this time, there had been a momentous questioning surrounding the continued relevance of non-alignment in the face of a globalization orchestrated by the west, and more controversial was whether the nations had ever been truly non-aligned. The nature of capitalist economic development from the 1990s to date of some of the founding fathers of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), such as Indonesia and Egypt; and the socialist economic development of Yugoslavia and Tanzania further raised the need for a refocusing of the NAM.

5 Discussion; The objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy

From the findings of the study, it's clear that Nigeria's foreign policy are informed by a national creed or principles that Nigeria firmly upholds as a sovereign nation. Such principles, like King (1996) posits, are consistent with the ideological framework which informs its policy. The conception of national roles, formulation of policies, and conduct of external relations are thus inextricably controlled by these basic principles or fundamentals. The principles have been declared, discussed or analyzed at various times. The fundamental principles are geared towards protecting and advancing Nigeria's national interest. The principles include: Respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of nation- states; Non-interference in the

internal affairs of other states; Promotion of African unity through functional cooperation; Elimination of colonialism and racism and the promotion of world peace, and Non-alignment in the Cold War struggle between superpowers and their allies

These findings are in line with the assertions of Ozigi and Ocho (1981) who found out that Promotion of African unity as a cardinal principle of Nigerian foreign policy is a cause to be approached commitedly but pragmatically- for, as Balewa put it-an understanding of one another by Africans is the first practical step to be taken before political union. It was this cautious disposition to African unity that characterized Nigerin's own contribution to the creation of the OAU in 1963.

Nigeria's African unity principle was tested when the Civil War that erupted over the secession of Igboland or "Biafra" in 1967 nearly tore it apart. The government of the day fought resiliently with the firm resolve to keep Nigeria together as an indivisible entity. After the war, Nigeria played a central role in the formation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975. This symbolized the fact that Nigeria believes in continental unity through functional cooperation. Nigeria also stood firmly behind Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe in their liberation struggles and to wrest them from the Western chessboard used to perpetuate division in Africa. The support is borne out of the fact that the nation realizes that an unstable and a hostile international environment has to be confronted head-long if the agenda to build unity is to be realizable.

6 Conclusions

Nigeria– African relations have been characterized by certain landmarks, creation of OAU, ECOWAS and ECOMOG and of course in Promoting peace and unity within Africa, sometimes through dialogue, finance and sometime through used force where necessary for example in 2000 when President of Sao tome and principe paid an official visit to Nigeria the military took over the government at Sao Tome, the then President of Nigeria Olusegun Obasanjo returned him back to power by forced. Nigeria also tried tirelessly in bringing peace in Liberia, Sarrie Leone and etc. But the most unfortunate thing is, Nigeria tried so hard in assisting other African countries to solve their problems but she failed to solve her internal problems for example Boko Haram insurgence, Niger Delta avengers and the people South East of Nigeria who call for the independence and creation of Biafra states.

7 Recommendations

In view of the role strain of Nigeria and Africa relationship, which led to the wrong prioritization of government placing Africa above national interests, a new direction becomes imperative. While it is a truism that an average citizens of all African countries are proud to find their country playing important roles in global politics, they are more likely to be prouder when this is done after their own dignity is improved at home and abroad. This study recommends a policy shift from wasteful and unrewarding Afrocentrism, especially Nigerian extravagancies in doing other things rather than countries prioritization. This Nigeriacentrism would not imply the abandonment of leadership in Africa; it would mean the use of African leadership/national roles to better the interest of Nigeria in attending to national issues first which is a more honourable thing to do in the face of competing domestic and external pressures. Thus, Nigeriacentrism would complement traditional leadership in Africa and the principle of good neighborliness, which in fact, implies that Nigeria is good to African neighbours only in so far as it serves the purpose of national (citizens) interest.

The diplomacy of consequence, according to many Nigerians is sensible but not adequate. They advocate the diplomacy of human dignity. By such the main or primary concerns of every government would be the basic necessities of life. These would include adequate and affordable potable water, modest housing for citizens, good and affordable educational opportunities, regular supply of electricity (for Ugandans electricity is available but is very expensive and for Nigerians there is no constant power supply) especially for luxury and economic development, motorable roads, prosperous economy, employment opportunities for the country, provision of good roads, good health care delivery and reduction of poverty. The reasoning here is that if all these infrastructural facilities are available to the citizens, more Nigerians would return home. The reason why many Nigerians become victims of assault abroad is because they flee to other countries for greener pastures and

become susceptible to the intimidation and molestation of their hosts who see them as competing with their limited or abundant national resources and opportunities. Therefore, for the advocates of the policy change, charity must begin at home.

Nigeria should off-load its excess luggage of African commitment with the view of being seen as "the or a giant of Africa while its citizens have nothing whatsoever to show for this; Nigeria should stop being fatherchrismas, how Nigerian government could be more actively engaged and made to share equal responsibilities with statutory political groups in the politics of its external relations? This is a question for further study.
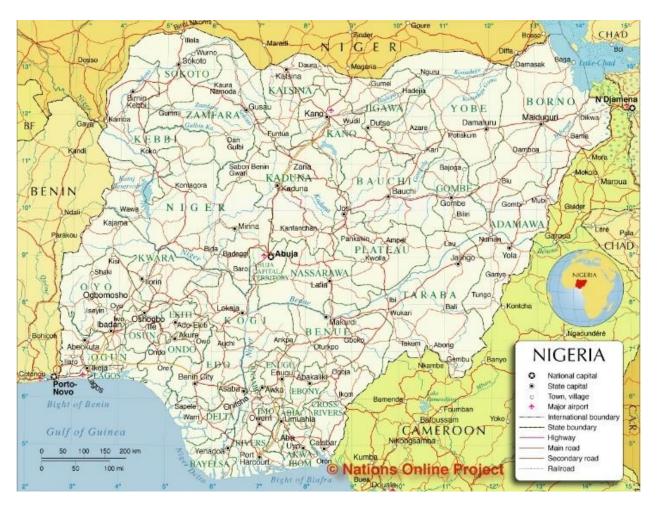
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MAP OF NIGERIA