

**IMPACT OF NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY ON PEACE-BUILDING IN WEST
AFRICA: AN ASSESMENT OF MALI**

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this project has been written by me and is a report of my research work. It has not been presented in any previous application for Post Graduate Diploma. All quotations are indicated and sources of information specifically acknowledged by means of references.

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CERTIFICATION

This project titled: **“Impact of Nigeria’s Foreign Policy on Peace-Building in West Africa: An Assesment of Mali”** by Alfa Daniel Onuche meets the regulations governing the award of Post Graduate Diploma Degree in Political Science (International Relations), of the School of Postgraduate Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Nasarawa State University, Keffi, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge .

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to God Almighty for the protection and guidance throughout the programme.

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria's foreign policy has since independence been consistently guided by some principles and objectives. One of those principles is making Africa the centerpiece of its foreign policy as such, the resolution of conflict and peace building in Africa has been an area of priority in Nigeria foreign policy in line with its foreign policy. The study examines impact of Nigeria's foreign policy on peace building in Africa: An assessment of Mali Crisis. The study utilized the National Interest theory. Secondary method of data collection was utilized. The study discovered that Nigeria have used both formal and informal mechanisms to prevent and resolve conflict in Africa especially in West African countries in order to make Africa a hospitable and safe continent. A clear justification of this assertion could be seen in the tremendous role played by Nigeria in countries like Angola, South Africa, Mozambique, Namibia, Liberia, Sierra Leone Ivory Coast etc. However, Nigeria participated vigorously in the peace-building mission in Mali to dislodge Islamic terrorist from Mali as well as to restore civil and democratic government by deploying over 900 troops to Mali. During the peace building mission Nigerian troops encountered some obstacles such as lack of proper training and equipments but despite all those obstacles Nigeria was able to succeed in restoring peace and democratic rule in Mali. Based on the findings, the study recommends that a coherent and consistent direction of foreign policy option should be spelt-out and put in practice; this should be done through harmonization of difference that exists between the different ethnic and religious groups.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The Nigerian foreign policy like any other country's foreign policy is to a large extent a product of many domestic factors and forces that when put into consideration do not only put certain limit upon action and choices of individuals or policy makers but also seek the framework with which the domestic political context over foreign policy decision must be fought. Foreign policy of states in contemporary world has taken a completely new shape. The dynamics that now shape relations between states are more informed by more complex issues than what the case was traditionally. Without exception, Nigeria's foreign policy in today's world must consider issues of political development, economic development, quality of good governance and prevailing leadership and its qualities.

All states have some kind of relation with one another, no state in the modern times can avoid involvement in the international affairs and this involvement must be systematic and based on certain principles. The framing of the foreign policy is therefore, an essential activity of a modern state, for a state without foreign policy is like a ship without a rider which may drift aimlessly and be swept by a storm or current events (Mazi 2007).

Nigeria's foreign policy is composed and embodied by some diplomatic policies in its relation with other countries especially West African countries. However, peace-building and conflict relation has always been one of the key issue in foreign policy of every country in the world and Nigeria's foreign policy is not an exception. Since Nigeria achieved independence in 1960s, consistent focus of its foreign policy has been

promoting peace, stability and unity in Africa. In the 1960s and 1970s, Nigeria took an active instance in favor of the decolonization of lusophone territories such as Angola and Mozambique and was a consistent opponent of apartheid in South Africa, West African Countries in particular has been a strategic priorities and Nigeria has been active in resolution of crisis in the region, Liberia and Ivory Coast are clear examples.

However, within the content of its foreign policy and ECOWAS mission, Nigeria is playing a tremendous role in peace-building and ECOWAS-led military intervention in Mali by deploying over 700 troops of military peace keepers in other to restore civilian rule in Mali and retake the country's Taureg north from a loose coalition of Tuarege nationalist and Islamic militia (Mazi, 2007).

It is against this background that the study assess the impact of Nigeria's foreign policy on peace-building in Mali.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Many Nigerians are worried about the monumental waste of resources to build peace in other countries when there are endemic problems of mindless bombings and killings in the country. This has lead to the lost of public confidence in the effectiveness of policy makers. Analysis have shown that in most cases Nigeria gained little or no benefit from the country it helped in the past. Although most of these flamboyant gestures are some time done against the interest of the citizens but it has helped in giving the country a big brother role in African continent.

However, it is believed that no nation can have a true guide of what it needs to do in foreign policy without accepting national interest as a guide. It is in the light of the above,

that this research is designed to explore the impact of Nigeria foreign policy on peace-building in West Africa, in other to provide a guide to the formulation of national interest driven foreign policy thrust that will promote socio-economic growth and development of the country.

1.3 Research Questions

The following questions are answered in the cause of this research:

- i. What is the relationship between Nigeria and Mali?
- ii. What are some key issues in Mali crisis?
- iii. What are the effects of Mali's crisis on its economy and that of other West African countries?
- iv. What is the position of Nigeria in the Economic Community of West African Countries (ECOWAS)?
- v. What are the impacts of Nigeria's foreign policy on peace-building in Mali?

1.4 Research Objectives

The general objective of the study is to assess the impact of Nigeria's foreign policy on peace-building in Mali. To meet the general objectives therefore, the study focus on the following specified objectives:

- i. To analyze the relationship between Nigeria and Mali
- ii. To analyze Mali's crisis and some key issues in the crisis
- iii. To analyze the effects of Mali's crisis on its economy and that of other West African countries.

- iv. To analyze the position of Nigeria in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
- v. To analyze the impacts of Nigeria's foreign policy on peace-building in Mali

1.5 Significance of the Study

The research, Impacts of Nigerian foreign policy on peace-building in West Africa: An assessment of Mali is of utmost significance especially at the present globalized era when nations are closely independent like never before and crisis and terrorism has become rampant in almost all countries in the world. All nations states no matter their ideology, geographical location or level of development must pursue some certain policies and programs in its relation with other countries in the international system as such, study of any issue of foreign policy is of utmost significance.

The study therefore, is useful to academics and possibly policy makers. Through the following ways:

To scholars it add to their knowledge and improve their intellectual curiosity and inquisitiveness towards Nigeria's foreign policy and crisis in Mali. This is because of the fact that in the course of this research some key issue in Nigeria's foreign policy and its impacts on peace building in Mali is microscopically analyzed.

To foreign policy makers, the ending continuities on the basis of lessons learnt and conclusions drawn at the end of this research could form the basis of better formulation and implementation especially now that Nigeria's new foreign policy proposal is part of the government schedule.

The research if taken seriously serve as an advisory note to Nigeria foreign policy actors on how to act with respect to other countries politically, socially, economically and militarily. It also educate them on how to behave towards non state actors and other international organizations.

The research also educate students of international relation, political science and other social science related courses on the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy especially on issues related to peace-building in West Africa and therefore, equip them to take active part in the foreign policy of their country.

Finally since research is a continuous process, the work or the research serve as a reference point to other researchers carrying out research on the Nigeria's foreign policy in future.

1.6 Scopes of the Study

This research is a modest attempt aimed at examining some key issues surrounding Nigeria's foreign policy. The study covers the impacts of Nigeria's foreign policy on peace-building in West Africa particularly on the crisis in Mali between the Malian government and Islamic terrorist in the northern Mali.

1.7 Research Methodology

The methodology of this research employ the use of mainly secondary data, from the content analysis of text books, journals, articles, news papers, magazines, paper presentations and published work of relevant agencies equally important sources of data include international electronic media (internet) as well as personal observations and experiences.

The method of data analysis is based on the qualitative method, however, due to the nature of the subject matter, some variable and compassion is best expressed in figures there by adopting qualitative method of measurement of data analysis where necessary.

1.8 Operational Definitions

Policy: A policy is what an individual or government choose to do or not to do (Vernonvan Dike) According to online free Dictionary, a policy is a plan or course of action of government, political party or business intended to influence and determine decisions, actions and other matters.

Foreign Policy: According to (Ofeogbo, 1970) Foreign policy could be defined as actions institutionally designed by a nation towards other nations in the international environment with the aim of achieving or protecting its national interest.

According to (Keith R. Legg and James Morrison 1988) the term foreign policy could be define as a set of explicit objectives with regard to the world beyond the borders of given social unit and a set of strategies and tactics designed to achieve those objectives.

National Interest: National interest simply refers to those interest or values that a nations struggle to achieve in her international relation with other nations of the world. It could also mean a country's goal and ambitions whether economic, military or cultural.

Peace-Building: According to Immanuel Kant (1960) peace-building is the effort to promote human security in society marked by conflict and terrorism. It could also mean post-conflict actions predominantly diplomatic and economic that strengthened and rebuilds governmental infrastructure and institutions in other to avoid a relapse into conflict.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Conceptual Framework

2.1.1 The Concept of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is an aspect of international relation that is used to define the various policies, progress and project one nation adopt towards other nations in international arena. It is a product of both internal and external environmental factors. It is pursued by all countries in the world because the dynamism of the modern world necessitate that all countries must interact with one another hence no country is an island.

However, foreign policy as a concept in the field of political science is fluid, elusive and has no generally acceptable definition. This is because it is often a tradition in the field of political science that all concepts is subject to conceptual arguments, debates and intellectual guess. Several definitions have been advanced by renowned scholars of international relations and its related field based on their situational, circumstantial and environmental perspectives.

In a functional definition of foreign policy, Marshal (1971) maintained that foreign policy of a state take form in the course of her action under taken by the authorities of the state and indeed to affect natural situation beyond the span of its jurisdiction.

According to Adeniji (1981) foreign policy is the aggregate of a country's policies and decisions on its interaction with other members of the international community's taking into consideration certain variable of the domestic and external environment.

Foreign policy as observed by Joseph Frankel (1967), consist of decision and action which involve some appreciable external relation between one state and another. In another major work Frankel, defined foreign policy as dynamic process of introduction between the changing domestic demands and support the changing external circumstances.

Although there has been no universally satisfactory definition of the term, it is quite revealing from the few meaning exposed above that foreign policy has some basic concept such as external environment, National interest and relation with other states.

Plano and Olton (1988) asserted that foreign policy involve dynamic process of applying relatively fixed interpretation of national interest to the highly fluctuating situational factors of the international environment in other to develop a course of action followed by efforts to receive diplomatic implementation of policy guidelines. They also view it as a strategy or planned course of action developed by the decision makers of a state vis-versa other states or international elites aimed at achieving specific goals defined in terms of national interest. A specific foreign policy carried on by a state may be the result of an initiative undertaken by other states.

North edge (1986) conceptualizes foreign policy as interplay between the outside and the inside. T.B Millar defined foreign policy as presumably something less than the sum of all policies which have an effect upon a national government's relations with other national governments. Foreign policy is an endless dialogue between the forces of continuity and those of change. This nation-states, need to continuously reassess and overhand their interest and policies. This is because foreign policy is a set of principles,

rules, decisions and actions for guidance of a state in its dealings with the other nations of the world (Rufai, 1996).

Gordan (1988) posited that foreign policy is a coordinated strategy with which institutionally designated decision makers seek order to achieve certain national objectives. The definition is subjected because it insist not only on the interpretation of an international political system but also on the fact that decisions are usually made on behalf of the state concerned by the incumbents policy making position.

In broad term foreign policy is the pattern of behavior that states adopts while pursuing of interest in relations with other states it is concerned with the process of making decision to follow specific sources of action. The analysis of foreign policy is an attempt to find rational explanation for state, priorities actuating the government policy making machinery and the employment of human and material resources to compete successfully with other nations in the international arena. Foreign policy has to be concerned with a state attempt to achieve, protect as well as maintain its national interest and values within an international system consisting essentially of competing state.

In summary, foreign policy is essentially the instrumentality by which state influence or seeks to influence the external world and objectives that are in consonance with their perceived national interest.

2.1.2 Foreign Policy Objectives

Foreign policy objectives are those goals and objectives by which a particular country pursues in her relations with other nations in the international system. There has been a conceptual arguments and intellectual debate among scholars on what constitutes foreign

policy objectives. Some scholars are of the opinion that national interest is what constitutes foreign policy objectives of a nation while others are of the conception that foreign policy objectives can be categorized into three (3).

- i. Short range or core objectives
- ii. Middle range objectives and
- iii. Long range objectives

i Short-Range or Core Objectives:

The core value objectives are the heart of all nations' foreign policy objectives. All nation state's foreign policy begins with the prevention, pursue and realization of its core values and continue existence of that nation state in the international system. The short range or core objectives of a nation are those values and interests that are critical for the survival of the state and the population. Core values objectives include the preservation of the territorial integrity, maintenance of national security, protection of country's population and preservation of human and materials resources of a country. No state compromises in its foreign policy when ever its core values or interests are threatened, since time immemorial; nation states have done everything and fought so many wars essentially in the preservation of their core-values depending on the nation's military capability and economic diversification. The core objectives have very short time of accomplishment. That is, there is pressure for the achievement of the goals, because there is a very high degree of feeling attached to it (Mazi 2007).

However, the realization of core values foreign policy varies from one nation to the other depending on their military and economic strength. A part from the preservation of territorial integrity and national security there are other things that could be constituted as

core values for instance communist ideology is part of Cuba's core values, religious faith could also be part of core values, and Saudi Arabia is a clear example. It is also important to note that Afro centrism is also part of most African countries core values.

ii Middle Range Objectives:

These are objectives which are vital and significant to the nation but they are not so critical to a nation and its survival like core values. Middle range objectives include military assistance, foreign aid, foreign trade, defense of other states, helping other countries to withstand destabilization e.t.c usually these objectives are not as urgent as the core objectives.

Furthermore, a state can negotiate, bargain and make a trade off with other actors in the system if its middle range objectives are involved. Middle range values also include getting foreign aid from other country to provide welfare facilities and revamp economy. Middle range objectives also involve the desire to use foreign policy to attain influence, respect and importance in the international system. This respect and influence is based on some factors such as level of development, technology, military capacity etc.

However, it is important to note that middle range objectives is very important to less developed countries like African countries this is because of the underdeveloped and poor nature of their economy which resulted to high demand from their citizens for good social amenities(Mazi 2007).

iii Long Range Objectives:

These are foreign policy objectives that are designed to be achieved in a long period of time they are objectives that a country do not fix a date for their accomplishment. They

are objectives that messianic character to change for example communism, world capitalism, world government, African unity etc. An African nation like Nigeria has the following as its long range foreign policy objectives: disarmament, arm control, creation of a new international economic order and the achievement of world peace (Mazi 2007).

However, it is very significant to ascertain the fact that realization and achievement of the above mentioned objectives differs from one country this is because of the differences in economic development, military capability, level of technology, culture and differences in ideology.

2.1.3 National Interest

The word, “interest” refers to whatever contributed to the general wellbeing, or fulfillment of the purposes of an individual (Marshall 1967 cited in Taylor, 2010). The idea of national interest may refer to some ideals or set of purposes which a nation should seek to realize in the conduct of its foreign relations. It equally subsumes the domestic policy goals. Generally when we speak of national interest, we mean what benefits a nation. There are two broad perspectives to national interest: the Liberal and the Marxist perspectives. The liberal approach is a state centric approach to the study of national interest. It analyses the concept of national interest from the perspective of the decision makers within the system and expect that the orientation of such critical actors must be derived from the perceptions of the “general will” (Taylor, 2010).

On the other hand, Marxist analysis and argument is that the interests propagated and promoted by class government are the interests of only the dominant and ruling class. Thus, such interests cannot be presented as national interest. What summarizes the true concept of national interest is given priority when in economic terms, just as Julian Papp has suggested: Any policy that enhances a state’s economic position should be seen to be

in the national interest. Improving a country's industrial base or guaranteeing a country's access to oil, natural gas or other energy or non-fuel mineral resources may all be considered to be in a country's national interest. Accordingly, the economic condition of nation should take a prime position when considering what a nation holds as national interest.

National interest as a concept is used in both political analysis and political action. As an analytical tool, it is employed to describe, explain or evaluate the sources of the adequacy of the nation's foreign policy. It serves as means of justifying, denouncing, or proposing policies. In cultural. However, Rosenau (1980) argues that the concept of national interest is rooted in values and is difficult to employ as a tool of rigorous analysis. "Politicians therefore discuss their goals in terms of national interest and are inclined to claim that their goals are the national interest Rosenau, (1980). In essence, goals and interests are value laden since they involve subjective preferences. Thus culmination of national interest into a single complex of values is bound to have problems as observers use different value frameworks. Largely values are not Susceptible to scientific proof; hence it is difficult to demonstrate the validity of such assessments that foreign policy actions reflect national interest (Omede, 2003).

In most cases the definition of national interest is vague and it is often defined to suit rulers, decision-makers or countries in their own way. The dispute of defining national interest either as an art or science remains at the center stage of international relations discipline. Olusanya and Akindele (1986) believes that there is difficulty in identifying the concept and vies this as unfortunate and on the whole unhelpful. He argues that national interest should relate to the real interest of the people and these interests are not to be seen as being necessarily contained within the state context, *State decision makers*

who claim to be acting in the national interest mislead the nation. They cannot have the perfect information necessary to validate their claims and so other people's eyes and possibly theirs (Olusanya and Akindele, 1986). Largely, the actual content of national interest depends on the perception and interpretation by the decision-making elite. In fact, No statesman, no publicist, no scholar would seriously argue that foreign policy ought to be conducted in opposition to, or in disregard of the national interest.

Saliu and Aremu (2006), the concept of national interest, though loaded with values, cannot be disregarded as tool for analysis. Though the question of values is important, to disregard the concept because of this problem is equally misleading. There is no nation that is founded and organized outside precepts of values. Robinson divided interests according to whether they are of primary importance, specific, general, secondary or identical. Primary interests include protection of a nation's physical, political and cultural identity and survival against encroachment from outside. These can never be traded and must be defended at all costs.

Secondary interests are those that do not fall under primary interest but are contributory to it such as the protection of the citizens abroad. On the other hand permanent interests are those that are relatively constant over a period of time and general interests are those applied to a large geographical spectrum.

According to Morgenthau, (1962) the connection between interest and the nation state is a product of history and as long as the world is politically organized into nations, the national interest is indeed the last word in international politics. Morgenthau (1962) defines national interest in terms of power. The power at a nation's command is at any moment in time, an objective reality of that nation and thus serves to determine what its true interest should be. It has to be noted that the nation's aspirations are obviously

determined by the decision makers. They are only people capable of thinking about the whole aggregate of national interest at the operational level and are the only ones with the authority to make appropriate official declarations and statements (Ghosh, 2009).

National interest is a composite declaration derived from those values that a nation prizes most. These values are liberty, freedom, and security. Interests are usually expressed in terms of physical survival, economic prosperity, and political sovereignty of the nation.

National interest is seen as set of goals; a nation or country strives for in the world, as regards to its domestic needs and priorities. Therefore, these strategic interests of a country are view of national interests, with focus on military and economic requirements and ignored other considerations (Kaarbor and Ray, 2011).

Kaarbor and Ray (2011) posits that a state seeks its own preservation or pursue its national interest becomes interesting only “if we can figure out what the national interest requires a country to do”. The special difficulties of defining national interests within a democratic form of government and the political context of the American experiment is representative government.

Finally, traditional ways of defining the national interest are challenged by the new environment in which foreign policy heavy rely on by any state actor. Rosenau’s (1967) notion on national interest is clearly tied up with that of the nation state, and the crisis the latter is under-going. Admittedly statesmen increasingly think not only of their respective national units but also of broader clusters such as the West, the Communist bloc, Africa, or the Arab world.

It is true, as Rosenau, (1967) asserts that these integrative tendencies further reduce the prospects of successful explanations of international behavior in terms of national interest, but only if such explanations are intended to be exclusive and full. In fact the

integrative, global tendencies make it more necessary than ever to analyze carefully the objectives and purposes of foreign policy. The task of clarification is particularly urgent and important for new states uncertain of their place in the world. Taylor, (2010) posits that national interest predominates the actualization of foreign policy objectives by any civilized state in international relations with others and strongly believed that national interest has an answer to why states behave in the way they behave.

Nigeria`s national interest is a key concept in its foreign policy decision making in the international arena. It amounts to all national values pertaining to both National and State, National interest can be seen as the continuing ends for which a nation act, with political actors and does not exclude moral, religions and other altruistic considerations.

The generally acceptable view of Nigeria`s national interest is the manifestation of the core values, objectives and philosophy underlying the actions of the leaders(Abegunrin, 2003). In Nigeria, whereas it may be true that certain core values are pursued within the context of national interest, the perceptions of leaders always differ. Thus Obasanjo in 1976 defined the national interest of Nigeria as consisting of four components: namely:

1. The creation of a suitable political and economic environment in Africa and the World at large, which will facilitate the defense of the territorial integrity of African States.
2. The promotion of equality and self-reliance in Africa and the World
3. Defense of social justice and human dignity of the Black man, and
- 4 The defense and promotion of world peace.

Aluko (1981:99) defines Nigeria`s national interest as consisting of six important elements:

1. Self-preservation of the country;
2. Defence and maintenance of the Country`s independence

3. Economic and social well being of the people
4. Defence, preservation and promotion of the ways of his especially democratic values
5. Enhancement of the country's standing and status in the world capitals in Africa, and
6. Promotion of world peace.

Another critical area of Nigeria's national interest is the ideological pretensions of the leaders. Nigeria continues to advocate friendly policies rather than aggressively pursue and protect her national interest. For Nigeria to be great, she has to imitate the great powers, which are guided by economic interest in their diplomatic transactions Aluko, (1981). Domestic factors that tend to influence the foreign policy include national character of its leaders, population distribution, geographical locations, economy resources, military preparedness and industrial capacity etc. External factors refer to factors outside the national boundary or territories of states but, tend to have affected the policy of the state. These include the nature of internal politics and the interest of other actors in international relations etc. have a great impact on Nigeria's foreign policy objectives.

Akindele (2003) maintains that Nigeria's foreign policy provides a sound basis on which widely accepted policies can be formulated, they shape and limit the country's policy. Idang (1973), in formulating the guiding principles for Nigeria's National interest accords an important roles to non-governmental and civil society groups as well as such institutions include pressure and interest groups, public opinion, the mass media etc. His opinion was based on the western style of foreign policy whereby public sentiments and responses to the nations policies is very critical in defending the sovereignty of the state. Nigerian national interest was centered on Africa, as it major priority. This concept of placing Africa as the centerpiece of foreign policy of Nigeria has emerged as the most

consistent theme that runs through her foreign policy in all regimes. Against this backdrop, it is imperative to review Nigerian foreign policy objectives to be in line with the interest of Nigeria.

2.1.4 Diplomacy

The term diplomacy has been associated with international politics and foreign policy by scholars. It is to this end that it has become expedient to distinctly define diplomacy. Scholars like Ernest (1917) and Kaplan (1952), have defined diplomacy differently. Satawo, for instance sees diplomacy as the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent state". On the other hand, Kaplan (1952) defines it as a formulation of a strategy aimed at achieving the national interest of a country at its international arenas and the process used in executing such initiative. Diplomacy, therefore, is the management of communication and relationships between nations by members and employees of each nation's government. It is also technique and procedure for conducting relations among states. It normally involves thorough representation, negotiating, reporting and protection of interest of a nation by state agents. Diplomacy has been practiced since the inception of civilization.

2.2 Empirical Review

2.2.1 Foreign Policy in Nigeria Since Independence

Nigeria's foreign policy commenced on a modern level at independence, since the country obtained its independence of a platter of gold and was expected to be too radical in the pursuit of its foreign policy.

Unlike some nation states that obtained independence through violent means and liberation struggle. The post colonial era saw Nigeria going through several

administrations each of these administrations had its peculiar foreign policy direction and as such policies were largely determined state or administration, the domestic state of the nation's major global events objectives and goals of the regime and leadership style of the government policy makers among others. Thus successive administrations in Nigeria either step down modalities or improve on the foreign policy direction they met in place (Remi and Francis 1999).

Significantly the six-year period within which Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (Popularly referred to as the Golden Voice of Africa) served as Prime Minister was by definitions formative years. During this period he openly professed a policy of non-alignment. Balewa's pursuit of a conservative pro-western policy was directed by some factors which imposed several limits on possible radical posturing of Nigeria's political and economic alignment. Similarly while Balewa's regime emphasized that the cornerstone of Nigeria's foreign policy would be Africa, subsequent actions of government did not justified the government as there was little concretely done to illustrate the proclaimed Afro centric policy (Remi and Francis, 1999).

When the military took over power from Balewa in January 1966, the pro-western posture of Nigeria's foreign policy did not witness any fundamental shift because General Aguyi Ironsi's administration was short lived. This also coupled with the fact that he had to grapple with multifarious problems of political instability at home through his short lived administration was able to achieve the closure of regional governments from sending economic mission overseas thereby trying to forget a uniform foreign policy for the whole country (Remi and Francis, 1999).

Furthermore following the counter coup of July 1966, which swept away the Ironsi's regime and led to the emergence of General Yakubu Gowon as head of state, serious internal conflict erupted which brought the nation to a near state of disintegration and in turn has a serious impact on Nigeria's external relations as the country could not play any active role in foreign policy except that officials were merely junketing round the globe to explain the circumstance of the fratricidal civil war which raged uninterrupted for thirty months from late 1967 to January 1970.

The era marked the beginning of Nigeria's control role in African affairs. The Gowon dynamic foreign policy especially the new reality directly provided assistance to liberation movements and opened up support for armed struggle in the decolonization of African territories. The administration also openly declared in the context of the Mogadishu declaration that there is no alternative to armed struggle and the use of force to liquidate colonialism in Africa. During this era, Nigeria played a leading role in the creation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975 (Remi and Francis, 1999).

In July 1975 General Gowon's government was toppled in a bloodless coup-d'etat by the late General Muhammed Murtala who brought dynamism and activism into Nigeria's external relations. The administration's interest in foreign policy affairs was demonstrated by the setting of the Adedeji Commission to overhaul the entire foreign policy machinery of the country based on this, the commission made a far reaching impact and achieved significant facts in foreign affairs. The most often cited was Nigeria's dramatic and timely intervention in the Angola independence crisis in 1976 which remarkably illustrates the dynamics and actions oriented afro centric policy of the administration. The diplomatic successes of the regime were impressive because the support it threw behind

the MPLA in Angola was able to successfully challenge the United States position over African issues.

The assassination of General Murtala Muhammed on February 13, 1976 following an abortive coup, did not dampen the tempo of radicalism and dynamic of government's foreign policy as the New Head of State General Olusegun Obasanjo (who was the second in command when General Murtala Mohammed was alive continued with the same policy as laid down by Murtala Muhammed, indeed what Obasanjo did was to consolidate Murtala's effort which was afro centric and non-alignment policy. In accordance with the Murtala/Obasanjo regimes political transition program, General Obasanjo successfully handed over power to the civilian government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari in October 1979, the era witness a retrogressive reversal in Nigeria's foreign policy as the government dampened the momentum of dynamic and radical foreign policy posture bequeathed to it. Nigeria once again reverted to the conservative pro western policy that was reminiscent of the Balewa era. Although, the Shagari administration supported decolonization, its commitment to it was insufficient due mostly to the severe economic crisis which he began to experience in the early 1980s. The Shagari government was overthrown by the military administration headed by Major General Muhammadu Buhari who reverted to the dynamics foreign policy posture of the Murtala/Obasanjo era. However, the regime was terminated in August 27, 1985 in a palace coup that led to the emergence of General Ibrahim Babangida and he relaxed the posture of Buhari government's foreign policy. The regime organize a conference on foreign policy to examine the various prospects of a country's foreign policy and the conference came up with specific recommendation on a new Nigeria foreign policy. In an attempt to restructure the nation's economy, the administration came up with the

structural adjustment program (SAP) and on the external plan, the regime adopted economic diplomacy as the thrust of its foreign policy (Remi and Francis, 1999).

Nigeria's debilitating political crisis precipitated by the annulment of the June 12, 1993 Presidential election by the Babangida's administration, General Sani Abacha on November 19, 1993 toppled the Interim National Government (ING) that was hurriedly organized by the Babangida's administration stem the tide and since then the nation's foreign policy has been drifting forward and backward.

The regime has been following the footsteps of Babangida foreign policy matter, apart from consolidating the achievements of Babangida's administration in the area of foreign policy, the Abacha's government has been pursuing a reactive foreign policy, and there has been no significant impact made to protect the image of the country outside.

In 1998 General Abdulsalam Abubbakar, who succeeded General Sani Abacha embarked upon a program of national reconciliation and also the effect by the administration to repair the damage perpetuated by the previous regimes to the nation's diplomacy and standing in the world were well appreciated. The international community opened its arm so also sanctions were lifted one after the other (Remi and Francis, 1999).

The return of democracy to Nigeria in 1999 with General Olusegun Obasanjo as the president and commander in-chief of Arm forces improved the country's image abroad and allowed the country to take a more active and productive role regionally and on the global stage under Obasanjo's leadership, Nigeria has proven a power house in the West African region in economic and security affairs without Nigeria, West African peace monitoring force of ECOWAS (Economic Community for West African States) would be toothless and African led peace keeping mission in Guinea-Bissau, Liberia and Seirealeon

would not have been possible. After being heavily engaged in regional and world affairs during Obasanjo's tenure from 1999 to 2007 Nigeria's regional role declined under his successor President Umar Musa Yaradua especially during Yaradua's severe illness in 2009 to 2010.

President Goodluck Jonathan who took over during Yaradua's incapacitation became President on the latter's death in May 2010, and won a full term in April 2011 election has begun to reassert Nigeria's role in regional and world efforts even though there is conception that Nigeria's internal ethnics, religious, regional and political division will pose obstacles to the renewed effort at leadership. Goodluck's administration is playing a tremendous role in both regional and global level especially in the area of peace keeping and conflict resolution. The present peace-building mission in Mali is a clear example.

2.2.2 Nigeria's Foreign Policy (An Overview)

Joy in her book titled "Nigeria foreign policy future alternative" (1989) observed that since independence the broad goals and objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy have remained constraint, although the style and conduct of her foreign policy have changed, there have been no profound changes in the context or substance of the foreign policy. She observed that the trend of our foreign policy since independence in 1960 to date emanate from the basic formulation of the principles, aims and objectives of the Balewa's era. That the objective of each successive administration have been essentially tempered as well as guided by national interest, what are these interest and how are they pursued to fulfill the aspirations of the society and meet the challenges of a dynamic global system that the world is currently experiencing? She attempts to answer the question by suggesting that it is when the concept of national interest is operational.

The basic argument of her book is that, in making evaluation of the past and current trend of Nigeria's foreign policy, it is crucial to recognize that national interest falls into two distinct categories.

- i. The inspirational
- ii. The operational

In making this distinction, she recognized that nation usually have a vision of set idea, goals which they may fail to actively pursue or implement because of environmental limitation (External and domestic) the interest remains at the inspirational level but capable of being reviewed toward effectiveness when the condition improves. The Nigeria's foreign policy objectives of economically emancipation of African fall within this category. At different times, she maintain that successive administration from their varying perspective have sought to identify the ultimate aim and objectives of Nigeria in relationship within the international system.

Reference is made to memorable speech made by Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa at the Federal House of Representatives and the United Nations General Assembly on 20th August 1960, respectively. He said the general principles which would guide the country's foreign policy he informed his audience interlaid that Nigeria would adopt a clear and practical policies regarding Africa with a view to assisting African counties to finding solution to their problems.

- Fostering the growth of a common understanding among the new nations of Africa.
- Promoting International Corporation for the consolation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discrimination in all manifestation and ramification.

- Respect for international law and treaty obligation as well as settlement of international dispute and peace-building by negotiation, mediator conciliations, arbitration and adjudication.
- Promotion of a trust world economic order.

Olatunde (1982), in his book titled “the political economy of Africa foreign policy” he observed that the salient and apparently contradiction feature have marked Nigeria’s external relation since its independence in 1960” Continuity and change. He observed that despite the several change in regime and leadership there has been an amazing continuity in the substance of Nigeria’s foreign policy, the performance of each succeeding regime seemed to be much more dynamic than its successor. For this analysis fundamental Nigeria’s external relations have remained unchanged, relations with transitional and international interest both public and private have continued unchanged except in degree and thus appear to follow a natural progression looking at the second salient feature from the political economy approach.

Olatunde, (1982) observed that Nigeria’s external relations have been on the increasing focus on an active role in regional and continental affairs despite economy. But the deeper the incorporation into the global system and consequent shift in the trans-national Visa-Vis national social economic began at this point to impose greater external constraints of foreign policy. This invariably explains the role of elite in the formulation of our foreign policy. The elite especially business elite become more nationalistic and gear to seek control of state power by all means. This position expresses the conflicting nature of national interest in the formulation of foreign policy as elite use it to maximize their selfish interest.

Rufai (1997) in his book titled “international relation and Nigeria’s foreign policy” said that core national interest of any country are conceived with fundamental issues relating to nation’s self preservation which include the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a nation. This was clearly articulated at the end of the civil war in 1970 when the second national development plan 1960 to 1974 stated Nigeria’s foreign policy. The 1999 constitution re-echoes the second national development plan when it reefered some of these provisions in section 19 subsection A-E the foreign policy objectives shall be;

- a) Promotion and protection of national interest
- b) Promotion of African integration and support for African unity
- c) Promotion of international cooperation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discrimination in all its manifestation.
- d) Respect for international law and treaty obligation as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiations, mediation, conciliatory arbitration and adjudication.
- e) The promotion of a just world order.

From the literature review, we can infer that though there has been stability in the manner of our national interest that have been structured over the years but the level of operational it differs. The review reveals to us that there is a gap between the theory and practice of Nigeria’s foreign policy.

2.2.3 National Interest in Nigeria’s Foreign Policy

It is undeniable that the idea of national interest continues to play a prominent role in the foreign policies of sovereign states. Foreign policy and national interest are inseparable

concepts in international relations and indeed, the foundation of a state's foreign policy is her national interest which in turn directs the course of the foreign policy. Hence the concept of national interest has continued to play a significant role in the foreign policies of sovereign states. A state's foreign policy is not operated in a vacuum. The main policy instrument in the conduct of foreign policy is invariably the promotion and pursuit of national interest. Thus, national interest refers to the totality or the aggregate of interests of individuals and groups within a given nation state. Viewed from its classical perspectives, national interest encompasses the various strategies employed in the international interactions of states in order to ensure the preservation of the stated goal of society (Williams 1971).

In political discourse national interest serves two primary purposes as an analytical tool and as an instrument of political action. As an analytical tool, it serves as a conceptual guide by providing the objectives often considered by a state while weighing an intended foreign policy option. As an instrument of political action it serves to justify or repudiate a state's foreign policy option and action in the international system. This explains the interconnectedness of foreign policy and national interest. Indeed the concept of national interest is so deeply interwoven with that of foreign policy that renowned international scholar Harris Morgenthau once stated "no nation can have true guide as to what it must do and what it need to do in foreign policy without accepting national interest as a guide". Therefore, national interest broadly conceived is a guide to the formation of foreign policy. It is an end in itself but a means to an end.

However, it is equally clear that there is no global consensus as what constitute the national interest. Hence, analysts have not been able to establish any degree of precision and certainty in the definition of national interest. This makes the concept pregnant with

intriguing dimensions (1983) in its classical meaning, the term “National interest” serve as a convenient base to encompass all the strategies employed in the international interactions of state to ensure the preservation of the stated goal of society.

According to Tunde (1988) stated that when statement and bureaucrats are expected or are required to act in the national interest. What this means is that they are being called upon to take action on issues that would improve the political situation, the economic and social well-being, the health and culture of the people as well as their political survival, they are being urged to take action that will improve the life of the people rather than pursue policies that will subject the people to domination by other counties, policies which are likely to make them unable to stand among other actions.

In making evaluation of past and current trends of Nigeria’s foreign policy and predicting its future it is crucial to recognize as Frankel (1993) does that national interest falls into two distinct categories, one inspirational and the other operational. Inspiration, in this case, the interest remains at the inspirational level but capable of being revived toward effectiveness, when conditions improve. A state can claim to operational its national interest when it possesses the capability to achieve its stated objectives. When proclamations of objectives outweigh capabilities, national interest remains a non-operational aspiration. This consideration is important in foreign policy pursuit. At different times, in over two decades following Nigeria’s independence, successive administrations from their varying perspectives have sought to identify the ultimate aims and objectives of Nigeria in its relations within the international system. In a major speech in parliament in August 1960, the Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa identified what he considered to be the general aims of Nigeria’s foreign policy thus:

- i. The promotion of the national interest of the federation and of its citizens.
- ii. Friendship and cooperation with all action of the world which recognizes and respects Nigeria's sovereignty.
- iii. Non alignment to any power blocks.
- iv. Assistance to African states in search of solutions to their problem and encouragement of the development of common ties among countries of Africa as it is compatible with Nigeria's national interest
- v. Respect for the sovereign equality of all nations as well as non-alignment.

Although it is evident from the above that national interest has not clearly expressed in specific terms, the fundamental aims appeared to serve as guidelines for Nigeria foreign policy action. Despite changes in government, the administrations of General Ironsi and Gowon pursued essentially the same objectives based on their world view and perception of the hierarchy of Nigeria's interest. Both emphasized Nigeria's active role in the Africa continent as a pre-requisite to attaining its aspiration of greatness. As stated by General Ironsi.

General Obasanjo accession to relationship in 1976 witnessed a reappraisal of Nigeria's foreign policy objectives for the first time; a top level elaboration of the components was made. The elements of the national interest as enunciated by General Obasanjo include:

- i. The defense of our sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.
- ii. The creation of necessary political and economic conditions in Africa and the rest of the world which will facilitate the defense of the independence and territorial integrity of all African countries which at the same foster national self-reliance and rapid economic development.

- iii. The promotion of equality and self reliance in Africa and the rest of the developing world.
- iv. The promotion and defense of justice and respect for human dignity, especially the dignity of the black man.
- v. The defense and promotion of world peace.

While these objectives described Nigeria's national interest, they failed to indicate which of the interest were vital that nationalizes the objectives. Aluko (1982) point out that it is quite persuasive in arguing that national interest should seek to pursue the highest moral ends in its external behavior.

2.2.4 Instruments of Foreign Policy

The instrument for conducting foreign policy generally refers to the means or mechanism used by state in conducting their relations with other states. They include diplomacy, propaganda, militarism, economic development, and cultural mechanisms. They also include the independent variable or factors used by nations-states to achieve their foreign policy objectives at the international system.

2.2.4.1 Diplomacy as an Instrument of Foreign Policy

Diplomacy is one of the instruments of foreign policy that is used by all nation-state in the world in their interrelations with each other.

Diplomacy as a concept is fluid and elusive as such, it has no satisfactory or universal definition. However, the Oxford English dictionary defined it as the management of international relations by negotiation or the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed. Diplomacy essentially is the opposite of force and it involve the use of

persuasion, careful strategies, manipulation of intelligence, facts and superior argument to influence other nations in the international system. Generally diplomacy provides the mechanism for political Actors such as diplomats or ambassadors to convince and persuade other actors for accept or come to their own point of view accordingly in international system. Of all the means of conducting international relations, diplomacy is the most peaceful and effective, thus diplomacy occupies a position of primary importance in contemporary international relations. For example Nigeria has long been engaged in negotiation with Cameroon over the ownership of Bakassi Penisular (Remi and Francis 1999).

It is necessary to bear in mind that there is distinction between foreign policy and diplomacy. The foreign policy of a state as S.R Childs has stated is the substance of foreign relations whereas diplomacy proper, is the process by which foreign policy is carried out through negotiation without any element of violence or force policy made by many different persons and agencies, but presumably on major matters is a states whatever its form of government, it is made at highest level through subject to many different kind of controls. Then it is the purpose of diplomacy to provide the machinery and the personnel by which foreign policy is executed. One is subsistence, the other is method.

One of astute student and practitioners of diplomacy in the twentieth century, Harold's Nicholson is insisting on calling attention to this distinction in some case however, has effort to be very precise in this matter seem to raise further question for example, in his interesting study, the congress of Vienna Nicholson (1976:44) wrote.

It is useful even when dealing with a remote historical episode, to consider where diplomacy ends and foreign policy begins. Each of them is concerned with the adjustment of national to international interests. Foreign policy is based upon a general conception of nation's requirements. Diplomacy on other hand is not an end but a means not a purpose but a method it seeks by the use of reason conciliation and the exchange of interest to prevent major conflicts arising between sovereign states. It is the agency through which foreign policy seeks to attain its purpose by agreement rather than by war thus, when agreement becomes impossible diplomacy which is the instrument of peace becomes in operative and foreign policy, the final sanction of which is alone becomes operative.

The last sentence tend to destroy the nice distinction between diplomacy and foreign policy which Nicolson makes and it is misleading in the sense that it suggests that diplomacy ceases to function when major international crisis arise especially if they lead toward the objective of diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy is to protect the security of a nation by peaceful means if possible but by giving every assistance to the military operations, war cannot be avoided. Diplomacy does not cease to function as Nicolson suggest in time of war, although it necessarily plays a different role in wartimes. The work of diplomats as a foreign minister may even expand. However, according to Professor Tony Edor, diplomacy is the cheapest instrument of achieving foreign policy objectives because it is a non violent means and does involve extra expenses. This is why it is used by virtually all countries in the world (Remi and Francis 1999).

2.2.4.2 Propaganda and Political Warfare as an Instrument of Foreign Policy

The world propaganda was first used by the Roman Catholic Church to refer to the dissemination of its doctrines more recently after being taking over by the Marxists, it has been so used and misused that it has no exact definition. The reason for this difficulty in analysis stems from the figurative meanings, the malicious connotations and the overtones of bias and partial or complete falsity which have become attached to it for accuracy, the method of propaganda must be separated from the aims for which it is used.

In the most general terms “any attempt to persuade person to accept a certain point of view or to take a certain actions” is propaganda. This definition is essentially useful because it make propaganda morally neutral to persuade parse is neither good nor bad” moral judgment must be directed to the purpose of the persuasion (Ofeogbu, 1980).

Olusola (2002) stated that in the twentieth century, propaganda has become a major instrument of national policy. Moreover, it has been developed by totalitarian state into an evil science. An analysis of the technique used by the fascist in Italy, the Nazis in Germany and the communist in Russia, China and elsewhere would be a depressing exercise in the application of psychological principles to group manipulation of study of Mussolini’s capacity for exhibitionism of Gable’s vast propaganda machine and of communist success in confusing issues upside-down language “in exploiting weakness in opponents and in puling all the stops from peace offensives to “hate campaigns” not only would illustrate the staggering power of the propaganda weapons in the hand of the conviction that George Orwell 1984 is unhappily not far removed from present day realities. Neither propaganda nor political warfare should be regarded as comprising a fix list of devices or as instruments to be used at some precise stage in the changing relationship of states on the contrary states are always finding new propaganda approaches and improvising new forms of political warfare in time of peace as well as in times of open hostility. Moreover propaganda may itself be a weapon of political warfare and one of the so-called instruments of economy but the use of propaganda by no means implies a state of political warfare and may or may not take the form of propaganda. States frequently wish to influence other states, both friendly and unfriendly and to do this they often employ propaganda occasionally they seek to exert greater pressures and may employ some of the devices of political warfare.

Harold, a pioneer of propaganda studies in the United States, defined propaganda as the management of collective attitudes by the manipulation of significant symbols. Like other social scientists in the 1930s he emphasized its psychological elements; propaganda was a subconscious manipulation of psychological symbols to accomplish secret objectives. Subsequent analysts stressed that propaganda was a planned and deliberate act of opinion management. A 1958 study prepared for the U.S Army for example, defined propaganda as “the planned dissemination of news, information, special arguments and appeals designed to influence the beliefs, thoughts and actions of a specific group. In the 1990s, the historian Oliver Thomson defined propaganda broadly to include both deliberate and unintentional means of behavior modification describing it as the use of communication skills of all kinds to achieve attitudinal or behavioral changes among one group by another. However, in the early twenty century many countries especially United States has utilized propaganda techniques repeatedly through its history, particularly during period of war and international crisis (Remi and Francis 1999).

2.2.4.3 Culture as an Instrument of Foreign Policy

Culture has to do with the customs, norms and values of a society. It is becoming increasingly useful in conducting inter-state relations. It is often used as a major political weapon in sports and other cultural activities. For instance in 1976, Nigeria led other members of the organization of African Union (OAU) to boycott the Montreal Olympic games to protect the four of apartheid South Africa by New Zealand, Rugby players and the refusal of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to exclude New Zealand. Similarly in 1987 Nigeria also led other African countries in the common wealth of nations to boycott the Edmonton Common Wealth game to protect New Zealand's

sporting links with apartheid South Africa which contravened United Nation's embargo on such link (Ofeogbu, 1980).

Nigeria in 1996 boycotts the African nation cup competition held in South Africa to protect that country's hard line posture towards the killing of Sara Wiwa and his other Kinsmen. Recent studies on the meaning of cultural diplomacy in the twentieth century often focus on the United States and the Cold war, based on the premise that cultural diplomacy was one of the key instruments of foreign policy in the nation's effort to contain the Soviet Union. As a result the term "cultural diplomacy" has become one-dimensional, linked to political manipulation and subordination and relegated to the margin of diplomatic interactions.

2.2.4.4 War or Military as n Instrument of Foreign Policy

According to Andrew (1983), military as an instrument of foreign policy is as old as a nation itself it involve the use of force, weapon of mass destruction, terrorist attack and military coercion in pursuing foreign policy objectives. Because of its violent nature, it is often used as a last option when diplomacy and other mechanisms of achieving foreign policy objectives failed. Nation states use military capability as a means of achieving foreign policy either by itself alone or through alliance with other nations. However, the more recent trends in the modern world is through alliance with other nations for instance America had an alliance with France to invade Afghanistan and Iraq. It is also important to note that the tendency or possibility of a nation to use military as an instrument of achieving foreign policy objectives is conditioned by its military capability, level of technology and economic diversification this is because it carries high level of uncertainty in terms of its outcome. War needs no documentation to prove its horrors. It

destroys and ruins lives and properties beyond number, it make anything like normal existence impossible, it imposes immense burdens on national economy and imperils the freedoms of everyone, it endangers man's existence on this planet. It is the great curse of the international society, the endemic disease of international system. As ultimate of power, it is always lurking in the background of international politics (Ofeogbu, 1980).

The problem of war, as Edward (1975) declared is the greatest unresolved riddle in politics" and the coming of total war and the nuclear and space age has given it a new and greater urgency.

The study of war differs inform from the study of other instruments of national policy with respect to diplomacy, propaganda, political warfare and economic instruments we were concerned with the many techniques and devices available to state that care to use them.

2.2.4.5 Economy as an Instrument of Foreign Policy

All nations have some economic values to manipulate in other to achieve their foreign policy. There are many types of economic instruments this include trade, mineral resources, technical aid, foreign aid, loan, economic sanction etc. states differ greatly in the measure of control that they impose on economic relations with other states. Under totalitarian regimes, the control may be almost complete; in democratic states a very considerable freedom may normally be permitted. Both control and freedom are policies consciously adopted by states in pursuit of their national interest (Ofeogbu, 1980).

Generally economic instrument are used by nation state to improve their own economic capability, employment, nation's production as well as standard of living and increase

their influence outside their territory because the more economically developed a country is, the more it can use economic instrument to pursue its foreign policy. Countries like United State, Britain, China and Russia have so much influence in the international system not because of their size or race but because of their economic buoyancy.

However, some countries use their economy to give foreign aid technical assistance, to woo friends and fight enemies. Other techniques include tariff, boycotts, embargo e.t.c. Economic instrument in content use in furtherance of national policy in time of peace all states have objectives which must be pursued whenever possible, such as raising the standard of living, promoting foreign sales, expand employment concerning natural resources, advancing technology and improving health. Economic instrument may also be used where a state is preparing to go to war or is fearful for being attacked. It may wish to conserve certain goods and to stock pile other or it may seek to impede the war preparation of the threatening state or states Northedge (1983).

Economic instruments are nonviolent in nature; they represent manipulations of a state's economic policy in an effort to advance the national interest. They reflect policy choices which lie within the right of the state under the law of peace, although their use may lead to reprisal and to armed conflict (Ofeogbu, 1980).

In literature, it is argued that there are two basic conditions to enhance the capacity of economic instruments, that is to say, that for economic instruments to be effective it must fulfill two basic conditions.

- i. The target must perceive that there is a genuine need for the economic reward or for the avoidance of punishment.

Economic instrument will be effective only if there is no other easily available alternative source supply to the recipient country (Ofeogbu, 1980).

2.3 Theoretical Framework

This research work employed the national interest theory as propounded by Frankel (1967). In its classical meaning the term “National interest serve as a convenient base to encompass all the strategies employed in the international interactions of states to ensure the preservation of the stated goals and objectives of a given society or country. The term may either be regarded as goal or a method of reaching a goal. It may also imply a means to an end. But these goals cannot be formulated without a clear perception of the core values of the society. In his book contemporary theory and behavior of states, Frankel discussed the central role that values play in defining the national interest. As he note value describes the inner element brought to bear by the decision makers upon the process of making decision (Frankel 1967).

While it is recognized that the promotion of basic national values remain the principal consideration of decision makers in the formulation of policies Frankel observes that it is often empirically impossible to determine whether the values found in the formulation of a specific interest had been internalized by the decision makers or introduced only in response to environmental pressures, generally domestic but sometimes also international or incorporated in the formulation that tend to merge or conflict with values external to the territorial boundary of a state.

In one sense, it means that national interests should not be considered without regard to their global implications and peace-building mission of a particular country must be in consonance with its national interest (Frankel 1967).

In making evaluation of past and current trends of Nigeria's foreign policy and predicting its future. It is crucial to recognize as Frankel does, that national interest falls in to two distinct categories, one aspiration and the other operational. In making this distinction he recognizes that nations usually have a vision of a set of ideal goals which they may fail to actively pursue or implement because of environmental constraints and limitations (external or domestic). In that case, the interests remain at the aspiration level, but capable of being revived towards effectiveness when conditions improve. A state can claim to operationalize its national interest when it possesses the capability to achieve its stated objectives and remains a non-operational aspiration. This consideration is important in assessing and understanding Nigeria's dynamism or lack of it in its foreign policy pursuits.

According to Muhammed (2012), in a paper presentation titled 'the role of Nigeria in peace-building, conflict resolution and peace-keeping in Africa' peace-building and conflict resolution in West Africa is part of the national interest of Nigeria's foreign policy. He further states that Nigeria's contribution of peace keepers to the new UN mission in Mali is consistent with its foreign policy objectives (National interest).

According to Anifowose et al (1999) have it that the foreign policy environment of the country in the future is likely to be influenced tremendously by the same principles and objectives with necessary adjustment and modification depending on the orientations of the political leadership and the existing circumstances in the global system, since the task of foreign policy is essentially to protect nations interest and to some extent maintenance of peace and security at the international system, such imperatives would necessarily guide the makers of the country's external policy, thus Nigeria's national interest will

continue to be jealously guarded by any government in power, irrespective of their political or ideological inclination.

Neuchterlein (1975) analysis focuses in four basic national interest matrix: survival, vital, major and peripheral. He argues that these are dynamic and the job of the political leadership is to determine correctly which ones are most important at a specific time and then mobilize the nation's resources to defend and protect them. This approach provides a solid guideline for ascertaining the degree to which interest were considered vital this has explain why Nigeria's policy on occasion was reticent, just when firmness was needed.

Relevance of the theory to the Study

Using national interest theory by Joseph Frankel in making analysis and evaluation of past and current trends of Nigeria's foreign policy we understand that Afro centrism and making Africa a center piece is one of the national interest of Nigeria's foreign policy. In this regard Nigeria had made the promotion of peace and security as well as conflict resolution and peace building in Africa one of the major principles that guide its foreign policy.

An interest is vital when the highest policy makers in a sovereign state conclude that the issue at stake in an international dispute is so fundamental to the political, economic and social well being of their country that it should not be compromised further, even if it results in the use of economic and military forces.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES OF MALIAN CRISIS

3.1 Brief History of Mali

Mali is one of the West African countries that lie in Sahara region. It has a population of 13,796,354(2010 census) Mali is bordered by Guinea, Senegal, Mauritania, Algeria, Niger, Burkina Faso and Cote Ivory. Mali is one of the poorest countries in the world because the only fertile area is in the south where the Niger and Senegal River provide water for irrigation. Malians express great pride in their ancestry. Mali is the cultural heir to the succession of ancient African empires – Ghana, Malinke and Songhai that occupied the West African Savannah. These empires controlled Sahara trade and were in touch with Mediterranean and Middle Eastern centers of civilization.

The Ghana Empire is dominated by the Soninke or Sarocole people and centered in the area along the Malian-Mauritanian frontier. This empire was a powerful trading state from about A.D 700 to 1075. The Malinke kingdom of Mali had its origins on the upper Niger River in the 11th century. Expanding rapidly in the 13th century under the leadership of Soundiata Keita, it reached its height about 1325, when it conquered Timbuktu and Gao. There after the kingdom began to decline and by the 13th century it controlled only a small fraction of its former domain (Sambians, 2006).

The Songhai Empire expanded its power from its centre in Geo during the period 1465-1530. At its peak under Askia Muhammed I, it encompassed the Hausa state as far as Kano in present day- Nigeria) and much of the territory that belonged to the Mali empire in the West. It was destroyed by a Movoccan invasion in 1591. Timbuktu was a center of

commerce and Islamic faith throughout this period and priceless manuscripts from this epoch are still preserved in Timbuktu (International donors are making efforts to help preserve these priceless manuscripts as part of Mali's cultural heritage).

The Songhay Empire eventually collapsed under the pressure from the Moroccan Saadi dynasty. The turning-point was the Battle of Tondibi of 13 March, 1591. Morocco subsequently controlled Gao, Timbuktu Djane and related trade routes with much difficulty until around the end of the 17th century. After the collapse of the Songhai Empire, no single state controlled the region. The Moroccans only succeeded in occupying a few portions of the country and even in those locations where they did attempts to rule, their hold was weak and challenged by rivals. Several small successor kingdoms arose. The most notable in what is now Mali were, Bambara Empire of kingdom of Segou kingdom of Karta, Kanedougou Kingdom, Toucouleur Empire, Wassoulou Empire and Maasina (Sambians, 2006).

Mali fell under French colonial rule in 1892, in 1893 the French appointed a civilian governor of the territory they called Sudan Français (French Sudan), but active resistance to French rule continued by 1905, most of the areas was under firm French control. French Sudan was administered as part of the Federation of French West Africa and supplied labor to France's colonies on the Coast of West Africa. French civilian governor of Soudan was appointed in 1893, but resistance to French control did not end until 1898, when the Malinke warrior Soumaoro Kanté was defeated after 7 years of war. The French attempted to rule indirectly but in many areas they disregarded traditional authorities and governed through appointed chiefs.

Republic of Mali Independence

In January 1959, Soudan joined Senegal to form the Mali federation which became fully independent within the French community, following the withdrawal of Senegal from the federation in August 1960, the former Sudanese Republic became the republic of Mali on 22 September 1960 with Modibo Keita as President.

President Modibo Keita, whose Sudanese Union-African Democratic rally (ADR) party had dominated pre-independence politics (as a member of the African democratic rally) moved quickly to declare a single party state and to pursue a socialist policy based on extensive nationalization. Keita withdrew from the French community and also had close ties to the eastern bloc. A continuously deteriorating economy led to a decision to rejoin the France zone in 1967 and modify some of the economic excesses (Sambians, 2006).

However, the military leaders remained in power. In September 1976 a new political party was established, the Democratic Union of Malian People (DUMP) based on the concept of democratic centralism, single party presidential and legislative election were held in June 1979 and General Moussa Traore received 99% of the votes. His effort at consolidating the single party government was challenged in 1980 by student led anti government demonstration that led to three coup attempts which were brutally quashed (Sambians, 2006).

The political situations stabilized during 1981 and 1982, and remain generally calm throughout the 1980s. In late December 1985, a border dispute between Mali and Burkina Faso over the mineral rich Agacherstrip erupted into a brief war. The DUMP spread its structures and circles across the land, shifting its attention to Mali's economic difficulties. The government approved plans for some reforms of the state enterprise, the government

worked out a new agreement with the international monetary fund (IMF) however, by 1990 there was growing desertification with the demands for austerity imposed by the IMF's economic reform programs and the perception that the president and his close associates were not themselves adhering to those demands. As demand for multi party democracy increased the Traore's government allowed some opening of the system through the establishment of an independent press and independent political association but insisted that Mali was not ready for multi party democracy in early 1991, student led anti government rioting broke out again but this time government workers and others supported it.

On 26 March 1991, after days of intense anti governmental rioting, a group of 17 military officers arrested President Moussa Traore and suspended the constitution. Amodou Toumani Toure took over power as the chairman for the transitional committee for the salvation of the people. A draft constitution was approved in a referendum on 12 January 1992 and political parties were allowed to form on 8 June 1992, Alpha Oumar Konare, the candidate of the Alliance Pour la Democratie en Mali (ADEMA, Alliance for Democracy in Mali) was inaugurated as the President of Mali's third republic. In 1997, attempt to renew national institution through democratic election ran into administrative difficulties, resulting in a court-ordered annulment of the legislative election held in April 1997. It is demonstrated however, that the overwhelming strength of President Konare's ADEMA party caused some other historic parties to boycott subsequent elections. President Konare won the Presidential election against scant opposition on 11 May 1997 (Daily Independent, 2013)

General elections were organized in June and July 2002. President Konare did not seek re-election since he was serving his second and last term as required by the constitution.

Retired General Amodou Trumani Toure former Head of State during Mali transition (1991-1992) became the country's second democratically elected President as independent candidates in 2002, and was re-elected to second 5 year term in 2007 and in January 2012 a coup was launched by the national movement for the liberalization of AZAWAD (NMLA) who were a group of young officer angry at the military's failure to stop Islamic insurgents (BBC News, 2012).

3.2 Genesis of Terrorism/Crisis in Mali

There has been a debate among experts, commentators and scholars as regard to the genesis of terrorism and crisis in Mali. Some scholars and commentators are of the conception that terrorism in Mali had its root from Algeria through the activities of an Islamic extremist group called "Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb" while others believed that Mali's terrorism had its roots from Libya as a result of hardened recruits and heavy weapon from Libya by the Libyan group of terrorist. However, the leading argument as regard to the genesis of Mali crisis is that the current conflict in Mali is not new; this is because of the fact that Northern Mali is known to be a center of terrorism during French colonialism in Mali. Northern Mali is originally the homeland of Tuareg, a people whose position in the Sahel was turned upside down by French colonialism.

The Tuaregs who once controlled the inter-Saharan trade routes saw themselves as master of the desert suddenly became minorities in several new states and in Mali in particular a minority ruled by the population they previously had viewed as inferior as such there is need for them to fight for their right and independence (Massa, 2013).

The Tuareg problem is a Gordian knot and ever since Mali became an independent state, the Tuaregs have recurrently rebelled. The first Tuaregs rebellion took place in the early

1960s, the second in the early 1990s and as the national fact of 1992 failed to produce tangible result on the ground. A new rebellion emerged in 2006. This was relatively small until armed Tuaregs many of whom had lived in Libya for years started to return following the fall of the Gaddafi regime. Their arrival gave the rebellion new momentum and yet another Tuareg rebel movement was formed (BBC News, 2012). The movement for the national liberation of Azawad (MNLA) where as Tuareg separation previously had been a façade for other demands concerning power and positions, MNLA declared full independence of Azwad.

However, some experts and commentators are of the conception that one of the reasons that propelled Mali's crisis is the unintended spill over of the Libyan war into the Sahel zone (Northern Mali) arms and mercenaries have flowed into northern Mali in the wake of Gaddafi's overthrown forming the fire of Tuareg discontent. After the demise of Gaddafi's administration in Libya, a lot of weapons were transferred to the Northern Mali by the Libyan terrorist and this spill over of weapons make it possible for Northern Mali's terrorist to equip themselves and get ready to fight the Malian government who they accused of negating the principles of Islamic jurisdiction. It is also important to note that some commentators in Nigeria believed that Boko Haram has links with international Jihad networks, especially al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) one of the leading elements among Mali's Islamic insurgency.

The genesis of the present crisis in Mali was an action by the movement for the national liberation of Azawad (MNLA) to take over Northern Mali and all that is happening in Mali can be seen as a kind of reaction. The aspiration of the MNLA is deep-rooted going back to the first Tuareg rebellion in 1963. Their demands are not going to go away and those demands will continue to be the deep-root of the Northern Mali crisis.

Movement for national liberalization of Azawad (MNLA) mission was that people of Northern Mali should have the right of self determination. They want Northern Mali to decide whether they want to be autonomous, independent or to be a part of Mali possibly through a referendum similar to what happened when Southern Sudan voted for independence. The MNLA wants to carve out an independent nation of “AZAWAD” free from the Bamako based Malian government which is viewed as tyrannical and unresponsive to Northern concerns. Another group of al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) appears primarily concerned with operating its smuggling and kidnapping for ransom business and it should be noted that the MNLA has stated that one of its goals is to defeat AQIM which has severely damaged the Tuareg economy by virtually ending tourism in the region. The third major group, Ansaradeen seeks to establish northern Mali as an Islamic state based on Sharia law, according to their leader Lyad Ag Ghali, this group has been backed by Saudi Wahhabis (Sambians, 2006).

There is also another group called movement for unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJWA) Mujwa is the most opaque of the Al-Qaida linked groups in Northern Mali (BBC News, 2013). It is supposedly a descendant group which split off from AQIM, but they told Al Jazeera that they are proud of working with AQIM in Gao to fend-off mutual enemies. MUJWA says like Ansaral-Deen they want Sharia law everywhere in the world. However, the activities of the above mentioned Islamic groups is mostly seen by scholars as the genesis of the current crisis in Mali. Taken as whole, the “Northern Mali insurgency” has overwhelmed the Malian government and thrown it into a crisis that threatens to deepen and spread beyond its borders.

Some commentators are of the conception that the root of the present terrorism in Mali could also be attributed to rural and urban grievances in Mali especially in the Northern

region. People in the region are facing a food crisis. These include 3.5 million Malians threatened by malnutrition and possible famine. There is a widespread sense in Mali that democracy has not been working for ordinary Malians. More educated urban dwellers have grown impatient with lack of economic opportunities and the slow improvement in education and the judicial system. Corruption, nepotism, and patrimonialism have been associated with Toure's government. As the Malian writer Moussa Konate recently observed, in Moussa Traore's administration, personal interests are above public interest. Elections have become empty exercises in which votes are purchased and governing elites are recycled.

3.3 Key Players in Mali's Crisis

The republic of Mali is in the grip of an unprecedented political crisis, one of the most serious since the landlocked West African country gained independence from France in 1960.

It was hit by a coup in March 2012 and a rebellion in the North that has caused alarm around the world.

- i. The Islamist Rebels: The five main Islamist group in Mali are Ansar Dine, Movement for unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJWA) Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), the signed in Blood Battalion and the Islamic movement for Azawad (IMA).
- ii. Ansar Dine: Ansar Dine is seen as a home grown movement, led by renowned former Tuareg rebel leader Iyad Ag Ghaly. Its objective is to impose Islamic law across Mali and its full in Arabic is Harakat Ansar-Dine, which translates as movement of defenders of the faith. Ansar dine is not fighting for independence but wants Sharia across the whole country (Mali) its leader, Iyad Ag Ghali a Tuareg noble and long

- time thorn in the side of Bamako and his supporter follow the Wahhabi sect of Islam and are opposed by those Tuaregs who describe themselves as secularists while most Malian Muslims belong to the rival Sufi tradition.
- iii. Al-Qaida in the Maghreb (AQIM): Aqim the North African wing of Al-Qaida had its roots in the bitter Algerian civil war of the early 1990s, but has since evolved to take on a more international Islamist agenda. It emerged in early 2007, after the feared Algerian Salafist group for preaching and combat (GSPC) aligned itself with Osama Bin Laden's international network. The group has since attracted members from Mauritania and Morocco, as well as from within Mali and its neighbors, such as Niger and Senegal. AQIM says its aim is to spread Islamic law as well as to liberate Malians from French colonial legacy. However, kidnapping westerners, and ransom money is believed to be a key source of revenue for AQIM alongside drug trafficking. It is also important to note that AQIM are often described as experienced fighters some of whom received military training in Afghanistan and their ranks have probably grown since the takeover of the North.
- iv. Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (Mujao): This is an Aqim Splinter group whose aim is to spread Jihad to the whole of West Africa. The group advocates Islamic law and has waged a campaign of violence against Tuareg separatist. Mujao's first major operation was in Algeria in October 2011, when it kidnapped three Spanish and Italian aid workers in the town of Tindouf. The hostages were freed in July 2012, reportedly after a ransom was paid. Although it has many Malian Tuareg within its ranks, Mujao is believed to be led by a Mauritanian, Hamada Ould Mohammed Kheirou. Before France launched a military offensive on 11 January 2013 to drive out the militants, mujao's sphere of influence was mainly in North-

- eastern Mali, where it controlled key town such as Kidal and Gao, regarded as the drug center of Mali.
- v. Signed-in Blood Battalion: This group is seen as a recent AQIM offshoot committed to a global Jihad. It is made up mostly of foreign fighters especially from Algeria and has vowed to uphold Sharia in Northern Mali. This group was responsible for January 2013 Siege of Algerian gas facility, taking and killing foreign hostages. The signed-in-Blood Battalion is led by the Algerian Mokhtar Belmokhar and it also has strong ties with Ansar Dine and Mujao. It was formed late last year as an AQIM offshoot after Belmokhtar fell out with the group.
 - vi. The National Movement for Liberation of Azawad (MNLA): This is a secular Tuareg group which seeks independence for a homeland they call Azawad. Many of the MNLA's Tuareg combatants fought alongside Colonel Gaddafi's troops it says its objectives is to spread Jihad to West Africa rather than confine itself to the Sahel and Maghebi region. The National movement for the liberation of Azawad (known by its French acronym of MNLA) is ethnically driven, fighting mostly for the rights of Mali's Minority Tuareg Community. It was formed by Malian Tuareg in 2011, as a successor to previous rebel groups. During Colonel Mummar Gaddafi's rule in Libya many Malian Tuareg joined his army in a move that was welcomed by Mali's government to end conflict within its borders. After Col. Gaddafi's overthrown in 2011, they returned to Mali, swelling the ranks of the MNLA as it spear headed an uprising against the Malian army, in alliance with the Islamists. The Tuareg who were in Libya described by some analysts as an "arms bazaar" also brought with them weapons, including surface to air missiles which the MNLA said it had used to shoot down a Malian Air force MIG-21 jet in January, 2012. By April of that year the

- MNLA led fighters had routed government forces and the group declared the North and independent state, named Azawad. However, no other country recognized the state, showing the MNLA isolation in the global arena (This Day, 2013).
- vii. Malian Soldiers (Junta leader) as the rebels were gaining ground in the North in early 2012, Malian soldiers staged as mutiny at the Kati military camp located about 10km (Six miles) from the presidential palace in Bamako. It culminated in a coup, led by a mid ranking army officer Capt. Amadou Sanogo, one of the few officers who did not flee the Kati camp when the rank and file soldiers began rioting and then headed for the seat of government. Having overthrown President Amadou Toumani Toure, he promised that the Malian army would defeat the rebels. But the ill-equipped and divided army was no match for the fire power of the rebels, who tightened their grip over the North in the immediate aftermath of the coup (BBC News, 2013).
- viii. The Interim President (Dioncounda Traore): He was born in 1942 in the Garrison town of Kati, just outside of the capital Bamako. He pursued his higher education in the then Soviet Union, Algeria and France, where he was awarded a doctorate in mathematics. He returned to Mali to teach at university before getting involved in politics. He was a founding member in 1990 of the political party 'Alliance for Democracy in Mali and between 1992-1997 he held various ministerial portfolios including defense and foreign affairs. In 2007 he was elected as speaker of the National assembly. He was an ally of the disposed President Amadou Toumani Toure who had become deeply unpopular (The Guardian 2013).
- As a consequence, many Malians are wary of Mr. Traore, who is not seen as charismatic, says former Bamako based journalist Martin Vogl. This is boiled over in

May 2012, when supporters of the coup attacked Mr. Traore in his office; forcing him to leave his office as such he was overthrown.

- ix. Foreign Powers: This comprises foreign powers that came to resolve the complex Malian conflict which include Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), United Nation (UN), France, which is the former Malian colonial masters. Etc. following the new rebel advance in January 2012, France felt it could no longer wait for African troops to be deployed and declared war on the rebels. ECOWAS has started to deploy troops, which are expected to number more than 3,000 troop, Nigeria form the backbone of the force, contributing 900 soldiers, other countries that have pledged troops include Ghana, Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso and Niger. (Daily Independent, 2013).

However, all the above mentioned militants follows the Saudi-inspired Wahab/Salafi sect of Islam making them unpopular with Malian Muslims who belong to the rival Sufi sect. they have tried to impose their version of Islam, amputating limbs of people convicted of crimes and destroying Sufi shrines which they claim promote idolatry.

3.4 Key Issues in Mali's Crisis

The land locked West African country (Mali) was one of the poorest in the world, experienced rapid economic growth after the 1990s coupled with a flourishing democracy and relative social mobility. This all changed in early 2012, when the steady collapse of state control over the north of the country was followed by an inconclusive military coup and West African regional plans for armed intervention with UN backing and some European support. In the early 1990s, the nomadic Tuareg of the North began an insurgency over land and cultural rights that persists to this day, despite central government attempts at military and negotiated solution (Sambians, 2006).

The insurgency gathered pace in 2007 and exacerbated by an influx of arms from the 2011 Libyan civil war. The Saharan Branch of Al-Qaida was quick to move into this increasingly lawless area and seized control of the Tuareg North after the March 2012 military coup effectively seceding from the rest of Mali and establishing a harsh form of Islamic law. In a military coup in March, the army seized power accusing the elected government of being soft on the rebels made rapid advances.

However, one of the key issues in Mali's crisis is that the crisis in Mali is also a crisis of extraverted development and state building or what a Belgian and worker based in Bamako once called donor-driven ownership. That is international efforts to build a state committed to their definition of development and efficient management through foreign aid, conditional and daily contacts with African government.

Another key issue is that the lack of political situation to the crisis in Mali threatens to reverse progress in the Sahel region. Even in years with good rains and crops, millions of people do not have enough to eat in the Sahel. In 2013 10.3 million people could go hungry with 1.4 million children at risk of severe malnutrition. Governments, donors, humanitarian and development partners in the region must invest in community resilience programs, so that we can reduce vulnerability to future crisis (Sambians, 2006).

However, dominant media accounts about crisis in Mali focus on ethnic or religious factors at play in the country's North ignore that the crisis of the state and governance were central grievances of both pro-puts chists and pro insurgent Malians country wide. Indeed, when captain Senago orchestrated the coup in Mali, President Amadou Toumani Toure (Known as ATT) had already lost most of his support in the context of degrading governance in March 2012; puts chists blamed the former President for his laissez faire

policy in the Sahel, which allowed narco-traffic and Islamist groups to prosper. In Mali democratization has gone hand in hand with what scholars Jean- Francois Bayart, Stephen Ellis and Beatrice Hibou called ‘the criminalization of the state in a book published in 1999’ (The Guardian, 2013).

Under Amoudu Toumani Toure (ATT), governments were accused of handing over thousands of acres of fertile land near the Niger (irrigated agricultural area near Segou in South-Central Mali) to international firms. The president and his clan were suspected of having connections with and protecting drug traffickers. In this context, promises of moral purification and order made by puts chists and Islamists alike appealed to some Malians in North and South.

Another key issue in Mali crisis is that the humanitarian situation in Mali remains extremely fragile. Close to three quarters of a million people need immediate assistance if further deepening of the humanitarian crisis is to be prevented. The security situation in the North is volatile with on-going fighting and reports of human rights abuses since January some 65,000 people have fled seeking safety elsewhere in Mali or across its borders nearby two-third of the 470,000 people displaced since March 2012 are in Southern and Central Mali where they and the community hosting them are still coping with the impact of 2011 regional food and nutrition crisis. Resources are overstretched and people urgently need support. More than 177,000 people have fled into Mauritania, Niger and Burkina Faso.

One of the key issues is that there is a well known saying in Mali that the country is 98% Muslims 2% Christian and 100% animists with Islam absorbing traditional practices and allowing people to retain connection with their customary spirituality providing a formula

for religious tolerance. But the recent uprising by radical Islamist groups in the North has shattered this picture of tolerance and cooperation while most Malians breathed a sigh of relief as the Islamists were pushed back by the French Nigerian intervention. However, some religious leaders are concerned that continuing political failure could lead to extremist ideologies becoming more popular. “The future of Islam here in Mali rests on many things and its is treated” said Sheikh Thiermo Thiarm head of the Sufi Tidjania sect. we need a stable government, a functioning democracy and an end to illiteracy so that people can actually read the Qur’an for themselves (BBC News, 2013)

Some analyst have viewed the coup and crisis in Mali as accidental and “improvised” but this improvised genesis of the coup still raises some questions to what extent is the junta expressing or reflecting the will of the people in the street? Is there any overlap between the junta’s populist rhetoric and the grievances of ordinary urban and rural Malians? Indeed, in assessing the crisis of Mali’s democracy, the world community must seriously address Malian popular grievances and the main grievances are ones that reach beyond dissatisfaction with the Malian governments’ mishandling of the anti-separatist war in the North.

However, observers were of the opinion that even if elections and re-establishment of civilian government in Mali, the relationship between the North and the South and the balance of power between Wahabi’s and Sufis will become crucial questions (The Guardian, 2013)

3.5 Effects of Mali’s Crisis on its Economy

There has been multiplicity of opinions and recommendations among analysts and commentators as regard to the crisis in Mali and its effects on its economy. There is a

well known believe among analysts that Mali is one of the poorest country in the world where Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and per capital income depend on agriculture (farming and recurring of animals) but the chaos that erupted in Mali as a result of terrorism in the Northern Mali and military coup d'état has left the country's twin economic engines the cotton and gold industries essentially untouched, in contrast to the vast economic damage caused by coup and conflicts in West African neighbors like Guinea and Ivory Coast.

The Mali's economy has been hit hard by the crisis, shrinking an estimated 1.5% last year after growing an average 5.7% a year between 2000 and 2010 according to World Bank report. It is important to note that the effects of the crisis are particularly devastating in the North, in Timbuktu; banks are running out of money after the rebels interrupted their cash flow by closing them along with hotels bars and schools. Timbuktu has been freed from its Islamist occupiers but now faces the daunting task of rebuilding an economy in shambles. The Northern Mali spent ten months under armed extremists who imposed a brutal form of Islamic law before fleeing in the face of French-led military intervention. On their way out, the Al-Qaida linked rebels sabotaged the city's water and electricity systems, communication networks and the ferry that provides a key link across the Niger River.

Economically the crisis is a catastrophe, we are living in extreme poverty, we are only just resuming activity says Baba Abdou Toure, a restaurant owner in the city. Mali's cotton sector, which according to COMDT data directly employ four million of Mali's is million people have been destabilized by the crisis as such the crisis generated high rate of unemployment in Mali because a lot of people in Mali have lost their job in the cotton industry. However, this rate of unemployment is not unconnected with the fact that a lot

of people more than 350,000 (who are mostly cotton's farmer) left their home to other neighboring countries because of insecurity especially in the Northern Mali (National Mirror, 2013).

There is also a report that Gold production, which provides about 15 percent of Mali's GDP, has been dealt with by the crisis this is because of the fact that most of the places where Gold production take place has been subjected to a high level of insecurity by the Islamic rebels especially in the Northern Mali. The stocks of Canadian and South African firms operating in Mali like Randgold (RRSL) Anglo Gold Ashanti (ANG) has not been functioning well as a result of the crisis. The crisis also affected the stock market his is because of the fact that the crisis has complicated travels particularly in the North and that has obstructed free movement of the country's exports.

However, foreign direct investment (FDI) also witnessed short fall as a result of the crisis, many countries that were interested in investing in Mali's economy were discouraged by the security problem in Mali especially in the Northern Mali, a lot of foreign companies have been abandoned in Mali because of the inability to attract investment from Canada and the United States due to perceived security problems. "We have seen the most problems with exploration companies, because these companies need foreign investment. And when investors are cautious, naturally this will have an immediate impact on exploration" Maiga said. The CEO of one joint Malian Canadian exploration company that recently decided to shut its operations in Mali said that foreign investors have backed off new exploration projects since the beginning of the crisis. "in a country like Mali, where a coup detat happens, and half of the country is controlled by rebels, people will not have confidence to invest" said the executive who asked not to be

named. “Mali is not credible for investors any more, and we cannot really work (Nigerian Tribune, 2013).

The agricultural sector also witnessed short fall especially in the Northern Mali many farmers in the region left their homes to other neighboring countries and that has resulted to food shortage, food prices have rises in the market. There is also a shortage of meat because herders no longer bring livestock to the city. The price of kilo of meat has increase more than double in price and beef and chickens have doubled in price.

Tourism provided about 5 percent of Mali’s GDP before the security crisis, according to USA, but since the beginning of the crisis, the rate of tourist activities collapsed. Djene, a UNESCO world-heritage site famous for its Sudanese-style architecture, has received less than 20 international visitors since February, compared to the more than 30,000 tourists who arrived in its best year in 2005, said Amodour Kouressi, director of the tourism board in the city. The local hospital is also affected by crisis, 10 of the district’s 21 health centers have lost their staffs, says Doctor Ibrahim Mariga. “We lack everything medicine, doctors nurses”, he said.

3.6 Effects of Mali’s Crisis on West African Countries

Analysts and commentators have argued that the crisis and terrorism have some effects on West African countries especially countries that shared border with Mali. The conflict in Mali could be a ticking time bomb for neighboring Western Sahara. The crisis in Mali is having far reaching effects in West Africa and the Sahel. As developments unfold in Mali, the rises for infiltration and destabilization are real in some of the West African countries bordering Mali, as illustrated by the efforts of neighboring countries to tighten security along the borders. The situation in Mali has heightened the overall terrorism

threat in the West Africa region. According to the latest estimates by the UN High Commissioner for Refugee (UNHCR), more than 150,000 people have fled to neighboring Mauritania, Niger, and Burkina Faso, while an additional 230,000 have been internally displaced.

The conflict in Mali has strained resources and worsened the humanitarian situation in the Sahel which was already precarious due to years of drought, piracy and transnational organized crime. The situation in West Africa remains at a crossroads, the situation in Mali and in the Sahel, combined with other cross-cutting threats in the region, including drug trafficking and piracy has the potential to undermine security in West Africa.

Mali's instability poses four major problems for West African region. The first is refugee. Since January 2013, more than 260,000 Malians have fled their homes. Mali's refugees add to last year's influx of displaced persons from Libya into to Sahel. The new refugee burden communities and government that have already stretched resources thin: Drought in the Sahel has left an estimated 15 million people without sufficient food.

The second problem is that the Tuareg rebellion could spread. In neighboring Niger, the government has so far preserved a working relationship with Tuareg leaders but even if Niger avoids rebellion, no government in the region supports independence of Azawad, whose existence might awaken separatist desire elsewhere and complicate the diplomatic life of other states.

The third problem is Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), Kidnappings by AQIM have harmed the economics of Niger, Mauritania and Mali for several years. With the current conflict in Northern Mali, some of the last remaining Westerners have left the region, and few tourists will return any time soon mean while, gunmen from an AQIM

splinter group kidnapped seven Algerian diplomats in Gao in April, putting the Algerian government in the unenviable position of conducting extended negotiations with criminals. AQIM's foot holds in Northern Mali will worry Mauritania, Niger and Algeria, all of whose armies clash periodically with the group.

The fourth problem is that, while the prospect of a coup does not necessarily loom over every other regime in the region, the fall of government with internationally renowned democratic credentials is a blow to the region's reputation. Events in Mali could make foreign investors think twice about investing in the West African region: Already, gold investors have seen their stocks plummet overnight, and South Africa's Illovo sugar recently pulled up stakes. West African government would prefer that their part of the continent make headlines for things other than military takeovers and Islamist violence (Alex, 2012).

However, it is important to note that, experts have raised serious concern over the risk that the fighting in Mali could spill over into the neighboring countries and contribute to radicalizing the West African countries. There is also speculations that, Boko Haram of Nigeria has links with international Jihad networks, especially Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), one of the leading key players among Mali's Islamic insurgency and that could serve as a threat to Nigeria's political stability especially now that insecurity is at its peak particularly in the Northern part of Nigeria.

CHAPTER FOUR

ASSESSMENT OF NIGERIA'S ROLE OF PEACE-BUILDING IN MALI

4.1 Nigeria's Position in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

Nigeria is the West Africa region's largest economy, representing 55 percent of West Africa's gross domestic product, the most populous nation on the African continent at an estimated 130 million people and the continent's largest oil producer. "They are the big guy on the block in every way" said Princeton Lyman, a former U.S Ambassador to Nigeria and a fellow at the council on foreign relations. This heavy weight status puts Nigeria in a natural leadership role, one that both its democratically elected and military leaders have embraced since gaining independence from Britain in 1960.

Nigeria as of today is playing a very important role in the West African sub-region as a leading country. It has comfort of all its troubles and is leading in fields of education, sports, exports tourism, economy etc. Nigeria is seen as a big brother in the midst of West African countries based on the efforts and contributions of Nigeria to some West African countries mentally or otherwise. Nigeria has various efforts towards building, supporting and enforcing peace across Africa and the rest of the world. Such efforts are grounded concretely not only in the fact of its material resources and military capabilities, they are also historically grounded in its commitment to peace, justice and equality of people as well as in the belief in and respect for the right of all peoples to collectively determine their destiny. It is these commitments that have informed our role in peace building regionally, continentally and globally.

Nigeria played a pivotal role in founding the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975 as a regional economic organization of 15 members (Nigeria, Mali, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote D'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea Bissau, Senegal, Togo, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Niger. The Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) was established by the Lagos treaty in 1975 for the purpose of economic development and integration of its fifteen member states especially the community was charged to provide cooperation and development in all field of economic activities, the purpose of which is to increase the standard of living of its people, to enhance and maintain economic stability, to strengthen relations between its members and to contributed to progress and development on West African countries (Florence, 2009).

Nigeria perceived attempts as the most populous and prosperous member of the community with 50% of its population and 70% of its Gross National Product (GDP) to exert her influence within ECOWAS. Nigeria contributed significant financial backing troops and resources that made the creation of ECOWAS monitoring group (ECOWAS) possible. From 1990 to 1997, Nigeria troops made up 12,000 of the organization's white helmets. As the Liberia's war spilled over the border to Sierra Leone, ECOMOG under the leadership of Nigeria sent troops in 1998 to push back attacking rebel in Sierra Leone. Liberia's war ended in 2003 and the country's President Charles Taylor entered exile in Nigeria as one of the conditions. In 2006, Obasanjo transferred Taylor to a war crime tribunal in Sierra Leone to stand trial for his role in the civil war (Williams, 1971).

However, Nigerian forces are present in the entire ECOWAS peace keeping mission in Cote D'Ivoire, Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Western Sahara. In total, Nigeria commits 2,462 soldiers to U.N mission across the globe according to the United Nations. Peace keeping remains the cornerstone of Nigeria's

regional influence but the relatively wealthy nation exerts an economic influence on West Africa region as well. Nigeria is the only country to set up a trust fund in the African development Banks for poorer countries to borrow money. After drafting economic reforms within its own borders, Nigerian leaders helped policy makers in other West African countries with their own reforms (Modibbo, 2011).

The Nigerian government also organized and finances a program to send doctors, lawyers, teachers and other professional to work in other countries especially West African countries.

Nigeria, under Obasanjo played an instrumental role in creating the new partnership for Africa's development (NEPAD) by encouraging other head of states to create a wide strategy for development especially in West African countries.

Between 2003 and 2011, Nigeria contributed 918.7 million dollars (N138 billion) to the running of the ECOWAS. For years, Nigeria's funding to the 15-member body 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. Nigeria hosts three of ECOWAS institutions, the commission, the court and the parliament-contributions that are expected to, in addition to the lead in funding, translate in the minimum to relative privileges in decision-making, and staffing.

However Nigeria also contributed enormously in the ECOWAS peace-mission in Mali by deploying over 900 military troops out of the 3000 troops of ECOWAS-led military peace-makers in Mali crisis. It is important to note that Nigeria's contribution of peace keepers to the new UN and ECOWAS mission in Mali is consistent with its foreign

policy objectives; this is because of the fact that Africa has been the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy.

Despite all these contributions, in reality, Nigeria receive a thrashing on any matter requiring voting, its opinions are often discarded, and not only do shortages exist on her staff quota-formation with millions of unemployed. Some of the openings are seized on by smaller, but smarter nations. One would expect that the decision-making process in ECOWAS ought to recognize the power and influence of its major contributors but that is not the case, currently, Nigeria heads only one directorate out of the commissions' 26 directors.

4.2.1 Nigeria-Mali Relations

The relationship between Nigeria and Mali started since when the two countries gained independence in 1960. Even though at independence Mali initially followed a socialist path but the relationship between the two countries has been cordial. Nigeria has an embassy in Bamako, the capital city of Mali and Mali also has an embassy in Abuja, the federal capital territory of Nigeria. Both countries established formal diplomatic relations and it constituted a triumph of sort for the two countries, each of them saw the establishing formalities as an aspect of national self assertion, they were provided the opportunity to end years of posturing towards each other and to eliminate having trade ties without mutual diplomatic recognition thus, the growth of diplomatic relation between both countries have over the years given them the way of exploring mutual beneficial dimension of political, economic, cultural, educational and sporting relation as well. (Daily Independent, 2013)

Nigeria also maintains trade relations with Mali by exporting its manufactured goods to Mali and Mali also import some of their goods to the Nigerian markets. Nigeria as a member of Economic Community of West Africa State (ECOWAS) which Mali also happens to be a member, adopted ECOWAS's common external tariff (CET) in 2005, which brought the average tariff down from around 29% to 12% for important trading partners for Nigeria and Mali happens to be one of those countries.

However, major Nigerian companies have established themselves as strong players with total investment exceeding U.S 1.4 Billion, in the Malian market and were able to work on major projects. The Nigerian Malian Business council and its counterpart are private sector initiatives that were established to foster business cooperation between the two countries and institutionalizing the relationship between the business communities on both sides, as a major mechanism to enhance bilateral trade and promotion of investments.

Nigeria and Mali have cooperated on several development projects, this cooperation somewhat lessened Mali's dependence on Senegal and Cote D'Ivoire (Rufai, 1997). In addition, Nigeria gave aid and technical assistance to Mali often through the African Development Bank (ADB) of which it was a major benefactor. In 1987 a technical aid corps, operating along the lines of the United States Peace Corps was established. Under it, young Nigerian professionals were sent to the republic of Mali where their expertise was needed. Nigeria also provided scholarships and fellowship training facilities, grants, equipment and medical supplies and subsidized oil to Mali especially during the 1970s oil crisis which Mali suffered most. In July 1974, the Gowon's government decided to sell crude oil at concessionary rate to Mali on condition that they had their own refineries and would not re-export to other third world countries (Nwanko, 2005).

Nigeria and Mali also enjoy a deep cultural affinity that brought the two countries together since Nigeria's independence. The Embassy in cooperation with the Nigerian companies present in Mali, as well as the ministries of culture in both countries organized 2 cultural weeks in 2008 and 2009 with the participation of Nigerian cultural troupes that included a Nigerian food festival and an art contest.

However, currently, there are hundreds of Malian students enrolled in various faculties in many Nigerian Universities, in addition to many Malian students capitalizing on scholarships offered by the Nigerian government, as well as training in the fields of mass media, and agriculture.

Nigerian Muslims, especially the Tijjaniya sects maintain cordial relationship with Malian Muslims. Many Nigerian Muslims travel to Mali for Islamic tourism as well as to visit some respected sheiks and Mallams in the Tijjaniya sect of Muslims. Many Nigerian Muslims also travel to Mali for "MAULUD" to celebrate the birthday of Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W). However, it is on the basis of these relations that some analysts in Nigeria are of the belief that Nigeria cannot sleep while Mali is on fire because what happens to one affects the other. That is why Nigeria played a tremendous role in the peace keeping mission in Mali by deploying over 900 troops in order to dislodge rebels from Northern Mali.

4.2.2 The Impacts of Nigeria's Foreign Policy on Peace-Building In Mali

Since independence with Jaja Wachuku as the first minister of foreign affairs and common wealth relations, latter called external affairs, Nigerian foreign policy has been characterized by a focus on Africa as a regional power and by attachment to several fundamental principles. African unity and independence, capability to exercise

hegemonic influence in the region, peaceful settlement of disputes, principles of non alignment, non intentional interference in the internal affairs of other nations, regional economic cooperation and development. In carrying out these principles, Nigeria has been making tremendous efforts towards building, supporting and enforcing peace across Africa and the rest of the world. Such efforts are grounded concretely not only in the fact of our material resources and military capabilities, they are also historically grounded in our commitment to peace, justice and equality of all peoples, as well as in the belief in and respect for the right of all peoples to collectively determine their destiny. It is these commitments that have informed our role in peace building regionally, continentally and globally. Experience over the past twenty five years, Nigeria has emerged from a relatively obscure position under colonial domination to a major power in international affairs.

This position as well as the commitment underpinning it has been expressed more forcefully in the defense of Africa which in cooperation with other countries within the continent and in the Diaspora has helped in keeping alive the Pan-African ideal. Thus between 1960 to date, Nigeria has been actively involved in various ways in the struggle against colonialism in Southern Africa, in demonstrating the cultural richness and diversity of Africa (FESTAC), in building and maintaining peace throughout the West African region and in helping to establish and continuing to support the economic community of West African States (ECOWAS, 1975), the organization of African Unity (OAU, 1963) now AU (2001), the Non-aligned movement and other organizations concerned with bringing peace to regions and people across the world. It is in defense of these objectives that Nigeria participated enormously in peace-building in Mali (The Guardian, 2013).

Nigeria, the giant of West Africa played an outsized role in the Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) force intervention in Mali by supplying 900 of the total force of 3,300. This role according to Nigeria's foreign affairs minister, Olugbenga Ashiru, is consistent with Nigeria's foreign policy. According to him, the government would do everything possible to ensure that the terrorists do not achieve their aim. Nigerian government has maintained that Boko Haram has links with international Jihad networks, especially Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) one of the leading elements among Mali's Islamic insurgency. The Nigerian President (Goodluck Jonathan) defended his action, saying that Nigeria had a direct interest in intervening in Mali, to among other things curtail the seeming links between "Boko Haram" and Al-Qaida's Northern Africa wing. "We believe that if we stabilized northern Mali to just Nigeria but other countries that are facing threats will be stabilized. The terrorists have no boundaries they do not respect international boundaries" (This Day, 2013).

However, the reason behind Nigeria's intervention in Mali is to restore the territorial integrity of Mali which is being undermined by terrorists and insurgents in Northern Mali that are threatening to overrun the South. Nigerian troops are therefore not in Mali to assist the French in fighting the terrorists, but assist in restoring Mali's territorial integrity, to root out terrorists and other criminals and to prevent Mali becoming a safe haven and training base for terrorists who would come and join forces with extremists in Nigeria to cause more havoc on our people.

Nigeria's intervention in Mali is not only in furtherance of her leadership position in Africa, but also a necessity that will serve the strategic best interest of the country. For a country that is currently reeling from relentless and mindless bombing and killings by Boko Haram, an opportunity to strike a blow against terror in any part of the world is

indeed a call to duty, since terrorism carries a threat that transcends national boundaries. Given the proximity of Mali to Nigeria, a country with weak institutions and a precarious security situation, the presence of terrorists in the former poses a palpable threat.

Moreover, Mali which has become the de facto headquarter of Al-Qaida after the world's most notorious terrorist group has been gradually smoked out of its traditional abodes in Pakistan and Afghanistan has also become a training ground for Nigerian terrorists. This is why it did not come as a surprise when the Chief of Army Staff Lt. Gen Azubuike Ihejirika, said that Mali-trained terrorists were already operation in Nigeria (The Guardian, 2013). The Nigeria's mission in Mali has proved to be an instant success, with the recapture of important towns, including the historic cities of Gao and Timbuktu.

It is also important to note that in an effort to restore peace and stability to Mali, the federal government of Nigeria has spent forty five million dollars as its own contribution apart from other forms of humanitarian assistance given by National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) foreign affairs minister, Ambassador Olugbenga Ashiru, disclosed this at an interactive session with journalist on the outcome of the Nigeria- EU meeting in Brussels, on Nigeria-EU political dialogue, ECOWAS-EU dialogue and pledging conference in Mali. "Nigeria pledged the sum of two million dollars in support of agricultural development and the conduct of free and fair elections in the country. This is additional to the five million dollars pledged by Nigeria at the AU pledging conference in Ethiopia. So far Nigeria has spent forty five million dollars on the efforts to achieve peace and stability in Mali". (Segun, 2013).

Nigeria also welcomed the adoption by the UN Security Council of resolution 2100 of 2013 on Mali which would lead to the transformation of AFISMA to a UN peace keeping

operation called UN multi-dimensional integrated stabilization mission in Mali (MINUSMA). This transformation would not only promote the spirit of burden-sharing, but would also underscore the primary responsibility of the UN Security Council in the promotion of international peace and security. However, Nigeria has used both stick and carrot to help Mali back to constitutional leadership, it has crafted a deal which will allow a civilian head of state to take office and run the country until elections. Nigeria under ECOWAS mission has imposed comprehensive sanctions against Sanogo and his National Committee for the restoration of Democracy and suspends Mali from the regional body (IRIN, 2012).

In an attempt to dislodge coup juntas and restore civilian rule in Mali, Nigeria encouraged Ambassadors from ECOWAS countries to delink from any form of relationship with the coup leaders (military administrators in Mali).

Nigeria also uses among other instruments, fact-finding and elections observer missions, the appointment of special representatives, mediators, sanction and the formation of international contact groups to resolve Mali's crisis.

In another attempt Nigeria as a big brother in ECOWAS make sure that Mali's assets with the Central Bank of West Africa were frozen, and all financial assistance to Mali from the West African Bank for Development and the ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development (EBID) was suspended.

However, under Nigerian leadership, a framework agreement was signed in Mali on 6 April 2013 which demanded power should be handed to Djounounda Traore, the former speaker of parliament, for 40 days. Thereafter, an interim civilian president will run Mali until elections are held within 12 months. In another development, Senego, the coup

leader and his men have been granted amnesty, but also warned that any statements seen as undermining the agreement would lead to the reinstatement of targeted sanctions against them.

4.2.3 Success and Weakness of Nigeria's Role of Peace-Building in

Mali

Analysts and commentators have argued that since Nigeria's independence in 1960, it has never used her military as an instrument of imperialism, economic gains, or territorial expansion as seen in the cases of some Western European Nations. Instead, Nigeria has applied her military instrument in supporting and promoting global peace and security in different parts of the world (especially West African Countries). Under the UN, OAU (AU), ECOWAS or bilateral arrangements, this assertion is justified with the recent crisis in Mali which Nigeria used its military under UN and ECOWAS mission to dislodge terrorists from Northern Mali as well as to restore Mali's territorial integrity. About 1,000 Nigerian military personnel were deployed in Mali for peace-keeping.

However, the activities of Nigerian troops in Mali were both military and humanitarian. The military activities included manning of check points to search all vehicles for arms and ammunition, checking of military conflicts, manning of observation posts to determine violation of cease-fire and entry to unauthorized area, patrols to fill the gap between check-points and posts and clearance of mines and unexploded bombs. Humanitarian duties included resettlement of refugees, supply of eater to most villages as well as medical treatment to the injured and the sick.

The participation of Nigeria in peace-building in Mali is surrounded by multiplicity of success and weaknesses this is because of the security challenges facing the country especially in the North where Boko Haram and other Islamic rebels resulted to loss of lives and properties.

4.2.3.1 Success of Nigeria's Role of Peace-Building in Mali

There have been conceptions among analysts and commentators that immense progress has taken place in Mali since when Nigerian troops arrived to retake the Northern part of the country from violent extremists. The Nigeria military intervention has helped restore Mali's territorial integrity and undermined the capacity of terrorist and extremist groups to operate freely in the North of Mali. According to Aljazeera report, the Nigeria's mission in Mali has proved to be an instant success, with the recapture of important towns including the historic cities of Gao and Timbuktu.

In another attempt, to resolve the crisis in Mal, Nigeria succeeds in setting up committee under ECOWAS which was led by President Alassan Quattara and President Blaise Compaore. The committee was charged with the responsibility of exploring the possibility of negotiating with the Tuareg rebels in the Northern Mali to cease fire and abandon their claim of uprising the Northern part of the country. The committee also took into consideration the root causes of the conflict, the formation of an inclusive government representing all the regions of the country and the development of a sustainable roadmap of the Northern regions so as to bridge the lingering ethnic, political and socio-economic divide and development gap in the country (Blueprint, 2013).

However, ECOWAS under the leadership of Nigeria while pursuing dialogue also put in place the standby force that will prevent a total takeover of Mali by insurgent groups

while ensuring that there is no reemergence of insurgencies or the regrouping of AQIM or other extremists groups spilling over from Libya and neighboring Algeria.

Nigeria also succeeded in putting some peace mechanisms which include an efficient disarmament, demobilization and re-integration of ex-combatants to deter the Malian military from engaging in future coup d'état as well as undermining the country's democratic processes and laying a foundation for the organization of credible, fair and transparent elections within a realistic time frame. The election is expected to hold on July 28, 2013.

However, another important success of Nigeria's role of peace-building in Mali is the recapture of Gao, the largest town in Northern Mali from the control of Islamic rebels. As a result of this capture many Malians who travel out of Northern Mali want to go back home. The Islamists are no longer in control in the North since the Nigerian army together with the French army intervened; rebels have been expelled from all major towns in the North.

The Nigeria's intervention in Mali has induced some rebels to sign peace agreement and the former president of Mali's National Assembly took over power from Captain Sanago in April 2012. Even though Captain Sanago continued to play a role in Malian politics after handing over power to the interim president in April, the economic community of West African States (ECOWAS) under the leadership of Nigeria brokered an agreement in which coup leaders relinquished control and recognized a transitional government led by interim President Dincounda Traore.

The agreement required that Mali's presidential election take place within 12 months. However, the government has struggled to make substantive progress preparing for

elections. In late January 2013, more than nine months into the ECOWAS-mandated one-year transition process, the government released a roadmap for holding national elections and completing the transition process by July 31, 2013 (The Guardian, 2013).

There is a believe among analysts that despite financial costs in Mali's intervention, the Nigerian contingent gained exposure and experience during peace-keeping operation in Mali and this is one of the advantages of engagement or participation in international peace keeping as such it is considered as a success in the part of Nigerian troops. This is because of the fact that peace keeping mission in Mali has provided opportunities for foreign exposure for thousands of Nigerian Armed forces members, it has offered the opportunity to interact with other soldiers from different part of the world and get acquainted (even informally) to new weapon systems. This type of exposure prepares these soldiers better for both their assignments at home and future peace keeping operations (Henry, 1988).

4.2.3.2 Weaknesses of Nigeria's Role of Peace-Building in Mali

There is conception among analysts, scholars and commentators that despite the above mentioned successes, Nigerian soldiers were faced with multiplicity of challenges in their peace-keeping mission in Mali and this is not unconnected to the security challenges facing Nigeria at home especially in the Northern part of the country where thousands of lives and properties were destroyed by Boko Haram and other Islamic rebels who claim to adopt Sharia law in the Northern Nigeria. That is why some observers were of the believed that Nigerian soldiers were demoralized and lack the discipline required as such, many Nigerian soldiers were routed by the AQIM forces.

One of the weaknesses of Nigerian troops in Mali is that, Nigerian soldiers did not fully understand the Sahel region. Nigerian soldiers were not trained how to fight in Sahara desert, while Malian terrorists were acquainted with the Sahara desert. The Nigerian army does not have the skills to fight a Shadowy guerrilla-style war that took place in Mali as such they are incapable of forwarding their operations in Mali. Their role is more likely limited to manning check points and loading trucks which is often described as behind the scene role in logistics and providing security. There is also a conception that Nigeria military forces were not well equipped with sophisticated weapons to carry out the operations. This is because of the fact that most of the weapons used by the Nigerian forces were outdated and these contributed to their weakness.

There is also an intelligent report that Tuaregs in Mauritania, Niger, Chad and Northern Nigeria were recruited to fight the intervention force. This is clearly demonstrated by the activities of a new Islamic group called Jamatu Ansarul Muslimina fi Biladi Sudan which succeeded in attacking a convoy of Nigerian soldiers on their way to Mali, killing two and wounding others.

Another weakness is that finance, adequate financial support was not made by the government to ensure payment of allowances to military officers operating Mali. As a result of this many soldiers were unmotivated to put in their best in the peace-building mission in Mali. However, the external funding from United Nations and other volunteers nations came in slowly and with conditions (Vanguard, 2013).

In another report, the Nigeria President (Goodluck Jonathan) signaled that his country would be unable to fund most of the operations in Mali because of some domestic challenges facing the country.

The arrival of some Western countries troops from France, Germany, Britain and United State of America also contributed to Nigeria's weakness in Mali, when those troops arrived they consider Nigerian soldiers as unequipped and incapable to respond to well-armed and motivated Jihadist threat from Northern Mali. As such, they need to retrain Nigerian soldiers.

In another report, world powers like U.S.A and Russia sent equipments without troops and the Nigerian troops were not well trained to handle those equipments and this has constituted limitation to their operation in Mali. This is because of the fact Malian Islamic rebels were well trained on how to use weapon of mass destructions (WMD) by Al-Qaida and other international terrorists groups.

Another weakness is the lack of transportation capability to project power and combat aircraft to survey target in huge areas of operations. They also suffered from lack of interoperability of its contingents. However, problems in communication, cooperation and integration were the major impediments to their operation in Mali.

Another issue is that, most of the military equipments and vehicles possessed by Nigerian troops were mostly antiquated, that is why the troops are demoralized, disorganized and also played by factionalism. Lack of effective coordination, harmonization and discipline also serve as another impediment to Nigeria's role of peace building in Mali.

4.2.4 The French Intervention and the Peace-Building Process in

Mali

The international military intervention of some western countries particularly France has helped in restoring Mali's territorial integrity and undermines the capacity of terrorists and extremist groups to operate freely in the North of Mali.

In January 2013, France sent troops to Mali to launch an international operation against violent extremists who had occupied the Northern Mali. French troops were authorized by the United Nations (UN) to use all necessary means to intervene in support of economic monitoring group (ECOMOG) troops. Some of the means used by French troops in Mali include bombardments with warplanes and helicopters. About 2,500 French soldiers deployed in Mali, and not more than a month after their deployment, French forces have successfully repelled armed Jihadist groups and retaken Northern cities of Mali (Bellamy, 2013).

However, in another effort, the French also sent weapons to the Malian army as well as giving them proper training on how to make use of those weapons while confronting the rebels. France also provided humanitarian assistance to the Malian refugee. These assistance include provision of food, shelter, cloths, drugs e.t.c. among all West African countries that participated in Peace-building process in Mali, France have taken the lead because their intervention was described by most analysts and international commentators as all-encompassing. France also provided air transport and other non-lethal support to African troops including refueling capabilities intelligence and logistical support. After the deployment of U.N peace-keeping force in July 2013, France continued handling counter terrorism and peace enforcement operations as needed in

Mali, while the U.N blue helmets handled traditional peace-keeping duties of politicizing and trying to ensure new violence does not erupt.

The arrival of troops from France created an atmosphere where peace agreement was signed. Mali signed a cease fire deal with Tuarege separatist rebels, clearing a way for a democratic government to emerge and the troops return to Kidal before the presidential election which held in July 2013.

In another development, as a result of French intervention in the peace building process in Mali, a conference for the reconstruction of Mali was held in Brussels on Wednesday, 15 May 2013. In the conference, international community pledges billions of dollars for Mali. Donors from more than 100 countries and a number of international organizations have in Brussels promised billions in aid to Mali strings attached to the money including a national dialogue and transition to democracy (Bellamy, 2013).

4.3 Discussion of Findings

- i. The study revealed that the relationship between Nigeria and Niger has been cordial. Nigeria has an embassy in Bamako, the capital city of Mali and Mali also has an embassy in Abuja, the federal capital territory of Nigeria. Both countries established formal diplomatic relations and it constituted a triumph of sort for the two countries, each of them saw the establishing formalities as an aspect of national self assertion, they were provided the opportunity to end years of posturing towards each other and to eliminate having trade ties without mutual diplomatic recognition thus, the growth of diplomatic relation between both countries have over the years given them the way of exploring mutual beneficial dimension of political, economic, cultural, educational and sporting relation as well.

- ii. One of the key issues in Mali's crisis is that the lack of political situation to the crisis in Mali threatens to reverse progress in the Sahel region. Even in years with good rains and crops, millions of people do not have enough to eat in the Sahel. Another key issue is that the crisis in Mali is also a crisis of extrverted development and state building or what a Belgian and worker based in Bamako once called donor-driven ownership. That is international efforts to build a state committed to their definition of development and efficient management through foreign aid, conditional and daily contacts with African government.
- iii. Findings also show that the crisis and terrorism have some effects on West African countries especially countries that shared border with Mali. The conflict in Mali could be a ticking time bomb for neighboring Western Sahara. The crisis in Mali is having far reaching effects in West Africa and the Sahel. As developments unfold in Mali, the rises for infiltration and destabilization are real in some of the West African countries bordering Mali, as illustrated by the efforts of neighboring countries to tighten security along the borders. The situation in Mali has heightened the overall terrorism threat in the West Africa region.
- iv. Nigeria is the West Africa region's largest economy, representing 55 percent of West Africa's gross domestic product, the most populous nation on the African continent at an estimated 130 million people and the continent's largest oil producer. Nigeria as of today is playing a very important role in the West African sub-region as a leading country. It has comfort of all its troubles and is leading in fields of education, sports, exports tourism, economy etc. Nigeria is seen as a big brother in the midst of West African countries based on the efforts and contributions of Nigeria to some West African countries mentally or otherwise. Nigeria has various efforts towards building, supporting and enforcing peace across Africa and the rest of the world. Such efforts are grounded concretely not only in the fact of its material resources and military capabilities, they are also historically grounded in

its commitment to peace, justice and equality of people as well as in the belief in and respect for the right of all peoples to collectively determine their destiny. It is these commitments that have informed our role in peace building regionally, continentally and globally.

- v. Findings show that Nigeria's foreign policy has impacted greatly on peace building process in Mali. The Nigeria military intervention has helped restore Mali's territorial integrity and undermined the capacity of terrorist and extremist groups to operate freely in the North of Mali. According to Aljazeera report, the Nigeria's mission in Mali has proved to be an instant success, with the recapture of important towns including the historic cities of Gao and Timbuktu. In another attempt, to resolve the crisis in Mal, Nigeria succeeds in setting up committee under ECOWAS which was led by President Alassan Quattara and President Blaise Compaore.
- vi. It was also discovered that Nigeria's intervention in Mali is not only in furtherance of her leadership position in Africa, but also a necessity that will serve the strategic best interest of the country. For a country that is currently reeling from relentless and mindless bombing and killings by Boko Haram, an opportunity to strike a blow against terror in any part of the world is indeed a call to duty, since terrorism carries a threat that transcends national boundaries. Given the proximity of Mali to Nigeria, a country with weak institutions and a precarious security situation, the presence of terrorists in the former poses a palpable threat.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

This research is carried out to examine the impact of Nigeria's foreign policy on peace building in West Africa laying more emphasis on Mali Crisis. The funding of this research are summarized as follows.

In chapter one of this research, findings have shown that foreign policy is basically the summation of a state's aspiration objectives, anticipations and interests as they concern its relationship with other states and international organizational system. Foreign policy of every nation is primarily designed to promote, protect and defend national interests such as preservation of national sovereignty, the defense of national integrity, the promotion of economic capability etc.

The research also finds out that since independence with Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as Prime Minister, Africa has been the Center piece of Nigeria's foreign policy. That is why Nigeria's foreign policy focused on various efforts towards building, supporting and enforcing peace across Africa. At the last part of this chapter, the researcher stated that, the research will be useful to academic, and possibly policy makers by improving their knowledge and intellectual curiosity towards Nigeria's foreign policy.

In chapter two of this work, the research find out that foreign policy is essentially the instrumentality by which state influence or seek to influence the external world in consonance with their perceived national interest. The chapter also find out that foreign policy of every country is set to achieve certain objectives and those objectives, middle

range and long range objectives. However, while achieving these objectives there are certain instruments that are often used by nations based on their level of development. Those instrument include the economy, diplomacy, propaganda, culture and military. The chapter also gave an overview of Nigeria's foreign policy since independent and findings shows that, at independence, Nigeria's foreign policy was purely conservative and pro-western but as time goes on the concept was removed as a result of military intervention.

However, at the last part of chapter two, the research tried to use National interest theory as propounded by Frankel (1967) and he believe that national interest serve as a convenient base to encompass all the strategies employed in the international interaction of states.

The chapter three of this work discussed the brief history of Mali the research found out that Mali is the cultural heir to the succession of ancient African empires such as Ghana, Malinke, Songhai and Tumbkutu. After the collapse of these empires, Mali felt under French colonial rule in 1892, in 1893 the French appointed a civilian governor of the territory they called Sudan Francois (French Sudan), but active resistance to French rule continued by 1905, most of the areas was under firm French control. In January 1959 Sudan joined Senegal to form the Mali federation which became independent republic on 22 September 1960 with Modibo Keita as President. This chapter also examined some key players in Mali Crisis such as Asar Dine, the Tuareg, Al Qaida in the Maghreb (AQIM) movement for unity and jihad in West Africa (Mujao), signed in Blood Battalion, The nationl movement for Liberation of Azawad (MNLA) etc. the chapter also discussed some key issues in Mali Crisis and one of those issues is the fact that the crises in Mali is a crisis of extraverted development and state building or what a Belgian and worker based in Bamako once called donor-driven ownership. This research also reveals

that crisis in Mali affected Mali's economy negatively because the crisis has left the country's twin economic engines, cotton and gold industries essentially untouched, in contrast to the vast economic damage in other sectors of the economy.

In chapter four, the research examined the position of Nigeria in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and findings pointed out that Nigeria is a leading country in West African region. It has comfort of all its troubles and is leading in fields of education, sports, exports, tourism, economy etc. Nigeria is seen as a big brother in the midst of West African countries based on the efforts and contributions of Nigeria to some West African countries mentally or otherwise. The chapter also revealed the relationship between Nigeria and Mali. It shows that the relationship between the two countries has been cordial. They maintain trade relations with each other through export and several development projects.

However, currently there are hundreds of Malian students enrolled in various faculties in many Nigerian Universities, in addition to many Malian students capitalizing on scholarships offered by the Nigerian government as well as training in the field of mass media and agriculture. The chapter also revealed that Nigeria's foreign policy played a significant role on peace building in Mali by deploying about 1,200 troops out of the total force of 3,300 that were deployed to dislodge Tuareg rebels from Northern Mali who claimed to establish the independent state of Azawad. It is also important to note that, in the course of its peace building mission, Nigeria encountered some weaknesses because of the fact that many Nigerian soldiers did not fully understand the Sahel region, lack of sophisticated weapons to carry out the operation also serve as an obstacle to Nigeria's peace building mission in Mali. Despite the above mentioned obstacles encountered by Nigerian soldiers in Mali, conducting successful election and the emergence of new

elected Mali's President could be seen as a remarkable success of Nigeria's peace-building mission in Mali.

The last part of the chapter also pointed out that, international military intervention of some western countries particularly France, has helped in restoring Mali's territorial integrity and undermines the capacity of terrorists and extremist group to operate freely in Northern Mali.

5.2 Conclusion

The foreign policy of any nation is not doubt a reflection of its domestic reality. It begins with the identification and articulation of national interest. It is safe, therefore to assume that whatever the national interest represent becomes the principal consideration in the formulation and execution of national policies both at the domestic and international levels. In this connection, Nigeria's national interest has been defined in the context of our National security. This obviously is a comprehensive definition that covers the political, social, cultural economic and of course military and territorial security interest of our country. The question here is that whether Nigeria's peace-building in Mali is in line with our national interest? Well we have to turn to the man at the centre of all this for an answer.

There is a belief that a nation's foreign policy is not an illogical business, it is systematic and organized process. Chandra (1982) observes that just like domestic policies it operates through some laid down rules and procedures and is also expected to rely on a feedback mechanism in order to assess its impact and acceptability. Nigerians may wonder what their compatriots are doing fighting terrorism is a foreign land when at

home there is high level of insecurity especially the Northern part of the country through the activities of local Islamic terror group. Boko Haram.

Over the years, Nigeria foreign policy has been very consistent in the involvement of solving Africa's problems and this superfluous involvement of Nigeria in Africa problems in defiance of home problems aimed at acquiring cheap fame, rather make her unpopular and diminishes whatever prestige that had been built already. Not only that, these beneficiary countries never appreciate such, they rather sabotage Nigeria's interest in global politics in recompense.

In the course of this research, we understood that Nigeria deployed about 1,200 troops out of 3,300 troops that were deployed by ECOWAS, to dislodge Tuareg terrorist from Northern Mali and this peace-building mission to a large extent could be said to be successful, but the question here is that at what cost? And in whose interest? Does Nigeria intervention in Mali falls within the purview of Nigeria's core national interest considering the present economic woes bedeviling the country: presently half of the Nigerian population are living below poverty, its citizens are surrounded by endemic poverty saturation, high level of unemployment, poor infrastructure, unstable economy as well as corruption yet Nigerian government have not wavered in committing scarce resources in ensuring the well being of her African brothers.

It is apparent that the successive Nigerian leadership has overwhelmingly recognized Africa as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy. Thus this directed their foreign policy over the years and this over burdensomeness of Nigeria's foreign policy towards the cause of Africa at all times has really benefited Nigeria, as such they have inadvertently acted against Nigeria's national interest. We gave and gave to Africa and in

return got nothing. In fact, the era of decolonization has gone and as such Nigeria should seek effective trade engagement with other African countries if it must and such engagement should foremost portray our national interest with some concomitant pay offs.

Nigeria should in fact seek a more global partnership that will ensure human development and economic prosperity for the country. Nigeria's attention should be more focused towards achieving our vital interests such as socio-economic growth and development so as to improve the standard of living of the populace. In this respect Africa should not longer be the only reason for the existence of our external relation.

5.3 Recommendations

From the foregoing observations, the following recommendations should be considered in strengthening Nigeria's foreign policy.

- i. A coherent and consistent direction of foreign policy option should be spelt-out and put in practice; this should be done through harmonization of difference that exists between the different ethnic and religious groups.
- ii. There is an urgent need for government convene a foreign policy summit to among other address issues such as redefining our national interest, re-focusing on Africa the center piece of its foreign policy but to a purely national interest driven foreign policy thrust which will minimize loss and increase gains as well as promotion of socio-economic growth and development.
- iii. Though every leader has his own personalized leadership style he or she as far as Nigeria is concerned should depersonalized Nigeria's foreign policy through a distilled decision making machinery of the state, foreign policy making process should be democratized

with all the institutions that are constitutionally empowered to take part in decision making allowed to play their stator roles.

- iv. The imperative of making foreign policy objectives should reflect Nigerians domestic realities as defined by Nigeria's so that the country's foreign policy should be result oriented.
- v. Experienced, honest and impartial policy maker should be incorporated especially those in charge with the responsibility of formulating and implementing the country's foreign policy. This follows that only men of proved integrity and dedication should be responsible for this.
- vi. Nigeria government most urgently keep her house in order politically, economically as well as scientifically with these area adequately addressed, there is no doubt that with greater resolve dedication and commitment, we can still make our future greater than our past.

It could be said that in Nigeria today problem are real they are equally not insurmountable. What we need now is leadership with courage, vision and great sense of mission and self confidence. It has become a competing national interest for Nigeria to keep her house in order, we must reduce the level of serious threat to the survival of Nigeria as one nation under one government and under one destiny, by reducing the level of our national crisis that attract international attention. Nigeria should also continue to play an active and responsible role in the international community. In order to enhance on historical role, the present administration must set a comprehensive process of revamping and restructuring our foreign policy apparatus to make it more profit oriented. The overall aim in this respect should be to ensure a process that is more proactive rather than reactive as we face the challenges of the 1st century.

5.4 Limitation of Study

The challenge of unavailability of fund tends to impede the efficiency of the researcher in sourcing for the relevant materials, literature or information and in the process of data collection (internet). But despite all the challenges the researcher put in so much to ensure the research is successful.

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