



MANEUVERING AFFINITIES: AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF NIGERIA'S DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE THIRD WORLD

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ABSTRACT: *From about the 15th century, imperialism, in the realm of international relations, has been affecting every aspect of human existence. As it places its advocates and apologists (the capitalists nations) on the top of the ladder of the international system, it ensures, not only the perpetuation of its victims (the developing nations) at the bottom, suffering its weights, but also ensured the twisting of their collective psyche to accept inferiority. Nigeria is one of such emergent nations, which are termed under the rubric "Third World". Being a product of colonial system, Nigeria was structurally coerced to create and maintain profound socio-political and asymmetric economic ties with the Western Capitalist Nations (the First World). However, it was soon realized that creating profound affinity with other Third World nations (including the nations that Nigeria shares boundaries with), with whom Nigeria shares the experiences of colonialism and subordination, was very essential in ensuring economic independence, territorial security and overall development; more so, considering the manner with which the Western Nations treated Nigeria during the Nigerian Civil War. This paper is an attempt to chronicle preparatory comments on years of Nigeria's efforts at 'maneuvering affinities' with the Third World, both on bilateral and multilateral basis, as demonstrated by its Africa Centerpiece Foreign policy and alliances like the non-align movement, Organisation of African Unity/African Union, ECOWAS, D-8, etc. The paper is based on both primary and secondary sources. These include journal articles, presented papers, textbooks and relevant internet materials.*

KEYWORDS: Nigeria, Diplomatic Relations, Third World.



INTRODUCTION

After the World War II (1939-1945) the complete scenario of the world has changed. You can say most of the countries in the world were divided into two spheres. One of them was the (NATO) North Atlantic Treaty Organization which was headed by the United States of America and the other one was Soviet Union (Present Russia) and the alliance of its supporting countries. Moreover, in 24th October, 1945 the (UNO) United Nations Organizations was formed. So after its formation many countries in the world got their freedom from the colonial rule. India is a big example of that. And during that time the cold war has begun between the two superpowers. This was a state of political tension across the globe. And at that time these new born nations decide to stay away from both of the alliances. And that's why they have made another group which is called (NAM) Non Aligned movement. By this they are completely free to prepare their foreign policy and other things as well. So, basically the world had divided into three sphere or three worlds. The First World was the Group of NATO and its alliance, the second world was the Group of Soviet Union and its Alliance, last and the third world was NAM.¹

Nigeria, as a nation was a colonial creation. However, it only became an independent sovereign state in 1960. Being an independent, gave Nigeria the right to be integrated as a member of the international community, and to participate freely and actively in international relations, on the course of which she will be guided by a foreign policy, formulated by her indigenous leaders, as influenced by domestic and external conditions, to promote and protect her interest in the international system. But then, also, this international community, as of the time when Nigeria became independent was broadly divided into three major categories- First World, Second World, and Third World, and Nigeria falls under the third category. These categorizations and conceptualizations, as shall be discussed are unconnected with some salient historical processes coupled, most importantly with the Post Second World War politics that emerged as a result of the changing nature of the international system, which became bipolar in nature at the time.²

Nigeria have had wonderful and in some cases uneasy relations with the Third World nations especially those in Africa, to whom she played a leading role, and even those in Latin America and Asia, most especially Brazil, India, and Korea, etc. This, she mainly undertakes through the instrumentality of international organizations such as OAU/AU, ECOWAS,³ Non-Aligned Movement, Group of 77, more recently, D8 and even on bilateral basis, in political, economic and security fields.

The Third World: Concept and Realities

The concept of the Third World is as controversial as the question among scholars on whether it should even continue to be used on the nations it is often applied. Indeed, the debates on this issue as controversial as they may be are beyond the scope of this paper. The aim here, therefore, is not to contribute to the debates and exegesis on the concept of the term, but rather

¹ P. H. Baker, "A Giant Staggers: Nigeria as an Emerging Regional Power," in B. E. Arlinghaus (ed.), *African Security Issues: Sovereignty, Stability and Solidarity*. U.S.A.: Westview Press Inc., 1984, p. 86

² E. Cox, "Chad: France in Africa." *The Army Defence and Quarterly Journal*, 118, (2): 1988, pp., 161-167

³ O. Mailafia, 'Prometheus as Good Samaritan: Nigeria's Bilateral and Multilateral Assistance Since Independence', in A.M. Jega & J.W. Farris (eds.), *Nigeria at Fifty: Contributions to Peace, Democracy and Development*, Abuja, Shehu Musa Yar Adua Foundation, 2010, p.180



to simply define the concept of Third World for the audience to have a grasp of the nations referred to as Third World nations in the work.

The term Third World was originally derived from the model of the Third Estate of France before and during the French Revolution. The term arose during the Cold War, a period in World history when a bipolar power structure dominated the world politics. The structure consisted of two opposing blocs of power, one led by the United States of America (the First World), and the other led by the Soviet Union (the Second World). Within the bipolar structure, the Third World represented the newly independent nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America that consisted of economically and technologically less developed states, not aligned to either bloc and generally shared a history of colonization.⁴

In other words, the term was said to have been used originally in 1963, to describe those states not part of First World-capitalist, economically developed states led by the US or the Second World-the communist states led by Soviet Union. When the term was introduced, the Third World principally consisted of the developing world, the former colonies of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Thus, in essence, the Third World nations are generally, the marginalized majority of the world. Many other terms are used to refer to this group of countries. They are called underdeveloped, developing, periphery, or south. Although, these names are subtly different in conceptual criteria, they share a common feature. They all equate with a negative pole that exist to its positive counterpart, especially the First World, developed, or North.⁵

The realities of the Third World manifests largely as legacies of capitalism and its extension to the Third World (imperialism), the chief being the continuous asymmetric relations between the developed and developing nations.⁶ This, as well as the huge gaps in the levels of development of productive forces, organizational structures, and management and military capabilities between the developing and developed nations is inherent from the uneven pre-colonial relations and the coercive strategies by which majority of the Third World nations were incorporated and subordinated into the world capitalist system as unequal partners. This ensured the developing countries served the developed with raw materials and other primary products, while they rely on them for manufactured goods. This in terms of international relations led to minimal contacts within the Third World nations (especially with those apart from close neighbors).⁷ These problems associated with the developing nations, however, did not prevent them from interacting with each other despite the fact that the countries still experience slow economic growth, low economic diversification, and lack of economic competitiveness.⁸

On the other hand, some Third World countries have been able to use these institutions to overcome their economic problems; for instance, the newly industrialised countries. Perhaps,

⁴ R.A. Akindele, 'Constitutional Structure of Nigeria's Foreign Policy', in G. Olusanya and R.A. Akindele, (eds.), *The Structure and Processes of Foreign Policy Making and Implementation in Nigeria, 1960-1990*, Vantage Publishers International, Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria, 1990, pp.57-60

⁵ H. Asobie, 'Nigeria: Economic Diplomacy and National Interest', *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 17, No.2, 1991, p. 63.

⁶ S. Berger, 'A Foreign Policy for the Global Age', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.79, No.6, 2000, pp.22-39

⁷ H.A. Saliu, 'Nigeria's Policy Towards Africa: Some Reflections', in B.A. Akinterinwa (ed.), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union...*, op cit, p.265-9.

⁸ O. Oche, 'Nigeria, The A.U, And the Challenge of Regional Integration', in B.A. Akinterinwa (ed.), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union*, Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005, pp.136-141



we could ask then, if this assistance favors some countries more than the others. In terms of security, many Third World countries, especially countries in Africa, still depend on the Global North for armaments and military training, this is because African countries are plagued with various security issues ranging from terrorism to political and ethnic armed conflicts.⁹

Additionally, scholars distinguish between the state dimension of the Third World and the human dimension, often premised on the idea that 'there is a Third World within First World states'. The Third World, from the state dimension, refers to those states with little or no impact in global politics and are vulnerable in global markets. On the other hand, the Third World refers to needy individuals, and vulnerability and risk are the defining features of their daily lives, no matter where they are located territorially or geographically.¹⁰ This is to say that in countries like America, Native Americans live in conditions that mirror the conditions in some rural parts of the Third World countries. Similarly, Third World ruling, and elite classes live in high standard comparable to those of people in industrialised countries while the majority live in the Third World conditions.¹¹

Background on Nigeria's Foreign Policy

Nigeria was created as a single entity to occupy its present geographical expanse during the colonial period, but more precisely, in 1914. Since then, Nigeria's external relations were dictated by the colonialists, who were controlled by the colonizing power, Britain up to the period of independence in 1960. 1960 thus served as a turning point in the history of Nigeria's foreign relations because for the first time, it was indigenous people who were to formulate and implement Nigeria's foreign policy.¹² But after all, what is this foreign policy and what are its determinants in the Nigerian context? Foreign policy of Nigeria is simply a struggle of promoting and protecting the interest of the country in the international system guided by certain principles and influenced by domestic and external conditions. The determinants of Nigeria's foreign policy are classified into two, domestic and external determinants. The domestic includes geography, population, economic resources, military strength, image of foreign policy decision making elites and Nigeria's national interest.¹³ The external determinants are structure of new power factor in international system, Membership of international organizations such as UNO, OAU/AU, ECOWAS, NA, D8 etc, and more recently globalization, democracy and human rights, etc.

Now, what are the factors that affect these determinants of Nigeria's foreign policy, as they influence the domestic nature of the country, which in turn influences her diplomatic relations? These factors are obvious, the first being the colonial factor. From the beginning of colonization in Africa, France had interest in the Nigerian area and lost the race against Britain becoming a rival since the colonial times, France has over the time been displaying un-cordial tendencies towards Nigeria. Therefore, Nigeria in designing her foreign policy has to consider

⁹ T.A. Imobighe, *Options for Nigeria's African Policy in the Eighties*, Bauchi, Galz Press Ltd., 1983, pp. 2-4

¹⁰ I.A. Gambari, *Party Politics and Foreign Policy: Nigeria under the First Republic*, Zaria, ABU Press, 1980, p.67

¹¹ H.A. Saliu, 'Dimension of African Democracy and the March to the Fourth Republic in Nigeria', in H.A. Saliu (ed.), *Nigeria Under Democratic Rule, 1999-2003*, Vol.1, Ibadan University Press, 2004, pp.1-8.

¹² E. Nwokedi, 'Strands and Strains of Good Neighbourliness: The Case of Nigeria and its Francophone Neighbours', *Geneva Afrique*, Vol. Xxiii, pp. 39-40, 1985

¹³ W.A. Ajibola, & A.B. Akinyemi, 'Some Trends in Nigeria's African Policy,' in Ajibola & Akinyemi (eds.), *Nigeria and the World*, Lagos, NIIA, 1976



way of handling France, and its African colonies, on whom she still have strong influence, who also are Nigeria's neighbours. But Britain itself has been greatly influencing Nigeria's foreign policy since 1960.¹⁴ Moreover, it is obvious that the internal economic and political stability of a nation have to be taken into consideration because the internal stability of a nation depends heavily on the relationship between economy and politics. The internal politics on the other hand is much attached to foreign politics, and this is the more reason why it is believed that a country that is strong at home will be influential abroad. This domestic strength is basically premised on economic and political stability. Thus, the Nigeria's foreign policy is internally affected by the fragility of her political institutions, controversies and inherited or in some cases borrowed systems of government (such as the regionalism factor as well as that of the geo-political settings), the underdeveloped state of their economy (as obtainable in the mono-cultural economy reliant on oil, especially following the 1970s), and more particularly the pro-western orientation of the foreign policy decision making elites, all of which left Nigeria's national interest ill-defined.¹⁵

However, despite all these constraints on Nigeria's foreign policy, the country has been playing a key role in her relations with the international community as a whole and with the Third World in particular, and more precisely, she has been playing a leading role in international relations.¹⁶

Nigeria-Third World Relations

The idea of intra-Third World relations was strongly developed during the First Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries." Nigeria's role in such relations has started immediately after her independence. This, however, is more associated with Africa and the Third World countries, because Nigeria's first indigenous administration proclaimed Africa to be the Centre Piece of Nigeria's Foreign Policy.¹⁷ It is observed that, apart from Brazil, Nigeria's economic relations with the Third World, outside Africa is scanty and disorganized. Therefore, the discussions here will be more concentrated on the African countries, even though the Third World countries outside Africa will also be discussed.

As Nigeria's foreign policy was characterized by a focus on Africa as a regional power, it was affirmed by the first prime minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, first in August 1960, and then in October 1960 during his speech at the United Nations at the time when the country joined the organization, immediately after its independence. He stated that:

So far I have concentrated on the problems of Africa. Please do not think that we are not interested in the problems of the rest of the world. We are intensely interested in them and

¹⁴ O. Mbachu, *Foreign Policy Analysis: The Nigerian Perspective*, Nigeria, Medusa Academic Publishers Ltd, 2011, p. 6-7

¹⁵ B.A. Akinterinwa, *Nigeria and France, 1960-1995: The Dilemma of Thirty-Five Years of Relationship*, Ibadan, Vantage Publishers, 1999, p.32

¹⁶ B. Magubane, 'The Evolution of Class Structure in Africa', in P.C.W. Gutkind & I. Wallerstein (eds.), *The Political Economy of Africa*, London, 1976, p.292

¹⁷ D. Thiam, *The Foreign Policy of African States*, Praeger, New York, US, 1965, P.101



hoped to be allowed to assist in finding solutions to them through this organization. But being humans we are naturally concerned first with what affects our immediate neighborhood.¹⁸

The administrations that followed that of Balewa continued to uphold this policy and over the years have been playing a vital role in relations with African nations. Nigeria, immediately after independence, entered into the African bloc politics leading the Monrovia group against two other groups, Brazzaville and Casablanca.¹⁹ This did not only served as a prelude to the creation of the first continental organization in Africa- the Organization of African Unity which later became African Union, but also the organization was created base on the views and opinion of the Nigeria-led bloc which sought a greater degree of cooperation as they called for the creation of looser organization of African states, with which "African countries would guard their independence but promote growing cooperation and harmonization of policies in a variety of functional areas, most notably, economic, scientific, educational, and social development".²⁰ After the creation of OAU, Nigeria continued to contribute significantly both in diplomatic and financial respects in order to ensure the sustenance of the organization and the implementation of the provisions of its charter. This has been summed up below which stated that:

Nigeria's conservative stand within the OAU which favored a rather loose cooperation had by early 1980s led to a more aggressive quest for African economic cooperation as enunciated in the Lagos Plan of Action. General Murtala Mohammed had, after hesitations by the Gowon Regime, recognized the MPLA of Angola and in the process clearly told the west (President Ford of the US) that Nigeria was the architect of her foreign policy. But such dynamism was more of an aberration. After his death, Olusegun Obasanjo had carried a similar step by nationalizing Shell BP, recognizing ZANU as the legitimate representative of the Zimbabwean people... precipitating the independence of Zimbabwe. Nigerian support for the liberation movements in South Africa has earned her a place as a frontline state. Yet, under Buhari's regime, SADR, the liberation movement of West Sahara was recognized by Nigeria.²¹

These are just few examples out of the multifarious contribution Nigeria have made over time to countries of the Third World, but directly through the OAU/AU as a continental organization or to its members. Nigeria, irrespective of administrations, from the First Republic to date, based most of her efforts within the jacket of material contributions and donations, support and initiation of liberation movements, provision of Technical aid and assistance, as well as diplomatic interventions through peacekeeping to ensure peace and security in Africa as the case had been with the Congo crises of 1960s. All these, Nigeria did with the aim of providing peaceful political and societal atmosphere in Africa so that the Third World nations in Africa will also be included into the global scheme of things. Most importantly, it was Nigeria, under Gowon's administration, and Togo, under Eyadema that initiated the diplomatic offensive that led to the signing of ECOWAS treaty in 1975. Through the instrumentality of the ECOWAS,

¹⁸ A. Osuntokun, 'A Hegemon in a Peripheral Region of the World: The Future of Nigeria's Foreign Policy', *Nigerian Society of International Affairs (NSIA) Annual Lecture*, 2013, pp. 1-5

¹⁹ Balogun, E. "Foreign Policy Analysis: Linkage Politics" *Journal of Arts and Social Sciences* Vol. 5 October/November 2000, pp. 89-93

²⁰ H.A. Saliu, 'Nigeria and the Quest for an African Seat on the Security Council: Problems and Benefits', *Art and Social Science Research*, Vol.2, 1999, pp.114-117

²¹ B. Bukarambe, 'Nigeria's Foreign Policy in Africa', 1960-1999', in R.A. Akindele and B.E. Ate (eds.), *Selected Readings on Nigeria's Foreign Policy and International Relations*, Ibadan, Vantage Publishers, 2000, pp.100-123



Nigeria played a very significant role in trying to facilitate and promote intra-African trade, as opposed to the economic relations of the Third World west African countries with the First world. Nigeria also engaged through ECOWAS, in the politics of attempting to minimize French influences on the sub-region. Nigeria also led the creation of ECOWAS defense pact, ECOMOG, which was established not only to ensure peace and security of the Third World Countries, but also to minimize foreign military interventions, while strengthening mutual security assistance among them. Nigeria was the highest financer of ECOWAS, paying a third of its budget. In the same vein, Nigeria have been playing a key role in other groupings such as the Group of 77, the D8 or developing 8, which is an economic organization for economic cooperation formed on June 15th 1997 through which Nigeria deals largely with other non African Third World countries including Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Pakistan, Turkey and Egypt, as well as advocacy for New International Economic Order NIEO.²²

Nigeria was not also left behind in regards to bilateral relations with the various African nations. However, Nigeria's Foreign Policy as redefined under Buhari's military regime, in terms of concentric circle, provide a special position for the immediate neighbors who came first, within the first circle, then the rest of ECOWAS follows. In the second circle Africa came first within Third World, and then rest of the World and international organizations falls within the outermost circle. This did not only feature especially in theoretical thrust during the Buhari regime but it cut across all the successive administrations in Nigeria.²³

To be regime-specific, under Shagari's administration, there was the establishment of Nigeria-Niger joint commission for cooperation, the Lake Chad commission and River Niger Commission. At the same time also, in spite of its tremendous internal requirement, Nigeria subscribed the sum of 50 million to African Development Bank for giving loan to African countries. Furthermore, Under the Babangida administration, he continued with the traditional policy of Africa as the center piece of Nigeria's foreign policy, however, with strong admixture of economic diplomacy. Babangida administration reactivated more than twelve bilateral agreements and about twenty five cultural, educational, and scientific cooperation agreements were concluded in Africa alone. He also introduced the Technical Aid corps. Under this scheme, Nigeria's professionals and experts whose services were required by other African countries were seconded; at the Nigeria's government expense to those countries for three years.²⁴

These examples are just few out of many. They are provided here to project a kind of picture of the features of Nigeria's bilateral relations with other Third World countries which was largely based on material Aids, technical assistance, and economic relations, and not only specific to the above exemplified period or administration, but throughout Nigeria's existence as an independent nation. All these efforts by Nigeria, coupled with her huge population and

²² G.A. Nweke, 'Nigeria's National Interest and Foreign Policy', *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*, (NJIA), Vol. II, No. 1, 1985, PP.5-7

²³ H.A. Saliu, 'Dimension of African Democracy and the March to the Fourth Republic in Nigeria', in H.A. Saliu (ed.), *Nigeria Under Democratic Rule, 1999-2003*, Vol.1, Ibadan University Press, 2004, pp.1-8.

²³ A. Ogunsanwo, 'Nigeria's Foreign Relations, 1970-1975', *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*, (NJIA), Vol. 16, No. 1, 1990, p.35

²⁴ P. H. Baker, "A Giant Staggers: Nigeria as an Emerging Regional Power," in B. E. Arlinghaus (ed.), *African Security Issues: Sovereignty, Stability and Solidarity*. U.S.A.: Westview Press Inc., 1984, p. 95



economic potentialities as a result of which Nigeria's GDP surpass that of all the countries of ECOWAS combined, made the country to be referred to as a regional power in Africa or the giant of Africa. This is to appreciate the "manifest destiny" of Nigeria on the African continent. For this, Mr. Hammani Diori, the former president of Niger Republic was quoted saying in June 1973, that "any economic arrangement in West Africa that excluded Nigeria would be unrealistic". Indeed, I his later to President Shagari, Ronald Reagan, the former President of the US stated that "I want you to know that, I view Nigeria as a leader among African Nations which share the US desire for peace throughout the world.." ²⁵

Furthermore, Nigeria's relations with Third World countries outside Africa include the discussion on Brazil, India, South Korea and Thailand. Nigeria has engaged in bilateral relations, especially economic relations with these countries on various occasions. For instance, as of the 1980s, Nigeria was the largest buyer of Brazilian products as well as important commercial partner in Africa, displacing South Africa which hitherto held the lead. Brazilians also imported crude oil from Nigeria in huge volume. Also, technical and social know how is offered by a Brazilian based NOVACAP (Compania Urbanizora da Nova Capital) to the capital of Abuja. ²⁶ India and South Korea also engaged in various economic relations with Nigeria on various occasions. A number of their Multinational firms are working in Nigeria. Also, there are commercial relations with Thailand especially on rice importation in Nigeria, just to mention but a few.

Nigeria-Developing (D8) Relations

The Developing 8 Organisation for Economic Cooperation comprises Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan and Turkey, Besides being countries with sizeable Muslim population; one of the common denominators for membership is the share size of their respective population; the combined force of which resonates the economic potentials of the organisation. President Goodluck Jonathan was elected Chairman of the group in July 2010 in Abuja.

The 30th Session of the D8 Commission and the 14th Session of its Council of Ministers which took place in Abuja from 12-14 July 2011, underscored the vitality of an effective synergy between the public and private sectors as a necessity in driving development. While the 30th Session of the Commission was chaired by Dr. Martins Uhomoibhi, former Permanent Secretary /D8 Commissioner for Nigeria, the 14th Session of the Council of Ministers was presided over by Prof. Viola Onwuliri. Further discussion on D8 will follow in the next Section focusing on Economic Diplomacy as an effective instrument for achieving Nigeria's Foreign Policy Objective. ²⁷

Assessing the Gains

The fact that Nigeria, a country with underdeveloped political and economic structures, have been spending a lot of its time, and resources on its relationship with Third World nations especially those in Africa made such questions sprang among the scholars and students of

²⁵ E. Cox, "Chad: France in Africa." *The Army Defence and Quarterly Journal*, 118, (2): 1988, pp., 142-145

²⁶ O. Mailafia, 'Prometheus as Good Samaritan: Nigeria's Bilateral and Multilateral Assistance Since Independence', in A.M. Jega & J.W. Farris (eds.), *Nigeria at Fifty: Contributions to Peace, Democracy and Development*, Abuja, Shehu Musa Yar Adua Foundation, 2010, p.190

²⁷ O. Mbachu, *Foreign Policy Analysis...*, P. 54



Nigeria's external relations as- what benefits do Nigeria enjoyed from these relations? Are the relations reciprocal? Is Nigeria getting anything tangible apart from the so-called African leadership, which is largely nominal? Should Nigeria stop wasting her resources on such relations and concentrate on its internal development?

It is indeed, quite agreeable that Nigeria must put its house in order. In fact, one thing Nigerians must be thanking God for is for somehow keeping them together. This is because all those things that could bind them and make them forge as united people have at one time or the other been severely tested. Thus, as long as there are elements which tests the unity, sovereignty and the very basis of Nigeria, no other nation will take Nigeria seriously. For example, how will Nigeria be taken seriously in its reputed quest for a permanent member at the United Nations Security Council when many Nigerians are calling for the division of the country?

Moreover, due to the intimate relationships between the domestic and international politics as mentioned earlier, Nigeria must sustain its democratic reforms and improve its economy in order to give it an edge in African politics.²⁸ However, this does not mean Nigeria should abandon the role it plays in the upholding of the intra-Third World relations, especially within Africa. Doing so, means Nigeria will miss a lot, and could even be a threat to its peace and security, because it has really benefited from its relations with the Third World nations in different ways. One of these ways for instance was during the Nigeria's civil War from 1967-1970.²⁹ During this war when Nigerian decision makers and Nigerian public realized that the old policies of collusion with the western powers against the movement of African (and even Nigerian) unity was not only mistaken but suicidal, after Nigeria was being disguisedly opposed by the western powers including Britain, in favor of the secessionists, it was the OAU, and most importantly Niger's Republic's president, Diori Hammani who tirelessly strove to support the federal government and hence, Nigeria's unity, which by extension, means Africa's unity,³⁰

Also, as Nigerian provide Niger Republic with electricity supply, Niger Republic reciprocally allowed River Niger to freely flow into Nigeria and feed the Kainji Dam itself, from which the hydroelectricity was generated. If Niger Republic was to construct its own Darn, it may hinder River Niger's feed of the Kainji Dam and hence, a considerable part of Nigeria's electricity. These are just to mention, but a few on Nigeria's benefits from her relations with the Third World nations.³¹

²⁸ R.A. Akindele, 'Constitutional Structure of Nigeria's Foreign Policy', in G. Olusanya and R.A. Akindele, (eds.), *The Structure and Processes of Foreign Policy Making and Implementation in Nigeria, 1960-1990*, Vantage Publishers International, Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria, 1990, pp.25

²⁹ H. Asobie, 'Nigeria: Economic Diplomacy and National Interest', *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 17, No.2, 1991, p. 60-62

³⁰ S. Berger, 'A Foreign Policy for the Global Age', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.79, No.6, 2000, opcit.

³¹ I.A. Gambari, *Party Politics and Foreign Policy: Nigeria under the First Republic*, Zaria, ABU Press, 1980, p.80



CONCLUSION

After World War II the world split into two large geopolitical blocs and spheres of influence with contrary views on government and the politically correct society. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, a unipolar system and a new categorization emerged in international relations. Countries were divided into first, second and third world countries. The term "First World" refers to so called developed, capitalist, industrial countries, roughly a bloc of countries aligned with the United States after World War II, with more or less common political and economic interests. Second World refers to communist-socialist industrial states, (formerly the Eastern bloc, the territory and sphere of influence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic) today: Russia, Eastern Europe and some of the Turk states as well as China. The Third World are all the other countries, today often used to roughly describe the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Since independence in 1960 governance in Nigeria has oscillated between civilian military rules. Since the end of military rule in May 1999, Nigeria's foreign policy has been the subject of academic and policy interest. This is particularly in relation to its choice either continue or change the policies pursued by erstwhile military regimes. Also of interest has been the country's ability to balance its obligations as a regional power, expectations as a continental leader and aspirations as a global actor. Although Nigeria continues to be active in regional and continental politics, its relations with major global powers both traditional and emerging, have been equally important, especially as key domestic and external developments have received international attention.

This paper has analyzed Nigeria's relations with the countries that make up the third World, the nature of such relationships, and how these relationships benefits Nigeria as a country. From the above, it could be understood, that Nigeria's external relations with the Third World nations is divided along two major lines. First, its relations with the African Third World nations in which it has been displaying a leadership role both at the multilateral and bilateral levels, and its relations with the rest of the Third World nations, which mostly featured on bilateral basis. It should be understood that Nigeria actually benefits in her relations with the Third World nations especially those in Africa, through various means, not necessarily material. She should however concentrate on her internal development for her to be internally strong and firm, so it could have a good image to project and hence become more influential in her relations with the Third World countries in particular and the international arena at large.



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