NIGERIA AND THE PALESTINIAN – ISRAELI CONFLICT
1960 - 2006

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A THESIS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Ph.D) OF THE UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN.

SEPTEMBER 2012

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ABSTRACT

The consequences of the United Nations' partitioning of Palestine in 1948 have been recurrent wars and peace processes in the Middle East, as the conflict has remained intractable. While studies have been conducted on these wars and peace processes, there has been no systematic study on Nigeria's policy and role in the Middle East crisis and peace process. This study therefore focused on Nigeria's foreign policy and role in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It examined the origin and consequences of the Palestinian conflict and identified the determinants of Nigeria's Policy in the Middle East.

The data for the study were gathered through documentary research, questionnaire administration, observation and interview. A total of 234 questionnaires were administered to Nigerian students, lecturers, and senior civil servants. Delphi panel interview was conducted among Nigerian and non- Nigerian ambassadors posted to the Middle East. Furthermore, secondary data were obtained from books, journals, newspapers, and the Internet. Descriptive statistics was used to analyze aspects of the data that were quantitative.

The unilateral partitioning of Palestine into Jewish and Palestinian States and the subsequent creation of the Jewish State in 1948 was the major cause of the conflict between Israel and the Arab States. A majority of respondents (61.1%) preferred to describe Nigeria's foreign policy on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peace process as that of neutrality. The policy of neutrality was determined by Nigeria's ethnic and religious diversity according to 62.4% of the respondents. In weighing the factors that determined Nigeria's policy in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peace process, 47% of the respondents chose Nigeria's membership of regional and International Organization especially the United Nations and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, 35.5% chose economic factors (oil), 26.9% selected the ruling elite, 12% marked geographical factors, 10.7% chose military factors, 9.4% marked public opinion, 8.1% chose pressure group action, while 7.7% chose political parties. Despite Nigeria's huge resources and leadership role in Africa, it has not been a major player in the Middle East Crisis. The key actors in the conflict and peace process have been the United States of America, the former Soviet Union (now Russia), Israel, Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, Palestine Liberation Organization and the United Nations. Nigeria pursued a pragmatic foreign policy which was determined essentially by two main factors: Nigeria's multi ethnic and religious composition, and its membership of regional and international organizations.

There is a national consensus about what role Nigeria should play in the global arena. Nigeria is commonly portrayed as secular, Afrocentric and pan-Africanist. However, with the Middle East, this projection and consensus appeared blurred. Because Nigeria does not have a strategic interest in Israel, its foreign policy and role in the conflict and peace process were anchored on the interest of other nations and organizations and not on its national interest. Nigeria's foreign policy should be premised on its national interests in relation to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. These interests need to be explicitly articulated and pursued, for in the final analysis.

Key Words: Foreign policy, Conflict, Nigeria, Middle East, Peace process
Word Count: 486

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

In carrying out this research project, many people have contributed to its successful completion. In order to show how much I appreciate their contributions and invaluable inputs, I wish, therefore, to devote this section of the study to them. Firstly, I am particularly grateful to my supervisor – Prof. O.B.C. Nwolise, for his genuine advice, objective and constructive criticisms, cordial relations and excellent guidance throughout the period of this study. His wife, Mrs. Bridget Nwolise encouraged me immensely especially at moments I thought all hope was lost.

Secondly, I wish to express my profound gratitude to Dr. Shafic Massri of Social Sciences Division (Sharon Building), Lebanese-American University (LAU) Beirut Lebanon, and Dr. Michael Nehme (Dean, Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration/Diplomacy, Notre Dame University (NDU) Jounieh (Lebanon) for their useful advice and exposition on difficult aspects of the study. Probably without the genuine criticism and advice of Dr. Ray Jureidini (Associate Professor, Department of Social and Behavioural Sciences, American University of Beirut (AUB) Lebanon and Messrs Hanna Anbar (Editorial Section) and Ayad Tessbahji (Commercial Section) of the Daily Star, Beirut Lebanon, this Ph.D. research project would have been difficult, if not impossible, to carry out successfully. They,

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therefore, deserve not just my thanks but those of my entire family members. More importantly, I am grateful to the staff of the Department of Political Science, University of Ibadan as represented by the then Head of Department Professor 'Bayo Okunade. I also thank the Departmental Postgraduate Coordinator, Dr. A.I. Pogoson, and postgraduate students of Political Science Department, University of Ibadan, for their suggestions during the presentation of my proposal at the Departmental Seminar. Thirdly, I am indebted to many authors whose works are cited in the footnotes to this study. I am, indeed, very grateful to them. Lastly, I am grateful to Professor R.F. Ola (Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba-Akoko in Ondo State, Professor Eghosa Osagie (Vice Chancellor, Benson Idahosa University, Benin City, in Edo State), Professor Bola Akinterinwa (Special Assistant to the Hon. Minister for Foreign Affairs, Abuja), Professor Osaghae E. Eghosa, (Vice Chancellor, Igbinedion University, Okada in Edo State), Dr, S. A. Jegede of Sociology Department, University of Ibadan, my wife and children for their assistance and encouragement which I found very useful. I must not fail to acknowledge, appreciate and thank Prof. Oloruninsola (Dean, Postgraduate School, University of Ibadan), Prof. Aderinto (former Sub-Dean, Postgraduate School), Prof. Balogun (former Dean, Faculty of the

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Social Sciences), and Dr. Okuinola (Sub-Dean, (Postgraduate) Faculty of the Social sciences). They really played divine directed roles in my life over this project. For typing this research project I sincerely thank Mrs. J.E. Dikeogu and Mr. Adeniran S.A. of the University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

Above all, to God be the Glory for keeping me alife to see the successful end of this Pogramme.

F. O. Adeyemo
November 2011.

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the memory of my late father – Pa Gabriel Adeyemo who died in October 1996, my late mother – Madam Victoria Fehintola Adeyemo (nee Oyerin Fabode) who died on 28th February 1999, my late father-in-law – Pa A. O. Ponnle – who passed away on 21st July 1969 as well as my late mother-in-law, Madam Christie Olubunmi Adediji – who died on 5 April 2003. They are invaluable parents whose advice, care and assistance I miss so much. May their gentle souls Rest In Perfect Peace, Amen.

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this Ph.D. research project was carried out by **Francis Olorunsola ADEYEMO** in the Department of Political Science, (Faculty of the Social Sciences) University of Ibadan, under my supervision.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Alh.	Alhaji
A.G.	Action Group
BBS	British Broadcasting Service
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (USA)
CNN	Cable Network News
DMZ	Demilitarized Zone
D8	The Group of Eight Developing Countries
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
EU	European Union
IDF	Israeli Defense Forces
Jnr.	Junior
LAU	Lebanese American University of Beirut
M.E	Middle East
MP	Member of Parliament
NADECO	National Democratic Coalition (
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization .
NCNC	National Council of Nigerian Citizens
NPC	Northern Peoples' Congress
NDU	Notre Dame University of Jounieh, Lebanon
	OAU Organization of African Unity (now African Union (AU)
OAU	Obafemi Awolowo University
OIC	Organisation of Islamic Conference
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

PA	Palestinian Authority
PAC	Palestinian Administrative Council
PISGA	Palestinian Interim Self-Governing Authority
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organisation
PM	Prime Minister
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SAW	Peace be upon Him and all the Prophets
Snr.	Senior
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UN	United Nations
UAR	United Arab Republic
UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission on Refugees
UN/SC	United Nations Security Council
USA/US	United States of America
VOA	Voice of America

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background

The foreign policy of any state is essentially the projection of its domestic policy to the outside world. To a considerable extent, the foreign policy of a country is determined by its domestic and external factors[1]. The internal factors include, geographical variables of location, size, topography and population, economic or natural resources, interest groups; as well as the type of political structure and the system of government. The external factors include the regulations and polices of other states, international law, norms and principles of regional and international organizations as well as the behaviour of non-state actors. Put simply, the foreign policy of a country and at any given time is intricately related to its domestic politics. In fact, one cannot really separate foreign and domestic politics. It therefore, follows that a country's national power has direct relevance to its foreign policy

Nigeria, like most African States, was colonized and exploited by British forces and officials for a period of about 100 years (1861-1960). This was because all the colonial policies and administrative structures were formulated and implemented with a view to achieving economic exploitation of Africa in the interest of metropolitan countries. As common within the period of colonialism, all colonies had no independent foreign policy of their own. Thus, Nigeria, under British Colonial rule, had no foreign policy of its own. Indeed, its external relations were determined by the British government through the British Foreign Office based in London (U. K.), which dragged her colony (Nigeria) into the Second World War (1939 – 1945).

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1.   See Gordon J. Idang, <u>Nigeria: Internal Politics and Foreign Policy 1960-1966</u> Ibadan University Press, Ibadan, 1973, p. 1.

International trade and treaties as well as other vital aspects of foreign relations of Nigeria were regulated by the British government through the British Colonial Office in London. This was done in such a way as to satisfy, promote and protect the national interests of the colonial master (Britain) at the expense of her colony (Nigeria). In other words, Nigeria which emerged on the international scene as a legal political entity in 1914 lacked the capacity to enter into and conduct independent foreign policy and relations with other independent states because of her colonial status. Hence, Adeniran asserted:

> *The organization and administration of Nigeria's foreign policy before independence were conceived and effected by Britain which also trained the Foreign Service personnel[2].*

The need to protect British traders and missionaries in West Africa led to the appointment of John Breecroft as the British Consul for Bights of Benin and Biafra in 1849 with his headquarters in Fernado Po (new Equitorial Guinea). In 1851, Lagos was attacked over the issue of slave trade by British imperial forces. This led to the signing of unequal treaties in 1852 between British government representatives and King Akintoye (British Stooge) of Lagos for the safety of British traders and Missionaries and also for ending slave trade. In 1861, Lagos was forcefully ceded or annexed by the British crown after forcing King Dosumu of Lagos (a week ruler) to abdicate his throne. The forceful annexation of Lagos was followed by the British conquest of the hinterland of the Ijaws, Igbos, Yorubas, Tivs, Hausas/Fulanis, Kanuris and other major tribes. It also led to the formation of the protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria.

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2.   See Tunde Adeniran, "The Terrain and Tenor of Nigeria's Foreign Policy", in Atanda and Aliyu (eds). <u>Proceedings of The National Conference on Nigeria since Independence</u> Vol. 1. Political Development, Zaria Gashiya Corporation, 1985. p. 185).

In 1914, both the Northern and Southern Protectorates were amalgamated along with the colony of Lagos to establish what is now known as Nigeria under Governor (Lord) Fredrick Lugard. Nigeria's foreign policy under Lugard era was dominated and executed by the Governor as directed by the British government or the British Secretary of State for the colonies. Under the Clifford Constitution of 1922, foreign policy matters were still left in the hands of the colonial governor whose primary function was to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Nigeria as well as represent British interests in the country. When the Second World War broke out in 1939, the participation or involvement of Nigeria in it was decided without consultation by the British government. If it were not for her colonial status, Nigeria would have had no business in sending her citizens as troops to a war fought mostly by European against Europeans.

When Sir Arthur Richards took over governance, he drew a new constitution which came into effect in 1946 (a year after the end of the Second World War). The new Constitution sought, among other things, to promote unity in diversity in the country and to secure greater participation by Nigerians in the discussion of their own affairs[3]. It established a central legislature for the whole country and created three Regional Governments with headquarters in Ibadan (for the West), Enugu (for the East) and Kaduna (for the North).

While the Richard's Constitution was in the making in Nigeria, conflict was brewing in the Middle East between the Israelis on the one hand and the Palestinians and Arabs on the other over the moves to create a homeland for the Jews in Palestine. But Nigeria, being a colony, whose foreign relations were conducted by Britain (the colonial master), could play no direct effective role in the

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3.   See F. O. Adeyemo, <u>Government Made Simple:</u> Fourth Edition, Zeidan Printing Press, (Beirut), 2001, P. 175

conflict. Two years after the introduction of the Richard's Constitution, war broke out between Israel and the Arab States notably Egypt, Syria and Jordan.

In 1950, a constitutional conference was held at Ibadan to pave way for a new constitution which was introduced in 1951. The Constitution increased regional autonomy and encouraged responsible government in Nigeria. It also established a Council of Ministers made up of the Governor (as President), Six ex-officio members and twelve Ministers. But the Council of Ministers was not in a position to formulate and implement foreign policy decisions because of Nigeria's colonial status.

As Nigeria moved gradually towards self-government, a new Constitution known as the Lyttleton Constitution came into force on October 1, 1954. Under the 1954 constitution, Nigeria became a federation of four component parts or Regions namely: the Eastern, Western, Northern and Southern Cameroon. Powers were shared between the Federal and the Regional governments. In addition, the Federal Government had responsibility for specified matters such as Aviation, Currency, Customs and Excise, Immigration and External (or Foreign) Affairs/Relations as well as Defence. In spite of this, the colonial control and domination of foreign policy matters continued under the Lyttleton constitution.

The year 1957 represented an important landmark in the political development and external relations of Nigeria. In that year, a Nigerian – Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa - was appointed Prime Minister of Nigeria by the Governor-General after obtaining clearance from London. As a result, a Division was created in the Prime Minister's Office for the purpose of dealing with matters relating to Commonwealth and Foreign Relations. Earlier, the Eastern and Western Regions of Nigeria were granted self-government respectively in 1954, while the Northern Region obtained similar status in 1959. Each Region, as part of its autonomy exercise, opened its own Mission or office in London.

During the 1958 Constitutional Conference held in London, Nigerian delegates agreed that British control over Nigeria's military forces should cease after April 1958. As a substitute, the delegates agreed on a draft mutual defence pact between Britain and Nigeria. The draft defence agreement popularly known as Anglo-Nigerian Defence Pact was kept secret until early 1960. The Defence Pact was to enable Britain establish a military base on Nigerian soil and also checkmate communist expansion and influence in the country.

In July 1960, the British Parliament passed the Nigerian Independence Act which finally made it possible for Nigeria to become an independent state on October 1, 1960. In other words, Great Britain conceded to Nigerians the right to assert their political independence (or freedom) as from October 1, 1960 after several constitutional conferences (held in London), political struggles and agitation by Nigerian leaders who did not resort to revolutionary means such as violence, conflict, war and terrorism.

After independence, Nigeria continued to maintain friendly and cordial relations with the West especially Britain or United Kingdom. The foundation of the cordial and friendly relations between both countries was laid by Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa's declarative speech at the occasion to mark Nigeria's Independence Day when he said:

> *… All our friends in the colonial office must today be proud of their handiwork and in the knowledge that they have helped to lay the foundations of a lasting friendship between our two nations. I have indeed every confidence that based on the happy experience of successful partnership, our future relations with the United Kingdom will be more cordial than ever, bound together, as we shall be in the commonwealth (of Nations), by a common allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, whom today we proudly acclaim as Queen of Nigeria and Head of the commonwealth.[4]*

Continuing he further declared:

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4.   See The Nation, Sunday, 30 September, 2007, p. 15.

> *… We are grateful to the British officers whom we have known, first as masters and then as leaders and finally as partners, but always as friends.[5]*

On attainment of independence, Nigeria became the 99th member of the United Nations (UN); and also a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. Since the Queen of England remained the Head of State of Nigeria at independence and in line with Commonwealth tradition, London still had tremendous influence over Nigeria's external relations, especially as most of the political leaders and bureaucrats were trained in Britain and later in the United States of America. However, following the 1963 Republican Constitution, Nigeria broke all formal colonial links with Britain. This made it possible for Nigeria to take formal control of the country's foreign policy and external relations. Thus, Nigeria became independent twelve (12) years after the creation of the state of Israel, and the beginning of the Israeli-Palestinian/Arab conflict, which constitute the focus of this study.

The Palestine question and the Arab-Israeli conflict began remotely with the persecution of the Jews in different parts of Europe, and the desire of these Jews for a permanent and secure independent homeland in the world aggravated the problem and resulted in hostility. Besides this desire links up with the Balfour Declaration of 1917 which was made as part of the search for this Jewish homeland, proposing the partitioning of Palestine (Arab territory) into a Jewish state of Israel, and a Palestine state for Arab Palestinians. This was to be done without due consultation with indigenous Palestinian Arabs. As the Balfour document emphasized:

> *… we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country. The four Great Powers are committed to Zionism. And Zionism, be it right or wrong. good or bad, is rooted in age-*

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5.　Ibid.

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long traditions, in present needs, in future hopes, of far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit the ancient land.[6]

From this Balfour document, on 29 November 1947, the United Nations partitioned the British mandated territory of Palestine into Jewish state and Palestine state (see Appendix 7). This set the stage for Jewish leaders to proclaim an independent and sovereign state of Israel in 1948, and they were immediately recognized by Russia (formerly the Soviet Union) and the USA.

Arab states invaded this new and tiny state of Israel in the same 1948, but instead of subduing the new state, it rather doubled its territory by seizing the sparsely inhabited Negev desert thus transforming the Middle East into an intractable multilateral conflict theatre. The war ended by a cease-fire instead of a negotiated peace agreement, and all Arab states refused to recognize the new Israeli state."[7] The earliest effort at peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli crisis was in 1954-1955 when some British peace leaders met with the then Egyptian President, Gamal Abdel Nasser. Nasser set conditions for peace between Arabs and Israel and for Arab states' recognition of Israel to include Israel's withdrawal to the 1948 borders, and return of all Palestinian refugees to their homes. As these conditions were not favourably considered by Israel, the peace effort failed.

In 1967, Egypt blockaded the Israeli port of Elat, which was Israel's only outlet to the Red Sea, and demanded the withdrawal of UN forces interposed between its

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6. Quoted in Michael Adams, "What Went Wrong In Palestine", <u>Nigerian Forum</u>, Lagos, NIIA, September – October 1989, p. 238.
7. See Henry Kissinger, <u>Does America Need A Foreign Policy: Toward A Diplomacy For The 21st Century</u>, New York, Simian and Schuster, 2001.

territory and Israel since the Suez Canal crisis of 1956. This blockade triggered off the 1967 Arab-Israeli war during which Israel increased its territorial size by occupying the Sinai, (Egypt), West Bank of the Jordan River (Jordan), and the Golan Heights (Syria). In other words, since 1967, Israel had been in occupation of the Syrian Golan Heights and the West Bank of the Jordon River as well as the whole of Jerusalem. The now seeming invincibility of Israel made Arab nations to commence seeking peace negotiations based on returning to the 1967 borders. The failure of peace moves led to the 1973 Yom Kippur war triggered off when Egypt and Syria attacked Israel on the Jewish religion's most solemn holiday. Despite the initial victories of Arab nations, Israel again emerged victorious out of the war.

In 1977, President Anwar Sadat of Egypt sensing that Egypt was always bearing the brunt of the Arab-Israeli war, and in the bid to recover Egypt's territory peacefully as war has failed in that direction, visited Jerusalem. This visit was a decisive breakthrough in the Arab-Israeli peace diplomacy,[8] in general, and for Egypt in particular. The visit laid the foundation for the 1978 Camp David Summit and the 1979 Camp David Accords signed between Egypt and Israel under the auspices of the United States led then by President Jimmy Carter. The Accords led to Israeli withdrawal from the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula and normalization of Egypt-Israeli relations. Most of the Arab world saw Egypt's romance with Israel as a betrayal; and continued to perceive Israel as an enemy to be annihilated. The Palestinian Arab's uprising (intifada) in West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1987-1988 raised the tempo of Arab-Israeli tension and hostility.

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8.   Henry Kissinger, Ibid, p. 168.

However, in 1993, the United States midwife the Oslo peace meeting and agreement between the PLO and Israel. The meeting offered opportunity for Israel to accept the PLO as a negotiating partner and for the PLO to accept Israel's right to existence for the first time. The Oslo meeting served as foundation for the eventual signing of all embracing final peace agreement, as the two parties saw clearly that they had no alternative: Israel can't be defeated militarily, the PLO had so many supporters to be defeated politically, and no big power was ready to supply the Arab world major weapons needed to defeat Israel.

The Oslo Agreement and July 2000 Camp David summit, as well as the Middle-East Peace Road Map of President Bush Jnr. all failed to pave way for further peace; and the crisis has continued to date worsened by suicide bombings. The death of Palestinian leader – Yasser Arafat - in 2004, and emergence of the new leader President Mahmoud Abbas has not improved the situation, although a peace meeting held in Jerusalem in June 2005 led to Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip in August 2005. Israel has, however, continued to frustrate all efforts towards the emergence of an independent Palestine state, return of Palestinian refugees, and its total vacation of all occupied territories. It has taken pleasure only in accepting some measures that alleviate the sufferings of Palestinian people. For example in December 2006, the Israeli Cabinet approved the release of $100 million in frozen Palestinian funds held by Israel totaling $600 million tax revenue since Hamas formed government in early 2006. This decision followed the agreement at the first meeting between Israeli Prime Minister, Ehud Olmert and Palestinian Authority President, Mahmoud Abbas, of Hamas.

The two (Israeli and Palestinian) leaders also agreed to re-establish three joint Committees:

(a)   Security Committee which will handle the expansion of the current shaky Israeli-Palestinian ceasefire in Gaza to incorporate West Bank;

(b)   Financial Committee to transfer tax revenues and other funds to the Palestine Authority;

(c)   Prisoners' Exchange Committee, to deal with eventual prisoner exchanges.

This June 2006 meeting is the first between Israeli and Palestinian leaders for over two years.[9]

The main problem in the Middle-East crisis is that it is essentially religious and ideological. As Henry Kissinger rightly observed:

> *The Middle-East conflicts are most analogous to those of seventeenth century Europe. These roots are not economic, as in the Atlantic region and the Western Hemisphere, or strategic, as in Asia, but ideological and religious… For an attempt to "compromise" on the question of what each party considers to be its holy place was bound to bring home to them the irreconcilable aspect of their positions.[10]*

He goes further to add:

> *Israel seeks recognition for a homeland based on a Biblical claim and a symbolic end of the persecutions that have haunted the Jewish people for two millennia, capped by the Holocaust. To Arabs-and especially Palestinians – Israelis objectives appear as a demand for acquiescence in the amputation of their cultural, religious, and territorial patrimony. A conflict defined in this manner is rarely subject to compromise…. In fact, it is generally concluded by exhaustion, either physically or psychologically. It is unlikely to be settled definitely by an agreement (even if there should be one). The most realistic proposal is for a definition of co-existence. To seek to go further is to tempt violence, as was experienced after the July 2000 camp David Summit composed of President Clinton, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, and Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The challenge now is whether co-existence will be brought about by negotiation or whether it will emerge in further tests of strength of a kind that in a comparable period in Europe, produced the thirty-years war.[11]*

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9.   See: "Israel Releases Palestinian Funds, The Punch, (Lagos), December 25, 2006, p. 53.
10.   Henry Kissinger, op. cit., p. 26.
11.   Henry Kissinger, Ibid, pp. 164-165.

While it is hoped here that the peaceful co-existence between Arabs and Israelis emerge through negotiations and not further devastating tests of strength, it is essential to briefly ex-ray United States' policy and role in the entire Middle-East crisis and peace process. In the entire history of the Palestinian question, and Arab-Israeli crisis, the United States has remained clearly pro-Israel. In the days of the East-West cold war, while the Soviet Union supplied weapons to Egypt and other Arab states, the U.S. supplied weapons to Israel. In short, during the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, the US threatened to launch the world's thermo-nuclear war rather than stand and watch Israel defeated or annihilated by Arab nations. At the same time, the US has avoided open antagonism with Arab nations. US foreign policy in the Middle-East has been determined by its economic interests (supply of oil by Middle-East Arab nations), the survival of Israel as a vital reliable ally in the region dominated by Muslim Arab states, (geo-strategic interests), and the cultural affinity between American Jews and the Israeli nation.

Henry Kissinger asserts that in the Middle East, America had "become an integral part of the peace process. So committed was the United States to this role that it almost virtually put itself forward as mediator".[12] The US is powerful enough to be able to insist on its view and to carry the day in such a way as to evoke charges of American hegemony, with its prescriptions being products of domestic pressures or a reiteration of maxims drawn from the experience of the cold war.[13] The United States, thus, has played the dominant role in influencing the direction of events in the Middle-East. Its moral, financial, military and diplomatic supports (including Israel's

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12.   Henry Kissinger, Ibid, p. 17.
13.   Ibid, p. 18. Also, the Cold War was ideological conflict which began immediately after the end of the Second World War in 1945. Primarily, it was between Eastern and Western Europe led by the Soviet Union (now Russia) and especially the United States of America. The end of the Cold War in 1989/1990 led to the disintegration of Soviet Union but not the denouement of Russian nationalism. During the Cold War era, American strategy was essentially containment of the Soviet Union and its communism around the world.

protection at the United Nations) have contributed greatly to Israeli intransigence especially in defying Untied Nations Resolutions. At this juncture let us turn our lenses to Nigeria.

Even though the Middle-East crisis began in earnest in 1948, Nigeria became independent on October 1, 1960. Since foreign policy is the exclusive preserve of independent states, what can be rightly be regarded as Nigeria's foreign policy began from October 1, 1960. Thus Nigeria became independent twelve (12) years after the creation of the state of Israel, and the beginning of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. On the attainment of independence, Nigeria belongs to a number of strategic international organiztions especially the United Nations and African Union formerly Organization of African Unity) whose decisions Nigeria cannot set aside or ignore. The UN, for example, has the capacity to punish erring members especially poor and weak third world nations or to deploy military forces for non-compliance. Besides, Nigeria belongs to OPEC which is the international cartel controlling the production and sale of crude oil in most oil producing nations of the world. OPEC is dominated by Arab nations which have great affinity with and sympathy for the Palestinians. The organization is capable of sabotaging the economic interests of Nigeria or any member that goes contrary to its position or decision in the Middle East conflict. Thus it could be suicidal for Nigeria to take clear cut position in support of Israel against Palestinians and Arab interests or aspirations. The major combatants in the Middle East conflict are Arab States and the State of Israel. The latter occupies a central or important position in world peace vis-à-vis stability in the Nigeria's good governance, socio-economic and political systems to be specific. From the ancient times till today, several Nigerian Muslims and Christians travel yearly to Mecca and medina (Saudi Arabia) and Jerusalem (Israel) with a view to performing their religious duties in accordance with their faiths and beliefs. Apart

from the small group that adheres strictly to traditional African religion, the overwhelming majority of Nigerians belong to either Islam or Christianity which originate from the Middle East which occupies a significant place in world politics. More importantly, the Arab-Israeli conflict intruded adversely into the domestic politics of Nigeria even more than any other country in the world. Not only that, Nigerian leaders took sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict during the First Republic (October 1960-January 1966). Nigeria's involvement was obvious in the official statements or assertions made by the Regional Premiers at that time. With the collapse of the First Republic and the emergence of the military in Nigerian politics and centralization of decision-making, divergent views on Nigeria's external relations ceased. Besides, Nigeria consistently voted at the United Nations against Israel. Yet it continued to allow its Christian citizens to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Israel). Also Nigerian continued to trade with both Israel and Arab Nations as well as allowed business companies from both sides to operate in Nigeria apart from the period 1973-1991 when, due to OAU decision, Nigeria broke or severed diplomatic relations with Israel. Also, Nigeria has bilateral agreement with Saudi Arabia and Israel. Generally, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict requires adequate planning and execution of consensus policy in Nigeria due to religious diversity of Nigerian society. Unfortunately, there is no data to understand the trends of this conflict in relation to Nigeria's international policy. Moreover, Nigeria has never acted against Israel directly over its attack on Egypt (an African country) or over its atrocities against the Palestinian Arabs nor has Nigeria acted against the United States of America which is the greatest supporter of Israel and the largest consumer of Nigeria's crude oil.

More importantly, the government that managed Nigeria's domestic and external affairs at independence was led by Alh. Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of the Northern People's Congress (NPC). The NPC was essentially a party based in the

Northern part of the country and controlled there from, while its coalition partner the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) was Eastern based, and the opposition Action Group (AG) party was based in the Western part of the country.

The position of the Abubakar led Federal government over the Middle-East crisis was made explicit during the Israeli loan controversy in 1960. The then Federal Minister of Finance, Chief Festus Okotieboh, had visited Israel and reached an understanding with its government over some development programmes and succeeded in winning a loan for Nigeria from Israel. On the public announcement of the loan deal the government of the Northern region (inhabited mainly by Hausa-Fulani's and Moslems) denounced the deal insisting that it dissociated itself to ally from the entire transaction, and would not accept any part of such loan or export credit. The Northern region government perceived that the acceptance of such a loan can be interpreted as involvement in the Middle-East crisis. Thus, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the then Premier of Northern Nigeria declared emphatically: The North would never ask Israel for help. When we want help, we know where to go for it.[14]

The AG and NCNC (being Southern parties) publicly criticized the action or pronouncement of the Northern region government over the loan issue, pointing out that Nigeria could not afford to do without the foreign aid. The two political parties also argued that accepting the loan would not involve Nigeria in the Arab-Israeli conflict

To state things clearly, the federal government sensing the religious overtones implied in the exchanges on both sides, the Prime Minister, Alh. Balewa declared:

> *… the Federal government would accept assistance from any country, would not involve itself in the Arab-Israeli conflict, would not force any region to accept particular loan(s); but would not permit the objection of a region to*

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14.   For details, See Kaplan A, <u>The Conduct of Inquiry</u>, San Francisco, Chandler, 1964

> *to interfere with the Federal government's constitutional authority to borrow money from abroad.[15]*

This pronounced Federal government position of non-involvement in the Middle-East conflict was seen in government circles and outside as a neutralist policy, dictated by the coalition nature of the central government (formed by the NPC and NCNC), and the need to promote national unity. In both the UN and OAU (now AU), Nigeria continued to assert its policy of neutrality or non-partisanship in the Arab-Israeli conflict. For instance, between 1960 and 1965, the Arab-Israeli issue annually came before the Special committee of the UN General Assembly, but Nigeria avoided participating in most of the debates.

With the coup of January 15, 1966 which overthrew the Balewa government, General Aguiyi-Ironsi (Igbo, from the East) became the Nigerian Head of State. To assure the North and Arabs of his intention to maintain what many saw as Nigeria's neutral policy in the Middle-East set in motion by the Balewa administration, General Ironsi sent a large Federal delegation of prominent Northerners to the capitals of Middle-East countries. Regrettably, the Ironsi government was overthrown on July 29, 1966 in a counter-coup, and Colonel (later General) Yakubu Gown from the North but a Christian became the new Head of State. Gowon even though a Christian, was more acceptable to the North than Ironsi. His Christian background also made him acceptable to the Christian South.

In his first public statement on the Middle-East conflict, Gowon like his predecessor intimated that his government would continue the policy of neutrality adopted by the Balewa government at the country's independence. He expressed [15]

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15.   See J. Kim and others, <u>Introduction to Factor Analysis</u>, London, Sage, 1978.

the desire of his government to maintain good diplomatic relations with both parties involved in the Middle-East conflict.[16] The government thus informed the world that it would steer a middle course between Israel and its Arab neighbours.

In summary, the Palestinian Arab-Israeli conflict has been how to reconcile amicably the conflicting demands of both the Jews and Arab Palestinians within a common territory or landscape. Faced with this problem in Palestine, the British Government in 1947 came up with the plan to divide Palestine into two: one Jewish and the other Arab. The Arabs refused absolutely to accept division of Palestine while the Jews accepted. By 1948, the Jews had support of the international community especially the Jewish community in the United States of America. Thus, the Palestine Question became an important factor in Anglo-American relations.

On May 14th 1948, the Jewish communities declared their independence as the state of Israel and they were immediately recognized by Russia and the United States of America. Armed troops from Egypt, Jordan, Iraq and Syria occupied the Arab areas of Palestine while fighting or war broke out between the Arabs and Israel. The Arabs were defeated; and by 1949 more than 75 percent of Palestine was included within the frontier of Israel. The inability to find correct solutions to Palestine Question since 1947 has been the occasion for wars, border shirmishes and violence as well as terrorism between the two major antagonistic ethnic/cultural groups in the Middle East. If solution is not found, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict will lead to unpleasant or negative consequences for the entire Middle East.

1.2   STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The state of Israel was created in 1948 out of old Palestine as a refuge for the

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16. See Aina L.O. (ed.) <u>Research in Information Sciences: An African Perspective</u>, Strinling-Horden Publishers (Nig.) Ltd., Ibadan, 2002, p. 1.

much persecuted Jews. The enormity of the crime against humanity and genocide against the Jews by the Nazi Regime in Germany had just come to the open and the rest of the world was then prepared to do anything to assuage the sufferings of the Jews. This was the moral basis for the creation of the state of Israel. In solving one problem, however, the world created another one in the injury and dispersal inflicted on another ancient people, that is, the Palestinians.

Since1948, Israel and the Arab world have fought several disastrous wars especially in 1956, 1967, 1973, 1982 and 2000. Consequently, several peace processes or efforts had been held in various parts of the world in attempts to find lasting solution to the conflict but Nigeria did not play any effective role either in the conflict or peace process except those carried out under the umbrella of the then Organization of African Unity (OAU). This is unfortunate despite the fact that an African country (Egypt) was directly involved in the conflict; and inspite of Nigeria's leadership position in Africa, and its adoption of Africa as the centrepiece of its foreign policy. [17]

The Middle East is a complex region in terms of geographical, political, economic and social calculus. The Complexities of the region, therefore, make it a fascinating area of study for scholars, writers and researchers. Besides, the Middle East, is one of the truly unique regions in the world because it is a host to ancient cultures and peoples. It is also a region which has produced the three monotheistic faiths known in the world today namely: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. To the Jews, it is a region of the people, Bible and their past glories. To the Christians, it is the region where Jesus Christ was born, lived, suffered, died and also where many

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17.	*Africa, as the centre piece of Nigeria's foreign policy means that the country's foreign policy is centred on issues or affairs affecting the continent of Africa. For more information, see pages 376 & 3777 of Thesis/Dissertation*

people (both believers and non-believers) heard His mighty words and witnessed His miracles. After Jesus Christ was crucified, His religion continued to spread round the world. To the Moslems, it is the region where Prophet Mohammed (S.A.W.) was born, died and ascended to paradise. In his town of Mecca, people did not like him, but in the year 621 A.D., he went to Medina where people listened and were converted to Islam.

From the ancient times till today, many pilgrims (Christians and Moslems) migrate or travel to the Middle East especially Jerusalem (Israel) and Mecca (Saudi Arabia) with a view to seeing the land of great history, wealth and also to perform their religious duties in accordance with their faiths and beliefs. Regrettably, this region of different faiths and love has also been the land of war, blood, and misery.

In brief, the Middle East is a center of creativity, deep beliefs, deep political hatred, deep rooted mistrust and violence.

Apart from the (small) group that adhere strictly to traditional African religion or religious practices and beliefs, the overwhelming majority of Nigerians belong to either Islam or Christianity which originate from the Middle East. Except the Jewish State, Arabic, French and English are the official languages of the people in the Middle East Countries. Interestingly, Arabic is spoken by Nigerian Muslims or the followers of Islam especially in Northern and South-Western parts of Nigeria. Israel stands out as a unique country with western culture in the entire Middle East. It adopts both Zionism as a political movement and Judaism as a religion. The supporters of Israel are mostly found in Eastern and Western parts of Nigeria. Its principal language is Hebrew.

It is difficult, however, to define precisely the geographical area covered by the Middle East. Nonetheless, it is a meeting point of three continents namely: Asia,

Africa and Europe. Geographically, the Middle East consists of Israel and twenty-two Arab States with very different problems and capabilities. There is the presence of the African Jews in Israel since their departure from Ethiopia in 1985. Thus, the Middle East has an African character which has some bearing on Nigeria.

In addition, the Middle East occupies a very significant place in world politics. It is strategically important to the Great Powers and the unipolar super-power (the United States of America). In other words, it is a region of great power politics or rivalry, and competition. It is also a region which has witnessed the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism in recent times. More importantly, the region is the cradle of civilization and the most volatile region in the world. It is also valued for its vast economic resources notably crude oil (or petroleum) and condensate reserves producing nearly a third of the world's oil and contributing more than half of the world's oil exports[18]. Like some of the Middle East countries, Nigeria is an oil-producing state and key supplier to the West led by the United States of America.

In addition, the Arab – Israeli conflict as earlier stated intruded adversely into the domestic politics of Nigeria even more than any country in the world. Not only that, Nigerian leaders took sides in the Arab-Israeli Issue. This was obvious in the assertions / statements of the Regional Premiers during the First Republic (1960 1966). As a result of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the international community, several Heads of State and Government, Scholars, writers and researchers as well as political observers and analysts have been deeply concerned about how to resolve their protracted dispute with a view to achieving political stability and peaceful co-existence in the Middle East sub-region. They have also been concerned with issues surrounding Nigeria's ineffectiveness in influencing events in the region.

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18.   See, Nigerian Tribune, Friday, 13 June 2003, p. 30.

The study is, therefore, poised to seek answers to questions as:

(i)   What is/are the origin, causes, courses, and consequences of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?

(ii)   What are the factors that have influenced and continue to influence Nigeria's policy on the Palestinian – Israeli Conflict and Peace process since independence in 1960, and what have been their effects? In other words, what has been the contribution of Nigeria to the Middle East peace process since 1960?

(iii)   Which are the key actors in the Middle East conflict and peace process and what have been their roles?

(iv)   What are the problems and prospects for peace in the Middle East in general and between the Palestinians and Israelis in particular; and

(v)   What strategies are needed to achieve lasting peace between the Israelis and Palestinians? There is no doubt problems exist between the Israelis and Palestinians and there is the need to solve them.

1.3   OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The specific objectives of this study are:

(i)   to examine the origin, causes, courses and consequences of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

(ii)   to examine the contribution of Nigeria to peace and political stability in the Middle East sub-region since 1960.

(iii)   to identify the determinants of Nigeria's policy on the conflict.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study is relevant in four ways: timing, contribution to knowledge including theory, understanding of the phenomenon under study, strategic location and contribution to policy (public). We now take each in that order.

With regard to timing, the study covers a period of forty-six (46) years from 1960 – 2006. Besides, the period covered by this study has witnessed political instability and anarchy in Nigeria; horrible violence wars and bloodshed in the Middle East because of (i) the belligerency of the Arab Palestinians and Israelis. (ii) Israeli injustice and its lack of respect for democracy and international legitimacy and (iii) the double-standard of the United States and its lack of seriousness and commitment to achieving durable and lasting peace in the region. As the world now seeks new approaches to end this longstanding and protracted conflict, this study is timely as its findings and suggestions will be useful at this point in time, especially to Nigerian foreign policy decision-makers.

Secondly, the study makes modest contribution to knowledge especially in the field of international relations/politics, and also to the understanding of the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Besides, the study is expected to make significant contribution to empirical political theory especially the systems theory, the linkage theory, the theory of power (realist theory), games theory, decision-making theory and the theory of conflict resolution which shall enhance better understanding of the phenomenon under study. In stating this, we bear in mind the fact that the purpose of theory as observed by Mc Farland is:

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> *---- to provide a framework for the explanation and interpretation of facts so that phenomena can be explained, understood, predicated and controlled[19].*

Also, as asserted by Ted Gurr, as regards the relevance of empirical theory:

> *--- the ultimate goal of almost all empirical political research is the development of better empirical political theory which describes and explains the patterns of political reality as it is intended to explain the origins and consequences of different kinds of political conditions and action[20].*

In our view, a theory offers new perspective for the understanding of human behaviour. The study also makes contribution to policy (or public). For more than five decades, the Middle East sub-region has been experiencing political instability, anarchy, turmoil and chaos. Foreign powers such as United States, Britain, France and Russia are involved in the Middle East crisis because of their respective complex national interests while principal regional actors (or players) which include Israel, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Saudi-Arabia are all interested in regional domination, influence and power. Israel wants her hegemony to be recognized in the region by all Arab States and the Palestinians. More importantly, the event of Eleventh September 2001 terrorist attacks in the USA further makes this study more significant. Indeed, the event has to be seen in a broader context of conflict between the developed and non-European world. On September 11 (2001), in several decades, the latter (non-European world) struck in a barbaric way against the territory, cities and hegemonic symbols of the dominant state, that is, the United States of America. Terrorism defies attempts at peace between Israel and Palestine. It is making Lebanese democracy teeter on the brink. That is significant in itself.

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19.   See McFarland D. <u>Management: Foundations Practice</u>: Collier. 1979. P.9

20 .   See Gurr T.R. <u>Polimetrics. An Introduction to Quantitative Macro-Politics</u>, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall Inc, 1972, pp. 6-7

There is no doubt that the alleged involvement of the Arab Palestinians in global terrorism has compounded the stalled Palestinian – Israeli peace process.

In addition, the Middle East is so critical to world peace that one cannot wash his (or her) hands off its affairs. Two thirds of the oil (crude oil) export in the world comes from the Middle East sub-region. Without security in the sub-region, the Western economies that are dependent on the energy resources from the Middle East would be crippled. The Middle East is also lying astride the major shipping lines of the world. Besides, it is the home of the prophets of Islam, Judaism and Christianity. So the Middle East is like a magnet attracting the whole world to itself. This is why anything that happens to the Middle East has global significance.

Lastly, there are many scholarly books and articles written on Nigeria's foreign policy since independence. Most of the books and articles dealt with specific aspects of Nigeria's foreign policy; but none has tried to focus adequate attention on Nigeria's policy and role on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peace process from l960-2006. In other words, Nigeria's policy on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peace process has not been adequately researched for several decades by Third World scholars and writers including Nigerian researchers. This study, therefore, attempts to contribute to closing this gap.

1.5   SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study covers the period from 1960-2006 (Time Scope). Data were collected and analyzed on the period which has witnessed Arab/Palestinian tragedy, the unresolved Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict, frustration and suffering of the Arab Palestinians in the hands of the Zionist authorities, Palestinian resistance and struggle as well as Israeli brutality and excessive use of force against the Palestinians who are fighting for their legitimate rights. It also witnessed political

chaos in Nigeria and her severance of diplomatic ties (in 1973) with the Jewish State and; more importantly, the negative role played by the various Nigerian governments in the resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict since October 1960.

Geographically, the study covers the central state actors in the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peace process (geographical scope) and they include, among others, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Israel, the US, Russia and EU.

1.6   METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

In the words of Kaplan, methodology refers to the explanation, description and justification of methods applied in executing a research[21]. In his own view, Kim and others assert that methodology is a pre-condition of fruitful scientific intellectual work as it assists the researcher to clear the routes of investigation. The clearing role of methodology, they observed, is its most important contribution to research since it enables the researcher and consumers of research product to understand not just the results of scientific research but also and, more importantly, the process of the research itself[22].

The crucial concept in the above is research which Drew (1980) defines as "a systematic method of enquiry" while Leedy defines it as:

The manner in which we attempt to solve problems in a systematic effort to push back the frontiers of human ignorance or to confirm the validity of the solutions to problems others have presumably solved.[23]

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21 .   For details, See Kaplan A, <u>The Conduct of Inquiry</u>, San Francisco, Chandler, 1964.

22 .   See J. Kim and others, <u>Introduction to Factor Analysis</u>, London, Sage, 1978.

23.   See Aina L.O. (ed.) <u>Research in Information Sciences: An African Perspective</u>, Strinling-Horden Publishers (Nig.) Ltd., Ibadan, 2002, p. 1.

The definitions of Best and Kahn (1998) are more comprehensive than those definitions of Drew and Leedy. According to them, research is the systematic and objective analysis and recording of controlled observations, principles, theories resulting in prediction and ultimate control of many events that may be consequences or causes of specific activities.[24]

At this juncture, it is important to bear in mind that a piece of research work begins with a problem which the research sets out to solve. Above all, a research is expected to contribute something new to knowledge. Like any other research work, three aspects of methodology are relevant in this project and these are (i) sources of data (ii) methods of data gathering and (iii) methods of data analysis (See Fig. 1.1). We now discuss each of them.

(I)   **Sources of data:** The study relied on primary data gathered directly from relevant persons who were willing to offer useful information on the Middle East affairs and secondary data gathered from published (and unpublished) books, journals, official texts/reports, magazines, and newspapers (material sources). These sources were supplemented by official pronouncements and speeches or statements of top government functionaries such as Head of State and Government as well as Foreign Affairs Minister in Nigeria. Their pronouncements or speeches are quoted where need be in the study.

(ii)   **Methods of data collection:** The data for this study were gathered through two major techniques namely: questionnaire administration and library search. Library search enabled us to go through a lot of materials in order to extract information from relevant books, journals, newspapers and magazines; while questionnaire technique enabled us to tap information from Important and willing

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24.   Ibid.

persons/respondents. Briefly stated, data for this study were obtained through documentary materials, questionnaires, observation and Delphi panel interview. A total of 234 copies of questionnaires were administered on Nigerian students, lecturers and Administrators/Directors. Delphi Panel interview was conducted among Nigerian and Non-Nigerian Ambassadors posted to the Middle East. Documentary data were obtained from Library search. Descriptive method was used to analyse quantitative data while analytical method was used to analyse documentary data.

(iii)   **Methods of Data Analysis:**

Ted Gurr informs us that:

"To analyse data is to subject them to explicit tests, the results of which hopefully will provide answers to the researcher's initial questions"[25].

For this study, the method of analysis is historical, descriptive and analytical with focus on the actors, institutions, processes and outcomes. More importantly, the questionnaires returned were processed through statistical tools such as percentages, frequency distribution and bar graphs. In addition, the Systems theory was adopted as the most suitable theoretical frame-work of analysis.

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25.   See Aina L.O. (ed.) Research in Information Science: An African Perspective. Strinling-Horden Publishers (Nig) Ltd. Ibadan, 2002, p. 1.

Fig. 1.1.SEVEN STEPS/PROCESSES IN SOCIAL RESEARCH
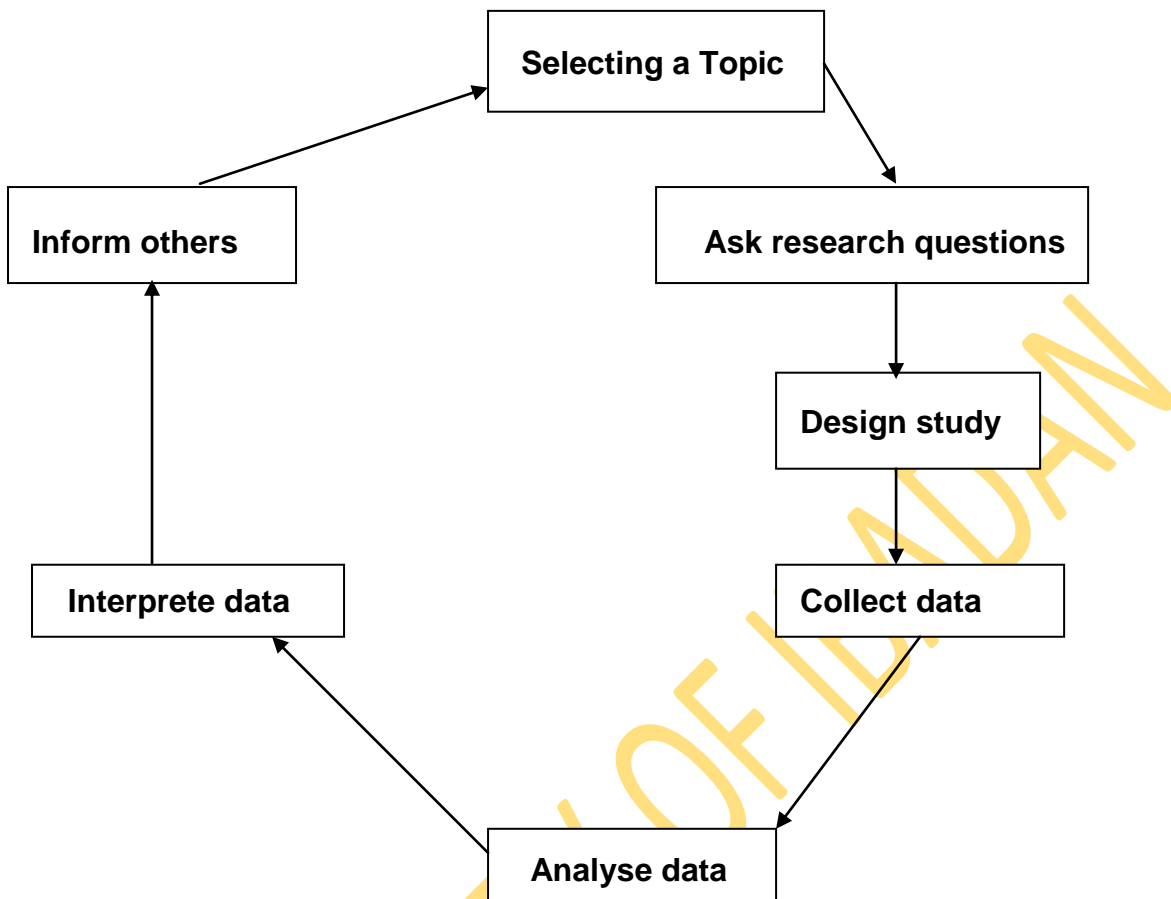
Source: Mazi Mbah C.C. Political Theory & Methodology, Rex Charles & Patrick Ltd, Okija, 2006, p. 374.

1.7   LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Like any other research project, this study has some limitations. Firstly, we expected to benefit from the ideas and wisdom of some relevant actors who were penciled down to be interviewed. But there was the problem of gaining (or getting) access to key American, European, African and Arab players who have been deeply involved in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The problem of gaining access to the decision-point, therefore, posed serious limitation to the study.

Despite this, the researcher gained access to relevant American, European and Arab diplomats during his diplomatic career and posting to the Middle East especially Beirut (Lebanon) and Damascus (Syria) where he had access to travel to

various parts of the region where he conducted oral interviews. Besides, questionnaire administration and oral interview were conducted with relevant Nigerians.

Secondly, the unfavourable political climate, deep mistrust, fear, suspicion and lack of confidence between the Arabs and Jews denied the researcher much needed expert views for this study. Most Arabs, except Arab scholars/intellectuals, feared to express their views on the subject matter. Thirdly, there was the problem of interpretation and translation from either Arabic to English or Hebrew to English since the researcher collected data from both Arabic and Jewish communities/intelligentsia whose principal languages, apart from French, are Arabic and Hebrew respectively. As a result, he did not obtain the required information and cooperation from some respondents whose views would have otherwise been very useful. Also vital information on the research project was kept secret or top secret by both Arab and Israeli decision-makers.

Besides, vital documents and pronouncements were not made available in-spite of close contacts of the researcher with top government functionaries in Nigeria. This is not surprising because during the military era in Nigeria, vital decisions were made under strict secrecy by senior military officers and were not recorded for research purposes. The lingua franca of Middle Eastern countries is Arabic language which posed serious problem to the researcher. Notwithstanding the above limitations, the researcher was still able to gather enough valuable data before his retirement from Nigerian foreign service or during his diplomatic career to the major countries in the Middle East sub-region especially Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Jordan, Egypt, Saudi-Arabia, Athens (Greece), as well as Rome (Italy), USA and London (U.K). in order to make this study viable and the findings reliable and valid.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is devoted to the clarification of concepts/terms, review of existing literature in the field of study and discussion of the theoretical framework of analysis. These three areas are treated in that order.

2.1   CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

To enhance the understanding of this study, it is deemed necessary to define and explain a few relevant concepts and terms. These are: foreign policy, national interest, war, conflict, power and terrorism. We take the concepts in the order stated herein.

(i)   **Foreign Policy:** A major element in international interaction is foreign policy which has various interpretations and definitions. Millar defines foreign Policy as:

> *the sum total of all policies that have effect on a national government's relations with other national governments[1].*

This definition bears the risk of having no boundary at all with domestic policy even though we know that there is no water-tight compartmentalization between foreign policy and domestic policy. For this main reason, the definition given by Pedelford and Lincoln captures the kernel of foreign policy to the effect that foreign policy is the element in the flow process through which a state translates its objectives and interests into concrete courses of action geared towards the achievement of these objectives and safeguarding (or serving) its interest[2]. Simply put, foreign policy is about national objectives to be achieved and the means for achieving them. It is

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[1.] See Millar T., "On Writing About Foreign Policy" in Rosenau (ed.), <u>International Politics and Foreign Policy</u>, New York: The Free Press, 1969, p. 57.
[2.] See Pedelford N. and G. Lincoln, <u>Dynamics of International Politics</u>, New York: Macmillan, 1962, p. 223

designed to promote, protect and defend a country's national interest within the international system.

Unlike Pedelford and Lincoln, Joseph Frankel asserts that "foreign policy consists of decisions and actions which involve, to some extent, relations between one state and others"[3]. According to Keith R. Legg and James Morrison, the term foreign policy may be defined as a:

> *set of explicit objectives with regard to the world beyond the borders of a given social unit and a set of strategies and tactics designed to achieve those objectives*[4].

The definition offered by Legg and Morrison implies the perception of a need to influence the behaviour of other states or international organizations. The aim is to ensure that such states or international organizations maintain the existing pattern of behaviour if the influencing state perceives such as contributing to the achievement of its own objectives. It may also be to change the present pattern by initiating a new set of policies, or by altering or halting the implementation of existing ones.

Adeniran's definition looks at foreign policy empirically by focusing on what it actually is stating that foreign policy consists of three elements:

(i)   overall orientation and policy intentions of a country towards other countries,

(ii)   the objectives which a country seeks to pursue and achieve in her relations with others, and

(iii)   the means for pursuing and achieving the objectives[5].

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[3] . See Joseph Frankel, <u>The Making of Foreign Policy: An Analysis of Decision-Making</u>, London: Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 1.

[4] . See Keith R. Legg and James Morrison, <u>Politics and the International System</u>, New York: Happer and Row, 1971

[5] . See Tunde Adeniran, <u>Introduction to International Relations,</u> Lagos: Macmillan, 1985, p. 185.

From here, we recall Hans J. Morgenthau's warning or information to the effect that "all foreign policy… is a struggle for the minds of men"[6]. Nwolise also defined foreign policy as:

> …the total gamut or plans, decisions, processes, values, principles and objectives designed into a programme of actions and reactions to propel and guide a state in its relations with other states and international personalities in the pursuit of its interests[7].

While the definitions (or interpretations) stated above are valid, we prefer to conceptulise foreign policy as the general principles, actions and reactions by which a sovereign state conducts its external relations with other independent states and non-state actors within the international system. In other words, it is a course of action adopted by the government of a nation-state in its relations with other external actors. It is important to note, however, that foreign policy is always seen as elitist business. Less than five percent (5%) of the intelligentsia of any nation-state is interested in foreign policy issues. Hence it is an area of life which draws the attention of a very small part of a country's populace. As a result, it can be argued that foreign policy objectives represent the wishes and aspirations of the informed groups in any nation-state.

On the needs of foreign policy, Akindele, whose Article analyses the domestic structure of foreign policy, enumerated six basic needs of a dynamic and influential foreign policy as: (i) a stable domestic political climate, (ii) strong economic base, (iii) a respectable military capability, (iv) a rationally conscious social community in which a large spectrum of the citizens is involved in the articulation and aggregation of the national interest as well as in the making and control of foreign policy, (v) the

6.   See Hans J. Morgenthau, <u>Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace</u>, New York: Alfred Knock, 1966, p. 339.
7.   See Nwolise O. B.C., <u>Towards the Utilization of Foreign Policy as a Strategic Instrument of Economic Development,</u> Paper Presented at the ASUU Conference on the State of the Nation at the University of Lagos, April 4 – 6, 1994, p.7

existence of a talented and innovative group of foreign policy decision advisers and decision-makers, and finally, (vi) an integrated and streamlined structure of policy advice and policy-making which permits not only the harmonization of the different strands of foreign policy but also the co-ordination of both foreign and domestic policies of the government[8].

This leads the discourse to the issue of state capacity in foreign policy making and execution. In this respect, Ogwu asserts that, with reference to economic factor, two major factors affect the capacity of a state to pursue its foreign policy goals. These are: (i) the ability of the economy to mobilize and deploy its productive forces, and (ii) the degree of external dependence of the economy. Citing the Nigerian example, she wrote that the sudden change in world economic conditions occasioned greatly by the enormous increase in oil prices in the 1970s gave Nigeria a new kind of independence. In her words:

> *The improved state of Nigeria's economy essentially resulting from its vast oil earnings bestowed on it a leverage which it did not possess in the first decade of independence. More significantly perhaps, was the government's ability to determine its own policies independent of external influence[9].*

While accepting Ogwu's assertion, it is important to note that the ability and willingness of the leadership of a country to utilize national resources prudently also matters a lot in achieving a country's foreign policy goals. In addition, while accepting the fact that the needs listed by Akindele are valid for a country's foreign policy to be dynamic and influential, one can state that the nature of the external environment vis-à-vis the state and government operating any set of such foreign policy needs is also crucial. For example, a state like Iraq may have such needs in

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[8]. See Akindele R. A. "The Domestic Structure of Foreign Policy" in <u>Nigeria Forum</u> Lagos: NIIA Publication, January – March 1988, p.16

[9]. See U. Joy Ogwu, <u>Nigerian Foreign Policy: Alternative Futures,</u> Macmillan, 1986, p.28

place and yet fail to be influential on the international scene due to a hostile international environment.

In summary, foreign policy is the promotion of national interests at the international level. The process of foreign policy decision-making is influenced by factors that are not only internal to the state initiating particular foreign policy, but also by pressures from sources that are external to it. In other words, two environments of foreign policy can be identified: (i) the domestic and (ii) external environments. It is an interplay between domestic and global politics. This assertion conforms with F. S. Northedge's definition of foreign policy. According to him, the foreign policy of a country is a product of environmental factors - both internal and external to it.

The domestic influences on foreign policy include, among others, a country's geography, economy, demography, political structure, its military, political parties and public opinion. The primary influence on foreign policy, however, relates to the objectives which the decision-makers intend to achieve on the international scene. The international system to which foreign policies are directed is composed of sovereign independent states – i.e. entities over which the initiating state has no authority or jurisdiction. Also the existence of international law and international ethical norms act in greater or lesser degree to limit the freedom to manoeuvre by states in the system[10]. Indeed, they are constraints in the behaviours of decision–makers. The foreign policy of a country and at any given time is intricately related to its domestic politics. In fact, one cannot really seperate foreign and domestic politics. It, therefore, follows that a country's national power such as population and economy has direct relevance to its foreign policy.

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[10]. See Olusola Ojo and Amadu Sesay, <u>Concepts in International Relations</u>. Clearprint Publishers, Ile-Ife, 2002 p. 126

If a country is to achieve its foreign policy goals, it must employ several techniques or methods such as diplomacy, persuasive explanation, negotiation, inducements (rewards), friendship and confrontation (carrots and sticks), punishment (deprivations), retaliatory measure, threats, economic and naval blockade as well as effective propaganda. Military force is employed as the last resort. Diplomacy is the most widely used instrument of foreign policy implementation. It involves representation, arbitration, conciliation, mediation, economic, consular, security, defence, intelligence gathering and other matters which must be handled with care. More importantly, the style (manner) and skill (ability) with which a country's foreign policy is implemented can lead to success or failure. Success in foreign policy occurs if a declared (or announced) objectives is achieved. Success is likely to be achieved in foreign policy if it is based on the accurate assessment of facts supplemented by appropriate material and human resources, and if there is an element of fortune[11]. Also success in foreign policy can be achieved by a knowledgeable Head of State/ President or his Foreign Minister. As Charles Maurice de Talleyrand Perigord popularly called Talleyrand proved during the 1815 Congress of Vienna, it is possible for a country to still achieve much in spite of its weaknesses or failings. But that country must either have a brilliant and visionary leader or a skillful diplomat in charge of its foreign affairs. In concluding our discussion on the concept of foreign policy, there are two broad categories of actors who are involved in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy and these are: (i) those who formulate and (ii) those who implement it.

(ii)   National Interest

National interest is perhaps one of the most controversial concepts in contemporary international relations because there is as yet no universally

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[11]. See F. S. Northedge, (ed.), <u>The Foreign Policies of the Powers</u>, London: Faber and Faber, 1968,p. 38

acceptable single definition of what constitutes the national interest of a nation-state.

In a nutshell, national interest is a vague term and has been defined in many senses.

According to Obiozor, national interest is the interest of the nation-state, that is, the

interest of the people, not of the leaders. He further asserts that a country's national

interest differs from those of the policy-makers[12]. In his own view, Adeniran states

that:

> *When statesmen and bureaucrats are expected or are required to act in the national interest, what is meant is that they are being called upon to take action on issue 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 lot of the people rather than pursue policies that will subject the people to domination by other countries… policies which are likely to make them unable to stand among other nations[13].*

National interest is an approach to the study and understanding of a country's

foreign policy and external relations. In this regard, Morgenthau, who is a realist,

observes that:

> *…no nation can have true guide as to what it needs to do in foreign policy without accepting national interest as that guide[14].*

From Morgenthau's assertion, the fundamental place and role of national

interest in foreign policy-making and execution become clear and informative.

Hence, national interest is conceptualized as:

> …the totality of the national value of a state which will include, but not restricted to (a) national sovereignty (b) national ideology (c) national self-preservation (d) national defence and security (e) national economic well-being (f) national cultural preservation (g) national status and prestige and (h) regional and international peace[15].

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[12]. See George A. Obiozor, "Analyzing Nigeria's Role in International Institutions" in Jide Owoeye, <u>Nigeria in International Institutions</u>, College Press Ltd., 1993, p.2

[13]. See Tunde Adeniran, <u>Op.cit</u>, p. 191

[14]. See Hans J. Morgenthau, <u>Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace</u>, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1966, p. 6.

[15].See Irune Beatrice. "Elements of Foreign Policy" in Akinbobola, <u>A Foreign Policy Analysis: Issues and Trends in Selected Countries</u>, Ibadan, Caltop Publication, 1995, p. 14

While some scholars agree that national interest is the objective toward which foreign policy is prosecuted, others like Northedge observe that:

> *It is the organization of wants, desires, needs and claims of a state which commands a consensus at home strong enough to support those who act on the state's behalf in the international system[16].*

Unlike Northedge, Joseph Frankel attempts a definition of a national interest from three analytical levels: (i) the aspirational level, (ii) the operational level and (iii) the polemic level. At the aspirational level, the concept of national interest refers to the vision of the good life, to some ideal set of goals which the state would like to realize if this were possible. At the operational level, Frankel states that national interest means that sum total of interests and policies actually pursued by a particular state[17] within the international system. And finally, at the polemic level, he asserts that national interest refers to the use of the concept in political argument in real life to explain, evaluate, rationalize or criticize international behaviour.

Contrary to Frankel, Wolfer asserts that when people sometimes say or ask that a state's policy should reflect the national interest, what they have in mind essentially is that they desired to see the makers of national policy rise above the narrow and special economic interest of parts of the nation-state to focus their attention on the more inclusive interests of the whole (nation)[18].

From the above interpretations or definitions of national interest, we can observe that every nation-state has a set of objectives or goals in its foreign policy which it must aspire to promote vis-à-vis those of other members of the international

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[16]. See F. S. Northedge (ed), Op. Cit., p. 78.
[17]. See Joseph Frankel, Contemporary International Theory and the Behaviour of States, London, University Press, 1973, p. 64
[18]. Ibid, p. 148

political system. Such objectives or goals could also be, for example, the rapid industrialization of a country's economic system and protection of its citizens

It is essential to note that all the goals or objectives of nation-states can be subsumed (or divided) into two major categories: (i) vital (core) interests, and (ii) secondary (variable) interests. According to Hartman, the category of interests called "vital or core interests" include things that a nation-state already possesses[19] although it could also include new sets of goals which the state may also want to pursue either in the short, medium or long term. Under this category of interests, there are national survival (protection of the independence and territorial integrity of the state and the lives of all its citizens against external aggression), and the protection of its political, economic and social institutions. When vital interests are thwarted, violence seems to remain the only ultimate arbiter as shown in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The above stated interests are objectives for which states are normally prepared to go to war. Unlike vital interests, secondary or variable interests are less stable or permanent.   Nonetheless, they could enhance or compliment the achievement of vital interests or objectives of nation-states. A good example of secondary interest is the protection of a state's citizens living abroad. In his own view, Olajide Aluko defines Nigeria's national interest as consisting of six important elements in descending order of priority: (i) self – preservation of the country (ii) defence and maintenance of the country's independence (iii) economic and social well-being of the (Nigerian) people, (iv) defence, preservation and promotion of the ways of life especially their democratic values, (v) enhancement of the country's

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[19]. See F.H. Hartman, <u>The Relations of Nations Third Edition</u>, New York: Macmillan 1967, p. 72

standing in Africa and (vi) promotion of world's peace [20] He is careful, however, to identify the first three as "the vital national interests" that can, in no way or circumstance, be compromised. More importantly, he is careful to link them to the national capability for achieving the first three goals stated above. Aluko's objective is to demonstrate how the forces generated by the domestic structure and the external *cum* psychological environments can act as constraining or promoting factors.

Since Nigeria's independence on October 1, 1960, successive administrations or regimes, from their perspectives, have sought to identify the ultimate aims and objectives of the country in its relations with other nation-states within the international system. In a major speech in Parliament in August 1960, Prime Minister 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 of Nigeria and its citizens, (ii) friendship and co-operation with all nations of the world which recognize and respect Nigeria's sovereignty, (iii) non-alignment to any power bloc, (iv) assistance to African States to foster co-operation among countries in Africa in so far as it is compatible with Nigeria's national interest, (v) respect for the sovereign equality of all nations as well as non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states and (vi) unimpeded decolonization.

Before the end of the 1980's, it had become generally accepted that the specific national interests of Nigeria to be pursued through foreign policy should and must include: (i) defence of the country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, (ii) the promotion of self-reliance in Africa and the Third World, (iii) the defence of the Blackman's rights, and (iv) promotion of his dignity, justice and peace

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[20]. See Olajide Aluko, Essays on Nigerian Foreign Policy, Foundation London: George Allen and Unwin, 1981, P. 265

throughout the world[21]. The regimes which preceded the Babangida administration (27 August 1985 – 27 August 1993), no doubt, pursued the goals of self-preservation, world peace and regional security as best as they could. Besides, one of the most comprehensive attempts so far at conceptualizing Nigeria's national interest took place during the all Nigeria Conference on Foreign Policy held at Kuru (near Jos) in 1986. Participants at the conference concluded that Nigeria's national interest constitutes:

> *the quest for national independence, national cohesion, territorial integrity, security, interest of the individual Nigerian citizen especially as regards food, health and housing and the promotion of national ethics of discipline, self-reliance and patrotism[22].*

It must be noted that Nigeria's national interests since independence also derive largely from the Charters of the United Nations (UN), the OPEC, OAU (now AU), ECOWAS and the Charters of the various multilateral organizations to which Nigeria belongs. National interest is best served through foreign policy, bilateral and multilateral relations.

In summary, the core national interests of a state may include the defence and security of the state (self-preservation), security of the state's political belief, values and culture as well as the welfare of its citizens. In this respect, the material welfare of Nigerian citizens should and must be improved or elevated. In addition, Nigeria must be liberated from economic serfdom and the crushing burden of the country's external debts. As revealed by the Office of Accountant General of the Federation in November 2004, the Federal Government and the 36 States of the Federation paid about N212 billion to service Nigeria's foreign debt. The figure

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21.   See Sam Oyovbaire and Tunji Olagunju (eds), Foundations of a New Nigeria: The IBB Era, Precision Press, Nigeria (No Year), p. 62

22.   See G. O. Olusanya and R. A. Akindele, "Nigeria's Foreign Policy in the Future: An Introductory Overview", Nigerian Journal of International Affairs, vol. 12, Nos. 1 & 2, 1986, p.2

exceeded the 2004 budget for debt service by N2825 billion, as N183.6 billion was appropriated for debt service. It also represents an increase of 0.82 percent over 2003 corresponding period figure of N210.10 billion. Nigeria owed foreign creditors $32.916 billion as at 31 December 2003 out of which the Federal Government accounted for $25.26 billion while the State Governments owed $7.65 billion.[23(a)] It is interesting to note that former President Olusegun Obasanjo announced that Nigeria now has $42 billion in its foreign reserve. His administration inherited $3.7 billion seven years ago.[23(b)] As at January 5, 2007, Nigeria has paid $1.4bn London Club debt.[23©] The peripheral interests of a state may include national aggradisement, prestige and pursuit of world peace. Put simply, anything that will enhance the capacity of Nigerians to defend their country's independence and territory from internal and external aggression as well as promote Nigeria's economic growth and development and the welfare of its citizens is deemed to be in the national interest. National interest of Nigerian citizens also includes pursuit of happiness and prosperity which can only be achieved or assured through sound or correct economic policies.

A nation-state can achieve its national interests through: (i) war or the use of force (violence), (ii) formation and building of alliances and (iii) diplomacy. It is important to note that violence and war are part of conflict resolution mechanism. Violence and its escalation in the Middle East, for example, came about because of Israeli and Palestinian attempts to achieve by force what they could not attain through diplomacy.

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23 (a)   See The Punch, Monday, 6 December 2004, vol. 17, No 19227, P.71
23(b)   See The Nation (published in Nigeria) Friday, `17 November 2006, Vol. 0109, p. 1.
23(c)   See The Punch, Friday, January 5, 2007, p. 2.

(iii)   **The concept of War**

War is one of the oldest methods used by states to achieve national interest; and it can be defined as:

> *An act of violence to compel one's opponent to submit to his will or desires. It is not a mere act of policy but a true political instrument, a continuation of political activity by other means,*[24]

War is an instrument of foreign policy and it is conducted for political purposes. People do not want war but it comes about because people are led into it by militarist, war-mongers, autocrats and totalitarians, or because their legitimate aspirations to nationhood, such as the desire of the Palestinians for statehood, are blocked by undemocratic means. States (or non-state actors) go to war for gain or in self-defence. More importantly, the issue of war (or conflict) and peace is the most prominent on the foreign policy of all states and the international organizations created by them.

Carl Von Clausewitz – a Prussian General, who stressed the importance of political control of the armed forces, stated that wars rest on a trilogy of factors namely: (i) animosity directed against the enemy which is provided by the people, (ii) the management of contingency which is the role of the army or armed forces and, (iii) the aims/objectives of the war which are determined by the political leadership[25].

Sometimes, war is legitimate. In this respect, the Holy Quran (e.g. 9:13 and 22:40) contains legitimation for going to war (Jihad). But it also warns against the illegitimate use of force: "fight in the cause of God those who fight you". But do not transgress limits: "for God loves not the aggressors. Similarly, within the Islamic

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24.   See Carl Von Clausewitz, <u>On War</u>, Princeton: University Press, 1976, p.
25.   Ibid.

sources, there is a considerable discussion of the conduct of war, especially as it relates to the treatment of women and children, prisoners of war and the degree of force that is legitimate.

There are various types of war. There are (i) inter-tribal or ethnic wars fought between one tribe or kingdom and the other, (ii) class war as conceived by orthodox Marxists, (iii) cold wars fought by the two superpowers and their client states from 1945-1989/1990, (iv) colonial wars which included revolutionary war and liberation war. From Palestinians' perspective, they are fighting or waging war of liberation because they want to liberate (or free) themselves from Israel's colonialism, occupation, imperialism, exploitation, aggression, oppression, dependency and hegemony. In addition, there are (v) border wars. In this respect, Nigeria fought a bloody border war (in 1983) with Chad Republic over a piece of land around Lake Chad which is also suspected to be rich in oil deposits.

Since 1975, Morocco has been engaged in a bitter and protracted war over Western Sahara which it claims as part of the Greater Moroccan Kingdom; (vi) civil wars such as the Nigerian Civil War (1967 – 1970), the Liberian Civil War (1989 - 2001), the Angolan Civil War which began in 1975 and lasted for about thirty years) and the civil war in Sierra-Leone, (vii) global wars such as the First World War 1 (1914 – 1918) and the Second World War (1939-1945). The Gulf War of 1990/91, which occurred as a result of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, nearly plunged the world into the "Third World War". During and after the Gulf War, Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat was discredited and isolated because of his pro-Saddam Hussein Gulf crisis policy. The PLO and its leader (Yasser Arafat) were closely allied with the deposed Saddam Hussein's regime and they made no serious effort to dissociate themselves thereafter. The result was that all the Gulf States (or regimes) cut-off the PLO

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completely. Kuwait threw out (or expelled) several Palestinians in the Spring and Summer of 1991 because of PLO's alleged collaboration with Iraq.

War is not the best means to settle human grievances because of its destructive effects. Nonetheless, it is the ultimate mechanism for the resolution of conflict. Closely related to war is the concept of violence. Violence refers to behaviour that is intended to hurt other people physically. It is the use of brutal force for selfish goals. Like war, there are various forms of violence. Premier examples include violence between family members, political violence, ethnic/tribal violence and international violence which should not be allowed to escalate beyond control. Force is usually employed in any violence.

(iv) The Concept of Conflict

Lexically, conflict means fight, struggle, clash, confrontation, controversy or quarrel and disagreement. Lewis Coser defines conflict as:

> "*a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals*[26].

Lewis A. Coser further informs us that conflict comes from an incompatibility of goals or action. In his own interpretation, Stedman states:

> *Conflict in Africa arises from problems basic to all populations: the tugs and pulls of different identities, the differential distribution of resources and access to power and competing definitions of what is right, fair and just*[27].

Besides, political analysts and observers of African conflicts and governance agree

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26.   See Lewis A. Coser, The Foundation of Social Conflict, Free Press, 1956, p. 8.

27.   See Stephen Stedman, "Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Africa. A Conceptual Framework", in F. Deng and I.W. Zartman (ed.), Conflict Resolution in Africa, Washington D.C., 1991, p. 369.

that the greatest cause of violent conflict in Africa today can be attributed to misrule or bad governance characterized by corruption, indiscipline in the society, electoral manipulation, human rights abuses and violations as well as lack of public accountability, transparency and abuse of power. We can also add that poverty is one of the major causes of African conflict and it, therefore, poses a major threat to Africa's future development and the institutionalization of democratic process in the continent. As a result of poverty in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa, many children are denied economic, social and cultural rights, especially the right to education at all levels.

The causes of some of the conflicts and wars in Africa and Asia, for example, are so complex that the ordinary man in the street will regard them as wars and conflicts without objectives. Nonetheless, the causes of some wars and conflicts in both regions can be traced to pre-colonial and colonial contacts while others are results of the forced colonial relationship[28], as well as the inordinate ambitions of a group of people in both regions of the world. Arising from the conflicts are different conflict management, conflict prevention and conflict resolution mechanisms such as Third Party Mediation which failed to resolve the Nigerian-Biafran Civil War and the protracted Arab-Israeli conflict.

In our view, conflict or crisis may arise as a result of frustration, oppression, insecurity, denial of human rights, ethnic and foreign domination, racial segregation or practice known as apartheid, loss of territory or land, misperception, suspicion, misunderstanding, class struggle and injustice in any political system. More importantly, conflict is not inevitable and it is a permanent feature of human life.

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28.   See F.O. Adeyemo, <u>Conflicts, Wars, and Peace in Africa 1960-2000</u>, Ziedan Printing Press, Beirut, Lebanon. p. ii.

Once conflict is removed from man, dynamism is removed from him. Conflicts and wars are encouraged and sustained by human beings. Similarly, they can be terminated by human beings. Conflict is only dangerous when it takes destructive dimension like crisis or war. Conflict, however, differs from crisis. The latter arises out of the failure to resolve a conflict through normal procedures.

Different types of conflict exist. Premier example is political conflict by which a group tries to impose its policy or wish/will on others. Besides, there are social and ideological conflicts in which political and economic systems of thought and value struggle with each other. Lastly, there are legal conflicts in which controversies over claims or demands are adjudicated or adjusted by mutually recognized procedures. Other types of conflicts include: cultural conflict and communal conflict. It is essential to note that numerous conflicts have occurred since 19th century in various parts of the world notably in the Balkans, Central America, Africa and Middle East sub-region.

Conflict in any form can be resolved in three principal ways: (i) judicial solution which includes arbitration and adjudication, (ii) military solution which also includes war, (i.e. violence and the use of force), (iii) political solution such as good offices, inquiry, mediation/third party mediation, reconciliation, negotiation and dialogue. More significantly, conflict may be violent or non-violent. It may be controllable or non-controllable, resolvable or unresolvable. Whatever form conflict may take, it is functional, disruptive and wasteful. Rather than violence or the use of force, dialogue should be the basis for resolving any conflict whether it is domestic, national, regional or international. This is because it is the most effective conflict resolution strategy.

Dialogue involves two or more parties with different or divergent views on a specific issue. For any dialogue to be meaningful and effective, certain conditions must exist. The first condition is that there must be genuine desire to resolve the conflict. No party must be ordered to the negotiating table. Secondly, dialogue is often fruitful if the parties come together because they believe that it is more beneficial to talk than to wage war. Thirdly, the parties must have (and show) regards for each other. Both parties to a conflict must, therefore, see the other as equal partner. Dialogue, however, differs slightly from negotiation. Usually, parties who are involved in a dispute (or conflict) come to the negotiating table to defend their interests and to achieve tangible things. Compromise can be reached after lengthy and fruitful negotiations. Lastly, trust must exist between (or among) the parties to a conflict. Any dialogue between a cat and a mouse is not likely to yield much fruit.

Nigeria, like any other peace-loving state, favours constructive dialogue as a means of resolving conflict (or crisis) as well as promoting better relations among nation-states. But dialogue, as an approach to conflict resolution mechanism, has not yielded positive results in Nigeria and between the Israelis and Arab/Palestinians. Where it has been used, it has not been effective. A good example was the dialogue between Nigerian leaders and those of the aborted nation of Biafra at Aburi (Ghana) in 1967. Another example was the abortive negotiations between the Federal Military Government and the Nigerian Labour Unions notably ASUU during the Abacha regime from 1993 – 1998. Also in Nigeria, parties to a conflict usually clamour for dialogue as a way to resolving a crisis but they invariably insist on incompatible demands designed to resolve it. This should not be so.

(v) **Power as a concept**

Writers and scholars differ considerably in their interpretation of power. In other words, the concept of power, as used in the analysis of global (international) politics, has given rise to endless definitional debate. Nonetheless, they all agree that power is an essential concept in the study of domestic and international politics. Indeed, it is pivotal to the analysis of foreign policies of nation-states. Power not only comes from the barrel of the gun or from the ballot box, but it also comes from the barrel of petroleum or crude-oil. In addition, power is measured on the basis of the influence it confers on the states that possess it and the ability of that state to apply pressure and sometimes to force others to do what it wants them to do.

Robert O. Keohane defines power as:

> *the ability of an actor to get others to do something they otherwise would not do. It can be conceived in terms of control over outcomes*[29].

Contrary to Keohane's definition, Robert Dahl defines power as:

> *the ability to shift the probability of outcomes… "A" has power over "B" to the extent that he can get "B" to do something that "B" would not otherwise do*[30].

From Dahl's definition, it follows that power has psychological relation between those who exercise it and those on whom it is exercised. It gives the former control over certain actions of the latter through the influence which the former exerts over the latter's minds.

In his own interpretation, George Schwarzenberger observes that:

> *…Power is the mean between influence and force and may be defined as the capacity to impose one's will on* others by reliance on effective sanctions in case of non-compliance[31].

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29 . See Robert O. Keohane, <u>Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition</u>, Little Brown Company, Boston, 1997, p. 11.

30.   See Robert Dahl, "The Concept of Power" in <u>Behavioural Sciences</u>, Vol. 2, July 1957, pp. 201 -215

31.   See George Schwarzenberger, <u>Power Politics</u>, Fredrick A. Praeger, New York, 1951, p. 14

In his interpretation, F. S. Northedge asserts that:

> *…when we speak of power, we mean man's control over the minds and actions of other men.[32]*

But the control or capacity to impose one's will on others is anchored to, and dependent upon, a number of factors such as the strength of the economy, the military might, the quality and strength of available human resources, the quality of leadership and the level of industrialization, as well as the ability to democratically mobilize the population behind the government in support of public policies.

At this juncture, it is essential to note that power is sometimes equated with influence which is defined as the ability to affect the behaviour of others. Hans Morgenthau simply defines power as man's control over the minds and actions of others. There are manifest and implicit influences. Both power and influence are inseparable concepts. Essentially, it is the threat of sanctions and coercion which differentiate power from influence.

In this study, we shall look at the concept of power in three interrelated categories. Firstly, power is an attribute. In this respect, it is something that people (groups)or nation-states possess or have access to and have at hand to deploy in the world. Secondly, power is a relationship. In other words, it is the ability that people or nation-states have to exercise influence on others in order to get their way in the world. These two dimensions of power are clearly not separable.

Thirdly, power can only be exercised by an actor or its agents. More importantly, power is distributive. In this regard, its aim is to determine how and on what basis it

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[32] . See F. S. Northedge, <u>Continuity, Change and the Aims of Foreign Policy: A Reader</u>, The Open University Press, Milton Keyness, Edinburgh, p. 234

is distributed. Lastly, power, they say is transient or temporary. In other words, it is ephemeral and can continue to be exercised for a short time. Indeed, no one can cling to power forever. It is not possible.

Besides, realists assert that the component of national power includes: the size and quality of a nation's armed forces, its resource base measured in terms of raw materials, its geographical position and extent, its productive base and infrastructure, the size and skills of its population, the efficiency (or efficacy) of its governmental institutions and the quality of its leadership[33]. They further assert that power politics demands firmness and pragmatism.

Some of the above stated attributes of national power are immutable. In this respect, geographical position and extent are obvious examples. Others change only slowly (size of the population and economic growth); while others can change quite rapidly (size of the armed forces). These points allow us to make a clear distinction between actual power and potential or latent power, that is, the power that a nation-state actually possesses at any one point as opposed to the power it could generate in a given time period[34].

It is necessary to bear in mind that all of the attributes listed above only have meaning when placed in a relational context. In this regard, an American political scientist, Robert Dahl, offered a classic formulation of relational power when he suggested that:

> *Power is the ability to get another actor to do what it would not otherwise have done or not to do what it would otherwise have done[35].*

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[33]. See Chris Brown, <u>Op.cit</u>., p. 87
[34]. <u>Ibid</u> p.88
[35]. See Robert Dahl, <u>Modern Political Analysis</u>, New York: Prentice Hall, 1970

In Dahl's assertion, two things are obvious. The first of these relationships can be referred to as 'compellance' while the second is 'deterrence'. Either way, power is not something that can be measured in terms of the attributes of a state but only in action and in the effect one state has on another.

Lastly, it is important to note that the power of every person is limited. In other words, no one including the leaders at the apex of power, and the Courts of law, possesses unlimited power. Similarly, it is increasingly clear to the Israelis that they cannot continue to maintain their military superiority over the Arabs including the Palestinians for ever. Besides, no state can make its own actions legitimate in the eyes of others. When power, especially military force, is used, the world will consider it legitimate only when convinced that it is being used for the right purpose – for broadly shared aims in accordance with broadly accepted norms.

(vi). **The Concept of Terrorism**

Terrorism is a nebulous political concept. It is a very controversial concept, which has no universal and acceptable definition. Literally, terrorism denotes intimidation, mass – organized ruthlessness and force. It also means the use by political actors, opposition forces or states of deliberate fear to promote and achieve political ends. Since the beginning of the 20th Century, terrorism is used to mean acts carried out by opposition groups. This is to say that terrorists employ various ways such as assassination of political opponents, kidnapping and hijacking of planes, bomb attacks on public buildings and civilians in public places[36]. Besides, terrorism recruits on the basis of an appeal to human emotion. It can be countered

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[36]. See, Ali Mazrui and Michael Tidy, <u>Nationalism and New States in Africa From About 1939- to the Present</u>, East Africa Educational Publishers, Nairobi,, p. 2.

only by a better, more profound and well articulated counter appeal. Military assault on terrorism won't work unless it is seen to be motivated and stirred by a commitment to justice. That is why trying to resolve the Israel-Palestine dispute is important not only for its own sake, but because the absence of peace causes suffering that is exploited by terrorism and terrorists.

There are two remote causes of terrorism in the world today especially in the Middle East and perhaps South-East Asia. One is colonialism while the other is the Cold War. The legacies of both, followed by the inequalities associated with globalization, have produced, in the Middle East and elsewhere, a generalized resentment against the capitalist West led by the United States of America. There is no doubt, colonialism created the state system in the Middle East after 1918; but it also left behind a set of unresolved issues that have bred conflict and a kind of rancour towards the United States of America and others such as Israel ever since. These issues include the Palestine question, the Kurdish issue and the status of Kuwait. During the 1967 Arab-Israeli War and thereafter, the State of Israel colonized and occupied Arab/Palestinian territories in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the Syrian Golan Heights. Regrettably, no meaningful effort has been made since 1967 by Israel supported by American military might to decolonize the Arab/Palestinian territories occupied by Israeli forces.

In Africa of which Nigeria is a component, European colonialism was a major (or decisive) turning point in the continent's destiny or history in the sense that it incorporated Africa into the world economy and international (global) system. Beginning with the slave trade, Africa was increasingly absorbed into the world of capitalist investment and international exchange. Besides, colonialism introduced Africa to modern science and technology. In this respect, the areas of life affected are medical hospitals/clinics, the use of tractors, electricity (no more fire-woods,

although many rural dwellers still rely on the use of firewoods) and modern transportation system. More importantly, many African colonies after independence opted to join the international diplomatic system which had been devised by the Western world over the centuries. But, it could be argued that Africa could have entered the world economy, world diplomacy and modern technology without necessarily being colonized or ruled by European powers. After all, Japan is today a leading industrialized nation without being ruled by the West, especially by Britain, France and Portugal.

The age of colonialism in the Middle East (roughly 1870-1945) was succeeded by that of the Cold war (1945 – 1989). Some commentators have, however, suggested that the September 11 (2001) terrorist attacks in USA marked the real end of the Cold War in that it marked the start of a new global conflict replacing that of the post – 1945 era[37]. For others, the conflict between the West and the Islamic World was (and still is) a new global rivalry.

At this juncture, it must be stated that terrorism has two political goals namely: (i) to demoralize the enemy and (ii) to mobilize supporters (i.e. terrorists). More importantly, terrorism has become the pre-occupation of statesmen, policy-makers, writers and scholars in various parts of the world, especially after the September 11 2001 terrorist attacks in the US, and the July 7, 2005 multiple bombing of London. Some writers and commentators assert that terrorism is a sinister tool used by either individuals, organized groups of people or a state to achieve political ends or objectives while others assert that terrorism is a criminal act carried out against a state with the intention to terrorizing certain individuals and undermining the morale of the members of the public, their establishments as well as institutions.

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[37]. See F. Halliway, <u>Two Hours That Shook the World: 11 September 2001, Causes and Consequences,</u> Saqi Books, London, 2002, p. 36

Terrorism is not only practised by individuals, but also by nation-states. Hence, we have individual, state and international terrorism. But what propels or drives individuals to terrorism? In our judgement, the issues of poverty, injustice, oppression, unemployment, racism, tyranny, political frustration, occupation of land or territory by force, human rights violations, and Islamic-extremism or fundamentalism can drive or propel individuals and groups to terrorism.

Terrorism has no geographical boundary and it has occurred in Europe, United States, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Tanzania, and Kenya especially in Nairobi and Mombasa (East Africa). In 1998, for instance, the American Embassy in Nairobi was reduced to ashes or rubble by terrorists. More than 200 people were killed by a terrorist bomb. The massacre in Mombasa (Kenya) on 28 November 2002 was regarded as barbaric. Ten Kenyans and three Israelis were killed in the Mombasa attack. The Mombasa terrorist attack raised few fundamental questions at the time it occurred. First, why is Kenya the easy target of terrorist attacks? Second, was it due to lack of adequate security measures or the porosity of the Kenya borders? Thirdly and more importantly, was it a demonstration of anti-American foreign policy and US support for Israel in the Middle East sub-region?. On December 2007, the former Pakistani Prime Minister and later Pakistani Party Opposition leader, Mrs. Benazir Bhutto, was killed by terrorist group in a suicide attack or bomb blast. Consequently, world leaders including U.S. President George Bush Jnr. and British Prime Minister Gordon Brown condemned the killing of Bhutto as callous and a sad day for democracy respectively. President Bush urged the Pakistanis and their government to stay on democratic path. In a nutshell, the world has witnessed terrorist bombs in Morocco, Algeria, Pakistan, Afghanistan, India and arrests were made in Saudi Arabia. Not a single major European nation is immune. Also in

Sudan, Somalia and places like Nigeria where Muslims and Christians live together, terrorism is active. Indeed, terrorism is a global phenomenon.

The colonial powers (or ex-colonial powers) had all the heavy weapons, so the nationalists resorted to ambushes, assassinations and bombings to convince the foreigners that it was time for them to go home. From Vietnam to Algeria, Cyprus to Rhodesia, the nationalists' strategies depended heavily on terrorism and in the end they won. Hence, leaders like Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Yitzhak Shamir of Israel once condemned by Britain as terrorists were invited to have tea (or to dine and wine) with the Queen of England and they later became the legitimate leaders of their independent and sovereign states[38].

Some view bad acts carried out by certain organizations as terrorism while others consider such acts as resistance against occupation of land or territory. However, there is a big distinction or difference between terrorism and national resistance or those who launch a just national liberation struggle against invading (or occupation) troops on their own territory. There is no doubt, the international community has legitimized resistance to occupation for a long time while terror has not been legitimized. In this regard, Article No 13 of the 1949 Geneva Convention legitimizes people's right to resist occupation by every available means. One modern example can be cited here. On 2 November 2001, the US government decided to place on US list of terrorist organizations the name of Hizbullah. Lebanese authorities promptly rejected Washington's action and stated that Hizbullah is not a terrorist organization but a national resistance movement fighting Israeli occupation in the disputed Shebaa farms area in south Lebanon. It should be noted that Hizbullah's resistance forced Israeli forces to withdraw from south Lebanon (not Shebaa Farms area) on 25 May 2000 without official aid. After the

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[38]. Ibid

tragic events of September Eleven 2001 (see Appendix 6, pp. 458-463), world leaders and intellectuals must and should address the root causes of terrorism in all its ramifications. They should also define terrorism properly and correctly so that the concept of terrorism will have global acceptability.

2.2   Review Of Literature

The purpose of this sub-section is to examine carefully what other scholars and writers have done in our field of study. There are several works on Nigeria's foreign policy since independence on October 1, 1960 vis-a-vis Arab-Israeli entanglement since 1948 when the state of Israel was created. We now begin the review of published and unpublished works found relevant to our study.

Major – General Ike Nwachukwu (rtd.) who was twice Minister of External (now Foreign) Affairs was a major actor in the Nigeria's economic diplomacy policy of the Babangida administration. Economic diplomacy consists of the active pursuit of foreign policy objectives that are designed to promote trade and investments and to complement domestic economic reforms such as trade liberalization and commercialization of public enterprises. Put differently, Nigeria's foreign economic policy tried to attract foreign loans and investments for the financing of some of the projects in the country's various national development plans. In his paper titled: "Ike Nwachukwu, Nigerian Foreign Policy Since Independence: A Review, the author traced Nigeria's foreign policy initiatives since independence and stated that while the Babangida administration has maintained continuity in all the basic areas of our foreign policy, it has, nonetheless, sought a greater balance between the economic and political strands of our diplomacy. There has been a deliberate effort to move away from the pre-occupation by earlier regimes with political issues to those that will support the rejuvenation of our national economy. The policy of economic

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diplomacy, as articulated by Nwachukwu, was geared towards pushing Nigeria's Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) into the international arena or towards seeking solutions to the country's ailing economy beyond its borders. To this end, some re-organisation was made in the Ministry of External Affairs.

In a book titled <u>Nigeria's Economic Diplomacy: The Ike Nwachukwu Years</u>, <u>1988 – 1992</u>[39], the authors examined the genesis of economic diplomacy. Besides, they analyse the making of foreign policy and economic diplomacy from a conceptual perspective. From here, the authors move on to examine Nigerian economy and background to economic diplomacy, the strategies and the machinery for the economic diplomacy. This is then followed by an examination of bilateral and multilateral economic co-operation within the context of economic diplomacy. The basic thrust of the policy was to make Nigeria's foreign policy serve the purpose of economic development at home. This was necessary for a regime that inherited a sluggish economy from its predecessors and needed to reverse the trend. During the Babangida era, the issue of economic development dominated Nigeria's foreign policy because of special factors such as Nigeria's economic regression and depression which had telling effect on Nigerian social, welfare, education, internal security and Nigeria's power position within the international system.

Economic diplomacy, since the Babangida era, has generated general interest in Nigeria and has also drawn international attention particularly that of Nigeria's economic partners to the economic opportunities awaiting genuine investors in the country. Apart from critics, the Nigerian private sector considers economic diplomacy as a new and positive initiative that should be sustained. While some have hailed Nigeria's economic diplomacy as a realistic approach to external

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[39]. See <u>Nigeria's Economic Diplomacy: The Ike Nwachukwu Years, 1988 – 1992</u>, (A publication of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, printed by Emaconprint Ltd., Nigeria).

relations, others have dismissed it as a faulty and naïve policy. For example, Bassey Ate thinks the idea is defective in the sense that there is no separation between politics and economics. It is not realistic to take economics as a separate category from politics. According to him, the character of international relations is propelled by political considerations and interests. Ate further raises the question of whose interest the economic policy is supposed to serve: Nigerians or multinational/transnational corporations? In all, he believes that the policy is shortsighted and limited in scope particularly since the government (of Nigeria) has failed to set out specific guidelines on how it would safeguard Nigeria's national interest in its dealings with the multinational corporations[40].

Like the Babangida administration's domestic economic Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) which led to strong opposition by some segments of Nigerian society, Lai Olorode of the Sociology Department of the University of Lagos (UNILAG) asserts that Nigeria's economic diplomacy is actually an extension of the SAP. In his own view, economic diplomacy is a rationalization of the structural adjustment policy at the international level. Olorode dismisses the government's effort as a 'policy of neo-colonialism' conceived with the aim of continuing the present dependency and sustaining the hegemony of the West led by the United States of America[41].

Aribisala raises even more fundamental questions over Babangida's obsession with economic diplomacy. The architects of the policy, he says, have confused an "instrument" of foreign policy with the "object". According to him, the diplomacy as opposed to objects of diplomacy was launched by the government because there was little or no initiative going on in Nigeria's foreign policy direction.

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[40]. See The Guardian (A Weekly Magazine), November 6, 1989, p. 24
[41]. Ibid., p. 25

Aribisala saw the government's policy not as a "foreign policy initiative" but simply as a "spontaneous approach to foreign policy". He observed that the idea of economic diplomacy or policy is short – time, limited in scope and therefore, fails to meet the test of objective analysis of contemporary international politics[42].

In summary, Aribisala does not see economic diplomacy as a brand new policy. Past Nigerian governments (or administrations) had always engaged in the process of economic diplomacy. For instance, the Tafawa Balewa Administration (during the First Republic, (1960 – 1966) started it off when it based 50 percent of Nigeria's budget upon proceeds from economic diplomacy involving Britain (the ex-colonial master) and the United States of America. Then came the Buhari regime (December 31, 1983 – August 27, 1985, second phase of military rule in Nigeria) with its policy of complimentarity in trading relations (counter-trade) which is not new in some parts of the world. For example, the Saudis bought a lot of equipment from the West for their armed forces through counter-trade. They built complexes (or mansions) through counter-trade[43].

Dapo Fafowora was more critical and blunt than Aribisala in his assessment of economic diplomacy. According to Fafowora, the idea of economic diplomacy was a total failure. It was pre-mature. Nigeria, still largely a pre-industrial and import-oriented country, had no manufactures to sell abroad. Besides, Nigerian businessmen (and women) were not even keen about the idea and gave it little or no support.[43(b)]

More importantly, as External Affairs Minister, the first foreign policy trip of Bolaji Akinyemi, who advocated the Concert of Medium Powers in 1987 was

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[42].   <u>Ibid</u>.,

[43].   See Ikpe Etokudo, "The Politics of Counter Trade", <u>New Horizon,</u> Nigeria's Marxist Monthly Magazine, vol. 5. No. 5, Sept. 1985, p. 9

43(b) See <u>The Nation</u>, Thursday, 27 September, 2007, p. 47

reportedly to Washington D. C. (USA) and London (U.K.) to explain to them why Nigeria refused to take the IMF loan despite foreign pressures. That was a clear economic diplomacy move. Lastly, in his pre-occupation with economic diplomacy, former Nigeria's External Affairs Minister, Major General Ike Nwachukwu (rtd.), was accused of neglecting some of the areas of Nigeria's traditional foreign policy concern and some of the laudable initiatives launched by his predecessor – A. B. Akinyemi. Economic diplomacy itself costs money and time. For example, foreign trips by the Minister of External (now Foreign) Affairs and Nigerian trade delegations for the purpose of searching for the ever elusive foreign investors appear more costly to Nigerians. The level of the country's foreign investment still remained very low. It is essential to note that without political stability, peace, security of life and property, regular and stable power supply, conducive / attractive economic environment and transparency, it will be difficult to attract genuine foreign investment and investors into the country.

In his Article titled "Diplomatic Bungling[44], Oladapo Fafowora, Nigeria's former Deputy Head of Mission at the Nigerian Permanent Mission to the United Nations, discussed, among other things, the main channels through which Nigeria conducts her diplomacy and these he enumerated as the Organisation of African Unity (now African Union, (AU), the Commonwealth of Nations and the United Nations. In Africa, Fafowora pointed out three events which highlighted Nigeria's increasing international isolation and these are: (i) the crisis in Zaire (now Congo Republic), (ii) the Gaddaffi visit to Nigeria and (iii) the military take-over in Sierra-Leone.

In the case of Zaire, for example, Fafowora stated that Nigeria had always been a key player in the affairs of that country since its independence in 1960. According to him, Nigerian troops served with the UN forces in the Congo in the

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[44]. See The Guardian, Monday, June 16, 1997, p. 35

early 1960's under a UN mandate to help restore order in that country. Since 1996/97 when a fresh crisis erupted in the Congo, Nigeria was effectively shut out of the diplomatic manoeurvrings. There was no Nigerian official reaction to the unfolding drama there despite the fact that Africa remains the center-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy.

In the Commonwealth of Nations, Fafowora stated that Nigeria remains (as at 1997) on suspension on account of the execution by hanging of nine Ogoni minority rights activists in November 1995 and Nigeria's refusal to heed Commonwealth leaders' pleas for clemency. He, however, forgot to mention, in his Article, the annulment of June 12, 1993 presidential election as the remote cause of Nigeria's diplomatic crisis with the Commonwealth of Nations. Diplomatic relations with key Commonwealth countries such as Britain and Canada were at low level. The European Union including Britain and the United States imposed limited but effective sanctions on Nigeria.

Fafowora also pointed out that, at the United Nations where Nigeria had been largely influential in the past, it was treated with reserve under the Abacha administration. Several UN agencies such as the UN Human Rights Commission and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) had cause to denounce and criticize Nigeria for her poor human rights abuses and record[45]. Fafowora, therefore, concluded his Article that at the three concentric levels of her diplomacy, Nigeria was increasingly marginalized.

With regard to military take-over in "Sierra-Leone on May 25, 1997, Fafowora also raised several questions concerning Nigeria's intervention in that country. For instance, he asked: How can Nigeria support democracy abroad while denying it to its own people at home? How can the Nigerian military sponsor democracy in other

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[45]. Ibid.

foreign lands while subverting it in its own country? There is no doubt, the Nigerian Head of State, General Sani Abacha, had credibility problems in spear-heading military intervention in Sierra-Leone.

In his Article on "Nigeria's New Diplomacy"[46], Ike Abugu opined that one of the most controversial aspects of the Sani Abacha administration has been its foreign policy. Practically, every foreign policy initiative of that administration has been met with scathing attacks both from within and outside the country, even otherwise "internal affairs" of the country have received worldwide attention and condemnation. The hanging of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other Ogoni activists in November 1995, for example, led to the temporary withdrawal of the Ambassadors/High Commissioners of the European Union (EU), South Africa, the United States of America and Canada. Also limited and targeted sanctions were placed on Nigeria by Western European nations which accused the Abacha administration of obstructing the course of human rights, the rule of law and democracy in the country.

While Abugu is right in his assertion, it is important to note that the interest of some members of the international community in the human rights condition in Nigeria does not amount to interference in Nigeria's internal affairs" because Nigeria is a signatory to both the United Nations Universal Human Rights and Organisation of African Unity Charter on Human and Peoples Rights. As a result, both the UN and OAU (now AU) have a legitimate interest in Nigeria's human rights record. Nigeria is criticized for violating the rights of her own citizens. Between December 31, 1983 and May 28, 1999, the beginning of the second phase of military rule, Nigeria was under military rule and dictatorship. Military regimes are, by definition, human rights violators.

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[46] . See Ike Abugu, "Nigeria's New Diplomacy" <u>The Guardian</u>, Monday, September 8, 1997, p. 35

In a chapter of his book[47], Olajide Aluko analysed Nigerian Foreign Policy under three main component parts namely: (i) policy towards her immediate neighbours, (ii) general African policy and (iii) the policy of non-alignment. He, however, pointed out that since independence, the three main component parts have undergone some changes, though some elements of continuity have persisted in certain respects. Besides, he grouped the major factors influencing or affecting Nigeria's foreign policy into four namely: colonial legacy, machinery for policy formulation, the Nigerian Civil War and the Nigerian Economy. According to Olajide Aluko, Nigeria's policy towards Africa has since independence, been based largely on four major principles:

(i)   the sovereign equality of all African States.

(ii)   respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of every African State.

(iii)   the commitment to functional co-operation as a means of promoting African Unity and economic development, and

(iv)   Non-interference in the internal affairs of other African States.

Concerning item No (iv) listed above, Nigeria has, since December 1989, intervened in the internal affairs of other African States notably Liberia (1989 – 1997) and Sierra-Leone (May 1997 – February 1998). However, successive governments have justified Nigeria's intervention in both countries on grounds of national interest and political stability in West African sub-region.

In her book[48], Ogwu examines, among other things, Nigeria's domestic environment, that is domestic factors influencing Nigeria's foreign policy and these

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[47]. See Olajide Aluko (ed.), "Nigerian Foreign Policy", in The Foreign Policies of African States, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1977, pp. 163 – 195.

[48]. See Joy U. Ogwu, Op.cit, p. 33

include political factors, the constitution, bureaucracy, economic variables, military consideration, interest (or pressure) groups and idiosyncratic factors. Apart from domestic factors, Ogwu focuses on Nigeria's external relations, Nigeria's extra-African multilateral relations and Nigeria's relations with the Great Powers. In discussing economic factors, she stated two major factors affecting the capability of a State to pursue its foreign policy goals and they include (i) the ability of its productive forces and (ii) the degree of external dependence of the economy. In Ogwu's view, the sudden change in world economic conditions occasioned by the enormous increase in oil prices in the early 1970s went a long way in giving Nigeria a new kind of independence. In her words:

> *The improved State of Nigeria's economy bestowed on it a leverage which it did not possess in the first decade of independence. More significantly, perhaps was the government's ability to determine its own policies independent of external influences[49].*

Ogwu's assertion is corroborated by Olajide Aluko in his work where he stated that:

> *The phenomenal growth of the economy largely as a result of the oil boom … has strengthened Nigeria's position in relations with the superpowers … Neither of the superpowers can now use foreign aid as a means of political leverage on Nigeria… Heavy American dependence on Nigeria's oil means that Nigeria is not only free to criticize the United States but also to put pressure on her[50].*

This was obvious under the Murtala / Obasanjo administration (1975 – 1979) when Nigeria rebuffed the United States President, Gerald Ford, over Angola and recognized the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) against US desires. Nigeria also nationalized Barclays (now Union) Bank and the assets of the British Petroleum (BP) during Zimbabwe's (formerly Rhodesia's) struggle for independence.

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[49] . Ibid., p. 33
[50] . See Olajide Aluko, 'Nigeria and Superpowers' in O. Aluko, Essays in Nigerian Foreign Policy, (London: Allen & Urwin, 1981)

Writing in his Article[51], Ibrahim Gambari highlighted the major concepts in Nigerian foreign policy and these include: national consensus, dynamism in foreign policy, Africa as the center-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy, Nigerian economy and Nigeria's national security. He concludes that these concepts/terms are vague, poorly articulated and lacking vigour as well as direction[52].

In their co-edited book. Olusanya and Akindele[53] enumerated the component parts of Nigeria's national interests as follows:

(a) the defence of the country's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity,

(b) the restoration of human dignity to black men and women all over the world, particularly the eradication of colonialism and white minority rule from the face of Africa,

(c) the creation of the relevant political and economic conditions in Africa and the rest of the world which will not only facilitate the preservation of the territorial integrity and security of all African countries but also foster national self-reliance of African countries,

(d) the promotion and improvement of the economic well-being of Nigerian citizens and

(e) the promotion of world peace and justice.

Of the component parts stated above, (b) is no longer of any relevance. Colonialism and white minority rule have disappeared or been eradicated in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Consequently, Nigeria has since disbanded the Southern African Defence Fund. Before then, Nigeria played a decisive role in the eradication of white minority rule in southern Africa. As a result, the southern

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[51] . See Ibrahim A. Gambari, "Concepts and Conceptualization in Nigeria's Foreign Policy-Making Since Independence, Nigeria Journal of Policy and Strategy, (Kuru: NIPPS, June 1986)

[52] . Ibid., pp. 70 - 77

[53] . See G. Olusanya and Akindele (eds.), The Structures and Processes of Policy-Making and Implementation in Nigeria, 1960 – 1990, Lagos, NIIA

African States had conferred on Nigeria the unique title of "Frontline State". From the early Seventies until the Committee Against Apartheid was formally disbanded in 1995, the Nigerian Permanent Representatives at the UN were made the Chairman of the Committee consecutively and without any interruption or break for a period of 25 years. Indeed, Nigeria was in the fore-front of the fight against racial discrimination and colonialism in Africa between 1960 and 1994.

In a book titled: <u>The Nigerian Foreign Policy</u>, Ray Ofoegbu devoted a few pages to a discussion of Nigeria's membership of the Commonwealth of Nations. Adopting David Easton's systems (input-output) theoretical framework, Ofoegbu perceived the Commonwealth as a structural device within the international environment that exerted considerable pulls on nation-states. Regrettably, he did not examine Nigeria's performance as a member of the Commonwealth, though he remarked in passing that its role in the UN, OAU (now AU) and the Commonwealth was decidedly in favor of strengthening world peace[54].

In his book titled: <u>Nigeria: Internal Politics and Foreign Policy 1960 – 1966</u>, Gordon Idang noted that in the post-independence period, the UN had a strong appeal for members of the Nigerian foreign policy elite. Therefore, Balewa's government attached great importance to Nigeria's membership of the world body. Indeed, Idang provides an insightful analysis of Balewa's idiosyncrasies before his regime was terminated by the January 1966 military coup d'etat[55]. There is no doubt, Idang's purpose is to undertake a systematic analysis of the interaction between the domestic political process and foreign policy using Nigeria as a case – study.

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[54] . See Mazi Ray Ofoegbu, <u>The Nigerian Foreign Policy</u>, Star Printing and Publishing Company, 1978, p. 7

[55] .See Gordon J. Idang, <u>Nigeria: Internal Politics and Foreign Policy 1960 – 1966</u>. Ibadan University Press, Ibadan, 1973.

The attempt to study and analyse Nigeria's foreign policy from the perspective of the behavioral paradigm was not explicit; nevertheless, it is apparent in several ways. First, there were the frequent references to the personality characteristics of the key foreign policy decision – makers, their attitudes, attributes or general dispositions, their perceptions and values, and the impact of these on Nigeria's foreign policy.

In their joint 13-page paper, Amadu Sesay and Jide Owoeye[56(a)] focus on issue areas such as the structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, recruitment to the Foreign Service, posting of Foreign Service Officers, their promotion, discipline and morale during the Second Republic of Shagari administration. In addition, they discussed intelligently on Nigeria's foreign missions and conference diplomacy, funding of foreign missions and concluded that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has already been politicized and that politics would always impinge on appointments, promotion and discipline in the Nigeria's Foreign Service, especially at the middle and higher echelons and its parent body-the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Consequently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs[56(b)] and the Foreign Service, which have evolved gradually for over forty-seven (47) years, should be well funded so as to attract the best talents (or brains) for Nigeria's diplomatic assignments abroad. In addition, greater attention should be given to the training of the career diplomats at all levels and of the staff of the Ministry. Many of them are being passed over unfairly in favour of the political appointees. This has led and continued to lead to a lot of frustration and lack of motivation among the senior staff of the Ministry.

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[56 (a)]. See Amadu Sesay and Jide Owoeye, "The Policies of the Nigerian Foreign Service: Retrospects and Prospects', in Jide Owoeye, (ed.), Nigeria in International Institutions, (Ibadan: College Press Ltd., 1993, pp. 169 – 184.
56(b) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs occupies a strategic position in Nigeria's affairs.

In summary, scholars of Nigeria's foreign policy such as Tunde Adeniran, Olajide Aluko, Gordon J. Idang, Bolaji Akinyemi and Ibrahim A. Gambari have identified several constitutional, structural, external and domestic political constraints relating to Nigeria's foreign policy since independence in l960. The economic constraint is perhaps the most formidable. At independence, over 94 percent of Nigeria's exports went to countries in Western Europe and Japan. They also accounted for almost 80 percent of Nigeria's imports. More importantly, a strong economic base is essential or necessary for a country to have effective foreign policy and make impact in peace-keeping operations in trouble spots around the world.

At this juncture, we shall turn our lenses to scholarly works on the Palestinian/Arab-Israeli entanglement. Soon after the Oslo Accords were signed in September 1993 by Israel and the Palestinian Authority led by late Yasser Arafat, Edward W. Said[57] predicted, in his book titled <u>The End of the Peace Process: Oslo and After</u>, that the Oslo Accords would not lead to real peace[58]. By the year 2002, Said's prediction became a reality. Said argues that the imbalance in power that forces Palestinians and Arab states to accept the concessions of the United States and Israel prohibits real negotiations and promoted the second-hand treatment of Palestinians in the hands of Israeli authorities. As a result of the Oslo Accords, Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat, has, in Said's view, mortgaged the future of his people to their oppressors (i.e. the Israelis). Said also states the worsening conditions of the Palestinian people, criticizes Yasser Arafat's oppressive leadership and denounces Israel's refusal to recognize Palestine's past and human rights.

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[57]. Edward W. Said is a Palestinian-American intellectual writer and analyst. He is an author of more than15 political and cultural books.

[58]. See Edward W. Said, <u>The End of the Peace Process: Oslo and After</u>, Vintage Books, Random House New York, p. xiv

In another book titled: The Question of Palestine, Said traces the fatal collision between the two peoples in the Middle East and its repercussions on the lives of both the occupier (Israel) and the occupied (Palestinian Arabs). Besides, he discusses the changed status of Palestine and its people, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the intifada 1 of December 1987, the Gulf War of 1990/1991 and the Middle East Peace initiative.

Also in his book titled The Politics of Dispossession. The Struggle for Palestinian Self Determination 1969 – 1994, Edward Said traces his people's struggle for statehood through twenty-five years of exile from the PLO's bloody 1970 exile from Jordan through the debacle of the 1990/1991 Gulf War and the ambiguous 1993 Oslo Peace Accords with Israel.

In Expulsion of the Palestinians, Nur Masalha, who is a Palestinian-Israeli scholar, traced Zionist ideology from 1882 to 1948. Also in his second book on A land without a People: Israel, Transfer and the Palestinians 1949 – 1996, Masalha shows how Israeli politicians, military men and intellectuals continued to execute the policy of trying to get rid of the Palestinians either by actual transfer, by massacre or by forcing submission on them as a whole.

In a book titled: From Occupation to Interim Accords: Israel and the Palestinian Territories. Raja Shehadeh described the continuity between Israeli negotiating strategy and its land occupation policy established in the occupied Arab territories from the early 1970's. Also, Shehadeh demonstrates in his same book the tragic lack of preparation and understanding in the PLO's strategy during the peace process with the result that much of the sympathy gained internationally for the Palestinians and its dismal human rights records was frittered away.

In a book on <u>The Golan: The Road to Occupation,</u> Muhammad Muslih, traces the origins of the Israeli-Syrian dispute over the Golan Heights to their 1949–1967 conflict over three small areas known collectively as the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ). The author examines valuable classified documents in Israeli state Archives and UN as well as US documents to show that, from the beginning of the Armistice Agreement, Israeli leaders believed their country was the rightful sovereign in the DMZ and they were determined to gain control of it. In pursuit of this goal, the author argues that Israel initiated in the DMZ both military and non-military operations that effectively undermined UN peace-keeping efforts along the armistice lines.

Syria, the weaker power, tended to respond sometimes with military action but mostly with fiery propaganda that played into Israel's hands. Israel's attack and capture of the entire Golan Heights in the June 1967 Arab – Israeli War and its occupation policies since that date confirmed and reinforced Syrian mistrust. In 1982, Israel annexed the Golan Heights and Syria felt obliged to deter Israel. The Israeli-Syrian dispute over the Golan Heights still remains unresolved and the Syrian efforts to re-capture either militarily or diplomatically have not yielded success till now.

In his Article on "The Moment of Truth for Everyone, Not Just Arafat" published in <u>The Daily Star</u>[60] the author – Joseph Samaha – opined that the Middle East conflict is indeed approaching a moment of truth. He wrote his Article when US Secretary of State Colin Powell urged Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat to exert a 100 percent effort to combat terrorism. Powell[60(a)] may be right, but he was wrong to hold

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[60].   See <u>The Daily Star,</u> Saturday, 8 December, 2001, p. 7

[60(a)]. Colin Powell is a black or Afro-American who has served two times in Vietnam. He rose to become a 4-star army General, Presidential Adviser, chief of Joint Staffs of the US Armed Forces and Secretary of State under the Bush administration (2001-2004). As a result, he has become American national hero.

Arafat solely responsible for the bloody attacks and violence that erupted between Israelis and the Palestinians. To many people living or residing in the Middle East, this responsibility must also fall on Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon rather than on Arafat alone. Indeed, Israeli occupation and Jewish settlement on Palestinian land are the crux of the whole issues and also because the Israeli leader believes that there is a purely military solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Since he came to power in February 2001, Ariel Sharon has been calling for a military solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Indeed, he had first-hand experience of such a solution because no one other than Ariel Sharon, as Israeli Defense Minister, sent the Israeli Army into Lebanon in 1982 to destroy the PLO. Samaha holds the view that Washington procrastinated too much and too long before committing itself to dealing with the Middle East conflict. And when it finally decided to do so, it based its actions on a deficient vision of events.

In his book titled: The Middle East After the Israeli Invasion of Lebanon, Robert O. Freedman[6(a)] stated that the Middle East has long been one of the most volatile regions on the globe. Wars, coups de'tat, rapaid shifts in alliances and alignments, numerous intra-Arab and regional conflicts and constant superpower intervention have wracked the region since the first Arab-Israeli war of 1948.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 was in some ways a turning point in the Middle Eastern politics. To begin with, it spurred the United States to get reinvolved in a major way in the Arab-Israeli peace process, while at the same time

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[61(a)] See Robert O. Freedman, The Middle East After the Israeli Invasion of Lebanon, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York (USA), 1986.

weakening the position of PLO leader, Yasser Arafat and exacerbating his conflict with Syrian President, Hafix Assad. This in turn, impelled Arafat to turn to Jordon's King Hussein to try to work out a framework for peace talks with Israel.

In "Peace Under the Gun", in Rosemary Holis and Nadim Shehadi (ed.), Lebanon on Hold: Implications for the Middle East, earned the late Egyptian President Anwar Sadat kudos from the West including the United States of America and deep anger as well as approbrium from the Arab world where Egypt plays a pivotal role in all affairs. In many passages Boutros Ghali attempts to dissociate himself from aspects of Sadat's peace initiatives inasmuch as they marginalized the Palestinian question. Despite distancing himself from substantive elements of the Camp David 1 Agreements, Boutros Ghali claims that he joined the Sadat's cabinet as a Junior Minister in order to render policies more in tune with UN Resolutions, Palestinian rights and international law. The question remains whether he was able to influence Egypt's policy of defection from Arab states or League.

In Azni Bishara's Article titled "4 May 1999 and Palestinian Statehood: To Declare Or Not to Declare"[61(b)], the author analysed the Palestinian option of unilaterally declaring a Palestinian state on 4 May 1999 and the various scenarios that might ensue. Concluding that the declaration would benefit the Israelis, not the Palestinians, the author then sketches out possible alternatives that remain for the Palestinians with the ending of the transitional period and they include: (i) rebuilding the PLO institutions and (ii) strengthening Palestinian institutions in a   democratic

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[61(b).] See Journal of Palestine Studies, Winter 1999, pp. 5 - 16

way including the adoption of the Rule of Law and democracy. In other words, the Palestinian Authority should embark on fundamental and meaningful political reforms such as genuine democratization for the benefit of the Palestinian people.

Writing on "The Wye (River) Memorandum: Netanyahu's Oslo and unreciprocal Reciprocity[62], Nasser H. Arubi explores the Wye Memorandum within the context of the peace process. He argues that, though similar in its fundamentals to the previous Israeli-Palestinian Agreements, the Wye Memorandum commits the Palestinian Authority, under the guise of reciprocity, (or mutual exchange) to new security arrangements aiming at destroying opposition to the Oslo peace process and doing away with internationally sanctioned Palestinian rights.

Sara Roy's Article titled "De-development Revisited: Palestinian Economy and Society since Oslo"[63] states that the years since the Oslo Agreement have seen a marked deterioration in Palestinian economic life and an accelerated De-development[64] process. The deterioration in Palestinian economy in particular was caused by frequent Israeli closure of roads and borders in the Palestinian controlled areas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

As a result of severe economic decline, social regression and political repression, the author further asserts that de-development continues unabated. The peace process failed to mitigate, let alone end de-development. The author, therefore, concludes that the prospects for sustained economic development are non-existent and will remain so as long as closure of borders and exits continues.

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[62]. Ibid., pp. 17 - 28
[63]. See Journal of Palestine Studies, Spring 1999, pp. 64 - 82
[64]. De-development is perhaps best understood when compared to under-development. Both processes describe a structural relationship between a stronger (dominant) and weaker (subordinate) economy. But while most   definitions of under development allow for structural change and reform within the weaker economy, De-development not only distorts the development process but undermines it entirely.

In their Article on "The Second Uprising: End or New Beginning"[65] <u>Journal of Palestine Studies,</u> Winter 2001, R. Hammami and Salim Tamari examine the al-Aqsa Intifada against the background of the 1978 Camp David 1 Accords and the 1993 Oslo Accords. Comparing its features to those of the first intifada (of 1987), both authors analyse and develop a number of important differences and they include the structure of the clashes themselves, the religious dimension, the role of the media and most importantly, the presence on the ground of a Palestinian protostate apparatus and the diminished role of mass organizations as well as the civil society.

Writing on "Clinton and the Arab-Israeli conflict: The Limits of Incrementalism"[66], William B. Quandt – who was the former US Assistant National Security Council Adviser for the Middle East during the Carter Administration (1976 – 1980) and a participant in the Camp David II Summit (July 2000), provides an assessment of Bill Clinton's legacy. The author ends with an analysis of four reasons why Clinton did not achieve more than he did with regard to the Middle East Peace. During his first term in office, US President Bill Clinton worked hard for the promotion of the Middle East peace and his administration sponsored the Oslo I and II, a Treaty between Israel and Jordan, unfinished peace talks between Israel and Syria and the unsuccessful Camp David II summit held in July 2000.

According to the author, Bill Clinton's role at Camp David II summit was remarkable. Both negotiating parties seemed to have confidence in him as a peace facilitator. At home (domestic level), he could count on bi-partisan support short of pressuring Israel on sensitive issues or asking Congress for a large aid package hastily. He avoided taking stands on many of the most controversial issues between both parties and urged them to reach compromises themselves.

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[65]. See <u>Journal of Palestine Studies,</u> Winter 2001, pp. 5 - 25
[66]. See <u>Journal of Palestine Studies,</u> vol. Xxx, November 2, Winter 2001, pp. 26 – 40.

In a book titled <u>ASSAD: The Struggle for the Middle East</u>[67], Patrick Seale perceives the late Syrian Leader (President) and the father of the current Syrian President Bashir Assad as masterful politician maneuvering Syria into a position of dominance in the Middle East. Since the 1960s, Syria's influence has increased to such an extent that no lasting peace can be secured in the region without its approval or consent.

In Sara Roy's book on <u>The Gaza Strip: The Political Economy of Development</u>[68], the author asserts that the Gaza Strip is an area of extreme complexity. According to Roy, the political and economic development of the area has been shaped by three major events namely: the British mandate, the creation of Israel and Israel's occupation of Arab/Palestinian territories. Each event introduced significant and, in some cases, irrevocable policy changes into Gaza's economic and social organisation. These changes have resulted in Gaza Strip being one of the most densely populated, impoverished and underdeveloped areas in the world. In this book, Sara Roy analyses the causes and impact of the various political and economic policies introduced into Gaza Strip during the Israeli occupation. She makes it clear that even after Oslo, Israel continues to impede Palestinian development.

Naseer Aruri's book titled <u>Palestinian Refugees: The Right of Return</u>[69] states that the Palestinians' right of return to their ancestral homeland has been upheld in international law and United Nations' Resolutions for more than fifty years. Equally, the right of return, which was supposed to have been finalized in the Oslo Accords has been denied them by Israel. Aruri's book also covers the historical roots of the

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[67]. See Seale Patrick, <u>ASSAD: The Struggle for the Middle East,</u> University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1988, pp. 3 – 495.

[68]. See Sara Roy, <u>The Gaza Strip: The Political Economy of De-development,</u> I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., London, 1995, pp. 3 – 382.

[69]. See Naseer Aruri (eds.), <u>Palestinian Refugees: The Right of Return,</u> London, 2001.

Palestinian refugee question, the obligations of host countries to refugees under international law, Israel's perception of the refugee question, the role of the United States, European Union and the PLO.

Huntington's book on <u>The Clash of Civilizations and the Remarking of World Order</u>[70] appears to be one of the most important books to have emerged since the end of the Cold War. In the book, Huntington states how clashes between civilizations are the greatest threat to world peace and how an international order based on civilizations is the best safeguard against war. Huntington's book differs from his Article titled "The Clash of Civilizations?" published in the summer of 1993 in <u>Foreign Affairs Journal</u>. The Article, unlike the book, has a question mark in its title. Besides, the Article generated more discussion than George Kennan's Article on Containment of Communism published in the 1940's.

In <u>Saddam Hussein: The Politics of Revenge</u>[71], the author – David K. Aburish – draws on his own knowledge of an extensive contact within the Arab world to produce a thorough profile of a powerful and unpredictable man. The West led by the United States support regime change in Iraq and they see Saddam Hussein's regime as the most repressive and oppressive in the world. He (Aburish) explains Saddam Husseins's quest for leadership of the Arab world and for acquisition of the technology of weapons of mass destruction (wmd) such as biological and chemical weapons. He was a man who, with the encouragement of Western governments, made his country the most advanced in the Middle East in the 1970's and through personal ambition led it to disaster and ruin at the end of the 1990/1991 Gulf War caused by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Once the attack on Kuwait had taken place the US, with British support, moved militarily against Iraq. He was deposed in April 2003

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[70]. See Samuel P. Huntington, <u>The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order</u>. Touchstone Books, London, 1996, pp. 19 - 321
[71]. See David K. Aburish, <u>Saddam Hussein: The Politics of Revenge</u>, pp. 1 – 364.

by a US-led Coalition Force. The US government led by President George Bush (Jnr.) wanted Saddam Hussein to disarm peacefully or else the US would lead an international coalition to disarm him by force. A number of US conservatives had earlier called for "a determined effort to remove Saddam Hussein from power" even if he could not be linked to the terrorists who struck World Trade Center in New York and Defense Building (Pentagon) in Washington D. C. killing thousands of Americans and other nationals on September Eleventh 2001. Whether the Iraqis are involved or not, the terrorist attacks in US provided an opportunity for the United States to overthrow Saddam Hussein's regime.

In our judgement, the US and its allies especially Britain should not have used the issue of disarming Iraq of weapons of mass destruction (wmd) as a pretext for war against Saddam Hussein's regime. US-led war against Iraq whether it is due to bad leadership or disarming or removing Saddam Hussein from power will not contribute to political stability in the entire Middle East region without addressing or solving the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict and Islamic extremism in the Middle East sub-region.

It is important to note, however, that America, led by US President George Bush (Jnr.), went to war against Iraq on 21 March 2003 for three main reasons:

(i) to disarm Iraq of weapons of mass destruction (wmd.) if any, (ii) to free the Iraqi people and (iii) to defend the world from grave danger (perhaps of Saddam Hussein). But what is US disarming? During and after the US invasion of Iraq on 21 March 2003, there was no proof or evidence of Iraq's possession of weapons of mass destruction. Second, America wants to free the Iraqis, get rid of Saddam Hussein and install a democratic government. Good, but, except in Britain, there was no pro-American demonstration on the streets of Iraq. When the invaders

arrived Baghdad, the Iraqi people received the US-led coalition forces (or troops) with gun-fire. Third, America seeks to defend the world from grave danger. But where is the grave danger coming from? In our view, America is posing the gravest danger to world peace and security today. After the US-Iraqi war, where are the weapons of mass destruction (wmd)? Regrettably, Saddam Hussein was arrested in his hide-out in Baghdad in December 2003 and handed over to Baghdad authorities by the US coalition forces.

Death sentence was passed on Saddam Hussein on Sunday, 5 November 2006 by Iraqi High Tribunal. Britain, however, opposed the death sentence or penalty for Saddam Hussein even though the deposed Iraqi leader's trial had reminded the world of his brutality to Iraqi people or for the 1978-1988 offensives against Iraq's Kurdish population. The Iraqi High Tribunal in Baghdad sentenced Saddam Hussein to death by hanging for crimes against humanity in the 1982 willful killing of 148 Shiite villagers in Diyail in north of Baghdad. The charges against Saddam and six others include genocide. As a result of the Tribunal's verdict, there was anger among Iraq Sunnis. The appeal verdict of Saddam Hussein and other six co-defendants was upheld by the appeal court in Baghdad, and he was publicly executed by hanging in a shameful way on December 30, 2006.

In a book titled TALIBAN: The Story of the Afghan Warlords[72], the author Ahmed Rashid – states that "the tragic events of Eleventh September 2001 in the United States of America brought the TALIBAN into sharp focus as the most radical and extreme Islamist as well as fundamentalist movement in the contemporary world. He also points out that the TALIBAN is a controversial and perhaps the most

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[72]. See Ahmed Rashid, TALIBAN: The Story of the Afghan Warlords, Pan Books, London, 2001, pp. 1 - 249.

fearful movement in the Muslim world and in the West led by the United States which associates the TALIBAN with terror, terrorism and evil in the modern world.

Writing on "Palestinians Must Realize The Limits of Arab Support[73]" published in The Daily Star, Fawaz A. Gerges asserts that "the Palestinians should know how to conduct their struggle for independence and what strategies they should adopt against their powerful Israeli enemy. According to him, Arab writers do not just provide advice to Palestinians but also call on them to shoulder on and sacrifice blood and soul to terminate the Israeli occupation. Some go even further and urge Palestinian youths to undertake suicidal bombing in the heart of Israel in order to create a balance of terror with the Jewish state which has the fourth largest military apparatus in the world (See Table 3.4) – or page 198.

Gerges also stressed several vital points. The first point revolves around the fact that the Palestinians are basically alone in their struggle against a highly determined and military powerful enemies. Besides, the Arab political system suffers from structural imbalances in power resources and political orientation. Indeed, it is deeply divided over what direction to pursue vis-à-vis Iraq, the Arab-Israeli peace process and inter-Arab cooperation including collective security and economic relations. Furthermore, most Arab states are dependent on their great power masters particularly the United States of America for political survival. Far from being free to take bold initiatives, Arab rulers are fettered by the lack of legitimacy at home and political as well as economic dependency on the outside world.

A year after the outbreak of the Palestinian intifada II or violence in September 2001 the Arab states failed to provide the besieged Palestinians with concrete material and political support. Consequently, Gerges asked five main rational questions namely:

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[73]. See The Daily Star, Tuesday, 7 August 2001, p. 6

(i) "What have Arab rulers done in response to the assassination campaign by the government of Ariel Sharon against Palestinian activists?

(ii) Have they done anything substantive in response to Sharon's escalation of his military onslaught against Palestinian society and its economy?

(iii) Have the Arab states undertaken a specific diplomatic offensive along the same lines as Israel's to impress on the US and the European Union the need to respect international legitimacy and UN Resolutions relating to the Arab-Israeli conflict?

(iv) Have America's Arab allies been more assertive and blunt with US officials regarding the conditions of a just peace in Palestine?, and

(v) What about Arab public opinion?"

The Palestinians must understand that they are alone in confronting the devastating Israeli storm and that the Arab states are either unwilling or incapable of paying the high costs of a confrontation with the United States of America and Israel in defence of legitimate Palestinian rights. Palestinians commit deadly errors if they rely or count on Arab officials for support which is not in the offing. The key Arab state – (Egypt) is not in an empowered position to challenge Tel-Aviv militarily. Egypt is highly dependent on US financial and military aid and its painful economic restructuring requires its integration into the world market with Washington and Europe's acquiescence. Egyptian leaders are more interested in rejuvenating their economy than in alienating the United States and its closest ally (Israel) in the Middle East. Also their strategy is designed to reduce tension in the region and nudge their

Arab counterparts including the Palestinians towards a more moderating position on the Middle East peace process.

Similarly, Jordan's internal dynamics and severe economic crisis weakens its position and makes it less capable of lending an effective hand to the Palestinians. The Jordanian leadership is more concerned about consolidating national unity and improving their deteriorating economy than in offending the Americans and the Israelis. In their view, Jordanian national interests necessitate ending the Palestinian intifada and military escalation as well as returning to the negotiating table. In brief, Jordan seems to have made up its mind regarding its strategic priorities by co-operating with the United States and Israel.

As for Syria and Lebanon, they are suffering economically and militarily. More interestingly, Iraq is out of the political and military equation while the Gulf States are too far and too disengaged from the Arab-Israeli zone to make a decisive difference for the Palestinians. In the face of Arab impotence and lack of political will, Gerges says that the Palestinians are alone. He concludes by stating that Arab writers and commentators must and should be courageous and inform their Palestinian counterparts of this reality so that they won't miscalculate and overestimate the level and nature of Arab official support. The goal, says Gerges, is neither to discourage the Palestinians in their struggle for liberation nor to construct creative strategies which should rely or depend on their own resources to explain to the world the rational of their case and desire.

In his Article on "Israeli Attacks Only Fuel Conflict"[74], the author – Terje Larson – says that Israeli onslaught has increased hatred, crippled Palestinian Authority's security forces and infrastructure. He further says that three quarters of the Palestinian population is out of work and that the Palestinian economy has slid

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[74]. See The Daily Star, Saturday, April 20 (2002), p. 6

from "depression" into total paralysis. He believes that Israel's West Bank offensive had badly damaged the Palestinian's ability to provide security. In this respect, he says:

> *We must recognize that we are in situation in which the capacity of the Palestinian Authority (PA) to manage security issues is greatly diminished, and in some areas totally destroyed[75].*

Larsen who condemns terrorism believes that the campaign against terror and terrorism, which Israel says it is fighting, is counter productive. Israel's operation may have dismantled the physical infrastructure of terrorism but this is easily rebuilt. The mental infrastructure of terrorism is building up the mentality of hate and confrontation and this is very difficult to crush or undo.

Commenting on "Biased Bush's and Arab Failure in the Media War"[76] the author, Abddabair Atwan asserts that many Arab writers/commentators are outraged by Bush's remarks at the end of US Secretary of State Colin Powell's failed mission to the Middle East. Calling Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon a "man of peace", when people of conscience all over the world are demanding that he (Sharon) be tried as a "war criminal" after the terrible massacres he had committed against all Arabs and Muslims, is an insult to their feelings and a total endorsement of the Israeli ethnic cleansing policy which was enforced in the West Bank. He concludes by stating that given his position at the helm of a super-power whose weapons are capable of destroying the entire planet, US President George W. Bush (Jnr.) poses a threat to all of humanity.

A number of Arab commentators tried to fault the way the Arabs have failed to match Israel's efforts to sway international public opinion during Israel's war against the Palestinians. In most European and American media coverage, Israel's highly

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[75]. Ibid.
[76]. Ibid., p. 7

organized propagandists invariably focused on suicide bombings by Palestinian militants as the cause of the problem. This justifies Israel's brutal practices and turns a blind eye to Israel's occupation and colonization of Palestinian/Arab land or territories. Regrettably, there has been no organized Arab effort to counter Israeli propaganda in European and American media coverage. While Ariel Sharon is waging war on the Palestinians, the Israeli propaganda machine worked hard by providing him (Sharon) with cover and justifications for Israel's military reprisals against the Palestinians.

In his Article on "Resistance and Arab Cash Could Foil Sharon"[77], the author, Abdulhdi Khalaf asserts that since he became Israeli Prime Minister in February 2001, Ariel Sharon's strategy has been to wage a war of attrition against the Palestinian Authority. His objectives, says Khalaf, include eliminating the PA's security and Police forces and destroying its ministries and administrative infrastructure. According to Khalaf, Israeli Prime Minister Sharon's undecleared war lasted over a year before he formally declared Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat an "enemy" and "irrelevant" figure. Few, however, dispute that his preferred option is to force the Palestinians to choose between fleeing their land or living in self-administered enclaves surrounded by hundreds of Israeli settlements and military bases.

In an Article on "Settling Historical Land Claims in the Wake of Arab-Israeli Peace", the author, Michael R. Fischbach[78] asserted that the Arab-Israeli peace process created framework in which the Arabs and Israelis sought for long-standing claims engendered by the 1948 war. Decades of hostility and diplomatic non-recognition prevented states and individual landowners from claiming land owned

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[77] . <u>Ibid.,</u> p. 8

[78] . See Fiscback, "Settling Historical Land Claims in the Wake of Arab-Israeli Peace" in <u>Journal of Palestine Studies</u>, vol. Xxvii, No 1, Autumn 1997, pp. 38 – 50.

prior to 1948. The author concludes that the 1994 Jordanian-Israeli-PLO Agreement afforded the Palestinians, Jordanians and Israelis the opportunity to discuss their vital outstanding issues, but to no avail.

In a Monograph / Paper titled <u>America's Middle East Policy: Kissinger, Carter and the Future</u>[79], the author, Malcolm, H. Kerr gives a critical exposition of the two major opposing trends that have shaped US policy in the Middle East for decades. The "Cold Warriors" headed by former US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, view Middle East questions from a narrow angle of competition with the defunct Soviet Union (now Russia) for Client States, while the "Regionalists", typified by George Ball, look towards a solution which would be based primarily on the particular character of the Middle East problems and US interests. The Camp David approach, the Iranian Revolution, Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq-Iranian war have radically changed the premises of both Schools of Thought and, in the author's opinion, the US strategic pre-occupation preclude any settlement of the Palestinian issue in the near future.

In <u>Occupier's Law: Israel and the West Bank (Revised)</u>[80] the author, Raja Shehadeh, advocates peaceful co-existence between the Arabs including the Palestinians and the Jews with equal rights. In addition, Raja Shehadeh describes Israel's systematic strategy for controlling and taking Palestinian occupied territories for a long time.

<u>Hizbullah: Politics and Religion</u>[81] is a condensed version of Amal Saad Ghorayet's Ph.D Dissertation/Thesis which provides a clear and concise analysis of

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[79]. See Malcolm H. Kerr, "<u>America's Middle East Policy: Kissinger, Carter and the Future</u>", in Institute for Palestine Studies, 1980, pp. 7 – 32.
[80]. See Shehadeh Raja, <u>Occupier Law: Israel and the West Bank (Revised)</u>, Institute for Palestine Studies Washington D. C.
[81]. See Amal Saad Ghorayet, <u>Hizbullah: Politics and Religion</u> - (Amal's Ph.D. Dissertation) Pluto Press, London, 2002, pp. 1 – 195.

how the "Party of God" (Hizbullah) has managed to tread a line that respects its ideological absolutes while adapting to the prevailing political environment. The book also explores the apparent contradictions between Hizbullah's ideological violence and political accommodation, the Islamic state ideal versus democracy, pan-Islamism and national identity. Furthermore, Hizbullah's decision in 1992 to embrace parliamentary politics was a radical transformation from its revolutionary stance as espoused in the party's "Open Letter" of 1985.

But the author was unable to provide justifications acceptable to Hizbullah's followers that allowed participation within Lebanon's political system while preserving its ideological opposition to the sectarian nature of Lebanese politics. These include the end of the Lebanese Civil War (1975 – 1990), the priority given to the resistance, the Taif Accords Acknowledgement that political sectarianism should be abolished and the end of Christian advantage in Parliament. Hizbullah's pan-Islamic credentials are proven by its affiliation with the Islamic Republic of Iran, its observance of the Wilayet al-Faqih concept which places ultimate authority in a single religious leader and its support for the Palestinian cause.

In an Article titled: "US, Islamists Could Avoid Collision Course"[82], Mohammed Shanqiti stated that the majority of Islamist movements around the world lost no time condemning the September Eleventh (2001) terrorist attacks in the United States. In his view, this stemmed from two considerations: moral (based on Islam's prohibition of the targeting of non-condemned in wartime) and political (the universally – condemned attacks were deemed politically indefensible regardless of moral considerations).

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[82]. Mohammed Shanqiti, "US, Islamist Could Avoid Collision Course", in The Daily Star, Tuesday, November 20, 2001, p.5

But as the dust settled, these Islamist movement's attitudes to the attacks began to diverge. The initial near-consensus gave way to three conflicting approaches reflecting the three broad ideological and organizational categories into which contemporary Islamist movement can be divided namely: (i) political Islamist movements, (ii) the Salafi Islamist groups and (iii) the Revolutionary Jihad groups. He examines each in the order stated herein.

Political Islamist movements refer to those groups with roots in the Muslim Brotherhood. They seek to work within existing political and social systems and change them through reform rather than revolution. Since the 1970's, these groups have avoided direct confrontation with their adversaries and advocated gradualism and civic struggle alongside non-Islamist opposition forces. It is no surprise that they were unanimous in their denunciation of the September Eleventh 2001 outrage (in the United States of America) which reflected the anti-thesis of their way of thinking and working.

Salafi Islamist groups are traditionally inclined toward education and preaching and are not much interested in politics. But social and political changes in the Arabian Peninsula over the past decades have made them more politicized and conscious of current regional and international affairs. These groups, after the shock of the first few days, adopted a more "understanding" attitude of what happened in America without overtly supporting it. This was perhaps influenced by their attitude to the US military presence in the Gulf Region.

The Revolutionary Jihad groups espouse Salafi thought or ideas, but they differ from traditional Salafis in their attitude toward rulers and their tendency to acquiesce to the status quo and shun politics. They deem the approach of the political Islamists and Muslim Brotherhoods to be excessively cautious and to have

turned them into part of the system they ostensibly seek to replace. The Hamas, Palestine Liberation Army and Islamic Jihad groups, who see forcible removal of local rulers and foreign forces from the region, are generally small in number and lack broad public support. Their appeal is further undermined by the fact that in some countries they have extended their renunciation of the state to renunciation of society as a whole and little in the way of political mobilization accompanies their "war effort". These groups kept quiet in the days after September Eleventh outrage but later began enthusing about them and defending them, especially after the start of the US-led war in Afghanistan.

Shangiti notes that the three categories of Islamist groups mentioned above agreed unanimously that the victims of the September Eleventh attacks are innocent while America is not innocent. In other words, while rejecting the attacks from a moral standpoint, the Islamist groups were reluctant to pass political judgment on them being convinced of the need for America to come under pressure to stop inflicting injustices on Palestinians, Iraqis and other Muslims. They held America indirectly responsible in whole or in part for the September Eleventh attacks and stated that its policies towards various Muslim peoples sow resentment, hatred and deepen the divide between the Islamic world and the West with particular reference to Palestine, Iraq and US support for some unpopular rulers in Arab and Islamic world. The Islamist movements opposed the war in Afghanistan and called for support for the Afghan people even though the vast bulk does not have friendly ties with the Taliban movement or Osama bin Laden. Also Islamic fundamentalists believe American foreign policy is relentlessly hostile to Islam. They view the Jewish state (or Israel) as an agent of the Christian West in the midst of the Islamic world.

In an Article tagged "Where the US Proposal Still Fails"[83], Rami G. Khouri pointed out that the proposals put forward by the former US President Bill Clinton before his exit from the White House on January 20, (2001) as parameters for a comprehensive Palestinian-Israeli peace accord are important, constructive and telling; but not compelling, comprehensive or acceptable from the Palestinian and Arab perspective (or view). According to Khouri, the American ideas are important because they indicate the persistent determination of the world's single superpower to foster a negotiated peace accord that tries to consider the rights and goals of both Israelis and Palestinians. They are constructive because they move a little bit more toward a more balanced position that acknowledges the equal rights of Palestinians and Israelis in both the national and spiritual areas. And they are telling because they start to distil the convergence of both sides on the core issues, indicating the significant and real progress that has been made on key issues being negotiated. But they are not compelling because they are merely "parameters" that aim to provide a guide to further or for future negotiations and are not explicitly noted in the UN Resolutions that must be the terms of reference for a permanent accord and an end to the conflict. They are not comprehensive because they broadly reflect a greater sensitivity to and affirmation of Israeli security concerns while making Palestinian national rights gains generally conditional upon Israeli demands and concerns.

There is no doubt, American parameters are striking for what they illustrate about how far the international community has moved since the original Egyptian-Israeli Camp David I Accords of the late 1970s and also since the Camp David II attempt in July 2000. The parameters are dramatic illustrations of the capacity of the two antagonists (Israelis and Palestinians) and the principal mediator (the United

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[83]. See Rami G. Khouri, "Where the US Proposals Still Fails" in <u>The Daily Star</u>, Thursday, 11 January, 2001, p.6

States of America) to make continuous and swift progress on core issues such as settlements, sovereignty, security and Jerusalem.

Khouri concludes by stating that, if the thrust of the US ideas remains visibly skewed in favour of the Israeli position, it will be difficult for the entire international community to achieve a permanent peace in the Middle East. Rather than a permanent peace, the world will continue to witness sporadic violence which may eventually lead to regional war.

In a Monograph titled "From Jerusalem to Camp David: The Middle East Peace Process[84], Adisa stated clearly that without Egypt in the ranks of Middle East nations, the war against Israel is as good as over. In this regard, he asserts:

> *One important implication deals with the military dimension of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Treaty has altered the balance of forces in this regard. With it, Egypt has opted out of military confrontation with Israel. The significance of this factor can be best appreciated if one considers the contribution of Egypt to the Arab war effort against Israel since 1948… This is more so because the loss of Egypt would also mean that the Western front is closed to the Arabs and the Israelis can concentrate on the Eastern front against Syria and Jordan. For these reasons, Israel has always perceived Egypt as the greatest military threat to its security[85].*

Without any doubt, Adisa's prediction as regards the powerlessness of the Middle East Arab nations without Egypt can be seen to have come true as not only has there been no further large scale Arab-Israeli war since the 1978 Camp David I Accords, but also today there are visible moves and agreements, though they remain unimplemented, to usher in lasting peace in the region.

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[84]. See F. O. Adisa, <u>From Jerusalem to Camp David: The Middle East Peace Process</u>, NIIA Publication, Lagos, 1981,

[85]. <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 33 - 34

In another work, Imobighe focused attention on American strategy in the Middle East from the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war to the end of Sadat's era[86]. Imobighe T. A. argued that since Egypt is the most powerful nation on the Arab side, her neutralization by American strategy undermined the Arab capacity to wage another war against Israel. In winning over Egypt, the writer stated that Henry Kissinger was aided by the hopeless situation which Egypt found herself at the close of the October 1973 war. By the time of the final ceasefire on 23 October 1973, Israel had virtually encircled the Egyptian Third Army at Suez. Egypt's main concern, therefore, was the survival of her Third Army and the withdrawal of Israeli troops across the Suez Canal. Whoever could help her out in this immediate predicament was to receive Egypt's full support. In this connection, the Soviet Union was not in a position to do anything about it, except perhaps to use force which was politically impossible. Since it was only the Americans who could effectively pressurize Israel to make needed concessions to save Egypt's battered Third Army, the Egyptian leaders had no option than to lean heavily on the Americans.

The US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, was quick to exploit the situation which Egypt found herself. He immediately embarked on a diplomatic maneuver popularly referred to as "shuttle diplomacy" which relegated the position of the defunct Soviet Union to the role of an on looker. As an approach to peace settlement, there is nothing wrong with shuttle diplomacy; but Kissinger's peace shuttle diplomacy ignored the Palestinian issue which had been at the core of the Middle East crisis.

Arguing the case of the Palestinians' right to a homeland in the Middle East, Moyosore lamented US double standard in the Middle East crisis. She believes that

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[86]. See <u>Nigerian Journal of International Affairs</u>, vol. 9, November 2, 1983, pp. 83 - 103

the demand of the Palestinian homeland is the key problem and solution to the Middle East crisis. In her words:

> *… of all the problems that affect the troubled state of affairs in the Middle East, the most complex seem to be the question of Palestinian rights. The solution to the problem is the key to settling the Middle East crisis. Unless their demands are resolved, the area will continue to be a simmering volcano[87].*

She criticized the US under the Reagan administration for not supporting the peace process in the Middle East and for banning Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat from coming to the UN in New York. We fully agree with Moyosore's view. This has been the trend till today. For instance and before the 56th Session of the UN General Assembly was held between November 8 – 18 (2001), the US National Security Advisor/Adviser in the Bush administration (Jnr.), Ms Condoleeza Rice (later US Secretary of State)announced that US President George Bush (Jnr.) would not meet Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat neither at the UN nor at the White House[88]; whereas President W. Bush (Jnr.) had twice received Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon at the White House between January and October 2001. However, Condoleeza justified the decision of President Bush not to meet Arafat by citing the ambivalence of Arafat's behaviour. Arafat, she said, took part in the coalition against terror and, at the same time, offered Hamas and Islamic Jihad protections.

Lastly, writing on "American Bankruptcy In the Middle East"[89], the writer, Bouthaina Shaaban, asserts that American policy regarding the Middle East Peace Process is facing bankruptcy. According to him, the entire Middle East Peace Process was launched as a response to American initiative that set for itself the objective of implementing UN Security Council Resolution 242, 338 and 425 as well

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[87]. See Moyosore Toyin, "The Palestinian Issue: Homeland Is a Right", Nigerian Forum, Lagos NIIA Publication, March/April 198, p. 85

[88]. See Abdeljabbar Adwan, "Proliferation on Plans but no Arab-Israeli Peace in Sight" in The Daily Star (Beirut), Wednesday, 21 November 2001, p. 7

[89]. See Syria Times, Thursday, 19 July 2001, p. 3

as to achieve once and for all an enduring just and comprehensive peace in the region. He also pointed out that US President George Bush (Snr.) and Secretary of State James Baker worked very hard with the parties concerned to establish terms of reference for Madrid Conference before it was convened.   Madrid (Spain) was chosen as venue for the conference in October 1991. Regrettably, as soon as the parties arrived in Madrid, the Israelis started to change or alter what has been agreed upon with the American administration and wanted to meet with each Arab delegation in a separate venue, although it was agreed upon that all the delegations would meet at the same place. Part of the problem, however, was due to the fact that the US government did not guide all delegations to the best way of implementing what has been agreed upon or, at least, making it the sole topic of negotiations at Madrid Conference. Another problem identified by Shaaban was Israel's belief that the Arabs came to the negotiating table because they were defeated (the losers) in the previous Arab-Israeli Wars whereas the Israelis were the victorious ones (the winners) and therefore, they could (or can) dictate their conditions and their will on the Arabs including the Palestinians. Shaaban concludes by saying that the American policy in the Middle East has reached a stage of bankruptcy because the US has failed to play the role of an honest broker – a role that would have served the interests of both Israel and the Arabs as well as the interests of the United States of America.

2.3   THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

This study needs an appropriate theoretical framework of analysis to enable us understand and analyse Nigeria's foreign policy and role on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peace process. Before declaring our selected theoretical model for the study, we deem it necessary to review briefly some relevant theoretical approaches that can be applied to the study of international relations and political phenomena.

Indeed, the field of international relations has attracted to itself several theories or models geared towards the explanation of different aspects of it. Examples include: (i) the power approach/realist theory, (ii) the theory of war, (iii) the theory of conflict resolution, (iv) games theory, (v) decision-making approach, (vi) systems theory and (vii) linkage theory. We now examine each briefly in the order stated above.

(i)   **The Realist Approach:**

The realist/power approach is one of the most popular theoretical frameworks employed by students of Political Science in general and International Relations in particular in their analysis of foreign policy of nation-states. The main exponent of realism or power approach is Hans J. Morgenthau; although strategists and realists such as E. H. Carr, Aron Raymond, Kenneth Walz, Henry Kissinger, F. S. Northedge, H. Bull, J. Burton, G. Modeski, and Niccolo Machiavelli have also contributed immensely to the development of this School of Thought[90]. Indeed, Machiavelli's two works: The Prince (1512 – 1640) and The Discourses (1516) brought a new realism into the study of politics.

As the Chief exponent of the realist approach, Hans J. Morgenthau who earned global respect in his famous book titled Politics Among Nations, defines politics as the struggle for power whether in domestic or international politics/setting. Hence, he asserts:

> *…international politics and indeed, all politics is a struggle for power whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aims. Statesmen and peoples think and act in terms of interest defined as power. They may ultimately seek freedom, security, prosperity or power itself but whenever they strive to realize their goal by means of international politics, they do so by striving for power[91].*

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[90]. See Hans J. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations, 4th Edition, (New York: Alfred Knopf. 1967). E. H. Carr, Twenty Years of Crisis, (London, Macmillan, 1956), Aron Raymond, Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations (New York, Fredrick Preager, 1967), Kenneth Waltz, Man, the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.

[91]. See Hans J. Morgenthau, Ibid., p. 27

Morgenthau argued persuasively that the major concern of nation-states is the acquisition of power. Hence, he conceived politics in terms of power. He further stated that with power comes the ability of the state to protect and promote its national interest (such as the welfare of its citizens, defence of its independence and territorial integrity from internal and external forces), and if necessary to impose its will on others. For realists, national power is crucial for the defence of national interests since, in a world which is constituted by sovereign states, no single state can rely on any others to promote its interest. The global state system is consequently one in which self-help dominates because there is nobody above the state to ensure its interests are defended, or even to guarantee its survival as well as existence[92]. There is no doubt, the power approach lays emphasis on power in the analysis of the behaviour of nation-states.

The realists further assert the primacy of the state in global politics. Although they acknowledge the existence of other actors like international and regional organizations, multinational corporations and individuals such as the Pope (in global system), they posit that states are the dominant actors. Being sovereign, there is no authority over and above the state. International and regional organizations are subordinate to states since they are the creatures of states. All other actors in the global system must either work through states or influence state policy if their interests are to be fulfilled. In Nigeria, self-interest appears to be the main motivating factor in the quest for political power. For this reason, the struggle for power at all cost encourages political acrimonies and unhealthy rivalry in politics. Political power in particular is not acquired, retained or deployed on the basis of the strength and weakness of individuals or nation-states.

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[92]. See Anthony G. McGrew & Paul G. Lewis et al., <u>Global Politics</u>, Polity Press, Oxford, 1992, p. 15

Realism places great emphasis on the use of force. As a result, military power becomes the essential ingredient of state power, since without it; states cannot defend their own core interests. The realist paradigm focuses too much attention on nation-states. By focusing attention on nation-states, the realist paradigm underplays the roles of non-state actors such as multinational corporations, liberation movements and the Vatican represented by the Pope.

Moreover, the realist is particularly interested in studying and outlining the basis of order and peace in an apparently anarchical society. From the realist perspective, peace and order can be maintained in the international society through effective enforcement of international organizations which do not provide enough restraints to moderate state behavior. A more effective regulatory device for the management of power in the international society is the mechanism of balance of power. Thus, the realists asserted.

> *Since nation-states have conflicting national objectives some of which lead to war and the capabilities of nation-states are crucial for the outcome of international politics, the only way to prevent war and maintain peace is to ensure that increased power is balanced with a counter-weight. Indeed, the realists have so much faith in the balance of power mechanism (despite its acknowledged inadequacies) that they have described it as the "inevitable and essential stabilizing" factor in a society of sovereign and independent states as well as a general social principle to which all societies compose of a number of autonomous units owe the authomomy of their component parts[93]*

In spite of the above, the realist approach lacks the methodology for resolving competing claims and criteria for determing which data will count as significant information and which rules will be followed in interpreting data. Secondly, criticizing Morgenthau's famous maxim that "Whatever the ultimate aims of international

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[93] See H. Assisi Asobie," Decision – Making Models: An Analysis of the Application of Theories and Models of Foreign Polcy Decision – Making to the study of Nigeria's Foreign Policy" in Gabriel Olusanya and Fatai, Processes of Foreign Policy Making and Implementation in Nigeria 1960-1990, NIIA and Vintage Publication International, Ibadan, 190, P.9.

politics, power is always the immediate aim", Cattin George suggests that co-operation may also be a form of power, perhaps more subtle and difficult to construct, but also more stable than domination. Although many scholars have criticized the power approach as inadequate for foreign policy analysis, others have sought to apply it directly to foreign policy of a nation – state.

(ii)   **The Theory of War:**

There are many theories of war. There are, for example, explanatory theory which attempts to explain why wars happen; normative or prescriptive theory which tries to tell us what our attitude to war ought to be whether, for example, we should volunteer to participate in a conflict/war or consciously object to it. Besides, there is interpretative theory, which interprets events. It is essential to note that explanatory, normative/prescriptive and interpretative theories of war are interrelated. This is because we cannot explain an occurrence without simultaneously interpreting it and orienting ourselves towards it.

In summary, the theories of war fall within three broad categories. Some explanations search for the psychological roots of war and blame the wickedness of human nature; others stress the internal structure of the states and others again the anarchic nature of the international system.

(iii)   **The Theory of Conflict Resolution:**

Professor F. S. Northedge defines conflict resolution as:

> *a collection of proposed techniques ranging from the reduction of psychological abnormalities among the leaders of states to playing out international conflicts in the form of games so as to release and eliminate tensions inherent in them[94].*

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[94]. See F. S. Northedge, <u>The International Political System</u>, London: Faber, 1976, p. 299

Conflict resolution lays emphasis on the attempt to settle incompatible objectives of actors by peaceful means or procedures. Besides, conflict management and conflict resolution can be achieved through problem-solving rather than coercion. In brief, conflict in any form can be resolved in various ways such as judicial, political and diplomatic methods.

Judicial methods include arbitration, mediation, dialogue, reconciliation and adjudication known as conflict management techniques. In each method, the parties to a conflict, by prior agreement, submit the issues under contentions to an independent legal tribunal or court of law. International tribunal can take a case only if the parties in conflict agree to its jurisdiction and competence.

Political and diplomatic methods of settling conflict can be attempted through negotiation, dialogue, reconciliation and mediation. Negotiation denotes discussions between representations of two or more sovereign states initiated with the object of settling differences between them or concluding an agreement on matters of mutual concern. In this regard, F. C. Ikles defines negotiation as:

> *A process in which explicit proposals are put forth ostensibly for the purpose of reaching agreement on realization of a common interest where conflicting interests are present[95].*

Negotiation may be bilateral or multilateral among the parties directly involved in a conflict. The success of negotiation depends upon a number of factors such as acceptability of the demands of either party to the other, the restraint, tact and the spirit of mutual accommodation with which negotiations are conducted as well as the state of public opinion in the countries concerned <u>vis-à-vis</u> the concessions demanded. It is essential to bear in mind that a powerful country has the advantage of dictating the tune, pace and outcome of negotiation with a weaker nation-state.

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[95]. See F. C. Ikles, <u>How Nations Negotiate</u>, New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1964, pp. 3-4

Rather than violence or the use of force, dialogue should be the basis for resolving any conflict or crisis whether it is domestic, national, regional or international. Dialogue involves two or more parties with different or divergent views on a specific issue. For any dialogue to be meaningful and effective, there must be genuine desire to resolve the conflict. Besides, the parties must have and show regards for each other. The parties in a conflict must, therefore, see themselves as equal parties. Dialogue should not aim at defeating one's opponents. Rather, it should aim at searching for truths and amicable settlement of a dispute.

Dialogue, however, differs slightly from negotiation. Usually, parties involved in a dispute (or conflict) come to the negotiating table to defend their interests and to achieve tangible and intangible things. Compromise can be reached after lengthy and fruitful negotiations. Lastly, trust must exist between (or among) the parties to a conflict. Any dialogue between a cat and a mouse is not likely to yield much fruit. The Israeli (cat) and Palestinian (mouse) negotiators resumed peace talks on an overall settlement package in Washington D. C. in July 2000. The agenda of their talks include the future of Jerusalem and how much land Israel would cede to the Palestinians for a state. Refugee and water problems also featured on the agenda as talks began on Tuesday, 11 July 2000 at St. Andrews Air Force Base, suburb of Maryland, USA[96]. Regrettably, the peace talks between the Cat and Mouse failed to yield any positive result.

Conciliation involves a commission or agency which studies the facts involved in a conflict, makes proposals to the disputants and attempts to arrive at a settlement of the conflict. Proposals are in the form of a recommendation and are not a binding award or judgement. The disputants are, therefore, free to accept or reject the findings and proposals of the reconciliators.

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[96]. See The Daily Star, Wednesday, 4 June 2000, p. 5

Mediation implies the intervention by some other party or group of parties with the object of proposing a compromise. In mediation, a third party with no direct interest in the issues under contention intervenes in the bargaining processes. The tasks of a mediator include, among other things, data source, interpretation, interposition, supervision, persuasion, enunciation, elaboration and initiation[97]. A mediator, however, is free to suggest terms of settlements to the parties involved in a dispute.

All the techniques stated above can be subsumed under the term Third Party Mediation which is not it itself a new approach or method. A Third Party is a Party in a case other than the two principals. And this is what makes Third Party Mediation unique. The mediator's neutrality gives him an opportunity to intervene in a dispute without his motives being suspected. A Third Party performs a number of functions. Firstly, it acts as a channel of communication between the disputants passing vital messages between them. Secondly, it may engage in interpretative activities in regard to ambiguous situations either independently or on the request of the parties involved. In some situations, Third Party engages as participants in the processes of direct negotiation between the parties to international conflict. For the purpose of this study, the term "Third Party" will be used to cover all those actors (or players), which became significantly involved in the Palestinian/Arab-Israeli conflict from 1948 – 2006.

In summary, conflict can be resolved in two major ways: (i) conflict management approach which involves a certain degree of bargaining and (ii) conflict resolution approach which believes in carrying the conflict to a stage where it is resolved to the entire satisfaction of the two or several parties to a struggle. Conflict

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[97]. For explanation of each concept, See K. J. Holsti, <u>International Politics: A Framework for Analysis</u>, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 1977, pp. 483 – 484.

management and conflict resolution can be achieved through problem-solving rather than coercion. Violence and war may resolve conflict but certainly it is not the best method for resolving it.   Although it is useful, the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli intransigence has not allowed diplomacy and conflict resolution mechanism to resolve the protracted Arab-Israeli conflict since 1948.

(iv)   **Games Theory**

Games theory is another approach or conceptual framework in the study of political phenomenon. Games theory is defined as a body of thought dealing with rational decision strategies in situations of conflict and competition when each participant or player seeks to maximize gains and minimize losses. The main advocates of the games theory are Morton A. Kaplan, William H. Riker and Thomas C. Schelliing who believe in applying mathematical models to political studies.

Some of the concepts (or terms) associated with the games theory are the players, the rules of the game, and the outcomes/pay-offs. The players or decision-makers could be individuals or institutions. Each player is assumed to be rational in its choice of strategies. The rules of the game describe how the available resources may be utilized while the outcomes or pay-offs may be of three types namely: win, lose and draw.

Politics is a game of many players. At the end of the game, there are winners and losers. The players must follow and obey the rules of the game if dispute or controversy is to be avoided. Similarly, in war or conflict, there are principal and minor players or actors who may emerge as winners or losers. Games theorists try to analyse the strategies by which players may maximize their pay-offs.

Games theory has been criticized on many grounds. Since it puts too much emphasis on mathematical calculations, it is rarely used by many political scientists.

The mathematically oriented political scientists, however, think that games theory is indispensable to the understanding of political phenomena whereas the political scientist with a bias against the use of mathematical models regards the effort to do so as puerile and mischievous[98].   It is important to note that games theory also fits into our research project in the sense that what the Palestinians (losers) lost in the 1948, 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli Wars became the gains of the Israelis (winners).

(v) The Decision-making Approach

The decision-making approach was developed by Richard C. Snyder and his associates at the end of World War II (1939 – 1945). In developing his approach, Snyder <u>et.al</u> began with the simple notion that (i) all political action is undertaken by concrete human beings and (ii) that, if we want to comprehend the dynamics of this action, we should be prepared to view the world not from our point of view but from the perspective of the persons responsible for taking the decision. Simply put, the basic assumption of the decision-making approach is that policies are not made by states but by individuals who act on behalf of nation-states. It is, therefore, important to know, in order to understand a political action correctly, who made the key decisions that gave rise to a particular action.

In analyzing the factors that operate on decision-makers and give structure as well as content to their choices, we have to look into three main sets of stimuli: (i) the internal setting (ii) the external setting and (iii) the decision-making process. According to Snyder, the internal setting is the society for which the officials make decisions. Besides, it includes, among others, public opinion and common-value orientations. The external setting consists of the actions and reactions of other states and the societies for which they act and the physical world. Above all,

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[98]. See S. P. Varma, <u>Modern Political Theory: Critical Survey</u>. (Vikas Publishing House, PVT Ltd., New Delhi, 1975, p. 280

decision-making process consists of three main sub-categories namely: (i) spheres of competence (ii) communication and information as well as (iii) motivation.

Apart from Snyder _et.al_, another great contributor to the decision – making approach is Joseph Frankel who asserts that the state remains the principal decision-making unit in world politics. For Frankel, the state is conceived in terms of decision-making power, not of formal governmental power. He analyzes the decision-making sequence in three ongoing stages: (i) pre-decisional (characterized by initiative, planning, definition of a situation, prediction, advice and deliberation); (ii) the formulation of a decision; and (iii) implementation of the decision. He accepts the distinction between the operational and the psychological environment which was proposed by Harold and Margret Sprout in their work titled 'Environmental Factors in the Study of International Politics' in J.M. Rosenau (ed); International Politics and Foreign Policy, New York: Free Press, 1961, PP. 112 – 119.

One serious defect of the decision-making approach is that it concentrates exclusively upon the images and perceptions of decision-makers and ignores the objective reality that these reflect. In their own view, Bretcher _et.al_ asserts that the most serious difficulty relates to the application of this model. The number of variables is overwhelming actors, perceptions, values, motivations, sphere of competence, the structure of the international system and a host of other variables. Many of these are not researchable. The quality of data that must be processed is enormous. The extra-ordinary complexity of this mode has made research difficult, the burden of an imaginative enterprise have been excessive[99]. Other defects of the decision-making approach include insufficiency of information available to decision-

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[99]. See Michael Bretcher _et.al_., "A Framework for Research on Foreign Policy Behaviour", in Journal of Conflict Resolution, xii 91), 1969.

makers and diverse internal and external pressures exerted on policy-makers. These problems make it difficult to reach rational decisions.

In concluding our discussion on the decision-making approach, we need to bear in mind that it focuses attention on governments and decision-makers. For instance, in Nigeria, who takes final foreign policy decisions relating to Nigeria's external relations? In Israel, who takes the ultimate decisions that affect thousands of Palestinians? In the Palestinian Authority, who takes final decision relating to Palestinian's welfare and in the Palestinian question, who gets the blame for lack of progress? In the United States of America, the US President is undoubtedly the chief or final decision-maker in matters relating to foreign relations or affairs. But only the US Congress can declare war, except perhaps the Vietnam War which provoked bitter criticism by the American public. However, US Presidents have in recent times committed the United States to war without Congressional approval. Apart from the declaration of war, the real decision-makers in the US have been a group of capitalists and monopolists as well as the Zionist-Jewish lobby. The latter has proved to be pivotal element in the American ruling establishment. In addition, the US Congress is dominated by a majority of Jewish and pro-Israeli Congressmen who have been keen on protecting Israel's interests such as its expansionist policy in the occupied Arab/Palestinian territories. As a result, most American administration decisions (whether it is Republican Party or Democratic Party) have always been in favour of Israel.

(vi) **The Linkage theory**

The linkage approach holds that there is "a link" between domestic processes (politics, religion, economic, cultural, etc) and the external situation towards which

foreign policy is directed.[100] The nature and history of Nigeria's political development have made the linkage approach to be a useful framework of analysis for this study. Nigeria had been in search of national consensus over her Middle East policy for decades and this has generated much controversy and division within the nation-state. In other words, the structure of internal differences in Nigeria was aptly reflected in the Arab-Israeli conflict during the Balewa era. The religious and regional interest which was widely pronounced in Nigeria created a situation where Nigeria could not present a common front over the explosive situation in the Middle East sub-region. The situation then was such that while the Northern dominated political parties including the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) urged the Federal government to suspend all relations and dealings with the Jewish state, the Southern parties consisting mostly of the Christian dominated East and West was supportive of Israel's cause. The implication was that the Federal government had to adopt the policy which merely encouraged the diplomatic presence of Israel in Nigeria while doing the same in Tel-Aviv (Israel). This had the effect of harmonizing the differences in opinion, views, and interests of the citizens at that time.[100(a)] This, indeed, is a clear manifestation of the linkage approach.

The linkage approach is anchored on the premise that the domestic sources of foreign policy are as crucial to its content and conduct as the international environment towards which it is expected. Indeed, as noted by Rosenau:

> *Domestic factors may be of considerable significance even, if they are not primary sources of foreign policy and on some issues they may well be dominant.[101]*

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[100].   See Research J.N. (ed), <u>Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy</u>, Free Press, 1967, p. 2.
[100(a)]   See Joy U. Ogwu, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 51.
[101].   Ibid.

The linkage approach has two important features. They are the general context it provides for a link to be established between the domestic situations of a country and the external environment in which foreign policy is analyzed in general. The idea of a linkage between the internal (domestic) situation and external (global) environment allows for an analysis that adequately examines the extent to which the interaction between the two environments can constitute a constraint to the formulation of an effective foreign policy.

In summary, the linkage approach enables a researcher to know Nigeria's relationship with Israel and the Arabs. Nigeria's relationship with both was characterized by three conflicting pressures: the Northern region's ties with the Arab world and the south sympathetic dispositions to Israel. The North's political rejection and south's acceptance of Israeli loans and economic aid and finally, the North's partisanship in the Middle East conflict as opposed to the federal government even handedness. [102]

(vi)   **The Systemic/Systems Theory**

All political systems interact with two environments: the domestic and the external (or international). They affect and they are affected by their domestic economics, their natural environment and resources, their educational and technological systems as well as their ethnic and cultural system.[103] There are many system theorists. The main proponents of the systems/ systemic theory / approach

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102   See Gambari I.A., Party Politics and Foreign Policy: Nigeria Under the First Republic, A.B.U., Press 1980, p. 95.

[103].   See Gabriel A. Almond & G.B. Powel, Jr., Comparative Politics: Systems, Process and Policy, Second Edition, Little Brown & Company, Boston, 1978, P.6.

include, among others, Gabried Almond, George Modeski, David Easton, Morton A. Kaplan, Stanley Hoffman and George Organski.

Gabriel Almond was among the first to propose an embryonic input – output analysis of foreign policy. His framework consisted of three categories: historical background comprising the principal factors conditioning actor behavior, the policy process involving both governmental and non-governmental agencies and the substance of policy[104] Implicitly, this suggests a system of inputs, process and outputs.

Another contributor to systems or systemic theory is George Modelski who attempted to employ the input- output analysis derived from economics and a personian construct of the social system to explain state behavior.[105] He suggests that a foreign policy model will be shaped by four variables: power input, power output, interests and objectives. He further argues that foreign policy will change with changes in these variables and that this change can be internally or externally motivated. More importantly, he emphasizes the relationship between decision – makers and their constituencies and specifies a multi-dimensional notion of 'feed back'

In his own contribution to systems/systemic theory, David Easton stated that a political system must have inputs to keep it going and that without inputs, the system

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[104] See Gabriel A. Almod in Roy Macridis (ed.) <u>Foreign Policy in World Politics, 2nd Edition,</u>Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice – Hall, Inc,1962, PP. 1-8.

[105] See George Modelski, <u>A Theory of Foreign Policy,</u> N.Y: Praeger, 1962, P. 71.

can do no work; and without outputs (policies / decisions), we cannot identify the work done by the system[106].

Among inputs of a political system, there are two basic kinds: demands and supports. These inputs give a political system its dynamic character. They furnish it both with the raw material or information that the system is called upon to process and with the energy to keep it going. Demands arise in a society. In other words, demands of experience: either in the environment of a system (external demands) or within the system itself (internal / domestic demands). A second type of inputs is support. Inputs of demands are not enough to keep a political system operating. They are only the raw materials out of which finished products called decisions or policies are manufactured. A society generates support for a political system in two ways: (i) through outputs that meet the demands of the members of society and (ii) through the processes of politicization.

The process of politicization brings several rewards and punishments. For performing the right political acts, for conforming to the generally accepted interpretation of political goals, and for undertaking the institutionalized obligations of a member of the given system, we are variously rewarded or punished. For conforming, we are made to feel worthy, wanted and respected and often obtain material advantages such as wealth, influence and improved opportunities; and for deviating beyond the permissible range; we are made to feel unworthy, rejected, dishonored and often suffer material loses.

Support is fed into the political system in relation to three object: the community, the regime and the government. Concerning the community, no political

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[106] See Roy C. Macridis & B.E Brown, <u>Comparative Politics: Notes And Readings Fifth Edition</u>, The DorseyPress, 1977, PP. 93 - 106

system can continue to operate unless its members are willing to support the existence of a group that seeks to settle differences or promote decisions through peaceful action in common. The regime consists of all those arrangements that regulate the way in which the demands put into the systems are settled and the way in which decisions are put into effect. Lastly, if a political system is going to be able to handle the conflicting demands put into it not only must the members of the system be prepared to support the settlement of these conflicts in common and possess some consensus with regard to the rules governing the mode of settlement; they must also be ready to support a government as it undertakes the concrete tasks involved in negotiating such settlements. It is important to note that a government may elicit support in many ways: through persuasion, consent or manipulation. It may also impose unsupported settlements of demands through threat of force.

Inputs of demands and supports enter the political system from the environment. These demands may result in policy outputs. The latter may produce changes in the environment called outcomes, which, in turn, may affect the political system, as when successful price controls check inflation. This process is called "feed back". This is shown diagrammatically on page 108.

FIGURE 2.2 - David Easton's Model: The Analysis of Political System

Environment

Feedback

Environment
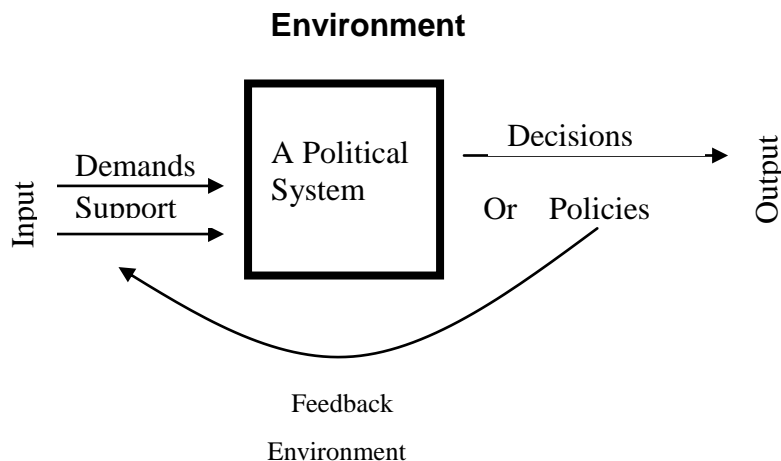
<u>Source</u>: Macridis Roy C & Brown B. E. <u>Comparative Politics: Notes & Readings</u>, Fifth Edition, The Dorsey Press, Illinois, 1977, p. 95.

Among the systems theorists, Modelski provides a more logical and consistent model than Almond. Despite this, the entire input – output analysis has been criticized by Bretcher <u>et.al</u> for "providing no research – directed questions, for permitting no empirical verification and for inability to generate any hypotheses.[107] Nonetheless, systems theory with its sensibility to the input – output exchange offers a fruitful approach to the understanding of Nigeria's policy and role on the Palestinian – Israeli conflict and peace process from 1960 to 2006.

The systemic level of analysis takes the entire international system as a whole for consideration when analysising issues in international relations. This approach viewed the entire international system as one single entity with different sovereign states serving as units within the entire world system. Besides, there is a high degree of interconnection and interactions amongst the various units of the system. The systemic level of analysis subscribes to the contention that the trend of action

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[107]   See Michael Bretcher *et.al,* "A Framework for Research on Foreign Policy Behavior" in <u>Journal of Conflict Resolution,</u> Vol. XIII, No2 (March 1969), PP. 78-79.

adopted by a state is determined by the policy and behaviour of other sovereign states.

In summary, all systems analysts distinguish units (or actors), structures, processes and context (or environment); while systems theorists assert that a part is a functional unit of a whole and that once the part is (made) dysfunctional, either by political instability, economic crisis, or labor-government unrest, the whole cannot function well, and the expected system goals cannot be achieved.

This study benefits from the linkage theory, and systems theory. The linkage theory especially helps us understand and analyse the nexus between domestic factors and Nigeria's foreign policy in the Middle East; as well as the systems theory.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PALESTINIAN – ISRAELI CONFLICT: ORIGIN, CAUSES, COURSES, CONSEQUENCES, AND THE ROLE OF MAJOR ACTORS

The focus of this chapter is on the origin, causes, courses and consequences of the Arab/Palestinian – Israeli conflict since 1948. The study also examines the role of the major actors in the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peace process.

3.1   THE ORIGIN AND CAUSES OF THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT

History has long been a source of dispute between Israel and the Palestinians over their age long conflict. In this regard, many Arab historians have attributed Palestinian problems to various powers, such as the Ottoman and British powers that have occupied Palestine over the years. Since Israel was created in 1948, most of the Arab States have refused to recognize it on the grounds that modern Israel emerged on the ashes of Palestine and that before 1948, what is now Israel was part of Palestine under the British mandate of the League of Nations. The old Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire up until 1919. This empire which embraced most of the current Arab countries and Turkey as well as some European states such as Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina and some countries in the Caucasus was dissolved as a result of the defeat of the Ottoman Empire which was in alliance with the German Empire and the amorphous Austro-Hungarian Empire.[1a] After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1917, Britain and France became two great ex-colonial powers in the Middle East which was divided into spheres of influence and ruled as mandates or protectorates.

When they departed, both the British and French left behind English and French languages as <u>lingua franca</u> as colonial heritage. After World War II (1939 – 1945), Britain's inability to reconcile the conflicting demands of the Jewish and Arab

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1(a)   See <u>The Nation</u>, Sunday, October 14, 2007, p. 52.

communities forced the British government to request that the "Question of Palestine" be placed on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly (April 1947). As a result, a special committee was constituted to draft proposals concerning Palestine's future. The committee met in the Spring of 1947 and at the end of its meeting recommended the partition of Palestine into two: one for the Jews and the other for the Arabs. On 29 November 1947, the UN General Assembly voted to adopt the Committee's recommendation to partition Palestine into two States. The Jewish community accepted the UN Partition Plan (see Appendix 7, page 464) while the Arabs rejected it. Consequently, Arab leaders resolved to use force in order to prevent the implementation of the UN Partition Plan. The UN Partition Plan gave 57 percent of Palestine to the Jews, and 43 percent to the Arab Palestinians, although the Jews were less than a third of the population and owned less than 6 percent of the land. But 78 percent of historic Palestine is today in Jewish hands while only 22 percent remains in Arab/Palestinian hands[1(b)].

The State of Israel was created in May 1948 in the mist of war with the Palestinians and their Arab neighbours. The Palestinians immediately after the creation of Israel got their Arab brothers to join in the invasion of Israel without success. The small state of Israel defeated hordes of Arab armies. From 1948, the Arab troops have suffered one defeat after the other in 1956, 1967 and 1973 until it dawned on the Arabs that the State of Israel has come to stay. This was why the Egyptian President Anwar Sadat made the historic visit in 1977 to Israel and signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1978 for which he paid the supreme sacrifice when he was assassinated by members of the Muslim Brotherhood.

Since the death of Yassir Arafat on November 11, 2004, Mahmoud Abbas, who succeeded him, has not been able to impose his will on the Palestinians or

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[1(b).] See <u>The Daily Star,</u> Wednesday, 31 October, 2001, p. 1

Palestinian Movement. Some Palestinians even see Mahmoud Abbas as a stooge of the West pandering to the whims and caprices of Israel. Consequently, a much more radical palestinian party-the Hamas - has emerged to champion the cause of radical Palestinian nationalism. They are uncompromising in their desire to destroy Israel. The desire has become mutual between them and the Israelis.

It should be noted, however, that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is essentially a clash of two competing nationalisms: Jewish and Arab nationalisms. It is also about contest (or dispute) over the same piece of land (Palestine) by two distinct peoples (the Israelis and the Arabs including the Palestinian Arabs) who believe they have valid title to it and who hoped that the other side would in time give up (or forget) about it entirely. In brief, the 1917 Declaration (popularly known as the Balfour Declaration) made by the British Foreign Secretary, Arthur Balfour, granted the Jews a national home in Palestine. It could, therefore, be argued that the problem between the Palestinians and Israelis is essentially the desire of the former to recover the land (or territories) seized by Israel during the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war and the desire of the latter to annex the occupied Arab territories permanently as well as subjugate the Palestinians forever.

But Israel's seizure of Arab/Palestinian land is not the only cause of Palestinian – Israeli conflict. There are other controversial matters or issues between the two antagonists; and they include the Palestinian desire for self-determination, independence (or Statehood), the centrality of Jerusalem, the building and expansion of Jewish settlements on Arab/Palestinian territories, natural resources such as water, security, the right of return of thousands of Palestinian refugees to their historical or ancestral homeland in Palestine, the borders of proposed Palestinian State and the fate of Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. We now examine each issue in the order stated herein.

Jerusalem is the most difficult issue in the Palestinian/Arab-Israeli conflict. Indeed, the issue of Jerusalem is complicated due to the city's great importance for Islam, Christianity and Judaism. Jerusalem hosts the site of the Haram al-Sharif or the Noble Sanctuary comprising Aqsa Mosque (Islam's third holiest shrine) and the Dome of the Rock. It is also the site of the Church of the Resurrection (or Holy Sepulcher where Christians believe Jesus Christ was crucified), and the Wall of Lamentation. The Jews cannot imagine the Wall of Lamentation to be under Palestinian Sovereignty while the Moslems cannot see the Aqsa Mosque under Jewish Sovereignty. Consequently, the resolution of the issue of Jerusalem and its holy sites has been extremely difficult to resolve.

More significantly, the resolution of the dispute over Jerusalem has been compounded by US policy on the city. US policy on the City of Jerusalem has been marked by a series of retreats since 1948. The original US position in 1947 was that Jerusalem was a "Corpus Separatum" or an internationally controlled entity that belonged to neither the Arabs nor the Jews[4]. In this respect, US position lasted less than two years. It was quickly diluted to a formula calling for "limited" internalization – a policy that still opposes either Arabs or Israelis claiming Jerusalem as their respective capital. The attempts to enforce this policy or position failed because of Israel's strong desire to claim the Holy City as the capital of the Jewish State. In the wake of the June 1967 War, US President Lyndon Johnson abandoned the old policy in favour of a formula stating that Jerusalem should remain unified and that its future should be determined by the parties to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

The Palestinian refugees insisted on returning to the land they fled when Israel was created (or established) in 1948 while the Israelis feared that returning Palestinians would destroy the Jewish demographic character of their country.

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[4]. Ibid., p. 6

Numbering more than 3.6 million, the Palestinians make up the world's largest group of refugees. About a third of them live in refugee camps operated by the United Nations Works and Relief Agency. Most of them are the descendants of the 700,000 Palestinians who fled ahead of advancing Israeli troops during the 1948 War. Some more were forced to flee again during the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli Wars[5].

The issue of Palestinian refugees is of special interest to Lebanon where an estimated 450,000 Palestinian refugees live. The Lebanese constitution explicitly prohibits their permanent re-settlement on Lebanon's territory. Besides, the Beirut government has been pressing hard for the application of UN Resolution 181 of November 1947 which calls for the return of the Palestinians who fled before and during the first Arab-Israeli War[6]. It is essential to note that the UN Resolution talks about the right of return of Palestinian refugees to their ancestral homes. Regrettably, many of the homes, if not all, no longer exist. It may be difficult, if not impossible, for them to locate or identify their homes.

The issue of the Palestinian refugees' right of return is very much the center of attention and it is a sensitive issue not only for Lebanon but also for Jordan and Syria. After the first Arab-Israeli War (1948 – 1949), there were large concentrations of Palestinians in the West Bank (controlled by Jordan), the Gaza Strip (under Egyptian administration), Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Egypt. In the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, the West Bank and Gaza Strip came under Israeli occupation. Most of the refugees in Lebanon and Syria retained their refugee status. In Syria as in Lebanon, a Department of Refugee Affairs was created to issue identity documents. Palestinians in Syria were given the right equal to those of Syrian citizens being allowed to join the Syrian Army and take up Civil Service posts which has never been the case in Lebanon which hosts some 450,000 Palestinian refugees. With a

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[5]. See, <u>The Daily Star,</u> Wednesday, 19 July 2000, p. 6
[6]. See <u>Monday Morning</u>, 24 July 2000, p. 5

population of 5 million people, more than half of Jordan's populations are of Palestinian extraction.

The Israeli military occupation policy has seen the construction of Jewish settlements on Arab/Palestinian territories occupied since 1967 War. In 1975, for instance, there were more than 6,000 and by the year 2001 there were at least 20,000 Jewish settlers. During the tenure of the Labor Party (1968 – 1977), the average annual increment of settlers' settlement was 700; and during the Likud's term (1977 – 1984), the average annual settlement was 5,400 settlers. By 1986, there were 1040 settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. There are over 200 Jewish settlements today[7]. As a result of international pressure to limit the construction of new Jewish settlements, which could undermine peace talks between both parties, the Israeli government concentrates on expanding the existing ones with the aim of having more Jewish settlers on Arab/Palestinian territories. Majority of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have been connected by bypasses or routes which circum-navigate Palestinian towns and villages. It should be noted that Israeli settlements on land which Israel occupied in the 1967 war are considered illegal under international law.

Besides, water is a significant factor in Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Indeed, the issue of water occupies a central position in the Palestinian struggle with Israel. Since the end of 1967 Arab-Israeli War, Israel has exercised and continued to exercise full control over water used by the Palestinians. For example, the West Bank alone produces 45,200,000 cubic meters of water per annum from 331 artesian wells. The Israelis control two-thirds of this water. The use of water by Palestinians is restricted to daily requirements only. The Palestinian farmers in the occupied territories are forbidden to dig new wells for irrigation purposes.

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[7]. See <u>Syria Times</u>, Monday, 6 August 2001, p. 3

The issue of Israeli military occupation of Arab/Palestinian territories still continues and it also appears to be a major problem preventing the peaceful resolution of the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Majority of Israelis are opposed to giving up the territories occupied during the 1967 War. A premier example is the Syrian Golan Heights. In exchange for peace with Syria, Damascus demands that the Israelis should withdraw from the Golan Heights captured from Syria during the 1967 War[8]. Regrettably, Israel says it will not withdraw to the pre-1967 borders but agreed to relinquish more than 80 percent of the West Bank and 60 percent of Gaza Strip[9] for security reasons.

Lastly, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is both ideological and religious. According to the former U.S. Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, the root cause of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is not economic but ideological and religious. There is no doubt, religious passions are involved.

In summary, the most sensitive and toughest issues in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict are the borders of the future Palestinian state, the fate of Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the return of Palestinian refugees, the status or centrality of Jerusalem, the desire of the Palestinians for self-determination and statehood as well as security guarantees for the Israelis. Regrettably, no serious effort has been made for decades to address each of the issues named above by the international community.

3.2   THE COURSES OF THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict has, since 1948, gone through series of unending wars, violence, mediations, negotiations, UN Resolutions and peace processes. We begin with unending wars, that is, the Arab/Palestinian – Israeli wars.

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[8]. See The Daily Star, Friday, 8 September 2000, p. 5
[9]. Ibid., Thursday, 21 September 2000, p.5

(i)   The Arab-Israeli Wars:

Within the last five and a half decades (1948 – 2006), the Middle East sub-region has witnessed four major and destructive wars because of the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict which began in 1948. The British mandate over Palestine expired (or ended) on 14 May 1948 and on the same day, the State of Israel was created. Put simply, the unilateral partioning of Palestine and subsequent creation of the state of Israel in 1948 increased hostility between Israel and the Arab states including Arab Palestinians. In less than a day, the Armies of Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq invaded the newly created Jewish State. The Israeli Defense Forces quickly repulsed the invaders in a fierce fighting which ended in January 1949 as a result of the UN Armistice Agreements signed between Israel and the Arab States. The Armistice Agreements provided for an end to military actions and for the termination of acts of hostility. Despite this, the situation in the Middle East sub-region continued to be tense and explosive.

As a result of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, Israel seized more land while more than 700,000 Palestinians became refugees in neighbouring Arab States, in West Bank and Gaza Strip[10]. During the 1948 war, the Israelis destroyed Palestinian towns and villages and appropriated the land for Jewish use. After the war, the Israeli authorities passed the "absentee law" which held that anyone not physically on their property during the 1948 fighting would be considered suspect and would lose their land. More importantly, those Palestinians remaining behind were kept under military rule until 1996 with restrictions on the right to move about, to work and to participate in politics. Those overseas at the time of the partition plan (visiting relatives or on vacation or on business) were not allowed to return and so they remained as exiles.

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[10]. Ibid

The impact of exile on the Palestinians was devastating. They had lost their homeland and to many people, they lost even the right to call themselves a people. Arab leaders in other countries viewed them with suspicion since their relatively large numbers, especially in Jordan and Lebanon threatened to overwhelm the local population. Israel rejected the return of the Palestinian refugees for demographic reasons. More importantly, new Jewish settlements (or towns) were built on confiscated land. It is essential to note that the 1948 Arab-Israeli war sowed the seeds of discord, hatred and conflict between the Israelis and Arab Palestinians.

In 1956, Israel in collusion with France and Britain invaded and occupied the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula to the East of the Suez Canal. The invasion became known as the Suez Canal Crisis (see Appendix 9, page 466). The war of 1956 ended with the intervention of the UN which sent the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) to the Middle East region in order to police the cease-fire between the parties involved in the Suez Canal crisis. Despite this, the region continued to be explosive with the result that three major and deadly wars were fought between Israel and the Arab States including the Palestinians in 1967, 1973 and 1982.

The June 1967 Arab-Israeli War was the most disastrous and devastating in the history of Arab-Israeli relations. During the 1967 War, the Israeli army fought and won a military victory over three Arab countries namely: Egypt, Syria and Jordan which initiated the war. In effect, vast tracks of land notably the Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Syrian Golan Heights were captured and occupied by Israeli forces. They were later annexed by Israeli government. In 1982, however, Egypt recovered the Sinai Peninsula from Israeli occupation (see Appendix 11, page 468). The most important problem in the Palestinian / Arab-Israeli conflict today is the 1967 borders. The United Nations urged Israel with its Resolution 242 to withdraw from all territories it occupied. Till

this day, Israel has not fulfilled that demand of the United Nations because it has established Jewish settlement on those territories and does not want to leave them.

The 1967 war came to an end on 10 June of the same year when the belligerents accepted the UN Security Council's call for a cease-fire (see Appendix 10, page 467). Immediately, a series of international consultations began with the aim of bringing the Arab-Israeli conflict to a final conclusion. Once the ceasefire was in operation, the UN Security Council tried to find a formula for easing tension which was a necessary precondition for tackling the root causes of the conflict. The UN Security Council formula was embodied in Resolution 237 of 14 June 1967. The Resolution called on Israeli authorities to facilitate the return of fresh refugees to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the occupied areas. The UN's call was rejected by Israel on the ground that their return would endanger Israel's security and alter the country's demographic structure. However, on 22 November 1967, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 242 which, in its preamble, emphasized the inadmissibility of "the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every state in the region can live in security". It also stated that such a peace should involve the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from occupied territories and the termination of the state of belligerency.

The military defeat of the Arab States at the end of the 1967 war was a serious setback and a collective defeat in Arab history. The Jewish State (winner) became the dominant regional power with the help of American superior weapons. The defunct Soviet Union and its regional allies in the Middle East became the losers, (games theory becomes relevant here). Consequently, virtually every Arab government and State switched its allegiance to the United States of America. Egypt was (and still is) a premier example.

After the 1967 war, the Palestinians moved into two diametrically opposed positions: (1) the mainstream under Yasser Arafat moved towards an accommodationist position involving implicit recognition of Israel and a willingness to negotiate; and (ii) the radical wing went in a non-accomodationist direction forming the Rejectionists Front aligning themselves with the radical Arab States and conducting violent attacks upon other Palestinians as well as Israelis. In 1974 at Khartoum (Sudan), they linked themselves to the three nos: no peace, no recognition, no negotiation (with Israel). The linkage theory becomes relevant here. The Rejectionist Front was made up of the PFLP, PFLP-GC, Arab Liberation Front & the Popular Front Struggle.

Between 1970 and 1972, efforts continued in the search for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East Crisis. On 8 December 1972, the UN General Assembly again debated the situation in the region, stressing the need to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict peacefully by tackling all the issues raised by the conflict. At the end of its debate, the UN General Assembly adopted 'Resolution 2949 (XXVII) which called upon all states not to recognize any changes and measures carried out by Israel in the occupied Arab territories and not to give Israel assistance which could constitute recognition of its occupation of Arab territories.

Egypt and most of the Arab States welcomed UN Resolution 2949 while Israel criticized it and again claimed that the UN was biased in favour of the Arabs. Israel, therefore, continued to do what it could to play down the efforts of the international community represented by the UN. The Arab States were disappointed because they were unable to obtain any effective UN action either to implement Resolution 2949 (XXVII) and earlier Resolutions or bring new life to the Jarring Mission in order to regain their lost territories from Israel. As a result, Egypt and Syria initiated

another Arab-Israeli war on 6 October 1973 in the hope of regaining their territories occupied by Israel. Israel, however, failed to predict the Arab attack of 1973.

The outbreak of the October 1973 war indicated very clearly the futility of the various diplomatic efforts made by the UN between 1967 and 1973. Besides, it was a turning point in the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict in the sense that the war had great impact upon various aspects of the Arab life. At the military level, the Arab armies took the initiative for the first time and won outstanding battles at the on-set. They, however, failed to recover their lands which were captured and occupied by Israel in the 1967 War. At the political level, Arab solidarity and co-ordination compelled the UN to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and to stress the need why Israel should withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories. At the economic level, the war enabled the Arabs to employ their resources to support the Arab military campaign. In other words, the 1973 Arab-Israeli War was followed by an oil embargo which was imposed by all the Arab oil-producing States. The oil embargo raised the price of crude oil to an unprecedented level or height. In simple terms, the 1973 oil price rise used the October Arab-Israeli War to take full advantage of global market conditions. At the psychological level, the 1973 War helped to heal Arab wound and spare the Arabs the sense of shame and humiliation which resulted from the 1967 setbacks.[11]   Like the 1967, the victor of 1973 war was again Israel. With UNSC Resolution 338, the UN repeated its demands included in UNSC Resolution 242 of 1967.

From 1974, there was an uneasy peace between Israel and the Arabs including the Palestinians until the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon; and after being expelled from Jordan in 1970, the Palestine Liberation Organization relocated (or re-

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11.   See, The Daily Star, Tuesday, 9 October 2001, p.7.

deployed) itself in southern Lebanon and outskirts of Beirut. Israel alleged that the PLO perpetrated terrorist acts against the towns and villages in northern Israel especially Galilee; and in June 1982 the Israeli Defense Forces crossed Israeli-Lebanon border and invaded (or attacked) Lebanon because of perceived growing political threat of the PLO to the existence of Israel. Besides, it can be argued that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon was designed to achieve three things namely: (i) to destroy the PLO guerrilla forces, bases and structures, (ii) boot the Syrians out of Lebanon and (iii) bring Lebanon into Israel's orbit.

The architect of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon was Israeli Defense Minister, Ariel Sharon who later became his country's Prime Minister in February 2001 in a landslide electoral victory. During the invasion, Israeli Forces occupied south Lebanon and allowed Lebanese Phalangist militia to massacre thousands of Palestinians at Sabra and Shatila refugee camps located outside Beirut. Also the invasion led to the expulsion, dispersal (or exodus) of several Palestinians from Lebanon to different parts of Arab and Muslim States including Tunisia as well as to Europe and America.

As a result of Lebanon's Hizbullah resistance, Israel withdrew finally from south Lebanon on 25 May 2000 in accordance with the UN Security Council Resolution 425 of March 1978. At this juncture, it is essential to state that Lebanon hosts about four hundred and fifty thousand (450,000) Palestinian refugees who remain stateless in the country. Majority of them have no work permits and they perform mean jobs while thousands are jobless and slept (and still sleep) in shanty homes and under bridges day and night. Virtually all of them are disenfranchised. In other words, they are not given the right to vote and be voted for because Lebanon's Constitution does not allow any Palestinian refugee to remain or stay permanently on Lebanese territory. In addition, almost the same size (or number) like Lebanon or

even more refugees in Syria are quarantined in camps without adequate attention to their needs and over a million Palestinian refugees are in Jordan while several of them are scattered in various parts of Arab states without respite or adequate care.

In summary, the unilateral partioning of Palestine and the subsequent creation of Israel in 1948 aggravated hostility between Israel and Arab states which had fought several disastrous wars especially in 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973, and 2000. Consequently, several peace efforts had been made all to no avail but Nigeria did not play any role either in the conflict or peace process except those carried out under the umbrella of the Organization of African Unity now African Union.

(ii)   The Palestinian-Israeli Unending Violence

Generally speaking, violence has come about because of Israeli and Palestinian attempts to achieve by force what they could not attain through diplomacy. However, the principal cause of tension, discord, resistance and violence is the Israeli occupation of the Arab/Palestinian territories. Other contributing factors include Israel's refusal to comply with UN Resolutions aimed at resolving Arab-Israeli conflict since 1967, Israel's lack of interest in any reasonable peace plan and Ariel Sharon's personal vendetta or hostility against the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat as well as against the 1993 Oslo Agreements signed by previous Israeli governments with the Palestinians. Many Palestinians having waited for decades for the Israeli occupation of their territories to be brought to an end, now believed that martyrdom or suicide operations against Israeli occupation are the only effective means available for resisting it[12]. In a nutshell, the failure of the Oslo Peace Process to achieve agreed or stated goals played a major role in the violence which erupted between the Israelis and Palestinians on 28 September 2000.

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[12]. Ibid, 8 April 2002, p. 6

Contrary to the above stated factors, Abdel Hadi who heads the Palestinian Academic Society for the study of International Affairs (a Think- Thank) based in occupied East Jerusalem, gave four reasons for the tensions that led to the explosion of Palestinian-Israeli violence. Firstly, the economic environment in the Palestinian self-rule areas was "negative". In this respect, over 10,000 families each live on $2 a day. As a result, poverty continues to grow. Secondly, there is no democracy in Palestinian self-rule areas. There is, therefore, corruption, abuse of power and authority as well as the rule of law. Thirdly, Israel continues confiscating Palestinian land, demolishing Palestinian houses, farm lands, or orchards (valuable fruit trees) with bull-dozers, building and expanding Jewish settlements on Arab/Palestinian territories especially in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. After almost a decade of peace-making, Israel remains everywhere in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Israel controls water and airspace, the outlets to Jordan and Egypt. Besides, Israeli roadblocks surround the Palestinian autonomous zones where, in times of trouble, Palestinians are blocked from escaping. Consequently, there was a build-up of frustration, anger and grievances on the part of the Palestinians. The fourth reason stated by Abdel Hadi relates to the peace process which has dragged on for too long[13]. As a result, many Arab/Palestinians felt that the peace process has become a cover for continued Israeli occupation of their territories. Between 1987 and the year 2000, there were two major Palestinian uprisings or intifada[14] against Israeli occupation. The first intifada occurred in December 1987 while the second intifada started on 28 September 2000. We now begin to examine each.

The Palestinians embarked on their first intifada (or uprising) in December 1987 because they had waited long enough for a liberator to come from outside.

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[13]. Ibid, Friday, 19 May 2000, p. 5

[14]. Intifada, as the Arabs call it, means uprising or violence whose objective is the total or complete withdrawal of Israel as an occupier force from all territories occupied during and after the 1967Arab-Israeli War. Intifada is Palestinians' only weapon against Israel's excessive use of force against them.

Regrettably, there was no liberator or Arab armies. Consequently, the Palestinians reached the conclusion that they had better do it themselves and they proceeded to launch the first intifada or violence that shook Israeli society to its foundation. By 1990, they succeeded in making their cause the focus of world attention. The first intifada reflected the readiness of the Palestinian masses to organize their ranks and the growth of popular preparedness to participate as well as share in the fight against the Israeli occupation of Arab/Palestinian land. The Palestinian intifada later acquired a terrorist connotation.

In the early days of the first intifada in 1987, radical Islamist movements like Hamas and Islamic Jihad sent suicide bombers against Israeli targets. Hamas in particular educated potential suicide bombers with a mixture of religious zeal and hatred of Israel. Besides, it promised young men and ladies that they would enter "heaven" as martyrs. Another motivating factor was (and still is) the increased esteem in which an Arab or a Palestinian family is held when it loses a son or a daughter in suicide attack[15].

At the end of the first year of the intifada during which more than 1,200 Palestinians were killed, Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat recognized Israel's right to exist as a nation-state and began to pursue political solution to the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The first intifada, however, ended with the inauguration of the 1991 Madrid Conference. In other words, the first intifada led to the Middle East peace process in 1991.

The second Palestinian intifada started on 28 September 2000 when Israeli right-wing opposition Likud Party leader Ariel Sharon who was formerly Israeli Defense Minister and later Israeli Prime minister, visited Jerusalem's Temple Mount revered by Muslims as al-Haram al-Sharif with several Israeli security policemen.

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[15]. See <u>The Daily Star,</u> Friday, 10 August 2001, p.5

The Palestinians reacted angrily to what they viewed as a deliberate (political) provocation. Later on, riots and demonstrations spread throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Consequently, many Palestinian protesters were killed by Israeli forces. Also Palestinian militants shot Jewish settlers on the disputed territories and waged suicide plus car bombings inside Israel which struck back with heavy tanks and machine guns and blockaded Palestinian towns, cities and villages as well as bombed Arafat's strategic installations killing suspected terrorists in targeted attacks[16].

By blockading Palestinian towns and villages, Israel restricted Palestinians' freedom of movement and inflow of goods to the Palestinian territories in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Israeli authorities argued that Israel imposed blockade on Palestinian areas in order to prevent the Palestinian militants from entering its territory. Critics, however, called Israeli closures of its borders "a collective punishment"[17] for the Palestinians. During the second intifada (28 September 2000 – March 2002), the Palestinians became more militant while thousands of Palestinians marked the anniversary of their second intifada against Israel with rock or stone throwing as well as matches on Friday 28 September 2001.

It is important to note at this juncture that there are similarities and differences between the first and second Palestinian uprisings. The first Palestinian intifada/violence occurred in December 1987 when Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu, wanted to open the tunnel leading to the Aqsa Mosque while the second Palestinian intifada began on 28 September 2000 when Ariel Sharon (then a right-wing opposition Likud leader and later Israeli Prime Minister) and his Israeli security-men visited Jerusalem's Temple Mount revered by Muslims as al-Haram al-Sherif. In

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16. Ibid, Friday, 28 September 2001, p. 6
17. Collective punishment as interpreted by the Arabs / Palestinians includes curfews, closure of schools, colleges and universities. It also includes blockades and arbitrary arrest and torture of the Arabs/Palestinians.

reaction, he was challenged by Palestinian militants. Palestinian challenge led to severe clash between Palestinian protesters and Israeli security forces guarding him. In effect, four Palestinians were killed instantly in fierce confrontation with Israeli security forces in Jerusalem, West Bank and Gaza Strip.

In terms of duration, the first Palestinian intifada (December 1987 – 1993) lasted six years while the second intifada (28 September 2000 – March 2002) lasted for more than 18 months; while in terms of human tolls, nearly 900 Palestinians and 234 Israelis were killed in more than 18 months of Palestinian – Israeli violence. During the second Palestinian uprising, a prominent Israeli figure who was assassinated was Israeli Transport Minister, Rahaven Zeeri. He was a former General in Israeli Army, who was killed (the first assassination of a serving Israeli Cabinet Minister) by terrorists since the Middle East conflict began in 1948. Indeed, his murder was a turning point in the Palestinian uprising.

The primary goal of both the first and second Palestinian uprisings was to force the Jewish State to rethink its occupation policy. More importantly, both Palestinian uprisings[17(a)] unified all the ranks and leadership of the Palestinian people who vowed to continue their violence against Israeli occupation of Arab/Palestinian territories.

(iii) Third Party Mediations in Search of Peace

The United States of America is one of several parties that are mediating between the Palestinians and Israelis. Other Third Party Mediators include the European Union (EU), Russia, Jordan, Egypt, Sweden and the United Nations through its Secretary-General. Many Third Party Mediators are working diligently to

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17(a)   It is important to note that the Palestinian uprising has fizzled out towards the end of our research while Israel is ready to work with the new Palestinian leadership (President Mahmoud Abbas) after six years of stalemate.

promote a permanent peace accord between the Palestinians and Israelis in order to avoid regional war which can destabilize the entire Middle East sub-region.

Despite many Third Party Mediators, the United States remains the only credible Third Party Mediator because it is the only global superpower that remains in world politics after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989/90 and because it is the only Party that has any influence in Israel which is the occupying power in Palestine. The occupying power has to budge so that permanent and genuine peace can prevail in the Middle East.

Apart from the United States, all other Mediators have played and continued to play useful but limited roles in the implementation, monitoring and financing of any agreements that are reached between the Israelis and Arab Palestinians. But the hard diplomatic work of bringing about a comprehensive and lasting peace accord will remain an American monopoly for a very long time for good or bad. However, the most significant and successful previous mediations and facilitations between the Israelis and Palestinians were carried out variously by Norway, Sweeden, Russia and the United States of America. As a result, previous mediations resulted in PLO-Israeli-American contacts, the 1991 Madrid Conference, the 1993 Oslo Accords and subsequent implementation of a few interim measures under Oslo[18]. Regrettably, the more than 18-months of Palestinian intifada (uprising) or violence against Israeli forces have radically changed the nature of the mediators' role or task. Mediation now aims modestly to bring about a cease-fire and disengage Israelis and Arab Palestinians, hoping that this would somehow lead the way to implementing Agreements[19] already accepted by both sides. Some of these are found in Oslo, Sharm-el-sheikh and Wye Plantation Agreements.

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[18]. See The Daily Star, Wednesday, 27 June 2001, p. 6
[19]. Ibid.

Resolving the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict for good is no longer a realistic short-time goal, given the hardening positions of both sides. Permanent peace through mediation or negotiation may have to wait for some years or until a measure of trust and confidence can be re-established between the Israelis and Palestinians. More importantly, success can be achieved if US mediators can treat both sides equally, work to end the Israeli occupation of Arab/Palestinian territories and implement relevant UN Resolutions as well as guarantee the security of the Jewish State. They will fail, however, if they give more importance to Israeli rights than to Palestinian rights.

Closely related to mediation is negotiation. Between July and December 2000, the Israelis and Palestinian negotiators met with US President Bill Clinton at Camp David Summit. Both sides came close to reaching agreement that would have set a course for a final settlement of territorial issues. But at the last minute, Palestinian Authority leader (Yasser Arafat) pulled back fearing that concessions on core issues such as Jerusalem and the return of Palestinian refugees would undermine his authority and prestige among the Palestinians and Arab States. In spite of this, negotiation has played invaluable role in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty and the Israeli – Jordanian Peace Treaty in 1979 and 1994 respectively are significant and relevant to negotiation.

Yasser Arafat died in 2004, and was replaced by a leader seen by Israelis as less inclined to allowing suicide bombings, and making a better leader. Thus after the burial of Arafat, new peace moves began. One of the peace Summits took place in Jerusalem on 23 June 2005. This summit is seen by many as a breakthrough as it gave rise to the planned withdrawal of Israel from the Gaza strip – one of the bones of contention in the Middle East crisis. This withdrawal began on 17th August 2005,

and by 19th, much of the Israeli settlers had evacuated despite their earlier stiff resistance.

(Iv)   UN Resolutions

As early as the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict, there was a long list of UN General Assembly and Security Council Resolutions on Middle East crisis in general and Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict in particular but very little action in terms of implementation has been taken on each Resolution. They have remained dormant ever since. This is to say that none of the UN Resolutions has been wholly or partially implemented because Israel (US major ally in the Middle East) saw the UN Resolutions were not in Israel's favour and national interest.

(V)   The Unending Palestinian-Israeli Peace Process: The Several Peace Missions And Agreements

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is a fraction of the overall Arab-Israeli conflict which has led to series of peace plans (or initiatives). We begin first with the Jarring Mission.

The Jarring Mission

In order to implement UN Security Council Resolution 242 of 1967, the UN Secretary-General U-Thant appointed Ambassador Gunnar Jarring as his Special Representative to the Middle East. Jarring was a Swedish Ambassor to Moscow at the time of his appointment. He had a finely tuned ear for delicate negotiations and came from a neutral country with no history of partisan positions in the Middle East conflict. He was, therefore, acceptable not only to the US and the former Soviet Union, but also to other major powers such as France and Britain.

Ambassador Gunnar Jarring began his Mission to the Middle East in December 1967 and, throughout 1968 and early 1969, held numerous discussions both in the Middle East and New York (USA) with representatives of the parties to

the region's conflict. He, however, did not meet Syrian officials because Syria had rejected UN Resolution 242 of 1967 on which his Mission was based.

Lebanon, which did not participate in the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war, preferred not to get involved in any peace negotiations through the UN Special Representative. Consequently, Ambassador Jarring concentrated on Egypt, Jordan and Israel which preferred direct negotiations. Israeli government insistence on direct negotiations was based on the argument that the two sides could hardly live in peace in the future if they were not prepared to speak to each other. It could also be argued that Israel's insistence on direct negotiations was an attempt to gain Arab recognition for its existence and to legitimize seizure of Arab lands. Egypt and Jordan, on the other hand, insisted on Israeli withdrawal to the pre-1967 lines before indirect negotiations through the UN could be meaningful. They hoped that this would eventually lead to peace agreement. But it did not. As a result, Ambassador Jarring was unable to bridge the gap between Israel and the Arab states deeply involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The Rogers Plan

On 9 December 1969, the American Secretary of State William Rogers produced a set of peace proposals which came to be known as the Rogers Plan[20]. It aimed at three things. The first was to secure a cease-fire between Egypt and Israel so as to create an atmosphere conducive to discussions. The second was to call for a complete Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and to revive the moribund peace mission of Gunnar Jarring and the third was to solve the problem of the Palestinian refugees.

As a first stage, Rogers asked Israel and Egypt to agree to a three-month cease-fire along the Suez Canal. This, according to him, would create a better

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[20]. See Michael Adams, Op.cit

atmosphere for peace negotiations. Secondly, it would enable the Canal to be cleared of the ships which were stuck there since the 1967 war. This proposal was, however, rejected by Israel which became more suspicious of every move made by Rogers. The Israeli leaders, therefore, described Rogers Plan as a trick, which would enable Egypt to prepare for another war.

With regards the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from occupied Arab territories, Rogers called for Israeli withdrawal as envisaged in the UN Security Council Resolution 242. This was interpreted by the Arabs as favouring Israel since he did not insist on total withdrawal. Israel, on the other hand, considered the statement pro-Arab because Rogers did insist that only "insubstantial" changes of the 1967 frontiers would be acceptable. Whereas they (the Israelis) believed that to return to the old borders will endanger their security.

Rogers' call for a settlement of the refugee problem was seen by Israel as a threat to flood the country with hostile Arabs. Because Rogers stated that the status of Jerusalem would be determined only by taking into account the interests of others in the area and of the international community, the Israelis feared that the United States Secretary of State intended to deny them of their claim to the whole city. The Rogers Plan was, however, temporarily swept aside by a serious renewal of hostilities in January 1970. The Israelis initiated a series of deep penetration bombing raids on targets inside Egypt as a retaliatory measure against Egypt's violation of the cease-fire.

Contacts were, however, resumed with various parties in April 1970. As a result, President Abdel Nasser of Egypt announced on 23 July 1970 his country's acceptance of the American proposal for a renewal of cease-fire, followed by negotiations through Ambassador Gunnar Jarring for the implementation of Resolution 242. A week later, Israeli Government also agreed to the American

proposal with the <u>proviso</u> that Israel would never return to the pre-war boundaries and that none of its troops would be withdrawn from the cease-fire lines until a binding peace agreement had been signed.

The renewed ninety-day cease-fire, along the Suez Canal front, came into operation on 7 August 1970 and peace-talks were initiated on 25 August. Israel, however, withdrew from the talks after one procedural session, charging that Egypt had been violating the cease-fire by moving missiles to new sites in the cease-fire zone near the Suez Canal. At the end of 1970, the search for peace was still fruitless and elusive.

During 1971 and 1972, efforts continued in the search for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and on 8 December 1972, the UN General Assembly again debated the situation in the Middle East. All the UN member states that contributed to the debate on the Middle East crisis stressed the need to resolve the conflict peacefully by tackling all the issues raised by the conflict. At the end of the debate, the UN General Assembly adopted Resolution 2949 which calls upon all states not to recognize any changes and measures carried out by Israel in the occupied Arab territories and not to give Israel assistance which could constitute recognition of its occupation[21].

Egypt and most of the other Arab states welcomed the Resolution while Israel criticized it and again claimed that the UN was biased in favor of the Arabs. Israel, therefore, continued to do what it could do to play down the efforts of the United Nations. The Arab states were disappointed because they were unable to obtain any effective UN action either to implement Resolution 2949 (xxvii) and earlier Resolutions or bring new life to the Jarring Mission since the Arabs could make no further progress towards regaining their lost territories. Egypt and Syria, therefore,

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[21]. See. F. O. Adeyemo, <u>Third Party Mediation in The Arab-Israeli Conflict,</u> Monograph Series, Lagos, 1986.

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initiated a war with Israel on 6 October 1973 in the hope of regaining their lost territories. The outbreak of the October 1973 War indicated clearly the futility and failure of the various efforts made by the UN between 1967 and 1973.

Apart from the ambiguity with which the UN Resolutions were couched, UN efforts failed because both Israel and the Arab States relied on foreign powers especially the US and the Soviet Union respectively for arms or weapons. Since 1948, the US has been on the side of Israel while the Soviet Union, before its collapse in 1989/1990, supported Arab states including the Palestinians. By the end of 1969, it was clear that the major powers could not reach agreement on the interpretation of UN Resolution 242. It was for this reason that the US launched the Rogers Plan in December 1969.

By the end of 1972, the search for peace in the Middle East was hopeless. In consequence, another unfortunate war, known as Yom Kippur (the day of atonement) War, occurred between Israel and the Arab States in October(1973). At the end of the war, Israel occupied more Arab territories including the Syrian Golan Heights. A UN peacekeeping force was deployed in the Sinai and the World body did not try to reach any new consensus preferring to retain the November 22 (1967) declaration as the basis for a settlement.

The Kissinger Plan

Under the Nixon administration (1969-1975), Henry A. Kissinger served as US Secretary of State who, through shrewd and shuttle diplomacy, made serious

efforts to bring peace to the Middle East. Indeed, Kissinger's[22] shuttle diplomacy helped to end the 1973 Middle East War but not Palestinian-Israeli conflict. On 11 November 1973, an agreement based on Kissinger's 6-point peace proposal was concluded between Israel and Egypt while the representatives of both Israel and Arab States (except Syria) were brought together at Geneva Conference in December 1973 at the initiative of the United States of America. The purpose of the Conference could not be achieved because of divergent views of the parties involved.

The 1978 Camp David 1 Summit And Accords

The major actors in the September 1978 Camp David 1 Summit and Accords were US President Jimmy Carter (the Architect), Israeli Prime Minister (Menachem Begin) and the Egyptian President (Anwar Sadat) who realized that the root cause of his country's problems was the Arab-Israeli conflict. He also understood, for the sake of Egypt's future, that he had to end his country's conflict with the Jewish State even if it meant leaving the Palestinian issue unresolved.

At the end of the Camp David I Summit, Peace accords were signed by all the major actors to the Camp David Summit I while the final document was overwhelmingly ratified by their respective Parliaments and Governments. Israel signed the Camp David Accords with Egypt in 1979 and the Agreements became Israel's first peace deal with an Arab state. After Israel and Egypt had signed the

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[22]. Henry A. Kissinger was National Security Adviser to US President Richard Nixon from 1969 to 1975 and also US Secretary of State from 1973 to 1977 during the Nixon and Ford Administrations.

Among Kissinger's achievements are the initiation of strategic arms limitation talks with Moscow, the renewal of relations with China and the renunciation of chemical and biological warfare. Apart from his achievements, some of Kissinger's actions that provoked criticisms include the secret bombing of Cambodia, the tapping of his aides' phones in an effort to stop news leaks; and his alleged support for the overthrow of a freely elected government in Chile. He was also criticized for his role in the Vietnam War as well as his policy of détente or peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union and its allies.

In summary, Henry Alfred Kissinger was US Secretary of State of two American Presidents: Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford. Kissinger helped America to establish stronger ties with the defunct Soviet Union (or USSR) as well as re-open relations with China. He negotiated cease-fire arrangements in the Arab-Israeli War of 1973 for which he was awarded the Nobel Price for Peace. Also he was instrumental to the signing of the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT 1).

1979 Peace Treaty, the United States of America rewarded both sides with three billion US dollars annually in military and humanitarian assistance[23].

It is essential to note that the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty was preceded by Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem in 1977 at the invitation of Israel's Prime-Minister, Begin. Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem and the signing of a peace deal with Israel provoked the hostility of radical Arab States like Libya, South Yemen, Iraq, Algeria and, of course, the PLO because they were suspicious of Sadat's intentions and strategies and they never trusted Israel. Besides, Sadat's unilateral peace initiative led to serious political and economic implications. Majority of the Arab States especially Jordan and Saudi Arabia, whose support and co-operation are considered crucial to US Policy in the Middle East, openly criticized and opposed the Camp David 1 Agreements on grounds that the Agreements between Israel and Egypt ignored the fundamental issues in the Arab-Israeli conflict especially that of Palestinian Statehood. Consequently, Egypt was suspended and later expelled from the Arab League. Besides, the Headquarters of the Arab League was transferred from Cairo (Egypt) to Tunis (Tunisia), though the capital of the League was reinstated in Cairo in the early 1980's. Before then, Egypt lost its leadership position in the Arab world. Economic co-operation between Egypt and the rest of the Arab world was suspended while Arab Ambassadors were withdrawn from Cairo[24].

In addition, the Egyptian peace deal with the Jewish State led to the ostracism and isolation of Egypt as well as Anwar Sadat from the Arab League with only Oman, Sudan and Somalia retaining diplomatic ties; while Saudi Arabia cut-off economic aid to Egypt. Besides, religious fanatics and high ranking military officers

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[23]. See <u>Monday Morning</u> (The Weekly Magazine) published in Beirut Lebanon, vol. Xxx, 10 July 2000, p. 20
[24]. See <u>Nigerian Forum,</u> March 1982, vol. 2, No 3, p. 490

attempted to overthrow Sadat's regime. Keeping Sadat in office, therefore, became America's major post-Camp David 1 problem in the Middle East[25]. Two lines of action were adopted by the United States to cope with the problem. One was to give CIA protection to Sadat while the second was to honour all the obligations which Egypt had accepted under the Camp David 1 Agreements.

In spite of the unfavourab le consequences for Egypt for signing the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty, the United States achieved its objective of wooing Egypt which became an American rather than Soviet (or Russian) trusted ally in the Middle East even till today. Besides, it enabled Egypt to regain control of the Sinai Peninsula captured by Israeli forces during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war in exchange for peace, establish a flourishing tourist trade and expand its Suez Canal revenue[26]. More importantly, the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty paved the way for Egypt and Israel to establish diplomatic relations at Ambassadorial (or bilateral) level. Also the Camp David Accords ended a state of war between both countries; but it did little or nothing to achieve the overall Middle East peace and stability.

In summary, Camp David Accords signaled disaster not only for Egypt but for the Arab world as a whole. After Camp David 1 Summit, Israel annexed East Jerusalem and the Syria Golan Heights, colonized the West Bank and Gaza Strip, built Jewish settlements in various parts of both Palestinian territories, (West Bank and Gaza Strip), devastated south Lebanon and oppressed (or maltreated) the Palestinian refugees. Indeed, the Arabs, (except Egypt) were dispossessed of their territories[27]. Criticism of Sadat's Peace Treaty with Israel and widespread corruption, however, contributed significantly to the sentiment that motivated those who carried out his assassination on 6 October 1981. Besides, since establishing peace in

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[25]. See T. A. Imobighe, "America's Strategy in the Middle East from the October 1973 War to the End of Sadat's Era" in Nigeria Journal of International Affairs, vol. 9, No. 2, 1983, p. 100
[26]. See US News and World Report September 1983, p. 33
[27]. See Edward W. Said, The Politics of Dispossession: The Struggle for Palestinian Self Determination 1969 – 1994, Vintage Books, Random House Inc., New York, 1994, p. 244

1979, Israel has enjoyed a "cold peace" with Egypt. Borders are open and trade exists between both countries; but the normal friendliness among neighbours is yet to be found. Anti-semitic themes are common place in the Egyptian press and in the school system.

At this juncture, it is essential to state that the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty consists of several major elements including the termination of the state of war and acts (or threats) of belligerency, hostility, violence, the establishment of diplomatic, economic and cultural ties, the withdrawal by Israel from the Sinai Peninsula with agreed security arrangements. Israel completed its withdrawal from the Sinai in 1982 in accordance with the terms of the Treaty between Egypt and Israel. Both countries are strongly committed to the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty.

Also the Camp David Accords are in two parts: (i) the Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel and (ii) the Framework of Peace in the Middle East. The latter remained unimplemented till today. The major actors in the 1979 Camp David 1 Summit and Accords realized that it would be impossible to resolve the question of sovereignty over East Jerusalem. They, therefore, proposed the following paragraph:

> *Jerusalem, the City of peace is holy to Judaism, Christianity and Islam. As a result, all peoples must have free access to it and enjoy the free exercise of worship and the right to visit and transit to the Holy Places without distinction or discrimination. The Holy Places of each faith will be under the administration and control of their representatives. A Municipal Council shall supervise essential functions (in the city) such as public utilities, public transportation and tourism and shall ensure that each community can maintain its own cultural and educational institutions[28].*

Apart from East Jerusalem, Camp David 1 Accords failed to mention or deal with the Israeli settlements on the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the Syria Golan Heights. Lastly, at the Camp David Summit, the United States of America accepted

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[28]. See <u>The Daily Star,</u> Wednesday, 29 November 2000, p.6

responsibility to modernize and re-equip the Egyptian Army. Sadat's successor - Hosni Mubarak – did not allow the assassination of his immediate predecessor to deter him. As soon as he became President, Hosni Mubarak announced that Egypt would remain dedicated to the Middle East peace process and would remain a firm ally of the United States. Indeed, by the end of 1980's, Egypt had become a surrogate of the United States. As a matter of fact, Hosni Mubarak has since 1981 maintained just enough peace with Israel to keep getting US aid and investment, but just enough tension so that Israel is not fully accepted in the Middle East sub-region.

The Reagan Peace Plan

With the inauguration of US President Ronald Reagan on 20 January 1981, there was a period of relative inactivity in the Middle East except for the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the subsequent expulsion of the PLO guerrilla forces from Beirut (Lebanon) in December 1982. The Reagan administration (1981-1988) was not enthusiastic about pursuing the Camp David Accords brokered by former US President Jimmy Carter or the Carter administration. However, spurred by Anwar Sadat's assassination, the Reagan administration announced plans for military manoeurvres with Egypt. The objective was to demonstrate how quickly America could react in a Middle East crisis.

On 1 September 1982, former US President Ronald Reagan (now deceased) proposed, in a nationwide television broadcast, a comprehensive peace plan not only for Lebanon but for the Middle East sub-region. In his speech, President Reagan said:

> *…The Lebanon War, tragic as it was, has left US (Americans) with a new opportunity for Middle East Peace. The military losses of the PLO have not diminished the yearning of the Palestinian people for a just solution of their claims. While Israeli's military successes in Lebanon have demonstrated that its armed forces are second to none in the region, they alone cannot bring just and lasting peace to Israel and her*

neighbours. The question is how to reconcile Israel's legitimate security concerns with the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. This must be done through diplomacy rather than on the battlefield and would involve concessions by both sides. The United States, therefore, had a special responsibility… No other nation is in a position to deal with the key parties (or players) to the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of trust and reliability[29].

In his peace initiative, Reagan called for direct negotiation between Israel and a Jordanian delegation that would include Palestinian representatives to conclude a peace treaty on the principle of an exchange of territory for peace. Reagan made it clear that such an arrangement would require the return to Arab sovereignty of virtually all the territories in the West Bank and Gaza Strip which came under Israeli control after the 1967 war. Moreover, the Reagan Peace Plan favoured Jordanian rule over the West Bank and Gaza Strip in a federation with local Palestinians. Reagan's Plan which was never sincerely pursued ran into two basic problems. One was Israeli opposition while the other was Arab rejection. Prime Minister Menachem Begin wasted no time in opposing the Reagan Peace Plan for the Middle East. In anticipation of Israel's rejection, King Fahd of Saudi Arabia advanced an eight-point plan known as the Fahd Plan with Israel's right to exist as a nation-state. Fahd's Plan also called for an independent Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital. Most Arab States withheld reaction until they met in September 1982 at Fez (Morocco) where they proposed their own peace plan and labeled it as the "United Peace Plan" (or Fez Plan).

The Fez Plan

The Fez Plan, which was announced at Fez Arab Summit of September 1982, had three main ingredients namely: (i) Israel's withdrawal to the 1967 frontiers in the West Bank including East Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip and the Syria Golan Heights,

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[29]. See <u>Newsweek</u>, 13 September 1982, p. 12. The Researcher watched Reagan's broadcast on T. V. with rapt attention in the United States.

(ii) a Palestinian State in the West Bank and Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital and (iii) a UN Security Council guarantee of the settlement. Besides, there would be guaranteed access to the Holy Places. The Palestinian refugees not willing to return would be compensated and the Israeli settlements in the occupied territories would be dismantled.

The preamble to the Fez Plan referred to President Habib Bourguiba's Palestine as a solution to the Palestinian problem. Reference to Bourguiba Plan was a clear indication that the Fez Summit contemplated a two-state solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict[30]. However, the Fez Summit remained silent on Arab normalization of relations with Israel. Despite elements of the Fez Plan that were unacceptable to Israel, it had many positive features. Its essence was acceptance of the existence of Israel as an independent and sovereign state in the Middle East. The acceptance of Israel's existence was to be guaranteed by the UN Security Council while the reference to compensation of Palestinian refugees left the door open to only a partial return.

All Arab Heads of State and Government including President Hafez al-Assad of Syria, Saddam Hussein of Iraq and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat endorsed the Fez Plan. Only Muammar Qaddhafi of Libya did not attend the Fez Summit. It is essential to note that the 1987 Palestinian uprising (or violence) necessitated a search for peace, which led to the 1991 Madrid conference.

The 1991 Madrid Conference

The Middle East peace process was launched in Madrid (Spain) in October 1991. The Madrid conference was held under the American and Russian auspices. Both the sponsor (USA) and co-sponsor (the Soviet Union) brought the representatives of Israel, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan to the Madrid Conference. The

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[30]. See Walid Khalidi, The Middle East Post War Environment, Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington D. C., 1991, p. 25

United Nations representative(s), however, was completely excluded while the Palestinian representatives participated within (or along) the Jordanian delegation. In other words, the Palestinians were asked to form a joint delegation with Jordan and they were expected to agree to negotiate with Israel on Interim Self-government arrangement lasting five years. The Palestinians' right to self-determination or statehood was not recognized as the basis for negotiations. But the UN Security Council Resolution 242 (of 1967) was acknowledged as the basis for negotiations while its implementation was postponed until the end of the Interim five-year period. The parties (Israel and the Arab States as well as the Palestinians) were apparently given the right to interpret it as they wished or in a way not congruent with the "land-for-peace principle[31].

The Joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation (or negotiators) affirmed that UN Security Council Resolution 242 is the basis of the entire process including the interim arrangements. Concerning territorial jurisdiction of self-government, the Jordanian-Palestinian side asserted that self-government, must and should cover all the Palestinian territories including East Jerusalem and must enjoy full territorial jurisdiction over them. In reaction, the Israeli delegation began by ignoring the UN Security Council Resolution 242 and stated that self-government concerns only people, not land and East Jerusalem, Israeli settlements and military encampments would be excluded from Palestinian self-government[32].

With regard to Palestinian powers during the interim period, the Jordanian-Palestinian side stressed that the Palestinian Interim self-governing Authority (PISGA) would have to enjoy legislative, executive, and judicial powers in all domains (or spheres) except external security. Its legislative assembly to be elected

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[31]. See, Camile Mansour, <u>The Palestinian-Israeli Peace Negotiations: An Overview and Assessment October 1991 - January 1993</u>, Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington D. C., 1993, p
[32]. See Camile Mansour, <u>Ibid</u>., p.x

by the Palestinian people in occupied territories would be the source of its authority. Under Sharmir government, the Israeli side first tried to avoid the issue of elections and spoke of the delegation and administrative powers from Israel to the Palestinians in twelve spheres pertaining to Palestinian daily life. But under the Rabin government, the Israeli side proposed that a Palestinian Administrative Council (PAC) be elected. The Rabin government recognized its executive powers and its accountability to its electorate; but it continued to refuse Palestinian power to legislate and the self-government's jurisdiction over Israeli settlers living in the occupied territories or Israelis passing through the occupied territories. However, the Israeli side accepted to negotiate sets of issues to be transferred to the Palestinian Authority[33].

It is essential to note that the Madrid Conference established a framework for peace through two tracks: (i) bilateral negotiations between Israel and her immediate neighbours and (ii) multi-lateral negotiations on regional issues. The focus of the bilateral process dealt with problems inherited from the past while the multilateral track focused on issues that would shape the future of the Middle East. But the Conference had no power to impose solutions on the parties or veto agreements reached by them and that the Arab leaders supported the Madrid Conference with the hope that the decisions reached at the conference would lead to permanent settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Regrettably, more than ten years after the 1991 Madrid Conference, the Middle East region seems more dangerous, insecure and explosive than ever before. In spite of this, the Madrid Conference was historic in the sense that it paved the way for the September 1993 Oslo summit, Agreement and Peace Process.

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[33]. Ibid.,

The 1993 Oslo Accords

The negotiations that started in Madrid in 1991 were followed by the Oslo peace process which is supposed to be implemented in stages. The target was establishment of an independent State of Palestine with well-defined borders. Perhaps as a result of European pressure and financial aid, Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat agreed to enter into direct contact with Israeli government and negotiated what became known as the Oslo Accords (Agreements) in September 1993. The principal aim of the Oslo summit or the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations within the Middle East Peace Process was to end Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip[34] and grant the Palestinians their Interim Self-government and statehood. Despite the fact that the Oslo summit was held under the auspices of Norway (or Norwegian authorities), the Palestinians and Israeli authorities requested US for solemn sponsorship of the official signing of the Oslo Document. The US government led by US President Bill Clinton accepted and at a spectacular ceremony held on the White House Lawn on 13 September 1993, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin sealed the Oslo Accords with the Palestinian Authority led by Yasser Arafat.

Since the Oslo Accords were signed over several years ago, Israel and the Palestinians have signed more than five interim agreements without tackling the core (or contentious) issues between them and they include, among others, final borders, security, control over Jerusalem and final status agreement. Under final status negotiations, the main subjects are sovereignty over the land, resources, security and Palestinian refugees.

As a result of the 1993 Oslo Accords, the Palestinians agreed to abandon their quest to destroy Israel while the Israelis embraced the idea of a Palestinian

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[34]. See The Palestinian-Israeli Peace Agreement: A Documentary Record, published by Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington D. C., p. 117.

State in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In spite of this, there are many flaws in the Oslo agreements. First, complete Israel's withdrawal from Palestinian territories was never mentioned in the final status negotiations. Second, the Oslo Agreements postponed complicated issues like the status of Jerusalem, right of return of Palestinian refugees, borders between Israel and Palestinians, real sovereignty, security and Jewish settlements. Indeed, there is nothing in the Agreement that indicated that Jewish settlement activity will (or should) stop. Third, the Oslo accords specified Palestinian autonomy but left out sovereignty, exits, resources like water and land as well as the overall security in Israeli hands[35]. Fourth, the Palestinian refugees expelled in 1948 were left, as they have been for several decades, homeless and stateless despite numerous UN Security Council Resolutions.

Several years after the Oslo Accords, the Israelis are still occupying Palestinian territories. The Israeli continued occupation and the control which the Israeli authorities exert over the Palestinians' every day life led to the latter's disillusionment with peace talks and with their powerful neighbour. As a result, the Palestinians have lost faith and hope in series of peace initiatives and processes that have achieved nothing for them.

The problem with Oslo Accord is not only its failure to achieve what was agreed upon, but it is also capable of killing off any other potential peace deal like the Saudi peace initiative which was unanimously adopted as the Arab peace plan at Beirut Summit held from 27 – 28 March 2002. Despite its negative effect, the 1993 Oslo Accords paved the way for the Jordanian-Israeli Peace Treaty of 1994 and the so-called Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Regrettably, the Palestinian Authority never exercised full control over its borders which still fall under

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[35]. See Edward W. Said, <u>The End of the Peace Process: Oslo and After,</u> Vintage Books, random House Inc., New York, 2001, p. 163.

the jurisdiction of the Israeli Army[36]. When he signed the Oslo Accords in September 1993, Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat expected to gain self-rule over virtually all of the territories occupied by Israel during the 1967 Arab-Israeli War at the end of a five-year interim period which the Oslo Agreements set up to achieve. This was due to begin once the modalities of Israeli withdrawal had been worked out. Also, Yasser Arafat was expected to have his Palestinian state at the end of the interim period on 4 May 1999. But implementation of the Oslo Accords did not proceed as expected or scheduled. Israel failed to meet its commitments to withdraw from all the Palestinian occupied territories. Besides, Israeli authorities continued to build and expand Jewish settlements as well as military locations on them while most of the Palestinian territories remain under Israeli military occupation. Under strong pressure from the US, some Arab and European Union leaders, Yasser Arafat agreed to extend the interim period and postpone the declaration of the Palestinian state till 13 September 2000, which coincided, with the seventh anniversary of the signing of the original Oslo Accord[37].

It is essential to bear in mind that the five-year interim period provides that the Palestinian Council has (or will have) no jurisdiction over issues to be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations including Jerusalem. In addition, the interim period does not provide for any transfer of powers and responsibilities in Jerusalem to the Palestinians. Under Article 1 of the Interim Agreement, Israel shall continue to exercise powers[38] and responsibilities not so transferred. Lastly, the Interim Agreement provides for phased negotiations meant to last three or five years. But after eight years of talks, the interim phase shall remain open-ended[39].

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[36]. See <u>Monday Morning</u>, 31 December 2001, p. 12
[37]. <u>The Daily Star,</u> Thursday, 24 August 2000, p.6
[38]. See <u>The Daily Star,</u> Saturday, 15 December 2001, p.4
[39]. See <u>The Daily Star,</u> Saturday, 15 December 2001, p. 4

In 1995, the Israeli Prime-Minister who signed the Oslo Accord – Mr. Yitzhak Rabin - was assassinated on 7 November 1995. Rabin, like Sadat of Egypt, became a victim of peace. The assassination of Israeli Prime-Minister Yitzhak Rabin in November 1995 lessened the chances of a serious acceleration of Israeli-Palestinian peace talks while Ariel Sharon who was once Israeli Defence Minister and leader of opposition Party in the early 1980's voted against the Oslo Agreements/Accords. By mid-January 2001, he swore that he would do all he could to undermine both the letter and spirit of the Oslo Accords. But it was not only Ariel Sharon that opposed the Oslo Agreements. The Israeli Labor Party under whose aegis Oslo agreements came into being is now hostile to it.

Between 1995 and 1999, there were three main Palestinian-Israeli agreements namely: (i) the Taba Interim Agreement of 28 September 1995, (ii) the Hebron Protocol of 15 January 1997 and (iii) the Wye River Agreement of October 1998. The Taba Interim Agreement postpones further the dates for Israeli army re-deployment even though Israel agreed to withdraw its troops from West Bank towns excluding Hebron; but it asserted it would retain control of exits and entries to them. Any West Bank town can be closed at will by Israel. Worst still, not one inch of Jerusalem will be given up by Israel, thus making it impossible for Palestinians to rule their own territory. The Agreement was signed in 1997 as part of the Oslo II Accord. The Wye River Agreement signed in October 1998, was to give the Palestinians about 10 percent more land in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Regrettably, the Netanyahu government never implemented it. Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu tried to modify or nullify all the Agreements but in May 1999, he was voted out of office. He was succeeded by Ehud Barak as Israeli Prime Minister.

There was little or no difference between the two Israeli Prime Ministers. For Ehud Barak, Jerusalem remains basically nonnegotiable except for giving

Palestinian Authority, which was set up by the 1993 Oslo Accords, over a few sacred places in the old city. Also Jewish settlements will stay while sovereignty, borders, security, water and air rights will remain with Israel. Thousands of Palestinian refugees will have to look elsewhere for help and remain where they are. Other than that, there can be small "Palestinian State" without the attributes of a nation-state such as independence, sovereignty and recognition. Lastly, the Oslo Accords opened up a decade of peace negotiations until September 2000 when violence erupted between the Israelis and Palestinians.

The July 2000 Camp David II Summit

The Camp David II Summit, which started on Tuesday, 11 July 2000, was held at Camp David retreat located outside Washington D. C. in order to find solution to over five decades of Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Former US President Bill Clinton kicked off the summit by meeting first the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and then Ehud Barak of Israel at Camp David (USA) before bringing the two leaders and their negotiators together at the Presidential retreat made famous by the 1978 Israeli-Egyptian peace deal.

The Clinton parameters outlined a Palestinian state while most of the Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip would have to go. Jerusalem would be the capital of both the Jewish State and Palestine State while the sacred sites within the city would be divided. In addition, Palestinian refugees everywhere could move to the State of Palestine but they could return to their ancestral homes within Israel itself only with the agreement/consent of the Israeli government. For all the Palestinian refugees who could not go home and all the Jewish settlers who had to move from the West Bank and Gaza Strip, there would be generous compensation.

The Clinton's Middle East peace proposals were studied by both parties who remained adamant and unyielding and who sought for further clarification from the

outgoing Clinton administration. As a result, the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat met and discussed with nine Arab Foreign Ministers in Cairo (Egypt) on Thursday, 4 January 2001. At the end of their parley, the Arab Ministers re-affirmed the core demands of the right of return of Palestinian refugees to their ancestral homeland and Palestinian sovereignty over Israeli annexed Arab East Jerusalem plus its holy sites.

Neighbouring Arab countries like Lebanon totally rejected the idea of re-settling the Palestinian refugees on their territories and they insisted on the right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland. In an Editorial published on Thursday, 4 January 2001, Saudi Newspaper OKAZ declared:

> *The American proposal has turned a deaf ear to the Palestinian demands and suggestions. Also the US government has not paid minimum attention to the interests and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people[40]*

In reaction, Israel rejected the demands of the Arab Foreign Ministers and the Arab Palestinians. The Israelis perceived Ehud Barak as making too many concessions to the Palestinians and the Arabs in hopes for forging a peace and in order to save his political career in Israel. Many Israelis attacked Ehud Barak for his pursuit of elusive peace with the Palestinians. Under severe pressure from Israeli critics and having lost his coalition majority in the Knesset (Parliament), Ehud Barak resigned as Israeli Prime Minister in December 2000. His resignation came 21 months after defeating Likud Party leader and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu out of office. Barak's resignation, therefore, led to early Prime Ministerial election held on 6 February 2001. His crushing defeat at the polls by Ariel Sharon, who was a former Israeli Defence Minister and who led the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, was seen as an electoral victory for Israeli security needs and peace.

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[40]. See The Daily Star, Friday, 5 January 2001, p.1

At Camp David II summit, both sides accused each other of intransigence and lack of seriousness in their negotiations. For instance, Israel had proposed dividing East Jerusalem into three sectors namely one under full Israeli control, another under Palestinian had civilian authority but Israel would retain security control. It had also proposed that the Haram al-Sharif (third holiest site in the Islamic world) be put in the custody of the UN and of certain unnamed Arab and Islamic nations while the Palestinians would have the right to raise their national flag there.

In reaction, Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat rejected all the Israeli peace proposals and insisted on the return of all East Jerusalem as the capital of a Palestinian State. Arafat also insisted on overall sovereignty to the Palestinians in the Holy sites in East Jerusalem. But were he to accept anything less than total sovereignty over the holy sites, Arafat could have been condemned and shunned throughout the Muslim and Islamic world.

During the July 2000 Camp David II Summit, Arafat's credibility rating was given a temporary boost by the Palestinians and in the Arab world. Before the summit, his approval rating hovered around 30-35 percent. Fifty percent of the Palestinians believed he would collapse under the combined pressure of Israel and the United States[41]. Ehud Barak's image, on the other hand, was blackened and Israel's hardline negotiating position was eroded to a certain extent during the Camp David II Summit. He returned home (Tel-Aviv) with no agreement, no cabinet (13 of his 22 Ministers resigned) and no Parliamentary majority. Israeli right-wingers castigated Barak for "giving away too much" to the Palestinians. Also Israeli Leftists blamed Barak's refusal to come to a reasonable arrangement over Jerusalem and for the failure of the peace talks. Ordinary Israelis were angry that Barak did not reach a peace deal which could have brought an end to the Palestinian-Israeli

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[41]. See <u>The Daily Star,</u> Thursday, 5 July 2001, p. 6

conflict. Some political observers, however, believed that Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat was to blame for the deadlock (or breakdown) of Camp David II Summit or peace talks because he (Arafat) rejected " a generous offer" from the then Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak who alleged that Yasser Arafat opted instead for violence against Israel. This observation or viewpoint was first put forward by former US President Bill Clinton after the failure of Camp David II Summit and in comments he made after leaving the White House on 20 January 2001[42].

In its front-page Editorial, the New York Times, however, tried to spread the blame more evenly among the Israelis, Palestinians and US mediators. According to the Newspaper's Jerusalem Bureau Chief Deborah Sontag, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak improved his offer to the Palestinians meaning that the Camp David II Peace Talks were not " Israel's best offer". Bill Clinton was faulted for being too sensitive to Barak's political position at home (Israel) and being unwilling to pressure him to put forward "concrete peace proposals".

It was alleged that the Clinton administration used various tactics such as offering billions of US dollars to the Palestinian Authority to resettle the refugees. When Yasser Arafat did not respond positively to US offer, Bill Clinton apparently scolded Arafat by pinning the blame for the summit's failure squarely on his shoulders. Indeed, President Clinton could not hide his displeasure publicly with Arafat when he accused the Palestinian leader of lacking in "vision in comparison with Barak" whom he praised for his courage and decisive concessions which he made at Camp David II Summit.

The failure of Camp David II Summit also provoked reactions from some of the participants to the summit. A premier example was Dennis Ross who was US mediator during the Clinton years at the White House. Ross maintained that Yasser

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[42]. See The Daily Star, Friday, 10 August 2001, p. 5

Arafat was to blame for the failure of the Summit. According to Dennis Ross, "Arafat wasn't able to do a deal not because he did not get the idea of peace with Israel but because he focused too much attention on what he would get rather than on what he would give[43].

Most Arab leaders attacked US mediatory Middle East peace-making role because of alleged US leader's pro-Israeli bias especially Bill Clinton. During the Clinton era, US policy towards the Middle East emphasized the process of peace-making over substance. As a result, the Arab publics were suspicious of American mediation efforts. This also led them to believe that the peace process was only a mirage designed to trick their governments and leaders/ people into pre-maturely establishing economic ties that would help Israel break out of its regional isolation. Consequently, anti-Israeli sentiment went hand-in-hand with anti-Americanism.

More significantly, the Clinton administration consciously avoided tackling the real issues in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. At Camp David II Summit, there were five key issues which the parties remained widely divided and they include: (i) the future of Jerusalem claimed by both sides as their capital city, (ii) the borders of the proposed Palestine State, (iii) the fate of Palestinian refugees, (iv) security guarantees for Israel and (v) Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Besides, one contentious issue is a proposal to give the Palestinians sovereignty over parts of Jerusalem site revered by Muslims as Haram al-Sharif and by the Jews as the Temple Mount in exchange for relinquishing the refugees' right of return to Israel[44]. Previous peace plans have suggested compensation and re-settlement of Palestinian refugees in Western Countries and Arab States as solution to ending decades-old refugee problem.

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[43]. Ibid.,
[44]. See Syria Times, Wednesday, 3 January 2001, p. 3

In summary, the July 2000 Camp David II Summit which began on 11 July 2000 was suspended abruptly on 20 July (2000) respectively. The suspension was seen as a very unfortunate event. The hopes of both the Israelis and Arab Palestinians were dashed while the Middle East peace process itself was seriously damaged. In January 2001, outgoing US President Bill Clinton made peace proposals aimed at reaching agreement on issues at the core of decades of conflict between the Arab Palestinians and Israelis before his final departure from the White House on 20 January 2001. Regrettably, Bill Clinton failed to realize that there was no time left for him to forge a peace deal between the Israelis and the Arabs/Palestinians. Also Clinton failed to realize that deep differences existed (and still exist) between both sides over several and critical issues such as the status of Jerusalem, border and security.

In concluding our discussion on July 2000 Camp David II Summit, it is essential to note that some basic differences existed between Camp David I Summit and Camp David II Summit. For instance, absolute willingness and seriousness existed before and during 1978 Camp David I Summit whereas Camp David II Summit lacked seriousness on the part of the Israeli and Palestinian negotiators. Hence the Arab world perceived the US government (or the Clinton administration) as pro-Israel and a trusted ally whose interests[45] should be protected. The US government further allowed Israel to determine the direction and outcome of the Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations.

As a result of Camp David II Summit, Ehud Barak's government lost his coalition partners and majority in Israeli Parliament (or Knesset). Three political parties in his center-left government bolted in protest against Barak's concessions to

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[45]. A key US objective during the Clinton administration was to help Israel normalize its relations with the Arab world without forcing Israel to make concessions required to reach a peace deal with the Arabs including the Palestinians.

the Palestinian negotiators. Hence Barak's Foreign Minister David Levy decided to quit because he could not accept the concessions which Barak made at the failed Camp David II Summit particularly over Jerusalem which both Palestinians and Israelis consider as their capital.

At the end of Camp David II Summit, both sides were unable to agree on peace formula and they left without a peace deal. This is because Camp David II Summit did not pursue a balanced, fair and just peace accord that treats Israelis and Arabs/Palestinians as equal partners. The failure to reach an agreement when the Camp David II Summit ended on 25 July 2000 led to Palestinian frustration with the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. More importantly, the Camp David Summit I led to successful conclusion and the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty between Cairo and Tel-Aviv in 1979 and it was the first agreement signed between the Jewish State and one of its Arab neighbours. Thus Egypt became the first Arab country to sign a peace treaty with Israel in 1979 whereas the July 2000 Camp David II Summit ended in impasse (or deadlock). In this regard, the peace mediator or broker (the United States) did not obtain anything substantial before the July 2000 Summit ended abruptly.

After Israel and Egypt had signed the 1978 Camp David Accords, the United States of America rewarded both sides with billions of US dollars annually in military and humanitarian assistance; whereas the unsuccessful Camp David II Summit did not lead to any financial reward. Rather, it led to violence, rhetorics, blames on both sides and strong criticism by all the major actors as well as political observers and analysts. Thirdly, the major actors in the Camp David I Summit were Anwar Sadat of Egypt, Menachem Begin of Israel and Jimmy Carter of the United States of America; whereas Camp David II Summit was between Bill Clinton of USA on one hand and Ehud Barak of Israel as well as the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat on the other. In

addition, the second Camp David Summit is the culmination of the peace process that started in Madrid in 1991. The peace talks at Camp David II Summit involved, among other things, the status of Jerusalem and the fate of the Palestinian refugees whereas the issues stated herein were excluded from the 1978 Camp David I Summit. Also former US President Bill Clinton tried unsuccessfully to make himself a peacemaker in the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Lastly, at Camp David II Summit of July 2000, both sides accused each other of intransigence and lack of seriousness in their negotiations; whereas in 1978 Camp David I Summit, there was seriousness of purpose and determination to achieve durable peace. Indeed, the Chief mediator (USA) and the parties involved had faith, confidence and trust in each other.

Unlike the 1978 Camp David Summit, the 2000 Camp David Summit came within the framework of the Middle East/Israeli-Palestinian peace process. Besides, the 2000 Camp David Summit created two new principles. The first is the reciprocity principle in considering the lands which will constitute the geography of the future Palestine state. The second principle calls for compensation for the Palestinian refugees for giving up their right of return to their original land and homes. It is essential to note that the two principles stated herein violate UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the exchange of land-for-peace formula accepted at 1991 Madrid conference. But is there any difference or similarity between the two summits?

The bringing together of the two summits is one of big contrast or difference than of comparison. Camp David I Summit was held in 1978 while Camp David II Summit was held in the year 2000. The common denominator, however, between the 1978 Camp David Summit and that of the year 2000 is the venue (USA) and the

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holding of closed door meetings. The sudden collapse of 2000 Camp David Summit led to the Taba Peace Talks.

The Taba Peace Talks

The Taba Peace Summit was held towards the end of the Clinton administration. In other words, it was a last-ditch effort to achieve peace between the Palestinians and Israelis. Before Israeli February 2001 election, Prime Minister Ehud Barak launched peace talks at the Egyptian Red Sea resort of Taba. Like its immediate predecessor, peace talks at Taba ended without agreement. This is to say that both sides failed to make a break-through in their tangled peace-talks.

The Mitchell Report

The Mitchell Committee was formed or inaugurated by former US President Bill Clinton and in January 2001 shortly after Bush's inauguration, the US Secretary of State Colin Powell endorsed the continued work of the Mitchell Committee on behalf of the Bush administration. On Monday 21 May 2001, former US Senator George Mitchell submitted his Committee's Report (as a blue-print to end Palestinian-Israeli violence) to US President George W. Bush (Jnr.). More importantly, the Mitchell Report calls for a ceasefire or an end to clashes, confidence building measures (or steps) to rebuild trust from both sides, a freeze on Jewish settlement building in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, security co-operation between the two belligerents in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, lifting the Israeli siege and return to peace talks or negotiating table[46]. In addition, the Mitchell Report is not a draft peace proposal but a means to end violence between the Israelis and Palestinians.

In summary, the mission of the Mitchell Commission was to investigate what has happened, why it happened and to take necessary measures to prevent its

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[46] See <u>Monday Morning,</u> 18 March 2002, p. 20

future occurrence. The highlights of the Mitchell report include the following: (1) an unconditional end to the Palestinian-Israeli violence must be initiated and no further activity should be conducted in the Jewish settlement areas; and (ii) confidence should be built up so that negotiations could begin.

The Tenet Plan

The Tenet Plan was drawn up by the United States CIA former Director George Tenet. The Plan details steps demanded on both sides (the Palestinians and Israelis) to end violence. Each side, however, held deeply different views on how a truce should unfold. For instance, the Palestinians wanted the period of implementation of the Tenet Plan to be short – not longer than two weeks while Israeli negotiators wanted a four-week implementation period; thereafter confidence building measures should be quickly applied. A freeze on settlement construction by Israel in the West Bank and Gaza Strip is one of such measures which the Palestinians covet most. On the other hand, Israeli Prime-Minister Ariel Sharon opposed a freeze. Besides, Israel wanted full peace negotiations to begin quickly on a comprehensive peace deal and resume where they left off (more than a year) before Ariel Sharon came to power in February 2001.

The Tenet Plan also called for a round up of terrorist suspects; but Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat wanted to commit himself only to make arrests to preempt future assaults on Israeli targets and population[47]. Israel wanted to limit peace talks to security and resisted tying Tenet implementation to other proposals. In addition, Israel pressed for arrests and prosecution of wanted militants and terrorist suspects (that is, those responsible for attacks on Israel) from the past and for the Palestinians to fulfill their obligations such as collection of weapons from the Palestinians in advance of any military withdrawal from Arab/Palestinian occupied territories. But

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[47]. See <u>International Herald Tribune,</u> Saturday – Sunday, 23 – 24 March 2002, p. 5

how could they collect weapons from Palestinian hands? Collection of weapons appeared to be difficult since the members of the Palestinian security services who are supposed to collect illegal weapons and carry out the arrests have had their bases and basic infrastructure bombed and destroyed during Israeli military raids in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

In summary and on 13 July 2001, United States CIA Director George Tenet arranged a step-by-step cease-fire between Israel and Palestinians. Both sides agreed to the Tenet Peace terms but failed to implement the truce. It should be noted that most Arab States see the Mitchell Report and the Tenet Plan as a cease-fire agreement and not as a peace plan. Indeed, Arab leaders and intellectuals view the Mitchell Report and Tenet Plan as an attempt to stop (i) Palestinian uprising (intifada) against Israeli occupation and (ii) the implementation of what was agreed at Sharm al-Sheikh and Taba Summits. From American and Israeli point of view, the Mitchell Report and Tenet Plan constitute the sole ground on which any settlement should rely[48].

There is no doubt, that there are obvious flaws in both the Mitchell Report and Tenet Plan. Both do not practically give any real or solid ground upon which a balanced agreement can be reached. Also both the Report and Plan are biased and reward Ariel Sharon's government for its aggressive moves since it came to power in February 2001. The Report and Plan ignored the Palestinian people's right to (i) self-determination and (ii) establish their independent state on their own soil. Consequently, any move based on the Mitchell's Report and Tenet's Plan will be insufficient to realize positive result whether at the level of negotiations between the Palestinian and Israeli negotiators or at the level of the Middle East peace process.

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[48]. Ibid

In spite of the above, both the Palestinians and Israelis accepted the Mitchell Report and declared their willingness to implement all their obligations under the Report. Regrettably, the Palestinian-Israeli violence continued or did not end. This compelled the Bush administration (Jnr.) to send a US retired Marine Corps General Anthony Zinni to the Middle East twice to start security consultations at a high level between both sides. It also compelled US President George Bush (Jnr.) to announce his support for the creation of an independent Palestinian State in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Zinni's Middle East Peace Mission

As the Palestinian-Israeli violence reached an unprecedented level in early March 2002, the American President (George Bush Jnr.) took the decision to send General Anthony Zinni to the Middle East again and see if he could calm things down. US General Zinni worked from an outline laid out in June 2001 by George Tenet. But very few Palestinians regarded Zinni as a neutral US mediator but rather as an Israeli partisan.

General Anthony Zinni's effort to arrange an Israeli-Palestinian cease-fire was deadlocked. In other words, it ended without positive results over terms, timing and the prospects for resuming pace talks on Israel's military withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. He, however, met (in Tel-Aviv, Israel) with Palestinian and Israeli officials without overcoming deep differences about the first steps toward ending violence[49].

Zinni pressed Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat to curb suicide bombings while the former retorted that he had already gathered leaders of political factions to forbid assaults on civilians inside Israel. Arafat also protested that without a visible

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[49]. Ibid.,

"political horizon", it would be impossible to restrain potential terrorists[50]. For Zinni to have success in his Middle East Mission, there had to be "something new" to propose by way of an inducement for the warring parties or there has to be something which could persuade the Palestinians, that if they renounced violence in all its forms, their grievances would be re-dressed and which might also persuade the Israelis that they would do better to talk to the Palestinians rather than go on trying to bomb them into submission[51].

On Thursday, 21 March 2002, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon condemned suicide bombing and said:

> *We strongly condemn this military operation that took place in West Jerusalem today especially since it was against innocent Israeli civilians. We will take immediate and required steps to put an end to these actions and those who stand behind them[52].*

In addition, during his official visit to the Middle East in March 2002, US Vice-President Dick Chiney held out the prospects of meeting with the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat because of his alleged involvement in terrorist activities.

The Saudi Peace Initiative and Beirut Summit

In order to avoid the total collapse of the Middle East peace process, the Saudi Crown Prince Abdallah <u>bin</u> Abdellaziz proposed for the first time the possibility of normalization of Arab relations with Israel in exchange for its total withdrawal from the territories occupied in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. The Saudi Crown Prince Abdellaziz saw the need for alternative political solutions to the Arab-Israeli conflict which has remained unresolved for several decades. However, the Saudi Peace Initiative is not really new being essentially a revival of the UN Security Council Resolution 242 of November 1967 on which every subsequent proposal for Arab-Israeli peace agreement has nominally been based. Despite this, the Saudi Peace

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[50]. <u>Ibid</u>.,
[51]. See <u>International Herald Tribune,</u> Friday, 22 March 2002, p. 1
[52]. <u>Ibid</u>.,

Plan has two things to recommend it. First, it came from a Government which exercises considerable influence in the Arab world and internationally; but which has never before made any significant contribution to the search for Middle East peace. And second, the Plan's outlines are clear-cut: free of the elaborations and complexities with which the American sponsored peace process has been burdened. The Saudi plan, unlike the UN Security Council Resolution 242, offers both sides a bargain: recognition and acceptance of Israel in return for Israeli withdrawal (or pull-out) from territories captured and occupied during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war and since colonized by Israel. Consequently, the Beirut Summit (Lebanon) was convened between 27-28 March 2002.

The Summit was well attended by Arab leaders and personalities like the former UN Secretary –General Kofi Annan, Spain's Prime Minister and EU President Jose Maria Aznar, EU Foreign Affairs and Security Representative Javier Solana, Organisation of the Islamic Conference Secretary-General Abdallah Balkaziz, Secretary – General of the Organization of Francophone Boutros Ghali, Gulf Cooperation Council Secretary – General Abdelrahman bin Artiya and Terje Roed-Larsen who was UN Secretary-General's Representative in the Middle East. In spite of the attendance of prominent figures mentioned above, the summit was undermined by the absence of three key Arab leaders namely: the Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, the Jordanian King Abdallah II and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. Mubarak of Egypt decided to boycott the summit as a gesture of support for Yasser Arafat and the Palestinians while health reasons were given for King Abdallah's absence. Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak and King Abdallah II of Jordan were, however, represented by their Prime Ministers Atef Ebeid and Ali Abou-Raghed respectively.

Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat was prevented from attending the Beirut Summit because he failed to meet the tough and strict conditions (laid down by the Sharon government) which stated, among others, that he (Yasser Arafat) had not done enough to prevent terror and terrorist attacks against Israel. Intense pressure was put on Ariel Sharon of Israel by a number of Governments including the US government to allow Yasser Arafat go to Beirut Summit. Israel, however, failed to yield (or respond) positively to public and external pressure.

At the Beirut Summit, the Beirut Declaration was issued while attempts were made to Arabize the Saudi Peace Initiative and present it as the Arab Peace Initiative in the first instance to the United States of America and then to European governments so that it could serve as a basis for Arab/Palestinian-Israeli negotiations. In addition, the final Beirut Declaration hailed the Palestinians' 18 – month Intifada or uprising against Israeli occupation and backed their struggle for their legitimate rights. Also the final Declaration (or Document) stressed the need to establish peace and normal relations with Israel. In a nutshell, the Beirut Declaration calls for the withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war in return for normal relations with Israel and security for the latter. Also the Arab peace plan states that Israel must return to its pre-1967 border while the question of Palestinian refugees should be solved according to UN Resolution 194. In addition, the State of Palestine should be created and its capital should be East Jerusalem.

As the delegates to the 14th Arab Summit was thinking in terms of peace, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon turned his thoughts in the opposite direction. After his public address to his nation, he responded heavily and militarily to Palestinian suicide bombing attacks. He also announced that his cabinet now considered Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat "an enemy". Sharon's decision to

brand Yasser Arafat "an enemy" was a clear declaration of war on the Palestinians. In this regard, Israeli Prime-Minister Ariel Sharon further said:

> *The government (of Israel) had decided to consider Arafat who is the head of a terrorist coalition as "an enemy" who at this stage, must be isolated. Israel would take all the necessary measures to act and destroy the infrastructure of every terror element that exists[53].*

Sharon's announcement was followed by an attack by a Palestinian suicide bomber who killed at least 22 people in a hotel in the northern coastal town of Netanya and wounded more than 100 people. The incident cited above threatened to wreck or torpedo the Middle East peace process in general and US efforts to reach a ceasefire. It also kept Israeli forces on high alert. Indeed, the Palestinian uprising and Israeli excessive use of force against the Palestinians stalled the region's peace process. Israel brushed aside international criticism of its excessive use of force and moved its forces with tanks, war planes and helicopters into Palestinian towns and villages in West Bank and Gaza Strip searching and flushing out suspected Palestinian militants and terrorists[54]. Apart from US rhetorics concerning the creation of a Palestine state, no serious effort was made towards the end of 2004 to revive the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli peace process.

3.3 THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE PALESTINIAN – ISRAELI CONFLICT

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict had produced severe consequences. In the Arab-Israeli Wars of 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973 and 1982, Israel, like the Arab States, sustained huge causalities or human loss. Statistically and for example, in its 1948 war, Israel lost about one percent of its population at the time. Israel also lost several hundred soldiers in the 1956 Sinai campaign, 776 during the 1967 war and about 2,700 in the 1973 Yom Kippur War. The 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and subsequent occupation of south Lebanon took the lives of more than 900 Israeli

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[53]. See <u>Monday Morning,</u> 1 April 2002, p. 18
[54]. Data obtained from BBC News, 7am. (Beirut Time), 2 April 2002.

soldiers[55]. The casualties in the Wars from 1948 to 1982 were compounded by the Gulf War of 1990/91 which had serious implications on the PLO and its leadership. During the Gulf War which began in August 1990, the PLO and its leader Yasser Arafat were closely allied with Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq and they made no serious effort to dissociate themselves thereafter. The result was that all the Gulf regimes cut off the PLO completely. Kuwait threw out (or expelled) three hundred thousand Palestinians in the Spring and Summer of 1991 because of PLO's alleged collaboration with Iraq.

During the 1948 War, three quarters of a million Palestinians fled their ancestral homes to neighbouring countries such as Lebanon which feared (and still fears) that they could upset its ethnic and religious balance, and therefore, wants to see them return to Israel or their homeland in Palestine. After the April 1948 massacre (or genocide) of several Palestinians by Jewish militias, the Israeli army then expelled the Palestinians from the conquered territories[56]. Regrettably, Israel has never claimed responsibility for the tragedy. Rather, Israel maintained that Arab States were largely responsible in that they provoked the war and refused to integrate the Palestinian refugees. The 1948 war left 77 percent of Palestine in Israeli hands and only 23 percent in Palestinian hands. Then came the 1967 war in which Israel captured all the remaining 23 percent of Palestine and the subsequent campaign which unplanted several Jewish settlers in the occupied Arab territories[57].

Another serious consequence of the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict has to do with the emergence of global terrorism. Since the September Eleventh 2001 terrorist

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[55]. See Syria Times (No 5285), Thursday, 30 November 2000, p. 3
[56]. See The Daily Star, Wednesday, 10 January 2001, p. 5
[57]. Ibid.

attack incident in the United States of America[58], the international community's approach to the Middle East conflict in general and the Israeli-Palestinian dispute in particular has been shaped by a quartet of four powers: the United States, European Union, Russia and the United Nations. In this regard, the quartet of four powers named above are behind the Middle East peace plan known as the road map. They met in early May 2004 to give new impetus to the stalled Mid-East peace process. The meeting[59] of the US, Russia, the European Union and the United Nations took place after the rejection of the Israeli Prime-Minister Ariel Sharon's government intended to pull out of only three out of all the 21 Gaza Strip settlements and two (not four) of the West Bank area. In effect, Sharon's plan angered the Palestinians who feared and still fear it was (and still is) a move by the Israeli government to secure its hold on areas of the West Bank. They were also infuriated by Bush's apparent shift in US policy on Israeli settlements in a future Palestinian State and Palestinians' right to return to land lost to Israel more than half a century ago[60].

In addition, September Eleventh incident compelled the US to lump together Iran, Iraq and North Korea as "the axis of evil" in modern world. Iraq's inclusion is not unexpected. Since George W. Bush (Jnr.) came to power on 20 January (2001),

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[58]. The September Eleventh 2001 terrorist assaults in the US shook the entire world by surprise because of the huge loss of lives and properties. Many Americans and other nationals perished in the ugly and unexpected incident. Consequently, it brought pain and grief to people in various parts of the world. Besides, it had serious consequences on world economy and international events or engagements. For instance, the Commonwealth Summit scheduled for Australia and the Franco-phone summit fixed for Lebanon were postponed (or cancelled) outright. Many world leaders feared to be away from their respective countries immediately the US declared war on suspected terrorists including the prime suspect Osama bin Laden.
As a result of September Eleventh 2001 incident in the US, American President's image improved considerably by the effective conduct of the US-led campaign against terrorists in Afghanistan Indeed, US-led campaign received near unanimous support from Americans and strong approval rating in Europe. Europeans, like the Americans, changed their minds about US President George W. Bush (Jnr.) in a positive direction. In brief, European leaders have a better opinion of President Bush than they did before the September Eleventh terrorist attacks, but they remained highly critical of his policies and what they considered as US unilateralism on global affairs.

[59]. The meeting of the quartet of four powers was hosted by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan and it was attended by US Secretary of State (Colin Powell), Russian Foreign Minister (Sergei Lavrov), EU Foreign Policy Chief (Javier Solana). Kofi Annan himself was in attendance.

[60]. See THIS DAY, Wednesday, May 5, (2004), vol. 10, No 3299, p. 55

there has been speculation over when he would "finish the job" which his father (Bush Snr.) started during the Gulf War of 1990/91 as President of USA. With the September Eleventh terrorist attacks in New York and Washington D. C., the Bush administration (Jnr.) finally got the chance or opportunity he was waiting for with regard to his plans for Iraq; and with US invasion of Afghanistan completed, the US began preparing the ground for a change of regime in Baghdad. Indeed, President W. Bush (Jnr.) is believed to have gone to Iraq because he wanted to complete what his father started in 1990/91, including the ousting of Saddam, more than searching for the institute of mass destruction.

It is true that U.S. President George Bush Jnr. had to act against the al-qaeda after the September Eleventh attack on the United States. His order to remove the Taliban regime in Afghanistan had global support at that time. But his war on Iraq was most unpopular. Saddam Hussein may have been an obnoxious or rude person, but it was not right for the United States and its coalition partners to breach international protocol by going into an independent country to remove a regime effectively in power especially when that regime was not a threat to international peace and order. Indeed, the debacle in Iraq finally brought U.S. President Bush to disrepute. Not only that, Iraq has disintegrated and there is no way Iraq can be the same country it was.

The Kurds in the north of Iraq are now virtually autonomous; while the Shiites in Barra and the South of the country are now dominant majority. Worse still, the Sunni in the North and Baghdad are chaffing or separating under Shiite domination. This has brought the Untied States into disaffection with the major Arab countries like Saudi-Arabia and Egypt who are not happy with the Shiite ascendancy in Iraq and the unacceptable Iranian influence in the country.

Besides, the September Eleventh 2001 incident brought the Middle East peace process to a halt or stand-still. It also compelled the Bush administration (Jnr.) to urge all democratic governments to support US efforts to halt or eliminate acts of terrorism in the world. There is no doubt, terrorism requires collective global efforts since it is not limited or restricted to a particular region in the world. More importantly, the ugly event of September Eleventh strengthened US Presidential powers giving President Bush (Jnr.) a dominance over American Congress exceeding that of other post-Watergate Presidents and rivaling even Franklin Roosevelt's command. Indeed, the Bush administration seized power which it has shared with other branches of US government. In foreign policy, the Bush administration announced vast cuts in US nuclear arsenal but resisted putting the cuts in a treaty thereby averting a Senate ratification veto. In domestic policy, the Bush administration proposed re-organization of the US Immigration and Naturalization Services without the congressional action which lawmakers sought. And in legal policy, the Bush administration seized the judiciary's power as Mr. Bush signed an order allowing terrorists to be tried in military tribunals. Also the Bush administration augmented White House power including initiatives to limit intelligence briefings to members of Congress, took new spending authority from Congress (or Legislature) and expanded the executive branch's power to monitor and detain those it suspects of terrorism and terrorist acts[61].

It should be noted, however, that President Bush Jnr. was (and still is) not the first to gain outright powers during war-times. In this regard, former US President Lyndon Johnson gained clout under the Tokin Gulf Resolution and as did Mr. Roosevelt during World War II (1939 – 1945). The War Powers Act and other reforms by US Congress to limit presidential power after Watergate Scandal made

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[61] See <u>International Herald Tribune,</u> Wednesday, 21 November 2001, p. 1

for weaker Executive. Nonetheless, US President George W. Bush (Jnr.) succeeded in restoring the "Imperial Presidency" – a term, which Arthur Schlesinger Jnr. used to describe Richard Nixon's administration, and is left to decide how much privacy American citizens should retain.

Wartime powers rest fundamentally in the hands of the US Executive Branch because an increase in presidential power is the correct prescription for a crisis. And American public and Congress seemed content for Mr. Bush to assume as much power as he desires. Hence, congressional leaders mustered little resistance to the Bush administration's bid to increase power it needed in the interests of national security"[62]. Even before September Eleventh 2001 incident in the United States, the Bush administration (Jnr.) had been looking for ways to reassert presidential prerogatives particularly in its relationship with American Congress which some in the Bush administration believe grew too powerful during the Clinton and Reagan years as well as Bush administration Snr. (1989 – Jan. 1992).

Lastly, the September Eleventh 2001 incident led to the toppling (or overthrow of the Taliban regime in Kabul (Afghanistan) as a result of massive and intensive air bombardment of Afghanistan, its infrastructures and civilian population. Having accomplished that, the Bush administration (Jnr.) turned its attention to the elimination of threat from nuclear and biological weapons in Iraq. Apart from terrorist suspects such as Osama bin Laden who was named by US as "prime suspect", the September Eleventh carnage led to chemical warfare suspects such as Iraq. The US strongly believed that Iraq took advantage of three years of "no-UN Inspections" to improve its biological and chemical weapons program.

Like the September Eleventh 2001 incident, the Palestinian-Israeli violence had serious implications on the economy of both Israel and the Palestinian people.

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[62]. Ibid.

In this regard, several years of conflict and violence had reduced Palestinians' basic infrasture to rubble, devastated their economy and left thousands of them dead. Consequently, unemployment rose to 40 percent in Israel while unemployment in the West Bank and Gaza Strip soared from 11 percent to 25 percent[63]. Israeli repeated border closures led to a dramatic deterioration in Palestinian living conditions and increased poverty rate. Secondly, the second Palestinian intifada led to Ehud Barak's sudden resignation as Israeli Prime-Minister on 10 December 2000 after he was criticized in Israel for failing to quell the Palestinian rebellion. Also Israel's relations with the Arab States were strained by clashes and Israel's excessive use of force against the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Hence, Egypt withdrew (or recalled) its Ambassador to Tel-Aviv (Israel); while Jordan withheld sending its new Envoy to Tel-Aviv in a similar gesture. Egyptian and Jordanian moves increased Israel's isolation to some extent. It is essential to point out at this juncture that Egypt and Jordan are two Arab States which signed Peace Treaties in 1979 and 1994 respectively with Israel. Both maintain diplomatic ties with the Jewish State over objections from Syria, Lebanon and Palestinian radical elements. Also both Egypt and Jordan did not break diplomatic ties with the Jewish State and they ensured that a regional war did not erupt. The withdrawal of Egyptian Ambassador from Israel, for instance, was a warning to the Jewish State not to go too far in its military crackdown on the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Besides, Egypt's decision to recall its Ambassador (something it has not done since 1982 when Israel invaded Lebanon) aims at calming Egyptian public opinion at home and repositioning Egypt at the center of the Arab world[64]. Thirdly, the Palestinian uprising/violence later acquired a terrorist connotation and provided Israeli Prime-Minister Ariel Sharon with an alibi (or excuse) to destroy the organic, administrative

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[63]. See Daily Star, Wednesday, 3 January 2001, p. 6
[64]. See Monday Morning (The Weekly Magazines), 27 November 2000, p. 18

and human infrastructure of the Palestinian nation[65]. Fourthly, the Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation of Arab/Palestinian territories led to the election of former Israeli Defense Minister, Ariel Sharon, as Prime Minister on 26 February 2001. Ariel Sharon swept to electoral victory and vowed not to conduct peace talks with the Palestinians unless the Palestinian Authority ended its uprising against Israel. Israeli voters rebuffed Ehud Barak largely because he failed to deliver peace or end the uprising/violence against the people of Israel. The election of Ariel Sharon was perceived in the Arab world as almost tantamount to a declaration of war. On assuming power, Sharon's government continued with Israel's expansionist policy, building more Jewish settlement on the occupied Arab/Palestinian territories in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Also his government rescinded all peace accords concluded with the Palestinians under previous Israeli regimes especially his immediate predecessor – Ehud Barak administration. It also declared the Oslo Accords dead, null and void.

Ehud Barak was apparently defeated for two main reasons. The first is the unanimity of Israelis who agreed on the need to address security issues by using whatever force that was available while the second was the profound sense of concern for Israel's survival which Ariel Sharon hoped and promised to achieve on assuming power. Lastly, Israel and the Palestinian Authority blamed each other for the violence that erupted on 28 September 2000 after the July 2000 Camp David II Summit was deadlocked. The two sides did not agree on the cause (or causes) of the second Palestinian intifada. The Palestinians stated that they were provoked by the visit of Ariel Sharon who was accompanied by several Israeli security policemen to a Holy Shrine revered by Muslims and Jews in Jerusalem's oldest city. Israel, on the other hand, denied and asserted that the Palestinians merely used Sharon's visit

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[65]. See International Herald Tribune, Monday, 15 April 2002, p. 1

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as a pretext for violence. Indeed, Ariel Sharon held Yasser Arafat directly responsible for the outbreak of September 2000 violence. Nonetheless, the second Palestinian intifada radicalized both the Israelis and Palestinians. The radicalization of Palestinian opinion stemmed partly from anger and frustration at military blockades which Israel believed was needed in order to prevent attacks but which the Palestinians described as "collective punishment" that brought untold hardship for many of them. When one compares the disparity of military strength between the Palestinian militants and Israeli troops and when one recalls the ordeals to which the Israelis have subjected the Palestinian people over the last 58 years, it is not hard to fathom why some of them have made themselves into bombs to blow up themselves and Israelis. Indeed, the terror inflicted by the Israeli war machine is answered by the terror of the human bombs. Suicide bombings, though morally wrong, unacceptable and unjustified, provoked serious Israeli retaliatory measures. It should be noted, however, that Israel was incapable of suppressing the Palestinian intifada (or uprising) while the uprising itself was incapable of terminating Israeli occupation of Arab/Palestinian territories.

The Palestinian-Israeli dispute posed serious dilemma to Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat on two grounds. Firstly, should the Palestinians led by Yasser Arafat unilaterally declare a Palestinian State without the consent of Israeli authority and what should he (Arafat) do with the Palestinian militants and suicide bombers? Secondly, should Arafat himself relinquish power voluntarily and allow a successor to be elected (or appointed) without succession crisis? We begin our discussion with whether or not Yasser Arafat should unilaterally declare a Palestinian State? For several years, the PLO was based in Tunis (Tunisia). It moved to Tunis after it was expelled from Beirut (Lebanon) by Israeli forces in September 1982 during the second Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

On 13 September 2000, the PLO's Central Council comprising 129 members decided to postpone indefinitely the proclamation or declaration of a Palestinian State, that is, Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). It had been expected that the Council (the PLO's top or highest decision-making body) would reschedule the date to either 15 November 2000 or 1 January 2001.

Table 3.1:   Public Opionion (or Gallup Poll) on The Declaration of A Palestinian State.

Year	Favourable	Unfavourable
1980	33	32
1982	37	45
1997	47	13
1998	41	25
1999	54	21
July 2000	56	13
Dec. 2000	63.5	15

Source: Abu Dhabi Television and the Washington-based Arab-American Institute and conducted by Zogby International of New York. The poll interviewed 1012 randomly selected US voters from December 18-21, (2000). Also the poll has a margin of error +/- 3.2 percent. For more information, see Syria Times, Monday, 15 January 2001, p. 3.

But instead, the Council called another meeting on November 15 at which its members reviewed progress in both the peace process and preparations for statehood. Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat began to speak of UDI in the Spring of 1999. He used UDI to spur the Israelis to begin serious negotiations (or peace talks) on the fundamental (or basic) issues of borders, Jewish settlements, Palestinian refugees, Jerusalem and sharing of resources.

However, Arafat was persuaded by the international community to postpone UDI beyond May 4 (1999) and give final-status talks a chance. In exchange for postponing the declaration, the European governments (or Union) promised to recognize the State of Palestinian while the United States pledged not to oppose it[66]. Yasser Arafat, therefore, chose 13 September 2000 (that is, the Seventh Anniversary of the signing of the First Oslo Accords) as the alternative date for the

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[66]. See The Daily Star, 28 September 2000, p. 5

Declaration of Palestinian State. Interestingly, it was the date personally set by Ehud Barak of Israel for the achievement of a final settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. When he realized that the date would not be realistic, Yasser Arafat declared that a Palestinian State would be declared on that day with or without an agreement between Israel and the PLO. He also used the threat of UDI as a leverage against Israel and the US which tried fruitlessly to broker a peace deal between both parties.

In reaction to Arafat's intents, the US, Israel and the international community appealed to Yasser Arafat to defer UDI once again. Arafat, therefore, referred the issue of UDI to PLO's Central Committee for deliberation, consideration and decision. At this juncture, it is necessary to bear in mind that if he had delayed the declaration of Palestinian State for too long, Arafat would have lost credibility among the Palestinians. Also he was under domestic pressure to live up to promises of a 13 September 2000 declaration of Palestinian independence. The pressure came in the form of a survey conducted by the Palestinian Authority-owned State Information Service which found 71.5 percent of 1,470 Palestinian polled in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in favor of declaring a State on September 13.[67] More importantly, most Palestinians decided to opt for violent confrontation with Israel should a deal could not be reached by mid-September 2000. In response, Israel threatened to retaliate by annexing land or territories still under its control. It also warned against declaring an independent state on 13 September 2000.

Echoing what Ehud Barak of Israel has said before, former Israeli Justice Minister Yossi Beilin said that a proclamation of Palestinian independence is meaningless without Israel's approval. In the same vein, US Secretary of State Albright (during the Clinton administration) warned Arafat against unilaterally

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[67]. See The Daily Star, Monday, 7 August 2000, p. 1

declaring Palestinian Statehood saying he (Arafat) would fail to get international backing. In Albright's view, Palestinian statehood should and must be part of a comprehensive agreement between Israel and the Palestinians. In this regard, she declared:

> *It is important that it should not be a unilateral declaration by the Palestinians because I think a Palestinian state declared unilaterally will not get the international recognition and support that Chairman Arafat wants for it[68].*

President Bill Clinton also indicated that the United States might (or would) review its entire relationship with the Palestinians if they carried out their promise to declare a State on 13 September 2000 without Israel's prior agreement. Indeed, Bill Clinton asserted that a unilateral act would be a big mistake by the Palestinians. In his broadcast on Israeli Radio, former US President Clinton said:

> *I think it would be a big mistake to take a unilateral action and walk away from the peace process; and if it happens, there will inevitably be consequences not just here but throughout the world[69].*

As a result of opposition and strong pressure both within and outside, Arafat embarked on international tour aimed at gaining support for the Palestinian' position that East Jerusalem should be the capital of their future state. Arafat's tour took him to Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Morocco, Libya, Algeria, France, Russia and Turkey. But the Palestinian leader remained ambiguous throughout his tours (or travels) about his intension to declare an independent state on 13 September (2000). He, however, indicated that he might delay the move if the Arab States thought it best.

There is no doubt, the UDI would have produced serious implications. Firstly, the Jewish State would have responded to Palestinian UDI with unilateral actions of its own including formal annexation of settlements in the occupied West Bank and

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[68]. See <u>Monday Morning</u>, vol. Xxix, 7 August 2000, p. 18
[69]. See <u>The Daily Star,</u> Saturday, 29 July 2000, p. 5

Gaza Strip as well as blockade of Palestinian population centers. In addition, Israel would have carried out other unspecified punitive measures against the Palestinians. Secondly, it would have been political suicide to proclaim the Palestinian state while the Palestinians have not yet exercised full control over 80 percent of the West Bank and 40 percent of Gaza Strip as well as 100 percent of East Jerusalem which the Palestinians claim as their capital. Surely, Yasser Arafat would not have declared UDI over less than the 1967 occupied territories. Lastly, in the absence of a settlement between Israel and the Palestinians, what sort of State would have emerged, if a UDI was declared by PLO Central Council led by Yasser Arafat? This was the real dilemma of Yasser Arafat.

Arafat's dilemma, however, came to a head over UDI on 28 September 2000 when Ariel Sharon (former Israeli Defense Minister), ignited the conflagration with his visit to Haram al-Sharif (Jerusalem's focal Islamic Holy Site) with several Israeli security forces. Arafat's state of dilemma was further aggravated by Palestinian militants and suicide bombers. As earlier stated, what should Arafat do with the Palestinian militants and suicide bombers? Following the death of two Israelis by a Palestinian suicide attacker at the train station in northern part of Israel on Monday, 16 July 2001, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon blamed Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat for the blast or suicide attack. The blast came after a day of violence in the West Bank. In this connection, Ariel Sharon declared:

> *It was a cruel, horrible attack and it shows that the Palestinian Authority has not yet made a decision to fight against terror. There will be an immediate response by Israel[70].*

Besides, Yasser Arafat was blamed for the attack. He was also relegated to irrelevance by Israel and abandoned by erstwhile backers in Europe. Indeed, Arafat was completely isolated inside his Ramallah headquarters by Israel, US and Europe.

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[70]. See, The Daily Star, Tuesday, 19 July 2001, p. 1

His isolation came after Arafat's failure to crackdown on Islamic militant groups mostly the Hamas and Islamic Jihad whom Israel holds responsible for suicide bombings against her.

The United States government also requested Yasser Arafat to crackdown on terrorism. In this respect, US President George Bush (Jnr.) said:

> *Mr. Arafat did condemn terrorism and now we will hold him to account. The Palestinian Authority must act on its condemnation of terror[71].*

Rather than complied, Arafat argued he could not do more to curb Palestinian violence, check Palestinian militants and suicide bombers as long as the Israelis undermine his authority and occupied areas supposed to be autonomous. After meeting with US Secretary of State Colin Powell at his besieged Ramallah residence (or compound) in West Bank which Israeli troops took over on 29 March 2002, Arafat said:

> *I have to ask the whole international world, I have to ask His Excellency President Bush (Jnr.), I have to ask the United Nations, Is this right that I cannot go outside my door? Is this acceptable and for how long you think this will not reflect on the whole stability and peace in the Middle East[72].*

Yasser Arafat was helpless. The members of the international community including Nigeria could not even assist in his predicaments. Oh, what a pity!

When the Gulf War 1 broke out in August 1990, the Palestinian leader threw his support behind Saddam Hussein of Iraq. His decision made him popular but he paid the price diplomatically ever since. But when the terrorists struck in US on September Eleventh 2001, Yasser Arafat tried to avoid the mistake of 1990/91. After careful consideration of the pros and cons of his action, Arafat did not hesitate to send condolence message almost immediately. In addition, he condemned the

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[71]. Ibid., Friday, 19 February 2002, p. 1
[72]. See. The Daily Star, Thursday, 18 April 2002, p. 1.

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hijackers or terrorists. His efforts were, however, undermined by a small crowd of Palestinians celebrating America's humiliation. Embarrassed, the Palestinian leadership quickly sent a second message emphasizing that the celebrants were a tiny minority of "ignorant" locals who did not represent their people. Arafat was filmed donating blood for the victims of terrorist attacks in New York and Washington D.C.[73] He hoped that his moves such as the symbolic act of donating blood for American victims of terrorist acts would show the world that the Arafat of 2001 was not the same leader who supported Saddam Hussein of Iraq in 1990/91 Gulf War. He also hoped that the image of him donating blood would overshadow pictures of Palestinians who celebrated in the streets of the West Bank City of Nablus on the day the attacks occurred in US.

Indeed, the terrorist attacks in US on Tuesday, September Eleventh 2001 confronted Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat with a crucial decision. Should he send a condolence message or not? Should he join the US-led coalition war against global terrorism? If he failed to join, Arafat ran the risk or danger of isolation and of being associated with international terrorism as well as being labeled a terrorist. And if he joined US-led coalition, Arafat would have faced serious confrontation with Islamists and extremists who believed in the use of force for resolving their protracted conflict with Israel[74]. Nonetheless, Arafat had only two options: to choose between Palestinian extremists on the one hand and the Israeli-Palestinian peace process on the other. Or to choose between Palestinian militants on the one hand and the United States of America as well as the European Union/Donor States whose support he badly needed on the other. Hence he moved quickly to join the US-led coalition

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[73]. CNN 6p.m. Beirut Time, Lebanon, and Al-Hayat – LBC (TV) 12 September, 2001. The Researcher watched the News with close attention.

[74]. The Daily Star, Thursday, 20 September 2001, p. 6

against terrorism in order to block Israeli attempts aimed at exploiting the terrorist attacks in the US against the Palestinians.

By joining the US-led coalition against terrorism, Arafat's leadership was also in danger. But would he survive the threat to his leadership? The Palestinian leader who has overcome so many tribulations in the past, faced serious threat to his leadership during and after the Israeli-Palestinian violence. Within and outside the Palestinians, the radical elements wanted to end the era of Arafat's leadership of the Palestinian people's struggle and finding a replacement. This raised several questions. Firstly, should he be killed or exiled? Killing or exiling him would trigger more Palestinian violence and unrest. Secondly, replacing or deposing him while he was still alive[75] would not be so simple especially given the mood of the Palestinian people who are embittered by the behaviour of all the players (or actors) notably the Israelis, Arabs and Westerners including the Americans toward them. Destroying the PA and Arafat also meant taking everything to square one, that is, serious military confrontation which could shake the stability of the entire Middle East sub-region.

There are, however, only three realistic succession scenarios. Firstly, either a combination of Israeli, American and Arab pressure enables the PA's "moderate doves" and security Chiefs to take over, or secondly, the young and radical generation of Fatah activists emerges to the fore. Alternatively the radical elements such as the Hamas and Islamic Jihad could gain the upper hand. Regrettably, Arafat had little or no control over Palestinian militants.

In summary, the Palestinian Israeli deadly violence led to widespread Arab anger against both Israel and the United States of America. Arab anger with the USA continued to rise or increase because of Palestine question. In addition, the Bush

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[75]   Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat passed away peacefully at the age of 75 years (1929-2004) in Paris (France) on 11 November 2004. With his death, the Palestinian Authority should embark on meaningful political and economic reforms.

administration (Jnr.) further irritated Arab leaders by refraining from taking strong and effective action to stop the Palestinian-Israeli violence. Jordan, Egypt and Saudi-Arabia (the three key US allies in the Middle East) believed that the Bush administration's initial hands-off approach to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict/violence had allowed it to escalate beyond expectation. More importantly, the September Eleventh 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center (in New York) and Pentagon or Defense Building (in Washington D. C., USA), which brought pain and grief to peoples in America and the rest of the world, compounded the Palestinian/Arab –Israeli peace process and the attainment of Palestinian statehood.

Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's ruthless actions against the Palestinians, the humiliation of their leader (Yasser Arafat), his complete isolation from the rest of the world by Israeli authorities, America's partiality (or bias) in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, US turning of blind eye to Sharon's destruction of the PA and US Secretary of State Colin Powell's dilly-dally strategy in respect of his Middle East peace mission radicalized and angered the majority of Arab youths. The radicalization and the ugly scenarios in the so-called Palestinian controlled areas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip could be counter-productive and cause the loss of US Arab allies in the Middle East. Powell's strategy allowed Ariel Sharon's government to achieve its operation in the West Bank before his arrival in Jerusalem for his Middle East peace mission. Indeed, the radicalization of the Arab world against the Americans and Israelis could pave the way for more increase in Islamic fundamentalism or extremism which gave rise to Al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden.

From the above, it can be argued that as long as the Palestinian-Israeli conflict remains unresolved, tension, conflict, violence/uprising (intifada), suicide bombing attacks, destruction of lives and properties as well as Israel's hegemony

and excessive use of force against the stone-throwing/innocent Palestinians will remain a common experience in the entire Middle East sub-region.

Besides, the Arab-Israeli conflict, brought about by the termination of the British mandate over Palestine (and followed by the Partion Plan and the proclamation of the state of Israel) led to the creation of a United Nations Truce supervision Organization (UNTSO) in Palestine to assist the parties to the Armistice Agreements of 1949. Besides, the Suez Canal crisis of 1956 in which the United Kingdom (U.K) and France colluded or teamed up with Israel to invade Egypt led to UN intervention through the UN Emergency force (UNEF) which cleared the Suez Canal that was blocked and restored relative peace in the area. In both operations, however, Nigeria was understandably not involved since it was yet to gain her independence from Britain /or the colonial master.

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict has also led to the emergence of the Middle East peace mediators which include the United States of America, Russia, the European Union and United Nations. In further pursuit of peace between Israel and the Palestinian, the United States brokered another peace plan in 2004 which produced the Middle East peace plan that aims to create an independent Palestinian State living in peace, alongside Israeli. This served as the basis of the August 2005 withdrawal of Israeli troops and settlers from Gaza. More interestingly and barely two months after his tenure of office, former British Prime Minister Tony Blair was appointed Special Envoy for the Quartet of Powers in July 2007. He is known for his powers of persuasion and track record in forging Northern Ireland's peace accord. But in his new job, Blair has been given a relatively limited assignment: to prepare the ground for a Palestinian State by encouraging political reform, economic

development and institution-building in Palestinian controlled areas.[75(a)] There is no mention of trying to help broker a final peace deal between the Palestinians and Israelis. The United States of America has taken the lead in mediating peace talks and is reluctant to cede such responsibilities.

Lastly, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict has led to the death of prominent political figures in Lebanon, Egypt and Israel. For instance, Rafiq Hariri of Lebanon understood the consequence of defying a powerful neigbhour like Syria. Yet, he mounted campaigns. The crowds were large and relentless. But the Syrians knew he could not ride (or remain in power) forever. They (the Syrians) infiltrated and killed him.

Also Anwar Sadat incurred the wrath of a strong rightwing presence in Egypt when he romanced American Jimmy Cater in the Camp David. Many in the Middle East saw him as not only an ideological turncoat but a religious renegade for signing a pact of friendship with Israel and the Americans. They (Islamic extremists) shot him in a parade.

More importantly, Yizak Rabin, former Prime Minister of Israel, understood what he puts his hands into when he initiated and penned the Oslo Peace Accord with the late Yasser Arafat of PLO on behalf of his country. Radical and rabbinical zealots who saw Israel in terms of Judea and Samaria instead of West Bank and Gaza Strip were out to snuff him out. But he felt he did the right thing in spite of persistent signals of assassinations around him. It was one of his security details that fulfilled the bloody dreams of the extremists around the country. Thus Yitzhak Rabin became a victim of peace.

In the next sub-section, we shall focus attention on the regional actors who are directly involved in the Palestinian Israeli Conflict and peace process.

75(a)   See <u>The Nation</u>, Tuesday, 24 July 2007, p. 38.

3.4   REGIONAL ACTORS

In international politics, an actor is a relatively autonomous unit that exercises influence on the behaviour of other autonomous actors. Sometimes actors are men and women operating as spokesmen or surrogates for larger social units[76] like nation-states. A state is a dominant or key actor because it is the only institution through which other bodies operate and decide the terms under which they can act. This, however, does not imply that nation-states are the only actors. Rather, they are the most significant actors in international politics. To say that sovereign states are the most important actors obviously suggests that there are other actors such as regional and international organizations in the international system.   However, international organizations are not autonomous and independent actors like sovereign states in world affairs. Put simply, apart from nation-states, there are non-state actors or non-governmental organizations such as the United Nations, Arab League, the European Union, the Roman Catholic Church, International Red Cross Society, and the Palestine Liberation Organization and individuals such as the Pope. State and non-state actors relate to each other. This is to say that no actor in the contemporary international system is entirely autonomous because of high level of inter-dependence among units in the system. International organization (the UN), regional organizations (the European Union and the Arab League) and nation-states such as United States of America and Russia are the major or key players (or actors) in the Palestinian/Arab-Israeli conflict/peace process. Other nation-states include: Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Israel. As earlier stated, Nigeria is not a key player or actor in the Palestinian-Israeli peace   process.   Despite this,

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76.   See Raymond E. Hopkins and Richard W. Mansbach, "The Actor in International Politics" in James Barber and Michael Smith, (ed), The Nature of Foreign Policy: A Reader, The Open University Press, Edinburgh, 1974, p. 33.

Nigeria supports numerous UN General Assembly Resolutions and UN Security Council Resolutions 242, 338, 425, 1397 and the exchange of land for peace formula aimed at resolving Arab-Israeli conflict.

In summary, the contemporary international system is characterized by many governmental and non-governmental actors set up in most cases by nation-states for the achievement of specific and certain objectives. The most dominant governmental actor is the nation-state which exercises sovereignty over its borders and citizens while non-governmental actors include international institutions (like the United Nations, International Red Cross, UNESCO and Amnesty International), regional institutions (like the PLO, Arab League and the European Union) as well as individuals such as the Pope in the Vatican.

Our task in this sub-section is to examine the major actors and their roles in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peace process under four main sub-sections in the order of listing below:

(i)   Regional powers - Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Saudi
        Arabia, Israel, Iran and Iraq.
(ii)   Regional institutions: (the PLO, Arab League, the European Union, the
        Franco-phone organization and the Organization of African Unity (OAU)
        now Africa Union (A.U).
(iii)   Foreign powers/actors: (The USA and Russia).
(iv)   International Institutions: (The United Nations).

We begin with Egypt which is a regional power

EGYPT

Egypt is both an African and Arab country. It is a moderate Arab nation, a mediator in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the largest (or the most populous) Arab country with over 80 million people. Incessant diplomatic summits in Egypt helped Cairo to promote itself as the core of Middle East politics. In general terms, Egypt is

widely considered a political, economic and cultural hub of the Arab world. Indeed, it is the most influential in the sphere of Arab culture. More importantly, Egypt plays a key role for moderation in the Middle East conflict (or crisis) and it is one of Washington's closest and main Arab allies in the Middle East sub-region. In addition, Egypt plays a strategic role in the Arab-Israeli peace process and is the second largest recipient of US aid (after Israel) with over two billion US dollars in economic and military aid a year.

TABLE 3.2:   Some Recipients of US Bilateral Aid in 1986

	Countries	$Million
1	Israel	3,621.0
2.	Egypt	2,539.1
3	Pakistan	668.2
4	Turkey	618.5
5	Philippines	504.2
6	El-Salvador	444.4
7	Greece	431.0
8	Spain	385.2
9	Honduras	197.7
10	India	197.0

Source: Data provided by the Research Service, Washington D. C.

Cairo has, for a long time, been an essential partner in the US search for peace in the Middle East[77]. In 1979, Egypt, for instance, became the first Arab country to sign a peace treaty with Israel and took the initiative to mediate between Israel and the Palestinians. Since 1979, Egypt has never gone as far as breaking diplomatic relations with the Jewish State despite repeated crises in the Middle East. In this respect, in June 1982, Egypt simply recalled its Ambassador from Tel-Aviv (Israel) and it took the same step again in November 2000 to protest Israel's "excessive use of force" against the stone-throwing Palestinians during Palestinian uprising (intifada) which erupted on 28 September 2000. However, unwilling to anger the US and its Western allies, the Egyptian government decided to maintain diplomatic links with Israel.

Again in late March 2002, thousands of Egyptians, mainly students protested daily over the Israeli military offensive in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. As a result,

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[77] . See The Daily Star, Tuesday, 27 November, 2001, p. 5

they called for a break in diplomatic ties and the expulsion of the Israeli Ambassador Gideon Ben Ami. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak implicitly excludes acting on the calls made by Egyptian pressure groups (or militants). In brief, Egypt remains committed to the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty signed in 1979 and the Treaty remains a foundation for regional stability. Since its landmark 1979 Peace Treaty with Israel, Egypt has been the main regional peace-maker driven by political and economic interests closely tied to Middle East stability.

It is essential to note that Egypt's legitimacy as intermediary rests on its unique ties with the Jewish State and the United States of America. Egypt was ostracized by other Arab states for signing the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty. Not only that, the Headquarters of the Arab League was transferred to Tunis (Tunisia). After several years of ostracism from the Arab-fold, Cairo is now once again the locus of the Arab League and Arab interests especially the Palestinian interests. The capital of the Arab League was reinstated in Cairo in the early 1980s. As guardian of the Arab League and interests, Egypt is keen to use its restored status to refurbish an image badly battered by its "separate deal" with Israel in 1979.

In spite of the above, Egypt places greater interest of its people above any other consideration and takes its stands based on its national interests. This does not imply, however, that Egypt does not fully support international steps aimed at stopping Israel from using military force against the Palestinians or any Arab State in the Middle East. But Egypt does not want Israel to drag her into a war in which it will find itself in direct confrontation with the United States and its Western allies.

In summary, Egypt which signed a Peace Treaty with Israel in 1979, plays a mediatory role in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peace process. The Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty marked the end of 30 years of hostility and four costly wars between the Jewish state and Arab states. The Treaty was preceded by Egyptian

President Anwar Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem in 1977 at the invitation of Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin[77(a)] and the signing of the 1979 Camp David I Accords which constituted the basis for peace between Egypt and Israel. Without Egypt and its armed forces, it is unlikely if the other Arab states can wage war with Israel. Indeed, Anwar Sadat of Egypt understood, for the sake of Egypt's future, that he had to end his country's conflict with Israel, even if it meant leaving the Palestinian issue unresolved. He was convinced that the Arab states would eventually follow his example. Lastly, Egyptian Foreign Minister Ahmad Maher's visit to Israel in early December 2001 marked Cairo's return to center-stage as a mediator in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. More importantly, Egypt is a key regional ally of the United States of America and one of two Arab states to have signed a piece deal with Israel.

LEBANON

Lebanon is a small country located along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea. Yet, it is an important actor in the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Lebanon's population is about 5 million people comprising the Maronite, the Druze, Sunni and Shia (Shiite) communities. The Palestinian militants frequently launched attacks against Israel from south Lebanon which shares a common border with northern Israel.

In June 1982, Israel invaded Lebanon and massacred Palestinian refugees at Sabra and Shatila (outskirt of Beirut) refugee camps. Israel's objective was to eliminate the PLO's forces, seize Beirut and install a pro-Israeli government under Bashir Gemayel and his Maronites. By mid-December 1982, the PLO guerrilla forces were forced to quit Beirut (Lebanon) after a deal was brokered by the US government led by former US President Ronald Reagan. Many Palestinian fighters and

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[77(a)] Before his assassination, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin shared the 1979 Nobel Peace prize award with the Egyptian President Anwar Sadat who both signed the Camp David Accords which constitute the basis for peace between Egypt and Israel.

Palestinians were evacuated to various countries in the Middle East, North Africa, Europe and America (See Table. 3.3).

TABLE 3.3: Dispersal of Palestinian Refugees in Various Parts of the   World (Estimates for 1986, 1990 – 91, 1995, 2000)

Country	1986	1990 – 91	1995	2000
Jordan	1,398,050	1,824,179	2,170,101	2,596,986
West Bank (East Jerusalem)	951,250	1,075,531	1,227,545	1,383,415
Gaza Strip	545,100	622,071	726,832	837,699
Israel	608,200	730,000	800,225	919,453
Lebanon	271,434	231,757	392,315	463,067
Syria	242,474	301,744	357,881	410,599
Other Arab Countries	582,894	445,195	516,724	599,389
Other Countries	280,846	450,000	500,000	550,000

Source: Monday Morning (The Weekly Magazine Published in Beirut), vol. xxx, No 1468, 12 February 2001, p. 16

Lebanon is strongly opposed to the principle of implantation of the Palestinians on its territory because Lebanon's constitution does not allow any Palestinian refugee to remain (or stay) permanently on its territory.   Lebanese authorities, therefore, continued to insist on the application of UN Resolution 194 which recognizes the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their historical/ancestral homeland.

Lebanon's Hizbullah (Party of God) plays a major role in Lebanese politics[78] and religion.   Its leader - Hassan Nasrallah - always urge Arab leaders and governments to support Palestinian intifada with money (financial support) and men (human) rather than words.   Hizbullah has tremendous support from the Lebanese Shia (Shiite) and Sunni Communities.   More significantly, Hizbullah is also a resistance movement which spear-headed the struggle that forced Israeli forces from south Lebanon on 25 May 2000 after more than twenty-two years of Israeli military occupation.   However, the US government does not consider Hizbullah a movement of resistance to an occupier (Israel), but rather a movement opposed to US policy objectives in the Middle East.   Nonetheless, Hizbullah's successful resistance against

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[78] . Hizbullah is also a political party with nine (9) members in Lebanon's Parliament.

Israeli military occupation in south Lebanon increased the organization's influence in the country. Currently, it is leading a guerrilla campaign against Israeli troops in the disputed Shebaa Farms area of south Lebanon. The disputed Shebba Farms area, which Beirut claims to be its territory, is still a bone of contention between Lebanon and Israel. Besides, Lebanon-Israeli relations are soured over the non-release of Lebanese vis-à-vis Israeli nationals who are held in undisclosed prison cells in both countries. This explains why Lebanon has not shown any interest in establishing diplomatic relations with Israel. It also explains why Lebanon is still at war with the Jewish state.

More importantly, Lebanon fought a bitter civil war (1975 – 1991). The conflict in Lebanon, which exploded into civil war, was inflamed by Israelis, Syrians and the Palestinians. It was rooted in the shifting relations between Lebanese communities themselves. At the end of its civil war, Lebanon moved quickly from a state of violence and anarchy to a condition of peace and reconstruction. During the civil war period, not only did it suffer the destruction of most of its basic infrastructure particularly in Down-Town Beirut; but more importantly, Lebanon suffered the loss of a large number of its economically active and entrepreneurial population through emigration[79].

In the early days of the Lebanese civil war, there was a military alliance between Lebanon and the PLO; but in the early 1980's, relations between the Lebanese and Palestinians went sour for political and economic reasons. Since then, relations between both have not been very cordial. Despite this, Beirut attracted attention for the Palestinians following the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the massacre of several Palestinians at Sabra and Shatila refugee camps.

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[79] . See Rosemary Hollis and Nadam Shehadi, (ed), <u>Lebanon On Hold: Implications for Middle East Peace,</u> The Royal Institute for International Affairs, Middle East Programme, Oxford, 1996, p. 79

It is essential to point out that Hizbullah's military wing –the Islamic Resistance – spearheaded a campaign of armed struggle which led to the total withdrawal of Israeli troops from most parts of south Lebanon in May 2000. The Israeli forces occupied south Lebanon in 1978. Hizbullah, backed by Lebanon, Syria and Iran, has thus won a wide measure of respect in its country over the last decade from Christians and Muslims especially Sunnite Muslims as well as the Shiite community from which its members are drawn. Put simply, Hizbullah is held with high esteem by the Lebanese and top government officials.

In summary, Lebanon is a country without natural resources such as crude oil. It is the most Westernized part of the Middle East. In 1949, Lebanon signed the Armistice Agreement with Israel in order to avert war. Hence, Lebanon did not participate in the wars that took place between Israel and the Arab world in 1956, 1967 and 1973. Despite this, Israeli forces invaded Lebanon in 1978 and 1982; while the Israeli invasion of Labanon in June 1982 brought global attention to the Palestinian struggle. Besides, Lebanon suffered seventeen years of civil war (1975 – 1991). At the end of its civil war, Lebanon made a quick recovery through re-construction and developmental plans funded mostly by International Monetary Fund (IMF), regional institutions like OPEC and the United Arab Emirate and also through bilateral agreements signed with the European Union/Countries or European Donors. More importantly, the Lebanese are regarded as sharp, clever, good, hard-working and dedicated business-men and women.

Hizbullah was set up in 1980 to fight the Israeli occupation of south Lebanon. Hizbullah is a radical Muslim group with close links to Israel's bitter enemies – Syria and Iran. Believed by some to have invented the concept of modern suicide bombing, Hizbullah is thought to have helped train groups such as Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad to attack Israel. Hizbullah has built up a powerful base in south Lebanon

and has seats in the Country's Parliament. The group has gained popularity by running welfare programmes and its security arm is seen by some as providing protection in south Lebanon.

SYRIA

Syria is a very important state actor in the Middle East and plays a key role in the region's peace process and decision-making. It joined the Middle East peace process in the fall of 1991. Syria always asserts that a true peace will be achieved on UN Resolutions stipulating Israel's complete withdrawal from Arab/Palestinian territories occupied during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. For Syrian leaders, the unending Israeli occupation of Arab territories means pressing on with resistance against occupation and seizure of Arab territories. More importantly, Syria is a powerful neighbour of Lebanon.

Syria shelters more than ten radical Palestinian organizations including the Hamas and Islamic Jihad which had carried out the bulk of suicide bomb attacks against Israeli targets since 1993. In addition, the peace talks between Syria and Israel began in 1991 and continued with interruptions till February 1996 when the then Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres suspended Israeli participation for political reasons. Since 1996, no serious effort has been made to revive Syrian-Israeli negotiations over the disputed Golan Heights captured by Israeli forces on 5 June 1967. Syrian authorities always assert that the Golan Heights is Syrian territory and want it to be returned in any peace talks between Israel and Syria.

Syria, which plays the role of a protector in Lebanon, extends political support to Hizbullah in order to force Israel implement UN Security Council Resolution 425 in full and quit the Shebaa Farms area. While refraining from extending military support to Hizbullah, Damascus (Syria) believes its political support for the group will help

pressurize Israel to eventually withdraw from the Syrian Golan Heights[80]. Full Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights will undoubtedly reduce, to a considerable extent, the role of Hizbullah which currently has a sizeable bloc in Lebanese Parliament.

Damascus has, for long, argued that the Palestinians have the right to use force in opposing Israel's occupation of their territories. The Syrian authorities believe that resisting occupation is an international right. When US-sponsored Middle East Peace talks opened in 1991 and based on implementing UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 plus the principle of exchanging land-for-peace, former (late) President Hafez Assad of Syria wanted Chairman Yasser Arafat of PLO to co-ordinate his moves with Syria, Lebanon and Jordan. Rather than coordinating his moves, Yasser Arafat signed a separate deal with Israel at the end of the 1993 Oslo Summit. Thus Arafat's signing of a separate peace deal with Israel in 1993 infuriated King Assad of Syria and led to Syria accusing the Palestinian leader of betrayal and of making unnecessary concessions (to the Jewish State) which weaken Arab position. Consequently, Syria's relations with the Palestinian leader were strained after signing of the 1993 Oslo Accords without consultation with the Arab States.

Syria's influence in Lebanon has been pervasive from time immemorial and there is mutual distrust between the Syrians and the Lebanese. This distrust is to be expected between the subject people and their overlords. In recent times, the Syrian army and secret services were forced to withdraw from Lebanon following the assassination of the Sunni Prime Minister, Mr. Rafiq Hariri. This was after tremendous pressure from the United States supported by France which has considerable influence in Lebanon right from the time it ran the country as a mandated territory of the League of Nations. As a result of the assassination of Prime

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[80] . See The Daily Star, Friday, 2 November 2001, p. 6

Minister Hariri, the United Nations then set up an investigation panel to enquire into Hariris death.

Besides, the United States and Great Britain had been trying in recent times to stretch a friendly hand to Syria and Iran by suggesting that the two countries might help in resolving the terrible situation in Iraq. This was rather unusual because Mr. Bush Jnr. – the American President – had lumped Syria and Iran in what he called the "axis of evil" in modern time along with North Korea. Syria, apparently established full diplomatic relations with Iraq.[80(a)] This is why it is unreasonable for Syria to embark on policies that will antagonize the United States and the Western Alliance in Lebanon. Israel is not, however, comfortable with the new rapprochement between Syria and the United States. Consequently, Israel might want to make trouble for Syria in order to disrupt the rapprochement between the U.S. and Syria.

In summary, Damascus and Tel-Aviv have held sporadic peace talks since 1991 but negotiations between both countries broke down in January 2000 without reaching a deal on the fate of the Golan Heights. Syria (like Lebanon) has not shown any interest in establishing diplomatic relations with Israel. Despite poor Syria-PLO relations, Chairman Yasser Arafat was allowed to attend Hafez Assad's funeral in Damascus (Syria) in June 2000 and held brief talks with the younger Assad now the incumbent Syrian president. Lastly, Syria has long been seen as an ally of Hizbullah. The Syrians have also exerted major control over Lebanon where thousands of their troops were stationed until the year 2005 when they finally withdrew after mass protests against them.

JORDAN

Apart from Egypt, several Arab summits on Middle East conflict and peace process

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80(a)   See The Nation, Vol. 1, No. 00119, Sunday November 26, 2006, p. 8.

have been or are held in Amman (Jordan). Indeed, it is a favoured venue for Arab summits. In September 1970, King Hussein of Jordan ordered the Jordanian Army to expel Arafat and his PLO fighters; and after their expulsion from Jordan, the PLO was relocated to Lebanon where it continued its terror campaingn against Israel. In 1994, Jordan became the second Arab country (after Egypt) to make peace with Israel. King Abdallah II of Jordan continues to push for international efforts aimed at finding a comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict and violence.

More importantly, Jordan is the host to the largest concentration of Palestinian refugees in the Arab world. Jordan always insists at any public forum (or fora) on Palestinians' right of return and/or compensation. Besides, it is the only Arab State to have granted them Jordanian citizenship. Jordanian government spends an average of $300 million annually on 13 refugee camps' infrastructure and services in the country[81]. But the sticky issue in Jordan is the desire to absorb or settle the Palestinian refugees now known as "Jordanians of Palestinian origin" thus complying with Israeli demands that the refugees be kept in place in their host countries. Only 20 percent of the Palestinian refugees registered with the UN Relief and Works Agency live inside dilapidated camps across the Kingdom of Jordan. The rest have built their lives in towns and cities across Jordan[82].

While more than half of Jordan's population of 5 million is of Palestinian origin, many have integrated into the Jordanian society through marriages and most have established businesses, own homes and pay taxes. Also many Jordanian officials consider them as "already settled/settle". King Abdallah II who assumed the throne in February 1979 is married to a Jordanian of Palestinian origin – Her Excellency Rania al-Yassine[83]. According to King Abdallah II of Jordan, the goal of his kingdom is for a

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[81]. See <u>The Daily Star,</u> Saturday, 8 December, 2001, p. 6
[82]. <u>Ibid.,</u>
[83]. <u>Ibid</u>.

fair and balanced resolution of the Middle East crisis. He places emphasis on justice for the Palestinian people and security for Israel as well as one that realizes the right of Palestinians to a viable, independent state and respect Israel's right to exist.

Following the Palestinian intifada and the September Eleventh 2001 calamity that fell on the United States of America, the Jordanian government banned public demonstrations and protests. The September Eleventh 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States gave Jordanian policy makers an excuse to take excessive, despotic and oppressive measures against suspected terrorists. Despite this, the Palestinian-Jordanian relationship is still cordial to some extent. The Jordanian-palestinian entente encouraged a Joint Palestinian-Jordanian UN delegation to the 1991 Madrid conference.

Despite Israel's capture of East Jerusalem from Jordan during the 1967 war, Jordan and the Jewish state signed a peace treaty on 26 October 1994. With the ratification of the Peace Treaty, full diplomatic relations between both countries have been moving forward steadily to the mutual advantages of the peoples in both countries. Indeed, Jordan and Israel have been co-cooperating in many spheres for the benefit of their peoples.

SAUDI-ARABIA

Saudi-Arabia is an important oil producer and it devotes a high percentage of its GNP to foreign aid mostly to Muslim and Arab countries. In addition, Saudi Arabia is a moderate player in the Middle Eastern affairs. Like Iran, Saudi Arabia is an authoritarian oil-rich monarchy with a Muslim population. Not only that, Saudi Arabia is the most conservative country in the Arab world. Hence, it is resistant to democratization of its political, social and cultural systems. Also Saudi Arabia depends heavily on American and European weapons as well as covert security relationship with the United States of America. Saudi Arabia draws much of its

legitimacy from its role as the guardian of Mecca and Medina (two holiest sites in Islam). At this juncture, it is essential to note that Saudi Arabia has no territorial claims against Israel and shares no border with the Jewish state.

After several months of deadly and continuous violent attacks between the Palestinians and Israelis and to prevent deadlock in the Middle East peace process, the Saudi Crown Prince Abdallah bin Abdelaziz presented in early 2002 a peace proposal aimed at solving the protracted Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It was a welcome development in the Middle East peace process in the sense that the peace plan offered normalizatioin of diplomatic relations with Israel in return for its withdrawal from all Arab land occupied in the 1967 war. Prominent non-supporters of Saudi peace plan include Muslim militant followers of Saudi-born extremist Osama bin Laden accused by Americans of masterminding the September Eleventh 2001 terrorist attacks in US. Fifteen of the nineteen of September Eleventh (2001) suicide hijackers were Saudis allegedly linked to Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda global terrorists network[84] which still poses a serious threat to international peace and security.

In summary, Saudi Arabia, with no territorial claims against Israel, plays a crucial role in the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peace process[85]. Its leadership is vital if the Middle East peace talks are to succeed.

ISRAEL

Israel with a small population is not just a boom to the Israelites or Israelis; they fought for it. In 1948, they unilaterally declared their independence in old Palestine which since then had not known peace. The Palestinians immediately after

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[84] . See The Daily Star, Friday, 8 March 2002, p. 5.
[85] . The Saudi Peace Initiative or plan calls on all Arabs and Muslims to recognize and establish normal relations with Israel in exchange for the latter's withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war. Unlike the 1993 Oslo Agreements, ending the Israeli occupation is what the Saudi peace Initiative addresses first and foremost.

the creation of Israel got their Arab brothers to join in the invasion of Israel without success. The small state of Israel defeated Arab armies. From that time on, the Arab armies have suffered one defeat after the other in 1967 and 1973 until it dawned on the Arabs that the State of Israel has come to stay. Also the futility of military attack on Israel dawned on the Palestinians and Yasser Arafat to form al-Fatah movement as a Palestinian nationalist rally dedicated to the destruction of Israel

Israel has an aggressive and expansionist foreign policy. In addition, it is a regional power and a central actor in the Middle East politics and conflict because of its formidable military, economic, technological and political wherewithals. Of the 6.5 million inhabitants of Israel, about 20 percent (or 1.3 million) are Palestinians or Israeli Arabs. Put simply, about a sixth of Israel's 6.5 million citizens are Arabs. Of this figure, about 400,000 are eligible to vote which means that they are statistically and theoretically entitled to 12 members of Israeli Parliament known as <u>Knesset.</u> This eligibility of Arab Palestinian voters is in line with Israel's electoral system of proportional representation[86(a)]. Relations between the Jewish and Israeli Arab citizens were, however, soured in October 2000 when Arab citizens rioted and 13 of them were killed by Israeli police[86(b)]. In protest, most Arab Jews boycotted the February 2001 Parliamentary election.

Since its creation in 1948, Israel has been ruled by distinguished and historic leaders and they include, Ben Gurion, Gaolda Meir, Menachem Begin, Sharmir, Yitzhak Rabin, Shimon Peres, Benjamin Netanyahu, Ehud Barak, Ariel Sharon and Ehud Olmert who succeeded the latter as Israeli Prime Minister. Under its prominent leaders named above, Israeli institutions of civil society such as the media, the courts

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86(a). Proportional representation is a system of voting in elections by which all political parties are represented in government according to the number of votes they receive in the whole or overall national election.

86(b). See <u>Monday Morning,</u> 12 November, 2001, p. 9.

(judiciary), the universities and the Labour Unions / Movements developed generally along Western European lines.

Israeli society today can be broadly divided into two camps namely: those who want to see Israel take the lead in the Middle East and those who want Israel to control, dominate and be feared in the region. This division can be referred to as the Left and Right. The Left encompasses the supporters of the Labor Party while the Right includes those who support the Likud Party and other religious parties. Ideology is no longer relevant on both sides because the Labor Party has lost its socialist character while the Likud Party has lost its revisionist liberal character. The support which one of the two major Israeli political parties (Labor and Likud), gets depends, to a large extent, on the successful implementation of its political agenda (or manifesto). In spite of their differences, both parties believe in the use of "carrots and sticks" approach in Israel's relations with its Arab neighbours except, of course, Egypt and Jordan.

Israel's policy includes (i) policy of expansion and settlement of the Jews on occupied Arab territories, (ii) policy of aggression and (iii) regional supremacy. Israel's aspirations for regional supremacy does not allow for strong neighbors. There is no doubt, American military and financial aid to Israel had helped the Jewish State to build up aggressive force in the Middle East region. Israel is America's unique and strategic ally whose main and ultimate objective is to perpetuate occupation and undermine the Middle East peace process. Rather than Europe and Russia, the US is the only outside power which Israeli authorities respect.

Militarily, the Israeli Army is widely considered to be one of the best-equipped in the world. It commands an enormous arsenal of high-tech weaponry and around 170,000 highly motivated male and female soldiers[87]. Israel is far more powerful than

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[87] . See The Daily Star, Friday, 10 August, 2001, p. 5

the Palestinians while military imbalance or unequal military power exists between Israel and Palestinians as stated in Table 3.4 (or below):

TABLE 3.4: Military Imbalance Between Israel and Palestinians

	Israel	Palestinians
1	Troops-Around 600,000 men including 425,000 reserve forces	No register of Army. Paramilitary forces around 35,000 men.
2	Armoured Vehicles – 3,800 tanks, 5500 armoured personnel carriers	45 Armoured transport vehicle light weaponry
3	Fighter Planes – 459 in operation	Nil
4	Helicopter - 130	2 Helicopters. Both were destroyed **during** Palestinian violence by Israeli forces.
5	Navy – 53 Warships	Nil
6	Nuclear Arsenal - a hundred warheads (estimate)	Nil

Source: Military Balance published in Beirut, Monday Morning (The Weekly News Magazine, No 2281, October 16, (2000), p. 20

In a nutshell, Israel has three military and strategic advantages or superiority over the Palestinians. First, the Israelis maintain a nuclear monopoly in the Middle East sub-region. Second, they have an overwhelming conventional military superiority over any possible coalition of Arab forces, and third, Israel maintains an unwritten alliance with the United States of America. The latter is committed to Israel's security needs. The state of Israel, even though dependent on American military, financial and diplomatic clout or support, is not a push over. It contributes to American intellectual and scientific power and its voice is not always muffled. Also the political leverage of the Israelis is not matched by the Arabs inspite of the vast financial resources derivable from Middle East Crude oil or petroleum.

For over five decades, the Israeli government has been reluctant to show any co-operation with the UN and has turned down all UN Resolutions aimed at resolving the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Indeed, Israel has never paid heed to the international conventions and laws relating to the Arab-Israeli dispute. Within Israel itself, pressure groups such as the Israeli Peace Camp and Israeli Green Line

Movement play major roles in the Palestinian – Israeli conflict. The latter is campaigning for a unilateral Israeli withdrawal from the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, dismantling of the Israeli settlements, the establishment of a Palestinian state in the occupied territories and negotiated settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli dispute; while the former emphasizes the need for Israelis and Palestinians to go back to the negotiating table in order to achieve peace[88]. Also it does not believe in inventing new peace proposals such as the Tenet and Mitchell Peace Plans or any new ideas for negotiations. In a nutshell, the primary purpose of the Peace Movement is to press Israeli government to seek peace through negotiations and mutual compromise while the Green Line movement wants Israeli occupation of Arab territories to stop without conditions attached to it.

In summary, Israel, which became a Jewish state in 1948, has been involved in numerous and unending wars with its hostile Arab neighbours; and there is considerable unrest among its Palestinian population. In 1982, Israel invaded Lebanon. During Israel's invasion, Christian militia allied to Israel massacred thousands of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps located in the outskirts of Beirut (Lebanon). More importantly, Israel is highly industrialized and a world leader in advanced farming techniques. Forced by circumstances to rely on itself for survival and supported by US military and diplomatic aid, Israel has developed the most efficient armed forces in the Middle East. Above all, Israel is a trusted, closest, dependable and reliable US ally in the region. Since 1948, the US government has continued to offer unprecedented support for the Jewish state.

Besides, Israel considers Iran to be the greatest threat to its survival in the Middle East, and rejects Tehran's claim, that its nuclear programme is peaceful probably because Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has repeatedly called for

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[88] . See <u>The Daily Star,</u> Saturday, 9 February 2002, p. 4

the Jewish state's destruction. On assuming power, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert warned that Tehran would have a "price to pay" if it does not back down from its atomic ambitions. Support for United Nations sanctions against Iran has grown among members of the UN Security Council after weeks of talks between the European Union and Iran failed to persuade Tehran to suspend its uranium enrichment and atomic ambitions.

IRAN

Strictly speaking, Iran is not an Arab nation, but it is an Islamic state. The Iranian revolution, which put the Ayatollah Khomeini in power in Iran, was a Shiite fundamentalist movement and has serious implications on the entire Middle East region. As a matter of fact, Iran's Islamic Revolution brought a new factor into post-1967 Arab politics; first as a supporter of Palestinian resistance, then as a sponsor of local guerrilla groups such as Lebanon's Hizbullah whose struggle and resistance led to the withdrawal of Israeli forces from south Lebanon, except from the disputed Shebaa Farms area, on 25 May 2000.

Tehran (Iran) continued to urge Islamic countries including those that have relations with Israel to stop crude oil export to Western countries and the United States of America in order to force them to abandon their support for Israel. According to Iranian militants, the oil belongs to the Arab people and can be used as an effective weapon against the West led by the United States and those who support the Jewish State[89]. But it appears that they have forgotten that Arab oil today is no longer as crucial as it once was for the United States. The reason for this, as former US Energy Secretary Bill Richardson once said, is that the US has diversified its sources of energy away from the turbulent Middle East. Consequently, Arab oil, unlike in 1973, can no longer be used as a powerful and effective weapon

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[89] . See <u>The International Herald Tribune,</u> Saturday – Sunday, April 6 – 7, (2002), p. 4

against the US and its capitalist European allies. Both Iran and Iraq earn huge revenues from crude oil, but they have been troubled by dictatorship and political unrest. In 1991, for example, Iraq was devastated by the Gulf War (1990-1991) while Iran stayed neutral during the Gulf crisis triggered by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

Besides, Iranian leaders condemned the terror attacks and expressed sympathy with the United States in ways unprecedented since the 1979 Islamic Revolution which led to a break in diplomatic ties between the USA and Iran. Iranian leaders also called for a UN-led coalition to fight international terrorism. This is a big step for a country formerly at odds[90] with United States and which has strong links to militant groups including Lebanon's Hizbullah guerrillas. In spite of this, Iranian hard-liners still distrust the United States.

In summary, Iran has ambition of becoming a major power in the Middle East and perhaps in the long run become a nuclear power.

IRAQ

Iraq, with a population of over 22 million, like Iran, is an Islamic state with a lot of Islamic extremists and fundamentalists. In 1979, the country's President al-Bakr stepped down because of his ill-health and died shortly afterwards. He was replaced by Saddam Hussein who was deposed in April 2003 by US-led coalition forces.

Iraq's main export is crude oil and was regulated by the UN "Oil-for-Food Program[91]. Before the first Gulf War of 1990/91, Iraq benefited tremendously from the 1970's and 1980's oil boom and it expanded its infrastructure. During Iraq's bitter war with Iran (1980 to 1988), the United States of America offered support to

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[90] . Iran and the United States severed diplomatic ties following the 1979 storming of the US Embassy. Iranian militants held 52 Americans hostage for 444 days. Also, they ousted the US backed Shah of Iran.

[91] . See The Daily Star, Friday, 21 September 2001, p. 6

Baghdad (Iraq); but with Iraq's invasion of Kuwait[92] in 1990, the United States not only turned its back completely against its former ally in the Middle East, but spearheaded the aggression against Iraq.

Previous US administrations chose containment of Iraq through economic sanctions, "no-fly zones" and limited air strikes as a means to preserve the status quo in Iraq. Later, the United States government (or the Bush administration Jnr.) led a "willing rather than international coalition" to disarm Saddam Hussein's regime of weapons of mass destruction by force. Before the year 2002 ended, a number of US conservatives have called for a "determined effort to remove Saddam Hussein of Iraq from power", even if he could not be linked with the terrorists who struck in New York (World Trade Center) and Defense Building (Pentagon) in Washington D. C. killing thousands of Americans and other nationals on September Eleventh 2001. Indeed, after the September Eleventh (9/11) attack on New York, America invasion of Iraq had become inevitable. Whether the Iraqis were involved or not, the terrorist attacks in US provided an excellent opportunity for the United States government to overthrow Saddam Hussein's regime.

Indeed, Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait constituted formal excuse for the US to exploit the new unipolar post-cold war configuration of power to achieve certain long-term regional objectives of its own in the Middle East sub-region and these objectives include the tightening of control over the oil resources, the preservation of the political and socio-economic status quo in favour of the oil-rich dynasties, the elimination of potential Arab deterrence of Israel, the establishment of a threshold of power beyond which no Arab country is permitted to develop and the -

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[92] . After eleven years, Kuwait is still not ready to forgive and forget the 1990 Iraqi invasion. Reconciliation with the ousted regime of President Saddam Hussein is a taboo for any Kuwait's leaders. For more information, see International Herald Tribune, Wednesday, 1 August 2001, p. 5

consolidation of US hegemony in the Middle East region[93]

Towards the end of October 2006, the United States of America could not ensure peace, order and security in Iraq where sectarian violence occurred between Iraqi Sunni and Shia (Shite) communities. Both sects killed, wounded and kidnapped each other. As a result, the former U.S. Secretary of State, Collin Powell regards conflict in Iraq as a civil war.[93(a)] But is Iraq really in civil war or sectarian violence involving destruction of lives and properties worth millions of U.S. dollars? Sectarian killings have dragged both Sunni Arabs and Shiite Muslims into civil war.

In summary, by the time Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, the situation was ripe for the establishment of an exclusive preponderance of United States in the Middle East. The victory of the coalition forces against Saddam Hussein's forces during the 1990/91 Gulf War meant the radical weakening of the Arab countries. Also the victory of the US-led coalition opened a new phase wherein the United States exercised absolute monopoly of power on the affairs of the entire Middle East sub-region because the Soviet Union (now Russia) did not pose any obstacle to the Gulf War while the European Union supported US strategies in the region. Rather than producing positive results, the overthrow and execution by hanging of Saddam Hussein led to chaos in Iraq.

3.5 REGIONAL INSTITUTIONS

This sub-section deals with regional institutions and they include the PLO, Arab League, the European Union, the Franco-phone and OAU (now AU). We now examine their roles in the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peace process in the order stated above.

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[93]   .   See Walid Khalidi, The Middle East Post-War Environment, Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington D. C., 1991, p. 10

[93(a)]   The Researcher watched Collin Powell's Statement /Speech on CNN News, Wednesday, 29 November 2006 during 5p.m. News at Abuja, Federal Capital Territory, Nigeria.

THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANISATION (PLO)

It is essential to observe at the onset that (i) the PLO is not a nation-state but a non-state actor and a prominent player in the Arab/Israeli conflict, (ii) most of the Palestinian people do not live and earn their living in Palestine and they are languishing in refugee camps scattered all over Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and elsewhere, (iii) there are many Palestinians who bear a deep hatred for the United States of America which they identify as a country that has made their lives a misery for over half a century, (iv) the establishment of a Palestinian state was decided by the Palestine National Council at its meeting (summit) held in Algiers (Algeria) in 1988, (v) the goal of the fundamentalist and militant movements in the Middle East sub-region is not religious in the sense of faith, or cultural in the sense of values, but political: it is to take power (political power) for the purpose of governance from those who control the Arab states and once they have power, to hold on to it (power theory becomes relevant here); and (vi) in 1968, Yasser Arafat was named Chairman of the PLO which is dedicated to the destruction of Israel.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) was formed in the mid-1960s and it includes numerous extremist factions (or groups) which include among others, the Fatah, the al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, Hamas and Islamic Jihad. Virtually all the Palestinian factions are militant groups and they express strong resistance to the Israeli occupation of Arab/Palestinian land.

The Fatah Movement was formed on 1 January 1965 by Civil Engineer Yasser Arafat who later became Palestinian leader from 1965-2004. The Fatah Movement appears to be the largest and the most influential arm (or segment) of the PLO. Like other factions, the Fatah Movement supported (and still supports) armed struggle against Israel. At the end of Yasser Arafat's December 16 (2001) speech requesting the Palestinians to stop suicide attacks on Israel, the Fatah Movement

played the role of enforcers for the Palestinian Authority's ceasefire. It made a large contribution to the lull in violence at the start of US Middle East Peace Envoy Anthony Zinni's visit to the region. The Fatah leaders brokered truces with their rival secular and Islamic groups. Consequently, operations both inside Israel and in the occupied territories ceased temporary.

The al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades is Fatah's splinter group which was formed as the Palestinian uprising erupted in September 2000. It is a leading force in the <u>intifada</u>. Its militants operated in great secrecy while details on the number of supporters and the groups funding are not known. What is clear, however, is that the radical splinter group has dozens of armed militants. The Brigades is active mostly in the West Bank and it has carried out several operations against civilians in Israeli soil. The group went along with Yasser Arafat's ceasefire call of 16 December 2001 but abandoned the truce following the killing of one of its leaders-Read Karmi- in the West Bank.

The Hamas has close ties with extremely moderate Arab regimes. The Hamas strongly opposed the land-for-peace principle (or formula) enshrined in the Interim Peace Agreement signed by Israel and the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. Besides, the Hamas has signaled its opposition to Saudi Peace Initiative which was adopted at the Arab (Beirut) summit held in March 2002 as Arab Peace Plan. Like Fatah, the goals of Hamas are (i) the Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territories especially in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, (ii) the dismantling of all Israeli (or Jewish) settlements in the occupied territories and (iii) full right of return for the Palestinian refugees who live in other countries. It should be noted at this juncture that the Fatah and Hamas are rival groups battling or contending for power and influence in the volatile Palestinian territories.

All Palestinians know that their principal constituency is the Arab world and that their struggle for self-determination and independence exist in an overwhelmingly Arab and Islamic environment.   More importantly, US-Palestinian relations, like some radical Arab States, have been exceptionally complicated and unsatisfactory. Regarded as a terrorist organization, the PLO members (or officials) were barred from entering United States of America during the Reagan era (1981 – 1988). Indeed, there was no official contact between the representatives of the US and PLO until late 1988.

The PLO came to prominence in the aftermath of the Arab failure during 1967 war, but its failure to improve the Palestinian's condition (or welfare) and the invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 led to popular uprising (intifada) against the Israeli occupation in December 1987. The uprising ended with the beginning of the peace process at the 1991 Madrid Conference. Also the failure of the peace process to deliver liberty (freedom) and dignity drove the Palestinians into the second uprising (intifada II), which began on 28 September 2000 and lasted for over eighteen months.

Besides, the PLO has a Parliament known as the Palestine National Council. The organization's Charter was adopted in Jerusalem in 1964 at the time the PLO was created. The Charter reflects Nasserist thinking about Arab nationalism, the primacy of the Arab States and the confrontation with Israel as a central task. The Charter also sees Zionism as a manifestation of Western colonialism aimed at displacing the Palestinians. Besides, it affirms that the Palestinian people have a right of self-defense as guaranteed under international law.

In summary, Yasser Arafat and his PLO fighters returned from Tunis in 1994 and established their headquarters in Ramallah. More importantly, the Palestinians want Agreements that would lead to the end of Israeli military occupation and the

creation of Palestinian state. An overwhelming majority of the Palestinians supported the declaration of an independent Palestinian state in September 2002, which was the deadline for a peace treaty with Israel.

The Arab League

The Arabs are one nation because of historical, territorial and linguistic factors. Regrettably, they are not united against their common enemy. There are radical and extremist Arab states (e.g. Iraq and Libya), conservative and moderate Arab states (e.g. Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia). The United States of America strengthens its co-operation with the conservative and moderate Arab states ruled mostly by Arab monarchs. In recent times, Arab frustration grew because of lack of balance in the US approach to Palestinian-Israeli peace process. Since the Arab states have limited influence and have shown themselves to be weak militarily, the US government prefers to push the Middle East peace process unilaterally rather than multilaterally.

Militarily, the Arab states are weak and so they depend on West European nations especially the United States of America for weapons in order to survive. More importantly, the Arab world has one of the highest per capita military expenditure rates in the world, but some of the worst equipped and poorest-trained armies. Also, no Arab country is in a position to defend itself against regional competitors, let alone wage war on Israel. It is essential to note, however, that most of the ruling Arab regimes came to power in a series of military coups that cited the debacles in the 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli wars with Israel as a justification for their actions. They have thus naturally given the highest priority to upgrading their countries' defense capabilities and very low priority to economic development, welfare programs and human rights. The citizens were urged to endure deprivation

to allow the ruling elite to engage in the "holy war" with the "Zionist enemy"[94]. The Arab public is today openly asking: why are the Arab regimes so impotent and incompetent?

The Arab League which comprises 22 member-states was launched in 1954. Its principal objectives are to: (i) obtain the liberation of the Arab world from foreign domination and colonialism, (ii) protect and safeguard the integrity and independence of the liberated Arab States, (iii) ensure broad co-operation in economic, social, cultural and political affairs among the Arab world, (vi) assist the Palestinian people to recover their legitimate rights including the right to set up an independent Palestinian State with East Jerusalem as its capital; and (v) assist the Syrian and Lebanese people to recover their occupied territories especially the Shebaa Farms area in south Lebanon and the Syrian Golan Heights.

For a just, permanent and comprehensive peace to be achieved, the Arab leaders want Israel to comply with the UN Resolutions beginning with complete and unconditional withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories. In the early Eighties, the Middle East witnessed the creation of three sub-Arab League Councils and these are: (i) the Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC) created in 1981, (ii) the Arab Maghreb Union comprising Morocco, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Mauritania was created (18 February 1989) and (iii) the Arab Co-operation Council (ACC) grouping Iraq, Egypt, Jordan and Yemen together (created on 16 February 1989).

The Arab world is today divided by two contradictory political movements: the first is represented by Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan which call for political realism while the second is directed by Iran, Iraq and the militant/fundamentalist movements such as the Lebanese Hizbullah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, the Fatah and the Muslim Brothers or Brotherhoods in Jordan. The militant groups urge Arab regimes to take

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[94] . See <u>International Herald Tribune</u>, Thursday, 28 February 2002, p.4

action against the Zionist State even to the extent of declaring war on Israel. At the head of political realism is President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt. He took office in 1981 after the assassination of President Anwar Sadat. At the domestic level, Mubarak took courageous initiatives, reconciled himself with the Egyptian politicians and authorized a multi-party system of government in Egypt. At the external level, he reconciled with other Arab States and brought back the headquarters of the Arab League to his country. President Mubarak also contributed to the expulsion of Iraqi forces from Kuwait in 1990/91 Gulf War and took an active part in the Madrid Conference as well as approving the 1993 Oslo Accord as the first step on the road to peace in the Middle East[95].

Abundant data, proposals and resolutions of previous Arab summits exist. In this respect, the first Arab summit took place in May 1948 at Inshass where it was decided that Palestine is an Arab land; and that it was imperative to put an end to Jewish immigration to the territory. The second Arab summit was held in Beirut (Lebanon) in November 1956 following the tripartite aggression during the Suez Canal crisis. At that summit, late President Gamile Chamoun of Lebanon urged that the consequences of the attack be studied and that a work plan be adopted to press the United Nations to apply its own Resolutions. In the event that Britain, France and Israel did not withdraw from their positions, the Arabs were invited to implement the common defense agreement.   That very day, US President Eisenhower compelled Israel to evacuate the Sinai Peninsula. At this juncture, it will be recalled that the Beirut Summit held in 1956 led to the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai Peninsula, but the Beirut Summit of 27 –28 March 2002 did not force Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to pull out of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and lift the blockade against Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat who was restricted for several

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[95] . See <u>Monday Morning </u>(The Weekly Magazine published in Beirut, Lebanon), 15 August 2001, p. 4.

months to the town of Ramallah (West Bank) because of his failure to deal with Palestinian terrorists. The Third Arab Summit was the Rabat (Morocco) Summit of 1974. It was followed by the Fez Summit of 1982 when King Fahd bin Abdelaziz of Saudi Arabia proposed the exchange of "land for peace" option. The fifth was the Beirut Summit of 27 – 28 March 2002 when the Arab States unanimously adopted the Saudi Peace Initiative as the Arab Peace Plan. The deadlock in the Palestinian-Israeli peace process and the siege imposed on Yasser Arafat were instrumental in pushing Saudi Arabia to announce ideas for a regional peace settlement in mid-February 2002.

The Beirut Summit of March 2002, did not inspire confidence in the Arab world because some Arab leaders like Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, King Abdullah II of Jordan and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat stayed away. Nonetheless, the 22 member states of the Arab League unanimously offered Israel, for the first time, the prospect of diplomatic recognition and security guarantees. The offer, however, contains terms (or conditions), which Israel finds hard to accept including full withdrawal from the territories occupied after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war and some provision for return of Palestinian refugees[96]. Regrettably, the Palestinian suicide bombing attacks in the heartland of Israel on Wednesday, 27 March 2002 derailed the Middle East peace process. Although the Arab States have shown themselves to be too weak military, the Arab League summit has brought international attention to the real situation in the Middle East region. Also Arab States especially Syria and Lebanon always lay emphasis on reactivating the Middle East peace on the basis of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the exchange of land for peace formula.

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[96] . See International Herald Tribune, Saturday-Sunday, 30 – 31 March 2002, p. 6

In summary, some members of the League of Arab States (that is, non – Arab African States) such as Djibouti, Somalia and ethno culturally mixed Mauritania and Sudan belong to Africa and they are also members of the OAU (now AU). Majority of the Arab States depend on US military and economic aid. Arab predicaments are essentially political and economic in nature. Their political problem focuses on the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict while economic decline in the region is a big concern to Arab leaders and governments. Although they have a common language, a shared history and culture and despite their region's impressive oil wealth, economic performance in many Arab countries is poor. In this respect, economic growth has lagged behind other regions of the world. The Arab countries' combined GDP rose from $440 billion in 1980 to around $730 billion in 2001, that is, to an average annual rate of around 2 percent. Moreover, the doubling of the region's population from 140 million in 1980 to 285 million in 2001 has led to a marked decline in per capita income. For instance, per capita income in Saudi Arabia has fallen from $25,000 in 1998 to $8,500 in 2001[97]. Besides, Arab countries' efforts at regional co-operation have so far failed to produce tangible results, although talks of a common market started in the 1950s. Trade protectionism and Western manipulations remain part of the problem. Tariffs, on average, remain high compared to Europe and the Americas. More importantly, the Arab League has failed completely to liberate Palestine from Zionist colonialism in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Indeed, no practicable method has yet been agreed upon by all the Arab States for the elimination of Zionist colonialism in the Arab world.

The European Union

The European Union, which comprises 15 or 27-member nations, is the greatest financier of the Palestinian Authority's projects in the West Bank and Gaza

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[97] . See The Daily Star, Tuesday, 26 March 2002, p. 10

Strip. It is also willing to pay the "bill for re-construction" if peace is reached in the Middle East. The EU is weak diplomatically to play a positive role in the Palestinian – Israeli conflict and peacemaking. It merely plays the role of a second fiddle to the United States in the Middle East peacemaking and diplomacy largely because Israel sees it as pro-Palestinian. The US is the leader of the Western alliance (or NATO). No member of Western Alliance would be ready to undermine US authority and influence in the region and elsewhere. Besides, former US Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger once said:

> *"European nations should not be allowed too large a role in the Middle East affairs because its involvement would raise Arab expectations too high[98].*

Kissinger's assertion further explains why the EU plays the role of a second fiddle to the United States in the Middle East region.

In June 2001, EU policy Chief (Javier Solana) and Swedish Prime-Minister (Goran Person) with a four-member team of EU representatives mediated between the Israelis and the Palestinians for more than eight days without positive results. Also, at a meeting held in Brussels (Belgium) from 18 – 20 July 2001, EU Foreign Ministers urged Israel to accept Third Party monitors to help restore peace in the Middle East. Israel has so far opposed the deployment of outside monitors fearing they would be biased against its own forces[99]. In addition, Israel looks at the policies of other states in the Middle East sub-region solely in terms of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The European Union is Israel's biggest trading partner. In this respect Israel sends 27 percent of its exports (trade worth $7.64 million in 2001) to EU countries, and more than 43 percent of its imports come from the EU bloc. Israel's economic relationship with the EU dates back to the signing of a commercial agreement in

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[98] . See <u>Syria Times</u> Thursday, 12 July 2001, p. 3
[99] . See, <u>Monday Morning,</u> 23 July 2001, p. 1

1964. The Agreement between the EU and Israel was, however, punctuated by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and by the Palestinian uprising (violence or intifada) from 1987 – 1991. As a result of the second Palestinian uprising (intifada II) which broke out on 28 September 2000 and Israel's deadly military offensive in the Palestinian West Bank cities, towns, villages and refugee camps, the EU contemplated imposing economic sanctions on the Jewish state, and a call for sanction or suspension of trade with Israel was made by the European Parliament. The sanction would have affected a six-year-old Association Treaty under which Israel enjoys preferential trade terms with the 15-member nation bloc.

Among the toughest critics of Israel in the EU are France (a traditional friend of the Arab world), Sweden, Belgium (which has openly suggested the suspension of EU Pact with Israel), Spain and to some extent Finland. Israel's strongest European defenders are Germany (partly out of a sense of historic responsibility for the holocaust), Britain, The Netherlands and Denmark. All the European defenders are the most pro-American member states. Consequently, division within the EU makes trade sanctions against Israel extremely difficult and impossible[100]. On Monday, 4 February 2002, the EU threatened to seek reparations worth $14 million relating to funded projects destroyed by Israeli forces in the West Bank and Gaza Strip during more than 18-months of violence and fighting between the Israelis and Palestinians. In response, Israel's Foreign Ministry's Legal Adviser- Mr. Alan Baker said:

> *Israel reserves the right to target Palestinian installations when they are used to plan and carry out attacks against Israel. Within the context of a war, these things happen and that is it[101].*

Dissatisfied with Baker's assertion, Mr. Jean Breteche who is the Head of the European Commission Technical Assistance Bureau in Jerusalem and whose office

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[100] . See The Daily Star, 13 April 2002, p. 5
[101] . Ibid., Tueday, 5 February 2002, p. 1

runs as well as monitors development projects in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, accused Israel of willful destruction. According to Breteche, the EU projects are infrastructure mostly schools, laboratories (labs.), tarmac, water supply, etc., which could not justify demolition for security reasons[102]. He concluded by saying "it's a form of vandalism".

Rather than playing active and positive role, the EU can criticize the United States for the latter's policy of unilateralism in the Middle East peace process or peacemaking. Besides, the EU Foreign Ministers diverged from US views on Middle East peacemaking at its summit held on 9 February 2002 when they said that there should be "less stress on security and more on political aspects of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict". In this respect, Spanish Foreign Minister Josep Pique who was the EU President in 2000/2001 said:

> *It is very important that we go back to putting politics in the centre of our discussions on the Middle East[103].*

The EU Foreign Ministers, however, differed from those of Israel and the US which have urged a halt to clashes in the region before negotiations could resume. As a matter of fact, Mr. Pique's assertion implied that it was not realistic to demand a complete halt to violence and for Yasser Arafat to make hundred percent effort aimed at stopping violence between the Israelis and Palestinians.

In foreign policy (or relations), the members of the EU do not often speak with one voice concerning Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peacemaking. For instance, at EU Foreign Ministers' summit held in Madrid (Spain) in early February 2002, some EU delegates welcomed Washington's rejection of Israeli Prime Minister

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[102] . Israel demolished hundreds of Palestinian homes and uprooted thousands of hectares of farm crops between September 2000 and February 2002. The Researcher watched the destruction of Arab/Palestinian crops on CNN (7pm. Beirut Time) on Tuesday, 4 February 2002.

[103] . See Syria Times, Sunday, 10 February 2002, p. 1

Ariel Sharon's appeal to cut ties with Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. But they could not agree among themselves (or with the United States) on what to do next on the Middle East crisis as a whole. Also they differed on whether Washington should extend its war on terror (or terrorism) beyond the border of Afghanistan[104]. Despite their different views and approaches, EU officials have expressed deep concern and indignation over Washington's unflishing support for Israel in its efforts to crush the more than 18 months-old Palestinian uprising against the Israelis.

In summary, the EU has never played an active role in the Middle East peacemaking. Rather it is satisfied with using diplomacy as a way to undermine US-brokered peace deals and giving hefty (or huge) financial aid to support the Palestinian Authority and the Palestinians. Neither the US nor Israel is comfortable with a greater European role and neither was pleased when, in 1979, Egypt tried to bring the UN to the negotiations between Egypt and Israel. Lastly, the EU believes that the implementation of the Mitchell Report and Tenet Plan is the only way to stop the escalation of violence between Israel and the Palestinians as well as resume negotiations. It is essential to note that EU Foreign Policy Chief Javier Solana was a member of the Mitchell Commission whose Report calls for a cease-fire, a lengthy cooling-off period and confidence building measures between Israel and the Palestinian Authority led by Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. The failure of EU members to reach consensus and speak with one voice show how divided the Organization is over the Middle East peace process.

The Franco-phone Organization

The Franco-phone organization plays invisible role in the Middle East

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[104.] See The Daily Star, Tuesday, 12 February 2002, p. 1.

peacemaking. Despite this, the Franco-phone organization has always supported the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Arab occupied territories in compliance with UN Security Council Resolutions 237, 242, 338, 425, 1397 and the exchange of "land for peace formula". The Franco-phone organization is led by France which failed to play mediatory role assumed by Norway during the 1993 Oslo Summit. Paris inability to play any role occurred under the Gaullist government of Edourard Balladur. Nonetheless, Mitterand's stance and active diplomacy in response to Israel's invasion of Lebanon and its siege of Beirut in the summer of 1982 brought him Palestinian, Lebanese and Arab gratitude for his criticism of the Israeli attacks, invasion and his instrumental role in mediating the PLO's departure from Beirut (Lebanon) in 1982.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) now African Union (AU)

Our discussion on the role of regional institutions now concludes with the OAU (now AU). Black African states including Nigeria did not involve themselves in the early stages of the Middle East crisis which dates back to the termination of the British mandate over Palestine in 1947. Even in the early years following their independence, African states attempted to keep the Arab-Israeli conflict out of African politics. Also in the early years following the formation of the OAU in May 1963, the continental organization did not get itself involved in the Middle East crisis until the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli War of June 1967 because of the Israeli occupation of Egyptian territory, that is, the Sinai Peninsula, captured by Israeli forces during the war. Geographically, Egypt is part of African continent.

At the 4th Annual Summit of the OAU in Kinshasa in September 1967, African Heads of State and Government including Nigeria decided to work within the UN in

order to secure the evacuation of occupied Egyptian territory by Israeli forces.[105] However, during the Emergency session of the UN General Assembly on Arab-Israeli conflict in 1967, only 14 of the 32 independent African states voted with Egypt on the Resolution calling for immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from Egyptian territory. In this respect, 8 African States voted against the UN Resolution, while 10 African states abstained presumably to avoid any entanglement in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Since 1967, however, the conduct of African diplomacy in the Middle East crisis has been guided by the withdrawal of Israel from illegally occupied Arab-territories as provided for in the UN Security Council Resolution 242 of 22 November 1967 and Resolution 338 of October 1973 as well as the principle of "land for peace"

The failure of the Jarring Mission in February 1971 to brake the Middle East dead-lock prompted the OAU to engage in an African mediation effort. Accordingly, an OAU Committee of Ten consisting of the Heads of State and Government of Cameroun, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast (now Cote d'Ivoire), Kenya, Liberia, Mauritania, Nigeria, Senegal, Tanzania and Zaire was formed. Regrettably, the OAU mediation effort did not succeed.

The failure of the OAU mediation effort and the obduracy of Israel to withdraw from occupied Arab / Egyptian territories strengthened Afro – Arab relations or unity. It also led to closer collaboration between the OAU and the Arab league. Following the outbrake of the October 1973 Arab-Israeli War, 21 African states including Nigeria severed diplomatic relations with Tel-Aviv (Israel), thus bringing to 29 the total number of African states which broke diplomatic ties with the Jewish State in 1973 (see Table 5.5, p. 333).

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[105].   See OAU Document AHG 1st . 2 (iv) of September 1967.

3.6 THE ROLE OF FOREIGN POWERS

In this sub-section, our focus is on the role of the foreign powers particularly the United States of America and the defunct Soviet Union (now Russia) in the Arab/Palestinian – Israeli conflict and peacemaking. We begin first with the United States.

The United States and its Involvement

The US appears to be the only superpower that has the economic and military capability, resources and diplomatic clout to push the Middle East peace process to a logical conclusion. In other words, Washington, heavily influenced by the Jewish lobby in the USA, has the human, military, financial resources plus the diplomatic clout to make a peace deal stick in the Middle East sub-region.

During the cold war era, the objectives of the US in the Middle East were: (i) containment of the expansion of Soviet communism and influence, (ii) protection of the state of Israel from Arab destruction, (iii) promotion of US and Western interests in the Middle East and (iv) defense of its own clients especially Israel and (v) weaning those of the Soviet Union. The US achieved the above stated objectives by shielding Israel from Soviet pressure, giving her the means to outmatch the Soviet's Arab clients, avoiding the demand for concessions which Israel could not freely be persuaded to make and offering no aid (or comfort) to any Soviet Client.[106] in the Middle East. During the Palestinian-Israeli violence (September 2000-2002), the US had two principal objectives in the region. One was to end the Palestinian uprising (intifada) against Israeli occupation of Arab/Palestinian territories while the second was to reduce tension in the Middle East sub-region. The ceasefire worked out by CIA Director George Tenet and the attempt by US Secretary of State Colin Powell to

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[106]. See Malcolm H. Kerr, America's Middle East Policy: Kissinger, Carter and The Future, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1980, p. 10.

promote the Mitchell Report are in line with both objectives stated above. In addition, American policy during the Palestinian-Israeli deadly violence seemed to be by exhaustion. The US government led by George Bush (Jnr.) allowed the two sides to fight it out until they ran out of energy and anger. Regrettably, American strategy did not work. Rather than exhaustion, the Middle East region witnessed escalation of violence. The Bush administration's decision to distance itself from Middle East affairs (peacemaking) or Bush's initial hands-off approach leaves a large question mark over the future role of the United States in the search for a solution to the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict.[107(a)] By distancing itself from the problem of the region, the Bush administration (Jnr.) attempted to remove the US from the position of the main co-sponsor of the Middle East peace process. Russia is another main co-sponsor.

It is essential to note that the US is the only country that has tremendous power and influence on both Israelis and Arabs including the Palestinians. Stated simply, the United States is the only country which both the Arabs and Israelis respect in the region. Inspite of its power and diplomatic clout, the United States is constrained by the strength of the Jewish lobby in America where there are up to six million Jews residing and many of them control the media, high finance and are prominent on the intellectual community.[17(b)] Besides, the United States government has, for a long time, been the sole sponsor of the Middle East peace process. In this respect, the US sponsored the 1978 Camp David I Summit and witnessed the signing of the 1979 Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty as well as the Israeli-Jordanian Peace Treaty of 1994 Also the US-led coalition forces against Iraq's invasion and

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107(a).   See The Daily Star, Wednesday, 27 June 2001, p.1.
107(b).   See The Nation, Sunday, August 17, 2008, p. 54.

illegal annexation of Kuwait remains relevant (or crucial) to US role in the Middle East peacemaking. In other words, former US President George Bush (Snr.) will be remembered for forging a decisive coalition to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi occupation and for using his prestige to convene the 1991 Madrid Conference held in Madrid (Spain). Rather than Europe and Russia, the US is the only outside force willing to play a direct role in the Middle East conflict and peacemaking. Former US Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger conducted shuttle diplomacy and statesmanship in the region. He did help to negotiate the end of the 1973 October War. In addition, the Clinton administration sponsored the unsuccessful 1993 Oslo Peace Accords between the PA and Israel as well as the Camp David II Summit held in July 2000.

The United States is a strategic ally of Israel and a major actor in the Middle East peace process. The US believed that it has already provided the tools for easing the Middle East conflict in the Mitchell Report and a ceasefire brokered by CIA Director George Tenet in June 2001. US General Anthony Zinni worked closely with Israelis and Palestinian leaders on a ceasefire proposal grafted by CIA Director George Tenet. However, the Palestinians believe that the ceasefire will serve only Israeli interests. Even US citizens in a public opinion poll conducted by Zogby International of New York from December 18 to 21, (2000), faulted the US approach to the Palestinian-Israeli peace process. The following outcome emerged from Clinton's approach to pursuing Middle East peace: 29.5 percent of 1012 randomly selected American voters said that Clinton leaned toward favoring Israel; while 5 percent said that Clinton leaned toward the Palestinians. Despite this, 50.5 percent of all those polled described Clinton's policy as "steering a middle course". But when the same selected American voters were asked how George W. Bush (Jnr.) should pursue Middle East peace, only 15.5 percent said he should lean toward Israel; while 1.5 percent said that the newly elected (forget whether or not the election was free

and fair) American President should pursue a policy that favors neither side (see Table 3.5).

TABLE 3.5: Clinton's and Bush's Approach to the Middle East Peace

Year	Lean Toward:		Steer a Middle Course
	Israel	**Palestinian**	**%**
1997	15	3	56
1998	15	2	61
1999	12	2	63.5
2000	15.5	1.5	71.5

<u>**Source:**</u> Abu Dhabi Television and Washington-based American Institute and conducted by Zogby International of New York (<u>Syria Times</u>, No 5321, Monday 15 January 2001, p. 3.

As a result of the inability of the Soviet Union to play any major role in the Middle East and its collapse in 1990/91 as well as the end of the Cold War, the United States of America began to play an exclusive role in the handling of Middle East crises and in the search for peace in the region. More importantly, America has, for long, allied with corrupt and authoritarian regimes in the Middle East in an attempt to protect the West's oil supplies. The US does not even bother about violation of human rights in the region because the US fears to offend, for example, the royal families in Saudi Arabia and Jordan just to mention a few of the monarchies in the Middle East region. The US emphasis on process over substance made the Arab publics suspicious of American mediatory efforts and led them to believe that the peace process was only a mirage designed to trick their governments and leaders into prematurely establishing economic ties that would help Israel break out of its regional isolation. Consequently, anti-Israeli sentiment went hand-in-hand with anti-Americanism. From here, our focus is on the US involvement in the Palestinian-Israeli entanglement since January 2001.

Initially, the Bush administration (Jnr.) was reluctant in the first year in office (January 2001 – January 2002) to get fully involved or engaged in the Arab/Palestinian – Israeli conflict and pursued a hands-off approach in the Middle

East sub-region. Indeed, the US administration maintained a reasonable distance from affairs of the region for a couple of months. The US, therefore, decided to move slowly and cautiously into the Middle East crisis, first to end the Palestinian intifada or violence and second to reduce tension in the region. This led to US support for a ceasefire hammered out by CIA Director, (George Tenet) and the attempt by US Secretary of State Colin Powell to promote the Mitchell Peace Plan. Both efforts focused on security issues at the expense of political measures[108].

But what really explained George Bush's initial hands-off approach toward the Israeli-Palestinian struggle and his lack of interest? Several reasons could be presented. Firstly, the Clinton administration's experience (January 1993– January 2001) greatly influenced George W. Bush's thinking and conduct. The failure of the Clinton administration to achieve a breakthrough in Palestinian-Israeli peace talks, despite its high political investment, appeared to have convinced the Bush / Republican administration of the futility of closely and deeply involving the US government in the Middle East diplomacy. Secondly, Clinton's active involvement in Arab/Palestinian-Israeli peace-making stemmed from his close connections with the Jewish State's friends and allies in the United States. He was confident and assured of their support for his peace initiatives, and the Zionist lobby sanctioned his hands-on approach. With Clinton in the White House, the Arab-Israeli peace process became one of America's strategic interests. Also Clinton took pride in the fact that he was one of the most pro-Israeli Presidents in US history. The Jewish community Overwhelmingly voted for him in the two presidential elections that brought Bill Clinton to power (1993 – 2001). He reciprocated by basically packaging Israel's –

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[108]. See <u>The Daily Star,</u> Thursday, 5 July 2001, p. 3

negotiating proposals as his own and aggressively pressured the Palestinian authorities especially Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat to accept Israeli peace terms. Bush Jnr. might have calculated that he was too weak domestically to upset the proIsraeli Congress. By keeping his distance, President Bush (Jnr.) tried to avoid entanglement in the Arab-Israeli quagmire.[109] His hands-off approach would be politically cost-effective to an inexperienced US President in international relations. Under the Bush administration, Washington's emphasis shifted from peace-making to regional stability and security. Thirdly and more importantly, the Bush administration appeared to be unwilling to honor the peace process which its immediate predecessor (the Clinton administration) had started. To Clinton's successor and his team especially US Secretary of State Colin Powell, the peace process is dead and is not worth reviving. The Bush administration like its predecessors reiterated Washington's full commitment to Israel's security and ignored the sufferings as well as the aspirations of the Palestinian people.

As a result of persistence of Palestinian-Israeli violence in the Gaza Strip and West Bank, the Bush administration (Jnr.) which previously was not ready to play any role made a U-turn and began to play an active role in the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli peace process because the violence between the two sides threatened to undermine US vital interests in the Middle East. Consequently, Washington realized it could no longer distance itself from the region's problems. The US, therefore, concentrated on how to protect American interests, credibility and influence in an area that stores underneath its soil 70 percent of the world's crude oil.[110] But had the Israeli military attacks and excessive use of force succeeded in ending the Palestinian intifada, the Bush administration (Jnr.) would not have intervened in the

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[109]. Ibid., Thursday, 16 August 2001, p. 6
[110]. See Syria Times, Sunday, 27 May 2001 p.3.

Israeli-Palestinian violence. But when it found that it could not bring the Palestinian uprising to a halt, it resorted to political and diplomatic means.

Between March and June 2001, the Bush administration (Jnr.) began to intensify its efforts through the George Mitchell's Report, CIA Director George Tenet's plan and Anthony Zinni's Middle East Mission. The Mitchell Report calls for a ceasefire followed by a cooling-off period and confidence building measures such as total construction freeze on Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. George Tenet tried to secure a ceasefire with the Israeli and Palestinian leaders. Israel insisted that the Palestinian leaders should arrest all Palestinian militants that fled or were freed from Palestinian jails during the Palestinian-Israeli violence. The list of terror suspects was given to George Tenet who later met and discussed with Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and his security chiefs in Ramallah (West Bank). The Palestinians balked and their officials asserted that Arafat has already made tremendous effort to enforce the cease-fire including holding meetings with leaders of Hamas and Islamic Jihad and so Arafat could not be expected to order mass arrests[111] as demanded by Israeli authorities. Besides, they took to the streets of Gaza Strip and West Bank in large demonstration to protest Tenet's pro-Israeli proposals. Consequently, American CIA Director George Tenet left the Middle East on Tuesday, 12 June 2001 without achieving a ceasefire between the Palestinians and Israelis.

As the Palestinian –Israeli violence reached an unprecedented level in early March 2001, the American President took the decision to send General Anthony Zinni to the Middle East and see if he could achieve ceasefire between both sides.

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[111]   See The Daily Star, Friday, 8 June 2001, p.1.

Zinni's power and authority, however, did not extend beyond negotiating ways to end violence between the Palestinian and Israeli forces. Zinni's quest for a ceasefire was unsuccessful. Although there was a relative calm during his visit to the Middle East, Zinni was not able to persuade both sides to begin implementation o f a ceasefire plan drafted by George Tenet and his team in June 2001. The relative calm in the Middle East was due to Yasser Arafat's call for a halt to all attacks against Israel. Indeed, Arafat's call for a halt produced limited and brief effects. Firstly, violence fell sharply in the occupied Palestinian territories. Secondly, the US government was encouraged to re-engage General Anthony Zinni in the M. E. peace process since Israel could not quell the Palestinian intifada (or uprising) with force. Thirdly, it led to the re-emergence of "peace camps" as shown by the peace rally in Jerusalem (Israel) on 28 December 2001. The peace rally called for immediate negotiations between both parties with the aim of achieving a peace deal.

However, on Tuesday, 2 October 2001, the Bush administration (Jnr.) threw its support (or weight) behind the UN Security Council Resolutions 242 of 1967 and 338 of 1973 which established the principle of "land for peace". Most Arabs were delighted because they regarded (and still regard) the two Resolutions as twin cornerstones of their struggle (or efforts) to recover their occupied land and restore Palestinian rights via diplomatic rather than military means. Also US President George W. Bush (Jnr.) spoke about efforts to revive the Middle East peace-making.[112] Among the proposals of the Bush administration to revive the Middle East peace process include the establishment (or creation) of a Palestinian State and Jerusalem as the capital of both the Palestinian State, (when created) and Israel, the implementation of the Mitchell Report and the Tenet Plan.

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[112]. Ibid., Wednesday, 3 October 2001.

Lastly, on Monday, 19 November 2001, US Secretary of State Colin Powell set out US Middle East Policy[113] in a speech which he delivered at the University of Louisville (Kentucky State, USA).   His speech was received with hope and satisfaction in Arab /Palestinian circles.   Powell's speech is significant because it heralds an end to the Bush administration's hands-off policy (or approach) to the Arab-Israeli conflict in general and the Palestinian-Israeli dispute in particular. Secondly, Powell's speech reaffirmed US President George W. Bush's support for the establishment of a separate Palestinian State. Thirdly, Colin Powell expressed continued US commitment "to contribute actively to a third-party monitoring and verification mechanism acceptable to both parties". He also acknowledged a role for other relevant parties (or actors) in the Middle East peace process. In this respect, he declared:

> *We look forward to continuing to work closely with Egypt and Jordan, with the European Union, the United Nations Secretary-General, with Russia and many other parties in this effort[114].*

In spite of the significance of his speech, the shortcomings in Colin Powell's speech

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[113]. US foreign policy goals towards the Middle East during the Bush administration (Jnr.) are:
   (i)   to restore calm after several months of deadly violence and blood letting between the Palestinians and Israelis,
   (ii)   to achieve a ceasefire between both the Palestinian and Israeli forces and thereafter to move both sides towards negotiation.
   (iii)   to end Palestinian uprising against Israel,
   (iv) to seek Arab/Muslim support for US interests in the Middle East. US interests include among other things, economic, political and socio-cultural. Economically, the Middle East oil is very important to the economy of Western Europe including the United States itself. Indeed, the importance of oil supplies and the routes especially the waterways through which they are shipped have been too critical and strategic to the US and its Western allies. As the leader of the Western (or NATO) alliance, the US has accepted the responsibility to protect access to oil supplies from the region. Politically, American interest has been increased because of the creation of the State of Israel. The US is committed to the protection and survival of Israel. Besides, the Middle East is strategically important to the US because of the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean Sea. More importantly, the US has socio-cultural interest in protecting and promoting American values and ways of life in the Middle East. In pursuit of this, the US government has built internationally accepted American University and Hospital in Beirut (Lebanon) which have trained and educated several Middle East citizens and leaders.
[114]. See The Daily Star, Wednesday, 21 November 2001, p. 6.

should not be taken lightly. Foremost is the lack of a time-table to achieve the "American Vision". The absence of a time-frame for reviving the Middle East peace process in general and the stalled Palestinian-Israeli peace process in particular as well as reaching a peaceful settlement should be a source of concern to all peace loving individuals and nation-states.

While his speech recognized the right of both parties to live in their own separate states within secured borders, Powell's reference to Israel as "a Jewish State" implies that Washington will not support Palestinian demand that Israel should recognize the refugees' right to return. This is no small matter to the Palestinians and Arab countries such as Lebanon which accommodates several Palestinian refugees. Finally, Powell's speech did not contain a precise peace plan or the anticipated final agreement. Hence his "American vision" lacked a territorial blueprint or any fixed borders.

Closely allied to his speech was Colin Powell's Middle East tour. In April 2002, Powell embarked on Middle East tour and left the region on Wednesday, 18 April 2002 without achieving a ceasefire agreement between the Palestinians and Israeli forces. As a matter of fact, he failed to convince Israel to end its occupation of Palestinian territory in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Most Arab leaders judged US Secretary of State Colin Powell's troubleshooting mission to the Middle East region to be a resounding failure and catastrophic for the Palestinians, alarming for the Arab governments, damaging to the Bush administration's credibility, but a triumph for Israel and its supporters in both Israel and United States of America. Others concurred that it was a failure resulting from US President George W. Bush's U-turn from his earlier position demanding an "immediate" end to Ariel Sharon's military offensive in the West Bank and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Palestinian areas they had occupied. The global sole superpower failed to muster sufficient

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pressure on Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to heed the US President's own call for an immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces.[115]

Besides, US Secretary of State Colin Powell had not even left for Washington D. C. before his Middle East peace mission was labeled a failure. The verdict was harsh and unexpected. It is true that none of President George Bush's demands was met and that Yasser Arafat did not move decisively to renounce violence. Israel also failed to end its military occupation and incursions into West Bank towns. In addition, Palestinian civilians continued to die as a result of Israel's military offensive; while Israeli civilians certainly did not feel safer. But there are a few other factors to keep (or bear) in mind in assessing Colin Powell's shuttle diplomacy to the Middle East. One is that Powell tried to pacify two recalcitrant parties in a dispute which has lasted for several decades. Secondly, President Bush (Jnr.) failed to employ necessary strategy to achieve the ultimatums issued by him. The Bush administration (Jnr.) which came to power in the midst of Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation of Arab/Palestinian territories, adopted a policy of distancing itself from the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peace process. Later, the US government led by President Bush (Jnr.) made a U-turn and began to meet leaders from the Middle East through Messrs George Mitchell, George Tenet, Anthony Zinni and US secretary of State Colin Powell whose speech, in spite of its pitfalls, demonstrates, beyond all reasonable doubt, US readiness to (i) address the core issues in the Arab-Israeli conflict and (ii) resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict if its war on terrorism is to succeed.

In summary, during its first 12 months in the White House, the Bush administration (Jnr.) kept its distance from the stalled Middle East peace process. It preferred to play a lesser role than its predecessor. Also the Bush administration

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[115]. See Ibid. Tuesday, 23 April 2002, p. 7.

feared being sucked into the region's conflict because of the failure to broker a peace treaty by the Clinton administration at Camp David II Summit held in July 2000. Rather than get seriously involved, US President George Bush (Jnr.) made only half – hearted attempts by condemning the Palestinians for suicide bombings while calling on Israel to refrain from retaliating with military raids into Palestinian-ruled (or controlled) areas[116] and killing Palestinian militants / hardliners.

RUSSIA

After the collapse and disintegration of the Soviet Union (USSR), Russia became a docile and co-operative junior partner in the Middle East Affairs. Since the end of the Cold War, Russia has largely left the region to the United States which became the sole global military super-power with immense human and natural resources to influence world affairs including the Middle East affairs.

The collapse of Soviet Union in 1991 left Moscow's main arms clients-(Syria, Iraq and Libya and to some extent Iran) with no secure supply of military equipment. In this regard and with the exception of Israel and to some extent Egypt and Iran, no Arab country in the Middle East sub-region has a significant capacity to produce its own weapons and equipment. Moscow currently ranked the world's fourth largest arms exporter sold military equipments to the majority of the Arab States including the Palestinians. Russia has consistently supported UN Resolutions on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peacemaking. In this respect, Russia co-sponsored the 1991 Madrid Conference.

It is essential to note at this juncture that the US and Russia are no longer enemies at the end of the Cold War. The US now wants Russia as partner and ally in progress. But they apparently disagree on what constitutes threat in the 21st

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[116]. See The Daily Star, 28 August 2001, p. 1

century. According to US President George Bush (Jnr.), the threat in the 21st century includes poverty, proliferation of nuclear weapons of mass destruction and Iraq which is now fighting for its survival because of alleged involvement in global terrorism and production of weapons of mass destruction.

3.8 THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The United Nations

The United Nations is an international organization and it was born out of World War II. And so, at the time of its creation in 1945 the founders were very conscious of the need to avoid wars and protect individuals in various parts of the world. The role of the UN peace-keeping stems, to a large extent, from the willingness of the international society to deal with conflicts and wars around the world. More significantly, there has been a greater will by the international community to intervene in global and regional conflicts as well as wars in order to maintain international peace and security.

Hostilities between the Arabs and Jews began almost immediately following the adoption of the UN Partition Plan on 29 November 1947 and in 1948 when the state of Israel was proclaimed and with the outbreak of war in 1948, many Palestinians fled for safety. Fifty-eight years later (1948 – 2006), the plight of about 4 million Palestinian refugees remains at the core of the Palestinian/Arab-Israeli conflict.

Since 1947, the UN has been instrumental in the process of seeking amicable solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Furthermore, the UN has been utilized by nation-states as a forum to express their views on regional and global conflicts through policy statements and voting for or against specific Middle East Resolutions. Also the UN General Assembly and Security Council have issued (or passed) many Resolutions relating to the Middle East conflict and peace – making. Some of these

Resolutions are 194, 242, 338, 425 and 1397. The UN Security Council Resolution 194, for example, deals with the right of return of the Palestinians while Resolution 242 and 338 call for Israel's unconditional withdrawal from all Arab territories including the Syrian Golan Heights captured and occupied by Israeli forces during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. The UN Security Council Resolution 425 of 1978 calls for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory. Unlike previous Resolutions, the UN Security Council Resolution 1397 initiated by the US, specifically mentions, for the first time, the creation of an independent Palestinian state side-by-side with Israel. Before now, the United States of America used to regard the Palestinians as terrorists who should be hunted down by the Israelis. For a Republic president like George W. Bush to commit America to a two stare solution is an unusual recognition of a political reality. It also contains a strong statement against global terrorism. But it fails to address the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland. In addition, the Resolution does not refer to ending the Israeli occupation of Arab/Palestinian territories since 1967 war.[117] However, the support of the US government for Resolution 1397 marks a new step in US engagement in Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

The Security Council of the UN authorized the 1990/1991 Gulf War in order to expel Iraq from Kuwait; and after the defeat of Iraq in the Gulf War in early 1991, the UN Security Council passed the Economic Sanctions Resolutions that prohibited trade in all non-essential commodities with Iraq. More than ten years of economic sanctions have devastated the Iraqi population and brought sorrow and misery to ordinary Iraqis. As a result of international criticism, the UN introduced an "Oil-For-

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[117.] See The Daily Star, Saturday, 16 March 2002, p.2.

Food Program/Plan" in 1996/97 to help Iraqi people cope with UN economic sanctions imposed on Iraq after Saddam Hussein's 1990 invasion of Kuwait. While UN sanctions were designed to instigate the removal of Saddam Hussein from power, or at least render him impotent, the oil –for-food program was designed to support the Iraqis with food and other humanitarian aid under the supervision of the UN. In brief, the program allowed Saddam's government to sell unlimited quantities of crude oil provided most of the proceeds went to buy food, medicine and humanitarian goods for the Iraqi people and also to compensate the victims of the 1990/91 Gulf War.   The Program did very little to rectify the situation in Iraq. Stated bluntly, the Program brought very little comfort to the Iraqi population. Oil-For-Food Program, however, allows Iraq to sell its crude oil to meet basic demands of its citizens. Iraq's oil revenues are put in UN Escrow Fund out of which supplies are paid[118].

Apart from the Resolutions passed by the World Body, its Secretary-Generals have been very assertive on the Arab-Israeli conflict. For instance, former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan (1997- December 2006) ended his address (or speech) to the Arab summit held in Beirut (Lebanon) from 27 – 28 March 2002 by asking the Arab leaders to take steps to confront the menace of extremism, hatred and intolerance. And for the first time, Kofi Annan[119(a)] described Israel's occupation of Arab/Palestinian land as illegal.[120] Also in April 2002, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan urged the international community to persuade Israel and the Palestinians to"draw back from violence" that is threatening the Middle East sub-region. He accused Israel of trying to escalate the more than 18 months of Palestinian-Israeli

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[118]   See The Punch Monday 6 December 2004, Vol. 17, No 19227, P.71
[119(a)]   Kofi Annan (a Ghanaian-born) is awarded the peace prize jointly with the world Body for their work for a better organized and more peaceful world
[120].   See The Daily Star, Friday, 15 March 2002, p. 4.

violence and warned that self-defence against suicide bombings is not a blank cheque[121] for Israel's excessive use of force. More significantly, the UN was side-tracked in the preparation of the Mitchell Report and the Tenet Plan. In effect, the UN did not play any role. Sometimes, UN Secretary General's Special Envoy such as Terje Roed Larsen performs purely humanitarian services to victims of conflict and war in the Middle East through the provision of essential services which include food, drugs and clothing. In the next chapter, our attention is on the evolution/development of Nigeria's foreign policy under various regimes since 1960.

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[121].   See <u>The Daily Star,</u> Saturday, 6 April 2002, p. 5.

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THE EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY THROUGH VARIOUS REGIMES 1960 - 2006

The foreign policy of states evolve and develop over-time and with regimes. The evolution of Nigeria's foreign policy and interaction with the outside world dates back to the colonial period (1914 – September 30, 1960). More significantly, the study of the evolution and development of a country's foreign policy enables a researcher and consumers of research effort to understand the various events that have occurred and shaped a country's foreign policy.

Like any other African country, the evolution and development of Nigeria's foreign policy moved gradually from independence to post-independence periods. This sub - section is devoted to the examination and analysis of the evolution and development of Nigeria's foreign policy since October 1960.

4.1   THE INDEPENDENCE AND POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIODS

It should be stated at the onset that the independence and post-independence periods witnessed the emergence of the First Republic (1 October 1960 – 15 February1966), the First phase of Military Rule (15 February 1966 – October 1979), the Second Republic (October 1979 – 31 December 1983), the Second Phase of Military Rule (31 December 1983– 28 May 1999) and the Fourth Republic (29 May 1999 - ??). We begin with the Balewa Era.

The Balewa Era (1960 –1966 and The First Republic)

Nigeria's foreign policy under the Balewa administration during the First Republic (1960 – 1966) was characterized by moderate, conservative and pro-West/pro-British policies. In addition, it was characterized by caution.   The

contention that Nigeria's foreign policy during the Balewa era was low-keyed and 'conservative' was based, to a large extent, on the Prime Minister's personal traits. Observers of his administration have variously described him as a calm and moderate man with a knack for compromise; his personality being more calculated to placate than to provoke[1]. According to Idang, the Prime Minister (Balewa) regarded all types of radicalism and militancy as immoral[2]. There is no doubt, Nigeria's foreign policy during the Balewa era was too cautious, conservative and pro-West. Hence, Billy Dudley asserted that the Balewa foreign policy between 1960 and 1966 was marked by caution and relative inactivity.

Besides, there were too many moral and religious undertones in Nigeria's foreign policy from 1960 – 1966. Nigerian Prime Minister (Tafawa Balewa) frequently made references to interference in the internal affairs of other states and the need for international peace and morality. By favouring the policy of status-quo, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa always insisted that African boundaries, though artificial, should be respected and in the interest of peace must remain the recognized boundaries until such a time as the peoples concerned decide at their own free will to change them or merge into one unit[3]. In effect, therefore, the Balewa administration did not support revisionist approach to African boundaries.

During the Balewa administration, Nigeria was instrumental to the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU now African Union). In fact, the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, played excellent role in the search for continental unity. His efforts and those of other patriotic African leaders like the late

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[1]. See Gordon J. Idang, Op. cit., pp. 51 – 55.
[2]. Ibid.
[3]. See F. O. Adeyemo, Op. cit., p. 238

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Emperor Haile Sellassie of Ethiopia led to the formation of OAU on May 25, 1963. In addition, the Balewa administration spear-headed the expulsion of racist South Africa from the Commonwealth and World Olympic Games. More importantly, Nigeria severed diplomatic relations with France following the latter's atomic bomb test in Sahara desert. Prime Minister Balewa single handedly made clear the opposition of Africa against French atomic explosion in the Sahara in the 1960s. Also the Balewa regime convened the first Commonwealth Heads of State and Government Conference outside London in Lagos in December 1965 to deal with the Ian Smith Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in Rhodesia. More importantly, whenever Nigeria spoke during Balewa's regime, Nigeria was listened to with respect in the comity of nations. Other external issues that dominated Nigeria's foreign policy under the Balewa administration were the Congo crisis, which was the first foreign policy issue that faced the Balewa government, the Rhodesian crisis and the Anglo-Nigerian Defence Pact. In the outline of the Draft Defence Pact/Agreement initialed in London in 1958, express provision for the leasing of a base to Britain in the following terms was made: Nigeria to lease to the U.K. (on terms to be agreed) – (a) a piece of land at Kano (of up to 150 acres) on which the U.K. may construct facilities and station personnel for staging purposes and (b) on application by U.K. a piece of land large enough (about 1,000 acres) for the construction and operation of an airfield and staging post if, for any reason, Kano became unsuitable. Under the defence Pact, contingents and detachments of British military naval and air forces on Nigerian soil and territorial waters could be

stationed anywhere in the country without let or hindrance [4] whatsoever.

Concerning the Anglo-Nigerian Defence Pact, the Balewa government did not see the Pact of 1960/62 as being incompatible with the policy of non-alignment. When the Pact was being proposed in 1958, it was conceived as an anti-communist weapon[5]. As a result of opposition from pressure / interest groups, especially Nigerian University Students Union, the Balewa regime was compelled to abrogate the Pact in January 1962.

The Balewa administration was hostile to the communist or East European countries. While the Balewa government placed no limits on the diplomatic staff of the British High Commission and the US Embassy in Lagos, the Staff of the Soviet Embassy in Lagos was limited to only ten. Communist literature and its sale or circulation was banned in Nigeria while the Balewa government rejected grants and scholarships offered by East European countries. The movements of their diplomats were monitored all over Nigeria.   Thus, Balewa regime neglected Nigeria's national interest and it did not even consider recognizing mainland China[6].

In spite of Nigeria's policy of non-alignment, the Balewa government remained very close to Western Powers, especially Britain and the United States of America.   Prime Minister Balewa could hardly take any major foreign policy decisions without first consulting the British government. Concerning the pursuit of world peace and security, Nigeria's foreign policy did not have any impact on the Arab-Israeli conflict and political instability in the Middle East sub-region.

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4. See Sunday Tribune, No.1440, 29 August, 2004, p.4.
5. See Olajide Aluko, Op.cit., p. 172
6 . See Olajide Aluko, Op.cit., p. 172

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Nonetheless, the Balewa regime granted diplomatic recognition to both the State of Israel and PLO representatives in Nigeria. It also established diplomatic relations at Ambassadorial level with the Jewish State. This allowed Nigeria to relate with both the Arabs and Israelis.

In summary, the Balewa regime played a moderate but vital role in continental affairs. Indeed, it has been suggested that one of the greatest achievements of the Balewa administration was in the area of African affairs. Nonetheless, ardent critics of the Balewa administration disagreed with this assertion. If, however, the Balewa government had not performed as expected, it was because the Federal Government of Nigeria under Prime Minister Balewa did not possess the resources that subsequently became available to the military regimes to pursue a vigorous, dynamic and assertive foreign policy. While it is logical to praise the Balewa government for the important role it played in peace-keeping operations and the discussion or conferences that led to the establishment of OAU on May 25, 1963, the policy response of the Balewa government in terms of concrete measures against decolonization and eradication of colonialism in Africa fell short of expectation.

The civilian and parliamentary system of government led by Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was terminated on January 15, 1966 as a result of a bloody military coup d'etat executed by military officers of Majors in rank in the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The remote and immediate causes of political instability in Western region of the country were clear evidences of rigging and other electoral malpractices found in the December 1964 and October 1965 elections

conducted in the Region. The victims of the elections, rather than seek redress in the law courts, decided to take the law into their own hands. Consequently, there was widespread looting, burning of houses and killing/roasting of people in various parts of the then Western Region of Nigeria. The combined efforts of the Police and the Army could not bring the situation in the Region under control. In effect, therefore, there was lawlessness and anarchy in various parts of Western Region. It was as a result of these ugly events which compelled the Armed Forces to take over the reins of government on January 15, 1966. This led to the collapse of the First Republic and the Balewa administration. The military coup led to the first phase of military rule in Nigerian politics (15 January 1966-30 September 1979). After a brief period of uncertainty, Major Nzeogwu surrendered to Major-General Johnson Thomas Aguiyi Ironsi who declared himself Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

The Ironsi Regime (15 January 1966 – 28 July 1966 and The First Phase of Military Rule)

On assumption of office, the Ironsi administration introduced a unitary system of government which did not gain support in some parts of the country[7]. The Unification Decree of May 1966 aimed at abolishing federalism in Nigeria and establishing a unified civil service simply confirmed the fears of the federalists. Even before the decree was promulgated, the Northerners (northern elite) had organized politicians and military men to overthrow the Ironsi regime. In a counter-coup on July 29, 1966, General John T.U. Aguiyi-Ironsi was killed along with Col.

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[7] . See F. O. Adeyemo, <u>Dynamics of Nigeria's Foreign Policy 1993 – 1998</u>, (Beirut), 2002, p. 113)

Francis Adekunle Fajuyi who was then the Military Governor of Western Region of Nigeria. This was followed by anti-Igbo riots and pogroms in the North. This led to serious implications which will be discussed very shortly. In spite of domestic (or internal) problems especially political instability, General Ironsi declared that Nigeria would continue to maintain existing cordial relations with other nation-states. He also assured all friendly states that his administration's foreign policy would continue to be based on non-alignment, good neighborliness and active participation in world affairs.

In summary, the Ironsi regime was 'short-lived' (January 15, 1966 – July 28, 1966). It was pre-occupied with domestic problems. As a result, it made no significant impact on Nigeria's foreign policy and external relations. Thus, it can be said that the Ironsi government essentially maintained the foreign policy put in place by the Balewa government.[7a] The Ironsi regime was overthrown in a military counter-coup executed mainly by Northern soldiers in the Nigerian Army on July 29, 1966. The coup was led by Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon who, like Major-General Ironsi, declared himself Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

The Gowon Era (29 July 1966 – 27 July 1975)

As a result of Northern counter-coup on 29 July 1966, personality clashes between Ojukwu and Gowon, anti-Igbo riots and pogroms in the North, the Eastern

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7(a)   In connection with the external affairs of the country, Major General Aguyi Ironsi on January 16, 1966 declared to all and sundry that his administration would continue to maintain the existing diplomatic relations with other countries and that it would honour all treaty obligations as well as financial agreements entered with by the previous Government (i.e. the Balewa administration). See <u>The Nation</u>, 30 September 2007, p. 16.

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Region decided to secede from the rest of the federation of Nigeria. The attempt to secede was resisted by the Gowon administration. The emergence of the Gowon administration coincided with the outbreak of June 1967 Arab-Israeli War and the Nigerian Civil War (July 1967 – January 1970), which had profound influence on Nigeria's foreign policy and external relations. In other words, it has several external implications. Firstly, the lessons and experiences of the war led to a swift re-adjustment of the country's external relations during the late sixties. One of the lessons of the civil war was the need not only to have friendly governments in the neighbouring countries but also to ensure that such governments are not replaced or overthrown by forces hostile to Nigeria. These lessons and experiences led the Nigerian government to place greater emphasis on its relationships with its immediate neighbouring states with a view to safeguarding the country's security[8]. In this connection, the Civil War enabled Nigerian decision-makers to realize the need to adopt and pursue the policy of 'good neighbourliness'.

Secondly, the moral and material support which the secessionists received from the white supremacist regimes in southern Africa compelled Nigeria to change her moderate approach to the question of colonialism, racism/apartheid in southern Africa. From 1968 to April 1994 when racism/apartheid collapsed in South Africa, Nigeria became more militant and vocal in the denunciation of colonialism in southern Africa but not in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Middle East). Indeed, Nigerian foreign policy decision-makers realized that the existence of apartheid and

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[8] . See Olajide Aluko, Op.cit, p. 185

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colonialism in southern Africa constituted a serious threat to the independence and territorial integrity of Nigeria. Consequently, the Federal Government of Nigeria had no choice than to commit itself to the struggle against racial segregation and oppression in southern Africa, especially in Namibia and South Africa. After the Civil War, Nigeria consistently demonstrated her hostilities towards the former racist South Africa in all international fora.

Thirdly, the experience of the Nigerian Civil War led to some changes in Nigeria's attitude to the Great Powers, most especially Britain, the United States of America, France and the former Soviet Union. The refusal of the American government to give license to the Federal Military Government to buy needed arms and ammunition was strongly condemned. Indeed, the American attitude was seen in Lagos (then Federal Capital of Nigeria) as an indirect support for the secessionists. Similarly, Britain's decision to remain neutral at the beginning of Nigerian/Biafran hostilities in July 1967 was incomprehensible in Nigeria. Even more perturbing was the British government's refusal to sell military aircraft, bombs and heavy guns until after an agreement had been reached with the former Soviet Union on 2 August, 1967 to supply Nigeria with military planes and bombs. As a result, Nigeria became Moscow's number one partner on the African continent.

France did not remain neutral during the Civil War. However it did not accord open diplomatic recognition to 'Republic of Biafra.' From early 1968 till the end of the War, France gave the secessionists or Biafrans moral and material support as well as encouraged some of her former colonies to accord diplomatic recognition to the 'Republic of Biafra'. In contrast to the United States of America and Britain, the

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former Soviet Union quickly entered into an agreement with Nigeria in early August 1967. As a result, jet fighters, bombs and heavy guns were sold to Nigeria.   Given the solid support received from communist governments in Eastern Europe during the Civil War, the Nigerian leaders and the Federal Government had little choice but to continue to expand Nigeria's relations with them[9].

Put simply, during the Nigerian civil war, July 1967- January 1970) the Soviet Union (now Russia) supported the federal government right from the onset of the conflict or civil war. Russia's ally i.e. Egypt, for reasons arising from being an Islamic country and a surrogate of the Soviet Union sent pilots to fly Soviet supplied MIG fighters on the Federal side. With the Soviet Russia on the side of Nigeria, the United States under President Richard Nixon (1913-1994) and 37th President of the United States reacted in cold war reflex action by opposing the Federal side covertly. But for British pressure, the cold war would have drawn America openly into the conflict. For their own strategic reason, South Africa, Rhodesia (now Zimbwe), Portugal, France and Israel were on the side of the Biafran rebellion. France had always seen Nigeria as a competitor for influence in West Africa. France also did not forget the diplomatic slight of Nigeria's expulsion of her Ambassador over the French testing of atomic bombs in the Sahara Desert. General Charles Andre Joseph Maria de Gaulle (1890-1970) who was the President of the French Republic and for some curious reasons had a phobia for English speaking world and was not averse to cutting to size the influence of the

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[9] . See F. O. Adeyemo, <u>Dynamics of Nigeria's Foreign Policy, 1993 – 1998,</u> Zeidan Printing Press, Beirut (Lebanon), 2002, p. 82

Anglophone Commonwealth. South Africa obviously saw an opportunity to harm Nigeria which since 1960 had championed the anti-apartheid cause in the United Nations and in Africa. In Britain, Harold Wilson (1916-1994) the British Prime Minister, in spite of anti-Nigeria public opinion in England, was able to bring the British government behind Nigeria. Rhodesia and Portugal were fighting for their political lives because removing Nigeria from the liberation movements' supporters would ease the tension in their territories. Besides. Nigeria was concerned or worried about the action of her immediate neighbours namely. Equatorial Guinea in the South, Benin Republic in the West. Niger Republic in the North and Chad, as well as Cameroon Republics in the West. They were steadfast in their support for Nigeria. At the end of the Nigerian Civil War, Nigeria moved swiftly from over dependence on the West to a balanced relationship with the Soviet Union (now Russia) and the Eastern bloc. Indeed, the end of the Nigerian Civil War witnessed Soviet Russia's involvement in the economy of Nigeria particularly in the building of the unending Ajaokuta Iron and Steel Complex (in Kogi State)

Furthermore, the Nigerian Civil War had serious financial implications on the economy of Nigeria, even though it fought the War without external borrowing. In this respect, a colossal sum of money was spent in prosecuting the war which had two fundamental goals: (i) to win the war and (ii) to win the peace that would follow at all cost.   One of the potent means of winning the peace was to correct the economic ills such as excruciating poverty, hunger, diseases, squalor and ignorance in the Nigerian society. Indeed, the economic ills mentioned herein appear to be the causes of rebellion and violent discontent in Nigeria today. Also

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the fact that Nigeria was able to finance the Nigerian Civil War without resorting to external borrowing convinced Nigerian policy-makers that they can (or could) pursue some of their declared foreign policy objectives without sacrificing the country's national interests.

Lastly, the Nigerian Civil War compelled Nigeria to adopt and pursue with vigour the policy of non-alignment. The willingness (or readiness) of the former Soviet Union to assist Nigeria helped to convince Nigerian decision-makers that they could seek and accept economic and technical aid from the Eastern Europe led by the moribund Soviet Union without endangering Nigeria's national interests. Indeed, the Civil War was an important landmark in Nigeria's external relations. More importantly, it coincided with the beginning of the oil boom/period in Nigerian economy. Consequently, Lt. Col. (later General) Yakubu Gowon as Head of State was able to concentrate Nigeria's resources to prosecuting the Nigerian Civil War because of his determination to keep Nigeria united. Despite the Civil War, the Gowon administration gave priority attention to Nigeria's immediate neighbours. In this regard, Nigeria began to pursue a policy of good neighbourliness. In effect, Nigeria and Togo Republic were able to spear-head the formation of ECOWAS. In other words, the Gowon administration's desire for sub-regional integration ultimately led to the birth of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in May 1975. Indeed, Generals Gowon of Nigeria and Eyadema of Togo Republic co-operated in establishing ECOWAS in May 1975. Besides, the Gowon administration offered economic aid and technical assistance to a number of West African States. It also constructed roads and bridges for the Republic of

Benin. More importantly, it engaged in joint-venture partnership with Benin Republic. Examples include the Sugar Factory at Save and Cement Factory at Onigbolo town (both in Benin Republic.

Apart from the policy of 'good neighbourliness towards Nigeria's immediate neighbours, the Gowon administration adopted a policy of "rapprochement"[10] with five African countries namely: Zambia, Tanzania, Gabon, racist South Africa and Ivory Coast (now Cote d'Ivoire) which supported and recognized the "Republic of Biafra". In addition, the Gowon administration worked hard for a united and common African negotiation with Europe on economic and trade matters and its efforts led to the ACP/EEC Agreements later known as the Lome convention. Enormous crude oil or petroleum during the Gowon administration strengthened Nigeria's foreign reserve. As a result of adequate funds and resources, Nigeria began to play effective role in African affairs.

During the Gowon administration, Nigeria pursued positive non-alignment policy. This was manifested in a number of ways such as the visit of General Gowon as Head of State to Communist China in 1972. Shortly after the Civil War, General Gowon paid a state visit to the Soviet Union and thanked the Soviets for their timely assistance in prosecuting and ending the war in Nigeria's favour. Political commentators and analysts have praised the Gowon administration for initiating the establishment of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) along with President Eyadema of Togo Republic in May 1975. It is,

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[10] . "Rapprochement" is a diplomatic concept which refers to the establishment of a good relationship between two countries or groups of people after a period of unfriendly relations. In this regard, see LONGMAN Dictionary of Contemporary English, Third Edition, Longman Group Ltd., Essex (England), 1995, p. 1169.

however, a matter of deep regret that on most important issues such as colonialism and apartheid confronting Africa then, the weight of Nigeria was not adequately felt like it ought to have been. This is perhaps why the era of Balewa up to Gowon has been referred to as an era of inadequate initiative and positive action.

It is important to bear in mind that the oil boom and Nigeria's entry into OPEC in 1971 increased the country's role in the international system. It also assisted in the opening of new foreign missions for Nigeria. Indeed, Nigeria was fully ready or prepared to play a dynamic role in her external relations. But this did not just happen. The change in Nigeria's international status occurred because of the country's oil wealth which came following the outbreak of the October 1973 Arab-Israeli War. In this regard, Otubanjo declared:

> *At the time of the Yom Kippur war, she did not have any design, nor indeed, the potentials for a center-stage role in the politics of the world. Her vista was, as in the decades before, substantially occupied by African and regional issues. She was at the time in the midst of a programme of post war of an active role in the international system. But once the enormous size of the oil wealth and the opportunity it contained were apprehended, Nigeria began tentative steps towards actualizing the potential not only for leadership in African politics, but also for the major role in the international system which had been ascribed to her even before the events of October 1973[11] Arab-Israeli War.*

In the Middle East, the Gowon administration continued to support the UN efforts and Resolutions aimed at bringing about peace to the sub-region especially after the 1973 War. During the war, the State of Israel defeated the Arabs militarily,

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[11] . See Otunbanjo, "Introduction: Phases and Changes in Nigeria's Foreign Policy" in A. B. Akinyemi,   S. Agbi and A. Otubanjo, <u>Nigeria Since Independence: The First 25 years.</u>   Vol. X, Heinemann   Educational Books Ltd., Ibadan, 1989, p. 2

violated Egypt's territorial integrity and occupied Arab territories. In effect, Nigeria, like many other African countries, severed diplomatic relations with Israel in 1973. Nigeria, as OAU Chairman in 1973, was perhaps interested in playing a neutral role, but the majority of OAU member States supported (or favoured) Egypt's request for total boycott of Israel. Nigeria, therefore, had to severe diplomatic relations with the Jewish State in consonance with the OAU's (now AU's) position.

By 1975, the mood of the majority of Nigerians toward the Gowon regime began to change. Thus, it did not receive the desired domestic support because of Gowon's insensitivity to the true feelings and yearnings of the people as well as the postponement of the return to civil rule which alienated him from the people especially the Nigerian politicians who were ready and anxious to start "their business" after several years of military rule.   The overthrow of the Gowon administration on 29 July, 1975 did not come as a surprise to many. It, therefore, ushered in a new administration led by General Murtala Mohammed.

The Muritala/Obasanjo Era (29 July 1975 –30 September 1979)

Nigeria witnessed its third military coup on 29 July 1975 and it was led by General Murtala Mohammed whose courage and patriotism as well as the 'oil boom' created favourable condition for the pursuit of Nigeria's dynamic foreign policy. In this connection, Nigeria was poised to play a leadership role in Africa and Angola provided the first opportunity to play that role of big African brother. Nigeria, Cuba and the former Soviet Union successfully challenged the United States of America and her Western allies notably the United Kingdom and West Germany over Angola.

On January 11, 1976, General Murtala Mohammed delivered his famous and historic speech titled "Africa Has Come of Age" in which he declared:

> *Africa has come of age. It is no longer in the orbit of any continental power. It should no longer take orders from any country, however powerful. The fortunes of Africa are in our hands to make or mar[12].*

When the South African troops moved into Angola to support the Western backed UNITA/FLNA forces in August 1975, Murtala Mohammed swiftly recognized and supported the MPLA faction as the legitimate government of Angola[13].

Thereafter, Nigeria gave massive material and military support for the MPLA government in Angola. Also Nigeria increased her diplomatic, moral and material support to the liberation movements such as African National Congress (ANC), Pan-African Congress (PAC) and South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO). The Federal Government of Nigeria further set up the Southern African Relief Fund (SARF), which enabled patriotic Nigerians to contribute their quota to the liberation struggle in southern Africa[14]. The proceeds were used in buying blankets, clothes and other materials for the victims of racism/apartheid and colonialism in southern Africa. In addition, the Murtala/Obasanjo administration vigorously supported armed liberation struggle in southern Africa, especially in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Without any doubt, Nigeria's activist foreign policy towards southern Africa during the Murtala/Obasanjo

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[12]. See Speech Delivered by General Murtala Mohammed at the Extraordinary Session of OAU in Addis-Ababa in January 1976 and quoted in an address by J. N. Garba, Commissioner for External Affairs at the University of Ife on "The New Nigerian Foreign Policy in Nigeria Bulletin on Foreign Affairs, No. 6, Vol. 2, December 1976, p. 4

[13] See Joy U. Ogwu, Op.cit. p. 54

[14]. See F. O. Adeyemo, Op.cit, p. 116

era was one of the high points of the effort by Nigeria to carve for herself a credible and respectable role in African affairs. Nigeria's effort in the southern African liberation struggle resulted in her admission into the honourary membership of the "frontline states".

After ruling for less than seven months, General Murtala Mohammed lost his life in an abortive military coup d'etat executed on February 13, 1976. General Olusegun Obasanjo (Murtala's second in command) became the Head of State (14 February 1976). He promised to continue with his immediate predecessor's dynamic foreign policy. In this regard, the Murtala / Obasanjo government set up the Adedeji Panel on foreign policy review. From the recommendations in the Report submitted by the Panel, the Federal Government announced new foreign policy objectives as follows:

(i)   the defence of Nigeria's sovereignty and territorial integrity,

(ii)   the creation of the necessary political and economic conditions in Africa and the world that will facilitate the defence of the independence and territorial integrity of all African countries while fostering national self-reliance and rapid economic development,

(iii)   promotion of equality and self-reliance in Africa and the rest of the developing world,

(iv)   promotion and defence of justice and respect for human dignity especially of the black man, and the defence and promotion of world peace[15]

With the above-stated objectives, the Murtala/Obasanjo regime declared Africa as the center-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy. The regime pursued dynamic foreign policy as noted by Otubanjo.

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15.   See F. O. Adeyemo, "National Interest and Nigeria's Foreign Policy Objectives', in Nigerian Forum,   November/December 1988, vol. 8, Nos 11 & 12, p. 275

The Murtala/Obasanjo regime pursued a foreign policy which was aggressively African in its purpose. It was a policy which brought Nigeria to the forefront of African politics and earned her universal acknowledgement and widespread approval. Running through its foreign policy was the desire not only for the total liberation of Africa from the colonial and racist yoke but equally important, the genuine independence and economic solvency of all African States[16].

In August 1979, the Murtala/Obasanjo administration nationalized the assets of British Petroleum (B.P.) now known as African Petroleum (A.P.) when the Company was caught exporting oil to racist South Africa in breach of UN and OAU sanctions. This was done in order to quicken the decolonization of Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Nigeria's timely decision compelled Britain to hasten the independence of Southern Rhodesia.

Murtala/Obasanjo administration's approach to the communist involvement (on Africa's side) was realist in orientation. General Obasanjo did not view as immoral the communist involvement in southern Africa. For example, he (General Obasanjo) justified the Cuban involvement in Angola in precisely this way:

> *…We are aware, Mr. Chairman, of the West's concern at what they consider to be Soviet and Cuban intervention in Africa. Our own assessment is that considering the peculiarities of our social systems, no African country is about to embrace communism wholesome any more than we are willing to embrace capitalism. To the extent that any African country can be considered by the West to have "gone communist", it was as a direct result of the failure of Western policies. The fact of the matter is that Africa was colonized by Western powers and not the Soviets. In the struggle for independence and freedom, the only course of effective support was the Eastern bloc countries. The Soviets were therefore invited into Africa for a purpose and that purpose was to liberate the countries to which they were invited from centuries of cruelty, degradation,*

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16.   See O. Otubanjo, Nigeria since Independence: The First 25 Years, vol. X, Heinemann, Ibadan, p. 6

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oppression and exploitation. Unless we wish an undesirable situation to remain in Africa and recent manoeurvres in Europe and America strengthen our suspicion. In this respect, we should not be over concerned by the presence of those we invited to fight for specific causes and no more. The Cubans are, of course, much of a new comer to Africa. Their presence has the same background as the Soviets. In every case where Cuba's intervention was established, they intervened as a consequence of failure of Western policies and on behalf of legitimate African interests; we have no right to condemn the Cubans nor the countries which felt they needed Cuban assistance to consolidate their sovereignty or territorial integrity[17].

Implicit in General Obasanjo's address or speech as quoted above was the recognition of the Cuban role in the liberation struggle in southern Africa. He, however, admonished that the Cubans should not overstay their welcome. Hence he said:

…I should like to say that having been invited to Africa in order to assist in the liberation struggle and the consolidation of national independence; they should not over-stay their welcome[18].

Although previous regimes have declared Africa as the centre piece of Nigeria's foreign policy, the Murtala/Obasanjo administration found time to address the Arab-Israeli conflict. Even before the Camp David Accords, the stand of the Obasanjo Government over the Arab- Israeli conflict was clear as indicated in address to the 14th OAU Summit in 1977. Speaking on the Middle East, General Obasanjo said:

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17. See, Lt. General Olusegun Obasanjo's Address at the 15th Ordinary Session of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government held in Khartoun (Sudan), Federal Ministry of Information Release, No 992 and 993, Lagos, 19 July, 1978, pp. 9-10.
18. Ibid.

… while we demand for freedom, justice and equity for our brothers in Southern Africa … let us not forget the just struggle for the Palestinian people and the government and people of the Arab Republic of Egypt, a sister OAU State, whose land continues to be occupied by Israel, despite repeated calls by international community for withdrawal from these occupied lands. Nigeria will continue with this support and look forward to the day when Palestinians will have a homeland of their own and to the day when Egypt will have all her territory back. Any Conference or solution that does not take full cognizance of the realities of the situation will not lead to a permanent peace in the Middle East.[19]

Again, in an extra-ordinary session of OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government held in Monrovia (Liberia) in 1979, General Obasanjo said:

Even though Nigeria had noted the events leading to the Camp David Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, we are convinced that the core problem in the Middle East crisis (that is, the Palestinian question) remains unresolved. This issue cannot be ignored for too long. It is our belief that to provide permanent and acceptable solution, any decision on the future development for the homeless Palestinians must fully reflect the expressed wishes and aspiration of the Palestinians themselves.[20]

In summary, under the Murtala / Obasanjo administration, Nigeria pursued dynamic foreign policy which led to Nigeria's recognition of the MPLA government in Angola. Nigeria's timely recognition of Augustino Neto's MPLA occurred at a time when racist South Africa and the USA supported UNITA and FLNA forces against the MPLA. Indeed the peremptory recognition of the popular Movement of the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was a successful policy that contributed to the re-ordering of negotiations that paved the way for Zimbabwe's independence. Lastly,

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19. See Birai U.M., <u>Domestic Constraints on Foreign Policy: The Role of Religion in Nigeria-Israel Relations 1960-1996</u>, Shab Press, Kaduna, 1996, pp. 103-104.
20. . Ibid.

"Africa as a center-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy" was conceptualized during the Murtala/Obasanjo regime, although scholars like Professor Ibrahim A. Gambari have stated that it was not completely new and that as early as August 1960, Prime-Minister Balewa informed Nigerian Parliament and the nation that his government policy would be clear and practical towards Africa-the continent of our birth[21]. As a result of his commitment to democracy, General Obasanjo handed over power to a democratically elected government led by Alhaji Shehu Shagari. General Obasanjo, therefore, became the first African military ruler to surrender and hand-over political power to a democratically elected government on October 1, 1979. The surrender of political power to civilian administration ended the first phase of military rule in Nigeria.

It must be noted, however, that the emergence of the Murtala/Obasanjo regime changed the pendulum of Nigeria's complacency on foreign policy issues for serious activism and dynamism. One important area that earned the Murtala / Obasanjo regime uniqueness was its attitude to a speedy process of decolonisation and the elimination of apartheid which the government embarked upon. Its effective utilization of human and material resources in promoting the drive to end colonialism and apartheid earned Nigeria the status of the "front-line state", even though geo-political distant from Southern Africa. It is within this context, therefore, that the Murtala/Obasanjo regime could be praised. Besides, the Murtala/Obasanjo regime promised a return to civilian rule by 1979 and never-waivered from that position.

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21.   Ibid.

The Shagari Era (The Second Republic, (1 October 1979-31 December 1983)

After the resolution of the controversial legal interpretation of $12^2/_3$ of 19 States of the Federation of Nigeria by the Supreme Court, Alhaji Shehu Shagari was sworn in as the democratically elected Executive President on October 1, 1979 after 13 years of uninterrupted military rule in Nigeria. The Murtala/Obasanjo regime left sound economic resources for its immediate successor. Regrettably, the Shagari administration (October 1, 1979 – December 31, 1983) failed to pursue dynamic and purposeful foreign policy which it inherited from Murtala/Obasanjo regime. This was due to internal problems and the oil glut as well as world economic recession[22].

With sharp decline in world oil demand, corruption and economic mismanagement, the budgetary and long-term economic plans of the Shagari administration suffered reversals. Consequently, strict remedial measures were announced including the reduction of travel allowance for all categories of citizens and a reduction of imports. Besides, the Federal government led by President Shehu Shagari was forced to apply for IMF/World Bank loan. Negotiations had not reached an advanced stage before Shagari's government was overthrown. The fragile domestic environment of the first years of independence re-surfaced not only undermining Nigeria's ability to act assertively in its external relations or interactions but also compelling it to divert attention to the domestic arena. In effect, Nigeria which has been distinguished by its successes in the international arena began to

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22. See F. O. Adeyemo, <u>Government Made Simple,</u> p. 240.

lose its credibility[23]. Some of Nigeria's neighbouring countries had scant respect, if not outright contempt, for Nigerians and their country. During Shagari's era, the Federal Government expelled African nationals described as illegal aliens from Nigeria. Shagari's action generated bad blood in ECOWAS. Under President Shagari, Nigeria's foreign policy lacked initiative, direction and innovation. In this regard, Professor Otubanjo asserts:

> *Nigeria's foreign policy remained at the level of routine observance of existing relations and obligations. In no area of foreign policy was there innovation nor a more urgent approach than had previously existed. Even in the matter of the Lagos Plan of Action of 1980 which emphasized the need to focus on the economic problems of Africa, the Shagari regime was not able to provide initiative or leadership. The four years of his regime were, therefore, a period of recess for Nigeria's foreign policy. It was characterized by the slowing down of the tempo and the substantial dismantling of the role expectation which the previous regime had instituted. The performance meter of foreign policy outputs oscillated steadily between the indifferent and incompetent. The incompetent and lack-lustre foreign policy was only surpassed by the level of ineptitude in political and economic management at the domestic level[24].*

Although it retained the idea of the 'African-centredness', the Shagari administration did not practicalize it in Nigeria's foreign policy. In this respect, the Shagari regime failed to take a position on the recognition of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) because it did not want to offend Morocco which had laid claim to the territory since the Spanish colonialists left it in l975. Besides, the Shagari administration consistently anchored the justification of continued diplomatic isolation of Israel on the OAU decision which was taken unanimously by all African states.

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23. See Joy U. Ogwu, op.cit., p.36
24. See O. Otubanjo, Op.cit, pp. 104-105.

In summary, Nigeria's foreign policy under the Shagari administration was perceived as vague, poorly articulated, lacking vigour and direction. Indeed, Nigeria's foreign policy was characterized by lack of dynamism despite the fact that it inherited buoyant economy and purposeful foreign policy from the Murtala/Obasanjo administration. Nonetheless, the hosting of the first OAU Economic summit which led to the Lagos Plan of Action in April 1981 deserved praise. The Shagari administration was over-thrown in a military coup d'etat on December 31, 1983 thereby terminating Nigeria's Second Republic.

The Buhari/Idiagbon Era (The Fourth Military Rule, 31 December 1983 – 27 August 1985)

On coming to power on December 31, 1983, General Muhammadu Buhari, as Head of State, declared that his administration was an off-shoot of the Murtala/Obasanjo administration. His declaration aroused the interest of Nigerians both within and outside Nigeria. It also gave him domestic and global support. Thus from the onset, the Buhari/Idiagbon gave clear direction to Nigeria's foreign policy. As observed by Gambari:

> *On coming to power, General Buhari's administration strove to give clearer form to the country's foreign policy orientation. Africa was to constitute the area of primary concern to us. It was also emphasized that Nigeria's national security and economic well being would constitute the axis around which revolves our foreign policy. As the year 1984 ended, and the following year professed, the meaning of this declaration became clearer. The old concept of Africa being the center-piece of our foreign policy was, under General Buhari, giving way to the new expressed in a clearly set out scale of priorities for our foreign policy endeavours. According to General Buhari, 'a pattern of concentric circles may be discernible in our attitude and response to foreign policy issues within the African continent and the world at large. At the epicenter of these circles are the national economic and security interest of the*

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Federal Republic of Nigeria, which are inextricably tied up with the security, stability, economic and social well-being of our immediate neighbours. One of our principal priorities is to put on a more constructive footing in relations with our neighbours with whom we share identical goals of regional stability and peace[25].

From the above, it can be stated that the West African sub-region comprising the 16 member states of ECOWAS constitutes the next important circle in Nigeria's external relations. This is followed by the circle of relations with individual countries and inter-governmental organizations in Africa and the rest of the world. The new policy was designed to enable the Federal Military Government of Nigeria address specific issues relating to national interests.

It was within the new policy framework under the Buhari/Idiagbon regime that Nigeria has worked for closer co-operation with her neighbours while promoting the long-term objectives of ECOWAS. Despite this, there were serious diplomatic rupture caused by the closure of Nigeria's land borders and the mass expulsion of illegal aliens between Nigeria and her Western as well as Northern neighbours. Prolonged border closure and expulsion of illegal aliens had severe and adverse effects on the economies of Nigeria's immediate neighbours. Unlike the Shagari administration, the Buhari/Idiagbon regime recognized Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic against the objections of Morocco and its supporters and helped to save the 20th Summit of the OAU from imminent collapse while shifting the focus of the

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[25]. See Ibrahim A. Gambari, "Concepts and Conceptualization in Nigeria's foreign policy, Op.cit., p. 75

organization towards serious economic and social issues/crises facing the continent of Africa. Under the Buhari/Idiagbon regime, Nigeria sought to re-establish her credentials as a "Frontline State" in the struggle for the liberation or freedom of Namibia and the elimination of apartheid/racial segregation policy in South Africa.

As a result, extra-African countries began to take Nigeria more seriously than in the past. Also, Nigeria's relationship with the Great Powers was on the whole positive, except perhaps Britain. There was diplomatic row between London and Lagos over the expulsion of two British diplomats in Lagos following the expulsion of two Nigerian diplomats in London apparently because of the 'Umaru Dikko diplomatic palaver. Dikko, who was a former Nigeria's Transport Minister, was found in a moderate crate which contained oxygen (O_2) by British government or immigration/customs officials. Nigeria's action really embarrassed the British government. The abduction of Dikko from his London residence nearly sundered Anglo-Nigeria relations.

In December 1984, General Buhari in his major foreign policy statement, took a hard look at the debate concerning restoration of relations between Nigeria and Israel and declared:

> *The Federal Military Government could not find no justification at present time for a restoration of Nigeria's diplomatic relations with Israel.*[26]

The Buhari regime believed that the Israel – South African connection (or factor) was relevant. He attacked Israeli policy that had strengthened South Africa's

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26. See Birai U.M., Op. Cit., p. 108.

regime and its destructive racial policy or activities. On the Middle East conflict in general, General Buhari further declared:

> *… While recognizing the right of the people of Israel to live within secure borders, we (Nigerians) cannot concede to Israel the right to deny the Palestinian people similar rights and continue to forcefully occupy Arab lands.[26(a)]*

In summary, tit-for-tat or vengeful considerations became the basis of conducting Nigeria's diplomacy under the Buhari/Idiagbon regime. Lastly, the Buhari regime introduced counter-trade (exchanging crude oil for essential imports) which is not novel in global politics but at that period, it appeared to be a new policy introduced in Nigeria's foreign policy. Otubanjo summarizes the performance of the Buhari/Idiagbon regime thus:

> *The foreign policy of the Buhari regime did not equal the Murtala/Obasanjo era in flourish, exuberance and effect, but nonetheless, it sought to march it. It could not be expected to do so, in view of the economic limitations under which it laboured. But it shared its clarity of vision as well as the sense of urgency and purpose.   There was an attempt to reconceptualise Nigeria's foreign policy in a way which would allow easy identification of the nation's structure of priorities. The concentric circles approach which the regime articulated did not have much effect before the regime was overthrown but in its twenty months, the regime had done enough to bring some measure of respect to Nigeria's foreign policy[27].*

He went to conclude that:

> *By the time the regime was overthrown on August 27, 1985, it had done enough to restore credibility to Nigeria's foreign policy and put her once again in the forefront of African international politics[28].*

26(a)   Ibid.
27.   See O. Otubanjo, Op.cit, p. 7
28.   Ibid

In essence, the regime rescued Nigeria's foreign policy from retrogression, indecision, incompetence and national disgrace. Despite this, the Buhari regime expelled illegal aliens and closed Nigeria's territorial borders which offended some of our neighbours like the Benin Republic. It must be noted that important issues which dominated the Buhari administration's foreign policy included border closure with Nigeria's immediate neighbours, expulsion of illegal aliens, change of Nigeria's currency, dramatic recognition of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic and diplomatic tit-for-tat with Britain (or U.K.) over the Dikko palaver/abduction.

The Babangida Era (27 August 1985 – 27 August 1993).

The Buhari regime was terminated after almost twenty months by a military team led by General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida. The overthrow of the Buhari / Idiagbon regime led to the emergence of the fifth military rule in Nigeria. In his maiden broadcast to the nation on taking over power on August 27, 1985, President Babangida criticized his immediate predecessor's foreign policy for not being dynamic enough. According to him, Nigeria's foreign policy, under Buhari administration, has been characterized by inconsistency and incoherence. It lacked clarity to make us know where we stood in matters of international concern to enable other countries relate to us with seriousness. Our external relations have been conducted by a policy of retaliatory reactions[29]. Hence, President Babangida declared:

> *African problems and their solutions shall constitute the premise of Nigeria's foreign policy. The realization of the OAU's Lagos Plan of Action for self-sufficiency and constructive co-operation in Africa shall be Nigeria's primary pursuit. The ECOWAS shall be strengthened with a view to achieving the organization's objective of sub-regional integration. The problems of the drought-stricken areas of Africa shall be given*

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priority attention. Nigeria's membership in the United Nations shall be made more practical and meaningful. Lastly, the call for a New International Economic Order which has lost its momentum in the face of debt crisis shall be reactivated[30].

Concerning the Middle East, General Babangida blamed the prevailing situation in the region on the failure of the international community to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict and then called on both the Israelis and the Palestinians to consider the peace options within the UN Resolution 242. In this regard, General Babangida as Military (Head of State or) President of Nigeria declared:

> *.... we in Nigeria are seriously concerned by the endless conflicts in the Middle East Sub-region. I refer particularly to the Arab-Israeli conflict…. We believe that the failure of the international community to find an acceptable solution to Arab-Israeli conflict is responsible for the tension in the area. We in Nigeria support the UN Resolution 242 which guarantees both the Israelis and the Palestinians their respective rights, and we call upon both sides to consider the peace options within UN Resolution 242.[31]*

At the All-Nigerian Conference on Nigeria's foreign policy held at Kuru, near Jos (Plateau State) in April 1986, President Babangida called for the 'creation of the necessary political and economic conditions in Africa which will secure the sovereignty, territorial integrity and national independence of all African countries and their total liberation from neo-colonialism, imperialism and all other forms of foreign domination.

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29. See Sam Oyovbaire and Tunji Olagunju (eds.), Foundation of a New Nigeria: The IBB Era, Precision   Press, Nigeria (No Year), p. 61

30. See F.O. Adeyemo, Dynamics of Nigeria's Foreign Policy 1993-1998, Zeidan Printing Press, 2002, p. 125.

31. See Birai U.M., Op. cit., p. 110.

At the inception of the Babangida administration in August 1985, the Nigerian economy, which depended almost completely on the export of crude oil for foreign exchange was in a very bad shape. Indeed, the economy showed signs of serious deterioration because of decline in the volume of crude oil exports and the worldwide economic recession which gave rise to glut in global market of crude oil. Simply put, during the Babangida era, the issue of economic development dominated Nigeria's foreign policy. Nigeria's economic regression, depression had telling effect on the people's social welfare, education, internal security and Nigeria's power position within the international system.

There was, therefore, the need for economic recovery programme. In this respect, the Babangida administration welcomed public debate on whether or not to accept IMF loan/credit facilities designed to achieve economic recovery. At the end of public debate on IMF, the Babangida administration adopted the controversial Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in preference to an IMF standby loan facility which was turned down by the Nigerian people because of the conditionalities attached to it by the IMF[31.(a)]. The SAP was adopted in 1986 as drastic measure to take Nigeria out of her economic difficulties. The need for SAP also arose because of the poor relationship between production and consumption (i.e. agriculture and industry)[32] as well as severe economic crisis, which nearly

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[31.(a)] The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is more than a mere credit agency. It bails nations out of their
short-term balance of payments difficulties. It sticks to a consistent pattern of prescription for all nations seeking its assistance. The IMF is essentially an international lending institution whose principal function is to make short-term loans to the members for balance of payments support. The IMF regards inflation as inimical to foreign trade and foreign investment which are what it is supposed to promote.

[32] . See Nigeria's Economic Diplomacy: The Ike Nwachukwu years, 1988 –1992, Op.cit, p. 44

brought national economy to the brink of collapse and encouraged dependence on importation of manufactured or finished goods from abroad. This further led to increasing demand for foreign consumer goods including food items such as rice. Importation of goods in large quantities encouraged high inflation and neglect of domestic production in agriculture, commerce and industry as well as construction/transportation. In addition, there was almost dependence on earnings from oil exports for boosting Federal government revenues and accumulation of foreign exchange reserves despite sharp fall in world oil prices.

In order to achieve the Structural Adjustment Programme's objectives, several strategies were adopted by the Babangida administration and these include, among other things, (i) liberation and de-regulation of fiscal and monetary policies through the Foreign Exchange Market (FEM), (ii) reduction of administrative controls and de-bureaucratisation of the economy and (iii) better debt management arrangement including debt conversion programme.

In addition to the strategies mentioned above, a new industrial policy was introduced in 1989 while a new trade and tourism policy came into being in 1990. The objectives of both policies were to attract foreign investment in export oriented industries with emphasis on development of local raw material contents and employment generation. In this connection, several incentives were put in place by the Babangida administration and these include:

(i)   fiscal and taxation measures such as pioneer status, tax relief for research and development, capital allowances and tax free dividends,

(ii)   others are export promotion incentives such as import duty drawback scheme, export licence waivers, export credit guarantee and insurance scheme, export development fund and capital allowances.[33] In order to attract more foreign technology and capital input into the economic process, the indigenisation laws or decrees were repealed in 1989 by the Babangida administration. The new industrial policy, therefore, opened up virtually all sectors of the Nigerian economy and further provided the framework for commercialization of some key industries or their outright public divestment.   Besides, the Raw Materials Research and Development Council (RMRDC) was established to encourage the development of local raw materials, while the Nigerian Export Promotion Council (NEPC) was re-organised to promote non-oil exports. Above all,

(iii)   the National Economic Reconstruction Fund (NERFUND) was set up to provide financing for small and medium scale industries[34].

 The inauguration of the Technical Aid Corps Scheme (TAC) for assisting needy African, Carribean and Latin American countries was also part of Babangida administration's foreign policy achievement. Since 1986, successive administrations continued to implement the scheme. Prior to the Babangida administration, Nigeria's foreign aid (mainly financial) to other African and black countries were largely uncoordinated but with the introduction of the TAC programme by Nigeria's External Affairs Minister, Professor A. B. Akinyemi, in 1987 a realistic and bold

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[33]. Ibid.
[34]. Ibid, p. 45

alternative to direct financial aid to recipient countries was achieved. The scheme has increased from just over 900 to 6,000 in 2007.

From its inception on 27 August 1985, the Babangida administration tried to improve Nigeria's image abroad. Through quiet and shuttle diplomacy, the Anglo-Nigerian relations, which was soured and strained as a result of the Dikko diplomatic palaver, was normalized. The exchange of visits between Lagos and London led to the re-appointment of High Commissioners by both countries.

In order to redress the confrontational attitude of its predecessors with Nigeria's neighbours, the Babangida administration launched a foreign policy which had the West African sub-region as its central focus. In a paper titled "Nigeria: The Next Ten Years and the External Relations View Point" Professor Bola Akinyemi who became the first External Affairs Minister and who initiated the idea of Concert of Medium Powers during the Babangida era said:

> *In seeking a functionally economically integrated West Africa within the next decade, Nigeria is prepared to pay any price and to bear any burden. The present administration has corrected Nigeria's aberrant insularity of the recent past when we pre-emptorily expelled illegal aliens in 1983 and 1984 and closed our land borders for unprecedented years between 1984 and 1986[35].*

Professor Akinyemi further said:

> *It should also be emphasized that ECOWAS is not merely an economic organization, but one which has major security implications. One of the best guarantees of Nigeria's security is the development of a friendly and co-operative relationship between us (Nigeria) and our neighbours[36]*

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[35]. See A. B. Akinyemi, <u>Nigeria: The Next Ten Years and External Relations View Point.</u>
[36]. <u>Ibid</u>

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He further urged that ECOWAS must pay greater attention to defence and security matters to safeguard the sub-region from external aggression and foreign intervention and to bring about the effective maintenance of a <u>Pax West Africana.</u>

Also, the Babangida administration tried to make the ideas of ECOWAS more reliable. In this connection, Lagos/Abuja was among the first authorities to launch the campaign for the establishment of ECOWAS Brown Card Scheme which seeks to protect third party liabilities. Under the Babangida administration, Nigeria re-opened her land borders which were closed for several months by its predecessor (the Buhari/Idiagbon regime). With the opening of her land borders, Nigeria's relations with her neighbours began to improve. President Babangida's state or official visit to neighbouring countries also contributed to good relations between Nigeria and her neighbours. Besides, Nigeria, under the Babangida administration, showed keen interest in finding solution to the Liberian crisis, Indeed, it got Nigeria deeply involved in the Liberian crises. Put differently, the Babangida administration projected Nigeria's power abroad especially in Liberia and Sierra-Leone (West Africa).

In his Press Briefing on the Imperatives of Nigerian Foreign Policy and the Crisis in Liberia[37], President Babangida said:

> *We have heard of the legality of ECOMOG. But those who raise this preposterous question are equally but indirectly questioning the legality of ECOWAS. The answer, therefore, to this rather ambiguous question lies in asking the fundamental question: Is ECOWAS legal? Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agency for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of*

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37. See <u>General IBB Press Briefing on The Imperatives of Nigerian Foreign Policy and the crisis in Liberia</u> at the press centre, Dodan Barracks, Lagos,pp.3-8

> *international peace and security.. The members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional agencies before referring them to the UN Security Council[38]*

In the same Briefing, he further declared:

> *For the thirty years of Nigeria's independence, certain specific imperatives have governed the conceptualization and conduct of Nigerian foreign policy. Although emphasis may have been placed here and there as may be dictated by the circumstances of times, and styles of leadership may differ, the real substance of our foreign policy objectives has tended to revolve around those principles to which we hold tenaciously in the conduct of our foreign relations (…) The principal considerations of Nigeria's international relations are the defence and protection of our territorial integrity and sovereignty of our country from all acts of aggression whether internally or externally instigated. The second has to do with contiguous boundaries with Nigeria, otherwise known as the ring countries, and our attitude over the years to all these countries has developed a consistent pattern and relentless effort to ensure and encourage peaceful co-existence (…) Above all, we believe that crisis or conflicts in those countries would inevitably have adverse spill-over effects on the peace and tranquility of our country. Consequently, almost every administration in this country, including my administration, has found it necessary to take measures that enhance our national good-neighbour policies based on shared common interests and aspirations for peace, security and economic progress. This policy too, explains our involvement in the efforts to restore peace in Chad (…) The third factor concerns the West African sub-region, that is the ECOWAS region. Indeed, the ECOWAS region completes what has been termed the three concentric circles governing Nigerian foreign and defence policies[39].*

In order to resolve the Liberian crisis, Nigeria spearheaded the formation of ECOWAS Monitoring Group known as ECOMOG. Nigeria's support for the formation of ECOMOG can be justified on ground of her economic interest in the

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[38]. See <u>Daily Times</u> (Lagos), Monday, August 27, 1990, p.5
[39]. <u>Ibid</u>.,

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sub-region. Essentially, Nigeria wants economic integration which cannot be achieved in a situation of war or political instability. In addition, Nigeria wants to create a stable market for her products in West African sub-region.

At the continental level, the Babangida administration, like the Buhari regime, resisted moves by Morocco and Zaire to dismember the OAU because of the admission of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic into the continental organization. Under the Babangida administration, Nigeria wrote off more than 70 million Naira expenses which it incurred during the OAU peace-keeping mission in Chad Republic[40]

In spite of economic and financial constraints caused by frequent fall of oil prices in the World market, Nigeria was able to respond immediately to the military attacks or raids of 'frontline states' notably Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia by racist South Africa. The Federal Military Government condemned in strong terms the racist action.   Nigeria also spearheaded the boycott of the Edinburgh Commonwealth Games in 1986.   As Chairman of OAU, President Babangida addressed the UN General Assembly in 1991. He also spearheaded the campaign for the unsuccessful election of General Olusegun Obasanjo (rtd.) as Secretary-General of the UN[41]

In international politics, there is no permanent friend or enemy but permanent interest. Hence the Babangida administration recognized South Africa following tremendous political reforms made by the minority or racist regime led by President

[40]. See F. O. Adeyemo, Op.cit, p. 129.
[41]. See The Guardian, Friday, October 10, 1997, p. 27

Frederick de Klerk whose official visit to Nigeria on April 9, 1992 marked the end of the chill in Nigeria-South Africa relations. During his official visit, President de Klerk called for restoration of relations between South Africa and Nigeria. He also sought Nigeria's support for South Africa's bid to join the Organisation of African Unity. More significantly, the Babangida administration normalized diplomatic relations after 18 years (1973 – 1991) with the State of Israel following official visit to Tel-Aviv/Jerusalem in 1991 by Nigerian former External/Foreign Affairs Minister-Major General Ike Nwachukwu (rtd.). His official visit was the first by a Nigerian government official to Israel since Nigeria severed diplomatic ties with the Jewish State shortly after the 1973 Arab-Israeli War. Since then (1991) bilateral relations between both countries have improved.

At the Commonwealth of Nations, the Babangida administration sponsored the successful election of Chief Emeka Anyaoku as the Organization's Secretary-General. Nigeria also produced the President of OPEC and ensured that Professor Adebayo Adedeji completed his tenure as Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). Also, the Babangida administration supported the nomination and the election of Major General Joseph Garba (rtd. & deceased) as the President of the UN General Assembly 44th Session.

Above all, the Babangida administration placed much emphasis on economic diplomacy whose primary objective was to woo foreign investors to Nigeria and enhance the country's economic development. Regrettably, the Babangida administration's economic diplomacy did not lessen or reduce Nigeria's external

debt burden. Besides, economic diplomacy did not attract considerable foreign investors into Nigeria.

In summary, Nigeria's foreign policy during the Babangida administration was fine-tuned to reflect economic diplomacy under the stewardship of General Ike Nwachukwu (rtd.) who succeeded Professor Bolaji Akinyemi as Foreign Affairs Minister. There is no doubt, the Babangida's foreign policy was characterized by dynamism and realism as evident in the establishment of the Technical Aid Corps Scheme (TAC) in October 1987 for interested countries in Africa, Pacific and Carribean as well as in the appointment of Nigerian nationals into top posts in the Commonwealth, OPEC and the UN Specialized Agencies. The Technical Aid Corps Scheme, for example, is designed to develop closer ties between developing nations and to create good will for Nigeria. More importantly, diplomatic isolation of Israel by successive Nigerian governments was reversed by the Babganda regime in 1991 when it restored diplomatic relations with the Jewish State. The restoration of diplomatic relations, however, had no significant impact on the Arab-Israeli conflict and peace process. Lastly, Nigeria was respected and consulted by several African leaders and governments on international issues before June 1993.

Regrettably, on 23 June 1993, President Babangida, in a nation-wide broadcast, annulled the outcome of the entire June 12 (1993) Presidential election (See Table 4.1) to the dismay of the majority of Nigerians and the international observers who acknowledged that the presidential election was the freest, fairest and most peaceful polls ever conducted in the electoral history of Nigeria. After the annulment of the June 12 Presidential election, President Babangida announced

the appointment/inauguration of an Interim National Government (ING) headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan in order to avoid a vacuum whilst the military president and ruler "stepped aside" from governance. Consequently, the Third Republic did not see the light of the day.

The Babangida administration will be remembered for its improvement of Nigeria's relations with the great powers, Nigeria's membership of the OIC, Nigeria's participation in the ECOMOG intervention in Liberia and Sierra-Leone as well as the annulment (or voiding) of the results of the 1993 presidential election. Despite this, we strongly believe that the de-annulment of the June 12 (1993) presidential election would have contributed immensely to the growth and development of presidential democracy in Nigeria. There is no doubt, the election saw the triumph of Chief Moshood K.O. Abiola and Alhaji Baba Gana Kingibe as presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) over Alhaji Bashir Othman Tofa and Dr. Sylvester Ugo of the National Republican Convention (NRC). Although the military government led by General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida nullified the election results of the June 12 (1993) presidential election, the outcome was made public at various state collation centers (or levels).

Table 4.1:   Results of the June 12 (1993) Presidential Election

SN	States	Regd. Voters	NRC Voters	Percent	SDP Votes	Percent	Total Votes	Percent
01	Abia*	991,569	151,227	58.96	105,273	41.04	256,500	26
02	Adamawa**	954,680	178,865	53.47	155.625	46.53	334,490	34.04
03	Akwa Ibom*	1,032,955	199,342	48.14	214,787	51.86	414,129	42
04	Anambra**	1,248,226	159,258	42.89	212,024	57.11	371,282	29.4
05	Bauchi**	2,048,627	513,077	60.56	334,197	39.4	847,274	39.9
06	Benue**	1,297,072	189,302	43	216,830	57	406,132	33
07	Borno*	1,222,533	128,684	45.60	153,496	54.40	282,180	23
08	Cross River**	876,599	153,452	47.08	189,303	52.2	342,755	39.1
09	Delta**	1,155,182	145,001	30.7	327,277	69.3	472,278	41
10	Edo*	912,680	103,572	33.52	205,407	66.48	308,979	34
11	Enugu**	1,291,750	233,281	54.44	193,969	45.56	427,190	33.07
12	Imo**	1,141,630	193,202	55.22	156,700	44.8	349,902	31
13	Jigawa**	1,230,215	89,836	39	138,552	61	228,388	18.6
14	Kaduna*	1,614,258	336,860	46.36	389,713	54.64	726,573	44.81
15	Kano*	2,583,057	154,809	47.72	169,619	52.28	324,428	12.5
16	Katsina**	1,661,132	271,000	61.3	171,169	38.7	442,176	27
17	Kebbi**	824,254	209,872	73.1	77,102	26.9	286,974	34.8
18	Kogi*	978,019	265,732	54.4	222,760	45.6	488,492	49
19	Kwara*	669,625	80,209	22.76	272,270	77.24	352,479	53
20	Lagos*	2,397,421	149,432	14.46	883,965	85.54	1,033,397	43
21	Niger*	1,002,173	221,437	61.90	136,350	38.10	357,787	35.93
22	Ogun*	941,889	59,246	12.22	425,725	87.78	484,971	52
23	Ondo**	1,767,896	160,994	15.7	803,024	83.3	964,018	54.33
24	Osun**	1,056,690	72,068	15.5	365,266	83.5	437,334	41
25	Oyo*	1,579,280	105,788	16.48	536,011	83.52	641,799	40.64
26	Plateau*	1,513,186	259,394	38.32	417,565	61.68	676,959	45
27	Rivers**	1,908,878	646,952	63	379,872	36.9	1,026,824	54
28	Sokoto**	1,636,119	372,260	79.21	97,726	20.79	469,986	41
29	Taraba	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	Yobe**	663,297	65,133	36.99	110,921	63	176,054	26.54
31	FCT	152,686	18,313	47.84	19,968	52.16	38,281	52.16

*   Published by the National Electoral Commission (NEC)
**   Already collated by the collatioin committee made up of representatives of local and foreign monitoring groups, National Republican Convention (NRC), Social Democratic Party (SDP) and NEC
<u>Source</u>: <u>Newswatch</u>, (Nigeria's Weekly Newsmagazine), June 28, 1993, p. 10.

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The Shonekan Era (August 27 – Nov. 17, 1993)

Chief Ernest Sonekan was appointed Head of the Interim National Government (ING) on August 27, 1993. As a matter of fact, the ING could be described as an extension of the Babangida regime. As Head of the ING, he travelled extensively within and outside Nigeria. During his official tours, he made public statements designed to gain support for his administration. On human rights, for instance, he declared:

> *Our records are impeccable and perhaps, unbeatable in the annals of our history… We freed all-jailed human rights activist. We pardoned all political offenders both dead and alive, allowed all politicians in exile to return home, and we have not restricted the free movements of any activist in and out of the country[42]*

On September 4, 1993, the ING got unfavourable response from the American government which stated:

> *…that arbitrary action (i.e. annulment of June 12 election) by the Babangida regime clearly thwarted the political will of the Nigerian people and was not in accordance with the democratic principles… The new regime (ING) has not committed itself to these principles and that it has no support and confidence of broad elements. The US has no plans to lift sanction that were implemented following annulment of the June 12 election[43].*

During his trip to New York, Chief Shonekan also addressed African Ambassadors at the UN and spoke extensively on Nigeria's geo-political pre-eminence in the continent (of Africa). Describing military involvement in politics as

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[42]. See <u>The Guardian,</u> Sunday, November 21, 1993, p. A7, As Head of the ING, he ordered the release of   late Dr. Beko Ransome-Kuti, Chief Gani Fewehinmi and Femi Falana from the Kuje prison in Abuja, FCT.

[43]. <u>Ibid,</u>

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an aberration, Chief Shonekan admitted that the developments on the political scene in Nigeria have continued to make waves[44] Nevertheless, he assured the envoys that the movement towards democratization in Nigeria has its foundation and underpinnings in the national recognition that the will of the people remains supreme and inviolable. He further stated that the ING was genuinely committed to the democratic goals even if the process encounters daunting difficulties[45] On the June 12 election, he told the African Ambassadors (or envoys) that its annulment was made in the supreme interest of peace, security and stability of the country. After addressing the African envoys in the UN, Chief Shonekan addressed a world press conference at Hotel Waldorf Astonia (N.Y.). Unable to meet officials of the US government with a view to amending broken fences resulting from the cancellation (or annulment) of the June 12 election, Chief Shonekan returned to Nigeria.

Between October 20 and 26, 1993, Chief Shonekan was in Cyprus attending the Commonwealth Heads of State and Government Summit. He met, among others, with Queen Elizabeth II of England and the Zimbabwean leader – Mr. Robert Mugabe. While he was in Cyprus, he could not say much because of a six-man delegation sent by Chief Bashorun M.K.O. Abiola (now deceased) who was presumably denied the mandate he won on June 12, 1993. While in Office, Chief Shonekan received in audience envoys representing Britain, the USA, Iran, Israel, Cameroun Republic, Italy, Japan, Sudan, Czechoslovakia and Switzerland among others.

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44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.,

On Wednesday, November 17, (1993), the ING was sacked by the military. Consequently, he held a brief meeting with his cabinet and said:

> *However, I regret to inform you that in the light of recent events and after due consideration of all the facts, I am left with no alternative but to take the most honourable and dignified step of resigning my appointment as Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria[46].*

Thus, Chief Shonekan was quietly removed from office through a "bloodless coup" on November 17, 1993. In all, he was at the helm of affairs of the Federal Government of Nigeria for 84 days or about three months. Apart from his shuttle diplomacy, Chief Ernest Shonekan as Head of ING, did not focus on any foreign policy issue throughout his brief stay in office because of external and domestic (especially the annulled June 12, 1993 presidential election) environments were not favourable to the pursuit of a viable foreign policy. In effect, Shonekan's ING made no meaningful impact on Nigeria's foreign policy. Like the previous administrations, the ING was to make Africa the center piece of its foreign policy with particular attention to the West African sub-region. In this connection, the Shonekan administration found time to address Nigeria's involvement in the Liberian crisis and it favoured a phased withdrawal of Nigerian troops from ECOMOG.

The Abacha Administration (Nov. 17, 1993 – June 8, 1998)

The sixth military coup and rule occurred on 17 November 1993 and it was led by General Sani Abacha. The Abacha administration inherited sluggish economy, political instability, chaos, anarchy and civil conflict from its immediate

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[46]. Ibid,

past predecessors. Following the annulment of June 12 election, a group of prominent Nigerians came together and discussed ways and means to fight for its de-annulment. After a series of meetings in Lagos between prominent adherents of human rights groups and pro-democracy organization, the National Democratic Coalition (NADECO) was formed in May 1994. NADECO was formed to press for the re-validation or actualization of the June 12 election[47]. The pro-democracy organization (i.e. NADECO) gave the Abacha administration an ultimatum to abdicate power not later than May 31, 1994.

NADECO leaders did not yield to any threat or pressure and they employed the weapons of mass rallies, strikes, boycotts and invocation of international sympathy for their cause. NADECO was able to forge an alliance with the Trade Unions and it was a formidable ally. In July 1994, NADECO leadership succeeded in convincing the leadership of the National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers (NUPENG) as well as the Petroleum and Natural Gas Senior Staff Association of Nigeria (PENGASSAN) to go on strike which was promptly carried out. The strike was debilitating for the government. The fuel scarcity that resulted from the strike crippled economic and social activities nationwide[48]

The Abacha administration fought back effectively and ruthlessly. It proscribed the trade unions including the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) and arrested as well as detained their leaders. In addition, the Abacha administration turned its attention to NADECO chieftains. Many of them fled from Nigeria in order to continue their

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[47]. See Newswatch (Nigeria's Weekly Magazine), March 23, 1998, vol. 27, No. 11, p. 12
[48]. Ibid

struggle while in self-exile in Europe and America. When the Abacha administration came up with the idea of National Constitutional Conference, NADECO rejected it on the ground that it was not sovereign and that a national government headed by Chief Bashorun M.K.O. Abiola (the undeclared, detained and presumed winner of the June 12, 1993 presidential election) could convene the desired Constitutional Conference. NADECO also called for a boycott of the election of delegates to the Constitutional Conference[49]. The election of delegates was, however, conducted but it recorded low turn out.

More importantly, NADECO opposed any transition programme carried out by the military/Abacha administration. NADECO's argument was that the military could not achieve true democracy for a number of reasons. One fundamental reason was that the military has so far ruled Nigeria for 29 out of its 38 years of independence (1960 – 1998) and so it has become an interested party in the struggle for political power. Secondly, most of the military officer-corps joined the Armed Forces in the knowledge (or hope) that it was the shortest and surest avenue to political power. Lastly, the annulment of June 12, 1993 presidential election indicated quite clearly that the military, in spite of the long transition process during the Babangida regime (August 27, 1985 – August 27, 1993), never intended to relinquish political power. The annulment was effected when the expected result was not produced. Consequently, the experience of the June 12, 1993 election made it unreasonable for the military to conduct free and fair elections in Nigeria. Majority of NADECO leaders found it difficult to trust the Abacha administration's

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[49].   Ibid. P 14.

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transition programme and so they strongly opposed General Abacha's presidency because he was a member of and a key actor in the Babangida administration that annulled the June 12, 1993 election. Also they did not trust the Abacha administration to conduct free and fair elections in the country. Lastly, they believed that Abacha administration's transition was designed for self-succession[50].

Early in 1994, top leaders of NADECO met with the Federal Government team comprising the Head of State-General Sani Abacha, Lt. General Jeremiah Oseni (then the Minister of Federal Capital Territory (FCT) and Chief Tom Ikimi (the Political adviser to the Head of State and later Minister of External/Foreign Affairs). Catholic Archbishop (now Cardinal) Olubunmi Okogie was the facilitator of talks. Members of NADECO team included late Chief Adekunle Ajasin (former governor of old Ondo State and an elder Statesman), Chief Christian Onoh (former Governor of old Anambra State), Chief Cornelius Adebayo (former Governor of old Kwara State and later Minister of Communications (2003 – May 2007) and Admiral Ndubusi Kanu (former member of the Supreme Military Council, SMC)[51].

Regrettably, the talks did not yield positive results because the Federal Military Government did not accede to NADECO's demand that Chief Bashorun M.K.O. Abiola be installed President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The coalition (i.e. NADECO) thus went fully into opposition against the Abacha administration while some section of the international community began serious.

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[50]. The Abacha administration's transition programme was tailored towards self-succession and continuation of military rule in Nigeria. This explains why all the five registered political parties unanimously adopted General Sani Abacha as their sole presidential candidate or flagbearer for the presidential election scheduled for August 1, 1998.

[51]. See The Guardian, Friday, April 3, 1998, p. 11

campaign against military rule in Nigeria and called for urgent democratization. As a matter of fact, the relationship between both NADECO and the Abacha administration became a cat and mouse game or affair. Some members of the opposition were arrested and detained without trial. Others like Chief Anthony Enahoro (an elder Statesman and Federal Minister of Information in the First Republic), Wole Soyinka (a Professor of Literature and Nobel Peace Winner), A B. Akiyemi (a Professor of International Relations and former Minister of External Affairs), Lt. General Alani Akinrinade (a retired army officer), Raph Obiora (a former Federal Minister of Industries) and Dan Suleiman (a retired Air Commodore) fled into self-exile in Europe and America where they continued with their struggle against military rule and enthronement of true democracy in Nigeria while the main actor Chief M.K.O. Abiola, was arrested and detained in June 1994 on the grounds that he proclaimed himself President of Nigeria. He was in detention from June 1994 till July 7, 1998 when he passed away. Before he died, charges of treason were preferred against him by the Federal Military Government / Abacha administration. Abiola's arrest and detention did considerable damage to the image of the Abacha regime which battled unsuccessfully with its bad image and credibility problem.

After destroying domestic opposition groups, General Abacha was able to consolidate his power and authority as Head of State. He refused to re-validate the annulled June 12, 1993 presidential election. Several draconian Decrees were promulgated in order to silence opposition groups and maintain peace, law and order in the country. Although the Abacha administration succeeded in maintaining

peace and order as well as the unity of the country, domestic opposition affected the effective performance of the Nigerian economy. For instance, the objectives of the 1994 annual budget could not be achieved partly because of stiff opposition from powerful vital interest groups and partly because of low morale, lack of incentives, low capacity utilization, poor implementation of the measures put in place, political instability and uncertainty in the country[52]. Also Nigeria's traditional trading partners and the multilateral financial institutions reduced financial flows to Nigeria thereby stifling the country's access to external resources.

More importantly, the USA, the EU and the Commonwealth of Nations imposed limited but effective sanctions against Nigeria because of the country's alleged poor human rights record, lack of respect for democracy and the rule of law. It will be recalled that the first package of EU sanctions against Nigeria was in 1993. As a result, the EU suspended military co-operation, set visa restrictions for members of the military and security forces and halted top-level official visits to EU. In 1995, visa restrictions were tightened while severe arms embargo was imposed against Nigeria. Also, the EU banned Nigerian leaders and their family members from entering the EU member-states, banned all Nigerian military personnel and stopped sporting contacts by denying visas to Nigeria's official delegations and national teams.[53]

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[52]. The 1994 budget sought to achieve, among other things, the following objectives; (i) a balanced budget firmly anchored on fiscal discipline and the abolition of deficit financing, (ii) exchange rate stabilization and reversal of the high incidence of capital flight, (iii) rationalization of interest rates to stem the decline of the real sector, (iv) reduction in the level of subsidies and subventions to Federal Government owned companies and parastatals, particularly those slated for partial or full commercialization and outright privatization and (v) effective debt management strategies to reduce the debt service burden on domestic commitments and obtain debt relief from external creditors.

[53]. See The Guardian, Friday, June 26, 1998, p.4

The Abacha administration continued with its crackdown on the opposition groups until November 10, 1995 when Mr. Ken Saro-Wiwa and his eight Ogoni minority rights activists were executed for alleged murder. Some members of the international community did not believe that Ken Saro-Wiwa et.al committed murder. Rather they believed that they were executed because of their strong views and opposition to military rule in Nigeria. Until General Abacha's sudden death on June 8 (1998), Nigeria's foreign policy was blurred and it lacked focus. From the foregoing, it could be argued that the Abacha administration was pre-occupied with myriads of domestic problems. In other words, domestic factors more than anything else determined the direction of Nigeria's foreign policy from 1993 to 1998.

Under the Abacha administration, Nigeria virtually lost all her friends in the comity of nations especially Western Europe. Besides, Nigeria was declared a "Pariah State" by some sections of the international community because of Nigeria's alleged lack of respect for democracy, the rule of law and human rights. In spite of international outrage, pressure and pleas for pardon (or clemency), the Abacha regime executed by hanging Ken Saro-Wiwa and his eight Ogoni human rights activists. Consequently, Nigeria was isolated while the Commonwealth of Nations suspended her membership from the organization during the Summit of Heads of State and Government held in Auckland (New Zealand) on November 11, 1995. It is essential to note that the Abacha regime did not bequeath a heathy foreign policy legacy to its successor - the Abubakar administration. Nonetheless, the Abacha

regime will be remembered for its reactionary approach and foreign policy shift in Nigeria's external relations.

The Abubakar Administration, (June 9, 1998 – May 28, 1999)

After the sudden death of Nigeria's Head of State, General Sani Abacha, a military Head of State (General Abdulsalam Abubakar), assumed power on June 9, 1998 and at a critical period in Nigeria's political development and transition to civil rule programme. In order to achieve his administration's domestic and foreign policy goals (or objectives), General Abubakar pledged, in his nation-wide broadcast on Tuesday, June 9, 1998 that he would pursue genuine reconciliation within Nigeria and with all nations in the world. He also pledged to hand-over political power to a democratically elected government on May 29, 1999. Besides, he called on Nigerians in self-exile in foreign countries to return home (i.e. Nigeria). In this regard, General Abubakar said:

> *Our vision for Nigeria is a country where nobody would be intimidated on account of his (or her) views, tribe and religion[54].*

In his response (on June 23, 1998) to condolence visit and message presented by 26 African Ambassadors duly accredited to Nigeria, General Abubakar described his immediate predecessor (late General Sani Abacha) as a man of peace who lived and died fighting not only for the stability, peace and unity of his country (Nigeria), but also for Africa in general and West Africa sub-region (notably Liberia and Sierra-Leone) in particular. He further stated that his administration would do everything within its power to bring peace not only to Nigeria but also to Africa[55].

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[54]. See The Guardian, Tuesday, June 23, 1998, p.4
[55]. Ibid,

At the graduation of (Course 20 Officers comprising the Army, Navy and Airforce) 182 graduands at Command Staff College, Jaji (near Kaduna, Kaduna State) which he attended personally in early July 1998, General Abubakar stated what appeared to be the corner-stone or fundamental goals of his administration's domestic and foreign policies.

According to him:

> *The internal and sub-regional tasks, challenges and responsibilities facing our Armed Forces are becoming increasingly enormous and complex. This administration remains committed to restoring democracy, the rule of law and full respect for fundamental human rights and civil liberties in our country. We are also determined to take Nigeria back to its rightful place among the comity of nations and, above all, we are committed to taking our military back to its constitutional and professional role of defending the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the nation. Therefore, Nigerians and foreign friends should support us in this historic task[56]*

In his third broadcast to the nation on Monday, July 20, 1998, General Abubakar further stated:

> *…this administration will consolidate existing relationships and maintain positive and friendly relations with all nations of the world without compromising our sovereignty and legitimate interest of our sub-region on all issues… We implore our friends to exercise patience and appreciate the unique problem that face us as a nation. I have, therefore, directed the immediate resolution of the Medium Term Economic Programme (MTEP) with the World bank and IMF. We also intend to begin discussions with the Paris Club with a view to obtaining debt relief. In the meantime, we will liberalize the debt conversion programme to encourage further foreign investment. Trade and investment will remain an important determinant in our multilateral relationships[57].*

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[56]. See <u>The Guardian,</u> Saturday, July 11, 1998, pp. 1 – 2.
[57]. See <u>The Guardian,</u> Tuesday, July 21, 1998, p. 15

There is no doubt, General Abubakar's public and other official statements or pronouncements earned him tremendous domestic and international support. As a result, the Abubakar administration was encouraged to accelerate the tempo of transition from military to civilian administration. Indeed, it bolstered his credentials not only in Nigeria but in international community. The members of the international community, most especially Britain, the EU, the Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America, were encouraged by the release of some political detainees and prisoners after a week following General Abacha's sudden death. Also, in less than a month after General Abacha's demise, the diplomatic tension in Nigeria's foreign relations was considerably reduced. As a result, a foreign policy analyst asserted that the era of "cow boy or area-boy diplomacy" has ended. Indeed, the fear of Nigeria becoming a "pariah state" died down completely[58]. Throughout its brief but interesting period, the Abubakar administration continued to pursue its policy of constructive engagement with other members of the international community. It also continued to pursue economic diplomacy with a view to attracting foreign investors, capital and investment into Nigeria. Under the Abubakar administration, Nigeria was reintegrated into the mainstream of world politics. Indeed, the Abubakar administration re-established cordial relations between Nigeria and its major Western allies.

The Emergence of the Fourth Republic and the Second Coming of the Obasanjo Era II (29 May, 1999 – May 2007)

This sub-section will focus on Obasanjo's second coming (1999 – 2007).

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[58]. See <u>THIS DAY,</u> Monday, June 29, 1998, p. 16.

The first coming of Murtala/Obasanjo took place from 1975 to September 1979 when Olusegun Obasanjo voluntarily handed political power to a democratically elected civilian government. Having said this, it is important to state at the onset that the Nigeria which President Olusegun Obasanjo met when he was returned to power was completely different from the one he left 20 years ago (1979 – 1999) as a military ruler / president or Head of State. As a matter of fact, Nigeria was in a state of almost total collapse when his regime came back.

Indeed, the economic situation in Nigeria by the end of the 1990s was bleak and was characterized by poor growth, declining levels of productivity, rising poverty levels, widespread consumption and large external debt over-hung. The pre-reform macro-economic environment was worrisome with inflation level ranging between 20 and 25 percent, an unstable exchange rate, low reserves and weak fiscal policy with the government incurring a fiscal deficit of about 3.5 of GDP for the decade prior to economic reforms.[59] Besides, it inherited political crisis, instability, and poor internal image. Nigeria was shunned not only in the international arena but also at home. As a result, many Nigerians began to leave their country in droves in search of better conditions in more advanced countries of Europe, the United States of America and the Middle East. President Obasanjo, however, realized the crucial role which unity and political stability could play in the realization of his domestic and foreign policies.

While addressing newly appointed Nigerian envoy-designates on Monday, 27 September 1999, President Obasanjo stated that Nigeria's foreign policy would be

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59.　　See <u>Daily Sun</u>, Tuesday, 25 July 2006, p. 6.

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guided by "a more global approach" with emphasis on winning more friends for the country, attracting genuine foreign investments and investors, improving Nigeria's image abroad and working hard to address Nigeria's debt burden[60]. There is no doubt, these are important declaration of foreign policy objectives.

In order to achieve the above laudable objectives, the Obasanjo administration placed strong emphasis on transparency, accountability, conducive economic environment and the elimination of corruption in the Nigerian society. It will be recalled that foreign investors pulled out from Nigeria during the military era for political and economic reasons, especially Nigeria's lack of respect for democracy, human rights and the rule of law. For the West, including the United States of America, Obasanjo can do no wrong in as much as he keeps democracy sustained in Nigeria, continue with his anti-corruption campaign and opens up the Nigerian market to competition through the government's privatization of ailing state enterprises. Although the West's interest does not always coincide with Nigeria's national interest, some have viewed the privatization policy or programme with suspicion.

More importantly, President Olusegun Obasanjo has been criticized for his numerous foreign trips since the inception of his administration on 29 May 1999. However, in defending his foreign trips at the Second Nigeria Investment Summit held on Thursday, 18 July 2002, in London, President Obasanjo said:

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60.   <u>Guardian New.</u>Comm..Editorial of Tuesday, 28 September 1999, p. 1 of 2 .

My foreign trips were on the advice of marketing experts who had noted that the country's image was at its lowest ebb during the military rule years. The grime (sic.) grim was so much that it needed personal contact from the new leadership to attract any foreign investment at all. As many of you may be aware, I have devoted much time and energy journeying to virtually all corners of the globe in my personal efforts to positively reintegrate our country into the international community and attract investment. We are happy to report that the results from these trips have been encouraging enough to confirm my personal belief and the advice of marketing experts that personal contact is the best way to market your product. And my product is Nigeria[61].

By his sustained diplomatic shuttles to relevant countries in the world, President Obasanjo did his best in selling Nigeria to key investors in each country where he visited on the need to make Nigeria prime target for establishing their respective businesses. It should be noted that as he did of the world, Obasanjo travelled the length and breath of his country inspecting and commissioning of projects financed and executed by state governments during his eight – years rule as civilian President.

Moreover, Nigeria under the Obasanjo administration focused attention on the economic integration of West African Sub-region and African continent. In this regard, Nigeria spearheaded what it called the 'First Track' approach to integration in West Africa. The process originally involved close economic collaboration between Nigeria and Ghana but it has now expanded into the creation of a 'Free Trade Area' involving Nigeria, Benin Republic, Togo, Niger Republic and Ghana. Considerable progress has also been made to integrate the currencies, transport and power systems of these countries. The Obasanjo administration did not limit its

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61. See The Guardian, Friday, July 19, 2002, p. 1.
   It will be recalled that the precursor of SAP was Austerity Measure which was introduced by the Obasanjo regime between 1975 and September 1979.

integration efforts to Africa or West Africa but also extended to cover the Third World[62] countries.

The Obasanjo administration established the Ministry of Co-operation and Integration in Africa with a view to improving continental politico-economic relations. To foster this agenda, he initiated negotiations with other African leaders and Heads of State and Government in his bid to expand the economic power of the people of Nigeria in particular and the continent at large through New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). The latter is a pledge by African leaders based on common vision and a firm as well as shared conviction that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and to place their countries both individually and collectively on a path of sustainable growth and development and at the same time to participate actively in the world economy and body politic. The programme (NEPAD) is anchored on the determination of Africans to extricate themselves and the continent from the malaise of under-development and exclusion in globalising world.

Besides, the Obasanjo administration can be credited with energizing the Third World body (the G-77). As Chairman, Nigeria successfully convened summit of G-77 for the first time in its 36 years of existence in Havana (Cuba) in April, 2000. At the summit, Nigeria and Libya proposed a south-south Healthcare Delivery Programme that was adopted at the Havana Summit. The Secretariat of the programme is based in Nigeria and the programme formally took off in 2002 with the first batch of volunteers leaving for Chad Republic, Burkina Faso, Sierra –Leone

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62.   See, <u>The Nation</u>, Sunday, 20th May 2007, p. 12.

and Niger Republic.

During the Babangida and Abacha regimes, Nigeria was plunged into political instability and pariah status starting or beginning with the annulment or cancellation of the presidential election results of June 12, 1993. Consequently, on assumption of office, President Obasanjo embarked upon a globe trotting exercise in his determined bid to erase the pariah symbol from the Nigerian state. During his first tenure in office (May 1999 through August 2000), Obasanjo travelled to several countries including the United States of America, Britain, Germany, France, Japan, Canada, South Africa, and India. In effect, therefore, the Obasanjo administration succeeded in transforming Nigeria from its ' pariah status' to a respected member of the international community. It also made Nigeria a safe haven for foreign investors particularly in those sectors that have suffered neglect under military rule. In order to promote greater inflow of Direct Foreign Investment (FDI), the Obasanjo administration embarked upon a policy of resuscitating Bilateral Joint Commissions with several countries that have been identified as exporters of capital. Scores of Agreements particularly Investment Promotion and Protection Agreements (IPPA) have been signed providing the framework for practical consolidation of economic, trade, technical and other forms of co-operation with many countries.

One of the least recognized achievements of the Obasanjo administration's diplomacy is the increasing level of international development assistance that now comes to Nigeria. Hitherto, Nigeria was conspicuously the least favoured African country for Official Development Assistance (ODA) grants or International Aid.

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Nigeria, under the Obasanjo administration has, however, shed the toga of wasteful and never-do-well nation. Foreign investors are now competing to come and take advantage of Nigeria's large market, friendly population and cheap but qualitative labour. As a result, their level of foreign direct investments especially in the communications, energy, oil and gas, banking, stock market and manufacturing has increased tremendously.[63]

In a national broadcast to mark the end of his two-term administration (of four years each), President Obasanjo declared:

> *…We have seized to be one of the heavily indebted nations of the world and can now be truly independent in all that we do for our country.[64]*

The unprecedented debt reprieve, (cancellation of 60 per cent of national debt) granted to Nigeria despite its controversial status as an oil-rich country, is a product of tenacity and determination by President Obasanjo and his team. Due to repeated and intense negotiations, the Paris Club of creditors finally cancelled Nigeria's foreign debt.

Towards the end of 2006, there has been some improvement in Nigerian economy. In this regard, President Obasanjo declared:

> Nigeria now has $42 billion in its foreign reserve. My administration inherited $3.7 billion seven years ago, that is in May 1999[65]

Speaking further he said:

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63.   Ibid.
64.   See, The Guardian, Tuesday, 29 May 2007, p. 2._____
65.   See, The Nation, No 0109, Friday, 17 November 2006, p. 1.

We were debtors before and no country wanted to invest in Nigeria. We owed more than $35 billion but today we have paid our debt to our creditors.[66]

There is no doubt, Nigeria under the Obasanjo administration witnessed economic growth between 1999 and 2006.

In spite of the above, there was little or no development. The Nigerian economy continued to go deeper in recession. In this regard, the exchange rate of the Naira to the US dollar remains very high and increases on daily basis. In most parts of Nigeria, water, efficient electricity, jobs, qualitative education, health facilities, efficient transportation and lately fuel/gas with its high price per litre are in short supply and the Nigerian government cares less about them. The majority of Nigerians still live in poverty despite large infusions of donor funding or Nigeria's oil wealth. Development is impeded by entrenched poverty, pervasive corruption and ineffective governance. Indeed, corruption has stultified or retarded the growth and development in the country. However, given good leadership with vision, political stability, discipline, unity and socio-economic development, Nigeria can be a major factor within the international system.

In the next chapter, our focus is on Nigeria's external relations with and foreign policy towards the Middle East and its determinants.

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66.   See, Sunday Tribune, No 1558, 1 December 2006, p.7. It should be noted that Nigeria's domestic debt stood at ₦1.8billion as of March 2007, for detail see, The Nation, Friday 3 August 2007. p. 9.

CHAPTER FIVE

NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY ON THE PALESTINE AND ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT AND ITS DETERMINANTS: AN ANALYSIS

5.1   INSIGHT

This chapter is devoted to the exploration of Nigeria's foreign policy on the Palestine and Arab-Israeli conflict and peace process; as well as the determinants of this policy. The analysis proceeds by first identifying (the nature of) Nigeria's foreign policy before examining the factors that determine that policy. To enhance better understanding and appreciation of the discourse that follows, we deem it necessary to highlight the policy and role of the United States of America in the Middle-East crisis. The policy and role of America will make Nigeria's policy and its determinants much more visible.

In the entire history of the Palestinian question, and Arab-Israeli crisis, the United States has remained clearly pro-Israel. In the days of the East-West cold war, while the Soviet Union supplied weapons to Egypt and other Arab states, the U.S. supplied weapons to Israel. In short, during the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, the US threatened to launch the world's thermo-nuclear war rather than stand and watch Israel defeated or annihilated by Arab nations. At the same time, the US has avoided open antagonism with Arab nations. US foreign policy in the Middle-East has been determined by its economic interests (supply of oil by Middle-East Arab nations), the survival of Israel as a vital reliable ally in the region dominated by Muslim Arab states, (geo-strategic interests), and the cultural affinity between American Jews and the Israeli nation.

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Henry Kissinger asserts that in the Middle East, America had "become an integral part of the peace process. So committed was the United States to this role that it almost virtually put itself forward as mediator".[1] The US is powerful enough to be able to insist on its view and to carry the day in such a way as to evoke charges of American hegemony, with its prescriptions being products of domestic pressures or a reiteration of maxims drawn from the experience of the cold war.

The United States thus, has played the dominant role in influencing the direction of events in the Middle-East. Its moral, financial, military and diplomatic supports (including Israel's protection at the United Nations) have contributed greatly to Israeli intransigence especially in defying United Nations Resolutions.

It is on the basis of the above insight that this study embarks on examining Nigeria's foreign policy on the Palestine question and Arab-Israeli conflict and peace process in the next section.

5.2   NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY ON THE PALESTINE AND ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT AND PEACE PROCESS

Pragmatism Not Neutrality

Even though the Middle-East crisis as highlighted earlier in section 5.1 of this chapter began in earnest in 1948, Nigeria became independent in 1960. Since foreign policy is the exclusive preserve of independent states, what can rightly be regarded as Nigeria's foreign policy began from October 1, 1960.

The government that managed Nigeria's affairs at independence was led by Alh. Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of the Northern People's Congress (NPC). The NPC was

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1.   Henry Kissinger, Ibid, p. 17.
2.   Ibid, p. 18.

essentially a party based in the Northern part of the country and controlled there from, while its coalition partner the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) was Eastern based, and the opposition Action Group (AG), party was based in the Western part of the country.

The position of the Abubakar led Federal government over the Middle-East crisis was made explicit during the Israeli loan controversy in 1960. The then Federal Minister of Finance, Chief Festus Okotieboh, had visited Israel and reached an understanding with its government over some development programmes and succeeded in winning a loan for Nigeria from Israel. On the public announcement of the loan deal the government of the Northern region (inhabited mainly by Hausa-Fulani's and Moslems) denounced the deal insisting that it dissociated itself to ally from the entire transaction, and would not accept any part of such loan or export credit. The Northern region government perceived that the acceptance of such a loan can be interpreted as involvement in the Middle-East crisis. Thus, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the then Premier of Northern Nigeria declared emphatically:

> *The North would never ask Israel for help. When we want help,*
> *we know where to go for it.[3]*

The AG and NCNC (being Southern parties) publicly criticized the action or pronouncement of the Northern region government over the loan issue, pointing out that Nigeria could not afford to do without the foreign aid. The two political parties also argued that accepting the loan would not involve Nigeria in the Arab-Israeli conflict. This is to say that Nigeria's policy or public assertions on Israel during the

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3.   Ibid.

First Republic (October 1960-January 1966) reflected the religious dichotomy between the North and the South.

To state things clearly, the federal government sensing the religious overtones implied in the exchanges on both sides, the Prime Minister, Alh. Balewa declared:

> *… the Federal government would accept assistance from any country, would not involve itself in the Arab-Israeli conflict, would not force any region to accept particular loan(s); but would not permit the objection of a region to interfere with the Federal government's constitutional authority to borrow money from abroad.*[4]

This pronounced Federal government position of non-involvement in the Middle-East conflict was seen in government circles and outside as a neutralist policy, dictated by the coalition nature of the central government (formed by the NPC and NCNC), and the need to promote national unity. In both the UN and OAU (now AU), Nigeria continued to assert its policy of neutrality or non-partisanship in the Arab-Israeli conflict. For instance, between 1960 and 1965, the Arab-Israeli issue annually came before the Special Committee of the UN General Assembly, but Nigeria avoided participating in most of the debates.

With the coup of January 15, 1966 which overthrew the Balewa government, General Aguiyi-Ironsi (Igbo, from the East) became the Nigerian Head of State. To assure the North and Arabs of his intention to maintain what many saw as Nigeria's neutral policy in the Middle-East set in motion by the Balewa administration.

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4.   Quoted in A.B. Akinyemi, Foreign Policy And Federalism: The Nigerian Experience, Ibadan, Ibadan University Press, 1974, p. 103.

General Ironsi sent a large Federal delegation of prominent Northerners to the capitals of Middle-East countries. The Ironsi government was overthrown on July 29, 1966 in a counter-coup, and Colonel (later General) Yakubu Gowon from the North but a Christian became the new Head of state. Gowon even though a Christian, was more acceptable to the North than Ironsi. His Christian background also made him acceptable to the Christian South.

In his first public statement on the Middle-East conflict, Gowon like his predecessor intimated that his government would continue the policy of neutrality adopted by the Balewa government at the country's independence. He expressed the desire of his government to maintain good diplomatic relations with both parties involved in the Middle-East conflict.[5] The government thus informed the world that it would steer a middle course between Israel and its Arab neighbours.

It is, however, the thesis of this study that based on data available to this researcher; Nigeria's foreign policy in the Middle-East is not that of neutralizing but of pragmatism. Neutralism here is the policy of remaining strictly neutral – in foreign affairs in relations to two contending international personalities or parties. But pragmatism is the personality or state character or conduct of weighing and emphasizing practical values, facts on ground, or the practical realities and consequences of choosing options.

We contend that Nigeria's pragmatic posture over the Palestine question and Arab-Israeli conflict and peace process was/is informed by the probable negative

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5.	For details see, The Daily Sketch, April 17, 1967.

fall-outs of taking a clear cut position, in view of Nigeria's socio-political configuration and external obligations as shall be demonstrated soon below. This pragmatism has been manifested in three main areas of our national life: (i) Nigeria's voting pattern at the United Nations, (ii) Nigeria's mode of interaction with Israelis and Arabs (both parties to the Middle-East Conflict), and (iii) Nigerian governments' pronouncements and actions, at home and abroad in relation to the Middle-East problem,   We now examine the three areas one after the other in that order.

(i)   **Nigeria's Voting Pattern At The United Nations**

The United Nations was set up at the end of the Second World War (1939-1945), with the four key objectives:

- *To maintain international peace and security, and to that end; to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.*
- *To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.*
- *To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.*
- *To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.[6]*

In addition, the UN is guided by certain principles which include; the peaceful settlement of disputes, sovereign equality of nations, respect for the territorial

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6.   Article 1 of the United Nations Charter, 1945.

integrity of nations, and others. Member nations are duty bound to uphold the ideals of the UN, meet its obligations in good faith and contribute to the achievement of its objectives. The way member state votes at the UN (General Assembly and or Security Council) can be taken as a good indicator of how much it upholds the ideals of the UN, and a good measure of its foreign policy posture.

Table 5.1 shows selected UN General Assembly Resolutions on the Palestine and Arab-Israeli conflict for selected years 1967-2001; while Table 5.2 shows some UN Security Council Resolutions on the same Middle-East Conflict. A careful study of the 44 UN General Assembly Resolutions on focus here reveals that Nigeria always voted in favour of the Palestinians and Arabs (except on one occasion the country was absent). This pattern of voting is not out of prejudice against Israel, but because of the issues upon which the Resolutions were based which were often defending the human rights of Arabs, calling upon Israel to desist from constructing Jewish settlements in occupied Arab territories, reaffirming the rights of Palestinians to self-determination, deploring Israeli aggression against Arab states; condemning Israeli atrocities in occupied territories, condemning Israeli collaboration with apartheid South Africa, etc.

For example, when in July 1967 Israel moved to <u>change the status of Jerusalem</u> after the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Nigeria voted on July 4th 1967 in favour of UN GA Resolution 2253 condemning the move, and calling on Israeli government to rescind the measures. Also, on 8th December 1970, Nigeria voted in favour of UNGA Resolution 2672(c) which recognized <u>the right of the Palestinian People to self determination</u>.

On 10th November 1975, Nigeria voted in favour of UNGA Resolution 3379 which declared Zionism a form of racism and racial discrimination that threatened international peace and security. Then in 1979 during the international uproar against Israeli deportation of the prominent Mayor of Nablus, Nigeria voted in favour of UNGA Resolution 34/29 of 16 November calling on Israeli authorities to rescind the order.

When Israel attacked Iraqi nuclear installations in June 1981, Nigeria voted in favour of UNGA Resolution 36/27 of 13 November condemning the attack. On 10 December 1982, Nigeria voted in favour of UNGA Resolution 37/86 calling for the complete Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories it occupied since 1967. A similar Resolution (56/32) was adopted on 3 December 2001 demanding that Israel withdraw from all the occupied Syrian Golan Heights to the line of June 4, 1967; and Nigeria voted in favour of the Resolution.

As a member of the UN Security Council, Nigeria also voted for similar SC Resolutions. For example on 19 March 1978, Nigeria voted in favour of SC Resolution 425 which called on Israel to cease its military action against Lebanon and withdraw its troops from Lebanon territory (See table 5.2).

It is crucial to note that Nigeria voted the way it did in defence of UN ideals, and promotion of the rights of Palestinian Arabs as guaranteed by the UN Charter, and international law. It should also be noted that even though Nigeria was consistently voting against Israeli interests at the UN, back home in Nigeria, hundreds of Nigerians were being sent on holy pilgrimages to Jerusalem (in Israel). Nigeria also allowed several Israeli companies to do business in Nigeria, while trade

went on smoothly between both nations, (as highlighted in the next sub-section (ii)). Recently, the Israeli Navy offered to train Nigerian Navy personnel in anti-terrorist operations. The offer was/is a comprehensive understanding reached between both Navies during an official visit to Israel by the Nigerian Chief of Naval staff – Vice Admiral Ganiyu Adekeye.[7(a)]

7(a) See The Nation, Sunday, March 11, 2007, p. 4.

TABLE 5.1

NIGERIA'S VOTING POSITIONS OVER UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS ON PALESTINE AND THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT (SELECTED YEARS 1960-2001)

S/N	Resolution Number	Issue	Date	Yes	No	Absent	Nigeria's Position
1.	2252	Reaffirming that human rights should be respected in areas affected by the 1967 Middle east Conflict, and that Israel should ensure the safety, welfare, and security of the inhabitants.	4/7/67	116	-	2	Yes
2.	2253	Call upon Israel to rescind and desist from measures to change the status of Jerusalem	4/7/69	99	-	20	Yes
3.	2254	Deploring measures taken by Israel to change the status of Jerusalem	14/7/69	99	-	18	Yes
4.	2443	Establishing A Special Committee to investigate Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the population of the occupied territories after the 1967 war.	19/12/68	60	22	37	Yes
5	2628	Calling for a 3 month extension of the cease-fire and for talks under the auspices of the Secretary General's Special representative with a views to implementing security Council Resolution 242 (of Nov. 1967 which provided for peaceful settlement of the situation in the Middle-East), and reaffirming its rejection of territorial acquisition by force, and its position that such territories must be restored.	4/11/70	57	16	39	Yes
6.	2672(C)	Recognizing that the people of Palestine are entitled to self-determination and calling once more on Israel to take immediate steps for the return of the displaced persons, in accordance with Security Council Resolution 237 of 14 June 1967, over the issue of Palestine refugees.	8/12/70	93	5	17	Yes
7.	2787	Confirming the legitimacy of struggle for self-determination by peoples under Colonial and foreign domination including the people of Palestine	6/12/71	76	10	33	Yes
8.	2792(c)	Deploring Israeli destruction of Shelters and displacement of refugees in Gaza	6/12/71	79	4	35	Yes
9.	2949	Expressing grave concern at the continuation of the Israeli occupation of Arab territories and calling on all states not to recognize changes carried out by Israel in the occupied Arab territories, and avoid actions that could constitute recognition of that occupation.	8/12/72	86	7	31	Yes
10.	3103	Proclaiming basic humanitarian principles in all armed conflicts and principles of the legal status of the combatants struggling against colonial and alien domination and racist regimes.	12/12/73	83	13	19	Yes

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#	Res.	Description	Date				
11.	3210	Inviting the Palestinian Liberation Organization to participate in the deliberations of the UN General Assembly as representative of the Palestinian people	14/10/74	105	4	20	Yes
12.	3236	Recognizing the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination in accordance with the UN Charter.	22/11/74	89	7	37	Yes
13.	3379	Determining that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination, and a threat to world peace and security, and call on all nations to oppose the racist and imperialists' ideology.	10/11/75	72	35	32	Yes
14.	3411(G)	Condemning the strengthening of relations and collaboration between Israeland racist South Africa	10/12/75	101	15	16	Yes
15.	31/106	Condemning Israeli practices affecting human rights in the occupied territories, deliberate destruction of Quneitra, and measures to change the status of the territories	A B C D 16/12/76	129 134 100 97	3 0 5 3	4 2 30 36	Yes Yes Yes Yes
16.	32/20	Condemning Israeli continued occupation of Arab territories, declaring the need for the Palestine people to attain its inalienable rights and calling for a peace conference to be attended by the PLO.	25/11/77	102	4	29	Yes
17.	32/40	Reaffirming that a just and lasting peace in the Middle-East cannot be achieved without a just solution to the Palestinians problem	2/12/77	100	12	29	Yes
18.	33/71	Requesting all states to refrain from military and nuclear collaboration with Israel.	14/12/78	72	30	37	Yes
19.	34/29	Calling upon the Israeli authorities to rescind the deportation order issued against the Mayor of Nablus	16.11.79	132	1	1	Yes
20.	35/206(B)	Condemning all states which continue to collaborate with South Africa in the military and nuclear fields, especially Western states and Israel	16/12/80	127	4	13	Yes
21.	36/27	Condemning Israeli attack against Iraq nuclear installations of June 7, 1981.	13/11/81	109	2	34	Yes
22.	36/150	Demanding that Israel immediately cease implementation of its canal project linking the Mediterranean and the Red Seas, and requesting the Security Council to consider initiating measures to stop the project.	16/12/81	139	2	4	Yes
23.	ES-9/1	Declaring Israel's decision of December 1981 to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the Golan Heights to be null and void, and perceived as an act of aggression under Article 39 of UN Charter.	5/2/82	86	21	34	Yes
24.	ES-7/5	Demanding a ceasefire in Lebanon and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory.	26/6/82	127	0	27	Absent
25.	37/86 A,B,C,D,E	Calling for the complete withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories occupied since 1967; for the exercise of self-	10/12/82 A B	119 121	2 3	21 18	Yes Yes

		determination by the Palestinian people including the right to establish an independent state, and for the UN to supervise the occupied territories for a short transitional period.	C D E	123 113 123	2 4 2	17 23 19	Yes Yes Yes
26.	28/17	Condemning Israel's expansionist policies as an obstacle to the achievement of self-determination and independence by the Palestinian people, and condemning the massacre of Palestinians and other civilians in Beirut (Lebanon).	22/11/82	104	17	6	Yes
27.	39/223	Calling for the lifting of restrictions on the economy of the occupied Palestinian territories.	18/12/84	138	2	7	Yes
28.	42/44	Condemning Israel's refusal to renounce any possession of nuclear weapons, and calling on all states to end aid to Israel in this field.	30/11/87	97	2	52	Yes
29.	42/95	Reaffirming the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence.	7/12/87	126	17	10	Yes
30.	43/233	Condemning the opening of fire by Israeli forces, resulting in the Nahalin killings.	20/4/89	129	2	1	Yes
31.	46/71	On the uprising (intifadah) of the Palestinian people since December 9 1987, condemning Israel's policies violating human rights, including collective punishment and deportation of civilians.	11/12/91	142	2	5	Yes
32.	46/82	Condemning Israel's policies in the occupied territories and calling for its complete withdrawal from them.	16/12/91	93	37	27	Yes
33.	47/12	Requesting continued cooperation between the UN and League of Arab States on the Question of Palestine	29/10/92	119	2	1	Yes
34.	47/63	Condemning the imposition of Israeli law on the Syrian Golan (occupied since 1967 and defacto annexation on December 14, 1981) and Jerusalem as a threat to peace and security in the region.	11/12/92	73	3	70	Yes
35.	50/140	On the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, calling all states, and UN agencies to continue to support the Palestinian people in their quest for self-determination.	21/12/95	145	2	9	Yes
36.	51/26	Reaffirming the necessity of a peaceful settlement of the question of Palestine and expressing full support for the peace process	4/12/96	152	2	4	Yes
37.	51/27	Declaring invalid Israeli annexation of the Syrian Golan	4/12/96	84	12	71	Yes
38.	51/29	Welcoming the Middle-East Peace process begun at Madrid, and stressing the need for a comprehensive, just, and lasting peace in the region.	4/12/96	159	3	2	Yes
39.	51/133	Reaffirming that Israeli settlements in the occupied territories are illegal and demanding the cessation of all illegal	13/12/96	152	2	6	Yes

		Israeli settlement activities					
40.	ES-10/2	Condemning Israeli actions in occupied East Jerusalem, especially the construction of a new settlement at Jebel Abu Ghneim, and the rest of the occupied Palestine territory.	25/4/97	134	3	11	Yes
41.	ES-10/5	Reiterating demands that Israel cease its illegal actions in occupied East Jerusalem and the rest of the occupied Palestine territory.	17/3/98	120	3	5	Yes
42.	53/136	Reaffirming the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination without excluding the option of a state	9/12/98	162	2	6	Yes
43.	56/31	Deploration of the transfer by some states of their diplomatic missions to Jerusalem in violation of UN Security Council Resolution 478 (1980).	3/12/2001	130	2	10	Yes
44.	56/32	Demand that Israel withdraw from all the occupied Syrian Golan to the line of June 4 1967.	3/12/2001	90	5	54	Yes

Sources:

(i)   Gerge Tomeh, (ed), United Nations Resolutions On Palestine And The Arab-Israeli Conflict (vol. 1, 1947-1974), Washington D.C., Institute For Palestine Studies, 1975.
(ii)   Regina Sherif (ed), United Nations Resolutions On Palestine And The Arab-Israeli Conflict, vol. 2, 1975-1981, Washington DC, Institute for Palestine studies, 1988.
(iii)   Michael Simpson, (ed), United Nations Resolutions On Palestine And The Arab-Israeli Conflict, vol. 3, 1982-1986, Washington DC, Institute for Palestine studies, 1988
(iv)   Jody Boudreault, (ed), United Nations Resolutions On Palestine And The Arab-Israeli Conflict, Vol. 4, 1987-1991, Washington DC, Institute for Palestine studies, 1988
(v)   Audeh and K. LaRivirere, (eds.), United Nations Resolutions On Palestine And the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Vol. 5. 1992-1998, Washington DC, Institute for Palestine studies, 1999
(vi)   United Nations, United Nations Resolutions and Decisions Adopted by the General Assembly During Its Fifty – Sixth Session, Vol. 1, New York, UN. 12-24 December 2002.

TABLE 5.2

NIGERIA'S VOTING POSITIONS OVER UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS ON PALESTINE AND THE ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT

S/N	RESOLUTION NUMBER	ISSUE	DATE	VOTING RESULT			Nigeria's Position
				Yes	No	Absent	
1.	425	Calling on Israel to cease its military action against Lebanese territorial integrity, and withdraw its troops from all Lebanese territory	19/3/78	12	0	2	Yes
2.	446	Determining that the Israeli practice of establishing settlements in the Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories is a serious obstruction to peace in the Middle East, and has no legal validity.	22/3/79	12	0	3	Yes
3.	938	Extending the mandate of the UN Interim Force in Lebanon Until 31 January 1995.	28/7/94	14	-	-	Yes

Sources: (i) Regina Sherif (ed) <u>United Nations Resolutions On Palestine And The Arab-Israeli Conflict</u> (Vol. 2, 1975-1981), Washington D.C., Institute For Palestine Studies, 1988.
(ii)Audeh and K. LaRiviere, (ed), United <u>Nations Resolutions On Palestine And The Arab-Israeli Conflict,</u> Vol. 5, 1992-1998, Washington D.C., Institute For Palestine Studies, 1999.

(ii)   **Nigeria's Mode of Interaction With Israelis And Arabs**

In Nigeria's interaction with the Israelis and Arabs (the two parties to the Middle-East conflict), it has never shown open hostility against any party. Despite

the fact that Nigeria has a large Muslim population which pressurize its government, the country has not supplied weapons to the Palestinians or Arabs against Israel, as the US supplies to Israel against the Arabs. As several Israeli companies such as Solel Boneh do lucrative business in Nigeria, so also do Arab nations' companies like the Arab contractors based in Abuja.

Every year also, thousands of Nigerian Muslim faithfuls are supported by government to go to hajj in Saudi Arabia, just as hundreds of Christians are supported to go to pilgrimage in Israel. See table 5.3. In this way, Nigeria Muslims and Christians maintain their cultural (religious) ties with the Arab and Jewish worlds respectively. Also, Nigeria trades annually with both Israel and several Arab nations shows the volume, and items of such trade. Nigeria maintains diplomatic relations with both Israel and Arab nations, apart from the period 1973-1991 when due to OAU decision Nigeria broke diplomatic relations with Israel.

Nigeria has also never acted against Israeli directly over its attack on Egypt (an African country) or over its atrocities against Palestinian Arabs; nor has Nigeria acted against America which is the greatest supporter of Israel and architect of Israeli intransigence and largest consumer of Nigerian crude oil. During the 1973 Yom Kippur war, when Israel occupied Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, the OAU took a collective decision to break diplomatic relations with Israel. Nigeria had no choice than to abide by that decision, especially as its Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon, was the OAU Chairman at the time. When Egypt decided to normalize relations with Israel following Camp David I, even without carrying the OAU along,

Nigeria was the first OAU member to restore diplomatic relations with Israel in 1991 without waiting for the OAU to reverse its 1973 decision. These are indicators of Nigeria's pragmatic foreign policy just as the voting patterns or behaviour at the United Nations.

(iii) **Nigerian Government Pronouncements and Actions**

Starting from the first government of independent and sovereign Nigeria, the official pronouncements and actions of government have manifested the pragmatic nature of Nigeria's policy in the Middle-East.

<u>The Balewa Administration</u>

During the Balewa regime (1960-1966), even though the North[7] and South were polarized in opposition to and support for Israel respectively, the central government allowed Israel to establish a diplomatic office in Lagos. Nigeria, however, had no diplomatic mission in Tel Aviv (Israel). The presence of Israeli mission in Lagos was partly to please the NCNC Coalition partner and Southern part of the country that was essentially Christian. Moreover, Eastern and Western Regional governments were allowed to have commercial and technical links with Israel. The North, however, had nothing to do with Israel[8], preferring to interact with Arab states.

The Balewa government sent the Federal Minister of Finance, Chief Festus Okotieboh, to Israel in 1960 during which visit, he negotiated for Israeli support in

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7   For the North, just as the Arabs believed, there was no state as Israel on earth.

8.   See W. Alade Fawole, <u>Nigeria's External Relations And Foreign Policy Under the Military 1966-1999</u>, Ile-Ife, OAU, Press ltd.,

certain development programmes, and succeeded in negotiating a loan facility for Nigeria. The loan was rejected by the North, but the central government insisted on its "constitutional authority to borrow money from abroad[9] for the development of Nigeria. The Federal or Central government could not reject foreign aid meant for the country's development and wellbeing on the ground of Northern opposition that was in sympathy with Arab cause!

Ironsi Regime

The Ironsi government came into being following the overthrow of the Balewa government on January 15, 1966. Ironsi was Igbo from the Christian East (South). Thus, the North and Arab world were apprehensive over the direction of Ironsi's Middle-East policy. To allay their fears, Ironsi's government sent a large delegation of prominent Northern Muslim leaders to the capitals of Arab nations. Regrettably, there was no time for the Ironsi government to manifest independent posture on the Middle-East situation as it was overthrown in a counter-coup within six months on July 29, 1966.

Gowon Administration

The Gowon government from inception in July 1966, expressed its desire to maintain good diplomatic relations with Israel and Arab nations involved in the Middle-East conflict.[10] However, no sooner than Gowon assumed power that another war broke out between Israel and Arab nations on June 6, 1967. In this war

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9.   Quoted in A.B. Akinyemi, op. cit., p. 103.
10.   See Daily Sketch, April, 17, 1967.

Israeli forces occupied part of the territories of Egypt (Sinai Peninsula), Syria (Golan Heights), and Jordan (West Bank of the River Jordan). Israel was criticized by the UN, OAU, and several countries including Nigeria.

A month after the outbreak of this Middle-East war, the Nigerian civil war broke out on July 6, 1967. This civil war lasted $2^1/_2$ years (1967-1970) and kept the Gowon government fully occupied with the task of keeping Nigeria one. Thus, domestic problems drew the greater attention and energy of the Gowon government, than the Middle-East war. The Arab nations supported the Federal Government throughout the civil war in the task of maintaining the territorial integrity of Nigeria, while Israel supported Biafra (the Eastern region).

In 1971, General Gowon was a member of an OAU mission of 4 African Heads of State that visited Egypt and Israel. Their objective was to see "how best the Organization of African Unity since one of its member nations was involved in the Middle East conflict, could contribute in a small measure to the efforts of the United Nations and others towards a just and peaceful resolution or at any rate the reduction of the tension of the explosive situation".[11] This visit was highly valued by Egypt and especially Israel which was beginning to feel isolated psychologically by Africa whose nations have been seriously criticizing the Jewish state.

Gowon was the Chaiman of the OAU. When pressed by the dangerous signals emanating from the Middle-East, the Organisation in its 10th Ordinary

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11   See General Yakubu Gowon's Address to the UN General Assembly on 5 October 1973 In his capacity as OAU Chairman, in Nigeria Bulletin on Foreign Affairs, Vol. 3, Nos. 1-4, January – December 1973, NIIA, Lagos, pp. 179-190. Or see Appendix 5.2, pages 426-436.

session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (27-29 May 1973), passed a resolution:

(a)   Condemning the negative attitude of Israel and its acts of terrorism and abstraction of all efforts aimed at a just and equitable solution of the Middle East problem in accordance with Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967.

(b)   Calling once more for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied African and Arab territories.

(c)   Declaring that all changes effected by Israel in the occupied territories were illegal and null and void.

(d)   Reaffirming total support for Arab Egypt in its struggle to recover its territorial integrity.

(e)   Calling the big powers supplying Israel with weapons, and granting it moral and political support to refrain from doing so.

(f)   Designating the Foreign Ministers of Nigeria, Chad, Tanzania, Guinea, Algeria, Kenya, and Sudan to be spokesman to OAU at the UN Security Council of the UN on 4th and 5th June 1973.

There is no doubt that Nigeria being the Chairman of the OAU at this time, played serious role in getting this resolution adopted, especially given the continued occupation of African territory (part of Egypt) by Israel.

Again, as Chairman of the OAU, Gowon addressed the 28th Plenary Session of UN General Assembly on October 5 ,1973, during which he referred to the urgent and serious problem of the Middle East especially the situation where over two million Palestinian refugees were dispossessed of their homeland and condemned

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to living intents. He pointed out that since June 1967, part of the territories of UN member nations have remained under foreign (Israeli) occupation and control. He also pointed out the unspeakable series of aggressions, heartless and mindless brutalities, harassments and massacres, air piracies and hijackings going on in the area, all of which threaten international peace and security. He concluded his address in these solemn words:

> *Members of the Organisation of African Unity desire peace in the Middle-East, peace based on equity, peace that does not insist on acquisition of other people's territories as a pre-condition, peace that acknowledges the right of all nations in the area to exist in security, peace that places premium on respect for cultural diversity, peace that upholds the dignity of man and draws sustenance from the principles enunciated in the universal declaration of human rights and the charter of the United Nations. For all the inhabitants of the areas have every right to expect that they should no longer be distracted from the urgent task of economic reconstruction and social development. They have every right to live in peace and continue to contribute as they have done in the past, and that, Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished delegates, this is my message. This is the solemn assignment entrusted to me by the Organisation of African Unity. Thank you.[12]*

There is no doubt that in Gowon's address, swipes were taken at Israel which is the country in the Middle East crisis that "insists on acquisition of other people's territories as a pre-condition" for peace. Yet, he was in Israel personally in 1971, on peace mission.

While Gowon addressed the UN General Assembly on October 5, 1973, (See Appendix 5.2) he did not know that another war was already at hand in the Middle-East. This war, the Yom Kippur war, broke out on October 6, 1973, when Arab states attacked Israel. This war served as a catalyst for actions taken by

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12   Ibid.

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African nations including Nigeria.

On October 9,1973, General Gowon blamed both sides for not scrupulously observing the UN Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967.[13] On October 12,1973, the Federal Military Government issued a statement condemning Israel and supporting the Arabs. In the official statement, General Gowon noted:

> *The responsibility for the deterioration of the situation and the subsequent outbreak of war in the Middle East rests entirely on Israel which had stubbornly defied appeals by the OAU, the Non-aligned Movement, and the UN to withdraw from occupied Arab territories… The Federal Military Government calls on Israel to withdraw immediately from all occupied Arab territories, (give peace a chance), and stop further aggression against Egypt and other countries in the area.[14]*

On October 25, 1973, following an OAU decision, Nigeria broke diplomatic relations with Israel.

Murtala/Obasanjo Era to the Present

The Gowon administration was overthrown in a coup which saw General Murtala Mohammed become the Nigerian Head of State in 1975. Even though the Murtala/Obsanjo government brought a lot of dynamism in Nigeria's foreign policy, nothing dramatic occurred in the country's policy towards the Middle-East.

The diplomatic relations broken with Israel remained in place, and Nigeria continued to maintain its pragmatic posture even under the Shagari regime (1979-1983). It was under the Buhari regime (1984-1985) that three prominent traditional rulers were queried for unauthorized visit to Israel in 1984 – the Ooni of Ife, Oba Okunade Sijuade II; Emir of Kano, Alh. Ado Bayero; and the Obi of Onitsha.

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13. See The Daily Times (Lagos), October 10, 1973.
14. "Statement by the Federal Military Government On the Present Armed Conflict In the Middle East", Press Release, No. 1179, October 12, 1973.

Dramatic changes occurred in Nigeria – Israeli relations under the Babangida government when in 1991 Nigeria restored diplomatic relations with Israel. To soften the ground for this, Nigeria was made a full member of the Arab dominated Organization of Islamic Conference in 1986 for interest free loans and grants from the Islamic Development Bank, and other rich Arab states. Before the restoration of the diplomatic relations, Nigeria's foreign Minister, General Ike Nwackukwu, visited Israel earlier in the same year. Since the restoration in 1991, Israeli companies have been doing serious and profitable business in Nigeria, and both Israel and Nigeria have been enjoying smooth relations.

(iv) Continued Pilgrimages to And Business/Trade With Israel and Arab Nations

Nigeria's pragmatic foreign policy in the Palestinian – Israeli conflict and peace process is further demonstrated by the fact that while Nigeria persistently voted at the UN against Israel (as in Tables 5.1 and 5.2), it continued to allow its Christian citizens to go on pilgrimages to Jerusalem (Israel), while the Muslim citizens went on pilgrimages to Medina and Mecca (Saudi Arabia).[15] For example, from Oyo state alone, over 800 Christians went to Jerusalem in 2007, the first batch of which numbering 450 departed on February 20 (2007).[16] Also, Nigeria continued to trade with Israel and Arab nations; and allowed business companies from both sides to operate in Nigeria.

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15. All efforts made to collect authentic figures on pilgrimages from relevant government agencies in Lagos, Abuja and Ibadan yielded no fruits.
16. News Monitored on Broadcasting Corporation of Oyo State (BCOS), on February 13, 2007.

Table 5.3, for example, shows some key Israeli companies that operate in Nigeria, including Solel Boneh, Strabag, Motorolla, Afro Continental, and others. Arab companies operating in Nigeria include: Arab Contractors based at Abuja, Jammal Trust Bank, Abdul-S. Debs Weaving and processing Co, Lagos, Sarco Travel and Tourism Lagos/Abuja, and Mothercat Nigeria Ltd, based at Kaduna. In 2001, the Nigeria – Arab Association working in concert or consent with the Nigeria-Arab Chamber of Commerce and Industry undertook a trade, educational, and cultural mission to Syria, Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon. The purposes were:

(a)   to open new business links and explore trade opportunities for Nigerian business men and women in the Arab countries.

(b)   to promote and sustain better understanding between Nigerian and Arab entrepreneurs.

(c)   to reposition Nigeria's image as an investment friendly nation; and

 (e)   to enlighten Nigerians about the Arabs, and the Arabs about Nigerians.[17]

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17.   <u>Nigerian Embassy in Beirut: Nigeria – A special Publication,</u> October 1, 2001, p. 1.

TABLE 5.3

SOME ISRAELI COMPANIES OPERATING IN NIGERIA

S/N	NAME	NATURE OF OPERATION	REMARKS
1.	Solel Boneh Ovgersens Nig. Ltd.	Construction and Engineering	Strongly on ground in Ibadan
2.	Strabag Construction Nig. Ltd	Road and Bridge Construction	Has strong presence in Abuja (FCT)
3.	Rynolds Construction Company (RCC)	Road Construction	Mostly based in the Eastern States and Abuja
4.	Road And Building Coy (RBC)	Roads and Housing Construction	Operates in several parts of Nigeria
5.	Nigerian Water Resources Coy (NWRC).	Water projects	Operates in most parts of Nigeria
6.	MOTOROLLA	- Supply of Walkie-talkies to Nigerian Police, Army, Navy, and Air Force. - GSM phone business - Involved in telephone installation	Inovlved in telephone installation in Dodan Barracks, Lagos.
7.	IGI	General business and Merchandise	
8.	HEP Engineering	Land reclamation, and buildings	
9.	Herouth Nig. Ltd..	Agro-based	
10.	EJCO Nig. Ltd.	Structural Plumbing and Electrical Engineering	
11.	DIZPHARM	Drugs and Hospital equipment	
12.	Dizengolf W.A. Ltd.	Agricultural Machinery, and Chemical irrigation technology, air-conditioning and refrigeration	
13.	Aprofivm	Electrification and water projects	All over the country
14.	Afro-Continental	Commodity business,	The largest

		hotel and agriculture	Israeli Company. It is handling the National I.D. Card project, Shoulder in the Abuja NICON NOGA HILTON hotel, currently building N500,000 HILTON Hotel in Lagos.

Source: U.M. Birai, Domestic Constraints On Foreign Policy: The Role of Religion In Nigeria – Israel Relations 1960-1996, Kaduna, Sahab Press, 1996, p. 77.

Birai notes that by the 1990s, 43% of all contracts in Nigeria were executed by Jewish firms, while trade boomed between the two countries despite all Nigeria's votes against Israel at the UN. For example, the total volume of trade from Israel to Nigeria between January to October 1990 was far in excesses of N8 billion.[18] By 1983, 40 Israeli firms were in Nigeria rising to 100 in 1991.

Advertisements were also placed promoting trade and other business transactions and opportunities with the Arab world in Nigeria. For example, in 1992, the Nigeria Export Promotion Council advertised zones in the Middle-East with favourable export environment. Zones in Egypt., Syria, Jordan, Cyprus, Libya, and Yemen were given special focus. _The Export News Bulletin[19]_ – specifically stated that Egypt has the most well developed zones with liberal incentive offers to foreign firms.

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18. U.M. Birai, Domestic Constraints On Foreign Policy: The Role of Religion In Nigeria – Israel Relations 1960-1996, Kaduna, sahib Press, 1996, p. 74.
19. See Export News Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1992.

All these were evidence to show that while Israel and the Palestinians/Arabs waged their conflict, Nigeria, due to its pragmatic foreign policy, keeps cultural and economic contacts with both adversaries. The North was left to support and sympathise with the Arabs and the Palestinians and had nothing to do with Israel. But in the south, the Israelis, their business companies, and industrial manufactures were received and welcomed with open arms with government approval as well. In this way as rightly "noted by Fawole, the government of Nigeria accommodated the conflicting basic interests of the Arabs and the Israelis" and this afforded the government the requisite flexibility to relate with both adversaries"[20]

5.3   DETERMINANTS OF NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE-EAST

Section 5.1 highlighted the fact that Nigeria's foreign policy on Palestine and Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East was not neutral but pragmatic. Section 5.2 was devoted to exploring the factors that have shaped or shape Nigeria's foreign policy generally.

In this section 5.3, we focus intellectual attention to the examination of the specific factors that determine Nigeria's foreign policy in the Middle East. In other words, what factors made Nigeria to adopt a pragmatic foreign policy posture instead of supporting one party to the conflict as the United states did, or remaining completely neutral. In examining these factors, the result of the analysis of our questionnaires administered in the course of this study shall be utilized. 234 valid questionnaires were collected from respondents.

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20   W. Alade Fawole, <u>Nigeria's External Relations And Foreign Policy Under Military Rule 1966-1999,</u> Ile-Ife, OAU Press, 2003, p. 78.

The frequency distribution and cross-tabulation analysis of the Bio-data of respondents such as age, educational qualification, state of origin, geo-political zone, religion, and marital status) as well as their responses to our question items are in Appendix 2. Only relevant data are presented in the body of this analysis.

Analysis of data gathered through questionnaires in the course of this study, shows that nine factors influenced Nigeria's foreign policy of pragmatism in the Palestinian/Arab-Israeli conflict and peace process. In the order of their significance, those factors are:

i.   Nigeria's ethnic and religious diversity.

ii.   Nigeria's membership of international organisations especially the UN, OAU (now AU), and more especially the OPEC, Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC), and Islamic Development Bank (IDB) which are dominated by Arabs.

iii.   Economic factors associated more with oil revenue vagaries rather than quantum of Nigeria's national resources or the nature of the economy.

iv.   The ruling elite

v.   Geographical factors

vi.   Military factors

vii.   Public opinion

viii.   Pressure groups, and

ix.   Political parties.

These listed nine factors were contained in our questionnaire item 8, in which the respondents were asked: "which of these are the factors that determined Nigeria's Middle East foreign policy especially between 1960 and 2006? Even though we listed nine possible responses for the respondents to freely choose from,

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two factors of the nine are outstanding as the real determinants of the country's foreign policy in the Middle East, as can be seen from Table 5.4 below showing the frequency distributions of the responses. These two outstanding factors are:

    i.   Nigeria's ethnic and religious diversity.

    ii.   Nigeria's membership of International organisations.

These two factors were chosen by over 100 of the 234 respondents. 146 (62.4%) of the respondents marked Nigeria's ethnic and religious diversity, while 110 (47%) marked Nigeria's membership of international organisations. Figure 5.1 clearly shows their outstanding positions.

TABLE 5.4

ANALYSIS OF QUSTIONNAIRE ITEMS NO 8. RESPONSES

Response Options	Absolute Figure out of 234	Percentage of each option out of 234
A. Ethnic diversity and religious factors	146	62.4
B. Economic factors	83	35.5
C. Geographical factors	28	12.0
D. the ruling elite	63	26.9
E. Political Parties	18	7.7
F. Military factors	25	10.7
G. Pressure Groups	19	8.1
H. Public Opinion	22	9.4
I. Membership of International Organisations	110	47.0

<u>Source</u>: Questionnaire Analysis by the Researcher.

PERCENTAGES
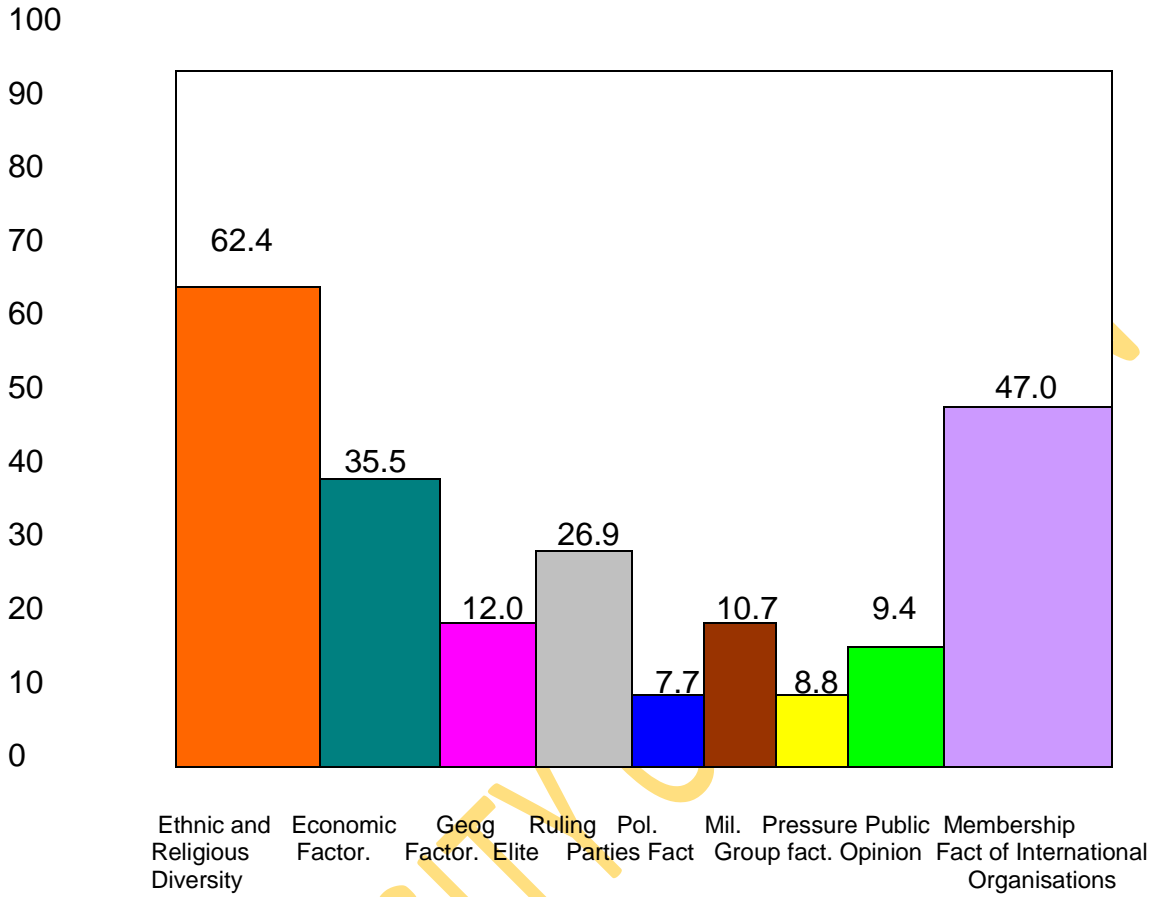
Fig: 5.1 Frequency Distribution of Factors Determining Nigeria's Foreign Policy In The Middle East.

These nine factors will now be examined much more closely individually.

(a)   Nigeria's ethnic and religious diversity.

Prior to the conclusion of the 2006 census, Nigeria had about 89 million people, but the 2006 census puts the figure at about 140 million.   Though the population figure changes from year to year, the ethnic and religious composition of Nigeria has remained almost as constant. Thus, Nigeria is said to have between 62 and 617 ethnic groups as scholars and researchers differ on the exact figure.   In other words, Nigeria is a multi-ethnic nation state with many tribes, cultures and languages. The lowest figure however is 62 as asserted by Murdock, while the highest is 619 as noted by Wente-Lukas.   In between these two figures are other varying figures such as Huffman's 394, Coleman's 248, and Otite's 374.[21]

The Hausa-Fulani group that are Muslim generally, dominated the North, and since it had sympathy for the Palestinians and Arabs, did not want the Federal government to take any anti-Arab position in the Middle –East crisis.   In short, for the greater part of 1960 to 1990, the core Northern elite in Nigeria never wished that any state such as Israel existed.   The Muslims in Nigeria also go on pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina in Saudi Arabia (Arab world).

In contrast, the Igbo, Yoruba, Edo, Ijaw and other ethnic groups in the south wished to do business with Israel, and continuously pressurized the Federal government to support Israel.   Most of the southern people are also Christians, who go on religious pilgrimage to Jerusalem in Israel, and also benefit from Israel's agricultural "miracles" in its desert areas.

21.These varying figures can be found in Oshita, Oshita, "Conflict dynamics In A Multi-Ethnic State; Revivalism And Brinkmanship In Contemporary Nigeria", in Isaac Albert, 2005, op. cit.,

Thus, since Nigeria's independence, the Hausa-Fulani of the North, have shown strong solidarity with, support, and sympathy for the Palestinians and Arabs, manifested at times in pro-Arab demonstrations and riots. The other ethnic groups in the south in opposition have demonstrated solidarity with, support, and sympathy for the Israelis.

These divergent and opposing positions of Nigerian ethnic groups have made it impossible for the federal government of Nigeria to muster domestic solidarity to take a clear cut side against either Israel or Palestine (Arabs) over the Middle East crises. The government had to move cautiously over the issues of religion and ethnicity to maintain national unity and stability. As noted by Abayomi:

> *Religion is a very sensitive issue… Marx called it the opium of the masses'. Therefore, when nations go to war for political differences, the chance of reaching political accord is always there. But when a nation disintegrates on account of conflicting faiths, the ensuing conflagration is always protracted and messy. When differences of faith get mixed up with complications of economic inequality and minor ethnic and geographical rivalries, such as we have in Nigeria, then we have the makings of a Hobbesian jungle.[22]*

The concern over religious differences in Nigeria become more frightening for foreign policy when it is recalled that religion is aligned largely along the lines of the three major ethnic groups in the country. The Hausa-Fulani of the North are essentially Muslims; the Igbo of the East are Christians and traditionalists; while the Yoruba of the West are mixture of Muslims, Christians and traditionalists. The confrontation between Christians and traditionalists or Muslims and traditionalists

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22. A. Abayomi, "Preventive Diplomacy: An Instrument For Harmony In <u>Nigeria</u>", <u>Nigerian Journal of International Affairs</u>, Vol. 28, Nos. 1 and 2, 2002, p. 277. For similar concerns over religion, See C. Amuta "Concerns of a Federalist", in <u>The Guardian On Sunday</u>, July 30, 2000.

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are minimal and negligible. But between Christians and Muslims, there have been series of open violent conflicts. Again as noted by Ayayomi:

> *The violent records of Christian-Muslim relations have been weighed down by fear, prejudice and suspicion. Consequently, those in the same religion have tended to regard their co-religionists as "brothers" and "sisters" with compelling avoidance of objective standards in making judgments on state issues; thus the religious brother is always right because he belongs to a particular religion. It is for example Islam that makes a Kanuri, a Yoruba, and a Hausa-Fulani feel close, and so with other religions.[23]*

Externally, Muslims (Hausa-Fulani) in Nigeria's North see Arabs in Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, etc, as their kit and kin. It is here necessary to recall Henry Kissinger's assertion to the effect that the roots of the Middle-East conflicts are not economic or strategic "but ideological and religious".[24] No wonder then that religious <u>cum</u> ethnic factors recorded the most outstanding influence in the determination of Nigeria's foreign policy in the Middle –East.

(b)   Nigeria's Membership of International and Regional Organisations.

Nigeria's membership of international and regional organisations is the second most influential factor that determined its foreign policy in the Middle-East. Nigeria as a sovereign and independent nation belongs to a number of strategic international organisations especially the United Nations, (UN), African Union (AU), formerly Organisation of (African Unity), Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC), and Islamic Development Bank (IDB). These organisations take certain decisions in pursuit of their objectives which

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23.   A Abayomi, <u>Ibid</u>., p. 281.
24.   Henry Kissinger, <u>Op. cit</u>., p. 26.

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Nigeria as a faithful member can not refuse to abide by, no matter which party or nation is affected.

For example, Nigeria could not refuse to vote in favour of UN Resolutions which condemn Israeli atrocities in occupied Arab lands, or in support of Resolutions calling on Israel to withdraw from these occupied lands. UN Resolutions calling for peaceful settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was also supported by Nigeria. These are essentially because the UN has universal objectives, guiding principles, and charter obligations which members are to pursue or abide by in good faith. The UN has the capacity to punish erring members especially poor and weak Third World nations like Nigeria through sanctions or outright deployment of military forces for non-compliance.

Nigeria also belongs to OPEC which is the international Cartel controlling the production and sale of crude oil in most oil producing nations of the world. OPEC is dominated by Arab nations which have great affinity with and sympathy for Palestinians. The organization is capable of sabotaging the (economic) interests of Nigeria or any other member that goes contrary to its position in the Middle East conflict. Thus, it would be suicidal for Nigeria to take clear cut position in support of Israel against Palestinians and Arab interests and aspirations.

Nigeria is also a leading member of and financer of the African Union (formerly Organisation of African Unity, OAU), and is looked upon for examples and direction. Thus, the country abides by the Organisation's decisions. It was the OAU which in solidarity with Egypt, decided that all its members break diplomatic relations with Israel in 1973. Even though this decision was a painful one for the

sections of Nigeria (Eastern and western states of the south), that wanted to maintain relations with Israel, Nigeria had no choice than to abide by the OAU decision. The difficulty Nigeria faced in taking the decision domestically to break diplomatic relations with Israel can be seen from the fact that it took the country almost a whole year to carry out the OAU decision. (See Table 5.5 below.) The point is that if not for the OAU decision, the domestic ethnic and religious configuration of Nigeria would not have allowed the country to, on its own, break diplomatic relations with Israel. The breaking of diplomatic relations with Israel by African states dealt a deadly blow to Israeli interests in Africa and the world for several decades. The import of the OAU decision lies in the fact that prior to the decision only 4 African nations had found it necessary to break diplomatic relations with Israel, and these are Guinea (1967), Uganda (1972), Chad (1972) and Congo (1972), as can be seen in Table 5.5.

TABLE 5.5: DATES AFRICAN NATIONS' SEVERED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

S/N	COUNTRY	DATE
1.	Guinea	June 12, 1967
2.	Uganda	March 30, 1972
3.	Chad	November 28, 1972
4.	Congo	December 31, 1972
5.	Niger	January 4, 1973
6.	Mali	January 5, 1973
7.	Burundi	May 16, 1973
8.	Togo	September 21, 1973
9.	Zaire	October 4, 1973
10.	Benin (Dahomey)	October 6, 1973
11.	Rwanda	October 9, 1973
12.	Cameroon	October 15, 19773
13.	Equatorial Guinea	October 15, 1973
14.	Burkina Faso (Upper Volta)	October 18, 1973
15.	Tanzania	October 18, 1973
16.	Mauritania	October 19, 1973
17.	Malagasy	October 20, 1973
18.	Central African Republic	October 21, 1973
19.	Sierra Leone	October 22, 1973
20.	Ethiopia	October 22, 1973
21.	Nigeria	October 25, 1973
22.	Zambia	October 25, 1973
23.	Gambia	October 25, 1973
24.	Ghana	October 27, 1973
25.	Senegal	October 27, 1973
26.	Gabon	October 29, 1973
27.	Kenya	November 1, 1973
28.	Liberia	November 2, 1973
29.	Cote D'Ivoire (Ivory Coast)	November 8, 1973
30.	Botswana	November 13, 1973
31.	Mauritius	July 6, 1976

Source: S.O. Olugbemi, cited in U.M. Birai, Domestic Constraints On Foreign Policy: The Role of Religion In Nigeria-Israeli Relations 1960-1996, Kaduna, Sahab Press, 1996, p. 89.

The Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC), and Islamic Development Bank (IDB) based in Saudi Arabia are also international organisations Nigeria belongs to. Even though these are later entries of 1986 and 2005 respectively for the organisations, this membership also influences Nigeria's foreign policy. Nigeria hopes for interest free loans, and development grants from the OIC and IDB. In June 2005, Nigeria subscribed to the IDB with N420 million as the country's share capital investment in order to have access to the bank's credit facility.

(c)   Economic Factors

From the questionnaire analysis, economic factors constitute the third most important determinant of Nigeria's foreign policy towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and peace process. This has a historical root stretching as far back as the economic relationships between Israel and the Eastern and Western regions on the one hand, and between the Arabs and the Northern region on the other, in the First Republic.

The structure and nature of a country's economy as well as its external economic and financial relationships are important factors influencing its domestic politics and foreign policy behaviour. Nigeria is a country with abundant human and natural resources. In the early Sixties, Nigeria's economy rested squarely on agricultural produce notably cocoa, rubber, palm-produce, cotton, groundnuts, hides and skin. Gradually and beginning from mid-1960's agricultural economy gave way to oil-economy. On other words, with the emergence of oil economy, serious attention was not given to agriculture by local, state and federal governments. In effect, agriculture was relegated to the background. Although Nigeria has other

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important solid minerals including coal, tin, columbites, lead and zinc, oil became the country's major foreign exchange earner. Indeed, there was considerable expansion in petroleum production and export to the detriment of agricultural production and export. As the production of oil increased, the other non-oil sectors declined. This development led to food scarcity, insecurity and food importation because Nigerians especially farmers could not produce enough food to feed the country's teeming or growing population. This had serious implications on Nigeria's foreign reserve.

During the colonial era, Nigeria's economy depended on Western European markets including Britain. Even after independence, the Nigerian economy still depended on their markets. In effect, Nigeria provided continuity by maintaining the character of its colonial economic structure which was designed to solidify Nigeria's dependency on Britain for trade. The leadership in Nigeria believed rightly or wrongly, that the most effective means of achieving national economic and social development objectives was to develop the economy along the capitalist path. From the late 1960s, however, oil or petroleum emerged as the dominant revenue earner of the Nigerian government. As Festus Marinho puts it:

> *Oil revenues became entrenched as the main pivot around which our development objectives and growth targets are constructed* [25].

Put simply, the Federal and State governments depend upon the fluctuating and unpredictable oil revenues for development purposes. Everything about Nigerians

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25. See Marinho F.R.A., <u>Nigeria: A Regenerative Economy or Vegetative Existence,</u> Alumni Lecture, University of Ibadan, 1988.

is shaped and defined by Nigeria's crude oil. Nonetheless, the boom in the oil industry greatly enhanced the country's potential standing on the international arena. As a matter of fact, the improved state of Nigeria's economy bestowed on her a leverage which she did not possess in her first decade of independence.

More importantly, Nigeria was able to determine her own policies independent of external influences. As Olajide Aluko observed:

> *The phenomenal growth of the economy largely as a result of the 'oil boom'… has strengthened Nigeria's position in relations with the superpowers. Neither of the super-powers can now use foreign aid as a means of political leverage on Nigeria. Heavy American dependence on Nigeria's oil means that Nigeria is free not only to criticize the United States of America but also to put pressure on her [26].*

The above assertion describes the conditions influencing subsequent foreign policy decisions and, indeed, Nigeria's external behaviour.   The increase in wealth generated from oil brought about distortions on the Nigerian economy. In addition, it stifled the growth of other vital sectors of the economy, especially solid mineral resources.   Besides, it served as a disincentive to the industrial/manufacturing sector by encouraging the importation of all industrial inputs and consumer items. Consequently, Nigeria heavily depended on imports to meet domestic demands. Gradually, fluctuations in the international oil prices began to affect the amount of revenue accruable to the country for its economic and social development. For the

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26.   See Olajide Aluko, "Nigeria and the Superpowers" in Essays in Nigerian Foreign Policy, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1981, pp. 162-163.

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purpose of our study, it is essential to note that there were already economic ties between the government of Eastern and Western Nigeria on the one hand and Israel on the other even before Nigeria's independence on 1 October 1960. For instance, in June 1960, the Federal Government signed a loan Agreement with Israel. The NPC called on the Federal Government to end all negotiation with Israel for financial assistance and to withdraw recognition from the State of Israel [27]. When the Federal Government did not ignore this call, the Northern government dissociated itself from the loan Agreement from a tiny country (like Israel) subsidized by "the voluntary contributions of American Jews". Immediate reaction also came from NEPU (another Northern political party) in a warning to the NPC not to introduce religion into the politics of Nigeria. These sentiments were echoed by the NCNC and the Southern Press. Prime Minister Balewa rebuked the Northern Regional Government and said:

> *…Nigeria and Israel were friendly and would co-operate for their mutual development. Besides, Nigeria would not become entangled in any quarrel between the Jews and the Arabs. It will be the end of happiness in this country if (and when) religion is brought into politics.*[28]

The issue of economic relations with Israel, however, continued to be a source of conflict between Northern Nigeria and Southern Nigeria on the one hand and the

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[27] See Akinyemi A.B., Foreign policy and Federalism, Ibadan University Press, 1974, pp. 100-103

[28]. Ibid

Federal Government on the other.

In 1961, while on tour of the Middle East, the Sardauna of Sokoto (Sir Ahmadu Bello) announced in Egypt that he would not allow Israel to take part in any development programme in Northern Nigeria [29].In October 1962, the Federal government signed two Trade Agreements with Israel and the UAR. The Agreement with Israel included an offer of Israeli technical assistance in projects under the Nigerian National Development Plan. Immediately, the Premier of Northern Nigeria (Sir Ahmadu Bello) called on the Federal Parliament not to ratify such an Agreement. In reaction, the Federal Government ignored Sir Ahmadu Bello's request and accepted the Trade Agreement without submitting it to Parliament. Each of the above stated incidents led to protests from Southern press which ridiculed Arab attitudes towards Israel.[30]

Similarly, on a visit to Israel, the Premier of Western Nigeria, late Chief S.L. Akintola said:

> You can be assured of our friendship and support at
> any place, and we promise never to withdraw this [31.]

In the same vein and during his visit to Jerusalem (Israel), the Premier of Eastern Nigeria and leader of NCNC, Dr. Michael I. Opara said:

> I myself 'am almost an Israelite. I love and admire Israel.
> For my part, I shall always go to Israel and any aid offered
> to us would be accepted"[32]

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[29]   Ibid.
30.   Ibid. p. 104.
31.   Ibid.
32.   Ibid.

But during his official visit to Arman (Jordan) in 1965, Sir Ahmadu Bello offered his support for the Arabs and said:

> *Jordan is my second home. To my mind it (Israel) does not exist. And it will never exist… I don't know where it is …*[33(a)]

Sir Bello's assertion was made despite the fact that Israel had established diplomatic mission in Lagos.

From the above assertions or statements from top government functionaries, it can be argued that the regional governments became partisan and interested parties in the Arab-Israeli conflict at least during the First Republic. The emergence of petroleum (or crude oil) as the central commodity of Nigerian economy increased Nigeria's pace of its interaction with the Middle East producers through OPEC.

Thus, the role of economic factors in Nigeria's foreign policy results mainly from the fact that oil is the life-wire of Nigeria's economy, and nothing is to be done to risk or threaten this life-wire. As a matter of fact, over eighty percent (80%) of Nigeria's national revenue comes from oil and gas. Within this calculus, it would be a suicide mission for the country to risk offending the United States that purchases a large percentage of Nigeria's oil output by openly taking sides with Arabs, or offending the Arab nations that control OPEC by openly supporting Israel. Nigeria remains vitally important to U.S. Security, democracy, trade and energy policy needs and objectives; its government remains one of America's dependable allies on the continent on a wide array of diplomatic initiatives from such as Darfur, peace-

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33(a).Ibid.

keeping, counter-terrorism and HIV/AIDS. As an up and coming emerging market of a little over 140 million people, Nigeria welcomes U.S. investment and technology and is one of the world's largest importers of U.S. wheat. Nigeria accounts for twelve percent of U.S. oil imports and as of March 2007, it passed Saudi Arabia and Venezuela to become the third largest exporter of crude oil to the United States of America.

In addition to the oil element within the realm of economic factors, Nigeria's major trading partners are in Europe and not the Arab world. These countries are essentially the USA,[33(b)] UK, (and France), all of which have great sympathy for Israel and harbour anti-Arab tendencies. Thus, it would tantamount to economic suicide for Nigeria to openly work against Israel in support of Arabs.

(d)   The ruling Elite

The values, interests, nature and ideology of the ruling elite play significant roles in the foreign policy of nations. In nations with weak or non-existing domestic institutions to constrain rulers, the latter have greater role in foreign policy. Unlike their counterparts in Europe and in the United States of America, the governing elites and, indeed, in many cases, the President or Heads of State in Africa, have greater control over the foreign relations of their countries because there are no serious domestic institutional constraints on the behviour of the African rulers. As a result, the African Presidents or Heads of State and Government are extremely

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33(b)   39(b)   U.S. Policy goals in Nigeria are to strengthen social stability through pluralism, democracy and good governance; to promote more market-led economic growth as the best way; and to enhance Nigeria's ability to act as a responsible regional and bilateral trade partner. For more information, see The Nation, Sunday 10, June 2007. p. 2.

powerful.[34] Also the field of foreign affairs, for example, is often regarded as the special preserve of the President or Heads of State. In some cases, the President or Head of State acts as his own Foreign Minister, and where he has a separate man over foreign affairs, the Minister may remain, in most cases, his 'courier' rather than an important figure in the formulation and execution of foreign policy. Consequently, changes in governments in Africa have meant changes in the country's behaviour.[35]   The nature and ideology of the ruling elites are, therefore, important in understanding and, perhaps, predicting their behaviour. Where the rulers are militant and are of humble birth without wealth, one can expect a radical foreign policy stance from their countries. But where the rulers are conservative with aristocratic background, one can expect moderate and cautious foreign policy from their countries.

The contention that Nigeria's foreign policy during the Balewa era was "low keyed and conservative" is based, to a large extent, on the Prime Minister's personal traits. Observers of his administration have variously described him as a "calm and moderate man" with a knack for compromise, his personality being more calculated to placate than to provoke[36.] For instance, Balewa's personality and perception of Soviet Communism affected his attitudes towards communist countries, literature, or any association with them. The banning of communist literature from Nigeria is a premier example of his undisguised dislike for

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[34.] See Olajide Aluko, Op. cit., p. 10.

[35.] Ibid.

[36] See Gordon J. Idang, Nigeria Internal Politics and Foreign Policy: 1960-1966, Ibadan, Ibadan University Press, 1973, pp. 51-55.

communism.[37] According to Idang, the Prime Minister (Balewa) regarded all types of radicalism and militancy as immoral. In a nutshell, Balewa's position on foreign policy seemed to be both conservatively moralistic and gradualist. His arguments, attitudes and positions on non-interference and recognition of Tshombe in the Congo Crisis was illustrative of the moral principles guiding his perception of problems. His advocacy of gradual transition from colonial rule to independence for dependent African territories to insure adequate preparation was reflective of both his gradualist orientation and conservatism[38]

Unlike Prime Minister Balewa, General Yakubu Gowon, as Head of State, transformed the political and economic systems in Nigeria. Gowon's appeal and charisma, magnamity and sense of fairness generated international respect not only for him, but for Nigeria[39] It is important to note that patience, caution, humility and all the moral attributes credited to Gowon are not compatible with the firmness and pragmatism that power politics demands.

Gowon's overthrow in a military coup d'etat in July 1975 ushered in an entirely new character into the Nigerian political scene: adventurous, activist, dynamic and realist by conviction. He was General Murtala Mohammed. When the South African troops moved into Angola to support the Western backed UNITA/FLNA factions or forces in August 1975, General Murtala Mohammed swiftly recognized and supported the MPLA as the legitimate liberation movement and government of Angola. Many nations were dumb founded by the decision to

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[37]   see Joy U. Ogwu, Op. cit., p. 52.
[38]   Ibid, p. 53.
[39].   See Colin Legum. Observer. (London, August 3, 1957. Also see, Alajide Aluko, Essays in Nigerian Foreign Policy (London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., pp. 162-163.

recognize the MPLA government in Angola. But it was a bold decision that was generally acclaimed and accepted by friends and antagonists. After the death of General Murtala Mohammed in an abortive coup, General Olusegun Obasanjo, who was second in command to Mohammed, took over the leadership of Nigeria as Head of State. He did not view communist involvement in southern Africa as immoral.

After Murtala/Obasanjo regime, President Shehu Shagari came to the Presidency on October 1, 1979. He has been described by some observers as cautious, gentle, soft-spoken and self-effacing.[40]   As a result, there is nothing to show that he is a militant or radical politician. Like other Heads of State since 1983 except Chief Ernest Shonekan, General Sani Abacha was militant, aggressive, ruthless and unforgiven probably because of his military training. These noticeable traits cannot be said of Chief Ernest Shonekan who could be described as a moralist and conservative person.

Unlike his immediate predecessor who died in office or active service, General Abdulsalam Abubakar who became Nigeria's Head of State on June 9, 1998 had little or no interest in partisan politics and in the use of absolute (political) power. Nigeria's return to civilian democratic rule could have taken much longer than a year if he had wanted to remain in power and enjoy the luxury of the Nigerian presidency. In effect, therefore, Nigeria would have remained under oppressive military rule beyond the 20th Century. From his good gestures and style of

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40. See Colin Legum, Observer, London, 15 March, 1981.

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administration within a short period of his assumption of office, General Abubakar appeared to be a moderate, God-fearing and peace-loving man. These traits are reflected in his public and official pronouncements and they contributed to the emergence of a new era in Nigeria's diplomacy or foreign relations after the demise of General Sani Abacha. Besides, General Abubakar is neither an Aristocrat nor Oligarch. It is, however, difficult to describe him as a "Democrat" or a "Populist".

From May 29, 1999, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo became Nigeria's president at the beginning of present Fourth Republic. His first task was to return Nigeria to the heart of the comity of nations, and get it out of the 'pariah status' it acquired under General Abacha. He later embarked on the campaign for external creditors to cancel Nigeria's debts – a task he has achieved at a great feat. These achievements have portrayed him as a great and shrewd diplomat, who has succeeded in areas where some of his predecessors have failed.

The point being raised is that the nature, values, and interests of Nigeria's ruling elite have influenced Nigeria's foreign policy. In the case of Nigeria's policy in the Middle-East, the ruling elite role came fourth in the order of importance and effect, meaning that three other factors (ethnic/religious factor, membership of international organisations, and economic factors), played greater role. The ruling elite under Balewa were of a coalition nature as this government was a coalition of the northern based NPC, that did not want to hear of Israel, and Eastern based NCNC that wanted Nigeria to maintain relations with Israel. While the Ironsi regime was very temporary, (only six months in office), the Gowon government maintained

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relations with Israel and Arab nations until the OAU decision of 1973 to break diplomatic relations with Israel.

The Murtala/Obasanjo regime was a Muslim-Christian ticket, and the government was dynamic, progressive and patriotic. But it could not override the OAU decision, neither could the Shagari and Buhari governments. It was the Babangida government which in search of developmental funds for Nigeria from the Arab world that had to take Nigeria into the OIC as a prelude to entry into the Islamic Development Bank (IDB). In order to assuage the Christians and Southerners, the government restored diplomatic relations with Israel on the ground that Egypt had done so without waiting for the OAU to lift its earlier boycott decision. From then on, till date, all subsequent governments had/have maintained diplomatic, cultural, economic relations with Israel and the Arab world.

(e)   Geographical Factors.

In terms of size, Nigeria occupies a land area of about 373,250 square miles or 923,728 square km. and is bordered to the East by Cameroon Republic, to the West by Benin Republic, to the North by Niger Republic; while the Atlantic Ocean demarcates its southern coastine. Besides, Nigeria is by far the most populous country in Africa and based on the 2006 Population Census, Nigeria has a population of about 140 million people approximately. The 2006 Population census puts the figure at 140,003,542 million to be exact. This makes her the largest concentration of black people worldwide. More importantly, there are over 250 ethnic groups most of which have their own languages and unique culture.

However, the major tribes or ethnic groups are the Hausa-Fulani of the North, the Igbo of the East and the Yoruba of the West.

In a nutshell, Nigeria is a big country and relatively populous country that is about a quarter of Africa South of the Sahara. The population although backward because of the level of literacy, constituted a big market for foreign investment. The size of the country and its population have given Nigeria a strategic advantage in the sense that the country cannot be easily overrun. The country's location in the middle Atlantic astride major trade routes means that friendship with Nigeria is/was desirable

A huge population size, like Nigeria, is both an asset and a liability. It is an asset in that it provides a large reservoir of labor which can be mobilized for economic growth and development. The most problematic aspect of Nigeria's huge population size is its heterogeneity in that it is divided along ethnic, religious and class lines. Consequently, ethnic, religious and class interests are diametrically at variance with national interests such as national security and unity which are continually being threatened.

Despite her size, population and resources, Nigeria has absolutely no territorial expansionist intentions like the State of Israel. While addressing the UN General Assembly on 6 October 1960, the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa declared:

Nigeria will never impose herself upon any other country but will treat every African country-big or small-as equal because it is only on that basis of equality that peace can be maintained in the continent of Africa [41].

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41. See F.O. Adeyemo, Government Made Simple (Fourth Edition), Zeidan Printing Press, Beirut, 2001, p. 261

Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was, however, fully aware of Nigeria's dominant position in Africa and he fully appreciated the advantages of Nigeria's size and population. Since independence, Nigeria has never pursued any aggressive foreign policy in Africa in general and with her immediate neighbours in particular.

Climate imposes restrictions on the types of warfare that can be conducted in a particular area or the type of crops that can be grown. Climatic conditions in southern parts of Nigeria, for example, favour the growth of cocoa, rubber and palm produce while they favour the growth of groundnuts, millets and cotton in the northern part of the country. Also, the national army of a country focuses attention on military tactics, organization and discipline as well as learns the nature of the land, how steep the mountains are, how the valleys debouch, where the plains lie and understand the nature of rivers and swamps in times of war and peace.

Besides, availability and distribution of natural resources determine a nation's self-reliance or dependence on other countries in war-time or peace time. Nigeria is endowed with natural resources such as petroleum/oil, limestone, tin, columbite, coal, gold and lead. The possession of abundant natural resources increases Nigeria's freedom to maneuver in international politics.

However, geographical factors ranked 5th in the determination of Nigeria's foreign policy towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This high position in relation to four other factors may have been due to the country's position as the largest Black nation in the world, and the presence of huge mineral resources that tend to give it

some measure of independent foreign policy. The geographical factor however is weighed down by diverse ethnic and religious groups.

(f)   The Military Factor

The intervention of the military in Nigerian politics or the assumption of power by the military on 15 January 1966 led to the dissolution of Nigerian parliament, abolition of regionally based political parties, the suspension and modification of the 1963 Republican Constitution and the centralization of foreign policy decision making. The latter put an end to regional interference in Nigeria's external relations. It also put an end to divergent foreign policy statements during the formative years of Nigeria's foreign policy. Divergent statements caused confusion about Nigeria's stand (or position) on some major international issues such as the Congo crisis and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Secondly and more importantly, it gave the country the reputation of speaking with too many voices on external matters.   In addition, the emergence of the military in Nigerian politics led to increasing concentration of power and authority at the center and this enabled the Federal Military Government (1966 – 1999, (except of course, October 1979 – December 1983) to assert its supremacy and exclusive competence in the field (or domain) of foreign policy.

However, military governments could not override the OAU decision of 1973 which led to the breaking of diplomatic relations with Israel until Egypt broke the rule. Also, military regimes took full note of the fact that they could not offend the sensibilities of Arab nations which dominate and control OPEC, either could they act out of tune with UN decisions on the Middle-East. They were also aware that ethnic religious sentiments could run high over Middle-East matters in Nigeria. Hence,

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military factors ranked 6th in order of importance in influencing Nigeria's foreign policy in the Middle East.

(g). Public Opinion

Public opinion counts in the making of foreign policy decisions, especially in democratic countries such as the United States of America. Indeed, the more democratic a State, the greater the number of people to whom the leaders tend to listen. Public opinion is usually expressed by the articulate strata of the population. They invariably use the mass media such as the radio, television and newspaper in order to articulate their views on foreign policy issues. In addition, they express their views through public lectures and seminars. Opinions expressed by pressure /interest groups and individuals may influence foreign policy decision-making (output) but the government is not expected to bow down to their views (inputs). In this regard, important issues include: (i) the Anglo-Nigerian Defence Pact/Agreement (1960 / 62), (ii) the expulsion of Nigerians from Ghana in 1969, (iii) Britain's entry to the European Economic Community (EEC) between 1970 and 1973, (iv) the Angolan issue in 1975 and (v) the maltreatment / expulsion of Nigerians in Equatorial Guinea in 1976 and 1998. For instance, during the 1957 Nigerian Constitutional Conference, delegates agreed that British control over Nigeria's military forces should cease after April 1958. As a substitute, however, the delegates to the 1958 resumed Constitutional Conference agreed on a draft mutual defence pact between Britain and Nigeria. The draft defence agreement

was kept secret until early 1960.[42]

On February 21 and 23, 1960, however, the <u>Sunday Times</u> and the <u>West African Pilot</u> carried the news of the Federal Government's secret plan to enter into a bilateral defence agreement with Britain and to allow the latter establish military bases on Nigerian soil. By entering into Defence Pact with Britain, the British visit forces (or authority) could enter, leave and move freely about in Nigeria without any control or restriction whatsoever. Besides, British aircaraft could be entitled to unrestricted overflying and air-standing facilities. This led to hue and cry or strong protests from pressure/interest groups particularly University Students' Union. Consequently, the British government gave up the idea of establishing military bases in Nigeria. The Defence Pact was abrogated or cancelled in 1962. The abrogation of the Pact ended one of the earliest foremost political controversies relating to foreign policy issue in Nigeria. In 1986, General Ibrahim B. Babangida initiated a national debate on the advisability of taking the IMF loan. The debate lasted a few months during which Nigerians expressed popular opposition to the loan and his regime backed down to public opinion.

In summary, the Press serves as an indispensable tool for moulding public opinion on important national issues. Besides, the Press serves as the critic of the government, as advocate of policy and as policy influencer. Regrettably, the media has not been playing its role effectively. It has been focusing on socio-economic

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42.   <u>Ibid.,</u> p. 269.

and political issues at the expense of national interests such as unity, peace, economic progress and prosperity as well as promotion of democratic values.

On the issue of Nigeria's foreign policy towards the Israeli-Palestine conflict, public opinion ranked seventh. The reason is not far fetched. There were discordant tunes which, though may have reflected ethnic/religious views, were not articulated and powerful enough.

(h)   Pressure/Interest Groups

Pressure/interest groups are organized associations that operate to obtain favourable policies from the government. In order to exert political influence, an interest group must possess one or more of three basic kinds of resources namely: financial resources, numerical strength and knowledge. The wealthier groups can rely most heavily on their financial resources. Disruptive action such as strike, riot, demonstration (peaceful and violent) may, however, serve as a powerful weapon for the powerless groups to enable concessions to be obtained in the absence of money. In developed nations, pressure/interest groups employ various methods such as lobbying, legislative and executive techniques in order to protect the interest of their members and influence government policies.

Foreign policy decisions are sometimes influenced by numerous shades of opinion including those of the various arms of government, the military, the press (especially editorial columns) and interest/pressure groups. In Nigeria, examples of pressure groups include Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), the Nigerian Medical Association (NMA), Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS), Nigerian Owners/Drivers Association,

Nigerian Union of Teachers (NUT), the Nigerian Bar Association (NBA) and National Democratic Coalition (NADECO). The latter was regarded as an opposition group rather than an interest group by the Federal Military Government under the Abacha administration.

During the First Republic in Nigeria, a number of interest/pressure groups did attempt to exert some influence on the foreign policy stances of the Nigerian government led by Prime Minister Balewa. These groups ranged from political groups who were very critical of Nigeria's apparent pro-Western orientation to intellectuals, students, labour organizations and professional groups notably the press known as the Fourth Realm of the Government/Estate.

At independence, the first foreign policy issue which confronted the Balewa government was the Congo crisis. The Nigerian political parties notably the NPC, NCNC and AG, expressed divergent views on the Congo crisis. Their views greatly reflected the ethnic divisions and interests within the Nigerian Society[43]. In this regard, Akinyemi observed that:

> *The Congo crisis was not only a foreign policy issue but was a domestic crisis for Nigeria as well. The Nigerian political groups had always differed ideologically on the structure of the Nigerian State, nation building and even economic programmes. This controversy was continued in their attitudes to the Congo crisis. The support they gave to different factions in the Congo was ideologically determined[44]*

Other interest groups such as the trade unions, academic, student organization and the press who criticized the Government's Congo policy derived such

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43. See Joy U. Ogwu, Op.cit., p. 46
44. See. A. B. Akinyemi, Op.cit., p. 4 – 69.

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criticisms from their various perceptions, definition and interpretation of the problem. They argued from a view of the United Nation's stance in the Congo as an impediment to African progress to the neo-imperialist scheme of the Western powers in the Congo. Although no visible impact was made on government policy by these interest/pressure groups, Balewa and his Foreign Minister, Jaja Wachuku, found themselves on several occasions making pronouncements in defence of government position.[45] In the case of the 1960 Anglo – Nigerian Defence Pact, increased pressure and criticisms by University Students, opposition parties and radical elements in the country led to the abrogation of the Pact in January 1962.

However, the unitary nature of the foreign policy body in the military era, especially beginning with the Gowon administration (July 1966 – 1975) limited, to a considerable extent, the role of interest/pressure groups located outside the government. The trend in the Gowon administration had been the influence of powerful bureaucratic and military institutions on the foreign and national security process. From time to time, trade union leaders, academics, Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN), businessmen in various Chambers of Commerce & Industry were consulted in an attempt to provide a pluralistic character for the foreign policy process.[46] Also, influence was exerted by academic/institutional groups such as the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) through formal

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45.   See Joy U. Ogwu, Op.cit, p. 48
46.   Ibid, p. 49

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channels often behind the scenes by providing information and analysis for decision on a number of vital issues through policy papers. A non-governmental Public Policy advocacy group called the national think-thank which was formally inaugurated on May 23 (2007) could serve governments in the country as a store house of well-thought out policy options. This is because it will consistently carry out research and analyse policy problems.

In summary, interest/pressure groups and the Press exerted tremendous influence on Balewa administration's control and direction of Nigeria's foreign policy. Concerning the Middle East conflict, some of the Southern-based Newspapers favoured closer co-operation between Israel and Nigeria. For instance, the Daily Sketch owned by the defunct Western Region of Nigeria and the Nigerian Tribune owned by the leader of A.G. often published Articles and Editorial opinion favourable to Israel. Despite this, the Balewa regime found it extremely difficult to ignore pressure groups on the break of diplomatic ties with France in 1961 over the Sahara Atomic Testing and the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth in 1961. It had no option but to act in accordance with the demands of the militant groups in the country. But pressure group action was not serious enough for the government to openly take sides against Israel and in support of Arab nations in the Middle East conflict despite running a government in which the Northern People's Congress is the major Partner. Other more serious factors held the government back. The same goes for other governments. Hence pressure group influence came eight in the ranking.

(i)   Political Parties

Nigeria's politics in the First Republic was dominated by four major political parties: Northern People's Congress (NPC), National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), Action Group, (AG), and the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU). The NPC and NEPU were northern based and had great sympathy for the Arab cause. The NCNC and AG were southern based and had great sympathy for Israel. This divide could not allow the Federal government to take a clear cut side in the Middle East crisis. It should be noted that the three political parties (the NPC, AG, and NCNC) were all pro-West in their orientation and capitalist in their economic thinking and action. It was not until disillusionment set in shortly after independence that the opposition party (A.G.) at the Federal level began to manifest radical socialist and pro-Soviet policies.

But the issue is that as political parties in their own rights, these parties had no manifesto, policies or programmes of their own bothering on foreign policy matters. Their positions in the Middle East conflict were determined by ethnic and religious issues and interests. Hence, the NPC and NEPU which were Northern based and essentially a Muslim Hausa-Fulani control, openly supported the Arabs, while the NCNC of the East and controlled mainly by Christian Igbo, as well as the AG of the West controlled by the Yoruba (mixed Christians and non-radical Muslims) supported Israel.

In the Second Republic, the NPC transformed into the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), the AG transformed into the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), NEPU transformed into the People's Redemption Party (PRP), while the NCNC

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transformed into the Nigeria People's Party (NPP). There was also the Kanuri People's based Great Nigeria People's Party (GNPP). However, since the Second Republic lasted (1979-1983) within the period Nigeria broke diplomatic relations with Israel, the full impact of political parties in Nigeria's foreign policy in the Middle East could not be felt. It has to be mentioned, however that, the NPP and UPN argued for the resumption of diplomatic relations with Israel, while the NPN, PRP, and GNPP were more reserved over the matter. The fact remains that political parties on their own in Nigeria played little or no significant role in determining the country's foreign policy in the Middle-East, hence our respondents ranked it last (9th).

While discussing the theoretical framework of this study in chapter two, we elected to benefit from the systems theory. (see Fig. 5.2). No nation is an island onto itself. Nigeria, Israel, Palestine and Arab nations belong to a world system, in which nations and groups of nations interact and depend on one another; and also collaborate to solve common problems. As noted by Fawole: "today there are over 200 independent states and sovereign members of the world community".[47]

In this global environment, international relations "has moved beyond the initial narrow concerns with war, diplomatic exchanges and political reasons", and now cover as Lawson observes;

> ….nuclear issues; the epidemiology of AIDS; legal and illegal migration, including refugee movement; the gap between the North and the South in

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47   W. Alade Fawole, op cit., p. 305

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terms of access to and consumption of resources; democratization and the full range of human rights from civil and political rights to the right to development; reform of the United Nations (UN) and its agencies; and the extension of international law and the prosecution of crimes against humanity, whether involving terrorism, religious fundamentalism or internationally organized criminal activities that range from production and trafficking to money laundering and the smuggling of all kinds of goods, including weapons, diamonds, endangered species and people".[48]

It is true salient domestic factors of Nigeria such as ethnicity, religion, the economy, ruling elite and others influence the country's foreign policy. It has to be noted also, however, that Nigeria like every other country in the world is in a global or international environment which also condition the domestic processing of foreign policy.

Nigeria is a member of OPEC, UN, AU, OIC and IDB. Therefore the country had/has to be pragmatic in policy formulation and implementation within these multi-organizational structure within which it is difficult and risky to take clear cut sides in the Israeli-Palestinian and Arab-Israeli conflicts and peace process.

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48   S. Lawson, <u>International Relations</u>, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2003, p. 6. Quoted in W. Fawole, <u>Ibid</u>, p. 306.

Fig. 5.2: Application of Systems Theory

International Environment

| Input | Political System | Output/Outcome |

*Ethnic/Religious Factors
*Membership of Int. Org.
*Econ. Factors, etc.

Government
Foreign
Policy Making
(Conversion
Process)

Pragmatic
Foreign
Policy

Feed back
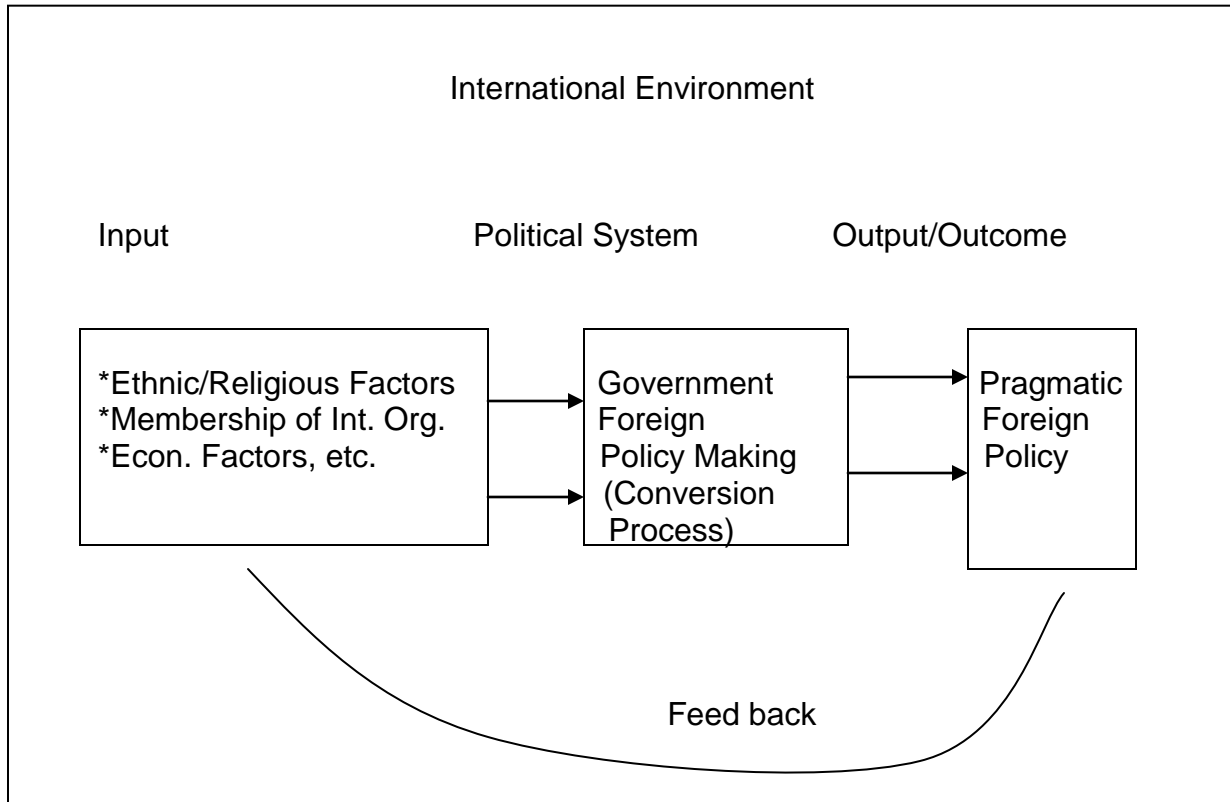
Accounting For the Protracted Nature of The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.

In questionnaire item 10, we had asked the respondents: "Why in your view has the Israeli-Palestinian crisis lasted so long and still unresolved? In responding to the question, most of the respondents (36.3%), chose the unwillingness of the conflicting parties to compromise; while 29.5% chose the hypocrisy of the Western world. (See Table 5.7).

TABLE 5.7

WHY THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFICT IS LASTING SO LONG

Response	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
No response	5	2.1	2.1
Unwillingness of parties to compromise	85	36.3	38.5
Hypocrisy of the Western World	69	29.5	67.9
Religious Fundamentalism	35	15.0	82.9
Biblical/Historical	25	10.7	93.6
Others	15	6.4	100.0
	234	100.00	100.00

Source; Questionnaire Analysis by the researcher

Effects of The Israel-Palestinian Conflict and Middle East Crisis On Nigeria

The respondents were asked in question item 11; "What have been the effects of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in particular and Middle-East crisis in general on Nigerian society? Most of the respondents (47.4%) are of the view that the conflicts polarized Nigeria along religious lines, while 12.4% stated that the conflicts paved way for the infiltration of culture of conflict in the country. Both effects negative. However, 10.3% of the respondents argued that the conflicts have had no effects whatsoever. Table 5.8 shows the detailed responses.

TABLE 5.8

EFFECTS OF THE MIDDLE – EAST CONFLICT ON NIGERIA

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
No response	23	9.8	9.8
Polarisation of Nigeria along religious lines	111	47.4	57.3
Infiltration of Violence	29	12.4	69.7
Economic regression	20	8.5	78.2
Increase in crude Oil Price (revenue)	10	4.3	82.5
Marred diplomatic relations between Nigeria and Middle East Nations	11	4.7	87.2
No Impact what so ever	24	10.3	97.4
Other opinions	6	2.6	100.0

Source: Questionnaire analysis by researcher.

Effects of Nigeria's Foreign Policy on Events In the Middle East Region

We asked the respondents in question item 13; "Do you think that Nigeria's Foreign Policy in the Middle East has had any effects on events in that region? The responses we got were not surprising.   The vast majority of the respondents (72.2%), responded that Nigeria's foreign policy has had no effect on events in the region. Only 17.5% thought the policy has had little effect. (See Table 5.9).

TABLE 5.9
REPONSES ON THE EFFECTS OF NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY ON EVETNS
IN THE MIEDDLE-EAST

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
No response	21	9.0	9.0
Little Effect	41	17.5	26.5
Many Significant Effects	3	1.3	27.8
No Effect	169	72.2	100.0

Source: Questionnaire analysis by researcher

View of Nigeria's Foreign Policy In The Middle East

In question item 14, we sought to test our respondents' view about Nigeria's foreign policy in the Middle East. We asked them: "In your opinion, does Nigeria have any foreign policy towards the Middle East in general and Israeli-Palestinian conflict in Particular?" The vast majority of our respondents (47.4%) are of the view that Nigeria does not have any foreign policy, while 28.6% answered that the country has. The detailed responses are in Table 5.10.

TABLE 5.10

RESPONDENTS VIEWS ON WHETHER NIGERIA HAS ANY FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS THE MIDDLE EAST

Responses	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency
No responses/ I don't know.	27	17.5	17.5
Yes, Nigeria has.	67	28.6	40.2
No, Nigeria does not have.	111	47.4	87.6
Nigeria maintains neutrality.	23	9.8	97.4
Nigeria supports UN's position always.	6	2.6	100.0

Source: Questionnaire analysis by researcher

Typology of Nigeria's Foreign Policy In the Middle East

In question 15, we asked the respondents who answered that Nigeria had foreign policy in the Middle East. "If your answer to the above question (14) is in the affirmative, what has been the policy?" They were given four answer options (A) Neutrality, (B) support for Israel, (C) support for Arabs (D) Pragmatism.

The vast majority of our respondents 61.1% answered that Nigeria pursues a policy of neutrality; 3.4% answered that Nigeria supports Israel; 8.5% answered that Nigeria supports the Arabs; while 17.1% answered that Nigeria pursues a pragmatic foreign policy in the Middle-East. Below 1% chose (B) and (C) options; (C) and (D) options, or other combinations respectively, as shown in Table 5.11 and Fig. 5.4.

The fact that most of the respondents (61.1%) preferred to describe Nigeria's foreign policy in the Middle East as being that of neutrality is not surprising. This is

because it will take the "initiated" to clearly interprete the pragmatic calculus in

Nigeria's foreign policy.

TABLE 5.11
RESPONSES ON NIGERIA'S TYPE OF FOREIGN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Responses	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
No response	18	7.7	7.7
(A) Neutrality	143	61.1	68.8
(B) Support for Israel	8	3.4	72.2
(c)Support for Arabs	20	8.5	80.8
(D) Pragmatism	40	17.1	97.9
(E) (B) and (C)	2	0.9	98.7
(F) and (D)	1	0.4	99.1
(G) other Combinations	2	0.9	100.0

Source: Questionnaire analysis by researcher

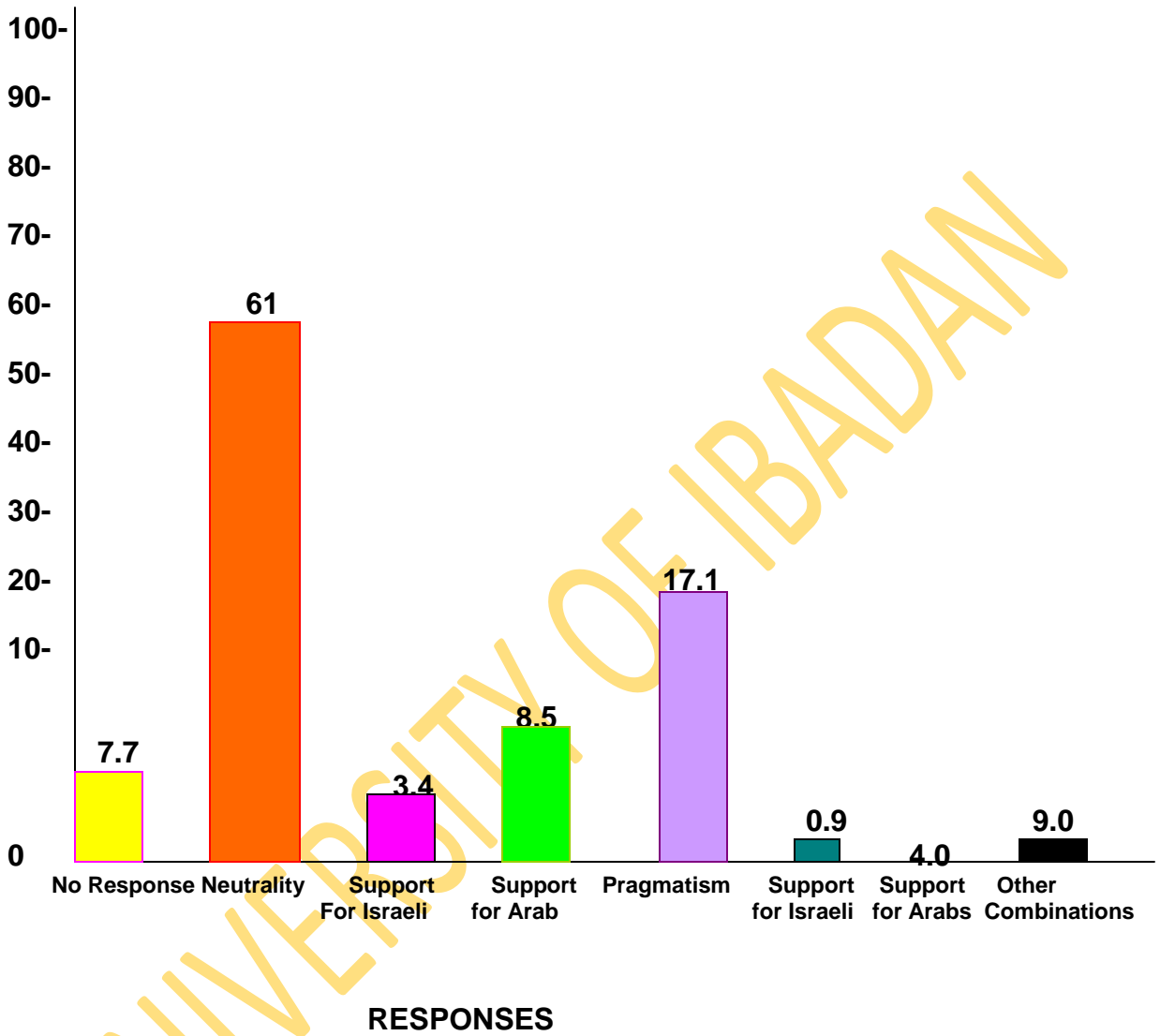**Graph Fig. 5.3**

PERCENTAGE

Fig. 5.3: Respondents Responses on Nigeria's type of Foreign Policy in the Middle East

This is where this study has become clearly relevant, as it will correct the wrong impression in the minds of people about the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy towards the Middle East conflict and peace process. Many people including scholars.[49] perceive the foreign policy as being neutralist, whereas, it has actually been pragmatist. This correction is important because as rightly observed by Birai, "in politics, perceptions are sometimes more important than realities."[50]In his words:

> *And indeed, international affairs and foreign policy activities of nations in particular, mere perception can create or solve problems of inter-state relations. Interest groups in the domestic political process may have different perceptions of the stand of government over a particular issue. This may significantly determine their support for or opposition to the government posture. In the case of Nigeria, the opposing perceptions of the interested parties in the Middle East conflict about whether successive governments have been neutral or partial have become the crux of the controversy that has characterized debates and discussions on Nigeria-Israel relations.[51]Birai went further:*
> *In the analysis of the foreign policy of all nations, therefore, the domestic situation can not be ignored because it can have a profound impact on the conduct of their foreign policy activities. This is even more so in a new nation like Nigeria that is in a state of flux politically and is economically underdeveloped. Nigeria is a new nation struggling to unify diverse cultures and strike a balance between competing interests of religious pluralism. The context for supremacy between domestic political considerations and external stimuli as deciding factors in determining the foreign policy of Nigeria particularly as it relates to the Middle East, has become*

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49. See, for example, U.M. Birai, who observes that the Conduct of Nigeria-Israel relations remain the single most important test of government neutrality, justice, fairness, and even-handedness in its treatment of all religious groups", U.M. Birai, op. cit., p. 10. Birai also mentioned that given Nigeria's pluralism, it "had to fashion out a policy that should be seen to be 'neutral' and balanced, otherwise, the federal government could stir deep religious emotion and opposing perceptions in the minds of both Muslims and Christians in Nigeria", p. 21.
50. U.M. Birai, Ibid, p. 6.

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apparent and explicit since the attainment of independence.[51]

May be it is time to rest the debate, with the findings of this study to the effect that Nigeria's foreign policy is not neutralist but pragmatist. This foreign policy posture may better suit citizens and groups that wish the country to come out of what they perceive as a neutralist posture and support one side (either Israel or Arabs/Palestinians) in the conflict, if they know that the country given the domestic ethnic and religious configuration and membership of international organizations the country can not afford to take a clear cut one sided position in the conflict.

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51.   Ibid.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.1   DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

First the analysis of data collected for this study revealed that Nigeria's foreign policy and role on the Middle East, especially over the Palestinian-Israeli crisis have not been and is not neutral as some people believe. Instead it has been pragmatic. Hence, the Nigerian government condemned an Israeli or Palestinian action deemed to be inhuman or a violation of international law, and supported any action of both parties which promoted peace. Nigeria's voting pattern at the United Nations also toes the same pragmatic line. The basis of being pragmatic is that Nigeria has vast Muslim and Christian population, belongs to OPEC (dominated by Moslem Arabs), and is an up-holder of United Nations ideals especially peaceful settlement of disputes, respect for human rights, and maintenance of international peace and security. Nigeria also sends Christian pilgrims to Israel annually. It should be noted that majority of our respondents (61.1%) to questionnaire technique preferred to describe Nigeria's foreign policy on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peace process (Middle East) as being that of neutrality.

Again, Nigeria belongs to the United Nations and the (OAU)/African Union, and has therefore to agree with the collective decisions of each of these vital international and regional organizations as a faithful member. The United States, given its vast human, economic, and military resources, can afford to disobey UN resolutions, but Nigeria can not.

More importantly, oral interview also revealed that the unilateral partitioning of Palestine and its consequences have been unending wars, unending peace process, border skirmishes and terrorism all which have led to destruction of lives and properties nationally and globally. The key actors in the conflict and peace process have been the United State of America, Soviet Union (now Russia) Israel, Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, Palestine Liberation Organization and United Nation. Lastly, it further revealed that Nigeria which has no strategic interest in the Middle East is not a key actor in Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peace process.

Moreover, globalization is eating deep into the domestic environment of nations, having great impact and creating problems for the foreign policy of nations. Nigeria for example exports much of its oil to the US which is Israel's major ally. Nigeria also borrows scarce funds from the USA and the IMF. Thus, if Nigeria takes a drastic action against Israeli interest, the US is most likely to act against Nigeria, such as cutting off sources of foreign capital. Second, the study found that Nigeria despite its huge resources, and leadership position in Africa, has not been and is not a significant actor in both the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and Peace process. Hence it did not have any major impact in that sub-region since 1960 because of its inability to influence both the Israelis and Arab Palestinians in the region or Israel's allies especially the USA. Nigeria is only influential and relevant in African affairs and not in the Middle East affairs.

For Nigeria to be influential and relevant in the Middle–East region, it must possess military capability, well-trained military personnel, adequate financial resources, diplomatic clout and domestic support/ consensus. Unlike the Middle

East, several African issues such as intensified anti-apartheid struggles, independence for Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Namibia and Cape Verde plus intensification of armed liberation for Zimbabwe, economic integration at the sub-regional level in West Africa and resolution of some African conflicts such as the conflict in Chad Republic provided considerable opportunity for Nigeria to play influential, if not dominant, roles in African affairs. Third, it is found that Nigerian multi-ethnic, cultural and religious diversity made it difficult for the Federal government to reach national consensus on policy towards the region. The Moslem North had and still has sympathy for the Palestinians, while the Christian South are inclined towards supporting Israel. Fourth, the principle of 'Africa as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy' adopted since independence relegated the region among Nigeria's foreign policy priorities. In addition, the Palestinian –Israeli conflict has now assumed a more complex dimension especially with the global war on terrorism which is undermining the resolution of the Palestinian – Israeli conflict. The Middle East peace plan remains essentially an American vision with full support of her Western/ NATO allies especially the United Kingdom.

A country, such as Nigeria, that is faced with sectional and tribal/ethnic politics is bound to be unstable. This invariably affects national consensus, cohesion and the attainment of certain foreign policy goals. In order to achieve national unity in the areas of foreign policy, emphasis relating to information on religion, tribes and ethnic groups that could divide Nigeria along religious lines should not have a place in the country's data book especially national census. Nigerians must see themselves, first and foremost, as citizens of one country (just

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like citizens in USA see themselves as Americans) rather than thinking of their ethnic/tribal groups or religions. The issues of religion and ethnicity are very sensitive in Nigeria. In terms of values, differences exist in the two popular Nigerian religions: Islam and Christianity. Nonetheless, the dynamics of Nigeria's diversity in terms of religions, values, cultures and attitudes could be used as sources of strength and unity for national consensus policy on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peace process. Since Nigeria's independence on October 1, 1960, it has been extremely difficult to achieve national consensus aimed at formulating effective policy on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict because of the country's multi-religious and ethnic diversity and the fact that the Christian and Muslim elites find it impossible to take an objective position on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peace process. Consequently, there are Nigerian Muslim and Christian elites who are sympathetic with the goals and aspirations of the Arab Palestinians and Israelis respectively.

Fifth, the study also found that the Nigerian actors and institutions involved in the shaping of Nigeria's foreign policy included political parties, as well as civilian and military governments. For example, during the First Republic, the Northern People's Congress (NPC), unlike the NCNC and AG, did not want the Federal Government of Nigeria to have any relationship with Israel. The Western and Eastern Regional Governments controlled by AG and NCNC respectively needed such relationship in order to boost agriculture in their regions. Also, during the military era, the Federal Government upheld the then OAU (now AU) decision to boycott the State of Israel. In other words, religion was not the cause of diplomatic break between Nigeria and Israel in October 1973. Although Nigeria reluctantly

severed diplomatic relations with Israel, the OAU factor and Gowon's position as the Chairman of the continental organization became crucial to Nigeria's decision to break diplomatic relations with Israel in October 1973.   But while the break lasted (1973-1991), the debate that ensued regarding whether Nigeria should restore diplomatic ties or not with Israel became the most controversial and religiously emotive debate on any foreign policy issue in the history of the country's diplomacy. While most Christians favoured relations with Israel restored, their Muslim counterparts opposed the move.

The restoration of diplomatic relations between Nigeria and Israel in 1992 was as a result of the opportunities provided the Babangida administration by changes at the international level which necessitated a re-think by Nigeria in her relations with Israel. The demise of Soviet communism and the emergence of unipolar super-power seemed to have encouraged changes in the disposition of the Arabs towards Israel. The mood in the Middle East had generally become that of peace and reconciliation. The re-admission of Egypt after her expulsion from the Arab League consequent upon her Peace Treaty with Israel (the Camp David Accords of 1979) marked the beginning of reconciliation among the Arabs themselves and between them and the Israelis. After the Camp David Agreement or Treaty, the issue of solidarity with Egypt became rather irrelevant as an argument against normalization of diplomatic relations between Nigeria and Israel. Consequently, Nigeria could no longer successfully rationalize its continued isolation of Israel and severance of diplomatic ties with the Jewish state. The boycott, however, ended in 1991.

The political parties (A.G., NPC and NCNC) in Nigeria before and after independence were ethnically and regionally based. They could not work smoothly together at the Federal level, thus creating political disunity. Also the alliance between the NPC and NCNC did not help in the formation and execution of a viable and cohesive foreign policy. Each political party had its own ideology and interests. The inherent feuds among the Nigerian political parties / leaders and lack of consensus on vital policy issues created an atmosphere of domestic political instability. Consequently, Nigeria found it extremely difficult to make meaningful impact on the Palestinian –Israeli conflict and peace process. In 1965, for example, the then Sardauna of Sokoto, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, said that the State of Israel does not exist, despite the fact that Israel had established diplomatic mission in Lagos (Nigeria). The implication of divergent foreign policy statements was serious in the sense that it gave the country the reputation of speaking with too many voices on external issues. Indeed, divergent views greatly reflected the ethnic divisions and interests within the Nigerian society/polity.

Sixth, closely related to the problem posed by ethnicity, lack of consensus and political parties is the imbalanced federal structure of Nigeria at independence. During the First Republic, there were three and later four powerful regions namely: East, West, North and Mid-West. In terms of size and population, the North was larger than the other three Regions combined. Also, the Federal Constitution empowered the strong and powerful regional governments to exercise their rights to nullify Treaties even those already concluded by the Central/Federal Government on behalf of the Regions. Consequently, by October 1996, 36 States excluding the

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Federal Capital Territory (Abuja) had been cumulatively created (since 1967 when the first 12 states were created) in order to address the imbalanced federal structure in Nigeria. Presently, six geo-political zones exist in the country.

During the First Republic (1960 – 1966), ethnicity, tribalism, mistrust and the loose federal structure in Nigeria created a free – for – all atmosphere in the area of foreign policy where cohesion (or unity) was needed. With the collapse of the First Republic on 15 January 1966, a new generation of policy – makers appeared and it took two successive military coups as well as a threat of secession to dismantle the old and imbalanced federal structure that had seriously impeded the pursuit of cohesive foreign policy in Nigeria. With the disintegration of the four powerful regional governments in May 1967, a more solid base for decision – making and a unitary approach to policy emerged at the center. As a result, regional or state interference in Nigeria's policy was minimized greatly.

Seven, Nigeria was once a British colony. On the attainment of political independence (or freedom) on 1 October 1960, Nigeria continued to maintain close link / contact with Britain. And so the Nigerian economy and trade link depended, to a considerable extent, on the markets of West European nations in general and Britain in particular. In 1965, for instance, over 53 percent of foreign investments in Nigeria were owned by British enterprises. Thus, the foundation of Nigeria's foreign policy was built to be pro-Western. This foundation makes it difficulty for Nigeria to go all out against Israel which has violated or refused to abide by almost all UN resolutions on the Middle-East.

Eight, another vital factor is Africa which has remained the center – piece of Nigeria's foreign policy since October 1960. The emphasis on African affairs emanates from the concern of successive Nigerian leaders on Nigeria's perception of her role in Africa rather than the Middle East. Nigeria, with abundant human and material resources and the largest population in Africa, perceives herself as the destined leader of the continent and so African interests and problems form an integral part of Nigeria's foreign policy since independence. Championing the cause of Africa has, therefore, become Nigeria's priority concern in the continent. The continued support for the liberation and the elimination of racism / apartheid policy in racist South Africa prior to April 1994 testified to Africa being the corner - stone of Nigeria's foreign policy.

Thus, Nigeria's decision – makers did not give priority attention to the Palestinian – Israeli conflict and peace process since 1 October 1960. Rather than giving priority attention to the Middle East, Nigerian foreign policy decision – makers gave greater attention to decolonization, and ending racism / apartheid policy in southern Africa. They did not extend Nigeria's commitment to the eradication of colonialism in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Middle East) where thousands of Palestinians live and work. It is essential to note that the Palestinians have experienced (and continue to experience) inhuman treatment from the Israeli authorities. Apart from condemnation of both sides and requesting them to exercise restraint in the use of deadly weapons, Nigerian foreign policy elite had ignored the Palestinian – Israeli conflict and made Africa as the center-piece of

the country's policy for decades. Indeed, they have left the volatile Middle East sub-region to the Great Powers to handle.

More importantly, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict has now assumed a more complex dimension especially with the global war on terrorism which, to a large extent, is undermining the resolution of the conflict. The peace plan remains essentially an American agenda or vision with full support from Western Europe/ NATO alliance including Britain. Consequently, it may be difficult, if not impossible, for Nigeria to have any meaningful impact on the Palestinian – Israeli conflict and peace process.

Apart from the above major findings, there are a few findings which, though minor, are worth mentioning. The principles and objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy, since independence on October 1, 1960, have not changed dramatically. Put differently, Nigeria's foreign policy has over the years demonstrated more continuity than change. But the country's foreign policy has undergone some changes especially in style (flamboyant, globe trotting, tit-for-tat, reactionary, dynamism) and leadership. Moreover, Nigeria's foreign policy postures since independence had been tagged conservative/conservatism, gradualist/gradualism, activist/activism, Dynamic/dynamism, radical/radicalism, and realist/realism. In addition, Nigeria has practised centre-piece doctrine, concentric circles approach (concentricism), economic diplomacy, people-oriented and (in recent times) citizen's foreign policy. The concept of citizen diplomacy puts the Nigerian citizens at the centre of the nation's foreign diplomacy.

But the interpretation which successive regimes placed on the principles underlying Nigeria's foreign policy and the extent to which other intra and extra Nigerian events shaped the formulation and execution of policies have been different. This provides a good explanation for why some regimes have been more successful than others and thereby winning the hearts and support of the Nigerian public in the conduct of the country's external relations. The major factors responsible for changes can be attributed to (i) the emergence of military rule in Nigerian politics with its over-centralization of power in 1966, (ii) the transformation of Nigerian economy from agricultural to mineral especially petroleum (oil) resources, (iii) the Nigerian civil war, (iv) the personality of the leaders notably Generals Gowon, Murtala/Obasanjo, Babangida and Abacha, Abdulsami, and Obasanjo. To a large extent the leaders mentioned above changed the style and focus of Nigeria's foreign policy and diplomacy. Besides, there is an element of continuity in the country's foreign policy in the sense that the various Nigerian governments since independence were (and still are) committed to pan-Africanism (but not pan-Arabism), Blacks in diaspora, liberation of Africa from all forms of colonialism and oppression as well as eradication of racism/apartheid/racial segregation in South Africa, commitment to the policy of non-alignment, the UN Charter, OAU (now AU) Charter and ECOWAS Treaty/Protocols.

Successive governments in Nigeria have strictly adhered to non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, equality of states, respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states. The interference and intervention of Nigeria in both Liberia and Sierra-Leone is, however, justified for

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political and economic reasons. Before the restoration of peace in Liberia, the Liberian Civil War (December 1989 – 1997), for example, had left the economy of that country in complete ruins. In addition, it displaced most Liberians during the civil war in that country and it also had spill-over effects into neighbouring states like Sierra-Leone. More importantly, it had shaken the security and stability of the ECOWAS sub-region as well as tested the solidarity existing among ECOWAS leaders and member states.

The study also found that the chief foreign policy plank upon which Nigeria attained independence in 1960 was the principle of non-alignment in the context of a world system divided into two ideological blocs (capitalism vs socialism/communism) as the super-power cold war gathered pace or momentum. Yet, Nigeria's commitment to non-alignment was formal as the government of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and all succeeding Nigerian governments maintained very strong political, economic, social and cultural ties with the West. The Balewa government also enthusiastically embraced the anti-communist phobia of the West and refused to establish diplomatic ties (or relations) with the socialist / communist countries in Eastern Europe. In addition, the Balewa administration banned their literature from entering Nigeria. It also toed the Western pro-Taiwan line on the representation of Communist China in the United Nations. It is partly as a result of anti communist phobia that the Balewa government concluded a defence pact with Britain – the former colonial master. However, the defence pact, could not be implemented because of sustained popular domestic opposition and protest against it. Library research also indicated that the unilateral partitioning of Palestine into

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Jewish and Palestine States and the subsequent creation of the Jewish state in 1948 sowed the seeds of disharmony, discord, hatred and hostility between Israel and the Arab States including the Palestinian Arabs

More interestingly, the study found that Nigeria has, since independence, played active role in UN activities, especially peace-keeping operations. She has also contributed immensely to the maintenance of international peace and security as evidenced in the Liberian Civil War and Sierra Leonean political crisis. In brief, Nigeria has placed her limited resources at the UN disposal to help the collective objectives of the world body as a conflict management machine. As an advocate of decolonization, Nigeria has acted in concert with other nations to achieve UN decolonization objectives. Consequently, Nigeria's successful bid for the UN Security Council permanent seat is not in doubt. Indeed, Nigeria deserves UN Security Council seat. In this regard, the former Osun State Governor, Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola, once said:

> *The country (i.e. Nigeria) undoubtedly deserved one of the two permanent seats proposed for Africa on the UN Security Council in view of its antecedents, strategic position, influence in the African affairs (or region) and its commitment of huge amounts and personnel to peace-keeping operations around the world[1].*

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1. Daily Independent (Nigeria's Daily Newspaper), vol. 3, No. 723, Thursday, June 9, 2005, P.A.11

In other words, there is a compelling need to balance responsibility with authority by admitting Nigeria into the UN Security Council as a permanent member in view of her enormous commitment and unallowed dedication to policing peace not only in Africa but at all flashpoints of crises the world over. Although the Federal government of Nigeria has been severely criticized for spending enormous resources on peace-keeping especially in West Africa sub-region, the country, as a faithful member of the UN, is morally and politically bound to contribute its quota in kind and cash on activities of UN from which it also benefits tremendously. Nigeria's peace-keeping efforts would have amounted to wasteful exercise but for the fact that it was better to intervene in war (or conflict) situations to prevent its possible spread with the attendant consequences of its spreading to other locations.   But the study found that Nigeria cannot win Africa's single seat in the UNSC simply on her record of performance and achievements in sub-regional, regional and global activities because of powerful and influential competitors like Egypt and South Africa. In other words, the main contenders in Africa for UN permanent seat include Nigeria (in West Africa), South Africa (South Africa), and Egypt (in North Africa). It should be noted that the UN Security Council's current make up reflects the balance of power at the end of World War II (1939-1945).

Also, the United Nations occupied a place of primacy in Nigeria's foreign policy from the beginning of the country's independence. In the early days of Nigeria's attainment of statehood, the UN was regarded by Nigerian leaders and foreign policy decision-makers, not only as the most important forum for the consideration of international problems and the main instrument of world peace, but

also, as the only sure guarantee of preserving the sovereignty of all states. Nigerian foreign policy elite prefer to support UN Resolutions such as UN General Assembly Resolution 2949 and UN Security Council Resolution No 1397 on the Palestinian – Israeli conflict.   Above all, the study found that nine factors determined Nigeria's foreign policy on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peace process: (i) Nigeria's ethnic and religious diversity (62.4%), (ii) Nigeria's membership of regional and international organizations especially the UN, an Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries which is dominated by Arabs (47%), (iii), Economic factors (35%) associated more with oil vagaries rather than quantum of Nigeria's national resources or the economy, (iv) the ruling elites (26%), (v) geographical factors, (12%) (vi) military factors (10.7%), (vii) Public opinion (9.4%), (viii) Pressure groups (8.1%) and (ix) Political parties (77%). Despite Nigeria's huge resources and leadership role in Africa, Nigeria has not been a major actor in the Middle East conflict and peace process since 1960.

6.2   GENERAL ASSESSMENT/EVALUATION

The focus of our evaluation in this sub-section is on Nigeria's foreign policy on the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The one consistent thread that has run all through Nigeria's foreign policy since the country's independence has been "Africa first". In other words, Nigeria has given priority attention to Africa rather than the Middle East in general and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in particular since 1960. Indeed, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, has not occupied the center stage in Nigeria's foreign policy goals or priorities for decades. As a matter of fact, Nigeria is insignificant in the Middle East power equation. It could be argued, therefore, that

the country's foreign policy had little or no major impact on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and peace process.

Having stated that, the Balewa regime sometimes fumbled in Nigeria's external relations. The problem of fumbling in Nigeria's foreign policy was partly due to the difficulties of the pressures of civilian politics (a problem repeated in the Shagari era). The loud rhetoric of Foreign Minister (Dr.) Jaja Wachuku married uneasily to Balewa's laid-back profile. And so Africa and the world had an impression of incoherence in Nigeria's foreign policy. Nonetheless, the Balewa regime took sound foreign policy decisions such as the support for the UN in the Congo crisis and support for the formation of the OAU (now AU). However, the hosting of the Commonwealth Conference of January 1966 in Nigeria was untimely. It was held in order to divert attention from the Western Nigerian crisis[2]. Indeed, the January 15, 1966 <u>coup d'etat</u> came as soon as the conference ended.

Throughout the Nigerian Civil war period (1967-1970), foreign policy was largely a defensive action of countering attempts by the secessionist regime (or Biafra) to win friends and influence people. This was possible because of oil wealth and the appointment of Dr. Okoi Aripko who held office as Foreign Minister for eight years. There is no doubt that the political awareness that came from wartime diplomacy helped pave the way for some of the support for Zimbabwe's independence struggle which culminated in the crucial role which Nigeria played in

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2.   The Western Region crisis was characterized by unhealthy political rivalry between Awolowo and Akintola (leader of opposition at the Federal level and the Premier of Western Region) and their supporters respectively, NCNC Vs. A.G., the meddlesome antics of the Balewa government (at Federal level) in Western Region, the declaration of the state of emergency and the massive rigging of 1965 elections in the region.

the resolution of Zimbabwe in 1979. It was at this time that Nigeria was made an honorary "frontline state" in southern Africa. Apart from Angola which gave the Murtala/Obasanjo's regime a high profile in international diplomacy, relations with Nigeria's immediate neighbours especially West Africa received priority attention. Consequently, Nigeria also worked hard with Togo Republic for the formation of ECOWAS in June 1975 despite substantial opposition from most, if not all, of French-speaking (Francophone) countries which surround Nigeria and which are part of the French sphere of influence. Not only that, they belong to a strong convertible currency (the Franc Zone) in the Seventies and Eighties. This presented serious threat to Nigeria's survival as a nation-state because France (Paris) supported Biafran secession in pursuit of its own self-interest or national interest in Africa. Fortunately, the threat became submerged in the period of the oil-boom/petrol-dollar.

While the Murtala/Obasanjo regime infused some new blood into the country's foreign policy and made Africa the center- piece of Nigeria's foreign policy, the record of the Shagari administration in the area of foreign policy left much to bedesired. It was tragic that Shagari permitted not just the action of the mass expulsion of aliens from Nigeria but he also permitted the gross insensibility of the way it was done. The same lack of awareness may have been why he (Shagari) was led into the trap of the OAU peace-keeping force in Chad Republic.

One of the problems of Shagari's foreign policy was a certain nerveless naivety on the part of both himself and Professor Audu Ishaya who was his Foreign Affairs Minister. This caused ineffectiveness even on clearer issues. Shagari got himself into needless difficulties over the Cuban presence in Angola simply because

of his weak Pan-African instincts. The same applied to the style with which the Tripoli Summit was handled. However, some improvement occurred in the Buhari/Idiagbon period partly because of the pressures for more vigor. The recognition of the SADR in November 1984 was held up as one example. Comparison was invited with the MPLA recognition, although the impact was less because it did not help change the course of history. The survival of the OAU was by then more or less foreseeable. Nigeria's move simply consolidated a given situation. In summary and under the Shagari and Buhari regimes, Nigeria's foreign policy seemed to suffer from continued lack of coherence and focus.

The Buhari regime was terminated after almost twenty months by another military team led by General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida. In his maiden broadcast to the Nation on taking over power on August 27, 1985, President Babangida criticized his immediate predecessor's foreign policy for not being dynamic enough. According to him, Nigeria's foreign policy, under the Buhari administration, has been characterized by inconsistency and incoherence. Also it lacked the clarity to make us (Nigerians) know where we stood in matters of international concern to enable other countries relate to us with seriousness. Our external relations have been conducted by a policy of retaliatory reactions or "tit-for-tat".

From its inception in August 1985, the Babangida administration tried to improve Nigeria's image and diplomacy. Through quiet and shuttle diplomacy, the Anglo-Nigerian relations which was soured and strained as a result of the Dikko diplomatic palaver was normalized. The exchange of visits between Lagos (now Abuja) and London led to the re-appointment of High Commissioners by both

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countries. There is no doubt, Nigeria was respected and consulted by several African and other world governments on international issues before June 12, 1993 presidential election was annulled by the Babangida regime. From 1993 to 1998, Nigeria's image or standing in world affairs was badly affected because of the annulment of June 12 (1993) presidential election. Under the Shonekan regime, Nigeria's international trade almost came to a standstill, while foreign investors held back their capitals. Moreover, Nigeria, under the Abacha regime, became a "pariah state" in the comity of nations. Under both Shonekan and Abacha regimes, the United States of America and West European countries imposed limited but effective sanctions on Nigeria while the Commonwealth of Nations suspended Nigeria from the organization for lack of respect for democracy, human rights and the rule of law.

Unlike its immediate predecessors, diplomatic tension in Nigeria's foreign relations was considerably reduced during the Abdulsalami Abubakar regime. As a result, the era of "cow boy or area-boy diplomacy" in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign relations ended. Indeed, the fear of Nigeria becoming a "pariah state" for a long time died down completely. Throughout its brief but interesting period, the Abubakar administration pursued constructive engagement policy with other members of the international community. This was the situation in Nigeria's external relations before the emergence of the second coming of the Obasanjo regime on 29 May 1999. While his second coming may not have performed well internally or domestically, President Obasanjo has done remarkably well for Nigeria abroad. He has succeeded in transforming the country from its "pariah status" into a respected

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member of the international community and playing a leadership role in Africa's relationship with the rest of the world as well as bringing respectability back for (or to) all Nigerians at home and abroad.

It is a matter of regret to note that from the Balewa era to the second coming of the Obasanjo administration on 29 May 1999, Nigeria's foreign policy decision-makers have not been able to influence the behaviour of both the Israelis and Palestinians towards peace. They have probably left the Middle East sub-region to the Great Powers, including the United States of America, the EU countries and regional powers such as Egypt, to handle. At this juncture, it should be noted that the Arab States did a bad job of confronting Israel in 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973 and they failed miserably in the 1967 War. As a result of the Arab-Israeli war of June 1967, the Arabs including the Palestinians lost huge tracks of territories to Israel. What the Jewish State gained, the Arabs lost.

The huge loss of Arab States in their wars with Israel compelled the Egyptian President (late) Anwar Sadat to have a re-think of his country's hostility with the Jewish State in 1977 when he embarked upon his historic visit to Jerusalem (Israel). Sadat's visit, no doubt, prepared the way for the 1978/79 Camp David I Summit and Accords which signalled disaster not only for Egypt but for the Arab world as a whole; even though the Egyptian-Israeli Agreement of 1979 ended more than thirty years of conflict between Egypt and Israel.

The Egyptian peace deal with the Jewish State led to ostracism and isolation of Egypt and Anwar Sadat from the Arab League. Not only that, the headquarters of the Arab League was transferred from Cairo (Egypt) to Tunis (Tunisia). In the

early 1980s, however, the headquarters of the Arab League was reinstated in Cairo while Israel withdrew from Sinai Peninsula. By the end of 1980's, Egypt has become a surrogate of the United States providing huge military and economic (or financial) aid to Cairo. Viewed from Egyptian economic stagnation, the US aid was in the national interest of the people and government of Egypt.

With the emergence of the Reagan administration in January 1981, there was a period of relative inactivity in the Middle East except for the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 and the subsequent expulsion and dispersal of the PLO freedom fighters and their leader Yasser Arafat from Lebanon to various parts of the world. The successful conduct of the 1990/91 Gulf War led to the September 1991 Madrid Conference where the Middle East peace process was launched. Regrettably, eight years later (2001), the US government helped to torpedo the Madrid terms of Agreement by abstaining from taking steps to defend their own initiative. Besides, the American lavish aid encouraged the Jewish State to defy the Madrid terms of Agreement: the exchange of land-for-peace formula. In a nutshell, the Middle East peace process began at the Madrid Conference in 1991 shortly after the Gulf War. Since then, however, there has been much talk about peace.

The Oslo Accords of 1993 represent a good example; but no tangible action has been taken to achieve desired peace. Under the Clinton administration's eight-year rule, Washington showed or demonstrated its bias to Tel-Aviv. The US was not seen by the Arab States as an honest peace-broker. The Clinton administration initiated and supported the Camp David II Summit held from 11 – 25 July 2000. Although the summit ended abruptly without a peace agreement between both sides, progress was made and issues previously off limits (or no go

areas) were opened up for discussion. This appeared to be a great achievement for both the Israelis and Palestinians as well as the Chief Peace Mediator – the Clinton administration. As a result, it can be argued that the Camp David II Summit of July 2000 was not totally a failure. It was an important and historic step to resolve the more than 52 year old Arab Palestinian – Israeli conflict. The negotiations conducted by both sides marked the first time Israelis, Palestinians and Americans had grudgingly addressed the most sensitive issues relating to Israeli-Palestinian dispute. For the first time, the issue of Jerusalem was discussed. But due to lack of seriousness by both the Israeli and Palestinian negotiators, the Camp David II Summit faltered. Hence, Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak left Camp David II Summit without achieving peace deal. Rather than peace agreement, violence was the product or outcome of Camp David II Summit. When the Camp David II Summit failed to achieve the desired goal, the Israeli and American decision-makers portrayed the Palestinians and their leader Yasser Arafat as terrorists.

They claimed that Yasser Arafat turned to violence after he had turned down what they called "generous Israeli offer to withdraw" from most of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. But the Israeli offer was nowhere near what was required to achieve a permanent peace based on equal rights for the Israelis and Palestinians. The Israelis envisaged significant withdrawals from most of the occupied territories. Israel's withdrawals, however, would have left the Palestinians in four chunks of land separated by Israeli apartheid-style roads for settlers, settlement-colonies and security strips. Israel also wanted to retain ultimate control over Palestinian border

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crossings, air space and underground water supplies. Besides, Israel offered to give the Palestinians control and custody, but not sovereignty, over the key Islamic Holy Sites or places in Jerusalem and it showed no serious desire to reach a fair solution of the Palestinian refugee issue. The Israeli position certainly would have returned to the Palestinians more land, but in its totality it would have made a mockery of the principle that negotiations would result in two sovereign states (Israeli and Palestinian States) enjoying equal rights. Indeed, it would not have addressed the core issue of the rights of the Palestinian refugees to be repatriated and/or compensated. There is no doubt, all the negotiators to the Camp David II Summit did not negotiate with good intentions. Both Bill Clinton of US and Ehud Barak of Israel gambled and threw all the winning cards in the air and waited to see where they would land. They lost in the end. Blaming the Palestinians was the easy thing to do, but it was clearly not an accurate or a honest reflection of the reality at Camp David II Summit.

The Oslo peace process and the Camp David II Summit were dramatic, controversial and heroic attempts to achieve a permanent peace between the Israelis and Palestinians. Both made some significant progress, but ultimately they failed to achieve the desired expectations because of lack of commitment, sincerity and honesty; and from Camp David's collapse grew the second Palestinian uprising (intifada) of 2 September 2001. It was a popular and deadly revolt against the continued Israeli occupation of Arab/Palestinian territories. The Palestinians believed that the Oslo peace process would never end Israeli occupation of Arab territories while the Israeli authorities have declared Oslo Accords dead.

Early in 2001, Americans, Israelis, and Palestinians appeared to share an assessment that the unending Israeli-Palestinian conflict has not changed dramatically since the Camp David Summit II ended on 25 July 2000. In June 2001, however, George Tenet (Director of CIA) spent a fruitless time trying to broker a ceasefire which each Party (Israel and Palestinian Authority) welcomed but neither honored. Since George Tenet's unsuccessful trip to the M. E. in June 2001, US diplomacy in the region was practically invisible and the region's conflict continued to deepen. Spurred by America's Arab allies to tackle an issue that has inflamed the Muslim and Islamic world, the Bush administration (Jnr.) had a re-think to re-engage the US government in the stalled Middle East peace process by sending US Secretary of State Colin Powell to the region.

The goal of Colin Powell's Middle East peace mission was the restoration of calm after 18 months of blood-letting and a resumption of negotiations towards a final peace deal. During his Middle East peace mission, Colin Powell delivered a nice speech. In his speech, he mentioned two states: Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and security. He, however, made no mention of the core issues that have long bedeviled peace talks between the principal combatants and they include, among others, the fate of Palestinian refugees, the fate of Jerusalem and the specific demarcation of borders between the "two sides/states".

In addition, Colin Powell's speech offered no new diplomatic plan for peace. Instead, he urged the two sides to follow the George Mitchell Report which the Bush administration has approved for implementation. Colin Powell left the Middle East sub-region on Wednesday, 18 April 2002, without the ceasefire he had sought. He

also failed to convince Israel to end its occupation of Palestinian/Arab territories in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In brief, Colin Powell's Middle East peace mission was a complete failure. After his ten-day peace mission, both the Israeli and Palestinians were far apart from reaching ceasefire agreement which could have led them to confidence-building measures and begin political negotiations. Colin Powell's failure brought bitter disappointment to the Arab States especially Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia who are staunch allies of the United States in the Middle East region.

More significantly, the US Secretary of State Colin Powell failed to convince Israel to end its occupation of Palestinian territory in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. If Powell could not convince the Israelis to withdraw by the time he left the Middle East, it was because Washington was unwilling to back him all the way. While the US State Department was looking at the overall US foreign policy and strategic interest in the region, Washington was concerned with domestic considerations. In this respect, several US domestic factors hindered Powell's peace mission to the Middle East sub-region.   The US Congress, for instance, came out very strongly against Colin Powell during his visit (or tour) while the US media gave negative report of his visit while he was in the region.

But who was to blame? Both the Israelis and Palestinians could be blamed for the failure of US Secretary of State Colin Powell's Middle East peace tour. Chief Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat blamed Israeli Prime-Minister Ariel Sharon for torpedoing Powell's efforts; while most Arab leaders judged US Secretary of State Colin Powell's peace mission to the Middle-East region to be a resounding failure -

catastrophic for the Palestinians, alarming for the Arab governments, damaging to the Bush administration's credibility, but a triumph for Israel and its Prime Minister Ariel Sharon as well as its supporters in both Israel and Washington. In order to avoid being associated with the failure of Powell's mission, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak cancelled his planned meeting with Powell on the latter's way back to Washington. And some concurred that it was an avoidable or deliberate failure resulting from US President George W. Bush U-turn from his earlier position demanding an "immediate end" to Sharon's military offensive in the West Bank and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Palestinian areas which they had occupied for too long.

Powell's demand that the Palestinian Authority (PA) should crackdown on terrorism "lacked objectivity" because in practice there was no longer a PA on the ground. The PA was crippled completely by Israeli forces. In brief, Powell's mission was sabotaged primarily by political bickering in Washington. Bush yielded to pressure from Israeli lobby within his administration to abandon his demand for an immediate Israeli withdrawal.

The Saudi peace initiative offered Arab recognition of Israel in exchange for a complete withdrawal from the land which it occupied in 1967. The Saudi Arabia's plan created the basis for the revival of the Middle East peace process and compelled the Americans to slowly distance themselves from Israel's Prime-Minister Ariel Sharon even to the extent of supporting the UN Security Council Resolution 1397 which calls for the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel.

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Many of Israel's friends mostly American Jews in the United States have invested much political and financial capital in public relations media campaigns and lobbying to reinforce the image of Israel as a beleaguered Island confronting a hostile sea of Arabs/Muslims in the Middle East sub-region. Indeed, Israel's friends succeeded in shaping Americans' attitudes towards Arabs and Muslims world. Similarly, the internal turmoil in Arab societies reinforced the perception of the Arab as violent and undemocratic.

In marked contrast to Israeli's friends in the US, the Arab/Muslim community has been less successful in influencing the US cultural and political scene. Several factors contributed to this. Firstly, unlike their Jewish compatriots, Arab Americans were virtually invisible as a distinct ethnic group in the US. Secondly, Arab-Americans lack adequate funds (or capital) and access to the senior echelons of US government as well as the American public to take favourable positions on Arab/Palestinian issues.   Thirdly, the overall US ideological and intellectual atmosphere is very negative and inhospitable toward Muslims because no cultural heritage ties Arabs/Muslims to American values and ethos. Lastly, Arabs/Muslims differ with each other on regional developments and on their readings of US foreign policy thus weakening their appeal and advocacy.

The Mitchell Report, if implemented, was designed to bring both parties back to the peace talks or negotiating table. But by insisting on a seven-day period of absolute quiet, Israeli Prime-Minister Ariel Sharon effectively sabotaged the US peace plan. He provoked Palestinian anger by continuing with Israeli repressive policies of Jewish settlement construction, home demolition and assassination of

selected Palestinian leaders as well as Islamic extremists. All of this was further augmented in the West to demonize Yasser Arafat and portray him as the very architect of evil and the orchestrator of terror.

General Zinnis'quest for a ceasefire between the Palestinians and Israelis was unsuccessful and he left the Middle East sub-region in mid-December 2001 after a surge in violence that included several suicide bombings which killed dozens of Israelis. Zinnis' return to the region witnessed a brief lull in violence following Yasser Arafat's call on 10 December 2001, for a halt to all attacks against Israel.

The Palestinian/Arab-Israeli conflict flared up in 1947 – 1948 as a result of Britain's termination of its mandate and withdrawal from Palestine. Unable to resolve their conflict and differences alone, both the Arab Palestinians on the one hand and Israelis on the other needed external help. Only the United States of America (and not Nigeria) was in a position to intervene effectively. But concerned with its own national interest in the Middle East sub-region, Washington seemed unlikely to marshall the will necessary to impose a settlement. Palestinian-Israeli conflict continues to fester because it is not only about territory but also about Palestinian statehood (or independence), Israeli colonialism, oppression, subjudication and denial of liberty. The Israelis tend to say that their conflict with the Palestinians is "existential", that is to say that it threatens their very existence. Palestinians, in return feel that their identity, history, culture and other values have been obliterated by the creation of Israel on Arab Palestinian land.

In spite of numerous peace plans put forward by Third Party Mediators including US diplomatic efforts, peace remains very precarious. There may be no

military solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The only solution lies in self-determination and independence for the Palestinians. This is why Nigeria's foreign policy decision-makers should play active role in the resolution of the protracted Palestinian-Israeli conflict which began in 1948.

At this juncture, we conclude our general assessment or evaluation with the role of United Nations. For several decades, the UN has been impotent in the implementation of its own Resolutions concerning the resolution of the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The UN Security Council Resolution 1397 of March 2002 is, for example vague and ambiguous. It is of less value than UN Security Council Resolution 242 voted in November 1967, which demanded that Israel should withdraw from the territories occupied during the 1967 war.

6.3 OBSTACLES TO PEACE

There are many obstacles to the attainment of lasting and permanent peace in the Middle East especially between the Palestinians and Israelis. The first major obstacle to peace relates to Jerusalem. If it is so, it is worth considering the positions of the two sides. Israeli government insists that Jerusalem is the eternal and undivided capital of the Jewish State and must therefore remain so. The Israelis occupied East Jerusalem with its whole Arab population by force of arms during the 1967 Arab – Israeli war and have remained there as an occupying power ever since. The strategic places in East Jerusalem include Al-Aqsa Mosque (Islam's third holiest shrine) and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher on the site where Christians believe Jesus Christ was crucified. In defiance of United Nations resolutions, Israel has annexed East Jerusalem and has built there a number of

racially – exclusive Jewish settlements in the Arab sector. The Palestinian Arabs and their supporters invariably argue and submit that East Jerusalem is their home or the homeland of their ancestors a thousand years and more. They want East Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine State. In summary, the fate of Jerusalem is a major stumbling block in peace negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians. Both want Jerusalem as their respective capital.

Secondly, there is the problem of accommodation. Ever since the start of the modern Arab-Israeli conflict in general and Israeli-Palestinian dispute in particular; the central dilemma has always been how to accommodate the national rights of the Palestinians, Arabs and Zionists or Israelis on the same piece of land. Israel wants to give the Palestinians 60% of Gaza Strip and 40% of the West Bank not as a single unit but rather as "Bantustans" like in former racist South Africa.

Thirdly, the Palestinians have seen the growth and expansion of Jewish settlements as impending their national aspirations to establish a viable state in the occupied territories. Indeed, settlement activity in the territories occupied in 1967 still remains an obstacle to peace between Israel and the Palestinians. In addition, there is lack of commitment to peace by both sides. Israeli government is known for its non-commitment to UN Resolutions. Indeed, Israel is not ready to abide by the requirements and principles of the Middle East peace process which provide for complete Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab/Palestinian territories especially from the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the Syrian Golan Heights to the June 4, 1967 lines. More importantly, American frequent use of veto power at the UN Security Council is also seen as a serious stumbling block to the Middle East peace process.

Using the US veto power is not helpful to the resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

The issue of Palestinian refugees is the fourth major obstacle to peace between both sides. The issue of Palestinian refugees and their return is very crucial in the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Lastly, if violence stops, both Israelis and Palestinians will face the most difficult problem over a freeze in Jewish settlement construction in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. An International Commission led by former US Senator George Mitchell recommended that Israel should halt all building construction in the occupied Palestinian areas. Regrettably, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon once argued that a total freeze would be treacherous for his people and country. Ariel Sharon also vowed to continue building and expanding Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. But perhaps the most critical impediment to peace is the shifting politics in Israel and in the Palestinian entity. Peace can only be secured on political stability in Israel and Palestine. Unfortunately this is largely elusive.

More importantly, Israel's past refusals to publicly and willingly discuss disputes with the Palestinians constituted serious problems to amicable settlement of the Israeli-Arab Palestinian dispute/war since 1967 Arab-Israeli war. The Palestinians, by contrast, have openly discussed their dissatisfaction with Israel's desire for vagueness and its objection to drafting a timeline for a Palestinian State. Presently, the signs are not good enough but there is room for optimism.

6.4 PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

Israel cannot have peace with the Palestinians while the Jewish State is maintaining or governing Jerusalem as the "eternal, indivisible capital" of Israel. Similarly Yasser Arafat (or his successor) cannot be persuaded to give up East Jerusalem as the capital of the proposed Palestinian State. Indeed, peace in the Middle East and between the Israelis and Palestinians will be out of anyone's reach if the Israelis continued to insist on keeping control of East Jerusalem. It will be recalled that Jerusalem was under Jordanian control until the Israeli conquest in 1967 and that Jerusalem as a whole is the main interest of the entire world because the Holy City is the embodiment of three religions: Christianity, Islam and Judaism.

Secondly, the main peace broker in the Middle East / Palestinian-Israeli peace process is the United States of America. Regrettably, the US has been accused of bias and has continued to support the Israeli policies and delay tactics. Indeed, the US has not played its role as a honest chief mediator. The unsuccessful Camp David II Summit is a blatant example of the US bias to Israel and the US government's intention to support the moving of US Embassy from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem. Besides, to speak of a Mitchell Report or Tenet Plan or Zinni's ceasefire plan that aim at calming the situation in the Middle East without asking the obvious question why did the situation explode in the first place is extremely short sighted and uninformed policy.

Thirdly, with the eruption of the Palestinian intifada and the coming to power of a right-wing Israeli government, many see the prospects for reaching a comprehensive peace agreement ebbing or declining. The Oslo Accords resulted in

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no real benefits to the average Palestinian and, as a result, Palestinian trust in the peace process has been eroded. Besides, progress towards final peace is not yet in sight. It is still difficult to achieve ceasefire, confidence – building and trust between the Israelis and Arab/Palestinians while the role of Third Party Mediators too is not encouraging. In addition, there will be no peace with Lebanon without acceptance of the Palestinians' right of return to their homeland. Indeed, the situation on the Lebanese-Israeli frontier will not be normalized as long as the question of Palestinian presence in Lebanon remains in suspense or unattended to. Lebanon will continue indefinitely to accept maintaining Palestinian refugee camps on its territory.

Due to increasing level of violence between the Israelis and Palestinians, most Third Party Mediators and negotiators invariably focus and address security and not the central issues in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The prevalent argument during the Palestinian-Israeli violence is that the peace process cannot continue in the midst or presence of violence. Agreed; but those making such an argument fail to realize that the failure of the peace process is partly responsible for the violent confrontations on both sides. Such confrontations will not cease so long as diplomatic initiatives lead to no tangible results. But how can there be peace when both Palestinians and Israelis especially their respective leaders have personal grudges, hatred, vendetta, animosities and mistrust of each other? Right now, the prospect for peace is still bleak. As long as the two sides remain locked in their deadly conflict, one cannot envisage any resolution of it. The deadlock in conflict will

not, however, persuade the two antagonists to realize that cooperation is better than war.

Lastly, Prime Minister Ehud Olmert of Israel has domestic support and backing from the United States of America for his refusal to engage in any dialogue with the Palestinian government led by Hamas (a Palestinian militant movement) until the Islamist group recognizes Israel and existing interim peace deals as well as renounces violence against the Jewish state and its nationals. But will the militants comply? The Palestinians who in 1947 refused a two state solution are now so weak that they are ready to accept the offer of two-state system. Israel has, however, reluctantly agreed to this but obviously with conditions bordering on security, annexation of the whole of Jerusalem and possibly keeping some defensive position on the Golan Heights as well as making it impossible for the emergent Palestine state to have a credible force particularly in the air that could threaten Israel. It should be noted that what is now left of Palestine is under two administrations: the Gaza Strip is under the Hamas that is totally committed to the destruction of Israel and the PLO under Abu Abbas who is governing what is left in the West Bank. In other words, the Palestinian entity is not only split by Israeli territory but also into two rival ideological camps. The solution to the intractable problem between Israel and the Palestinians hinge on three issues namely: Security for Israeli, the right of return for the Palestinians and the borders as well as configuration of the emergent state of Palestine with emphasis on the status of Jerusalem which both Israel and the Palestinians claim as their respective capital. These are issues that will not be easily resolved because religious passions are

involved. But it is also becoming crystal clear that until the issue of Palestine is resolved, the problem of global terrorism will remain.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

In concluding this study, we attempt in this last chapter to draw the threads of our objectives, methods and research findings together and then present our policy recommendations. We recall here that this study set out with three fundamental and modest objectives. The first being to examine the contribution of Nigeria to Middle East peace process: (ii) to examine the origin, causes, courses and consequences of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and (iii) to identify the determinants of Nigeria's policy on the conflict.

In order to achieve the objectives stated above, relevant data were gathered through library search, discussions (unstructured interview), observation, and questionnaire administration. First the analysis of data collected for this study revealed that Nigeria's foreign policy in the Middle East, especially over the Palestinian-Israeli crisis has not been and is not neutral as some people believe. Instead it has been pragmatic. Hence, the Nigerian government condemned an Israeli or Palestinian action deemed to be inhuman or a violation of international law, and supported any action of both parties which promoted peace. Nigeria's voting pattern at the United Nations also toes the same pragmatic line. The basis of being pragmatic is that Nigeria has vast Muslim and Christian population, belongs to OPEC (dominated by Moslem Arabs), and is an up-holder of United Nations ideals especially peaceful settlement of disputes, respect for human rights, and maintenance of international peace and security. Nigeria also sends Christian pilgrims to Israel annually.

These and other findings of the study have policy implications; hence the following recommendations have become relevant and urgent. Our recommendations have two clear dimensions. The first is how to bring about an enduring peace in the Middle-East, and especially between Israelis and Palestinians. The second is how to make Nigeria's policy in the sub-region effective. For lasting peace in the sub-region, the Arab Palestinians need a self-help strategy. In other words, they should rely on self-help and non-violent means to achieving their political goal of establishing a viable Palestinian State. In addition, absolute trust and commitment to peace by all sides (or parties) involved in the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict are necessary in order to move negotiations forward and resolve the region's 58-year old conflict (1948 – 2006). For negotiations to be meaningful, Israel must be willing to end its occupation of all Arab/Palestinian territories. Secondly, the Palestinians must be willing to end their uprising (or intifada) against Israel. Thirdly, there must be a neutral peace-maker or peace mediator to ensure that all issues are discussed and negotiated fairly, comprehensively and in the interest of all parties involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict. In this regard, both Israeli and Palestinian negotiators must negotiate as equal partners and without pre-conditions. In addition, the members of the international community should encourage both parties to seek peace and pursue it through dialogue and negotiation. In other words, non-violent and peaceful means should be adopted by the parties involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

More importantly, the principal belligerents must have absolute confidence in their peace negotiators while the final peace arrangements must be accepted in

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good faith and must be binding on all the parties involved in the Palestinian-Israeli dispute. Lastly, the US should reconsider its entire approach to the Middle East problem. Indeed, the US should adopt a balanced approach and design a way in which it can render useful service for both Israel and Arabs including the Palestinians. In order to achieve success in the Palestinian-Israeli peace process, all Palestinian prisoners vis-à-vis Israeli prisoners[1] of war held and detained in Israeli and Palestinian jails should be released unconditionally by both Israeli and Palestinian authorities. With the above done, practical steps must and should be pursued toward resolving the fundamental causes of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Below are suitable steps for consideration.

Step I - Political commentators and analysts should not merely discuss security and an end to violence, even though that is a worthy objective. The ultimate purpose must be to find a formula for peaceful co-existence that will be acceptable to the majority on both sides.

Step II- The Arab States should unanimously adopt a resolution recognizing Israel's right to exist as a sovereign state within its pre-1967 borders. In exchange (or return), Israel must and should unilaterally withdraw from the entire West Bank, Gaza Strip and the Syrian Golan Heights. In addition, Israel and the international

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1.   In this regard, it is interesting to note that more than 250 Palestinians were released in July 2007 from Israeli prisons[1]. Palestinian Authority President Mohmoud Abbas who received them called them "heroes of freedom". Israel agreed to the release as a gesture of support for Mr. Abbas whose Fatah faction is locked in bitter power struggle with its Hamas. None of the freed prisoners is from Hamas which took over the Gaza Strip from Fatah in deadly fighting in June 2007. But freeing only 256 prisoners out of 10,000 is not enough. Mr. Abbas, as President, should work harder to the release of other prisoners still held in Israeli jails. Source: The Nation, Sunday, 22 July, 2007. p. 51.

community should declare and recognize the State of Palestine with Israel's approval.

Step III- The biggest challenge facing the existence of a Palestinian State in the West Bank and Gaza Strip is the question of Jewish settlers or settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories. It is important to note that the construction and expansion of Jewish settlements violates international law. The construction of Jewish settlements should, therefore, stop in the interest of peace.

While an end to violence on both sides should and must be vigorously pursued, there is also the need for negotiation of the core issues (construction and expansion of Jewish settlements on occupied Arab/Palestinian territories, the status of Jerusalem as well as Palestinian refugee problem) in the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Negotiations should take place under UN sponsorship with strong support from the US, EU and Russia. Negotiation on the basis of equality is very essential since violence and the use of force may not solve the Palestinian/Arab-Israeli conflict. Indeed, there may be no military solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The only solution lies in self-determination and independence for the Palestinians.

Fair parameters within which negotiations should take place are:

(i)   A two-state solution is the only possible solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict based on the 1967 borders but allowing for minor amendments (or adjustments) including possible land swaps.

(ii)   An Israeli-Syrian settlement must provide for the return of the entire Golan Heights to Syrian sovereignty.

(iii)   Both the Palestinians and Israelis should accept to share the City of Jerusalem. Although it will be consistent with the UN Security Council Resolution 242 to divide the City of Jerusalem along the 1967 line (see Table 7.1), it will be necessary to negotiate in good faith some modifications in light of Israel's religious and historical attachments to the Old City and Jewish neighborhoods in East Jerusalem.

Table 7.1:   Opinion On Jerusalem

Year	Entirely Israel (%)	Shared/Divide (%)
1995	18.5	30
1997	20	24
1999	24	39
2000	22	43.5

Source: Abu Dhabi Television and the Washington based Arab-American Institute conducted by Zogby International of New York. Also see the Syria Times, No 5321, Monday 15 January 2001, p. 3.

In December 2000, Abu Dhabi/AAI conducted opinion poll and revealed that the Clinton administration put on hold the process of moving US Embassy in Israel from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem until the Israelis and Palestinians agree to the final status of the City. In this regard, 57 percent agreed with President Clinton's view that "no US action should be taken with Bush's position or promise to" begin the process of moving the US Embassy to Jerusalem. Despite that, there should be an independent Palestinian State while only 15 percent disagreed with that proposition. Negotiations should also focus on arrangement for governance, security and

municipal services for Jerusalem that will enable it to remain an open City with free access to the Holy Sites of all religious communities.

Step iv- The Palestinians should accept Israel as a State with a Jewish majority. In this respect, the Palestinians and the Arab States should not insist on a large scale return or influx of Palestinian refugees into Israel thus removing Israeli fears that such a return would threaten the Jewish character and the cohesion of the State.

Step v: A multi-billion dollar International Palestinian Refugee Compensation Fund (IPRCF) should be set up with contributions from the US, EU, Russia, Japan and Arab States. In this regard, the United States government should set a good example. It will be recalled that the United States Congress was instrumental in bringing about the payment of massive Holocust reparations.

Step vi: The security of Israel should be guaranteed by the United Nations Security Council. The US and the Arab States should be committed to Israel's security. Indeed, the USA, while guaranteeing the security of Israel, should nudge her to be serious in the approach to negotiation and accommodation with the Palestinians. Even though Hamas, the current majority party in Palestine especially in Gaza, remains recalcitrant, it will change towards peace if they see light or hope at the end of the tunnel.

Step vii: The Palestinian militants should abandon suicide bombings against Israeli targets. Suicide bombings that target Israeli civilians are against international law.

Besides, the Arab States and the Palestinians must realize that peace is a pre-condition for socio-economic development and that without fairness and justice there can be no peace.

<u>Step viii-</u> The United States should not impose its political values on the peoples in the Middle East sub-region in order to avoid what Huntington calls "Clash of civilizations". Rather, the US should adopt policies and strategies aimed at promoting modernization and democracy in the region. The US government whether it is led by Democratic Party or Republican Party should end its unprecedented diplomatic, political, economic and military support for the Jewish State which encourage the latter to hold on to the occupied Arab/Palestinian territories since the 1967 War.

<u>Step ix</u>: The US should assume a more active, fair equitable and positive role and less biased approach to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict that has pushed the entire Middle East to the bloodiest cycle of violence since December 1987. Besides, power politics[2] in the Middle East should be down played or down-graded by the great powers including the United States of America.

<u>Step x</u>: The international community, especially the US, EU and Russia should strengthen the forces of good-will between the Israelis and Palestinians. Indeed, the forces of goodwill should be the basis for peaceful co-existence rather than a source of military confrontation and violence. Both sides should realize that their conflict will not be resolved by violence and the use of force (military solution) but by negotiated settlement (political / diplomatic solution).

<u>Step xi</u>: There is no doubt that the vast majority of both Palestinians and Israelis are disenchanted with their leaders whose main strategy is to use force as a means

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2.   Power Politics is the use or threat of armed force and unhealthy political, economic, military and ideological rivalry and competition in international politics.

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to inflict heavy causalities on each other and to demoralize the other side. In the process, the use of force by both sides has led to killings and sometimes execution of innocent people – all in the name of "security and liberation". However, the best solution could be the emergence of a new generation of Israeli and Palestinian leaders who will be committed to peace and good neighboureliness There is no doubt, that a new generation of leaders in Israel and Palestine could strive for peaceful solution of the Israeli-Arab/Palestinian conflict which has defied solution for too long. Peace with Israel is the only avenue to prosperity in the Middle East and the creation of a Palestinian State.[2] In summary and within the above broad parameters, negotiations should start and focus on border adjustments and the division of Jerusalem; on security arrangements between Israel and its Palestinian-Syrian neighbors and on steps to establish a two state system – the Jewish State and Palestine State. In this regard and until the issue of Palestine is resolved amicably, the problem of global terrorism will remain.

It should be noted that the suggestions stated above do not attempt to solve every aspect of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Rather, they attempt to state un-equivocally those principles on which Nigeria believes a solution can be found or based. Also, it is important to bear in mind that the main peace broker in the Middle East/Palestinian-Israeli peace process is not Nigeria but the United States of America. Regrettably, the US has been accused of bias and has continued to support the Israeli policies and delay tactics. Indeed, the US has not played its role as a honest and unbiased chief mediator. The US needs, therefore, to retrace its foot-steps to the path of practically defending and promoting democracy, human

rights, self-determination and popular participation in the Middle East in general and Palestinian controlled areas in particular. This policy recommendation is favoured by the fact that communism has collapsed, the Cold War has ended, the Soviet Union has lost its superpower status and it is no more. In addition, the US should stop propping up despots and constitutional monarchies in the Middle East. Rather, genuine democratization and popular governments that shall catalyze development and respect human rights as well as popular participation should be pursued with vigour. These will in turn catalyse productivity, reduce ethnic tension and improve the welfare and living conditions of the people in the entire Middle East sub-region. With good governments operated on democratic basis, it will be easier to achieve lasting and permanent peace in the region which has experienced political instability for several decades.

The effort of the US to achieve stability and lasting peace in the Middle East through peace formulas based on the use of force and excluding the Palestinians and their homeland problem during the Reagan administration (1981 – 1988) failed completely; but when President George Bush (Snr.) (1989–1992) brought the Israelis, Palestinians and Arabs together at Madrid (Spain) in 1991 (a policy shift involving US recognition of the PLO as the authentic representative of the Palestinian people) and President Clinton's bringing of the same parties together in Washington after the Oslo peace accords of 1993, peace current began to flow and pave the way for the unsuccessful Camp David II Summit held in July 2000. The US effort to achieve peace between the Palestinian/Arabs and Israelis should be sustained especially by the Bush administration (Jnr.) and its future successor(s).

In our view, now is the time to put an end to decades of confrontation and conflict between the Palestinians and Israelis.

Peaceful co-existence, promotion of cordial and diplomatic relations, culture of peace, economic co-operation and development as well as political stability should be the desire of all citizens, groups and states in the Middle East. Peaceful coexistence is better than war. In the absence of a political settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli dispute, Palestinian/Arab anger and frustration will increase and will lead to more violence, terror and political instability in the region. Not only that, moderate Arab States or countries especially Egypt and Jordan will come under severe pressure because of their seperate peace Treaty with Israel. Their peace treaties will make them extremely vulnerable to popular anger. Attempt to change regimes in the region by massive violent protest, as happened in Iran, cannot be excluded. Also the constant closure of Israeli borders and tight siege preventing several Palestinian day-laborers from working in Israel plus economic sanctions by Israeli authorities will only increase Palestinian poverty, frustration and acts of terrorism.

The excessive use of force and suicide bombings currently (2007) being applied will lead the Middle East region to ruin and it will not bring peace to the region. Indeed, it will continue to de-stabilise the whole sub-region. More importantly, neither party to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can eliminate the other. Thus both sides must and should find a way to live with each other. This may take some time but the goal will be achieved in the end.

The Middle East peace process should be reactivated. If it is not, the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict will continue to be fearsome source of terrorism. Indeed, continued Israeli assassination and elimination strategy as well as Palestinian violent strategy including suicide bombings will deal a death blow to the Middle East/Israeli-Palestinian peace process or plan. If the region's peace process does not go (or move) forward, the consequences will be disastrous for the peoples in the region and the rest of the world. Speedy resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli dispute will, therefore, bring about harmony, lasting peace and stability to the entire Middle East sub-region while lack of speedy resolution will continue to retard socio-economic progress in the Palestinian-controlled areas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

More importantly, national interest should be the paramount consideration in conducting Nigeria's external relations and diplomacy while Africa should remain the corner-stone (or center-piece) of the country's foreign policy with focus on the OAU (now AU), and ECOWAS. While it is necessary for Nigeria to continue to play its laudable roles in the African affairs, it should not renege on its responsibilities to the strategic, political, cultural and socio-economic needs of the nation. Hence, Nigeria should be the central focus of the country's domestic and foreign policies. Nigeria is not yet a great power and should not behave like one. Given adequate human and material resources, Nigeria should continue to play meaningful and active role in regional and international affairs especially in OPEC, the Commonwealth of Nations and in the peaceful resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. However, rather than the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and for the next

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decades, the core issues that may continue to occupy the attention of Nigerian foreign policy elite are the following: (i) the liberation of African peoples from foreign economic domination, (ii) the development of African human and material resources and integration of African economy, (iii) and the key to achieving these laudable objectives is genuine democratization of African political systems, respect for human rights, the rule of law, press freedom, elimination of corruption, accountability and transparency as well as political stability. Interestingly, Nigeria's former President Olusegun Obasanjo was elected the Chairman of the AU in Addis-Ababa (Ethiopia) on 9 July 2004. With a President that has played more important role(s) in the pursuit of foreign policy than the Minister and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the project of getting Nigeria into the proposed expansion of UN Security Council is likely to take the attention of Obasanjo administration till 29 May 2007 and his successor. Indeed, there should be a good image-maker for Nigeria.

In conclusion, Nigeria has much to gain than to lose in the amicable resolution of the Palestinian – Israeli conflict. If the conflict persists, the entire Middle East sub-region will continue to witness political instability, more violence, suicide bombings, terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism which may have a destabilizing effect on Nigeria. Resolution of the conflict, on the other hand, will lead to improved bilateral, political, economic and cultural relations. It will also boost economic/trade relations and tourism between Nigeria and the Middle East countries especially Israel, Syria, Jordan, Egypt and Saudi-Arabia. Instead of war, the region could become an oasis of economic prosperity. However, without national consensus policy and domestic support, it may be difficult for Nigeria to

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have any meaningful impact on the Palestinian- Israeli conflict and peace process. The al-Qaeda presence or Osama Bin Laden's men in Nigeria had, until their infiltration in the Niger Delta in October 2004, been limited to the extreme Northern parts of Nigeria most especially Kano and Yobe/ Borno States. Both the Northern parts of Nigeria and the oil-producing areas of the Niger Delta are now the legitimate targets of the Al-Qaeda men in their war against the Western powers led by the United States of America.

It is thus in the interest of Nigeria to pilot itself into a position of being an active player in the Middle East. This can be achieved through mobilizing internal support for participation in the peace process, hosting peace conference between the Israelis and Palestinians, with the purpose of achieving justice for both sides- recognition and security for Israel, and an independent and secure homeland for the Palestinians.

At the end of our research project in 2006, the prospects for peace in the Middle East in general and between the Arab Palestinians and the Israelis is more bleak than bright. Also, there was lack of adequate progress except the meeting of the quartet of four powers held in early May 2004 and 2005 on the Middle East peace process in general and Palestinian-Israeli dispute in particular. As a result of Palestinian violence and Israel's excessive use of force, both Israelis and Palestinians destroyed the prospects for peace in the region. With U.S. President W. Bush (Jnr.) on his way out, it is not likely that peace based on the two states solution will come soon certainly not before President Bush (Jnr.) leaves office or the White House in January 2009. The task of achieving peace in the Middle East in

general and between the Palestinian Arabs and Israel will fall on either John Mc Cain or Barak Obama. The former will allow Republican traditional line of support for Israel while the latter will toe the Democratic traditional line of even handedness. Whatever the situation may be, the rest of the world will not have peace until there is peace between Israel and Palestinian Arabs because global terrorism arose out of Arab feeling of helplessness and hopelessness over the Palestinian-Israel question. Nonetheless, diplomatic efforts and persuasion should continue by the international community especially the US, Russia, EU, UN (known collectively as the quartet of four powers) and Nigeria in order to revive the stalled Palestinian-Israeli peace process and bring it to a logical and fruitful conclusion.

Further Research: The scope of this study and data collected did not allow us to examine in greater details the following topics (i) Israeli-Syrian conflict, (ii) Israeli-Lebanon conflict, (iii) US-Iraqi war: A case study in American Arrogance of Power and (iv) Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon and Syria (or Jordan): A Comparative Study (using Comparative Approach). We, therefore, leave these tasks to other interested researchers after us to investigate.

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APPENDIX 1

1.1   QUESTIONNIRE ON PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT AND PEACE PROCESS 1960-2006

The questionnaire, which follows, is designed to tap information for a Ph.D. study at the University of Ibadan on Nigeria and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict and Peace Process from 1960-2006.   Kindly, therefore, provide answers for the questions below by ticking (x) in the appropriate boxes that best represent your response to the questions or providing written answers in the spaces provided. I promise whole-heartedly to keep your responses confidential. However, if you wish to be quoted, please provide your name and signature at the foot of the last page of this questionnaire. I thank you for taking your time and your contribution to this Ph.D. study.

2.1   SECTION A: BIO-DATA

1.   Name of respondent ---

2.   Nationality: ………………………………………………………………………

3.   Age ………………………………………………………………………………

4.   Highest Educational Qualification …………………………………………

5.   State of Origin (if a Nigerian) ………………………………………………

6.   Religion: (A) Islam   ( )   (B)   Christianity   ( )

   (C) Traditional   ( )   (D)   Others (Please specify)   ( )

7.   Martial Status: (A) Single ( )   (B)   Married   ( )

(C)   Divorced   ( )

SECTION B: QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

8.   Which of these are the factors that determined Nigeria's Middle East Foreign Policy especially between 1960 and 2006?

(A)   Ethnic diversity and religious factors   ( )
(B)   Economics factors   ( )
(C)   Geographical factors   ( )
(D)   The ruling elite   ( )
(E)   Political parties   ( )
(F)   Military factors   ( )
(G)   Pressure groups   ( )
(H)   Public opinion   ( )
(I)   Membership of International Organisation   ( )

9.   Please expatiate your answer in 8 above …………………………………..

10.   Why in your view has the Israeli-Palestinian crisis lasted so long and still unresolved?

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11.   What have been the impacts of Nigeria's Foreign policy on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict since 1960?

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12.   Do you think that Nigeria's Foreign Policy in the Middle East have had any effects on events in that region?

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13.   In your opinion, does Nigeria have any foreign policy towards the Middle East in general and Israeli Palestinian conflict in particular?

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14.   If your answer to the above questions is in the affirmative, what has been the policy?

  (A)   Neutrality   ( )
  (B)   Support for Israel   ( )
  (C)   Support for Arabs/Palestinians)   ( )
  (D)   Pragmatism   ( )

METHOD OF COLLECTION

My Lord, Sir/Madam, please note that the student/researcher or his appointed agent

will come personally on agreed <u>date and time</u> for the collection of the –

Respondent's response to this questionnaire after completion. In this regard, your

co-operation will be highly appreciated.

                                        Prince F. O. Adeyemo
                                        (Ph.D. Candidate/Researcher)
                                        1st February, 2006.

APPENDIX 2

Analysis of Biodata

Frequency Table

Nationality

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Nigeria	231	98.7	98.7	98.7
Non-Nigerian	3	1.3	1.3	100.0
Total	234	100.0	100.0	

Age

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No response	2	.9	.9	.9
21-40 yrs	128	54.7	54.7	55.6
41-60 yrs	98	41.9	41.9	97.4
61-80 yrs	6	2.6	2.6	100.0
Total	234	100.0	100.0	

Highest Educational Qualification

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No response	3	1.3	1.3	1.3
Professor	6	2.6	2.6	3.8
Ph.D. holder	25	10.7	10.7	14.5
MA/M.Sc.holder	152	65.0	65.0	79.5
B.Sc./HND	42	17.9	17.9	97.4
OND/NCE	5	2.1	2.1	99.6
Secondary Certificate	1	.4	.4	100.0
Total	234	100.0	100.0	

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State of Origin

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No Response	7	3.0	3.0	3.0
Abia	11	4.7	4.7	7.7
Adamawa	5	2.1	2.1	9.8
Akwa Ibom	4	1.7	1.7	11.5
Anambra	8	3.4	3.4	15.0
Bayelsa	2	.9	.9	15.8
Benue	3	1.3	1.3	17.1
Borno	1	.4	.4	17.5
Cross River	2	.9	.9	18.4
Delta	16	6.8	6.8	25.2
Ebonyi	4	1.7	1.7	26.9
Edo	30	12.8	12.8	39.7
Ekiti	22	9.4	9.4	49.1
Enugu	1	.4	.4	49.6
Imo	14	6.0	6.0	55.6
Jigawa	1	.4	.4	56.0
Kaduna	1	.4	.4	56.0
Kano	2	.9	.9	57.3
Kogi	5	2.1	2.1	59.4
Kwara	6	2.6	2.6	62.0
Lagos	16	6.8	6.8	68.8
Niger	1	.4	.4	69.2
Ogun	14	6.0	6.0	75.2
Ondo	15	6.4	6.4	81.6
Osun	15	6.4	6.4	81.6
Oyo	22	9.4	9.4	97.4
Rivers	4	1.7	1.7	99.1
Sokoto	1	.4	.4	99.6
Taraba	1	.4	.4	100
Total	234	100.0	100.0	

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Geo-Political Zone

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No response	7	3.0	3.0	3.0
North West	3	1.3	1.3	4.3
North East	4	1.7	1.7	6.0
North Central	16	6.8	6.8	12.8
South West	104	44.4	44.4	57.3
South East	42	17.9	17.9	75.2
South South	58	24.8	24.8	100.0
Total	234	100.0	100.0	

Religion

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Islam	39	16.7	16.7	16.7
Christianity	188	80.3	80.3	97.0
Traditional	6	2.6	2.6	99.6
Others	1	.4	.4	100.0
Total	234	100.0	100.0	

Marital Status

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No response	5	2.1	2.1	2.1
Single	75	32.1	32.1	34.2
Married	152	65.0	65.0	99.1
Divorced	1	.4	.4	99.6
Separated	1	.4	.4	100.0
Total	234	100.0	100.0	

APPENDIX 3.1

The Speech:

The full text of President George W. Bush's speech on the Middle East, delivered on Thursday, April 4, 2002 in the White House Rose Garden

During the course of one week, the situation in the Middle East has deteriorated dramatically. Last Wednesday, my special envoy, Anthony Zinni, reported to me that we were on the verge of a cease-fire agreement that would have spared Palestinian and Israeli lives. That hope fell away when a terrorist attacked a group of innocent people at a Netanya hotel, killing many men and women in what is a mounting toll of terror.

In the days since, the world has watched with growing concern the horror of bombing and burials and the stark pictures of tanks in the street. Across the world, people are grieving for Israelis and Palestinians who have lost their lives. When an 18 years old Palestinian girl, is induced to blow herself up, and in the process kills a 17 years old Israeli girl, the future itself is dying – the future of the Palestinian people and the future of the Israeli people.

We mourn the dead, and we mourn the damage done to the hope of peace, the hope of Israelis and the Israelis desire for a Jewish state at peace with its neighbors, the hope of the Palestinian people to build their own independent state.

Terror must be stopped. No nation can negotiate with terrorists, for there is no way to make peace with those whose only goal is death.

This could be a hopeful moment in the Middle East. The proposal of Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia, supported by the Arab League, has put a number of countries in the Arab world closer than ever to recognizing Israel's right to exist. The United State is on record supporting the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people for a Palestinian State. Israeli has recognized the goal of a Palestinian State. The outlines of a just settlement are clear: two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and security. This can be a time for hope, but it calls for leadership not for terror.

Since Sept. 11 (2001), I've delivered this message: Everyone must choose. You're either with the civilized world or you're with the terrorists. All in the Middle East also must choose and must move decisively in word and deed against terrorist acts. The chairman of the Palestinian Authority has not consistently opposed or confronted terrorist.

At Oslo and elsewhere, Chairman Arafat renounced terror as an instrument of his cause, and he agreed to control it. He has not done so. The situation in which he finds himself today is largely of his own making. He has missed his opportunities and thereby betrayed the hopes of the people he supposed to lead. Given his failure, the Israeli government feels it must strike at terrorist networks that are killing its citizens. Yet Israel must understand that its response to these recent attacks is only a temporary measure. All parties have their own responsibilities, and all parties owe it to their own people to act. We all know today's situation runs the risk of aggravating long-term bitterness and undermining relationship that are critically to any hope of peace. I call on the Palestinian people and the Palestinian Authority and our friends in the Arab world to join us in delivering a clear message to terrorist;

Blowing yourself up does not help the Palestinian cause. To the contrary, suicide bombing missions could well blow up the best and hope for a Palestinian state.

All states must keep their promise, made in a vote in the United Nations, to actively oppose terror in all its forms. No nation can pick and choose its terrorist friends. I call on the Palestinian Authority and all governments in the region to do everything in their power to stop terrorist activities, to disrupt terrorist financing and to stop inciting violence by glorifying terror in state-owned media or telling suicide bombers they are martyrs. They're not martyrs. They're murderers. And they undermine the cause of the Palestinian people. Those governments, like Iraq, that reward parents for the sacrifice of their children are guilty of soliciting murder of the worst kind.

All who care about the Palestinian people should join in condemning and acting against group like Al-Aqsa, Hizbullah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and all groups which oppose the peace and seek the destruction of Israel.

The recent Arab League support of Crown Prince Abdullah's initiative for peace is promising, is hopeful because it acknowledges Israel's right to exist. And it raised the hope of sustained, constructive Arab involvement in the search for peace. The builds on a tradition of visionary leadership begun by President Sadat and King Hussein and carried forward by President Mubarak and Kind Abdullah. Now other Arab states must rise to this occasion and accept Israel as a nation and as a neighbor.

Peace with Israel is the only avenue to prosperity and success for a new Palestinian state. The Palestinian people deserve peace and an opportunity to better their lives. They need their closet neighbor, Israel, to be an economic partner, not a mortal enemy. They deserve a government that focuses on their needs, education and health care, rather than feeding their resentments. It is not enough for Arab nations to defend the Palestinian cause. They must truly help the Palestinian people by seeking peace and fighting terror and promoting development.

Israel faces hard choices of its own. Its government has supported the creation of a Palestinian state that is not a haven for terrorism. Yet Israel also must recognize that such a state needs to be politically and economically viable. Consistently with Mitchell plan, Israeli settlement activity in the Occupied Territories must stop, and the occupation must end through withdrawal to secure and recognized boundaries consistent with United Nations Resolution 242 and 338. Ultimately, those approach should be the basis of agreement between Israel and Syria and Israel and Lebanon.

Israel should also show a respect – a respect for and concern about the dignity of the Palestinian people who are and will be their neighbors. It is crucial to distinguish between the terrorist and ordinary Palestinians seeking to provide for their own families. The Israeli government should be compassionate at checkpoints and border crossings, sparing innocent Palestinians daily humiliation.

Israel should take immediate action to ease closure and allow peaceful people to go back to work. Israel is facing a terrible and serious challenge. For seven days, it has acted to root out terrorist' nests. America recognizes Israel's right to defend itself from terror. Yet to lay the foundations of future peace. I ask Israel to

halt incursion into Palestinian-controlled areas and begin the withdrawal from those cities it has recently occupied. I speak as a committed friend of Israel. I speak out of a concern for its long-term security, the security that will come with a genuine peace. As Israel steps back, responsible Palestinian leaders and Israel's Arab neighbors must step forward and show the world that they are truly on the side of peace. The choice and the burden will be theirs. The world expects an immediate cease-fire, immediate resumption of security cooperation with Israel against terrorism, and an immediate order to crack down on terrorist networks. I expect better leadership, and I expect results.

These are the elements of peace in the Middle East, and now we must build the road to those goals. Decades of bitter experience teach a clear lesson: Progress is impossible when nations emphasize their grievances and ignore their opportunities. The storms of violence cannot go on. <u>Enough is enough</u>. And to those who would try to use the current crisis as an opportunity to widen the conflict in the Middle East, and it must stop. Syria has spoken out against Al-Queda. We expect it to act against Hamas and Hizbullah, as well.

It's time for Iran to focus on meeting its own people's aspirations for freedom and for Syria to decide which side of the war against terror it is on. The world finds itself as a critical moment. This is a conflict that can widen or an opportunity we can seize. And so, I've decided to send Secretary of State Powell to the region next week, to seek broad international support for the vision I've outlined today.

As a step in this process, he will work to implement United Nations Resolution 1402 – an immediate and meaningful cease-fire, an end to terror and violence and incitement; withdrawal of Israeli troops from Palestinian cities, including Ramallah, implementation of the already-agreed-upon Tenet and Mitchell plans, which will lead to a political settlement. I have no illusion – we have no illusion-about the difficulty of the issues that lay ahead. Yet our nation's resolve is strong. America is committed to ending this conflict and beginning an era of peace. We know this is possible, because in our life times, we have seen an end to conflicts that no one thought could end. We've seen fierce enemies let go of long histories of strife and anger. America itself counts former adversaries as trusted friends – Germany and Japan and now Russia. Conflict is not inevitable. Distrust need not be permanent.

Peace is possible when we break free of old patterns and habits of hatred. The violence and grief that trouble the holy and have been among the great tragedies of our time. The Middle East has often been left behind in the political and economic advancement of the world. that is the history of the region, but it needs not – and must not – be its fate. The Middle East could write a new story of trade and development and democracy. And we stand ready to help. Yet this progress can only come in an atmosphere of peace. And the United States will work for all the children of Abraham to know the benefits of peace.

Thank you very mush -Reuters.

<u>**Source:**</u> <u>The Daily Star</u>, Friday, April 5, 2002, p.5.

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APPENDIX 3.2

UN Security Resolution 1397 And Public Comments on it

A significant shift in US policy was marked last week by a Resolution of the UN Security Council, number 1397, which for the first time specifically mentions a Palestinian state, thus marking a new step in US engagement in the conflict.

The landmark resolution was passed in the same week that US Vice president Dike Cheney embarked on his tour to urge Arab leaders to drop their reluctance and back a US strike on Iraq, and Zinni arrived to try and secure an Israeli-Palestinian cease-fire, even as the conflict was growing more deadly.

Diplomats noted that it was the first time the United States had presented a text of this nature at the United Nations. In the past Washington had moved to block other countries from taking a leadership role in mediating the conflict, and had used its veto power to shield its ally, Israel.

The US ambassador to the United Nations, John Negroponte, said the United States had opposed previous UN Resolutions because they "demonstrated a one-sided tendency to favour the Palestinian point of view and to isolate Israel". The new text contained a "strong statement against terrorism" and would "give statement against terrorism" and would "give an impulse to peace efforts", which must be undertaken chiefly by the Israeli and the Palestinians themselves, he said.

"it is not actually a shift in policy, but it is certainly a shift in the resources the US is willing to commit to pursuing the policy that it has long had, namely a two-state solution on which the sides would agree", noted Ian Lustig. "it is a signal to Israel that the US cannot be depended on to veto or prevent any political action at the UN that might make an Israeli government uncomfortable".

"there is definitively a change. The Bush Administration policy until recently had been that the two sides work it out among themselves". Commented Stephen Zunes, a professor of international relations at the University of San Francisco. Clearly there is a need for outside intervention to try to resolve it, and given that the US has so vehemently objected to the UN or the European Union taking the leadership, that means that necessarily the US has to assume that leadership".

But experts and dilopmats were asking whether the latest developments, rather than reflecting an honest US desire to curb the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, were in fact a concession to the Arab world as Washington tries to win support for efforts to overturn the regime in Iraq.

Washington may be trying to contain the fire in the Middle East before fighting one in Iraq, said a UN diplomat who spoke on a condition of anonymity. "If the US was really understood in pursuing a genuine peace process, it would enhance potential Arab support for future military action (against Iraq)", Zunes argued.

"unfortunately, the widely perceived bias in support of Israel has made it politically difficult for many Arab governments to cooperate more closely with the US", he said.

For its part, the head of the Arab League, officials in the region and newspapers hailed the resolution, while calling for action on the ground for its implementation. "This resolution envisaging a region in which two states, Israel and

Palestine, live side-by-side inside recognized and secure border represents an important and impartial development in the international community's handling of the Israeli-Arab conflict", commented the League's Secretary-General, Amr Moussa, who in a statement called on the United Nations "to undertake the necessary measures to turn the spirit of this resolution into facts" on the ground. The resolution was "a clear message to the Israeli government of the international community's rejection of the repression, assassination, liquidation and destruction practiced" by Israel against Palestinian people, he said.

The priority now, Moussa stressed from the League's Cairo headquarters, should be "to send international forces to monitor the situation in the Palestinian territories and prevent Israel from pursuing its violations of human rights".

Jordan also gave the thumbs up to the UN Resolution, which mentions for the first time the creation of an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel.

Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres welcomed the Resolution, though he avoided any mention of the statehood issue.

Meanwhile, the Palestinian Authority focused on the reference to a Palestinian state. "This Resolution is important and shows for the first time unanimity at the heart of the UN Security Council on the establishment of a Palestinian State", said Nabil Abu-Rueina, adviser to Arafat.

In contrast to the positive echoes elsewhere in the Arab world, Syrian information Minister Adnan Omran said that Resolution 1397 was "obscure", to explain his country's abstention in the Security Coucil vote. "The Resolution is quite obscure. It puts on an equal footing the (Israeli) aggressor and the (Palestinian) victim", Omran said in an interview broadcast on the Arabic service of Radio Monte Carlo.

Omran also criticized the Resolution because it "did not mention that a resumption of the Arab-Israeli peace talks should be based on the principle of land for peace". And, he pointed out, the Resolution failed to specify the borders of a Palestinian State and refer to the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes in what is now Israel.

It was for these reasons, according to Mikhail Wehbe, Syria's representative on the Security Council, that his country was the sole abstainer in the vote on the resolution, which had the support of all the other 14 members.

Syria has sat on the Security Council as a non-permanent member since January 1, 2002.
Gulf newspapers universally saluted the Resolution.

"For the first time in half a century, the Security Council acted in the right way and shed itself of Israel's security complexes and Zionist pressure", said *Okaz* of Saudi Arabia, which wrote that the Resolution was directed in the same line as the initiative of Crown Prince Abdallah.

In the Emirates, the official *Al-Ittihad* daily said, "despite the absence of a mechanism for implementation on the ground, this Resolution is an important diplomatic advantage in the difficult times, through which the Palestinian people are living". However, it regretted the absence "of any mention of the savage aggression led by Ariel Sharon and the forces of occupation against the Palestinian people in the past 18 months"".

3.2 The Text of UN Security Council Resolution 1397

"Recalling all its previous relevant Resolutions, in particular Resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

"Affirming a vision of a region where two states, Israel and Palestine, live side by side within secure and recognized borders".

"Expressing its grave concern at the continuation of the tragic and violent events that have taken place since September 2000, especially the recent attacks and the increased number of casualties".

"Stressing the need for all concerned to ensure the safety of civilians".

"Stressing also the need to respect the universally accepted norms of international humanitarian law".

"Welcoming and encouraging the diplomatic efforts of special envoys from the United States of America, the Russian Federation, the European Union and the United Nations Special Coordinators and others, to bring about a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East".

"Welcoming the contribution of Saudi Crown Prince Abdallah,

1.   Demands immediate cessation of all acts of violence, including all acts of terror, provocation, incitement and destruction;

2.   Calls upon the Israeli and Palestinian sides and their leaders to cooperate in the implementation of the Tenet work plan and Mitchell Report recommendations with the aim of resuming negotiations on a political settlement;

3.   Express support for the effort for the UN Secretary-General and others to assist the parties to halt violence and to resume the peace process;

4.   Decides to remain seized of the matter".

Source: See <u>Monday Morning</u>, 18 March 2002, pp 20-22.

APPENDIX 5.1

STATEMENT BY THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT ON THE ARMED CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST MADE ON OCTOBER 12TH 1973

The Federal Military Government is deeply concerned about the present armed conflict in the Middle East involving attack on the territory of a member state of the Organization of African Unity. The responsibility for the deterioration of the and the subsequent outbreak of war in the Middle East rests entirely on Israel which has stubbornly and arrogantly defied appeals by the Organization of African Unity, the non-aligned movement and the United Nations Organization to withdraw from occupied Arab territories.

The current war, which is manifestly a danger to international peace and security, could have been avoided if Israel had listened to reason and had withdrawn from occupied Egyptian and other Arab territories.

The Federal Military Government which has always opposed the acquisition of territories by force calls on Israel to withdraw immediately from all occupied Arab Territories and to stop further aggression against Egypt and other countries in the area.

The Federal Military Government and people of Nigeria express their strong support for the Government and people of the Arab Republic of Egypt and other Arab countries involved in their legitimate effort to recover their territories occupied by Israel.

<u>Source:</u>　**Nigerian Bulletin On Foreign Affairs,** Vol. 3, Nos. 1-4, January - December 1973, NIIA Publication, Lagos, pp. 178-179.

APPENDIX 5.2

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL YAKUBU GOWON, HEAD OF THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES OF NIGERIA AT THE PLENARY SEESION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON 5TH OCTOBER, 1973.

Mr. President,

I am particularly delighted with this opportunity to address this august assembly. This is my first visit here in this capacity and already I feel that I am among old friends.

This is as it should be. For we are all united by our desire to translate into reality the philosophy behind the founding of this world body. It was the hope of the founding fathers that this organization representing peoples of different political, cultural, economic and social back-grounds should be an effective instrument for harmonizing different views, reconciling competing interests and concerning such action as would give substance to mankind's aspirations for peace and plenty in justice and dignity. Ideals nobler than these for structuring a world order will definitely be difficult to find. To live up to such high expectations is the great challenge before all of us that are assembled here. Permit me, Mr. President, to convey to you my highest congratulations on your election as President of this 28th seesion of the General Assembly. It is a fitting tribute to your sterling qualities as a diplomat who has rendered distinguished services not only to your country, but also to the international community as a whole. Your election is also a well deserved honour for your country, Ecuador, with which my country enjoys warm relations, and which has shown consistent adherence to the principles and purposes of our charter. I have no doubt that under your wise guidance, this session of the General Assembly will achieve great success.

My congratulations also go to the members of your bureau and to the distinguished Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, who since his assumption of office, has brought great dedication and sense of personal commitment to his heavy task. I also wish to place formally on record, my appreciation of the excellent services rendered to this organization and humanity by the past Secretary-General, particularly the late Dag Hammarskjold and U-Thant.

Mr. President. Thirteen years ago my country was admitted as the 99th member of this organization. On that occasion, the then Prime Minister of Nigeria, the late Sir Abukakar Tafawa Balewa, expressed the belief of Nigeria in the United Nations (Organization) as the only effective machinery for inducing world peace and progress of mankind generally. Today, I wish to reaffirm my country's faith in the purposes and principles of the charter of the United Nations (Organization). We in Nigeria believe that if all member states adhere strictly to the provisions of our charter as an earnest sign of their dedication to the ideals of our organization, then we may yet accomplish that unique and bright promise of all mankind which the United Nations represents.

I am a strong believer in the United Nations (Organisation). I therefore find it rather disturbing that the image which some people tend to have of the United Nations is a misleading one of lack of dramatic success in dealing immediately with

some of the major problems of peace and security, of human rights, and the degrading poverty of large majority of the world's population. Proceeding from such a viewpoint, the conclusion is often heard that this organization is hardly any more relevant to our times. I do not share such pessimism and I venture to suggest, Mr. President, that most Africans would not accept such a doleful assessment of the United Nations.

We are all well aware of its short-comings and its failing, but these are, in some measure a reflection of the world which produced and now operates organization. It is necessary to seek to improve its effectiveness, but we in Africa hope that member states of the United Nations should embark on such a process in a manner that would not do damage to this organization that is so vital to the vast under privileged, as yet developing, population of the third world.

For millions of such people throughout the world, the United Nations provides an indispensable forum for bringing to world attention some of the problem that plague the world… and for which, all too often, no other means of solution are apparent. The United Nations can and does bring to hear the moral weight of world opinion on many a controversial issue. That explains its great value to the smaller nations and to the disposed and down-trodden people of the world. For example, it is clear that without the moral pressure exerted on colonial powers principally by this organization, the struggle for self-determination and independence would definitely have been more difficult for many of the nations that are today proud members of the United Nations. Nor can we ignore the invaluable services rendered by the organization and its specialized agencies in the vital areas of health, literacy campaign, child welfare and the champion-ship of progressive labour legislation on a World-wide basis.

It cannot be over-emphasized that the primary purpose of the United Nations is to save mankind from the scourage of war. Unfortunately, we have not always attained this lofty objective. There have been breaches of peace, such as in Korea, and Vietnam with consequences on less dismal and harrowing for those affected. However, since 1945, there has been no global war such as mankind experienced to its horror during the first half of this century. It is to the credit of the Organisation that even when conflicts do occur between Nations in recent times, peaceful intervention by the United Nations has succeeded in arresting them. In other areas of the world, the United Nations continues to play a key and vital role in providing stability and preventing a deteriorating of unstable political and social conditions. It is, therefore, not unjustified, Mr. President, that we should look back on the 28 years of the existence of this Organisation with some degree of satisfaction. The little measure of stability and hope that the world and its many peoples have given these past 28 years, has been worthy of the long hours spent in this hall as well as in the chambers of the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations.

Of course, to acknowledge these areas of achievement of the United Nations (Organisation) should by no means lull us into a sense of complacency. As in every human organization, there are areas of United Nations actions activities that cry out for urgent attention and improvement. Among these is the imperative need for correcting the structural and institutional deficiencies that hamstring some of its operations. When the Charter was framed, five nations were entrusted with the

responsibility of "policing" the whole world. In the prevailing circumstances of those days such an agreement might have been justified and acceptable. It is no longer so today. An urgent review of the decision-making processes in the United Nations system, taking into full account exciting political realities, is long overdue. I need hardly say that one area of immediate concern is the increasing use of the veto in the Security Council in support of causes which seem to be in conflict with the noble object of the Charter. In this connection, it must be emphasized that African nations, and indeed most nations of the world, have been distressed at the constant use of the veto to block meaningful initiatives in matters relating to fundamental human right. Freedom and human dignity in many areas of the world and, in particular, part of Africa still under foreign or minority regimes. It is our hope therefore, that nations which presently enjoy the privileges of veto power should use it responsibly in furtherance of world peace and the progress of mankind.

Mr. President, the Secretary-General has in his latest report invited us to participate, in a "constructive debate" about the future of this Organisation. It is my hope that in responding to this invitation all member states would advance proposals that would ensure that the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations are implemented by all member states.

It is a matter for great relief that in the world today, pre-occupation without moded revelries and enmities on the one hand, and distrusts and suspicions on the other, is now being progressively replaced by the spirit of accommodation. The admission of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Germany Democratic Republic into the United Nations justified the expectation that before long there would be genuine universality of representation in this organization. I congratulate them, as well as the Commonwealth of Bahamas, on their admission.

While commending the important steps ending the legacies of the 2nd world war in Europe, we must state that steps towards normalization of the situation in that continent should be matched by the continuing search for peace, understanding and co-operation throughout the world. The search for peace and security must be in a global context and must involve the active participation of all countries. We welcome agreements between the super powers in as much as these agreements lessen the fear and threat of nuclear warfare. However, we are compelled to call on the super powers to resist the temptation of limiting their negotiation spirit to only such issues as are of narrow interest to them and their people. We must insist that their negotiations and agreements which affect the fate of others should take account of the views of those concerned. For every nation and every country, great or small, rich or poor, has a stake in peace and security. It is therefore essential that each should participate, on the basis of sovereign equality, in resolving issues of concern to the whole world.

Mr. President, a few months ago, the Organisation of African Unity celebrated its tenth anniversary. I had the great privilege of presiding over the ceremonies and the tenth session of the Assembly of African Heads of State and Government. I should like, Mr. President, to convey an expression of the deep appreciation of the Organisation of African Unity and all the people of Africa, to the United Nations (Organisation) for the co-operation, inspiration and assistance that have continued to characterize the relations between our regional organization and

this world body. We highly appreciate the constant interest of the United Nations as an institution, and the unfailing concern of the Secretary-General and the various agencies in development in Africa and progress of the Organization of the African Unity. All this is in keeping with the spirit of Article 52 of the Charter, which encourages Regional Organisation "consistent with purposes and principles of the United Nations".

The Charter of the United Nations and the universal declaration of human rights contributed significantly to the basis and the Charter of the OAU. Permit me, therefore, to make some observations about how our Regional Organisation has been addressing itself to the main problems confronting our continent.

The birth of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963 was a great act of faith, and its response to the challenges of modern times has filled all Africans with joy and immense pride. After only ten years we have overcome some of the earlier impediments and difficulties in our way. Independent countries from all parts of Africa, with variety of historical, political, linguistic and social backgrounds, are now united in our organization which has come to be recognized as the voice of our continent.

Of course, when we reviewed the various activities of the OAU at that meeting we acknowledged that we had not achieved all our objectives. Indeed, it would have been difficult to achieve every single one of our aims and objectives in a short decade, given the uncertainties and unforeseen contingencies of world events. However, we have succeeded in consolidation of our National Independence, and in settling among ourselves and without distracting attention from outside Africa, many such intra-Africa disputes that have arisen; we have launched many economic and social programmes for improving the quality of life of our people in spirit of self-reliance. We have brought the meaning of African Unity and co-operation much nearer to each African's heart. We have continued to uphold, as central to the problem of our continent, the spirit of self-sacrifice, of compromise, and that of reconciliation. We have pledged to redouble our efforts with a view to eradicating all forms of colonialism and racism from our continent, and thus assume control of our continent's destiny. Above all, the OAU has symbolized the collective efforts of the Government of Africa and their people to uphold forever the dignity and stature of the African in this world.

Mr. President, the problem posed by the continuation of colonialism, racism and apartheid represents the most intractable that has confronted us on the continent. Not only colonialism, racism and apartheid constitute an unbearable affront on human dignity in the areas where these evils exist, they represent a great threat to the sovereignty and territorial peace and security. Thirteen years after the adoption of United Nations Resolution 1514 on the granting of Independence to colonial countries and peoples, more than 30 million Africans, spread over about one-sixth of our continent, continue to be denied their human rights, exploited and subjugated under minority, facist and colonialist regimes. In defiance of world public opinion and in contemptuous disregard of the decision of all International Organisation including the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity, these regimes have fanatically frustrated and resisted all attempts at introducing constitutional changes designed to involve, in simple justice, the majority of the

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inhabitants of those lands in the processes that govern their destiny and their daily lives. Thus denied constantly of their basic and legitimate rights, and benefit of all hope of change by an impervious and inflexible ruling class, is it any wonder, Mr. President, that the voice of despair is turning reasonable men who desire nothing but peace and progress to the frightful alternatives offered by constant frustration and loss of hope? Can we wonder then that people are attracted, in such a situation to the painful alternatives of force and conflict? For our part in the OAU we have no choice but to give whole-hearted support to the efforts of our unfortunate brothers to restore their legitimate right of self-determination and independence. In the words of the "solemn declaration on general policy" adopted at our 10th anniversary session, "our support for the liberation struggle was adopted in response to the legitimate and profound aspirations of our peoples and should be viewed less as a circumstantial community of interests than as an awareness of the common destiny of all peoples of the African continent.

At the same meeting, the African Heads of State and Government viewed with satisfaction the progress made in the decade since the establishment of the OAU in the legitimate struggle of the peoples of Angola, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde Island, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, the Comoro Island, the so-called French Somaliland, the so-called Spanish Sahara, the Seychelles Islands and the Island of Sao Tome and Principe. The struggle and the pressure, Mr. President, will continue in Africa until the stain of this degradation of human dignity has been removed and until the African every where on his continent, can raise his head proudly in Independence and self-determination and thereby be able to contribute his quote to work progress.

In this regard, Mr. President, let me commend to you and members of this honorable Assembly the bold and momentous step taken by the long-oppressed people of Guinea Bissau and their political party in declaring their country independent. We in Africa believe that the struggle for final consolidation of the independence of this new nation will be much assisted by the practical support and co-operation which all men of goodwill and all who subscribe to the principles of the Charter of this Organisation will extend, promptly and without hesitation, to the effort of the rightful owners and peoples of Guinea Bissau.

The declaration of independence by the people of Guinea Bissau has received the overwhelming support of members states of the Organization of African Unity and of the friend of Africa. I should like, on behalf of Africa, to thank these friends for their prompt recognition accorded to this new state. It is our hope, therefore, that this new nation will shortly take her rightful position as a proud member of the international community.

The situation in Namibia, Mr. President, continues to be a source of considerable embarrassment and concern to this Organisation. I do not need to go over the various steps that have been taken by the United Nations and its competent organs to bring some rational solution to the situation created in Namibia by the intransigence of the racist regime of South Africa which still occupies that country illegally. The United Nations (Organisation) has endeavoured to carry out its fundamental responsibilities to the helpless people of Namibia by repeatedly providing opportunities for a progressive and peaceful transformation of the

situation in the country. It was the hope of many people in different parts of the world that the South African Government would, in its own wider interests, take advantage of the opportunities offered by the United Nations to fulfill its woefully neglected obligation to the people of Namibia.

But what have we found? The South African Government is intent upon defying the opinion of the world; even after the International Court of Justice has expressed opinions which clearly indicated that the South African Government had no further moral or legal right to dominate Namibia, the South African Government continues to subject the people of that country to its facist social and political system.

Mr. President, one is entitled to ask why it is that of all the territories that were entrusted to the colonialist powers under the trusteeship system only in Namibia, the territory entrusted to South Africa, has this international trust been betrayed. All the other territories are today full members of the United Nations or their way to independence. We in Africa strongly believe that the United Nations and particularly the permanent members of the Security Council have a duty and responsibility to use all means at their disposal to compel South Africa to withdraw from Namibia and thereafter to assume control of the territory and to administer it until it attains full independence.

Mr. President, side by side with the steady pressure and progress in the effort of the liberation movements in various parts of Africa, we witness with dismay the support that continues to be rendered by some nations to two members states of this Organisation who have the dubious distinction in history of being the sole advocates of repression and colonialism and of racism. Also, the illegal regime in Salisbury still continues because of the non-compliance by certain members country of this Organisation with the unanimous decision of the Organisation and of mankind. Perhaps those who prefer to sell a few goods to such an illegal clique, or to buy such commodities as the racist of Salisbury wish to sell in order to maintain themselves in power, have made their sense of honour and their position in history.

While on this subject, Mr. President, perhaps I should emphasize again the sadness of Africa in the face of the stubborn and unreasonable intransigence of those white regimes that continues to constitute themselves as enemies of Africa and of the third world. Nobody in Africa, Mr. President, wishes to adopt the path of armed struggles and conflict against those minorities regime for the love of it. Nobody has asked that people who normally live in Africa and wish to consider themselves as part of Africa should, by any manner or means, be made to feel unwelcome. Those who are born and live and join us both in spirit and co-operation are welcome to live in Africa. For they are Africans, it is for this reason, Mr. President, that we made genuine efforts to assure the world of our desire for racial harmony on conditions of mutual respect and fundamental human rights of all the inhabitants of the continent. Is that not a message of hope for the colonialist and racist regimes? The Lusaka Manifesto which was presented to this Assembly three years ago by my dear friend and brother, H.E. President Ahmadu Ahidjo of the United Republic of Cameroon on behalf of Africa, embodies Africa's effort at working out a peaceful solution to the colonial and racial problems of the continent – problems which are not of our own making. What was the response? The colonialist

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and racist regimes rejected out of hand our peace offer and rewarded us with intensification of repressive laws in the areas under their control, massacres of our people, inspired assassination of the authentic leaders of the African freedom movements, and attacks on independent African countries.

Viewed therefore against the background of our efforts at initiating peaceful solutions, and the response we got, we are bewildered that several countries which claim to be friends Africa continue to give such materials and moral support to the colonialist and racist regimes, and to strengthen them in their oppression of our peoples.

Permit me, Mr. President, to appeal again on behalf of Africa to those who give support to our oppressors. It is time for all of us members of the United Nations to join hands in an effective and total isolation of the colonial and racist regimes in South Africa. It is time for us to tighten sanctions against the rebel clique in Salisbury. In addition, I appeal to the United Nations and the international community generally, to extend to the liberation movements and to the millions of Africans under severe oppression and exploitation, such material assistance as would ensure fulfillment to the African peoples of the promise held out by the Charter of the United Nations.

Time is on the side of the African in the struggle against colonialism and apartheid. Victory is sure to be ours in the war against oppression and deprivation of individual liberty. But the United Nations and its members countries can render the process less painful and can help to make the road shorter by taking necessary steps before it is too late. By so doing, they would be contributing to the increase of peace and progress, in place of unhappiness and pain and suffering in the world.

Mr. President, during our 10th Anniversary session, the African Heads of State and Government adopted another document of considerable importance. I refer to the African declaration on co-operation development and economic independence. In the ten years since the OAU was founded, we have observed that the promise of substantial economic development, leading to the path of economic independence, as contained in the charter of the OAU, has not been marked by encouraging progress. On the contrary, the pattern has been one continuing deterioration in the economic and social conditions of African and developing countries generally. The gap between us and the developed countries to grow even wider. Measures adopted during the last decade, we found, have been frustrated by other developments in the world at large, over which we have little say and no control. Their terms of trade have constantly gone against us. World monetary arrangements have been made without consultation with us and without adequate consideration of our interests.

Faced with this situation and firmly convinced that our economic destiny must be taken firmly in our own hands, if noticeable improvement is to be achieved. African states solemnly proclaimed their determination to achieve the economic independence and development of the continent through the effective mobilization of Africa's own human and material resources. To this end, we decided to accelerate the implementation of the africanisation policy in each of our countries and to ensure effective and equitable African representation in international organizations.

Mr. President, bearing in mind the loss which Africa has suffered and continues to sustain through the foreign exploitation of its natural resources, we resolved to defend vigorously, continually and jointly, the sovereign rights of our countries to exercise full and effective control over our resources.

We believe that the time has come for the rich in this organization to ponder seriously on the danger of being surrounded by so many poor nations. In their own self interest, if not for the sake of humanity in general, the rich nations should at least give us an even chance of pulling ourselves up. It is no longer our intention to go cap in hand to the door of the rich. What we want and demand is the opportunity for our own people to be afforded a chance of acquiring those skills and those elements of technology without which no decent and progressive economic system can be structured and maintained in the modern world. We have learnt that we cannot expect help, at least not in the order that would make a significant contribution to our own need of development, but the older, more experienced and more technologically advanced countries can still do much to redeem the pledge they made to humanity and to this organization, by not putting impediments in our way, by less selfish and lopsided marketing arrangements for our own produce, and by facilitating our determination to utilize such resources as we have in the interest of our own people. I hope that this session of the General Assembly will approve a constructive idea which emerged from the Algiers summit of non-aliged states that a special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the economic matters, should be held in 1975 when we shall half way through the 2nd United Nations development decade.

Mr. President, I shall conclude my address by referring to the urgent and serious problem of the Middle East, an area with which Africa enjoys strong and deep ties. As if the situation, thereby about two million helpless refugees, disposed of their home lands and virtually condemned to live out their live in tents, was not bad enough, the conditions of "no war, no peace" compound the problem. Since June 1967, part of the territories of member states of the organization have remained under the United Nations, when the Security Council adopted its famous resolution 242 of November 22, 1967, it was widely accepted that its provision formed a balance framework for an equitable and honourable solution to the crisis.
It was the greatest hope for peace based on justice in that region. Not only has peace proved elusive, we are all witness to the unspeakable series of aggressions, heartless and mindless brutalities, harassments and massacres, not talk of air piracies and high jacking that dominate the news from the area. Needless to say that such conditions are a constant threat to the world peace and security.

The organization of Africa Unity has, in session after session, expressed great concern at the situation, we even did more. As would be called, in 1971, a mission of four African Heads of State paid a visit to Egypt and Israel. It was a great honour and privilege for me to have been a member of that mission. Our objective was to see how best the Organisation of African Unity, since one of its member nations was involved in the Middle East conflict, could contribute in a small measure to the efforts of the United Nations and others towards a just and peaceful resolution or, at any rate, the reduction of the tension of the explosive situation.

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Mr. President, during its 10th Summit Conference held in Addis Ababa last May, the Organisation of African Unity once again reviewed the seemingly intractable situation in the Middle East. It adopted a resolution and charged me, as its current Chairman, with the task of presenting its views to this distinguished Assembly.

Permit me, therefore, Mr. President, to read the resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Assembly of African Heads of State and Government.

The OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government meeting in its ninth ordinary session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia from 27 to 29 May 1973.

Having heard the statement of His Excellency El Shafei Vice-President of the Arab Republic of Egypt on the situation in the Middle East in general and in particular on that territory of Egypt since the Israeli aggression of 5 June, 1967.

Recalling all OAU resolution adopted in this respect and especially resolution No. 67 of the Rabat Summit Conference.

Reaffirming resolution 2949 of the United Nations General Assembly passed in December 1972, aware of the danger emanating from the deterioration of the situation in the North-east of Africa as a result of the continued aggression perpetrated against the territory of Egypt and other Arab territories – a danger which threatens the security, territorial integrity and unity of our continent.

Noting with deep concern that despite the numerous resolutions of the OAU and UN, calling upon it to withdraw from all occupied African and Arab territories. Israel not only persists in refusing to implement these resolutions, but also continues to practice a policy with a view to creating in the said territories a state of faith accomplished at serving its expansionist designs, deploring in this respect the negative attitude of Israel towards the mission of the ten African Heads of State mandated by the OAU to work for the implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 of 22 November 1967, which stipulated in particular, withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied territories, in conformity with the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force, noting with satisfaction that the Arab Republic of Egypt has spared no effort to reach a just and durable solution to the problem, and that these efforts have been characterized each gap is too wide by the constructive co-operation of Egypt with international as well as African forums, noting further that the intransigence of Israel and its systematic refusal to abide by the will of the international community, constitutes a threat to the security of the continent, fully aware that the massive military, economic and other aids, as well as the political and moral support granted to Israel by certain powers enable it to pursue its aggression and encourage it to commit acts of terrorism, especially the traffic act of shooting down the Libyan civilian aircraft which resulted in loss of innocent lives.

1. 'Takes note of the statement of Vice-President of the Arab Republic of Egypt.
2. Strongly condemns the negative attitude of Israel, its acts of terrorism and its obstruction of all efforts aimed at a just and equitable solution of the problem in accordance with the Security Council Resolution 242 of 22 November 1967.

3. Calls once more for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied African and Arab territories.

4. Declares that all changes effected by Israel in the occupied territories are null and void, and pledges not to recognize any changes leading to a fait accompli or likely to jeopardize the territorial integrity of the countries which are victims of the Israel aggression.

5. Just and equitable solution, besides being an indispensable factor for the establishment of permanent peace in the region.

6. Reaffirms in the name of African solidarity and by virtue of Article II, paragraph 1© of the OAU Charter, its active and total support for the Arab Republic of Egypt in her legitimate struggle to recover entirely and by all means her territorial integrity.

7. Draw the attention of Israel to the danger threatening the security and unity of the African continent as a result of its continued aggression and refusal to evacuate the territories of the state victims of that aggression and declares that the attitude of Israel might lead OAU member states to take, at the African level, individually or collectively, political and economic measures against it, in conformity with the principles contained in the OAU and UN Charter.

8. Earnestly calls upon the big powers supplying Israel with arms and military equipment of all kinds and granting it moral and political support and enables it to strengthen its military potential, to refrain from doing so.

9. Strongly supports the Egyptian initiative requesting the UN secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the explosive situation prevailing in the Middle East, and expresses the hope that the Security Council shall take every appropriate measure to implement immediately the relevant resolutions adopted by the UN, so that a just and durable peace may be established in the region.

10. Designated the foreign ministers of Nigeria, T chard, Tanzania, Guinea, Algeria, Kenya and the Sudan to be the spokesmen to the OAU on this matter at the Security Council of the UN on the 4th and 5th June, 1973.

11. Entrusts the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government to present the views of the OAU on the matter at the next session of the General Assembly of the UN. This, Mr. President, is the unanimous voice of Africa on this issue.   Since then, the six foreign ministers designated by the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government have participated in the Security Council meeting that was specifically convened at the instance of Egypt. The debate that ensured, though extensive produced no results that could bring peace nearer to that region. The Organisation of African Unity cannot condone a situation whose final determination can only be decided by the force of arms. We regard it as an intolerable provocation that part of Egypt, a member-state, should continue to remain under armed occupation in spite of the unanimous expressions of international opinion against the acquisition of territory by force of arms. Members of the Organization of African Unity desire peace in the Middle East, peace based on equity, peace that does

not insist on acquisition of other people's territories as a pre-condition, peace that acknowledges the right of all nations in the area to exist in security, peace that places a premium on respect for cultural diversity, peace that upholds the dignity of man and draws sustenance from the principles enunciated in the universal declaration of human rights and the Charter of the United Nations. For all the inhabitants of the area have every right to expect that they should no longer be distracted from the urgent task of economic reconstruction and social development. They have every right to live in peace and continue to contribute, as they have done in the past and that, Mr. President, is the Middle East that the people of Africa envisage and fervently desire to see. Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, Distinguished delegates, this is my message. This is the solemn assignment entrusted to me by the Organization of African Unity. Thank you.

Source: Nigerian: Bulletin on Foreign Affair, Vol. 3, Nos. 1-4.
January – December 1973, NIIA Publication, Lagos, PP. 179-190.