

NIGERIA POLICE ACADEMY JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES

Volume 1 Number 2

June, 2016

ISSN 2536-7374

NIGERIA POLICE ACADEMY JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES

Volume 1 Number 2 June, 2016

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Volume 1 Number 2 June, 2016 ISSN 2536-7374

A Publication of the Faculty of Humanities, Nigeria Police
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Police Academy Journal of Humanities (PAJH): A Journal of the Faculty of Humanities, Nigeria Police Academy Wudil, Kano State. It publishes well-researched and peer-reviewed articles in all areas of humanities broadly defined including but not limited to English Language, French, English Literature, Linguistics, Nigerian Languages and History. The Journal is published twice a year. All materials submitted for publication should be typed in Microsoft Word format in Times New Roman, 12 point font on A4 paper. An article for submission to the journal should not exceed 8,000 words in length. It should also include in the main text an abstract not exceeding 250 words, an introduction, main body and conclusion depending on the type of subject covered or disciplinary orientation of the paper.

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NIGERIA POLICE ACADEMY JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES

A Publication of the Faculty of Humanities, Nigeria Police
Academy, Wudil - Kano by Gwatex Publishers,
Makurdi Benue State, Nigeria.
08069263543

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AN OVERVIEW OF NIGERIA-CHINA DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, 1971-2007

Lemuel Ekedegwa Odeh
and
Afolabi Opeyemi Glory

Abstract

Nigeria-China diplomatic relations from 1971-2007 was dynamic, moving from an era of minimal diplomatic exchanges in the 1970s and 1980s, to an era of high diplomatic exchanges which began in the 1990s. This paper gave an overview of Nigeria-China diplomatic relations from 1971-2007. This was done not only for the purpose of bringing to the fore, the diplomatic exchanges between both countries, but also to examine the nature and substance of Nigeria-China diplomatic relations. Primary and secondary sources were used in carrying out this research. This paper argues that, the great improvement in Nigeria-China relations began in the 1990s when both countries faced international condemnation and isolation as a result of their poor human rights record. However, Nigeria's transition to civilian rule in 1999 witnessed a rejuvenated Nigeria-China diplomatic relations during which several agreements were reached. The conclusion derived from the available evidence is that, most of the agreements reached were barely implemented, and some of the implemented ones were cancelled due to lack of transparency, when President Umar Musa Yar'Adua took over the mantle of leadership from President Olusegun Obasanjo in 2007. This paper suggests that for Nigeria to reap the benefits accrued to her relationship with China, the Nigerian government should desist from entering into shady deals with their Chinese counterparts. It also contends that, the Nigerian diplomats and government officials should

Lemuel Ekedegwa Odeh, Ph.D and Afolabi Opeyemi Glory are Lecturers in the Department of History and International Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Kwara State, Nigeria.

transform their visits to China into an avenue for learning from Chinese development model, and not just to travel for fun fair.

Introduction

The formalization of diplomatic relations between Nigeria and China took place on 10th February, 1971. Prior to that, the government of newly independent Nigeria adopted a broadly pro-Western stance, and while it did not actively support Taiwan, it also did not seek relations with China¹. China's official contact with Nigeria was in 1960 when she was invited to the independence celebrations, during which her delegation toured the whole country and returned to Peking². There was silence after that, but as time went on it became apparent that the Balewa regime had no intention to recognize any of the countries of the Eastern bloc not even the softening Soviet Union. Consequently, the Chinese Premier Zhou En-Lai's ten country trip to Africa in 1963 did not include Nigeria³. In the same vein, Nigeria was not among the African countries that received significant gifts in construction and infrastructure from the Chinese government during this time⁴. Thus, it is not unexpected that the Chinese delegation that visited Nigeria in 1964 seeking the establishment of diplomatic ties was sent away empty handed⁵.

However, the pro-Western posture of Nigeria's Foreign Policy continued unabated and the government had thought that by turning to her traditional friends in the West for assistance the Nigerian civil war (1967-1970) would be expeditiously prosecuted. However, this was not to be the case as the so called traditional friends turned her request for arms and ammunitions down, thus, introducing a new dimension to the country's perception of friends or enemies in external relations⁶. Consequently, Nigeria's relaxed relations with Eastern Europe and the government began to shift ground and opened up to the Eastern bloc. It is instructive to stress that, during the Civil War, China made no pronouncement regarding its position on the Biafran conflict for two years, declaring its support for the Biafrans in September 1968 only as a counter to Soviet

involvement on Nigeria's side⁷. Writing in 1976, Ogunbadejo noted that "since Soviet support for the federalists was open and extensive, any degree of Chinese involvements on the other side represented a further projection of Sino-Soviet differences into Chinese African policy⁸. Soon after Moscow's intervention in the conflict, the Chinese Foreign Minister, Chen Yi, denounced 'Soviet revisionism, in league with US and British Imperialism', for supporting the federal military government in Nigeria in 'massacring the Biafran people in a vain attempt to squeeze into Nigeria and enjoy an equal share with imperialism there. It was this statement that caught the eye of the Biafrans, and consequently, secessionist leader, Emeka Ojukwu, wrote to Chairman Mao seeking assistance 'in our struggle against Anglo-American imperialism and Soviet revisionism, to achieve a 'socialist' revolution'. This was risky, as it threatened to alienate Western powers in the country. Nevertheless, the gamble paid off as there were unconfirmed allegations that China transferred a limited number of small arms to Biafra through Tanzania⁹.

It is instructive to stress that, China's stance during the Nigerian civil war did not prevent both countries from establishing diplomatic relations on 10th February, 1971. This could be attributed to the fact that Nigeria was impressed with the way China exempted itself from the imperialistic motives of the Soviet Union and the West during the Nigerian Civil War; and also because both countries have a lot of commonalities. For instance, both countries shared a similar history of colonial exploitation and domination¹⁰; secondly, both countries were passing through similar periods of social and economic transformation; thirdly, both countries have the largest population in their respective continents and vast natural resources; and lastly, both countries believe in the policy of self-reliance. It was the goal of the federal military government to develop a self-reliant economy which calls for the promotion of economic and technical co-operation, on a mutual basis with friendly countries¹¹. All these factors helped to strengthen Nigeria-China diplomatic relations.

Against the backdrop of the forgoing, this paper seeks to give an overview of Nigeria-China diplomatic relations from 1971-2007. This is done with a view of understanding the dynamics of the diplomatic relations between both countries.

Nigeria-China Diplomatic Relations, 1971-2007

The year 1971 was a milestone in the history of Nigeria-China diplomatic relations because it marked the formalization of relations between the two countries, on 10th February. Both countries entered into this relationship with an understanding to abide by a set of five principles namely: mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, sovereign equality, and peaceful co-existence. It should be noted that, during the brief occasion which ushered in the formalization, the Nigerian Minister of External Affairs noted that "the Federal Government of Nigeria recognised the government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government representing the entire Chinese people". On the part of China, its representatives, on behalf of their government promised "to solidly support African countries in general, and Nigeria in particular". Two months later, precisely on 6th April, 1971, China opened a diplomatic mission in Nigeria. Nigeria reciprocated by establishing an embassy in Beijing in October 1971¹².

The formalization of relations between China and Nigeria in 1971 was a diplomatic triumph for both countries. On the part of Nigeria, 1971 marked a watershed in the political history of the country: It marked the close of a decade of its existence as a sovereign and independent state. It also marked the beginning of a new era in the nation's history after the poignant experience of the Civil War. Besides, Nigeria saw the formalization as a vivid demonstration of its non-alignment posture¹³. As the Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon, had pointed out, "ideology is no barrier to trade between nations, and thou Nigeria and China operate on different ideological wave lengths, Nigeria does not believe in paying only lip service to non-alignment". He

reiterated that, for many years Nigeria had been in close touch with the Western countries, thus, it was time to develop closer ties with the peoples of the Eastern bloc, in consonance with the country's policy of friendliness with all nations¹⁴.

On the part of China, 1971 was a very important date in Chinese political history: It was the year in which the People's Republic of China (PRC) achieved international recognition by attaining the full membership of the United Nations (UN) and the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) seat in total replacement of Taiwan. It is imperative to stress that, since the beginning of Communist rule in China in 1949 until 1971, Taiwan occupied the seat as the official Republic of China. Therefore, the formalization was a step forward in the Chinese struggle against the policy of isolation pursued against it by the Western powers, especially the US. However, the normalization of full diplomatic relations between Nigeria and China afforded both countries the chance of putting an end to "years of oblique and dubious posture towards each other". Furthermore, it afforded both states the opportunity of eliminating the stigma of having economic relations without official diplomatic recognition¹⁵.

However, the formalization of diplomatic relations was followed by an exchange of official visits, during which different corporation agreements were signed. For instance, a year after establishing diplomatic relations, in August 1972 to be precise, an eight-man Nigerian delegation led by the Nigerian Commissioner for Economic Development and Reconstruction, Dr. Adebayo Adedeji, visited Beijing. In response to this visit, in November 1972, a 10-man delegation led by Mr Fang Yi, Minister of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation of China visited Nigeria for formal discussion with his counterpart. During the visit, agreements on economic, technical corporation and trade were signed between both countries¹⁶. In April 1973, Dr. Okoi Arikpo, Nigeria's Minister of External Affairs, was regally received in Beijing¹⁷. The year 1974, witnessed a high point of Sino-Nigerian relations as the Nigerian Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon, embarked on an unprecedented and widely publicised visit to China and had some discussions with

Chairman Mao. However, Gowon's visit was of little significance since he was ousted from power ten months later by Brigadier (late General) Murtala Ramat Muhammed (1975). Muhammed was assassinated in 1976, and Olusegun Obasanjo, the then armed forces Chief of Staff, took over as Head of State. Obasanjo became worried at the growing trade imbalance between the two countries as Chinese manufacturing and export capacity increased¹⁸. Consequently, a delegation to China led by the Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters, Major General S.M. Yar'Adua undertook a visit to China in April 19, 1979 to discuss the issue of trade imbalance between the two countries. He observed that, in 1975 and 1976, imports from the two countries stood at \$69.86 million and \$140.87 million respectively, while Nigeria's exports for the years combined came to \$8.85 million¹⁹. After negotiations with Vice Premier Geng Biao and other Chinese officials, the two countries signed bilateral co-operation agreement on agriculture, trade and industry, as well as the restructuring of the Nigeria railway by Chinese experts²⁰. China also agreed to buy Nigerian palm kernel, cocoa, cashew nuts and cotton as an initial step towards correcting the trade imbalance. In addition, China was ready to send medical personnel to work in Nigerian hospitals and to reinforce its bore hole drilling activities in Nigeria in order to boost agriculture. During this period, some three hundred Chinese personnel were working in Nigeria, while less than ten thousand Nigerian students were studying in China. Nevertheless, the trade-imbalance between Nigeria and China continued unabated²¹.

It is pertinent to note that, following the death of Mao in 1976, the relationship between Nigeria and China witnessed a decline. This was because Deng Xiaoping's open door policy which began in 1978, involved only those countries who could make a constructive contribution to the development of the Chinese economy. A position which Nigeria could not fill as a result of her poor economic status at that time. Nevertheless, Nigeria and China continued to exchange diplomatic visits, although, not on a high level. For instance, in 1981, Mr Jiyun, Vice-Premier, paid a friendly visit to the Federal Republic of Nigeria, during

which agreements on Cultural and Educational Cooperation were signed. In May 1985, a military delegation led by, Major-General Ibrahim Babangida, as Chief of Army Staff, paid an official visit to China. The visit resulted in the purchase of arms from the appropriate agencies of both governments. Several other business visits by high ranking Chinese authorities subsequently followed²².

The profound change in the world order in the late 1980s and early 1990s, presented a strategic opportunity for the upgrading of Nigeria-China diplomatic relations, leading to the historic high in the beginning of the 21st century. Following the Tiananmen square massacre of 1989, China began to shift her policies back to Africa in general and Nigeria in particular, as a result of the isolation she faced by the US and other Western countries²³. However, the great improvement in Nigeria-China relations began after sanctions were imposed on the regime of General Sani Abacha (1993-1998), by traditional partners, for human rights abuses, especially the death of Ken Saro Wiwa and his other Ogoni environmental activists²⁴. As a result this, Abacha cultivated the friendship of some emerging powers mostly from Asia in general and China in particular, who as a matter of policy always avoided interference in the internal affairs of other nations²⁵.

Infrastructural Developments and Various Memorandums of Understanding

Furthermore, the 1990s witnessed a rejuvenated Sino-Nigerian diplomatic relations, wherein, some level diplomatic exchanges which culminated in the signing of some corporation agreements, occurred. For instance, in 1995, the Chinese Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Qian Qichen, paid a goodwill visit to Nigeria. This was followed in 1996 by another high level Chinese delegation led by State Counsellor and Secretary General of the State, Mr Luo Gan. Similarly, a team of Chinese engineers from the China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation (CCECC) visited Nigeria in 1996 for an assessment of the Nigerian Railway Project. Thereafter, former Head of State, Chief

(Dr.) Ernest Shonekan, shortly after his appointment as Chairman of Vision 2010 Committee, paid an official visit to China in October, 1996 "to study China's economic development and Vision 2010 policies and programmes"²⁶. In January 1997, a delegation from the China Import and Export Commodities Commission hosted by the Federal Ministry of Commerce and Tourism visited Nigeria to discuss incessant complaints of Substandard Chinese Commodities exported to Nigeria. The following month, the assistant Minister of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation, Yang Wensheng, visited Nigeria. Officials of the Ministry of Supervision of China also visited the Code of Conduct Bureau in Abuja in August 1997. Also, former Head of State, General Abdulsalami Abubakar, then the Chief of Army Staff, visited China in 1997 to discuss with his Chinese counterpart, ways and means of strengthening Military Cooperation between both states. In like manner, former Chief of General Staff, Admiral Mike Akhigbe, then Chief of Naval Staff, visited China in 1998²⁷.

Furthermore, between 1997 and 1998, the directing Staff in the National War College, Abuja and a host of course participants, visited China in furtherance of their world study tour. This was essentially because China offered relevant facilities for the training of the Nigerian Armed Forces Personnel. But the courses made available to them were mainly short term training courses conducted for three to twelve months, which were nonetheless considered very adequate and beneficial to the officers²⁸. In addition, in 1998, H.E. General Liang Guanglie led a five-member military delegation to Nigeria. The main purpose of the visit was to further the existing military cooperation between both Armed Forces²⁹.

However, the highest ranking Chinese officer to visit Nigeria until the inauguration of civilian rule in 1999 was His Excellency, Li Peng Premier of the State Council. He, in company of his wife, was hosted by General Abacha from 11th to 12th May 1997³⁰. The widely publicised visit was rounded off with the signing of the following landmark agreements and protocols:

- Agreement for the Reciprocal Promotion and Protection of Investment.
- Protocol on Bilateral Cooperation in Steel Industry
- Protocol on Cooperation in Electric Power Project in Nigeria.
- Oil Industry Cooperation Agreement³¹.

It is instructive to stress that, these agreements and protocols were barely implemented³².

Furthermore, Nigeria-China diplomatic relations began to deepen following Nigeria's return to democratic rule in 1999. This was as a result of the desire to redeem the dented image of Nigeria in the international arena by the President Olusegun Obasanjo's administration (1999-2007). Nigeria's image had been damaged during the prolonged military rule in the country³³. From 1999 to 2007, therefore, the relationship between Nigeria and China was marked by high level visitations, during which several Memorandums of Understanding were signed. For instance, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, then President-elect, in April 1999 paid a two-day visit to China. During the visit, the President assured the Chinese authorities that his government would uphold the "One-China" policy as well as increase areas of collaboration with China during his tenure. Obasanjo noted that China had, in recent years, achieved tremendous feat economically and politically, which have made it a force to be reckoned with among the comity of nations. Furthermore, he thanked Chinese government for their assistance towards the socio-economic development of African countries. In response, President Jiang Zemin stated that General Obasanjo's visit to China (before being sworn-in as President of Nigeria) showed the importance Nigeria attached to its relations with China. He noted that the visit would surely consolidate existing friendly relations and joint venture projects being implemented by both countries. He emphasized the fact that, since 1971 when both countries established diplomatic relations, there has never been a diplomatic rupture between both states and that China appreciated Nigeria's steadfast support for the "One-China" policy, and non-diplomatic recognition of Taiwan. He assured

the President-elect that, on its part, China would continue to support African countries generally, and Nigeria in particular, as a matter of principle³⁴.

From the forgoing, it is therefore not surprising that the People's Republic of China was represented at the inauguration of General Olusegun Obasanjo as the second Executive President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, in the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), on 29th May, 1999. Although the ceremony could not be attended by President Zemin, H.E Ismail Amat, member of the State Council and Special Envoy of the President, represented the President and Peoples of China at the ceremony³⁵.

In addition, on 10th October, 2000, Nigeria participated in the first Ministerial Conference on China-Africa Cooperation held in Beijing, during which several agreements were reached³⁶. In 2001, H.E Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria paid a State visit to China, at the invitation of H.E. Mr Jiang Zemin, President of the People's Republic of China (PRC), from 26th - 29th August, 2001, to review the decisions taken during the 4th session of the Nigeria-China Joint Commission, at the end of which the following agreements were signed:

- Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministry of Information, Industry of the People's Republic of China and the Ministry of Communications of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN).
- Memorandum of Understanding between the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television of the People's Republic of China (PRC), and the Ministry of Information of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN).
- Agreement on Trade between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN).
- Memorandum of Understanding between the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN) and the People's Republic of China (PRC).

- Agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Government of Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN) on Oil Industry Cooperation³⁷.

The visit provided opportunity for private sectors of both countries to discuss specific requirements and areas of mutual interest during a "Business Forum" organized by the China Council for Promotion of International Trade (CCPIT) in Beijing on 25th August, 2001. Also, in 2001, Nigeria and China signed agreements on the establishment of a Nigeria Trade Office in China and a China Investment Development and Trade Promotion Centre in Nigeria³⁸.

As a follow up, President Jiang Zemin paid a return State visit to Nigeria, as guest of President Olusegun Obasanjo, from 14th - 16th April, 2002, during which more agreements were duly signed, namely:

- Agreement on Economic and Technical Cooperation between the Government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN)
- Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in the field of Water Resources between the Ministry of Water Resources of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Ministry of Water Resources of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN).
- Agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN) for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with respect to Taxes on Income.
- Memorandum of Understanding in the Fields of Medical and Health Sciences between the Ministry of Health of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Federal Ministry of Health of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN).
- Agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN) for the Reciprocal Promotion and Protection of Investments³⁹.

Also following on the heels of the visits, H.E. Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, Vice-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN) paid another official visit to China, at the invitation of H.E. Mr. Hu Jintao, Vice-President of the People's Republic of China (PRC) from 1st - 6th July, 2002, during which the following outstanding enabling agreements on issues discussed during the 4th Session of the Nigeria-China Joint Commission, were signed in Beijing by the representatives of both Governments, namely:

- Consular Agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN).
- Agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN) on Cooperation against Illicit Traffic in and Abuse of Narcotic Drugs, Psychotropic Substances and diversion of Precursor Chemicals.
- Agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN) on Tourism Cooperation.
- Exchange of Letters on China's Provision of General Goods to Nigeria⁴⁰.

Furthermore, in 2004, Mr Wu Bangguo, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China, visited Nigeria. Moreover, H.E. Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, also paid an official visit to China at the invitation of H.E. Mr. Hu Jintao, President of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 2005 during which a number of agreements were signed, namely:

- A memorandum of Understanding on Satellite Communication
- A memorandum of Understanding on Information Technology
- A memorandum of Understanding on Cultural Activities⁴¹.

Also, Mr Wang Zhonguo, Executive Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, visited Nigeria in 2005. In addition, from 26th to 27th April 2006, at the invitation of H.E.

Olusegun Obasanjo, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, H.E. Jintao, President of the People's Republic of China, paid a State visit to the Federal Republic of Nigeria, during which they had an in-depth and candid exchange of views on strengthening Strategic Partnership between China and Nigeria, as well as international and regional issues of mutual interest, and reached a common understanding⁴². During this visit, President Jintao signed a deal with the Nigerian government for four drilling licences with a commitment that China would invest about \$4 billion in infrastructural development in Nigeria. Financial aid was also granted Nigeria to help fight against malaria. Also, a new export-credit opportunity was made available to Nigeria to help her in infrastructural development⁴³.

Also, in 2006, Chinese Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing visited Nigeria and signed with Foreign Minister of Nigeria, Ambassador Oluyemi Adeniyi, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on the establishment of Strategic Partnership between China and Nigeria. During the signing of the MOU, the Nigerian officials specified that the Petroleum, Power, Telecommunications and Manufacturing sectors would be the main targets for investment. Given China's keen interest in securing a steady supply of fuel for its rapidly expanding economy, the petroleum sector was at the centre of its investment strategy. The Nigerian agency responsible for the privatization of state-owned enterprises also appealed for Chinese investment in its Privatisation Programme⁴⁴. In 2007, China cooperated with Nigeria to launch the first Nigeria Communication Satellite (NIGCOMSAT)⁴⁵.

It is instructive to stress that, Nigeria-China diplomatic relations from 1971 to 2007 was not limited to domestic affairs alone, it also extended to the international arena. For instance, Nigeria was instrumental in China's admission to occupy a Permanent Seat in the United Nations Security Council in 1971. In the same vein, China has also been supporting Nigeria's bid to occupy a Permanent Seat in the United Nations Security Council⁴⁶. Apart from this, both countries also support each other in international forums such as FOAC, non-aligned movement, amongst others.

Conclusion

From the forgoing, we can deduce that Nigeria-China diplomatic relations from 1971-2007, moved from an era of minimal diplomatic exchanges to an era of high diplomatic contact, which began in the 1990s when both countries faced international isolation and criticism based on their poor human rights records. As a result of this, both countries strengthened their relationship, and consequently, the Abacha's regime witnessed the highest level of diplomatic relations between Nigeria and China during the military era. However, the return to civil democratic rule in 1999 ushered in a period of rejuvenated Nigeria-China relations. This was as a result of the desire to redeem the dented image of Nigeria in the international arena by President Olusegun Obasanjo's administration (1999-2007). Therefore, from 1999-2007, Nigeria-China relations witnessed a high level of diplomatic exchanges which culminated in the signing of several memorandums of understanding between both countries. However, following the emergence of President Umar Musa Yar'Adua as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in 2007, many of the agreements reached during the Obasanjo's administration were abandoned. This is because Yar'Adua believed that most of the agreements were not transparent enough. Therefore, for Nigeria-China relations to yield any positive result, the government of Nigeria should try and be transparent in their dealings with China. Also, the Nigerian diplomats and government officials should transform their visits to China into an avenue for learning from the Chinese development model so that they can apply it in the development at home, and not to see their visits to China as just an avenue for fun fair.

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THE 2014 NATIONAL CONFERENCE: OBSTACLES TO THE RESOLUTION OF CONTENTIOUS ISSUES

Ahom, Henry Terna

Abstract

The paper discusses some of the contentious issues such as Resource Control, State Creation, and True Federalism which were among several others that were deliberated upon at the National Conference held in 2014. These issues have been at the epicenter of the multifarious conflicts bedeviling the Nigerian nation state since our amalgamation in 1914. They manifested in the mistrust and fear of domination of some groups over others, were accentuated by the political crises that led to the collapse of the First Republic. They were equally responsible for the outbreak of the Nigeria Civil War from 1967-70, the collapse of the Second Republic and subsequent clamour by Nigerians for major restructuring of the federation. The non resolution of these issues has led to ethnic and sectional loyalties, the creation of ethnic militias and even threats of secession by some groups. Rather than tackle the issues headlong, the political elite especially in the post-colonial period circumvent them and cling to personal idiosyncrasies or to their sub-national loyalties. This situation has turned such national forums to ceremonial talk shops. Consequently, the 2014 National conference was also marred by the same controversies such as threats of walk outs and the refusal to sign the final documents by some delegates. The paper contends that unless the political elite at the centre of these issues put away sub-national, ethnic and other loyalties in favour of nationalistic loyalties, the protracted conflicts generated by the issues are a time bomb waiting to explode meanwhile they would continue to becloud the developmental advances of the Nigerian nation state.

Ahom, Henry Terna PhD is a Lecturer in the Department of History and Strategic Studies, Federal University Dutsin-Ma, Dutsin-Ma, Katsina State.