Olagido Aluko (ed), The Foreign Policies of African States, Hodder and Stoughton, London 1977, Pp. 224 Reviewer Prof. K. Mathews*

For most African countries the field of Foreign Policy has been an entirely new experience. Never before has Africa as a collective entity played a significant independent role on the world stage. Its role has been that of the world's underdog. Over the last two decades Africa has evolved a distinctive Foreign Policy of its own. It is now engaged in the much more difficult task of discovering how it can increase its effective power to achieve basic objectives, namely, liquidation of colonialism and alien rule including white supremacy on the continent, defence of national sovereignty and the promotion of independent economies.

The Foreign Policies of African States have in fact evolved as a direct response to three sets of challenges; namely its internal circumstances at the time of independence; its external relations with the former colonial powers and the impact on itself of a divided tripolar world engaged in nuclear arms race. A crucial element in Africa's Foreign Policy expresses itself in practice as an assertion of the right to untrammelled political independence. But the difficulty has been how to defend this claim in conditions of economic non-independence more especially in view of the class integration of African economic systems into the Western economy. This dilemma produces a deep tension at the centre of Africa's foreign policy, which often inhibits freedom to act independently, even though individual African states have tried to do so on a number of occasions.

Unfortunately detailed analysis of the foreign policies of individual African states has not so far received the scholarly attention that it deserves. Professor Aluko's work under review therefore is a timely contribution to enrich the scant literature now available on the subject. The book contains twelve essays of uneven length and quality dealing with the foreign policies of eleven different states of Africa ranging from Algeria and Ivory Coast to Zaire and Zambia. In the very first essay Professor Aluko has ably and comprehensively discussed the 'Determinants of Foreign Policies of African States,' which provides a general framework and background for the case studies that follow.

In the analysis of the Algerian Foreign Policy, Dr. Alaba Ogunsanwo points out:

When in July 1962 over a hundred and thirty years of French colonial rule in Algeria came to an end, a new state has been born whose foreign policy would be governed to some extent by the experience of the previous seven years and to some extent by the way that experience was consumed (P. 24).

The author has brought out the differences in styles of leadership provided by Ben Bella and Boumedienne over the years, both moving essentially in the same direction to promote the interests of the state. The author concludes that:

the Ben Bella and Boumedienne regimes placed emphasis on the economic interests of the country; though the style of leadership differed, the fundamentals of the foreign policy remained unaltered (p. 38).

The author's conclusion is of course obvious to all, even for those who are superficially acquainted with Algerian affairs. The essay on the whole leaves much to be desired.

The discussion of the Foreign Policy of Egypt in the essay by Professor Boutros-Boutros Ghali in just five pages (41-45) of the book is rather disappointing. A more detailed, objective and penetrating treatment of the subject was expected from a scholar of Professor Ghali's eminence and stature. The contributions on the Foreign Policy of Ethiopia, Guinea and Ivory Coast, though they provide useful data they lack depth and analysis.

The analysis of the Foreign Policies of Ghana and Nigeria by Dr. Aluko himself provides interesting insights into the dynamics of the operation of the Foreign Policies of those countries. In a painstaking study Professor John Okumu has analysed the major aspects of Kenya's Foreign Policy. In this excellent essay the author has analysed the major aspects of Kenya's Foreign Policy in a mature and analytical way.

The essay on the Foreign Policy of Tanzania by Professor David H. Johns tries to highlight the close interaction between the domestic milieu and the foreign policy. The harsh realities of economic weakness of Tanzania have been acknowledged as having great impact on domestic and foreign policies. The dynamic and crucial role that President Nyerere has been playing in the formulation of Tanzanian Foreign Policy is particularly emphasized and in the opinion of the author Nyerere is the:

key to the continued success and future independence both domestically and internationally of the United Republic (P. 199).

The author rightly points out that:

Within Africa, Tanzania's position has been more or less constant while those of other states changed. At least there seems to be greater disparity elsewhere between theory and practice or domestic and foreign policies. (p. 216).

Professor Timothy Shaw in his paper on the Foreign Policy of Zambia presents a realistic assessment of the Zambian situation. President Kaunda's pacifist preferences and Zambia's excessive dependence on global economy is highlighted. A refreshing feature of Shaw's paper is his analysis of the class

^{*}Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Dar es Salaam.

Foreign Policy. The last essay in the volume deals with the Foreign Policy of Zaire by Professor Thomas Kanza. The eventful history of Zaire (former Belgian Congo) since its independence on 30th June 1960 is evaluated in order to explain the changing character of Zairean Foreign Policy. The paper hardly breaks any fresh ground and largely remains at the level of generalizations.

All said, the work under review on the whole provides very useful information and analysis of the concept of African Foreign Policy, explaining how Africa approaches its relations with the external world. It traces the common factors between African Nations and studies the areas where different interests prevail. Despite a general lack of perspective and analysis in depth in some cases, the book, on the whole is very valuable to all interested in the study of Foreign Policies of African states.

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