

LAGOS HISTORICAL REVIEW

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HISTORY & STRATEGIC STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS



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Olubunmi Olowoyin
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It is with great pleasure that I present to you the seventeenth edition of the *Lagos Historical Review* with its collection of quality and thought-provoking articles. After a painstaking editorial scrutiny, the current issue of the journal features an assortment of fascinating peer-reviewed eight articles from a broad range of social, economic, cultural, religious, migration, and political issues, covering local, regional and international subjects from a broad spectrum of rich historical scholarship. Emmanuel Onah's paper discusses the change in civil attitude towards military intervention in Nigeria focusing on the between 1966 and 1999. The writer argues that the popularity that initially accompanied military intervention in politics in Nigeria was due to the political ills that the civilians of the First Republic had created in the country. However, as military rule manifested signs of failure, Nigerians had no option but to reject it. Through the content analysis of secondary materials and other related sources, the writer observed that by the end of the 1990s, civil attitude to military intervention in politics changed to that of hostility. In her contribution, Ashura Jackson Ngoya examines the complex relationship between missionaries and colonial government in the Mbeya region of the Southern Province of Tanzania. Based on a careful analysis of oral interviews, archival documents and secondary data, the writer asserts that missionary's relationship with the colonial government in Tanzania changed over time and space, from mutual or complementary to a complex or conflict relationship because of changes in philosophical and theological perspectives.

In a different contribution, Frank Ikponmwosa discusses the attempts by the colonial authorities to ameliorate the associated problem of land exhaustion in the Benin Province, which led to the introduction of new farming techniques that relied on animal manure and compost for the revitalization of soil. In this connection, the writer emphasises that farmers in Benin were implored and sensitized to adopt the new measures including the cattle kraal experiment to revitalize the fertility of their farmlands available for food crops cultivation. In a different paper, Bose Okuntola examines the Nigerian private sector initiatives and interventions in the management of Nigeria's external debt between 1980 and 2006. The writer argues that beyond the resolve of various governments in Nigeria in tackling the debt crisis that bedevilled the country between 1980 and 2006, the initiatives and intervention of the private sector were instrumental to the improved external economic relations that were crucial to the growth of entrepreneurial activities in the country. Similarly, the writer observed that the private sector recorded some measure of success when there was serious commitment on the part of government, but yielded little when government lacked credibility and integrity in its dealings with the private sector.

In their contribution, Abiodun Joseph Oluwadare and Mathew Olusola Ojo state that faith-based groups have been actively involved in efforts to resolve conflicts in Nigeria at different times since the 1960s. In that connection, they evaluate the nature and impact of the involvement of religious groups on conflict resolution in Nigeria and stress the inextricable interplay of religion, politics, ethnicity and culture in the outbreak of violent conflicts in the country. In a different contribution, Olubunmi Olawoyin analyses the basic substances and processes that underpinned European cultural diplomacy in Nigeria since 1943 when the British Council opened in the country. The writer argues that the strengthening of cultural diplomacy and the spread of British cultural agencies across Nigeria highlight the dominance of European cultural values and "soft power" in Nigeria through established models of cultural engagements. Lastly, Afe Adogame examines the plight of African migrants in Europe with focus on African Diaspora Christianities *vis-a-vis* the ethical politics of irregular immigration in Europe. The writer discusses the causes and courses of the new migration from Africa to Europe to include economic, social, political, religious, historical, and technological factors, stressing that the unwarranted waste of African migrants desperate to cross the sea to Europe can be regarded as an unprecedented watershed in the history and politics of irregular migration to Europe. Lastly, the writer maintains that despite the presence of African Christian communities in diaspora, the status of migrants are always in limbo, and susceptible to abuse, exploitation, and oppression.

In all, the current issue of the journal represents a rich array of contrasting but complementary local, national, and regional perspectives on African and related studies. We appreciate the efforts of the authors and all those who participated in the review process.

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From Welcome to Hostility: An Analysis of the Change in Civil Attitude to Military Intervention in Nigerian Politics, 1966 – 1999

Emmanuel Ikechi Onah

Abstract

This paper examines the change in civil attitude towards military intervention in Nigeria between 1966 and 1999. Military intervention in Nigerian politics was popular at first. This popularity was based on the expectation that the military would correct the socio-political ills that the civilians of the First Republic had created. It was then hoped that within a short space of time, the military would move society forward. It turned out that this did not happen. As the military grappled for direction, civil attitude to the military first became indifferent. The populace increasingly lost its patience with military rule towards the end of the Babangida regime in the early 1990s through the Abacha dictatorship from 1993-1998 as their expectations failed to materialize. As military rule failed, military intervention was perceived an end in itself and an opportunity for military adventurists to seize power for personal gains. Through the content analysis of secondary materials and other related sources, this work found that by the end of the 1990s civil attitude to military intervention in politics changed to hostility. The implication of this change in civil attitude to military intervention for democratic rule in Nigeria is that no matter the challenges faced in the country under civilian rule the military is not expected to seize power. They are expected to remain within their constitutional roles of protecting the state, while politicians work out the solutions to whatever problems the country faces.

Introduction

On Saturday, 15 January 1966, a woman's voice announcing on Radio Nigeria, the kidnap of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance in the early hours of the morning, and their abduction to an unknown destination by a dissident section of the Nigerian Army, heralded the first ever military coup in Nigeria. Although this military action was not exactly successful as originally planned by the conspirators, it however claimed the lives of some important Nigerians.¹ Among them were the Prime Minister of the country, Tafawa Balewa, the Premier of the Northern Region, Ahmadu Bello, his counterpart in the Western Region, Samuel Ladoke Akintola, and the first Finance Minister of the federation, Festus Okotie-Eboh. The counter-coup followed this first coup, in July 1966. The counter-coup also resulted in the

17. *The Punch*, Lagos, 14 May 2014, 7.
18. *The Punch*, Lagos, 23 July 2014, 12.
19. *The Punch*, Lagos, 20 April 2014, 3.
20. Matthew Hassan Kukah, *Religion, Politics and Power*, 145-244.

Cultural Diplomacy in Nigeria: Analysis of the British Council, 1943 – 2003

Olubunmi Olawoyin

Abstract

This article examines the basic substances and processes that underpin European cultural diplomacy in Nigeria. Since 1943 when the British Council opened in the country, a sweeping and highly effective cultural diplomatic initiative, delivered through a range of services in education, technical co-operation, and many others, has characterized the pattern of European cultural engagement with Nigeria. The paper therefore explores the content and pattern of conducting cultural diplomacy by the British Council in Nigeria between 1943 and 2003. It argues that the intensification of cultural diplomacy and the spread of British cultural agencies across Nigeria underscore the ascendancy of European cultural values and "soft power" in Nigeria through well-articulated models of cultural engagements.

Introduction

The notion of cultural diplomacy is rooted in history and has actually existed as a practice since the start of human civilization.¹ Over several decades, cultural diplomacy has progressively evolved, and policy makers and politicians in many countries have increasingly leveraged on it to further their nations' engagements with the rest of the world. However, the term 'cultural diplomacy' is not easily defined.²

Cultural diplomacy has various definitions in contemporary diplomatic theory and practice. In fact, the great variety of definitions of cultural diplomacy reflects the efforts of many scholars and practitioners to highlight one or another aspect of the phenomenon, depending usually on the context of the issue discussed, as well as the actual practical needs.³ Although there exists fairly, a consensus regarding the influences cultural diplomacy exerts, a generally acceptable definition remains elusive. It has therefore attracted different categorization by experts.

In extant literature, many definitions of cultural diplomacy emphasise the basic idea that cultural diplomacy – like commercial or defence diplomacy for instance – should be regarded as a specific but integral part of state foreign policy achievements.⁴ In this regard, the nature of cultural diplomacy has been aptly defined by many experts. For instance, German diplomat, A. Enders, defined cultural diplomacy as "the instrument that serves for political purposes" and "establishes its own objectives which are derived from the general foreign policy objectives."⁵ In the same sense,

associated with the presentation, promotion and positive image building of a state, by means of cultural activities."⁶

Simon Mark defines Cultural diplomacy as "the deployment of a state's culture in support of its foreign policy goals or diplomacy, by using culture to communicate with foreign audiences in order to positively influence them."⁷ However, Natalia went/goes on to recognize the influence of cultural diplomacy on both the domestic and foreign audiences when she defined/defines cultural diplomacy as "a means to understand, inform, engage, and influence domestic and international audiences by serving to advance states' goals and eventually coordinate and secure specific states' interests in the international arena."⁸ In a similar manner, the Slovak scholar and diplomat M. Kuruczfor example defines cultural diplomacy as "a specific activity oriented on exchange of cultural values, in line with the goals of foreign policy."⁹ Also, another useful definition of cultural diplomacy was offered by a British scholar, G.R. Berridge, who regards cultural diplomacy as "the promotion abroad of state's cultural achievements"¹⁰

Obi Nwankwor, on his part, defines the concept thus: "Cultural diplomacy is a domain of diplomacy concerned with establishing, developing and sustaining relations with foreign states by way of culture, art and education. It is also a proactive process of external projection in which a nation's institutions, values system and unique cultural personality are promoted at a bilateral and multilateral level."¹¹

Conversely, some other definitions of cultural diplomacy emphasise that its main objective is to promote mutual understanding among states rather than to pursue foreign policy interests. In this context, M. C. Cummings, for instance, defines cultural diplomacy as "the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understandings".¹²

Kozymka, however, points out that "the classical notion of cultural diplomacy entails culture as a component of traditional diplomacy, which had been mostly confined to the promotion of one nation's culture abroad to strengthen relations with other nations, to enhance cooperation or to promote national interest."¹³

Furthermore, in his 1986 book, J. M. Mitchell argued that cultural diplomacy is:

Essentially the business of governments is that which includes two levels of connotation. The first refers to the agreements, whether bilateral or multilateral, which are made between governments to permit, facilitate or prescribe cultural exchanges. These constitute 'the intergovernmental negotiation of cultural treaties, conventions, agreements and exchange programmes'. The second refers to the execution

of these agreements and the conduct of cultural relations flowing from them' which 'may be seen either as the extended responsibility of governments or as something delegated by governments to agencies and cultural institutions'.¹⁴

Ultimately, the goal of cultural diplomacy is to influence a foreign audience and use that influence, which is built up over the long term, (as in the case of the British Council), as a sort of good will reserve to win support for policies. It seeks to harness the elements of culture to induce foreigners to:

- have a positive view of the country's people, culture and policies,
- induce greater cooperation between the two nations,
- aid in changing the policies or political environment of the target nation,
- prevent, manage and mitigate conflict with the target nation.

Also, cultural diplomacy can help a nation better understand the foreign nation it is engaged with and foster mutual understanding. Cultural diplomacy is a way of conducting international relations without expecting anything in return in the way that traditional diplomacy typically expects.¹⁵ Cultural exchange programmes work as a medium to relay a favourable impression of the foreign country in order to gain outsiders' understanding and approval in their cultural practices and naturalize their social norms among other cultures.

From the foregoing, it could be deduced that cultural diplomacy is more focused on the longer term and less on specific policy matters. The intent is to build up influence over the long term for when it is needed by engaging people directly. This influence has implications ranging from national security to increasing tourism and commercial opportunities.¹⁶ It allows the government to create a "foundation of trust" and a mutual understanding that is neutral and built on people-to-people contact. Another unique and important element of cultural diplomacy is its ability to reach non-elites and other audiences outside of the traditional embassy circuit. In short, cultural diplomacy plants the seeds of ideals, ideas, political arguments, spiritual perceptions and a general viewpoint of the world that may or may not flourish in a foreign nation. Therefore, ideologies spread by cultural diplomacy about the values that the British people for instance, believe in enables those that seek a better life to look towards the Western world where happiness and freedom are portrayed as desirable and achievable goals.

The conclusion that can be safely drawn from the discussion about the conceptualisations of cultural diplomacy is that it has been variously defined by experts in government, academic and the diplomatic service. While experts diverge in their definitions and opinions, one important commonality that is embedded in them however, is in the origin and role of

cultural diplomacy as a means of exporting a nation's cultural values and furthering its foreign policy goals, penetrating grounds where conventional "foreign policy" fails.

Theoretical Analysis

This work utilizes the concept of soft power to explain European cultural diplomacy in Nigeria. According to the proponents of the concept, soft power is what gets things done in inter-state relations. Hard power does it by coercion while soft power gets things done by persuasion and attraction. The concept was developed by Joseph Nye to describe the ability to attract and co-opt rather than coerce, or give money as a means of persuasion. According to Nye, power is the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the outcome you want, or get them to want what you want. A country's soft power, therefore, rests on three resources: its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad) and its foreign policies (when others see them as legitimate and having moral authority). These primary currencies of soft power are the actor's values, culture, policies and institutions – and the extent to which these primary currencies are able to attract or repel other actors to want what it wants.

The importance of the soft power concept lies in its deployment of resources of national heritage to generate attractiveness and influence for a country in the global arena. Soft power contrasts with hard power which has historically been the predominant realist measure of national power, which is measured through quantitative metrics such as population size, concrete military assets, or its gross domestic product. But such resources do not always produce the desired outcome; hence the need for soft power. How soft power relates to this study and its relevance is reflected in the way it captures the elements, dynamics, and impacts of the British conduct of cultural diplomacy in Nigeria overtime. Soft power can well define Euro-African relations from the cultural perspectives.

The activities and practices of cultural diplomacy are carried out using culture as a means to attract and influence others. It also put into sharp relief, the superiority elements inherent in the activities of the British Council in Nigeria. How European values are being highlighted in the projection of European national cultures thereby extending the networks of admirers and friends is an example of soft power. The pursuit of national interest has a strong undertone in European cultural relations with Nigeria and undermines African culture, while propagating the superiority of European culture. Concentrated military, financial and other forms of coercive power are the ultimate expression of state-centric international order. But what is now increasingly characterizing that order is the ascent and descent of a struggle for socio-political and economic organization in

the spaces beyond and between states, amplified by the 24/7 media and social networks that make "the narrative" predominant.

Soft power is relevant to the study to the extent that it draws attention to interactions among states outside the broad spectrum of power politics. However, the theoretical framework the work adopts is complex interdependence because it addresses issues relating to interaction among states along lines of economic exchanges, scientific cooperation and cultural interaction.

Content and Conduct of British Cultural Diplomacy in Nigeria

For the duration of the Second World War, and throughout the cold war, the task of developing good relations with nonaligned countries was given high priority by the developed world. This was in addition to the spread of colonialism across the African continent which had created the favourable conditions for cultural penetration of *Western countries* for the development of their cultural-diplomatic activities in the continent. As an example, in this regard, beyond intensifying its activities in the Near East, North Africa, China, and Latin America, the British Council also began its work in colonial Africa by opening in Nigeria, the Gold Coast (now Ghana), and Sierra Leone in 1943, as well as in the Belgian Congo between 1941 and 1944.¹⁷

As already observed, in Sub-Saharan Africa, most of the early work of the Council was conducted within the British colonial states. A little before the independence era, the Council focused on developing new and collaborative relationships with Sub-Saharan Africa. From the 1960s onwards, their work was expanded throughout the region, as they delivered a range of services in cultural promotion, education and technical co-operation. Although they were unable to open many offices outside the Commonwealth states, they were able to coordinate activities across the continent from their bases in Anglophone countries.

Since its establishment in Nigeria, the British Council has fulfilled, with increasing success and effectiveness, its goal of "promoting overseas an enduring understanding and appreciation of the British culture".¹⁸ Its emphasis has always been on educational cooperation, promotion of arts, winning friends and the forging of links between Britain, its home country, and Nigeria through cultural exchange. Over the decades, it has engaged with Nigerians through a range of mutually-beneficial activities and created a nationwide network through its language-teaching centres, literature programmes, touring exhibitions, drama and music and has given assistance to educational initiatives in Nigeria.

Within its first decade of establishment in Lagos, Nigeria, the British Council spread from its Lagos centre to other centres in Ibadan and Enugu in 1947, and Kano in 1950. The Ibadan centre, housed at the Supreme Court House, Old Court Road, was opened with a library of 4,000

epidiascope, discussion groups and others. After independence, the Council opened more centres across the country. Its 1963/1964 Annual Report showed that new centres were opened in Kaduna, Port Harcourt, and Benin City, thus, bringing the number of its centres in the country to seven.

Confirming the number of the Council's centres across Nigeria as well as the multiple range of activities that goes on in each, its 1963 Year Book affirmed that:

In Nigeria, apart from the Representative's office and Centre in Lagos, there are also centres at Ibadan, Enugu, Kaduna, Kano and Port Harcourt. To each office is attached an extensive library which includes a wide range of current British periodicals and centres where lectures, film shows, discussion groups and recital are held. Exhibitions of British arts and crafts and displays illuminating the British way of life are frequently on show. Various learned and professional bodies make use of the council's premises for meetings.¹⁹

Notwithstanding the expansion, the Lagos office retained its overall coordinating function and served as the seat of the Council's Country Representative, while the regional offices in Ibadan, Kano and Enugu had directors. Apart from this role, the Lagos centre also oversees the Council's activities first in the western province/region and later in Lagos, Oyo and Kwara states after the creation of states.

However, some of the Council's centres closed down as soon as they were opened. For instance, Port Harcourt and Enugu centres were closed in 1967 due to the Nigerian Civil war. While Enugu was re-opened in 1971, a year after the war ended, the Port Harcourt centre remained closed with the former taking charge of the Council's activities in the whole of old Eastern region in addition to Benue and Benin City which was originally under the Western region. It suffices to say therefore that the number of British Council centres in Nigeria fluctuated greatly during that period. In this connection, the Ibadan Office closed in 1979. Before then, the Council's Library section in Lagos closed in 1978 due to the drastic decline of readers after reaching its peak in 1968. The Council's Representative in Nigeria at the time, Mr. O. D. Elliot, nevertheless claimed the library closure was because the Nigerian government had suggested to the Council to involve itself more in crash-training programmes for teachers, technologists and the likes.²⁰ What was the true picture/reason for the closure?

The various centres across Nigeria contained among others, library, reading room and hall and were further extended by the formation of various British Council Groups in the larger provincial towns across Nigeria. For instance, there were eleven of such groups scattered across the

old western Nigeria and were located in Sapele, Oyo, Ife, Owo, Warri, Ilesha, Oshogbo, Ijebu-Ode, Benin City, Abeokuta and Ilorin.²¹ These groups operated from centres provided by the various native authorities and were run by African secretaries working on a purely voluntary basis with the council. Through personal and informal arrangements, the African members of the Centres and Groups were made to feel that they were part of the Council, albeit; they worked with it and not for it.

Despite its rapid expansion in Nigeria, especially in the western region, there were still further requests and suggestions for more centres to be opened. Shortage of staff and finances nevertheless combined to prevent the opening of new centres. A correspondence between T. H. Beelev, the Acting Resident Officer in Oyo province and J. A. Danford, the Regional Director of the Council in the western province reveals that the former's request for further expansion was not granted because of acute shortage of fund and staff. Danford asserted in his reply thus:

Thank you for your letter of 11 January 1955 in which you suggested the possibility of opening a British Council Group at Iseyin. Much as I should like to help, I am afraid that at present it is not practicable as neither our annual vote nor our personnel are adequate at present to undertake extra work.²³

Meanwhile, through its letter of 2 October 1945 addressed to the Officer administering the Government of Nigeria, the Colonial Office in London affirmed the imperativeness for the Council's operation in the country as well as outlined the basic set of operational guidelines vis-a-vis its relationship with the colonial government, via a letter asserting that:

The objects for which the Council was formed...are in the Colonial Empire the responsibility of the Secretary of State, and it is therefore essential that the policy of the Council should conform to Government policy and that their activities should be coordinated with official activities in the same field. The Council must in short operate in Colonial territories as the agents of the Secretary of State....²⁴

Consequently, the Council which primarily engaged in activities that promoted direct cultural link between the peoples of the United Kingdom and other countries in which the Council works, engaged the Nigerian audience through a variety of articulated performance such as the:

Provision of libraries containing books about different aspects of British life and thought; the provision of reading rooms where British Newspapers, Magazines, and periodicals are always available; arranging lectures, film-shows, concerts and exhibitions; inviting distinguished visitors to deliver lecture and by sending visitors, scholars

and bursars to study in the United Kingdom. It also arranges the exchange of valuable scientific and technical information between Britain and the Colonies. In Britain, the Council is responsible for the welfare of all officially recommended Colonial students studying in the United Kingdom.²⁵

Apart from Nigerians who constituted its largest membership; the Council also targeted European members; in fact, nearly one third of the 1,100 members of the Ibadan Centre in 1953 were British expatriates.²⁶ Thus, the Council played an important role in keeping British citizens in Nigeria in touch with events back home by means of publications, periodicals, and a steady flow of new books.

Library and Information Services

The British Council undertakes several activities across the world. Among the services rendered by the Council was the provision of library services to its members and the public. The Council's library project blossomed under Ann Ormrod, a trained librarian who was in charge of the Council's Books Department between 1940 and 1946 and aggressively pursued the expansion of the British Council's library section. Ann Ormrod's vision was vigorously followed by her successor, John Barnicot, whose continuity in the Council library programmes throughout his twenty-four years of service resulted in massive expansion. Under John Barnicot, the Council identified certain topics as "integral" to its library development. These included five "cultural subjects" (British drama, fine arts, literature, and music as well as the English language) along with works on British civilization and institutions.²⁷

While shortage of fund inhibited some of the Council's plans in Africa during the early 1950s, its budget and its library development programme experienced considerable lift as a result of recommendations by a review committee chaired by the Earl of Drogheda. This committee recommended the urgent need to increase government investment in the Council's work and shift of focus from Europe to developing countries. The British government thus responded by increasing its share of the Council's funding.

Following increased funding, the Council increasingly focused its attention on British Africa, where the colonies were quickly moving toward independence. In 1959 the Council launched an ambitious Public Library Development Scheme (PLDS), which began in cooperation with the Colonial Office but was subsequently funded by the Overseas Development Ministry. The half million pounds spent by the Council between 1959 and 1969 aided in the creation of national public library services in several African countries. Libraries were built in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Malawi, Botswana, and Swaziland, with existing libraries in Nigeria and Ghana receiving assistance in the expansion and general development.²⁸

It must be emphasized, that when the Council started work in colonial Africa, there were almost no public libraries or exhibition spaces. In a traditional society and pre-digital age, this simply meant that most people had no access to information or international culture. The Council therefore built public libraries, the earliest being? mobile libraries usually the first in a country and cultural centres, designed in collaboration with local communities in the Gold Coast, in the late 1940s, the Kenyan and Ugandan National Theatres, which opened in 1952 and 1960 respectively and the last was the Botswana library, opened in the mid-1960s. In all these places and all over Africa, the Council established public libraries, trained librarians and ran book presentation schemes, providing new publications to university and public libraries well into the 1970s.²⁹ These libraries, especially the earliest ones, proved very vital in the educational development of many Africans. According to the Managing Director of Heinemann Publishers and the Chairman of the Mills and Boon Publishing House, "the British Council is regarded as the book trade's major ally and helped in recording sales overseas to the tune of some £170 million in 1976."³⁰

The Council aptly captured the situation and its roles in the continent, especially in the post-independence era when many African countries faced multiple developmental challenges thus:

African states faced severe challenges as they took control of their educational systems; for example, insufficient numbers of trained teachers and textbooks made it hard to extend access to schooling. The existence of a number of native languages in most former British colonies – made English retained importance as a common language in which many educational resources were available.... we provided a range of educational support, particularly in English, Maths and science teaching. These included teacher training, syllabus development, broadcast of educational TV programmes, and university development.³¹

Under the circumstances of that era, the Council's library section instantly flourished. The Lagos Centre was attached an extensive lending and reference library that includes a range of current British periodicals and a centre where lectures, film shows, discussion groups and recitals were held. However, subscribers and intending members had certain prerequisites they must fulfil before being registered. For example, one could become a member (subscriber) of the Council only after attaining the age of eighteen. Additionally, a membership registration fee that cost five pounds (£5) in Lagos (four pounds {£4} in Ibadan after it was opened in 1947) for one year from the date of registration was charged. It entitled the member to use the Library throughout the year during which he/she was permitted to loan two books at a time which the user might keep up to a fortnight.

Though in Ibadan, in 1953, membership of the Council was restricted to only those who resided in Ibadan town but was transferable between all British Council Centres and Groups throughout Nigeria. Conversely, the Council through its "Travelling Libraries Schemes" also operated throughout the country, a lending library service for the benefit of persons living in districts where there were no library facilities. Four books were sent to the subscriber at one time and might be retained for a month which attracted a fixed subscription fee of £30 per annum with outward postage paid by the Council. The January and September 1952 Monthly Reports revealed that 209 and 404 books were loaned from the Council's Lagos library respectively, a breakdown of which comprised 234 fiction(al?) and 379 nonfiction(al?) books. Similarly, the centre had a total of 588 paid-up members as at 31 August 1952. Generally, the library subscribers were personally responsible for all books in their possession and must refund the value in full of any book lost or damaged beyond repair. In the case of partially damaged books, proportionate charges deemed sufficient to repair the book(s) were made.

Table 1: Selected Records of Membership and Book Loans from the British Council's Lagos Library, 1951 – 1953

S/N	Date/Month	Paid-up Members	Total Loaned Books	Fiction	Non-Fiction	Sale of British Council Publications
1	November 1951	327	215	90	125	-
2	December 1951	350	145	20	125	-
3	January 1952	60	209	98	111	-
4	March 1952	282	289	107	182	4
5	August 1952	557	429	148	281	1
6	September 1952	588	404	136	268	5
7	November 1952	637	375	134	241	3
8	December 1952	657	316	114	202	1
9	January 1953	165	375	131	244	7
10	February 1953	228	453	165	288	22
11	March 1953	321	485	153	332	5
12	December 1953	588	180	102	78	-

Source: Adapted by the Author from British Council's Monthly Reports, 1951 – 1953

To intimate members (subscribers) about new books, the centres published, monthly, the titles and authors of "recent additions." Apart from books, the Council's libraries contained daily, weekly, monthly and quarterly British publications, which were updated on a regular basis. For instance, in February 1948, the British Council distributed 60 boxes of books, periodicals and other British publications to its libraries, native administration reading rooms, schools and colleges in all parts of Nigeria.

More so, the Council engaged trainees who indicated interest and were recommended by their native authority, to serve as library attendants in the various accredited libraries and native administration reading rooms across the country with such trainees benefiting in elementary instruction in library administration consisting of cataloguing, classification of books and general keeping of library record. The length of training was usually six months but the trainee could leave after three months. The salary and accommodation of the trainees was payable by the authority who sent them. Indeed, many Nigerians leveraged on the opportunity to learn the basics duties of a librarian.

Interestingly, the library services provided by the Council played a crucial role in the educational development of many Nigerians. For instance, a survey conducted in 1966 confirmed that most of its Nigerian users were students studying for one form of examination or another. Indeed, the avalanche of books and other study materials made available by the Council before and immediately after independence helped several Nigerian students on self-study programmes, wherein the books were not available in the country and the foreign exchange to get them from abroad, not forthcoming from the government. In its own way, the Council helped to advance the development of knowledge in Nigeria by ensuring the availability of relevant materials, especially at a time individuals lacked the financial strength to get them from abroad.

The Council also organised lecture tours across its centres and Native Authorities' reading rooms. One of such tours was contained in a letter written by J. A. Danford, a Regional Director of the Council in the Western Province dated 13 November 1951 and addressed to one Mr. Curwen. Danford in his letter asserted that "I hope to visit Benin City next month and will be accompanying Mr. Bryan King, a fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, whom the British Council are sending on a lecture tour to this country to deliver talk on Voluntary Services in the British Tradition"³² Generally, most of the lecture tours and talks delivered to Nigerian audience were concentrated on providing information about British achievement in Arts, Music, Science, and general civilization. For maximum impact, lecture tours/talks were usually undertaken by notable and successful professionals as well as role models chosen from either the UK, or British citizens working in Nigeria, or even educated Nigerian elite with the experience of British way of life.

Table 2: Statistical Representation of Selected Lecture Tours and Talks Organised by the British Council in Nigeria, 1951 -1954

S/N	Date	Resource Person	Designation	Centre	Topic
1	18/09/1951	Mr. R. Sherwood	Asst. Regional Director, British Council	Oshogbo	English Social History
2	14/12/1951	Mr. Bryan King	Fellow, Pembroke College, Cambridge	Oyo	Voluntary Service in the British Tradition
3	1/02/1952	Mr. E. H. Duckworth	Editor, "Nigeria"	Lagos	How a Magazine is Produced
4	11/02/1952	Mr. Ernest Okoli	Lagos Correspondent of "the Times"	Lagos	My life as a Journalist
5	01/05/1953	Mr. Alan Steward	British Council Rep. Nigeria	Oyo	Royal Journey
6	12/01/1954	Dr. S. O. Biobaku	Registrar, University College Ibadan	Lagos	The Pattern of University Education

Source: Adapted by the Author from British Council's Monthly Reports, 1951 – 1954

The British Council, particularly through its Lagos library has provided scholars and researchers with 'online' access to learned articles, theses, books and bibliographical contents of past and recently published works since the early 2000s. Although fees are charged by the Council, the gesture nevertheless provides researchers working on diverse subject areas with invaluable research materials.

Beyond its educational and cultural roles, the Council's premises throughout the country also served? as venues for social and friendly interaction between Africans and Europeans where matters of mutual interest are discussed in friendly atmosphere.³³ These also include professional bodies and associations.

Academic Exchanges

Globally, educational exchanges are generally acknowledged to be one of the most powerful and long-lasting influences on attitudes as well as provide international experiences and opportunities to students and beneficiaries, thus, helping to breed innovative professionals. The British government's strong commitment to welcoming overseas students correlated with its conviction that student and academic exchanges were generally good investments. Academic exchanges serve, through the minds of the beneficiaries, the positive mission of carrying to other countries a

knowledge of the contribution which the Great Britain had made towards the science of life, civilization and government.³⁴ The British Council has been facilitating academic exchanges in Nigeria since the colonial era.

Essentially, educational exchanges primarily facilitated by the British Council flourished between Nigeria and Britain and intensified, particularly after Nigeria attained political independence, followed by the subsequent signing of the Technical Cooperation Agreement with Britain. The Technical Cooperation Agreement guaranteed further training in Britain for selected Nigerians from the public service and the educational sector, particularly the higher institutions of learning as well supplied qualified British scholars to teach in Nigerian universities. Thus, each of the British Council offices throughout the country provided a wide range of information regarding educational opportunities in Britain. The information was either consciously displayed in the offices or is made available in handbills which were shared freely to interested students.

Moreover, educational exchanges particularly flourished? between Nigeria and Britain through the activities of Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas (IUC) and the British Council which took over the former in 1981. Originally formed in 1946, but merged with the British Council in 1981, the IUC and several British universities intimately spearheaded the manpower development of universities in many African and other third world countries since the Second World War and massively facilitated educational exchanges between Nigeria and Britain.³⁵ The IUC through the British government and partner universities helped found the University College, Ibadan, in 1947-48, and Ahmadu Bello University, in the 1960s and was also closely involved in the provision of equipment for the College of Medicine in Lagos, as well as forged close contacts with the University of Ife, after Professor Hezekiah Oluwasanmi became Vice-Chancellor in 1966 and sought help for lecturers in scientific disciplines. It was however at UNN, after the Nigerian Civil War, that its effort became glaring.

Through the initiatives of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Premier of the Eastern Region from 1954 to 1959, and of the Michigan State University, the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, was established at the time of Nigeria's independence and was one of only Nigeria's five universities at the end of the civil war in January 1970. Even though, the IUC and the University of London had made certain inputs, it was however after the war that the role of the IUC became more apparent and crucial as the Americans had withdrawn their help.

The IUC delegation that visited Nigeria in November 1970, led by Dr. F.J. Llewellyn, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Exeter, who later became director-general of the British Council in 1972 were disappointed at the level of manpower shortage experienced by university education in Nigeria as well as the general devastation done to UNN by the civil war.

Thus, leveraging on the British Expatriate Salary Supplementation Scheme (BESS), which complemented the salary costs of fledgling universities, the IUC provided the services of qualified expatriate members of staff to UNN and several Nigerian universities. Through the IUC, the British government agreed to a proposal that £75,000 of its grant of £5.5 million for post-war reconstruction in Nigeria should be devoted to the purchase of science equipment for the University of Nigeria. New engineering equipment, worth £130,000, was also provided by the Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation (NUFFIC). Other short-term measures were also taken with the IUC launching appeals for books and surplus equipment from British university libraries and science departments.³⁶

Another area of support, in this wise, came in form of foreign trainings via secondment of four to six months at British universities by members of staff at Nsukka to bring them up to date after three years of war and academic inactivities. By March 1971, the Inter-University Council had sponsored ten members of staff for up to six months in Britain, with nine senior British academics heading the other way.

Interestingly, IUC assistance was not limited to the reconstruction and revamping of UNN, other Nigerian universities also benefited. For instance, there was a large contingent of British expatriates in other Nigerian universities, especially at Ibadan and Ahmadu Bello, who received supplementation of salary from the British government to compensate for the difference in levels of salary as between British and Nigerian universities. There were 145 British members of staff in receipt of supplementation at Ahmadu Bello University, representing well over half of the 247 total recipients in Nigerian universities between 1972 and 1977 when a gradual decline set in. During the period, seven new universities were established and student enrolment increased from under 21,000 to over 57,000.

The Technical Assistance was gradually withdrawn when British universities themselves began to experience financial difficulties leading to pressure to reduce considerably expenditure on salary supplementation. Despite the insistence of the British Council, educational exchange and general technical assistance to Nigerian universities plummeted in the 1980s. From a high of 247 in 1972-73 academic year to 59 in 1979-80, and 16 in 1986,³⁷ the practice eventually ceased in the late 1980s as no record of its existence beyond that date is available to this researcher.

In recent times, the Council has supported educational development in Nigeria through new, but dynamic and effective educational programmes. For example, the Council developed the School Leadership Programme (SLP) aimed at developing the leadership and managerial skills of those in charge of schools in the country. Tailored to help head teachers in Nigeria benefit from the expertise of their UK counterparts, the

programme offers professional development for head teachers in the areas of leadership, management and administration. Additionally, it provides access to international professional head teachers' network and offers opportunity for training in the UK.³⁸

In the same connection, the Council in early 2000s, in partnership with Cambridge Education initiated the Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN), funded by the DFID and designed to strengthen the institutional environment to better utilize government resources. The ESSPIN which started in Lagos and spread to Kwara, Kano, Jigawa, Enugu and Kaduna states has five key elements that include:

- Institutional Reform;
- School/Community development;
- Long Term Sector Planning
- Strengthen Civil Society and relationship with the government;
- Sharing lessons learnt and good practice.³⁹

Teaching and Examinations

To generate some level of revenue and reduce the Council's dependence on the British government, the Drogheda Report of the 1950s recommended an increase in the Council's activities in Africa and Asia, stressing the developmental value of English Language Test (ELT) in particular. In the same vein, the Hill Report of 1957 encouraged the Council to train language teachers overseas, rather than sending teachers from Britain itself, that way, the operational cost of recruiting English language teachers was reduced. Consequently, the Council developed a strong global reputation for teaching English language. The Council also developed strategic partnership which enables it to jointly run the global IELTS English test, (the global English-language standardized test) with University of Cambridge ESOL Examinations and IDP Education Australia.

Thus, through teaching English language, administering examinations, supporting education and helping to build local societies, the Council's engagement with Nigerians has further been intensified. In Nigeria, the Council has been solely responsible for teaching and administering the global English-language standardized test (IELTS). Over the years, the test has become a major requirement for non-native speakers of the English language seeking to study in Universities in Britain, the United States, Australia, New Zealand and few other countries. Against this backdrop, over 50, 000 Nigerians sat for the examination in the year 2000.⁴⁰

Scholarships and Bursaries Awards

The British Council through the expansion of its activities in the country has provided scholarships and several sponsorship opportunities to Nigerians. Starting from the colonial era, through the post-independence era, the Council provided supports which ensured many Nigerians studied

or gained further professional training as the case may be in Britain.

Specifically, the British Council's Scholarships were mostly targeted at those who have obtained professional certificates or university degrees which are tenable in Britain for one academic year for postgraduate studies, e.g. Diploma or Professional Certificate in Education etc.⁴¹ Notice inviting applications are usually published in the press. It must be emphasized that the British Council Scholarships was different from that of the Colonial Government which was also meant to provide further training in Britain for bright and gifted persons. In 1949/50, for instance, ten scholarships were awarded by the Council.

Apart from academic scholarships, the Council sometimes awards bursaries instead to qualified professionals. The bursaries which are usually meant to give Nigerians the opportunity to improve their professional experience by training and practicing alongside their counterparts in Britain for between three to six months. Also, it required successful applicants to have good knowledge of the English Language and learn aspects of the British way of life and teach relatives and friends on their return. The Council usually bore all expenses, but forbade a bursary recipient travelling along with relative(s), as such will amount to more expenses. In 1951/52, the Council awarded only bursaries instead of academic scholarships. The advertisement which invited applications from qualified individuals and aptly captured the cultural essence of the award, read thus:

The British Council in proposes to award instead of academic scholarships a limited number of Short-Term Bursaries tenable in the UK for period of three to six months.it is intended to enable Nigerians work at their own trade, profession or vocation side-by-side with their opposite numbers in Britain and thus gain insight into the British way of life and into up-to-date methods and techniques...bursars will live with private families in England to make a wide circle of friends, who themselves will have opportunity of leaning something of Nigeria and Nigerian way of life...all expenses, including fares and maintenance will be borne by the British Council.⁴²

The bursary awards were usually targeted at professionals with considerable experiences in Printing, Bookbinding, Librarianship, Youth Service, Child Welfare, Clerk, Trade Union, Nurse, Teaching, Craftwork, general technical work and others.

The Council 1947 advertisement for bursary application more aptly captured the cultural essence of the award when it stated that:

...the bursaries are not primarily intended for purpose of studying but to give suitable person an opportunity of partaking of some elements of British life for a short time

with a view to (sic) giving them a sense of British outlook and way of life.⁴³

Music, Dance and Artistic Exhibitions

Great artists have always been key assets and special ambassadors to their nation by projecting positive projection of its image. Apart promoting education and reading culture, the British Council has been massively involved in the promotion of entertainment, especially in the areas of music, visual and theatre art. At the various British Council centres across the country, especially in the Lagos centre, cultural activities were a regular feature. For instance, cultural exhibitions were held regularly at the Exhibition Centre in Marina, showcasing the best of British and Nigerian Arts and Cultures. For example, record of activities at the centre, contained in the Council's Monthly and Annual Reports through the 1950s show accelerated cultural activities. In the month of August, 1952 for instance, the centre on 11 August showcased a film titled 'Britain and the British People' to its members.⁴⁴

Furthermore, from its inception in Nigeria, the Council has facilitated collaboration between British musicians, cultural and theatrical practitioners and their Nigerian counterparts. Those collaborations particularly intensified in the 1970s, 1980 and 1990s. For example, Professor Wole Soyinka, arguably the most celebrated Nigerian playwright spent time in Britain during his developmental years, thus aspects of his professional qualities developed while in Britain. Besides, the Nigerian artist and sculptor, Mr. Ben Chuka Enwonwu, whose works were accorded great reception at Howard University and in the United States in general in 1950,⁴⁵ also had his work exhibited in Britain through the collaborative efforts of the Council. In fact, he won in 1957, the Royal Society of Arts R.B. Bennett Empire prize and regularly graced the Lagos Centre of the Council to deliver talks. For instance, he gave talk on "Nigerian Arts" on 17 March 1952 at the Marina Exhibition Centre of the Council.

Through these collaborations, there were cultural exchanges and acculturation between Nigerians and British. This was especially so for Nigerians, who learnt several aspects of British life through film shows, music, and sponsored sojourns in Britain courtesy of the British Council's yearly bursary awards. Beginning from late 1990s, the Council intensified its effort in promoting British Arts in Nigeria after a brief period of stagnation, through concerts and shows most of which were staged at the MUSON centre.

More so, through the facilitation of the Council, Nigerian theatre practitioners have also staged some of their most popular stage dramas in Britain. Some of the dramas in this case were 'The Lion and the Jewel' and 'The gods are not to blame'. Other areas of cultural promotion in which the Council has thrived include music, literature, architectural design and films.

In the areas of music and dance, the Council regularly organised meetings where its members converged to be lectured, do group dance and enjoy good music. Especially during festive periods such as in the months of December, the Council organises "Christmas Party" open to only members, except that each member is entitled usually, to bring one companion. The Party always consisted of dancing to African Bands and Carol singing. Also, the Party also served as avenue to select representatives of the Centre to the Annual Conference of the British Council, where all centres from all parts of Nigeria are represented. The invitation for 1952 Christmas Party reads thus:

The Annual Christmas Party of the British Council Centre Lagos will be held at 25 Ajasa Street on Saturday, 20 December 1952 from 7 pm till Midnight. Members should appear in their national costumes.⁴⁶

In general, the British Council in Nigeria has worked tirelessly to portray Britain and her array of attainments in music, education, culture and her contributions to human civilization to Nigerians in positive and attractive lights.

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