

**-AN ASSESSMENT OF PRESIDENT BOLA AHMED TINUBU'S FOREIGN POLICY
OBJECTIVES**

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis titled “AN ASSESSMENT OF PRESIDENT BOLA AHMED TINUBU’S FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES,” is the product of my effort and has not been presented for another degree or certificate elsewhere. All references have been duly acknowledged.

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CERTIFICATION

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DEDICATION

This work is wholly dedicated to God almighty, the giver of all wisdom and knowledge. Also to my late parents, Mr. Amorigboye Erewa and Mrs Roseline Atsemuge Erewa.

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Abstract

Nigerian foreign policy has long been a crucial aspect of the nation's engagement with the international community, significantly influencing economic development and diplomatic relations. The study examined Nigerian foreign policy and economic development under President Bola Ahmed Tinubu, focusing on his foreign policy principles, Nigeria's credibility in advocating democracy, progress in international relations, challenges faced, and the impact on domestic concerns. While the study adopted the Rational Actor Model of Decision-Making Theory and the justification for the theory is that President Tinubu's decisions are rational and intentional, aimed at achieving specific national interests and foreign policy goals, by evaluating options and estimating their costs and benefits. The study utilized a document-study approach for secondary data collection, sourcing information from eleven Nigerian newspapers. Thematic analysis was employed for the data analysis, focusing on identifying, analyzing, and interpreting patterns within qualitative data, which involves steps like familiarizing with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing, defining, and writing up themes. This method is useful for organizing open-ended responses and deriving significant themes from qualitative data. The study concluded that President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's 4D foreign policy objectives and their impact on addressing Nigeria's domestic concerns despite efforts to improve international relations and attract investors, domestic issues like government corruption, policy inconsistency, and bureaucratic inefficiencies hinder progress. Additionally, internal security challenges, fiscal crises, and political corruption complicate the effective implementation of the foreign policy. The study recommends that the 4-Ds foreign policy should be clearly defined within Nigeria's broader foreign policy framework, integrating them with existing principles, and setting specific objectives for each 'D'. Engaging stakeholders, leveraging soft power tools, enhancing public diplomacy efforts, strengthening institutional capacities, and establishing mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation are also crucial for effective implementation.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Similar to diplomacy, foreign policy has been a topic of discussion for over 2000 years, spanning from Thucydides to Machiavelli and Grotius. The term 'foreign policy' gained prominence in the eighteenth century with the establishment of the first ministries of foreign affairs. From around 1700 to 1950, it was extensively commented on globally (Hill, 2003). Scholars have approached it from different angles: some focused on the technical skills required for effective diplomacy, as seen in the works of Fran de Callieres and Harold Nicolson, while others concentrated on the political objectives that foreign policy should achieve, exemplified by Richard Cobden and Jean Jaures (Richard, Bruck, and Burton, 1962). Both perspectives agreed that foreign policy is crucial for a nation's survival and prosperity, though mistakes in this arena could lead to disaster rather than success.

With this foundation, the evolution of foreign policy is an essential tool for the modern state. Lenin, cited in Utechin (1902), argued that a state is not an isolated entity but part of a society of states, necessitating inevitable participation. In the international system, nations are interdependent, even after reaching the highest levels of development (Agba E and Okeke C, 2016). The concept of interdependence is a fundamental aspect of international relations. In contemporary times, every state establishes diplomatic, economic, trade, educational, cultural, and political relations with other nations to maintain these connections (Jesmine, 2020). To facilitate these relations, sovereign states conduct their foreign interactions through their foreign policies. These policies outline national interests and highlight areas of agreement and

disagreement with other nations. They also articulate the ideas through which a state influences other countries. Foreign policy is designed to safeguard and promote national interests in bilateral or multilateral contexts. More specifically, it reflects a country's traditional values, overall national policies, aspirations, and self-perception.

It's important to note that foreign policy encompasses both decisions and actions. These decisions and actions form a substantial part of the relationships between states. Through foreign policy, a state determines its course in world affairs, within the limits of its power and the realities of the external environment. Thus, foreign policy provides direction, equips the state with the necessary tools for this journey, and fosters a sense of purpose and confidence in achieving its goals. Consequently, foreign policy is an indispensable instrument in world affairs, shaping a state's behavior in negotiations with other states to protect or advance its vital interests (Hill, 2003 & Jesmine, 2020). While modern foreign policy is formulated and implemented with consideration of global and regional situations. Changes in these situations can necessitate adjustments in the foreign policies of many nations. To navigate these challenging circumstances and realities effectively, every state tends to focus its resources on subjects and issues with far-reaching impacts across its entire foreign policy spectrum. Such emphases inevitably reflect the preferences and orientation of the state authority constitutionally responsible for foreign policy. This is because the foreign policy of a nation is fundamentally owned by the authorities constitutionally empowered to oversee it.

In the case of Nigeria, as well as in virtually all presidential systems, the president representing the executive branch, holds this crucial position. Consequently, foreign policy and the choice of priorities often mirror the idiosyncrasies and inclinations of the individual occupying the presidential office at any given time. This is why the articulated thrusts of foreign policy are

often referred to as the doctrines of incumbent presidents in a presidential system. Examples include the Monroe Doctrine (1823), Truman Doctrine (1947), Khrushchev Doctrine of Peaceful Coexistence (1956), and Brezhnev Doctrine of Righteous Intervention (1968) and the Tinubu 4D doctrine (2023).

Over the years, Nigeria's foreign policy has often been crafted within broad frameworks that define how the country engages with global actors. This approach began with Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa-Balewa's government, which established the foundational principles of Nigeria's foreign policy since 1960. Continuing this tradition, Foreign Affairs Minister Yusuf Tuggar introduced the "Tinubu 4D doctrine" in August 2023, focusing on democracy, development, demography, and diaspora as the core elements of President Tinubu's foreign policy. This foreign policy emphasizes the leveraging of Nigeria's youthful population, proactive engagement with the Diaspora for economic growth, strategic use of the Africa Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) for regional economic integration, consolidation of democratic gains within Nigeria and Africa, and a focused effort on reducing dependency on external aid through self-reliant economic development.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Given the preceding discussion, it is appropriate to opine that defining Nigeria's foreign policy centerpiece immediately the Tinubu administration took office was fitting. This move aligns with conventional global practices and a fundamental aspect of statecraft where policy prioritization for effective resource utilization are of utmost part to many nation states. However, the four elements of the "Tinubu 4D doctrine"—democracy, development, demography, and diaspora are

currently too vague in conception, too broad in scope, and lack clear objectives. This lack of clarity can be a challenge in guiding Nigeria's foreign policy direction.

Again, based on the principles of Nigeria's foreign policy, only four elements directly influence operational modalities, which the Tinubu's foreign policy has failed to consider in his foreign policy doctrine and they are the consultation doctrine, foreign policy concentricism and constructive and beneficial concentricism, non-interference and non-intervention, reciprocity, and Citizen Diplomacy. Other principles, such as non-alignment, peaceful coexistence or good neighborliness, economic diplomacy or development diplomacy, etc., are either reactive in nature or programmatic in design. It is imperative to note that the 4-Ds are merely diplomatic techniques that can be viewed as tools for national development and the protection of foreign policy interests. Suffice to say that, there many underlying issues with the 4-Ds foreign policy of the Tinubu administration. As a framework for resource prioritization, the 4D doctrine covers nearly every area historically addressed by previous administrations' Nigeria's foreign policy. In contemporary international politics, where nations compete with one another, grow suspicion against each other, the Tinubu's foreign policy fails to put the context of realism in its domestic capabilities, and also failed to show clear measurable objectives for evaluation purposes.

Moreover, the availability of official documents and policy statements that outline the strategies for the realisation of the administration's foreign policy has been a major issue, as available documents are either policy statements or power points of the foreign policy direction. With these challenges it becomes imperative to interrogate, investigate the Tinubu's foreign policy doctrine and postulate strategic areas for policy consideration before a major setback befalls Nigeria's foreign policy projection and direction.

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTION

The following research questions were posed for the study.

1. What are the components of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's foreign policy doctrine?
2. What progress has the administration of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu made with other nations in the realisation of his foreign policy on development?
3. What are the challenges in the realisation of President Bola Tinubu's foreign policy drive?
4. To what extent can President Bola Tinubu's foreign policy address Nigeria's domestic concerns?

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objective of the study is to examine the Nigerian foreign policy and its economic development under President Muhammadu Buhari's civilian administration. The specific objectives are to.

1. To examine the principles of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's foreign policy doctrine.
2. To identify the progress President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's administration has made with other nations in the realisation of his foreign policy objectives on development.
3. To examine the challenges in the realisation of President Bola Tinubu's foreign policy drive.
4. To identify the extent President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's foreign policy can address Nigeria's domestic concerns.

1.5. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The findings from this study will help academics gain a more comprehensive knowledge and understanding of the relationship between Nigerian foreign policy and economic development. This will also enable them to produce pertinent articles that will support further study on the subject and demonstrate how it can be done successfully in a nation to boost economic development from an investigative to a postulative research.

1.6. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study examined the 4D doctrine foreign policy of President Bola Tinubu. The key foreign policy drives and accomplishments of President Bola Tinubu were studied and analysed.

1.7. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study had a few restrictions and one of them is the availability of data from government sources, reports or articles written by stakeholders, policymakers, and government officials. However, these lapses were overcome with derivation of sources from specialists and critics in the domains of international relations. Again, while writing about the foreign policy of an administration about a year in office poses challenges, but analysis of media coverage, think tank reports, and academic commentary was useful in the construct of understanding the administration's foreign policy stance.

1.8 OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Foreign Policy:in this study it shall mean a country's response to the world outside or beyond its own frontier or boundaries.

National Interest:in this study it shall mean a concept often used in understanding the foreign policy of a particular state. It is in principle, taken to be geared towards the overall political, economic, social and cultural developments of the sovereign state.

Foreign Policy tools: These are the means, through which a nation carries out her foreign policy objectives, and they may either be non-coercive or coercive in approach. Examples would include war, diplomacy, trade, etc.

Foreign Policy Objectives: These are the immediate and long term goals of a nation's foreign policy that include preserving international peace, strengthening national security, improving international cooperation etc.

4D-Doctrine: The foreign policy guide or tools of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu that centers on development, democracy, demography, and diaspora aimed to achieve national prosperity for Nigeria and for Africa.

Development: It is the improvement of a nation, economically, socially, and politically, to better the standard of living for a population.

Democracy:It is the government in which the supreme power is held by the people and used by them directly or indirectly through representation.

Demography: the composition of a particular human population. It examines the size, structure, and movements of populations within a given period of time.

Diaspora: People who for a variety of reasons, are living outside of their traditional homeland. In simple terms, people who live and have settled abroad.

Nigerian diaspora: Nigerian *population that is scattered across regions of the world.*

National Security: It is the security and defence of a sovereign state, including its citizens, economy, and institutions, which is regarded as a duty of government.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. CONCEPTUAL REVIEW

The self-interested strategies that a state chooses to protect its national interests and pursue its objectives within the framework of international relations make up its foreign policy. According to those who make foreign policy decisions, it is the totality of a nation's national interests that arise from the interaction of internal and external forces. The methods are strategically applied to engage with other nations. However, in recent years, relationships, and interactions between state and non-state players in the international political sphere have been known to occur as a result of the intensifying level of globalization and transnational activities. These relationships, in various ways, have had an impact on national foreign policies.

2.1.1. Concept of Foreign Policy

Like many other topics in the social sciences, foreign policy lacks a single definition, leading to a variety of interpretations among academics. Ade-Ibijola (2016) defines foreign policy in this context as the goals that a nation seeks to achieve in its dealings with other peoples of the world. These goals are the objectives that make up a comprehensive strategy. In order to avoid navigating the waters of international relations aimlessly, Ade-Ibijola (2016) asserts that every country creates a strategy with a few primary objectives that it tries to realize in its dealings with other states in the international system.

According to Goldstein and Pevehouse (2014), foreign policy refers to the tactics used by the government to direct its operations on a global scale. Carlsnaes (2011) provided a more thorough

explanation of what foreign policy is. Carlsnaes (2016) asserted that foreign policy consists of actions taken by governmental representatives acting on behalf of their sovereign communities and expressed in the form of explicitly stated goals, commitments, and/or directives, and directed toward objectives, conditions, and actors both governmental and non-governmental that they want to affect and that lie outside of their territorial legitimacy. This merely implies that foreign policy needs to be well defined, well-thought out, and have a direction in order for countries to interact to one another effectively.

According to Adeniran (2012), understanding foreign policy is best accomplished by defining it. According to Adeniran (2012), foreign policy consists of three components. The first is the "overall orientation and policy intents" of a particular country toward others. The "goal" that a country intends to achieve in its connections or transactions with another country is the second component. The "means" by which the specific goal or set of objectives will be achieved make up the third component of foreign policy.

According to Nwankwo (2018), foreign policy is a collection of clear goals with regard to the world outside the boundaries of a certain social unit as well as a collection of techniques and methods used to accomplish those goals. This understanding supports the identification of plans and specific tactics for putting those plans into action. It is idealist because it ignores the realities of the international system, namely the unpredictable nature of how other countries will operate.

From Vital's point of view, another paradigm of foreign policy arose (2015). According to Vital (2015), the term "foreign policy" actually refers to a sphere of connected but separate activities and issues, in which neither foreign policy exists nor can exist. According to Rosati (2016), the realities of state behaviour require that decisions and policies are developed in several

independent structures and issue areas, often as a result of urgent pressures and events. Therefore, in light of developments in the contemporary global political order, Frankel's (1978 and 1989) notion of foreign policy as a dynamic process of interaction between changing domestic demands and changing external conditions is appropriate.

In an effort to manage the international environment to achieve predetermined national objectives, Ota and Ecoma (2015) define foreign policy as a plan that is adequately formulated and designed in a coordinated manner by institutionally designated decision-makers. According to this notion, nations can use foreign policy as a tool of power to respond to events occurring on a global scale by taking or refraining from taking action in order to further their own domestic objectives. According to Ukwuije (2015), foreign policy is an outgrowth of public policy and is necessary for the full and appropriate implementation of some parts of domestic policy. According to this claim, domestic policy is accomplished on the international front via foreign policy, which suggests that public policy supersedes foreign policy.

Eze (2010) simply stated that a state's foreign policy is the basis for its interactions with other nations or entities covered by international law, such as international organizations. The notion of foreign policy is implicit in the fact that national interest serves as a guiding principle for states in the formation and implementation of their international policies, according to Barika (2014), who supports this viewpoint. However, Barika (2014) asserts with confidence that the creation of foreign policy is constrained by the requirements of international law, treaty obligations, and the leadership roles and responsibilities in international organizations that the state has taken on with due consideration for the foreign policy of other states. The importance of international law, non-state entities, and, most significantly, other states' foreign policies are all incorporated into these conceptualizations by Eze (2010) and Barika (2014). Their stance on the

matter is that when states start to formulate or restructure their foreign policies, they should do so taking into account the requirement to align with international law statutes, their obligations in regional or international institutions, and the nature of foreign policies of other states, especially the neighbouring countries. In addition to allowing the state to pursue its national interests in a way that is compliant with international law, meeting these conditions will also provide it the ability to respond to the acts of other governments across the world or in the region.

The driving force for Nigeria's interactions with other countries is how Ade-Ibijola (2016) summarises Nigerian foreign policy. He added that it was the stated purpose of a state. Simply reconstructing this notion of foreign policy to read as the stated objectives of a state toward other states will suffice.

2.1.2 Concept of National Interest

The precise definition of "national interest" is not generally agreed upon. However, it is widely accepted that governments and statesmen behave in the manner they do in their relations with other nations in order to protect the proclaimed aims of the state. Foreign policy analysis typically views national interest as a contentious idea. Scholars have frequently questioned whether there is something that can be referred to as national interest in light of the variety of prevalent personal, class, group, and sectional interests in a state. The cause is the absence of a comprehensive policy or a unifying framework that might be utilized to reconcile all the competing interests inside the state. Thus, some consider the national interest of any state to be the interest of the state's leadership or ruling class, which may have historically or constitutionally had the authority to make decisions on behalf of the state's other residents

(Rosati, 2006). The state's leadership frequently uses national interest as a smokescreen to defend localized individual, class, or group interests.

Foreign policy experts generally agree that "national interest" is the most important driving force behind foreign policy, despite the fact that there is no agreed-upon definition of what constitutes national interest or what actions statesmen should take to realize or maximize it. National interest is regarded as the easiest way to comprehend or justify why and how countries operate in the ways they do when they take part in international action. (Eminue,2013) While Hans Morgenthau (1973) conceptualizes national interest in terms of power, Henderson (2005) views national interest as the collective desire of a state in its interactions with other nations in the international system. "Statesmen conceive and act in terms of interest defined as power," he claimed (Morgenthau, 1973). In his writing, Morgenthau went further to show that "a foreign policy led by moral abstractions, without regard of the national interest, is certain to fail" (Morgenthau, 1973). National interest, according to Rosenau (1969), is "the key to any explanation of goal-seeking behaviour," and as a result, its application in politics "will long continue to be a datum requiring examination." "National interest examines not just the worth of foreign policy but also explains why states do what they do when they engage in international affairs," according to Obiozor (1999). What Obiozor is saying here, is that national interest explains or rationalizes states' behaviour in international relations. According to Sondermann (1979) cited in (Emimue 2013), the concept of "national interest" is predicated on two assumptions:

- (i) there exists an objectively determinable collective interest which all individual members within a given society share equally; and

- (ii) (ii) that this collective interest transcends any interest that a particular sub-set of these individuals may share with individuals in other societies.

National interest as a concept, therefore, underscores the fact that the primary interest of a state is to obtain or retain an optional position on world affairs. This they do by taking action on issues that would improve the political situation, the economic and social well-being, the health and culture of the people as well as their political survival.

They are being urged to take action that will improve the lot of their people rather than pursue policies that will subject the people to domination by other countries. (Adeniran, 1983).

Political realist and Marxist views were both used by Asogwa (2009) in his analysis of the idea. He makes the following claim: From a political realist standpoint, the term "national interest" has been used to describe a nation's wise use of power to advance its crucial interests overseas. The underlying presumption was that national decision-makers identify what is in their country's best interests, which are often constant and unchanging (Asogwa, 2009).

In the international system, a state's objectives and aspirations are generally referred to as its national interests. These objectives may be cultural, political, economic, or military. Although we have seen that several attempts have been made by scholars and practitioners of international relations to define national interest, these attempts all converge on one idea: what makes up a state's national interest is the perception of its leaders' foreign policy.

We cannot disregard the fact that a state's national interest is frequently defined in significant part by the form of governance that state has. Autocratic and dictatorial governments define their national interests with less consideration for input from domestic interest groups, whereas governments of Western-style democracies, for example, frequently take into account the wishes and desires of various interest groups that wield domestic political power. However, different

people and groups define the national interest of the state in different ways inside every state, whether it be democratic or authoritarian. Despite the fact that the concept of national interest is not universally understood, experts concur that it is a helpful concept that gives them a tool to comprehend the objectives of nation states in their interactions with one another in the international system. According to Eminue (2013), "national interest is seen as the simplest means of understanding or explaining how and why nations do what they do when they engage in international activity," this is further supported. In light of the fact that "nations do what they do in order to satisfy their best interest, it is argued that by describing national ambitions so satisfied, analysts could use the concept of national interest as a tool for explanation or analysis" (Rosenau, 1968). In addition, Rosenau notes that "no list of the difficulties in analysing foreign policy objectives would be complete without mentioning those that invariably attempt to employ the concept of national interest" (Rosenau, 1968).

Every state in the international system, irrespective of size, economic status, ideological orientation, or culture, has some form of interests or goals defined as national interest. Scholars and political analysts have different perceptions of the concept of national interest in line with their understanding of the subject matter. There have been debates among scholars over who determines the national interests of states. Is it the leadership or the citizens that determine a state's national interest? It is the responsibility of the leadership of the state to control the affairs of the state for positive change and good standard of living, while the citizens in that state are directly affected either positively or negatively by the derivable of national interest. National interest is seen by Morgenthau, (1989) as an aim to promote the image, prestige and aspect of a state both at home and abroad. On his part, Olukoshi (1992) identifies what constitutes the core

of national interest to include: national security, political independence, territorial integrity, promotion of the economic interest of the state and world peace. However, Joseph Frankel's view on foreign policy is rooted in his emphasis on national interest and the decision-making process of state actors. He views foreign policy as a series of actions that states undertake to pursue their national interests, which can encompass security, economic well-being, or ideological goals. Frankel argues that the national interest is often interpreted by state leaders and decision-makers, whose choices are influenced by both domestic factors (such as political pressures, interest groups, and public opinion) and international constraints (including global power dynamics and alliances) (Frankel, 1970).

One of Frankel's key contributions to foreign policy analysis is his focus on the dynamic interaction between internal and external factors. He posits that foreign policy is not a static response but rather a process that is continuously shaped by changing conditions both within the state and in the international system. As such, his framework highlights the role of agency and adaptability in foreign policy decisions, underscoring the importance of how leaders interpret shifting circumstances and adjust their policies accordingly.

Frankel also distinguishes between the rational pursuit of objectives and the realities of bureaucratic and political influences, noting that while leaders may aim for rational decisions, the complexity of internal and external factors often leads to a more fragmented and sometimes reactive policy-making process. His view incorporates elements of both realism, in its focus on state power and interest, and constructivism, acknowledging the influence of ideas and domestic politics on the international stage (Frankel, 1973).

It is instructive to note that Joseph Frankel's foreign policy framework provides a multi-layered approach to understanding state behavior, integrating the national interest, decision-making processes, and international structures. This holistic view helps explain how foreign policy evolves in response to both internal debates and external pressures, highlighting the complex nature of statecraft.

Consequently, the Marxist view of national interest interprets it as a construct shaped by class interests, rather than a unified concept representing the whole nation. According to Marxist theory, the idea of national interest is often manipulated by the ruling capitalist class to serve its own economic and political goals, masking the underlying class conflicts within society. In this framework, what is presented as the "national interest" typically reflects the interests of the bourgeoisie—the owners of capital and means of production—while marginalizing the needs of the working class or proletariat (Cox, 1981).

Marxists argue that the state, through foreign policy and national interest narratives, acts as an instrument of the ruling class to protect capital accumulation and expand capitalist markets globally. Lenin, in his analysis of imperialism, extends this view by asserting that national interests often drive capitalist states to engage in imperialism and exploitation of weaker nations, justifying these actions as serving the greater national good (Lenin, 1917). Thus, for Marxists, the notion of national interest is a reflection of the imperatives of capitalism, which prioritizes profit and power over genuine social well-being.

It is instructive to note that, the Marxists critique the concept of national interest as a rhetorical tool used to align the population with the capitalist state's agenda, while in reality, it serves the interests of the elite capitalist class at the expense of broader social and economic justice (Cox, 1981; Lenin, 1917). However, the realist view of national interest centers on the idea that states are rational actors in an anarchic international system, prioritizing power and security above all else. According to realists, national interest is defined primarily in terms of self-preservation and survival, and achieving this often requires military strength and strategic alliances (Morgenthau, 1948). For realists, the international system is characterized by competition and conflict due to the absence of a central governing authority, making the pursuit of power and the protection of sovereignty paramount.

Hans Morgenthau, a key realist thinker, argues that national interest is synonymous with power and is guided by objective laws rooted in human nature, such as the drive for domination. Morgenthau asserts that foreign policy must align with the pursuit of national interest, understood as the acquisition or preservation of power, to maintain a state's survival (Morgenthau, 1948). Classical realists, like Morgenthau, believe that moral principles should not dictate foreign policy, as moral objectives could undermine a state's strategic interests.

Structural realists or neorealists, such as Kenneth Waltz, further emphasize the importance of structural factors like the distribution of power in the international system. According to Waltz, national interest is influenced by the balance of power; states act to preserve their relative power and status in response to changes in the system (Waltz, 1979). The primary goal is to avoid vulnerability and maintain equilibrium in the face of competition.

2.2 DETERMINANTS OF NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Foreign policy leaders have to decide on foreign policy issues after many considerations. They are influenced by many elements. The factors that influence foreign policy are called the determinants of foreign policy. The determinants of foreign policy are many. Specific factors may play a key role in determining the foreign policy of a particular state.

There are several determinants that have determined Nigeria's foreign policy over time. But at independence, a unique factor determined and laid the foundation for this, and it was the country's size and population. The following thus, are some of the major determinants of Nigerian foreign policy:

2.2.1 Population & Size: The population is considered one of the important determinants of foreign policy. For a long time, the population has been regarded as an important criterion for measuring state power. The relationship between population and foreign policy gains importance in terms of the capability of a state.

At independence, Nigeria's first Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafabalewa declared that Nigeria would concentrate on Africa's problems. This later came to be that Africa would be the centrepiece of the Nigerian foreign policy. This Afro-centric policy was based on the stench of colonialism that still tied many African countries to the West. Nigeria also believed that based on her population and size, she had an obligation to play a leading role in Africa. Basically, the Afro-centric policy of Nigeria was one Nigeria committed herself to the liberation of the African people and the promotion of world peace. All of these foreign policy action were well spelt out in the Nigerian national interest at independence. "Very particular attention will be devoted to

adopting clear and practical policies with regard to Africa. We shall make every effort to find a way to unite our efforts and prevent Africa from becoming an area of crisis and world tension". This pronouncement somehow became a basis for our foreign policy thrust since 1960 down to several successive governments (be it military or civilian). Africa thus to a large extent, remained the centerpiece of Nigerian foreign policy.

Other Determinants of the Nigerian Foreign Policy:

Besides Nigeria's size and population that greatly influenced Nigeria's desire for an Afrocentric policy, other factors have shaped Nigeria's foreign policy as a whole. This includes:

2.2.2 Colonial Legacy: Many countries have special relationships with their former colonial powers. Chad, Niger, Cameroun, Ivory Coast, and Senegal, all have special relations with their former colonial master, the French since independence. A country's relationship with her former colonial master may be cordial or hostile depending on how it gained independence. Colonial governments that are chased out through violent struggles leave little or nothing for future relations except amended over time. Nigeria did not fight the British, but gained independence through a diplomatic and constitutional approach that enabled the continued leverage of British interest in Nigeria to strive as seen in the Anglo-defence pact of 1961, and the continued striving of British companies in Nigeria even after independence.

2.2.3 Geographical location: The geopolitical location of the Nigerian state has been a natural determinant of its foreign policy. Where a country is located on the globe geographically matters a lot in foreign policy. It matters who one's neighbours are and whether a given country is territorially large, populous, and affluent. Geographical factors exercise a permanent and paramount influence on the foreign policy of a country. Nigeria has played a dominant role in

West Africa where she is geographically located. She has also granted assistance to neighbouring countries like Niger and Chad through the provision of energy resources for power.

2.2.4. Natural resources: The natural resources of a country also profoundly influence the determination of its foreign policy. The natural resources include minerals, gas, oil etc. Oil has determined Nigeria's trade relations over the years especially with America, the country's largest oil trading partner which had been importing about 33% of Nigeria crude oil. Nigeria's oil resources are equally responsible for the country's relations with other oil-exporting nations under the membership of OPEC. National resources also determine the kind of foreign companies that invest in a nation. Several foreign oil companies have been investing in Nigeria's oil fields and they include: Chevron, Agip, Shell Petroleum, Mobil etc. Nigeria's rich cocoa plantations have also attracted multinationals like Cadbury, Nestle which make tea and coffee from cocoa.

2.2.5. Economy: The level of economic underdevelopment or development attained by a country has deep impact on the foreign policy of that state. Nigeria's economy has largely remained underdeveloped since independence, hence the country has adopted foreign policy measures that were aimed at improving the nation's economy. Under the Babangida administration, Nigeria embarked on Economic Diplomacy by taking huge external loans and adopting the IMF imposed Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) that was meant to reduce government public spending and improve the Nigerian economy as an immediate foreign policy objective broadly under Nigeria's economic interest. The present government of Goodluck Jonathan is equally embarking on another form of economic diplomacy by wooing foreign investors to help reposition the Nigerian economy.

2.2.6. Political System: Political systems determine foreign policy relations a great deal. Democratic countries are given softer spots when relating with the western powers compared to authoritarian states or dictatorial regimes. Most autocratic governments suffer pressure and all forms of sanctions from the western hegemons. Democratic states enjoy aid and economic diplomacy generally and this is what Nigeria has enjoyed since her return to democracy in 1999. Prior to then the country was under several sanctions from the west including her suspension from the commonwealth. Whether the democracy is bad, it is still regarded as good for the west, and whether the authoritarian regime or military regime is good, it is regarded as bad for the West.

2.2.7 Ideology: Each state system is governed by specific political ideologies, be it socialism or capitalism and this has become a major determinant factor in foreign policy. Socialist states, for instance, are convinced of the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. Capitalism maintains its existence through exploitation and oppression of home and abroad. It is for this reason that capitalist countries follow aggressive policies in economic, political, and cultural fields. But in the long run, capitalist countries can only relate with fellow capitalist states, likewise, socialist states would not allow relations with the capitalist, viewed as oppressive states. Nigeria runs a mixed economic system but the increasing presence of the private sector in Nigeria has attracted several foreign investments from largely capitalist nations.

2.2.8 Military Power: Besides all the preceding factors, the military size of a country also determines the effectiveness of its foreign policy. A state possessing sufficient military size has greater initiative and bargaining power in the international arena. Nigeria has been playing leadership roles in Africa, especially through rendering military assistance in maintaining peace and security on the continent.

2.2.9. Leadership: Leadership is one of the most influential factors for foreign policy. At Nigeria's independence, it was her first prime minister that shaped her foreign policy. However different governments in Nigeria has had different foreign policies because government is the chief determinant of foreign policy. The government of Ibrahim Babangida for instance in 1988 registered Nigeria as a member of the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC), whereas President Olusegun Obasanjo increased Nigeria's relations with the Vatican City where he was always almost represented by Bishop Hassan Mathew Kukah, a member of the Obasanjo's formed Oputa Panel on Human Right abuses. Leaders generally can make drastic changes to a nation's foreign policy, like ShehuYar'Adua did by altering Nigeria's foreign policy centerpiece from Afrocentricism to citizen diplomacy.

2.3 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

2.3.1 Sir Abubakar Balewa Administration (1960-1966)

Nigeria made certain declarations when it was still under colonial authority and basking in the ecstasy of becoming an independent country that may have contributed to her current foreign policy stance. Nigeria's foreign policy was generally pro-West in general, although citing non-alignment as one of her policy goals. More specifically, the foreign policy was primarily pro-British and driven by British interests from the time of its independence until the first military coup. Nigeria was therefore unmistakably pro-British and pro-West in general, although citing non-alignment as one of her policy goals. The Soviet embassy was only given five diplomatic license plates, while the embassies of the United Kingdom and the United States of America each received one hundred. Thus, it may be said that even the Soviet embassy's opening was reluctantly agreed to as a way to hide Nigeria's non-alignment from the outside world.

Nigeria's foreign policy during the years 1960–1966 was pre-western, conservative, and reactionary. This was due to the administration's unsteady, cautious, and complete alignment with the West in all trade and diplomatic dealings. However, this was not to be since "Balewa would scarcely take any major foreign policy choices without first consulting the British government," as the Prime Minister had stated on the eve of independence (Idang 1973, and Wayas, J. 1979). The fact that it was always pro-African and pro-Commonwealth in line with Nigeria's British slant was one of the period's prominent characteristics. According to Fawole, W. A. (2004), "all sectors of the economy were not only controlled by the West but were entirely dependent on their capitalist orientation for the country's consumptive patterns and developmental efforts". This was the prevalent option as chosen by Balewa. However, there were lots of inconsistencies and contradictions in Balewa's foreign policy as could be seen from the following actions he took within the period:

- i. Severing relations with France over their testing of an atomic bomb in the Sahara Desert in 1961 just three months after independence.
- ii. refusal to attend the maiden conference of the Non-aligned Movement in Belgrade.
- iii. prevarication over the establishment of formal diplomatic ties with the Sino-Soviet bloc until December 1961.
- iv. acceptance of the Anglo-Nigeria Defence Pact until he was forced to abrogate it by students and the opposition.
- v. refusing to train armed militia for Angolan national fighters waging a war against Portuguese colonialists despite Nigeria's avowed resolve to rid the continent of colonialism.

The above show that while the Africa policy was still intact, there were still a lot of other inconsistencies of that government which belied its definite foreign policy thrust.

2.3.2. Yakubu Gowon Foreign Policy (1966-1975)

Between 1966 and 1969, under General Yakubu Gowon, there were several important historical events that occurred in Nigeria, including the Nigerian Civil War and the Oil Boom, which "gave Nigeria a new push to practice her non-aligned posture and position of neutrality in world affairs" (Egbo,2003). As a result, the civil war and the attitudes of both former and newcomers to the Nigerian State's alignment were issues that the administration of the day dealt with. For instance, when the British initially balked at giving the Nigerian government the weapons it needed to start the war against Biafra, the government was forced to resort to the Soviet Union, which provided all the weapons required for the assault. Due to the USSR's apparent advantage in the ideological conflict, Britain decided to join the conflict in order to counter the Soviet Union's growing influence in Nigeria. Thus, the time was spent trying to end the civil war and preserve the unity of Nigeria. As Nigeria's foreign policy increasingly emphasized propaganda, the decade following Nigeria's civil war marked significant shifts in its foreign policy. Key lessons emerged:

1. The need for closer cooperation with African states to promote political and economic freedom across the continent.
2. Openness to Soviet Union overtures, rather than unnecessary rejection.
3. The ability to disagree with Britain on critical issues while maintaining its international status.

During this period, oil became a vital economic resource, and Nigeria's growing economy prompted foreign policy aimed at economic expansion into neighboring African states. This laid the groundwork for the establishment of ECOWAS in 1975, fostering regional integration. Between 1969 and 1975, Nigeria adopted a more confident and low-profile foreign policy, moving away from personalized leadership. This era saw the implementation of far-reaching decisions that have remained significant over time (Institute of Army Education, 1977)

2.3.3. Olusegun Obasanjo Foreign Policy (1976-1979)

The Nigerian government, led by Murtala Mohammed, implemented an unambiguous, well-defined, articulate, and cohesive policy for Africa during this time, free from any ties to fear or deference to specific groups or nations. He announced the course that Africa would take in the new period under Nigeria's leadership in his speech to the OAU in Addis Ababa. He said, in part, that Africa had reached adulthood and was no longer under the control of any continental power. It shouldn't take orders from any nation, no matter how powerful. We hold the power to make or break the destiny of Africa.

One of the many explanations offered for the Nigerian leader's premature removal from the political scene is the audacity he displayed. There is a concern about a plot on the part of the capitalist West, which could not stand a revolutionary leader, a fervent supporter of Africa, and a soldier willing to do whatever it took to free Africa from the clutches of the capitalist West, which had long controlled the course of the continent's history. Mohammed's abrasive exchanges with the US on the UNITA v. MPLA issue in Angola, in which Nigeria recognized and backed the MPLA government in opposition to the US support for UNITA, did not assist the situation.

Murtala Mohammed's brief rule did not adversely affect Nigeria's foreign policy, despite what his successor, General Olusegun Obasanjo, promised to do and did. He was devoted to the

African spirit and unafraid to make decisions without consulting the West. To his credit, Obasanjo achieved a lot to advance Nigeria's position in international affairs by speaking the truth to power in Britain and America without offending them despite their close ties, and he went above and above to forge ties with the Soviet/Communist bloc that have lasted to this day. Although the domestic policies did not materialize to a lot of visible developmental progress, Nigeria's foreign policy under Mohammed/Obasanjo regimes is the best so far as it received wide acceptability and respect in the global community.

2.3.4 Shehu Shagari Foreign Policy (1979-1983)

There was not much to say about Alhaji Shehu Shagari's foreign policy other than the customary observations about sustaining Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy. He made an effort to continue the established policies of his predecessor, but he was unable to do so due to a number of issues that he encountered and was unable to handle. However, it is to his credit that he led Africa's commitment to peaceful resolution of interstate conflicts, such as the crises in Chad caused by the Hissene Habre and Guokoni Weddeye and the ones between Somalia and Ethiopia, Morocco and the Polisario Movement over Western Sahara, and (Egbo, 2003). However, the dictatorship did not address any significant issues, and its haphazard handling of problems prevented Nigeria from imposing its will on the continent as it had previously begun to do. As a result of the government's decision to expel illegal immigrants, particularly from Ghana, certain neighbouring governments in Africa are known to feel animosity and enmity against Nigeria. Additionally, it was during this time that government corruption contributed to the collapse of the Nigerian economy. According to Egbo (2003), who put it succinctly: "To any casual observer, Nigeria's foreign policy had lost its steam." Nigeria's foreign policy finally lost the

impetus and fervour that had characterized it over the preceding five years in favour of a lack of candour and an overly cautious approach to problems. The government devolved into unenthusiastic conceptualization and an incoherent policy vacuum due to a lack of a clear focus and core framework. The last two administrations' inventiveness and boldness were gone. Shari's foreign policy ended up being a throwback to the conservatism and legalism of the Balewa era, so despite all the noise that was made for show, the reality was one of incompetence and powerlessness brought on by political indecision, confusion, and inaction.

This attitude created the opportunity for the military to come back into the political scene with the coup d'état of December 1984.

2.3.5. Muhammadu Buhari Foreign Policy (1983-1985)

The Buhari administration prioritized rebuilding Nigeria's struggling economy and restoring moral integrity over foreign policy. However, recognizing that no government can ignore foreign relations, Buhari's policy aimed to promote peace across Africa, starting with neighboring countries, following a "concentric circle" approach. As Gambari (1989) noted, Nigeria's national economic and security interests were closely tied to the stability and well-being of its neighbors, making regional relations a top priority. This led to the signing of the Quadripartite Agreements with Benin, Ghana, and Togo. Despite these efforts, inconsistencies emerged, such as the closure of Nigeria's borders to combat smuggling and corruption, which conflicted with diplomatic goals. The botched attempt to bring Alhaji Umaru Dikko back from Britain in a crate severely damaged Nigeria's diplomatic relations with Britain. Ultimately, the administration's arrogance and its reliance on a two-man leadership between Buhari and Idiagbon contributed to Buhari's eventual ouster.

2.3.6. General Ibrahim Babangida (1985-1993)

General Ibrahim Babangida viewed foreign policy as a pursuit aligned with national security and the overall well-being of Nigerians (Adeniran, 2012). He achieved this by appointing skilled professionals like Bolaji Akinyemi, Ike Nwachukwu, and Rilwanu Lukman, giving them the freedom to implement critical foreign policy initiatives such as the Technical Aid Corps (TAC), the Concert of Medium Powers, and Economic Diplomacy. These initiatives gained widespread approval.

During Babangida's leadership of ECOWAS from 1986 to 1988, the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Citizens took effect, which marked a reversal of Buhari's border closure policy. Babangida reasserted Nigeria's leadership in ECOWAS, with Nigeria providing the majority of personnel and resources for ECOMOG operations. His administration also made significant contributions, such as donating land and \$4.5 million for the construction of the ECOWAS Secretariat (Shagaya, 2003).

Babangida's foreign policy extended beyond Africa, including the restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel, severed since 1973. His regime achieved several notable milestones:

- i. Revitalizing Nigeria's commitment to ECOWAS and lifting border closures
- ii. Leading interventions in inter-African conflicts, especially in West Africa
- iii. Establishing the Technical Aid Corps (TAC) to provide trained Nigerian personnel to other African countries
- iv. Creating the Lagos Forum of Medium Powers
- v. Aligning Nigeria's foreign policy with domestic economic goals (Olusanya, 2012; Ofoegbu, 1990).

Nigeria's global influence peaked during this period, with Joe Garba becoming President of the UN General Assembly in 1989 and Emeka Anyaoku being appointed Secretary-General of the Commonwealth in 1990. Despite these achievements, Babangida's later years were marked by policy inconsistencies and the controversial annulment of the 1993 election, which led to Nigeria's pariah status internationally (Egbo, 2003).

2.3.7. Sani Abacha Foreign Policy (1993-1998)

Given that Abacha took power by force without justification, at a time when the world was moving toward liberal democracy, and in response to the Interim National Government of Chief Ernest Shonekan's opposition to such a clear palace coup, Nigeria was generally hostile to other countries and was shunned by the international community. Therefore, this time period's foreign policy was "reactive and isolationist" (Aluko, O. 2011).). He felt that the country needed to develop a new foreign policy focus because, in his opinion, the old position had essentially become what it was. As a result, he assembled a committee of 50 people from every other interest group except career diplomats, academics, and specialists in international relations and foreign affairs. This intentional behaviour revealed his hand early enough that he wanted nothing other than to command what should happen without using what had previously been customary. Additionally, the regime's brazen contempt for diplomatic conventions and its disrespect for delicacy in interactions with foreign diplomats astounded them. Such despicable actions by Abacha as the unjustifiable and unjustified death of the Ogoni campaigner, Ken Saro-Wiwa, and eight others in spite of a significant outcry and requests from the world community did not improve the situation. Traditional allies like the United Kingdom, the United States, France, Germany, Canada, and South Africa temporarily ceased their support for Nigeria and diplomatic

representations, and "Abacha moved to Asia in response to the isolation from the West and its associates" (Olusanya, 2012). As Asia did little to help Nigeria's foreign policy goals, this further distanced Nigeria from the world's superpowers. Nigeria was in this scenario up to Abacha's untimely death on June 8, 1998.

2.3.8. Abdulsalam Abubakar Foreign Policy (1998-1999)

Because of the isolationism that followed Abacha's untimely death, the subsequent government of General Abdulsalami Abubakar understood better than to attempt any method of holding onto power. In a nutshell, he "embarked on a foreign policy of rejuvenation and worked to redeem Nigeria's image, most importantly on the human rights front," started the process of transitioning to democracy fast, released nearly all political prisoners, and more" (Olusanya, 2012). As a result, his eleven-month administration can legitimately be viewed as a transitional period between a democratic environment and the military's dominance of Nigerian politics and its unique style of foreign policy. He had to deal with the subject of violent situations in the African continent, but in Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau, he opted for peaceful enforcement. In his instance, the internal situation more or less determined his foreign policy; he was more concerned with preserving Nigeria's reputation abroad and getting the country ready for a democratic transition to civil rule, national harmony, respect for the rule of law, and citizen human rights (Badmus&Ogunmola, 2003). The Abubakar administration achieved modest successes in the eyes of the world during his brief tenure, including the re-admission of Nigeria to the Commonwealth of Nations, the improvement of ties with the European Union, Canada, and the United States of America, all of which had severed diplomatic ties with Nigeria, and the peaceful leadership of ECOWAS. Invigoration and made an effort to repair Nigeria's reputation, particularly in the area of human rights (Olusanya, 2012). As a result, his eleven-month

administration can legitimately be viewed as a transitional period between a democratic environment and the military's dominance of Nigerian politics and its unique style of foreign policy. He had to deal with the subject of violent situations in the African continent, but in Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau, he opted for peaceful enforcement. In his instance, the internal situation more or less determined his foreign policy; he was more concerned with preserving Nigeria's reputation abroad and getting the country ready for a democratic transition to civil rule, national harmony, respect for the rule of law, and citizen human rights (Badmus& Ogunmola,2003). Thus, during his time, and given that it was short, the Abubakar administration recorded such little successes in the international community as the re-admission of Nigeria into the Commonwealth of Nations, the improvement in relations with the European Union, Canada and the United States of America that had severed diplomatic relations with Nigeria, and peaceful leadership of ECOWAS.

2.3.9 President Olusegun Obasanjo (1999-2007)

In order to foster cordial relations with all countries, we will conduct an active foreign policy. We will also keep up our positive participation in the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations, and other international organizations. We will continue to uphold the accords already in place between Nigeria and other nations. We are determined to put Nigeria back in her once-prominent place in the community of countries (Obasanjo, Inaugural Speech, 29thMay 1999). Following the successful transition to democratic governance, President Obasanjo's foreign policy in Nigeria was more of a shuttle diplomacy beyond Africa, an effort to win over a world that had overlooked Nigeria and would prefer not to deal with her. Agbu (2001) states that the foreign policy "extends much beyond the concern for the well-being of the African continent."

the burden of debt, for instance, is not just an African problem. The necessity to coordinate efforts is due to the fact that many countries in Asia, the Caribbean, and South America have similar issues (Agbu,2001).

This was supported by remarks made by the former minister of foreign affairs, Sule Lamido, who stated that although it may seem improper to disregard Africa as the focal point of Nigeria's foreign policy, the economic crisis that currently characterizes contemporary international relations renders that prevailing doctrine inappropriate (Lamido, quoted in Agbu,2001). Nigeria's foreign policy in this age was therefore compelled to institutionalize and enhance the democratic and good governance cultures at home by supporting democratic principles, the principle of self-determination, human rights, and the rule of law. Nigeria maintained her customary Afrocentric posture at the regional level. I believe that Africa should continue to be the focal point of our foreign strategy, according to Obasanjo (2005). We are indeed in a new Africa, as seen by the reinvigorated resolve of African leaders, our development of regional economic communities, the transformation of the OAU into the AU, and improved world attitudes about Africa, the AU, and its program, NEPAD. In the modern world order, where there is no ongoing ideological battle, Africa should be unified, integrated, and free of disputes and violence.

Nigeria thus built institutions that would aid in further elevating Nigeria's stature within Africa, promoting peace and progress throughout the continent. The maintenance of peace and security in the West African sub-region was achieved through the establishment of crucial offices, such as the constitutional provision for the promotion of African integration and support for African unity, demonstrated by the Ministry of Cooperation and Integration in Africa, and by Nigeria's participation in the Gulf of Guinea Commission and leadership role in the formation of ECOMOG. Nigeria also had a significant impact on how NEPAD was formed and how its

emphasis was changed from conflicts to economic development (Adeniran, 2012). The shuttle diplomacy of the Obasanjo administration made sure that Nigeria had some level of economic prosperity, albeit it is debatable if the President's world travels attracted as many foreign investments as he led Nigerians to believe. However, a larger proportion of Nigeria's foreign debts were in fact drastically reduced through outright cancellation and rescheduling, foreign investments began to flow into Nigeria, jobs were created, and people started to feel the effects of positive foreign relations with other states in the international system (Agba E, 2015). As noted by Adeniran (2008): Under Obasanjo, Nigerian foreign policy was made to focus on wooing Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) with the federal government's establishment of a one-stop investment agency (Nigerian Investment Promotion Commission, NIPC) and the initiative of encouraging Nigerians in the Diaspora to become involved in national development.

This was accomplished, nevertheless, through a half-hearted foreign strategy that was focused on the home policy of fundamental human rights protection, accountability, and transparency. Furthermore, because Obasanjo had a tendency to overshadow his foreign affairs ministers, the advancements made in foreign policy during his administration were overshadowed by his futile attempts to maintain his position of power, which caused him to lose some of the respect he had at the outset of his administration in 1999.

2.4.0 President Umaru Musa Yar'adua (2007-2011)

President Yar'Adua noted that the basis for Nigeria's future prosperity was set by the Obasanjo government in his inaugural address on May 29, 2007. The president claims that during this time, Nigerians came to a national understanding in at least four areas, including the need to strengthen democracy and the rule of law, create an economy that is primarily driven by the private sector rather than the government, show that corruption is not tolerated in any of the country's

businesses, and finally, restructure and staff our government to ensure efficiency and good governance. His administration's objective, he continued, was to build on the greatest success of the previous few years, rely on the seven-point agenda, focus on rebuilding our human capital and physical infrastructure in order to move our nation forward, and accelerate economic and other reforms in a way that benefits common people directly and visibly (Nwankwo, 2018).

Former foreign affairs minister Chief Ojo Maduekwe created a foreign policy initiative for Nigeria known as "citizens diplomacy" or "diplomacy of consequences." According to Maduekwe, citizen diplomacy means protecting the legitimate interests of Nigerians whenever and wherever those interests are directly threatened. In fact, the policy seemed especially appropriate at the time it was announced given the rising harassment of Nigerians around the world. The Yar'Adua administration's new foreign policy is aimed at "preserving" Nigeria's reputation and integrity, and it retaliates against nations who are hostile and portray Nigeria as "corrupt." As the government explained our Nigeria Foreign Policy has come of age and age of innocence is over (Nwankwo, 2018).

Although the Yar'Adua administration did not announce any significant changes to the content of Nigeria's foreign policy, Maduekwe, the government's minister for foreign affairs, emphasized that the foreign policy focus would instead be a citizen-centered foreign policy. a means of reaffirming our dedication to Africa. It's time to let the world know that Nigeria is not a nation of beggars that has to be embarrassed of itself because of the deeds of a few criminals who embarrass us at airports throughout the globe.

Every time a suspect is detained in a major station worldwide or a Nigerian pusher of 419 is apprehended, they have a duty to highlight the Nigerian doctors who are improving the lives of

the people there. The failure to promote Nigeria positively was to be viewed as an aggressive conduct and appropriately reacted for (Olusanya, 2012).

The government's foreign policy was thought of as a way to benefit Nigeria and Nigerians in a way that undermined Nigeria's self-esteem and national unity while discouraging outside investment. In other words, Nigeria would be good to nations that are nice to her, and if not, there would be a penalty. This is what is meant by the foreign policy term diplomacy of consequences of the principle of reciprocity (This Day Newspaper, 2007). Briefly put, citizens diplomacy calls on Nigeria's government to consider calculations of the basic requirements, human rights, and socioeconomic welfare of the citizen when undertaking bilateral and multilateral engagement more deliberately with others (Ota, 2016).

President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, who was headed by former Commonwealth secretary-general and Minister of Foreign Affairs Chief Emeka Anyaoku, further understood the immediate foreign policy challenges facing Nigeria in 2009 when he established a six-member honorary presidential advisory council on international relations. In light of the current circumstances in today's more complicated world, the President urged the council to lead the vanguard in reviving Nigeria's foreign policy process (Daily Trust Newspaper, 2009).

In addition, the advisory council on foreign relations was given the difficult task of helping to position Nigeria as a highly esteemed member of the world community, a prominent voice for Africa, and a defender of the interests of the South-South countries, as Irene (2010) also noted. In addition, the advisory council on foreign relations was given the difficult task of helping to position Nigeria as a highly esteemed member of the world community, a prominent voice for Africa, and a defender of the interests of the South-South countries, as Irene (2010) also noted.

The seven-point program of President Yar'Adua's administration, which focuses on accelerating social, economic, educational, and technological growth as well as establishing democracy and sound governance, must be supported by foreign policy. Power and energy, food security and agriculture, wealth development and employment, public transportation, land reform, security, quality and functional education, the Niger Delta, and disadvantaged communities are the seven points of Yar'Adua's program to restructure Nigeria. These programs are admirable and, according to many observers, will help alter Nigeria. The government's objective was crucial to achieving this goal and enhancing Nigeria's international image.

However, citizens diplomacy starts with the understanding that domestic and foreign policies cannot be separated any more. According to Ota (2016), the fundamental premise of foreign policy should be the external dimension of the conscientious quest for the welfare of the citizens, while the fundamental requirements of the citizens will serve as the government's justification and justification for engaging in foreign policy. According to this researcher, Nigeria should and is able to use its international connections to advance the welfare and rights of its inhabitants, which is the idea behind citizen diplomacy under the Yar'Adua administration. But after two years, this is not to be considered a success.

According to an editorial analysis of Yar'Adua citizens' diplomacy in *The Sun Newspaper*, the country hasn't yet made clear goals or governing ideas. Citizen diplomacy has failed to stop the countless instances of mistreatment that Nigerians are subjected to on a daily basis at the hands of other citizens and occasionally by foreign authorities. The state and its agencies are also extremely dismissive of Nigerians' citizenship rights (*Sun Newspaper*, 2008).

Irene (2010) supported the aforementioned assertion with his Succitly account, noting that two years after citizens diplomacy was declared to be the major focus of the nation's foreign policy, antagonism toward Nigerian nationals in other parts of the world has not decreased. The Yar'Adua administration's new diplomatic trajectory has been hindered by two recent attacks on Nigerians: one in Equatorial Guinea, where 24 Nigerians were deported in the most inhumane conditions; and the other, on the high seas, where pirates captured a Nigerian ship and have been holding its crew hostage for more than eight months. There are unmistakable signs that Nigeria's influence in the region has waned. The absence of Nigeria from the G-20 summits in July 2009, Obama's selection of Ghana as the first African American president of the USA during his first trip to West Africa in July 2009, her significant political, financial, and human investments in Sierra Leone and Liberia, as well as her silence on the Darfur and Zimbabwe crises, are all factors that are rarely acknowledged.

2.4.1 Goodluck Jonathan Administration. (2010-2015)

President Yar'Adua passed away in 2010, bringing the Jonathan government into power for the final two years of his four-year term. However, Goodluck Jonathan was saddled with the duty of leading the country after running in and winning the 2011 presidential election. This presents him with the chance to set the course for the nation's foreign policy. Many people were hopeful that a realistic and visionary foreign policy would emerge and serve as a departure from his predecessors based on the domestic policy of the government's transformation agenda.

According to Uhomooibhi (2012), the Nigerian government of Goodluck Jonathan unintentionally started a thorough assessment of the nation's foreign policy. The government based its foreign policy decisions on home interests. According to this expert, regardless of the administration's priority—domestic or economic diplomacy—the interest of Nigeria should be

Abuja's top priority in international relations. In his analysis of the Jonathan administration's impact on Nigeria, Uhomooibhi, M. (2012) draws attention to the government's efforts to relaunch Nigeria's foreign policy and the necessity of having workable choices that include creating a strong domestic economic base. Their starting point is attributed to the improvement in domestic demand. For instance, the minister of foreign affairs, Ambassador Olugbenga Ashiru, stated that the typical Nigerian citizen can only support and buy into this new foreign policy focus if they are guaranteed an increase in their level of living.

In his warning to the Jonathan Administration in 2011 on the course for new foreign policy, Gambari stated that the foreign policy must be anchored on domestic economic development and stability, among other things. He also argues that the translation of Nigeria's efforts on foreign soil since 1960 into a reality of development is today's issue for Africa's most populous country. He bases this claim on Nigeria's comprehensive economic agreement, which includes multilateral and bilateral trade platforms. Since President Goodluck Jonathan promised to run an open and inclusive government using technocrats as much as possible, it is unclear if he will follow through on this crucial campaign promise, especially given the list of government appointees, many of whom are seasoned veterans with low ratings for credibility both locally and internationally. Asiwaju and Adetula claimed that the glaring discrepancy between rhetoric and policy in both internal and foreign policy, which is anticipated to persist, will prevent utilizing the same old hands or material in government from easily restoring the faith of the international community in Nigeria. In addition, it may be argued that some foreign policy administrators are not completely aware of the complex relationship between a nation's fortunes and its international standing, particularly in the era of globalization with its well-known CNN, BBC, and Aljazeera effect.

President Jonathan of Abuja instructed the 93 new ambassadors he was hosting at the State House to protect Nigerians who were legally residing and conducting business in the nations to which they had been accredited. He asserted that this should be the ambassador's main responsibility. Nigerians who do not fit into the designated category should nonetheless receive this aid because they should not be left to their fate. No matter what the situation, nations around the world never abandon their citizens. The diplomats, the president added, should, therefore:

Protect the interest of Nigerians Through greater and more efficient Consular support. Diaspora is increasingly shaping the growth and development of Nations. Nigeria, of course, should not be different, more so, as it has Vibrant Diaspora population that needs to be constantly engaged to contribute to national development. (Jonathan, 2012). The missions and embassies, which via their operations employ covert, overt, and subversive ways to promote, maintain, and defend their countries and their citizens in every situation, according to Uhomooibhi, (2012), are the best public relations instruments. He felt that Nigerians should have been doing more. For instance, the Guardian Newspaper editorial reports that Nigerian embassies regard their nationals with suspicion and contempt, labelling many of them as drug dealers or criminals who have no business asking for assistance from embassies. This attitude tends to combine the good with the bad, despite the fact that it is frequently not entirely untrue. As a result, many Nigerians are left without assistance when their embassies are there to help them. Given this situation, it is unlikely that enduring characteristics like corruption, incompetence, impunity, and highhandedness, which have characterized public servant behaviour for almost three decades, would be eliminated suddenly. The fact that a really democratic government in Abuja will pursue a foreign policy guided by national interest and follow through on its promises is undeniable (Asiwaju and Adetula, 2011).

The theory behind the claim that if domestic conditions were favorable enough, foreign policy could be created that would address both internal and exterior problems that had emerged under the Jonathan administration. According to Ajumogobia (2010), democratic governments, in contrast to military dictatorships, must adhere to strict constitutional rules, which in theory hold them accountable to the people for their actions. As a result, democratic governments must constantly be aware of the sentiments and views of the electorate, particularly on issues that they are concerned about or that they perceive as having a direct bearing. This again raises crucial questions concerning the current methods and processes for developing and carrying out the nation's foreign policy, as well as whether earlier policies effectively served its national interests both inside and outside of Africa. He believed that Nigeria's foreign policy needed to be overhauled in order to address the nation's new difficulties as a major player in both African and international politics (This Day Newspaper, 2010) on their lives.

Naturally, a successful niche policy would require a strong national economy operating under a stable democratic system. Of course, it is impossible to overstate how important the economy is to a nation's foreign policy. It is also common knowledge that nations with strong, diversified, and technologically advanced economies also have persuasive foreign policies. As has already been mentioned, the Jonathan administration's analysis of Nigeria's foreign policy revealed that it largely adheres to that of its predecessor and citizen diplomacy, despite attempts to implement a new foreign policy that was quiet and expensive and required significant financial outlays. All of these findings are so profound that the government has learned from experience that they are incompatible with a weak economy. The next section addresses the administration of Goodluck Jonathan's role in Nigeria's foreign policy with regard to regional democracy and diplomacy, economic diplomacy and strategic partnerships, and finally Nigeria's international reputation.

2.4.2. President Muhammadu Buhari's Foreign Policy (2015-2023)

He is regarded as one of the most travelled Nigerian president, visiting over 43 countries of the world, in some cases he travelled more than once to particular countries. Some of his first trips to Europe were his visits to Germany during the G8 Summit and later to the US where he sought for security assistance and increased foreign investment and a promise of increased privatization to enhance foreign business climate (Salau, A. 2016).

According to MrGambari, MrBuhari's foreign policy mindset was to first focus on Nigeria, then its immediate neighbours before paying attention to other countries in the West African sub-region, then Africa and the rest of the world. The following are highlights of the Buhari's foreign policy thrust:

In pursuit of foreign policy based on good neighborliness and security for all, Buhari first official international trip was to Niger and Chad, later to Cameroun, Guinea and Benin Republic to re-invigorate brotherly relations, and to continually seek their support in the war against insurgency in the northeast. Buhari's trips to Nigeria's immediate neighbours led to the revamp of the Multinational Joint Task Force consisting of troops from Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Cameroon aimed at defeating boko haram and restoring stability to the Lake Chad region. The Task Force was initially created in 1994 by the government of Nigeria to curb transborder armed banditry. Nigeria thus, unintentionally co-opted these countries into the war so as to deprive boko haram the platform of using their abodes as safe havens or training bases or areas of planning for attacks against the Nigerian state.

Mr Buhari's government executed controversial projects that appear to favour the neighboring Niger Republic such as the Nigeria-funded rail line being constructed from Nigeria to Niger and the recent donation of vehicles worth over a billion naira to Niger amidst Nigeria's economic challenges. Nigeria under President Buhari's government signed an MoU in 2020 to import fuel from Niger Republic. President Buhari's government was well noted for shutting the country's land borders with ECOWAS countries for over a year to essentially punish its neighbours for allowing massive smuggling of goods into Nigeria which adversely affected all countries. It caused reduced importation in Nigeria leading to scarcity of some commodities resulting in inflationary prices. Several criticisms of the policy were unleashed by ECOWAS, Ghana, and many Nigerians. Bilateral relations between Ghana and Benin Republic suffered setbacks under Buhari due to the border closure. Nigeria was accused of breaching the ECOWAS protocols on free movement, and also the WTO and African Continental Trade protocols.

Still on his threat to the sub-regional integration, Buhari was initially one of the major antagonist of the establishment of the ECOWAS monetary union, the adoption of a single currency in West Africa, called the Eco. The Nigerian government was worried by the adoption of the currency by largely Francophone countries, creating suspicion on its link to France's penetration of all of West Africa using her former colonies. Under Buhari's watch, foreign investment in Nigeria fell by about 213%. Under his watch figures show that foreign investment dropped from \$1.45bn to \$468.91m (Premium Times, 2023). Data from the Nigerian stock exchange showed that many investors withdrew their monies (foreign portfolios investment) running into billions of naira after his re-election. Under Buhari also, the country had experienced serious brain drain due to high levels of unemployment and poor governance decisions, with thousands of human capital

flight in various sectors in especially the health sector where professionals and resourceful persons are everyday migrating to the United Kingdom, the United States, or Canada.

2.5 Empirical Review

Empirical studies reveal that Nigeria's foreign policy is not merely a reactive mechanism to external events but is deeply shaped by a range of domestic variables. Asobie (1990) identifies several critical factors such as the personality, perception, and influence of the Prime Minister or President; the role of foreign policy elites; the structure and orientation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and the professionalism and competence of Foreign Service personnel. These factors are supplemented by the ethnic and religious composition of the country, the configuration of the legislature, and the extent of public opinion. Furthermore, the decentralization of foreign policy formulation across multiple ministries introduces bureaucratic politics into decision-making, while the nature of the political party system and inter-agency relationships also significantly affect the foreign policy process.

During Nigeria's military rule, particularly between 1976 and 1979, decision-making was streamlined, as the absence of checks and balances allowed the Head of State to dictate policy through military fiat. The Supreme Military Council, which was nominally responsible for key decisions, deferred to the seniority of the Head of State, making the decision-making process swift and unilateral. However, this efficiency came at the expense of institutional oversight and accountability. Under democratic governance, as enshrined in the 1999 Constitution, the President's power was theoretically checked by the National Assembly, which was tasked with approving key decisions. Yet, despite this, the President maintained substantial influence over foreign policy formulation.

Instructively, for instance, Olusegun Obasanjo's presidency from 1999 to 2007 exemplified the persistence of executive dominance in Nigeria's foreign policy, despite a return to civilian rule. Obasanjo's foreign policy approach reflected a blend of military decisiveness and personal diplomacy. As Lamido (2012), Obasanjo's Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1999 to 2003, recounts, Obasanjo's extensive experience in international relations, dating back to his military service and his role as Nigeria's Head of State between 1976 and 1979, allowed him to dominate foreign policy. Even as a civilian president, Obasanjo's international stature and overbearing influence limited the role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other stakeholders. His appointment of seasoned diplomats like OluAdeniji as Foreign Minister only underscored his preference for professional input, but ultimately, foreign policy decisions rested largely on his vision.

One of the most notable examples of Obasanjo's unilateralism in foreign policy was his decision in 2003 to grant asylum to Liberia's former warlord and president, Charles Taylor, which drew significant domestic and international criticism. The decision was seen as emblematic of Obasanjo's style, which often sidelined the National Assembly. In another instance, the House of Representatives threatened impeachment proceedings against Obasanjo in 2002 for authorizing military operations in Odi and ZakiBiam without the legislature's consent, actions viewed as unconstitutional. Obasanjo's governance style, particularly in the realm of foreign policy, was often referred to as "militocracy", a civilian presidency characterized by autocratic tendencies more typical of military regimes.

Despite Nigeria's transition to democracy, foreign policy continued to be shaped largely by executive prerogative, with minimal input from the broader public or even the legislature. As

Johnson (1990) argues, foreign policy, even in democratic systems, is often crafted with a degree of secrecy due to concerns over national security, diplomacy, and strategy. In Nigeria, while public participation in domestic governance increased after 1999, the foreign policy sphere remained insulated from popular involvement. Johnson further contends that foreign policy decision-making in democratic states, including Nigeria, often lacks true democratization. Despite pressures from civil society and other interest groups, foreign policy remains an executive-driven process, with public input limited to symbolic consultations.

Wendell (1977), cited in Johnson (1990), reinforces this view, noting that the general public in most democracies, including Nigeria, lacks sufficient interest and knowledge in foreign policy matters to influence decision-making. Instead, the public tends to look to political leaders for guidance. This pattern holds even in the age of globalization, where access to international news and developments has increased through the internet. Despite greater awareness, foreign policy remains a complex, specialized field that the general populace cannot easily influence. In Nigeria, this has translated into a situation where foreign policy is seen as an elite affair, with little engagement from broader society.

The institutional mechanisms for foreign policy formulation in Nigeria have also remained largely unchanged since 1999. While scholars like Akindele (1993) had predicted that the return to democracy would democratize Nigeria's foreign policy process, the reality has been different. The Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Information, and Commerce, alongside the presidency, continue to dominate the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. The National Assembly's role has been limited to vetting ministerial and ambassadorial appointments, with little influence over the actual content or direction of foreign policy. Even the

foreign policy committees of the Senate and House of Representatives play an advisory role at best.

A comparison between Nigeria's foreign policy under military rule (1976–1979) and during Obasanjo's civilian presidency (1999–2007) reveals continuity and change. Under military rule, decision-making was centralized and largely insulated from public opinion or legislative oversight. The principle of Non-Alignment allowed Nigeria to maintain a degree of foreign policy independence in a world polarized between the capitalist West, and the communist East. Nigeria's commitment to the decolonisation of Southern Africa also shaped its foreign policy priorities during this period.

However, the global context had shifted significantly by the time Obasanjo returned to power in 1999. The end of the Cold War and the rise of globalization altered the dynamics of international relations. Economic considerations, particularly the role of International Financial Institutions and the growing influence of free trade became more central to foreign policy. Nigeria, as a debtor nation, faced increasing external pressures that limited its ability to pursue an independent foreign policy. The shift from geopolitics to geo-economics fundamentally altered the global environment within which Nigeria's foreign policy was formulated, creating new challenges for maintaining the kind of autonomy it had enjoyed during the Cold War.

In conclusion, Nigeria's foreign policy has been shaped by a complex interplay of domestic and external factors, with the executive branch, particularly the President, playing a dominant role. Despite the return to democratic governance in 1999, the institutional mechanisms for foreign policy formulation have remained largely unchanged, with foreign policy continuing to be an elite-driven, executive prerogative. The external environment has also shifted, with economic,

military and considerations now taking precedence over ideological concerns that dominated the Cold War era.

2.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW

Theoretical review

Foreign policy analysis generally occurs on two levels: external and internal, with distinct theoretical orientations for each. Theories focused on external factors argue that all states, regardless of internal differences, operate within an international system that constrains their choices. Realists, liberalists, and constructivists are prominent in this orientation.

Realism views the international system as a space where self-interested states constantly compete for power and security. Realists, such as Morgenthau (1948) and Waltz (1979), emphasize the relative nature of power in an anarchic system, where any gain by one state threatens others, leading to inevitable conflicts. This perspective was especially relevant during the Cold War, when bipolar competition forced smaller states into alliances for security at the cost of their autonomy. However, realism's focus on military conflict has been criticized for sidelining economic cooperation (Keohane, 1986).

Worthy of note, that liberalism, in contrast, emphasizes economic interdependence and cooperation as key characteristics shaping foreign policy. As Keohane (1986) and Fukuyama (1989) argue, mutual economic benefits discourage states from resorting to force, fostering cooperation through multilateral regimes that promote wealth. This theory suggests that increasing global trade and financial relationships, driven by globalization, have made states more interdependent. Consequently, regional economic integration emerges as a response to globalization pressures.

Antithetically, **constructivism** offers a different view, emphasizing the role of socially constructed norms that shape state behaviour. These norms, as noted by Walt (1998) and Koslowski & Krotchwil (1994), guide acceptable state actions and develop from shared beliefs, standards, and conventions. For example, international norms evolved to condemn the slave trade and nuclear weapon use, demonstrating how social meanings influence national interests and identities. Constructivism asserts that norms not only regulate but also constitute states' identities, impacting their foreign policy choices.

Contextually, while realism argues that self-interested states prioritize military power and alliances, while weaker states align with stronger ones for security. Liberalism highlights economic interdependence and the importance of cooperative institutions in mitigating conflict. However, constructivism underscores the role of socially constructed norms in guiding states' behaviours on the international stage. In contrast, theories focused on internal factors highlight the role of domestic variables such as political systems, culture, and leadership in shaping foreign policy, in the face of the same external pressures.

These domestic theories argue that states may sometimes make foreign policy choices that do not align with international benefits, prioritizing domestic political goals or dealing with imperfect decision-making processes.

Domestically oriented theories critique the notion that states act as unitary actors, as implied by external theories, and instead emphasize the multiple voices within a state, including public opinion, societal groups, government organizations, and leadership. Domestic influences in foreign policy can range from military organizations to democratic institutions and bureaucracies. Contrary to simplistic assumptions, democratic leaders may not always build

consensus, while authoritarian leaders might enjoy more latitude in policy-making but still face internal constraints. At the core of domestic foreign policy analysis is the personality of leaders. Leadership characteristics become especially important when leaders have significant influence over policy, particularly in ambiguous or complex situations. Leaders' personalities, experiences, decision-making styles, and information management abilities are critical in understanding foreign policy choices (Garba, 1987).

For instance, Margaret Hermann's Leadership Trait Analysis framework is a prominent tool in this field. Hermann identifies seven key traits: belief in ability to control events, conceptual complexity, need for power, distrust of others, in-group bias, self-confidence, and task orientation, each of which influences foreign policy decisions. For instance, leaders with a high belief in their ability to control events are more likely to adopt proactive policies, while those with low conceptual complexity tend to make decisions with limited information and have a more black-and-white worldview. Leaders with a high need for power prefer to maintain control over policy decisions and are less likely to delegate authority.

Hermann's studies demonstrate how personality traits shape foreign policy, with individual leaders influencing the extent to which states challenge international constraints, their openness to information, and their preferences for decision-making structures (Hermann, 2005). Leaders with high need for power, for example, often rely on tight inner circles of advisers and focus on ensuring that policy reflects their preferences, while those with lower need for power are more open to delegation and collaboration. However, external theories like realism, liberalism, and constructivism provide insights into how international structures shape foreign policy, while domestically focused theories highlight the importance of internal factors, especially leadership,

in decision-making. The interaction of external pressures and internal dynamics ultimately determines foreign policy choices.

2.7 The Rational Actor Model of Decision-Making Theory in International Politics:

The Rational Actor Model in Decision-Making Theory posits that leaders make intentional decisions across various levels (Hermann, 2001). At its core, the theory assumes that decision-makers act rationally, though rationality itself is a nuanced concept. It doesn't necessarily imply ethical or moral behavior; rather, rationality refers to actions connected to an actor's goals. For instance, while Hitler's actions were morally reprehensible, one could argue they were rational in terms of achieving his own goals. Similarly, suicide terrorists may be acting rationally, even though most people cannot comprehend their choices. Rational behaviour, in essence, is purposeful: choices are made to achieve desired outcomes aligned with the actor's objectives.

The model suggests that a rational actor develops goals based on self-interest and chooses the course of action that best supports those goals. Allison (1971, p. 30) defines rationality as "consistent, value-maximizing choice within specific constraints." This decision-making process involves identifying alternatives, analyzing options, and selecting the one that yields the most preferred outcome (Allison, 1971). Rational actors, therefore, employ purposive actions, display consistent preferences, and aim to maximize utility (MacDonald, 2003, p. 552).

Foreign policy choices under this model are seen as outcomes of a systematic process: a rational decision-maker, considering the national interest and foreign policy priorities, evaluates the options available, tracing the costs and benefits associated with each. Ultimately, the actor estimates the likely consequences of specific decisions.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 PREAMBLE

In Social Sciences, a study research involves units of a Social problem investigated in depth, and it is designed to bring out the details of a particular Social problem in question and it heavily relies on what has become traditionally accepted as a combination of both quantitative and qualitative evidence that involves concrete data collection. The Research method however, to be adopted for this study will be the qualitative method that involves secondary sources of data.

3.2 RESEARCH METHOD

The research adopted the qualitative method of research in social sciences. This uncovered trends in thoughts and opinions from scholarly views, documented reports of government agencies and from the national dailies. Qualitative data is defined as any non-numerical and unstructured data which may be any verbatim or text-based feedback such as reviews, open-ended responses in surveys, complaints, textual reports, interpretations of reports, chat messages, customer interviews, case notes or social media posts. In simple terms, these are data representing information and concepts that are not represented by numbers. If for instance, there were a group of people in a room, qualitative data could describe how they feel, what they look like, what clothes they are wearing, or the motivations of why they are here, whereas quantitative data about the same group may include the number of people in the group, their age, or the temperature in the room. But the data for this research would strictly be qualitative data.

Qualitative research then, is the collecting and analyzing non-numerical data (e.g., text, video, or audio) to understand concepts, opinions, or experiences, including understanding their attitudes, beliefs, and motivation. It can be used to gather in-depth insights into a problem or generate new ideas for research.

3.3 SOURCES OF RESEARCH DATA

Secondary data refers to data that is collected by someone other than the primary user. Common sources of secondary data for social science include censuses, information collected by government departments, organizational records and data that was originally collected for other research purposes. The secondary data collection for this research was largely from materials that includes online articles, governmental reports, magazines, newspaper articles, special reports and bulletins, and government blogs etc. Also, scholarly publications of those who have written extensively on issues relating to the research topic would make up part of the data sources

3.4 METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

The Method of the secondary data collection was document-study approach. This secondary data was collected from studies using the internet for most of the online sources including information from government reports and the National dailies and documents from the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.

3.5 METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

The method of data analysis adopted for the study is thematic analysis which is used for analysing qualitative data in social research. Thematic analysis is one of the most common forms of analysis within qualitative research. It emphasizes identifying, analysing and interpreting patterns of meaning within qualitative data. With this analysis, you can look at qualitative data in

a certain way. It is usually used to describe a text, like an interview or a set of transcripts, or reports. It focuses on examining themes or patterns of meaning within data. Thematic analysis is thus, a qualitative data analysis method that involves reading through a data set (such as transcripts from reports, or in depth interviews, or focus groups), and identifying patterns in meaning across the data to derive themes.

A theme emerges or is built when related findings appear to be meaningful and there are multiple occurrences. Thematic analysis can be used by anyone to transform and organize open-ended responses, analyze online reviews, and other qualitative data into significant themes. Thematic analysis coding is a method that aids in categorizing data extracts and deriving themes and patterns for qualitative analysis, facilitating the identification of themes revolving around a particular concept or phenomenon in the social sciences. The 5 stages of thematic analysis are: Step 1: Become familiar with the data, Step 2: Generate initial codes, Step 3: Search for themes, Step 4: Review themes, Step 5: Define themes, Step 6: Write-up.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 President Bola Ahmed Tinubu (2023) Foreign Policy

In his inaugural address, President Bola Ahmed Tinubu highlighted the situation in Sudan and stated: "my primary foreign policy objective must be the peace and stability of the West African sub-region and the African continent. We shall work with ECOWAS, the AU, and willing partners in the international community to end extant conflicts and resolve new ones. As we contain threats to peace, we shall also retool our foreign policy to more actively lead the regional and continental quest for collective prosperity."

While conflicts and coups can undermine regional stability, it's important to compare these external threats to the internal security challenges facing Nigeria. Though it is crucial not to ignore African issues, Nigeria itself needs significant internal reforms. Political theory suggests that "the state is an end in itself," meaning that it must first ensure its own stability before engaging in broader geopolitical matters.

Barely two months into his tenure, President Tinubu emerged as the Chairman of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Addressing the community, he warned that the threat to peace in the West African sub-region had reached alarming levels, with terrorism and a rising pattern of military takeovers as major contributors. He emphasized that these threats undermine democracy. As reported by Elumoye (2023), Tinubu condemned the emerging trend of coups in West Africa, where soldiers overturn the people's mandate through force, stating:

"We must stand firm on democracy. There is no governance, freedom, and rule of law without democracy. We will not accept coup after coup in West Africa again. Democracy is very difficult to manage but it is the best form of government." However, Nigerian foreign policymakers must be cautious of the rampant abuse of democratic principles within the country. From 29 May 2023, a new foreign policy the change for a new foreign policy began with the election of Bola Ahmed Tinubu as new president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. President Bola Tinubu came into office saying his primary foreign policy objective is to promote the best possible outcomes for Nigeria in all engagements with other nations and restore peace and stability in the West African sub-region and the African continent. Tinubu no doubt, sounded the desire for a continued afrocentric policy that had been germane to several past administrations in their pursuance of postulating Nigeria as the 'Giant of Africa' destined to play a 'Big Brother' role in the region.

In his inaugural speech, MrTinubu promised to retool Nigeria's foreign policy to more actively lead the regional and continental quest for collective prosperity. National and regional prosperity thus, are the hallmark of the Tinubu's foreign policy objectives. But the first challenge for the new president would be finding himself in a complex situation of electoral ligations both involving attestations from internal and external frontiers. Tinubu no doubt, battled for legitimacy not only at home but also in the international space. Like President Buhari, Tinubu also begun a foreign policy of shuttle diplomacy to probably gain global acceptability in the face of the increasing legitimacy crisis by a vast number of Nigerians at home and in the diaspora. But respite came for the president after the legal battles were over, and the environment was thus, set for domestic and foreign policy drive to continue.

On August 21st, 2023, Nigeria's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Yusuf Tuggar, said President Tinubu's foreign policy, which would be guided by 4-Ds: Development, Democracy, Demography, and Diaspora, now popularly referred to as the '4D-doctrine' or the '4D-diplomacy' etc. The 4-Ds Diplomacy was unveiled in Abuja on the first day in office of the Minister. And true enough, the 4-Ds are important critical issues in international relations. The 4D-doctrine is anchored on "democracy, developments, demography and diaspora". The 4-Ds have been conceptualised to be means rather than as strategic objectives. They are indeed diplomatic tools. As the Foreign Minister put it, 'through this doctrine centred on development, democracy, demography and Diaspora, we hope to find modern solutions to address complex contemporary problems. This statement clearly shows that the 4-Ds are tools of diplomacy (Premium Times, 2024).

4.1.1D Democracy

Nigeria is Africa's largest democracy, and projecting Nigeria to the world as champions of democracy, not just at home but abroad as well, and intervene decisively where necessary to halt the emerging "domino effect" of coup d'états in the region. According to HM Tuggar, this pillar also means highlighting our efforts at restoring peace and stability to countries like Sierra Leone and Liberia a generation ago, at a time when superpowers like the USA were struggling in Somalia and other places. In January 2017, as the ECOWAS-designated mediator for the Gambia, president Buahari instructed Nigerian Chief of defense staff to collaborate with his counterparts in four countries and mobilized a Nigerian-led military for to Banjul. The visible threat of Nigerian air power was enough to convince the Gambian dictator, YahyaJammeh to

step down. In summary, Nigeria has to fully play its role as a “proactive democracy” that helps to guarantee the peace, security and stability of West Africa and Africa.

4.1.2D Demography

By 2050, Nigeria is expected to become the 3rd most populous country in the world, after India and China. This demographic reality demands that Nigeria positions itself alongside other populous nations such as China, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Brazil, Russia, Bangladesh, and the USA. This growing population should fuel Nigeria's push for membership in influential groupings like the G20. As Africa's largest economy and most populous nation, Nigeria's exclusion from the G20 seems unjustifiable.

However, Nigeria faces a critical juncture: it can either harness its "demographic dividend" for positive growth or risk a "demographic bomb" with potentially far-reaching consequences. The outcome depends on the path Nigeria chooses to take.

4.1. 3 D DIASPORA

According to the Nigerian Minister of Foreign Affairs, a country's diaspora plays a crucial role in shaping its global reputation. A disengaged or dissatisfied diaspora often transmits negative perceptions, while an engaged and well-supported diaspora can significantly enhance a country's global image. By improving the quality of services such as passport applications and consular support, Nigeria can strengthen its relationship with the diaspora, which would yield substantial national branding benefits.

Nigeria should strategically view its diaspora as "ambassadors" of the country's potential, similar to how the Israeli diaspora champions Israel's interests. The Minister also emphasizes the need to accept Nigeria's status as an exporter of labor and to develop policies that turn this reality into a national asset, rather than lamenting brain drain. For example, countries like the Philippines have maximized the benefits of labor export, and Nigeria can do the same by creating strategies aligned with its national interests.

Reforms to the 36-year-old Technical Aid Corps (TAC) program—an underappreciated soft-power tool modeled after the U.S. Peace Corps—are also part of this strategy. In the past eight years, Nigeria has sent over 2,500 TAC volunteers to African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) nations, fully funded by Nigeria. Additionally, the Nigerians in Diaspora Commission (NiDCOM), established in 2019, has been instrumental in engaging the diaspora and working closely with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. NiDCOM has introduced a National Diaspora Policy, is developing a Nigerian Diaspora Investment Trust Fund (NDITF), and helped establish July 25 as National Diaspora Day.

4.1.4 D—DEVELOPMENT

The Minister of Foreign Affairs highlights foreign policy as a strategic tool for attracting investments into Nigeria's infrastructure and driving overall development through targeted partnerships and collaborations. This approach emphasizes building alliances with a broad range of stakeholders both local and international, including governments and the private sector to advance the goal of sustainable socio-economic development. However, the first time Nigeria's foreign policy will slightly or sharply deviate from its Afrocentric FP, thus giving recognition to

Nigerian diaspora as a key component of foreign policy, leveraging on their expertise and resources unlike previous administration that neglected that segment.

4.2 Thematic Analysis and Findings

This chapter presents the themes from the thematic data analysis. To Guest, MacQueen, and Namey (2012) and Boyatzis (1998), thematic analysis entails the identification and utilization of themes. Researchers use this technique to develop a theory, premise on factual evidence. This method of data analysis offers a well-structured and organised interpretation of findings, thus proving a clear understanding of the significant importance President Bola Ahmed Tinubu Foreign Policy objectives. The rationale is to reveal the possible realisation of the 4D-doctrines of the foreign policy. The study is driven by five essential objectives: to examine the principles of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's foreign policy doctrine; to determine if Nigeria can be a credible advocate of electoral integrity a requisite for running a legitimate government; to identify the progress President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's administration has made with other nations in the realisation of his foreign policy objectives on development, to examine the challenges in the realisation of President Bola Tinubu's foreign policy drive, and to identify the extent President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's foreign policy can address Nigeria's domestic concerns.

The data used in this analysis were carefully selected to broaden the significant between the 4D doctrine of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's foreign policy and the extend the foreign policy can address Nigeria's domestic concerns. However, a collection of eleven (11) Newspaper articles, and texts were collected and collated to provide a rich groundwork for the study.

1. **Research question 1:** What are the components of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's foreign policy doctrine?

The following themes address the above question

Theme 1: Democracy

Theme 2: Development

Theme 3: Demography

Theme 4 Diaspora

President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's foreign policy doctrine, referred to as the "Tinubu 4D Doctrine," is centered around four key elements: democracy, development, demography, and diaspora. Here's a thematic analysis of how various Nigerian newspapers cover these components:

4.3 Democracy

From the findings made, Tinubu's administration places a strong emphasis on consolidating democratic gains both within Nigeria and across Africa. His foreign policy aims to encourage democratic governance and address the unconstitutional changes in government seen in some African nations. This aligns with Nigeria's historical stance on promoting democracy and stability on the continent. Newspapers like Premium Times highlight how this aspect of Tinubu's doctrine focuses on proactive diplomacy to reverse negative trends and restore peace (Premium Times Nigeria, May 29, 2024 & Premium Times Nigeria April 3, 2024 and This Day, June 18, 2024)

4.4 Development

Economic development is a core component, with a focus on reducing dependency and fostering sustainable growth through initiatives like the Africa Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA). This aspect is designed to enhance trade and investment, not just for Nigeria but for Africa as a whole. The doctrine stresses the importance of leveraging economic cooperation to facilitate development. Coverage in Premium Times discusses how Nigeria's foreign policy under Tinubu aims to boost trade and investment, positioning the country as a leader in Africa's economic integration (Premium Times Nigeria, May, 29 2024&Premium Times April 3, 2024).

4.5 Demography

Recognizing Nigeria's large and youthful population, Tinubu's foreign policy aims to harness this demographic advantage for national development. The emphasis is on utilizing the talents and skills of Nigeria's youth to drive economic and social progress. Newspapers like Premium Times detail how this demographic focus is intended to mobilize human capital resources effectively, thus contributing to the country's development goals (Premium Times Nigeria, May 29, 2024 &Premium Times Nigeria April 3, 2024 and This Day, June 18, 2024)

4.6 Diaspora

The Nigerian diaspora plays a significant role in Tinubu's foreign policy, particularly through their substantial remittances, which are a crucial source of economic growth. The policy seeks to engage the diaspora community more actively, encouraging them to invest in Nigeria and support its development agenda. Premium Times highlights how the diaspora is viewed as a catalyst for development and a vital component of Nigeria's international image and investment

strategy (Premium Times Nigeria, May 29, 2024 & Premium Times Nigeria April 3, 2024 and This Day, June 18, 2024, The Guardian, 2024).

Research question 2: What progress has the administration of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu made with other nations in the realisation of his foreign policy on development?

Theme 1: 4D Doctrine

Theme 2: Economic Initiatives and Partnerships

Theme 3: Infrastructure Development

Theme 4: Bilateral and Multilateral Engagement

Theme 5: Diaspora Engagement

The administration of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu has made notable progress in advancing its foreign policy, particularly in the area of development. This can be thematically analyzed through several key initiatives and engagements with other nations:

4.7 1.4D Doctrine: Tinubu's foreign policy is anchored on the "4D Doctrine," which focuses on democracy, development, demography, and diaspora. The development component emphasizes enhancing Nigeria's and Africa's development to break the cycle of dependency and leverage opportunities presented by the Africa Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) to boost trade and investment (Premium Times Nigeria, May 29, 2024 & Premium Times Nigeria April 3, 2024 and This Day, June 18, 2024).

4.7.2 .Economic Initiatives and Partnerships: Tinubu's administration has sought to attract long-term local and foreign investments by creating a conducive business environment. This includes reforms in the Central Bank and extensive tax and fiscal reforms aimed at reducing the burden on businesses. Significant investment commitments, such as the \$30 billion across various sectors, have been secured through these efforts (Premium Times Nigeria, May 29, 2024 & Premium Times Nigeria April 3, 2024; This Day, June 18, 2024 and Business Day, December 25, 2023).

4.7.3. Infrastructure Development: The establishment of the Renewed Hope Infrastructure Development Fund (RHIDF) is a critical initiative aimed at mobilizing billions of dollars for infrastructure projects, including roads, highways, airports, and power plants. This effort is part of a broader strategy to reshape Nigeria's landscape and improve its global competitiveness (Premium Times Nigeria, May 29, 2024 & Premium Times Nigeria April 3, 2024; This Day, June 18, 2024 and Business Day, December 25, 2023)

4.7.4. Bilateral and Multilateral Engagements: Tinubu has actively engaged with other nations and international organizations to promote Nigeria's development goals. His administration's participation in forums like the G-20 meeting and the UN General Assembly has been pivotal in discussing and promoting these objectives. Additionally, partnerships with countries like Saudi Arabia have been highlighted as examples of his proactive diplomacy (Premium Times Nigeria, May 29, 2024 & Premium Times Nigeria April 3, 2024; and Business Day, December 25, 2023)

4.7.5. Diaspora Engagement: Recognizing the significant role of the Nigerian diaspora, Tinubu's foreign policy includes leveraging the diaspora's contributions to Nigeria's economic growth through remittances and investments. This aspect of the policy underscores the

administration's commitment to harnessing the potential of its human capital resources globally (Premium Times Nigeria, May 29, 2024 & Premium Times Nigeria April 3, 2024; This Day, June 18, 2024)

Overall, President Tinubu's administration has made strides in its foreign policy on development by focusing on creating a favorable investment climate, engaging in strategic infrastructure projects, and fostering international partnerships. These efforts are aimed at positioning Nigeria as a key player in regional and global economic development.

Research question 3: What are the challenges in the realisation of President Bola Tinubu's foreign policy drive?

Theme 1: Economic Challenges

Theme 2: Political and Governance Issues

Theme 3: Security Concerns

Theme 4: Implementation of the 4D Doctrine

Theme 5: Diplomatic Relations

Analyzing the challenges in realizing President Bola Tinubu's foreign policy drive reveals a multifaceted landscape, marked by internal and external hurdles.

4.8.1 Economic Challenges

A significant obstacle is Nigeria's ongoing economic struggles, including high inflation, substantial debt, and a devalued currency. The Tinubu administration has pursued extensive

borrowing, with loans from various international bodies such as the World Bank and African Development Bank. Despite these efforts, fiscal mismanagement and a precarious economic environment undermine the confidence of foreign investors, impeding the administration's ability to effectively attract sustainable foreign investment (Premium Times Nigeria, May 29, 2024 & Premium Times Nigeria April 3, 2024; This Day, June 18, 2024 and Vanguard December 25, 2023)

4.8.2 Political and Governance Issues

Internally, political instability and governance issues also pose significant challenges. Corruption, inefficient bureaucracy, and policy inconsistencies create an environment of uncertainty. These problems are further exacerbated by regional instability within West Africa, with coups and political unrest in neighboring countries influencing Nigeria's ability to project stability and leadership on the continent (Premium Times Nigeria, May 29, 2024 & Premium Times Nigeria April 3, 2024; This Day, June 18, 2024 and Vanguard, December 25, 2023)

4.8.3 Security Concerns

Nigeria's security situation is another critical barrier. Persistent issues with terrorism, insurgency, and banditry, particularly in the northern regions, detract from the country's image as a stable and secure investment destination. These security challenges also strain diplomatic relations and divert attention from foreign policy objectives towards domestic crisis management (Premium Times Nigeria, May 29, 2024 & Premium Times Nigeria April 3, 2024; This Day, June 18, 2024; and Global Sentinel October 4, 2023)

4.8.4 Implementation of the 4D Doctrine

The broad scope of Tinubu's 4D doctrine—focusing on democracy, development, demography, and diaspora—has been critiqued for its lack of specificity and practical implementation strategies. While the doctrine aims to leverage Nigeria's demographic strengths and diaspora connections, the overarching and somewhat ambiguous nature of these goals makes it difficult to align them with tangible foreign policy actions. Additionally, the ambitious plans often clash with the country's limited domestic power capabilities and resources (Premium Times Nigeria, May 29, 2024 & Premium Times Nigeria April 3, 2024; This Day, June 18, 2024 and Vanguard, December 25, 2023).

4.8.5 Diplomatic Relations

Lastly, while President Tinubu has actively engaged in diplomatic efforts, traveling to various countries to foster economic and strategic partnerships, the tangible results of these engagements are yet to be fully realized. The effectiveness of these diplomatic missions is often hampered by Nigeria's internal challenges, making it difficult to convert these high-level engagements into substantial, long-term benefits for the country (Premium Times Nigeria, May 29, 2024 & Premium Times Nigeria April 3, 2024; This Day, June 18, 2024; Vanguard, December 25, 2023 and Global Sentinel October 4, 2023).

In summary, the realization of President Bola Tinubu's foreign policy ambitions is hindered by a complex array of economic, political, security, and strategic challenges. Addressing these issues requires not only robust policy measures but also sustained efforts to stabilize and reform domestic conditions.

Research question 4: To what extent can President Bola Tinubu's foreign policy address Nigeria's domestic concerns?

Theme 1: Economic Growth and Investment

Theme 2: Infrastructure Development

Theme 3: Security and Stability

Theme 4: Enhancing Democratic Governance

Theme 5: Leveraging Demographic and Diaspora Strengths

President Bola Tinubu's foreign policy has the potential to address several of Nigeria's domestic concerns, though its effectiveness will depend on various factors, including the successful implementation of specific initiatives and overcoming inherent challenges.

4.9.1 Economic Growth and Investment

Potential Impact: Tinubu's foreign policy prioritizes economic diplomacy to attract foreign investments. By fostering international partnerships and securing investment deals, the administration aims to stimulate economic growth and create jobs, addressing high unemployment and economic instability (Premium Times Nigeria, May 29, 2024 & Premium Times Nigeria April 3, 2024; This Day, June 18, 2024; and Global Sentinel October 4, 2023).

4.9.2 Infrastructure Development

Potential Impact: Through initiatives like the Renewed Hope Infrastructure Development Fund (RHIDF), Tinubu's administration aims to mobilize funds for critical infrastructure projects. This can lead to improved transportation networks, power supply, and other essential services, thereby enhancing overall economic productivity and quality of life for Nigerians Premium Times Nigeria, May 29, 2024 &Premium Times Nigeria April 3, 2024; This Day, June 18, 2024; Vanguard, December 25, 2023; and Global Sentinel October 4, 2023).

4.9.3 Security and Stability

Potential Impact: By engaging in regional diplomacy and fostering cooperation with neighboring countries, Tinubu's foreign policy seeks to address security challenges such as terrorism, insurgency, and banditry. Improved regional stability can contribute to a more secure domestic environment, facilitating economic and social development Premium Times Nigeria, May 29, 2024 &Premium Times Nigeria April 3, 2024; This Day, June 18, 2024; Vanguard, December 25, 2023 and Global Sentinel October 4, 2023).

4.9.4 Enhancing Democratic Governance

Potential Impact: Tinubu's focus on promoting democracy aligns with efforts to strengthen democratic institutions within Nigeria. By advocating for democratic norms regionally, his administration can also push for domestic reforms that enhance transparency, accountability, and the rule of law (Premium Times Nigeria, May 29, 2024 &Premium Times Nigeria April 3, 2024; This Day, June 18, 2024; Vanguard, December 25, 2023 and Global Sentinel October 4, 2023).

4.9.5 Leveraging Demographic and Diaspora Strengths

Potential Impact: Tinubu's policy aims to harness the potential of Nigeria's large and youthful population and engage the diaspora more effectively. This can lead to increased remittances, skill transfer, and investment, contributing to national development (Premium Times Nigeria, May 29, 2024 & Premium Times Nigeria April 3, 2024; This Day, June 18, 2024; Vanguard, December 25, 2023 and Global Sentinel October 4, 2023).

While President Bola Tinubu's foreign policy has the potential to address various domestic concerns in Nigeria, its success depends on the effective implementation of policies, overcoming significant economic and security challenges, and ensuring that international engagements translate into tangible domestic benefits. Addressing these domestic concerns requires a holistic approach that integrates foreign policy with robust internal reforms and governance improvements.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 SUMMARY

The prime focus of the study is an assessment of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's Foreign Policy Objectives, to see how these foreign policy objectives can adequately address Nigeria's domestic concerns. Five basic research questions were thematically analysed within the purview of the objectives of the study. The designed Newspaper articles of the study were composed of eleven popular Newspapers in Nigeria and the justification is that these were the only Newspaper that adequately covered President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's foreign policy objectives in a way that can be thematically analysed. The rationale for this selected target Newspapers is as a result of their vast experience and knowledgeable evaluation and assessment on issues of foreign policy and public policy over the decades. The study designed five research questions. The Newspapers selected in the study includes: The Guardian, Premium Times, This Day, PM News, Business Day, Daily Trust, Vanguard, Leadership, Global Sentinel, and the Punch Newspaper.

Worthy of mentioning, the study found that many articles emphasize the challenges Nigeria faces in ensuring electoral integrity. Issues such as electoral fraud, violence, and corruption have historically plagued the country's elections. For instance, Premium Times highlights the significant costs associated with maintaining election integrity, including the implementation of technology to prevent fraud and the administrative expenses involved. Moreover, the prevalence of "electoral kleptocracy," where courts rather than voters often determine election outcomes, undermines public trust in the electoral process (Premium Times Nigeria).

The study also found that several newspapers, including Premium Times, discuss the importance of legal and institutional reforms to improve electoral integrity. The introduction of the Electoral Act 2022, which aims to enhance transparency through measures like electronic transmission of results, is seen as a positive step. However, the effectiveness of these reforms depends on their implementation and the political will to uphold them (Premium Times Nigeria).

Again, the adoption of technology in elections, such as biometric verification and electronic voting systems, has been promoted as a way to enhance the credibility of Nigeria's electoral process. Despite these advancements, issues with the practical deployment of such technologies persist, including technical failures and resistance from political actors who benefit from the status quo (Premium Times Opinion) (Premium Times Nigeria).

While the study found that the role of civil society organizations and international observers in promoting electoral integrity is critical in monitoring elections, advocating for reforms, and holding authorities accountable. Newspapers like Premium Times underscore the impact of civil society initiatives in pushing for greater transparency and fairness in elections (Premium Times Nigeria). The commitment of the Nigerian government to uphold electoral integrity is crucial. President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's administration has expressed a commitment to enhancing democratic processes and ensuring fair elections. His stance on promoting democracy and development as part of Nigeria's foreign policy suggests an acknowledgment of the need for credible elections as a foundation for legitimate governance remains fundamentally germane. (Premium Times Nigeria) (Premium Times Nigeria).

4.2 CONCLUSION

This study examined the 4D foreign policy objectives of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu driven by how to address Nigeria's domestic concerns. However, in spite of the efforts shown by the administration in its relations with other nation states and foreign trips to woo investors over, Nigeria's domestic concerns continue to beg for attention and solutions. The fact however, that the success of this foreign policy strategy is contingent on creating a favourable investment climate domestically, which requires tackling issues such as government corruption, policy inconsistency, and bureaucratic inefficiencies. Additionally, the ongoing fiscal crisis and substantial national debt could deter potential investors despite diplomatic efforts.

Again, the persistent internal security issues and regional instability has the potency to undermine President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's foreign policy objectives. The effectiveness of diplomatic engagements in producing tangible security improvements is often limited by the complexity of these challenges and the need for sustained and coordinated action.

More also, the gulf between policy rhetoric and implementation poses a significant challenge. Ensuring that democratic principles are upheld is incumbent on addressing entrenched political corruption and resistance from vested interests within the country. Furthermore, in maximizing the benefits from the diaspora and youth demographics requires creating conducive conditions at home, such as better education, employment opportunities, and investment avenues. Without these foundational elements, the impact of diaspora engagement might be limited.

While President Bola Tinubu's foreign policy has the potential to address various domestic concerns in Nigeria, its success depends on the effective implementation of policies, overcoming significant economic and security challenges, and ensuring that international engagements

translate into tangible domestic benefits. Addressing these domestic concerns requires a holistic approach that integrates foreign policy with robust internal reforms and governance improvements.

4.3 RECOMMENDATION

The Recommendations on President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's Foreign Policy of 4-Ds include the following:

1. Clarify the Framework of 4-Ds

The 4-Ds (Development, Democracy, Demography, and Diaspora) should be clearly defined and positioned within Nigeria's broader foreign policy framework. It is crucial to establish whether these elements are to be considered as standalone doctrines, diplomatic techniques, or specific agenda items.

2. Integration with Existing Foreign Policy Principles

The 4-Ds should be integrated with Nigeria's established foreign policy principles, such as concentricism, non-alignment, and Africa as the centerpiece. This ensures consistency and coherence in Nigeria's foreign policy.

3. Develop Specific Objectives for Each 'D'

For each of the 4-Ds, specific and measurable objectives should be set. For example:

- i. Development: Identify target areas for international development cooperation and economic partnerships.
- ii. Democracy: Promote democratic governance and human rights both domestically and within the region.
- iii. Demography: Implement policies for sustainable population growth and manpower development.

- iv. Diaspora: Engage the Nigerian diaspora in national development and leverage their skills and resources.

4. Engage Stakeholders in Policy Formulation

Engage a wide range of stakeholders, including academics, policymakers, civil society organizations, and diaspora communities, in the formulation and implementation of the 4-Ds. This will ensure a more inclusive and effective policy.

5. Utilize Soft Power Tools

Leverage Nigeria's cultural assets, such as Nollywood, music, and sports, to enhance its international image. Promote Nigeria's cultural heritage through international cultural exchanges, media campaigns, and global events.

6. Enhance Public Diplomacy Efforts

Strengthen public diplomacy efforts by increasing Nigeria's presence in international forums, enhancing communication strategies, and building networks with foreign publics. Utilize digital diplomacy to reach wider audiences and convey Nigeria's messages effectively.

7. Strengthen Institutional Capacities

Build the capacities of institutions responsible for implementing the 4-Ds. This includes the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nigerian embassies and consulates, and relevant government agencies. Ensure they have the resources and expertise needed to execute the policy effectively.

8. Monitor and Evaluate Progress

Establish mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating the progress of the 4-Ds. Regular assessments and feedback loops will help in adjusting strategies and ensuring the effectiveness of the policy.

9. Promote Regional Cooperation

Promote regional cooperation within West Africa and the African continent. Nigeria should take a leadership role in regional initiatives that align with the 4-Ds, such as economic integration, democratic governance, and population management.

10. Leverage International Partnerships

Forge strategic partnerships with international organizations, such as the United Nations, African Union, and ECOWAS, to support the 4-Ds. Collaborate on initiatives that align with Nigeria's foreign policy goals and leverage international support for national development.

By addressing these recommendations, Nigeria can effectively operationalize the 4-Ds, enhancing its foreign policy and contributing to national development and global influence.

CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

This research on President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's Foreign Policy Objectives contributes to knowledge in several ways:

- a. **Evaluation of the 4-D Framework:** The study adds depth to the understanding of the 4-D foreign policy framework (Development, Democracy, Demography, and Diaspora), especially in how it aligns with Nigeria's domestic needs. By analyzing how each "D" can address specific challenges, it provides insights into the coherence and effectiveness of the strategy.
- b. **Foreign Policy and Domestic Linkages:** The research emphasizes the importance of aligning foreign policy with domestic concerns, such as governance, economic stability, and security. It shows how domestic factors (corruption, policy inconsistency, and security issues) can impact foreign relations and investment opportunities, offering a nuanced view of the interaction between international diplomacy and internal reforms.
- c. **Media and Public Policy Assessment:** The use of newspapers to analyze foreign policy offers a methodological contribution, demonstrating how media discourse can serve as a lens to evaluate governmental strategies. It highlights the role of media in shaping public understanding of policy and how foreign policy decisions are perceived by domestic audiences.
- d. **Electoral Integrity and Governance:** Through thematic analysis of newspaper coverage, the study delves into the ongoing issues of electoral integrity in Nigeria. It documents the significance of technological innovations and institutional reforms in fostering credible elections, contributing to discussions on governance and democratic processes in Nigeria.

- e. **Soft Power and Diaspora Engagement:** By advocating for soft power tools like Nollywood, music, and sports, the research underscores the untapped potential of Nigeria's cultural influence in its foreign policy. Additionally, the focus on diaspora engagement provides a blueprint for how Nigeria can harness the skills and resources of its global citizens for national development.

In conclusion, the study enriches foreign policy literature by linking Nigeria's international objectives with domestic reforms, offering practical recommendations for the effective operationalization of the 4-D framework, and showcasing the role of soft power and media in foreign diplomacy from the prism of investigative to research to postulative framework.

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Appendix 1



President Macron and wife receive President Tinubu in France (photos/video)

Appendix 2





President Tinubu's High-Level Visit and Engagements with the Nigerian Diaspora in France – Friends of Nigeria

Appendix 3



President Tinubu at Paris Summit

Appendix 4



Paris Outing with President Tinubu

Appendix 5



Tinubu Meets US President Joe Biden, Scholz, Yeol, Modi

Appendix



[Tinubu Arrives UAE, To Hold Bilateral Meeting](#)

Appendix



[United Arab Emirates Lifts Visa Ban On Nigerian Travellers](#)

Appendix



Appendix



Appendix



Tinubu Arrives In Riyadh For Saudi-Africa Summit

Appendix



Tinubu to Saudi investors: All bottlenecks will be crushed - Daily Trust

Appendix



Tinubu woos Saudi investors, says no hindrance to your funds

Appendix



A Momentum For Investment: Tinubu Opens New Chapter In Nigeria-Saudi Partnership



**Pres. Bola Tinubu arrives Riyadh,
Saudi Arabia, to attend the Saudi-
Africa Summit**



President Tinubu Embarks on Diplomatic Visit to Qatar to Strengthen Bilateral Ties

Appendix



[Nigeria is open for business," Tinubu tells foreign investors in Qatar -](#)

Appendix



[President Tinubu's Qatar trip - Daily Trust](#)



The seven fruits of President Tinubu's Qatar trip

Appendix



[President Bola Tinubu Meets With The Emir Of Qatar. - Politics - Nigeria](#)

Appendix



Appendix



Appendix



Appendix



Appendix



Appendix



[Details Of Tinubu's Meeting With US Envoy, Molly Phee Emerges - New Telegraph](#)

Appendix



Appendix



[Nigeria-Qatar gas cooperation 'll pave way for global clean-energy transition – Tuggar — Daily Nigerian](#)



Appendix



Nigeria Minister of Foreign Affairs Meets the State of Qatar Ambassador

Abuja, Media & Communication Dept., February 25

HE Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria Yusuf Maitama Tuggar met with HE Ambassador of the State of Qatar to Nigeria Dr. Ali bin Ghanem Al Hajri.

The meeting dealt with discussing bilateral relations between the two countries.

 MoFa Qatar_En  MoFa Qatar  MoFa Qatar  www.mofa.gov.qa

إدارة الإعلام والاتصال
Media & Communication Department

وزارة الخارجية
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
مجلسة الخارجية - دولة قطر



Appendix



[Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nigeria](#)

Appendix



[Secretary Antony J. Blinken and Nigerian Foreign Minister Yusuf Maitama Tuggar at a Joint Press - United States Department of State](#)

Appendix



[The United States and Nigeria: Partnering for Prosperity](#)

Appendix



Appendix



[Nigeria single-minded since 1960; won't back West against Russia: Tuggar](#)

Appendix



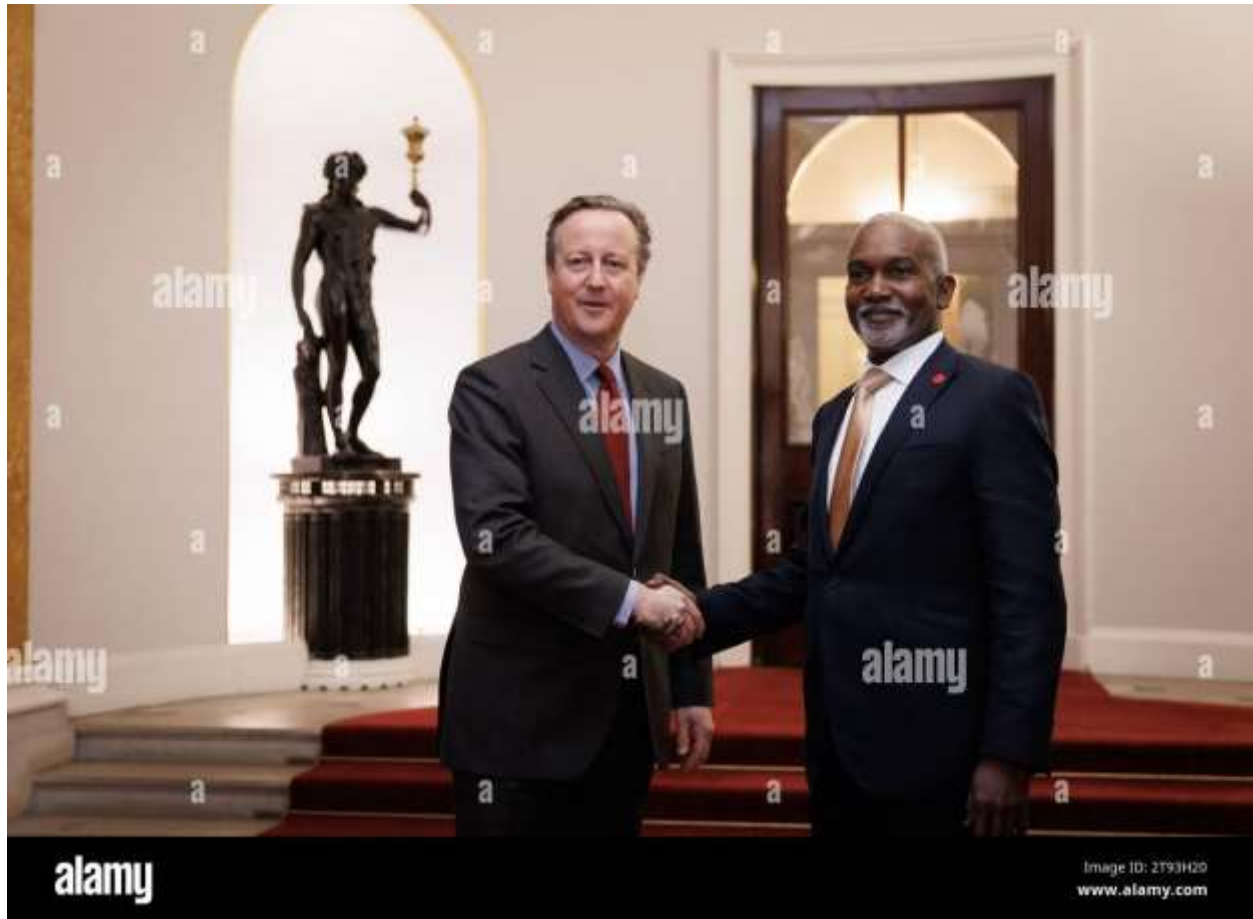
[Ambassador Yusuf Tuggar welcomed in Bavaria - Diplomat magazine](#)

Appendix



www.azatty.com - P7G4MA

Appendix



[Foreign Secretary Lord David Cameron \(left\) greets the Nigerian Foreign Minister of Yusuf Tuggar, as he welcomes Arab and Islamic Leaders at Lancaster House, London. Picture date: Wednesday November 22, 2023 Stock](#)