

**AN ASSESSMENT OF PRESIDENT MUHAMMADU BUHARI'S FOREIGN POLICY
(2015-2022)**

BY

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BEING A PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND STRATEGIC STUDIES, IGBINEDION UNIVERSITY OKADA, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF B.SC DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND STRATEGIC STUDIES

SUPERVISOR: DR. EMEKA AGBA

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CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this project was carried out by **BABAYEMI, FIYINFOLUWA PRECIOUS** with the matriculation number 20/023125 and was supervised by DR. Emeka Agba of Igbinedion University Okada, in partial fulfillment of the award of bachelor's degree (B.SC) in International Relations and Strategic Studies.

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I, **BABAYEMI FIYINFOLUWA PRECIOUS**, hereby declare that this research project titled: **AN ASSESSMENT OF PRESIDENT MUHAMMADU BUHARI'S FOREIGN POLICY (2015-2023)** is based on original research carried out by me. This work has not been submitted previously for the award of any degree, diploma, or certificate anywhere.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to God Almighty who has seen me through till the completion of my undergraduate program, and to my parents Mr. and Mrs Babayemi for their endless support and prayers, my uncle, my siblings and finally to Dr. Princess Rosemary Osula-atu for being a strong pillar of support and for making this a dream come true.

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CHAPTER THREE: HISTORY OF NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

3.0	Sir Abubakar Balewa Administration (1960-1966)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27
3.1	Yakubu Gowon Foreign Policy (1966-1975)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28
3.2	Olusegun Obasanjo Foreign Policy (1976-1979)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30
3.3	Shehu Shagari Foreign Policy (1979-1983)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31
3.4	Muhammadu Buhari Foreign Policy (1983-1985)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32
3.5	General Ibrahim Babangida (1985-1993)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33
3.6	Sani Abacha Foreign policy (1993-1998)-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35
3.7	Abdulsalam Abubakar Foreign Policy (1998-1999)-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36
3.8	President Olusegun Obasanjo (1999-2007)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37
3.9	President Umaru Musa Yar'adua (2007-2011)-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39
3.7	Goodluck Jonathan Administration. (2010-2015)-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43

CHAPTER FOUR:

4.0	Introduction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47
4.1	Buhari's foreign policy Thrust	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	48
4.2	Nigeria's Relationship with the African Union (AU)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
4.3	Nigeria and the West	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	54
4.4	Nigeria- ECOWAS Relations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	57
4.5.	Nigeria-China Relations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	59
4.6	Conclusion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	62

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1	Summary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	63
5.2	Conclusion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	64

5.3	Recommendations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	64
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REFERENCES

Abstract

This study examined Nigerian Foreign Policy under Muhammadu Buhari Administration. Foreign policy is set of tools which are used to pursue and attain country's national interests. Foreign Policy of Nigerian state has continued to change under various governments and leaders, and the lack of continuity of these policies has affected the country's development. This research work made use of qualitative source of data, through which data were gathered using journals, reports, articles, newspapers, treaties, textbooks, and various statutes which was obtained from online sources.

The findings showed that, Nigeria's foreign policy under President Muhammadu Buhari regime have a positive impact on Nigeria's development. Also, Nigeria's foreign policy under President Muhammadu Buhari does encounter a lot of challenges such as insecurity arising from terrorism, articulation of National interest, primordialism, legislative-executive relations.

The study recommends that the government should give adequate attention to the growing rate of unemployment in the country, which has increased the country poverty and crimes rate in Buhari administration.

Keywords Foreign policy. National interest. Nigeria. Administration. qualitative source

Word count: 171

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

An essential tool for determining how nations interact with other states and non-state players in the international system is foreign policy (Levy, 2013; Aning, Abdallah & Kofi, 2017). The foreign policy is a collection of instruments used to advance and realize a nation's national interests. Under a variety of regimes and leaders, the Nigerian state's foreign policy has persisted in transition. This is typically impacted by the country's political system and to a large part by the personality of its president (Levy, 2013; Fawcett, 2016; Musa, Bashir & Bello, 2017).

In order to protect its national interests and achieve its objectives within the context of international relations, a state would choose self-interested foreign policy strategies. As seen by those who make foreign policy decisions, it is the totality of a nation's national interests that emerge from the interaction of internal and external forces (Yakubu, 2016). 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 (Abegunrin, 2014). Many foreign policies between nation states have been shaped by these interactions in different ways.

Every nation in the globe has some sort of connection to another nation. No country can avoid participating in international politics in the modern world, but participation must be organized and based on specific principles (Aja, 2014). In other words, states must act in a certain way toward one another. Since a state without a foreign policy is like a ship without a rider that may

drift aimlessly and be carried away by a storm of current events, it is essential for a modern state to engage in international policy. What a state intends to do is determined by its interests; what it is actually able to accomplish depends on its military, economic, and diplomatic prowess. Despite the fact that Nigeria's foreign policy has changed significantly since 1960 and is still guided by the same basic concepts (Gambari, 2015).

On the other side, national development can be defined as the general advancement of a country or nation in its socio-economic, political, and religious spheres. The best way to do this is through development planning, which may be characterized as the nation's collection of strategies that the government has laid forth. A policy intervention called national development aims to increase peoples' well-being. Economic development, according to Seidman (2012), can be defined as the process of generating better and broadly shared economic well-being and quality of life for a community or area through the creation and utilization of physical, human, financial, and social assets. According to Greenwood and Holt (2015), indices of growth like per capita income do not always correlate with gains in quality of life, and that national development is a broadly based and sustainable rise in the total standard of living for individuals within a society. The concept of national development is broad and includes qualitative components. Economic development entails both economic growth and gradual improvements in certain significant factors that affect how well off a population is, such as health and education.

From independence, Nigeria had pursued a radical foreign policy on national development under Murtala Mohammed and Olusegun Obasanjo 1975-1979, which was geared at liberation of African states from clutches of apartheid and colonialism and reducing the influence of Western capitalist countries. Sani Abacha 1993-1998 choose to pursue an isolation foreign policy which meant Nigeria had limited engagement with outside world. Olusegun Obasanjo 1999-2007

decided to re-open Nigeria to the world after isolation of Sani Abacha government, his foreign policy was hinged on shuttle diplomacy which was geared at economic development. Umaru Musa Yar'Adua and Goodluck Jonathan 2007-2015 foreign policy was opened and encourages relations with other countries around the world, and its policy was hinged on citizen diplomacy.

This indicates that since independence, all governments have used various tactics to pursue the same goal and objective. The goals of Nigerian foreign policy have stayed same from Sir Balewa's First Republic administration to Dr. Goodluck Jonathan's administration. It is accurate to say that the emergence of Nigeria's foreign policy may be linked to the moment the nation became an independent sovereign state. Nigeria, which became independent in 1960, made the liberation of Africa the centrepiece of her foreign policy and took the lead in the struggle against South Africa's apartheid government (Ebegbulem, 2019). Ebegbulem went on to say that in the 1970s, once Nigeria emerged from its civil war united, her foreign policy was put to the test as she rapidly joined the liberation movements taking place in the Southern African sub-region.

Since gaining independence, Nigeria's foreign policy has been characterized by an emphasis on Africa and adherence to a number of core values. African unity and independence, peaceful conflict resolution, nonalignment and non-interference in other countries' internal affairs, and regional economic cooperation and development are among them (Ebegbulem, 2019). Through membership in and involvement in the United Nations Organization (UNO), the Commonwealth of Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of African Unity (now the AU), and the Economic Community of West African States, Nigeria intended to accomplish the aforementioned goal (ECOWAS).

Therefore, it is accurate to state that, notwithstanding the ups and downs of Nigeria's political fortunes, successive administrations starting with the Balewa administration have articulated the essential tenets of Nigeria's foreign policy within the context of the African agenda.

President Buhari earned the nickname "Jet-Setting President" due to his shuttle diplomacy between various nations shortly after taking office in 2015. This was primarily due to the fact that he spent 25 percent of his first 100 days in office traveling to different nations to advance the national economy. Following his inauguration, the president took on the role of the nation's top diplomat and foreign policy representative to reintroduce Nigeria to the world. This is mostly due to the worldwide climate in which Buhari found himself; this environment was marked by falling oil prices, terrorism and counterterrorism, nuclear accords, and neoliberalism, among other things (Aning, et al., 2017). Maintaining positive relations with Nigeria's neighbours while pursuing economic development has become President Muhammadu Buhari's top priority when it comes to foreign policy.

The effectiveness of President Buhari's foreign policy has improved various aspects of the nation's development, including the counter-insurgency campaign that decimated Boko Haram, relations with the United States and China that have helped to foster economic development by providing necessary infrastructure, the nation's information technology, and the implementation of sustainable development.

Based on the foregoing, the goal of this research is to evaluate President Muhammadu Buhari's foreign policy and the nation's growth during his civilian administrations in order to comprehend the change in foreign policy's course under his leadership and how these foreign policies have affected the nation's development.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The goal of every foreign policy is to establish and maintain a friendly relationship with other nations as well as to attain national development and build a good image for a nation and meet its national or domestic interest.

Analysis of Nigeria's foreign policy and national growth under President Buhari's rule is the goal of the study. Nigeria has historically played a leading position in the area, but the nation has faced tremendous obstacles in its attempts to achieve economic growth and development (Odionye & Ohiagu, 2019). Nigeria's efforts to draw in international investment have been hampered by the country's economic climate, which is characterized by corruption, inadequate infrastructure, and unfavourable regulatory conditions.

Security issues, such as the Boko Haram insurgency in the northeast of the country and cross-border security issues with neighbours like Cameroon and Chad, have also had an impact on Nigeria's foreign policy (Anyadike & Ojiako, 2019). These difficulties have strained Nigeria's ties with its neighbours, which may have an adverse effect on the stability and growth of the area.

Additionally, despite the country's efforts to advance regional integration and economic development, there are worries that Nigeria's waning influence in regional and international events may limit the country's capacity to achieve its foreign policy goals (Oyedele, 2021). Nigeria's loss of influence in world affairs has been attributed in part to its exclusion from important international fora, such as the G20.

This inevitably means that foreign policy plays a crucial role in shaping, upholding, and maintaining a country's progress. Since its independence, Nigeria's foreign policy has been

viewed from a variety of perspectives (Aluko, 2011; Anyaele, 2017). According to one of the most common interpretations of Nigeria's foreign policy, it is chameleon-like in character (Anyaele, 2017), continually changing due to the internal and external dynamics present in every government or regime.

Therefore, due to the above, the research work therefore aims at assessing Nigerian foreign policy and its national development under President Muhammadu Buhari's administration from 2015-2022. The research will as well find out the achievements of foreign policy under the President Muhammadu Buhari civilian administration.

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTION

The following research questions were posed for the study.

1. To what extent has President Muhammadu Buhari's foreign policy enhanced the fight against terrorism?
2. Has president Muhammadu Buhari's foreign policy attracted foreign investment in Nigeria?
3. Has President Muhammadu Buhari foreign policy brought about economic growth and industrialisation?
4. What are the challenges of foreign policy under President Muhammadu Buhari?

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 civilian administration. The specific objectives are to.

1. To identify if President Muhammadu Buhari's foreign policy has enhanced the fight against terrorism in Nigeria.
2. To identify if President Buhari's foreign policy has attracted foreign investment in Nigeria.
3. To identify if President Muhammadu Buhari's foreign policy has attracted economic growth and industrialisation in Nigeria.
4. To identify the challenges of foreign policy under the Buhari's administration.

1.5. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The local community, society at large, government policy, and academia will all benefit from this study.

The results of this study will provide the general public and society with the required knowledge about foreign policy and how it may be properly executed in order to support development in the nation.

In order to track the historical evolution of Nigeria's foreign policy and design measures that would support economic development across all sectors of the nation, the study will be of utmost significance to policy and decision makers.

The results of this study will help academics gain a more comprehensive knowledge and understanding of the relationship between Nigerian foreign policy and economic development. They 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.

Finally, the results of this study will be valuable to future researchers who may be concentrating on comprehending the notion of foreign policy. These researchers will be able to use the results of this study for future studies that will have a significant good impact on society.

1.6. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study will look at Nigeria's foreign policy and the country's growth from 2015 to 2022 when President Buhari was in office. The key foreign policy accomplishments of President Buhari with regard to national development, such as political stability, regional security, foreign investment, and international participation, as well as the economic developments of the previous administration of Goodluck Jonathan, will also be covered in this study to a lesser extent. However, the study will only focus on Nigerian President Buhari's foreign policy initiatives.

1.7. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study has a number of restrictions that must be recognized. First off, the study's scope is constrained to Nigeria's foreign policy and national development during President Buhari's administration from 2015 to 2022 and may not adequately capture the complexity of Nigeria's economic, social, and political development or the nation's longer history of foreign policy.

Second, the study's data and information sources are restricted to reports and papers that are freely accessible to the public, which may not accurately reflect Nigeria's foreign policy operations or give a thorough picture of the nation's growth.

The analysis of the paper is based on a single viewpoint and disregards the opinions of other stakeholders, including policymakers, government officials, and specialists in the domains of international relations, foreign policy, and development studies.

The recommendations made by the study are based on an examination of the data that is currently available, thus they might not fully account for all the variables that could affect Nigeria's foreign policy and overall national development.

1.8 METHODOLOGY

This research is carried out through the qualitative research method. The source of data gathering is done through secondary materials such as online articles, academic journals, governmental and nongovernmental official periodicals and magazines, newspaper articles, special reports and bulletins, and government blogs, which are all included in the collection.

1.9 OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Foreign Policy: is a country's response to the world outside or beyond its own frontier or boundaries.

National Interest: is 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.

Administration: the act of administering; government of public affairs; the service rendered, or duties assumed, in conducting affairs; the conducting of any office or employment; direction.

Economic Development: is the increase in the standard of living in a nation's population with sustained growth from a simple, low-income economy to a modern, high-income economy.

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

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

Foreign Investment: occurs when foreign companies invest in domestic companies and seek active participation in their day-to-day operations and key strategic expansion.

ORGANISATION OF CHAPTERS

Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter 2: Literature review and Theoretical framework

Chapter 3: History of Nigeria's foreign policy

Chapter 4: President Muhammadu Buhari's foreign policy.

Chapter 5: Summary, Conclusion and Reconciliation

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 (2016) 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 Vital (2015), 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.

2.2 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. 2009 (Asogwa).

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 constitute the core of

national interest to include: national security, political independence, territorial integrity, promotion of economic interest of the state and world peace.

2.3 DETERMINANTS OF NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

The Nigerian situation since the assumption of power in 2015 by President Muhammadu Buhari has gone through twists and turns which has been unsettling. As foreign policy is a function basically of domestic policy, President Buhari's foreign policy is not devoid of domestic thinking and course of action. In the past, Nigeria's foreign policy was "Afrocentric", making "Africa the centre-piece of the country's foreign policy". This raised the image of Nigerian government and people highly in the international community, particularly its focus on decolonization of the whole of Africa and the end of apartheid in South Africa.

Since that time, Nigeria's influence in Africa may not be as obvious as it once was, but President Buhari has unquestionably cemented the country's sub-regional dominance in West Africa. Here, we'll look at the international component of his three-point plan, which includes dealing with insecurity and seeking out global collaboration to combat it, combating corruption and pursuing the return of looted assets from Nigeria, and attempting to resurrect the economy with the help of trading partners. President Buhari took advantage of Nigeria's power in the area to intervene in the political crises in the Gambia, Mali, Cote d'Ivoire, and Guinea Bissau, bringing about a measure of calm and political stability. It is important to recognize President Buhari's courageous actions in preventing Morocco from joining ECOWAS as its 17th member state. Morocco, after all, is a member of the Magreb and Arab North African sub-region and does not, physically speaking, belong to the West African sub-region of Africa. It is commendable that Buhari advocated for a dramatic reduction in the number of ECOWAS commissioners from 15 to 5, as part of the organization's recent virtual Extraordinary Summit. He argued that each EU member

state should foot the bill for its commissioner because Nigeria carries the financial burden of ECOWAS and provides more than half of its revenue.

All of the countries involved, including Nigeria, were negatively impacted by the land border restriction between Nigeria and the ECOWAS countries for more than eight months. The closure of the border prevented the entry of people, goods, and services into Nigeria, including the inputs needed by commerce and industry, which is a typical illustration of how domestic policy has both direct and indirect effects on foreign policy. As a result, the price of goods and services in the nation skyrocketed. Even though the policy's goal was to prevent the importation of foreign rice and small guns and ammunition into the country in order to decrease instability and promote domestic rice production, respectively, smuggling persisted because of the country's weak borders. The border shutdown caused more harm to the nation than expected since it made the recession there worse. Other contributing factors included the COVID-19 outbreak, the ensuing lockdown, and the decline in oil prices (Agba E and Olufunmilade F, 2021).

Under President Muhammadu Buhari, bilateral ties between Nigeria and its neighbours, particularly Ghana and the Benin Republic, suffered a setback as a result of the border restriction, which Ghana held against Nigeria as retaliation. The border was opened in early January 2021, and it is certain that this would help to promote the necessary reconciliation and improve ties between Nigeria and the ECOWAS member states. The opening of the border should also put an end to claims that Nigeria was violating ECOWAS, the World Trade Organization, and the African Continental Trade Organization rules governing the free flow of people, goods, and services throughout the subregion. Nigeria should obviously uphold its duties under international treaties. President Buhari began his official international travels by first traveling to Niger and Chad, followed by Cameroun, Guinea, and Benin Republic to rekindle the

brotherly ties and, in particular, to ask for their support in the fight against international terrorism, which includes the Boko Haram insurgency in the north-eastern region of Nigeria. Although the Chadians were extremely successful in driving Boko Haram from their territory into Nigeria, coordination within the Multinational Joint Task Force may have allowed other states' troops to join the Chadians in completing the total liberation of the Lake Chad Basin, which is where Boko Haram's headquarters are located in the theatre of war. The Nigerian forces would have been alerted and in a condition of readiness to support the Chadian President's efforts if President Buhari and the Chadian President had been on the same page. Without a doubt, member states should properly support institutions developed for the mutual interest of the involved countries. Let's hope that with the recent change in command in the Nigerian armed forces, the new service chiefs would take lessons from the past and work with other troops from member states of the Multinational Joint Task Force in a concerted effort to defeat Boko Haram and other security threats. (2021, Jaiye et al.)

President Buhari has made significant progress in his quest for international cooperation against terrorism by convincing former American President Donald Trump to sell Tucano aircraft to Nigeria in order to continue the fight against Boko Haram, in contrast to President Obama's refusal to do so for reasons that are best known to him. The arrival of the Tucano aircraft will undoubtedly improve the performance of the Nigerian army. However, as is now being reported, employing the aircraft without enough cooperation with the ground forces would continue to hamper military success. Joe Biden was recently chosen as the new president of the United States. One can only hope that the new administration will have a foreign policy that is more supportive of Nigeria. However, in light of firstly Nigeria's experience with former President Donald Trump, who imposed visa restrictions on Nigerians, made life difficult for the nation

during Dr. Akinwunmi Adesina's re-election campaign, and stalled the election of a WTO Director-General position that Nigeria's Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala was best positioned to win, as well as Trump's disparaging remarks about Africans, and secondly former President Obama. However, personalities undoubtedly do differ. It is encouraging to see that the Biden administration has dropped its objections to Okonjo-WTO Iweala's job application. One plus for Buhari is that this occurred within his administration.

To overcome the numerous obstacles Nigeria faces, as outlined in President Buhari's three-point plan on corruption, insecurity, and the economy, a lot more assistance from the U.S. is required. Along with training some of our military personnel, the U.S. is also providing the Tucano aircraft that have not yet been delivered. However, in accordance with the pertinent bilateral agreement, Nigeria should be given more strategic advisers with military background, particularly those with Gulf War experience, to share their expertise and experience in counterterrorism.

2.4 CHALLENGES OF NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

i. Afrocentrism Challenge

Nigeria-African ties and national interests appear to be at odds with one another. It is clear that the country is spending excessive amounts of time and resources on the African continent with little to show for it. Nigeria's foreign policy commentators had made a lot of observations about this phenomenon. For instance, Dr. Obadiah Mailafiya, a policy, and economic affairs expert, illustrated the aforementioned scenario when he stated that the focal point of any nation's foreign policy should be that nation itself if it truly believes it to be a sensible participant on the international arena. Every action will be evaluated based on how far it furthers our interests, goals, and purposes, as well as our national power and influence.

When discussing Nigeria's foreign policy, Professor Inno Ukaeje, another expert in international relations, stated that "our false generosity abroad and penury at home are proof that we are claiming to be what we are not, in reality, we have been overstretching ourselves." The anxieties expressed by Ukaeje in *Beautiful Abroad but Ugly at Home* as well as by Akinboye (2013) were emphasized and supported. One will concur with the aforementioned statements if one considers the vast sums of money the country spends on trying to solve various problems in Africa, despite the fact that practically all of the country's sectors internally desire for a significant infusion of cash. On the other side, the level of living has been shockingly low. Despite Nigeria's abundance in strategic mineral resources, which allowed it to amass excessive riches and fund a number of initiatives aimed at resolving other African problems, the scope of such expenditures severely harms our domestic objectives. It is clear that the different regimes' and administrations' leaders haven't been able to establish the proper priorities.

ii. **Leadership and Nigerian Foreign Policy**

Despite Nigeria's abundance in strategic mineral resources, which allowed it to amass excessive riches and fund a number of initiatives aimed at resolving other African problems, the scope of such expenditures severely harms our domestic objectives. It is clear that the different regimes' and administrations' leaders haven't been able to establish the proper priorities. They rightly noted that, Nigerian leaders have been extraordinarily naive by restricting its foreign policy to Africa as its cornerstone. It was a laudable goal before the 1990s, but its evolution is needed for Nigeria to meet the needs of today's diplomacy as we move into the next millennium. 'Africa as the centrepiece of Nigeria's foreign policy' no longer suffices; a broader perspective is necessary. Nigerian leader's needs to endeavour to take current trends in international relations,

diplomacy, globalization, human rights, and democracy into consideration in determining what her foreign policies should be, (Akinboye, 2013).

Nigerians were forced to pay this price in exchange for the support of tyrannical African regimes. Now that we are a democracy, we must speak up and be heard by the rest of the world. We no longer need to rely on assistance from other military dictatorships to further our meager diplomatic goals in Africa (ibid). Nigeria's foreign policy should no longer be based solely on its relationship with Africa. None of the major players in world diplomacy, including the United States, France, and Great Britain, based their foreign policy only on one pillar. If Nigeria wishes to participate in the current high-level diplomatic circles, it shouldn't be an outlier.

Another incident worth mentioning is the fatal blow that the Babangida administration dealt to Nigeria's foreign policy and its image abroad at a time when every nation, especially the G7 and most OECD nations, had made democracy, good governance, and human rights essential determining factors in international politics and in their relations with developing countries when he annulled those June 12th elections without providing any convincing justifications (Ashiru, 2013). Nigeria's international relations, particularly with the United States, Canada, the Commonwealth nations, and the European Union, were said to have soured during this time.

iii. Actors in Nigeria's Foreign Policy

Both inside and outside of the foreign ministry are the policy actors in this enormous endeavor. Although the foreign ministry is largely involved, it should be noted that internal players including the president, the foreign minister, ambassadors and embassies overseas, the press, and the business sector are all important participants in the process of formulating foreign policy (Aremu, 2015). Our embassies' function and location need to be revised. Foreign policy that is dynamic and performance-focused does not allow for amateurism, as it did in the past. Our

embassies and ambassadors need to stand up and meet the standards set by the country. Nigeria's foreign policy ought to benefit both the nation and its people. Because they are at the forefront of our foreign policy, the training curriculum for our diplomats needs to be overhauled to provide them with the expertise to practice the art and science of diplomacy (ibid).

Redefining our core national interests is necessary. Does Africa still serve as the cornerstone of our foreign policy when other nations regard us more than African nations do despite our unwavering dedication to them? What are the advantages of this Afrocentric decision, if the answer to the question is yes? If the answer is no, then we should refocus our foreign policy on more lucrative endeavours, such as economic, scientific, cultural, and technological collaboration with more developed nations, especially Asia (Olusanya, 2012).

iv. Economy

Nigeria's foreign policy is less able to defend the country's interests and effectively represent them abroad due to the weak state and appendage nature of the country's economy (Uhomooibhi, 2012). It goes without saying that the strength and size of a state's economy fundamentally reflect its status and influence abroad. Nigeria has a huge economy, but it also currently faces a severe economic crisis, making it challenging to reach its full potential. Nigeria's economy generally has a neo-colonial structure and is dependent on the export of raw materials and the purchase of completed goods (Lamido, 2012). Nigeria is also severely indebted. She cannot, without a doubt, play the important positions she desires in the global system because of this.

The difficulty of globalization is related to the economy issue in Nigeria's foreign policy challenges. Nigeria faces significant challenges as the world enters the 21st century, particularly in the context of Africa (Lamido, 2012). The single most significant shift in the twenty-first century is the phenomenon of globalization. Globalization is the term used to describe how the

technology revolutions have led to a relatively liberal and homogenized world. The development of information and communication technology is the article's main topic. This has made global information transfer quick, quick, and inexpensive. Today's world is characterized by widespread global commerce patterns that give consumers access to a wider range of high-quality items. Ironically, despite the fact that globalization tends to remove all obstacles to the creation of a single global market, boost commerce, and broaden the parameters of consumption, nation-states have generally reacted protectionist (Mbachu 2013). At the moment, no nation in the world enjoys complete independence. Because of the information age's fast globalization, goods, labor, and financial resources are all very movable. However, this interdependence poses a threat to emerging nations like Nigeria because it does not benefit all governments equally because industrialized nations have a more favourable trade balance and greater economic clout than developing nations like Nigeria. Nigeria and other emerging nations are now more susceptible to influence by industrialized nations.

v. Terrorism

Another significant obstacle to Nigeria's foreign policy is terrorism. States have the exclusive right to use coercive force in international affairs. A scenario of order and counterorder results when non-governmental organizations compete with the state in the use of coercive power; as a result, disorderliness acquires the role as the state's distinguishing feature (Bello & Dutse, 2017). The terrorist activities of Boko Haram in Nigeria are too clear to keep us here. One difficulty with these developments is giving the appearance of a weak government that is unable to protect internal security, especially as they continue (Agba E and Olufunmilade F, 2020). This, again, can send wrong signals to foreign tourists and investors, especially where the economic

diplomacy of the government is anchored on attraction of foreign direct investments, deepening of trade, and enhancing domestic productivity, (Oluwadare, 2016)

2.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Decision-Making Approach in International Politics:

This study adopts decision-making theory, this theory becomes imperative when the precarious Nigeria's foreign policy at the time president Muhammadu Buhari came into office in 2015 is considered.

Nigeria's foreign policy had been severely reformed prior to President Buhari's election; as a result, by the time he became office, regular choices, particularly those pertaining to security, the economy, and the welfare of the populace, required a high level of technicality. The concise defining decision making as the process or sequence of activities involving stages of problem recognition, information search and definition of alternatives, and selection for one among two or more alternatives consistent with makes performance of sensibility in taking crucial decisions that would affect both domestic and foreign policy. For instance, it was crucial that he chose to travel to nations like Cameroon and Niger in the struggle against Boko Haram. Furthermore, his hand-in-hand work with China, Saudi Arabia, and other nations periodically to obtain funds to improve infrastructure cannot be overstated, nor can his visits to the United States and France to ask for focused measures to combat corruption in the nation. These are all important choices meant to advance national development. Because decision-making theory calls for assuming a crucial role that affects both domestic and foreign policy, this study looks at President Muhammadu Buhari's role in decision-making during his seven years in office. It also considers how his decision-making skills have affected Nigeria's domestic and foreign policies

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY OF NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

3.0 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 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. 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 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 proWestern, 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). 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 Egbo (2003), "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:

- Severing relations with France over their testing of an atomic bomb in the Sahara Desert in 1961 just three months after independence.
- refusal to attend the maiden conference of the Non-aligned Movement in Belgrade.
- prevarication over the establishment of formal diplomatic ties with the Sino-Soviet bloc until December 1961.
- acceptance of the Anglo-Nigeria Defence Pact until he was forced to abrogate it by students and the opposition.
- 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.

3.1 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, it was a decade filled with noteworthy foreign policy trends. After fleeing the civil war, Nigeria discovered many lessons:

- there was need to come closer cooperation to other African states on matters that could promote both political and economic freedom to the continent.
- that Nigeria need not unnecessarily reject overtures of friendship from the Soviet Union.
- that Nigeria could disagree with Britain on issues it felt strongly about and still retain her status.

Moreover, this period witnessed the birth of oil as a very serious economic resource for Nigeria, and with her economy developing; Nigeria began a foreign policy that involved economic expansion into neighbouring African states. This would invariably lead to the formation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in June 1975 involving fifteen West African countries (Institute of Army Education,1977). The period 1969-1975 was one of 'self-confidence'; a period when Nigerian foreign policy that was previously personalized especially by Gowon (who liked playing to the gallery), now turned to a low-profile policy deliberately

made so for maximum effect and attention by world leaders. It was also very vibrant in the sense that far-reaching decisions were made at this time, which have stood the test of time.

3.2 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.

3.3 SHEHU SHAGARI FOREIGN POLICY (1979-1983)

There wasn't 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.

3.4 MUHAMMADU BUHARI FOREIGN POLICY (1983-1985)

The General Mohammadu Buhari administration made it clear that his priority was to rebuild Nigeria's crumbling economy and reinstate her on the pinnacle of moral rectitude, not foreign policy. Nevertheless, because no government can function without a foreign policy goal, his foreign policy aim was to increase peace throughout Africa, beginning with her neighbours, as evidenced in what was described as the "concentric circle." As amply stated by Gambari (1989): Our attitude and response to foreign policy challenges on the African continent as well as in the larger world may be seen as following the concentric circle pattern. The Federal Republic of Nigeria's national economic and security interests, which are intricately linked to the security, stability, and economic and social well-being of our near neighbours, are at the centre of these circles. One of our top concerns is to improve relations with our neighbours, with whom we share a common desire for peace and stability in the region.

The Quadripartite Agreements between Nigeria and her three neighbours to the west (Benin, Ghana, and Togo) were signed at this time. However, the administration later shown inconsistency by permanently sealing Nigeria's borders as a countermeasure to money laundering and smuggling in her much-heralded war against corruption. The regime's attempt to bring Alhaji Umaru Dikko back to Nigeria from Britain in a crate was another diplomatic blunder. A severe breach in Nigeria's and Britain's diplomatic ties resulted from this action. Additionally, his

ouster was brought about by the regime's haughtiness and some of its activities; Buhari was accused of operating a two-man show consisting of himself and Idiagbon.

3.5 General Ibrahim Babangida (1985-1993)

Foreign policy, in the words of General Ibrahim Babangida, was a "issue-based pursuit reflecting set of aims and goals related to the security of the nation and the well-being of Nigerians generally" (Adeniran, 2008). He accomplished this not only by hiring the best employees, like Bolaji Akinyemi, Ike Nwachukwu, and Rilwanu Lukman, but also by granting them the necessary freedom to carry out their plans for attaining the stated objectives. Thus, many of the eggheads IBB invited into his cabinet contributed to the several foreign policy concerns, including the Technical Aid Corps (TAC) program, the Concert of Medium Powers initiative, and Economic Diplomacy as foreign policy thrusts, all of which were highly accepted. He oversaw ECOWAS from 1986 to 1988, and it was during his tenure that the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Citizens really came into force. This could be considered the pinnacle of his leadership in terms of Nigeria's policy toward Africa because not only did he undo Buhari's misguided decision to close borders in order to punish smaller neighbouring countries, but he also effectively took control of ECOWAS, positioning Nigeria as the group's leader. Nigeria provided the majority of personnel as well as the majority of the material and logistical support for ECOMOG operations, as was explicitly stated. All succeeding Commanders were from the Nigerian military, with the exception of the initial Commander, a Ghanaian. That today Liberia is a united country owes much to the foresight and sacrifice of Nigeria, the Babangida regime gave ECOWAS institutional relevance by not only donating land for the building of the ECOWAS Secretariat but contributed 4.5 million dollars towards its construction. (Shagaya 2003):

Babangida also went beyond the continental level by taking bold steps such as restoring relations with Israel that had been severed since October 1973 over the Arab-Israel conflict. Thus, in all, Babangida's regime was credited with some achievements such as:

- (a). the revival of Nigeria's active commitment to ECOWAS by lifting boundary closures and restoring free movement within ECOWAS countries.
- (b). Nigeria's active intervention in inter-African affairs and conflicts, especially in West Africa, in the border wars between Mali and Burkina Faso and in the strained relations between Sierra Leone and Liberia.
- (c). the establishment and funding of Nigeria's Technical Aids Corps (TAC) which provides highly trained Nigerian personnel at little or no costs to needy African states.
- (d). the formation of the Lagos Forum of Medium Powers; and
- (e). the use of Nigeria's foreign policy to support and promote Nigeria's domestic economic policy (Ofoegbu, 1990).

Additionally, it was at this time that Nigeria received the highest United Nations presence on the global stage. During this time, Joe Garba, Nigeria's permanent representative to the UN, was elected president of the General Assembly during its 44th session in 1989, and Emeka Anyaoku was chosen as the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth of Nations in 1990. Obasanjo was also chosen as one of the three founding members of the International Eminent Personalities mandated by the Commonwealth to mediate in the South African political crisis. Despite all the above minimal successes, Babangida's regime is not taken to be the best time for Nigeria's foreign policy because "rhetoric, emptiness, inaction, policy somersault and indecision were to mark the second half of his tenure" (Egbo, 2003).

As is already well known, Nigeria became a pariah nation after Babangida annulled what is arguably the freest and fairest election ever held in Nigeria.

3.6 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" (Akintola, 2007). 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" (Akintola, 2007). 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.

3.7 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" (Akintola, 2007). 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 (Akintola, 2007). 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.

3.8 PRESIDENT OLUSEGUN OBASANJO (1999-2007)

In order to foster cordial relations with all countries, we will conduct an active foreign policy according to the new president Olusegun Obasanjo who had just begun Nigeria's fourth republic. He further reiterated that Nigeria 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. Nigeria was facing numerous economic crisis at this time including the collapse of her public sector and an exacerbating external debt resulting from years of neglect of debt servicing by the military rule (Agba E, 2015). Hence, the need for a Shuttle Diplomacy at the time was imperative.

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, 2008). 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. 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.

3.9 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 (Yar'Adua, 2007).

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 (Maduekwe, 2007, Irene, 2010).

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 (Abidde, 2008).

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 (All Africa, 2007).

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 Irene (2010), 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.

3.9. 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 Okungbowa (2011), 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 their analysis of the Jonathan administration's impact on Nigeria, Onuorah and Obayuwana (2011) draw 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 Okungbowa (2011), 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.

CHAPTER 4

FOREIGN POLICY OF PRESIDENT MUHAMMADU BUHARI

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The election of President Buhari occurred at a pivotal time for Nigeria, when both internal and external variables were at play. The country had problems at home with insecurity, a fragile economy, corruption, and a need for social development. To defend its strategic interests, reinforce regional alliances, and expand its position as a major actor in Africa, Nigeria needed to carefully navigate its reputation and influence in the international arena from the outside. The pursuit of regional stability in Africa and the prioritizing of national interests have been the defining characteristics of President Muhammadu Buhari's foreign policy strategy.

Against this backdrop, President Buhari's foreign policy agenda aimed to address these complexities while forging a renewed framework for Nigeria's engagements on the global stage. Drawing upon the principles of sovereignty, national interest, and non-interference, Buhari sought to steer Nigeria towards a more assertive and pragmatic foreign policy approach that prioritized issues such as security cooperation, economic diplomacy, regional integration, and multilateral engagements.

This chapter then aims to provide an exposition of President Buhari's foreign policy agenda, examining his dealings with neighboring countries, regional organizations, and major global powers. It will also highlight key policy initiatives and challenges faced during his tenure.

4.1 BUHARI'S FOREIGN POLICY THRUST.

The election of retired general Muhammadu Buhari marked Nigeria's first handover of power from the government to the opposition party. The three pillars of his campaign platform—combating corruption, insecurity, and the economy—as well as job creation—were mirrored in his foreign policy. Buhari began an ambitious travel schedule that included meetings with the G-7, other Western nations, China, the G-20 Summit in Germany, and the African Union Summit in South Africa (Schneider,2015). Buhari gained the trust of the West, who assisted him in recovering roughly \$230 million from the Swiss Bank, thanks to his well-known personal honesty (Onyeama, Foreign Affairs Minister 2016 in Salau, 2016).

Buhari reaffirmed his commitment to the fight while traveling to nearby nations that are impacted by boko haram. Due to mistrust over minor border disputes dating back to the 1980s, the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF), which has been in effect since 1998, has not produced many results. The terrorists had an easy time taking it over since intelligent sharing was inhibited. Therefore, the opportunity for clear choices regarding the cooperation to combat boko haram was increased by the visit (Schneider,2015). By recognizing China, Taiwan, and the Mainland, Buhari's administration ensured a one-China policy and inked further agreements with China. China as one State of China decreased the activities of the Taiwanese Embassy and moved it from Nigeria's Federal Capital, Abuja, to Lagos (Yusuf, 2017, in Bello et.al, 2017; Mama, 2016).

When he took office on May 29th, 2015, macroeconomic data between that date and 2017 showed a double dip downturn, which later turned into a recession. With GDP growth of 2.57 percent by the second quarter of 2015, the largest economy in Africa experienced its poorest performance in 25 years, falling to a historic low of 0.36 percent. From 9% in May 2015 to 13.72

percent in April 2016, inflation increased. In order to increase productivity and economic growth by 7.8 percent by 2020 and generate jobs for more than 15 million Nigerians, the government created the Economic Recovery and Growth Plan (ERGP) (Chima, 2016; Parmar, 2017; Country Profile, 2017). Foreign investors, however, have limited faith in the current Central Bank leadership and foreign equity portfolio flows due to the Central Bank's role in setting the exchange rate rather than the market flow and the foreign exchange strategy (Bekkali, 2017).

The administration has carried out its foreign policy in accordance with international humanitarian law, although there is political instability and contradiction everywhere. Similar to Jonathan, Buhari criticized the US for not giving enough weaponry to combat insurgency, so unintentionally supporting boko haram (Akinterinwa, 2017; Schneider, 2015). Buhari and Ghana protested to Morocco's re-admission into ECOWAS and commissioned additional studies to ascertain the benefits and drawbacks for ECOWAS. On the other hand, Buhari's administration reestablished ties with Morocco as a result of His Majesty Mohammed VI's visit. An agreement to jointly develop regional gas pipeline connecting both states was signed (Canada Newswire, 2016). (Canada Newswire, 2016).

Following the expulsion of the ambassadors chosen by the previous administration, the government failed to designate diplomatic heads in a timely manner. Out of the approximately 112 Missions, the administration provided the Legislative Arm of Government with a list of 47 for screening in accordance with the Constitution, and the missions were commissioned in 2017. This did not reflect well on Nigeria when the substantive ambassadors of nations like Russia, the United States, Canada, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the Czech Republic were present in Abuja. Many Missions were struggling financially owing to tight budgets, and some lacked

qualified staff with the necessary skills and expertise because most appointments are based on politics rather than merit (Akwaya,2016; Vanguard Newspaper, 2017)

Instead of a federal character, the Buhari administration's violations of human rights, nepotism, and clannish approach to governing produced greater dangers to the unity of the country, including emboldened boko haram militants, pastoral disputes, and Biafran-IPOB agitators. Many people question the government's ability to run a contemporary democratic society in light of the injustice and unfairness shown in its treatment of IPOB activists and Shiites, especially the leader's ongoing arrest (Akinterinwa, 2018). Following the suspension of the Presidential Amnesty Program, militants from the Niger Delta made new threats to obstruct oil operations by returning to the creeks, which had an impact on the government's oil exports and earnings as well as electricity supplies. Unlike in the past, there are now more IDP Camps in Nigeria, and many Nigerians are refugees in several West African nations. They are also a part of the migration over the Libyan border to Europe.

4.2 NIGERIA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE AFRICAN UNION (AU)

Nigeria's relationship with the African Union (AU) has been a key aspect of the country's foreign policy objectives. As one of the founding members of the AU, Nigeria has played an active role in shaping the organization's agenda and promoting regional integration in Africa. This paper aims to provide an overview of Nigeria's relationship with the AU from 2016 to 2022, highlighting key events and developments, with in-text citations to support the analysis.

Active Participation in AU Summits

Nigeria has been an active participant in AU summits, which serve as a platform for African leaders to address pertinent issues and make decisions on matters of regional importance (Eze,

2017). For instance, in January 2017, Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari attended the 28th AU Summit held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. During this summit, Buhari emphasized Nigeria's commitment to regional peace and security, urging member states to work together to combat terrorism and violent extremism (Eze, 2017).

Leadership Roles in AU Institutions

Nigeria has also held key leadership positions within the AU. In February 2020, former Nigerian Finance Minister, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, was elected as the Director-General of the World Trade Organization (WTO), a position that holds strong implications for Nigeria's economic interests within the AU (Anifowose, 2021). This appointment not only solidified Nigeria's influence within the AU but also showcased the country's capability to produce competent leaders for international institutions.

Contributions to AU Peacekeeping Efforts

Nigeria under the Buhari regime has been actively involved in AU peacekeeping missions, demonstrating its commitment to peace and security in Africa (Udoye, 2020). Nigerian troops have participated in various AU peacekeeping operations, including the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). Nigeria has been actively involved in peacekeeping missions in Somalia and Darfur for several years. The Nigerian peacekeeping contingent has been part of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) since its inception in 2007. In Somalia, Nigeria has deployed troops to help restore peace and stability to the country, which has been plagued by civil war and insurgency for many years. Nigerian troops have been involved in various operations, including combating the extremist group Al-Shabaab and supporting the Somali government in its efforts to establish governance and provide essential services to the population.

till date. In Darfur, Nigeria has also contributed troops to the United Nations-African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID). The peacekeeping mission was established in 2007 to protect civilians and support the peace process in the war-torn region. Nigerian peacekeepers have played a crucial role in these missions, conducting patrols, protecting civilians, and assisting in the delivery of humanitarian aid. They have also faced significant challenges, including attacks by insurgents and armed groups till date. Nigerian Intervention in Sierra Leone (2014-2018) President Buhari's administration continued Nigeria's commitment to peacekeeping efforts in West Africa by contributing troops to the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL). Nigerian peacekeepers were sent to Sierra Leone to support efforts to consolidate peace and foster stability following a decade-long civil war. They were involved in activities such as security sector reform, training and mentoring the Sierra Leonean armed forces, and supporting the government's efforts towards sustainable development.

Nigerian Intervention in Mali (2013-present) President Buhari's administration responded to the crisis in Mali by deploying Nigerian troops as part of the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA). Nigerian peacekeepers were tasked with maintaining stability, protecting civilians, and supporting the Malian government in its efforts to counter the activities of extremist groups in the northern part of the country. Nigerian troops have been actively involved in peacekeeping operations, including patrolling, providing security, and participating in community engagement initiatives.

These contributions have been instrumental in promoting stability in conflict-affected regions and enhancing Nigeria's reputation as a key regional actor (Udoye, 2020).

Collaboration on Economic Integration

Nigeria has also been engaged in efforts to promote economic integration within the AU. In 2019, Nigeria signed the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) agreement, which aims to create a single market for goods and services across the African continent (Ojo, 2020). This commitment demonstrates Nigeria's desire to enhance regional trade and boost economic growth within the AU.

Xenophobic Attacks and Migrant Crisis

During this time, Nigeria saw instances of xenophobic attacks on its residents in various African nations, particularly South Africa. These attacks strained diplomatic ties and sparked worries about Nigerian residents' safety in other African countries. Additionally, Nigeria experienced a serious migrant problem as many of its residents attempted to relocate to Europe or looked for jobs in neighboring African nations. A prime example is President Muhammadu Buhari's multifaceted response to the xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa, which sought to diplomatically handle the situation while also protecting the safety and wellbeing of Nigerian residents who had been harmed. Here are some examples of how he handled the circumstance:

1. **Diplomatic Engagements:** In order to address the problem and find a long-term solution, President Buhari held diplomatic discussions with the South African administration. He called South African President Cyril Ramaphosa to emphasize Nigeria's worries and to demand that the country take prompt steps to protect Nigerians living there.

2. Evacuation of Nigerians: To ensure the safety of Nigerian citizens living in South Africa during the xenophobic attacks, President Buhari ordered the evacuation of Nigerians willing to return to Nigeria. The Nigerian government provided free transportation for those who wanted to come back home and also offered them reintegration support upon their return.

3. Boycott of World Economic Forum: As a strong condemnation of the xenophobic attacks, President Buhari withdrew Nigeria's delegation from the World Economic Forum on Africa, which was scheduled to take place in South Africa. This sent a strong message to the South African government and the international community about the seriousness of the situation.

4. Engagement with African Union: President Buhari held talks with other African leaders through the African Union (AU) to discuss the xenophobic attacks and find a collective solution. He emphasized the need for peaceful coexistence among African countries and the importance of addressing the root causes of the attacks.

5. Demand for Compensation: President Buhari demanded compensation for Nigerian victims of the attacks and for their businesses that were destroyed. This was part of his effort to ensure that affected Nigerians receive justice and proper restitution for their losses.

Managing this crisis and ensuring the wellbeing of Nigerian migrants presented considerable challenges for the Nigerian government.

4.3. NIGERIA AND THE WEST

President Buhari prioritized economic relations with Western countries, recognizing the importance of foreign investment and economic cooperation. This was evident through his

various visits to the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, and France, aimed at attracting foreign investment and fostering trade partnerships (Ebizie, 2018).

For instance, during President Buhari's visit to the United States in 2018, he met with American investors and business leaders to discuss opportunities for increased investment in Nigeria's key sectors, such as infrastructure, agriculture, and energy (Eze, 2018). This exemplifies the Buhari administration's commitment to deepening economic ties with the West and attracting foreign direct investment.

Under President Buhari, Nigeria's fight against terrorism has taken centre stage in its foreign policy. The West has been an important partner in this effort, especially the United States and European nations. Cooperation in intelligence sharing, capacity building, and military support to battle extremist groups like Boko Haram have been hallmarks of Nigeria's relations with the West.

In order to strengthen Nigeria's security sector capabilities, President Buhari signed a bilateral agreement with the United States in 2014 known as the Security Governance Initiative (SGI) (Neuman, 2018). Through this arrangement, the United States has supported Nigeria's counterterrorism efforts by providing training, equipment, and intelligence sharing.

Compared to his predecessor, Muhammadu Buhari had somewhat better ties, although there was still a rift between the Obama and Goodluck administrations over how they handled the Boko Haram insurgency, particularly the abduction of the Chibok girls and the military's violations of human rights (Abegunrin, 2014). On July 20, 2016, Obama and Buhari held a high-level diplomatic meeting at the Oval to kick off relations between the two nations under Buhari's administration. President Obama pledged that the US would support the Nigerian government,

address the mounting challenges posed by Boko Haram, and combat violent extremism. Additionally, President Buhari asked the Obama administration to help the government fight the ongoing corruption that afflicts the nation. He also asked for help from the government in reforming the economy, which included the energy sector by putting an end to oil theft. After the meeting, there was a meeting with Vice President Joe Biden where it was decided that the US would help Nigeria combat corruption, maintain economic stability, and implement policy, with particular attention to the Northern region of Nigeria, which serves as the epicentre of the Boko Haram insurgency. President Buhari had the chance to see the Treasury Secretary, Attorney General Loretta E. Lynch, and Deputy Defence Secretary Bob Work while on the trip (Abegunrin, 2014; Harris, 2015)

As the US Department of Justice has filed a civil case for the seizure of money (\$144 million) through corrupt proceedings by former Nigerian petroleum minister Diezani Alison-Madueke, nothing appears to have changed under the administration of Donald Trump. According to reports, the US Department of Justice accused the former minister and two accomplices—Olajide Omokore and Kola Aluko—of fronting for the previous minister by securing oil lifting contracts for the pair without following the proper procedures. The US Department of Justice is requesting that these assets be forfeited and returned in order to help the people, which is hurt by this unethical behaviour. According to Campbell (2017) and Page (2016), US government officials believed that Buhari's victory will help the government's anti-corruption campaign and, to a greater extent, enhance bilateral relations. The partnership between the Buhari administration and the US Department of Justice, directed by Loretta E. Lynch, to combat corruption and help Nigeria recover its plunder from the US and other western nations, can be linked to this move. With the proposed sales of military equipment to Nigeria, the Trump

administration also showed that it was making an effort to support the Buhari administration in its fight against Boko Haram. Prior to President Jonathan's blacklisting of Nigeria, a request for the purchase of military equipment was turned down. There were 12 Embraer A-29 Super Tucano airplanes ready for sale. The proposed arms sale also received the support of US Senators who had previously opposed the sales during the Obama administration, citing the Leahy statute, which forbade the US from supplying weapons to nations whose forces have a history of violating human rights (Gional, 2017; Iroegbu, 2016).

The importance that President Buhari places on democratic principles and effective government has affected Nigeria's relations with the West. The Buhari administration has worked to support the rule of law, build democratic institutions, and eradicate corruption.

The United States and the European Union are two examples of Western nations that have worked closely with Nigeria to advance democracy and good governance. To ensure transparent and reliable electoral procedures, they have offered technical help, capacity-building programs, and election monitoring aid (Ebizie, 2018).

4.4. NIGERIA- ECOWAS RELATIONS

Muhammadu Buhari pledged to address the three major issues of Insecurity (Boko Haram Insurgency), Corruption, and Economic Development head-on during his campaign for the president of Nigeria. Boko Haram had seized control of large portions of Nigerian land before he took office and had established an Islamic state there. By conducting out assaults in Nigeria and dissipating into the neighbouring nations, Boko Haram terrorism assumed a transnational dimension outside of Nigeria. Although it attempted to stop Boko Haram's activities as member nations contributed to the war against Boko Haram in Nigeria, the Multinational Joint Task

Force (MNJTF), which was tasked with the insurgency in the Lake Chad region, proved ineffective. Boko Haram quickly attacked MNJTF member nations as they attacked the group for daring to assist Nigeria in the fight against terrorism, giving the Boko Haram operation a worldwide scope (Bello & Dutse, 2017; Johnson & Enobi, 2016). As Boko Haram even overran its base in Baga, Borno state, and went on to conduct one of the most heinous crimes against humanity by massacring the residents there, it was seen that MNJTF was not functional and efficient (Akinbi, 2015; Oluwadare, 2016)

On June 3, 2015, President Muhammadu Buhari traveled to the Niger Republic for the first time since taking office. The president of Cameroon was also present; he was traveling for the summit to discuss the regional campaign to combat Boko Haram. President Mahamadou Issoufou of Niger vowed to work with Nigeria to combat the mounting challenges posed by Boko Haram, which have continued to jeopardize regional peace and stability. Additionally, it was decided that the MNJTF's headquarters would be moved from Nigeria to N'Djamena, Chad, and that a Nigerian would be named as the organization's commander. The meeting was followed by a trip to Chad on June 4, 2017, and a private meeting with the president of Cameroon, Paul Biya. Although the insurgent actions of Boko Haram did not disrupt the Benin Republic, President Boni Yayi of Benin reciprocated Buhari's visits by committing troops to the MNJTF to fight terrorism in the nation. 2017's (Bello & Dutse)

As argued by Onapajo (2017) and Waddington (2015), President Buhari's shuttle diplomacy to his West African neighbours played a critical role in limiting Boko Haram's ability to attack Nigeria and retreat to these neighbours as a shield against Nigerian forces. This diplomatic relationship between these ECOWAS countries also contributes to the reduction of Boko Haram's activities.

President Buhari was tasked by ECOWAS to lead a negotiation with President Yahaya Jammeh to concede power to democratically elected President Adama Barrow. In addition to using foreign relations to combat the Boko Haram insurgency, President Buhari played a crucial role as the chief mediator in ending the constitutional impasse in Gambia. President Buhari is committed to a peaceful transfer of power and the need to stay away from conflict that could spark a civil war and possibly cause a humanitarian crisis for the ECOWAS region. President Buhari was tasked by ECOWAS to lead a negotiation with President Yahaya Jammeh to concede power to democratically elected President Adama Barrow. In addition to using foreign relations to combat the Boko Haram insurgency, President Buhari played a crucial role as the chief mediator in ending the constitutional impasse in Gambia. President Buhari is committed to a peaceful transfer of power and the need to stay away from conflict that could spark a civil war and possibly cause a humanitarian crisis for the ECOWAS region.

Border Disputes and Border Closure

Nigeria faced border disputes with neighboring countries, particularly Benin and Niger. These disputes, related to issues such as smuggling and illegal trade, strained diplomatic relations, and hindered regional cooperation. Furthermore, Nigeria implemented a temporary closure of its land borders in 2019, negatively impacting trade and straining relations with neighboring countries (Lartey, 2019). These incidents highlighted the challenges Nigeria faced in managing border security and trade relations with its African neighbors.

4.5. Nigeria-China Relations

Nigeria has been attempting to establish a balance of power with China in economic and diplomatic relations. China is said to have the second-largest economy and the fastest-growing

economy in the world. Both nations are significant geographically and demographically within their continent. In light of China's recent strategic development, Nigeria has emerged as a key actor in Africa due to China's aggressive and ongoing commercial, technical, and economic expansion. Nigeria is regarded as having a sizable market due to its vast population. However, because China offers infrastructure loans at interest rates lower than those offered by Bretton Woods organizations, Nigeria and other African nations view China as a development partner (World Bank and International Monetary Fund). Many analysts and professors have underlined the significance of China. CNN claimed that while the US is the most important country on the international scene, China is actually in charge of the world economy in the twenty-first century (Aja, 2014).

President Muhammadu Buhari visited China shortly after taking office; the trip followed an invitation from Xi Jinping, the president of China. The goal of the visit was to strengthen the trade, diplomatic, and economic ties between the two nations. The framework to advance infrastructure development and industrial activity in Nigeria was signed during the visit, which lasted a week, by representatives of the National Development Reform Commission of China and the Ministry of Industry, Trade, and Investment of Nigeria. Following the visit, many loans were given to Nigeria, specifically to cover the budget deficit for 2016, infrastructure loans for railways among others.

According to the government, the rail project was intended to address the nation's infrastructure shortfall, as well as to create much-needed jobs for the populace and, most significantly, to boost the economy. By signing a contract that permits use of the Chinese Yuan for transactions in the nation, the government made a bold move to end the dominance of the US dollar in the Nigerian market. This will make it easier to include Yuan in the nation's foreign reserve and permit banks

to accept Yuan transactions from both international and domestic investors. Aliko Dangote received \$2 billion from the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China in order to finance his cement mills.

China expressed its full support for Nigeria's bid for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council during a meeting with his Nigerian counterpart Yakubu Dogara. This was done as part of an effort to reform the UN and accommodate countries from other regions. In addition to their strong economic ties, both nations also have cordial diplomatic ties (Tijani, 2015).

President Muhammadu Buhari reassured the Chinese foreign minister of China's determination to adhere to the "one China policy" in regard to Taiwan, which China has refused to acknowledge as an independent state but as a province of China. This policy makes sure that there is only one country named China, and that Taiwan and the rest of China are undeniably a part of that country. According to this strategy, the Nigerian government ordered the relocation of the Taiwanese embassy from Abuja to Lagos and the downgrading of diplomatic ties with Taiwan. However, it only conducts sporadic diplomatic and commercial exchanges with Taiwan, whose embassy is located in Lagos. The minister of foreign affairs minister, Geoffrey Onyeama made the policy statement stating that, "Taiwan will stop enjoying any privileges because it is not a country that is recognized under international law" stating the country justification for a trade relation the minister stated that, Chinese Government does not oppose trading with Taiwan as long as there is no formal contact with the government that will suggest recognition of Taiwan as sovereign country", (Yusuf, 2017). Nigeria decision can be justified in the sense that Taiwan possesses less economic leverage in comparison to China. Nigeria Taiwan economic relations which cover seafood, industrial equipment, natural gas and other food product stood at \$800

million in 2016, compared to \$6.4 billion trade relations between Nigeria-China in just first half of 2016, (Ayobolu, 2016; Kuo, 2017).

4.6 CONCLUSION

President Buhari's foreign policy approach has been characterized by a strong emphasis on regional integration, national security, and economic diplomacy. His administration has prioritized engagement with regional institutions, such as ECOWAS and the AU, to address common challenges and promote African unity. Buhari's focus on national security has led to increased cooperation with regional and international partners, contributing to the fight against Boko Haram. Moreover, his economic diplomacy efforts have yielded positive outcomes in terms of foreign investment and trade diversification. Overall, Buhari's foreign policy agenda has reflected Nigeria's aspirations for regional leadership, national security, and economic development.

As well Under President Muhammadu Buhari, Nigeria's relationship with the West has witnessed a renewed focus on economic cooperation, counter-terrorism cooperation, and promoting democracy and good governance. These efforts have enhanced Nigeria's standing on the global stage and strengthened its ties with Western countries, elevating its potential for economic growth and security. However, ongoing efforts are required to sustain and further deepen these relationships in the future.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1. SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

Foreign policy not only shapes the country's identity at large, but also determines its place and its future in the world. It is within this framework that this study examined Nigeria's foreign policy under the administration of Buhari vis-à-vis Nigeria's aspiration of becoming an important global player. The administration took advantage of the international environment, as is the case with other nations, in enhancing domestic development. Today, more than ever before, Nigeria's foreign policy is giving greater attention to her domestic priorities and herein lies the paradigm shift. They can take care of today's domestic needs identified as the economic well-being of citizens, enhanced security and massive foreign investment inflow and are related to Nigeria's leadership role in the sub-region, in the continent as well as her global dream of great power. With the involvement of the people and various sectors in driving development process in a very sustainable manner, the paradigm shift gives hope, and is pointing at may one day be attained subject, above all, to discipline and policy consistency especially in the leadership. This work adopted the decision-making theory in explaining president Muhammadu Buhari's administration's foreign policy. Muhammadu Buhari has never lacked in good policies. In fact, the various declaratory statements of the president bear testimony to this fact. For instance, in line with the shift in paradigm the Foreign affairs Minister was credited with declaring that Nigeria's foreign policy under the Buhari would be investment- driven and different from the previous focus on Africa. According to him "Our foreign policy must now reflect the aspirations of Nigerians, our collective dreams, the yearnings of our children, and the fulfilment of the potential of our youths as well as the realization of the manifest destiny of this great country" (as

in Anyanwu and Uzoatu 2011). The problem which has been the bane is the implementation. The challenge is that of managing official pronouncements to ensure consistency between declaratory and operational policies. This study was largely based on information from books, journals, internet materials, etc.

5.2 CONCLUSION

It is no gain saying that Nigeria's foreign policy is fraught with myriad challenges which over the years have debilitated its expected performance, among all, corruption and insecurity is the major factors. Therefore, it is very important that, Nigeria's foreign policy be urgently reviewed and repackaged in the light of the challenges of the globalized world order, in order to make it more efficient and result oriented. There is the need for Nigeria to adopt a sound economic policy as a fundamental pre-requisite for conducting effective foreign policy cannot be overemphasized.

In conclusion, in order to enhance development of the country, President Buhari's foreign policy decisions have included relations with other nations, international and non-governmental organizations, institutions and agencies, as well as individuals, which have had impact on the system of inputs and outputs. Since all foreign policies spring from the economic base of a state, Nigeria's economic base should be re-orientated in such a manner that the country's dependency structure would be removed and a national economy that is capable of sustaining a realistic foreign policy goal be built. Therefore, it is politically logical that Nigeria aligns her foreign policy with her real economic status, and not imaginary one.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the conclusion above, the following recommendations were posed:

1. **Economic Diversification:** The government should continue its efforts to attract foreign investment and diversify the economy beyond oil. This can be achieved by improving the ease of doing business, creating an enabling environment for entrepreneurship, and investing in sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing, and technology.
2. **Regional Integration:** Nigeria should deepen its integration within the African continent and strengthen regional cooperation through organizations like ECOWAS. This can lead to shared economic benefits, enhanced security, and greater diplomatic influence.
3. **Human Capital Development:** The government should prioritize investment in education, healthcare, and skills training to empower its citizens and boost human capital development. This will help Nigeria tap into its demographic dividend and enhance its global competitiveness.
4. **Enhancing Diplomatic Ties:** Nigeria should maintain and expand its diplomatic engagement with key global and regional actors to promote its national interests. This includes strengthening partnerships for security cooperation, trade, investment, and technology transfer.
5. **Climate Change and Environmental Sustainability:** Given the growing global concern over climate change, Nigeria should take proactive measures to address environmental challenges and promote sustainable development. This can include investing in renewable energy, implementing effective environmental policies, and participating in international climate change initiatives.

These recommendations can contribute to Nigeria's overall development and enhance its standing on the global stage. However, it's important for the government to prioritize and implement these recommendations effectively to realize their full potential.

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