

**An Evaluation of Leadership and Nigeria's Foreign
Policy in the Fourth Republic: 1999-2015**

Ogah, Musa Ari

Department of Political Science,
Faculty of Social Sciences,
Nasarawa State University, Keffi

&

Prof. S.M. Omodia

Department of Political Sciences,
Faculty of Social Sciences,
Edo State University, Iyamho.

Abstract

The focus of this study is to interrogate on whether there was a synergy between leadership and Nigeria's Foreign Policies during the period under review. Anchored on Snyder, Bruck and Sapin theory of Decision Making, the study utilized both qualitative and quantitative secondary methods of data collection as its methodology. In effect, the findings revealed that the leadership of the fourth republic has maintained to a very large degree the status quo in pursuing the nation's Foreign Policy with little changes in the personalities of the leaders and their different agenda as far as Foreign Policy is concerned. Based on this, the study recommend that Nigeria's Foreign Policy should be clearly defined and the political institutions saddled with the task of Foreign Policy formulation and implementation should be well strengthened through the heightened synthesization of the inputs of the citizenry in determine what should constitute the Foreign Policy focus of the state. This will enable for Foreign Policy consistency irrespective of the person in power as head of government.

Keywords: Leadership, Foreign Policy, National Interest and Nigerian State.

Introduction

Nigeria's image and reputation over the years has been undergoing decline both within and outside the domain of the Nigerian State. Precisely, the country's international image has become a subject of intellectual discussion because of her strategic importance in the West African Sub-region. With strongest economy and largest population in the Sub-region, the country occupies an important place in the regions political and economic development. The leadership style of General Abacha's totalitarianism and dictatorship within the six year period accorded the Nigerian state a pariah status in the comity of nations.

It is in view of the above, that since the return of democratic governance in 1999, Nigeria's political leadership has focused on developing strategic partnerships with traditional and emerging global powers, to support its domestic priorities. It has strengthened old relations and developed new ones, and has tried to balance its role as a regional and continental power, which addresses domestic concerns. It was on this premise that Okerafor (2011), noted that Chief Obasanjo's Foreign Policy objectives were easily

identifiable. For instance, his prime priority was the restoration of Nigeria into the comity of nations where the state can regain her position as a key player in the committee of nations. An image of gross irresponsibility, inherited through General Sani Abacha's six years of totalitarianism, had to be fixed. Most of the country's economic partners, especially the Prominent ones like the United States, European Union, Commonwealth of Nations, World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F) had to be brought back through his popular shuffle diplomacy.

On the part of his successor, Yar'Adua, he moved swiftly after taking office to engage the rebels in the Niger Delta, who had led violent campaign of sabotage against the oil industry since 2006. The unrest in that region had reduced Nigeria's oil output by a fifth and helped drive up world oil price (Arizona-Ogwu, 2008). But following the death of President Umar Yar'Adua, Jonathan's administration was ushered in. Unfortunately for him, combating the insurgent terrorist group, the Boko Haram was a serious distraction to the pursuit of his vision 20:2020, a repackaged economic initiative of President Umar Yar'Adua with the goal of moving Nigeria from the disadvantaged third world status to the league of the top twenty leading economies in the world by the year 2020.

Indeed, the inconsistencies in the leadership and the differential in the Nigeria's Foreign Policy thrusts in the fourth is a function of the perception of the political leadership within the period under discussed. And, there is yet no universally acknowledged scientific standard for perception as it is pervasively subjective. The perception of a nation in international standing is the perception of its people, and the perception of its people is also partly a function of the political leaders' actions and character. Thus, Nigeria's foreign policy over the years has been grossly sabotaged and undermined by leadership deficit, ineptitude, corruption, nepotism, and poor democratic credentials, which have negatively affected the international reputation of the country (Achebe, 1983; Nwoke, 2014).

Furthermore, Nigeria's leadership role expectations at different "concentric circles" of her foreign policy have generated multiple role perceptions, thus leading to unintended role conflict. For instance, the policy of Afro-centrism (the policy of Africa being the Centre-piece of her foreign relations) which informed and guided Nigeria's foreign policy for the first four decades of her independence, culminated in the country's massive investment in material and human resources in the prosecution of the "war" against racism and imperialism in Africa yielded little or no diplomatic dividends for the country. Akinboye (2013) puts it most eloquently:

Unfortunately and disappointingly, many of the countries that have benefitted tremendously from Nigeria's largess often turned around to show ingratitude to both its citizens and the government itself. ...South Africa exhibited xenophobic attack against Nigerian citizens living in that country... Besides, the countries it has supported financially, diplomatically and strategically becomes but the butt of derision and envy by them. Some of these countries equally harbour or even offer training facilities for terrorists, while others campaign openly against Nigeria's bid to occupy one of the permanent seats of the United Nations Security Council. From these instances, it has become clear that the age-long philosophical notion of Africa as the Centre-piece of the country's foreign policy has become moribund, mundane and anachronistic (Akinboye, 2013:43-44).

From all indications, it is obvious that the inconsistencies and ambiguities in Nigeria's foreign policy objectives over the years, heightened by impulses in domestic policies, more than any other variable, explain the image crisis that has bedeviled the polity. Specifically, as far back as 2004, under the leadership of President Obasanjo, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), at a public forum in Lagos, concluded that Nigeria's poor external image has been denying it the much needed Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) to accelerate its economic growth. This is understandable given the fact that Nigeria has for long been bogged down by its perception as one of the most corrupt nations in the world (Adeniyi, 2012). In fairness to the Nigerian state, some administrations have in the past attempted to address and redress her reputation home and abroad.

Against this background, this paper examines leadership and Nigeria's foreign policy in the fourth republic, 1999-2015. It attempts to identify the cause and effect of leadership style on the Nigeria's Foreign Policy against the backdrop of vague and inconsistencies in the Nigeria's Foreign Policy thrusts in the Fourth Republic.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

From the available literature on Leadership and Nigeria's Foreign Policy, there seems to be a vague understanding of the Nigeria's Foreign Policy thrusts by Nigeria's political leaders in the Fourth Republic. The various attempts by successful administrations in the Nigeria's Fourth Republic to redefine Nigeria's Foreign Policy thrusts and redirect her Foreign Policy objectives in line with the changes in the contemporary international system has negatively affected the international image of the Nigerian State.

This to a great extent has snowball into Foreign Policy inconsistency as witnessed in different administrations of the Nigeria's Fourth Republic. The implication is that the Nigerian state over the years has not been able to clearly define and implement the basic thrusts of her Foreign Policy to the advantage of the state (Nigerian people). This no doubt may have negatively impacted on the image of the Nigerian state and her ability to influence international decisions to her favour in the comity of nations.

In a nutshell, to integrate Nigeria back to comity of nations political cum democratic experiment of the Nigeria's Fourth Republic to a great extent has impacted on her Foreign Policy based on the divergent administrative style of the successive leadership. For instance, under the Obasanjo's led political administration, the focus of the government's Foreign Policy was to re-integrate the Nigerian state into the world system or reclaim the identity of the Nigerian state in the comity of nations which was negatively dented during the Abacha's regime.

Conversely, the Yar'Adua's administration which took over from Obasanjo was conservative in her Foreign Policy. The focus of the administration was on domestic affairs and the pursuance of Citizen Centre Diplomacy unlike the conservative notion of Africa as the centerpiece of Nigeria's Foreign Policy. Whereas, the Jonathan government's foreign policy thrusts was anchored on transformation agenda as a means of consolidating the domestic programmes of the government. These have constituted major problem in Nigeria's Foreign Policy. It is this major gap that this paper attempt to fill:

Theoretical Framework

This work is anchored on Snyder, Bruck and Sapin (1954), theory of Decision-Making. Decision making theory is an attempt to understand politics from the stand point of the decision making process as spare headed by leaders. Its major premise is that decision makers are human beings who have their strengths, weaknesses, and emotions, bias, personal preferences baked world views. These they get to bear on the particular decision, which they take in the name of the state. The theory demystifies the state, and reduces its actions to that of its leaders. Essentially, the theory sees the States as the decisional units and the actors are the decision makers. For its perception of actors Van Dyke (1960) in Gauba (2003:100) posits that:

Every actor is a decision-maker. Those acting for political parties, decide which candidate to nominate, voters decide whether to vote and for whom. Legislators decide which proposals to advance or support. Executives decide what legislation to seek whether to sign or veto acts of the legislative body, precisely which steps to take in executing or administering the law and what policies to pursue where action is left to their discretion.

Gauba (2003) asserts that decision making theory is concerned with analysis of political systems, process and behaviour in terms of their decision mechanism and its functions. He subsequently points that decision making theory involves the following:

- Identification of the issues on which decisions are made
- The structures involved in decision making
- The actors involved in decision making (this may involve study of personality if necessary)
- The alternative courses of action or options that were considered before making a choice
- The factors influencing the choice of the decision makers, i.e their range of preferences vis-à-vis the utilities attached to each of the alternatives.
- Any external factors, pressures or constraints which influenced their decision and;
- The out-come of the decision including its political costs.

However, it is important to note that Foreign Policy making of most developing states (particularly Nigeria) usually lies within the power and interest of those individuals at the helm of affairs. Every individual is peculiar. People are different and react to the same circumstances differently. The idiosyncratic approach to decision making theory focuses on decision makers as leaders. Different individuals that make Foreign Policy Decisions are most likely to make different decisions depending on their perception, world views and motivations. In looking at this theory, five characteristics of decision makers will be explored. These are personality, physical and mental health, Ego and ambition, personal history and personal experiences, and perceptions.

Moreover, the decision making theory is found to be relevant in terms of explaining the dynamics of Nigeria's Foreign Policy within the period under focus. It has been able to provide convincing explanation of the nature and character of Nigeria's leaders from 1999 to 2015. The theory has clearly shows that the idiosyncrasies of the Nigeria's leaders, the domestic factors as well as the dynamics of international environment have significantly impacted on Nigeria's Foreign Policy.

Leadership and Nigeria's Foreign Policy in the Fourth Republic

President Obasanjo's Administration, 1999-2007

The re-birth of democratic rule in Nigeria from May 1999, saw the emergence of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo as the duly democratically elected president and soon after all embarked on foreign trips on regular basis. There is no major country in the world which has not witnessed the visit of the Nigerian president. He seemed bent on taking Nigeria out of the recluse of Abacha years. President Olusegun Obasanjo was renowned for his shuttle diplomacy which was a vital instrument of foreign bilateral and multilateral alliances for sustainable development and peaceful co-existence in the West Africa sub-region as well as other countries of the world.

The politics behind shuttle diplomacy is primarily based on the use of a third party to convey information back and front between the parties, serving as a reliable means of communication less liable to the grandstanding of face-to-face or media - based communication. The diplomatic shuttle provided a platform for Nigeria to seek and secure, at least to a reasonable extent, the repatriation of the country's stolen money in foreign banks in Switzerland, Britain, America, Belgium and Germany, among others. President Obasanjo also cultivated the habit of holding routine interactions and dialogues with Nigerian communities in the countries he visited to discuss issues of common national interests and update the Diaspora of Nigerian government policies, as well as assistance on possible ways of moving the country forward.

Through an Open Skies Agreement with the US Airspace Agency in 1999, the Obasanjo's government also secured the lifting of ban on direct flight between Nigeria and the US which had been in place since the time of Gen. Abacha, while the country, to an appreciable degree, regained its lost status as the hub of air and sea transportation in Africa. More international and domestic airlines came on board through private initiatives.

The nation has achieved significant gains through Obasanjo's administration's shuttle diplomacy. Apart from the psychological relief following its re-integration and accommodation into the world affairs, Nigeria had assumed the leadership of several international organizations such as: ECOWAS, AU, and

G-77. It had hosted very important international summits thereby attracting foreign players to Nigeria. All these imply that the international system has restored its confidence in Nigeria.

Table 1.1 Obasanjo's Sampled Foreign Visits (1999-2007)

S/N	Continents	Countries	Date
1.	U.S.A	Met with President Clinton during a private visit arrived in New York March 29	March, 30 1999
2.		Official Visit	Oct, 27-30 1999
3.		Working Visit	May, 10-12, 2001
4.		Met with President Bush during a private visit	Nov., 2 nd 2001
5.		Met with President Bush during a private visit	June., 20 th 2002
6.		Met with President Bush during the G8 Economic Summit at sea Island, Georgia. Attended the funeral of Former President Reagan	June 10-11, 2004
7.		Working Visit	December 2-3, 2004
8.		Working Visit	May, 5 th , 2005
9.	Europe	Italy	September, 2000
10.		Belgium	July, 2001
11.		Poland	March, 2001
12.		Spain	September, 2004
13.		France	May, 2005
14.		United Kingdom	2000, 2004
15.		Russia	March, 2001
16.		China	August, 2001, April 2005, Nov., 2006
17.		Japan	September, 2006
18.	Oceania	Australia	February, 2002
19.	Latin America	Brazil	September, 2005
20.	Africa	Ethiopia	October, 2006
21.		Kenya	1999
22.		South Africa	February, 2003
23.		Libya	February, 2001
24.		Algeria	April, 2000
25.		Angola	July, 1999
26.		Cameroon	1999, 2004
27.		Namibia	1999, 2005
28.		Uganda	March, 2004
29.		Zambia	June, 2004
30.		Ghana	June, 2005
31.		Benin	2006
32.		Egypt	December, 2004
33.		Liberia	September, 2003

Source: Authors Compilation. 2017

From table 1.1 above it shows that on assumption of office, the task before Obasanjo's administration was to bring Nigeria back to the international community from its isolated position as a pariah state. This involved wide-ranging diplomatic moves to Nigeria's former allies. Thus, between the months of May, 1999 and mid-August 2002, Obasanjo embarked on 113 foreign trips, spending a total of 340 days outside the country (Akindele, 2003). Commenting on those trips, he was quoted as saying;

I have devoted much time and energy journeying virtually all corners of the globe in my personal effort to positively reintegrate our country into the international community and attract investment. We are happy to report that the results from these trips have been encouraging enough to confirm my personal belief and the advice of marketing experts namely that personal contact is the best way to market your product. And my product is Nigeria (Oyedoyin, 2002:32).

Based on this report, Obasanjo was the most widely travelled president in the history of Nigeria who in a giant stride visited international and regional institutions such as the United Nations (UN), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Group of 8 (G-8), Group of 77 (G-77), the

Commonwealth, African Union (AU) and the European Union (EU). The international community responded quite positively to Chief Olusegun Obasanjo's diplomatic shuttles, rebranding diplomacy, charm and creative initiatives which in the end marked the reintegration of the country into the global community.

President Yar'Adua's Administration, 2007-2010

The emergence of President Yar'Adua on May 29, 2007, as the newly elected President, he acknowledged that president Obasanjo's administration laid the foundation upon which Nigeria's future prosperity can be built. According to the president during this period, Nigerians reached a national consensus in at least four areas namely to deepen democracy and the rule of law; build an economy driven primarily by the private sector, not government; display zero tolerance for corruption in all its firms, and finally, restructure and staff our government to ensure efficiency and good governance. He added that the goal of his administration was to build on the greatest accomplishment of the past few years and relying on the seven-point agenda, concentrate on rebuilding our physical infrastructure and human capital in order to take our country forward, and accelerating economic and other reforms in a way that makes a concrete and visible difference to ordinary people (Yar'Adua, 2007).

Chief Ojo Maduekwe the former minister of foreign Affairs under, Yar'Adua administration fashioned a foreign policy thrust for Nigeria called "citizens Diplomacy" or "diplomacy of consequences". Citizen's diplomacy according to Maduekwe entails defending the legitimate interests of Nigerians whenever and wherever such interests are under threat of outright jeopardy.

Table 1.2 President Yar'adua's Sampled Foreign Visits (2007-2010)

1.	U.S.A.	Working Visit	Dec., 12-15 2007
2.	Europe	Italy	July, 2009
3.		France	June, 2008
4.		United Kingdom	July, 2008
5.	Middle East	Saudi Arabia	September, 2009
6.	Asia	China	February, 2008
7.	Latin America	Brazil	July, 2009
8.	Africa	South Africa	May, 2007, June 2008
9.		Libya	May, 2007
10.		Algeria	2007
11.		Cameroon	May, 2007
12.		Ghana	2007
13.		Benin	2007
14.		Togo	2007
15.		Niger	2007
16.		Senegal	2007

Source: Authors Compilation, 2017.

Table 1.2 above, explicitly showed that President Umar Yar'Adua did not embarked on foreign trips like his predecessor but committed to the pursuance of his administration's domestic policy guided by his 7 Point Agenda to include;

- (i) Power and energy – to generate adequate energy to drive the Nigerian economy,
- (ii) Food security – to modernize the agricultural sector for better yield,
- (iii) wealth creation – to diversify the economy of Nigeria away from petroleum which in turn would create more jobs for the unemployed,
- (iv) Transport sector – to afford Nigerians good network of roads and also to develop other alternative means of transportation,
- (v) land reforms – to reform the land use and laws of the country,
- (vi) security – to resolve the national security challenge bedeviling the country in particular, the Niger Delta region and
- (vii). Education – to reform the educational system and facilities from primary to tertiary level. Maduekwe, (2008).

President Jonathan's Administration, 2010-2015

The death of President Yar'Adua in 2010 usher in the Jonathan administration to first complete the remaining two years left in the Yar'Adua four years mandate. However, after contesting and winning the 2011 presidential election, President Jonathan was saddle with the responsibility to lead the nation, while this afford him the opportunity to formulate a Foreign Policy direction for the country. From the domestic policy of the transformation agenda of the government, many where optimistic that a pragmatic and visionary Foreign Policy would emerge and serve as a departure from his predecessors.

Okungbowa, (2011) contended that the Jonathan led administration embarked on a comprehensive review of the country's foreign policy. The government anchored it foreign policy direction on domestic interest, to this scholar whatever is the focus of the administration, domestic or economic diplomacy one thing that ought to be paramount to the administration in her foreign relations is the interest of Nigeria. Onuorah and Obayuwana (2011), in there analysis of the Jonathan administration on Nigeria, point to the fact that, the government in it beat to re-launch Nigeria's Foreign Policy ascertain the need for viable Foreign Policy options that include the task of building a sound domestic economic base. Their point of departure is credited to the betterment of the domestic demand. For instance, the minister for foreign affairs, Ambassador Olugbenga Ashiru asserted that thus: The average Nigerian national can only own and buy into this new Foreign Policy focus when they are assured of an improvement in their living standard.

Table 1.3 President Jonathan's Sampled Foreign Visits (2010-2015)

PRESIDENT JONATHAN'S FOREIGN VISITS			
1.	U.S.A	Working Visit	June, 8 2011
2.		Met with President Obama at the UN General Assembly in New York City	Sept., 23 rd 2013
3.		Attended the US-Africa Leaders Summit	August 5-6, 2014
4.	Europe	Italy	2015
5.		Netherlands	2015
6.		Belgium	2012
7.		France	2011, 2013, 2014
8.		Germany	April, 2012
9.		United Kingdom	2014
10.		Switzerland	January, 2013
11.	Middle East	Israel	Oct., 2013, 2014
12.	Asia	Turkey	February, 2011
13.		South Korea	2012
14.		China	July, 2013
15.	North - America	Trinidad and Tobago	July, 2012
16.		Jamaica	July, 2012
17.	Oceania	Australia	
18.	Africa	South Africa	May, 2013
19.		Cameroon	2010, 2013
20.		Ghana	2011, 2014
21.		Mali	2015
22.		Ethiopia	2013, 2014
23.		Senegal	August, 2012
24.		Namibia	2013
25.		Kenya	2013
26.		Uganda	2011
27.		Chad	2011

Source: Authors Compilation, 2017.

President Goodluck Jonathan's Foreign Policy has been tailored to that of his former boss, late President Umar Yar' Adua. The administration also witnessed the tarnishing of the image and dignity of Nigeria by Nigerians living abroad as such, necessitated the first diplomatic move embarked upon by President Jonathan on assumption of office to the United States and demanding the delisting of Nigeria's name from the United States Terrorist Watch List following the failed terrorist attempt by 23 years old Nigerian Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab to detonate a bomb in the Northwest Airlines Flight 253 he boarded from Amsterdam, the Netherland to the densely populated city of Detroit in the United States in 2009.

President Jonathan in pursuit of his administration's economic diplomacy resulted to shuttle diplomacy from one country to another. President Jonathan paid trade visit with member of his key cabinet ministers to China where they were warmly received by China's President Xi Jinping. He was able to secure \$1.1 billion low interest loan for the improvement of Nigeria's hydro power, road transportation and light-rail system as well as airport terminal infrastructures.

Vision 2020 is a comprehensive development framework encompassing economic, political and social and more than domestic policies can achieve. It is the pursuance of President Umar Yar' Adua's economic package. The goals of both strategies remain the emergence of Nigeria by the year 2020 into the league of the twenty leading economies in the world. With an economic growth rate of 7% as at the 7th of April, 2014 adjusted to worth \$510 billion by Bureau of biggest in Africa ahead of South Africa.

Table 1.4 Oil Revenue % Contribution to Total Revenue in Nigeria (1999 -2015).

Year	Oil Revenue
1999	724.42
2000	1,591.68
2001	1,707.56
2002	1,230.85
2003	2,074.28
2004	3,354.80
2005	4,762.40
2006	5,287.57
2007	4,462.91
2008	6,530.60
2009	3,191.94
2010	5,396.09
2011	8,878.97
2012	8,025.97
2013	6,809.23
2014	6,793.82
2015	3,830.10

Source: Central Bank of Nigeria Statistical Bulletin, (2015).

The above table shows the geometric progression in oil revenue from 1999-2015 quickly displacing agricultural and other mineral products as the nation's export earner. This can be well appreciated from the year 1999 showing that since the return to democratic governance oil has been the backbone of the economy. The table further revealed that from the year 2003-2006 there was sharp increase in the oil revenue, this is as a results of political stability in the nation. The implication is that more revenue from oil means increase in the capacity and ability of the government to provide essential services to the citizenry. Due to omission or commission the region that produces the wealth of the nation was neglected by the successive regimes which provoked restiveness among the youths and the attendant militarization. The resultants effect was that by 2007 there was a small decline as a result of conflict and vandalisation of oil installation by the Niger Delta militants.

To mitigate the people of the area, president Obasanjo had to set up the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) to oversee development of the region. He also adopted the National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS) designed to promote export and woo foreign investors through a variety of reforms, including macroeconomic stability, deregulation, liberation, privatization and transparency (Zaki, 2011). President Obasanjo took a bold step in the fight against corruption by initiating anti-corruption strategy involving a wide variety of measures, three of which were particularly outstanding. The first one was the creation of specialized anticorruption agencies, the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) in September 2000 and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in April 2003, to investigate and prosecute

corrupt individuals. The other two included a comprehensive reform of the public service with particular reference to recovering funds stolen and stashed away in foreign banks.

The effectiveness of the anti-graft bodies translated in the gradual decline of Nigeria in Corruption Perception Index of Transparency International (TI) from 147th position in 1999 to 98th corrupt country in 2007. There was also the privatization of public enterprises such as the telecommunication industry which brought in foreign investors into a telecom market hitherto dominated by public parastatal, the Nigerian Telecommunication (NITEL). On the international scene, President Obasanjo followed through a deliberate Foreign Policy which in the end revived the inflow of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and bilateral trading relations between Nigeria and the United States as well as United Kingdom, China, India and Brazil.

From 2007-2010 there was rise and fall of oil revenue in Nigeria because of both internal and external predicaments. From the domestic angle, there were internal crises in the Niger delta. The militants had vandalized most of the facilities and installations of oil multinational resulting to decrease in the quantum of oil production. On the other hand there was also fall in the price of oil at the international market. To solve these twin challenges, the Yar'Adua's led government created Ministry for Niger-delta affair and full implementation of amnesty programme. As a result most of the militants who embraced amnesty laid down their arms for peace thrive in the country.

The peak of oil revenue could be seen in the year 2011 where the federal government had the highest revenue. This is in connection with the higher demand of oil which led to the rise in the price of oil at the international market. From 2012-2015 the table depict declining in both the quantity and price of oil at the international market. This analyses is further explicitly explain in the Fig below.

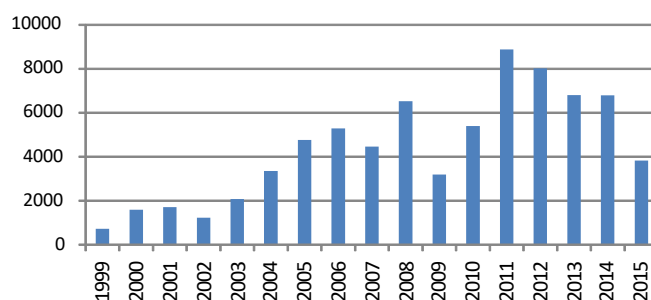


Fig. 1 bar-chart showing oil revenue % contribution total revenue in Nigeria 1999-2015
Source: Central Bank of Nigeria Bulletin, 2015.

Conclusion

The paper on Leadership and Nigeria's Foreign Policy in the Fourth Republic 1999-2015, pursued under the various administrations in focus were in a state of ultra-stability characterised by inconsistency in their policy framework. So, Since Foreign Policy is a reflection of domestic realities that are externally projected, and predicated on factual realities, Nigeria's leaders onward must evolve a home-based developmental strategies anchored on an adage 'Charity begins at home', not on the contrary of 'Charity begins from abroad' as overtly manifested and shown by the past and present Nigerian leadership. However, the Nigerian State has been at a discordant inflection point in its Foreign Policy. Nigeria's Africa-centred policy has mostly been borne out of sympathy and empathy for the African situation, which it believes it could tackle with its enormous human and material resources, wealth and strong military. The implication of these would be that Nigeria's roles in Africa and the world at large is prompted by genuine moral ideals which has no place in international politics.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are pertinent and fundamental.

- i. The paper recommends that Nigeria's Foreign Policy should be clearly defined and the political institutions saddled with the task of Foreign Policy formulation and implementation should be well

strengthened through the heightened synthesization of the inputs of the citizenry in determine what should constitute the Foreign Policy focus of the state. This will enable for Foreign Policy consistency irrespective of the person in power as head of government.

ii. Secondly, the paper also recommends as a matter of necessity a broad concept and practice of citizen diplomacy in which the citizens are the centerpiece of both domestic and foreign relations (as it is done in the American, European and many South East Asian countries), and as such they are proud and patriotic, just as the nation become naturally respected.

iii. Thirdly, the paper recommends a democratic leadership that carefully allows the initiation, discussion and brainstorming by all the instruments of Foreign Policy formulation such as the Federal cabinet, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, all the three Arms of government, the Media, the pressure/Interest groups, the Academic community, Business community, the Intelligentsia, etc, in the formulation and implementation of Nigeria's Foreign Policy headlong. The involvement of the above instruments, would no doubt give a clear cut direction to the Nigeria's Foreign Policy as against the overt manifestation of personalities traits dominating the main cog of Foreign Policy formulation and implementation in the Nigeria's Foreign Policy arena.

References

- Achebe, C (1983). *The trouble with Nigeria*. England: Heinemann
- Adeniyi, O (2012). *Nigeria's external image and the media*” in Emeka Anyaoku (ed.) *Review of Nigeria's foreign policy: issues and perspectives*. Lagos: The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA). Pp. 355-368.
- Akinboye, S. (2013). *Beautiful abroad but ugly at home: Issues and contradictions in Nigeria's Foreign Policy*. being an inaugural lecture delivered at University of Lagos, Nigeria, July 17th.
- Akindele, R.A (2013) “Nigeria's multilateral diplomacy, 1960-2012: structure, process and preoccupation”. *Nigerian Journal of International Studies (NJIS)*, Vol. 38, Nos. 1&2, pp. 1-68.
- Akunyili, D. (2009). *The time is now: Speech delivered by the honorable minister of Information and Communications at the Launch of the re-branding Nigeria project*, March 17, 2009.
- Alao, A. (2011). *Nigeria and the global power: Continuity and change in policy and perceptions*. SAIIA occasional paper 96, October.
- All African Newspaper, April, 14, 2007.
- Arizona-Ogwu, L. C. (2008). *Yar' Adua's regime: Getting slow or getting slog*. Niger world feature article. Nigeriaworld.com/./301.html.
- Daily Trust newspaper. *The halfway mark Nigeria's score Yar'Adua low*. 2009.
- Gauga, S. (2003). *International relations*. New Delhi: Pearson educational.
- Maduekwe, O. (2008). *Nigeria foreign policy: citizens diplomacy speech at ministerial briefing*. Abuja, Nigeria.
- Nwankwo O. B. C. (2013). *Shifting the paradigm in Nigeria's foreign policy: Goodluck Jonathan and Nigeria's vision 20:2020*. *Social Sciences* 2(6): 212-221.
- Nwoke, C.N. (2014). *Towards a knowledge economy for genuine transformation in Nigeria: The crucial role of leadership*, in Chibuzo N. N. and Ogaba O. (eds.) *Contemporary*

- challenges in Nigeria, Africa and the World. Lagos: The Nigerian institute of international affairs (NIIA). Pp. 51-67.
- Okerfor, T. (2011). Nigeria: country's foreign policy since 1999. All Africa. Com/./201107080804.html.
- Okocha, C., & Nzeshi, O. (2007). Nigeria to adopt citizenship diplomacy <http://209.85.129.132/search?q=cache:wel89qwlwuwj:nigeranbronds.blogspot.com/2007/o>.
- Okungbowa, T. (2011) Nigeria: analysing the security challenges of the Goodluck Jonathan administration. Canadian social sciences, 7 (5).
- Onuorah, M. and Obajuwara, O. (2011). Path to Nigeria's Greatness in the Guardian Newspapers, P 1-2.
- Rosenau, J. (1990). The scientific study of foreign policy. London: Frances Printer Publishers.
- Snyder, R., Bruck, J. and Sapin, B. (1962). Foreign policy decision making: an approach to the study of international politics. New York: The Free press of Glencoe.
- The sun news newspaper, 2008.
- This Day newspaper, 2007.
- This Day newspaper, 2010.
- Yar'Adua, U. (2007). A visit to Whitehouse, Los Angeles: Voice of America, December, 13.