



JOURNAL OF POLITICAL INQUIRY

VOLUME 1

APRIL 2015

A Publication of:

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
NIGERIA POLICE ACADEMY WUDIL,
KANO NIGERIA**

ISSN: 2449-1039

JOURNAL OF POLITICAL INQUIRY
NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL INTEREST: AN EVALUATION
OF THE FOURTH REPUBLIC

By

SAKARIYAU Rauf Tunde,
Dantata Bello Sanusi

Department of Political Science, Nigeria Police Academy, Wudil, Kano State.

And

ALIU Fatima Omotayo

Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Kwara State.
rblawal@yahoo.com

Abstract

It is an established fact that 1999 marked the modern democratic trend in Nigeria, after years of military intervention. However, the former president Olusegun Obasanjo embarked on shuttle diplomacy as a foreign policy towards redeeming the country's image which had been dented by military regime. Such gesture assisted in reshaping Nigeria's standing within the international community. The emergence of Yar'Adua as the successor of Obasanjo after the 2007 Presidential election enhanced the introduction of 'Citizen Diplomacy' as the centre piece of his administration foreign policy. This which provided avenue for Nigeria's citizens especially those in Diaspora to shape the country's external relations positively. The demise of Yar'Adua shortened the goals of his foreign policy. The present Jonathan's administration has also reviewed the foreign policy of Nigeria on citizen-focused and connects foreign policy to domestic policy with much emphasis on economic diplomacy. This makes it imperative in this study to explore Nigeria's foreign policy vis a vis her national interest. The paper argues that lack of consistency and continuity has been the major hurdle to the actualization of the country's national interest in her external relations.

KEY WORDS: Foreign Policy, National Interest, Citizen Diplomacy, Economic Diplomacy

Introduction

The formation of the Nigerian state could be traced to the amalgamation of 1914 when the Northern protectorate and the Southern protectorate became an entity. However, such gesture was under colonial administration and by October 1 1960, Nigeria became an independent state. This enhanced the beginning of Nigeria's diplomatic history as a sovereign state. As rightly observed by Asobie (2010:1), Nigeria can be divided into five distinct periods. The first period, 1960-1975, was characterized as the age of innocence. The second, 1975-1985, was the era of awakening. The third, 1985-1992, was the epoch of realism. The fourth, 1993-1998, was the Dark Age. And the fifth, 1999-2010, may be described as the Renaissance. The aforementioned phases covered the history of Nigeria's diplomacy.

As it can be recalled, after Nigeria's independence, the objectives of the country's foreign policy were highlighted and emphasis was placed on African unity and independence. This propelled Nigeria's government to centre her economic and political strength on African states. In fact, Nigeria exercised hegemonic influence in the region: peaceful settlement of disputes; non alignment and non interference in the internal affairs of other nations; and regional economic co-operation and development. In carrying out these principles, Nigeria participated in the organization of African unity (OAU) now known as the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Non -Aligned Movement, the Commonwealth and

the United Nations.

However, Abati (2012) points out that Nigeria has been extraordinarily naive by restricting her 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 next millennium. Africa as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy no longer suffices, a broader perspective is necessary. This makes it imperative in this paper to analyse Nigeria's foreign policy beyond the African region.

Conceptual Analysis

On the concept of Foreign Policy

Like any other concepts in social sciences, there is no general agreement among scholars as to the exact definition and scope of foreign policy. This makes it also to be a contested concept. However, foreign policy can be explained as the primary method by which a country pursues its national interest in the external domain. It consists of decisions or actions taken by states in order to achieve the realization of those interests. Although it is often used interchangeably with diplomacy, which concerns procedure and process, foreign policy involves decisions and actions by government. Viewed from various perceptions, foreign policy may also be defined as the aggregate of a country's policies in its interaction with other members of the international community. These policies comprise the country's perceptions, attitudes and behaviours on issues, as well as towards other states in the international community (Mbachu, 2009:63)

Considering Mbachu's view on foreign policy, it can be deduced that diplomatic policy of a nation in its interaction with other nations, is the central focus of his conceptualization and meanwhile we have seen cases where military tool is necessary. In a situation where diplomacy fails, military action is necessary. Abacha's regime was not too diplomatic in dealing with foreign countries. Foreign policy can as well be regarded as goals that a country wishes to achieve when interacting with another country. When interacting with other countries, the conversation is played like a game of chess, with each country lobbying for its own best interest (Pentru, 2007).

In a similar vein, Dokubo (2010) explains foreign policy as the entire range of activities of a nation pursue in its day-to-day relations with other nations, in order to achieve its national interest as defined by its leaders. Meanwhile, Saliu (2010:311) clarifies the thrust of a country's foreign policy which according to him centers on two contending factors namely: domestic and external issues. His argument which underscores the thrust of the linkage school that revolves on how domestic issues can easily be affected by the external environment and vice versa. According to him, what may appear to be national on the surface may after all have an external orientation under-pinning its existence. It is also possible for an external issue to have deep national roots depending on how people understand the entire dimension that may surround its existence. Derived from the foregoing therefore, foreign policy is a kind of lever in the hands of nation with which it can navigate through the complex international system to maximize the abundant opportunities in it and minimize the negative repercussions that attend participation in the system (Saliu, 2010:312).

Whatever category a thrust may fall, Saliu pinpoints that the thrust of foreign policy are generally aimed at mobilizing resources (human and material) for higher level of delivery. In a situation whereby a thrust of foreign policy is only known and appreciated by a few officials connected with it will necessarily put the the foreign policy at a great risk of non-performance, while working to withdraw public support from its effective pursuit as the requirements of material comfort of its chief implementers will clash with the service aspect of the new thrust and one can be sure that once that happens, the promoters of the thrust in foreign policy will settle for the former. This is the tragedy of the thrust of foreign policies in Third World countries where the dangers facing foreign policy are more real (Saliu, 2010:313).

Conceptual

Every nation makes it pa
interest. His
through diffl
when the co
Nigeria in t
powerful ac
strategy tha
especially, g
most develop
and the way
policy to eli
polity ancho
of its citizen

However, w
This argumen
of thought. F
this school, t
must be supp
terms of nati
territory and
approach to
relatively per
identity of a
peripheral (O

The generally
objectives and
those things v
national intere
order to prom
role outside
unemployment
Nigeria. Som
ideology and
foreign policy

Nigeria's For

The successfu
watershed in
was seriously c
conduct. Sever
government in
economies. Ho
economic glo
governance. A
dimensions of
to the present
the civilian adn

restricting her
1990s but its
move into next
ices, a broader
geria's foreign

g scholars as to
tested concept.
country pursues
ten by states in
interchangeably
s decisions and
also be defined
embers of the
, attitudes and
unity. (Mbachu,

atic policy of a
tualization and
here diplomacy
n dealing with
ntry wishes to
countries, the
or its own best

f activities of a
eve its national
st of a country's
y: domestic and
ol that revolves
and vice versa.
ave an external
ie to have deep
ay surround its
ver in the hands
to maximize the
nd participation

eign policy are
of delivery. In a
/ a few officials
on-performance,
requirements of
f the new thrust
eign policy will
in Third World
3).

Conceptualizing National Interest

Every nation within the international system struggles to sustain its national interest. This makes it paramount for a country's foreign policy to be tailored towards ensuring her national interest. Historically, the national interest within the framework of its foreign policy has gone through different phases of mutation from the immediate post colonial period to date even when the core elements have remained largely the same. The fundamental issue that confronts Nigeria in the 21st century, with the deepening of globalization and the emergence of new powerful actors, is how to re-conceptualize her national interest, provide the mechanism and strategy that will facilitate the pursuit of foreign policy to achieve its national objectives especially, given the pressing desire to transit from an underdeveloped economy to one of the most developed in the year 2020 and at the same time provide the means to ensure the security and the way of the life of its people. This vision requires that Nigeria employs its foreign policy to eliminate the serious deficits that impede the actualization of the status of a stable polity anchored on good governance, whose primary responsibility is the welfare and security of its citizens, both at home and abroad (Osita, 2010:80).

However, what constitutes a country's national interest is another contention in scholarship. This argument is supported by Osita (2010) when he straddles national interest on two schools of thought. For the realist school, there are two main strands. According to power theorists of this school, the objectives of foreign policy must be defined in terms of national interest and must be supported with adequate power. The national interest of a state can only be defined in terms of national security and national security must be defined as integrity of the national territory and its institutions (Morgenthau, 1967). This view of Morgenthau rejects moralistic approach to international relations while insisting that the core interests of a nation are relatively permanent and have to do with the protection of the physical, political and cultural identity of a nation against encroachment by other nations. With this national interests are peripheral (Osita, 2010).

The generally acceptable view is that national interest is a manifestation of the core values, objectives and philosophy underlying the actions of the leaders. It is a concept that describes those things which a state seeks to protect/achieve vis a vis other states. It is also argued that national interest is the interest of the people not of the state, where the state is seen to exist in order to promote and protect the welfare of the citizens. A nation cannot play a super power role outside when her citizens are plagued by insecurity, inflationary pressure, high unemployment and economic instability. It is even difficult to define national interest of Nigeria. Some foreign policy expectorates believe that Nigeria has no clear-cut political ideology and national interest. Part of the policy indecision is attributable to the fact that foreign policy is inextricably linked to its domestic policy (Stevens, 2012).

Nigeria's Foreign Policy in the Fourth Republic

The successful transition to civilian rule in 1999 after years of military governance marked a watershed in Nigeria's foreign policy. It is still fresh in our memory that the country's image was seriously dented within the international community due to previous military undemocratic conduct. Several sanctions were imposed on Nigeria during military regimes and on Abacha's government in particular. The implication of this was lack of acceptability among Western economies. However, the economic scenario substantially changed with the deepening of economic globalization, and economic reforms in various sectors as a result of civil governance. Although as rightly observed by Osita (2010:47), one of the most crucial dimensions of Nigeria's national interest during the civilian administration of Obasanjo and up to the present Jonathan's government has been the consolidation of its hard-won democracy, the civilian administration restructured more on economic driven diplomacy.

JOURNAL OF POLITICAL INQUIRY

elected government in Sao Tome and Principe after a coup d'etat and donated US \$50,000 to the government of the country towards the country's July 2006 presidential elections (Osita, 2010:49).

In trying to attract foreign investment and fresh financial flows, the administration under Obasanjo adopted the National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS) in 2013 with the intention to promote, export and attract foreign investors through several reforms which include: deregulation, privatization, and liberalization. In actualization of these, foreign investors particularly from China, Brazil, USA and Israel came to Nigeria to do business.

Another notable achievement of Obasanjo's shuttle diplomacy has been the sharp reduction of the country's external debt. This was one of the cardinal objectives of his foreign trips in the name of debt relief. According to Central Bank of Nigeria (2002) report, as at 1997, Nigeria's external debt stood at \$27.008 billion which presented Nigeria as the highest indebted country in Africa. In order to secure debt forgiveness from Nigeria's creditors, Obasanjo's government lobbied Paris and London club to the extent of relieving Nigeria of the sum of \$18 billion and also paid another \$18 billion to be debt free. Nigeria's Minister of Finance under Obasanjo, Dr. Ngozi Okonjo Iweala was quoted to have said:

Initially we owed \$35 billion and \$30 billion of that was owed the Paris club group of creditors of 15 countries, most of them Western countries and Japan. Researchers exited the Parish club through the debt cancellation. So \$5 billion is left. We do not owe the IMF even one kobo. Of the \$56 billion that is left about \$ 2.5 billion is owed multilateral institutions. This includes the World Bank, African Development Bank, among others and these are long term, 30 - 40 years loan of little or no interest (Afrodad, 2007)".

As a matter of fact, the country's foreign reserves grew to an all-time high of \$34 billion in 2006 and at the period of expiration of Obasanjo's term in office Nigeria's foreign reserve was \$ 43 billion in 2007.

In order to enhance promotion of Nigeria's external trade, the administration recorded success in investment promotion and protection agreement (IPPA) with Germany, trade pact with India. Countries such as Greece, Russia, Norway, Poland, Spain, Italy, Switzerland and Israel also established bilateral investment relations with Nigeria (CBN, 2008)

Yar'Adua's Citizen Diplomacy

After the first ever successful democratic transition from one civilian administration to another, Obasanjo handed over the mantle of power of leadership to Umar Musa Yar'Adua, a former Governor of Katsina. Under Yar'Adua's Presidency, a new framework of Nigeria's foreign policy tagged "Citizen Diplomacy" was developed. The thrust of citizen diplomacy was that Nigeria's foreign policy would henceforth be focused on the Nigerian citizens at home and in the diaspora. According to the Foreign Affairs Minister, Ojo Maduekwe, citizen diplomacy was not necessarily a departure from the country's traditional approach to foreign relation in which Africa was taken as the centre - piece; however the policy was rebranded to focus on the citizen (Bakare, 2007 : 7).

The agenda of citizen diplomacy was a novel idea for the Nigerian environment even though it was not fully fleshed out on that occasion. People to people diplomacy is a familiar terrain involving grassroots and non - governmental organizations reaching out to their counterparts in other countries without necessarily being prodded or funded by the government in power. Such network of relationship helps to generate goodwill and to cut out unnecessary bureaucracy (Alaba, 2010: 19)

The citizen diplomacy as argued by Ojo Maduekwe would strive for a synergy between foreign policy and domestic affairs in such a way that the citizen is taken as the focus of foreign

and will continue
l bodies. We shall
ier countries. It is
us position in the

Olusegun Obasanjo
reaction to existing
tion embarked on
to several parts of
the president was
liu, 2007:46). The
red at:

merous trip abroad,
cal of this shuttle
al image, attracting
f the looted monies
een his own Foreign
ved it and used this
is in the view of
erceived the shuttle
f the country by the
sanjo as avenue in
ctive in multilateral

its determination to
President during his
omic Community of
non Wealth, African
ese apart from the
into the country of
izations notably the
its thereby attracting

ithin Africa, got a
on, management and
sanjo contributed
l diplomacy to avoid
overnment was
ops under the OAU
DRC to cushion the
re-instate the

policy (Monday, 2010). The idea of citizen diplomacy is also simplified by Mbachu (2007: 9) when he gives the basic thrust of the new foreign policy initiative as what revolves around concerns for the basic needs, human rights and socio-economic welfare of Nigerian citizens in bilateral and multilateral engagement with other countries.

However, the idea of citizen diplomacy faces so many hurdles. Nigerians living both at home and abroad believed it is a slogan to enrich its pronouncers (Daily Trust, 2009). As rightly observed by Saliu (2010) crucial issues to the citizens are not well addressed at all. Domestic challenge such as infrastructure is not addressed. Roads are bad, power is epileptic, security is not being delivered, water is not adequately supplied and telecommunication services, though on the increase, the quality is not high (Saliu, 2010). The impact of these negative incidences are not enabling to citizen diplomacy. The citizens are therefore not much bothered about its pursuit and the domestic environment must be right before citizens can be empowered to be implementers of citizen diplomacy (US Report, 2010, Saliu 2010:326)

The practicability of the slogan is also questioned by Osita (2010) when he considers the perspective and manner in which Nigerians have conducted themselves outside her boundary and ways in which they are being treated by law enforcement agencies of foreign countries even if they were illegal immigrants. Many have been brutalized, harassed and even killed in the name of repatriating them to Nigeria.

In a nutshell, citizen diplomacy anticipates an environment for its implementation but in a situation whereby our democracy is questionable, such enabling environment for the concept to strive is jettisoned. Elections have always been flawed leading to the assumption of office by leaders not desired by the people. Politics is seen as "do or die" affair in which all means are fair (Saliu, 2008). Definitely if the citizens at home are disappointed and consequently alienated from government, citizens living in other parts of the world may not feel much impact of the country (Daily Independence, 2010, Saliu, 2010).

The Jonathan's Citizen and Economic Diplomacy

The Jonathan's administration like his predecessor also introduced a new foreign policy drive. Although while on acting capacity as the President of Nigeria, his foreign affairs Minister, Odein Ajumogobia had announced his determination to continue with the thrust of citizen diplomacy. However, after the 2011 presidential Election which was won by him, a comprehensive review of Nigeria's foreign policy was carried out. The emphasis of Jonathan's administration is to seek and focus foreign policy review on investment drive. The newly appointed foreign affairs minister, Ambassador Olugbenga Ashiru, announced the new policy initiative for the country which is said to be in line with change in international relationships. Nigeria's new foreign policy direction is now on investment and economic cooperation, which thus ties foreign policy to the country domestic agenda, a radical departure from the old one which has Africa as the centre point.

The President through his transformation agenda has restated that Nigeria's foreign policy is now anchored on the realization Foreign Direct Investment. Under the new policy thrust, Nigeria's diplomatic missions abroad have been directed to focus more on attracting investment to support the domestic programmes of government with a view to achieving not only vision 2020 but to bequeathing an enduring legacy of economic prosperity (Bello, 2012).

In his drive towards investments, the President has led the campaign of inviting investors to set up industries in Nigeria, and produce locally if they wish to take advantage of Nigeria's huge market potential. According to reports, Foreign Direct Investments generated in 2011 alone was \$8.9 billion making Nigeria no. 1 in Africa and a top quartile investment destination in the world (UNCTAD, 2012). During the Presidential visit to Rio, Brazil, Nigeria signed an MOU with Electrobras to invest in generation of 10,000 mw of electricity. Since then Brazilian investors in infrastructure, food and beverages and consumer items have been visiting Nigeria (Abati, 2012).

In October 20
sidelines of C
established to
sector. Austr
place to provi

In April 2012,
generation, an
with Nigerian
private sector
(Access Bank,
Group, LUBC
government w
(Abati, 2012).

In the Preside
cause to defen
2,000 distresse
The fifth Nige
January 2012 e

In May 2013, '
host the 2014
administration.
for the econor
the foreign car
puts Nigeria al
Jonathan's adn

Challenges an

Nigeria's unhe
choices at the r
ecology does
created vacuum
picture of a lea
scholars have
leadership to d
diplomatic rela
neighbours, it
been one of an
Not only is tha
challenges. Ni
maltreatment i
Critical issues
challenges, dec
guaranteed. The

The major chall
international ter
sustained amids
School girls in I
and which has d
not commensura
feel the impact
for Nigeria to ha
paper concords

JOURNAL OF POLITICAL INQUIRY

In October 2011, the President met with the Australian investment community in Perth, on the sidelines of CHOGM, the Australian-Nigeria Trade and Investment Council (ANTIC) was established to facilitate the flow of investment into agriculture, mining and the petrochemicals sector. Australian Council members have since visited Nigeria and there is an agreement in place to provide technical support for the local mining sector.

In April 2012, the President visited Germany and got Siemens to commit investment in power generation, and turbine maintenance and repair in Nigeria. The President often times travels with Nigerian businessmen who are looking for in roads into foreign markets. The Nigerian private sector is involved in banking and insurance in Rwanda and other parts of Africa (Access Bank, IGI, GT Bank) in manufacturing in Ethiopia and Southern Africa (the Dangote Group, LUBCON) and so on. Such investors often require the support of the Nigerian government which has been readily and consistently provided by the Jonathan administration (Abati, 2012).

In the Presidential pursuit of citizen diplomacy, the Jonathan administration has always had cause to defend the interest of distressed Nigerians in Diaspora such as the evacuation of over 2,000 distressed Nigerians from Libya and more than 1,000 in Egypt between 2011 and 2012. The fifth Nigeria/EU dialogue in migration and Development which was held in Abuja in January 2012 emphasized on welfarism of Nigerians in their relations with other countries.

In May 2013, World Economic Forum was held in Cape Town and Nigeria was opportuned to host the 2014 edition in Abuja. This gesture is a plus to economic diplomacy of Jonathan's administration. Recently, both the World Bank and the IMF have equally commended Nigeria for the economic progress and due to the fact that the level of FDI inflow has increased from the foreign campaigns of this administration. The rebasing of the country's economy which puts Nigeria ahead of South Africa is a welcome development to the economic diplomacy of Jonathan's administration.

Challenges and Prospects

Nigeria's unhealthy domestic policy environment has narrowed down the menu of policy choices at the multilateral level (Idumanje, 2010). It has been posited that Nigeria's democratic ecology does not support her foreign policy posture. The shuttle diplomacy of Obasanjo created vacuum in attending to domestic pressing needs. His frequent overseas visits paint a picture of a leader who pays more attention to foreign issues at the cost of local ones. And most scholars have attributed Nigeria's diplomatic hurdles as the inability of the country's leadership to define her national interest. Consequently, the nation has its edge in African diplomatic relations. Despite all Nigeria has done for Africa, and especially its immediate neighbours, it appears that the general perception and attitude of neighbours to Nigeria have been one of an unwelcome intruder (Osita, 2010).

Not only is that, the odds against citizen diplomacy are also attributed to internal and external challenges. Nigerians suffer rejection, deportation, imprisonment and other forms of maltreatment in other countries. The poor perception about the country is yet to be changed. Critical issues are not given attention at home. Unemployment ratio increases, infrastructural challenges, decline in educational standard and protection of lives and properties is not guaranteed. The realization of core national values is another problem.

The major challenge of the present administration is security. This has taken a form of international terrorism/suicide bombing and whereas his economic diplomacy can only be sustained amidst peace and stability. The abduction of the Chibok Government Secondary School girls in Borno State by the Boko Haram insurgency is a huge blow to Nigeria's security and which has dented the country's image. Also, the recent rebasing of the country's GDP is not commensurate with the people's standard of living. In fact, the average Nigerian does not feel the impact of such economic development as claimed by the federal government. In order for Nigeria to have a vibrant foreign policy tailored on a well articulated national interest, this paper concords

with the need for Nigeria's government to adhere to the following six elements of national interest as identified by Aluko (1981) thus:

- Self-preservation of the country
- Defense and maintenance of the country's independence.
- Economic and social well being of the people
- Defense, preservation and promotion of democratic values
- Enhancing Nigeria's stance and status in the world and
- Promotion of world peace.

Conclusion

The paper explores Nigeria's foreign policy and her prospect of enhancing national interest and it is argued that the objectives of the country's external relations should go beyond paper work. Having considered the various foreign policies of different democratic dispensations right from the Obasanjo's shuttle diplomacy to the Citizen and Economic diplomacy of Jonathan's administration, the paper maintains that Nigeria needs to promote democratic virtues that would improve domestic living condition which invariably can add value to the country's foreign policy. The present security challenge which questions the viability of Nigeria's military might needs genuine attention from the government in order to ensure investment driven economy as the centre piece of the present administration's foreign policy.

References

- Abati, R.(2012) "The Gains of Jonathan's Diplomacy" *Vanguard* September,9
- AFRODAD (2007) "Nigeria: Debt, Stolen Wealth, IFIS and the West: A Case Study of African Forum and Network on Debt and Development" <http://www.afrodad.org/downloads/Nigeria.pdf>
- Ajetumobi, R, Osunkoya, A and Omolere, T .(2011) "Impact OF President Olusegun's Personality in Nigerian Foreign Policy,1999-2007" *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* 8(6)
- Alaba, O. (2010) "Citizen Diplomacy: Challenges for Nigeria's Foreign Policy" in Osita C, Eze(Ed) *Citizen Diplomacy*. A Publication of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
- Aluko, O. (1981) *Essays in Nigerian Foreign Policy*. London: George Allen and Union
- Asobie, A. (2010) "Fifty Years of Nigeria's Foreign Policy: An Overview" in Osita, C. Eze(ed.) *Beyond 50 Years of Nigeria's Foreign Policy: Issues, Challenges and Prospects*. A Publication of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
- Bello, M. (2012) "Jonathan: Economy Key to Nigeria's Foreign Policy" *This Day*, September
- Central Bank of Nigeria (2002) *Annual Report*
- Idumanje, J.(2010) "The Problematic of Redefining Nigeria's National Interest in the Content of Global Diplomacy" news@ponitblanknews.com
- Mbachu, O. (2010) "Citizen Diplomacy : The Challenges for Nigeria's Defence and Security in the 21st Century" in Osita C. Eze (ed.) *Citizen Diplomacy*. A Publication of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
- Monday, D. (2010) "Citizen Diplomacy in President Umar Musa Yar'Adua Nigeria, 2007- 2009: An Assessment" *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance*. Vol 1 No 13 Quarter III
- Morgenthau, H. (1967) *Politics Among Nations*. New York: Knopf
- NACCIMA (2008) "State of the Nation' A Report of the Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture" <http://www.naccima.com>
- Osita, A. (2010) "Nigerian Foreign Policy Under President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua: Challenges and Prospects" in Osita, C. Eze(ed.) *Citizen Diplomacy*. A Publication of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
- Pentru, A. (2007) "Understanding the Concept of Foreign Policy" diplomacyintimes.blogspot.com March 19
- Saliu, H. (2007) "Nigeria's External Image Management" in Saliu, H .A., Amali, E, and Olawepo, R.(eds.) *Nigeria's Reforms Programme: Issues and Challenges*. Ibadan: Vantage Publisher

Saliu, H. (2008)
Beyond 2007: 1:
 Science, Univer
 Saliu, H. (2010)
50 Years of Nig
 Institute of Inte
 Stevens, A.(201
 United Nation C
 UNCTAD (2012)
 Zabadi, I. (2004)
Policy Thrust: Es

JOURNAL OF POLITICAL INQUIRY

ents of national

- Saliu, H. (2008) "Towards an Agenda for Nigeria's Foreign Policy" in Saliu, H., et'al(eds.) *Nigeria Beyond 2007: Issues, Perspective and Challenges*. A Publication of Faculty of Business and Social Science, University of Ilorin
- Saliu, H. (2010) "Citizen Diplomacy and Future of Nigeria's Foreign Policy" in Osita, C.Eze (ed.) *Beyond 50 Years of Nigeria's Foreign Policy: Issues, Challenges and Prospects*. A Publication of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
- Stevens, A.(2012) "Nigeria and Concept of National Interest" *Daily Independent* July 12
- United Nation Conference on Trade and Development (2008), New York
- UNCTAD (2012) *Investment Report*
- Zabadi, I. (2004) "Nigeria's New- Multilateral Democracy" in Bolaji, A.(ed.) *Nigeria's New Foreign Policy Thrust: Essays in Honour of Ambassador Oluyemi Adeniji* Ibadan: Vantage Publisher

national interest
to beyond paper
ic dispensations
c diplomacy of
note democratic
dd value to the
the viability of
order to ensure
oreign policy.

ican Forum and

ersonality in

, Eze(Ed) *Citizen*

(ed.) *Beyond 50*
ie Nigerian

ember

ontent of Global

urity in the 21st
e of International

- 2009: An
ter III

rs of

enges and
e of

logspot.com

wepo, R.(eds.)