

NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND AFROCENTRISM: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

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Abstract

The paper examined the policy of Afrocentrism against the background of its condemnation as not promotion Nigerians national interest. The objective of the investigation was to ascertain the veracity or otherwise, of the claim, and make appropriate recommendation. The work made use of secondary source and the linkage theoretical framework. Findings show that Afrocentrism is still very much relevant in its essentials. However, the abysmally deplorable internal conditions which contradict Nigeria's gallant external engagement had disappointed both Nigerians and the international community, and cast aspersion on her foreign policy, generally. The neglect of the domestic environment, which formed the basis for assessment of Nigeria's foreign policy, had projected the country as a bad influence on the continent. The resultant credibility gap is at the root of the disrespect and disdain with which Nigeria is treated. It was concluded that the challenges of the domestic environment must be addressed to give effect and credibility to Afrocentrism. Hence, the

recommendation, amongst other options, the reform of the Nigerian State.

Introduction

The work focuses on Nigeria's external relations and critically examines a core aspect of the country's foreign policy orientation; Africa as the centre piece of Nigeria's foreign policy, otherwise known as Afrocentrism. It is a contribution to the trending argument in the foreign policy circle that Nigeria should sack or review the Afrocentric policy, because the policy does not promote the national interest of the nation.

In international relations, foreign policy and national interest are core, if not indispensable, elements. The essence of the relationships and interactions among States in the international system, is to promote and advance their national objectives. In this regard, foreign policy is the vehicle through which these goals are achieved. Therefore, as a platform for international engagement, foreign policy provides the framework for cooperation, collaboration and coordination among states in order to meet their respective national interest. Consequently, foreign policy and national interest are both embedded in a mutually reinforcing relationship.

Nigerian leaders understand and appreciate the essence of international relations and have since independence in 1960, seriously engaged the international community from the stand point of Africa as her major focus. This foreign policy orientation was believed would promote the country's interest.

However, over the years issues have been raised that question the justification for continuing with the policy. This stand is considered worrisome given the centrality of national interest in national life. Hence, this investigation.

Statement of the Research Problem

Since her independence in 1960, Nigeria has adopted Afrocentrism as her major international relations policy. This policy orientation was believed to be in the national interest of the country. However, the stringent condemnation of the policy over the years by even government officials calling for its outright sack on the basis that it does not reflect national realities of the country, coupled with the fact that the country is not accorded deserved recognition, calls for grave concern, given the fact that foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy and should confer a level of authority commensurate to a country's contribution. The questions to ask are; one, is Africa as the centre-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy in the national interest? Two, is there any connection between Afrocentrism and Nigeria's domestic environment? Third, why is Nigeria treated with contempt and disdain by the international community? These questions would guide this research endeavor.

Objective of the Study

The central objective is to analyze Nigeria's foreign policy from the stand point of Afrocentrism. In specific terms, the work intends to;

1. ascertain whether or not Afrocentrism is in Nigeria's national interest
2. ascertain the justification for the condemnation of Afrocentrism
3. ascertain the nexus between Afrocentrism and Nigeria's domestic environment
4. make suggestions on how to make Nigeria's foreign policy generally and Afrocentrism in particular, more relevant and meaningful to Nigerians.

Significance

The work has academic and policy significance. Academically, it will broaden public and research knowledge and possibly stimulate further inquiry into Nigeria's foreign policy issues. In terms of

policy, it will enable Nigerian policy makers to give effect and credibility to the Afrocentric policy by prioritizing or elevating domestic issues to the front burner of national policy.

Theoretical Framework

This paper employs the linkage theory to emphasize the influence of internal factor on foreign policy. The linkage theory was first popularized by James Rosenau, who defined it as “any recurrent sequence of behaviour that originates in one system and is reacted to in another (system)”. (Akpan; 45) However, while Rosenau in his book seeks to explain the influence that the international environment wields on the national or domestic politics, this work rather emphasizes the influences of the domestic environment on the international scene, in line with the thinking of many scholars including Kenneth Waltz, Fearson, Hult etc. This theory insists that to understand the foreign relations of a country, it is necessary to understand its domestic setting. In other words, the domestic realities is the barometer for measuring the relevance or otherwise, of a foreign policy disposition. This theoretical approach is very apt for this paper where, as shall be seen, the dismal performance of the Nigerian domestic environment-insecurity, poverty, unemployment, corruption, infrastructural deficit, nepotism, injustice amongst others, form the basis for the condemnation of Afrocentrism as not serving the national interest of Nigeria. The import of the application of the linkage theory is to enable Nigerian policy makers to give effect and credibility to her African policy by drastically addressing internal challenges.

Definition of Terms

1. **Credibility:** The capacity of being believed, the capacity of maintaining public’s confidence (304).
2. **Credibility gap:** A lessening or loss of credibility (304).
3. **Foreign policy orientation:** The particular type of foreign policy decision made by a country that should, theoretically,

further its national interest (Kaufman, 280). In Nigeria situation, it is Afrocentrism.

4. **Foreign policy:** The concept foreign policy has no one universally acceptable definition. Rather, several definitions exist. However, it is generally agreed as the basis of the conduct of all international relations, the supreme objective being national interest (Khanna; 234). This work adopts Modelski's definition as "the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment. This sees the interplay between a State and the international environment (Ibrahim and Ibrahim; 6-7).
5. **National interest:** National interest is a very important concept in international relations. It is believed to be the determinant of foreign policy. In other words, Nations engage in international politics in order to further or protect their national interest. The concept serves two purposes – as an analytical tool and as an instrument of political action. In this capacity, it provides State's foreign policy objectives as well as serve to justify or repudiate a foreign policy option and action. However, despite the unanimity of opinion about the importance of national interest, several contestable definitions of the concept exist. Nevertheless, in a synthesis of the various definitions, Ojo and Sesay identified some key elements of national interest to include the following; first, national interest refers to the objectives or goals that a State aspires to promote in her foreign policy. Second, the achievement of those goals would benefit the entire nation. In other words, the policies would promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Third, national interest justifies the failure or success of a foreign policy goal (Obi, 16-19). Nigeria since independence has focused on Africa as the centre piece of her foreign policy.

Africa as the Centre Piece of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

The foundation for Afrocentrism as the foremost foreign policy orientation was laid by Nigeria's first Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Balewa, in an official statement on August 20, 1960. At the Federal House of Assembly, the Nigerian leader had stated that Nigeria was "adopting clear and practical policies with regard to Africa, it will be our aim to assist any country to find solution to its problem". This policy position was re-emphasized by General Aguiyi Ironsi in June 1966, when at the Ambassadors Conference held in Lagos to re-examine the premises and direction of Nigeria's foreign policy, he stated that "in the whole sphere of external relations, the government attaches greatest importance to our African policy" (Ibrahim and Ibrahim, 2009).

The concern for African issues as the cornerstone of Nigeria's foreign policy was rationalized on several grounds; as follows amongst others;

- i. Should Nigeria fail to show needed concern to African plight, be it conflict or otherwise, other interests outside the Continent might be encouraged to dabble into African affairs with the potential of eroding Nigeria's leadership on the Continent (Saliu, 200).
- ii. Another consideration was that Nigeria's independence and security would be incomplete and meaningless if it does not translate to the total liberation of all African countries (Ibrahim and Ibrahim; 187).

On the strength of these and other considerations, Afrocentrism has guided the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy as a fundamental objective and successive administrations since 1960 have pursued it with varying degree of emphasis and focus.

Aspects of Nigeria's Engagement with Afrocentrism

- i. **Decolonization:** Nigeria demonstrated enormous commitment to the fight against colonization and racial discrimination to which many Africans were subjected. At Nigeria's independence colonization and apartheid against Blacks were largely unchallenged, anti-apartheid struggle was ineffective, most western countries supported the regime in South Africa. Nigeria provided the voice, rallying point and leadership that Africa, badly needed that she mobilized and deployed her moral, diplomatic and financial resources for the decolonization and liberation of Africa leading to the independence of Angola (1975), Zimbabwe (1980), Namibia (1990) and South Africa (1994). The South African Institute of International Affairs reports that Nigeria alone spent over \$61 billion between 1960 and 1995, to support the prosecution of the obnoxious system, more than any other country in the world. Many high profile blacks personalities were offered asylum in Nigeria including among others; Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki. She also provided scholarships to many Southern African Youth to enable them resume schooling in Nigeria and elsewhere (Ejime; 23, Salui: 96, 212).
- ii. **Political Integration and Economic Development of Africa:** This is central to Nigeria's Africa policy. To this effect, the country was instrumental to the formation, and has since remained a major source of financing, for the defunct organization of African Unity (OAU) now the African Union (AU), and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). She was also instrumental to the formation of the Lake Chad Basin Commission, where she contributes 52% of the fund (Akpama and Israel; 194). Through its participation in the Lake Chad Basin Commission and the Niger Basin Authority, Nigeria has

contributed to the harnessing and management of common water resources for agricultural and socio-economic development of member states as well as expanded the scope of sub-regional economic integration (Jega: 232).

In furtherance of the Africa development objective, Nigeria, in 1976, established the Nigerian Trust Fund within the African Development Bank to the tune of \$800 million, to assist needy African countries obtain soft loans to execute vital development projects. Over thirty African Union member states have benefited including Ghana and Kenya (Dunmoje: 254, Ibrahim and Ibrahim: 216, Jega: 232).

- iii. **Technical Aids Corps:** To provide intellectual capital and foster South-South cooperation among African, Caribbean and Pacific Countries (ACP), Nigeria, in 1987 created the Technical Aids Corps Programme (TAC). On the basis of the scheme, the country has contributed needed skilled personnel, such as Doctors, Lawyers, Nurses, Engineers and Teachers to many ACP countries despite the shortage of the categories of human capital in the country itself. It is on record that between 1987 and 2020, over 8,000 Nigerian volunteers have been dispatched to more than thirty two (32) countries to provide technical know how. It is also recorded that between 2009 and 2018, the Country spent over six billion, seven hundred and seventy eight million, two hundred and seventy three thousand, seven hundred and ninety three dollars (\$6,778,273,793) (Ogbonna and Ogunnubi: 134).
- iv. **Peace support operations:** This has remain key in Afrocentrism. Nigeria participation in Peace Support Operation (PSO) is on many platforms including the United Nations (UN), the OAU/AU/, and ECOWAS. Her involvement began barely a month after independence, when in November 1960, she provided UN peace keepers to

the Congo (ONUC) from 1960 – 1964 and spent fifteen million pounds (€15M) on this operation (Jega: 232). Since then the country has remained active participant in peace support operations in Africa deploying military contingent, military staff, unarmed military observers, the police and civilian experts to many missions on the continent. It is on record that regional peace missions in Liberia and Sierra Leone cost Nigeria the sum of \$10 billion in addition to the over 70% of the personnel she provided. Between 2003 and 2018 Nigerian troops were the military backbone of the UN mission in Liberia, helping to restore security in the country (Providing for peacekeeping.org).

Nigeria is also involved in peace mediation and democratic restoration in many African countries including Cote de Ivoire, Sudan Guinea Guinea Bissau, Equatorial Guinea (Sheriff: 98-99). She has also provided material and other support to the democratic and electoral processes in Guinea, Bissau, Mali, Senegal, Ghana, Liberia, amongst others. Some of these interventions were made even when the country was under the military regimes of Babangida and Abacha. Nigeria is reputed as a leading peace keeping nation in the world and number one in Africa, the fourth troop contributing country coming after Pakistan, Bangladesh and India.

On the basis of her sterling performance in peace keeping, six Nigerians had served as the UN force commanders including major General Aguiyi Ironsi (ONUC, Congo), major General Chris Garba (Angola), Lieutenant General Isaac Obiakor (UN, Liberia), General Martin Agwai (UNAMID, Darfur) Major General Moses Obi (UNAMIL, Sudan), Major General Joel Owonibu (Liberia). General Obiakor and Agwai also served as Chief Military Adviser and Deputy Military Adviser, respectively at the UN Headquarters (providing for peacekeeping.org).

In addition, Nigeria had served as African spoke person in several organizations, including the UN. She also championed the campaign for debt relief for African countries, which materialized in 2005, apart from leading the campaign for an enlarged UN Security Council that will sit two African Countries as permanent members with veto power (Saliu; 120).

Arguments against Afrocentrism

However, over the years, Afrocentrism has come under serious questioning and condemnation. In 1980s and 90s, vocal citizens had argued against the continuation of the policy especially because of its corruptive dimensions. However, in recent time government officials have joined to berate the policy. As President, Dr. Jonathan in 2013 had advocated for a review or outright sack of the policy, on the basis of its bareness to Nigeria. He directed a review of Nigeria foreign policy to reflect current realities, to focus on Nigeria's domestic priorities (Saliu: 16, Ibrahim and Ibrahim: 174).

Mailafia, Ojo and Wahab each had something against Nigeria's foreign policy. On his part, Mailafia submitted that Nigeria has never defined its national interest and expressed doubt that Nigerian leaders know Nigeria's national interest. He advocated advancement of the economy through trade and survival of the economy as Nigeria's national interest. For Ojo, strong and prosperous economy should be the focus of Nigeria's foreign policy, while Wahab opined that Nigeria's foreign policy should focus on the development of Nigerian economy through agriculture (Daily Sun Thursday: 30).

Akinterinwa supported the review of Nigeria's foreign policy to focus on the acceleration of socio-economic development of the country. He hinged his support for review on two grounds. Firstly, that Nigeria is not reaping the gains of her outstanding

efforts in peace keeping worldwide. Secondly, that Nigeria does not receive gratitude from the countries given assistance (The Nation, Thursday: 61).

Ibrahim and Ibrahim opined that Afrocentrism no longer suffices because it does not produce any positive outcome for Nigeria. They therefore, advocated a foreign policy that reflect domestic priorities of the country (218 – 220).

On his part, Saliu supports the review of Afrocentrism for a number of reasons; that Nigeria has not commanded commensurate influence in a number of countries that have benefited from her assistance and, that, Nigeria is not appreciated and respected for the Aids it has given. He stated for instance, that in 1995 and 2005, Nigeria lost her bid for the African Development Bank (ADB) presidency, that in 2006, South Africa voted against Nigeria's aspiration for the ADB presidency, that in 2009, Nigeria could not discourage Sierra Leone from indicating interest. In contesting against her for the West Africa representative at the UNSC, that in 2012, Nigeria preferred candidate for the African Union Commission, Jean Pong, was rejected in favour of South African, Madam Delami Zuma, with the support of West African States, and that it was only in 2012 that Nigeria got elected commissioner, for political affairs of the African Union after three failed attempts (147 – 149).

Analysis of the Arguments against Afrocentrism

The content of the argument above seems to question the relevance and justification for continuing with the African policy. A critical analysis of the argument projects two areas of vital concern, as follows;

- i. The deplorable internal socio-economic conditions in Nigeria and
- ii. The lack of respect, support and cooperation with Nigeria by beneficiary States.

This author shares in the concerns, for a number of reasons. First, foreign policy is development driven and achieving development through foreign policy demands addressing certain domestic imperatives especially issues of survival and prosperity which remain the major motivation of men and nations in all their actions, both internally and externally. In this regard, the parlous domestic environment characterized by low level infrastructure growth, deep seated inequality, poor governance and leadership quality, pervasive insecurity, generally poor living standard of majority of citizens, unemployment and poverty is highly regrettable. Aligning with the view of Thomas, poverty remains pervasive in the third world in general and Africa in particular and indeed with specific reference to Nigeria (18).

Secondly, a country's foreign policy orientation should earn for it the goodwill of the international community. Afrocentrism was adopted as a soft power tool to earn for Nigeria respect and support, and to cultivate and enjoy the cooperation of beneficiary countries. That Nigeria is not leveraging this privilege is disheartening.

However, to advocate a review or sack of the African policy on the strength of the above arguments and concerns is to focus attention on the wrong side. This is because the position does not address the causes of, and solution to, the concerns, which are indeed, central to Nigeria's public policy generally and her African policy, in particular. The questions to ask, which are implicit in the above position are as follows; one, is the deplorable internal socio-economic condition in Nigeria the result of the African policy? Two, why is Nigeria treated with contempt and disdain by the international community, including even African countries? Three, does the African policy serve Nigeria's interest or not?

This work argues that the problem is not Afrocentrism. It is rather the loss of credibility, the perception of a negative image for Nigeria as a result of the irreconcilable contradictions in the domestic environment. I expatiate.

Afrocentrism: Nigeria's engagement with African issues will for a long time remain central to her foreign policy because of her aspiration for continental leadership. Any country that makes claim to hegemonic status must have a sphere of influence or base. This regional disposition applies to all leading nations including the USA, China, Russia, Japan, Germany and recently South Africa which is contending African leadership with Nigeria. Therefore, Nigeria's Africa engagement is in her national interest, because it is meant to promote the development and stability of the continent. To this end, Nigeria needs a stable, prosperous, secured and united continent as her base. It should be noted that claims to regional leadership carry enormous responsibilities. It is therefore a very expensive scheme in terms of both material, human and financial cost. So, Nigeria is justified in her investment on the continent. It should also be noted that many Nigerian national live in different African countries which confers additional responsibility on the country. So, Afrocentrism is still very necessary and relevant.

While the expensive nature of the policy is acknowledged as a result of the attendant responsibilities, this researcher does not accede to the insinuation that the policy is responsible for the deplorable internal socio-economic situation in Nigeria most especially given the incontrovertible evidence of the humongous amount of money that public officials steal from government's coffers.

Credibility Lag

The nature of response that a State's foreign policy elicits depends on public perception of the domestic environment. In other words, domestic politics constitutes a very important aspect of the explanation for State's foreign policy. The publics (both national and international) perception of a State's internal situation defines the State's foreign policy as either credible or otherwise. This image defines the support, confidence, cooperation or otherwise, that a state receives.

This is so because as an extension of a State's domestic policy, foreign policy is meant to project the concerns, ideals and values of a country to the international community. On this, Fearson expresses the view that there is no foreign politics without domestic politics and that what may be referred to as foreign politics is merely the domestic politics of foreign countries or the product of their domestic politics. To this effect, foreign policy seeks to regulate the behaviour or disposition of other states to suit one's own interest. And also, to regulate one's own behaviour too. Accordingly, therefore, the behaviour of every state is expected to affect other states behaviour. On this score, the foreign policy makers are keen to ensure that their behaviour towards other states result in positive response from them (Khanna; 234). This implies a synergy between a State's external engagement and its domestic realities or circumstances. In Nigeria this is where the credibility gap sets in.

Unlike other countries who project their internal values and concerns thereby making their domestic environment the foundation of their foreign policies, in Nigeria, domestic realities are grossly neglected. This anomaly constitutes Nigeria's foreign policy dilemma, as encapsulated in Afrocentrism. In other words, as evident in the preceding, while Nigeria has demonstrated enormous commitment to development, democratization, stability, security, conflict resolution, unity, freedom, good leadership and governance, transparency among other values, in Africa, at the

home front in Nigeria, these same issues which constitute the foci of Nigeria's Africa engagements are abysmally neglected. Thus, corruption, conflict, insecurity, injustice, nepotism, infrastructural deficit, unemployment and poverty, emigration of Nigerians amongst others, are rife. Infact, corruption, poverty, insecurity and unemployment are deep rooted in Nigeria (Egbe, Enor and Ngajii 125). The avalanche of deplorable domestic conditions have cumulatively foist an abysmally negative image on Nigeria and made her foreign policy suspect and unbelievable, by both Nigerians (national public) and the international community (international public).

It could be inferred from the foregoing, that the harsh and hostile realities of Nigeria's domestic environment has engendered an inevitable feeling of alienation, frustration and disappointment in the Nigeria State, which has lost the legitimacy of the people. And that this unfortunate situation is not the product of Afrocentrism, rather it is caused by the oppressive nature of post-colonial Nigeria State. Therefore, it is an error of judgment to ask for a sack of Afrocentrism.

It is important to note that Nigeria's domestic environment as barometer of her foreign policy has been of substantial consideration by world leaders. For instance, in 2008, when the USA President, George Bush visited Africa, he avoided Nigeria and rather went to Ghana. In the same vein, Barrack Obama in July 2009 did not visit Nigeria but Ghana instead. From all indications, they kept away from Nigeria on account of disappointment which the world has with the Nigerian leadership in respect of democracy, good governance and economic management. This much was made evident by the US Secretary of State, Hilary Clinton during her visit to Nigeria in August 2009, when she squarely blamed the Nigerian leadership for the growing religious and sectarian conflicts in the country as well as thriving corruption which makes her import oil even though she is the sixth producer of oil in the world (Salui: 197).

Again, in 2011 at an international colloquium organized to mark Nigeria's silver jubilee, attended by several former and then current African leaders, including Thabo Mbeki and Ellen Sirleaf – Johnson, a consensus emerged regarding the importance of the Africa-centered foreign policy. As reported by the punch newspapers:

The discussants unanimously extolled Nigeria for the role it had played in the past 50 years in liberating Africans from the Shackles of colonial rule and apartheid as well as in peacekeeping operations across the continent. However, they posited that the time had come for the country with the largest population of black people in the world to liberate itself from the chains of poverty, bad governance and mismanagement of resources (Punch October 11, 2011: 12).

The above observation, made as it were, by some of the outstanding beneficiaries of Nigeria's foreign policy has laid bare the issue of governance failure in the country. The strikingly deplorable domestic environment is an affront on Nigeria's foreign policy generally and the African policy in particular, and negates the fact that foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy. The effort by Nigerian leaders through Afrocentrism to reform or influence the African environment should be reflected in the internal realities of the country. Because of her non prioritization of the domestic circumstance, Nigeria's foreign policy generally and her African policy, in particular, is not seen to be credible. In other words, Nigeria cannot give what she does not have.

Thus, the disconnect between Nigeria's "gallant" international engagements and her abysmally perilous domestic realities, is a discredit on her foreign policy. It is on the basis of this contradiction that she is not take seriously and treated with

contempt and disdain even by the beneficiaries of her humanitarian gestures.

The end point is that Nigeria is not seen as a good example and encouragement to Africa. She is rather portrayed as a bad influence. Thus, Nigeria is a victim of credibility gap.

Summary

This work has critically examined the Afrocentric policy of Nigeria's international relations policy against the background of its stringent condemnation. Afrocentrism has been berated on the grounds that it does not reflect domestic realities and that Nigeria does not command the respect and cooperation of the benefiting countries of her foreign policy humanitarian disposition.

However, it was observed that Afrocentrism is very much relevant and in keeping with Nigeria's national interest. This is so because the content of Nigeria's engagement with Africa is in line with her aspiration for regional leadership and geopolitical consideration.

Nevertheless, it was conceded that the problem of Afrocentrism has to do with the neglect of the domestic sphere. The deplorable internal Nigerian situation characterized by infrastructural deficit, corruption, insecurity, mass poverty, unemployment, poverty, injustice, oppression and general underdevelopment of socio-economic processes, is at variance with Nigeria commitment to addressing these same issues at the African level.

It was further conceded that though Afrocentrism is neither responsible for the deplorable domestic condition nor the contempt and disrespect with which the country is treated, the appraisal of foreign policy for the prism of the domestic, has cast aspersion on Nigeria's foreign policy generally. Both the Nigerian public and the international community, including the beneficiaries of Nigeria foreign policy, do not believe in the credibility of Nigeria policy disposition. In other words, Nigeria cannot give what it does not have.

Conclusion

Against the background of the fact that domestic politics offers very strong explanation for a states' foreign policy, it has become inevitable that Nigeria's leadership should drastically address the contradictions in Nigeria's domestic environment, as a means to give effect and credibility to Afrocentrism. In other words, the credibility gap has to be redressed.

Recommendations

In line with the above conclusion, coupled with the fact that foreign policy is not just seeking to regulate the behaviour of other states to align with your own, but also to regulate your own behaviour to align with others, for the purpose of achieving national interest, I make the following recommendations;

- i. **Reforming the Nigerian state:** The Nigerian state should be reformed of its inherited exploitative and oppressive colonial nature and character. This will promote equity and justice, peace and freedom and make the State more amenable to development.
- ii. Overhauling the domestic environment as a top priority agenda. This requires the political will to enforce many key decisions including
 - (a) Dealing decisively and impartially with insecurity, especially Boko Haram, Fulani herdsmen, ISWAP, IPOB etcetera.
 - (b) Tackling unemployment headlong.
 - (c) Dealing with the cancer of corruption as a public policy option, to promote transparency and accountability.
 - (d) Addressing the issue of mass poverty with which Nigeria has become a special case.
 - (e) Reviewing some of the policy positions like federal character and quota system, which deemphasize

- merit and standard, but rather promote mediocrity, injustice and underdevelopment.
- (f) Improving infrastructure.
- iii. Nigeria should also review its' commitment to Afrocentrism in line with the dwindling resources. This will entail prioritizing her engagements.
- It is considered that when the above and other actions are taken, the Nigerian internal environment will improve, Nigerians would restore legitimacy and confidence on the State, the international community as well as the Nigerian public will believe in Nigeria's foreign policy and the credibility gap would have been filled.

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