

# Developmental Diplomacy in a Globalised World: The Imperatives of Soft Power in Nigeria's External Relations under the Transformation Agenda of President Goodluck Jonathan

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## Abstract

The intricate link between the domestic context and Nigerian foreign policy making was central to the analyses made in this work. From the soft power perspective it was observed that the Transformation Agenda, of the present administration, could dramatically bolster Nigeria's status in this era of Globalisation. Using a descriptive analysis and an eclectic framework, the study revealed that, if the growing rate of foreign investment is sustained, the foreign policy strategy of the government will effectively transform the country for good. In the end, it was recommended that the problems of insecurity and poor infrastructural facilities should be decisively tackled, to enhance the foreign policy capability of the country.

**Keywords:** Globalisation, Development-Diplomacy, Foreign Policy, Soft-Power, and Transformation Agenda.

## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

The intense interconnectedness of the global system and its far-reaching implications for the policies of a state, in relation to other states, necessitates the establishment of some degree of strategizing in their interactions with other states for the pursuit of crucial interests. The means through which such relationship is conducted is called diplomacy, and it arises out of the coexistence of a multitude of independent states in an inter-dependent world<sup>1</sup>. Following Nigeria's independence in 1960, successive administrations have aspired for a robust diplomatic relations in the international system that is driven by the desire to attract other foreign nations through bilateral and multilateral relations to the rich economic and cultural potentials of Nigeria. In a world of complex interdependence among states due to globalisation, several policy initiatives were formulated to achieve the aim of favourable economic relations with other states which cut across the promotion of economic negotiations, trade, investment, economic integration, and the promotion of national cultures abroad through the instrument of soft power<sup>2</sup>.

Thus in this increasingly integrating world, the imperative of developmental diplomacy for Nigeria becomes inevitable. This is so because, the speed with which events are changing, and information spreading puts policy makers literally on their toes, particularly in the realm of international relations. It is even more pronounced in the domestic milieu of developing nations such as Nigeria. Thus, the phenomenon simultaneously presents prosperous opportunities that can dramatically change the fate of most Third World countries for good!

It is against this background, and a strong conviction in the possibility of using external relations for internal transformation, that this paper seeks to identify the soft power potentials of Nigeria in a globalized world. In other words, what are the developmental benefits that can accrue to the Nigerian state from her relations with other states of the world? To this end, the study will be structured into two sections; the introductory section that gives an insight into the work with a conceptual clarification of relevant concepts; and a historical background to the evolution of foreign relations in Nigeria. And section two will examine the foreign policy of the present administration using a theoretical perspective of soft power; contextualization of development diplomacy in the era of globalization and the quest for development; the challenges to the development diplomacy and the way forward comes before a conclusion.

## 1.2 Conceptual Clarifications

*Developmental diplomacy* is simply the combination of two words, development and diplomacy. In order to clarify this concept, it is important to look at the two words differently within the context of international relations. Walter Rodney<sup>3</sup> saw development as the "capacity to regulate both internal and external relationships. It means increase in the ability to guard the independence of a social group". It is often viewed from the economic or humanitarian perspectives. The incontrovertible fact about development at national level is that, it is the ability of a country to record progressive and sustainable growth over a period of time.

On the other hand, diplomacy is a tactical strategy which a nation adopts to achieve its goals in relation to other nations, through negotiation. Therefore, development diplomacy is basically the use of tactical skills in

<sup>1</sup> Watson, (1991:2).

<sup>2</sup> Nye, J.S. (1990: 6).

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. (1972: 3).

external relations to woo foreign investments for the development of a State. It was central to the policy pursuits of previous regimes in Nigeria, overtly or covertly, and have manifested in varying nomenclatures such as ‘economic diplomacy’, ‘shuttle diplomacy’, etc, but it has never been vigorously pursued in the interest of national development and welfare of Nigerians as it is evident in the constant increase in the level of poverty, unemployment and inequality.

*Globalization* is a process of intensification of social, cultural, political and economic ties among the people of the world. It describes a growing global economic, political and cultural linkage that connects individuals and states around the world. It is as a result of revolutionary advancements in communications, information and transportation technologies. The current phase of Globalization can be described as “double edged sword” in its effects on a country’s developmental potentials. Though the opportunity it presents might be skewed in favour of one section of the world<sup>1</sup>, considering their accumulated capital base, emerging economies in the global south such the Asian Tigers: Indonesia, Malaysia, Taiwan etc, and the BRICS nations<sup>2</sup> have being immensely profiting from the phenomenon of globalization. Thus as Nigeria sets forth into the threshold of her centenary as a modern state, come 2014, a developmental foreign policy will dramatically change our socio-economic condition dramatically in this era of Globalization.

*Foreign policy* essentially “deals with the relations between sovereign actors in the international system”<sup>3</sup>. Northedge,<sup>4</sup> asserts that “the foreign policy of a country is a product of environmental factors, internal and external to it. Barring war or aggression, a nation essentially seeks to implement its foreign policy through diplomacy, expectedly, development diplomacy.

Finally is the catch-phrase in the political landscape of Nigeria’s current administration: the *transformation agenda*. Basically it is a policy package by the administration of President Goodluck Jonathan, to holistically overhaul all spheres of Nigerians national life. It is impinged on a 14-point programme, and driven by a world class team of twenty-eight technocrats under the chairmanship of the President himself, and the coordination of the renowned economist, Dr Ngozi O. Iweala, that seeks to dramatically revamp the economy of the country. This is expected to lay the foundation for making the Nigerian economy one of the first-twenty economies in the world by 2020, as encapsulated in the vision 20; 2020 of Nigeria.

### 1.3 Historical Evolution of Nigeria’s Foreign Relations: An Appraisal

Upon independence in 1960, Nigeria began her external relations as a sovereign state with her emergence as the 99<sup>th</sup> member of the United Nations, thus this section will analyse some of the forces that influenced Nigeria’s foreign policy over the years, and how they have manifested in the country’s contemporary foreign relations, and how they constitute variables in understanding today’s challenges and planning for the future. To a significant extent, these factors have shaped and continue to shape Nigeria’s foreign policy in various ways.

While there is the technical tendency to view Nigeria’s foreign policy as starting from 1960 when the country attained political independence from Britain, Nigeria, on the contrary, did not start on a clean slate. Rather it brought with it a century-old colonial relationship with her erstwhile colonial master: Britain; and this largely influenced her foreign policy ever since. The enduring impact of British influence on Nigeria’s foreign policy and its ruling elite continued to have far-reaching effects on the pro-west stand of Nigeria, in spite of her non-aligned claims until the late 1960s when the lessons of the Nigerian civil war of 1967 – 1970 compelled Nigeria’s foreign policy elites to reappraise their stand towards external actors. The radical impact of the civil war on Nigeria’s foreign policy was quite significant, according to the International Peace Academy report of July 2003,

*Nigeria’s leaders to draw five major lessons from the experience: first, that the country’s survival as a sovereign state could not be taken for granted; second, that, based on France sending arms to secessionist Biafra through Gabon and Côte d’Ivoire, there was a compelling need to have friendly governments in neighboring countries – a reality which partly explains why Nigeria in the aftermath of the civil war spearheaded the creation of ECOWAS; third, that the existence of minority white owned regimes in Southern Africa, which backed Biafran secessionists during Nigeria’s civil war, was a threat to Nigeria’s security; fourth, that it was dangerous to depend disproportionately on one power bloc for the supply of arms required to maintain internal security...; and fifth, that publicity and propaganda were vital in the conduct of external relations.*

<sup>1</sup> i.e. ‘global-capitalist North’.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.

<sup>3</sup> Ogwu, (2005: 6).

<sup>4</sup> (1968: 18).

Therefore, the tragedy of the civil war helped to unveil the diplomatic naivety of Nigeria's foreign policy makers to the reality<sup>1</sup> of the international system. Dr Asobie<sup>2</sup> described this era as the "*Age of Innocence*". Thus an attempt was made by the military regime of General Gowon to reinvent our foreign policy to reflect the regional hegemonic inclinations of Nigeria, in external policies which culminated in the co-creation of regional organization: ECOWAS. Yet, most of the principles that underpinned foreign relations at that time were largely altruistic and more or less reactionary towards events in the international arena. Similarly they lacked genuine developmental impetus and were merely a continuation of what was obtainable in the first republic.

However, the emergence of the Generals Murtala/Obasanjo's regime, 1975-1979, added some doses of radicalism and dynamism and thus marked the *Era of Awakening* in Nigerian foreign policy history. This was largely informed by the conviction of the duo<sup>3</sup> to use foreign policy as a tool for championing the genuine cause of Nigeria, and Africa at large. In effect, they did what previous leaders of Nigeria couldn't dare: oppose the hegemonic powers of the west, and nationalization of Barclays Bank and the British Petroleum among others. The radical policies of Gen. Murtala marked a watershed in the foreign relations of Nigeria, and endeared him to many pro-Third World nations. Unfortunately the regime was not destined to last long because General M. Mohammed was killed in a botched coup, while General Obasanjo kept to the covenant of his former boss and transited power to a civilian government on 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1979.

With the emergence of President Shagari's civilian regime, in 1979, the foreign policy paradigm of Nigeria dramatically shifted. The regime began to reverse some of the radical foreign policies of its predecessor. Indeed, because of the character of the regime, i.e. civil-democratic, there were multiple centres of foreign policy decision making. Therefore, it could not have taken drastic and radical decisions like the past military regimes.

Retrospectively, Nigeria experienced the most draconian rule in the series of military interregnums that followed the Shagari's administration which began with General Buhari's regime in 1983. However, with the emergence of General Abubakar after the sudden death of General Abacha in 1998, a new democratic experiment was ushered in by his regime. Consequently, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo emerged as the first civilian President of the fourth republic on 29<sup>th</sup> of May, 1999. Because of the traumatic effects of the past regime of General Abacha on Nigeria's international image, Obasanjo embarked on a 'Shuttle Diplomacy' that sought to re-build the county's image in the international community.

Therefore, it is quite instructive that all civilian democratic regimes are faced with the challenge of rapidly formulating and implementing strategic foreign policies that can deliberately change the developmental course of the country. As such, this challenge would even be more difficult for the present administration in the face of the high level of consciousness that characterize global citizens in this phase of globalization, in which Nigerians are not exempted.

## 2.1 Nigerian Foreign Policy under President Jonathan

Consequent upon his victory and subsequent inauguration as the fourteenth leader and fourth executive president of Nigeria, President Goodluck Jonathan predicated his administration's objective on the transformation of Nigeria. This was encapsulated in the Transformation Agenda of his government. Regardless of the ambitious nature of the transformation agenda, his Excellency has a chance to institutionalize the actualization of this goal using foreign policy as a sustainable instrument, overtime. As such, we shall attempt here to examine some of the prospects for transformational change that are available to Nigeria, with a keen interest in the ability of the president to evaluate foreign policy choices on a rational scale of decision making.

From independence, Nigeria has always shown commitment to use diplomacy as an important tool for economic development. Indeed in his speech at the African Summit Conference in May, 1963, Tafawa Balewa maintained that "African unity could be achieved by taking practical steps in economic, educational, scientific and cultural cooperation"<sup>4</sup>. However because of the historical circumstances of that time, with the issues of decolonization, democratization, elimination of apartheid rule etc were pressing and demanding, hence the various regimes at that time focused their resources on eliminating these maladies from Africa. But with the successful elimination of these phenomena, it is pertinent for the handlers of Nigeria's foreign policies to review the orientation of the country's foreign policy. President Jonathan alluded to this when he called for a review of the country's foreign policy. According to him, *after 50 years of independence, it is time to review the country's foreign policy in line with modern realities and international developments.*

The outcome of this exercise led to the clear articulation of a new foreign policy objective, as specified in the 1999 Constitution, which is

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<sup>1</sup> That is there are *no permanent friends or enemies, just permanent interest.*

<sup>2</sup> (2010: 2).

<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that Gen. Obasanjo succeeded Gen. Murtala after the assassination of the latter in the coup attempt of 1976.

<sup>4</sup> Cited in Ajaebili, C.N. (2011). Page 279.

*the promotion and protection of the national interest; the promotion of African integration and support for African unity; the promotion of international co-operation for the consolidation of universal peace... among all nations and elimination of discrimination in all its manifestations; respect for international law and treaty.... and; the promotion of a just world economic order.*

Therefore, the dexterity that Nigerian leaders exerted to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism inter alia must be reinvented, in order to develop the country because political independence can only be meaningful when there is a commensurate socio-economic development. As such, the following three factors have served to determine the foreign policy thrust of this administration as posited by Alao (2011); “to remain a key player in regional politics, ensuring that external relations assist in economic development, and improving the image of the country.... abroad.” Others include, fuel subsidy removal, post-election violence and insecurity etc. Also, the foreign policy thrust of the administration is to reposition Nigeria in the community of nations<sup>1</sup>

In an attempt to achieve this objective, the present administration according to Ambassador Olugbenga Ashiru, the former minister of foreign affairs<sup>2</sup> has identified some of the main priorities to include

*the maintenance of unity... and security of Nigeria, particularly in the wake of current security challenges; job and wealth creation for Nigerians; the promotion of trade and investments; promoting the welfare of Nigerians both at home and abroad... improving the image of Nigeria abroad; enhancing Nigeria’s representation and enhancing Nigeria’s leadership role in West Africa in particular and Africa in general; among others.*

Furthermore, he stressed that Nigeria’s foreign policy will continue to be dictated by the political and economic programmes at home. That is, the domestic context will continue to shape external relations. The current Transformation Agenda of government on the domestic front has given the platform to execute good economic and social policies; the foreign policy of Nigeria is expected to be more robust. The nexus between domestic and foreign policies cannot be over-emphasized.

In the light of the foregoing, it becomes re-assuring to note the report by the Price Waterhouse Coopers, which forecasts that Nigeria will emerge as the 13<sup>th</sup> top economy in the world by 2050<sup>3</sup>. Indeed, a recent study by the World Bank classified Nigeria, together with Mexico, Indonesia and Turkey, as members of MINTs (i.e. Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria and Turkey), in recognition of our emerging economic prospects as new centres of global economic growth. These assessments are indicators that Nigeria is on the right path to attain the objectives of Vision 20:2020. Nevertheless, the president should always meticulously consider the pros and cons of available alternatives in his foreign policy making. This much is central to the rational actor model in foreign policy making.

## **2.2 Systematic Analysis of the regime’s successes in foreign policy**

Going by the foreign policy orientation of President Jonathan, it has basically revolved around economic and citizen diplomacy of the past, as well as reinforcement of Nigeria’s role in regional politics, the present administration has initiated a paradigm shift in the country’s foreign policy by not just reacting to global events as they occur but using the internal needs and dynamics of Nigeria to construct a progressive external relations. Therefore, the government has resolved to pursue the foreign policy objectives that were enshrined in the 1999 constitution of Nigeria. As such, the minister said that the present administration has identified as its priorities *the maintenance of unity, peace and security of Nigeria*, among others. In line with the Transformation Agenda, foreign relation is expected to provide Nigeria with a window of opportunity to compete favourably with newly industrialised countries of the world<sup>4</sup>.

While delivering his mid-term report on 29<sup>th</sup> of May, 2013, at the International Conference Centre in Abuja, President Jonathan alluded to the developmental strides that his government has achieved so far. According to him, any assessment of his administration should be based on the reports of the document vis-a-vis the promises he made upon his inauguration two years ago.

So far, going by the mid-term report of Mr President, the coordinating minister of the economy, Dr N.O. Iweala, said that the economy of the country has witnessed growth over the past few years. Accordingly, the rate of inflation has dropped to 9.1 per cent from 12.4 per cent in May 2011, while external reserve had risen from \$32.08 billion in 2011 to \$48.4 billion in 2013. In-fact over \$ 7 billion of foreign direct investments flowed into the country, thus making Nigeria the highest investment destination in Africa.

<sup>1</sup> Douglas et al, 2011.

<sup>2</sup> A paper presentation by the minister of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Ashiru at a luncheon organized by the Association of Retired Ambassadors of Nigeria cited in **ThisDay of 16<sup>th</sup> of April, 2013.**

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.pwc.org/ng/en>

<sup>4</sup> President Jonathan’s inaugural speech on 29<sup>th</sup> May, 2011.

In spite of these commendable strides in economic growth, there is a growing ambivalence among Nigerians and non-Nigerians alike as to how the country can make genuine progress in the face of insecurity in various parts of the country. This was the issue that characterised the round-table discussion held with the members of the Corporate Council of Africa, CCA, a group of American businessmen and investors. Although the president re-assured them that his government

*“have some security challenges now, but let me assure you that the Nigerian Government is on top of it. We are dealing with the issue decisively; it will soon be a thing of the past”.*

The significance of this question that will always stimulate the commitment of any investor is what underscores the need to evolve a more attractive, credible and ideal socio-cultural cum economic value that would constitute a source of power in our foreign relations. This is what is called the ‘soft power’ in political relations and its potency can have a dramatic effect in bolstering our image and stance among the comity of nations.

### **2.3 Theoretical Perspective**

The *soft power* in international relations de-emphasized the use of coercive military capability in foreign relations, contrary to the traditional hard power politics that had characterised global politics. Generally, the crux of the concept of power is ability to impose decision and the threat of sanction for the violation of such decision. In international relations, power, in form of economy, military-might etc is a central element with which policy objectives are achieved. It can either be soft or hard power depending on the means of exercising it: either co-optive or coercive, respectively. The mechanisms that enhance soft power are the dual concepts of ‘credibility and legitimacy’<sup>1</sup>.

The soft power theory, according to Nye, 1990, rest on the assumption that, as the instruments of power in a globalised world changes so should policy strategies change. This is because “national security has become more complicated as threats shift from the military to the economic and ecologic factor”<sup>2</sup>. Consequently, “soft power is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion...”. Therefore, the primacy of the soft power alternative depends on the ability to shape the preferences of others actors. He used the framework to analyse the declining legitimacy of the United States in global politics as a result of its unilateral hard power foreign policy in the post-September 11 period.

Thus, in understanding the foreign policy orientation of Nigeria, under the transformation agenda, the soft power theory serves a very significant purpose. This is because in an information-driven world, our strength will impinge on our ability to share ideals, values and culture as well as economic resources, which will motivate others to cooperate with us. Therefore, as Nigeria aspires to re-invent her leadership role in the post-apartheid and de-colonisation era in African politics, the president must predicate his policy priority around cultural, development and citizen diplomacy that would seek to reinforce the perception of global citizens about Nigeria and thus increase the credibility of the country, and thereby her soft power potentials.

### **2.4 Contextualizing Nigeria’s Development Diplomacy in the era of Globalization**

Indeed the world we live in today is rapidly becoming closely integrated. This integration that has been intensified by the unprecedented advancements in information and communications technology has prompted the description of the world as a ‘global village’; although this is not without dialectically polarising effects especially to developing countries. Thus it is pertinent to examine, at this juncture, the realities of this phenomenon in relations to the developmental efforts of Nigeria, in the face of devastating internal security challenges which have compounded the socio-economic predicaments of the citizens of the country, and thereby emasculated her soft power. In addition, this section will further examine the external dimension to the Nigerian foreign policy making.

The realities of globalization began to manifest in Nigeria since late 1980’s. However, its roots lay in the structuring of the country’s political economy along the liberal capitalist line by the nation’s erstwhile colonial master, Britain. Thus it became inevitable for Nigeria to accept globalization, when beckoned at her, which has been argued to be a new phase in the several phases of western capitalism. In other words, the same exploitative mechanism put in place by the colonial master was covertly forced down the throat of the Nigerian government by the International Monetary Fund, IMF, under the Structural Adjustment Programme--SAP. Thereafter, the Welfarist tendency of the Nigerian state was drastically reduced without a commensurate growth across the ‘strict’ capitalist structure that was adopted.

However, the phenomenon of globalization in today’s world, with its concomitant contradictions has come to stay. In other words, it is an inescapable epoch of capitalist development which is both as exploitative as

<sup>1</sup> Joseph S Nye, (1990:156)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid (1990: 155)

it is rewarding! Therefore if globalization is what we understand it to mean: the intensification of socio-economic, cultural and political ties and relations among nations of the world, then the prominence and full manifestations of the relations among nation-states across national territories couldn't have been more relevant than it is today! This is so because, in a globalised world like ours, socio-political and economic isolation becomes practically impossible; hence the inevitability of international relations, and a concomitant emphasis on economic development.

Furthermore the trajectories of globalization in the second decade of this millennium have never been more evident; the vulnerability of national borders, the unrestricted flow of information, among others, weakens the sovereignty of states. These tendencies have come to give more prominence to the role of non-state actors in the international arena, so much so that the roles of state actors are increasingly tied to the complimentary role of I.G.Os<sup>1</sup> and N.G.Os<sup>2</sup>. As such, third world countries like Nigeria are more exposed to the devastating effects of the menace of globalization because of the weakness of our institutions that are supposed to counter the negative tide of the phenomenon. This can be done rationally by negotiating the terms and conditions of the forces of Globalization.

In this regard, some countries of the world today especially some rapidly developing Third World Countries are highly benefitting from the phenomenon of Globalization because they rationally determine the conditions and influence pattern of the trend. Conversely the countries that accepted and swallowed the trend of Globalization hook, line and sinker are confronted with the combined difficulties of maintaining political stability in the face of difficult economic condition for the larger section of its population. Unfortunately, Nigeria belongs to the latter category. Thus the imperative of seeking for possibilities of transformational change in the country cannot be taken for granted. It is along this path that this paper will now navigate.

## **2.5 Developmental diplomacy, Transformation and the quest for National development**

From the fore-going discussions, developmental diplomacy as we have understood it is a useful mechanism for actualizing the soft power potentials of the Nigerian state by the present administration, as it constitutes a foundation of viable credibility and legitimacy for successive administration to build on. In this regard, advancing the developmental agenda of the country should be entrenched in the foreign policy thrust of the Nigerian state, because it is only on that basis that the country can positively achieve her fundamental objectives of ensuring welfare for her citizens and concurrently claiming her pride of place on the African continent, and the world in general.

Based on the palpable realities of globalization and lessons from history, Nigeria must begin to reappraise its position on international issues. It cannot afford the luxury of relying on a single bloc for all her socio-economic needs. The lesson of the civil war period is sufficient. The tendency for rapid economic transformation is directly incumbent on our ability to forge a dynamic foreign relations framework that would enable us to relate with nations based on the viable benefits that will accrue to the country. In effect, we cannot take the protection of the well-being of Nigerians for granted, both at home and in the Diaspora, because it is only on this basis that genuine human capital development can be achieved.

Similarly Nigeria must secure the trust, support and goodwill of friendly nations that have had history of mutually beneficial relations with Nigeria, to help bolster our economy. A good example that comes to mind is the defunct Soviet Union that helped to supply the badly needed weapons and ammunitions needed to prosecute the Biafran war and keep our country unified. In addition, China has granted a soft loan of \$500 Million for the construction of a light rail around Abuja. This trend should be sustained.

In the process of attracting these development partners and foreign investors, the current security and infrastructural challenges facing the country must be tackled decisively. The time for toying with the lives of Nigerians and other foreigners in the country is over! We must resolve to put an end to these nightmares if we expect these Development-Partners to take us seriously. In an editorial published by the BusinessDay Newspaper<sup>3</sup>, for example, it was stated that the insecurity challenges facing the northern part of the country was already threatening business viability in that region. According to the report, PZ Cussons "warned that it was likely to report disappointing full year profit this year due to political upheaval in Nigeria". This is an indication of the adverse effect and significant setback that the problem of insecurity can pose to the development drive of the present administration. Therefore the time to stop this menace is now so that we can continue to build on the slow but steady drive to economic prosperity, a journey that has already been kick-started by the present administration through its Transformation Agenda.

<sup>1</sup> Inter-governmental organizations, such as the United Nations, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Non-Governmental Organizations, such as Red Cross, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Editorial of Tuesday, 14 February, 2012.

## 2.6 Challenges of Development Diplomacy and the Way Forward

Notwithstanding the successes recorded so far by the present administration, the development diplomacy under the current transformation agenda is confronted with enormous challenges. Prominent among them is the problem of insecurity particularly from the insurgency and militancy of the 'Boko-Haram' and Movement for the Emancipation of Niger-Delta (MEND) respectively. The impacts of the activities of these groups are far-reaching as the vandalisation of oil installations by MEND has led to decline in oil production, while the mindless killing and destruction perpetrated by the Boko-Haram group have practically crippled economic activities in most parts of the Northern region of the country, especially Kano state.

Similarly, the unfortunate state of the country's infrastructural facilities and the slow pace of developing them is a major challenge to effective economic transformation. The effect that inadequate power supply has on the overhead cost of businesses in the country is quite frustrating. This in a globalised world makes made-in-Nigeria goods too expensive and competitively disadvantaged. Thus industries operating within the shores of the country can hardly benefit from the gains of free-trade globalization. These are the two major challenges facing development diplomacy in Nigeria.

In an attempt to enhance the soft power capability of the country in the global world of today, the government must adopt a smart and less confrontational but politically effective measure towards resolving and terminating the insecurity of the country. Meanwhile, concerted efforts across the three tiers of government should be geared towards improving the state of infrastructural development of the country. Similarly, more professional vigour should be added to Nigeria's diplomatic missions abroad. This is in order to reinforce the rational choices and policy decisions made by the government, particularly in the area of wooing investors and building the image of the country across the world. Since career diplomats tend to be more abreast with global issues and possess intellectual understanding of them, there can be no better substitute for them in the realm of diplomatic pursuit.

The importance of engendering the attitude of credibility in the foreign policy pursuit of Nigeria is crucial. It is even more so when one looks at it from the prism of the present administration's desire to holistically transform the country's economy by 2015. As much as the domestic resolve to bring the government's external policies into fruition is critical, the need to ensure prudence, professionalism and profitability in the domestic and external relations of our country cannot be overstated. Therefore, the present government of Nigeria, must, continue to pursue viable developmental foreign relations, in order to evolve a sustainable foreign policy mechanism within the confines of a clearly stated national interest that will better the lots of Nigerians.

Specifically, the present administration must continue to;

- Promote private sector investment in the oil and gas sectors of the economy, with more emphasis on local content development.

- Diversify the country's economy in order to boost the revenue base of government and provide job opportunities for our teeming youths.

- Ensure capacity building in order to allow for Nigerians to take effective control of technologies to be bequeathed by the foreign investors and technocrats.

- Government should continue to engage career and professional diplomats to oversee the country's foreign policy in order to evolve a grand and strategic policy framework along developmental lines.

## 2.7 Conclusion

The study examined the nexus between domestic politics and foreign relations. By clarifying some of the concepts that were central to the entire analysis before alluding to the appraisal of some of the historical high-points in the evolution of Nigeria's foreign relations, the paper revealed a sustained trend of both reactionary and altruistic policy towards the international system particularly Africa.

Thus it posited that the issue of clarity in what should constitute the national interest of Nigeria is necessary considering the socio-economic realities of the country. Indeed, the need to make the socio-economic interest of all the citizens of Nigeria reflect in whatever foreign policy we articulate and seek to achieve in the international arena cannot be taken for granted. This is more so when we considered the developmental challenges that have emasculated our country's drive to continental, as well as global glory in the face of a pacey trend of globalization.

Using an objective criterion of the soft power theory, it was observed that the focus of the world is changing from using hard power to pursue foreign policy goals. Emphasis is now on economic and cultural values that constitute the soft power base of states. Thus it was recommended that Nigeria can regain her leadership role in Africa by efficiently utilizing her developmental potentials to revamp the economy and welfare of Nigerians. This will endear Nigeria to most citizens of Africa thereby enhancing her foreign policy capabilities on the continent, and by logical extension, on the world.

Finally it was noted that the present phase of globalization presents a double-edged tendencies of exploitation and prosperity. Indeed the choice is left to the policy makers of individual nations to make. Fortunately for some countries of the world, they have been able to rationally negotiate the terms of the trans-continental phenomenon. On the contrary however, most countries of the third world tend to accept all conditions of globalization, 'hook, line and sinker', thus leading to a perpetual economic subservience to the global capitalist economic order. This abysmal trend has to change, if Nigeria is to efficiently harness the lofty advantages of external relations for national development in this era of intensive global interaction and competition.

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