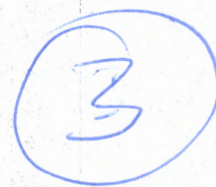


INTERROGATING NIGERIA'S INTERNATIONAL ROLE CONCEPTIONS IN AN AGE OF GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria's foreign policy from independence has been proactively African. This implies that Nigeria imposes on itself the burden of committing its resources to salvaging Africa socio-economically and politically. While this has come under vigorous scrutiny and sharp criticisms because of its huge cost for national development; Nigeria's African and international roles have tended to be a functionalist one, which has not really changed and been reviewed to meet new global and African challenges. In the face of a global climate change with Africa at the receiving end, what would be Nigeria's roles? The traditional roles of Nigeria have been in the area of economic and financial help and combating of regional security issues. However, the current climate 'war' appears to be more destructive than the usual conflict, hunger and diseases. The paper scrutinizes Nigeria's national environmental policy and the foreign policy role conceptions, to see the content and context of Nigeria's panacea and roles in the struggle to check global warming. Using the National Role Conception methodological, theoretical and conceptual approaches, the paper examines the nation's own peculiar climate problems (from the Delta to Lagos and the Savannah) and how it takes the local context to the global theater.

Keywords: Role Conception, Foreign Policymaking, Climate Change, Environmental Policy

INTRODUCTION

The intensity of the climate 'war' seems to have finally caught up with Nigeria. The floods in Lagos, Ibadan and parts of northern Nigeria in 2011, have come in a Tsunami fashion, destroying everything on its path. The Ibadan experience of August 26 2011 was particularly devastating, as it washed away homes, bridges, properties, and lives, as the rains lasted six hours (*Nigerian Tribune Reporters*, August 27 2011: 1-2). The unpredictable floods, rising sea levels, overflow of river banks, seasonal instability, desertification, acid rain, among other features, are indices of climatic disorders, which experts have argued out as the inevitabilities of global warming. Global warming itself has not been a phenomenon emerging from a vacuum. It is the "globalization" of the environment, namely, the abuse or misuse of the local physical and biological environment in communities across the globe, with long-term and malignant influence on the global environment. Thus, nations of the world are beginning to realign their foreign policies towards the politics of the environment because of the magnitude of global climatic disorders, with the view of combating it.

Nigeria is not only part of the global environment from which, by that very fact, it cannot insulate itself; it also belongs in the class of the developing countries of the Global South, which are at the receiving end of the climate crisis. Many reasons account for this: developing countries do not have the capacity to manage a green environment; industrialization level is still recrudescing and cannot match the green manner the developed North is already moving towards; the South remains the dumping ground for all sorts of toxic wastes, crude technology, and environment-endangering activities of both the multinationals and locals. This implies that Nigeria and African countries have more burdens of climate change than the west. In the face of these debilitating influences on both the local and global environment, how is Nigeria responding? What is its foreign policy in an age of global warming and climate change? What is its environmental policy? Nigeria has a protective policy towards Africa. Put differently, Nigeria's foreign policy has, since independence, been characterized by national role conceptions, which capture Africa's economic and socio-political burdens as its concern. It is a self-imposed burden of leadership for the continent (Folarin, 2011). That the policy has however, come under very critical review by scholars and practitioners of foreign policy for its huge cost on national development, is no longer in doubt. What, however, becomes more pertinent here, is whether this kind of policy regime captures other more pressing problems of the continent, like the environment problem of climate change, which Nigeria is itself, not exempted from.

This paper explores Nigeria's role conceptions to determine whether the prevailing environmental problems are captured, or they still remain the old, functionalist approach to role conceptions in which the political and socio-economic African problems continue to be the concern. This would constitute an effort to prescribe a paradigm shift from the usual 'political' in Nigeria's foreign policy, to the ecological, which has more relevance for the survival of both Nigerians and Africans.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE: NATIONAL ROLE THEORY

There are several smart frameworks for foreign policy analysis. These include National Interest Theory (Morgenthau, 1973; Kissinger, 1994), National Power Theory (Thompson, 1960; Morgenthau, 1973), and System Theory and functional analysis (Kaplan, 1957; Merton, 1957; Hempel, 1959) among others. However, the National Role Theory, which is a much smarter analytical framework in the understanding of the behaviour, actions and dispositions of states in global politics, would be adopted for this paper.

National Role Theory is an adaptation of the Role Theory, which is derived from the concept of role as used first by psychologists and anthropologists in distinguishing individual or group role perceptions and actual performance in any social gathering. This could be family, peer group, religious group, workplace, community, market, and in this case, the political group. Among social psychologists that pioneered the role theory include Cooley, Linton (1936), Parsons (1937), Newcomb (1950), Sarbin (1966), Ackerman (1958), and Biddle (1979). Originally, the role theory is a perspective in social psychology that considers most of everyday activity to be living up to the roles, or expectations, of others. It posits the following propositions about social behavior:

1. People spend much of their lives in groups.
2. Within these groups, people often take distinct positions.
3. Each of these positions can be called a role, with a whole set of functions that are molded by the expectations of others.
4. Formalized expectations become norms when enough people feel comfortable in providing punishments and rewards for the expected behavior.
5. Individuals are generally conformists, and in so far as that is true, they conform to group roles.
6. The anticipation of rewards and punishments inspire this conformity.

The generalizations on role above attempt to underscore the fact that social role is the universe of rights and duties of a group in a given situation. The social role is connected to expectations, norms and behavior a group has to face. The analysis is central to the paper as it bolsters the perspective that the group is indispensable in all actions particularly political and that assumption of role presupposes the interface between the political group and the political environment. However, it also raises the question of whether in some cases; any roles are defined by a group (political leadership or nation) as it is the case in the foregoing analysis. Different categories of social roles have also been identified (Blatner, 2006; Rowen, 1990; Jackson, 1972; Bertrand, 1977). These include cultural roles (roles given by culture, e.g. a chief priest); social differentiation (roles given by profession, e.g. teacher, taxi driver); situation-specific role (roles given by witnessing a development, e.g. eye witness); bio-sociological roles (roles given by physiological composition e.g. a blonde woman, a pregnant mother); gender roles (roles given by sex, e.g. a male chauvinist, a feminist). There is however a missing link here. Another role category should be "Circumstantial Roles". These would be roles determined by situations or circumstances, which would require urgent response, and make roles more dynamic and not static as it is with the functionalist approach. It is this category that nations can bend from the norm and face squarely, the prevailing challenge of climate change. By this, countries like Nigeria can conceive fresh roles that classify environmental issues as foreign policy priority. The categorization above suggests that in life, states (as people) have to face different social roles, sometimes they have to face different roles at the same time in different social situations. There is also an evolution of social roles: some disappear and some new ones develop as members of different social groups with accompanying roles (Blatner, 2006 & 2000; Thomas, Feldman & Ramin, 1967; Shaw & Costanza, 1970, Courtney, 1987). Role behavior thus changes and it may be influenced by the norms, internal and external expectations, and social sanctions and rewards these three aspects are used to evaluate the behavior of the group and that of other people. For a political group that is tasked with foreign policy decision making, are these three conditions applicable? They are applicable but their application is often accompanied by complications, whose resolution ends up in political action or what is called 'politics', that is, a kind of power sharing, power play or arrogation of powers. What about in the case of a nation as it occupies certain roles defined for it by the policy makers? Do accepted values or norms determine the context of roles conception and policy making; are intra-group or public/external expectations considered;

and are there compelling factors like the legislature, constitution, public outcry or international organizations that shape the context of roles and policymaking? The answer is definitely in the affirmative because there are more compelling "political" forces in the international arena that would precipitate domestic political action. Role theorists have identified that the many role expectations at different levels may cause the filling of multiple roles at the same time (Blatner, 2000; Biddle, 1966 & 1979; Davis, 1984; Horowitz, 1988). Role theory holds that a substantial proportion of observable, day-to-day social behavior is simply persons carrying out their roles, much as actors carry out their roles on the stage or ballplayers theirs on the field. Role theory is, in fact, predictive. It implies that if we have information about the role expectations for a specified position (e.g., sister, fireman, and trader), a significant portion of the behavior of the persons occupying that position can be predicted (Potash, 1990; Heiss, 1976, Bates, 1968; Getzels & Guba, 1954; Rommetveit, 1954). Role theory also holds that behavior may only be changed if roles are changed (Potash, 1990; Davis, 1984; Jackson, 1972; Biddle & Thomas, 1966; Bates, 1968; Moreno, 1946). This is because roles correspond to behaviors and vice versa. In addition to heavily influencing behavior, roles influence beliefs and attitudes; individuals will change their beliefs and attitudes to correspond with their roles. There are two perspectives in the Roles analysis. Roles, in the functionalist perspective, are relatively inflexible and are more-or-less universally agreed upon. Although it is recognized that different roles interact (state and the citizen), and that roles are usually defined in relation to other roles, the functionalist approach has great difficulty in accounting for variability and flexibility of roles and finds it difficult to account for the vast differences in the way that states or individuals conceive different roles. Taken to extremes, the functionalist approach results in role becoming a set of static, semi-global expectations laid down by a unified, amorphous society. The distinction between role and norm (or culture) thus becomes sterile. The functionalist approach, because of its inflexibility may not therefore be too applicable for a discourse as this. This is because it does not encourage viewing the world as a changing one that requires dynamism or shifts in roles conception and foreign policy making to meet the changing needs. The interactionist definition of role is more fluid and subtle than the functionalist perspective. A role, in the interactionist conception, is not fixed or prescribed but something that is constantly negotiated between states or groups. This approach is cognizant of the Circumstantial Role prescription in a dynamic and changing world, and captures the context of state responses to global climate change. The interactionist approach is therefore the suitable analytical framework for this paper.

NATIONAL ROLE CONCEPTIONS AND FOREIGN POLICY

Holsti (1967, 1970 and 1987) has exponentially discussed National Role Conceptions (NRCs) as the moving force of foreign policy. Other leading scholars include Wish (1980), Krotz (2001), Bilcik (2004), Chafez, *et al* (1996), and Adigbuo (2005 and 2007). These have had definitions of NRCs in their own ways; however, they all point to the overwhelming relevance of NRCs to foreign policy. Wish (1980: 532) for instance, considers NRCs as "foreign policy makers' perceptions of their nations' positions in the international system." They include perceptions of the general kinds of decisions, rules, commitments, and long-term functions associated with these international positions." By this, he is submitting that NRCs provide norms, standards and guidelines for decision making. Like Walker (1978), Wish posits that the variation in foreign policy conduct is a process of "role location". Conception can be viewed as clearly identified, defined roles a nation is expected to occupy in international politics. In his 1967 and 1987 classics, Holsti offers two typologies of NRCs. In the first typology, nine role conception types are identified while the second has seventeen role types. Holsti attempts to prove that the international system is made up of states filling up roles to fulfil their national interest, and that national power, capacity, wealth, et cetera condition the roles conceived. From his and the other studies, it can be inferred that states define tasks for themselves, which they assume as roles in the international system. Such tasks are conceived of and articulated in the foreign policy making process. The roles may ascribe a distinct image to the state and make its behavior predictable. In this way, the role conception constitutes a nation's attribute, shapes its attitude in international politics, makes its behavior predictable, and provides a state with a stable sense of identity. The submission about state role conception in response to domestic and external demands, expectations and pressures, are in agreement with what the paper is attempting to establish. The climate change issue does not require a complacent approach. Governments, organizations, and individuals now concern themselves with an uncompromised interest in seeking out ways and strategies of combating. Role conception and assumption by Nigeria has been a function of the perceptions of the founding fathers from the eve of independence. These include nationalists such as Nnamdi Azikiwe, Herbert Macaulay, Obafemi Awolowo, Anthony Enahoro, Aminu Kano, Ahmadu Bello, and Tafawa Balewa, to mention a few. They viewed Nigeria as a nation naturally created to fill the roles of leadership in Africa and the world. Their foreign policy outlooks

which had characterized their basis for independence movement in the first place were premised on the historical factors of the making of Nigeria itself. This factor was the merger of the great nations and empires of the Western Sudan and the Forest Region of the pre-colonial era, including Kanem Bornu, Benin, Oyo, Nupe, Kano, Kororofa, Sakwatto, Itsekiri, and Ijaw (Ikime, 1985). Other factors included the civility, maturity, and political wisdom in struggling for and earning independence. This was considered to have served as a model for other nations under colonial rule. Other factors that informed the role conceptions by the founding fathers included Nigeria's huge population; its wealth; and its rich cultural heritage. The perceptions of the past have been strengthened by the increasing population making Nigeria the most populous black nation in the world, and its oil fortunes which place it as one of the rich countries of the world in revenue (Onyearu, 2008). The first instinct of Nigeria has therefore been to occupy the centre of African affairs: use its resources, influence, and power to reach great bargains and further its interests, assume leadership positions and become the voice of the continent, and assist needy nations of the entire black world (King, 1996). These three-prong roles have underlined the foreign policy towards Africa and earned for Nigeria the international label of having an Afrocentric attitude. For Nigeria, national role conceptions vary over time and across borders. Each regime comes up with its own rhetoric of "unique roles" Nigeria would occupy in Africa. This does not foreclose the fact that such regime always seems to end up having role conception or role assumption problems. This problem and the rehash of old conceptions, rather demonstrate lack of dynamic role conceptions. The role conceptions and foreign policy have remained, over time, the same: Respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of nation-states; non-interference in the internal affairs of other states; promotion of African unity through functional cooperation; elimination of colonialism and racism and the promotion of world peace, and non-alignment in the Cold (or Post Cold) War struggle between the powers and their allies. Nigeria's 'African' foreign policy can be viewed as a systematic approach to building and preserving a desirable balance between Nigeria's dispositions and Africa's conditions (Bukarambe, 1990). Since independence in 1960, Nigeria's efforts have been geared towards engendering an enduring peace, security, unity, brotherhood and brotherliness towards Africa and the entire black race (King, 1996; Oluwaniyi, 2006), and lately good governance, poverty reduction, diseases control and development in the region, with the Africa-centrepiece underlining its foreign policy. However, the area of climate change is still clearly missing in Nigeria's role conceptions and foreign policy. The 'people in power' muse it and hype a connection to the understanding of the challenge; but it has not yet become a clear and applicable policy, either at the domestic or global level. What should be Nigeria's foreign policy towards the African and global climate change? What should constitute the Nigerian politics of the global environment? How can Nigeria review its African role conceptions to include the containing of climatic challenges?

THE GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE CONTEXT

The climate change situation is alarming. It is making the average world temperature creep up to unprecedented levels, with the temperature rising much more rapidly than ever before. The negative trends include acidifying oceans, dying coral reefs, and severe weather patterns like strong hurricanes, widening deserts, and escalating droughts.

The weather becomes unpredictable. It may get unbearably warm in a moment and then there is a heavy downpour the next, and winter runs over the period, so is summer, with a wet-dry and cold-hot situations experienced the same day. This is climate change, arising global warming. The phenomenon is caused principally by massive emissions of greenhouse gases all over the human environment. Climate change is therefore a consequence of human reckless living: activities that lead to the buildup of greenhouse gases, rape of the environmental resources, and release of more air pollutants that constitute dangers for human health. As the temperature of the planet rises, there have been more natural disasters, including the melting of the ice caps, famine and the disequilibrium of the ecosystem that continue to threaten human survival.

THE CLIMATE CHANGE PHENOMENON IN AFRICA

Climate change is a major threat to sustainable growth and development in Africa, and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Although Africa is the continent least responsible for climate change, it is particularly vulnerable to the effects, including reduced agricultural production, worsening food security, the increased incidence of both flooding and drought, spreading disease and an increased risk of conflict over scarce land and water resources. Africa is particularly vulnerable to climate change because of its overdependence on rain-fed agriculture, compounded by factors such as widespread poverty and weak capacity. The main longer-term impacts include: changing rainfall patterns affecting agriculture and reducing food security; worsening water security; decreasing fish resources in large lakes due to rising

temperature; shifting vector-borne diseases; rising sea level affecting low-lying coastal areas with large populations; and rising water stress (African Partnership Forum, 2007). According to Bernard and Darkoh (2009) weather patterns in the continent are increasingly volatile and resulting in more droughts, floods, higher air and water temperatures. They describe the African scenario: Sea levels are rising and coastal areas are eroding and experiencing saltwater intrusion and flooding. Lake Chad, once the sixth largest lake in the world and the second largest wetland in Africa has shrunk to one tenth of its former size. The icecap on Mount Kilimanjaro is fast disappearing with serious implications for the rivers that depend on ice melt for their flow. Scientists estimate that there has been a reduction of about 82 per cent in the ice-cap since it was first surveyed in 1912. Likewise, the glaciers on the famous Ruwenzori Mountains, the so-called Mountains of the Moon, have shrunk by 50 per cent since the late 1980s. These decreases in both cases have been attributed largely to increased air temperature and decreased snow accumulation during the 20th century. If present rates of reduction continue, the ice-caps and glacier water reservoirs in Kilimanjaro and Ruwenzori will disappear within some two to three decades, with deleterious consequences for the dependent human livelihoods in the areas around these mountains and beyond (Bernard and Darkoh (2009). The poverty extremities in Africa have particularly exposed it to the devastating effects of climate change more than anywhere else. Also, its dependence on rainfall, agriculture and other natural resources, which are essential elements of nature, worsen its situation in the face of a climate-change. This is because climate variability, seasonal shifts and precipitation patterns affect farming, on which the soul of the continent depends. Food insecurity thus results, which further compounds the socio-economic problems of the continent. To these ends, Africa requires a much focused search for solutions to the climate change challenge, because it is more at the mercy of the crisis than being equal to the task. This is where governments of Africa need to integrate their efforts and be more proactive in the international community to contain climate change. Such efforts however, require their foreign policy change. For Nigeria, an outright review of its foreign policy to reflect the new challenge is required. The African Partnership Forum summarizes the basic requirement to contain the climate change problem in the following succinct way:

The response needs to take into account not only Africa's acute vulnerability but also its legitimate development needs, and the broader principles of equity and fairness in a global framework to reduce global greenhouse gases emissions. Action is needed at a number of different levels. Faster progress is needed on reducing global emissions. Africa faces massive challenges in adapting to the impact of climate change and in managing the increased levels of climate risk: increased support and financing for this is essential. Africa's needs to develop its energy must be recognized. Current carbon finance mechanisms are not delivering the resources which Africa needs and should be re-examined. African governments themselves need to integrate their response to climate change fully into economic planning and management at both the national and regional levels (African Partnership Forum, 2007: 4).

EXPLORING A NIGERIAN ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

Nigeria's policy on climatic issues and environmental control is not integrated into a particular comprehensive document and plan of action. It is diffused into different sectors of the larger sense of the "environment". Consequently, there are themes of action plans that determine the totality of what constitutes the Nigerian policy on the environment. These include the National Policy on the Environment, Waste Management Regulations, Ecological Fund, Pollution Abatement in Industries and Facilities Generating Waste Regulations, Niger Delta Development Master Plan, Natural Resources Conservation Action Plan, National Renewable Energy Portfolio Standard (RPS), National Guidelines and Standards for Environmental Pollution Control, National Forestry Action Plan, National Energy Policy, National Procedural and Sectoral Guidelines for EIA for Agricultural and Rural Development, and National Action Plan to Combat Desertification (NAPCD).

Nigeria has a National Policy on the Environment statement. The policy identifies some crucial areas of the human environment that are of economic importance to the nation, which would require a harmonization with the policy towards sustainable development. These areas include the Human Population; Land Use and Soil Conservation; Water Resources Management; Forestry, Wildlife and Protected Natural Areas; Marine and Coastal Area Resources; Sanitation and Waste Management; Toxic and Hazardous Substances; Mining and Mineral Resources; Agricultural Chemicals; Energy Production; Air Pollution; Noise in the Working Environment; Settlements; Recreational Space, Green Belts, Monuments, and Cultural Property (projects.wri.org).

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It is however important to note that this policy came into existence in 1989 (National Communication to the UNFCCC; <http://www.undp.org/ng/envsmy.htm>). This implies that the policy served the needs of the time, neglecting new challenges of the environment that are pushing human civilizations on the edge of the precipice.

On the Pollution Abatement and Waste Generation in Industries policy, a legislation is made that relates to water and waste management, but it also includes climate relevant provisions. For instance, Section 17 states that "An industry or facility which is likely to release gaseous, particle, liquid, or solid untreated discharges shall install into its system, appropriate abatement equipment in such manner as may be determined by FEPA" (National Communication to the UNFCCC; Pilot Study of Used Oils in Nigeria, (www.basel.int)). On the National Forestry Action Plan, it has succeeded in reviving the Forestry Sector and has provided individual and group training to both the formal and informal forestry sector. Each state also has in place Forest Action Plan, which serves as guide for their Forestry development initiative. Full accomplishment of the NFAP objectives has been hampered by political instability in the country and ineffective political support (<http://www.fao.org/DOCREP/005/AC918E/AC918E02.htm>).

There is also the Environmental Impact Assessment legislation, which states that before undertaking any project (public or private) which is likely to have a substantial impact on the environment, an Environmental Impact Assessment must be done in order to establish what these impacts will be and how best to cope with them. The National Guidelines and Standards for Environmental Pollution Control were put in place to ensure the sustainability of Nigeria's industrial and agricultural practices. Sent to plant managers and operators to help them improve their operations, they relate to six key areas of environmental regulation: effluent limitations, water quality for industrial water uses at point of intake, industrial emission limitations, and noise exposure limitations, management of solid and hazardous wastes and pollution abatement in industries. The Ministry of Environment enforces the provisions, ensuring compliance (<http://projects.wri.org/sd-pams-database/nigeria/national-guidelines-and-standards-environmental-pollution-control>).

However, the Niger Delta Regional Development Master Plan is a blueprint for the sustainable development of the area. It is the first integrated development plan in Nigeria that is solely based on stakeholders' participatory inputs and experts' analytical guidance in 25 sectors, including health, education, transportation, and agriculture. Its objectives embrace economic growth, infrastructural development, communities' peculiar needs and environmental preservation for the developmental transformation of Nigeria's oil and gas-rich region. Details of the master plan are not available yet but according to the report, it is based on "a comprehensive analysis of life, development imperatives, challenges and opportunities in the Niger Delta. Twenty-five sectors, including baseline and demography, education, health, environment and hydrology, biodiversity and natural resources and financial instruments, among others were subjected to detailed study by independent consultants. There were also topic specific studies into conflict impact assessment, poverty reduction, community development and governance, diseases and youth unemployment. Government sources disclosed that between about N6.4 trillion is required to implement the master plan for a period of 15 years (allafrica.com). The policies, or action plans, or legislations mentioned do not have much data on them, hence, only a few with information on them have been discussed. From all of this, it can be seen that Nigeria's policy statements on the sectors of the environment are many and clear; however, there could have been an integrative approach to it. All of them should have come under a comprehensive policy on the environment. Also, it is very clear that the policies are more of guidelines, rather than long-term measures to combat growing environmental challenges such as climate change. Also, they do not also recognize the global dimensions of the menace of oil spills, gas flaring, environmental pollution and retardation of infrastructural structures caused by the overstretching and poor ecocide by the oil companies in the Niger Delta. While the economic and political dimensions are important, the dangers the abuse constitutes for global warming and climate change are not captured in this environmental policy.

NIGERIA'S ROLE CONCEPTIONS AND FOREIGN POLICY FOR AN AGE OF CLIMATE CHANGE

Nigeria's role conceptions require a major review to reflect current realities with a view to combating climate change in both the domestic and global context. Nigeria's foreign policymakers and leadership should overhaul the static role conceptions in which a proactive intervention in African conflict and development issues at the expense of Nigerian citizen development is overwhelming. The roles the policymakers should be conceiving now should include leading the vanguard in firming up the African environment, beginning with reappraising government's policy towards the domestic environment. The issues of the gas flaring and oil spills in the Niger Delta should be a test case for a proactive environmental

policy. Rather than focus on terminating the vestiges of colonialism as has been one of the cardinal points of Nigeria's role conceptions for the continent; the country should start a process of carrying other African countries along in putting the multinational companies in the oil, mining and manufacturing sectors to respect international covenants and protocols on environmental management, and their obligations towards them. The companies and their home countries should be held responsible for their actions and taken to the UN and other global regulatory bodies of climate protocols. Nigeria should constitute a group of watchdogs to the abuse of the physical and human environment in the continent. This becomes crucial for the country as it is one of the worst-hit in terms of environmental abuse. Recently, Nigeria was rated as the country with the worst record of gas flaring in the world (Ifoh, September 7, 2011: 6). As an influential and respectable country in global politics, Nigeria can use its voice and weight to put the developed nations on their toes and checkmate their abuse of the environment in the continent. In the same vein, Nigeria can conceive the role of raising alarm when necessary about climate change problems in Africa, and constantly remind the world of the potentiality of a grave human disaster climate change would cause if the crisis deepens in the continent. Also, the country can lead the governments of Africa in addressing the issues of climate change more than before. Just as the G8 and G20 discuss global warming and climate change at every conference opportunity, African leaders and D8 can also make climate change a priority as these groups are the most devastated by the phenomena. Nigeria's roles in Africa can be to raise awareness and mobilize resources to combat global warming and climate change.

CONCLUSION

Nigeria's role conceptions and African policy have been too static and incognizant of newer and more calamitous issues in the country and continent. Moreover, it is rather more concerned in the political, while more burning challenges such as global warming and climate change are ravaging mankind. Foreign policy should focus on national problems with the view of remedying them and ennobling the citizens. Furthermore, the roles conceived are too concerned about the wellbeing of the continent economically and politically, while the home-front suffers. While the home-front should be the primary and most important concern of any foreign policy, Nigeria can also maximize its influence in the world or leadership in Africa to tackle the problem of climate change. The development has become the major national and global challenge, as it is more destructive than ethnic, religious and political crisis, which has been Nigeria's focal point since independence.

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