Challenges of Foreign Policy in Modern Diplomacy: The Nigerian Example

Charles Chidi Eleonu, Phd¹, Sharon Ebikebina²

¹Port Harcourt Polytechnic, Rumuola, Rivers State, Nigeria ²Dept. of History and International Studies, Rivers State University, Port Harcourt, Nigeria

Abstract: - Human resource makes Nigeria a big power player in diplomacy and international politics. This paper therefore examines the challenges of foreign policy in modern diplomacy with emphasis in Nigeria These identified challenges of foreign policy in Nigeria are arising from the fact that Africa is the center-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy. Government officials are decision makers who influence foreign policy but foreign policy administration in Nigeria revolve round the head of state. The nature of social groups, diversity and the degree of conflict or harmony existing in Nigeria internal environment is a determinant factor in the formulation of foreign policy. Staffing, training and funding combine as challenges that glare at the professional practice of Nigeria's foreign policy. The paper concludes that Nigerian citizens hope to see the practical results and gains of the country's center- piece diplomacy in the material improvement of their lives. The implication is that Nigeria has not benefited from her many and varied humanitarian policies towards fellow African countries. This is because the gains will help Nigerians to see the justification for the finances expended in several projects. The paper suggests that Nigeria's foreign policy should be reviewed taking into cognizance the new challenges of the globalized world order.

Keywords: Influence, Diplomacy, Administration, Humanitarian, Professional practice.

I. INTRODUCTION

Nature of Nigerian Foreign Policy

A country's foreign policy is based on its national interest as defined in its constitution. Foreign policy is fashioned to ensure independence of nations and sovereignty in line with societal trends and maintaining friendly relations with all countries thereby forming a network of relationship. This is based on the interdependence of economic, political, social, security, scientific and other interests. A country's foreign policy seeks to avoid being over dependent on any other particular country. Its nature is to be sensitive to regional and world political situations and should be prioritized to safeguard its security and vital national interest in several spheres of development. Nigeria's human resources had made the country a big power player in international policy making. This placed Nigeria in a centre stage in promoting Africa's integration and support for African unity.

During the past years of military rule foreign policy administrations revolved round the personality of the head of state who had the prerogative to accept or ignore advice from government bodies. Foreign policy formulation during this period was faster and devoid of bureaucratic bottle-necks because policies were through decrees than the constitution. The level of social disharmony and group suspicion in Nigeria has negated the democratization of the process of policy making. This is against the understanding that a society of united, enlightened and disciplined people with high degree of group harmony is always a source of strength. Changes of disturbances or disorders that occur within Nigeria's internal environment have influenced the nature and course of Nigeria's foreign policy.

Public opinion locally and internationally is another important input in Nigeria's foreign policy. Especially in democracies, the assumption is that the chance of foreign policy process is enhanced by public opinion. But a number of test cases exist that point to the contrary since Nigeria's independence in 1960. Decision making in Nigeria has not given due place to the opinion of the people they represent. This is the reason preceding military administrations affected Nigeria's relations with the international community and the new democratic governance has been challenged. It is saddled with the responsibility of mending fences and restoring Nigeria's confidence and good diplomatic relations with countries as the USA, France and Britain. Several sorts of contexts are hardly conducive for creative and professional thinking. These include Embassy buildings in Khartoum, Teheran among others in Latin America that has renovation issues. The Foreign Service has since become politicized thereby affecting the maintenance of standards. Staffing, training and funding combine as mounting challenges that glare at the professional practices of Nigeria's foreign policy and which affect the overall output of foreign policy. The illequipment of the foreign mission is observed in the numbers of staff posted to Nigeria's foreign missions which are inadequate in number (Olusanya, 1990:526). For given reasons of lack of fund, there has been some kind of presidential ceiling on the number of officers posted to Nigeria's foreign missions (Madueke, 2009).

There has not been any clear indication that these good gestures by Nigeria were regionally appreciated outside rhetorical gratitude. As Obioma (2013) noted, Nigeria failed to take advantage of the military deployments and spending in diplomatic terms. This means that Nigeria has for many years pursued without gains, the good and wellbeing of other African nations at the expense of the wellbeing of its own

citizens. The age long stance of Africa as the center piece of Nigerian foreign policy is long overdue. This should give way to a new foreign policy stance of Nigeria.

II. NIGERIA AND THE WORLD

Though there is international law and of sovereignty of states, sovereignty refers to "the supreme and legal authority, above and beyond which no further legal power exists." This means that independent states are free from direct political control by any other state or political authority. They are therefore free to act or refuse to act the way they wish. Thus whatever constrains a sovereign state observes are self-imposed. Sovereignty means the final authority in a given area. Fully independent states are also called sovereign states. Nigeria maintains relations with other nations of the world. Nigeria is recognized as a member of international organizations such as the United Nations Organization (U.N.O) the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) ECOWAS among others, Nigeria has bilateral relations with many world powers. Nigeria maintains many diplomatic missions, embassies, High Commissions and Consulates abroad and plays host to many foreign missions located in Nigeria. The maintenance of foreign missions came with political independence. Since independence Nigeria inherited the responsibility for defining and protecting their national interests and sovereignty. Nigerian foreign policy is shaped and managed by the President in Council, the Minister of External Affairs and the Ministry of External Affairs. These agencies and personalities collectively define Nigeria's foreign policy and protect the national interest.

Nigeria as a nation interacts with other countries are in various fields of economic, cultural, educational and political. Economically, even the richest countries in the world are not self-sufficient in all aspects. They import items which they cannot produce while exporting other items which they produce in abundance to other countries. For example, Nigeria exchanges her crude oil, Cocoa, Rubber and raw materials for manufactured items which her technology at present cannot produce. Economic interaction involves aid, loans, technological transfer. In all these exchanges the actors try to protect Nigeria's interests. Political contacts are not as visible or easy to define as economic interaction. However political interaction can be identified from the exchange of diplomatic missions, the exchange of visits by Heads of state, ministers and other officials. Similarly, nations consult each other before important meetings such as the O.A.U. or ECOWAS so as to establish a common front on pressing issues. When there are specific conflicts or problems, representatives of various countries go up and down establishing contacts and helping to reduce world tension.

Cultural interaction helps to create non-governmental avenues for citizens of the participating countries. This could take the form of exchange among performing artists, scholars and students. In the process friendship is created and such informal non-governmental ties help to reduce the risks of war

as peoples from the participating countries know more of each other as friends and can influence the foreign policies of the various countries towards peace.

Nigeria's Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of Nigeria can be defined as the totality of Nigeria's interaction with the outside world. This policy at any particular point in time is influenced or affected by several factors among which are: the human and material resources available to Nigeria, the strength or legitimacy or support enjoyed by the rulers, ideological disposition of the rulers, previous commitments of the government, the population in terms of quantity and quality, the courage of Nigerian leaders in projecting a forceful foreign policy position, the military strength of Nigeria and public opinion on issues. The formulation of Nigeria's foreign policy is technically the responsibility of the President. He is assisted by the Minister for External Affairs and officials of the Ministry of External Affairs. Decisions are taken after consultation with Nigeria's representatives abroad, and from time to time experts from the Universities, the Business world, and the Armed Forces are asked for advice on foreign policy. In the understanding of the features of Nigeria's foreign policy it is observed that since October 1960 when Nigeria became independent, its leaders have pursued foreign policies which incorporate the following principles of friendship and cooperation with other nations which recognize and respect its sovereignty, Non-alignment with any of the power blocs, and consideration of issues on their merits, having regards to Nigeria's national interests. Adoption of clear and practical policies regarding Africa with a view to bringing about cooperation and progress to all independent African States, and helping non-independent African States to achieve total independence. This policy has continually been reaffirmed that Africa will always be the centre-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy and the belief in the sovereign equality of states and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states in Africa and beyond.

Nigeria is a member of the non-aligned movement under Alliances and Non-Alignment. A lot of foreign policy is conducted quietly through diplomacy. The super powers have tried to bring newly independent countries into alignment so that these countries can act together in international matters. This has been resisted by some third world countries who do not wish to be drawn into the ideological conflict of the super powers. These have formed the non-aligned movement which is an association of ideologically neutral countries or countries who intend to act independently in world affairs.

Despite the notion of sovereignty, international organizations exist which nations belong. These organizations have rules and do regulate the behaviour of member states. The members of international organizations decide whether or not they want to join and it is their decision whether they will subject themselves to the laws of those international

organizations. If they do not want to subject themselves to international rules, they are free to stay out. Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and the Cambia are all members of certain international organizations such as the Commonwealth of Nations, the United Nations Organization, the Organization of African Unity and ECOWAS.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

Foreign Policy

Frankel (1975) cited in Oni and Taiwo (2016) described foreign policy as consisting of decisions between one state and another. Such relations must clearly reflect the national interest of the state. Foreign policy can be defined as the totality of a country's interaction within the international system. Nwaozichi defines foreign policy as a country's response to the world outside or beyond its own frontiers and boundaries. The response may be friendly or aggressive, casual or intense, simple or complex but it is always there. Foreign policy is a state with which institutionally-designated decision makers seek to manipulate the international environment in order to achieve certain national interest (Chibundu, 2009). From these definitions foreign policy is explained as the principles of a state guiding its relations with other states and international organizations. These principles are formulated in such a manner that it will enhance or protect a nation's national interest. This is why School Mattazz (2017) defined foreign policy as a country's strategy in dealing with other countries and to pursue her interest within the global system. Consequently it states that Nigeria's foreign policy refers to self-interest action plans chosen by the federal government to safeguard Nigeria's national interest within the international system.

Economic foreign policy is usually designed to use available external factors to integrate its internal economy to meet international standard. The economic foreign policy is mindful in building external economic cooperation to safeguard against adverse impact on its economic security so not to compromise mutual benefits and fulfillment of obligations. During the implementation of projects of crucial importance, partnership is entered with the consideration of political and national interests. Foreign economic relation is guarded by economic activities aimed at enhancing export resources and production of import substitution goods. Also it promotes cooperation with foreign countries in processing its natural endowment which are capable of competing on the world market and expanding a country's export commodities.

Political foreign policy informs how interdependent interests are met. This foreign policy objective is guided by universally recognized principles and norms of international laws as contained in the relevant sub regional, regional and international charters. The promotion of cooperation with regional and international organizations such as UN, AU, ECOWAS and its specialized agencies is the trust of political foreign policy. Political foreign policy seeks to guarantee a nation's interest in the international arena through bilateral

and multilateral treaties as such interest is uppermost when making contributions to the cause of settling regional and international issues. Similarly, the placement of a country's diplomatic representative abroad is carried out with due regards to direction of foreign political relations so as to ensure conditions for their implementation.

Diplomacy

Diplomacy according to Satow (1979), is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between governments of independent states extending to their business with vassal states. Satow continues to explain that diplomacy can also be seen as the tool with which the foreign policy of a state is traded. Brownlie (1979) defines diplomacy as any means by which states establish and maintain mutual relations, communicate with each other and carry out politics or legal transaction in each case through their authorized agents. Diplomacy is much related to foreign policy and foreign policy here refers to the decision and actions taken by a state to pursue her interest within the global system. It is the ability of a nation to influence the decision and actions of other nations within the comity of nations (Passnownow, 2018).

Factors Influencing Nigeria's Foreign Policy

1. Size and Population of Nigeria

Nigeria is assumed to be the most populated country in Africa with psychological effect on her international environment particularly in Africa. Nigeria's human resources had made her a big power player in international policy making. This has played a centre stage in Nigeria's resolve at promoting Africa's integration and support for African unity. There was deluge of request for technical and financial assistance from Nigeria during the oil boom period from 1970 to 1975, and today by other African countries.

2. Governmental Structure

Nigeria's foreign policy at different times has been influenced by her different political experiences. Government officials act as decision makers, thereby influencing the formulation of foreign policies. During the past years of military rule foreign policy administration revolved round the personality of the military head of state who has the prerogative to accept or ignore advice from government bodies. Foreign policy formulation during this period is faster and devoid of bureaucratic bottle-necks because it is unusually through a decree rather than the constitution. However in formulation of foreign policy in the democratic dispensation the president, minister of foreign affairs (state department of foreign and commonwealth office) and the parliament or legislature influence the making of foreign policy. Therefore, there is a long process before foreign policy is made as these involve broad consultation and due process.

3. Social Structure

The nature of social group diversity and the degree of conflict and harmony that characterizes the mutual relationship in Nigeria is determinant in the formulation of her foreign policy. A society of united, enlightened and disciplined people with high degree of group harmony is always a source of strength. However, the level of social disharmony and group suspicion in Nigeria has negated the democratization of the process of policy making. Foreign mission staffs and envoy selection and appointment has been affected by groups' disconnect and bigotry. The linkage between the domestic and international environment which should strengthen foreign policy making is been jeopardized.

4. Internal Environment

Changes, disturbances or disorders that occur within Nigeria's internal environment have influenced the nature and course of her foreign policy. The death of General Sani Abacha and the takeover by General Abdusalam Abubakar as head of state heralded the need to pursue a foreign policy that will salvage her battered political image in the international community. The new government amongst other things lobbied for the lifting of international sanctions and exclusion of Nigeria. It is in this light that a hurried transition to democratic rule was carried out.

5. Public Opinion

Public opinion, locally and internationally is another important input in Nigeria's foreign policy. Decision making in Nigeria has not given due place to the opinion of the people they represent and to world public opinion. The decision makers as leaders have to lead the public yet they neglect public opinion. Though the pact was however abrogated in 1962, but the government had shown that public opinion constituted no threat to its control of Nigeria's foreign policy. The centrality and fundamentality of public opinion in foreign policy process is not in dispute (Chuka 2007). Ideally, public opinion inputs in and impacts on a country's foreign policy determination depend on the opinion of the people (Rourke, 1997). Especially in democracies, the assumption is that the chance of foreign policy process is enhanced by public opinion.

6. External Relations

Military rule in Nigeria affected Nigeria's relations with the international community such that Nigeria was seen as a pariah state. Democratic governance in 1999 was then saddled with the responsibility of mending fences and restoring the country's confidence and good diplomatic relations with countries such as the USA, France and Britain. Successive democratic presidents visited most of these powerful states to explain Nigeria's plans and readiness to consolidate good ties and sustain the new Nigerian democratic process. Though Nigeria has tried to sustain good relations with these super states, the efforts are undermined by

challenges confronting Nigerian diplomatic missions spread across the international.

7. Institutional Neglect

The institutional framework for foreign policy formulation and execution with regards to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs faces glaring challenges. Ngozi Okonjo Iweala in 2006, discovered that the ministry had no internet connection with the Nigerian missions abroad and the outside world and that the lifts in the building were not functioning (Mustapha 2008). Embassy buildings in Khartoum, Teheran and others in Latin America had leaking roof. This context is hardly conducive for creative and professional thinking. Staffing, training and funding combine as challenges that obstruct the professional practices of Nigeria's foreign policy. This reduces the overall output of foreign policy in Nigeria and this means challenge of professional deficiency. As Fawowara (2008) put it, evidence show that Nigerian diplomats and foreign policy practitioners seem not to have received the requisite training and orientation to meet up with the diplomatic realities and challenges of the global age. Ibrahirn Gambari in 1981 noted with regret that over the years Nigeria's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, since 1950s and early 1960s, received no further training. Requisite training and orientation to meet up the diplomatic realities and challenges of the present global age is pertinent (Fafowara, 2008).

8. Training

The Foreign Service Academy which was established in I980s only served the training needs of staff newly recruited into the service. There was no systematic programme for follow-up training or other category of foreign affairs officers (Gambari, 1989). In addition to lack of professionalism resulting to ill-equipment for the foreign mission, the numbers of staff posted to Nigeria's foreign missions abroad are inadequate in number (Olusanya, 1990: 526). The ministry of foreign affairs should make efforts to training of staff in order to enhance good performance. The quality control an essential feature of the Foreign Service is eroded and the Foreign Service has become highly politicized as against standards. This affects competence, effectiveness and efficiency of diplomatic staff abroad. For the reason of lack of fund, there has been presidential ceiling on the number of officers posted to Nigeria's foreign missions. This affects theactivities of the missions due to incompetence of members who are not trained in handling technical matters.

9. Funding

Another daunting challenge to Nigeria's foreign missions has been the inadequacy of fund. According to Fafowora (2000), the Foreign Service has been underfunded and has suffered neglect. Many Nigeria diplomatic missions abroad face challenges due to inadequate funding by government. The embassies owe rent and allowances of their officials including the inability to settle electricity and telephone bills. Information officers posted to strategic

diplomatic missions are frequently summoned to the courts for non-payment of house rents. When diplomatic missions constantly face financial embarrassment abroad, they cannot pursue their tasks and functions with the much needed vigour and confidence. This ugly development according to Ashiru, has been occasioned by the cut in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' budget over the years (Financial Nigeria, 2012). This problem affects the effective performance of the missions abroad (Madueke, 2009). Akinterinwa cited in Akinyemi (1986) exposed that budgetary allocation to foreign affairs has always been poor.

10. Non Involvement of Citizens

Abounding evidences show that foreign policy decisions in Nigeria are personalized. The political class has become independent actors who have free will with hands in policy making. Incidents show demonstrated failed and foiled attempts by the public opinion of the Nigerian public. The Nigerian public should exert influence in the foreign policy process and foreign policy stance of the government. In 1960 for instance, the government of Nigeria ratified an Anglo Nigerian Defence Pact (Tyoden 1986). In response to this pact, popular oppositions, massive demonstrations, interest groups, students, the intelligentsia, the professional and bureaucratic elites, several developments in the local front were organized to create pressures to prevent the ratification and consequent resultant effect of the abrogation of the Pact. The government ratified the Pact in exclusion of public opinion. In 1962, the government announced abolition of the Pactbut the terms therein, were almost duly implemented. Ogwu revealed that all the specific points of United Kingdom flying rights, assistance, weapons and training for Nigerian troops were practically retained by the government. In her skepticism of the abrogation being a representation of government's response to group pressures and opinion of the public Ogwu posited that no one could say precisely what conditioned the decision of the prime minister who made his own foreign policy.

Tyoden (1986) contends that government does not hold public opinion on foreign policy in high esteem in Nigeria. Ogwu further expressed that Nigerian decision makers have often formulated policies on an exclusive basis, relying on the kitchen cabinet meaning that group pressure does not influenced foreign policy. Babangida administration is another test case for measuring the degree of government's consideration of the people's opinion in policy making. During the IMF loan debate the Nigerian public favoured a rejection of the loan. President Babangida accepted the position of Nigerians in the open, but in a deceitful style implemented the IMF loan and SAP policies. The damage that this brought on the socio-economic life of the people was obviously outrageous. The obvious challenge about this is that it makes Nigeria's foreign policy not to be firmly based at home and so ineffective abroad.

11. Reciprocity

The principle of reciprocity states that favours, benefits or penalties that are granted by one state to the citizens or legal entities of another should be returned (Eze 2010). The implication is that Nigeria should have incurred enormous benefits from her many and varied humanitarian policies towards fellow African countries. But against this expectation, the contrary has remained the case. For example, it is recorded that Nigeria contributed 12000 out of the 13000 ECOMOG troops deployed to Sierra Leone between 1998 and 1999. Nigerian treasury released about 400 million US Dollars annually for the mission (Uhomoibhi, 2010). Nigeria also provided at least 80% of the ECOMOG's troops that battled in Liberia and 90% of its funding (Obiorna, 2013, Adebajo, 2008). Contrary to the expectations of reciprocity in international politics, Liberia and Sierra Leone voted against Nigeria's interest and candidature of nonpermanent membership of the United Nations Security Council. After the Liberian and Sierra Leonean Wars no Nigerian construction company or human resource firm was offered contacted in both countries for rebuilding and reconstruction as a compensation for the enormous amount of money spent on peacekeeping in both countries. As Obioma (2013) noted, Nigeria failed to take advantage of these military deployments and spending in diplomatic terms. There was no clear indication that such good gestures by Nigeria were practically appreciated.

In pursuance of her Afrocentric policy stance Nigeria contributed immensely towards Angola's political independence. Nigeria did not only recognize the MPLA, but also gave financial back up of up to twenty million dollars, military hardware, fighter planes, etc (ON 2006). Despite all that Nigeria did for Angola, Nigeria's name was not contained in the list of countries that Angola paid tribute to, in Angola's independence struggle in its first appearance at the OAU Summit (Obi, 2006). It took Angola a long time to express their condolences over the death of Murtala Muhammad, Nigeria's Head of State as at the time of Nigeria's support roles in Angola's independence (Garba, 1991). Nigeria tried without success to win Angola's consent to allow Nigerian trawlers fish off the Angolan coast but Russia was granted exclusive fishing rights in the same coast. Of the system of international relations in which national interest is always in view and reciprocity is a constant factor, Nigeria has been lowly scored. In Garba's words, "we gave and gave to Angola, and in return got nothing". What is confusing is whether in spite of all these, Nigeria should feel obliged to such countries that have shown open hostility despite benevolence shown.

An instance of reciprocity in international politics and conduct of foreign policy could be seen in Nigeria-US relations during the very beginning of President Obasanjo's era. Dokubo (2010) notes: While Obasanjo lobbied Clinton to put in a word with the Paris Club to consider the forgiveness of Nigeria's debt, Clinton reciprocally extracted a promise from

him (Obasanjo) to pressure OPEC to reduce the soaring crude oil prices in the world market. On the contrary this understanding, twenty million dollars in cash went to Angola without a deal of what Nigeria might benefit (Garba 1991). In the light of the above Nigerian government under President Babangida should have applied the principle of reciprocity when the Liberian president, Samuel Doe wrote to Nigeria asking for help by requesting for a contract agreement where Nigerian companies would take charge of reconstruction once peace is restored.

12. Africa Centered Policy

Nigeria since her independence has made Africa the center piece of her foreign policy. Nigeria has supported Africa's course in many respects especially participations in various peacekeeping operations. This involvement of the country in peace operations in many troubled African zones has drained both material and human resources from Nigeria. Nigerian citizens would need to see the practical results and gains of the country's Afrocentric diplomacy in the material improvement of their lives, otherwise they will see no justification for the money spent in those pursuits.

IV. CONCLUSION

Summary

In summary the impression in the minds of Nigerians living outside the country is that the Nigerian state does not care about the plight of its citizens abroad. Cases involving Nigerians abroad which the intervention of the Nigerian state through the missions would have ameliorated were perceived to have been left unattended to. Nigerians who are facing difficulties abroad are at all times, seen as sheep without shepherd yet the constitution provides that sovereignty belongs to the people. It is for this understanding that the government of Yar'Adua began giving thoughts to what its Affairs Minister Maduekwe called Citizen Foreign Diplomacy. This principle in consonance with the constitutional directive principle places the priority of Nigeria's foreign policy on the protection of the interest of the Nigerian citizens at home and abroad. The challenges facing Nigeria's foreign policy in modern diplomacy are several. Nigeria's foreign policy is fraught with myriad of challenges which over the years have limited its expected performance. The implication of the persistence negativity is that Nigeria as an actor in the international system will hardly be adequately positioned in the emerging global order.

It is therefore, imperative that Nigeria's foreign policy be urgently reviewed and repackaged in the light of the new challenges of the globalized world order. This will make it more efficient and result oriented. The Foreign Service has been generally underfunded and has suffered neglect to the extent that the embassies owe rent, the allowances of staff not paid and Ambassador's official car not maintained. Madueke in (2009) lamented before the House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Policy in 2008 owing to neglect

resulting to great damage to Nigerian image. Since all foreign policies spring from the economic base of a state, Nigeria's economic base should be re-orientated in a manner that the country's dependency structure would be eliminated. A national economy that is capable of sustaining a realistic foreign policy goal should be built. Nigeria should match her foreign policy with her real economic status. With the debt burden and crisis bugging the country, and with attendant appalling state of social infrastructure, it is time the foreign policy objectives be skewed in favour of economic determinism. It simply does not make sense for Nigeria to continue with her spray diplomacy while the nation still obtains foreign loans.

Foreign policies are based on reciprocity. There is the need to make prominent reciprocity in the delivery of Nigeria's relations with other nations. Nigeria's past experiences in Africa does not bear this out. The idea of accepting the maltreatment of Nigerians by friendly nations without reciprocating such actions should be over. Nigeria's foreign policy should be on *quid pro quo basis*. Government should ensure that the era of grants-in-aid and interests free loans to African countries without any economic benefit should discontinue.

In conclusion, we suggest as pertinent that requisite training, re-training and current orientation of ministry and Foreign Service staff be organized. This will help to meet up the diplomatic realities and challenges of the present international reality (Fafowara, 2008). The ministry of foreign affairs should training their staff in order to enhance better productivity. The need not to personalize Nigeria's foreign policy is urgent. Whereas the ideas of leaders should not be jettisoned, policies should follow the decision making machinery of the state. There should be democratization of the foreign policy making process, allowing citizens participation and input in the foreign policy process. Institutions that are constitutionally empowered to take part in decision making should be free to play their statutory roles. The Ministry should be freed from authority interference so to take responsibility. The Foreign Affairs Ministry should be allowed to take charge of the formulation and execution of Nigeria's foreign policy, and to take credit or blame for its failures and successes. It is of great importance to strengthen the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with adequate staffing, and funding. The influx of non-career ambassadors in foreign policy practice should cease. If adhered to, the wealth of experiences of the trained career diplomats will be harnessed. It is politically logical that Nigeria matches her foreign policy with her real economic status. The need for Nigeria to adopt a sound economic policy as a fundamental pre-requisite for conducting effective foreign policy cannot overemphasized.

REFERENCES

[1]. Akinyerni, A.B. (1986), Welcome Address by Minister of External Affairs at the All Nigeria Conference on Foreign Policy, held at Kuru near Jos between 5 and 7 April, 1986.

- [2]. Alaba, Ogunsanwo (1986) Our Friends, Their Friends, Nigeria's External Relations, 1960-1985 Alfa Communications
- [3]. Brownlie, 1.(1979), Principles of Public International Law (London, Oxford).
- [4]. Dokubo, C. (2010), Nigeria's Foreign Policy in a Changing Security Environment. Challenges and prospects. Lagos: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.
- [5]. Enuka, C. (2007), Public opinion and Nigeria's foreign policy In Orjiakor, N. (ed.) Salient issues in Nigerian history, culture and socio-political development. Enugu, Nigeria. John Jacobs Publishers
- [6]. Eze, O. (2010), Beyond 50 years of Nigeria's foreign policy: Issues, challenges and prospects. Lagos: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA)
- [7]. Fafowora, O. (2008), The unsung prayer: The Nigerian diplomat and the Foreign Service Financial Nigeria. July 11,2012. @: www.searchjinancialnigeriacom
- [8]. Gambari, 1. (2008), From Balewa to Obasanjo: The theory and practice of Nigeria's foreign policy In Garba, J. (1991), Diplomatic soldiering Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
- [9]. Idang, G. J. (1973) Nigeria: International Politics and Foreign Policy, University of Ibadan. Ibadan University Press.
- [10]. Idang. G. J. (1973), Nigeria: Internal Politics and Foreign Policy, 1960-1966. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.
- [11] Johns, D.I. (1979), "Diplomatic Exchange and Interstate Inequality in Africa: An Empirical Analysis. Longman Group Ltd.

- [12]. Kawonishe, Dayo.(2003), "Salvaging Nigerian Missions from Financial Crisis". African Journal of International Affairs and Development.
- [13]. Madueke, Ojo (2009), "Reps to tackle decay in Nigerian Missions", Report of Madueke's to the House of Reps. Committee on Foreign Affairs at:www.nigeriabestforumcom/index.php
- [14]. Mustapha, A. (2008), Gulliver's troubles: Nigeria'sforeign policy after the cold war. South Africa: University of Kwazulu Press.
- [15]. Obi, E. A. (2006), Fundamentals of Nigerian foreign policy: A study on the role of national interest in foreign policy making. Onitsha: Book Point Publishers
- [16]. Obioma, J. D. (2013), Nigeria's Father Christmas foreign policy: A case of unrequited love. Available at http://www.theeconomyng.com/newsl74.html.
- [17]. Olusanya, G.O. (1990), "The Challenges of the Nigerian Foreign Service", in G.O. Olusanya and R.A. Akindele (eds), The Structure and Processes of Foreign Policy Implementation in Nigeria, 1960- 1990. Lagos/Ibadan: NIIA and Vantage Publications International Ltd.
- [18] Padelford, N. J. and Lincoln, G.A. (1967), The Dynamics of International Politics. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- [19]. Palmer, N. D. and Perkins, H.C (2001), International Relations: The World Community in Transition. New Delhi: CBS Publishers and Distributors.
- [20]. Rourke, J. (1997), International politics on the world stage. USA: Dushkin/McGraw-HillSatow. E.(1979)Guide to Diplomatic Practice, 5th edition (Lord Gore Booth(ed):London.
- [21]. Tyoden, S. (1989), Nigeria's political economy and foreign policy (1990-1983) Jos: University of Jos Press.