



NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY UNDER PRESIDENT MUHAMMADU BUHARI'S CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATION, 2015 – 2022

Chilaka Francis Chigozie (Ph.D.)^{1*} and Okon Joshua Akpan²

^{1&2}Department of Political Science, Federal University Otuoke, Bayelsa State.

*Corresponding Author's Email: chilakafc@fuotuo.ke.edu.ng

Cite this article:

Chilaka F. C., Okon J. A. (2024), Nigeria's Foreign Policy under President Muhammadu Buhari's Civilian Administration, 2015 – 2022. African Journal of Law, Political Research and Administration 7(1), 53-65. DOI: 10.52589/AJLPRA-G6DPNF1U

Manuscript History

Received: 2 Nov 2024

Accepted: 30 Jan 2024

Published: 13 Jun 2024

Copyright © 2024 The Author(s). This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0), which permits anyone to share, use, reproduce and redistribute in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited.

ABSTRACT: *Considering Buhari three-point agenda of dealing with corruption, fighting insecurity and reviving the economy, the major objective of the paper is to critically use Buhari Administration's agenda as a parameter to assess the efficiency of his external relation goals. The method of analysis was purely qualitative. Data were sourced from Newspapers, Journals and Internet. The paper also adopted decision making theory to underpin the arguments. It is the findings of the paper that some of the foreign policies of President Muhammadu Buhari include one, external relations with neighbouring countries to tackle Boko Haram. These relations led to the creation of Multinational Joint Task Force. Two, financial aids from China to make up for the infrastructure gap and to revive the economy of Nigeria. Three, closure of the borders for the sake of economic protectionism. The paper concluded that, the foreign policies of Buhari did more harm than good. Therefore, the policies did not assist in achieving his political agenda. The policies brought burden of debt, over-dependency, heightened food insecurity and hyperinflation.*



INTRODUCTION

The Fourth Republic which kicked off on May 29, 1999 after the military establishment relinquished power to the civilians, brought about a paradigm shift in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. Upon becoming Nigeria's president in 1999, ex-president Olusegun Obasanjo had to re-strategize the foreign policy of Nigeria. The June 12, 1993 crisis and the eventual emergence of late Gen Sani Abacha as military ruler in November 1993 dealt a heavy blow on Nigeria both domestically and internationally. During Abacha's reign of terror, the military junta clamped down on civil society groups, journalists, human rights activists and several individuals and pro-democracy groups that were against the perpetuation of the military in power (Olowojolu, 2017). The series of ugly events led to the isolation of Nigeria from the International community till June 8, 1998 when Abacha died suddenly. President Obasanjo had to embark on several foreign trips in order to sensitize the international community about changes in Nigeria's political climate. It must be noted that Obasanjo's 8-year tenure yielded fruits in the area of increase in foreign direct investment, increase in gross domestic product, massive reduction in Nigeria's external debts and the restoration of Nigeria's international prestige.

Obasanjo's successor, late Umaru Musa Yaradua came up with the principle of Citizen Diplomacy, however, he was unable to drive forward his foreign policy goals due to serious health issues that ultimately led to his death in 2010. Yaradua's Vice President, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan was eventually sworn in as president on May 6, 2010 and he went on to win the keenly contested and bloody 2011 presidential election. After the 2011 polls, President Goodluck Jonathan launched the "Transformation Agenda" that will position Nigeria as an economic giant. The Transformation Agenda was instituted in order to actualize the Vision 20: 2020 which will make Nigeria become one of the top 20 economies in the world. The key elements in the Transformation Agenda include: Real sector; Agriculture and Rural Development; Water Resources; Commerce and Industry; Mines and Steel Development; Physical Infrastructure; Defense and Security; Job Creation; Health Sector; Information and Communication Technology among several others. Nigeria's foreign policy during Goodluck Jonathan's presidency was geared towards economic diplomacy. Through the instrumentality of economic diplomacy, Nigeria entered into strategic partnerships for investment purposes with countries such as United States, China, Turkey, Mexico, Britain and many others. Nigeria and America deepened their economic ties during the Jonathan presidency (Olowojolu, 2017). For instance, the General Electric Company of US invested over \$1 billion in the construction of a factory in Calabar to manufacture Gas turbines for power sector. Under the US-Nigeria Bi-National Commission, over 1000 ex-Niger Delta militants were trained in American institutions on the acquisition of vocational skills (Ashiru, 2013). Nigeria received a foreign direct investment of \$54 million to develop agriculture plantations for the cultivation of pineapple and other crops for export to EU market (Ashiru, 2013). As at 2012, Nigeria had the highest FDI Inflow in Africa to the tune of \$8.9 billion (Nwankwo, 2013).

Under the Dr. Goodluck Jonathan administration, Nigeria played key roles in fostering peace and stability in Ivory Coast, Guinea Bissau and Mali. During Jonathan's tenure, Nigeria secured strategic positions in several key international organizations such as President for International for Agricultural Development (IFAD); Member of UN Economic and Social Council; Member of International Law Commission; Member of the Panel of Judges at International Criminal Court; Member of the Peace and Security Council at AU; Member of



the Governing Board of the International Atomic Energy Agency and many others. President Jonathan's administration dared some key allies of Nigeria by his approval of the Same Sex Marriage Prohibition Act in January 2014 after it was passed by the Senate and House of Representatives. The anti-LGBT law prohibits gay relationships, membership and other involvement in gay societies and organizations and gay marriages. The penalty for gay marriages is 14 years imprisonment in Nigeria (Tribune, May 28, 2015). The EU, UK and the United States threatened to cut off financial aid to Nigeria if the country's ruling authorities refuse to reverse the anti-LGBT law (Olowojolu, 2017). Up until now, the anti-LGBT law is still in operation in Nigeria. Despite the giant strides attained in Jonathan's foreign policy, there were episodes that put Nigeria in a bad light internationally. The sloppy attitude of Jonathan's administration in tackling the Boko Haram Insurgency coupled with the high level of corruption in his government dented Nigeria's image abroad. It must be noted that President Jonathan ended his tenure on a good note with the successful conduct of the 2015 general election. Jonathan's show of statesmanship after losing the presidential election to ex-military ruler, General Muhammadu Buhari (ret'd) received high ratings from many Nigerians, international observers and nations across the globe.

The major objective of this paper is to assess if Buhari Administration was able to achieve its foreign policy goals considering its cardinal point of political agenda that was meant to tackle insecurity, dwindling economy and corruption.

Understanding Nigerian Foreign Policy

A country's foreign policy consists of self-interest strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interest and to achieve its goals within the international relations milieu. It is the aggregate of a country's national interest which results from the interaction of internal and external actors and non-state actors as articulated by the foreign policy decision makers. The approaches used are strategically employed in order to interact with other countries as well as to protect the national interest. In recent times however, due to the deepening level of globalization and transnational activities, relations and interactions have been known not only to exist between state and non-state actors in the international system but to continue to change. These constant changing relations and interactions in their own ways have influenced several foreign policies between states. In the case of Nigeria, since the country's attainment of political independence on 1st October 1960, the various regimes conducted external relations. Indeed, matters relating to foreign affairs seem to have been accorded priority in such a manner that it usually forms part of the initial speeches of each of these regimes (Sulaiman, 2021).

It should be noted that as the domestic and international environment kept changing, each regime endeavour to adopt a foreign policy that would meet up with the prevailing circumstances within the global system. This often ensures that in spite of efforts to retain specific relevant aspects of Nigeria's foreign policy, changes do occur as events unfolds and do not remain static

The Nigerian policy elites enunciated the country's foreign policy principles. These revolved around multilateralism, non- alignment, Africa - Centered, non-interference in internal affairs of states and legal equality of states, peaceful coexistence in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. Also, since independence in 1960 the goal and objectives that Nigeria's foreign policy were designed to achieve have not changed. These objectives and goal as outlined and



identified to include; The protection of the territorial integrity of the Nigerian state; The promotion of economic and social wellbeing of Nigerians; The enhancement of Nigeria's image and status in the world at large; The promotion of unity as well as the total political, economic, social and cultural liberation of Nigeria and Africa; The promotion of the rights of the black people and others under colonial domination; The promotion of international cooperation, conducive to the consolidation of world peace and security; Mutual respect and friendship among all peoples among states; Redressing the imbalance in the international power structures that has tended to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of developing countries; The promotion of world peace based on the principles of freedom, mutual respect and equality of all persons of the world [Aderemi Opeyemi Ade-Ibijola 2013]. These were outlined since independence to define the country's foreign policy and appeared to have guided and provided a parameter within which various administrations conducted or carried out the nation's foreign policy and relations.

Although it is known that some administrations laid emphasis and focus on some of these objectives. The focus and emphasis on some of these objectives by different administrations is sometimes explained by the circumstances and the environment within which these administrations have found themselves. Some of the administration had to adjust to what was happening around them, at the domestic, sub-regional, regional and at the global levels too. It was the regime of Murtala since independence that first set up a committee known as the Adedeji Committee to examine Nigeria's foreign. It was based on the report of the committee that in June 1976 Obasanjo identified Nigeria's foreign policy to include; The defense of sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity; The creation of necessary political and economic conditions in Africa and the rest of the world which will facilitate the defense of the independence and territorial integrity of all African countries while at the same time fostering national self-reliance and rapid economic development; The promotion of equality and self-reliance in Africa and the rest of the developing world; The promotion and defense of justice and respect for human dignity, especially the dignity of the black man; and the defense and promotion of world peace (Adefore, 1979, Chibundu, 2002, Gamabari, 1984) . Nigeria's foreign policy it should be noted has faced a lot of criticism by scholars for lacking any specific ideology that is Nigerian

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Decision Making Theory

The Decision Making Theory seeks to understand any political actions, whether good or bad, from the position of the actors of a state. The foremost exponent of this theory is Snyder. According to synder in Francis (2008) decision making lies at the common focus under which we can bring together, the political actors, situations and processes for the purposes of analysis. Francis (2008) further stated that decision making has some salient issues such as ascertaining who made the decision that resulted in the action and examining the interactive and intellectual factors that influenced the decision makers. Decision Making Theory also seeks to examine the various factors policy makers put into consideration before making policies and most especially foreign policies. These factors are the internal setting, external setting and the decision making process. According to Snyder cited in Francis (2008), the internal setting includes such variables as social structures, socioeconomic realities of the



state, public opinion and dominant value orientations. The crux of the matter is that do Buhari consider the social, economic and political situation of the country in his foreign policy goals?

This paper adopts decision making theory because political actions including foreign policy formulation are undertaken by human beings. Therefore, to comprehend the dynamics of the actions of the policy makers, it is proper to mirror their actions in tandem with the internal and external environment realities, not from our point of view but from the perspective of the decision. On this note, buhari foreign policy decisions would be interrogated to ascertain if the decisions were decisive enough to tackle challenges bedeviling Nigerians and the Nigerian state itself

The Domestic Environment Situation in Buhari regime

The Nigerian situation since the assumption of power in 2015 by President Muhammadu Buhari has gone through twists and turns which has been unsettling. As foreign policy is a function basically of domestic policy, President Buhari's foreign policy is not devoid of domestic realities and course of action. There is no doubting the fact that the country has continued to face a myriad of problems. While many of these problems remain unsolved, Nigerians have waited endlessly for solutions to no avail. Poor infrastructure, unemployment, poverty, insecurity, increasing debt burden, fuel scarcity, economic downturn, inflation, division along tribal and religious lines, among others are the teething problems facing the country. Some of these challenges are lucidly discussed below:

Poverty and hardship

The high cost of living and other economic issues have combined to worsen the current situation, leading to an increase in the country's poverty index. According to the National Bureau of Statistics, 110 million Nigerians are multi-dimensionally poor out of over 200 million citizens (Daniel, 2023). This is against the fact that the country is endowed with human and natural resources. The failure of the previous and the current leaders to manage the resources as manifested in failure in governance has been blamed for the problems.

Infrastructure Deficiency

Inadequate infrastructure in Nigeria contributed to high inflation in 2021. The majority of roads in urban and rural areas are not paved and it negatively affects the transportation of commodities. According to the former director-general of Infrastructure Concession Regulatory Commission (ICRC), Engineer Chidi Isuwa, Nigeria had about 195,000km of the road network and only about 60,000km was paved (Daniel, 2023) . A large proportion of the paved road was in a very poor condition due to insufficient investment and lack of adequate maintenance. The high cost of transportation due to the bad road was passed to consumers who paid high prices for commodities consumed. The erratic power supply was a big challenge in Nigeria in 2021. The majority of businesses depended on self-generated power sources to power their operations. The high cost of running and maintaining power-generating plants resulted in a high cost of production which businesses passed on to consumers, and that contributed to high inflation in Nigeria.



Corruption

Corruption in government has continued to compound the country's woes, even as resources that are expected to contribute to gradually reducing the poverty rate are siphoned by a few people who take advantage of their positions in government. Before the coming of the administration of President Buhari, there were records of public officials who were involved in corrupt practices. One of such cases that need mentioning is that of a former Minister of Petroleum under ex-President Goodluck Jonathan, Diezani Alison-Madueke, from whom the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission recovered \$153m and 80 properties (Daniel, 2023). Also, the case of the then serving Accountant-General of the Federation, Idris Ahmed, who allegedly misappropriated N109bn, explains why more Nigerians are poor despite the social investment programmes of the current regime. The EFCC recently said it had recovered N30bn from the suspended AGF. This is only one incident among several others yet to be discovered. A former EFCC chairman, Ibrahim Magu, was arrested and subsequently sacked over alleged corruption. Magu, who was in charge of the EFCC between 2015 and July 2022, was accused of mishandling the recovered loot and selling seized assets, with his associates said to be major beneficiaries (Daniel , 2023) .

Insecurity

Between 2015 till 2022, Boko Haram was responsible for thousands of deaths in Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, and Niger. In Africa, Nigeria is the country most affected by the terrorist group's attacks. States in the North-East register the highest number of deaths. Borno is by far the most threatened state, in that, Boko Haram has caused over 35 thousand deaths in this area. Among the news on attacks mostly present in the media, the kidnapping of 276 female students from a secondary school in Borno in 2014 received a global response. As of April 2021, over 100 girls were still missing, while six students were believed to have died. Apart from Boko Haram insurgency, the increasing level of kidnapping, armed robbery, rape and other social vices remains a source of concern to the Buhari regime. Insecurity was a daunting challenge in 2021. The Northern and Benue states had high insecurity problems ranging from killing, armed robbery, assault, carjacking, kidnapping, hostage-taking, banditry, and rape. According to security reports, not less than 2,371 persons were kidnapped on 281 separate occasions with N10 billion ransom demanded during the first half of 2021. Insecurity was a big threat to farming as many farmers could not carry out their activities due to the fear of being killed and that led to high prices of agricultural produce. The high prices of agricultural products caused an increase in the prices of other products in the market

Debt Burden

Nigeria's public debt has risen the most under the Buhari administration when compared to previous governments since 1999, and foreign debt has grown three times more than the combined figure recorded by the past three administrations, a PREMIUM TIMES analysis of the government's domestic and foreign debts has shown. While the Obasanjo government met \$28 billion as foreign debt in 1999, it left \$2.11 billion in 2007 after successfully securing a write-off by the London and Paris clubs of foreign creditors (Kabiru, 2021) . The Yar'adua/Jonathan government added \$1.39 billion to what they met, and the Jonathan government incurred additional \$3.8 billion, taking the country's total foreign debt to \$7.3 billion when that administration came to an end in 2015. Nigeria's external loan reached \$28.57 billion by December 2020, meaning an extra \$21.27 billion had been accumulated



under the Buhari administration — three times the combined amount by past governments since 1999 (Kabiru, 2021) .

For domestic debt, considered relatively less harmful to the value of Naira than foreign debt, the figure rose from N795 billion in 1999 when the Obasanjo government came to power, to N8.8 trillion in 2015 when the Buhari administration assumed office. By December 2020, Nigeria’s domestic debt stood at N16.02 trillion — twice as much the combined amount taken by the past three governments. The domestic and foreign debt figures are higher now as the government has borrowed more in 2021. Muhammadu Buhari inherited an N8.8 trillion federal government’s domestic debt in 2015. However, the figure rose to N16.02 trillion as of December 2020. Likewise, the nation’s exchange rate fell from N197 to a dollar in 2015 to N381 at the end of December 2020. Up from \$7.35 billion in 2015, Nigeria’s external borrowings stood at \$28.57 billion as of December 2020. This means that the administration incurred \$21.27 billion in foreign loans. But putting together external and domestic borrowing, Mr Buhari had borrowed N17.06 trillion as of March 2021, using the N381 exchange rate. This represents an average of N2.83 trillion per year since 2015. (Kabiru, 2021)

Buhari's Foreign Policy Thrust

In the past, Nigeria’s foreign policy was “Afrocentric”, making “Africa the center-piece of the country’s foreign policy”. This raised the image of Nigerian government and people highly in the International community, particularly its focus on decolonization of the whole of Africa and the end of apartheid in South Africa. Since then, Nigeria’s dominance in the African region may not be as visible as it used to be, but its sub- regional overwhelming presence in West Africa under President Buhari is indisputable. We shall examine here the international dimension of his three-point agenda of dealing with insecurity and the search for international joint efforts to combat it, fighting corruption and the quest for the return of Nigeria’s looted assets, and efforts to revive the economy with the support of trading partners.

Multinational Cooperation to Tackle Terrorism

In pursuit of a foreign policy based on good neighbourliness and security for all, President Buhari started his official international trips in 2015 by first visiting Niger and Chad, later Cameroun, Guinea, and Benin Republic to re-invigorate the brotherly relations, and particularly to solicit their support in the war against international terrorism a part of which is the Boko Haram insurgency in the North Eastern part of Nigeria. The trips led to the creation of the Multinational Joint Task Force consisting mainly of troops from Nigeria, Niger, Chad, and Cameroun aimed at defeating Boko Haram terrorists and bringing peace and development to the Lake Chad Area. Unfortunately, the war rages on, as there appears to be no effective synergy among the troops from member states of the Multinational Joint Task Force. This is exemplified by the Chadian attack, led by the Chadian President, on Boko Haram without the collective collaboration from Nigeria, Niger and Cameroun troops.

Though the Chadians had a huge success as regards chasing Boko Haram out of their territory into Nigeria, perhaps if coordination had existed within the Multinational Joint Task Force, the troops from other states would have joined the Chadian towards total liberation of the Lake Chad Basin where Boko Haram have their headquarters in the theatre of war. Also, if President Buhari had been on the same page with the Chadian President, the Nigerian troops



would have been put on notice and on state of preparedness to compliment the efforts of the Chadian.

President Buhari has significantly succeeded in his search for international cooperation against terrorism by persuading former President Donald Trump of the United States of America to sell Tucano aircrafts to Nigeria to pursue the war against Boko Haram contrary to President Obama's refusal to sell them to Nigeria for reasons best known to him. The arrival of the Tucano aircrafts surely enhance the performance of the Nigerian troops.

Closure of Land Borders

The land border closure, for over eight months, between Nigeria and ECOWAS countries adversely affected all countries concerned including Nigeria. This is a typical example of how domestic policy has direct and indirect effects on foreign policy as the closure prevented the flow of persons, goods and services into Nigeria, including input requirements of commerce and industry, leading to hyperinflation of goods and services in the country. Though the aim of the policy was to stop the smuggling of small arms and ammunition and foreign rice into the country so as to reduce insecurity and encourage domestic rice production respectively, smuggling still continued due to the porous nature of the country's borders. International trade between Nigeria and the neighbouring countries has always been beneficial. Nigeria's signing of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), projected to become world's second largest free trade area, is set to expand this, analysts say Nigeria earned \$823.06 million from export to ECOWAS countries and \$2.72 billion from shipping out products to Africa in the first quarter of 2020. In the second quarter of 2020, export to the whole of Africa was estimated at N401.4 billion, while goods worth N149.3billion were exported to ECOWAS. This, according to analysts, is set to expand owing to the AfCFTA. Besides AfCFTA, Nigeria has signed a number of bilateral agreements and memoranda of understanding aimed at strengthening its relations with other countries and driving Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) to the country to accelerate development and improve the lives of citizens.

The loss to the country of the border closure was greater than the expected benefits as it exacerbated the recession in the country. Bilateral relations between Nigeria and its neighbours, particularly Ghana and Benin Republic, suffered a setback under President Muhammadu Buhari's watch due to the border closure; it was a grudge that Ghana held against Nigeria. The border was opened early January 2021; it will no doubt facilitate the needed rapprochement as well as smoothen relations between Nigeria and the ECOWAS member states. Also, local manufacturers suffered huge losses and incurred major lapses in financial transactions during the border closure, just as production lines were been shut down and workers being laid off. Findings show that food and beverage manufacturers are the worst hit owing to their inability to import already purchased raw materials while their finished goods meant for the ECOWAS sub-region and Trans-Saharan markets were been prevented from leaving the shores of Nigeria through the border.

In the wake of the border closure, manufacturers whose raw materials were stuck at the border reportedly lost an average of N5billion daily, as they are unable to bring in raw materials or export their finished products. Some in the agriculture sector, who produce mainly for export, are also losing out as 80 percent of their revenue is from export. Perishable goods stocked in some warehouses have spoilt, expired or damaged or damaged, while some



companies are now unable to bring in raw materials already paid for, which were purchased from neighboring countries for local production.

China Financial Aids to Nigeria

On 29th May, 2015 Nigeria sworn in a new President from the opposition party in person of President Muhammadu Buhari. The event was so spectacular not only because it was the first time such a thing had happened in the country but also because the government came with the blueprints to fight corruption, build the economy, among others, which it found a true partner in China to achieve. Thus, in his quest to fix the economy beginning with the closing of the infrastructural gaps, the President has been working intimately with China. On April 27, 2018 both countries signed a \$2.5 billion currency swap deal to boost local currency liquidity to Nigerian and Chinese industrialists (Udo, 2018). President Buhari has also sought and in most cases obtained loans from China. According to a Press Release by the Presidency dated 15, April 2016 after the President's first visit to China since assumption of office in 2015, the President praised China for the additional investments worth over \$6 billion his visit was able to attract to Nigeria in different areas of the economy. Thus:

1. In the power sector, North-South Power Company Limited and Sinohydro Corporation Limited signed an agreement value at \$478,657,941.28 to construct 300 megawatts solar power in Shiroro, Niger state;
2. In solid minerals sector, granite and marble Limited signed the Shanghai Shibang and an agreement valued at \$55 million for the construction and equipping of granite mining plant in Nigeria;
3. A total of \$1 billion is to be invested in the development of the Greenfield expressway from Abuja-Ibadan-Lagos under an agreement reached by the infrastructure bank and Sinohydro Corporation Limited;
4. For the housing sector both companies mentioned above also signed a \$250 million deal to develop an ultra-modern 27-storey high rise complex and a \$2.5 billion agreement for the development of the Lagos metro rail transit red line project;
5. \$1 billion agreement for the establishment of a Hi-tech industrial park in Ogun-Guangdong trade zone in Igbesa, Ogun state;
6. The agreement by Ogun Guangdong free Trade Zone and the CNG (Nigeria) for the construction of two 500MT/day float gas facilities valued at \$200 million;
7. An agreement valued at \$363 million for the establishment of a comprehensive farm and downstream industrial park in Kogi state;
8. Others under negotiation were the \$500 million project for the provision of telephone broadcast equipment and a \$25 million facility for the production of prepaid smart meters between Mojec Investment Limited and Microstar Company Limited (Premium Times April 15, 2016).



Similarly, in the recent concluded 2018 Forum on China African Cooperation (FOCAC), Nigeria signed more than \$10 billion agreements with others still under discussion by various parties.

Among those that have been signed, in agreements or MOUs are as follows:

1. The agreement between the China National Petroleum Corporation, which has agreed to secure funding for the Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation, Ajaokuta- Kano (AKK) gas pipeline to cost \$2.8 billion;
2. The agreement entered by the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment with Shandong Ruyi International Fashion Industry for \$2 billion, for a first-ever cotton value chain; that is from cotton growing to ginning, spinning, textile manufacture and garment with Katsina, Kano, Abia and Lagos states as the chosen locations;
3. The MOU between the Chinese conglomerate, Capegate Integrated worth \$1.5 billion for energy and organic fertilizer that will cover Abuja, Niger, Nasarawa, Kaduna and Kano to generate: 30MW of electricity, 500,000 tonnes of organic fertilizer, 60,000,000 litres of oil from pyrolysis, create up to 10,000 jobs, 400 garbage collection trucks, various types of city sanitation equipment and one million (1,000,000) waste bins to be deployed;
4. An agreement between the NNPC, the Nanni Good Fortune Heavy Industries Group and Capegate Group for a \$400 million investments across six states to allow for: 90 litres of ethanol, 64 MW of power, 72 tonnes of sugar per annum, 10,000 tonnes of animal farm per annum, 5,5000 direct employment;
5. The Nanni Industries and Capegate Group submitted an MOU to the NNPC for an investment in 15,000 hectares of cassava ethanol in the South-West, and another project of the same value and scale in the South East;
6. Among other agreements that the NNPC signed was one with Obax-Complant Consortium and another with Capegate-Nanning Consortium that targets 10 bio-fuel complexes nationwide;
7. An MOU between the Edo state Government and China harbor for the construction of Benin River Port; the Benin Industrial Park and a 550 barrels per day modular refinery;
8. A funding MOU between Huawei Technologies and the Federal Government of Nigeria, represented by Galaxy Backbone for the training of 1,000 Nigerian government officials to acquire basic ICT knowledge and skills forwarded to the Ministry of Justice;
9. Huawei also plans the annual training of 10,000 Nigerians in ICT, with a wider and deeper training of 5,000 out of this number, who upon certification by Huawei will be employable anywhere in the world;
10. An MOU signed between Khromemonkey Nigeria Limited and Shezen Right Net Technology Limited to set up Amanbo Nigeria, a business-to-business-Consumer (B2B2C) platform and postal that would enable Nigeria exporters to trade with Chinese importers and vice-versa;

So far, the financial aids from China have been able to execute some projects in Nigeria since the assumption of President Buharis in office in 2015. This as reported by Shaban (2018)



include: the West Africa's first Urban rail system valued at \$500 million in Abuja; the 180km rail line connecting Abuja and Kaduna which was commissioned in 2016. Others that are at their various stages of completion which Nigeria leveraging on the \$3.4billion Chinese funding to complete are the upgrading of airport terminals, the Lagos-Kano rail line, the Zungeru hydroelectric power project, and the Fibre Cable for the internet infrastructure. Also financed by the Chinese aids was the new Portharcourt Airport International Terminal commissioned by President Buhari in October 2018 (Ogbonna, 2018). In recognition of these laudable achievements, President Buhari while commending his China counterpart noted that since "independence no country has helped our country on infrastructure development like the Chinese. In some projects, the Chinese help us with 85 percent payment and soft loans that span 20 years. No country done that for us as far as I can remember" (The Eagles Online, 2018)

Citizen Diplomacy

Nigeria has become one of the most sought-after markets for student recruiters in major destination countries, including Australia, Canada, China, Ireland, the US, and the UK. Nearly 100, 000 Nigerian students were enrolled abroad in 2020 and the number of professionals migrating from Nigeria in search of greener pastures abroad is on the increase. President Muhammadu Buhari shortly after a reelection in 2019 approved the establishment of the Nigerians in Diaspora Commission (NIDCOM) to encourage diaspora Nigerians to be good ambassadors of the country and mediate relations between the Nigerian government and Nigerians in the diaspora for mutual developmental benefits. The commission has, through this time, shown commitment towards the welfare and well-being of the estimated 17 million diaspora Nigerians, by organizing town-hall meetings, interventions during xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in Ghana and South Africa, evacuation of thousands of stranded citizens back home and response to petitions from Nigerians abroad. The commission is working with the National Assembly and other stakeholders towards an amendment of the Electoral Act, just as it is partnering with the National Identity Management Commission (NIMC) for diaspora mapping and has commenced the data capturing of Nigerians in parts of West Africa, Europe, Asia and Americas for effective planning purposes, especially in view of the much anticipated diaspora voting.

CONCLUSION

Buhari foreign policy goals were not citizen -oriented, therefore it is devoid of national interest. The policies did not assist in achieving his promises presented in his party manifesto. His governance was premised on how corruption, poor economic performance and insecurity would be tackled. This is because the three listed factors have gone a long way to retard the progress, development and peace of the country. Tackling these challenges, will make Nigeria stand tall among nation-states in the global community. Rather, Buhari policies deepened Nigeria economic dysfunctionality. For instance, the border closure exacerbated inflation rate. The price of commodities like rice, turkey, chicken skyrocketed. This further worsen the existing food insecurity in the country.

Second, loans from China has several gross consequences. Debt burden is one of the famous implications China's loans have for the country. Servicing these loans relatively affect various



sectors of the economy to thrive. It also makes Nigeria to over-depend on China. By so doing, Nigeria could not be taken serious among the comity of Nations

Third, his foreign partnership to decimate insecurity was mainly on terrorism. Whereas there are numerous forms of insecurity challenge that are deadly as well. There was no tangible foreign policy drive to tackle such challenges of insecurity. This means his foreign policy move towards insecurity was myopic.

Lastly, apart from his early days in office, there was no formidable and sustainable external relations concerning challenging corruption in the country.

REFERENCES

- Aderemi, O.A.I. (2013). Overview of national interest, continuities and flaws in Nigeria's foreign policy. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*. 3 (1)
- Adefore, I. (2008). Foreign policy: Nigeria's primary objectives. *Nigeria Today*. Nigeria High Commission
- Ashiru, O.A. (2013). Paper presentation on the performance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from May 2011 to June 2013 at the Ministerial Platform, Federal Ministry of Information, Radio House, Abuja.
- Chubundu, V.N. (2002). *Foreign policy with particular reference to Nigeria: 1961-2002*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
- Daniel, A. (2023). 2023 and Challenges amid High Expectations. Online Punch Newspaper. Available at <https://punchng.com/2023-and-challenges-amid-high-expectations/?amp>. Accessed on the 29/4/2023
- Francis, C.E. (2008). Approaches and methods to the study of politics. In A. Remi, & E. Francis (Eds.), *Elements of politics*. Lagos: Sam Iroanusi Publications
- Gambari I.A. (1989). *Theory and reality in foreign policy making: Nigeria after the Second Republic*. NJ: Humanities Press International, Atlantic Highlands
- Jaiyeola, L. (2021). Perspectives on President Buhari's foreign policy. Available at <https://guardian.ng/opinion/perspectives-on-president-buharis-foreign-policy/>. Accessed on the 29/4/2023
- Kabiru, Y. (2021). Inside Nigeria's debt crisis: How foreign loan under Buhari tripled past governments combined figure. Available at <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/489041-inside-nigerias-debt-crisis-how-foreign-loan-under-buhari-triples-past-govts-combined-figure.html?tztc=1>. Accessed on the 29/4/2023
- Nigerian Tribune (2015). Nigeria's foreign policy in the eye of global challenge. Available at <http://tribuneonlineng.com/content/nigeria%E2%80%99s-foreignpolicy-eye-global-challenge>
- Nwankwo, O. (2013). Shifting the paradigm in Nigeria's foreign policy: Goodluck Jonathan and Nigeria's Vision 20:2020. *Social Sciences* 2: 212-221
- Olowojolu, O. (2017). Mid-term report of President Muhammadu Buhari's foreign policy. *Journal of Arts and Contemporary Society*. 9(1). Pp 1-12
- Premiumtimes (2016). Presidency lists Nigeria's Benefits from Buhari's China Visit. Available at



- <http://googleweblight.com/i?u=http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/topnews/201873-presidency-lists-nigerias-benefits-buharis-visit.html&=enNG&tg=2239&pt=167.24/09/2018>. Accessed on the 27/4/2023
- Sulaiman, . I. R. (2021). An appraisal of Nigerian foreign policy under the General Yakubu Gowon's Regime 1966-1975. *Journal of History and International Relations*. Vol. 5, No. 4. Pp 70-80
- Shaban, A. R. A. (2018). Nigeria's Buhari defends China, dismisses talk of debt trap. <https://www.africanews.com/amp/2018/09/04/nigeria-s-buhari-definds-dismisses-talk-ofdebt-trap/24/09/2018>. Accessed on the 27/10/2023.
- The Eagle Online (2018). Buhari lauds Chinese government for addressing Nigeria's infrastructural deficits. Available at <https://theeagleonline.com.ng/buhari-lauds-chinese-governmentfor-addressing-nigerias-infrastrutural-deficits>. Accessed on the 27/10/2023.
- Udo, B. (2018). Nigeria, China sign \$2.5bn currency swap deal. Available at <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/267076-nigeri-china-sign-.5bncurrency-swap-deal.html>. Accessed on the 20/4/2023.