THE POST COLD WAR EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT AND NIGERIA FOREIGN POLICY

Dr. Ukiyedeikimie Ugo Moses

Department of Political Science, Isaac Jasper Boro College of Education, Sagbama, Bayelsa State.

Email: ukiyeugo@gmail.com

ABSTRACT: *This paper examines some important post Cold War changes in the external environment that have contributed to changes in Nigeria's foreign policy. The external environment of foreign policy is the totality of extraneous factors that influence and shape a country's foreign policy. The international system was remarkably altered by the historic end of the Cold war. The post Cold War facilitated changes in the international system that have made international relations more complex and challenging. Globalisation, international pressures for democratisation and respect for human rights; changes in the international system and Nigeria's commitments to bilateral and multilateral agreements were identified as some of the external sources of influence on the country's foreign policy. These developments have challenged and tremendously altered the dynamics of Nigeria's foreign policy. Neo-liberal theory was employed as the framework of analysis. Data were sourced from secondary sources: books, journals, newspapers, magazines and the Internet.*

KEYWORDS: External Environment, International System, International Relations, Foreign Policy.

INTRODUCTION

Foreign policy is an interactive process between the domestic and external environment (Sesay & Eyinla, 2012; Kissinger, 1969). Any foreign policy is therefore shaped by both domestic and external factors which together constitute the environment of foreign policy (Saliu & Aremu, 2013). The dynamics (both domestic and external), structures and processes, are all constituent parts of the environment of foreign policy (Alli, 2010). External factors that impinge on foreign policy are the sum of extraneous factors outside of a country that shapes and influences a country's foreign policy (Alli, 2010).

Beginning from the last decade of the 20th century, the international system witnessed unprecedented changes that necessitated states to redefine and refocus their foreign policies in response. With economic liberalisation and unfettered market forces assuming dominance in the global economy, globalisation became a significant phenomenon that impacted particularly the foreign policies of states in developing countries. The unbundling of the economies of states together with the emergence of democratic principles and governance as a consequence of the global push for democratisation, are all part of the wild wind of changes in the international system (Akindele, 2012). These developments were fallouts of the pulling down of the Berlin Wall in 1989 which marked the demise of communism and an end to the bitter Cold War that characterised the international system. This new order in the international system characterised by liberalism has facilitated enormous changes in international relations and has continued to shape and mould the nature and character of inter-state relations.

Nigeria's foreign policy is not immune from these changes. This paper is therefore an inquiry into the factors in the external environment that shape the content and character of the country's foreign policy and attempts to proffer answers to the following question: What are the external factors that impinge on Nigeria's foreign policy?

The paper is divided into four sections. Immediately following the introduction is a theoretical framework that provides a theoretical explanation to the study. That is followed by an overview of Nigeria foreign policy. A discussion of the external factors that shape Nigeria's foreign policy is considered next and ends with a conclusion.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This paper employs the neo-liberal theory of international relations as the analytical framework. Neo-liberalism is an offshoot of liberalism which is one of the traditional theories of international relations (Mingst, 1999). Liberalism was the dominant theoretical persuasion, particularly in the Inter-War years. It held an optimistic view of the international system in spite of the acknowledged anarchy that pervades international politics. Liberal scholars believe in the possibility of peace in international relations. They believe peace among nations is desirable and attainable. To secure global peace, liberals reposed confidence on the role of international law, international norms and international institutions.

These liberal ideas provided the foundation for the establishment of the League of Nations and its successor, the United Nations. Immanuel Kant was one of the early proponents of liberalism. These ideas were later promoted after the First World War by President Woodrow Wilson of the United States (Gold & Mcglinchey, 2017). Liberalism weakened with the outbreak of the

Second World War. It did not however go into extinction as the League was replaced by the United Nations with a similar mandate.

Neo-liberalism gained momentum in the 1980s as a system level analysis of the behaviour of states. Its proponents include John Locke, Adam Smith, Benjamin Constant, John Stuart Mill, John Rawls, Robert Nozick, Bruce Auckerman and a host of others (Odion-Akhaine, 2009). Essentially, neo-liberal theorists analyse state behaviour through the international system. This is based on the belief that the characteristics and dynamism of the international system is a primary explanation for the changes in the behaviour of states (Mingst, 1999). Change in the foreign policies of states, according to the neo-liberal system-focused analysis, is a consequence of changes in the international system. Therefore, behavioural change in states is a manifestation of changes in the international system. In essence, it is the character of the international system that causes states to behave in particular ways (Gold & Mcglinchey, 2017).

Neo-liberalism is concerned by the ways international institutions influence the behaviour of states by spreading values and creating rule-based behaviour (Mingst, 1999). The system focused analysis of state behaviour which neo-liberalism espouses is considered an appropriate framework because it explains the influence of the changes in the international system on Nigeria's foreign policy.

METHODOLOGY

Data for this research were sourced from secondary materials. The secondary sources of data that were consulted include books, internet sources, journals, magazines and newspapers. Data from these sources were reviewed and logical conclusions drawn.

Literature: An Overview of Nigeria Foreign Policy

At independence, Nigeria foreign policy focused on specific problems both at the domestic and international levels. The major issues at the domestic sphere were ensuring peace and unity at home and in promoting political unity and stability. An equally important concern was the search for aid and other development assistance from the international community to facilitate the process of economic development at home (Ofuegbu, 1978). Foreign policy was an indispensable instrument in the pursuit of these goals. Nigeria's membership of the United Nations and the Commonwealth was expected to contribute in various ways to the country's ability to enhance these domestic aspirations (Fawole, 2003; Asobie, 2010). The persistence of these problems decades after independence is an indication that efforts in this direction have not recorded remarkable success.

In the international system, the major concerns and objectives in Africa which formed the centre-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy were decolonisation and settler colonialism and apartheid in South Africa (Fawole, 2003). The politics of the Cold War necessitated the need for the country to tread with caution in its relations with the great powers, a constraint that informed the policy of non-alignment and Nigeria's membership of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Other principles, such as the commitment to the promotion of friendship, cooperation and promotion of international peace and security; respect for the sovereign equality of states; and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other states were essentially important provisions of international law and norms in the international system to which all

nations were expected to respect (Fawole, 2003). These were, therefore, shared commitments as all African states subscribed to international law, the norms of the international system and as a commitment to the promotion of international peace and security (Wright, 1999). Also, the problems of economic development at home, political stability and social harmony were objectives that were common to all African states. Broadly therefore, all African states had commonly shared objectives in their international relations (Wright, 1999).

With the highest demography in Africa and endowments in both human and material resources, the makers of foreign policy believed Nigeria was specially endowed by providence to play a special role in continental and global affairs (Fawole, 2003). This imbued successive leaders of the country with an Africa-centred foreign policy and a marked commitment to the pursuit of continental objectives (Adebayo, 2008). This found practical expression in its international relations from the early years of independence through to the 1970s and even to date. This commitment has been demonstrated in many instances. The severance of diplomatic relations with France, three months after independence (January, 1961) over its atomic tests in the Sahara was in furtherance of its African policy (Adebayo, 2008, p.8).

Also, Nigeria played a leadership role in the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) as a regional economic bloc in 1975; all of which are efforts to find solutions to the plethora of political and economic challenges in Africa and the West African sub-region respectively. The commitment to Africa has endured through the decades. It is generally acknowledged that since independence, the country's foreign policy has been characterised by continuity rather than change (Jinadu, 2005; Osuntoun, 2005). This shows that the African objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy formulated at independence by Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa are still the guiding principles of the country's foreign policy (Gambari, 2008; Asobie, 2010). However, since the 1980s, the vigour and commitment to an Africa-focused policy has been greatly weakened by the country's diminishing economic fortunes.

It is worth noting, though, that the major continental political issues which had engaged the country's foreign policy have all been resolved by the close of the 20th Century (Freidrich Ebert Stiftung, 2011). In their place, fresh problems have emerged to which the country's foreign policy has lacked robust response. The problems of intra-state and inter-state wars, terrorism, HIV/AIDS, globalisation, hunger and disease, political instability and economic crises and a lot more of other issues are the blight of African nations to which Nigeria's foreign policy response have been lacklustre, at best. The end of the Cold War and the unprecedented rapprochement between nations has driven the ominous spectre of a Third World War to a distant memory. But Africa does not share in the peace dividends of the post-Cold War. Intra-state and inter-state wars have been the bane of the continent, and have left in their trail, woes of general instability, mortality, refugee crises, disease, hunger and economic crises in most nations in the continent (Barynham, 1994). So, while the issues that animated Nigeria's foreign policy at independence have largely been resolved, these have been replaced by a set of fresh problems which have not been properly articulated by the country's foreign policy establishment.

RESULTS/FINDINGS

The foreign policy of any country is subject to influence from both domestic and external factors. Nigeria is not an exception as the external environment has had tremendous influence in the direction of the country's foreign policy. The major factors in the external environment that exert influence and change on foreign policy in Nigeria are:

1. Pressures from Globalisation

Essentially, foreign policy is aimed at achieving objectives that cannot be realised within the borders of the initiating country. It is, therefore, a policy directed at the international community (Ofuegbu, 1978). A foreign policy can be prompted either by domestic demands and needs or stimulated by the external environment (Alli, 2010). In the case of the latter, states that will be impacted by the external initiative will have to devise strategies in the form of policies to either ameliorate or take advantage of the stimuli. Globalisation is one major externally initiated phenomenon that confronts Nigeria's foreign policy.

Globalisation has engendered increased interaction of peoples and institutions across the globe (Ogonnaya, 2012). This is not entirely new as nations have lived with elements of the phenomenon. However, the intensification of the processes of globalisation in the 21st Century has created enormous challenges for developing nations like Nigeria. It has contributed to the blurring of state borders, and with it, the sovereignty of nations. The so-called borderless world or global village presents grave challenges to weak states in their ability to effectively control their foreign policies. The sovereignty of a state over its domestic affairs and its international relations are being called to question and repeatedly challenged by the forces of globalisation. Due to the impact of globalisation, the state is said to be in recession and even derided as an institution that is withering away (The Economist, 1997). Consequently, the sovereignty of states and state centrism in international relations is also being attacked and severely contested.

The increased influence of Multinational Corporations, International Financial Institutions (IFIs), Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), International Institutions and other bodies has continued to constrain the domain of the state in the conduct of foreign policy in Nigeria (Alli, 2010). A remarkable feature of globalisation is the increasing powers of International Organisations, particularly international financial and economic institutions like the World Trade Organisation, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in dictating socio-economic policies and governance systems to developing countries (Oluyemi-Kusa, 1994). The powers of these institutions over the socio-economic development of countries in the global South are vast and untamed thereby virtually dominating and dictating the socio-economic and political progress in these countries (Ogonnaya, 1999). In most developing countries, *de facto* political power resides in the hands of these institutions as globalisation has subjected the state to attack on all fronts. Even in global economic relations, globalisation has through the instrumentality of international financial institutions, pressured and conditioned countries in the developing world to open up their economies through privatisation, liberalisation and the adoption of free-market economies (Ogonnaya, 1999). These prescriptions have facilitated the domination of the economies of these countries with devastating consequences. It is in this dominated environment that governments formulate foreign policies and pursue their legitimate interests in the international system.

Also, globalisation has made everyone a global citizen to the extent that what happens in a particular state can be influenced by happenings around the globe. Citizens are thus subjected

to two simultaneous influences, each competing for attention. Due to advancements in communication technology, citizens are often influenced more by what happens in the international community. Explosion in communication has also advanced networking among citizens of different countries, leading to the formation of organisations cutting across national borders and without the knowledge, permission or regulation of national governments (Omoweh, 2000). Incidents occurring in other countries are instantly brought to the living rooms of people across the globe, facilitating reactions from people living far-away from the epicentre of events and which governments have no control but are compelled to fashion a response to the domestic as well as the international reactions to such developments (Muhammad, 2013). These developments arising from globalisation present tremendous challenges on the ability of the state to exercise control over foreign policy in Nigeria.

This is so because the socio-cultural, economic and political life of Nigerians are increasingly influenced and determined by developments abroad. The intensification of this process is reducing the capacity of the state to control its affairs. It is in this realisation that The Economist (1997) in discussing the economic impact of globalisation on states noted that the advances of computing and telecommunications have enlarged the global economy by eroding national boundaries. It further noted that the process has rendered governments "mere servants of international markets" (The Economist, 1997, p. 1). This aptly captures the dilemma of developing countries as most of them are vulnerable to manipulation due to the weakened capacity to exercise effective control over their foreign policies.

This makes it an important issue in international relations and brings to immediate relevance the observation that "globalisation has become an important theme of the post-Cold War discussion of the nature of the international order" (Olayode, 2016, p. 10). It is one phenomenon that has shaped the relationships among states and the policies of states, and a force that has weakened the power and effectiveness of the Nigerian state.

2. International Pressures for Democracy and Human Rights

The end of the Cold War unleashed liberal democratic values globally. The 1990s were, therefore, generally referred to as the golden age of democracy. This was as a result of the exponential growth in the number of nations that embraced democracy as a form of government. The development was particularly facilitated by the renewed commitment of the United States and its Western allies to the promotion of democratic values around the world. Though the U.S. has had the promotion of democracy as a primary objective of its foreign policy, the end of the cold war reinforced the global drive for the entrenchment of democratic values in U.S. foreign policy. The U.S. National Security Strategy of 1997 captures the country's commitment to democracy:

Underpinning that international leadership is the power of our democratic ideals and values. In designing our strategy, we recognise that the spread of democracy supports American values and enhances both our security and prosperity. Democratic governments are more likely to cooperate with each other against common threats and to encourage free and open trade and economic development - and less likely to wage war or abuse the rights of their people. Hence, the trend toward democracy and free markets throughout the world advances American interests. The United States must support this trend by remaining actively engaged in the world. This is the strategy to take us into the next century (Mateo, 2020).

At the historic end of the Cold War, the United States took a number of measures in the promotion of democracy, culminating in the signing of the Freedom for Russia and Emerging Eurasian Democracies and Open Markets Support Act of 1992 (Freedom Support Act, 1992). Known as the Freedom Support Act, this piece of legislation was aimed at the promotion of democracy and liberal market values in the former Republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR). It was, however, expected to have an impact on the promotion of democracy globally.

In sub-Saharan Africa, the end of the Cold War diminished the strategic importance of this region to Western powers but a sustained interest and engagement with governments and civil society on the promotion of democratic institutions and values was maintained. For Nigeria, the transition from the Cold War to the New World Order coincided with a chequered history of political instability under military regimes. Successive military governments in the country with a record of blatant human rights violations were in sharp conflict with the global trend for democratic governance and respect for human rights (Fawole, 1999). This domestic setting had grave implications on the country's foreign policy in the new dispensation.

At the United Nations, promotion of democracy and the protection of human rights became the concerns of the international community. Other international organisations took a cue and made democracy and human rights a priority for member states. For instance, the Commonwealth revisited the issues of democracy and human rights in its 1991 Harare Declaration to which Nigeria is a signatory (Akinrinade, 1992). The Declaration enjoined member states to uphold democratic practices and respect for human rights in their various countries. The provisions of the Harare Declaration were brought to the fore in the suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth in 1995 over sundry human rights violations that climaxed in the execution of the Ogoni 9 by the General Sani Abacha military junta (Akinrinade, 1997).

Nigeria's membership of the UNO, the Commonwealth, the African Union and other multilateral organisations were a source of pressure on the country to conform to the emergent democratic values of the international community. There were visible impacts of these developments on Nigeria's foreign policy. The suspension by the Commonwealth exacerbated the pariah status of the country which compelled it to search for new friends from among countries at the fringes of the international community (Fawole, 2003). The existence of military governments in Nigeria after the Cold War and the associated human rights abuses was therefore a challenge to the country's foreign policy.

At the height of its crisis with the international community, Nigeria was ostracised when the June 12, 1993 presidential election was annulled by General Ibrahim Babangida (Asobie, 2010). General Sani Abacha took the country further down the path of diplomatic exclusion with unprecedented human rights abuses which culminated in the suspension of the country by the Commonwealth; the imposition of sanctions by the European Union and was subjected to diplomatic alienation by its traditional friends (Alli, 2010).The United States Government was not left out as it imposed a barrage of sanctions on the country over democracy and human rights (Ayam, 2010). Consequently, Nigeria was isolated and suffered a pariah status until the enthronement of democracy in 1999. Ayam (2010) observed that the bulk of US aid of $7million to Nigeria between 1993 and 2000 went into funding pro-democracy activities in the country. These developments gravely challenged the foreign policy of the country and weakened its potency and the successes recorded.

These pressures from the international community had a remarkable impact on Nigeria's foreign policy. There could be no better indication than the fact that the vicious military regime of General Sani Abacha attempted to promote its democratic credentials by intervening militarily to restore democracy in Sierra-Leone in 1998 (Fawole, 2003). As a result of the pressure and expectations of the international community, democracy became a corner-stone of Nigeria's foreign policy in Africa, particularly under successive democratic dispensations. For instance, even at the risk of being accused of intervening in the internal affairs of other African countries, Nigeria demanded the restoration of democracy in Cote d' Ivoire in six months when President Henri Konan Bedie was overthrown in December 1999 (Asobie, 2010). In 2003, Nigeria intervened to restore democracy in Sao Tome and Principe and in 2005, Nigeria made sure elections were held in Togo (Asobie, 2010). Assuming the responsibility to drive the promotion of democracy in Africa was a consequence of the democratic disposition of the post-Cold War global order and the need for the country to exercise leadership in the continent.

Military rule and human rights violations mortgaged the international relations of Nigeria and badly reduced the country's international standing in a global order dominated by the values of democracy and respect for human rights. The successful transition to a democratic rule was received with the gradual reversal of the country's pariah status with the termination of the suspension by the Commonwealth, the rescinding of sanctions by the EU and the evident rapprochement with the United States and its allies. Democratic rule largely refreshed Nigeria's international relations as President Olusegun Obasanjo assumed the chairmanship of G.77 and successfully advocated for debt forgiveness and earned Nigeria a debt cancellation in 2005 (Dokubo, 2010).

3. Changes in the International System

The end of the Cold War impacted the foreign policies of African states in many ways. The Cold War ended with the liberation of Eastern Europe. The emergence of these countries attracted the attention and sustained support of the West at the expense of Africa. The result was that international attention on Africa and the relevance of the continent in international relations diminished considerably (Gambari, 2008).

Also, a remarkable feature of the post-Cold War global order was the change from a bipolar architecture to a unipolar order, dominated by a lone super power; the United States. This unprecedented development had a tremendous impact on international relations generally and the relations of states with the emergent super power (Gimba & Ibrahim, 2018). The changes in the international system were immediately noticeable and impactful, particularly on African nations. The moribund Cold War era offered African states the leverage to manoeuvre their relations with the two superpowers and remained the focus of attention from both sides of the divide (Dunning, 2004).

The end to the Cold War eliminated this special privilege as the new order severely constrained the options available to African states and the freedom they had enjoyed in choosing from competing options on international issues. Nations had to adjust to dealing with the only super power on terms dictated by it. Nigerian foreign policy suffers from the strictures imposed on the behaviour and actions of states by the post-Cold War changes in the international system.

The post-Cold War international system presented to nations both opportunities and challenges, almost on equal measure. It was a global system that was marked by a phenomenal rise in

ethnic nationalism and irredentist movements in Africa and in other parts of the world with tremendous impacts on the international system (Mayall, 1983). Africa was particularly hard-hit as the continent was wrecked by wars and state failures arising from ethnic nationalist struggles (Ogwu & Alli, 2007). As a nation with two major religions (Christianity and Islam) and a multiplicity of ethnic groups, a keen interest in the reflection of these differences in the articulation and implementation of the country's foreign policy in order to ensure domestic peace and stability was a priority consideration of foreign policy. The twin issues of religion and ethnicity have always exerted tremendous influence on foreign policy in the country (Fawole, 2003).

The post-Cold War world is largely in transition in several ways. Even as the United States is acknowledged as the superpower, the existence of other poles of power contributing to the diffusion of power in the international system is a living reality. Germany, France and the United Kingdom are recognised regional powers in Europe just as Japan, China and India occupy a position of pre-eminence in Asia, as is Brazil in Latin America (Poladian & Oehler-Sincai, 2014).

In Africa, Nigeria and South Africa are the regional powers. There has also emerged a plethora of multilateral organisations creating other centres of power in the international system. The Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) forum, G8, G15, G20, D8, G77 and a lot more others have sprung up and have become increasingly assertive on issues of common interest in the international system. For instance, they have consistently berated the unilateral policies of the U.S., as was the case in the NATO intervention in Kosovo and Libya and the proposal to intervene militarily in Syria under the auspices of the United Nations (Haibin, 2013; Macfarlane, 2016).

There have also been remarkable changes in the global economy in the dawn of the 21st Century: the global economic base is shifting from Euro-American domination to emerging economies in Asia (Ahearn, 2014). In this regard, the phenomenal economic growth of China is particularly remarkable. China has accelerated in economic growth, becoming the fastest growing and the second most powerful economy in the world (Akpuru-Aja, 2012). It has replaced Japan as the most powerful economy in Asia and has become one of the three most powerful economies of the world (Poladian, 2014).

A Congressional Research Service Report had noted that global economic power was "shifting from the United States and Europe to several fast-growing and large developing countries" (Ahearn, 2014, p. 2). This was premised on the fact that these economies "account for rising shares of global GDP, manufacturing and trade, including a significant expansion of trade among the developing countries (South-South trade)" (Ahearn, 2014, p. 2). The reality is that Chinese trade with Nigeria and investments in the country has increased remarkably in the past twenty years (Alli, 2010). In the same vein, China has become a source of development loans for Nigeria in recent years. The changes in the global economy and China's increasing trade relations with Nigeria; China as a source of development loans and its rising profile in international economic relations are all sources of influence on the foreign policy of Nigeria.

Another dimension of influence is the proliferation in the number and impact of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in international relations. The number of NGOs has remarkably increased after the Cold War. These organisations have also grown in their reach, power and influence. Nigeria and other developing countries have been subjects of enormous

pressures from Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Through persistent advocacy, these organisations have become catalysts of change in the behaviour of states. They have often influenced states by mounting pressures to alter government policies or commitment to particular policies.

Similarly, non-state actors like Transnational Corporations (TNCs), terror groups and others have been particularly effective in mounting pressure on state policies (Wilkinson, 2005; Kim & Milner, 2019). Not only has there been a phenomenal increase in the number of these groups after the cold war, they have also become more assertive in the pursuit of their objectives, thereby impacting state policies in various ways. The activities of non-state actors in the international system have flourished in the aftermath of the Cold-War due largely to the liberal international environment for their operations (Schneckener & Hofmann, 2011).

Bilateral and Multilateral Relations

In recent years, Nigeria has increased its bilateral and multilateral relations through various agreements covering both economic and security objectives. Nigeria has an established bilateral framework with China, India, South Africa, the United States and several other countries. These bilateral relations embody various commitments that impact on the conduct of the country's foreign relations. Since Nigeria's foray into international relations, its engagements have been focused particularly on developments that impact the African continent (Ofuegbu, 1978). The country has not waivered on this commitment in the face of unprecedented developments in the international system (Fawole, 2003). The birth of South Africa as a democratic nation in 1994 was a challenge to the position of Nigeria as a *primus inter pares* in African affairs (Alli, 2010).

Africa itself was undergoing fundamental changes with impacts on Nigeria foreign policy. Immediately after the Cold War, the continent was engulfed in conflicts and wars. The situation was such that left Nigeria handicapped to make any meaningful intervention beyond its immediate region. With economic difficulties at home coupled with a military government in power, and with the country facing its own domestic challenges, Nigeria could only venture an intervention in the war in Liberia and later Sierra-Leone under the auspices of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) (Adebajo, 2008). The enormous resources that were committed to the pursuit of peace in these countries and the diplomatic engagements to secure peace in the immediate neighbourhood are all factors that impinged on the foreign policy of the country. This does not imply that Nigeria was aloof to the wars in other parts of Africa. Through various contributions, Nigeria was active in finding solutions to the many wars and other challenges that confronted the continent-impacted by developments in Africa, a region that has for decades occupied the centre-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy.

CONCLUSION

The external environment has been an influential determinant of foreign policy in Nigeria after the Cold War. The intensification of the forces of globalisation has been a major influence on foreign policy in Nigeria. It has rendered ineffective the ability of the Nigerian state to assert sovereignty over its citizens and to shield the citizens from influences generated from the international community. The ascendance of democratic values globally and the pressure on the Nigerian state to democratise, observe human rights and respect democratic tenets of governance has also significantly altered not only the domestic policies of the government but also the foreign policy of the country. The remarkable changes in the international system at the end of the Cold War have had tremendous impacts on the foreign policy of Nigeria. The emergence of a unipolar global order, upsurge in ethnic nationalism, changes in the global economy, and the increase in numbers, influence and power of TransNational Corporations and Non-Governmental Organisations are all factors that have influenced the foreign policy of Nigeria. The country has also committed itself to bilateral and multilateral agreements that have constrained its foreign policy. These have all impacted the foreign policy of the country in various ways.

Future Research

A focused inquiry on the impact of each of these external sources of influence and change in Nigeria's foreign policy will contribute to broadening the frontiers of existing knowledge and is a veritable area for further research.

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