# DOMESTIC ENVIRONMENTAL VARIABLES AND NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY: A STUDY OF THE MUHAMMADU BUHARI'S ADMINISTRATION (2015 – 2021)

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**ABSTRACT**
*This study sets out to ascertain the impact of the domestic environmental variables on Nigeria's foreign policy, with reference to the Buhari's administration (2015-2021). To this end, it examined the dependent character of Nigeria's economy and her security challenges, with a focus on the Boko-Haram insurgency, because not much have been written on the subject, therefore, this study seeks to fill these yawning knowledge gaps. We anchored our analysis on the linkage theory as espoused by Rosenau (1967), Frankel (1972), and adopted the descriptive research design. The study employed the secondary/qualitative method of data collection, while content analysis was utilized for the analysis of data. Essentially, we discovered that the economic down-turn which the Buhari's administration inherited in 2015, prompted it to seek more financial succor from its bilateral and multilateral partners such as the USA, China, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This trend fosters the dependent status of the Nigerian economy which tends to undermine the development of a consistent and dynamic foreign policy. The rise in the wave of insecurity occasioned by the Boko Haram phenomenon, kidnapping, armed robbery, among others, had a negative impact on Buhari's economic diplomacy, following the exit of some major foreign investors to other countries with peaceful and stable economic environments. Consequently, the study recommends among others, the transformation of the weak, fragile and dependent economic structure of Nigeria, in other to achieve economic self-reliance.*

## Introduction

The foreign policy of every state is influenced by mainly two determinants; international or external and domestic or internal (Gibson 1944; Bojang 2018; Yitan 2008). Unarguably, international politics and domestic politics are engaged in an inseparable marriage of sort, such that whereas international politics influences domestic politics, the latter equally impacts on the former (Okeke, 2018).

With regard to Nigeria, Adefunye (1992) observes that the nature and conduct of her foreign policy since the attainment of statehood in 1960, have been influenced by a variety of factors. The most prominent among them have remained the domestic factors that are

anchored on ethnic composition, the colonial heritage, internal political and economic situations, the attitude and perception of the Nigeria elites, and the priorities which the government set for itself.

According to Akinrinade (1997), Nigeria came into the world stage with a relatively intimidating stature, with the country's numerical preponderance over the other states in Africa, and the volume of natural resources within the state, it was presumed that Nigeria had the potential to dominate global politics in favour of Africa in general and for its benefit in particular. Kolawole (2005, p.873). harps on this position thus:

> *By her resources and size, Nigeria was expected to be at the front seat of Africa, providing others the necessary leadership and weapons to fight the clutches of colonialism, neo-colonialism, under development, poverty, famine and racial discrimination.*

It was also expected that not too long after independence, she would become great and take over her rightful place in the comity of nations (Kolawole, 2005). Several years thereafter, this did not happen as the country was caught up in several challenges both domestic and external, which negatively affected her international reputation. To remedy this situation, various administrations introduced a lot of measures such as shuttle diplomacy, citizen diplomacy, economic diplomacy, among others, with the hope of turning things around for good.

Former President Buhari, upon inauguration assumes the obligation of being Nigeria's Chief diplomat and foreign policy officer in order to re-launch Nigeria into the international Community. This was mostly attributed to the situation he found himself, which was characterized by dwindling oil prices, terrorism, corruption, insurgency, among others (Aning et al, 2017).

Many articles have been written on the impact of domestic environmental variables on Nigeria's foreign policy, but not much have been written on the dependent character of Nigeria's economy, and her security challenges, with a focus on the Boko Haram insurgency during the Muhammadu Buhari's administration (2015-2021). A probe in these directions would have exposed the elements responsible for Nigeria's weak and subservient foreign policy posture and the way forward. Therefore, this study seeks to fill these yawning knowledge gaps.

In Nigeria as well as other countries of Africa, the colonial economic policy of extraversion of agriculture and imposition of primary production, forced the economy to a structural dependence on the world market for manufactured products and the exportation of raw materials (Onimode, 1985). This consequently, eroded real production, and not only weakened the country's economy, but also consigned it to the present peripheral status in international economic relations. This peripheral status makes Nigeria's economy not only vulnerable to external manipulations, but also a vicarious casualty of global economic crisis.

The problem was exacerbated with the insistence of the creditor countries on the complete surrender of the country's national policy making and implementation to the policies designed by international experts. Thus, Abba et al, (1985; p.57) remarked that:

> *The near total effective foreign control over our economy has serious consequences, not the least of which is that especially in manufacturing, the decisions about what to produce, with which machines, using what raw materials and at what cost, all these are left to foreigners, or technical partners as they are called… the end result is massive over-invoicing, transfer pricing and excessive consultancy fees collected by the foreigner mother country.*

Among the litany of challenges that confront the Nigerian state, terrorism appears to be acquiring the character of intractability. Thus, the Boko Haram insurgent group oppressively engages in irregular warfare tactics including mobilization of militants, suicide bombing, kidnapping, ambush, hostage – taking among others. Notable of these attacks was the infamous Baga massacre which occurred between January 3, and January 7, 2015, and the ones which involved the United Nations building on August 26, 2011, Nyanya motor park on April 14, 2014 and the Nigerian Police Headquarters on June, 16, 2011, all in Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory (Blanchard, 2015; Iyekekpolo, 2016). The focus of the group tilted towards the

young persons with the notorious abduction of 276 School girls in Chibok, Borno State on April 14, 2014 and 110 female students in Dapchi, Yobe State (Alimba, 2018).

Furthermore, over 2 million people were displaced from their homes and tens of thousands killed (Kaisor et al, 2020). The United Nations Refugees Agency (2020) estimated 3,019.318 to be the population of internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), which geographically spreads across countries of Lake Chad area with Nigeria, Chad, Cameroun, and Niger having 72.67%, 13.3%, 11.3%, and 2.8% respectively.

## Research Questions

i. How did the dependent character of Nigeria's economy affect her foreign policy during the Buhari's administration (2015 - 2021)?

**ii.** What was the impact of Nigeria's security challenges on her foreign policy, with reference to Boko Haram insurgency within the period of study?

## Objectives of Study

The study sets out to achieve the following objectives

To ascertain the impact of the dependent character of Nigeria's economy on her foreign policy during the Buhari's administration (2015 - 2021).

To examine the effects of security challenges on Nigeria's foreign policy, with a focus on Boko Haram insurgency within the period of study.

## Conceptual Clarification

### Determinants of Foreign Policy

In international relations, a state must conduct its foreign policy against the backdrop of influences from two critical environments; the domestic and external environments of states. The foreign policy environment is "occupied by a range of significant actors, issues and interests, all of which give it dynamism and life "(Webber & Smith, 2013, p.30).

In the extant literature of the subject, determinants are divided according to two criteria: objective and subjective determinants, as well as factors of internal and external provenance (Adanczyk & Baraniuk, 2017; Jaworski, 2010; Sajduk, 2009; Kuzniar, 2006; Zieba, 2005). Thus, it is possible to specify four types of conditions; internal objective, internal subjective, external objective and external subjective. The first category (internal objective factors) include; geographical environment (size and shape of the territory, course of borders, climate or natural resources), demographic potential (population, size, population density, direction of migration), economic and scientific/technical potential (size of the economy, and pace of its development, technological advancement and inclination to innovativeness, size of foreign investment, economic system etc), military potential (amount and structure of defence expenditure, size of particular types of armed forces, their technological advancement, level of training and morale, distribution of military bases in the country and the world, size and advancement of military industry), social and political systems (form of governance, activities of political parties, role of media and public opinion) (Jaworski, 2000; Sajduk, 2009; Kuzniar, 2006; Zieba, 2005). Another category of factors of internal origin are the determinants of subjective character in the form of perception of the international environment (which is influenced by historical experience, dominant religion and ideology, strategic culture or pertinent stereotypes about other nations).

The determinants of external provenance and objective character include; prevailing trends in the evolution of the international environment (their influence on the foreign policy of the state), the position and role of the state within international relations (resulting from its potentials). On the other hand, external subjective determinants include; international perception of the state and expectations towards it (countries with an established image of trustworthy partners will usually be able to conduct a more effective foreign policy than pariahs), foreign policy concepts of other members of the international community, or the quality of their foreign services (Jaworski 2010; Sajduk, 2009; Zieba, 2005).

The conclusion that can be drawn from the preceding contentions is that a state's foreign policy responds to internal (objective/subjective) as well as the external (objective/subjective) determinants. For instance, with regard to the internal objective

factors, the economic foundation and strength of a given state to a large extent determines its foreign policy thrust and orientation. Thus, a fragile, vulnerable and subservient economy will unequivocally lack the capacity to sustain an independent, dynamic and achievement orientated foreign policy. Furthermore, the circulation of terrorist mercenaries, proliferation of small and light weapons and other security equipments in the possession of unauthorized persons have informed the need for a foreign policy agenda that recognizes national security as its centre piece.

**Nigeria's Foreign Policy**

Nigeria's foreign policy has often been explained in terms of four "concentric circles" of national interest. The innermost circle represents Nigeria's security, independence and prosperity and is centered on its immediate neighbours – Benin, Cameroon, Chad and Niger; the second circle revolves around Nigeria's relations with its West African neigbhours; the third circle focuses on Continental African issues of peace, development and democratization; and the fourth circle involves Nigeria's relations with organizational institutions and states outside Africa (Gambari, 1989).

Gambari (1980), while focusing on 'the role of various domestic variables in the determination of a nation's foreign policy argues that many studies on Nigeria's foreign policy tend to overlook the linkage between domestic political, economic and social structures and foreign policy issues. He maintains that the linkage goes a long way to explain Nigeria's growing frustration in the actualization of its coveted leadership role in Africa. He further posits that weak economic and political structures, ineffective institutions and processes and bad governance characterized by quarrel – some, inept and corrupt public officers, have combined to undermine the influence and respectability that ought to have accrued to Nigeria's foreign policy undertakings. Furthermore Asobie (1990) posits that at the conceptual and theoretical levels, the study of Nigeria's foreign policy is grossly underdeveloped. According to him, despite its being a copious and voluminous industry, the study has been unsystematic, basically idiosyncratic and lacking in theoretical and empirical rigour.

The preceding arguments underscore the need for a more scientific and systematic study of Nigeria's foreign policy. It also highlights the linkage between, the domestic and external environments of states. Thus, Nigeria's weak economic and political structures, ineffective institutions and processes, bad governance, image crisis among others, tend to undermine her foreign policy posture.

**Insurgency**

> *The term insurgency conjures often wild disparate interpretations; suffering at the hands of both experts and pundits. Commonly accepted meanings remain elusive with predictable conceptual confusion (Moore, 2007, p. 2).*

As observed by Manual & Joel (cited in Ford 2007), insurgency movement traditionally find their roots in a desire for social and political change, and they utilize guerrilla warfare to accomplish their goals. Mustafa (2016) notes that insurgency has existed throughout antiquity but ebbed and flowed in strategic significance, this implies that it is not unique to Africa as some conceived, rather it is a wild wind that cut across human society and civilizations. Insurgency according to Steven & Raymond (2004; p.2) "is a strategy adopted by groups which cannot attain their political objectives through conventional means or by a quick seizure of power. It is used by those too weak to do otherwise." They further describe the attitude of insurgency as protracted, asymmetric violence, ambiguity, the use of complex terrain (jungles, mountains, urban areas), psychological warfare and political mobilization – all designed to protect the insurgents and eventually alter the balance of power in their favour.

The CIA (2020), defines insurgency as a protracted political – military activity towards completely or partially controlling the resources of a country, through the use of irregular military forces and illegal political organizations. The common denominator of most insurgent groups is their desire to control a particular area. This objective differentiates insurgent groups from purely terrorist organizations, whose objectives do not include the creation of an alternative government capable of controlling a given area or country.

The objectives of most insurgent group, designed to help them achieve eventual domination, include;

i. Limit the ability of the government and enhance the capability of the insurgents to provide public services.

ii. Obtain the support or a neutrality of critical segments of the population.

iii. Isolate the government from international diplomatic and material support and increase international support for the insurgents.

iv. Increase domestic and international legitimacy of the insurgent organization at the expense of the government.

v. Reduce and if, possible neutralize government coercive power while strengthening insurgent coercive capabilities (CIA, 2020).

What can be deduced from the preceding contentions is that insurgency is a state of violent rebellion against any authority or leadership of a country through various acts of disruption, molestation and intimidation, in order to undermine its authority and control a given area or country.

## Theoretical Perspective

This study is anchored on the linkage theory as espoused by Rosenau (1969), Frankel (1972). Like the systems theory, linkage theory attempts to establish the relationship or inter-connectivity between the domestic politics and foreign policy. It emphasizes that both national and international politics co-exist in a single system (Johari; 2004). Smith (2003) further explains that the theory of systems conveys the inter-relationship between the parts of a polity, so that when there is a change in one-part, other parts will be affected. This confirms Mingst's (2000; p.20) assertion that 'a system is an assemblage of units, objects or parts united by some forms of regular interaction."

In the light of the preceding contentions, Rosenau's linkage theory, however is a projection of the interdependence and interaction that exist in the Eastonian political system. It establishes the fact that systems can only survive in an environment where there is an input and output.

The linkage theory assumes that there are three forms of linkages, namely, the penetrative, reactive, as well as emulative linkages (Rosenau, 1969). The penetrative linkage is a situation where one polity (state) serves as a participant in the political and economic processes of another and shares the authority to allocate values within the penetrated unit. Johari, (2011) equally said that, Rosenau's penetrative linkage embraces not only political and military, but also economic and could be usefully employed to analyze industries and economies dominated by massive foreign investments. Furthermore, reactive linkage is concerned with a linkage that is caused by the boundary – crossing reaction without direct foreign participation in the decisions made within the unit.

In addition, emulative linkage focuses on the demonstration effect, especially in a situation whereby political activities in one country are perceived and emulated by another. Indeed, linkage is "emulative", when a state copies the initiating state without any expectation of "matching" (Johari, 2011).

This theory is apt for the study as a result of its ability to explain the linkage between, the domestic and external environments of States. Following the penetrative variant of the linkage theory, Nigeria responds to external issues within the context of the constraints imposed on her by the international capitalist system. Thus, the formulation and implementation of foreign policy in Nigeria is geared towards investment decisions and patterns, provision of high-technology, management skills, loans, grants in-aid, as projected by international financial institutions. This is a direct consequence of the dependent status of the Nigerian economy which is mostly controlled and directed by the advanced capitalist nations. Thus, the dependence on foreign capital by the political leadership tends to undermine the development of a consistent and dynamic foreign policy in Nigeria.

## Methodology

The study adopted descriptive research design. Qualitative data obtained from secondary sources like journals, textbooks, newspapers, magazines and internet materials were used, while the method of data analysis is content analysis.

## Data Presentation and Analysis

**Economic Dependence and Nigeria's Foreign Policy: A study of the Muhammadu Buhari's Administration (2015 – 2021).**

The growing gap between the developed and developing countries has dominated international relations and diplomacy for a long time. This gap is as a result of constant capital inflow from the developed countries to those of the Third World, including Africa, under the pretext of helping them overcome their problems and reduce the gap (Andrews, 2009). The inflow takes various forms such as; loans, grant-in-aid, technical assistance among others.

Nations borrow for several reasons, namely, for capital projects and provision of social services to their citizens. Accordingly borrowing and therefore debt is a necessary economic policy intended to fill the development gap of a country. If judiciously deployed, loans would yield profit returns on investment that could be utilized to offset the loan capital and interest put together, while the project for which it has been contracted would provide for the general wellbeing and improvement of standard of living of the citizens. If mismanaged, or diverted to non-profit venture, the debtor is bound to be trapped in the miasma of debt burden and economic dependence (Soludo, 2003).

Nigeria at independence joined her counterparts in contracting foreign loans for the advanced reason of fulfilling the promise of developing social welfare. Based on these loans and the providential oil boom, the leadership of the country erected many development plans geared towards realizing the dreams of an independent and egalitarian society. However, rather than realizing this dream, the country sooner than later fell into a deep economic crisis that rolled her into the club of highly indebted poor countries (HIPC's) (Obadan, 2003).

**Table I: Nigeria's Total Public Debt Portfolio As At December 31, 2020**

| | Debt Category | Amount Outstanding US $M | Amount Outstanding ₦'M | % of Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A. | Total External Debt | 33,348.08 | 12,705,618.48 | 38.60% |
| | FGN Only | 28,735.38 | 10,940,179.98 | 33.26% |
| | States & FCT | 4,612.70 | 1,757,438.70 | 5.34% |
| B. | Total Domestic Debt | 53,044.46 | 20,209,894.37 | 61.40% |
| | FGN Only | 42,057.55 | 16,023,896.38 | 48.68% |
| | States & FCT | 10,986.91 | 4,186,010.99 | 12,72% |
| C. | Total Public Debt (A+B) | 86,392.54 | 32,915.514.85 | 100% |

**Source: Debt Management Office (DMO) (2020)**

Table I, shows that Nigeria's Total Public Debt as at December 31, 2020 was ₦32.915 trillion. The figures include the Debt Stock of the Federal and State Governments as well as the Federal Capital Territory.

President Muhammadu Buhari's economic team was actively engaged in selling the government's economic plans to international investors. A quintessence was the increased bilateral relationship with China and the opening of the Nigerian economy to the Chinese *Renminbi Yuan*. Barely one year after assumption of office, president Buhari visited China, the visit was on the heels of invitation by Chinese President Xi-jinping. According to Bello et al (2017, p.50), the visit:

> *… led to the signing of the framework to enhance infrastructural development and industrial activities in Nigeria between National Development Reform Commission of China and Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment of Nigeria; Technological and Scientific Cooperation between both countries, the visit lasted for one week. In the aftermath of the visit, loans were granted to Nigeria, to finance the deficit of 2016 budget, train infrastructure among others,*

These loans, according to Odubajo (2017) were to secure commitment for investments worth US$6 billion from the Chinese government and private companies most of whom signed Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the Nigerian government. Following President Buhari's shuttle diplomacy, the US Agency for International Development (USAID) had announced $89 million in additional development assistance to Nigeria, to continue its support for development goals outlined in a Development objectives Assistance Agreement between US and Nigerian government signed in 2015 (USAID, 2018).

Nearly half of the new funding ($44million) was to support HIV/AIDS control through the President's Emergency Plan for AIDs Relief (PERFAR). The remainder was to be used to help the Northwest Nigeria increase agricultural productivity and economic growth ($15million); strengthen education ($11million); support good governance ($10.5million) and improve water and sanitation infrastructure ($9million). The funding brought the total of US government assistance provided under the five-year assistance agreement to $808.5miilion (USAID,2018).

One of the consequences of the dependence on foreign capital is its decapitalization process which frustrates domestic accumulation and nurtures the persistence of external dependence through the unequal international economic relations fostered by the centre-periphery asymmetry. Therefore, the foreign policy implications of the dependence on foreign capital is that the dominance and hegemony of the comprador elements and external agents dictate the thrust and orientation of Nigeria's foreign policy. Thus, foreign policy becomes a set response to external stimuli, dictated by the owners of foreign capital.

**Security Challenges and Nigeria's Foreign Policy: A Study of Boko Haram Insurgency (2015 – 2021)**

In 2009, following the extra-judicial killing of the sect's pioneer leader, Imam Yusuf Mohammed, the activities of Boko Haram metamorphosed from a local peace militia into a violent group, deploying tactics such as suicide bombing, kidnapping and attacking Islamic clerics, mosques and churches to drive home their agenda. This violent strategy became imperative after the government attacked the members of the group in some major cities of northern Nigeria, which led to five days without clash between the group members and the Nigerian forces. (Blanchard, cited in Shuaibu, Sallah & Shehu, 2015). Meanwhile, from 2009, Boko Haram successfully coordinated series of violent and deadly attacks which culminated into massive loss of lives and property of both Nigerians and foreigners. These ranged from attacks on police headquarters and United Nation's office in Abuja in 2011, alleged kidnap of 250 female students from Government Girls' Secondary School Chibok in Borno State in 2014, kidnap and execution of seven foreigners who were staff of international construction companies in 2013, bomb explosion at St. Theresa's Catholic Church in Madalla, Niger State in 2011, Gwoza Massacre in 2014, to Baga massacre in 2015 (Ezeani & Chilaka, 2013; Anyadike, 2013; Onuoha & Ugwueze, 2014; Olowaselu, Bello & Onuselogu 2014; Audu, 2015, BBC, 2015).

**Table 2: Timeline of some Boko Haram attacks in Nigeria between 2015-2021**

| S/N | Date of Attack | State | Nature of Attacks/Locations | Casualties |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Jan. 3 & 7, 2015 | Borno State | Massacre of the Town of Baga | Killed about 200 people |
| 2 | Feb. 15, 2015 | Yobe State | Suicide bomb blast in Damaturu | Killed about 16 people |
| 3 | Sept. 20, 2015 | Borno State | 3 bomb explosions in Maiduguri | Killed about 54 people |
| 4 | Nov. 17, 2015 | Adamawa State | Bomb blast in the North-east city of Yola | Killed about 32 people and injured 80 |
| 5 | April 24, 2016 | Borno State | Alau village Maiduguri was raided | Killed about 30 people |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | June 17, 2016 | Plateau State | The Venue of funeral ceremony in Kuda was attached | Killed about 24 people |
| 7 | August 20, 2016 | Borno State | Kuburu village was raided | Killed about 7 people |
| 8 | Jan. 7, 2021 | Yobe State | Nigerian Army base in Buni-Yadi was attacked | Killed about 5 Soldiers |
| 9 | June 18, 2017 | Borno State | Multiple suicide bomb blasts in Maiduguri | Killed about 14 people |
| 10 | June 17, 2019 | Borno State | Suicide bombing of Konduga | Killed about 30 people and wounded 40 |
| 11 | July 27, 2019 | Borno State | Nganzi funeral attach in Borno | Killed about 65 people |
| 12 | Jan. 6. 2020 | Borno State | Bomb blast at Gamboru | Killed about 32 people and injured 35 |
| 13 | Feb. 9, 2020 | Borno State | Auno village was attacked | About 30 people were killed and many abducted |
| 14 | April 10, 2021 | Borno State | An attack on Goniri, near the Niger-Nigerian border | 2 militia men were killed and several buildings burnt down |
| 15 | April, 25. 2021 | Borno State | Kaga village in Borno was attacked | About 33 Nigerian Soldiers were killed |

**Sources**: Orokpo (2015), Stanford University (2017), Anyadike (2013) Amnesty Int'l (2020), Dokua Sasu, (2024) Searcey (2027); Compbell & Horward (2018); US Department of State (2020; 2021).

Muhammadu Buhari assumed office as civilian president in 2015, the administration like its predecessors adopted economic diplomacy as its foreign policy instrument. This informed his shuttle diplomacy is search of assistance in the fight against Boko Haram insurgency and corruption, to galvanize domestic economy and attract foreign direct investment (Bollo et al, 2017; Odubajo, 2017).

The quantum leap in the rate of insecurity, violence, hostage taking and terrorism in many parts of Nigeria had brought some negative effects on Buhari's economic diplomacy. Aro (2013,p.12) remarked that "Boko-Haram insurgency had not only led to the closure or abandonment of people's business activities within the effected regions, but also led to immigration of people from the effected regions."

From billions of dollars in financial loss by manufacturers to large scale decline in foreign direct investment (FDI), some major investors had to abandon Nigeria for other countries with peaceful and stable economic environments (Onyebuchi, 2018). Thus, the total value of capital importation into Nigeria in 2015 stood at $1.4 billion, it declined to $1.04 billion in 2016, it went further down to $981.75 billion in 2017, it slumped to $1.19 billion in 2018, $934million in 2020, and $698 million in 2021 (NBS, 2021).

## Conclusion

The study sets out to ascertain the impact of the domestic environmental variables on Nigeria's foreign policy with reference to the Muhammadu Buhari's administration (2015-2021). To this end, it examines the dependent character of Nigeria's economy, and her security challenges, with a focus on the Boko – Haram insurgency. We anchored our analysis on the linkage theory as espoused by Rosenau (1967); Frankel (1972) and discovered that the economic down-turn which the Buhari's administration inherited in 2015, inhibited the proper funding of Nigeria's missions and embassies abroad. Consequently, the administration withdrew from 90 international organizations out of 310 international organizations it belonged to, to save Nigeria from embarrassment that accumulation of arrears of subscription fees

could bring (Adebisi, 2021). The economic crunch also led the country into seeking more international financial succor from its bilateral and multilateral partners such as USA, China, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). This situation nurtures the dependent status of the Nigerian economy, which tends to undermine the development of a consistent and dynamic foreign policy.

In April, 2018, the Buhari's administration launched the Nigerian Economic Diplomacy Initiative (NEDI). However, the rise in the wave of insecurity posed by the Boko Haram phenomenon, kidnapping, armed robbery, among others, had a negative impact on the policy, following the exit of some major foreign investors to other countries with peaceful and stable economic environments.

## Recommendations:

i. The Nigeria's neocolonial leadership should transform the fragile, weak and dependent economic structure of the country and strive to achieve economic self-reliance.

ii. The Boko-Haram insurgent group should be confronted with both national and international counter-insurgency rule of engagement and procedure.

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