The Nature of Power and Factors Shaping Nigeria's Foreign Policy

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Abstract

This paper examines Nigeria's foreign policy from the application of power to influence other states in order to actualize her national interest and that of Africa. Power in International Relations is seen as the capability of a nation to use its tangible and intangible resources in such a way as to influence the behavior of other nations. The study adopts a descriptive analysis through the application of secondary data to treat behavioral influence of the Nigerian state in the ECOWAS sub-region, Africa, United Nations Organization and other bodies in the area of political, social and economic relations. In all its relationships with other states, Nigerian government has adopted different policies - from citizen diplomacy to economic diplomacy - for the purpose of actualizing her national interest. Of late, the economic drive of the nation acts as a great catalyst in defining Nigeria's foreign policy. This paper recommends that Nigeria's policy makers should review the focus of the country's foreign policy from African centeredness to globalism through the tool of economic diplomacy to connect global needs.

Keywords: Foreign policy, Citizen Diplomacy, Economic diplomacy, Conservatives, Realist, Power

Introduction

This paper treats nature, power and factors shaping Nigeria's foreign policy within the context of influence from October 1, 1960 to May 29, 2015. The scope is to ascertain the consistency of leaders in keeping to the guiding principles of Nigeria's foreign policy and their role in conducting the affairs of Africa - the interest in Africa as the continent where the country is located within West Africa on the Gulf of Guinea. Nigeria is a nation-state made up of above 240 ethnic groups with a federal system of government, once under colonial administration before independence on October 1, 1960.

States in international relations are classified as actors because they have power which they use to influence others in order to produce results that would not have come easily. These powers are multidimensional, ranging from the geographical position of the state to its national image, natural resources and military might. It has been observed that states often use these powers to influence or gain respect in the international system, as observed when General Yakubu Gowon, a former Nigerian head of state, established Nigeria as a regional power, thereby asserting Nigeria as a force to be reckoned with at the negotiations between European Union and African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of states agreement in 1975 for the purpose of trading and development arrangement (Daniel Bach, 2007: 304).

What is foreign policy? Foreign policy entails those actions which are expressed in the form of e goals, commitments and or directives to be pursued by government representatives acting on behalf of their national government state. Foreign policy can be examined either through the liberal or radical perspectives. With succeeding regimes, Nigeria's foreign policy shifted from the conservative approach championed by Balewa and Shehu Aliyu Shagari, to the radical (or realist) approach. This manifests in the country's support for People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) over National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) that was backed by Western powers in 1976, and again the adoption of citizen diplomacy, economic diplomacy and concentric circles to actualize the country's national interests.

In the interregnum, the military phase came with its own foreign policies techniques and tactics. For instance, between 1984 and 1985, the Buhari junta focused on concentric circles, which concentrated on West Africa, Africa, and the rest of the world. The succeeding Babangida era concentrated on economic diplomacy and raised a position about the middle power. The Abacha administration shifted the focus of the country's foreign policy to the south Asian countries, wooing them for more business relationships. Abdul-salam Abubakar focused on citizens' diplomacy, remedying the wrong impression of the country and its citizens created by the late Sanni Abacha.

In the fourth Republic, from May 29, 1999, under Olusegun Obasanjo, the concern was on correcting the negative image created by Sani Abacha. The president set about this by visiting so many advanced countries to encourage foreign investors to participate in the economy. Between 2007 – 2011, with the Yar'Adua/Jonathan administration, and later President Goodluck Jonathan (2011-2015), the Nigerian economic diplomacy encouraged investment in Nigeria for the purpose of reducing unemployment that was on the rise in the country.

This paper is separated into sections which include Introduction, Conceptual Discourse, and Theoretical Framework that adopts the Power Theory. The study also undertakes an overview of Nigeria's foreign policy, examining it from the influential role of the country through the sources of power from 1960 to May 29, 2015. The last section of the paper constitutes the conclusion**.**

Conceptual Discourse

The term 'power' is prone to different interpretations by writers; George Schwarzenberger (1951) describes power as the means between influence and force. According to Schwarzenberger, power may be defined as the capacity to impose one's will on others by reliance on effective sanctions in case of non–compliance (cited in Adeyemo, 2002:22). Going by the description cited above, states that have developed to the stage that other

states depend on them would use their power to call for sanctions against states that present negative bahaviour in the international system. For instance, Nigeria used her position as a giant of Africa in the 1960's and 1970's to call for sanctions against South Rhodesia for adopting apartheid.

The conceptual discourse in this study would centre on power and foreign policy. Power is a multidimensional concept consisting of i) the acts by which one actor influences another actor; ii) the capabilities utilized for the purpose of influencing others – where the possessor of power threatens or uses it to produce a desired result. Also, power can be examined in three approaches: i) control over resources ii) control over actors and iii) control over events and outcomes (Dougherty & Pfaltzgraft 1981, 89-90). A state applies power to influence another to do her will. The obverse side is sanction for the state that goes against her will.

Power has three faces i) decision making power which concerns policy making, legislation and its implementation, ii) non-decision making power which concerns the ability to set the agenda for discussion and debate, and determining what issues receive priority in the policy process; and iii) ideological power (George& Duncan 2010:10). What this power implies is that a nation's foreign policy consists of techniques and strategies chosen to safeguard its national interests and goals within the international system. This is deriving from the aggregate of a nation's national interest which comes out from the interaction of both internal and external forces. More so, power can be exercised by a wide range of [political, economic, religious and social] actors for the purpose of getting things done in a country or outside the country. This lead to relational powers that actor A influences over actor B to do something. These capabilities are the country's military power; a country that has nuclear power can challenge smaller states that are not strong militarily when they put up acts that are against the international norms. Another capability is economic strength, to give aid or loan to countries that are in need of assistance.

This means that some states can enjoy "prestige and high standing in the eyes of other states due to their status as ethical states that behave as good

international citizens through their contributions to peacekeeping, human rights and multilateral institutions" (George & Duncan 2010). Prestige of a nation is the extensive respect and admiration felt on the basis of a perception of the achievements or quality of that state which come from advancement of the economic development of the state and the contribution to peace and security in the global world.

Power is simply defined as the capacity to produce intended effects (Adenrele 1997: 45). Adenrele writes that:

> *The exercise of power by a state is to be observed when the government of one state, because of the actions or existence of another, changes its proposed behavior, the change may involve an alteration of policy, or the maintenance of a policy that without the exercise of power would have been changed…power can be viewed in several ways as i) influence ii) capability iii) quantity.*

Power is also evaluated through psychological means – in this case, a lot depends on what other nations think it is or even on what it thinks other nations think it is by judging the usage of her power from the tangible element like geography, landmass of the nation, population, the nature of the country's government, and natural resources (Stoessinger, 1974). The application of power in the study of Nigeria's foreign policy is viewed from the action taken to influence other countries to support their action against certain countries that are not acting well in the international system.

Foreign policy "is a coordinated strategy, with which institutionally designed decision makers seek to manipulate the international environment" (Adenrele, 1997: 66). Foreign policy to some extent reflects the personality of individuals as leaders in drawing foreign investors into the country. As argued by Akerele (1997) there are four instruments of foreign policy: i) political (propaganda); ii) economics; iii) military capabilities; and iv) diplomacy v) sanction Uhomoibhi (2012: 3) explains that a nation's foreign policy not only draws from its authority, legitimacy and mandate from its internal or domestic priority, but its orientation is shaped by the history, culture and social value of the people. To add,

Osuntokun (2012: 21) notes that foreign policy of any country at any given time is intricately related to its domestic politics. That means that a country's national power has direct relevance to its foreign policy when it comes to her economic capability and population – this constitutes a big market for foreign investors in agriculture and mineral resources such as coal, iron, crude oil, uranium, bitumen, and gas. Majority of these changes in policy might be due to the country's new tactics, strategy and technique in carrying out her foreign policy decisions.

Theoretical Framework

There have been arguments on a new approach to the guideline on Nigeria's foreign policy from the three recognized approaches – conservative, realist and radical – to accept a transformation agenda for the economic focus to drive the country's foreign policy. This study will focus on two approaches in order to explain the relevance of power approach to the interpretation of Nigeria's foreign policy.

The theoretical framework adopted for this study is the realist interpretation of power as the universal goal of foreign policy as argued by Hans Morgenthau (1973**).** Morgenthau maintains that intelligent pursuits of national interest start from assumption that politics is conceived as interest defined in term of power which is the ability of the state to protect and promote its national interests or impose its will on others. It becomes a truism that struggle for power has military and non-military components, the latter involving levels of technology, population, natural resources and geography, form of government, political leadership, and ideology (Dougherty & Pfaltzgraft 1981: 85). The sources of power have two general sub-sources – hard power that stands for the use of military and economic means to influence the behavior or interests of other nations which is often aggressive, and soft power that stands for the ability to attract and co-opt argued by Joseph Nye**.**

The realists concede that domestic variables, like national interest, are occasionally important in the behaviour of states through the assessment of

their power and influence. The realist approach to the understanding of Nigeria's foreign policy has deep historical roots on power position to influence other states in the international system by using her resources and military capability to support peacekeeping operations, aids and technical assistance.

Nigeria's Foreign Policy during the civilian rule:

We will approach Nigeria's foreign policy in two sections: Nigeria's Foreign Policy during the civilian rule and Nigeria's Foreign Policy during military rule, to enable us trace similar variables that have been a source of influence. Christopher Hill (1977: 4) refers to foreign policy as country's response to the world beyond its frontiers or boundaries and makes a statement that at independence most "basic foreign policy issues confronting the new government concern the identity of the state itself". That means the thinking of Nigerian leaders after independence included the protection of the country's sovereignty as expressed in the principles guiding the country foreign policy and its domestics issues. Nye (2004b) writes on domestic factors as an important set of sources of generating soft power" and how a nation's behavior at home can enhance its image and help advance its foreign policy objectives. It has been argued that the character of a country domestic environment gives a strong indication of the kind of foreign policy that she projects in the international system, so the domestic environment has a big role to play in understanding the nature and character of any country's foreign policy (Hassan, 2016). The domestic environment in the 1960's had its advantages that made the leaders to implement the principle that guided Nigeria' foreign policy and which have remained unchanged to this moment.

Balewa Administration's foreign policy October 1, 1960 to January 15, 1966

The Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa in 1960 read out Nigeria's core foreign policy objectives as the defense and promotion of Nigeria's sovereignty and

territorial integrity to the House of Representatives and taking note of Nigeria's foreign policy at the continental level on Pan African ideology. The First Republic of 1960 -1966 was classified as the conservative period in the study of Nigeria's foreign policy by some eminent political scientists. This conservative phase to Assisi Asobie (2010) is the age of innocence coloured with idealism – the central focus of the idealist is the search for peace and security through development of strong institutions and rules (Odock, 2006:314). The Balewa administration believed in championing the course of Africa as many were under colonial rule and needed freedom that can only be achieved through peaceful negotiation or arm struggle.

The principles of Nigeria's foreign policy articulated during Balewa's administration are:

i) The defense and promotion of Nigeria's sovereignty, territorial integrity and national independence
ii) The creation of the necessary economic and political conditions to secure the government, territorial integrity and national independence of other African countries and their liberation from imperialism and forms of foreign domination.
iii) Creation of the necessary conditions for the economic, political, social and cultural development of Africa.
iv) Promotion of the rights of all black and oppressed peoples throughout the world.
v) Promotion of African unity.
vi) Promotion of world peace based on freedom, mutual respect and equality of all peoples of the world.
vii) Respect for the territorial integrity of all nations.
viii) Non-partisanship in East-West ideological disputes and freedom of association and action in the international system (Idang, 1973)

Olusanya and Akindele (1986:9) observe that "even though Africa is the centrepiece of Nigeria's foreign policy, the foreign arena of Nigeria extends far beyond the African continent as her foreign policy agenda include issues

and problems which are global in character. This means that it is the combination of both internal and external environments that influences any country's foreign policy. Factors shaping Nigeria's foreign policy are large population, and resources like petroleum which serve as sources of power to influence other nations. These include using her position to call for the non- recognition of Rhodesia (now South Africa) in the 1961 United Nations General Assembly, and the formation of the defunct Organization of African Unity (OAU) on the issue of approach (functionalist or federalist approach) to be adopted in the unity of Africa (Uhomoibhi 2012: 3, Asobie, 2010). Each of these approaches has its own merits. For the functionalists, it is all about sub-regional economic cooperation, while the federalists favour political unification of the African continent. This broke the continent into two blocks from the idea of African unity – Casablanca bloc had six members while the Monrovia group had twenty two members. In the reconciliation of the two opposing blocs, Ghana, Nigeria and Ethiopia drew up the OAU charter, while Ethiopia was neutral. Later OAU was formed with Nigeria playing a key role (Akindele& Olusanya, 1985, Uhomoibhi, 2012).

The foreign affairs minister, who represented Nigeria in the United Nations, faulted the French government's claim on Algeria as part of French Metropolis in 1960. On the issue of promotion of world peace that is based on freedom, mutual respect and equality of all peoples of the world and the issue of Arab, Nigeria presented itself to confront Israel over Palestine land dispute, precipitating in outright refusal when Israel wanted to establish an embassy in Nigeria, which was later given without Nigeria establishing her own embassy in Tel–Aviv in the 1960's (Uhomoibhi, 2012).

In the 1960's, Nigeria chose to be more pro-west with capitalist structure in their dealing and careful in relating with defunct Soviet Union socialist ideology. An instance is when Nigeria attempted to protect itself from 'communist influence' by rejecting an interest-free loan of $20million offered by the Soviet Union shortly after Independence" (Imobighe cited in Adejo 2000: 61).

On the issue of domestic determinants of Nigeria foreign policy in the 1960's, Idang (1973) focuses on the implication of institutions and social forces in Nigeria which later culminated in the coup of 1966 that ousted the first civilian regime of Balewa. Domestic sources are categorized into two: i) the power inherent in culture which must show social cohesion, quality of life and opportunity ii) strong political institutions. The failure of democratic rule due to massive killing, rigging, corruption and the internal characteristic of the military led to military coup and counter coup that made some African countries to support Biafra and allegation from some country from the west that there is ethnic cleaning in Nigeria.

Shehu Shagari Administration's Foreign Policy October1, 1979 to December 31, 1983

In the Second Republic, Nigeria adopted the American presidential system as a form of government and President Shehu Shagari was elected after defeating five other presidential candidates. His administration was pro-west and also a member of the non-aligned movement championing the course of developing countries calling for industrialization without being aligned.

In Nigeria's intervention in Chad conflict, 1981 and 1982, Nigerian actions were to counter Libya's successes within its immediate neighborhood due to the likely consequences of Libya and Chad on the continent (Nwokedi, 1985: 206, Dokubo, 2010).). The security implication led to an agreement between Nigeria and Niger to establish a military camp around the uranium zone inside Niger in 1981. That same year, President Shagari made a donation of Fokker 27 aircraft to Sao Tome and Principe for the purpose of mutual air and sea logistical support (Nwokedi, 1985: 207). In 1982, Shagari supported Zimbabwe liberation struggle and again failed to include the commonwealth among those international institutions his administration wished to support (Stremlau, 1981: 49). The weakness of Shagari administration showed in the economic crunch that affected the

country and the high corruption rate that caused the military to intervene in 1984.

Chief Olusegun Obasanjo Foreign Policy, May 29 1999 to May 29, 2007

The Third Republic of Ernest Shonekan, an unelected president hand pick by General Babangida, was short-lived. Chief Olusegun Obasanjo was the next elected president in Nigeria, up until this point; Nigeria's foreign policy had been similar in pattern. The 1999 Constitution, (Section 19) clearly states that the Nigeria's foreign policy objectives are: i) Promotion and protection of the national interest ii) Promotion of African integration and support for Africa unity iii) Promotion of international cooperation for consolidation of universal peace iv) Respect for international law and treaty obligations iv) Promotion of a just world economic order.

On May 29, 1999, the Fourth Republic was given birth to when General Abdul-salam Abubakar handed power to a democratically elected president Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. The new President started with diplomatic shuttles to restore Nigeria's battered image by Sanni Abacha regime, calling for foreign investors to invest in Nigeria economy and believing on economic diplomacy as the driving force to revamp the economy of the country. Obasanjo received the visiting American President Bill Clinton in August 26 - 28, 2000, signifying the return of the country to global reckoning (Fawole, 2000:25). Obasanjo administration also approached the technologically-advanced countries for debt forgiveness through their lending agencies, London Club and Paris Club. These moves resulted in Nigeria's foreign debts being reduced, alongside some other countries. His administration played an active part in the name-change and reorganization of Organization of African Unity to Africa Union in (Akindele & Ate, 2011)

A country's national power has direct relevance to its foreign policy when it comes to her resources and population - this constitutes a big market for foreign investment in agriculture and mineral resources such as coal, iron, columbine, petroleum, uranium, bitumen, and gas. Foreign policy to some

extent reflects the personality of individual leaders in drawing foreign investors to the country - Obasanjo invited communication companies like Econet (now Airtel or 9mobile), MTN and others, a huge investment, into the economy.

Yar'Adua and Jonathan Foreign Policy, 2007 to 2011 and 2011 to May 29, 2015

Umaru Yar'Adua/Ebele Jonathan were elected in 2007 but Yar'Adua never completed his term due to illness and died. Jonathan completed the term and won another four-year term as president following immediately after. Their regime came out with a plan to centre Nigeria's Foreign Policy on economic drive as the country national interest by deploying foreign policy tools to assist government in the realization of the transformation agenda for job and wealth creations, the development of basic infrastructure through the attraction of more foreign direct investment and skills acquisitions and modern technology into these critical sectors.

Goodluck Ebele Jonathan in 2011 declared a new dawn for Africa: "we fought for decolonization; we will now fight for democratization". He continued by saying that "we will support the consolidation of democracy, good governance in the continent" (*ThisDay*, September 29, 2013). Declaration and support for democracy and human right in Africa has become a major plank of Nigeria-African policy. This is based on the conviction that a free and democratic Africa that respects the basic rights of the people is one of Nigeria's national interests.

In a bid to encourage and promote the inflow of foreign direct investment into the country, Nigeria signed bilateral agreement and MOU with several countries in the area of trade and technological cooperation, ICT, education, culture, and tourism (Ogbole Ode 2013). The Bi-national commission with Germany signed on 2nd December 2011 resulted in the inflow of numerous programmes in power generation, re-forestation, emission control and capacity building for research in solar power energy for universities. Others include £65million, 30 megawatt in partnership with the Adamawa state

government, £50 million, and 20million megawatt Yola solar power station. £1.5 million, 450 megawatt, National Independent Power Project (NIPP), Phase II in Ajaokuta, the pilot solar power plants in the six geo-political zones for the universities of Ibadan, Lagos, Sokoto and Bayelsa, Bi-national commission between Nigeria and USA. This has significantly increased foreign direct investment in Nigeria. (Ogbole Ode 2013).

Another step of voicing for Africa is when Jonathan discussed with President Zuma of South Africa steps needed to further strengthen the Nigeria-South Africa Bi-National Commission (*Guardian*, September 23, 2011). Nigeria has invested resources to support and address complex questions arising from armed conflicts through standardizing approach to political and peacekeeping missions to reflect the strategic importance of preventive diplomacy. Presently xenophobia in South Africa is affecting Nigeria relations with that country. Under the auspices of the Presidential Advisory Council on foreign affair headed by Chief Emeka Anyaoku, the president invited several ministers and envoys to the comprehensive foreign policy review forum. This is to make Nigeria's foreign policy to be investment-driven, defining a new driving force and focus on Africa (*Punch*, July 24, 2011: 33).

Nigeria's Foreign Policy during the military rule

Gowon Administration Foreign Policy July 29, 1966 to July 29, 1975

This section looks at Nigeria foreign policy under the military rule with particular emphasis on the tactic and style adopted on the regime by decree. Nigeria viability in the international system was highly noticed and respected during the military era as this period during Gowon was when the oil power was speaking for the country in the globe. The military seized power from the civilian government of Tafawa Balewa in 1966 and Aguiyi Ironsi was made the head of state. A counter coup led to his death and Lt Col Yakubu Gowon was made the Head of State. The counter coup dragged Nigeria into a civil war that started in July 1966 and ended in 1970. The military regime at that time adopted a policy of the 3Rs (reconciliation,

reconstruction and rehabilitation) to unify the whole country that was polarized along ethnic and sectoral lines. The reconstruction was so necessary because of the damage caused to the Eastern part of the Nigeria state which haboured oil industry before the creation of the twelve states. As the onslaught of civilians and killing of soldiers were going on due to civil war, a strong propaganda team of the Biafra painted the Nigerian state as committing genocide against the Igbo tribe. This placed the country under strong hostility with France and some other states like Gabon, Cote d'lvoire, Tanzania and Zambia who recognized the Biafra state over Nigeria, resulting in naked display of power. Britain, United States and some other countries refused to sell any offensive weapons to the Gowon administration thereby prolonging the war, until Nigeria went for the Soviet Union assistance (Uhomoibhi, 2001). The civil war moved Nigeria to have full relation with the defunct Soviet Union for geological surveys and exploration for minerals and later for the establishment of an integrated steel mill. All these improved the power base of the country (Abolade, 2013:215).

The Gowon administration featured at a time of oil boom and as such embraced the realist approach to Nigeria foreign policy. This manifested in active and influential role in the continent and domestic affairs in term of infrastructural developments. . In 1970, oil export accounted for 57.5 of Nigerian revenue generation, while in 1972 it rose to 82.7 percent. Also, Gowon regime during the cold war extended relations to China and Eastern bloc countries, and spearheaded the liberation struggle for many African countries. Nigeria joined other African countries to break diplomatic ties with Israel over Egypt hostility in 1973.

The Lagos Treaty of 1975 under Gowon with the support of Eyadema of Togo led to the economic integration of the West Africa countries under the umbrella name of Economic Community of West African States ECOWAS. The exhibition of Nigeria influence presents herself in the use of her resources and strength to support South Africa liberation movement and in the decolonization struggles in Mozambique, Angola, Namibia and

Zimbabwe, to mention a few. Nigeria's involvement and efforts to secure local influence to create cooperative multilateral governing bodies, such as the Lake Chad Basin Commission and River Niger Commission was a case in point of her power influence (Aluko 1973).

Muritala Mohammed/Obasanjo Foreign Policy, July 29 1975 to October 1, 1979

General Muritala Mohammed's position and action in 1975 to back the people's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, an armed opposition side in Angola against the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) for receiving open support from South Africa, resulted in a strange relationship with the Western world over the Angola crisis. In November 25, 1975, Nigeria announced her support for MPLA, thereby weakening South Africa's influence in Angola (Osita, 2010, Akindele & Ate, 2011). Ibeanu (2010: 23) explains:

> *Not only had Nigeria repeatedly shown leadership on issues of liberating Southern African countries from colonial and white supremacist rules, it had the financial muscle to stand up to South Africa. Nigeria's participation in the Frontline States should be properly understood in the context of the increased radicalization of both domestic and foreign policies in the immediate aftermath of the civil war. By policy radicalization, we mean principally the far reaching changes in attitude of Nigerian leaders away from the predominantly pro-West and stability orientations…*

The demise of Muritala Mohammed through a coup d'état brought in Obasanjo. Scholars like Ibeanu, Asobie see the regime as a radical phase in Nigeria's foreign policy as the country refused to align with superpowers that fragmented the world into bipolar system with two strong ideological blocs, the capitalist bloc and the socialist bloc. Obasanjo terminated Nigeria's support for the Anglo-American peace proposal for Zimbabwe and the British Petroleum assets in Nigeria were nationalized and a 10

percent cut in oil supply \was implemented (Bukarambe, 2010). Nigeria was the founding father of African Liberation Committee and served as Chairman of the UN's anti-apartheid committee. More so, as chairman of Apartheid, she established National Committee against Apartheid (NACAP) and the Southern Africa Relief Fund (SARF) in 1976 to provide relief materials to South Africa refugees and scholarships to black South African students in Nigeria.

Buhari Administration Foreign Policy, December 31, 1983 to August 27, 1985

The second republic under the leadership of Alhaji Shehu Shagari was overthrown through a military coup led by Buhari/Idiagbon in December 31, 1983. Buhari administration focused on national economic and security interests. Gambari (2008) explains that this is a foreign policy drive that took a realist dimension hinged on the "concentric circle" - Nigeria as the core, ECOWAS constituted the next important circle and the last circle was Nigeria relations with the rest of world. The reason of the concentric circle was to reposition the country toward economic development. Ogwu and Olukoshi (1991) argue that:

> *The pursuit of 'economic diplomacy' as an additional plank of Nigeria's foreign policy was aimed at cushioning the damaging impact of the economic crisis which engulfed Nigeria in the 1980's and was targeted to assuage the consequences of the structural adjustment measures introduced to contain the crisis. Foreign policy was re-directed from a predominantly political focus to an economic focus in which foreign policy instruments were used to advance domestic economic development objectives" (cited in Jega***, 1992: 5).***

Buhari military regime hosted a conference in legal status of Apartheid regime and Nigeria also took the bold step in the recognition of the Sharawi Arab Democratic Republic in 1984 (Adejo 2000: 63). Osita Eze says Buhari foreign policy in 1983 - 1985 showed activism, dynamism and realism in the

issue of Umaru Dikko case that sparked a diplomatic relation between Nigeria and Britain over.

Babangida administration foreign policy August 27, 1985 to August 26, 1993

On environmental issues Babangida complained of the dumping of toxic and radioactive wastes on African soil and placed it on global agenda. This was in the wake of the toxic waste dumped in Koko, Delta State, by an Italian company which sparked international actions on environmental pollution. In the area of security Babangida engaged Nigeria troops by establishing ECOWAS Monitoring Group in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

Babangida regime caused a breakthrough in Nigeria's articulation of a post-independence foreign policy as he initiated ECOMOG to maintain peace in Liberian war and introduced economic diplomacy in June 1988 (Atoyebi 2004)

Abacha Administration Foreign Policy, November 17, 1993 to June 8, 1998

The Abacha administration met stiff oppositions from the Western countries due to some of its excesses, including the hanging of Ken SaroWiwa (the Ogoni activist), the mooted idea to transform into a civilian president, and excessive militarization of the Nigerian state. This caused Abacha to look more towards the Asian countries and China in terms of bilateral relations' As a follow-up General Sani Abacha monitored the process of transition to democratic rule by re-installing the democratically elected President of Sierra Leone ousted by rebels, and generally pursued a policy of assisting neighbors to quell crises in their states, especially in West African countries. General Sani Abacha in 1996 noted that:

> *Recent development on the international scene had led to the growing anxiety of our people to review our foreign policy. The anxiety should be understood within the context of hostilities against Nigeria (cited in Chinbidu 2003: 13).*

Abdul-salam Abubakar Foreign Policy, June 8, 1998 to May 29, 1999

Abdul-salam Abubakar foreign policy was citizen-focused (citizen diplomacy) as he asked the honourable minister of foreign affairs to assist in the campaign for changing the negative image and lack of respect for Nigerian citizens abroad and the country at large in the international community.

The nature of power in Nigeria's Foreign Policy

The nature of power is the ability of an international actor to use its tangible and intangible resources and assets in such a way as to influence the outcome of events in the international system in the direction of improving its own satisfaction with the system (Sunmolu, 2000:21). Sunmonu argues that power is not limited to forceful situation alone, and that force is an extreme use of power and in the other extreme of that continuum is persuasion. This persuasive method is to bring other countries into their fold through the method of convincing other countries to support a particular programme or agenda in the United Nations, African union and ECOWAS. Among the natural resource of power is geography which deal with the territorial position that is sheer size multiple the defensive capabilities of a state and reduces its vulnerability to the enemies, Nigeria has a landmass of 923, 768 km square and lengthy borders which can be detrimental to strategies military planning and cost.

Another component of power in Nigeria is the natural resources that are crude oil, iron ore, natural gas, coal, limestone, niobium, lead, zinc and arable land. Nigeria population according Ghaji Bello the Director General of Nigeria population commission stand at 182 million (www. population.gov.ng) by this year 2018 it would be more than that reported figures. The contribution of population to power depends not exclusively on size, but on the social, economic and psychological consequences of all size as well, Among these qualities factors are level of technical skill per capital, level of social and political development and effective coordination

of human and material resources for national development (Sunmonu 2000:23)

Records of Influences in Nigerian External Relations

S/ NO	STATE RELATIONS	INFLUENCE	REGIME	ACTIONS
1	Nigeria-Liberia	Through the formation of ECOMOG, the sit-tight president Taylor that pushed the country into crisis was asked to leave the country and given asylum in Nigeria	Obasanjo	An election took place and President Sirleaf Johnson won and she is still running the state
2	Nigeria-Sierra-Leone	Some coup plotters removed a sitting democratic president	Abacha	The democratically elected? president was restored
3	Nigeria-Angola	Muritala Mohammed backs the MPLA over UNITA to reduce US and Western influence in the crisis for dominance	Muritala Mohammed	At independence, MPLA won and took over the state
4	Nigeria-South Africa	As the giant of Africa supported armed struggle to fight for South Africa independence	Gowon – Babangida	South Africa had their independence in 1994
5	Nigeria-Gambia	A sit-tight president refused to leave power; Nigeria sent her Airforce, Navy and	Buhari	The sit-tight president vacated the presidential

		Army to join ECOMOG troops to remove him		seat that he lost to his opponent.
6	Nigeria role in ECOWAS	Nigeria took part in the formation of ECOWAS in Lagos. Her role is so important in all sectors	All the leaders	Promoting the progress of ECOWAS and peacekeeping
7	Nigeria role in United Nations	Nigeria is a strong advocate and reliable defender of Africa's interests	1960 to date, all leaders	Especially in the area of decolonialisation, apartheid and peacekeeping
8	Nigeria role in African Union	AU replaced OAU to strengthen the unity of African states	2002 to date during the regime of Obasanjo	Nigeria gives aids to some African states like Sao Tome
9	Nigeria role in Commonwealth	Nigeria fought for the removal of Rhodesia now South Africa	Balewa in 1961	Due to apartheid
10	Nigeria-China	Nigeria China relation is more on education and bilateral trade	1997 to date	Trade, construction and other services
11	Nigeria – Sao-Tome and Principe	Nigeria gives aid to Sa-Tome	1999 to date	Fund

12	Nigeria-China	Nigeria China relation is more on education and bilateral trade	2013 to date	Trade, construction and other services

Source: (Dailytimes newspaper; Guardian Newspaper)

Discussions

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate how power can influence a state through the implementation of foreign policy decisions. The study observed that from October 1, 1960 to May 29, 2015, and beyond the foreign policy principle is still followed although with different strategies, tactics and techniques.

The paper reveals that Nigeria's utilization of her resources as an element of power showcases the capabilities the country has to treat matters that concern Africa. The country backed up armed struggle in other African countries due to her military capabilities but does not join the freedom fighters. The radical position of Nigeria was highly recognized in the Angola issue as the leader supported the freedom fighters with the cause to maintain Angola unity than getting involved in the crisis of supremacy among the two Super Powers (USA versus the defunct USSR)

Findings

We have been able to establish that some factors critically affect the direction of the foreign policy of a country (in this case, Nigeria) at any point in time. These include

i) The personality in charge of the state and his mindset to some critical international issues

ii) Style of a leader in attending to domestic and external matters,

iii) Leaders anchoring foreign policy matters and articulation either with Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or Institute of International Affairs.

For example, Nigeria External Aid Policy is divided into three categories by Enikanolaiye (2013) - i) direct government to government assistance in form of grant, and aids ii) direct technical assistance with the deployment of experts and professionals in various fields to Africa, Caribbean and Pacific Countries, iii) provision of training opportunities in Nigeria institutions, including the military for students from African countries. The Technical Aid Corps (TAC) was established in 1987, Directorate of Technical Cooperation in Africa (DTCA) in 2001 with the primary responsibility of assisting friendly African countries in the area of capacity building and expertise. The Nigerian Trust Fund (NTF), domiciled at the African Development Bank (AFDB), which was established in 1976 to offer soft loans and grant to low income African countries - its initial capital was $80million and was replenished in 1981 with $81million. The capital as at 2010 was $200million. So far several African countries have benefitted from it. At the international level, a nation must demonstrate a fundamental respect for international laws, norms and other institutions. Nigeria has demonstrated that in her role in participating in the United Nations Organization, African Union and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) peacekeeping operations and also spent $82 million in the Chad operation under the OAU (Harmman, 2013). Gbor (2004) maintains that Nigeria was able to carry out these numerous assignments due to her political and economic influences on the African continent-Congo 1963, Chadian conflict of 1981 and 1982, and Liberia and Sierra Leone crises. To achieve these roles in peacekeeping, Dokubo (2010) maintains that Nigeria's commitment to all these international efforts is largely driven by the quantitative and qualitative expansion of Nigeria's defense capabilities in West Africa and Africa.

Conclusion

This paper treats Nigeria's foreign policy within the position of power theory and the influence on her immediate neighbors, Africa and the global world. The principles guiding the country's foreign policy are focal points to situate our argument on power in decisions taken. Nigeria foreign policy has helped other countries achieve their demand to take charge of their countries' domestic affairs. The favorable and unfavorable aspects of Nigeria's foreign policy have made some critics if we go through the statement of objective of foreign policy right from the time the first prime minister of Nigeria (Tafawa Balewa) articulated what Nigeria foreign policy should be, you will see that this articulation has not been anchored on a clearly defined national interest. An instance cited is Abuja's feeble efforts to prevent South Africa's Nkasazara Dlamini- Zuma from assuming the chair of the AU commission which failed despite Abuja's principled position that no representative of a large Africa power should occupy the post.

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