

## The presidential model and the machinery for foreign policy making. The Nigerian experience.

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**Igbani, Owede Robbins**

Department of History and International Studies  
Federal University Otuoke  
Bayelsa State Nigeria.

### Abstract

*This paper examines the machineries for implementation of foreign policy goals in a presidential system of government using Nigeria as a model. These machineries include; the President who is the chief implementer of the nation's foreign policy. Followed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the chief negotiator of the state and policy advisor to the President. Most significantly, is the MFA, the key machinery that provides the platform for the conduct of the nation's foreign policy relations. The study also looked at the role played by the parliament in foreign policy making and research institutes and Think-Tank Groups like NIIA, NIPSS and IPCR in influencing, articulating, and formulation of the Nation's foreign policy goals. The study observes that foreign policy making is not the prerogative of the President and the MFA alone but rather the Parliament and Think-Tank groups also play prominent roles. It also observes that foreign policy goals do not emanate from the MFA alone but rather from other Ministries like defense, trade, investment, education, justice, culture, tourism etc. also play key roles in policy formulation and implementation. Thus, the MFA coordinate policies emanating from these Ministries, agencies, and think-tank groups. The study therefore, concludes that under the presidential system of government as practiced in Nigeria and the United States, a network of synergy exists among the various organs, agencies, and relevant think-tanks group. The study made use of qualitative research design and uses content and thematic approach in analyzing the data.*

**Key Words:** Foreign policy, Presidentialism, Machinery, Model, Experience, Nigeria.



## Introduction

The foreign policy goals and objectives of every country are implemented through different modes, channels, means, and machineries. Traditionally, the Ministry of foreign Affairs is the executive agency of government responsible for the conduct of foreign relations using diplomacy (Negotiation) as a vehicle for its implementation. The purpose of diplomacy is to enable states secure the objectives of their foreign policy without resort to force, propaganda, or law. These foreign policy objectives could be economic prosperity, national security, political independence, technological advancement, self-preservation etc. using national interest as a guide. Thus, the foreign policy machineries are the vehicles, means through which foreign policies are articulated, formulated and decision making are carried out. According to Berridge:

Diplomacy is an essentially political activity and, well resourced and skillful, a major ingredient of power. Its chief purpose is to enable states secure their objectives of their foreign policies without resort to force, propaganda, or law. It follows that diplomacy consists of communication between officials designed to promote foreign policy either by formal agreement or tacit adjustment<sup>1</sup>.

It should be noted that the quality of foreign policy decision making and implementation is determined by the quality of the institutions, the manner of structural arrangement and the synergy among these agencies and ministries e.g., Ministry of Foreign Affairs, defense, trade and investment, culture and tourism, think-tank groups etc. These institutions are statutorily recognized and responsible for policy making, policy advice, and policy implementation. Thus, in Nigeria under the presidential system of government where the president wields executive power and act as both the head of state and the head of

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<sup>1</sup>Berridge, G.R.& Lorna Lloyd. Diplomacy: Theory and Practice, 2nded. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p 1.

government, there exist the principle of separation of powers and the existence of checks and balances. It should also be noted that under the presidential system, the president is the Commander In-chief of the Arm forces and the head of the executive arm of government. The legislature (parliament) is the lawmaking body with a constitutional legislative oversight and the power to impeach the president when found wanting. The judicial arm of government has a constitutional mandate for the interpretation of the law, judicial review and the power to declare the actions of both the Parliament and the Executive null and void. Consequently, under the presidential system, the principle of rule of law is supreme and with the principle of separation of powers; foreign policy making, implementation and conduct becomes the functions and responsibility of the President and the Minister of foreign affairs who is the head of Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA).

Although the Minister of External Affairs has the basic responsibility for the conduct of foreign affairs, it must be noted that foreign policy does not emanate from the MFA alone but also from other ministries and department such as defense, trade investment and culture and tourism, education etc. also play key roles.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the machinery for policy articulation, formulation, and implementation of foreign policy do not also emanate alone from the MFA but rather other branches or arms of government such as the Parliament/National Assembly and other private agencies and think-tanks like the Nigerian Institute for International Affairs (NIIA), Nigerian Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS) KURU and the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR). In stable democracies like the United States, United Kingdom, and France foreign policy articulation, formulation, and pursuit of national interest are carried out by the government represent by the MFA in collaboration with relevant research institutes and think-tank groups like the Council for Foreign Relations (CFR), Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Brookings Institute etc.

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<sup>2</sup>ObuahEzezi Emmanuel, An Introduction to Elements of Modes of Diplomacy (Port Harcourt: University of Port Harcourt Press, 2017), p 27.

Therefore, this study will attempt to examine the various machineries under the presidential system of government, responsible for policy articulation, formulation, conduct, and implementation of Nigerian foreign policy. The study will first examine the meaning of the presidential system of government and its characteristics. The study will also look at the meaning of Foreign policy, relationship between foreign policy and diplomacy; instruments for the conduct of foreign policy; vehicles for the conduct of foreign policy and the relationship between foreign policy and national interest. Other key areas the study will also examine are the role of the President in foreign policy making and implementation, the role of the Parliament or the National Assembly, the Bureaucracy or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Think-Tank groups.

### **Methods and Data**

The study made use of qualitative research design in data collection and analysis. Thus, in data collection, the study made use of both primary and secondary sources. The primary data method used include: Key Informant Interviews (KIGs) and Personal Observation. The Key Informant Interviews involved seasoned academics in the field of Diplomacy and foreign policy. The study made use of personal observation method since; the researcher is also an expert in the field of Diplomacy and Foreign Policy Analysis and always abreast with daily trends of global events. The secondary sources used include: Diplomacy and foreign policy text books, Academic journals on foreign policy, published reports, verifiable online sources. The primary data collected through Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) was transcribed thematically coded and analyzed using thematic analysis technique. The data from the secondary sources were analyzed using discourse and content analytical method. To enhance validity and acceptability of results, data collected were subjected to triangulation.

### **Theoretical Framework**

According to Rourke, as cited in Akpan, by thinking theoretically, it helps us to build knowledge and gives us a better chance of

evaluating policies and programs of institutions<sup>3</sup>. Similarly, Smith & Baylis, as cited in Akpan, asserted that all international events must have theoretical foundation or bases and that no academic scholar can claim to lack a theory to support his argument. Theories enable us as individuals and scholars to explain the laws of international politics and recurrent patterns of national behavior.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, this study used the Bureaucratic politics foreign policy decision making model in examining and evaluating the machinery for foreign policy implementation in a presidential democracy like Nigeria.

The Bureaucratic model is an offspring of the German Social Scientist, Max Weber who asserts that bureaucracy enhances rational national decision making and efficient administration. Bureaucracy enhances efficiency and rationality by assigning responsibility for different task to different people. It also defined value and standard operating procedures that clearly specify how official task are to be done<sup>5</sup>.

The choice for this model is that foreign policy decision making in a presidential democracy is not the prerogative of the President and the Minister of Foreign affairs alone but rather foreign policy making emanates from other Ministries such as Defense, Trade, Investment, Education, Culture etc. which form an integral part of the Bureaucracies; also play prominent roles in decision making processes. The MFA only coordinate policies emanating from these Ministries, agencies, and Think-tank groups, like NIIA, NIPSS and IPCR. These Ministries are headed by Ministers as political heads and Bureaucrats (Permanent Secretaries) as technocrats who articulates policies and advises the Ministers on best policy choices and decisions based on professionalism since, the Ministers in most cases are not professionals. Consequently, the Bureaucrats tries to influence

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<sup>3</sup>Akpan Otoabasi, Contending Theories of International Relations. In An Introduction to International Studies and World Politics, eds. Aniekan E. Ekpe, Monday B. Abasiattai& Akpan Otoabasi (Yaonde:Book House, 2012), p 35

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p 31-120

<sup>5</sup> Solomon O. Akinboye& Adeniyi S. Basiru, Foreign policy Analysis: Conceptual and Theoretical Logic. (USA: Witts Publishing Ltd.), 142-143.

the foreign policy choices of their country through the following ways: a) Information filtering b) Policy Recommendation and c) Policy Implementation<sup>6</sup>. It must be noted that in most cases, Bureaucrats often disagree with the foreign policy choices of the President and the Ministers due to the later, dexterity and policy rationality over political expediency in international politics. Thus, for example the office (Bureaucrats) of the US Secretary of States openly disagrees with former President Trump over his immigration ban on core Muslim states into the country. Consequently, the bureaucracy (MFA) in some cases work to slow or prevent implementations of foreign policies that lacks rationality through different bottle-neck measures. It is significant to note that after the 9/11, Al Qaida terrorist attack on the United States (Pentagon and the World Trade Centre), the investigative panel that was set up the George Bush administration, unraveled that part of the reason why the terrorist succeeded was as a result of flaws in the implementation of the US anti-terrorism policy by bureaucrats. Therefore, the Machinery for policy articulation, formulation and implementation of a nation foreign policy is not the function of the President and the Minister alone, but the Bureaucracy (MFA, Trade, Investment, Education etc.), Parliament and Think-tank groups each playing complementary role in ensuring that rational foreign policy decisions in line with the country's foreign objectives is achieved.

### Literature Review

So many authors, scholars, and researchers have carried out numerous studies on "Foreign policy Making in Nigeria" however, there is dearth of studies on the machinery for foreign policy implementation in a presidential democracy like Nigeria. That necessitated this research work. Therefore, the researcher chooses from studies, that are relevant to this study in reviewing. Thus, Nurudeen and Kikeloma, in their work "Perception of Nigeria's Foreign policy" asserts that 75% of his respondents perceived the MFA as simply a rubber stamp to the President and his kitchen cabinets and that 65% of his respondents also believed that the National Assembly, Federal cabinets and think-

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<sup>6</sup>Ikedima H.A., Foreign policy Analysis INR 321 (Lagos: National Open University, 2012), p 6.

tank groups are been sidelined in foreign policy decision making. The study concludes that in most cases the role and functions of the MFA is been undermined by the President in terms of policy implementation than in decision making<sup>7</sup>. This study only looks at the elite's perception in foreign policy making rather than the machinery for foreign policy making and implementation. In another study by Ejitu Nnechi and Chinyere S. Ecoma, the authors, attributed colonial legacy as one of the reasons for the lackluster nature of the country's foreign policy options and that not until 1975, when Nigeria motivated by the events of the time, begins to play an assertive and aggressive foreign policy role in global politics. The author concludes that one major limitation towards an aggressive foreign policy is as a result of the domination of the executive arm in the foreign policy decision making in Nigeria. And that what constitute Nigeria's foreign policy objectives has to be redefined<sup>8</sup>.

Enuka, and Ojukwu, in their work "Challenges of Nigeria's Foreign Policy" examined Nigeria's foreign policy from the formative years to the present. The paper concludes that the country is yet to achieve its foreign policy objectives as a result of neglect, bad and irresponsible leadership hindering policy performances<sup>9</sup>. Again, Bankole, Sheriff, Fadeke, and Ajibade, examines the foreign policy making and implementation under the Olusegun Obasanjo administration from 1999-2007. The paper asserts that the foreign policy formulated under the Obasanjo regime were dictated primarily by his personality and executive leadership decision. The paper recommended that for effective foreign policy making and implementation, strong institutions must be built in order to limit personality factor in

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<sup>7</sup>Nurudeen Mimiko Kikeloma A. Mbada, "Elites Perception and Nigeria's Foreign Policy Process," *Alternatives Turkish Journal of International Relations* 13, No. 3 (2014): p 1

<sup>8</sup>EjituNnechi & Chinyere S. Ecoma, "Nigeria's Foreign Policy and the Democratic Experiment: The Lessons of History and options for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century," *International Journal of Applied and advanced Scientific Research* 1, Issue. 1 (2016): p 9

<sup>9</sup>Enuka Chuka & Emmanuel Ojukwu, "Challenges of Nigeria's Foreign Policy," *International Journal of Arts and Humanities* 5, No. 2 (2016): p 52

foreign policy making and implementation<sup>10</sup>. Nwosu I Nereus, in his work "The administration of Nigeria's Foreign Policy" posits that the nature of the country's external relations determines the factors that shapes the country's foreign policy making processes. According to him, diverse policy inputs from different players in the domestic environment accounts for lack of cohesion in policy implementation. The paper recommends that to avoid inconsistency in policy implementation, a special cabinet committee in charge of foreign policy issues be established<sup>11</sup>. Therefore, from the above papers reviewed none of them looked at the machinery for the implementation of foreign policy in a presidential democracy and that is the basis for this research.

### **The Presidential System of Government**

The presidential system of government is a democratic and republican system of government by which the President is both the head of state and the head of government wielding executive power. The president is the Commander In-chief of the Arm forces; the military, navy, and the air force. Examples of countries practicing presidential system are: Nigerian, United States, France, South- Africa etc. The President performs both ceremonial and executive functions<sup>12</sup>. In terms of foreign policy making, the President is the chief implementer of the country's foreign policy using the instrument of **diplomacy, propaganda, sanctions, and threat or use of force (war)** when necessary. The president relies on the policy advice of the MFA for implementation.

### **Foreign policy and diplomacy**

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<sup>10</sup> Bankole R. Olorunyomi, et al, "Foreign Policy Making and Implementation Under Olusegun Obasanjo's Administration, (1999-2007)," International Journal of Research in Arts and Social Sciences 8, No. 2 (2008): p 312

<sup>11</sup> Nereus I. Nwosu, "The Administration of Nigeria's Foreign Policy," Trans African Journal of History 23, (1994): p 105

<sup>12</sup> Ikilegbe A.O., "Post-Colonial Nigeria and Politics: Second Republic and Military Regimes" in Elements of Man's political and Economic Environment for Africa, ed. Andrew G. Onokerhoraye (Benin: Ambik Press, 1994), pp 222-239



Foreign policy and diplomacy are like Siemens twins, as they complement each other. Foreign policy cannot function without the use of diplomacy as a machinery or instrument of peace and negotiation by state and non-state actors. Though, it must be noted that sovereign states are the only actors that conduct foreign policies while non-state actors are only players on the international system. According to Childs, as cited in Palmer and Perkins:

*“Foreign policy is the substance of foreign relations whereas ‘diplomacy proper is the process by which policy is carried out. Policy is made by many different persons and agencies, but presumably on major matters in any state. Thus, whatever the form of government, policy is made at the higher levels though subject to many different kinds of controls. Therefore, it is the purpose of diplomacy to provide the machinery and the personal by which foreign policy is executed. One is a substance the other is a method.”<sup>13</sup>*

From the definitions and distinction above one discovers that for a state to achieve its desired or stated objectives at the international arena, then the application of diplomacy which is synonymous with “negotiation, intelligence, tactfulness” becomes inevitable. Thus, Diplomacy is the vehicle for conveying the foreign policy of a country towards the external environment using national interest as a guide. *Though, the term diplomacy originated from the ancient Greek, meaning “Official document conferring privileges.”* It is derived from the Greek word “diploma.” The prefix “diplo” means “folded into two” while the suffix “ma” meaning an object. The folded paper expresses a privilege for a permit to travel-on the bearer and his word came to denote which Princes did such favours<sup>14</sup>

No wonder, Sir, Ernest Satow in his celebrated Guide to Diplomatic Practice defines diplomacy as: *“the application of*

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<sup>13</sup>Palmer, D.N. & Perkins, C.H., International Relations, 3rd Ed.(Delhi, India: A.I.T.B.S. Publishers, 2007), 84.

<sup>14</sup>ObuahEzi Emmanuel, An Introduction to Elements of Modes of Diplomacy. (Port Harcourt, University of Port Press, 2006), p 5

*intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between governments of independent states. Extending sometimes also to their business with vassal states or more briefly still, the conduct of business between state by peaceful means"*<sup>15</sup>

Accordingly, Palmer & Perkins asserts that:

*Diplomacy functions through a labyrinth of foreign offices, embassies, legations, consulates, and special missions all over the world. It is commonly bilateral in character. However, as a result of the growing importance of international conferences, international organizations, regional arrangements, collective security measures, its multilateral aspects have become increasingly significant.*<sup>16</sup>

This has led to the emergence of the following types of diplomacy: (a) Permanent Traditional diplomacy (b) Multi-Track diplomacy (c) permanent conference diplomacy (d) personal diplomacy (e) Ad-hoc conference diplomacy (f) economic diplomacy.<sup>17</sup>

### **Foreign policy and national interest**

Foreign policy and national interest are inseparable concepts in international relations. Thus, the foundation of a state foreign policy is her national interest which in turns directs the course of her foreign policy. Consequently, the concept of national interest has continued to play a pivotal and significant role in the foreign policies of sovereign states. A state's foreign policy is not operated in vacuum. The main policy instrument in the conduct of foreign policy is invariably the promotion and pursuit of national interest. Therefore "National interest can be defined as

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<sup>15</sup>Gbeneye Emmanuel E., An Introduction to Diplomacy and European History in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. (Port Harcourt: Springfield Publishers Ltd., 2004), p2.

<sup>16</sup>Palmer, D.N. & Perkins, C.H., International Relations, 3rd Ed. (Delhi, India: A.I.T.B.S. Publishers, 2007), p 84.

<sup>17</sup>Ikedima H.A., International law and Diplomacy in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. INR 212 (Lagos: National Open University), p 6

the totality or the aggregate of interests of individuals and groups within a given nation State.<sup>18</sup> It can also be defined as a country's goal and ambitions weather economic, military, security, political, social, cultural etc. towards the international environment. However, when viewed from its classical perspective, "*National interest encompasses the various strategies employed in the international interaction of states in order to ensure the preservation of the stated goals of society.*"<sup>19</sup>

In political discourse, National interest serves two primary purposes, one *as an analytical tool and secondly as an instrument of political action*. As an analytical tool, it serves as a conceptual guide by providing the objectives often considered by a state while weighing an intended foreign policy option. As an instrument of political action, it serves to justify or repudiate a state foreign policy option and action in the international system. Thus, this explains the interconnectedness of foreign policy and national interest<sup>20</sup>.

Indeed, the concept of national interest is so deeply interwoven with that of foreign policy that the renowned international relations scholar Hans Morgenthau, ones stated that "*no nation can have a true guide as to what it must do and what it needs to do in foreign policy without accepting national interest as that guide.*"<sup>21</sup> He further asserted that Foreign policy objectives must be defined and situated in terms of National interest. According to him National interest is the perennial standard by which political action must be judge. Therefore, national interest is broadly conceded as a guide to the formulation of a nation's foreign policy. It is not an end but a means to an end. In other word it is a method of reaching a goal, and in formulating such goals, core values and national ethos must be considered. Such internal interest revolves around the quest for (i) national independence, (ii) national cohesion, (iii) territorial integrity, (iv) Self-preservation v) National security of the country and that of

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<sup>18</sup>Akinboye O. Samuel, "Nigeria's Foreign Policy," in Elements of Politics, eds. Remi Anifowose and Francis Enemuoh (Lagos: Malthouse Press Ltd., 1999), p 336.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p 366.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p 366

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p 367

the individual Nigerian citizens, especially as regards food, shelter, health and housing, and (v) the promotion of national ethics of discipline, self-reliance and patriotism.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, section 19 of the 1999 constitution spells out the Foreign Policy Objectives of Nigeria<sup>23</sup> as follows:

- a) Promotion and protection of the national interest;
- b) Promotion of African integration and support for African unity;
- c) Promotion of international co-operation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discrimination in all its manifestations;
- d) Respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international dispute by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication and
- e) Promotion of a just economic world order.

**The machineries of foreign policy making in a presidential system of government.**

The machinery for articulating, formulating, implementing, and conduct of foreign policy in Nigeria under the Presidential system of government, rest almost squarely with the executive arm of government. Though, the legislature (parliament), National Assembly also plays a Pivotal role in articulating and influencing the foreign policy posture of the Nation. In Nigeria's constitutional democracy, the president who wields executive power as both the Head of state and Government is the most important individual as far as foreign policy decision making and implementation is concern. Thus, attempt will be made in looking at the foreign policy machineries in both the Second Republic (1979-1983) under Alhaji Shehu Shagari and the Fourth Republic from 1999 when the country returns to presidential democratic rule.

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<sup>22</sup> Akindele R.A and Bassey E. Ate, "Nigeria's Foreign Policy, 1986-2000 AD. Background to the Reflections on the Views from Kuru," Nigerian Journal of International Affairs 12, No. 1 & 2 (1986): p 13.

<sup>23</sup> The 1999 Constitution as Amended of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Section 9 (a-e).

Significantly, both the 1979 Second Republican constitution, and the 1999 constitution shared or divided the powers in foreign policy decision making among the three tiers of government namely, Executive, (President, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministers etc.), the National Assembly (Senate, House of Representatives) and the Judiciary. As rightly stated above, the quality of policy making and implementation is determined by the quality of the institutions and the manner of structural arrangement and relationship between the ministries/institutions that are statutorily recognized and responsible for policy making and policy implementation. Therefore, attempt will be made to examine the machineries that are responsible for the articulation, formulation, implementation, and conduct of the nation's foreign policy in a presidential system.

### **The president and foreign policy making**

In Nigeria, the Presidential democracy modeled in line with the United States, places foreign policy at the exclusive legislative list meaning that it is only the Federal Government headed by the President, who act as both the head of states and government, and wield executive power, as commander In-chief of the Arm forces is preeminent in foreign and military affairs or policy. It should be noted that foreign policy and defense policy goes hand in hand as both are the exclusive preserve of the president. It is only the President that has the power, known as the "war power act" to declare a war on another sovereign nation using the armed forces. Therefore, defense or military policies are part and parcels of foreign policy, objectives of a country.

The president is the chief Implementer of the nation's foreign policy, though relies on the policy advice of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.<sup>24</sup> The president alone is in charge of all the resources that the executive branch can apply to foreign and military policy. The President has greater access to and control over information, and the president alone can act with little fear that his actions will be countermand. In the United States, President Truman remarked that "the president makes the

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<sup>24</sup>ObuahEzi Emmanuel, "An Introduction to Elements of Modes of Diplomacy" P, 22-36.

foreign policy.”<sup>25</sup> Both in Nigeria and the U.S the constitution gives the president, diplomatic and war power; the power to appoint and receive ambassadors, to negotiate treaties and to be the commander In-chief of the Arm Forces, the president is the top decision maker on foreign and military issues.<sup>26</sup>

In Nigeria, President Shehu Shagari (1979-1983), could not deploy the military to counter the attack against the Cameroonian gendarmes who killed five Nigerian soldiers, as a result of the border crises on May 16th, 1981. No wonder analyst says his foreign policy was weak, lack-luster and generally Pro-west. President Olusegun Obasanjo in 2005, as one of his foreign policy objectives negotiated with the Paris club on the need for the multilateral agency to grant “debt relief” to Nigeria. This led to the debt cancellation of \$18 billion dollars out of the \$31 billion owed to the club. The negotiation deal was based on the International Monetary Fund’s Policy Support Instrument (PSI).<sup>27</sup> President Muhammad Buhari (2015-2019) as part of his foreign policy agenda on security, economy, and corruption signed multilateral and bilateral treaties with different countries. On his anti-corruption war President Buhari administration has been globetrotting seeking global partnership on the fight against corruption by signing multilateral and bilateral treaties, negotiating, and seeking assistance on how to repatriate looted stashed funds from foreign banks particularly from the West.

On the fight against terrorism, the president has been seeking global commitment, partnership, and assistance for military hardware, intelligence exchange in the fight against global terrorism in Nigeria from the West particularly from the U.S, UK and the neighboring west African sub-region that shares border with her, especially the Lake Chad Basin Commission countries (Cameroun, Niger and Chad). Thus, the President in exercising his power to make and implement treaties has signed bilateral and multilateral agreements on arms supplies, intelligence

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<sup>25</sup>Orugbani Adaye, Introduction to Foreign Policy (Port Harcourt: Paragraphics, 2004), P 42

<sup>26</sup>Connor O’ Karen et tal., American Government Continuity and Change (Texas: Pearson Longman, 2006), 705

<sup>27</sup> Obi Emeka Anthony, Fundamentals of Nigerian Foreign Policy (Onitsha: Book Point Ltd., 2006), p 225

sharing, joint training exercise, repatriation agreement etc. with these countries. In order to win the war on terror, the President has also deployed members of the Armed forces, since her territorial integrity and right to preservation (national interest) is being threatened by insurgents (Boko-Haram) with global affiliation to other terrorist network like Al-Qaida, Al-Shabab, Islamic States of Iraq and the Levant's (ISIL).

As noted above, the president has exclusives sources of information; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, diplomats, consuls, military attaches working for the ministry of defense, National Intelligence Agency (NIA) agents and other technical means of gathering information such as the satellites that others do not have. Thus, private citizens, companies, interest groups, parliament, and the media cannot match the president's sources for information. In both U.S and Nigeria, the president's power in foreign and military policy is not absolute. Congress/National Assembly, media, and the public often disagree with the president and seek to alter foreign and military policy decision he has made. The Department of State and Defense Bureaucracies also sometimes disagree with presidential decisions (and with each other) and work to slow or prevent their implementation<sup>28</sup>. Former, President Donald Trump travel ban on six (6) majority Muslim countries was a case in point that even the Department of States disagreed with the policy option of the President. In Nigeria President Buhari's policy to negotiate with the Boko Haram insurgent groups was rejected by sections of the public and the media. In fact, public opinion was not on his favour to negotiate with the insurgents over the release of the kidnapped Boko Haram girls.

### **National assembly/parliament**

According to Orugbani, "as a rule, legislatures confirm rather than initiate foreign policy, and the main legal form employed is the power of ratification of international treaties<sup>29</sup>." The National Assembly in a presidential system of government plays significant role as machinery for policy articulation, formulation, and implementation. The National Assembly is constitutionally

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p 706

<sup>29</sup>OrugbaniAdaye, "Foreign Policy," P, 35

empowered to make laws, order and for the good governance of the nation. Apart from making laws the National Assembly has the constitutional responsibility of making appropriation through budgetary provision for the President and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for its smooth operations in embassies, missions, legations, consulates, and military operations etc.

The National Assembly also conducts its oversight functions on foreign policy through its relevant committee on Foreign policy by ensuring that the Minister of Foreign Affairs is invited to seek clarification when the national interest of the country is threatened or there is a diplomatic row between Nigeria and other countries or non-state actors in the international environment. The National Assembly also screen and approves ambassadorial and ministerial nominee send by the President for confirmation. In the event of war between Nigeria and another country the President has to seek congressional approval for military deployment on combat operations. Most significantly, international agreements and treaties signed by the president must be ratified by the President in order to give legal backing else the treaty becomes null and void.

Thus, on the power of the National Assembly to ratify treaties made by the President, section 12(1& 2) of the 1979 constitution states that:

*No treaty between the federation and any other country shall have the force of law except to the extent to which such treaty has been enacted into law by the National Assembly. The National Assembly may make laws for the Federation or any part thereof with respect to matters not included in exclusive legislative list for the purpose of implementing treaty<sup>30</sup>.*

While the 1999 constitution, section 12 (1, 2, &3) states that:

*12 (1) No treaty between the federation and any other country shall have the force of law*

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<sup>30</sup> The defunct 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as cited in Section 12 subsection 1 & 2



*to the extent to which any such treaty has been enacted in to law by the National Assembly<sup>31</sup>.*

On the power of National Assembly to make approval for the president to declare war and mobilize members of the armed forces for combat operation, section 5 (4 a, b.) of the 1999 constitution state that:

- a. The president shall not declare a state of war between the federation and another country except with the sanction of a resolution of both sessions, and*
- b. Except with prior approval of the senate, no member of the armed forces of the federation shall be deployed on combat duty outside Nigeria<sup>32</sup>.*

From the U.S experience, American Presidents have often used their authority to order U.S armed forces to engage in actions without seeking approval from congress. President Roland Reagan ordered airstrikes against Libya and the invasion of Grenada; George Bush ordered the invasion of Panama; Bill Clinton ordered cruise missile attack against Afghanistan, Iraq, and Sudan; George W. Bush ordered the invasion of Libya, and Barack Obama ordered the invasion of Pakistan killing Osama Bin Ladin all on their own authority. President Donald Trump ordered the assassination of General Qasem Soleimani of the Iranian Revolutionary Guards Corps in a drone airstrike. Although, these Presidents informed congressional leaders of their intended actions, they made the decision and undertook and action on their own. For far more extensive and serious military commitments such as the 1991 Persian Gulf war and the 2003 U.S led invasion of Iraq, the president sought and received congressional approval in advance.<sup>33</sup>

According to Orugbani, the United States Congress employs investigations and hearing and occasionally passes resolutions which have no legal force but expresses the feelings, and position of the House. In Nigeria, the Senate also conducts public hearing

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<sup>31</sup> The 1999 Constitution as Amended of FRN.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., Section 5 (4 a & b)

<sup>33</sup> Connor O' Karen et tal., "American Government" p, 708

when the rights of Nigerian abroad are violated like the xenophobic attacks in South Africa, extra-judicial killings of Nigerians in Indonesia, Malaysia, and elsewhere. In democratic countries, legislature plays important role when delicate issues are involved especially those that directly affect constituents and interest groups in the legislators' electoral ward. Thus, one of the factors that pushed the Nixon administration to pull out from Vietnam and the Clinton administration to withdraw from Somalia was congressional opposition.<sup>34</sup>

### **The bureaucracy: Ministry of foreign affairs (MFA)**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the executive agency of government responsible for articulation, implementation, and conduct of the Nation's foreign policy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the government bureaucracy enacted by law; therefore, its policies and are protected by law. It should be noted that in a democratic presidential system of government where there is a true separation of powers and checks and balances, the MFA is headed by a political appointee of the President known as the Minister of Foreign Affairs who serves for a fixed term in office for four years though subject to renewal by the President if he/she performs excellently. In Nigeria, the MFA is called the Ministry of foreign Affairs; in the United States it is called the Department of States, while in Britain it is called the Foreign Office. The MFA in Nigeria, USA, and Britain are divided, along functional and geographic lines. The Functional units have Bureaus or offices in charge of such matters as: economic affairs, human rights, international organizations, issuance of passports and visas, supervise the work of missions to international organizations and intergovernmental organizations such as the United Nations. Others are terrorism, narcotics, refugees, economy, social affairs, inter-cultural relations, and international law.<sup>35</sup>

The Bureaucrats or officers in the Geographic divisions are Foreign Service officers acquainted with the problems of the country or countries concerned. Thus, due to the experience of these men, the geographic divisions tend to be very powerful in

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<sup>34</sup>OrugbaniAdaye, "Foreign Policy," P, 38

<sup>35</sup>Gbeneye Emmanuel E., "An Introduction to Diplomacy," P, 45

the intra-departmental structure. As noted above, the MFA has two components, namely Home Ministry known as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Nigeria while the other component is the Foreign Service with its numerous diplomatic missions abroad; the Embassies, High commissions, Legations, and Consulates. These are the physical buildings and grounds where diplomats work; included are the buildings needed to conduct the business of the mission and the residence of the ambassadors. The host states determine the areas that are to be included in the Embassy.<sup>36</sup>

### **The MFA as a machinery for the conduct of diplomacy**

According to Obuah, the MFA is hierarchically organized to ensure efficiency and accountability. The MFA is the lead governmental department responsible for the formulation, implementation, and the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy<sup>37</sup>. The MFA defines the nation's foreign policy objectives in line with her national interest, which services as a guide in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy while relating with other countries. The MFA remains the formal official channels through which all formal communications from Foreign governments have to pass to other ministries like defense, Trade and investments, education, tourism, culture etc. In Nigeria each division is headed by a director, equivalent to the status of an ambassador.<sup>38</sup>

It should also be noted that the MFA do not have the Prerogative in the formulation and implementation of a country's foreign policy, but rather foreign policy also emanates from other ministries like defense, immigration education, petroleum, trade etc. Consequently, diplomats do not confine their attention to politics and policies. The MFA is the principal adviser to the president on foreign policy issues. According to Obuah, foreign policy is a complex activity in which its articulation, implementation and conduct requires a special government department to make it happen. The president remains the chief

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p 42

<sup>37</sup> ObuahEzi Emmanuel, "An Introduction to Elements of Modes of Diplomacy" P, 22

<sup>38</sup> Gbeneye Emmanuel E., "An Introduction to Diplomacy," P, 46

implementer of the country's foreign policy but relies on the policy advice of the MFA. Therefore, the Minister of Foreign Affairs is statutorily required to provide policy advice and expertise to the President on Nigeria's foreign policy and its relations with other countries and non-state actors<sup>39</sup>. The MFA remains the Principal Negotiator for the state. Negotiation is synonymous with diplomacy. Consequently, in order to achieve the country's foreign policy objectives, the MFA uses negotiation and collective bargaining to protect and further her national interest. Thus, the MFA engages in bilateral and multilateral negotiations in the areas of trade, investment, defense, education, arms control, and climate change immigration etc. with other actors in the international community. Therefore, the MFA provides the leadership in these negotiations.<sup>40</sup>

The MFA coordinate the training Programme and recruitment of the potential Foreign Service officers and looked after the commission and embassies and consulates through funding in all nations where diplomatic relations is being established. The MFA also ensures that more missions abroad are been open. The MFA also exercise control and give guidance to the diplomatic missions abroad. The mission abroad constitutes the external arm of machinery for the implementation of Nigeria's foreign policy. Thus, the relationship between the home ministry and missions abroad should be seen in the context of a relationship between headquarters and out posts. The Ministry serves as the headquarters from where officers are posted abroad to the mission for duration of time before been posted back to Abuja for a period of service at home base. The MFA also act as a memory bank for gathering and storing information. A critical role of the MFA and its foreign missions is information and intelligence gathering on other countries. Thus, critical information gathered, collated and stored help the MFA in offering intelligence and strategic advice to the President in the formulation of policies on vital national interests. As noted earlier, the president's power in foreign and military policy is not absolute, as the National Assembly (parliament), Media and the Public often disagree with the President and seek to alter foreign policy decision he has

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<sup>39</sup>ObuahEzi Emmanuel, "An Introduction to Elements of Modes of Diplomacy" P, 25

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p 26

made. Consequently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, bureaucracy also sometimes disagrees with presidential decisions and work to slow or prevent their implementations. Many MFAs also have departments variously known as “Intelligence and Research or Research and Analysis.” They specialize in general background research by assessing the significance of information obtained by means which many states challenged the diplomatic service, so massively in this field in the second half of the twentieth century, namely secret intelligence. The MFA is chiefly a consumer of the product of the intelligence service, or of the various specialized members of the “intelligence community” where as in the larger developed states, such a community exist.<sup>41</sup>

### **The Minister of Foreign Affairs**

The Minister of Foreign Affairs in Nigeria, United States and in other presidential democracies remained one of the key machineries responsible for the formulation, implementation, and conduct of the country’s foreign policy. The Minister who is the Chief Executive and political head of the ministry is appointed by the president for a fixed term though subject to review. The primary function of the Foreign Minister is to serve as the principal adviser to the president on foreign affairs and as such he is usually a significant policy maker. The Minister is responsible for the instructions that goes out in cables and dispatches to embassies. If he is powerful enough, he may dominate policy making, as Cardinal Richelieu and Talleyrand dominated the foreign policy of France in the 16th century, and late 18th and 19th centuries. One of the foremost and forceful National Security Advisor was Henry Kissinger, who served President Nixon. He understood the job as requiring him to interact frequently with the media to communicate his and the President views. He was famously dealing with reporters, especially the three television networks’ correspondent and the influential Washington columnist especially in foreign affairs. He was able to disarm them with his wit, intimidate them with his brilliance, flatter them with his confidences, and charm them with his attention. His critics were likely to telephoned, cajoled, stroked, invited to dine and visited at their home<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup>Berridge, G.R.& Lorna Lloyd, “Diplomacy: Theory and Practice,” P, 12

<sup>42</sup>[www.open.lib.umn.edu/american-government](http://www.open.lib.umn.edu/american-government)

In Nigeria under the President Ibrahim Babangida regime (1985-1993) Prof. Bolaji Akinyemi owing to his dexterity, reformist, dominance, and influence was fondly referred to as the “Henry Kissinger of our time.” Also, during the Yar’Adua/Jonathan government (2007-2010), Prof. Ojo Maduekwe and Olugbenga Ashiri (2011-2013) were some of the most influential Foreign Ministers that dominated the foreign policy making of that regime. In the U.S former Secretary of States, Colin Powell under the George W. Bush Administration (2003), John Kerry under the Obama administration were notable and influential in policy making decisions. According to Gbeneye, when Foreign Minister issues policy statements they are usually approved by his president or Head of state, but these are not necessarily diplomacy. Thus, for example, when U.S Secretary of States, George C. Marshall suggested in June 1947 for what later became known as the Marshall plan (economic aid) was a combination of practical and idealistic policies, but diplomacy came later when the details had to be negotiated with the representatives of other governments<sup>43</sup>. Other notable functions of the Minister of foreign Affairs are:

**a) Preparation of Position Papers to Advise the President**

The minister of foreign Affairs who is the chief adviser to the president on foreign policy issues relies on the Bureaus such as the Deputy Undersecretary, Assistant Secretaries, and Advisers. Consequently, the primary functions of some of these bureaus and persons are to prepare “position papers” used when advising the president, consulting the legislators, or negotiating with foreign powers. Position papers can only be prepared through information and intelligence gathering on daily basis which has to be analyzed, evaluated, and organized for usage when needed by the president.<sup>44</sup>

**b) The Minister as a Politician**

Under presidential democracies, the president appoints the minister who is a politician and act as one. Consequently, Foreign Minister are often selected primarily because of their intellect, tactfulness, and their ability to influence parliament to

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<sup>43</sup>Gbeneye Emmanuel E., “An Introduction to Diplomacy,” P, 48

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p, 48

be able to secure congressional approval on treaty ratification, ambassadorial nominee approval, war power and budgetary approval. President Franklin Roosevelt chooses Cordell Hull and President Harry S. Truman chose James F. Byrnes, as their Secretary of States because each of them had a hinge influence on the U.S Senate. Similarly, in the British cabinet system, the foreign minister has a seat in parliament and is one of the most influential members of diplomat corps in any major capital such that the foreign minister can only see few ambassadors, except on state occasions or when he meets them in group<sup>45</sup>.

### c) Principal Negotiator

The Foreign Minister who is the first among equals as the political head of the Foreign Affairs Ministry is the principal and chief negotiator for the state. In dispute and conflict situations the Foreign minister, representing the president engages in direct negotiation with the Foreign Ministers of the other states. The Foreign Minister also represent the state on bilateral and multilateral conference, regional and international organizations like the United Nations, African Union, ECOWAS, WTO, etc. on issues of trade, arms proliferations, nuclear proliferation, climate change, refugee, repatriation etc. The Minister at these forums represent, protect and project the country's foreign policy Objectives, using national interest as guide.

### Think-tank groups as foreign policy machinery

In stable presidential democracies like the United States, and parliamentary democracies like the United Kingdom, France etc. foreign policy articulation, formulation and pursuits are carried out by government in collaboration with relevant research institutes and think-tanks. Think-tanks are relatively anonymous private organizations. They engaged in research and analysis of contemporary issues devoid of undue governmental and political party influences. They are relatively autonomous, but often in resource dependent relationship with other research organizations and international institutions. Their

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p, 49

funding something come from the government but strives to maintain their research freedom.

Consequently, Think-tank groups attempts to influence or inform policy choices through intelligent argument and analysis rather than direct lobbying. Think-tanks are privately organized and funded research organizations. They provide good sources of significant information on research such as social policy, political strategy, economy, science, economic policies, defense policy, etc. for the government and foreign policy decision makers most of these Think-tanks are sponsored by interest groups seeking to promote a general or specific foreign policy agenda. In the United States, two of the most prominent and influential Think-tanks are: the Brookings institute and the heritage foundation. In Nigeria some of the think-tanks that have made impressive contributions in foreign policy articulation, formulation, and pursuit since independence till date are: Nigeria Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) (1961), National Institutes for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS) (1979), Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR) (2000). These think-tanks groups will be briefly discussed and at such their functions, contributions will be highlighted.

### **Nigeria Institute of International Affairs (NIIA)**

The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) is a think-tank group established in October, 1961 and resumed operation in 1963. The institute first came on board as a private initiative by a group of Nigerian intellectuals. The NIIA was established as a replica of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) London and the Council for Foreign Relations, New York. The NIIA was established with the aim of providing a nursery of ideas on what direction Nigeria should take on international affairs. Since inception the institute has been organizing conferees round tables, and lectures with the aim of addressing current foreign policy issues and policy anticipation<sup>46</sup>

According to Olusanya & Akindele, while x-raying the importance of the NIIA asserted as follows: "The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs undoubtedly is the most prestigious

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<sup>46</sup>Obi Emeke Anthony, "Fundamentals of Nigerian Foreign Policy," P, 89-93



National Centre for research in international affairs in the country; it organized a major national conference in the country in 1985 on "Twenty-Five Years of Nigeria's Foreign Policy"<sup>47</sup>. Till date the Institute remained a specialized instrument of foreign policy formulation in Nigeria. It serves as an intellectual based upon which decision-makers rely for informed opinion and expert advices in order to make rational choices between contending policy options. On the 11<sup>th</sup> of October, 1961 Sir, Abukaka Tafawa Balewa who was the nation Prime Minister, after necessary consultation with the Regional Premiers, proposed the membership of the Governing council of the NIIA. Balewa in his inaugural address declares his support for the organization. According to him: "if Nigeria is to acquit herself honorably and to take her rightful place in resurgent Africa, she requires to be fully informed on the world today which is one of the paramount functions of the Institute."<sup>48</sup>

Till date, the NIIA remain a major player in foreign policy articulation, and formulation as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs now continue to rely on its policy articulations, formulation and advice. It has continued to redefine our foreign policy objectives and what constitutes our national interest. The NIIA is headed by a Director-general and like every other think-tank; it provides a steady stream of experts to serve in incoming administrations. For example, Prof. Ibrahim Gamari (1954-1985) and Bolaji Akinyeme (1985-1987) became Ministers of Foreign Affairs after their leadership as Director-general of the institute. Prof. Joy Ogwu (2006-2009) who served under president Olusegun Obasanjo and Yar'Adua as a Foreign Affairs Minister also served as a Director-general of the institute. Also, Professor George Obizor who served as Nigeria Ambassador to Israel and United States between 1999-2003 and 2004-2008 respectively has also headed the institute<sup>49</sup>.

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<sup>47</sup> Akindele R.A. & Bassey E. Ate, "Nigeria's Foreign Policy," P, 1

<sup>48</sup> Obi Emeke Anthony, "Fundamentals of Nigerian Foreign Policy," P, 90

<sup>49</sup> [www.niaa.gov.ng](http://www.niaa.gov.ng)

**National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS)**

Another think-tank group that has continued to play a leading role in the articulation, formulation of the country's foreign policy is the National Institute for policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS). The emergence of NIPSS as a government "think-tank" was associated with the need to coordinate the ever-increasing complexity in government activities as cited by the Udoji Public Service Review commission report of 1976. A research and coordinated unit, established in the then cabinet office, which later developed into the National Policy Development Centre (CPDC) or "think-tank" in April 1976. The National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies(NIPSS) was established by degree NO 20 of 1st January, 1979. NIPSS core mandates are: Policy Research, Policy Advice, and Policy Formulation.<sup>50</sup>

Its policy objectives are:

- i. NIPSS conduct policy research for government and train senior executive in policy making and implementation skills and strategy.
- ii. It also provides policy advice or suggests new dimensions to existing policies and conduct indebt studies of society in general.
- iii. It continuously reviews government policies and measures from time to time and draw attention to those that are in consistent with the overall government objectives. It also monitors planning and implementation.
- iv. It carries out an indebt policy research into the social, political, economic, security, scientific, cultural etc. problems facing the country, and formulates and presents in usable form the available options for their solution.
- v. From the above interactions policy inputs are developed from research findings, communiqués of conferences, workshops, and seminars; result of simulations; resolutions of retreats and interactive sessions<sup>51</sup> etc.

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<sup>50</sup>MakanjuolaTaiyeShaibu, Nigeria's Foreign Policy 1, INR 139 (Lagos: National Open University, 2015), p. 56-65

<sup>51</sup>[www.nipsskuru.gov.ng](http://www.nipsskuru.gov.ng)

### **Nigeria's Institutes for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR)**

Another policy think-tank that has also contributed immensely to foreign policy articulation, formulation, and advice is the Nigeria Institute for Peace and Conflicts Resolution (IPCR). The IPCR was established in the Fourth Republic during the tenure of former President Olusegun Obasanjo in February, 2000. It is been run as an agency under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The primary Objective of the IPCR as a Think-tank is primarily a "Research Centre" and an agency to strengthen Nigeria's capacity for the promotion of peace, conflict prevention, management, and resolution.<sup>52</sup>The establishment of the IPCR was a strategic response by the Federal government towards tackling conflict and violence in the country. The mandate of the institute requires it to conduct an indebt research into the root causes of conflicts, leading to the prevention, management, and peaceful resolution of conflicts. Thus, to meet these broad mandates the institute carries out intervention programs including field studies, desktop research, conflict awareness and sensitization campaigns, capacity building, seminars, conferences, publications and provision of library services. It collaborates and synergize with both state and non-state actors towards the realization of its institutional objectives. The institute is structured into six departments and three (3) units, supervised and supervised by the ministry of foreign Affairs, following the merger of the former Ministry of Cooperation and Integration in Africa with the MFA. The IPCR is well known for its reputation in research that in 2003, its finding led to the publication of Nigeria's first Strategic Conflict Assessment (SCA), which earned a UN Resolution 1625 of October, 2005<sup>53</sup>

### **Summary and conclusion**

The machineries for the articulation, formulation, implementation, and conduct of foreign policies in Nigeria under the presidential democracy both in the Second Republic (1979-1983) and the fourth Republic (1999-date) cannot be overemphasized. These machineries include the President who is the Commander In-chief of the armed forces and the chief

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<sup>52</sup>MakanjuolaTaiyeShaibu, "Nigeria's Foreign Policy," P, 56-65.

<sup>53</sup>[www.ipcr.gov.ng](http://www.ipcr.gov.ng)

implementer of the nation's foreign policy. This is followed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs who is the chief negotiator of the state and policy advisor to the President. Most significantly, is the MFA, which from my finding is the key machinery, government bureaucracy, executive agency that provides the platform for the conduct of foreign relations between Nigeria and other states, structured along geographic and functional lines.

The study also looked at relevant research institute and "Think-tank groups" like NIIA, NIPSS, IPCR as viable machineries for the policy articulation, formulation, implementation and, pursuit of the Nation's foreign policy objectives. The implication is that foreign policy articulation, formulation, and, implementation is not the prerogative of the President and the MFA alone but rather the Parliament and think-tank groups also play prominent roles. From findings foreign policies do not emanate from the MFA alone but rather from other ministries like defense, trade, and investment, education, justice, culture, tourism etc. also play key roles. Thus, the MFA coordinate policies emanating from these other ministries, agencies, and think-tank groups through synergy building, filtering, and rational decision-making process. The study therefore concludes that under the presidential system of government as practiced in Nigeria and the United States, a network of synergy exists among the various organs, agencies, and relevant think-tanks group. Therefore, the machinery for policy articulation, formulation, and implementation of foreign policy is a function of the President, Minister, Bureaucracy (MFA), Parliament/National Assembly, and think-tank groups.

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