



Nigeria's Foreign Policy under Buhari's Administration, 2015-2019: An Analysis of Achievements and Challenges

**ADEBISI,
Ademola Pius Ph.D**

Adjunct Lecturer,
Department of
Political Science,
Joseph Ayo Babalola
University, Ikeji-Arakeji,
Osun State.

ABSTRACT

The Nigerian foreign policy under the Buhari's Administration, 2015-2019, has been subjected to public scrutiny like other spheres of governance under the Administration. Having taken a critical look at the Administration's foreign policy forays, some critics have come to the conclusion that the Buhari's foreign policy during his first term as a democratic leader was not only colorless, but also lacked in substance. Using secondary sources of data, the study investigated this and discovered that the Buhari's Administration indeed recorded some successes which included the promotion of Nigeria's economic interests; improved security and protection of the territorial integrity of the country. It was however, further discovered that the country's foreign policy was not vibrant enough, a development that is attributable to the downturn in the country's economy, insecurity and the personality traits of President Muhammadu Buhari. The study therefore concluded and recommended that, for the country to be a vibrant international player, its political leaders must intensify the efforts to rebuild the country's economy through diversification; project its image on the global stage; play leadership roles where necessary especially in West Africa and Africa and fight corruption.

Keywords: Nigeria, Foreign Policy, Diplomacy International relations.

Introduction

In almost all the developing countries of the world particularly those of Africa, the matter of foreign policy is hardly an issue in focus during electioneering. Thus, it was not surprising that foreign policy matters with all their implications for domestic economy, security and other spheres of life, were not at the heart of President Muhammadu Buhari's promises to the Nigerian electorate during the campaign for the 2015 general elections which brought him to power. Indeed, the public in the developing countries nay Nigeria, scarcely pay attention to foreign policy issues for three major observable reasons. One, the level of illiteracy is still high, thus the ability of the masses to follow foreign events and what their governments make of them is still at low ebb (Appleton, 1968:10). Two, some foreign policy issues are complex and technical and can hardly be comprehended by uneducated and inattentive mass of the people (Bailey Cited in Goldwin and Pearce, 1970:239). Three, the people are much more interested in domestic issues which border on their daily living such as food, security, provision of potable water, electricity supply, housing facility and social infrastructures. Thus, before, during and after general elections, the electorate are much more concerned with how a party can accomplish these deliverables rather than with foreign policy issues which to them, appear abstract, complex, technical and very remote. In other words, except a foreign policy matter touches on any of the aforementioned spheres of life, the mass of the people only pay scant attention to foreign policy matters.

Today, however, apart from maintenance of law and order, regulation of the economy; protection of the country against external aggression, foreign policy matters such as promotion of external trade and conduct of foreign relations or diplomatic relations, have been universally recognized as part and parcel of the functions of government (Adebisi, 2019:67). It is against this backdrop that this paper seeks to establish the successes and challenges of the Muhammadu Buhari's foreign policy in spite of the fact that foreign policy matters did not directly occupy the centre-stage or feature prominently during his campaign for the 2015 General elections in Nigeria. To achieve this, the paper has been organized into six parts including this introduction. The introduction is followed by an explanation of the concepts of foreign policy, diplomacy and international relations. The third aspect focuses on the framework for assessing Buhari's foreign policy while the fourth part highlights and discusses the successes the Administration of Buhari recorded in its foreign policy between May 29, 2015-May 29, 2019, his first term as a democratically elected leader. It is in the fifth part that the challenges to the Administration's foreign policy are examined. The final aspect of the paper is the conclusion and recommendation.

Conceptual Discourse

Although this work focuses essentially on the analysis of Nigerian foreign policy,

it is indeed not out of place to dwell at this juncture on the discourse of the concept of foreign policy and its two other allied concepts namely, diplomacy and international relations, both of which run through the formulation and execution of the foreign policy of a nation-state.

Foreign Policy

Different scholars have proffered different definitions of the concept of foreign policy. According to Goldstein and Pevehouse (2010:103) foreign policies are the strategies governments use to guide their actions in the international arena. Foreign policies they expatiated further, spell out the objectives state leaders have decided to pursue in a given relationship or situation. This is why of course, Spiegel *et al* (2009:576) equally see it as the focus of a state partly on the goals it sets to achieve in the international system. To Childs (1948:64) the foreign policy of a state is the substance of foreign relations. According to Adeniran (1983:207) foreign policy is a goal of a state being pursued in her interest in international interactions. It, to him, determines the nature and pattern of interaction of a state in the international system. In another definition, Legy and Morrison (Cited in Ojo and Sesay (1988:76) define it as a set of explicit objectives with regard to the world beyond the borders of a given social unit and a set of strategies and tactics designed to achieve the objects. This is why Spiegel *et al* (2009:576) again see foreign policy as partly focusing on the structures and methods a state has put in place to attain its preconceived goals and objectives on the international platform. According to Pym (Cited in Aluko, 1981:23) foreign policy of a state is the projection abroad the domestic policy of a state. Thus, it is correct to see Buhari's projection of security, economy and anti-corruption (domestic policies) as part of Nigeria's policy.

In sum, foreign policy is in this context envisioned as all externally directed policies, statements, actions and even inactions of a state towards other actors in the international system.

Diplomacy

If foreign policy borders essentially on the objectives a state seeks to pursue on the world stage, diplomacy proper according to Perkins and Palmer (2007:84-85) is the process by which policy is carried out. Explicating further, they lucidly submitted that, it is the purpose of diplomacy to provide the machinery and the personnel by which foreign policy is executed. Corroborating this assertion, Adeniran (1983:197) equally wrote: the objective of diplomacy is to conduct "business" and achieve the external goals of a particular state in given context. It is a goal directed process usually designed to ensure the achievement of specific objectives that are set out as policies by the country involved in diplomatic relations with others. Irrespective of their differences therefore, diplomacy and foreign policy are essentially crafted to promote the

national interest of a nation-state.

International Relations

International relations in general terms is the web of the interactions between and among states. According to Mclean and McMillan (2003:270) international relations refers to the...interaction between and among states and more broadly the workings of the international system. Going by this definition, it is apparent that, foreign policy determines international relations (Adeniran, 1983). To Perkins and Palmer (2007: xiv), international relations is a term properly embracing the totality of the relations among peoples and groups in the world society. Adeniran (1983) put this definition in proper perspective when he graphically wrote: “international relations focuses upon the political, economic and other interactions among international actors (operating across national boundaries) and the inter-state system”

From the foregoing discourse, there is no gain saying the fact that, the three concepts are interwoven. If foreign policy is about a state’s goals and objectives in the international arena; if diplomacy is the machinery for accomplishing those goals and objectives, and if foreign policy determines international relations, it is then correct to submit that, in analyzing or evaluating the foreign policy of a state, the task should not gloss over the state’s diplomatic forays and also the web of its interactions with other states on the world stage. It is in cognizance of this fundamental fact, that this paper not only brings to the fore the Buhari’s foreign policy objectives, but equally x-rays the Administration’s diplomatic forays and also its social, economic, cultural and political relations with state and non-state actors on the world plank.

Framework of Assessing Buhari’s Foreign Policy

Three essential instruments can be combined as framework for assessing Buhari’s foreign policy. They are the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria; the All Progressive Congress (APC) Constitution (the constitution of the party President Buhari belongs to) and the tripod campaign watchword of President Buhari namely, security, economy and anti-corruption war (*The Nation*, June 3, 2018:19). Indeed, the traces of all these can be seen in the externally directed actions of Buhari’s Administration. To be sure, we now throw more light on each of these three instruments.

The aspect of the 1999 constitution which is germane to the assessment of Buhari’s foreign policy is the provision on Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy which prescribes policy guide for every Nigerian government in different spheres of life including foreign policy. According to Section (19) of the 1999 constitution, the foreign policy objectives crafted for every Nigerian government are:

- 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 objectives as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication and
- e. Promotion of a just world economic order (The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria).

Two fundamental points need to be made at this juncture on these objectives. One, as fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy, they are non-justiciable. This implies that if a government fails to pursue these objectives it cannot be legally challenged for not doing so. Two, in interpreting and carrying out these objectives, the world views and personality of whoever is the president will weigh in considerably.

The second instrument is the provision in the constitution of the APC on foreign policy objectives. According to Article 7(XIV), of the party's constitution, the following are set as the foreign policy objectives of the party: To pursue a dynamic foreign policy aimed at:

- a. Friendly and reciprocal relations with other countries;
- b. Good governance and democratic freedom for people of African descent and all other oppressed peoples throughout the world.
- c. Promotion of cultural values of black peoples all over the world, and
- d. Maintenance of international peace, harmony and co-operation.

With close examination and careful comparison of these objectives with the foreign policy objectives in the 1999 constitution it is safe to conclude that , the APC foreign policy objectives are the national foreign policy objectives, put in another words.

The third barometer for gauging the Buhari Administration's foreign policy is the campaign watchword of the Administration. During the campaign for the 2015 General elections, the President avowedly declared that his Administration would focus on security, economy and war against corruption (*The Nation*, June 3, 2018:19). Although on the surface, the three issues apparently appear domestic issues, however, the fact that the world or global stage can be used to pursue them make them very much foreign policy issues or drives. Most importantly, all the objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy as provided for in the 1999 Constitution and in the APC's Constitution- the governing party's constitution-can be reduced or approximated to these core values and watchword of the Administration namely security, economy and anti-corruptions war. It is against this backdrop that this paper randomly highlights some of the major foreign policy successes or achievements of Buhari's Administration, during the first term.

Achievements of Buhari's Foreign Policy

Before President Buhari ascended to power in 2015, Nigeria was laboring hard under the torment of Boko Haram Insurgency. The Boko Haram movement is one that is out to pursue the ambivalent goals of Islamising Nigeria and severing the North-Eastern part of the country into a separate sovereign state from Nigeria. Indeed by 2014, the Boko Haram phenomenon had become intractable for the Government of President Goodluck Jonathan, Buhari's predecessor, to the extent that the Boko Haram Insurgents had proclaimed the birth of the state of Gworza Caliphate over the territories they had occupied in the North-East States of Borno and Yobe, Nigeria (Adebisi, 2018:53). As this constituted a threat to the territorial integrity of Nigeria coupled with the loss of lives and properties the insurgency had inflicted on the country, the Buhari Administration made tackling the Boko Haram insurgency, a top priority in its both domestic and foreign forays and indeed recorded noticeable successes. Upon ascension to power, President Buhari, realizing the need for continued co-operation with Nigeria's neighboring countries in tackling the Boko Haram insurgency whose tentacles extended to those neighboring countries, promptly engaged the neighboring countries in "strategic alliance". These countries are, Niger, Chad, Benin Republic and Cameroon. More specifically, he engaged in diplomatic shuttles to those countries with a view to strengthening the Multi-National Joint Task Force (MNJTF) set up to combat the insurgency, headquartered in Ndjamena, Chad Republic. In addition, he also sought the co-operation and support of the United States of America and France in combating the Boko Haram insurgency. The combination of these efforts with other domestic internal security measures resulted in retrieving the occupied territories from the Boko Haram, decimation of the military capability of the group; restoration of peace and gradual reintegration of displaced persons and refugees.

Furthermore, the Administration also mobilized international support for the War Against Boko Haram. It sought and won the support of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Germany in the fight against Boko Haram Insurgents. For instance, after years of stalemate, the US agreed to sell weapons to Nigeria, and the sale of 12 Super Tulare Aircraft by the US government was concluded (<https://www.von.goung/two-years-president-muhammadu>).

The Administration also gained the support of notable multilateral agencies such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union (AU) and the United Nations (UN) among others. It is the combination of all these that culminated in the significant debilitation of the capability of the Boko Haram insurgents(<https://www.von.goung/two-years-president-muhammadu>).

Another area of success of the Buhari Administration's foreign policy is the use of diplomatic shuttles and international cooperation to pursue and

achieve economic goals and objectives. This of course was inconsonance with the promise of the Administration to promote growth and development of the Nigerian economy. For instance, upon assumption of office, the Administration experienced decline in oil revenue occasioned by declining oil prices in the global market. Crude oil being the major source of revenue for the country, the Administration thus had to work with the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in its bid to shore up prices with a view to increasing earnings. It, to this end, rallied OPEC and non-OPEC members to deliberate on the stabilization of the global oil market in Qatar and Algeria. In the process, the Administration was able to successfully negotiate and secured an exemption from the OPEC production restriction or freeze at the 171st OPEC Ministerial Conference in Vienna in 2016. Consequently, oil prices hiked from about \$38 per barrel to US\$55 per barrel for the first time in 16 months (Macro Trends, 2019).

The Administration also fostered economic co-operation with other countries in the world system with a view to boosting the economy of the country. For instance, the President visited China during which he signed six agreements with the country on key areas of Nigeria's national development such as the provision of critical infrastructure and agriculture (*The Nation*, September 2, 2018:4). In 2018, the country also entered into currency swap deal with China a deal that was aimed at eliminating foreign exchange difficulty in the trade relations and investment between the two countries (*Premium Times*, June 2, 2018).

Early in the life of the Administration in 2015, Buhari made it public that the World Bank had pledged \$2.1billion to help the North-East part of the country which had been ravaged by Boko Haram Insurgency. Further still, the Administration also successfully secured Eurobond sales. In 2017 also, Nigeria was invited to the G-8 summit held in Berlin, a development that ushered in a new phase in Nigeria's G-8 relations (made up of 8 most powerful countries in the world, US, Britain, France, Russia(suspended as at 2018), Germany, Japan, Canada and China). Nigeria was able to secure the group's financial succor of \$5million in aid to fight Boko Haram.

In April 2018, the Administration also launched what it called Nigeria Economic Diplomacy Initiative (NEDI). The objective of the initiative was to use the global platform of the Nigerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs through its existing 114 embassies and missions, to match Nigerian businesses with business opportunities around the World. This was expected to boost both inward and outward trade and investment. In short, it is the use of diplomacy to promote economic objectives at the global level for economic good of the country. Although economic diplomacy is not new to the Nigerian diplomacy as the Administration had created the impression, however, the Administration's definite focus on Ease of Doing Business, regional collaboration, national development, trade balance, contribution by Nigerian

Diaspora and industrialization, made it a nascent framework for Nigeria's international economic relations. (<https://www.vengulardngr.com/2018/04/nigeria-launches-economic-diplomacy-policy/>) . It has been the template for driving the country's economic relations and the source of the modicum of results achieved during the period under study on the economic front.

In the area of fighting corruption, the Administration also recorded a modicum of successes. Along here was the participation of the country in the London Anti-corruption Summit and the Common Wealth Conference on Tackling Corruption in 2016 in London. This has resulted in the following:

The signing in August 2016, of an MOU with the U.K Government on modalities for the return of Nigeria's stolen assets in the U.K. The establishment, of a Global Forum for Asset Recovery (GFAR), hosted by the governments of the US and UK in December 2017, and focusing on assisting Nigeria and three other countries to reclaim their stolen assets (<https://www.von.goung/two-years-president-muhammadu>).

Also, it joined the Open Government Partnership (OGP) in 2016 and developed a National Action Plan, which the government was well committed to. Furthermore, in the same year, Nigeria signed an agreement on the identification and repatriation of illicit funds with the United Arab Emirates during Buhari's visit to the country. The Administration also engaged the governments of Switzerland, Jersey Island, US, United Arab Emirates and Liechtenstein among others in a bid to secure the repatriation of US \$322 million looted and saved in Switzerland by the Abacha military regime in Nigeria (1993-1998). (*Thisday*, 15th June, 2016). The Administration's frantic efforts at deploying both domestic and international platforms to combat corruption have in turn earned the country better global recognition as the president was given an award each by the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the African Union (AU).

Miscellaneous Achievements

One, Nigeria continued to co-operate and play leadership role in the West African sub-region. For instance in 2016, the President led Nigeria along with other countries such as Senegal, Mali and Ghana to play mediatory role in the Gambia when the former President Yahaya Jammeh was hesitant in relinquishing power after losing to the incumbent President, Adama Barrow who won the Presidential election. The intervention of Nigeria along with the aforementioned West-African countries culminated in Jammeh's eventual abdication of power. This leadership role and others led the ECOWAS members to unanimously elect President Buhari as the Chairman of the sub-regional organization in 2018.

Two, the Administration also constantly engaged South Africa in combating the festering sore of xenophobia in the relations between Nigeria and South Africa. Rather than taking rash diplomatic action against South Africa where

many Nigeria had lost their lives and properties, the Administration in 2017 successfully engaged in diplomatic moves to stem the tide of xenophobia and secure compensation for Nigerians that were affected and seeking enhanced protection for all Nigerians residing in South Africa (Adebisi, 2017).

Three, the government in partnership with the International Organization for Migration (IOM), succeeded in repatriating more than 10,000 Nigerians that were stranded in Libya (International Organization for Migration, 2019).

Challenges

While the Buhari Administration recorded the aforementioned successes in Nigeria's foreign relations, some gaps could, however, still be perceived. For example, Nigeria was not quick and firm in responding to the threat that Morocco posed to the country's leadership in the West Africa sub-region, through its application for the membership of the ECOWAS. Two, Nigeria's leadership role on the continent of Africa was not strikingly feasible. For example, Nigeria was one of the driving forces of the African free Trade Area Agreement. The aim of the Agreement is to promote intra-African trade which has been put at only 10% of intra-African trade potentials or capacity. However, after the conclusion of the Agreement document which was signed by about 50 African countries in Kigali, Rwanda in March 2018, the Buhari's Administration developed cold feet in signing the Agreement claiming that there was the need to further study the implications of the Agreement on Nigeria's domestic economy. This hesitation came at a critical point when most African states felt that Nigeria as the biggest economy on the Africa continent ought to be the hub of intra-African trade and economic relations in general (*The Punch*, August 1, 2018:44). These obvious deficit in Nigeria's foreign policy can be attributed to the following challenges.

One of the major challenges of the Buhari's Administration was the economic down-turn the Administration inherited in 2015. The decline in government revenue for instance, inhibited the proper funding of Nigeria's missions and embassies abroad. Indeed the Senate raised the alert of threats by host countries to evict Nigerian officials in her missions and embassies abroad as a result of the inability of the country to pay rent for residence, chanceries and other staff official quarters; inability to pay several months arrears of salaries and allowances owed officers and paucity of funds to meet other obligations. In a related development, the Administration had to withdraw from 90 international organizations out of the 310 international organizations it belonged to. The government attributed this to the need to save Nigeria from embarrassment or opprobrium that the accumulation of arrears of subscription fee could bring. As at that time, Nigeria was said to be paying \$70 million annually as membership subscription and was owing many international organizations. Apart, the economic crunch also led the country into seeking more international financial succor from its bilateral and

multilateral partners such as China, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This trend not only heightened the country's debt burden which stood at N22 trillion in 2018 as against N12 trillion it inherited in 2015, (*The Punch*, July 3, 2018:20 and *The Nation*, July 1, 2018:40-41) but will in the foreseeable future constrain the country's ability to assert itself on the world stage.

Another challenge to Buhari's foreign policy was the challenge of insecurity posed by the Boko Haram phenomenon, farmers/Herders clash, cattle rustling, and ethnic agitations, kidnapping and armed robbery among others. These security issues have escalated and have become overwhelming for the Administration. They have indeed constituted huge distraction to the government in the conduct of the country's foreign policy. Without peace at home, hardly can government pay attention to foreign policy issues.

The personality traits of President Buhari also affected the speed and the orientation or direction of Nigeria's foreign policy. In terms of personality traits, the President has been perceived as slow, rigid and too uncompromising. These traits have equally affected Nigeria's foreign policy. This impact can for instance be seen in the slow reactions of the Administration to Morocco's move in the ECOWAS (*The Nation*, 2017, September 25) and the country's hesitation to sign the African free Trade Area Agreement. More specifically for example, it was in October, 2018 that the President inaugurated a Committee to study the risks for Nigeria's signing of the Agreement, clear seven months after the agreement had been signed by about 50 African countries.

Conclusion

The Buhari's Administration indeed recorded some piece-meal achievements in the area of foreign policy. However, Nigeria's leadership roles in West Africa and Africa has not been loud and vibrant enough thus making Nigeria's image in the sub-region and on the continent a little bit dim. The down-turn in the economy and the security challenges at home have also combined to inhibit the country's ability to assert and project itself on the world stage. This is not helped by the President's slow attitude to reacting to issues. For Nigeria to be a vibrant international player, it is very imperative that, first, there should be continued efforts to rebuild the economy through the diversification agenda which the government has embarked upon. With strong economy, the country should be able to prosecute a much more dynamic foreign policy; project its image on the global stage; play leadership roles where necessary and widen the scope of its diplomacy. The country's ability to eradicate most of its security challenges will also go along way in boosting direct foreign investment and enhancing or fostering the country's international economic relations. The war against corruption should also be intensified. Reducing corruption in the country will further enhance the Ease of Doing Business and thus facilitate foreign investment and by extension enhance good image or prestige for the

country in the comity of nations.

References

- Adebisi, P.A. (2018). "The Transformation Ambassadors of Nigeria and Jonathan's Bid for a Second Term" in *The Jonathan Presidency: The Junior and Senior Years*. Ibadan: John Archers Publishers.
- Adebisi, P.A. (2007). "Xenophobia: Healing a Festering Sore in Nigerian-South African Relations" in *Journal of International Relations & Foreign Policy*. Volume 5-Issue 1- June. Pp 93-99.
- Adebisi, P.A. (2019). *Topics in Government, Politics and Citizenship Education*. Ibadan: John Archers Publishers Limited.
- Adebisi, A. (2017). "On Xenophobia in South Africa" in *The Nation*, Lagos, March 1, p. 20.
- Adebisi, A. (2017). Morocco in ECOWAS? in *The Nation*, Lagos, September 25, p. 20
- Adeniran, T. (1983). *Introduction to International Relations*. Ibadan: Macmillan Nigeria Publishers Limited.
- Aluko, O. (1981). *Essays in Nigeria Foreign Policy*. London: George Allen & Union.
- All Progressives Congress (ND). *The Constitution of APC with Election Guideline* Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 Constitutions (Amended 2011). Abuja: Federal Governments Printer.
- Appleton S. (1968). *United States Foreign Policy: An Introduction with Cases*. Ottawa: Little Brown & Co. (Inc.)
- Bello, I., Dutse, A.I & Uthman M.F, (2017) "Comparative Analysis of Nigerian Foreign Policy Under the Buhari Administration, 1983-1985 and 2015-2017", *Asia Pacific Journal of Education, Art and Science*, Vol. 4, No. 4 October.
- Buhari inaugurates committee to assess AfCTA risks Retrieved from <https://www.tribuneonline.ng.com/170209>.
- Childs J.R (1948). *America Foreign Service*. New York: Hott.
- Goldwin, R.A & Pearce, T. (1970). *Readings in World Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- International Organization for Migration, Returnees from Libya, Retrieved from <https://www.iom.int/news/latest-voluntary-humanitarian-return-chater-lybia-brings-totla-returnees-over-40,000>, November 13, 2019.
- Mclean, I. and McMillan, A. (2003). *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ojo, O. and Sesay, A. (1988). *Concept in International Relations* Lagos: JAD Publishers Ltd.
- Palmer, N.D. and Perkins, H.G (2007). *International Relations: The World Community in Transition*. New Delhi: A.I.T.B.S. Publishers & Distributors (Regd).
- Premium Times*, June 2, 2018
- Rourke, J.T. (2001). *International Politics on the World Stage*. Washington: McGraw-Hill Dushkin.
- Spiegel, S.L et al (2009). *World Politics in a New Era*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- The Punch* (Lagos), July 3, 2018
- The Punch* (Lagos) July 1, 2018
- The Nation* (Lagos), June 3, 2017
- The Punch* (Lagos), August 1, 2018
- The Nation* (Lagos) September 2, 2018
- Thisday*, (Lagos), June 15, 2016
- Macro Trends, WTI Crude Oil Prices-10year Daily Chart/Macro Trends, Retrieved from <https://www.macrotrends.net/wit.c>, November 13, 2019.
- Nigeria to reduce memberships of international organizations Retrieved from <http://thenationonline.ng.net/nigeria-reduce-membership-internationalorganizations/>
- Nigerian embassies face eviction – The Sun Nigeria-Owe salaries, rents, buildings Retrieved from <http://sunnewsonline.com/nigerianembassies-face- eviction>.
- Nigeria launches economic diplomacy policy Retrieved from <https://www.vengulardngr.com/2018/04/nigeria-launches-economic-diplomacy-poliy/>
- Two Years of President Muhammadu Buahri's Diplomatic Shuttles Retrieved from <https://www.von.goung/two-years-president-muhammadu>

