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EVALUATION OF THE IMPACT OF PRESIDENT BUHARI'S FOREIGN POLICY ON NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, 2015-2019.

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Abstract
The nexus of foreign policy and national development is not a new phenomenon in the external relations lexicon of developed nations but it remains a grey and unexplored area in the trajectory of foreign policy objectives of most developing countries like Nigeria. Situating this statement problem within the context of linkage theory, ex- post-facto research design and inductive-qualitative method of data collection and analysis. The study evaluated the impacts of Buhari's foreign policy on national development. Findings from the study revealed that fight against Boko Haram insurgency, war against corruption, and economic prosperity top gear in the foreign policy thrust of the government during the period. Also, it was discovered that Nigeria recorded tremendous success in the areas of war against Boko Hram, war against corruption and creation of enabling environment for Foreign Direct Investment through both regional and international collaborations at both bilateral and multilateral levels. However, the study found out that certain identified challenge undermined the complete implementation and success of the Nigeria's foreign policy under president Buhari administration. Hence, a conclusion that runs through the study is that there was a strong connection between the Buhari foreign policy and the Nigeria's national development but the nexus is insignificant in the face of myriad of challenges that clouded the country's foreign policy. The study recommends inter alia: there is need for the current administration to provide lasting solution to the various security challenges affecting the development of the country.

Key words: *Foreign policy, National development, Domestic factor, External factor, Bilateral relation, Multi-lateral level.*

Introduction

The foreign policy of a state is frankly connected with its national interest and domestic influence. This is because the national prerogative of a state is based on the value of government's policies and approaches. The national interest is an essential element of foreign policy but largely determines by the conferred interests of state with tactful strategy to develop the relationship with the foreign world. When there is a positive nexus between national interest and domestic influence of a nation-state, sound and robust foreign policy is generated (Khan, 2022). Hence, any nation like Nigeria in the international system that aspires to exist

interdependently with other nations as a matter of obligation must have both domestic and foreign policies.

Nigeria's foreign policy principles and objectives have remained basically the same over the years, but the tenure, thrust, and dynamism of the policy have varied from one heads of government and his foreign policy officials to another. In fact, the variations stem from individual personality, Idiosyncrasies and image of successive leaders who are the arrow heads of the foreign policy elite (Ogbu, 2007: Musa &Ekere 2019). This has been the trend following the historical trajectory of the country from Tafawa Balewa to President Muhammadu Buhari's administration. Also, the fact that the defining elements of foreign policy are friends or foes. The nation states define their friends and enemies in the international system with the intention of achieving certain objectives such as: maintenance of sovereignty and territorial integrity, provision of national security, promotion of economic interest and welfare of citizens, protection of national prestige and development of national power, and maintenance of world order (Nworu, 2018). However, given the dynamism of Nigeria's domestic conditions in the recent times resulting from dominant negative values, these objective have not been maximally achieved when compared with her contemporaries in the third World Countries of Latin America and this is not far from the lip service to Nigeria national pledge.

The lyrics of the national pledge appears on the lips of Nigerians every day like a devotional sermon, but with insignificant action to justify the pledge. Beside, other domestic factors that have significantly influenced Nigerian foreign policy and her projection to the external World include insecurity, Corruption, economic crisis, unemployment poverty, political instability, among others. The activities of Boko Haram insurgency in the North East have not only dented the image of the country in the international arena but it have also ruptured diplomatic relations with her neigbours and friends in the international countries but also Foreign Direct Investment. Also, the issue of corruption has equally put Nigeria into image Crisis. Despite Nigeria unbroken democratic dispensation from 1999 to date, she is being perceived as one of the world's most corrupt countries in the World. Out of the 133 Countries studies across the globe, Nigeria has been rated 132.Meanwhile,it was rated 144th out of 180 in 2018,while in2020, it was rated 149 out of 183 countries, a decrease of 25 per cent. This implies that Nigeria is a corrupt country (Transparency International Index, 2021).

In Spite of the enormous economic, natural resources endowment, large geographical size, population, human potential, security architecture among others which combined together to constitute domestic factors, Nigeria has not taken maximum advantage of these to achieve her national interest and national development. This is the basis upon which president Buhari's foreign policy thrust was formulated to address the challenges of corruption, mono-culture nature of the economy, insecurity, poverty and unemployment, among other (Jiddere & Manny, 2017). A synthesis of the review of empirical studies: Chidozie, Ibiet and Ujara (2014); Olakunle (2017); Niworu (2018); Musa and Ekere (2019); and Lacunas (2020) focus on the role of the state in growth promotion strategies; a nexus between foreign policy, international image and a country's national development; a strong connection between personality traits and foreign policy of a head of state, among others. However, little has been written on how the foreign policy of developing countries like Nigeria will support their development goals. This is a dichotomy between the developing nations like Nigeria, Ghana, etc and developed countries of USA, Britain, France, etc.

Specifically, this study seeks to provide answers to the following research questions: What are the foreign policy thrusts of President Muhammadu Buhari? What are the impacts of Buhari's

Foreign Policy on Nigeria's national development? What are the challenges that faced the Buhari's Foreign Policy and its implications for national development in Nigeria?

Methodology

This study adopted ex-post- facto research design. Qualitative method of data collection was employed. The study relies on secondary evidences inform of published books, journal articles, newspapers, government official documents, seminar papers, conference papers. dissertation and thesis, as well as relevant materials from the internet. The gathered data were analyzed qualitatively using content and thematic analysis.

Conceptual Framework

Concept of Foreign policy

Foreign policy as a significant area of study in international relations suffers from definitional dynamism as there are many definitions as there are many interested Scholars in this very area. Thus, foreign policy can be said to be a set of connected ideas and though formulated by the elite on behalf of a state into a policy intention towards other States with stated objectives such state seeks to achieve and through relative means or instruments of achieving such objective 9Eyiwoja, 2022). Rodee (1957) views foreign policy as the formulation and implementation of a group of principle which shapes the behavior pattern of a state while negotiating with other states to protect or further its own interest. To achieve this, a number of factors must be considered. It is along this underlying factors that shape a country foreign policy that Gambari (1985) views foreign policy as an interaction between identifiable domestic forces and the dynamics of international political relations. In the same line of thinking Aluko (1981) sees foreign policy as an interaction, actions, and reactions of states targeted at the external. Hence, foreign policy has also been described as the course of actions adopted by a nation in the interest of the welfare of its people.

Agaba and Ukham (2015) toiling the path of Ademiran (1979) are of the view that foreign policy consists of three elements namely: the overall orientation and policy intention of a particular country towards another, the objective that a country seeks in this area of study. Literally, Northedge (1968) conceptualize foreign policy as an interplay between the outside and inside. This implies that foreign policy is a function of interface between the domestic factors and the external environment both of which influence and determine the vibrancy or other wise of a nation foreign policy in the pursuit of her national interest. In the same vein Lerche and said (1979) maintain that the foreign policy of a state usually refers to the general principles by which a state governs its reaction to the international environment.

Meanwhile, Plano and Olton (1992) are of the opinion that foreign policy is the strategy or planned course of action developed by the decision makers of a state vis-à-vis other state, aimed at achieving specific goals in terms of national interest what can be deduced from the above definitions is that most of the scholars view foreign policy mainly from the goal or objective, perspective. However Adedyeye (2005), leveraging on the argument of the critical school laments that foreign policy should not be viewed only from the objective level, rather from the three elements of foreign policy angle that is, overall orientation and policy intentions of the state towards another, the objective a state seeks to achieve in her relationship with others, and the means for achieving the set goals or objective to achieve in its relations with other countries and lastly the means of achieving that particular goal or objectives.

In the same vein, Obivozor (2012) maintain that foreign policy deals with how and why a nation sets particular goals orders its own governmental policy making machinery utilizing its

own human and natural resources to compete with other nations in the international arena. This implies that, foreign policy is governmental activities which is concerned with the relationship between the state and other actors, especially other states in the international system or the totality of all actions, decisions, overtures or interactions between states in the international system, such could be directed or based on economics, politics, culture or creating understanding or co-operation.

However, some scholars do not see any good in foreign policy in fact they do not believe in its existence not to talk of seeing it as instrument of enhancing national development such scholars as David Fighter. The school of thought that he belongs to argues that there is nothing like foreign policy because the supposed beauty of foreign policy lacks coherent and long term planning that fits a test of time. He argues further that since that international environment itself cannot be controlled by a given state over a given period of time, then how one does defines the policy of one state viz-a-viz another state. Meanwhile, practical evidences have shown that the contemporary international system is now stable and peaceful therefore state's policy outside her domain can be effectively formulated and implemented to achieve her national interest. Thus, the argument of David school of thought can no longer hold water in the recent times.

In a nutshell, foreign policy is the process by which states carry out their intention with other states majorly to achieve their national interest. This is a decision a country intend to take or has taken in the process of interacting with nations states across its national boundary. The aim is to satisfy its national interest which is the core of foreign policy.

Concept of National Interest

The Concept of *national interest* is very difficult to define or explain because of its complexity and multiplicity as an operational framework (Halidu& Ukhami; 2015) It is totally subjective because it exists in the eyes of the beholder (Rourke and Boyer 1996). In spite of the difficulties involved in conceptualizing and operationalizing national interest, the concept can be examined literally and empirically by considering the views and opinions of writers, Scholars and Practitioners in the field of international relations.

Literally, national interest as a concept is seen as matters considered by a country to be paramount to the well- being of its citizens. (Adebisi, 2016). This well-being of citizens can be measured in terms of a complete State of sound health, happiness, security, and or prosperity especially from the angle of economic fortunes and development, among other parameters. Thus, the literal interpretation of the concept does not only inadequate but also not suitable enough to be accepted as means of operationalizing the concept in this study. From the angle of core indicators of the concept, Mbachu (2015) argues that national interest expresses Core Socio-economic and political ideas, values, and aspirations which are well defended at home, and pursued or promoted or defended beyond national boundaries. In Consonance with the above view point, Adeyeye (2005) lends his view on national interest and argues that the core value of national interest which are regarded as parameter to measure the level of its achievement, success or otherwise by a nation state, is regarded as those interest such as national survival, protection of the territorial integrity of the state and the lives of all its citizens against external aggression as well as protection of its political, economic, religious or social institutions. These are objectives, rationale, or motivation for which states are normally prepared to go to war with others if any of the core values is tampered with by others. Hence, this also justifies why a considerable proportion of national budget is often committed to national security and define by all nations.

However, a critical look at the above conception of national interest and what constitute the core interest as well as its parameters, shows that Mbachu concentrates only on security and economy as determinants of citizens well-being being placed at the arrow head of national interest without consideration for other components of primary interest of a state gears to pursue promote in the international system, such as national welfare, and national prestige.

Filling this gap, Adeyeye (2005) stresses that national welfare and national prestige are core components of primary interest of nation-states. This is because it is the responsibility of every nation to provide for the socio-economic welfare of its citizens. These inevitable necessities compel every state to enter into economic intercourse with one another in order to take advantage of harnessing resources to meet the demands of the people. (Spero 1980) No matter how powerful and richly endowed a nation is it can achieve economic prosperity and ensure a high standard of living for its citizen without being actively involved in the channels of international trade (Volkovv, 1990; Adeyeye, 2005). On the other hand, the foreign policy of nations is guided by national prestige. The degree of influence a nation can exercise on the other nations depends on the extent to which such a state is able to conduct its affairs in line with a high sense of self-respect, process and national honour (Adeyeye, 2005). The implication therefore, is that a state that fails to maintain a high degree of acceptable reputation within the international system stand the risk of being ostracized and treated with disrespect among comity of nations (Olawore&Egbiriola, 2013)

Furthermore, Mbachu (2008) Adeyeye (2005) Adeniran (1986) Paterson and Wallance (1987). Jones (1970) among others, have a convergent opinion, by means of agreeing to the fact that national interest does not limit to the Core values of nation. Hence there are secondary and general/complementary interests nations state must also promote or pursue. As Mbachu (2008) observes, secondary interest component of national interest expresses policies which seek to Promote and defined “nationals and investments abroad”. No nation is an Island or in a state of autarky, nations are interdependent in International system. Therefore, it is common for citizens of a nation to be found in different nations in the world either for Scholarship, Commence Tourism, or on diplomatic services.

Basically, no nation overlooks its citizens and investments abroad because their activities have implications for domestic stability. Therefore, for the purpose of defending national or foreign investments or economic interest abroad, States adopt either military option, economic sanction or diplomatic means depending on the image of risk involved. If the risk is rated high and real, states with military capabilities do not waste time in deploying gun-boat diplomacy to compel host States to its wishes (Spero, 1980). Also, Adeyeye (2005) contends that the task of achieving a nation-State secondary interest is usually given to the Mission or Embassy of the nation concerned.

According to Robinson (1991), general or Complementary interests as a component of national interest are usually those interest which a state can apply to a larger geographical area, to a large number of nation, or in several specific fields. General interests are in most cases, interests that cannot be achieved by any state alone and they are by their nature long term objectives. (Adeyeye, 2005). In the same line of thinking, Northedge (1974) stresses that a nations general interest expresses policies which seek among others to promote world peace and security which could take different forms such as representing international law, conventions treaties, et cetera. Emphasis concerning complementary interest in placed on non-violation of other states territorial sovereignty and independence and supporting efforts towards disarmament and arms control.

General interest equally identifies policies to promote regional, continental or ideological studies, and foreign policy. This interest is achieved through a multilateral diplomatic platform (Liman, 2008).The growth of interdependence proliferation of intergovernmental organization at the global and regional levels such as the UNO, the European Community, and the African Union, among others are veritable platform through which nation-states achieve general interest (Pearson & Rochester, 1988: Liman, 2008). Also, another example of this is the foreign policy objective of Nigeria which seeks to influence the course of development within the international system (Adeyeye, 2005)

Meanwhile, at the operational level, Frankel argues that the national interest means the sum total of interests and policies actually pursued while at the polemic level, it refers to the use of the concept in political argument in real life to explain, evaluate, rationalize or criticize international behavior. It is used to prove one's self right and one's opponent wrong.

From the foregoing, it can be inferred that national interest in whatever form, is regarded as the moving force for explaining the rationale behind nation's behavior beyond national boundaries. This is consistent with Cardinal principle of international relations which states, that there is no permanent enemy or friend but permanent interest (Morgenthau, 1973: Adeniran, 1988). Late Nehru of India, used every parliamentary session to remind legislators that Indian national interest explains the USA high record of violation of other states territorial sovereignty as in Vietnam, North Korea, Chile, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Iraq Grenada, Libya, etc. (Mbachu, 2008). Furthermore, the US withdrawal of her military in Afghanistan in the recent time, the insistence on Iraqi unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait, its insistence on Iraqi unconditional Cooperation with the UN Arms experts, is largely to protect and preserve considered economic (oil) and strategic interests in the Middle East with a view to achieving her foreign policy objectives.

In the same vein, Israeli continuous occupation of Palestinian (Arab) territory since 1967-in violation of Several UN resolution against it, is in defence of considered Permanent interest to consolidate a Jewish State (Zionism), among others. Hence, these practical examples underscore the nexus between foreign policy and national interest.

However, an analysis and synthesis of the above conceptual literature shows that none of this conceptualizations of national interest take into consideration the link between foreign policy and national interest. It is based on this academic lacuna identified that Halidu and Ukhami (2013) attempt to fill-Halidu and Ukhami argue that national interest is the key concept in foreign policy, this is because a nation with no adequate national interest is a nation with no viable agenda for both domestic and foreign policy. Toiling the path of Morgenthau (1952), who asserts that as long as the world is politically organized into nations. Thus, this lies that the starting point in foreign policy making is the national interest (Norman, 1954).

Frankel (1963) postulates that national interest is a key concept in foreign policy and some of the core element of national interest include; security of the citizen, upholding the sovereignty and integrity of the state, economic development, among others. Leveraging on this foundation, Halidu and Ukham, (2015) further argue that the relationship between national interest and foreign policy is enormous and cannot be over emphasized or underestimated in that for a nation to achieve its foreign policy, its national interest must coincide with the country's national interest, foreign policy becomes almost or completely impossible, except adequate measures are put in place to either persuade or force the actualization of foreign policy.

Toiling the line of thought of Ujara and Ibietan (2017), Heywood (2007), Chibundu (2002), Ukwuije (2015) and several others, who argue that foreign policy is the objectives which constitute a comprehensive plan that serve as goals which a state hopes to achieve in its

relations with other members of the world and the achievement of these goals rely heavily on the capability and ability of the state involved, defined in terms of domestic factors. What this signal is that there is a strong nexus between domestic factors, foreign policy and national interest.

However, there are some writers and thinkers who deny the overriding role of national interest in the making of foreign policy, In fact they refuse to see any connection between the two concepts in operational terms. Writer such as Woodrow Wilson, who stresses that it is perilous to determine the foreign policy of a nation in terms of national interest…. We dare not turn from the principle that morality and not expediency is the thing that must guide us. We have no selfish end to serve (Chandra, 2004: Halidu & Ukhami, 2015)

The implication of this is that foreign policy (ies) are formulated putting into consideration the domestic factors with the aim of pursuing and promoting national interest. Thus, this national interest is also geared towards attainment of a country national development. In essence, the interpretation of this is that, there is a strong nexus between foreign policy, national interest and national development.

Concept of National Development

The concept of national development is highly multi-faceted in context and nature. Literally, national development refers to a phenomenon that embraces a whole nation. However, on a broad scale, Lawal and Oluwatoyin (2011) describe national development as the overall development or a collective Socio-economic, political as well as religious advancement of a country. This is best achieved through development which can be described as the country's collection of strategies mapped out by the government. The strength of this conceptualization does not only rely on its multifaceted nature but it spells out the instruments through which national development could be achieved. Collaborating the above opinion, Donatus (2017) citing the United Nations (1997) is of the opinion that concept of national development depicts general improvement in human conditions. It is therefore an attack on the chief evils confronting the modern world today viz, malnutrition, illiteracy, unemployment, diseases, slums, inequality and insecurity. This implies that any nation that is able to address all these human challenges has attained development at the national level.

The United Nation concisely put it thus:

> The challenge of human development arms at enlarging people's choices. The most critical which include the need to live a long and healthy life, to be educated and to enjoy a decent standard of living. Additional choices include political freedom, guaranteed human rights and self-respect. It is a human centered process through which man transform his natural and social environment to enhance his conditions of living. In this regard, man transform himself by acquiring the capacity to live a better, more rewarding and more fulfilling life which he transmit to future generation (United Nation, 1997:10).

Thus, the above quotation highlights some component parts of national development such as long and healthy life, sound education, decent standard of living, political freedom, guaranteed human rights, self-respect and decent environment as yardstick to measure national development and any nation which has failed in all of these aspects cannot be said to be developed or achieved (national development).

Toiling the same line of thinking with the above, Ayo (2012) views national development as a process with many economic and social dimensions, but requires, as a minimum, rising per capital incomes, eradication of absolute poverty and reduction in inequality over a long term. The process is a dynamic one, including not only changes in the structure and level of economic activity, but also increased opportunities for individual choice and for improved self-esteemed.

In the same vein, seers (1972) identifies some variables as parameter to measure development in a nation. Hence asserts that:

> The question to ask about a country's development are therefore, what has happened to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these have been declined from high levels than beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have it would be strange to call the result development even if per capital income double (Seer, 1972:4-6).

The strength of Seers' and other scholars' definitions above is that, they focus on three critical contemporary problems affecting developing countries in the world including Nigeria. Also, the conceptualizations of national development above is important for an understanding of development because its emphasis is on the improvement in the living condition of the individual. However, the weakness is that it places too much emphasis on only economic and social indicators in explaining development status of a nation-(national development).

However, national development is a composite phenomenon, a many sided concept defying a single and linear conceptual clarification (Donatus, 2017). This assertion finds its root in Todaro's (1994) standpoint. Thus:

> National development should therefore, be perceived as a multi-dimensional process involving the re-organization of entire economic and social systems. In addition to improvements in incomes and output, it typically involves radical changes in institutional social and administrative structures as well as in popular attitude and, in many cases, even customs and beliefs. It is able to provide the basic needs of the majority of its people in a multi- dimensional manner (Todaro, 1994; Donatus, 2017; 47)

it is along this line of thinking that Onyeneho, (2018) argues that the ultimate aim of national development is bring about sustained improvement in the wellbeing of individual and bestow benefits to all self-reliance and mobilization of domestic resources, the transformation of the structure of rural production, the development of small Scale industries and the acquisition of technological and Scientific skills. Hence, the objectives of national development are stale, but well concerned, planned and directed policies and programmes are required for their realization (Umaru, 1988: Onyeneho, 2018).

This implies that development is about self-reliance in every aspect of national life (Onyeneho, 2018). Meanwhile, the strength of definition above is seen in its emphasis on sustainability as bedrock of national development. This implies that for national development to be achieved, the spirit and principle of sustainability must be ensured and recorded. It is this identified academic lacuna that Herris (2000) tries to fill, when he argues that three fundamental factors

are identified as significant aspect of sustainable development and as required conditions for attaining sustainable national development. These are identified thus;

a. Economic sustainability, an economically sustainable system is that which be able to produce goods and services on a continuing basis, and maintain manageable levels of government and external debt as well as avoid extreme sectorial inbalance which damage agricultural and industrial production (Harris, 2000: Donatus, 2017)
b. Environmental sustainability-: An environmentally sustainable system must maintain as table resources base, avoiding over exploitation of renewable resources only to the extent that investment is made in adequate substitutes. This includes the maintenance of biodiversity, atmospheric stability and other ecosystem functions not ordinarily classified as economic resources.
c. Social sustainability: - socially sustainable system must achieve distributional equity, adequate provision of social services including health and education, gender equity and political accountability and participation. Every nation as Donatus (2017) observes strives towards development and sustain it because it encourages the primacy of national policy resources and calls for assertive actions towards a dynamic and enabling global economic environment. Hence, development craves from an equitable, secure, non-discriminatory, transparent and predicable multi-lateral trading system, promotion of investment, transfer of technology and knowledge as well as enhance international Cooperation in the mobilization and pursion of financial resources. This is based on the fact that shared progress is the normal and long term direction of all social change.

Thus, the above expositions of aspects of sustainable development underscore the significance of foreign relation as well as foreign policy in the attainment of national development and its

Furthermore, leveraging on the standpoints of Lawal &Oluwatoyin (2011) and, emphasizing that the realization of national development of any nation rely heavily on well-conceived, planned and directed,
Therefore, to achieve this, a nation must have a robust national economic development planning which may be short, medium or long depending on the objectives to be realized. It can also be inferred that there is a strong connection between national interest, foreign relation, and national development. This is because the realization of a nation's national development planning depends largely on its level of relationship both at the bilateral and multilateral levels, with other countries of the world since no nation can survive in a complete autarky situation, and hence justifies the nexus.

Theoretical Framework

This study adopts **l**inkage theory as framework of analysis. The theory was propounded by Marvin Kelb and Henry Kissinger in the 1970s. The theory considers the linkage between the domestic and external factors as a major influences in international policy making process. The theory is hinged on the following assumptions:

That linkage is established by the players' beliefs that co-operative behavior in one setting influences the prospects for co-operation in another setting (Susanne, 1979). By connecting events or issues that are not necessarily connected in a particular way, government can boost their political and economic situation by surrendering less important issues for those that have a greater, all round importance (Robert & Thomas, 1979). The linkages between domestic and external factors majorly influence policy making in international community and determine the way a country would be perceived. That linkage theory/technique, as Jensen (1988) argued is

used as a media – relations tool for image management. It is also used as a strategy to reach a more significant agreement, and a device to ensure negotiation failure

The theory is relevant to this study because in international system both domestic and external factors have linkages in the projection and management of a national image, pursuit of national interest via a robust foreign policy objectives and above all pursue national development among the comity of nations in the international arena. Thus, domestic factors, such as; conduct of election, internal security challenges, leadership style, and public opinion, national ideology structure of the country, national capability and corruption are capable of facilitating a country's national development through establishment of stable and peaceful environment for foreign direct investment, bilateral and multilateral trade cooperation, among others.

However, the wave of corruption has been a serious abyss on the Nigeria's image in the international system. Nigeria in diaspora are perceived and treated as corrupt human beings. They are being maltreated, the xenophobic attacks against Nigeria in South Africa, Europe and other parts of the world is a case in point. In spite of efforts of the government to mitigate corruption through establishment of anti-graft agencies, corruption still persist in the country owing to weak judicial system. More so, terrorism and insurgency are another domestic factors that account for Nigeria's image crisis. The activities of Boko Haram Insurgency in the North East. Niger Delta Militancy, Kidnapping, hostage taking, herders farmers crisis, among others have posed serious negative image on Nigeria as a failed state among the comity of nations.

Thus, the linkage of the above domestic factors with the external factors have produce negative image for the country with its consequences which have been felt in all ramifications of Nigeria national development.

Thus, it is very difficult to redeem the image of the country owing to the linkage between the poor domestic practices and the external factors which is at the core centre of the linkage theory. Hence, justifies the suitability and application of the theory to the topic under consideration.

Evaluation of the Impact of President Buhari Foreign Policy on National Development

For more than four decades of Nigeria's political independence is blue-prints on foreign policy have been characterized by continuity and change. Out of the six objectives of the Nigeria foreign policy, the creation of necessary economic, and socio-political conditions in Africa and the world, so as to facilitate the promotion of self-reliance of Nigeria and rapid economic development is patient and is used as a compass to analyze the country's foreign policy under the Buhari's administration

The emergence of Muhammadu Buhari as the civilian president of Nigeria in March 28, 2015 general elections was hinged on the inability of the incumbent president Goodluck Jonathan to decisively deal with the Boko Haram terrorism which badly affected Nigeria's image in the international community (Fawcett, 2016) Thus, president Muhammadu Buhari's campaign promises were hinged on three cardinal points which include: combating terrorism, fighting corruption and improving on the economy. Also, the main foreign policy under president Buhari government includes:

Improving relations with its neigbour in order to jointly fight Boko Haram which assumed a multinational or transnational dimension; partner with US and other world powers to support the government in order to fight terrorism by providing needed manpower and intelligence;

improvement of economy and fighting corruption; and improve relation with China in order to foster economic development through provision of needed infrastructures.

Buhari's Foreign Policy within the Context of Nigeria -African Countries Relations

During his campaign for election to the presidency of Nigeria, Muhammadu Buhari promised to tackle head on three main issue of insecurity (Boko Haram Insurgency), corruption and Economy development. Before his declaration as president, Boko Haram had taken over parts of Nigerian territories and declaring an Islamic state within the Nigeria's territory (Eyiwoja, 2022). Apart from Nigeria, the Boko Haram terrorism took a transnational dimension by carrying out attacks in Nigeria and receding into the neighboring countries. Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) which was charged with the responsibility of insurgency in the Lake Chad region was not effective although it tried to curtail the activities of Boko Haram as member countries contributed to the war against Boko Haram in Nigeria (Musa & Ekpere, 2019). With onslaught against the group by MNJTF member countries, Boko Haram soon targeted these countries for daring to and Nigeria in the fight against terrorism, thereby, giving the Boko Haram action an international dimension.

It was observed that MNJTF was not effective and efficient as Boko Haram even overran it base in Baga, Borno State, and went ahead to commit one of the most heinous crimes against humanity when it massacred the locals in Baga towns (Kolawale, 2018). On the assumption of office, President Muhammadu Buhari first trip oversees was to the Niger Republic on June 3, 2015. The Cameroon president also attended the meeting; the trip was on Anti Boko Haram summit which was aimed at discussing the regional offensive against the group. The Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari committed his countries resolve to help Nigeria tackle the growing threats of Boko Haram which has continued to threaten peace and stability in the region. It was also agreed that, MNJTF headquarters be relocated from Nigeria to N'Djamena in Chad and appointment of a Nigerian as the commander of the organization. (Musa, Bashir and Bello, 2017).

The meeting was followed up with a visit to Chad on June 4, 2017; this visit was followed up by a bilateral meeting with President Paul Biya of Cameroon. Although Benin republic was not affected by the insurgent of Boko Haram, Buhari visited Benin Republic and these visited was reciprocated by Benin President BoniYayi who committed troops to the MNJTF to combat terrorist activities in the country (Bello and Dutse, 2019). As Onapajo (2015) and Waddington (2016) argued, the shuttle diplomacy by President Buhari to his West Africa neigbours played a decisive role in limiting the capabilities of Boko Haram to strive in Nigeria and recede to these neigbouring countries as shield against Nigeria forces.

This diplomatic relation between these ECOWAS countries help curtail the activities of Boko Haram. Apart from using foreign relations to tackle Boko Haram insurgency, president Buhari played a key role as the chief mediator in solving the constitutional impasse in Gambia, where president Yahaya Jammah initially refused to give up power to democratically elected president Adama barrow, President Buhari was tasked by ECOWAS to led a negotiation with Jammah in order to concede power to Barrow. President Buhari resolves for a peaceful transition and the need to avoid violence which could lead to a civil war and a possible a humanitarian disaster for the ECOWAS sub region. The negotiation was fruitful, and former president Jammah conceded power and stepped aside (Kora and Darboe, 2017). President Muhammadu Buhari made it a cardinal objective of his foreign policy to pursue its national interest by maintaining good relations with its immediate neigbours, the results of this was an improvement on the counter insurgency war which led to decimation of Boko Haram (Waddington, 2019).

Buhari's Foreign Policy within the Context of Nigeria United States Relations

Unlike his predecessor, Muhammadu Buhari enjoyed somewhat better relations, the grudge between Obama administration and Good luck administration over the handling of Boko Haram insurgency especially the Kidnap of Chibok girls and Human Rights abuses committed by the military.

Relations between Obama and Buhari which held oval on the 20th July 2016. President Obama committed that the United States will assist the government of Nigeria, tackle the growing threats of Boko Haram and countering violent extremism. President Buhari also requested Obama administration to assist the government in curtailing corruption which has continued to plague the country, also seek the assistance of the government towards improving the economy which included reforms in the energy sector by stopping the theft.

The meeting was followed up by a meeting with Vice President Joe Biden where it was agreed that the US would assist Nigeria to root out corruption, ensure stability in the economy and also the policy with special reference to a Northern region of Nigeria which is the heartbeat of the Boko Haram insurgency (Page, 2016). The trip also afforded president Buhari opportunity to meet Treasury Secretary, Attorney General Loretta E. Lynch and Bob work the Deputy Defense Secretary (Abegunrin, 2003, Haris 2015 and Blanch and Husted, 2016). Under the administration of Donald Trump, nothing seems to have changed, as US Department of Justice recently filed a civil complaint for the forfeiture of money ($144million) which are from corrupt proceedings by former Nigerian minister of petroleum Diezani Alison Madueke. The DOJ was said to have accused the former minister and two accomplices in the name of Olajide Omokore and Kola Aluko of fronting for the former minister through oil lifting contracts which were awarded to the duo without due process. The DOJ seeks the forfeiture to return these assets to benefit the populace which harmed by this corrupt practice Kolawole , (2018), agreed and stated that US government officials saw the election of Buhari as an avenue to aid the government's anti-corruption drive and on the larger extent improve bilateral relations. This action can be linked the agreement between Buhari administration and DOJ under Loretta E. Lynch for collaboration to fight corruption and assist Nigeria to recover its loots domiciled in the US and other western countries. The Trump administration also demonstrated efforts to aid Buhari administration in his fight against Boko Haram with the proposed sales to military equipment to Nigeria. (Johnson Rokosu and Enobi, 2016). Nigeria was earlier blacklisted under President Jonathan, this lead to declining for a request for the purchase of military equipment. The proposed sale included 12 Ember A-29 Super Toucan aircraft. The proposed arms sells also got the approval of Senators in US congress who had earlier blocked the sales under Obama administration citing Leahy law which prohibited the US from selling arms to countries where their militaries have cases of human rights abuses (Iroegbu, 2019, and Gional, 2020).

Buhari's Foreign Policy within the Context of Nigeria China Relations

China has been termed the fastest growing economy and the second largest economy in the world and Nigeria has been trying to establish a balance of power with China in economic and diplomatic relations. Both countries share demographic and geographic significance in their continent. With China continuous aggressive expansion regarding commercial, technical and economic matters Nigeria has become an important player in Africa with regards to China new strategic expansion. Owing to its large population Nigeria is considered a large market. On the hand also, Nigeria and other Africa countries, considers China a partner in development due to infrastructure loans which it provides at interest rates lower than what is obtainable from Bretton Woods institutions (World Bank and International Monetary Fund). The importance of China has been affirmed by a wide range of analyst and academics, CNN asserted that the US is the most significant nation on the world stage, but China is de-facto leader of the global economy in the 21st century 125.

Barely one year after assumption of office, President Muhammadu Buhari visited China, the visit was on the heels of invitation by Chinese president Xi Jinping. The visit was aimed at solidification of both countries trade, diplomatic and economic relations between both countries. The visit led to the signing of the framework to enhance infrastructural development and industrial activities in Nigeria between National Development Reform Commission of China and Ministry of Industry, Trade and investment of Nigeria; Technological and Scientific Cooperation between both countries, the visit lasted-for one week. In the aftermath of the visit, a number of loan was granted to Nigeria especially to finance the deficit of 2016 budget, infrastructure loan for trains, among others. The rail project as argued by the government was aimed at solving the infrastructure deficit in the country, also provide needed jobs for the populace, and most importantly stimulate the economy (Tanimu, 2019).

The government took a bold step towards breaking the hegemony of USD in the Nigeria market by signing a deal which allows for Chinese currency Yuan to be used for transaction in the country. This will facilitate inclusion of Yuan in the country's foreign reserve and also allow banks to allow Yuan transaction from foreign and local investors alike. The Industrial and Commercial Bank of China also provided $2 billion to Aliko Dangote for funding of his cement factories. Apart from Economic relations between both countries, the countries also enjoy good diplomatic relations between both countries, China recently stated it full support for Nigeria's quest for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council, Chinese parliament speaker Zhang Dejiang made this known during a meeting with his Nigerian counterpart Yakubu Dogara, this was part of effort to reform the UN and accommodate countries from another region (Aja, 2017).

Table 1: Showing Infrastructural Project Agreement Signed between China and Buhari's Administration

S/N	Amount	Project
1.	$1.231 billion	Lagos-Kano Modernization Projects, Lagos-Ibadan Segment
2.	$1.146 billion	Lagos-Kano Railway Modernization Project, Kano-Kaduna Segment
3.	$3.474 billion	Lagos –Calabar Coastal Rail Project
4.	$6.1 billion	Ibadan –Ilorin –Minna-Kaduna –Kano Line.
5.	$1.4 billion	Lagos to Ibadan Rail Project
6.	$15 billion	Agricultural Development
7.	$2 billion	Dangote Group Cement Project
8.	$478 Million	Construction or 300 Mega Watts Solar Power in Shiroro, Niger State
9.	$55 Million	Construction and equipping of grantie mining plant
10.	$1 Billion	Greenfield expressway for Abuja Ibadan-Lagos
11.	$250 Million	Ultra-Modern expressway of Abuja-Ibadan-Lagos
12.	$1 Billion	Hi-Tech industrial park in Ogun Guangdong Free Trade Zone
13.	$200 Million	Construction of two 500MT/day float gas facilities.

14.	$363 Million	Comprehensive Farm and downstream industrial park
15.	$500 Million	Project for the Provision of television broadcast equipment.
16.	$25 Million	Facility for production or pre-paid smart meters

Source: Tanimu, 2019.

There is no doubt that a proper implementation of the projects as shown in the table above is cable of translating into national development in Nigeria.

On the issue of Taiwan, which China has refused to recognize as independent state but as a province of China, President Muhammadu Buhari assured Chinese foreign minister of its resolve to adopt the "one China policy". This policy ensures that there is only one state called China and Taiwan and mainland China is incontrovertible part of a single China. In keeping with this policy, the government in Nigeria ordered the Taiwanese embassy out of the Federal capital which means downgrading of diplomatic relations with Taiwan, and its movement to Lagos. However, it maintains minimal trade relations and consular activities with Taiwan which will be domiciled in Lagos. The minister of foreign affairs, Geoffrey Onyeama made the policy statement stating that "Taiwan will stop enjoying any privileges because it is not a country that is recognized under international law" stating the country justification for a trade relation the minister stated that "Chinese Government does not oppose trading with Taiwan as long as there is no formal contact with the government that will suggest recognition of Taiwan as a sovereign country" (Yusuf, 2017).
Nigeria decision can be justified in the sense that Taiwan possesses less economic leverage in comparison to China. Nigeria Taiwan economic relations which cover seafood, industrial equipment, natural gas and other food product stood at $800 million in 2016, compared to $6.4 billion trade relations between Nigeria-China in just first half of 2016 (Ayoboki 2016 and Kuo, 2020). Conclusively, it can be argued that under President Muhammadu Buhari, Nigeria-Sino relations have been taken to great heights with improvement in bilateral economic and diplomatic relations between both countries.

By and large, in four years (2015-2019) of the administration, the government was able to improve its foreign relations with Nigeria neighbours which are ECOWAS and LAKE CHAD Commission members. These have also helped the government to achieve some level of success in the fight against Boko Haram insurgency which has taken an international dimension. Buhari administration has been able to forge important diplomatic and economic relations with China, which is a growing economic powerhouse in the global economy. This relation has provided the country with needed funds to cushion the effect of the infrastructure deficit. This provided the nation needed foreign direct investments.

On the international scene, Nigeria has gained more respect during the first term of Buhari administration this is largely attributed to his personality and commitment in the fight against corruption and insecurity in the country. This was evident at the invitation of President Buhari to meeting immediately after he was sworn in.
President Buhari assumed leadership in negotiation for the peaceful return of democratically elected government in the Gambia. President Buhari was appointed to lead AU anti-corruption drive in the region.
Unlike his predecessor. President Buhari was able to improve relations between Nigeria and the United States which has tied to improving collaboration in the fight against Boko Haram and corruption which has become academic in the country. However, these achievements did not come without some challenges

Critique of Nigeria Foreign policy Under President Muhammadu Buhari's Civilian Administration

The magnitude and frequency of President Muhammadu Buhari's trips have generated arguments for and against the president foreign trip. Some foreign policy commentators argue that the visit, had not achieved much when compared with the amount of resources earn marked for the trip in the 2016,2017, 2018 and 2019 annual budgets which was considered exuberant. Besides, Buhari has made more trips, and the complaints about Buhari's foreign relation in pursuance of the foreign policy were that, these trips were too many, that they would not achieve much, and that the president needed not travel himself. He could send his foreign Affair Minister or any other person in lieu, going by the Mr. President health challenge.

Also, Critics of President Buhari's too many trips argued that on several occasions, the president has either had to cut shut his foreign trips, or cancelled them at the eleventh hour in the face of major crises at home. Consequently, they believe that President Buhari should be more inward, rather than more out ward looking.

Moreso, the dimension and the culture of foreign trips has assumed in this Buhari's administration as observed by Chief Femi Falane (2020) in recent months, at all tiers of government is simply indispensable. It is far from being exaggerated to point out that public officers and their spouse now take advantage of access to public funds to make unwarranted foreign trips. The recklessness of public officers in this regard is becoming increasingly alarming. The culture has become so prevalent and offensive that perceptive members of the society are warned about the consequences of this gross above of privilege by public officers, governors, Federal and state legislators local government chairman are all in the inexplicable rush to travel out of Nigeria at the expense of public pursue for sundry reasons most of which are indisputably frivolous. (Teniola, 2019). Some of these public officers spend public money to travel abroad for even birthday parties (Musa& Ekpere, 2019).

In other words, oversea trips are seen as another outlet for financial waste. However, should the foreign visit of local government chairman, legislators, etc be put at same pedestal with the foreign trip of the president of the Republic? However, President Muhammadu Buhari's foreign trips have been justified on the following grounds. Buhari himself explains that his foreign trips were aimed to promoting Nigeria International Image, attract foreign investments, recover ill-gotten funds, and recover Abacha loots that were stocked away in foreign financial institutions among others. He further explain that one could not get what is desired through a mere telephone call because the issues involved especially that of Boko Haram insurgency in the North East are critical. Besides, an instituting greater confidence and generating support.

Also, President Muhammadu Buhari's foreign trips have also been justified by some geo-political factors that the role of Nigeria as a regional influential requires the making of many international contracts that foreign affairs remain essentially the business of the federal government, headed by Buhari and that president Buhari's many trips clearly reflect his international clout and recognition of Nigeria's position in world affairs while some foreign affairs commentators gave example of success recorded as a result of President Buhari's foreign trip. They include the singing of African Free Trade Agreement, Nigeria election as the president of General Assembly of the UN, the formation of Multinational Joint Task Force or Combat Boko Haram, renewal of faith of foreign multination in the good future of Nigeria.

Explaining it differently, Okere (2020) argues that the foreign trips constitute part of the leadership style of President Muhammadu Buhari, rather than asking the president to stay at home and fix Nigeria as an Island, Nigeria should reform from making Nigeria a banana republic. Other challenges that confronted the administration include; global economic

recession, the health challenge of the president, late appointment of the members of Federal Executive Council, fall in the price of crude oil in the international market, short fall in production of crude oil barrel per day due to the activities of the Niger Delta militants.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The study has evaluated the impacts of Buhari's foreign policy on the Nigeria's national development within the scope of his first term in office. Three research questions were generated and the following findings were also recorded. Research question one which sought to find the foreign policy thrust of Buhari administration. It was discovered that fight against Boko Haram insurgency, war against corruption, and economic prosperity top gear in the foreign policy thrust of the government during the period. Also, it was discovered that Nigeria recorded tremendous success in the areas of war against Boko Hram through both regional and international corruption at both bilateral and multilateral levels. On the international scene, Nigeria has gained more respect during the first term of Buhari administration owing to his personality and commitment in the fight against corruption and insecurity in the country.

However, the study found out that more than anything else, the health challenge of the Mr president, late appointment of the members of Federal Executive Council, global economic recession, fall in the price of crude oil in the international market, short fall in production of crude oil per barell due to the activities of the Niger Delta militants, among other are identifiable challenge that undermined the complete implementation and success of the Nigeria's foreign policy under president Buhari administration. Hence, a conclusion that runs through the study is that there was a strong connection between the Buhari foreign policy and the Nigeria's national development but the nexus is insignificant in the face of myriad of challenges that clouded the country's foraign policy during the period under consideration.

Recommendations

In line with the study objectives and research findings, the following recommendations are proffered:

1. There is need for the current administration to provide lasting solution to the various security challenges affecting the development of the country,

2. There is urgent need for Nigeria state to widen and deepen her diplomatic relations across the globe in order to enhance and pursue her national interest as a veritable tool to stimulate the country's national development.

3. There is need for the current administration of Buhari to make a radical departure from Africa Centre piece policy to Nigeria Centered piece foreign policy.

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