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**NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY: PRESIDENT MUHAMMADU BUHARI'S
ADMINISTRATION (2015 TO DATE) IN FOCUS**

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Abstract

This research paper provided detailed examinations and analyses of Nigeria's foreign policy during President Muhammadu Buhari's administration (2015 to date). Foreign policies are measures developed by a state to achieve her national interest in the international system. National interest of Nigeria includes defence of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, internal cohesion, national unity, security and economic prosperity. Therefore, this paper examined how the administration has fared in achieving the national interest with regards to Buhari's three points agenda of fighting insecurity, corruption and recovery of looted funds as well as economic revival. The study examined the international relations engagements by the Buhari's Administration from inception in May 2015 with various countries. The research relied only on secondary data such as journals, text books, televisions/media houses, newspapers, internet sources and magazines, thus qualitative data analyses method was adopted for this study and it was found out that due to dwindling oil prices, devaluation of Naira and majorly the dependency syndrome, President Buhari's administration could not achieve much in economic development of Nigeria. This paper concluded that Buhari's administration fell short in achieving his administration's agenda before the end of his tenure in 2023. However, the papers recommends that for any administration to achieve such set goals, the drivers must imbibe the spirit of honesty, transparency, justice and fair play as well as abstain from economic relationships with core capitalist countries of the world.

Keywords: Nigeria's foreign policy, Buhari's administration, Corruption, Insecurity

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Introduction

Foreign policy according to Britannica (2023) constitutes the general objectives that guide the activities and relationships of a state in its interactions with other states. Foreign policies are developed by a state to pursue and achieve her national interest in the international system. National interest here includes defence of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, national cohesion, national unity, security and economic prosperity. This is usually influenced by the type of Government, the situation of the country, quality of leaders and other factors. From independence in 1960, Nigeria has pursued a non-aligned and afro-centric foreign policy of which the present president Muhammadu Buhari administration is not an exception.

Muhammadu Buhari on assumption of office in May 2015 adopted a three-point agenda of dealing with insecurity, fighting corruption, quest for return of Nigeria looted funds and revival of the economy with support of foreign partners.

To achieve this, President Buhari maintained ties with United State of America, Britain, China and other countries of the world. President Buhari was involved in shuttle diplomacy with different countries immediately after assuming office in 2015. He was at that time referred to as “Jet setting president” as he spent a quarter of his first hundred days in office in different countries (Bello et al, 2017).

This paper examined Nigeria’s foreign policy during the President Muhammadu Buhari’s Administration (2015 to 2023) so as to establish how well his administration has fared in achieving his three points agenda and recommend measures to be taken by the administration to achieve her agenda for the overall growth and development of Nigeria as a sovereign united country in view of insecurity challenges and agitations from various parts of the country for disintegration.

Statement of the Problem

The importance of foreign policy is paramount to every country in her relationship with other countries in the world. Nigeria as a developing country is not an exception in this regard. Presently, Nigeria is facing serious security and economic challenges thus, the need for a well-defined and articulated foreign policy by President Buhari’s Administration to surmount these challenges. Since the inception of President Buhari’s administration in 2015, the Nigerian economy has performed below expectation coupled with the serious security challenges posed by the Boko-Haram Insurgency and other minor ethnic conflicts. Things have never been this bad in Nigeria, especially when you now place insecurity against the background of poverty and unemployment. (Asadu, 2021).

Consequently, this has raised concerns on the effectiveness of the Buhari’s administration’s foreign policy conduct in partnering with other countries to surmount these insecurity, corruption and economic challenges.

Objectives of the Study

1. To examine the impact of President Muhammadu Buhari’s foreign policy on Nigeria’s national interest.
2. To examine the extent President Buhari’s foreign policy (2015 to 2023) has impacted on Nigeria’s economy.
3. To examine the outcome of Muhammadu Buhari administration’s fight against insecurity and Boko-Haram insurgency.
4. To highlight the outcome of Buhari administration’s fight on corruption and recovery of looted funds on Nigeria.

Significance of the Study

The significance of the study is to examine President Muhammadu Buhari’s Foreign policy from May, 2015 to 2023 so as to find out issues that have militated against his three-points agenda of fighting insecurity, corruption/recovery of looted funds and economic recovery as well as find out how to eliminate insecurity, corruption and achieve economic prosperity in the new administration that has taken over from him.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

The period covered in this research paper is between May 2015 to 2023. This research work was limited to information from secondary data such as Journals, government white papers, textbooks, newspaper, bulletin, magazines and other internet sources. Although the researchers would have loved to personally interview the president for an x-ray of what challenges he faced in

the course of implementing his set goals, his views were however extracted from many official documents.

President Muhammadu Buhar's Foreign Policy

President Muhammadu Buhari assumed office as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on 29th May, 2015. He immediately adopted his three points agenda to deal with the serious insecurity problem posed by the Boko-Haram insurgency which began in Nigeria since 2009 and has killed many Nigerians and properties worth millions of Naira destroyed (Jayakumar, 2014).

Fighting corruption and recovery of looted funds and to improve upon the Nigerian economy was inherited from former President Goodluck Jonathan's Administration. To achieve these laudable objectives, President Buhari's administration on assumption of office in 2015, sustained bilateral relationships with neighbouring countries such as Chad, Benin, Niger, Cameroon, and other African countries, United States of America, Britain, Germany, China among others. These relationships were to assist the administration in tackling these insecurity, corruption, economic challenges and other matters of great priority to Buhari's administration (Ojoye, 2016).

Fight Against Insecurity

President Buhari's administration on assumption of office established bilateral relations with neighboring countries so as to jointly fight Boko-Haram Insurgency which assumed a multinational or transnational dimension. The administration partnered with the US, Germany, Britain, China, France, and other world powers to support the government in order to fight terrorism by providing the needed manpower and intelligence (Bello *et al*, 2017). This was to eradicate Boko-Haram insurgency in Nigeria. In pursuit of foreign policy based on good neighborliness and security for all. President Buhari started his official international trips by visiting Niger Republic, Burkina-Faso, Chad, Cameroon, Guinea and Republic of Benin to reinvigorate the brotherly relations and solicit support for the war against international terrorism which had before his election into office led to the creation of Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) against Boko-Haram insurgency in the twilight of Jonathan's administration in 2014 (L'Osservatorio, 2023). President Buhari made it a cardinal objective of his foreign policy to pursue his national interest by maintaining good relations with his immediate neighbours. The result of this was an improvement on the counter insurgency war against Boko-Haram and Islamic West African Province. On the home front, according to Premium Times (2018) President Buhari approved the establishment of a new battalion of the Nigerian Army as well as a new Police Area Command in Birnin Gwari L.G.A. of Kaduna State as part of measures to scale up the security response to the banditry affecting the area.

The defence headquarters assembled a special military intervention force comprising of more than 1,000 personnel, drawn from the Army, Air Force, Navy, Police, DSS and S NSCDC to respond to the security challenges in the North Central and North West. On May, 2018, the force launched operation WHIRL STROKE as a full scale military operation to completely restore law, order and stability in the affected communities (Adesina, 2018).

The establishment of the Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs, Disaster Management and Social Development to co-ordinate all humanitarian affairs in Nigeria is a major effort at tackling poverty and shrinking the pool of those being targeted for recruitment by insurgents and bandits is another way of checkmating insecurity in the country.

However, some prominent Nigerians believe that the government was not doing enough to curtail insecurity. Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka described the country as a war zone (Igwe,

2021). This was as a result of the perceived lukewarm attitude of the government towards insecurity.

Recently, Buhari's administration acquired twelve (12) Tucano Jet fighters from United States of America to assist the government in her counter insurgency measures against Boko-Haram and Islamic West African Province (ISWAP) insurgencies (Premium Times 2021). According to US Air Force African Commander, Nigeria procured the twelve A-29 Super Tucano Jet Fighter at the cost of \$500 million (Salau, 2021).

These efforts of President Buhari's administration has not yielded much positive result as the Boko-Haram insurgency continued unabated in the Northern parts of Nigeria. Although after the death of Abubakar Shekau and arrival of twelve Tucano Jets some Boko-Haram Insurgents have surrendered to the Nigerian armed forces. The Nigerian army says at least 1,000 Boko-Haram/ Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWAP) members have laid down their arms and surrendered to its troops (Ayitogo, 2021) but the war against Boko-Haram has continued for a long time as the insurgency still persists.

However, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Antonio Guterres has commended President Mohammadu Buhari for his leadership role in Africa as well as stabilization of the West African Sub-Region (Agbakwuru, 2021) on terrorism, the UN scribe commended the effort of Buhari's administration on the global phenomenon, assuring the Nigerian leader of the United Nations continue support in her efforts to address the prevailing security and humanitarian challenges that have arise especially with internally displaced persons (Agbakwuru, 2021).

Fight against Corruption and Recovery of Looted Funds

President Buhari on assumption of office in 2015 mobilized international support for the fight against corruption in Nigeria and recovery of looted funds at home and in foreign countries such as US, Britain, Switzerland, Germany. Buhari's administration embarked on prosecution of some former government officials accused of corruption and mismanagement of public funds.

According to TVC News (2018) and This day Newspaper (2018) below are the names of some of the former public officers accused of corruption and mismanagement of public funds and assets by Buhari's administration included: Uche Secondus PDP Former Chairman N20 million from the office of the National Security Adviser (NSA), Olisa Metun PDP former National Publicity Secretary N1.4billion, Dr. Raymond Dokpesi Chairman DAAR Communication N1billion, Dadafa Wasipamo-Owei former SSA to President Goodluck Jonathan N830 million, Robert Azibaola Jonathan's cousin \$40 million from the office of NSA (TVC News 25/3/2018), Former NSA Sambo Dasuki: Based on EFCC investigations and findings alone (this is beside the ongoing \$2.1 billion military equipment scandal), a total of N126 billion, over \$1.5 billion and 5.5 million British Pounds was embezzled through his office. A good number of these monies were simply shared to persons and companies without any formal contract awards, Former Petroleum Resources Minister Dieziani Alison-Madueke: In just one of the cases the EFCC is investigating involving her, about N23 billion is alleged to have been embezzled. She is also involved in the Strategic Alliance Contracts of the NNPC, where the firms of Jide Omokore and Kola Aluko got oil blocks but never paid government taxes and royalty. About \$3 billion was involved. The Federal Government is charging Omokore and Aluko and will use all legal instruments local and international to ensure justice.

Also, Femi Fani-Kayode: N866 million, Hassan Tukur, former PPS to President Goodluck Jonathan: \$1.7 million.

The administration keyed into the Treasury Single Account (TSA) policy initiated by the Jonathan administration for all government establishments so as to curtail the incidence of corruption and mismanagement of public funds. The administration also made several efforts outside the country to recover looted funds stashed in foreign countries.

The war against corruption did not yield desired results due to some political and sentimental factors. Politicization of the anti-corruption fight and refusal to investigate accusations on political allies have cast doubt on the anti-corruption fight (Oludayo, 2021).

However, President Muhammadu Buhari was named by the African Union (AU) as its anti-corruption champion in Africa in recognition of his determination to fight against corruption (Bambi 2018). This was in Africa Union summit in the year 2018.

The Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) stated that about \$20 trillion have been stolen from the treasury by leaders who had access to the national money between 1960 and 2005. (Ajayi and Ifegbayi, 2015) and Mr. Lai Mohammed, Information Minister declared that between 2006 and 2013 about \$6.8 billion was stolen (Anadolu, 2016).

In terms of recovery of funds, some funds were recovered from Abacha, Ibori families and others. A total of US\$ 622 million Abacha looted funds was repatriated to Nigeria in December 2017 (Adesina, 2021). In 2020, the Buhari's administration recovered about £311 million from United States of America being part of Abacha's loot. Also, the government of United Kingdom in 2021 repatriated about £4.2 billion to Nigeria being part of the money recovered from Ibori's family (Ajayi, 2021). According to All Progressive Congress' (APC) legacy awareness and campaign, President Muhammedu Buhari's Administration recovered about N1trillion of stolen funds and assets since he assumed office in 2015 (Ajayi, 2021). Therefore, about N19 trillion of looted funds are still not recovered from both home and abroad till date.

Economic Recovery

President Muhammadu Buhari on assumption of office in 2015 embarked on multi-lateral relations with various countries of the world such as United States of America, United Kingdom, France, Germany, China, Russia in order to revive the poor economy inherited from former president Goodluck Jonathan. President Muhammadu Buhari's Administration further launched his economic restoration and growth plan (2017/2020) in April 2017. The Economic Restoration and Growth Plan was a medium term all-round development initiative focused on restoring growth, investing in people and building a globally competitive economy (Iyayi, 2019).

President Buhari also tried to diversify the economy through job creation, telecommunications, transportation, electricity, agriculture and manufacturing (Abubaka, 2016). However, all these did not yield much results due to the dwindling crude oil export earnings and depreciating value of naira against major foreign currencies particularly dollars and pounds. Africa's largest economy is feeling the full brunt of a falling oil price. The value of the commodity has fallen by more than 65% since 2014 from \$112 per barrel to less than \$39 (Amadou, 2016). Furthermore, the issue of insurgency and terrorism had compounded the situation as foreign investors had kept away from Nigeria since 2009 when the Boko- Haram insurgency began, coupled with poor economic management by the Buhari's administration. Ojoye (2016) argued that economic growth does not just happen by accident. It is always a result of conscious planning and diligent implementation of complex policy option. True, Buhari assumed office in 2015 with the economy already showing serious signs of decline (Ojoye, 2016). But Buhari's administration has not recorded much improvement on the Nigerian economy since assumption of office as seen below. (Premium Times, 2021).

The Nigeria economy as at today is lacking all basic attributes of development, there are no adequate modern medical facilities or basic infrastructures. There is high rate of unemployment, insecurity and even the Buhari's administration was relying so much on external borrowing to meet up with her capital and recurrent expenses. The economic downturn has been painful even as the government looked helpless (Ojoye, 2016). Furthermore, the trade imbalance between Buhari's administration and core capitalist countries is another factor responsible for underdevelopment in Nigeria. According to dependency theory, the third world countries including Nigeria can never develop as long as they continue to trade with these core capitalist countries.

President Muhammadu Buhari Administration's Bilateral Relations

According to Femi Adesina (2021), special adviser to the President on media and publicity in his report titled "Report Card", presidency lists Buhari's achievements in six years, published by the cable news and views unlimited of 28th May, 2021, below are some of the bilateral relations carried out by President Muhammadu Buhari's administration with neighbouring African countries and other countries outside the continent since assumption of office in May 2015 as integral part of his foreign policy framework.

i. African Neighbours

According to Adesina (2021), President Muhammadu Buhari's administration re-established Nigeria's position and influence in the regional and global arena. Mr. Adesina stated in the report card that fragile/broken relations with neighbouring countries such as Chad, Benin, Cameroon, Niger Republic and other Francophone countries have been revived, strengthened and sustained since 2015 by the Buhari's administration. This has culminated into the establishment of a Multi-National Joint Task Force to fight and eliminate the Boko-Haram and Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWP) insurgences in West African Sub-Region.

ii. United States of America (USA)

According to Adesina (2021), President Muhammadu Buhari's administration on assumption of office in 2015, in view of the security challenges posed by the Boko-Hram insurgency and the need to recover looted funds to Nigeria, embarked on serious renewed cooperation in areas of security architecture of Nigeria as well as repatriation of looted funds with the government of United States of America (USA). As a result of this, the United States of America government approved the sale of twelve (12) super Tucano Jet fighters to Nigeria as well as training of Nigerian military personnel to fight and effectively eliminate the Boko-Haram insurgency from Nigeria (Adesina, 2021). President Buhari's administration further involved so many bilateral and diplomatic mutually beneficial relationships with USA in areas of security, economic, political and social development. In April 2018, President Trump hosted President Muhammadu Buhari of Nigeria at the White House to discuss efforts to deepen mutually beneficial relationship (Bureau of Africans Affairs 2021). Between 2015 and 2021 President Buhari involved Nigeria in many more bilateral relationships with USA being the major foreign direct investor and trading partner with Nigeria (Adesina, 2021) with the aim of reviving the Nigerian economy and fighting insurgency.

iii. United Kingdom (UK)

Nigeria as a former colony of United Kingdom, enjoys a peaceful and cordial relationship. Despite some disagreements from time to time, both countries have always found ways for reconciliation and continued peaceful relationship with each other thus, President Buhari's

administration has followed the foot-step of her predecessors right from independence in 1960.

Adesina (2021) stated in the report card that President Buhari's administration in 2018 commenced the implementation of Automatic Exchange of Tax Information (AETI) protocol with the United Kingdom. This protocol will provide the Nigerian government with data on bank accounts, property and trusts held in United Kingdom by Nigerian nationals and will support the Voluntary Assets and Income Declaration Scheme (VAIDS) by allowing Nigerian tax authorities to check the accuracy of declarations received regarding overseas assets. President Buhari has travelled to United Kingdom for so many engagements including; heads of state meetings and summits on education, security, environmental impact, economy, energy, power, Covid 19, trade and investments, all aimed at improving the standard of living of people in both countries particularly Nigerians and reviving the poor economy. According to Adesina in 2021 about £4.2 million was repatriated from United Kingdom to Nigeria being part of the loot recovered from the Ibori family.

iv. **China**

Barely a year after assumption of office, President Buhari visited China on the invitation by the Chinese president Xi Jinping. The visit was aimed at solidification of both countries' trade, diplomatic and economic relations (Bello, *et al*, 2017). The visit led to the signing of the framework to enhance infrastructural and industrial development activities between Nigeria and China. Also, a number of loans were granted to Nigeria especially to finance the deficit of 2016 budget, infrastructure for trains among others (Bello, *et al*, 2017). So many infrastructural project agreements were signed by China and the Buhari's administration. Apart from economic relations, both countries also enjoyed good diplomatic relations. China recently declared her full support for the Nigeria's quest for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council.

President Muhammadu Buhari has borrowed N830 billion (\$2.02 billion) from China since assumption of office in 2015, according to data obtained from the Debt Management Office (Tamitayo, *et al* 2021). This shows the level of cordial relationship between the Buhari's administration and the government of Republic of China. Generally, Nigeria and China relations have gone beyond diplomatic affairs as there are influx of Chinese goods, establishments and technologies in the Nigerian markets. The relationship has led to visits by the leaders of both countries at various levels of governance (Olaitan 2016). These visits have led to signing of various Memoranda of Understanding and agreement in the various sectors of co-operations which President Buhari's Administration embarked upon to revive the Nigerian economy and improve the living standard of Nigerians.

Theoretical Framework of the Study

The theoretical framework of this study is anchored on Liberal and Marxist theories of international relations.

a. Liberal Theory of International Relations

The liberal theory of international relation was propounded by two British philosophers, John Locke and Thomas Hobbes in the seventeenth century. Hobbes and Locke posited that government is a social contract between the ruler and the people. They maintained that political authority is necessary to protect persons and property of individuals and to guarantee their natural rights to freedom of thought, speech and worship (Mirogue: 2020). According to liberalism, the competing interests complement one another. Conflict is never irreconcilable. Liberals believe in

the possibility of peace and cooperation among individuals, groups and the state. Liberalism is based on the moral argument that ensuring the right of an individual/person to life, liberty and property is the highest goal of government (Meiser 2018). The main concern of liberalism is to help to construct institutions that protect individual freedom by limiting and checking the political power of the state. Liberalism at early stage promotes democracy, human rights, separation of power and rule of law.

The aim of the early liberals was to limit the power of government over the individuals while holding it accountable to the governed (Mirogue, 2020). The basis of liberalism is fundamental human rights, equality before the law, consent of the governed, gender equality, freedom of speech and religion as well as cooperation, peace and security. Liberal theories of international relations try to explain how peace and cooperation are possible. The German Philosopher Immanuel Kant, 200 years ago posited that International cooperation was more rational option for states than resorting to war (Goldstein and Pevehouse, 2011).

As a result of the above, it became imperative to anchor this work on liberal theory of international relations as President Muhammadu Buhari's Administration right from inception in 2015 tend to promote cooperation by involving in bilateral relations with other countries to fight insecurity, corruption, recovery of looted funds and economic prosperity.

b. Marxist Theory of International Relations

The Marxist theory was originally propounded by Karl Marx (1818-1883) a German philosopher and revolutionary Socialist. Marxism is a branch of socialism, a theory that holds that the more powerful classes oppress and exploit the less powerful by denying them their fair share of the surplus they create (Goldstein and Pevehouse, 2011), The Marxists believe that the capitalist countries are there to exploit the third world countries thus the relationship between the capitalist countries and the third world countries are unequal. The Marxist argued that the third world countries produce primary products which are sold at the prices being dictated by the rich capitalist countries while the capitalist countries produce industrialized goods which the third world countries must purchase at very high cost being dictated by rich capitalist countries.

The Marxists therefore, advocated that the third world countries should look inwards for their economic development. The third world countries would have to develop through their own stages of accumulation from feudalism to capitalism before taking the revolutionary step to socialism (Goldstein and Pevehouse, 2011).

In view of the above therefore, this study enjoined Nigeria and other Third World Countries in Africa, Asia and South America to abstain from trade and relationships with these-capitalist rich countries and look inwards for their economic development.

Consequent upon the above theoretical framework of this study, it could be seen that President Muhammadu Buhari's foreign policy of improved bilateral relations and cooperation as well as promoting democracy and international organizations are in line with the liberal theory of international relation. However, the reliance of the administration on the rich core capitalist countries of the world for economic recovery has not yielded much benefit and can never yield much in line with the dependency theory of international relations. No wonder the economy inherited from former President Good luck Jonathan has not improved despite all efforts by the Buhari administration as a result of his relationship with these rich core capitalist nations which have always been at the detriment or disadvantage to the third world countries such as Nigeria.

Research Methodology

This paper is basically dependent on secondary sources of data for the research, which include journals, relevant textbooks, television/media houses, periodicals, newspapers, magazines, bulletins, reports, internet sources, government white papers, press conferences and pronouncements. The data analysis is therefore based on qualitative data analyses method and content analyses as contained in the various report therein.

Findings of the Seminar Paper

Below are the findings of the seminar paper through the review of the various literature:

1. Despite the challenges facing the Buhari's Administration, it has been able to protect and promote Nigeria's National Interest by keeping Nigeria as a united democratic sovereign nation.
2. The fight against Boko-Haram has not yielded much result although since the arrival of the twelve Tucano Jet Fighters from America many insurgents have surrendered but the Boko-Haram insurgency and other insecurities in the country still persist.
3. The fight against corruption and recovery of looted fund did not yield much result due to political and sentimental consideration. However, so many people accused of corruption were prosecuted and a lot of looted funds and assets of about N1 trillion were recovered by Buhari's administration from home and abroad.
4. This paper has been able to establish that between 1960 and 2005, 2006 and 2013 about \$20 trillion and \$6.8 billion were stolen from the National Treasury respectively by various public office holders.
5. As a result of the dwindling oil prices and decline in value of naira coupled with dependency syndrome, the administration could not achieve much in the economic sphere due to the trade imbalance and exploitation by the rich core capitalist countries the administration relied upon for economic development.
6. President Muhammadu Buhari's Administration should delink from this relationship with these core capitalist countries and look inwards within Nigeria and other African countries for economic development.

Discussion of Findings

President Mohammadu assumed duty as president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on 29th May, 2015 with a three-point agenda of fighting insecurity, corruption/recovery of looted funds and economic recovery.

In view of the above, the Buhari's Administration established bilateral relations with various countries of the world so as to achieve this lofty objective. On security, the administration teamed up with her African neighbours to fight the Boko-Haram and Islamic West Africa Province insurgencies. This joint effort could be seen in the sustenance of the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJFT) comprising of various West African countries' armed forces. (Bello *et al*, 2017).

According to Premier Times (2021), President Buhari's administration embarked on procurement of twelve Tucano Jet fighters from United States of America at the cost of \$500million and the training of the Nigeria Armed Forces personnel to fight the insurgencies and eradicate insecurity from the country but this has not yielded much result as insurgency still persists although, some Boko-Haram insurgents have surrendered to the Nigerian Armed Forces after the death of Abubakar Shekau and the arrival of twelve Tucano Jet fighters.

On fight against corruption and recovery of looted funds, the administration recovered a lot of funds from previous office holders both home and abroad but much is still to be recovered

till date. The fight against corruption was not much successful due to some political and sentimental reasons. (Oludayo, 2021). The judiciary and the EFCC did not help matters as most times they were accused of double standard and favoritism. The administration also failed to observe strictly the principle of separation of power which made the judiciary weak and unable to stand firm to carry-out their duties creditably and objectively.

However, over N1 trillion was recovered in 6 years according to figures released by the government. (Ajayi, 2021).

On economic recovery, President Muhammadu Buhari's administration engaged in various bilateral relations with so many rich capitalist countries in the world to improve the Nigeria economy but effort did not yield much result. According to data released by Bureau of Statistics (2021) inflation moved from 9% in 2015 to 2021, food prices climbed to 20.57%, unemployment to 33.3%, GDP declined to 1.1%, naira against dollar rose from N197 in 2015 to N410, debt from 12.12 trillion in 2015 to 32.195 trillion in 2020. The above and the dwindling crude oil export earning, fall in the value of naira against major currencies and what this paper termed the dependency syndrome. It was established by this paper that in accordance with the dependency theory. The Third World countries including Nigeria can never develop as long as they continue to rely on the core capitalist countries as a result of the unequal relationship and trade imbalance which led to their continuous exploitation and underdevelopment. It is the view of this paper, that in line with the Marxist Theory, the Buhari's Administration should henceforth de-emphasize relationships with these core capitalist countries and look inwards for the economic development of Nigeria.

Conclusion

This paper concludes that president Buhari's administration maintained cordial and bilateral relations with her African neighbours, China, United States of America, Britain, France, Germany to fight insecurity, corruption, recovery of looted funds, economic prosperity, and general development of Nigeria. However, little success was recorded by the administration in these areas as Boko-Haram insurgency is still waxing strong in Northern Nigeria. Although, since the arrival of the twelve Tucano Jet fighters to Nigeria, some Boko-Haram insurgents have surrendered to the Nigeria army. The fight against corruption has not yielded much even though some funds were recovered yet a lot of looted funds are still not recovered from both home and abroad and the economy has not improved much due to the dependency syndrome as postulated by this paper.

Recommendations

President Muhammadu Buhari's administration has in terms of foreign policy initiatives made some inroads but this has not reflected in the quality of life of the ordinary Nigerian. Consequently, this paper is recommending the following measures to be taken by the administration that has taken over from Buhari to enable them achieve national interest objectives and the three-point agenda set by the Buhari's administration for Nigeria.

1. The new (Tinubu's) administration should ensure evaluation, necessary-follow-up, and effective monitoring of all Memoranda of Understanding and agreements already signed with other countries so that they are faithfully implemented. The government should set-up a presidential advisory committee on foreign relations comprising of competent and experienced diplomats to work in tandem with the various national high commissions/embassies in foreign countries to ensure that the purpose of the administration's foreign policy objectives are achieved.

2. The new administration should continue to protect and promote Nigeria's national interest which includes defense of Nigeria's sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, internal cohesion, democratic principles, national unity, security and economic prosperity.
3. The establishment of the Nigeria-Diaspora Commission by Buhari's administration is highly commendable as it created awareness and enlightenment of the huge financial contributions from Nigerians abroad into the Nigerian economy. However, the new administration should encourage and support Nigerians abroad to invest in the country through the commission without prejudice to the role of the Nigerian mission abroad. The commission should continue to protect the interest and welfare of Nigerians abroad along with the embassies/high commissions.
4. It is worthy of note that the war against corruption by Buhari's administration has not succeeded as expected due to political and other sentimental factors. However, the new administration should ensure that the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) acquires more teeth to bite. The commission should be independent without political interference with increased budget to effectively operate. In addition, the government should create specialized anti-corruption courts to hasten the trial of corruption cases. The judges to serve in these courts must be professionals of high integrity with proper incentives.
5. In terms of recovery of looted funds abroad, the new administration should exert more efforts and pressure on countries such as USA, UK, Germany, Switzerland, United Arab Emirates (UAE) and others to return stolen Nigeria funds.
6. The new administration should sincerely put the necessary machineries in place to diversifying the country's mono-economy. Through encouraging investment in agriculture, small and medium scale industries. The administration should look inwards for economic development instead of relying on rich core capitalist countries which have placed Nigeria and other third world countries in perpetual disadvantaged positions and under-development according to dependency and Marxists theories highlighted in this paper. This will enable the country to earn more foreign exchange from other sectors instead of relying solely on crude oil whose prices continue dwindling in the international market. There is a strong need to also reactivate the four petroleum refineries in Nigeria so as to refine Nigeria's crude oil locally as promised during his campaign in 2015 election.
7. Activities of Fulani herdsmen have not helped the agricultural sector. The government should create conducive environment for the local farmer, small and medium scale investors by providing necessary amenities such as good road networks, electricity supply, railways, storage facilities, security, tax relief, to enable them operate effectively and efficiently to be profit oriented and reduce imports.
8. The Government administration should continue to negotiate and seek support of African neighbours and other countries for the fight against the Boko-Haram and other insurgent groups. The operation of the twelve (12) Tucano Jet fighters from United States of America should involve trained army personnel from Nigeria. This will help provide a ready force to engage the terrorists and possibly eliminate them since they are agents of deaths,

underdevelopments, poverty, dehumanization and backwardness. Thus, should be stamped out from the society immediately.

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