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THE JONATHAN ADMINISTRATION (2009 – 2015) AND THE PURSUIT OF AFRICA AS THE CENTRE PIECE OF NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

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Abstract
Successive administrations have impacted both positively and negatively on the nation's foreign policy. The regime of President Goodluck Jonathan was the fifth civilian administration in Nigeria which has made some impacts on Nigeria's Foreign Policy. This impact is more noticeable in African affairs. This study is concerned with assessing the impact of the Jonathan administration in the pursuit of Africa as the Centre Piece of Nigeria's Foreign Policy. The main objective is to find out whether Jonathan administration has used its foreign policy to impact positively or not on other African nations. Using the concentric circle theory, the paper examines the extent to which Nigeria has been able to relate with the sister African countries in layers approach without jeopardizing her national interest. In our analysis, the study is of the view that Nigeria has been able to pursue Africa as the Centre Piece of Nigeria's Foreign Policy to some extent. However, the country still needs to put in a lot of commitment, political will, institutions building, ensure internal stability, tame the trend of insecurity and political differences in order to maintain firm focus in the pursuit of its foreign policy objectives. In addition, Nigeria still needs to concentrate more on its internal contradictions as this will improve its external image. This will in turn enable other countries especially South Africa to regard Nigeria as the leader of Africa. The work therefore concluded that Jonathan administration had made some impact on Nigeria foreign policy with particular emphasis on African affairs.

Keywords: Foreign Policy, National interest, Security and Peace

Introduction

One of the hallmarks of independent and sovereignty of statehood is the determination and conduct of a Nation's Foreign Policy, Nigeria assumed sovereign independent status in October 1, 1960 and the mantle of leadership fell on Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the first and the last Prime Minister of Nigeria (Kolawole, 2004:1). The task of taking and pursuing Nigeria's National Interest became a task for the pioneering indigenous administration whose ability and capability in performing the roles were limited by inexperience, lack of precedence, institutional deficiencies, poor operational environment and shortage of Foreign Policy experts. Successive governments in Nigeria have claimed that their various foreign policy pursuits are geared towards the attainment

of the country's national interest. But the question has always been: "Who determines the National Interest of the State" (Gabriel, 2008)?

The answer to this question is not far-fetched. Evidence has shown that most of the time leadership personal ideology determines foreign policy. This is contrary to the option and tenets of general populace as governance places the people above the rulers. These were the reflections of military government in the country. However, these are not in all cases as sometimes, leadership decisions reflect the interest of the people. In this regard, in achieving national interest, all the variables are taken into consideration. When all these parameters are positive, to improve on the development of the State, then the citizen can publicly say the foreign policy is of reality meant for the national interest. If the result is negative, the foreign policy is a sycophantic myth rather than reality. This paper is concerned with the analytical investigation of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan administration (2009 – 2015) and the pursuit of Africa as the Centre Piece of Nigeria's foreign policy. The assessment reflects whether the policy is a myth or reality.

Conceptual Clarification

The simple explanation of foreign policy could be national policy pursued beyond the level of domestic boundary, the use of external relations as a replacement concept for foreign policy. To buttress this, foreign policy is a relation between two states (Bilateranism) or a relation among States of the World. (Multilateralism). However, foreign policy specialists have provided many cognisant constructive definitions for the concept of foreign policy. Northedge (1968:5) defines "foreign policy as the interplay between outside and the inside" and the conditions usually domestic under which this actions are formulated. Holsti (1983:19) conceives foreign policy to be "the action of state towards its external environment. These two definitions show that foreign policy is the behaviour of a state to the external world, which indicate that no country can stand in isolation in the international system. Adeniran (1983:185) perceives foreign policy from the connection of motives and benefits that underpins states relations (Ajayi, 2004:11). The assertion is that foreign policies are the goals and objectives, which a nation seeks to achieve and the means at her disposal to achieving them. Adeniran sees goal and a means as a basic ingredient of foreign policy.

A nation's foreign policy pursuit is the national interest. Morgenthau (1973:9). Khan et al., (1977:318) argue "foreign policy consists of ranked objectives, which a government seeks to achieve in its relations with others. Lovely (1970:255) also noted that foreign policy decisions although made in the name of a nation as a whole seldom affect all citizens' equally. In fact, foreign policy-making is a process of politics not of a pure reason. Kissinger (1979:57) emphasized the linkage between the domestic environment and foreign policy pursuit.

Saliu (1979:32) maintained that foreign policy of a state usually refers to the general principles by which a state governs its reaction to the international environment. Frankel (1963:1) defines foreign policy as a dynamic process of interaction between the changing domestics demands and support and the changing external circumstances. Ogwu (1986:7) viewed it from its classical perspective noted that; national interest encompasses the various strategies employed in the intentioned interactions of state in order to ensure the preservation of the stated goal of the society. Hence both the

domestic and foreign policies are correlated and both influence a nation's foreign policy. The process of a nation's foreign policy involves interaction among numerous and conflicting political, economic, psychological, social and cultural factors which may not have any systematic relations with one another.

From the foregoing, therefore, foreign policy is the relations that exist between and among states with the main aim of achieving their Foreign Policy objectives.

Theoretical Framework

Various scholars have attempted to apply concentric circle to foreign policy analysis, Gambari (1989:21) observes that a country's foreign policy usually revolves round its national interest. The inner-most interest of all countries is usually territorial integrity, security and political independence. Towards this end, all nations of the world will always defend their territorial integrity and security. This is because they will never want any other state to invade their land. After a nation might have guided its territory selfishly, it then relates with its immediate external environment. In the case of Nigeria, those countries are the West African countries, then Africa as a whole.

To buttress the above, Saliu (2011) explained that the society would achieve more if scholars develop a layer approach to the understanding of foreign policy. The layers of Nigeria Foreign Policy are Nigeria and West Africa. The interest of Nigeria's Foreign Policy according to him should be located in Nigeria and its immediate neighbours. Through this, Nigeria will be able to protect its interest. In furtherance to this theory, Akinterinwa (2007:701) discussed a constructive and beneficial concentricism in which he explained that the ultimate beneficiary of Nigeria's foreign policy is Nigerians and that each layer of the concentric circle should take the citizen as beneficiary of its activities. He however, posited that the making of Nigeria's foreign policy more constructive in design and beneficial to its citizens should be its priority. On the contrary, Saliu (2009:76) explained that the main reason why a nation has a foreign policy interest is for it to be beneficial to its citizens at the long run. He however added that the notion of beneficial concentrism is repeating what had already existed in concentric circle theory.

Looking at the views of the two scholars, it can be deduced that the welfare of the citizens are taking care of at the long run of a nation's national interest. Despite this, we cannot totally disagree with the view of Gambari since it can be used to stress the importance of a nation's foreign policy.

In the final analysis, concentric circle theory can be explained to mean the study of Nigeria's relation with the external world in layers approach, with having Nigeria's national interests, which are territorial integrity, security and political independence among others at the epicenter of the circle. From the foregoing therefore, a study like this will be more appropriate with the use of concentric circle.

President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan and Nigeria's Foreign Policy on Africa

Emerging as the President of Nigeria after the demise of President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua on 6 May 2010, President Goodluck Jonathan made Africa its focal point in its external relations. He embarked on a number of shuttles during which he engineered the formation of Nigerians in Diaspora Organization (NIDO) in all countries where there are

Nigerians. This organization is in-charge of the activities of Nigerians in their country. They ensure that Nigerians are instruments of foreign policy. As a way of achieving this, President Jonathan has appointed 93 ambassadors charged with the responsibility of protecting Nigeria's interest in different countries. Eighty six of the ambassadors were posted out of the country while the remaining seven who fell under the category of In-Situ remain in Nigeria. Of the 86 posted out, 62 are ambassadors while 24 are Deputy Heads of Mission. Among the ambassadors are 11 women 10 of which are Heads of Mission, and one Deputy Head of Mission (House Committee on Diaspora Affairs, 2014). These are expected to work hand-in-hand with the House Committee on Diaspora Affairs in ensuring the protection and well-being of Nigerians outside the shores of the country. Also remarkable in his foreign policy effort was his prompt response to the denigrating deportation of Nigerians by South Africa. The way he handled the deportation was welcomed by Nigerians.

In addition, Nigerians in crisis countries like Libya 2011, Egypt January 2012 were airlifted at the outset of the Arab spring (Eze, 2012:5). Nigeria also hosted the 5th Nigeria/EU dialogue. The government also ensured that its diplomacy was put at the service of domestic priorities. The key priorities utilized in this regard are: Agriculture, Commerce, Defence and Security to mention a few.

Point of note is the use of economic diplomacy to achieve its Africa oriented foreign policy. In the African context, it was believed that Nigeria Foreign Policy must be used to support the domestic policy of African countries (Jonathan, 2011). The effect of this has been read in literatures as Nigeria was said to have the largest economy after a rebasing calculation; almost doubled its gross domestic product with more than $500 billion (http://maljazeera.com).

When President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan assumed office as an elected President on May 29, 2011 the government did not only intensify effort in advancing its African oriented foreign policy, but also created a new policy direction. At independent, Nigeria foreign policy thrust centered on the quest for Africa unity decolonization and the removal of the obnoxious policy of apartheid in South Africa at that time. Convinced that a lot of change had taken place during 50's year of existence of the policy document with the cold war era, the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa and decolonization of Africa completed, President Jonathan ordered a review of foreign policy documents in line with transformation agenda of his administration. These changes had brought about new emerging markets in Africa Asia and Latin America. In addition, the global challenges of terrorism, human and drug trafficking, migration and quest for democracy and good governance was topmost of its priorities. (Jonathan, 2011).

Nigeria's policy experts and diplomats could not agree with Nigeria leader that Nigeria's foreign policy should not seek to respond effectively to these new realities. The experts argue that activities to promote the economic growth and development, secure it national interest and define how Nigeria can enhance initiative in African (big brother role) and rest of the world, while strengthening its role in international organizations(Saliu,2011). This will go a long way in making Nigeria the nerve centre of Africa. It is worthy to note that nine months after the review, Nigeria has recorded appreciable success as a new vista in economic and citizen diplomacy continue to open Nigeria and South Africa to resolve their diplomacy issue over deportation of some

Nigeria traveling to South Africa. This started in 2010 twelve (12) months later, Nigeria supported peace and conflict resolution in Ivory Coast, Championed ECOWAS, framework agreement on the situation in Mali, not associated with military junta in Mali recent coup and that full constitutional order must be restored to the country.

Nigeria's firm belief in good neighborliness had motivated her to support, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leone and Liberia. Nigeria troops are taking part in several UN Peace-keeping Mission in Africa notably in Sudan, South Sudan, Liberia and Sierra-Leone. Nigeria was invited to New York to become a member of the Governing Council of the Community of Democracies in International Organization. The headquarters in Poland, 2010-2011 Security Council member even current member of Security Council in 2013 till present time, Nigeria's new foreign policy focus on economic diplomacy (transformation agenda) in Africa, bilateral relation. It also includes Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and India. (Nwankwo, 2013:241)

However, in spite of its success, Nigeria faces huge security challenges arising from the threat of the Boko Haram sect which has carried out several attacks on churches, mosques, public buildings, including the United Nation Headquarters in Abuja, among all claiming of lives of the innocent Nigerians. Nigeria is also faced with enormous challenge stemming from the high rate of transborder crimes that have remained unabated due to the country's low naval capacity to police its borders. Indeed, Nigerian borders are prone to all types of unauthorized activities including human and illegal drugs trafficking, illegal trading or smuggling of contra-bound goods, unauthorized fishing within its territorial waters, see piracy and oil theft as well as destabilization of on-shore oil exploration activities by foreign multinational companies, all of which have led to the lost of unprecedented amount of financial resources by the country. This calls for an urgent need to re-train and re-equip the country's Navy with the needed gadgets that would enable it to effectively police her borders and reduce the evident high level porosity of the country's borders.

Impacts of Goodluck Jonathan's Pursuit of Africa as the Centre Piece of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

The emergence of Africa Union (AU) in 2002 marked the fulfillment of Asobie's Prediction. The AU was considered an appropriate response to the challenges of globalization, under development, economic marginalization, poverty and other factors stickling human security in post-colonial Africa (Sam Oyovbaire, 2002).

Since the emergence of AU, Nigeria has taken foreign policy measures considered consistent with the objectives of the organization. These include his commitment to peace and security in Africa and to integration and sustainable democracy on the continent. Nigeria's commitment to Africa as nerve-centre of her foreign policy is born on careful articulation of her national interest priorities.

Nigeria's sensitivity and response to political developments across the globe has become more pronounced and imperative. The death of Muammar Gaddafi in Sire on 20th October, 2011 and the consequences of the Arab spring for Algeria and Egypt in Africa. For instance, Egypt has since January, 2011 been engaged, amidst threats of sealifts incursions, in political re-engineering and other domestic challenges associated with regime change. Libya is also saddled with the challenges of the regime change

arising from armed struggle. These developments among others have prompted the review of Nigeria's foreign policy priorities. The imperative for this was captured by President Jonathan, when he observed that:

> In the era of globalization; at a time of grave challenges to national and international security, such as we face from terrorism and transnational criminal network, at a time of massive poverty and youth restiveness in our country, we have no choice but to adapt the way we conduct foreign policy. As we respond to the forces of globalization, perhaps more than ever before, our diplomacy must be put at the service of our domestic priorities" (Jonathan, 2011).

Beyond the Arab spring, the continued armed conflicts in Sudan and South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo and the precarious security situation in Mali demand increasing sensitivity from Nigeria, during Jonathan administration this is because of the domino effects of such conflict on the country. Africa is also confronted by insecurity associated with poor environmental governance. These led to floods in Niger, Nigeria, Ghana and Burkina Faso, as well as drought in parts of the Sahel, especially Niger and in Somalia. In addition, the continent is also confronted by treats associated with terrorism and transnational organized crime. The activities of Boko Haram in Nigeria, Al-Qeada in the Maaghrab in Mali and in the Great Lakes and horn of Africa respectively constitute security challenges for AU. Nigeria's commitments and co-operation towards these challenges in the face of the whole Africa cannot be ignored (Nwankwo, 2013)

Nigeria's role in Africa is best understood within the large context of her overall orientation and commitment to AU in her foreign policy. This orientation widely described as Afro-centrism, dates back to independent in 1960, and emphasizes that Nigeria's political leaders pursue foreign policy options designed to promote the interest of Africa. The policy is driven by the belief in Pax Nigeriana, which stresses that Nigeria should play Big Brother to other African countries. Professor Gabriel Olusanya captures the characteristics as follows (Olusanya, 1998):

> Nigeria is a born leader. Nigerians credentials as the so called the Giant of Africa are credential inherent in the country itself. Are over 100 million people so by virtue of the size and population, Nigeria like America is in a situation where it cannot live outside her geographical boundary? Nature has placed Nigeria in a situation where she has to be her brother's keeper. If your neighbours are hungry and unhappy, you can never be happy. Nigeria's neighbours are wretched and thereof we have to be our brother's keeper.

Nigeria's commitment to the AU is visible in its financial contributions to the organization. The AU inherited some of the financial problems that handicapped the OAU. The AU's funding challenges became more pronounced, since the organization has expanded it budgetary requirements to about five times higher than the OAU Budget. So far, Nigerians remains one of the five major financiers of AU operating budget. As a

major financier, Nigeria has full AU voting rights and has been able to sponsor her nationals for strategic positions requiring AU support in various international organizations. The other financiers are Algeria, Libya, Egypt and South Africa. These five countries contribute 75 percent of the organizations operating budget. The remaining African countries in the AU contribute 25 percent in 2008 each of the big contributed US $14.4 million toward the organization's operating budget. By 2012 during Jonathan's administration, these contributions increase to US $16.7 million (Debeng, 6th September, 2012).

Nigeria and Democracy Sustainability in Africa

Nigeria has also made commitment to promotion and consolidation of democracy, good governance and human rights in Africa. First, it rectified the African charter on democracy, elections and governance and subsequently deposited the instrument of ratification with AU. Second, the country provided material and other support to the democratic and electoral processes in Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Senegal, Liberia, Ghana, Niger and other Africa countries (Daily Trust, 2012:4).

Internally, the Nigerian government undertakes electoral reforms in 2002, 2006, 2010 with the aim of restoring the integrity of her electoral process so as to strengthen democracy. These commitments were anchored in the country's belief that a stable and democratic Africa is in Nigeria's national interest. By fostering democratic enlargement in Africa, Nigeria had remained firmly committed to Article 3(g) of the African Union Constitutive Act, which seeks to "promote democratic principle and institutions, popular participation and good governance in Africa (Ashiru, 2012).

Nigeria and Power Politics in Africa

The Big Power Politics at AU have been manifested in the different approaches adopted by Nigeria and South Africa. Libya's preference for a United States of Africa with its capital in Sirte engendered stiff competition among the big power countries. Example of such competition included the race for the leadership of AU commission, the intrigues associated with African Union Mediation during 2011 revolution in Libya and the 2010 post-election crisis in Cote d'Ivoire .The struggle for the chair of AU Commission 'between Gabon's Jean Ping and South Africa's former Home Affairs Minister, Dr. Nkosasang Dianmini Zuma suggested the latent rivalries between certain major powers in Africa. The decision by South Africa to field a candidate contradicted the previous convention among Africa big five not to seek leadership of AU Commission. Such Africa action was viewed as intended to support her quest to represent Africa as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, a status also sought by Nigeria, Egypt, and Ethiopia among others (Nwoke, 2014:55)

Nigeria there of supported the candidacy of former AU Commission Chair Jean Ping. The eventual victory of South Africa's Dianmini Zuma at the July AU summits has thus been seen as a pointer of Nigeria's dwindling diplomatic clout on the continent (Nwoke,2014:48). It is important to note Nigeria made some gains at the July, 2012 AU summit. First, Nigeria's Ambassador Aisha Laraba was elected AU Commissioner for Political Affairs. The political affairs department is responsible for promoting democracy, good governance and credible elections in Africa. This appointment coincides with the

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United State of Africa. Both have built on the work of Nigeria – South Africa Bi-National Commission to boast their economic relations. Apart from personal conflict between President Nelson Mandela and General Sani Abacha arising from the hanging of environmentalists Ken Saro-Wiwa and the eight Ogoni people in November 1995, the relationship between Nigeria and South Africa has remained cordial for most of the apartheid era. What exists in the recent public consciousness as the diplomatic rivalry between Nigeria and South Africa has emerged under Jacob Zuma's Presidency. This climaxed during the deportation row between Nigeria and South Africa in March 2012(Nwoke, 2014)

The incidents explained in the study have adversely affected domestic perceptions of Nigeria's diplomacy in Africa. In July, 2012, the Chair of the House Committee or Foreign Affairs, Nnenna Elendu-Ukeje, decided the fading leadership role of the country on the continent. She therefore, proposed that the time had come for Nigeria to draw up a road map of whose she was identified to be in ECOWAS, the AU and the UN (Daniel, 2012).

This has given rise to a negative domestic perception of Nigeria's posture on the continent. This fact was established since there is no collaboration of connection between African has the centre peace of Jonathan's administration and economic diplomacy transformation agenda towards the national interest of the country which is the policy and principle that guard his foreign policy. The emerging sources of insecurity have heightened existing threats to Nigeria National Security and to regional security in Africa. For instance, Northern Mali has come under siege from AQIM, while the Boko Haram insurgence in Northern Nigeria had intensified as a result of the weapons from Libya (Ashiru, 2012).

Central to protesters demands were greater political freedom, economic opportunity and end to systems corruption in affected states other demand were transparency and political accountability. The events brought about regime change in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and Yemen. Nigeria has not been spared the insecurities emanating from the Arab spring. Prominent among these are the infuse of weapons into the country and the escalation of Boko Haram assaults on the Nigeria State Ashiru (2012:15). The Ambassador Olugbenga Ashiru has declared the peace and security of West Africa Sub-region is tied to peace and stability of Nigeria.

The ECOWAS Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security, Mrs. Salamatu Suleman has observed that ECOWAS decision to intervene in Mali is intended to check the spread to Boko Haram and the movement of Al-Qeada groups into Nigeria and neighbouring countries. She maintained that Nigeria's Territorial and National Interests are at state and traced Boko Haram terrorism to Mali, Suleman (2012). It is the reality that underscores Nigeria's commitment to the ECOWAS peace process in Mali and the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 2011, which allows for military and other intervention and assistance to Mali (BBC News, 2012).

Nigeria has therefore intensified efforts at addressing their Malian crisis multilateral engagement under the banner of ECOWAS, AU and UN. This is more necessary as South Africa is geographical remote from Mali, while Egypt and Libya were still addressing their own domestic challenges. Algeria one of the big Africa's five, remain reluctant to support military intervention in Mali, Nigeria's credentials to lead

peace, initiative in Mali rest on her accumulated experience in international peace keeping under the UN, AU and ECOWAS. Especially in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Darfur. Nigeria is also an oil wealth and stands about several other countries in West Africa in term of population, military preparedness and willingness to intervene (Ako-Nai, 2014)

President Goodluck Jonathan has ordered the withdrawal of the country's troops from the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA). MINUSMA took over from the African International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA) under which Nigeria deployed in February this year (Duru, 2014:449)

This was the first time in the history of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations that Nigeria is unilaterally withdrawing own troops over disagreement with the way mission operational headquarters was staffed. In February, 2013; Nigeria deployed a total of 1,200 troops for the AFISMA operation, comprising a Nigerian Army Battalion plus strength of 900 troops and Nigerian Air Force strength of 300 troops. In addition, a Signal Squadron of 61 personnel was deployed. The Air force also deployed two Dassault-Breguet Dornier Alpha fighter jets and two Mi-35 Helicopters for the Malian operation. In addition, the Nigerian Contingent Air Component has deployed the C-130 transport Hercules and the Medium Carrier, the G222 for the operation. It however, lost one of the Alpha Jets and two Pilots in the Malian Operation; (The Guardian, 17th July, 2013).

Director of Defence Information, Brig. Gen. Chris Olukolade, who refused to comment on the ordered withdrawal of troops, told The Guardian that "we will let Nigerians know if we are withdrawing from Mali and we shall follow all diplomatic and other procedures if and when we are pulling out"(Olumolakun,2013). However, a source said that President Jonathan ordered Nigeria's withdrawal in protest against "ill treatment of troops and non recognition of the roles it has been playing in the search for global peace. Nigeria was shabbily treated despite its role in efforts to stabilize the situation in Mali. The President has no choice but to order that the troops be withdrawn. The modalities for the withdrawal are now being worked out now. Look, left to the military, Nigerian troops would have been home by now; but our diplomats are sorting out the procedural issues involved; otherwise, we are out" (Mbachi, 2009:63).

Recently, UN Secretary General, Ban Kin Moon announced the appointment of Major Gen. Jean Bosco Kazura of Rwanda as the New Force Commander of Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission (MINUSMA), sidelining Nigeria's Major General Shehu Abdulkadir who was the Force Commander of African International Support Mission (AFISMA) from inception in January, 2013. Despite being the fourth largest troop contributing country under the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, no Nigerian has any appointment as the Force Commander in any of the UN Peacekeeping Mission (Ibid). However, the role of Nigeria troops in Southern Sudan under the UN Peacekeeping Mission from 2013 to 2014 cannot be emphasized in bringing peace that is yet attainable into the State (NTA News, January, 2014).

The relevance of the AU to Nigeria's foreign policy objectives in Africa cannot be overemphasized. So far, Nigeria is still regarded highly at the AU and has worked assiduously towards the realization of the AU's objectives. Nigeria's commitment to the

AU is visible in the areas of financial responsibility, pursuit of peace and security and promotion of integration and development on the continent. Consequently, Nigeria is still looked upon to provide direction to the organization. However, Nigeria's commitment to the AU has raised domestic curiosity in the country; on the one hand, there are skeptics who constantly query Nigeria's continued commitment to the organization. They insist Nigeria should refrain from playing Great Power politics in the AU and should first address her evident domestic socio-economic and security challenges. On the other the optimists argue that leadership in Africa is Nigeria's first role and that it should continue to give direction in conduct of intra-African affairs at the AU. Beyond these debates, certain facts remain sacrosanct. First, the AU constitutes a credible platform for Nigeria's diplomatic engagements in Africa. This is because the objectives of the Union are consistent with Nigeria's foreign policy objectives for the continent.

In the wake of the Arab Spring in parts of the Middle East and North Africa, Africa's Security has come under increased threat, however discountenancing the reinvigorated propensity for democratic enlargement on the continent. Moreover, the Arab Spring has led to a review of the engagement of Africa's Big Five, since Libya and Egypt are presently addressing domestic challenges. Nigeria therefore faces the task of providing strategic direction and stability in Africa through the AU. Consequently, it utilizes ECOWAS to pursue these objectives in West Africa. This approach has come in for keen contestation by South Africa (Mbachi,2009).

Conclusion and Recommendations

Jonathan administration and the pursuit of Africa as the centre piece of foreign policy was not a reality, it was rather a myth in fruit bearing and in term of attaining the set-objectives (reason) for making Africa as the centre piece of his foreign policy toward realization of domestic goals and national interest. The declaring in the role of big brother, content for central leadership position, contestable permanent security position with the big five precisely South Africa, cannot justify the role of Nigeria has the heartbeat of Africa because of rate of economic diplomacy development, infrastructure and technological development, educational and political stability of South Africa is moving at geometric progression. While that of Nigeria is moving in Arithmetic progression. In respective of this it will be an overstatement that Nigeria had not play some leading role in making Africa the centre piece of her foreign policy during President Jonathan's administration particular in peace-keeping and democratic consolidation in Africa compare to any big five countries (South Africa), but the Nigeria leadership was not able to attain her objectives. This can be referred to appreciation of a blinking car that cannot move. "A Giant of Africa so to say but she cannot walk" Corruption which is number one citizen, unemployment, high rate of insecurity (Boko Haram), which has claimed lives and property of innocent citizens. To this extent the name Giant of Africa is rather of sycophantic flattery than reality. What are the ways out the Jonathan's administration ought to have followed to recover her lost glory?

The economic diplomacy and transformation agenda of President Jonathan ought to have been backed up with a team of experts or specialists who are dedicated and

concern about the country's growth and development rather than politicians who are friends to number citizen "Mr. Corruption".

Likewise President Jonathan would have operated under opened door policy, employment creation for able youth, transparency and accountability government, conducive atmosphere for entrepreneurship and private investment that can meet political, technology, economic growth and development of the state.

Finally, the security issue would have been strategically attended to at all cost for national interest of the citizen and to attract foreign investor when all these are realized, The country would have been able to continue leadership (and big brother) role in Africa and all her objective would have been realized while other big contestant will take the second fiddle in sequence manner "travel to east, west and north is good but home is always the best". When home is built, external relation will be solidified and developmental progress will be possible

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