Transformational Diplomacy and Xenophobic Attacks on Nigerians in Diaspora: A Comparative Review on Cameroun and South Africa Scenarios

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Abstract
Evidently, Nigerians have in recent years become victims of xenophobic attacks across the globe. The most excruciating ones have occurred on African soil, most especially in South Africa and Cameroun. It is in the light of the foregoing that this study conducts a comparative analysis on recent attacks Nigerians by citizens of both Cameroun and South Africa, thereby interrogating the place of Nigerian citizens in the diaspora. Information for the study was obtained via interviews conducted with concerned individuals, scrutinized, and presented in a trans-disciplinary approach. Findings revealed that Nigerians have been severely attacked across the globe due to the defectiveness inherent in Nigeria's foreign policy formulations. Unfortunately, unlike most countries, the Nigerian government have failed to ensure the safety of her nationals across African countries. In addition, these attacks persist in spite of Nigeria's good neighbourliness towards African countries since the 1960s where unquantifiable human and capital resources were expended for the total decolonization of Africa. Therefore, the study concludes that the Nigerian government should reconsider her stance on these wanton attacks on her citizens through the utilization of the concept of transformational diplomacy, which will ensure that Nigerians are assured their safety outside their home soil.

Keywords: Transformational, Diplomacy, Xenophobic, Nigeria, Cameroun, and South Africa

Introduction

The inauguration of a democratically elected government into power on May 29 1999 marked the end of repressive political order and ushered in a new dimension in Nigeria's external relations. Evidently, the demise of military regimes was widely perceived as a triumph for popular will in identification and preservation of national interest. The level of leadership role Nigeria has played in the quest to sustaining democracy in Africa requires that a reunification with Nigerians in diaspora be taken as a crucial assignment. However, while bilateral and multilateral negotiations has since the 60s remained a top priority for Nigeria in the twenty-first century, the emergence of plagues such as terrorism, environmental insecurity, arms conflict, piracy, oil theft, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, human trafficking and xenophobia, demands that Nigeria toll a new dimension in her foreign policy goals. This paradigm shift will help put the interest of Nigerian citizens both at home and at the diaspora above every other considerations.

It is a historical fact known to all that Nigeria has been a benevolent State in Africa, rendering selfless assistance to other African and non-Africa countries (Grenada and Guyana), without seeking any interest in return (Garba, 1987). This was informed by Nigeria's strong commitment to decolonization and liberation of colonized States, particularly in Africa. Shreds of evidence portraying the catalytic leadership role Nigeria exhibited in the fight against

apartheid in South Africa, the recognition and financial supports to liberation movements in Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia, her involvement in peacekeeping operations subsist even until date. Other notable roles include the provision of technical assistance through Technical Aids Corp (TAC) scheme, as well as the encouragement for the formation and consolidation of sub-regional groups in Africa, and her pivotal and pioneering roles in establishing and sustaining the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) (Garba, 1987:15-36).

Given the foregoing, it is only logical to expect that Nigeria's citizens be held in high esteem throughout the world, most especially in Africa. Unfortunately, the spate of attacks on Nigerians leave much to be desired, given the fact that Nigerians overseas have been reduced to all sort of inhuman treatments. For instance, the Ghanaian government in 2007 set up a task force to seal business centers owned and operated by Nigerians, asking this poor Nigerians to remit $300,000 before they would be allowed to continue business in Ghana. The Cameroonian government made the same obnoxious demand asking Nigerians to pay well over N100, 000 before continuing their fishing trade in Bakassi region. In 2010, the Libyan authority at the instance of Muammar Gaddafi prosecuted several Nigerians on alleged crimes they were never convicted of committing. In 2008, about ten Nigerians were attacked and abducted by militant group on international waters from Dubai and were taken to Somalia. More recently, South Africans have formed the habit of venting their anger on Nigerians, accusing these Nigerians of various unfounded crimes.

It is worrying to note that even though several policies and negotiations have been formulated and implemented to curb these unwarranted menaces, it have often earn little or no result. In lieu of these shortcomings, transformational diplomacy therefore becomes pertinent in such cross-cultural attacks. This study, therefore, will reveal the role transformational diplomacy has to play in the issue of xenophobic attacks. Transformational diplomacy is explored to show how it can strengthen and facilitates effective coordination of fiscal and monetary policies and the maximization of the benefit of Diaspora resources through improved foreign policy objectives to the benefit of every Nigerians.

Some Conceptual Clarifications
Transformational Diplomacy

It has become a tradition among scholars from the humanities and social sciences to critically conceptualize certain terms since if these terms are left un-conceptualized, there pose a serious hindrance for comprehension. Therefore, according to the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary, transformational means "complete change in appearance or character of something." (Hornby, 1977). Relating the definition to governmental agenda, transformational thus denotes strengthening of government institutions to facilitate effective coordination of fiscal monetary policies for effective and optimal performance.

Thom-otuya (2015) sees transformational as a complete change and reorientation of the corrupt value system and the strengthening of the three arms of government to bring about national development. In the light of the foregoing, transformational diplomacy, therefore, refers to those policies aimed at building and sustaining democratic, will-governed states that will respond to the needs of her citizens in order to conduct themselves responsibly in the international system. Bass and Riggio (2006) sees the term in a different perspective, thereby making distinctions between transactional diplomacy and transformational diplomacy. They noted that, transformational diplomacy is an expansion of transactional diplomacy that hinges more on the ability of a leader to discuss with leaders of other countries on what is required of them, specifying the conditions and rewards they will receive when they fulfill this conditionality.

To Burn (1978), transformational diplomacy entails a leadership style in which a leader and followers raise one another to a higher pedestal through motivation and morality. However, in the course of this study, transformational diplomacy will connote policy programmes that seek the protection and support of Nigerian citizens at home and in the diaspora in order to develop the economic and political spheres of Nigeria. The adaptation of this concept is informed by the momentous transition, which affects international economic system to its very nature in recent years, where threats to national interest are not necessarily defined by competition among governments, but by newly empowered sub and transnational actors, requiring a realignment of States' Departments overseas to protecting their interest (Grudleger, 2012).

In the Nigerian context, transformational diplomacy, therefore, entails in a lose sense of the word, building Nigeria into a developed nation to the position of being at least among the 20 largest economies of the world by the year 2020 through several carefully thought out measures that meet global best practices. The transformational agenda will be realized within the national laws of capitalist economic growth, and for Nigeria to benefit more, Nigeria must ensure that more of her citizens, goods and services leaves the shores than come in, and more in terms of money and infrastructure be put into the country than being send out (Umar, 2012). Nonetheless, for this to materialize, Nigerian must make a breakthrough in science and technology, administrative and organizational expertise, and indigenizing it for the profitable use of the Nigerian entrepreneurs both within domestic and global markets.

On a final note, like a chain (functional theory) connecting every aspects, these policies and processes must be conceived and implemented through a purposeful and visionary leadership style with credible track record on democratic governance (Ardo, 2012). In fact, such transformational leadership must involve inspiring citizens committed to a share vision and goal with leadership qualities.

Nigerians in Diasporas: Origin, Reasons and Phases

Discourse on diaspora has since the 1960s garnered trans-disciplinary academic attention as were expressed in a plethora of publications. The term "diaspora" is often used in generic sense to connote a community of migrants living or settling permanently in other lands and are aware of their origin and identity; continue to maintain various levels of contacts with their ancestral homes (Kingsley, 2015). More recently, diaspora as a concept has been the major focus across many conferences, symposia and conventions. The rise in this sudden attention emanated from such growing awareness in the use of "Diaspora capital" alongside financial, human and social capital. In line with the views of Uya (2014) on the relevance of diasporic advantage, Nigeria has come to the realization that Diasporas is a resource based to addressing tough domestic economic challenges.

The origin of diaspora is as old as man's existence on earth. However, in relation to blacks communities across non-African regions, one of the most credible origins can be traced to the over four hundred years of Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade that saw a massively forced migration of Africans into Europe and the New World. Thereafter, Africans have been migrating from the African soil owing to a plentitude of reasons. Nonetheless, migration have shown to have its own positive impacts as it does have negative ones as well. Studies have actually shown that in 2012, an estimated 3 million people migrated out of Africa. Pointedly, over 200 million people have been said to live in countries other than theirs and frightfully, this figure is likely to triple in forty-five years from now and the contributions of these migrants to their new settlements is equally expected to triple too (Kingsley, 2015). Hence, diaspora

investment at home countries therefore holds the potentials of boosting local entrepreneurship thus creating a virtuous circle for future growth and development.

Technically, four main phases (period) have been identified in discussing the origin of Nigerians in the diaspora. The first wave being the forced migration, which transpired during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade as, had been mentioned earlier. According to Uya (1990), the forceful movement of these set constituted the first Nigerian community outside of Africa. The difficult decolonization process necessitated the second phase of Nigerian diaspora. During the twilight of the 50s and the dawn of the 60s, there was a great increase of emigrants from Nigeria into Europe, willing searching for better working or educational opportunities. The reasons for their migration varies, and ties to Nigeria fluctuate depending on a number of internal factors. Thirdly, another set migrated because of the Nigerian civil war (1967-1970), rapacious corruption, poverty, ethno-political and religious conflicts, among others which subsist up to 1999. The last phase of migration began in the 2000s, which ushered in a democratic transition in to the country thereby encouraging the promotion of technical programmes primarily directed towards the youth to expand the economy of Nigeria. As a medium to achieving this, the Nigerian government sponsored many Nigerian to go study abroad in various science and technological related disciplines to be used in the transformation agenda to help attract foreign direct investments (FDIs) back to Nigeria. Note that this set of emigrants, therefore, involve in the search for market outlets, cheap raw materials and places to exhibit their acquired skills for Nigeria, and are the recent victims of attacks all over the globe.

Nigeria-South Africa Relations, 1960-2000

To appreciate fully the magnitude of xenophobic attacks directed particularly to Nigerians in South Africa in recent years, it is pertinent to embark on a historical voyage in a bid to uncover the level of relationship that both countries from the 60s have had. Nigeria-South Africa relations had been shaped by defunct internal policy of apartheid in South Africa. The position of Nigeria on apartheid was that it was a severe form of racism and must be dismantle if the total decolonization of African States must become a reality. An apartheid South African State posed a direct military threat to several Front Line States (FLS), which Nigeria perceived as nothing less than an affront of Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy goals (Nkiwane, 2003). A full division of South African troop invaded Angola, thereby illustrating the extent of threat apartheid South Africa posed. Other cases were the attack on Zambia from Bases in Caprivi Strip. During the Nigerian civil war, South Africa supplied food, weapons, technical advisors and mercenaries to the Biafra side, which then propelled Nigeria to deploy all the machineries of State in ensuring the eradication of that apartheid regime (Landsberg and Baregu, 2003).

Solomon Akinboye (2005) observes that from the period when Nigeria showed interest in tearing the apartheid system in South Africa, South Africa relations was "full of extreme hostility, chilly and confrontational due largely to the latter's obnoxious apartheid system, which the former considered as repugnant and antithetical to its foreign policy objective." Over thirty-four years of Nigeria's effort at combating apartheid in South Africa, the unsettled theoretical question in scholarly literature have remained whether or not the activities of the Nigeria in South Africa had enhanced or hindered the preservation, protection and promotion of her national interest? Reacting to the foregoing poser, Olugenga Abegunrin (1979) avers"

> No other foreign policy issue had preoccupied the Nigerian governments more since independence in 1960 than the apartheid issues in South Africa. Successive Nigerian governments have deployed immense resources to fight

apartheid and neglected the domestic political and economic problems at home.

Abegunrin estimated that the investment on apartheid struggle must have cost Nigerian governments over 3 billion US dollars, and cautioned that domestic affairs should take preeminent position in Nigeria foreign policy agenda to avoid a repeat of such massive loss.

Joseph Garba (1987) further captures more graphically the myriad of consequences Nigeria had to bear in aiding the struggle against apartheid. Garba reiterated vehemently that Nigeria made friends with countries she had nothing in common. The piquant irony was that Nigeria ended up making enemies with countries because she made friends with some countries that had bad rapport with those hostile countries such as South Africa. Thus, Nigeria had to formulate economic policies that were often time detrimental to her own development because of her commitment to eradicating apartheid (Garba, 1987). In addition, Hassan Saliu (2008) accounts for Nigeria's contributions to the liberation struggle in South Africa and thus noted that from 1960 to 1994 Nigerian had reportedly committed massive resources towards that cause. However, Saliu expressed disappointment over the inability of Nigeria to be able to translate these policies of financial investments into economic gains for Nigerians (Saliu, 2008).

Even though, trajectories of hostile events suggests a rough terrain in Nigeria-South Africa relations in the twentieth century, recent trends have , however, shaped, reshaped and informed their relations in the twenty-first century for the purpose of mutual growth. Adebanjo and Christopher Landsberg studies of the dynamics of international system lends credence to post-apartheid relations between Nigeria and South Africa. These changes were spotted in the international economy system, which is saturated by increasing demand of globalization with its structural implications on Africa's economy. In addition, there is the Africa volatile security situation accentuated by ethno-political and religious crises. Both scholars equally noted that the understanding of these complexities embedded in the global system and its effects on Africa left both Nigeria and South Africa with no other option than to cooperate (Adebanjo and Landsberg, 2003). Evidently, the forces of globalization and Africa's volatile security issues combined to influencing Nigeria-South Africa relations in the late 1990s. This became necessary in view of the realization that Africa's economic recovery in the emerging global system is predicated on collective cooperation among African States.

From this perspective, therefore, both Nigeria and South Africa increase economic relations and this *camaraderie* between both countries led to the establishment of New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in October 2001 (Felix, 2015). Moreover, Akinboye (2005) views the relationship between Nigeria and South Africa between 1955 and 2000 as strategic partnership that led to the establishment of Nigeria-South Africa Bi-National Commission. Akinboye further noted that the Bi-National Commission has five concrete objectives. First, to provide a framework for collaborative efforts to bring African into the mainstream of global politics, social and economic developments. Second, to provide the basis for governments and private sectors of both countries to consult with each other on their economies and investment climates with a view to promoting bilateral trade and industry. Third, to improve bilateral relations in the fields of technology, education health, culture, youth and sport. Fourth, to utilize the generous endowments of both countries in human and natural resources to maximize socio-economic development through economies of scale, global competitiveness and specialization based on comparative and competitive advantage. Fifth, to establish the mechanisms for putting the benefits of economic cooperation to serve peace, stability and socio-economic integration in other parts of Africa.

In the light of the aforementioned, Akinboye observes that, the challenges for both countries hinged on how to fashion and strengthened strategic partnership in a rapidly changing global landscape. He, therefore, concludes that, the convergence of their robust economics can propel the economic growth of Africa and deliver the continent from the looming effects of globalization (Akinboye, 2005). Nonetheless, Akinboye, in his analyses did not realize the fact that beyond strengthening of bilateral ties between South Africa and Nigeria, the domestic forces are worthy of greater emphasis in view of recent xenophobia acts.

Nigeria-Cameroun Relations, 1960-2000

Nigeria-Cameroun relations since the 60s have been in a state of flux thereby creating multiple dimension by which it ought to be studied. The initial peace enjoyed by both countries, as members of the conservatives who aligned themselves under the umbrella of the Monrovia Group, which presages the establishment of Organization of African Unity (OAU), should shifted from period of pretentious friendship and cooperation to one of cold war and even military confrontations. Their shared common borders and the controversial Bakassi Peninsula that created conflict between both underscored their relations. Esiemokhal (1982) recounts the origins of their conflict after reviewing the strategic importance of the disputed region – Bakassi Peninsula. He further observes that, the Anglo-German control should have been jettisoned, for it was based on misinformed opinions on the 1964 OAU resolution on boundaries and calls for a revision to make amends.

Further, in a critical survey of the continuous conflict between Nigeria and Cameroun, Aforka Nweke lays more emphasis on the May 1981 crisis and analyzes the responses of the Nigerian federal government to the incident that led to the death of five Nigerian soldiers around the region. Nweke espouses that the decision of the federal government not to go to war with the Cameroonians was in contrast to public opinion in relations to national interest. Sholanke, however, attempts an exposé on the weaknesses inherent in previous treaties and protocols upon which Cameroun-Nigeria relations was based on. He noted that , the frequent pledges by leaders of both countries to resolve the lingering conflicts peacefully was erroneous, and in recognition of these weaknesses both States have recently showed their readiness to resolving their disputes in order to avoid further imbroglio in their relations.

The cooperation between both countries in recent years continued to experience major hiccups arising specifically from divergent national interests. Some of these divergent positions include but not limited to the following. First, to safeguard specific interests (energy resource, wildlife, forest and aquatic); the significant presence of Nigerians in Cameroonian territory (estimated at 4 million people); divergent interpretation of texts (protesting bad faith by Nigeria with respect to the 1975 Maroua Declaration and the Anglo-German Treaty of 1913); the sea and land border closure to check the presence of suspected Boko Haram members and increase Nigerian internally displaced persons (IDP) in Cameroun; and, the fragment use of violence and deportation of Nigerians living in remote border areas.

Xenophobia Attacks: Nigerians as Victims in South Africa and Cameroun

In spite of Nigeria's efforts at assisting various African countries through massive human and capital resources, these African countries have shown nothing but disrespect for Nigerians (Dachen, 2017). From South Africa and her struggle against apartheid, Angola's struggle for independence, Cameroun's independence setbacks to the establishment of several economic development plans such as ECOWAS, NEPAD, among several others. It is, however, quite appalling to see that these same peoples, particularly Cameroun and South Africa have turned against Nigerians living in these countries by inflicting grave harms on them.

Actually, statistics show that in the past fifteen years or more, most Nigerians living in either Cameroun or South Africa have been a victim of unwarranted attacks. Often times, many have been reported to have lost their lives in such ugly scenario. For instance, in South Africa, Kenneth Madiebo reports that over 200 hundred Nigerians have been victims of xenophobic attacks. The most recent onslaught were that of Victor Nnadi killed in December 2016 and that of September 2017when one Clement Ofoma was reported to have been killed by the South Africa Police Authority (Vanguard News Online). Prior to the aforementioned cases, others were Kingsley Ikeri (2017), Christian Onwukaike (2016), Monday Okorie (2016), Gideon Ogalaonye (2016), Adeniyi Olumoko (2016), Nnamdi Michael (2016), among several others. Coupled to these recorded death, over 125 Nigerians had once been subjected to humiliations and further deported by South African government for allegedly carrying fake yellow fever vaccination certifications. In addition, Wole Soyinka was denied entry into South Africa on flimsy excuse (kupoluyi).

The situation is so bad that South Africana developed mistrust for Nigerians so much so that they are mugged just for fun (Madiebo, 2016). Youths across South Africa see it as a creational activity to attack Nigerian legal residents in Pretoria, Durban, Soweto, Lebowa, Gazankulu, among others. As these youths, go around looting and burning shops and homes belonging to Nigerians. The situation is so bad that Nigerians in Abong-Abang Bafia, Mamfe, Bakassi and Nkong Samba regions of Cameroun are confronting with similar xenophobic dispositions from Cameroonians. Exemplifying the Cameroonian situation, in 1981, five Nigerian soldiers were ambushed and killed by Cameroonian *germandes* at Ikang, a border town in Cross River state (Okon, 2017). In fact, the list of Cameroonian attacks on Nigerians is endless.

Understanding Some Reasons for these Attacks

Considering the level of concern these xenophobic attacks raised for the Nigerian government and her citizens, a myriad of reasons have been flooding every quarters why such acts are being perpetuated against Nigerians both in South Africa and in Cameroun. The Human Sciences Research Council, however, identified four basic causes prompting such violent receptions. These include relative deprivation culminating into intense competition for jobs, commodities and housing, group processes which include psychological categorization, South Africa exceptionalism or a feeling of superiority, and lastly, exclusive citizenship. While a Report entitled *Towards Tolerance, Law and Dignity,* released by the International Organization for Migration suggests that high rate of influx of foreigners plays a contributing role, but blamed township politics and unguided statements for the attacks.

Commenting of the xenophobic attacks in South Africa, Temitope Poopola (2016) submits, "Ignorance and misinformation being peddled by the local media, erroneous impressions that every Nigerian is a criminal, and the ignorance of Nigeria's contributions to the host countries, constitute in part reason for these attacks. Contributing to the debate, Bayo Olupohunda blames the attacks on the domination of skilled jobs by the white minority in South Africa and Cameroun, which the majority blacks due to lack of appropriate educational and vocational attainments cannot have for themselves. Thus, this frustrated majority decides to unleash their anger on black foreigners such as Nigerians suspected to be taking their low-level jobs. Pointedly, while examining the causes of the attack on Nigerians by their Cameroonian neighbours, Oluda (2011) observes that the struggle over control of resources with respect to the Bakassi Peninsula have impacted greatly on Nigeria-Cameroun relations thereby creating tense atmosphere. Put differently, the economic value of the disputed Bakassi Peninsula, which holds up to 10% of the world's oil and gas reserve as well as being rich in fish, which also is a

source of foreign exchange earner triggers attacks on Nigerians by their Cameroonian counterparts (www.news.bbc.co.uk, Tuesday 13, June 2006).

From a political point of view, shreds of evidence have shown that these attacks can be traced to series of political issues involving these countries. Andrew Timothy, a resident of Bakassi, shed lights on the political dimension to xenophobia when he espouses, "The question of who will succeed President Paul Biya in the future contributed to the attacks on immigrants." Timothy recalls that previous challenges to Biya's dominant position, which was hitherto blamed on foreigners over the years, have since ceased to be. In the case of South Africa, the writings of Afe Babalola traces its political dimension to numerous Acts passed by South African National Assembly, which sole aim was to restrict immigrants, such as the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913, which provided for the exclusion of "undesirable"- a group of people that included Indians. There was also the Township Franchise Ordinance of 1924, which was intended to deprive Indians of municipal franchise. Babalola, however, noted that while 1994 was a remarkable year for South Africa, following the demise of apartheid, studies show that it marked the rise of acute xenophobic attacks (Babalola, 2017).

More so, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) opined that community leadership was potentially lucrative for unemployed individuals and due to poor education attained, incite the masses, organized and led these attacks against foreigners. Documents from the Nigeria Institute of International Affairs reveals that political campaign promises also contributes to xenophobia in Southern Africa. For instance, the then President of ANC, Jacob Zuma was stated to have promised his supporters of taking measures against immigrants in South Africa. There is also the poor border control factor. Due to inefficient border checks, millions of African trooping into Cameroun and South Africa do so claiming to be Nigerians. Thus, when these individuals commits a crime, it is concluded that Nigerians are responsible. Suffice it to say that in addition to the already listed reason are those of rapacious corruption and Nigeria's domestic factors which ranges from poor healthcare system, poor education structure, among others.

Nigeria's Foreign Policy and Transformational Diplomacy: A Critique
Emphatically, the myriads of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians across the globe, particularly on African soils shows how defective the Nigeria's foreign policy has been. A survey of Nigeria's foreign policy thrust since independence as contained in Section 19 of the 1979 Constitution exposes the omission of her citizens' interest in its formulation. Consider the following:
-   Promotion of African integration and support for Africa,
-   promotion of international cooperation for consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among nations,
-   promotion and protection of national interest,
-   respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, arbitration and adjudication, and
-   Promotion of a just world economic order.

A critical examination on the five foreign policy objectives reveals that policy makers were misguided on what should constitute foreign policy objectives. It could be argued that the list is state-centric, opposing the ideology of citizen-centric, as the interest of Nigerian citizens were left out in those policy indices. Pointedly, why should respect for international law be a policy to be pursued? Even when national interest is seen as the pursuit of political, economic, cultural and military attainment. According to Bola Akinterinwa (2017), in international law, a state is said to exist when there is the presence of population, territory, and government. The

fact that these three factors are very vital, that of population is of utmost importance. The other two are vital since people implement agreements and manage territorial questions and engage in political governance (Akinterinwa, 2017). Thus, the most important national interest to protect should be the Nigerian whether home or abroad.

Repeating the same mistake of 1979, the recent Nigerian federal government vision 2020 shows that nothing has changed concerning the protection of Nigerians in the global community. Consider again the following:

- Promotion of better image for Nigeria,
- promoting better ties with the Great Powers,
- seeking acquisition and transfer of technology and investment,
- seeking assistance for Nigeria in her quest for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council (UNSC), and lastly to,
- Sustaining Nigeria's position as the foremost black nation in the world (Uhomoibhi, 2012).

Deductively, it can be argued that given more priority to economic realization to the survival of the citizens raises many fundamental questions. Supposing there are state security (devoid of human security) and a thriving economy and no people to take advantage of these, of what use are they then? Does it mean that Nigerians in the diaspora should be sacrifice on the altar of bilateral relations? Needless to state, Nigerian foreign policy objectives needs an overhauling as it will see that Nigerians are respected, secured, both in Nigerian and across the globe.

Transformational Diplomacy and Nigeria's External Relation: Expunging Weak Links

It is common knowledge amongst scholars of International Relations that domestic factor largely dictates foreign policy. That is to say, the domestic environment whence these foreign policy goals emanates from needs to be properly developed if it must have positive impacts on its external projection. Given the trajectory of events, the Nigerian government has failed to express explicitly the interest of her citizens first before any other interest. Unfortunately, this misdirection have bred multiple dire consequence, such as the xenophobic attacks Nigerians have had to suffer in the recent past. The consequences being that most Nigerians in the diaspora sees no reason why they should continue to keep their ties with a country that careless about their wellbeing in foreign lands.

However, in recent times, studies have shown that people in the diaspora can remain connected with their home country and give back to their home country through the various skills they have acquired only when their home country formulate well thought out foreign policy that protects the interest of her citizens in foreign lands. Therefore, there is the paradigm shift in how countries now perceive emigration of skilled people from being a loss to an opportunity in getting remittance, trade, investment projects, and technical knowhow, among other variables.

For Nigeria to become relevant amidst global relations emerging with new realities interwoven in globalization, the thrust of Nigeria's external relations should stand firmly on the fundamental principles of transformational diplomacy. It therefore means that transformational diplomacy ought to remain the guiding principle in Nigeria's international trade and politics, which ultimately will make Nigeria to understand that, it is an unsustainable policy to provide financial and material assistances to nations that within a short while show grave hostility to Nigerians in their countries (Nwosu and Adeniyi, 2011).

Additionally, through the employment of transformational diplomacy in Nigeria's external relations, Nigeria would be capable of harnessing both the resources in the home and diaspora; also build transparent and stable institution and instigate a dynamic and productive

economic activity at home and abroad (Ohiebu, 2017). Further, transformational diplomacy can assist Nigeria to strengthening and maximizing natural resources, industrial capacity, military preparedness, population control, as well as improve the quality of her diplomatic relations with other country since it is expected that former foreign policies must have been overhaul to address certain issues militating against Nigeria and her citizens in foreign lands.

Considering Nigeria's shortcoming in aspects of utilizing her natural resources, it is pertinent to note that Nigeria must first transform to meet self-sufficiency in terms of food production, which is definitely a source of great bargaining power in the art of diplomacy as espoused by Eno Ikpe (2016). Conversely, food scarcity is no doubt tantamount to weakness in international politics (Morgenthau, 1973). Moreover, Nigeria must transform domestic variables by diversifying her economy from oil and gas to areas such as agriculture, tourism, among others. Evidently, the diversification would create employment for the teeming youths who often travel overseas in 'search for greener pastures', thereby ending up as victims of these xenophobic attacks. Couple to the foregoing is the need to understand that for Nigeria to become one of the largest economies by 2020, there must be the acquisition of technical knowledge on how best raw materials can be transformed into finished goods before exportation. By so doing, there would be more jobs for the citizens, as well as more profits for the country.

Transformational diplomacy will equally exert a high level of military preparedness and capability to support her external relations as well as creating a sense of intimidation for these countries that are fond of attacking Nigerians in their countries. The way to achieving this feat would be by having a military that builds its own military hardware rather than depend on those built by other countries. In addition, military technology will help in safeguarding the territorial integrity more efficiently to addressing issues of trans-border challenges, terrorism, among others.

Finally, through the formulation of transformational diplomacy, the morale of Nigerians in diaspora will be enhanced, since they know that foreign policy goals of Nigeria has taken care of their interest as well. It has been noted that in the many cases of maltreatment of Nigerians in the diaspora, these victims received little or no assistance or protection from Nigerian Embassies and high Commissions. Regrettably, Nigerians seeking passport renewal have to wait for an unexplainable long time, sometime falling victims of deportations. Adewale Kupoluyi captures the main excise of Nigerian embassies to be "shortage of machines for renewal of passports.' Howbeit, since Nigeria is envisaging a seat at the UNSC, it becomes sacrosanct that the interest of Nigerians be captured appropriately in the country's foreign policy goals. Thus, with transformational diplomacy, citizens of Nigeria will be assured of their country's love and be more composed whenever they find themselves in foreign lands.

Conclusion

The study have explore the unfortunate position of Nigerians in the diaspora in view of the trajectory of xenophobic attacks Nigerians had suffered in both Cameroun and South Africa. In doing so, the study reveals areas that the Nigerian government has failed to cover in terms of foreign policy formulation and implementation. Hence, based on the findings, Nigeria do not need a reactive foreign policy but a proactive policy with a tapestry of grandeur, leadership and more importantly, a citizen-centric foreign policy. This means that citizens' concerns are to be prioritize in foreign policy formulations.

In order to achieve this, the Nigerian government should among other things, first address the perceived inadequacy inherent in Africa being the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy, which in essence was not an objective but a means and has laid the foundation upon

which Nigerians are being maltreated. Therefore, the fact that transformational diplomacy holds the key to revamping the Nigerian external relations becomes pertinent. Expectedly, transformational diplomacy would prove vital in harnessing the wealth of expertise acquired by Nigerians in the diaspora as well.

In sum, it has been argued that conscious efforts must be made by Nigeria to ensure that no longer does her human and capital resources be sacrificed under the guise of *good neighbourliness*, except it is certain that there is a commensurate benefit for Nigeria and her citizens both in the now and in future times.

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