

**GLOBAL DYNAMICS AND FOREIGN POLICY REALIGNMENT OF NIGERIA WITH THE G7 UNDER PRESIDENT GOODLUCK JONATHAN, 2010-2015**

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**Abstract**

This research work evaluates the realignment of Nigeria's foreign policy under President Goodluck Jonathan's administration (2010-2015), focusing on relations with the G7 nations amid evolving global dynamics. These global dynamics, including the emergence of China, the Eurozone crisis and regional security threats from terrorists across the Sahel, reshaped Nigeria's non-alignment policy to an organic one driven by economic benefits. Complex Interdependence Theory provides a theoretical framework for explaining the shift in Nigeria's foreign policy. This paper adopts a qualitative research design with a historical research approach. Themes were developed iteratively through a systematic review of the literature and analysis of data. The findings elucidated the multifaceted nature of Nigeria's engagement with the G7 and highlighted the benefits of economic diplomacy in its relations with member countries in the G7. A significant weakness emerged from the findings as weak institutional frameworks, bureaucratic inefficiencies, and persistent corruption undermined the implementation of key agreements and international collaborations. Based on the outcome of the findings, it was recommended that Nigeria should prioritise improving inter-agency coordination and policy alignment by developing a formal strategic framework that incorporates foreign policy, security, and economic goals.

**Keywords:** Strategic Engagement, Goodluck Jonathan, Group of Seven (G7), Eurozone, Nigeria

## **Introduction**

In the international relations sphere, foreign policies of countries keep changing constantly in order to protect their national interests, strengthen regional stability and increase global standing (Götz, 2021). As for Nigeria, the foreign policy framework has greatly altered over the years as a result of prevailing external and internal factors. Historically, Nigeria's foreign policy was premised on Afrocentrism with a preference for non-aligned policy, which provided support for African countries and opposition to the major world blocs (Aluko, 1990). The Afrocentric foreign policy made its foray into the country soon after the country attained independence largely under the first Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (Abegunrin, 2003a). Balewa, together with other African leaders advocated the principle of Pan Africanism which was meant to foster togetherness and cooperation among all the nations in Africa and avert any forms of imperialist and neocolonial manipulation (Oshewolo, 2021). One important fact that underpinned this stance was Nigeria's participation in the formation of OAU in 1963 where the country took an active part in the promotion and defending African unity and anti-colonization of African peoples. Through financial and military support of anticolonial forces in Africa, Nigeria's devotion to Africa stood out even more in Angola, Mozambique and South Africa's liberation movements (Ogunbadejo, 1980).

In consolidation of Nigeria's Afrocentric posture was the policy of non-alignment which was particularly evident during the Cold War, as Nigeria, alongside 120 other countries, resolved through the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961, not take sides in the battle between the United States with the Soviet Union (Nuamah, 2003). This non-alignment was particularly evident during the tenure of General Yakubu Gowon when Nigeria was embroiled in 30 months of Civil War conflict Nigeria chose to be neutral in the Cold War tussle under international enthusiastic pressures (Fafowara, 1998). Between 1973 and 1999 Nigeria faced a series of systemic military coups which were

accompanied by a considerable military dictatorship, instability, human rights abuse, poor management of the economy and widespread corruption (Kia, Nwigbo, & Ojie, 2016). For instance, the killing of human rights activists including Ken Saro-Wiwa by General Sani Abacha's regime ignited overwhelming condemnation from the international community. The United States, the European Union, and other nations went a step further and imposed sanctions on Nigerian military leaders, restricting trade and freezing their assets, while the UK severed all military and economic ties with the country (Abegunrin, 2003b).

The posture of Nigeria took a turn in the early 2000s when President Olusegun Obasanjo was elected. Realizing the need for strong economic policies, Olusegun focused on rebuilding relations with neighbouring Africa and the West, marking a clear shift from the traditional non-aligned policies and the Afrocentric approach of the country (Aghalino, 2009). With the focus on human and democratic rights, economic changes were furthered, and security threats were better dealt with. This change became more evident with the coming of President Goodluck Jonathan into office (2010-2015), which will now qualify as a deliberate strategy towards closer relations with key Western economies particularly the G7 (Boma-Lysa, Terfa, & Tsegyu, 2015). The Boko Haram terror that emerged around the beginning of 2010 was pretty significant in this regard. That is because Nigeria was already experiencing instability and terror attacks. The US, the UK, and other countries from the G7 group have been actively supporting Nigeria in counter-terrorism efforts (Ojukwu, 2011). For example, in 2013 the US labelled Boko Haram as a Foreign Terrorist Organization and began to supply Nigeria with substantial military and intelligence support (Adesote & Ajayi, 2021). This also suggested that Nigeria was increasingly depending on G7 countries for security assistance. Simultaneously, there was a deepening cooperation between Nigeria and the UK. Both countries adopted joint counterinsurgency strategies, putting military advisors to work and looking for Chibok girls who were abducted in 2014 (Human Rights Watch, 2017). The fundamental shift in the world economic order resulted in the plummeting prices of

crude oil prompting Nigeria to embark on economic diversification and seek out economic allies from the G7 (Saleh, 2019). This shift was particularly evident in Jonathan's Administration as the country sought to more effectively combat terrorism, foster economic diversification and build modern infrastructure development while still being part of African unity projects. During Jonathan's presidency deep questions began to surface, for example:

1. What factors influenced Nigeria's shift from a strictly Afrocentric foreign policy to strategic engagement with the G7 under President Jonathan's administration?
2. To what extent did Nigeria's engagements with the G7 impact its ability to address internal challenges and sustain its traditional leadership role in Africa.?

## **Literature Review**

Literature on Nigeria's traditional foreign policy since 1960 has emphasised the African-centeredness in the country's foreign policy. Abegunrin (2003) argues that while Afrocentrism was dominant among leaders involved in decision-making, Nigeria pursued the policy of non-alignment and even joined the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961. NAM's main principles opposed explicit military ties with the West (led by the United States) or the East (led by the Soviet Union) (Abdul & Ibrahim, 2013). Nigeria supported African decolonization while maintaining diplomatic and economic relations with both sides (Kayode, 2016). In other words, the country led the struggle against neocolonialism and decolonization in Africa while protecting its sovereignty and interests (Idang, 1973). Thus, non-alignment policy allowed Nigeria to lead other African nations in mediating conflicts, promoting peacekeeping, and promoting African unity and solidarity (Jemirade, 2020). It supported Southern African liberation groups and condemned apartheid. Realism promoted national interests and power in an anarchic international system, shaping Nigeria's position (Morgenthau, 1978).

Despite maintaining its Afrocentric position and non-alignment posture, studies have shown that historical, economic, and security events have pitched Nigeria's foreign

policy to be pro-West (Ade-Ibijola, 2013). Delancey argued that Nigeria was pro-West in its capitalist structure and could not disconnect from its historical ties with Britain and economic relationship with the US (Delancey, 1983). During the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970), the Federal Government relied heavily on military and diplomatic support from the United Kingdom and other Western countries, including the United States (Jemirade, 2020). According to Salami's analysis of Babangida's foreign policy, Nigeria relied on Western economic models, particularly the Structural Adjustment Programme (Salami, 2014), which reflected liberal economic theories. Theoretically, Amao claims that structural realist thinking, which values national interests and power accumulation in an anarchic international system, shaped Nigeria's foreign policy (Amao, 2019). The Nigerian government saw its Western friends as essential to its territorial integrity and regional influence.

The pro-Western decision-making process of Nigerian leaders strategically exposed Nigeria to increased rivalry and influence from non-Western nations, mainly China and Russia. Nigeria and China deepened their trade activities in the late 1990s and early 2000s, with Nigeria becoming China's fourth-biggest African trading partner and the second-largest Chinese export destination on the continent. (Margaret & Zheng, 2011) The Olusegun Obasanjo (1999–2007) and Umaru Yar'Adua (2007–2010) governments sought deeper connections with China to attract international investment and alternative infrastructure finance. Similarly, Nigeria strengthened its relationship with Russia, however slowly than China. Obasanjo sought military cooperation with Russia through weapons and training purchases (Lambroschini, 2001). Lambroschini reported that Nigeria acquired MiG fighter helicopters from Russia and the Nigerian Defense Minister Theophilus Danjuma met with his Russian counterpart Igor Sergeev to discuss weapons (Lambroschini, 2001). Thus, Nigeria sought to diversify its foreign connections, reduce its dependency on Western allies, and use developing nations' economic and political influence to further its national objectives by collaborating with China and Russia. The literature demonstrates a notable gap in discussing Nigeria's foreign policy transition

under Goodluck Jonathan (2010–2015), notably its change from Western alliance to G7 involvement. This transition's causes, effectiveness in serving Nigeria's national interests in the face of changing global dynamics, and effects on Nigeria's international standing, regional relations, and strategic positioning formed the key research questions.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The Complex Interdependence Theory is robustly suited to contextualize Nigeria's foreign policy orientation toward the G7 during President Goodluck Jonathan's administration. Coined by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye (1973), this theory is in stark contrast with the views espoused by the realists for whom international relations is primarily a competition between states that hinges on power, security and conflict (Drolet & Williams, 2021). Rather, it argues that states are interconnected, that power can be exercised through non-military means, and that there are multiple ways including economic, diplomatic and social, through which countries cooperate (Van Lange & Balliet, 2015). Considering the complex nature of Nigeria's foreign relations with the G7 between 2010 and 2015, the adoption of this theory as a framework for analysis is justified based on the multidimensional approach of Nigeria's relations with the G7. These relations were more than just security relations and included counterterrorism engagement, trade relations, technical assistance and even developmental aid (Mark, 2015). For instance, while the US and UK mainly relied on the provision of intelligence and arms to Nigeria to curb the Boko Haram insurgency, both Germany and Japan engaged in technical and infrastructural support (Rafiu, 2015).

However, the Complex Interdependence Theory is weakened by its failure to factor or consider power asymmetries and the nature of dominance between states. It does not extensively consider how stronger nations can dominate or influence weaker partners in a cooperative situation (Alshdaifat, 2020). In Nigeria's case, however, such dependency on G7 nations for security assistance and economic support might have limited the country's

options under the decision or might have made Nigeria succumb to baseless foreign policies. Such imbalances, including conditional aid packages or strategic concessions, are insufficiently captured by the theory (Griffiths, 2021). Nevertheless, the theory is still rather relevant for this study as it takes into consideration the variety of factors which have defined Nigeria's shifting foreign policy towards G7 nations. Other theories that could be useful, such as Power Economics Theory (Ozanne, 2016) on the other hand tend to over-emphasize competition relations between states and overly depict complex interdependence of multi-level difference factors that impacted on Nigeria's engagements, such as trade deals and technology investments. Liberalism is also a vital theory that explains Nigeria's reliance on international cooperation as a form of economic diplomacy during President Jonathan's administration (Ogunbanjo, 2020). Although active in the African Union and the United Nations, Nigeria's foreign policy pursued under Jonathan's regime was not one fostered by institutionalism but one based on bilateral relations with individual G7 countries. Such a pragmatic understanding renders institutionalism as an inadequate theory of explanations for Nigeria's policy progression. Similarly, rationalism constructs Nigerian democratic identity development and aspiration of wanting to be a regional leader through the lens of norms, identity, and values (Guzzini, 2022), however, the policy drivers of Nigeria that are counterterrorism, trade or even technological cooperation are ignored. Moreover, Nigeria's shifting of foreign policy base is less attributable to identity politics or norm changes but rather more as a reaction to national-level exigencies. The applicability of Complex Interdependence explains well the interaction of security concerns, economic relations and international cooperation. In addition, it underlines how Nigeria tries to exploit its relations with major world actors to deal with internal problems, enhance regional security, and increase its international standing. The theory also provides an adequate and analytical interpretation of the dynamics of Nigeria's foreign policy in the context of the intricacies of international relations in the present day.

## **Methodology**

This paper employs a qualitative research method with a preference for thematic analysis of secondary data. The sources of data are principally peer-reviewed journal articles, government reports from G7 countries, and press releases published by the Office of the President of Nigeria, Nigerian Foreign Affairs Ministry and Nigeria Institute of International Affairs. Themes are generated based on the two research questions which seek to determine factors that influenced Nigeria's shift from a strictly Afrocentric foreign policy to strategic engagement with the G7; and, the extent to which Nigeria's engagements with the G7 impacted its ability to address internal challenges and sustain its traditional leadership role in Africa.

## **Thematic Analysis**

Using a thematic approach, the study examines the research questions by generating three themes in relation to determining the internal and external factors, such as security concerns, economic pressures, and geopolitical dynamics, that impacted Nigeria's strategic decision to engage the G7; and assessing the concrete effects of these engagements on Nigeria's economic growth, domestic stability, and leadership position in Africa.

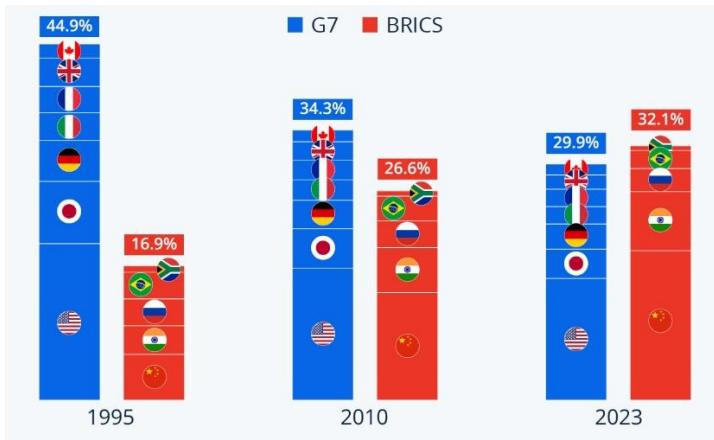
## **Drivers of Nigeria's Strategic Shift to G7 Engagement Under President Jonathan**

During Jonathan's presidency, Nigeria was battling with increasing violence which was only due to Boko Haram terrorists whose activities between 2009 and 2015 brought to spotlight the security vulnerability of the country (Adelaja & George, 2019). This situation worsened when a large group of over 200 school girls were abducted from Chibok in April 2014 which further highlights how futile the government's efforts were to resolve the insurgency issue (Amalu, 2015). In response to these weakening insurgency groups, Nigeria reached out to its international partners including the G7 nations for help as it had no other means to ensure its security. Both the United States and

the United Kingdom stepped up and provided Nigeria with crucial Intelligence, military resources and the equipment they needed for a successful counter-terrorism operation (BBC News, 2014). The U.S. for example provided satellite imagery and deployed surveillance resources to help Nigeria in its efforts to find the kidnapped Chibok girls (DW, 2014). This operation only solidified the fact to Nigeria that it was and requires external help to defeat its internal security problems. The continuous cooperation with the G7 nations allowed Nigeria to progress militarily and with international intel which was necessary because terrorism is transnational.

The economy of Nigeria greatly relied on crude oil but was adversely affected in the face of declining global oil prices. In 2015, global oil prices dropped below \$40 due to a supply glut (World Bank, 2018), which resulted in Nigeria struggling to manage its economy. Oil and gas exports made up 95% of Nigeria's economy and 80% of the foreign exchange earnings (Saidu, Aliyu, & Zubair, 2016). Economic diversification was needed in order to address the negative impacts of depending on oil as a single source of revenue. Meeting with G7 countries promoted foreign investments, technological transfers, and trade which then allowed Nigeria to expand their economy into agriculture and manufacturing. The long relationships built during that period played an important role in guaranteeing Nigeria's long-term economic stability. Nigeria formed a German-Nigerian Chamber of Commerce that aided their industrial sector by providing vocational training for the youth so that they could gain the skills necessary and Germany had the technological capability to help Nigeria build its economy (Deutschland, 2016). The vocational training programs had no cost as the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperations covered the costs. Furthermore, through initiatives initiated by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) directed towards improving infrastructure, rural electrification and healthcare in Abuja and Lagos (JICA Annual Reports, 2015). Additionally, these partnerships helped alleviate the twin issues of economic and security at a greater scale and ensured sustainable development through capacity building and infrastructure development.

### Global Economic Shift: The GDP of BRICS vs G7 Since 1995



**Source:** Statista, 2023

Jonathan's tenure coincided with certain important changes in global politics and hence Nigeria's response to the G7 was strategic. The emergence of new mega economies especially the BRICS group did result in a shift in global power structure and hence Nigeria had to reconsider its foreign policy framework (Kia et al., 2016). In other words, during the time frame covering Goodluck Jonathan's tenure, Nigeria was part of an emerging geopolitical spectrum whereby China inclusive of the other four BRICS members was more willing to invest in African countries which was evident by different types of economies growing out of the FOCAC initiatives, many of which were leads set for example by Lekki Free Trade Zone in Lagos (Margaret & Zheng, 2011). In consequence, this motivated Nigeria to reshape its foreign policy to attract Chinese investments and at the same time, improve its relations with the G7 countries. For instance, Germany, the US, France and the UK were among the funders of the Azura-Edo Independent Power Project in Edo State which generates 461 megawatts or 8% of all the power sent to the Nigerian grid (Azura Edo, 2024). In an effort to strengthen bilateral relations, President Jonathan's government consistently pursued and advocated high level visits with the G7 countries, which it considered critical. He took part in foreign state visits, and international summits, and hosted various dignitaries. For instance, Jonathan in

2011 attended the G8 Summit in Deauville France where he ideated upon and debated important matters such as security cooperation and economic relationships among other global leaders.

### **Impacts of Nigeria's Engagements with the G7**

Nigeria's engagements with the G7 have had a significant impact on the country, particularly in enhancing domestic stability, fostering economic development, and solidifying its leadership role within Africa. In the realm of domestic stability, the country received technical support from members of the G7 in the development of its Terrorism (Prevention) (Amendment) Act of 2013 (TPAA) (United States Department of State, 2019). Similarly, the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) received significant support to combat transnational terrorist activities of Boko Haram in the Lake Chad Basin (U.S. Department of State, 2016). The military force was created in 1994 by Nigeria to fight transnational criminal activities and later expanded in 1998 with Chad and Niger contributing troops (Oriola, Onuoha, & Oyewole, 2022). Cameroon and Benin had also joined making it a five-nation force by now which specifically targeted Boko Haram (Oriola et al., 2022). In March 2015, the mandate of the MNJTF was expanded under the auspices of the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC), with its headquarters in N'Djamena, Chad. For instance, the US Department of Defense stated that allocated \$119 million to the region which encompassed implementing military and humanitarian assistance towards the Multi-National Joint Task Force (U.S. Department of Defense, 2014). Isabelle (2023) noted that in 2015, French Air Forces in the region were reported to have directly aided the actions of the MNJTF against Boko Haram, including the use of air support (Reuters, 2015). observed that France was of utmost importance concerning Operation Barkhane, which had a primary focus on the Sahel region, but also included support for local counter-terrorism measures. To the MNJTF, France extended strategic guidance and intelligence in addition to air support. The UK also assisted by sharing intelligence and developing infrastructure. On the other hand, the UK's aid was mainly

focused towards training and building counter-terrorism activities, with British instructors participating in the exercises with MNJTF troops. The G7 also assisted the members of the MNJTF which aided in reducing the conflict with Boko Haram. In 2014 and 2015, there was a reported reduction in the number of attacks and violence in Nigeria and neighboring countries. ACLED (Fleugel-Carew, 2015), Boko Haram's claim of action saw a peaceful reduction from around 650 violent events in 2014 to 400 in 2015.

The Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) was able to significantly recover territory captured by Boko Haram throughout 2015, especially in the area around Lake Chad where the insurgents had established control (Fleugel-Carew, 2015). Additionally, throughout its presidency, Nigeria alongside the G7 support predominantly the US, France, and the UK, advocated for more funding for the UN's peacekeeping operations especially for Africa. In November 2014, Nigeria actively participated in the debates at the United Nations Security Council which resulted in the passing of Resolution 2185, which emphasized the need to affirm the pledges made for peacekeeping missions while simultaneously stressing the need for reliable and measurable financing for peacekeeping operations on the continent ((UN Security Council (2014)These resolutions were strongly contested by the US and UK, Nigeria's close friends in the UN peacekeeping council and who are also major supporters of Nigeria's efforts in promoting stability in Africa. Supported by other members of the G7, Nigeria also pushed for better financing of peace support missions by the African Union. This was especially important for the passer of AMISOM (African Union Mission in Somalia) where the UK and France have previously been major proponents (AMISOM, 2022). Nigeria's efforts were instrumental to the creation of a UNSO for AMISOM and the debates over budgetary priorities for AU missions, demonstrating how Nigeria's partnerships with the G7 enabled these outputs. In the course of Nigeria's G7 presidency period, the Ebola outbreak management of Nigeria in 2014 was meticulously dealt with which resulted in Nigeria being a brokering nation to assist the Council tackle Ebola comprehensively. This encompassed supporting the proposal of and working toward adopting resolution 2177 passed in September 2014 that

articulates the worry of the United Nations Security Council on the health of people and international peace and security (UN Security Council, 2014).

### **Discussion of Findings**

The economic and security conditions, in tandem with the political state of affairs, were found to have shaped Nigeria's foreign policy under the leadership of Goodluck Jonathan from 2010-2015. The G7 shifted focus from Afrocentric coalitions due to the modernization overtaking the globe. From the perspective of Complex Interdependence Theory, the findings concentrate on more cooperation instead of conflict and demonstrate the interdependence and multifaceted relations that caused this (Keohane & Nye, 1977). This strategy, however, revealed the challenges to sustainability, and regional, and state dependence issues even under short-term investment and security cooperation advantages. G7 partnership would provide a way to diversify the economy as well as a source for investment and new technology, in turn, benefiting Nigeria (Boma-Lysa et al., 2015). This cooperation is expected as all states are assumed to find ways to cooperate to optimize advantages for themselves in a society where all regions are interlinked. This however has not been the case as the evidence shows, that Nigeria's response is more fragmented and ditched as opposed to instigating global economic happenings. More specifically, due to corruption and infrastructural issues, Nigeria finds it challenging to diversify its revenue streams beyond oil (Page, 2016). There is an expectation of balanced reciprocity under the theory of Complex Interdependence, but too much reliance on foreign investment and technology may create a dependency, symmetrical or asymmetrical, one that is unfavorable to Nigeria. The evidence may suggest that the G7 linkages of the Jonathan administration were not economically beneficial as they did not manage these structural vulnerabilities, and (Holsti, 1978) argues he 'exploited' the synergies between the G7 and his country.

Engaging in the G7+ Dialogue has made Nigeria a passive player in global governance. The Complex Interdependence is contextualised in a way that states must refrain from

employing coercive measures and rather utilize cooperative and institutional frameworks (Saavedra, Earley, & Van Dyne, 1993). The political dividends from this involvement differed. While Nigeria attempted to look globally responsible, it did risk losing continental friends by shifting priorities towards G7 links rather than West African friendships. Realignment could have diminished Nigeria's standing in ECOWAS and in the African Union as it vied with emerging powers such as South Africa (Inamete, 2001). Moreover, Nigerian counterterrorism measures received an impetus during G7 under intelligence, training, and military aid. Under virtue of outside assistance, Nigeria's reliance on international security aid exhibited Nigeria's inability to tackle security concerns at home. The support from G7 indeed provided assistance to Nigeria, however, it subjugated the country's anti-terrorism stance to the geostrategic interests of other countries (Oriola et al., 2022). Partners from the West focused on combating terrorism without regard for the phenomenon's local manifestation in Nigeria which in the end led to inconsistent and misplaced results.

## **Conclusion**

Between 2010 to 2015, during the administration of former President Goodluck Jonathan, there was a systemic shift in the foreign policy of Nigeria. It was noted in its approach to engage with the Group of Seven countries as opposed to the traditional Afrocentric stance. This strategic realignment was driven by a multitude of foreign and internal factors such as economic, security challenges and geopolitical dynamics. The Boko Haram terrorist group displayed clearly how Nigeria's attempts to single-handedly address domestic threats were far too simplistic and unachievable, thereby urging the government to seek international help. The partnership with G7 nations such as Britain and the United States supplied Nigeria with vital information, logistics as well as significant Training which enhanced her counter-terrorism measures. This did not only strengthen Nigeria's internal risks but also aided in contributing towards the international counter-terrorism efforts.

## **Recommendations**

- ❖ Nigeria needs to keep working with G7 and other international partners to solve issues that are not purely national. Sustained collaboration in security, economic growth and governance provides Nigeria with the essential support it requires to achieve national objectives.
- ❖ Nigeria should work hard to diversify its economy and improve upon the groundwork created in the past by Jonathan. Nigeria can gain access to the markets, resources and technology necessary to develop non-oil industries using partnerships with G7 countries.
- ❖ Nigeria ought to remain conscious of her position as a leader within Africa while engaging at the global stage. This is going to balance obligations to foster partnerships across different borders with promoting stability and development in the region which will increase Nigeria's reputation and power in the continent and the world.
- ❖ Nigeria as a nation ought to strengthen its institutional capabilities to manage and sustain global partnerships effectively. This entails strengthening the governors of the nation, the diplomatic corps and creating policies that are complementary across different sectors.
- ❖ To rationalize and draw more investment and tourism to Nigeria, there has to be a shift in how Nigeria is perceived on a global scale. Engaging global media, taking part in international discourses, and projecting the culture and economic might of the nation can greatly help achieve such results.
- ❖ Adequate mechanisms ought to be put in place to understand the calibration achieved by any foreign policies adopted so that their success or lack of it can be

assessed. This can greatly aid the country in understanding the extent to which cooperation with foreign partners can yield real benefits for the people.

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