

**THE IMPACT OF GLOBALISATION ON THE  
INTERDEPENDENCY OF DEVELOPED AND  
DEVELOPING SOVEREIGN STATES: A CASE  
STUDY OF UNITED STATES-NIGERIA  
RELATIONS**

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**DECEMBER, 2022**

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**A PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT  
OF HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, IN  
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE AWARD OF BACHELOR OF ART (B.A)  
HONOURS DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL  
STUDIES AND DIPLOMACY**

**UNIVERSITY OF BENIN, BENIN CITY, NIGERIA**

**DECEMBER, 2022**

## CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this project was carried out by Bassey Bassey Joshua with Matriculation Number ART1700954 in the department of History and International Studies, University of Benin, Benin city under the supervision of

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## **DEDICATION**

This project is dedicated to God Almighty for his endless love and sustaining me all through my journey in school. I also dedicate this project to my parent Mr. Bassey and Mrs. Orhue for their care, support and prayers that brought me this far.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I wish to express my profound gratitude to God Almighty for seeing me through this phase of life. My special acknowledgment goes to my supervisor Mr. F. E. Osarhiemen for his patience in my research and writing. To my lecturers who have impacted positively into my life with their teachings, Prof. Eddy Erhagbe, Dr. Iweze D.O., Dr. Charles Osarumwense and Dr. Osiki Odion, God bless you all. I am very thankful to my Guardians Mr. & Mrs. Idele for being my support system, their endless support and prayers has kept me from the start to this very end, may the both of you enjoy the fruit of your labor. To my friends, I am so grateful to you all for your support and for making this journey so smooth for me. God bless you all.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### **Background of the Study**

In simple words, globalization means the spreading of a business, culture or any technology on an international level. Globalization is an effort to reduce the geographical and political barriers for the smooth functioning of any business. It's also stands for cross border facilities and economics linkages with a view to secure an integration of economics interests and activities of the people living in all parts of the world.

Baylis and smith defined globalization as the process whereby social relations acquire relatively distance less and borderless qualities.<sup>1</sup> It is a concept which stands for the wholesome interconnection of world markets and flow of goods, services, technology and people across borders. This is projected as the imperative way for securing the objectives of economic growth, spread of technology, sustainable development and better standards of living in all other countries both developed and developing. Various scholars have giving different definition of globalization.

Anthony Giddens defines globalization as “the intensification of worldwide relations by linking distant localities in such a way that local happening are shaped by events occurring many miles away sand vice versa”<sup>2</sup>. Robert Gilpin and Jean M.Gilpin defined globalization as “the intergration of the world-economy.”<sup>3</sup> Jan Aart Scholte defined it as “De-terriotarization or supraterritorial relations between people.”<sup>4</sup>

Globalization is inextricably linked with interdependence since the available resources are unequally distributed across the world, hence, no country can claim to fully own all the resources it needs to be totally self-sufficient. The needs for countries to rely on each other for these resources create a global inter-dependence. The drive of globalization of the world network through borderless operations of countries, making it easier to interact trade and build co-operative world. The term globalization in this paper can be seen as the “gradual but fierce” process of increasing social and cultural interconnection, political interdependence and economics, financial and market integrations that are driven by advances in communication and transportation technologies and trade liberalization where virtually everyone is affected by this process in a way that leads to a borderless world.<sup>5</sup>

It must be noted that interdependence among nations is one of the major effects of globalization ever to have been observations that technological, economics, political and cultural exchanges between and among countries of the world have increased tremendously over time.<sup>6</sup> Almost all countries, firms and private individuals are undoubtedly affected by powers of globalization, where trade recognition of the full bearing of globalization.<sup>7</sup> Held observes that globalization is not confined to economics life but also influences many other area of society. <sup>8</sup> With so many dimensions of globalization, the institution of the state cannot remain unaffected. Nation states are naturally dependent on themselves for different resources; therefore the connectivity of

these states and their dependence on one another for political stability, economic growth and cultural awareness is due to globalization.

Now that globalization has been explained to some extent, it's important to understand what interdependence entails. Interdependence describes when two or more international actors impact and rely on each other. To understand the complexity of the web of interdependence, take note of this example; one individual specializes in growing crops another specializes on milling, one on packing, distributing and finally selling it. They need each other to deliver the final product and if one day the mill stops, everyone is affected. This is a simplified illustration of what interdependence is.

Think of those individual as a country and the crops as the product and services we consume. This gives you an idea of the interdependence of human societies. We fulfill our needs by relying on a massive network of other people. Nowadays, most countries are also interdependent because they rely on other countries for supplying local demand and for selling local products. This interdependence is stringy and one's nation's actions often have consequence on another's. For example china's low labor costs impact employment in other countries.

Depending on the nature of the relationship the degree of interdependence of interdependence can be so high that the fall of one party might cause the fall of it's counterparts. Interdependence can be found in client- supplier relationships when it comes to raw materials. The supplier needs the client to pay for his goods but the client also needs the supplier in order to produce its own goods.

Keohane and Nye gave their own thoughts on what Interdependence is, “Interdependence most simply defined means mutual dependence. Interdependence in world politics refers to situations characterized by reciprocal effects among countries or among actors in different countries.”<sup>9</sup>

The speedy growth of globalization has led to the formation of international politics structure that regulates all sorts of interaction. This phenomenon has been termed “global governance”. It is generally being felt that the World Bank IME and other donor agencies are serving as a tool for fulfilling objectives of powerful countries by offering funds for development at their own terms and conditions and consequently undermining the sovereignty of the funds receiving countries. The current debate on the role of these agencies and increasing interference of powerful countries in the world’s political order raises the question of the role of power and nation state when seen in the sphere of globalization. The effect of such relationship is what this research is focused on.

The research also seeks to examine the theories and position of scholars and to ascertain if globalization has led to a decline in the power of national governments in developing nation’s (Nigeria) to direct and influence their b economics and to determine their political structure. It is believed that developing nations and government are not only unable to run their states independently but for the constituted government to survive in office, they must be able to manage and adapt their national polices in such a way that they match the pressures of Trans national market forces. It is on this note that I can therefore state that this research work would focus on the Interdependence

relationship between the United States of America and Nigeria, with United States of America obviously being the developed sovereign state and Nigeria being the developing sovereign state. And of course in subsequent chapters, the impact of globalization on this relationship between the two sovereign states would be discussed.

Nigeria–United States relations remain a critical aspect of Nigerians foreign policy. The demands challenges and competition of the 21st century have made it pertinent that Nigeria review her relation/ Interdependency with United States in order to benefit maximally from their relation. One would have thought Nigeria –US economic relation since 1960 would have moved Nigeria from being a third world nation to at least a second world nation but like the story of anyother developing economy dealing with a developed economy, Nigeria has remained the same if not worse. Nigeria has remained the same if not worse Nigeria has remained just a market for the united states to buy crude oil and sell her manufactured goods. It would be safe to say that more than 47 years Nigeria-united states economics relations has not enhanced Nigeria economics development and that instead it has plunged Nigeria deeper into the role of mere primary producer of raw materials. There is no denying the fact that the third world states have been involved in a attempts to transform their political and economic environments by embracing the globalization trend but rather than developing, the reverse is the case. This can be attributable to the brutal exploitation of third world economics by the colonizer in the early decades of the post-Interdependence period which made the majority of the third world states to fail in taking the advantages of the opportunities provided by

dynamics growth associated with globalization such that instead of becoming more integrated in to the world economy, they were isolated with effect of poverty, unemployment, educational backwardness and so on. Developing economics are unable to compete with restrictions imposed by first world countries. Under these circumstances, third world countries that implement protectionist measure that prevent real free trades. Furthermore, progress and expansion opportunities in national corporations that control market and exploit the capacity of local labor. Although, globalization is crucial to economic development and growth by raising the income of consumers that participate in global trade system, it still remains unclear how globalization can bring about positive changes in the third world countries. The advancement in technology has not only damaged the physical environment with the emission of high percentage of carbon dioxide but has also changed the temperature thereby causing pollution and global warming. This study therefore attempts to shed light on how the effects of Globalisation has led to the gradual change of what is supposed to be interdependence between two states to the dependence of one state on another leading to its exploitation.

### **Aim and Objective of the Study**

The overall objective of this study is to critically examine the impacts of globalization on Interdependence of developed and developing sovereign states. Other specific objective includes:

- i. To examine the various impacts of globalization on political space of Interdependent

sovereign states.

ii. Re investigates how globalization has led to Interdependence of developed nations and developing sovereign states.

iii. To examine the benefits of globalization on the economy of developing states through Interdependence on developed nations.

iv. To examine the challenges to national development experienced by developing states as a result of their dependence on developed nations in the name of globalization.

v. To examine the impact of globalization on social and cultural paradigms of developed nations and developing nations.

vi. To examine all the objective above in the case of United States of America and Nigeria

### **Scope and the Limitation of the Study**

The scope of this study covers the impact of globalization on interdependence of developing and developed sovereign states using United States of America and Nigeria as case studies. In a research work of this nature, certain challenges were foreseeable. In the course of carrying out study. These include, time constraint due to the detailed nature of the topic to be investigated and upcoming exams. Also, travelling the long distance from my home to the library many pose a major limitation to the research being undertaken, raising the needed fund for online research can be a major obstacle given the harsh economic condition of the country. Lastly, sourcing relevant materials for this study may

be difficult given the scarcity of current materials and challenges of accessing available ones.

## **Methodology**

For the purpose of this study, data collected are through primary and secondary sources.

The primary sources for the purpose of this work includes unpublished and published works and the secondary sources for this work includes, articles in journals, book chapters, online materials which focuses and vividly explains the impact of globalization on the interdependency of developed and developing sovereign states: A case study of United states-Nigeria relations.

## **Literature Review**

There are several literatures on the manifestations of the impact of globalization on interdependence of developing and developed sovereign states using United States of America and Nigeria as case studies. This as follow; According to American Congressional working paper “Nigeria: Current Issues and U.S. Policy,”<sup>10</sup> the document elucidate how U.S.-Nigeria relations under the Trump Administration appear generally consistent with U.S. policy under the Obama Administration. The document further described how both Administrations have supported reform initiatives in Nigeria, including anticorruption efforts, economic and electoral reforms, energy sector privatization, and programs to promote peace and development. The document reveal that

Congress oversees more than \$500 million in U.S. foreign aid programs in Nigeria and regularly monitors political & developments while some Members have expressed concern with corruption, human rights abuses, and violent extremism in Nigeria.<sup>11</sup>

Idahosa Stephen Osaherumwen, and Adebayo Kafilat Motunrayo's article titled "An Analysis of the Nigerian Foreign Policy: A Narrative,"<sup>12</sup> analyze the foreign policy of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, focusing on the various changes that took place in Nigerian foreign policy since Independent, and specifically upon the election of President M. Buhari. The author holds that there is a mix of internal causes and exogenous factors determining the course of Nigerian foreign policy. He later reveal that foreign policy is basically the mirror of domestic policy, but it will be insufficient, this be the only focus on analysis, as the most important factors in this analysis is both domestic and external.<sup>13</sup>

Temitope Peter Ola's, book titled "United States–Nigeria's Trade Relations before the African Growth and Opportunity Act",<sup>14</sup> the study discusses the foundations for United States (U.S.)–Nigeria's trade relations within the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). The author further maintain that though U.S.–Nigeria's trade relations intensified in the years preceding AGOA there were built-in impediments to the bilateral trade. He establishes that an adequate appreciation of the pre-policy situation is needed for AGOA to make comprehensive impacts on U.S.–Nigeria's bilateral trade. He later recommends the need to bring Nigeria's dependence on the U.S. to an end.<sup>15</sup>

Another important literature is John A. Ayam's book titled, "*The Development of Nigeria- U.S. Relations*,"<sup>16</sup> the author highlight Nigeria-U.S. as it relates to the political

and diplomatic relations which centre on the economic, political and socio-cultural ties. John A. Ayam further observed, the diplomatic conflict between Nigeria and the United States over the independence of Angola in 1975.<sup>17</sup>

Attu, Samson Agbo's book titled "Nigeria and United States Security Partnership and Challenges of Boko Haram Insurgency, 2009 – 2014,"<sup>18</sup> examines Nigeria and United States military-security partnership and the challenges of Boko Haram insurgency. Military-security partnership between both countries has been cordial but restricted. The author has divergent opinion about the extent U.S. should be committed in assisting the Nigerian government in countering the insurgency. Due to recent developments in Nigeria-U.S. military-security alliance and the challenges of Boko Haram insurgency, there is need for constant appraisal; the limited research conducted on this topic needs regular update. He further elucidate the changes in Nigeria and U.S. military-security partnership and its effects on Boko Haram insurgency.<sup>19</sup>

Omotere Tope's, work titled "Nigeria-United States Relations, 1999 To 2012,"<sup>20</sup> the author narrates the historical antecedence of the Nigeria's foreign policy towards United States since 1960 and how it has constantly been changing, though the principles guiding her foreign relations remain the same. The author outlines the strategic events that are largely responsible for the unstable external relationship between the two countries. He reiterates how the Nigeria's foreign policy has deeply rooted in Africa with emphasis on political and economic cooperation, peaceful dispute resolution, and global nonalignment and that Nigerian leader also have their attention fixed on the successful

implementation of these principles which sometimes come in conflict with the US foreign goals.<sup>21</sup>

The various literature that have been highlighted above concerning this subject matter would lay a foundation to strengthen my view on globalization and its impact on interdependency of Nigeria and U.S.A in subsequent chapters.

## **Chapterization**

### **Chapter One; Introduction**

This chapter contains the background of the study, aim and objectives , scope of study, methodology, literature review and organization of chapters.

### **Chapter Two: Definition of Globalisation**

Chapter two focuses on the notions of Globalisation and Internationalism, the nature of globalization, the historical background and the impact of globalization on the functions of the state.

### **Chapter Three: Analysis of U.S.-Nigeria relations**

Chapter three analyzes U.S.-Nigeria relations, and it links oil and U.S. bilateral military ties.

### **Chapter Four: Concept of Globalisation**

Chapter four explains the concept of Globalisation, it looks into the Global patterns of Nigeria-U.S. relations and it appraises democratic roles in the development of the Nigeria-U.S. relations.

## **Chapter Five: Conclusion**

Chapter five is the summary of the work which contains a summary of all that has been written from the beginning to the end and conclusion of the work with references.

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## CHAPTER TWO

### CONCEPT AND NATURE OF GLOBALISATION

#### **Introduction**

Globalization is the process of international integration arising from the interchange of world views, products, ideas and other aspects of culture. It is the process of growing and expanding to exist throughout the entire world. The tendency to move beyond domestic and national markets to other markets around the globe, thereby increasing the interconnectedness of different markets. Globalization not only leads to increasing international trade, but also in cultural exchange

#### **Definition of Globalisation:**

The aim of globalisation is to secure socio- economic integration and development of all the people of the world through a free flow of goods, services, information, knowledge and people across all boundaries. Globalisation is seen as a conscious and active process of expanding business and trade across the borders of all the states. It stands for expanding cross-border facilities and economic linkages. This is to be done with a view to secure an integration of economic interests and activities of the people living in all parts of the world. The objective of making the world a truly inter-related, inter-dependent, developed global village governs the on-going process of globalisation.<sup>1</sup>

Globalisation is the concept of securing real social economic, political and cultural transformation of the world into a real global community. It is considered to be

the essential means for securing sustainable development of all the people of the world. “Globalisation represents the desire to move from national to a global sphere of economic and political activity”<sup>2</sup>. It seeks to transform the existing international economic system into a unified system of global economics. In the existing system, national economies are the major players. In the new system, the globalized economic and political activity will ensure sustainable development for the whole world.

According to Edward S. Herman asserts that “Globalisation is both an active process of corporate expansion across borders and a structure of cross border facilities and economic linkages that has been steadily growing and changing.”<sup>3</sup> In another development Baylis and Smith posits Globalisation is the process whereby social relations acquire relatively distance-less and borderless qualities.”<sup>4</sup>

### **The Notions of Globalisation and Internationalism**

Till very recently, the term internationalism have been frequently refer to the process of increasing connections and relations among nations. It denotes the concept of increasing social economic, cultural and political cooperation among nations.

Now instead of advocating internationalism, there are advocacy globalisation which refers to a broader and integrated process of transformation of the world into a global village characterised by free world trade, freedom of access to world markets and increased social, economic, and cultural linkages and relations among the people of the world.<sup>5</sup> Whereas internationalism stands for increasing scope and intensity of cooperation among nations, globalisation refers to a free and integrated world system. Globalisation is

neither a purely economic process nor is related to communications only.<sup>6</sup> It is a broad process of increasing socio-economic-industrial-trade-cultural relations among the people living in all parts of the globe. It refers to the process which is considered essential for transforming the world into an inter-related and inter-dependent global village.<sup>7</sup> It is aimed at securing the benefits of free trade, open access to markets and equal participation in securing sustainable development for all the people. It involves the attempts aimed at the development of rules and procedures for making and enforcing all decisions required for securing globalisation.<sup>8</sup>

### **Nature of Globalisation:**

**1. Liberalisation:** It stands for the freedom of the entrepreneurs to establish any industry or trade or business venture, within their own countries or abroad.

**2. Free Trade:** It stands for free flow of trade relations among all the nations. Each state grants MFN (most favored nation) status to other states and keeps its business and trade away from excessive and hard regulatory and protective regimes.

**3. Globalisation of Economic Activity:** Economic activities are be governed both by the domestic market and also the world market. It stands for the process of integrating the domestic economy with world economies.

**4. Liberalisation of Import-Export System:** It stands for liberating the import- export activity and securing a free flow of goods and services across borders.

**5.Privatisation:** Keeping the state away from ownership of means of production and distribution and letting the free flow of industrial, trade and economic activity across borders.

**6.Increased Collaborations:** Encouraging the process of collaborations among the entrepreneurs with a view to secure rapid modernisation, development and technological advancement.

**7.Economic Reforms:** Encouraging fiscal and financial reforms with a view to give strength to free world trade, free enterprise, and market forces.<sup>9</sup>

Globalisation accepts and advocates the value of free world trade, freedom of access to world markets and a free flow of investments across borders. It stands for integration and democratization of the world's culture, economy and infrastructure through global investments.<sup>10</sup>

### **Globalisation: Historical Background:**

The progress of industrial revolution in the 20th century was accompanied by a replacement of the police state by a welfare state. The state came to be an active actor in the economic life of the society. In the socialist states, state ownership of means of production and distribution became the rule and state controlled command economies were operationalized and regarded as the best means for rapid socio-economic development.<sup>11</sup>

In many other countries, nationalization of key industries and enterprises was undertaken with a view to provide goods and services to the people. State began performing several socioeconomic functions. In India, the decision to adopt a mixed economic model was taken and ownership and control over key industries was entrusted to the public sector.<sup>12</sup>

Even insurance and banking were nationalized for securing a better mobilization of resources, and consequently for rendering better services to the people. State regulation of economy and industry was practised and the public sector was patronized by the state as the sector committed to provide essential goods and services to the public. The state, acting in the name of checking monopolies, undue concentration of wealth in some hands and economic inequalities, formulated and enforced strict regulation and control systems.<sup>13</sup>

However, the experience with the working of common economies and mixed economic model, with a distinct leaning in favour of public sector was found to be inadequate slow and unproductive of desired results. Around 1985, Indian economy began showing big strains. Indian public sector now appeared to be a liability and foreign exchange reserves came to be in very bad shape. Industrial growth became regressive and inflation was assuming alarming proportions.<sup>14</sup>

Around this time the world was heading for several big changes. The socialist economies, in particular, the Soviet economy and political system, was collapsing. Even Perestroika and Glasnost could not save the USSR. It collapsed as a state. The

weaknesses of the socialist economic model became fully clear. All the socialist countries of Europe began witnessing a process of overthrow of socialist systems. Liberalisation of politics and economy came to be recognized as the necessity of the day. All countries of the world began realizing the merits of the market economy, free trade, privatisation, liberalisation, delicensing and deregulation of trade, industry and business.<sup>15</sup>

In July 1991 the Government of India decided to go in for liberalisation of economy. A new economic policy was formulated and implemented with an emphasis new upon economic reforms. These were governed by the principles of liberalisation, privatisation, market economy, free trade, deregulation and de-licensing. These reforms paved the way for initiating the process of liberalisation and globalisation of Indian economy. It began developing as an outwardly opening economy, with the aim of linking, integrating and unifying domestic economy with world economy.<sup>16</sup> Similar changes were adopted by other states.

### **Impact of Globalisation on the Functions of the State:**

In the era of globalisation, the functions of the State began undergoing a change. With the increasing disinvestment of public sector, privatisation was encouraged. Public sector was made to compete with the private sector, and as a whole open competition, free trade, market economy and globalisation were practiced. The role of state began emerging as that of a facilitator and coordinator, in place of an owner and controller. In fact, the process of globalisation involves a change in the role of the state.<sup>17</sup> However,

this does not in any way mean re-adoption of Laisses faire or reversion to the principle of police state.

(i) The activities which are essentially needed for the operation of economy. It acts as a facilitator and coordinator and refrains from acting as an owner and regulator. It acts to ensure a smooth and orderly functioning of the market. It tries to secure stability in the market through macro-economic policies.

(ii) Activities aimed at providing social services such as education, health, social security etc., to the people.<sup>18</sup>

### **Conclusion**

It should be noted here that globalisation has necessitated a change in the role of state. The state continues to be a welfare state performing all the protection functions as well as several social functions. It continues to act as a facilitator and coordinator of economy. It however, does not mean a reversion back to the police state. This chapter explained the notion of Globalization and how it impacts or changes the functions of states. Thus, this will be examined in the relations between Nigeria-United State in subsequent chapters.

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## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THE NATURE OF NIGERIA-UNITED STATE RELATIONS**

#### **Introduction**

The emergence of Nigeria as an independent country in 1960 and its admission into the United Nations Organization (UN) signaled the beginning of the development of foreign policy positions on key issues of international significance.<sup>1</sup> Nigeria-U.S. relations began within the context of the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the erstwhile Soviet Union. Interaction between the two countries in the 1960s was influenced by U.S. policy of containment and Nigeria's non-aligned posture.<sup>2</sup>

#### **An Analysis of US-Nigerian Relations**

Historically, the relationship between the US and Nigeria commenced on proper footing after the latter's sovereign status from Britain in 1960. At that time, there was the conscious belief in the similarity of the two countries leadership role in their respective continents. As a result, Nigeria was offered a long-term development aid of \$25 million by Kennedy Administration.<sup>3</sup> The relations between the two countries was mutually beneficial and seen as

such for more than a decade, through slight disruption was noticed during the fall of the Balewa Administration, followed shortly by a 30 months civil war. During the war, the US took a relatively neutral position and all her efforts were restricted to humanitarian concerns of giving relief supplies to civilian victims of the war. This was also a period

when the US involvement in the continent was dictated by Cold War considerations.<sup>4</sup> It was clear that the question of Communist infiltration into Nigeria was a remote possibility which kept the US involvement in the war to its barest minimum. This consequently resulted in some changes in US-Nigerian relations and the Gowon Regime started scouting for other friends in the communist bloc, as opposed to the earlier over-reliance on the West, arrow-headed by the US.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, there arose uneasiness in the friendship that existed between the two countries. On the part of the US, this was occasioned by the coming of the military to power in Nigeria; a situation considered as an anomaly by the former. Due to their abhorrence of military rule, then US upheld that soldier in politics could only be tolerated but never loved or trusted as they were highly authoritarian, sometimes irrational, and openly acted in defiance of democratic norms. This became the cause of strain and mistrust that was eventually entrenched in the relations between the countries.<sup>6</sup>

On her part, Nigeria's military regimes have continuously claimed to be nationalist and hence expressed disgust at the attempts of the US to influence political events of the country so as to guarantee the protection of the latter's national interest, as well as investments in Nigeria. The realities of economic interdependence are the only moderating consideration that has underpinned the relations over time, in such a manner that the two nations were always quick to arrive at compromises, whenever any issue openly threatened their relations.<sup>7</sup> Since leadership in Nigeria has been dominated by the military since independence, what obtains is that the US had to relate with her from the

perspective of a minor in the scheme of inter-state relations. Here, oil from Nigeria became vital to the American economic interests, while her population size and strategic location constitute one of the most profitable markets and investment opportunities on the continent. This is partly responsible for the tolerant mood that the US has bestowed on Nigeria all along. Obviously, the demands of the US economic (national) interest would not allow her to openly denounce and disregard Nigeria and the latter's various military governments, irrespective of how under-democratic such regimes were.<sup>8</sup>

The relations between Nigeria and the United States came under great strain during General Abacha's regime which started in 1993. The spate of international condemnation of the 3 regime made. General Abacha goes on the defensive claiming that it was in protection of Nigeria's national interest.<sup>9</sup> The embattled General had equally argued that the annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election was committed by his predecessor and that the Interim National Government he overthrew in November of the same year had proven weak and incapable of arresting the drift towards chaos and insecurity in the country. The later acts greatly exacerbated the growing strains in Nigeria–Us relations to the extent that the US had to impose unilateral sanctions on her while simultaneously canvassing her allies on the Europeans continent to do same. The departure from her traditional friends in the international community led to severe reverberations in the entire spectrum of Nigeria's socioeconomic and political life.<sup>11</sup>

On the economic front, the country experienced severe hardship, as international financial institutions such as International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB),

the London and Paris Clubs either suspended negotiated loans for development assistance or bluntly refused to review Nigeria's debt burdens so as to grant her relief also, certain categories of military technology earlier received from the US were suspended.<sup>12</sup> The US had a big say in both financial institutions named above and in the policy directions of the other European allies that Nigeria related with. Besides, the diplomatic isolation imposed on Nigeria robbed her of serious political leverage in the international community. One of such related developments was the suspension from the Commonwealth of Nations along with its attendant privileges; another was the loss of popularity in the United Nations (UN) where Nigeria had been making a strong bid for membership of the Security Council.<sup>13</sup>

In response to these developments, the Nigerian government sought to ride the storm by sheer bravado and propaganda, claiming that the US was leading her allies with the intention to re-colonize the country. She claimed that the US action of de-certifying Nigeria as a major out post for the narcotics trade, the ban on direct flights from Nigeria to US, the stringent immigration procedures instituted against Nigerians and the attempt to get the UN pass a resolution against the country on account of alleged human rights abuses, were all blackmail tactics intended by the US to isolate Nigeria in the international community.<sup>14</sup> The Nigerian government also became very vocal in telling any interested observer that what was happening in the country was within the domain of her internal affairs and as such, did not warrant undue external interference. The foregoing presaged the emergence of the Fourth Republic in Nigeria; a dispensation

where conscious efforts were made to launder the country's image abroad. Thus, official contacts were made to normalize relations with the US.<sup>15</sup>

### **US-Nigeria Trade Relation from 1999-2009**

Nigeria is the largest US trading partner in sub-Saharan Africa, based mainly on the high level of petroleum imports from Nigeria. United States, which has not been significant Nigeria's trading partner until 1960 became by 1970 the major consumer of Nigeria's oil. United States is Nigeria's largest trading partner after the United Kingdom.<sup>16</sup> The United States remains Nigeria's largest customer for crude oil, accounting for 40% of the country's total oil exports. Nigeria provides about 11% of overall US oil imports and ranks as the fifth-largest source for US 5 mmported oil. Significant exports of liquefied natural gas started in late 1999 and are slated to expand as Nigeria seeks to eliminate gas flaring by 2008.<sup>17</sup>

Total two-way trade was valued at \$30.8 billion in 2006, a 19% increase over 2005. Leading US exports to Nigeria were machinery, wheat, and motor vehicles. Leading US imports from Nigeria were oil and rubber products. Nigerian exports to the United State under the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), including its Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) provisions, were valued at \$25.8 billion during 2006, a 15% increase over 2005, due to an increase in oil exports.<sup>4</sup> Non-oil AGOA trade (leather products, species, cassava, yams, beans, and wood products) totaled \$1.4 million in 2006, almost double the amount in 2005.<sup>18</sup> Large portion of US exports to Nigeria is

believed to enter the country outside of the Nigerian Government's official statistics, due to importers seeking to avoid Nigeria's excessive tariffs.<sup>19</sup>

In the entire history of Nigeria, such enormous export has never been made and as targeted by the US whose about 10 per cent oil importation comes from Nigeria, the figure is expected to double in 2020. No wonder Onuoha argued that Nigeria- US relation is has been conditioned on the oil factor. Significantly, more than 90% of Nigeria's trade with the US.<sup>20</sup>

### **US Intervention on Crisis in Nigeria: Variations in Oil related and non-Oil related**

Problems of communal violence have confronted the Obasanjo government since its inception. In May 1999 violence erupted in Kaduna State over the succession of an Emir, resulting in more than 100 deaths. In November 1999, the army destroyed the town of Odi in Bayelsa State and killed scores of civilians in retaliation for the murder of 12 policemen by a local gang. In Kaduna in February-May 2000 over 1,000 people died in rioting over the introduction of criminal Shar'ia in the state. Hundreds of ethnic Hausa were killed in reprisal attacks in southeastern Nigeria.<sup>21</sup> In September 2001, over 2,000 people were killed in 6 interreligious rioting in Jos. In October 2001, hundreds were killed and thousands displaced in communal violence that spread across the Middle-Belt states of Benue, Taraba, and Nasarawa. Continuously, in 2006, over 200 Christians (predominantly South Easterners) were killed in the Northern Nigeria over the cartoon of Muhammed in one foreign magazine. Hundreds of ethnic Hausa were killed in reprisal

attack in the southeastern Nigeria. That same year over 200 Christians were killed in Northern Nigeria over the controversial statement made by the Pope in Rome concerning the Moslems.<sup>22</sup> All these problems and more did not catch the interest of US government, even when thousands of lives and properties were being lost. The only time US became interested was when the flow of oil was threatened.<sup>23</sup> This led Onuoha to conclude that Nigeria's relation with US has been conditioned by the oil factor. Interestingly, this phenomenon has continued to the present. The United States significantly became Nigeria's trading partner in the 1970s, thereby being the major consumer of Nigeria oil. Thus the United States had upheld the policy of not intervening in Nigeria domestic crisis, if such crisis does not disrupt the flow of oil. Neither did the crisis generated by Isaac Adaka Boro the leader of Niger Delta Volunteer Service (NDVS), when he declared the "Republic of Niger Delta" in 1966 did not attract US attention nor even the Nigerian civil war that lasted through 1967 to 1970 affected the flow of oil and so US chose the policy non-interventionism and Neutrality respectively.<sup>24</sup>

No doubt, Omeje mentioned that the volatile security situation in Niger Delta and Nigeria in general characterized by the spate of violence and reactions by the three major parties in the oil conflict (Trans National Oil Companies, oil bearing communities and the State) though it has left much of Niger Delta a security disaster, has not deterred TNOCs from doing business and prospering in the region. In other words, they have learnt to mind and focus on their business, which is drilling oil as opposed to other on goings in their environment.<sup>25</sup> Curiously, in 2004, the threat of bombing of oil installations by

Dokubo Asari the leader of Niger-Delta Peoples Volunteer Force (NDPVF), which he codenamed “Operation Locust Feast”, changed the indifferent or non-interventionist stance of the US. President Bush persuaded the Nigerian leaders to negotiate with the rebels in order to find a lasting solution in the recurrent Niger Delta region.<sup>26</sup> How did this happen? It was when President Obasanjo attended the meeting of the United Nations General Assembly in September.

President Bush informed Obasanjo about the deep interest United States has in the region and advised him to avoid a replay of what happened in the in Iraq where oil supply to the West was adversely affected. This threat of attacking flow stations, rigs and production platforms belonging to oil companies in the Niger Delta from NDPVF according to Onuoha had immediate impact on the International system. World oil price rose to more than 50 dollar per barrel. The NDPVF, which asserts to be a voluntary organization, fights for the interest of the Ijaw ethnic group for which it demands autonomy and control over the region oil wealth. Its formation marked the climax of the Niger Delta crisis. This force has kept the region under immense tensions through killings, kidnapping, vandalization of oil pipeline and outright stealing of crude and refined oil.<sup>27</sup> According to The Financial Times of London, the theft is estimated at about \$4 billion yearly. Therefore, President Bush of United States of America intervened in the Dokubo Obasanjo face off because of huge America investment in the Niger Delta region and probable disrupt of crude oil supply to the United States. As soon as President Obasanjo came back, he ordered the withdrawal of his authority to River state empowering him to

deploy troops to the troubled areas. He directed intensification of discussion with the rebels. When Dokubo agreed to honor the President's invitation for a negotiation on the issue, the president gladly approved his Presidential fleet to air him and some of his commanders to Abuja.<sup>28</sup>

To sustain Nigeria–United States relation and keep crude oil supply open, Obasanjo negotiated with a rebel thereby enduring his excesses and yielding to some of his demand. Consequently Obasanjo convened the Political reform conference though Dokubo refused to attend. On the other hand, the United States in order to safe guard its interest has sent her Naval Task Force, consisting of an air craft carrier, guided missiles cruiser, two guided missile destroyers, an attack submarine and a supply ship last August passed through the Gulf of Guinea as part of its strategy to fight terrorism anywhere in Africa.<sup>29</sup>

In reaction to the fragile truce between Nigeria's central government and another Niger Delta militia called Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) in April 2006, which jerked to a bloody halt on 20th August when soldiers of the Joint Task Force, a contingent of the Nigerian Army, Navy and Air Force deployed by the government to enforce its authority on the restive oil-bearing Niger Delta, ambushed fifteen members of the MEND militia in the creeks of western delta and murdered them, Nigerian government publicly announced in late August that it was now collaborating closely with the US and British governments to deploy more naval personnel and new hardware to "root out oil rustlers, kidnappers and other undesirable elements from the

Niger Delta and the wider Gulf of Guinea.”<sup>30</sup> Some scholars might want to argue that US seeks to respect the sovereignty of Nigeria by not interfering in every of its crises but following US invasion of Iraq and constant violation of UN charter by the US, it is doubtful if respecting Nigeria’s sovereignty will obstruct US from securing its interests.<sup>31</sup>

### **Linking Oil and US-Nigeria bilateral military Ties**

Since the inauguration of President Obasanjo’s administration in 29th May 1999, the US government has assigned the Nigeria government to reorganize and re-orientate the Nigerian military establishment on its future constituent role. This role as perceived by America should be to serve the new civilian government, provide security for all Nigerians and continue to prevent conflict and ensure peace building in West Africa.<sup>32</sup> Under this arrangement, the greatest beneficiaries have been the army and the air force. Apart from training some battalion of the army, the US has repaired some of the C-130 of the Nigerian air force.<sup>34</sup> According to Peters programme benefits US to the extent that it will help to advance its link with the Nigerian military. This has also been very advantageous the Nigerian military professionally and technologically. This new relation is far deeper than the previous attempt since 1960. Nigeria had stronger bilateral relations with the British and Indian military even the German military helped in the establishment of Nigerian air force.<sup>33</sup>

The Nigeria military has very little links with the US military. But between 1975 and the oil boom period in Nigeria, Nigeria US military relation saw new light. Some of

the military equipment Nigeria bought with this period was from America. Therefore, it is only when we take oil into account that we can understand US commitment in training and retraining US military. Even so, West Africa has recently become one of the most important regions to be incorporated into the United States“ Global War on Terror (GWOT).<sup>35</sup>

### **Conclusion**

This chapter had looked at the evolutionary trend in US – Nigerian relations with a special emphasis on the nature of cooperative diplomacy that existed prior to the sad event. It also tried to examine the extant reasons responsible for the enlisting of Nigeria by the US. In this regard, state fragility, accentuated by sectarian fanaticism, prevalent in the country was examined. While calling on the Nigerian state to put its acts together to stamp out sectarian violence, the paper implores the US to re-examine her foreign policy thrust so as to arraign herself appropriately to the global efforts to combat terrorism.

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## **CHAPTER FOUR**

# **GLOBALIZATION AND ITS IMPACT ON NIGERIA-UNITED STATE RELATIONS**

## **Introduction**

The phenomenon of globalization is one of the major trends that have become dominant in contemporary world system. Given the new wave of information technology, it is not only irreversible but capable of defining the policy of development in the 21st century.<sup>1</sup> In the last few decades, and more than ever before, nation states have witnessed increase in business activities, cash flow and other economic interactions on a global scale with its attendant implications on development.<sup>2</sup>

## **Concept of Globalisation**

Globalization is a process of vertical and horizontal integration involving increasing volume of and variety of transnational transactions, in goods and services, in international capital flows, in human migration, and through a rapid and widespread diffusion of technology.<sup>3</sup>

Today, as a major force in the world system, globalization enhances trans-borders' interaction which in turn stirs all aspects of the process, namely; economic, historical, technological, social and political among others. In a more concrete term, it refers to the increasing economic interdependence among countries of the world through the increasing volumes of cross-border transactions in recent times. As globalization mean the establishment of a global market for goods and capital.<sup>4</sup> The universal character of competing technologies, the progression towards a global system of production.

The phenomenon of globalization came to Nigeria for the first time, not just in the last century, as it is generally thought, but when the Portuguese and the British landed on our shores before the end of nineteenth century to establish new trade link, and to spread Christianity.<sup>5</sup> Globalization is therefore the increasing breakdown of barriers and obstacles to the world-wide diffusion of economic ideas, doctrines, products, services and practices originating from the western industrialised, especially the United States of America. Whatever ideas, products and services are distributed across territorial boundaries. It therefore implies a world system in which development in one region can come to shape the life chances of communities in parts of the globe.<sup>6</sup>

### **Nigeria and Globalization**

The Nigerian nation state cannot be said to be a stranger to the phenomenon of globalization. Already, globalization had to a good degree integrated the economy of the state into the world capitalist system. Even at independence and after, Nigeria as it were lacks autonomy in all respects except flag independence to forge an independent and sustainable development process.<sup>7</sup> From the Arabs to the Europeans through the experience of slavery and colonization, to contemporary globalizing conditions, Africa has never been given any window of opportunity to develop on its own terms. Nigeria, a post- colonial state, lacks the capacity to mobilize the available resources to achieve the goal of national development. Rather than being a key player in the global system and taking proactive measures, Nigeria has always been taking reactive measures.<sup>8</sup>

### **Nigeria in the Global Economy**

Nigeria has not been spared from the phenomenon of globalisation. Although, the adverse consequences have not been pronounced, the fact remains that Nigeria has become relatively more integrated with the global economic system. The tempo intensified with the policy shift from trade and exchange controls to economic liberalization from 1986. Nigeria is highly dependent on external trade, while rapid inflow of capital has been stemmed largely as a result of the relatively underdeveloped state of the financial markets.<sup>9</sup> To determine the extent of openness of the Nigerian economy, trade flows involving the country and the rest of the world could be analysed. The share of total trade in total output or gross domestic product (GDP) can be applied to measure the openness of the Nigerian economy. On the basis of this methodology, Nigeria's economy recorded increased openness between 1986 and 1987, reflecting a movement from 0.21 to 0.64 during the period.<sup>10</sup>

The trend showed a decline to 0.63 in 1988. The trend mirrored adequately the performance of the Structural Adjustment Programme introduced in 1986. The openness index nudged upwards, reaching 1.70 in 1990. A further improvement was recorded in 1995 when 16.5 was recorded. This rose successively, reaching 18.80 in 1997, before declining to 14.06 in 1998. The drop recorded in 1998 was accounted for by the decline in both export and import from their levels in the preceding year. Although, the Nigerian economy has become more open over the years, its share of world trade has remained relatively low. The share of Nigeria's exports in total world export-1 was below 1 per cent

in the period 1970 to 1998, except in 1974, 1976, 1977, 1979 and 1980, when 1.1, 1.1, 1.1, 1.1 and 1.4 per cent were recorded, respectively.<sup>11</sup>

Similar trend was exhibited by Nigeria's import trade. Nigeria has applied various policies over the years to stimulate the productive and external sectors of the economy, not only to ensure export competitiveness, but also to expand the import capacity of the economy. The low share of Nigeria's imports in total world import trade was partly accounted for by the low export capacity of the economy.<sup>12</sup> The undue dependence of Nigeria on crude oil exports has limited the scope for the diversification of the economy, while at the same time exposing the economy to shocks in the international oil markets. This has resulted in the direct transmission of instability in world oil prices into unstable and unpredictable revenue receipts by the government. Thus, development programmes for the economy have been largely predicated on development in the world market for crude oil.<sup>13</sup> The low level of primary commodity exports, owing largely to the crash in commodity prices and the constraining effect of higher incomes and improved living standards on the demand for them, in addition to the low level of export of manufactures, contributed to the predominance of the oil sector. Nigeria's low export performance especially in manufacturing is a major factor preventing the country from benefitting adequately from the integration of goods and services markets across the globe.<sup>14</sup>

The lack of comparative advantage in manufacturing has limited the scope for specialisation. With the mobility of all factors of production in the context of international specialisation, it is obvious that only those countries with the requisite skills

would be able to compete in the global arena.<sup>15</sup> The implementation of market-friendly policies could result in the attraction of the requisite skills and international support that would pave the way for the movement of relevant factors of production into and out of the country. With the current low level of comparative advantage in manufacturing, Nigeria will continue to be marginalised in its economic relations with the rest of the world. To avoid marginalisation, Nigeria would have to diversify its economy and take appropriate measures to raise manufacturing exports.<sup>16</sup> Nigeria's position in the global economy would have been worse than it is now if financial markets integration had not been prevented from a full reign on the economy. This situation was not deliberately created. It merely resulted from policy inactivity and the poor state of the financial markets. The financial markets in Nigeria have not kept pace with developments in the global financial markets. The non internationalisation of the capital market prevented the economy from exposure to developments in international financial market.<sup>17</sup>

### **Globalization and Its Impact on Nigeria-United States Relations**

The history of Nigeria's foreign policy towards United States since 1960 has constantly been changing, though the principles guiding her foreign relations remain the

same. Strategic event are largely responsible for the unstable external relationship between the two countries.<sup>18</sup>

### **Global and Patterns of Nigeria-US Relations**

The pattern of the US-Nigeria relations can be likened to an elder-younger brother relationship which focuses on trade and investment.

- **Trade and Investment**

This is one of the major aspects of Nigeria's relations with the US since the return of democracy in 1999. According to Alao, Nigeria had prioritized trade in its relations with US. There have been increased trade links between the two countries. Optimizing the relationship to improve Nigeria's economy was central to Nigeria's policy. There have also been persistent calls for US investments in Nigeria. Presently, key US investors in the Nigerian oil sector included Exxon/Mobil, Chevron and Western Geo-physical.<sup>19</sup> Other US multinationals in Nigeria include the British American Tobacco Company, in the tobacco enterprise, the Citibank, in the banking sector. As expected, oil is at the centre of most of the country's trade with the US, and Nigeria continues to be one of its major crude oil exporters. In the year 2000, the US and Nigeria signed a Trade & Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA). Data from the Office of the United States Trade Representative reveals the following US-Nigeria trade facts: Nigeria is currently the US 23rd largest goods trading partner with \$38.6 billion in total (two way) goods trade during 2011.<sup>20</sup>

Goods exports totaled \$4.8 billion; Goods imports totaled \$33.7 billion. The US goods trade deficit with Nigeria was \$28.9 billion in 2011. In exports, Nigeria was the United States' 44th largest goods export market in 2011. US goods exports to Nigeria in 2011 were \$4.8 billion, up 18.4% (\$747 million) from 2010. The top export categories (2-digit HS) in 2011 were: Cereals (wheat) (\$1.2 billion), Vehicles (\$1.1 billion), Machinery (\$720 million), Mineral Fuel (oil) (\$597 million), and Plastic (\$187 million). US exports of agricultural products to Nigeria totaled \$ 1.3 billion in 2011. Leading category is: wheat (\$1.2 billion). In imports, Nigeria was the United States' 16<sup>th</sup> largest supplier of goods imports in 2011. US goods imports from Nigeria totaled \$33.7 billion in 2011, a 10.6% increase (\$3.2 billion) from 2010. Nearly all of US imports from Nigeria were oil.<sup>21</sup>

US imports from Nigeria accounted for 1.5% of total U.S. imports for 2011. The five largest import categories in 2011 were: Mineral Fuel (oil) (\$33.6 African Journal of Social Sciences, Volume 3 Number4 (2013), pp. 200-213 209 billion), Cocoa (\$61 million), Rubber (\$28 million), Special Other (returns) (\$26 million), Food Waste (\$6 million). US imports of agricultural products from Nigeria totaled \$107 million in 2011. Leading categories include: cocoa beans (\$56 million), and rubber (\$28 million).<sup>22</sup>

- **External Debt and Financial Assistance**

From the outset, it must be noted that the creation of the international financial institutions known as the Bretton Woods institutions by the United States and other Western powers is another mechanism for maintaining dependency. As Okolo observes, this is a system deliberately designed by the major powers of the Second World War, particularly the United States to ensure the control of states economically after their independence, through the grant of loans, aid and other forms of assistance.<sup>23</sup> Thus, Nigeria's journey with foreign debt began in the 1960s when on attainment of independence, had approached Western financial institutions for loans for development assistance.

It is also, important to state that from independence, successive administration (civilian or military) had contracted huge loans from private financial institutions and multilateral organizations. However, despite the approaches such as, debt conversion and debt securitization; debt cancellation, debt servicing and rescheduling, adopted by governments, Nigeria's external debt rose astronomically with the total debt outstanding at the end of 1999 stood at \$28.0 billion, with the Paris Club constituting the highest source with the share of 73.2 percent. With the advent of democracy, and the subsequent election and swearing-in of President Olusegun Obasanjo on May 29, 1999, debt relief became one of the cardinal objectives of the new government.<sup>24</sup> Thus, Nigeria expected to receive dividends in the form of debt relief from the international financial institutions. It is pertinent to state that at the time, Nigeria owed approximately \$35 billion, largely to the group of countries known as the Paris Club. The Paris Club comprises countries from

the world's biggest economies, including the United States, France, the United Kingdom, Germany and Japan. The realization of this goal was a major foreign policy objective in its relations with the US and other major powers.<sup>25</sup> In August 2000, President Clinton announced a \$100 million aid package to the country. This was aimed specifically at improving primary education and health care. The Bush administration was also involved in the sponsorship of many health-related issues in the country. Interestingly, Barack Obama considered debt relief for Nigeria even before he became president. As Illinois Senator then, strongly advocated for debt relief for Nigeria.<sup>26</sup>

In October 2005, through the relentless and persistent debt relief endeavours and diplomacy of Nigerian government, Nigeria secured the US Treasury Department's assistance to persuade the Paris Club to write-off Nigeria's foreign debt. The total relief package amounted to an \$18 billion debt write-off, with Nigeria to pay off balance of approximately \$12.4 billion to the creditors over the period of six months.<sup>27</sup> Details of the transaction are articulated by Okonjo- Iweala and Osafo-Kwaaso (2007) thus, as part of a tough but ultimately successful debt negotiation process with the Paris Club, Nigeria paid its outstanding arrears of 6.4 billion, received a debt write-off of \$16 billion on the remaining debt stock (under Naples terms), and purchased its outstanding 8 billion debt under a payback agreement at 25 percent discount for 6 billion. The entire debt relief package totaled \$18 billion, or a 60 percent write-off in return for a \$12.4 billion payment of arrears and buyback.<sup>28</sup> The exercise involving the buyback was unprecedented in the Paris Club for a low-income country and was the second largest debt relief operation in

the club's 50-years history. It brought an \$18 billion debt reduction on Nigeria's \$30 billion Paris Club debt, an overall reduction of 60 percent and a 76 percent reduction of the non-arrears portion of the debt stock.<sup>29</sup>

According to Wapmuk and Agbalajobi, the debt relief was unique in many ways: first, it was the first of such exit for an African country and the second largest Paris Club debt deal ever after Iraq; second, it was granted without formal International Monetary Fund programme in place; third, it was structured to enable Nigeria to secure a complete and permanent exit from the Paris Club of creditors. In a related development, it is pertinent to state that the expression of friendship between Nigeria and the US was also affirmed in the signing of the first US-Nigeria Binational Commission, in April 2010.<sup>30</sup> The aim was to establish a mechanism for sustained, bilateral, high-level dialogue to promote and increase diplomatic, economic and security co-operation between the two countries: According to Nnoma-Addison, the Commission's main objectives were the following:

1. To promote and co-ordinate the diplomatic, economic, military, commercial, technical, social and cultural co-operation between the two countries.
2. To address areas of mutual interest and/or concern and develop strategies for tackling these issues with assistance and co-ordination from both governments.
3. To assist in the implementation and follow-up of agreements and all other legal instruments already concluded between the governments.

4. To create favourable conditions to carry out co-operation programmes and projects as may be decided by mutual consent, and help to resolve any difficulties that may arise in carrying out any such programmes and/or projects.
5. To evaluate the development of co-operation between the two countries as well as initiatives from each government aiming to expand co-operation.<sup>31</sup>

### **Appraisal of Democratic Roles in the Development of the Nigeria-US Relations**

Nigeria's Fourth Republic came into being on May 29, 1999 following successful elections and subsequent swearing-in of a new civilian government headed by President Olusegun Obasanjo (1999-2007) and later Alhaji MusaYar'Adua/Goodluck Jonathan's administration (2007-2011). As a result of democratization that had taken place in Nigeria, Nigeria-US strained relations resurrected. According to Alao, four main issues underlined Nigeria's bilateral relations with the US under the dispensation.<sup>32</sup> These include:

1. Assistance in military professionalism and security sector reform;
2. The global war on terror;
3. Boosting trade and investment; and
4. Efforts to ensure debt relief and financial assistance.

Since the restoration of basic democracy in Nigeria in 1999, the bilateral relationship has continued to improve, and cooperation on many important foreign policy goals, such as regional peacekeeping, has been excellent. An estimated one million

Nigerians and Nigerian Americans live, study, and work in the United States, while over 25,000 Americans live and work in Nigeria. On April 6, 2010, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Nigerian Secretary to the Government of the Federation Yayale Ahmed inaugurated the US.-Nigeria binational Commission, a formalized commitment to hold bilateral talks on four key areas: good governance, transparency, and integrity; energy and investment; Niger Delta and regional security; and agriculture and food security.<sup>33</sup> President Yar'Adua visited President George W. Bush at the White House on December 13, 2007. During her first official trip to Africa, Secretary Clinton visited Nigeria on August 12, 2009. President Jonathan met with President Barack Obama at the White House on June 8, 2011.<sup>34</sup>

Nigeria is the United States' largest trading partner in sub-Saharan Africa, largely due to the high level of petroleum imports from Nigeria, which supply 8% of U.S. oil imports--nearly half of Nigeria's daily oil production. Nigeria is the fifth-largest exporter of oil to the United States. Two-way trade in 2010 was valued at more than \$34 billion, a 51% increase over 2009, largely due to the recovery in the international price of crude oil. Led by cereals (wheat and rice), motor vehicles, petroleum products, and machinery, U.S. goods exports to Nigeria in 2010 were worth more than \$4 billion.<sup>35</sup> In 2010, U.S. imports from Nigeria were over \$30 billion, consisting overwhelmingly of crude oil. Cocoa, bauxite and aluminum, tobacco and waxes, rubber, and grains constituted about \$73 million of U.S. imports from Nigeria in 2010. The U.S. trade deficit with Nigeria in 2010 was \$26 billion. Nigeria was the 13th-largest trading partner for the United States in

2010. The United States is Nigeria's largest trading partner after the United Kingdom. Although the trade balance overwhelmingly favors Nigeria, thanks to oil exports, a large portion of U.S. exports to Nigeria is believed to enter the country outside of the Nigerian Government's official statistics, due to importers seeking to avoid Nigeria's tariffs and regulations.<sup>36</sup>

The United States is the largest foreign investor in Nigeria. The stock of U.S. foreign direct investment (FDI) in Nigeria in 2010 was \$5.2 billion, down slightly from \$5.4 billion in 2009. U.S. FDI in Nigeria is concentrated largely in the petroleum/mining and wholesale trade sectors. ExxonMobil and Chevron are the two largest U.S. corporate players in offshore oil and gas production. In March 2009, the United States and Nigeria met under the existing Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) to advance the ongoing work program and to discuss improvements in Nigerian trade policies and market access.<sup>37</sup> Among the topics discussed were cooperation in the World Trade Organization (WTO), market access, export diversification, intellectual property protection and enforcement, commercial issues, trade capacity building and technical assistance, infrastructure, and investment issues.

Helping Nigeria address the fundamental health and education needs of its citizens directly impacts governance, stability, and economic growth. Nigeria ranked 70 out of 71 countries in the 2008 Report on the State of the World's Mothers. The national average maternal mortality is about 800 per 100,000 live births, but the rate is at least three times higher in the northern states. Health-care consumers often opt to forego

treatment, or to pay for treatment from unskilled providers.<sup>38</sup> Almost one-third of women receive no antenatal care. Sixty-six percent of deliveries take place in the home, with only 35% assisted by trained health care personnel. The United States supports increased access to quality family planning and reproductive health services, focusing efforts in selected states with high unmet demand. Maternal and child health efforts target routine immunization, polio eradication, birth preparedness, and maternity services, seeking to reduce catastrophic rates of maternal and young child mortality. With Nigeria's child malaria mortality burden of over 300,000 preventable deaths per year, U.S. assistance increases access to proven preventive and curative interventions, including insecticide-treated nets, net retreatment kits, and artemisinin combination therapy treatment for children and pregnant women.<sup>39</sup>

### **Evaluation of Global Terrorism on the Nigeria-US Relations**

The US response to the spate of terrorism in Nigeria has ended in futility as the US military had to abandon the search and rescue attempt for the Chibok girls adopted and with a short while the military training organized for the Nigerian soldiers was cancelled by the president of Nigeria. Later there were proclamation by the United States military that Nigeria is not been free with the US military to carry out proper investigation of suspected individuals in government.<sup>40</sup>

### **Conclusion**

This chapter looked at the impact of Globalisation on US-Nigeria relations. Examine how Nigeria became overly dependent on the export of crude oil to the United

States. From the study, it is clear that Nigeria's bilateral relations with the United States spanned the entire years of the country's existence as a sovereign nation. Of note, every aspect of the intercourse, particularly the four key areas examined in this study, have been increasingly driven by the US pursuit of its pragmatic national interests while perpetuating foreign dependency, domination and exploitation on the nation, thus exerting some negative external forces on domestic programmes.

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## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION

This study was designed to achieve three important objectives, namely, (a) To critically analyse the determinants of Nigeria-United States relations, (b) To study the role of oil in these relations (c) To ascertain the possibility of the United states satisfying her increasing demand for Nigeria's oil within the context of OPEC politics and also to assess the impact of the bilateral relations on the political economy of the Nigerian state. After critical analyses of available data, the study revealed as follows:

Nigeria matters significantly to the United States national interest as a regional hegemon, an ever larger source of energy, a key zone of global HIV/AIDS pandemic, an activist middle power and big market for American goods. The study shows that America's dynamic economic growth is fuelling an ever increasing demand for Nigeria's oil. Infact, guaranteed long term access to Nigeria's relatively under exploited natural resources clearly tops American agenda. The study shows that Nigeria ranks second only to Saudi Arabia as the most important supplier of oil to the United States which buys over one million barrels a day of the highly light, low sulphur sweet crude. Consequently, crude oil has continued to dominate Nigeria's exports to the United States and currently constitutes over 90 percent of total exports to the United States.

To ensure uninterrupted flow of oil from Nigeria, the study reveals that the United States has volunteered to safeguard the Gulf of Guinea,-the New Gulf. Currently, the United States Naval Task Force comprising an aircraft carrier, guided missile cruiser, two

guided missile destroyers; and attack submarine and a supply ship are parading the oil rich Gulf of Guinea to ensure militants do not disrupt steady flow of oil to the west, more importantly, the United States has donated no fewer than three ships to the Nigerian Navy to enhance their capacity to police the Nigerian waters and protect United States Investments.

The study shows that Nigeria currently sells 40% of its oil to the United States. More importantly, Nigeria provides 70% Africa's total crude oil production. With the endless Middle East crisis, it is estimated that the United States could increase imports of African oil from the present 15 to 25 percent of the total consumption and the New Gulf – the Gulf of Guinea offers new sources of oil supply.

Since Nigeria's oil is so vital to the American economy, US Department declared in 2002 that-along with all other African oil imports-oil was to be considered a strategic national interest. That essentially means that the president could send in the United States military to protect their access to it. American presence in the Gulf of Guinea is in pursuit of this policy.

It was further revealed that by the year 2020, the United States will need to import 17 million barrels of oil per day, 6 million more than it does presently from Nigeria. The study shows that global supply of oil is currently estimated of over 1000 billion barrels, and nearly 75% of it is owned and controlled by OPEC members. The implication is that it may not be possible for the United States to satisfy its increasing appetite for Nigeria's

oil within the context of OPEC politics. The United States may either lure Nigeria out of OPEC or disorganize the organization to achieve its foreign policy goal.

While America's principal interest in Nigeria is to have unlimited access to oil, the country also produces new markets and investment opportunities for America's growing economy. The study shows that the United States is the largest foreign investor in Nigeria with a total of more than \$18 billion, most of which represent investment in the oil and gas industry. Nigeria is also ranked highest in Africa as a major trading partner with the United States. Over 3000 United States manufactures and other businesses have local distribution arrangements from steel to services, from heavy equipment, automobiles and auto-parts to telecommunication, electronics and food stuff. The United States supplies 100 percent of Nigerian imported wheat. 7. Culturally, more than one million Nigerians live in the United States and about 200,000 of these Nigerians are currently American citizens. In summary, the United States enhanced interest in Nigeria in this era of neoliberal globalization is both a blessing and a curse. It is a blessing because Nigeria needs a big brother such as the United States to enhance her security and economic prosperity. However, the presence of American task force at the Gulf of Guinea poses a major security threat to the Nigerian state.

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