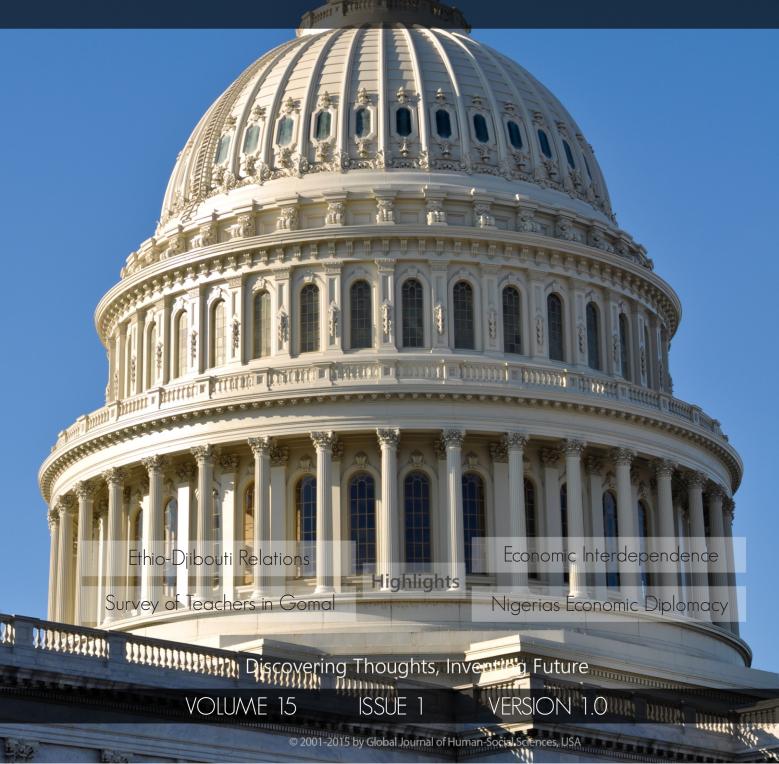
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Contents of the Issue

- i. Copyright Notice
- ii. Editorial Board Members
- iii. Chief Author and Dean
- iv. Contents of the Issue
- Impacts of Globalization and Digital Technologies on Access to Radio: A Survey of Teachers in Gomal & Qurtuba Universities, Dikhan, KP Pakistan. 1-7
- 2. Economic Interdependence as a Driving Force for Peace and Security Cooperation: Ethio-Djibouti Relations. *9-13*
- 3. Importance of Oil to the Global Community. *15-24*
- 4. A Critical Analysis of the Institutional Outcomes of Nigeria's Economic Diplomacy. 25-32
- v. Fellows and Auxiliary Memberships
- vi. Process of Submission of Research Paper
- vii. Preferred Author Guidelines
- viii. Index



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Impacts of Globalization and Digital Technologies on Access to Radio: A Survey of Teachers in Gomal & Qurtuba Universities, Dikhan, KP Pakistan

By Altaf Shah & Professor Dr. Allah Nawaz

Qurtuba University DIKhan, Pakistan

Abstract- This research paper examines the impacts of 'Globalization & Digital-Technologies' on access to Radio. Miraculously, the internet and digital technologies have accelerated the wheel of globalization and given new dimensions to the field of broadcasting. In this context, for data collection a structured questionnaire comprised upon seven demographic and five variables (4 independent and 1 dependent)was distributed among 180 teachers of Gomal and Qurtuba Universities at D. I. Khan (KPK).

The first hypothesis H1 shows highly significant correlation statistics between the predictors and criterion variable with Access to Radio.H2 was second hypothesis about regression which indicates 64% of change in the criterion variable due to Independent variables, whereas H3 (3rd Hypothesis about regression) shows that 19% change in criterion was due to demographic variables.

Keywords : globalization, digital-technologies, access to radio.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 160699

IMPACTSOFGLOBALIZATI ONANDOI GITALTECHNOLOGI E SONACCESSTORADI DASURVEVOFTEACHERS I NODMALDURTUBAUNI VERSI TI ESDI KHANKPPAKI STAN

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Altaf Shah^a & Professor Dr. Allah Nawaz^o

Abstract- This research paper examines the impacts of 'Globalization & Digital-Technologies' on access to Radio. Miraculously, the internet and digital technologies have accelerated the wheel of globalization and given new dimensions to the field of broadcasting. In this context, for data collection a structured questionnaire comprised upon seven demographic and five variables (4 independent and 1 dependent) was distributed among 180 teachers of Gomal and Qurtuba Universities at D. I. Khan (KPK).

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The study will be significant for working journalists, academicians of electronic media, students, broadcasters and technical operators.

Keywords: globalization, digital-technologies, access to radio.

I. INTRODUCTION

he excessive use of the term of globalization in contemporary era cannot provide a defined meaning to it; similarly the same ambiguity prevails between its implorers. Globalization is the spreading of large population across borders all over the world. It is frequently differentiated by what it is not instead what it is (Reich, 1998). Globalization means the strengthening of global social associations connecting detached localities in such a manner that occurring events of farflung corners of the world have direct impact on shaping of local happenings and the other way around (Tejada, 2007). The amalgamation of social, economic and cultural relations of trans-boarders is also termed as globalization (Jarvis, 2007).

The features of globalization are basically associated with the chain of economic phenomena. It comprises of liberalization and removal of state regulation for markets, privatization of state assets, withdrawal of state welfare functions, and dissemination

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of technology, transnational circulation of manufacturing production in the form of Foreign Direct Investment and the assimilation of capital markets (Reich, 1998). It has different emotional implications and also become a most disputed political discussion of the present age. At one end, it is considered to be an uncontrollable and unthreatening power producing economic wellbeing to the people all over the world (WCSD, 2004). This development of globalization is always represented as a constructive force which is uniting generally wide spread societies, assimilating all into global village, and elevating all in the development (Kheeshadeh, 2012).

The term "global village" created by Marshall McLuhan in 1960 was the prediction of the advancement of the media. His prediction come true because the dissemination of information gave birth to global village, where media is the basic source of news, information and entertainment. It is among one of the characteristics of globalization. It is definite that globalization is closely associated with the distribution of information, media and digital technologies (Frandsen, 2012). Radio, television, movies, film, DVDs, CDs and some other devices, i.e. camera and video consoles are called broadcast media as they communicate their information electronically, besides, it is also termed as electronic media (Kheeshadeh, 2012). The part of Digital Technologies or Information and Communication segment **Technologies** is as varied as telecommunication, television, radio broadcasting, computer software, hardware, electronic media i.e. internet and email (Beena & Mathur, 2012).

Mass media and democracy are essential because the media provide and facilitate the people to take part wisely in the process of state's policy dialogue and decision-making. In democracy the watch dog role of media is prominent because it exposes the wrong deeds and exploitations of the higher authorities. Radio, a common source of information, is, now-a-days, more diversified and blooming than ten years or so ago when it was in the tight clutches of government (Nag, 2011). Whereas radio is coping with the transformations, its two new offshoots, satellite radio and Web (streaming) are Year 2015

going to become more nourishing and energetic (Freeman; Klapczynski & Wood, 2012).

Streaming is now-a-days considered to be the most important breakthrough and also the main source of dispensing radio over the net. It provides accessibility to a vast majority of programs. Internet Radio can be listened to on all digital internet receivers and also on computers and cell phones (EBU, 2011). According to 2009 report of Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority, 129 FM radio stations were included in the media scene of Pakistan in the span of two years (Raza, 2011). In this connection, the users' access is changing according to their own personal environment and appliances like computer and cell phone (EBU, 2011). That is why, the access to Radio is going to expand and huge majority of people are listening online radio. The study shows that about 82% listeners weekly listen to online Radio (May, 2013).

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

a) Globalization

Globalization means а world where development in one area can come to shape the life prospects of communities in remote parts of the globe. The shift globalization is causing is basically affecting the economic, social and political domains (Holton, 1998). It can be defined as the strengthening of global social relations connecting distant localities in such a manner that indigenous happenings are shaped by incidents occurring thousands of miles away and the other way around (Tejada, 2007). Globalization is termed as the unification of economic, cultural and social relations across borders (Jarvis, 2007). According to Giddens (2003) globalization is the strengthening of international social relations which link remote localities in such a way that home happenings are formed by events occurring several miles away and vice versa (Wood, 2008). The contemporary era is said to be an age of globalization. It is a wide term and embodies varied perspectives. It denotes to the global outlook of diverse nations of the globe coming closer and joining hands in terms of economy, politics, education and society. Globalization encourages a view for all the globe as a whole regardless of the national identity and thus it has confined the world by bringing people of entire nations closer (Nigam, 2009).

Globalization as an economic phenomenon, includes the liberalization and freedom from regulation of markets, privatization of properties, withdrawal of state welfare functions, dispersal of technology, FDI, and the amalgamation of capital markets (Reich, 1998) is considered to be unavoidable (French, 2002). Globalisation came to surface in the 1980's and accelerated in the 1990's due to the advancement in communication and transportation of technology (Jarvis, 2007). It denotes for as a process of increasing sense of interconnectedness and a squeezing world (Naidu, 2009).

With the effects of the new technology the natural barriers of time and space have also been greatly reduced (WCSDG, 2004). Paradoxically, on the other hand, local communities are forced to make global connections in order to resolve local problems (Obijiofor & Inayatullah, 2005). The impacts of globalization can be observed with dynamic force in various fields like Industrial production, financial opportunities, economic freedom and political influence with the supremacy of United States and China's skilled economic growth, informational flow, competition, ecological changes, cultural, social, technical and legal or ethical dimensions (Nigam , 2009). Manmade manufactured risks are also the outcome of globalization. New technologies like nuclear and biotechnologies risks are global in nature. The Chernobyl nuclear incident in 1986 was global, because its effects were observed in several countries, whereas the fuels of the burning of fossils could lead to flooding in Bangladesh (Real sociology, 2010).

b) Digital Technologies

The term digital technology or information and communications technology was used for the first time by Katzman in 1974. He was of the view that by adopting digital technology or ICTs, people with high levels of information and talent will achieve more than people with lower primary levels (Flor, 2009). ICTs are a varied set of technological tools and resources to design, stock, disseminate, bring value addition and administer information. The Digital Technologies or Information and Communication Technology sector comprises of sectors as diverse as TV, radio and broadcasting, telecommunications, computer software and hardware and services and electronic media, for instance, the internet and e-mail (Beena & Mathur, 2012).

New technologies have vital impact on traditional electronic media, and the job of media men in all the organizations. The entire media production is at the mercy of new technologies: newspapers, books, broadcasting etc. all are accessible in their original shape and as well as on a Personal Computer, a notebook or a mobile phone also. It facilitates to make McLuhan's global village and permits the globalization of media culture (Kaul, 2011). Inexpensive, Digital Technologies or ICTs, consisting of cellular phones, MP3 recorders, and interactive voice response (IVR) had a considerable influence on the growing listenership of farmers. African Farm Radio Research Initiative s'(AFRRI) research indicated that active listening communities exercising different types of Digital Technologies, listened more regularly to radio programs than those in passive listening communities, had better education of the agricultural, and were more probable to implement the boosted agricultural method (Yamada, 2012).

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With the expansion of the Internet, electronic mail, inexpensive global phone services, cellular phones and e-conferencing, the globe has become more interconnected. A wide and quickly growing collection of information can now be accessed from anywhere connected to the Internet. Information can be communicated and discussed easily (WCSDG, 2004). In recent years, technological successes in connection with globalization of media environments, gained in eminence. The movement of digitalization is particularly a fastest moving inclination of the current media. It signifies great challenges, along with hopes for the time ahead of the electronic media (Zilkova, 2006). The ability of the ICTs or digital technologies has not only enhanced the penetration of mass media, for example, via satellites, but it has also produced new opportunities to accelerate communication at the grass root level applying technologies like Internet or cellular phones (Nag, 2011).

c) Access to Radio

In AMARC 2007 report on community radio impacts, it is noted that in spite of recent technological developments, broadcast medium remains the worlds' most extensive and accessible communications technology. A low-cost spoken medium, radio is receivable by 90% of the globe's population (Elliott, 2007). In this setting, digital technologies are offering new avenues for participation by allowing audiences both to use and produce media in an easy-going and low-cost trend (Ostling, 2010). In the decades of 90s, access to information was remodelled by the proliferation of digital or information and communication technologies and the liberalization of media and telecommunications markets all over the world. These two closely interconnected processes massively increased the flow and extent of information while decreasing the expense of access, storage and retrieval (Nag, 2011). The Ex minister for Education and one of Bolivia's best-known native broadcasters, DonatoAyma,

is of the view that radio is even now the most accessible and easily managed media in Bolivian diverse terrain of high mountains, valleys, lowlands and Amazon forest. Ayma roots his new pattern of communication on the notion of community radio stations as tool of communication and development which extend programming that originates from the grassroots level of the people (Chavez, 2012).

Digital technologies have forceful impact on traditional electronic media, print media and the work of media men in the entire medium. The complete media production is indebted to the new technologies: newspapers, books, broadcasting etc. Now all the media are accessible not only in its original form, but also on a Personal Computer, a notebook or a mobile phone (Zilkova, 2006). Radio plays a vital role in the transference of information in countries of the continent of Africa because the spoken word of radio broadcasts assists where literacy rates are considerably low. Sub-Saharan Africa, radio is frequently the only mass medium accessible in countryside and most families have access to a radio set (Zossou & Lebailly, 2012).

III. Research Design

The existing research on methodologies recommends that survey is the most commonly used approach to compile data on the attitudes and thinking of people. For instance, survey approach to data collection is the normally applied method for data collection in social sciences (Babbie, 1993:256-257). The survey assists to collect every type of data in addition to answer any question about the topic (Yin, 1994:6). The surveys are apparently the best instruments for recording attitudes in huge populations (Sekaran, 1999:257). Both literature and field surveys have been applied to collect data for this research project to triangulate the data collection process. In this study, both the quantitative and qualitative approaches will be applied to obtain maximum accuracy.

IV. FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

a) Descriptive Results

	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Gomal University	95	81.2	81.2	81.2
Qurtuba University	22	18.8	18.8	100.0
Total	117	100.0	100.0	

b) Testing of Hypotheses

Hypothesis # 1: All Predictors are Highly Associated with Access to Radio.

Table 2: Correlation Table

		Glob	Dig. Tech:	Dig-Equip	Info Society	Access to Radio	AGE
Digital Technology	R	.716**	1				
		.000					

IMPACTS OF GLOBALIZATION AND DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES ON ACCESS TO RADIO: A Survey of Teachers in Gomal & Qurtuba Universities, Dikhan, KP Pakistan

Digital Equipment	R	.640**	.682**	1			
	р	.000	.000				
Information Society	R	.455**	.427**	.556**	1		
	р	.000	.000	.000			
Accessibility to Radio	R	.639**	.736**	.736**	.502**	1	
	р	.000	.000	.000	.000		
AGE	R	.324**	.357**	.381**	.144	.363**	1
	р	.000	.000	.000	.122	.000	
INCOME	R	.197*	.237*	.279**	.067	.140	.772**
	р	.033	.010	.002	.470	.131	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

c) Analysis

The above table (Table # 4.8) gives statistics on the results of correlation analysis.

- 1. The correlation between Predictor (Globalization) and Criterion variable (Access to Radio): r = 0.64 with p value = 0.000
- 2. The correlation between Digital Technology and dependent variable (Access to Radio) is: r = 0.74 with p value = 0.000
- 3. The correlation between Digital Equipment and dependent variable (Access to Radio) is: r = 0.74 with p value = 0.000
- 4. The correlation between Information Society and dependent variable (Access to Radio) is: r = 0.50 with p value = 0.000

Given the above analysis, it is decided that there is association of different levels between all the Independent variables and dependent variables. So $\rm H_1$ is accepted as true.

i. Prediction by the Research Variables

Hypothesis # 2: All Predictors determine the Access.

Table 3: Model Summary of Regression Analysis

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R	Std. Error of the	F	Sig.
			Square	Estimate		
1	.736 ^a	.542	.538	.51551	136.102	.000 ^a
2	.803 ^b	.644	.638	.45649	103.117	.000 ^b

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		В	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	.566	.157		3.604	.000
	Digital Technology	.836	.072	.736	11.666	.000
2	(Constant)	.256	.149		1.710	.090
	Digital Technology	.498	.087	.438	5.738	.000
	Digital Equipment	.460	.080	.437	5.715	.000

Table 3 a : Coefficients of Regression

Table 3 b : Excluded Variables

Model		Beta In	Т	Sig.	Partial Correlation	Collinearity Statistics
					Contelation	Tolerance
	Globalization	.230 ^a	2.606	.010	.237	.487
1	Digital Equipment	.437 ^a	5.715	.000	.472	.535
	Information Society	.230 ^a	3.441	.001	.307	.818
2	Globalization	.103 ^b	1.232	.221	.115	.444
2	Information Society	.105 ^b	1.565	.120	.146	.687

a. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Digital Technology

b. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Digital Technology, Digital Equipment

c. Dependent Variable: Access to Radio

Analysis

 Table # 4.9 gives R² of 0.542 in model # 1 meaning that 54% of change in Access to Radio (dependent variable) is due to Digital Technology (Independent variable).

 R² 0.644 in model # 2 meaning that 64% of change in Access to Radio (dependent variable) is due to Digital Technology and Digital Equipment (Independent variable). Given these results, Hypothesis # 2 is accepted as true because 64% of variation in Access to Radio is attributed to the predictor.

ii. Prediction by the Demographic AttributesHypothesis # 3: All Demographic-Attributes Predict Access.

Table 4 : Model Summary of Regression Analysis
--

Mode	I R	R Square	Adjusted R	Std. Error of	F	Sig.
			Square	the Estimate		
1	.363 ^a	.132	.124	.70982	17.446	.000 ^a
2	.437 ^b	.191	.177	.68822	13.444	.000 ^b

Table 4 a : Coefficients of Regression

Model			dardized cients	Standardized Coefficients	Т	Sig.
		В	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	1.404	.227		6.174	.000
	AGE	.026	.006	.363	4.177	.000
2	(Constant)	1.286	.224		5.733	.000
	AGE	.027	.006	.375	4.444	.000
	INST	.471	.163	.243	2.886	.005

Table 4 b : Excluded Variables

Model		Beta In	Т	Sig.	Partial Correlation	Collinearity Statistics
						Tolerance
1	INCM	346 ^a	-2.592	.011	236	.404
	GDR	139 ^a	-1.573	.118	146	.955
	QUA	.059 ^a	.667	.506	.062	.977
	RES	063 ^a	711	.478	066	.981
	MS	107 ^a	975	.332	091	.631
	INST	.243 ^a	2.886	.005	.261	.998
2	INCM	227 ^b	-1.572	.119	146	.336
	GDR	132 ^b	-1.538	.127	143	.954
	QUA	.064 ^b	.753	.453	.071	.976
	RES	013 ^b	143	.886	013	.940
	MS	075 ^b	706	.482	066	.624

a. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), AGE

b. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), AGE, INSTD

c. Dependent Variable: Access to Radio

Analysis

- 1. Table # 4.10 gives R² of 0.132 in model # 1 meaning that 13% of change in Access to Radio (dependent variable) is due to Age factor (Demographic variable).
- R² 0.191 in model # 2 meaning that 19% of change in Access to Radio (dependent variable) is due to age and type of institution (Demographic variables).

Given these results, Hypothesis # 3 is accepted because 19% of variation in Access to Radio is attributed to the demographic variables.

V. Discussions

In this study the relationship between the current waves of Digital Technologies and access of the teachers of Gomal and Qurtuba Universities to Radio

were explored through analysing the first hand data collected through a survey approach extracted from literature.

The results of the descriptive statistics have shown that the respondents approach is optimistic about the working concepts i.e. digital technologies or information and communication technologies, digital equipment, information society and access to Radio.

In this context, by considering the inferential aftermaths of all the independent (predictors) and dependent (criterion variable) variables, it is deduced that they are highly correlated as statistic approved the correlation between independent and dependent variables. Thus, in correlation analysis the outcome shows that the access to Radio has strong correlation with digital technologies or information and Year 2015

communication technologies, digital equipment and information society. Consequently, results endorsed the meaningful correlation between dependent and independent variables.

Globalization, digital technologies and digital equipment are significantly predicting the access of the teachers of both universities to Radio. It is evident from the statistical results that 65% of the respondents are of the view that the access to Radio (dependent variable) is mainly due to the role of information and communication technologies and digital equipment (independent variables).

After due deliberation and consideration it is deduced from the existing literature and also from the primary data collected from field survey through questionnaire, that there is significant relationship almost all variables, but on the other hand there are few differences also. Digital technologies have deep impact on the general masses of the globe irrespective of their localities.

It will be worth mentioning to describe that as the existing literature indicates that the access to Radio has been enhanced due to the advent of ICTs, internet, mobile phones and social media, in the same design our field survey displays the identical outcomes. It demonstrates that new technologies miraculously boosted the listenership of Radio everywhere not only in normal life but also during national calamities and disasters like earthquake (2005), floods (2010), war on terror, insurgencies in different part of the globe and during agriculture campaigns.

Literature promotes that the inhabitants of information societies can play a decisive role in the democratic environment where masses participate in the process of decision making through mass media particularly broadcast media due to its evolving nature of two ways Radio. In this context, the evidence of field survey is an ample proof to support the claim of literature.

Liberty, competition and participation are essential requirement of democracy, but due to inadequate infrastructure regarding the interactive dissemination of relevant information to the population and particularly to the most vulnerable people in the remote corners of the globe, the participation and competition of the general masses is comparatively low. But, now, with the revival of Radio and specially its accessibility to remote areas of the globe like Africa, the prerequisites of democracy are going to be fulfilled, and audience have direct approach via digital technologies to the moderator of live talk show of radio and they can ask question and participate in discussion with the policy makers for the betterment of their democratic institutions and also for their motherland. In this context, the phone in program of Radio are equally popular not only worldwide but also in our region.

The existing literature discloses that the digital technologies have provided the opportunity of direct interaction and connectivity with the audience to the comperes and announcers during live broadcast through SMS, mobile phone, email, Facebook and blogs. The presentation of these elements in broadcasting is tantamount to revolution in this field. The survey also matches the findings of literature review.

VI. Conclusions

- Digital Technologies like computer, internet, mobile, etc. are closely connected (statistically significant – H₁) with the access to Radio in connection with the University teachers as verified in the current study of teachers from Gomal and Qurtuba Universities of Dera Ismail Khan.
- It is needed to give more attention to the 'Globalization' and 'Information Society' because their association is well established in the first hypothesis but these two predictor variables are not playing significant role in the variation of dependent variable of Access to Radio (H2).
- Amazingly, in predicting the 'Access to Radio' only Digital Technology and Digital Equipment (independent variables) have significant role while other variables are insignificant which needs consideration for improvement.
- Internet has played a decisive and become a vital tool for the access to Radio in both the regression procedures.
- Generally, Digital Technologies, Digital Equipment, computer, internet, software, social media, Face book, Email, Mobile Phone, age and institution of the respondent have been emerged as statistically significant factors (predictors) of access to Radio by the Universities teachers.

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Economic Interdependence as a Driving Force for Peace and Security Cooperation: Ethio-Djibouti Relations

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Economic Interdependence as a Driving Force for Peace and Security Cooperation: Ethio-Djibouti Relations

Endalcachew Bayeh^a & Kidanu Atinafu^o

Abstract- Ethiopia and Djibouti established an amicable relations since very long time ago, especially on economic areas. Port and railway were the main connecting factors for the two states in exercising economic relations. Nowadays, however, different new developments like electricity export, infrastructural linkages and social as well as political relations are further intensifying the two countries' relations. At the top of that, the prevailing strong economic interdependence spilled over to peace and security cooperation. Accordingly, they are jointly working on the peace and security of the two countries and the Horn of Africa at large.

Keywords: djibouti, economic interdependence, ethiopia, security cooperation.

I. The Genesis of Ethio-Djibouti Relations

jibouti is a small and poor country situated in the Horn of Africa. Djibouti has few natural resources with desert climate condition and contingent up on import for almost all its food (Islamic Development Bank, 2013). The country is located in a strategic area at the entry to the Red Sea. Djibouti was under colonial rule of France from 1862 to 27 June 1977. Hence, Ethio-Djibouti relations up until 1977 signify Ethiopian relations with Djibouti's colonizer, France. Putting it differently, it was after that historical juncture Djibouti has become independent state and made relations with Ethiopia independently. The longstanding relations of the two countries can also be manifested in terms of demographic makeup of their populations. Demographically, Ethiopia and Djibouti share people with same culture and language. Ethnically, Djibouti consists of Issa and Afar ethnic groups. The Issa groups originated from Somali whereas the Afars were Ethiopian origin (Brass, 2007; Marks, 1974). The second largest ethnic group which constituted Djibouti's population is Ethiopian origin which has special affinity to its Ethiopian counterpart (Schraeder, 1993). Thus, the two countries are demographically interlinked and have historical relations.

Above all, the backbone of these two countries' relations has been economic in nature. Economic ties of the two countries expressed mainly in terms of railway and port related activities. In Ethiopia, there has been an interest and endeavor to have strong economic relations with Djibouti since the time of Djibouti's colonization by France (Foreign Affairs and National Security, 2002). Similarly, in that era of scrambling Africa, France was also insisting on making alliance with Ethiopia. This was to get support from Ethiopia in occupying the upper Nile region through containing the expansion of British spheres of influence from Sudan and Egypt into Somaliland (Marcus, 1994). The two countries reached at an agreement in 1897 recognizing Djibouti as official outlet to Ethiopia and allowing duty-free transit of weapons through Djibouti (ibid). Consequently, as part of his modernization zeal, Menelik authorized a French company to build a railway that would link Ethiopia and Djibouti. The construction of the Franco-Ethiopian Railway, which was began in 1897 and completed in 1917, marked Ethiopia's greatest technological achievement of the period and became its principal gateway (Anyango, 1997; Ofcansky and Berry, 1991; Adejumobi, 2007). Similarly, the railway connection also made Djibouti's economy highly dependent on Ethiopia and transformed its pastoral society (Schraeder, 1993; Getachew, 2009). Hence, Ethiopia and Djibouti have been economically interdependent since early on.

By maintaining good relations with Djibouti, which is strategically important in the horn region, Ethiopia could access the Port of Diibouti. The port was the only Ethiopia's outlet to the sea until the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia under the United Nations resolution in 1952 (Marks, 1974; UNHCR, 2008). Even after Eritrea's federation with Ethiopia, Djibouti's importance for Ethiopia remained intact. As a result of this fact, Haile Selassie was highly insisting France to stay in Djibouti as its withdrawal may result in seizure of Djibouti by Somalia, which was adverse to Ethiopia's national interest (Schwab, 1978). This was also because Ethiopia's entire dependence on Assab and Massawa might be at stake in case Eritrean war becomes furious. Around 40-60 percent of Ethiopia's exports and imports had passed through Djibouti in the mid-1960s when Eritrean insurgency intensified. This could make Djibouti's economy contingent on the Port of Djibouti's

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shipping and the traffic of the Franco-Ethiopian railway (Marks, 1974). Hence, from this one can safely understand the fact that Ethiopia and Djibouti have been economically interdependent and vital for each other's interest.

As a result of its importance, successive Ethiopian regimes strived to maintain good relations with Djibouti. In other words, to secure the country's access to the sea the Imperial and Military regimes showed a strong commitment in their respective foreign policies towards Djibouti. Imperial government provided due attention for Ethiopia's access to the sea to the extent of claiming Djibouti as part of Ethiopia (Marks, 1974; Wiberg, 1979). This policy towards Djibouti as regards outlet to the sea was adopted by the military junta too (Schwab, 1978). Hence, it is safe to say that economic interest has been the most driving force behind Ethio-Djibouti relations.

Moreover, Djibouti and Ethiopia have established amicable relations since the down fall of the Derg regime. The relations between the two countries have developed since the signing of a trade protocol in 1996 to the extent of concluding a military cooperation protocol in 1999 so as to provide conducive environment to their economic interaction (Berouk, 2008). Thus, as compared to the past successive regimes of Ethiopia, the current regime has wide ranges of relations with Djibouti as it extends to political and security areas. Hence, the paper in the following section deals with how economic interdependence of the two countries has become a driving force for other areas of cooperation. To this end, it will examine the contemporary, notably the post-1991 economic interdependence and the subsequent multidimensional relations with particular focus on security cooperation.

II. CONTEMPORARY ECONOMIC RELATIONS

As hinted above, Ethio-Djibouti relations have further strengthened in the post-1991 period. Their relations are boosted both in terms of intensity and dimensions. The 1998 Ethio-Eritrea war has diverted all the trade Ethiopia passed through Eritrean ports to the Port of Djibouti and, thus, strengthened Ethio-Djibouti's economic, political, and security relations. Besides this fact, the recent developments between the two countries, especially, the hydropower export which started in 2011 as well as the underway rehabilitation of the railway and ongoing constructions of roads have also played pivotal role in facilitating their relations, as will be discussed herein under. For the sake of convenience, the paper identified port, electricity and infrastructural facilities as main areas of cooperation and examined how they spilled over into peace and security cooperation.

a) Port

Ethiopia used to enjoy access to the Red Sea via Eritrea (Asseb and Massawa) and Diibouti until the outbreak of Ethio-Eritrea War in 1998. Ethiopia used Asseb and Massawa as entry to the sea though Eritrea gets seceded from Ethiopia leaving it a land-locked country in 1993. However, in 1998 border conflict was breakout between Ethiopia and Eritrea which brought profound changes in the Ethio-Djibouti relations. As a result of the war, Ethiopia's access to the Sea has been limited to Djibouti and, hence, increased both countries' interdependence. In this regard, literatures affirmed that the Ethio-Eritrea conflict came as a driving force for the hastening of Ethio-Djibouti relations (Berouk, 2008; Faye, et al. 2004; Lunn, 2008; Abbink, 1998). The diversion of Ethiopian trade to Djibouti is a great opportunity for the latter's economic betterment. In other words, dramatic change has been witnessed in Djibouti's economy in relation to its port service, which accounted for 80 % of the country's economy in the year 2012. The import and export of Ethiopia's freights account for about 70% of the total traffic through the port (Islamic Development Bank, 2013). Thus, Ethiopia is highly relied on using the Port of Djibouti in its international trade and at the same time Djibouti is highly benefiting from this.

It is a well established fact that Ethiopia is the predominant user of Djibouti's port facilities. It is also in need of further services in Djibouti. In response to this, the Government of Djibouti has been strongly working to meet Ethiopian interest. This is clear from the assertion of Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that "the Government of Djibouti has been dedicated to the expansion and rehabilitation of port facilities, conventional cargo and container capacity managed by Dubai Ports World (DPW) to provide adequate services to Ethiopia's increased trade volume" (MoFA, 2014). This is a new development which shows how both countries are devoted for mutual benefit from their economic integration. Currently, it is crystal clear that the two countries' economies are strongly interwoven. Therefore, the port of Djibouti, as one area of cooperation, has a very significant role in the consolidation of Ethio-Djibouti relations.

b) Electricity

As compared with other sources of power, hydropower has unique features of lowest operating costs, longest plant life, environmental benefit, fast response, and minimal emissions (IEA, 2010; International Hydropower Association *et al.*, 2000). Hydropower is the most common form of renewable energy which plays an important role in global power generation covering more than 16% of global electricity production (IEA, 2010). Currently, above 25 countries in the world are contingent up on hydropower for 90 % of their electricity supply and 12 countries are 100 % dependent on hydro. Canada, China and the United States are the forerunners in their hydropower generation capacity (*ibid*). Ethiopia has a good hydropower potential and is aggressively working on that to meet the domestic demand as well as export to neighboring countries. Indeed, it has started exporting electricity to some neighboring countries.

Producing electricity in Djibouti is, however, dependent on old and unreliable oil-fired generators, which are expensive. As such, electricity costs have been a major obstacle to growth. As a result, to meet the overriding energy demand, Djibouti has been developing its plan to promote regional economic integration (Styan, 2013). Accordingly, the Ethiopia-Djibouti Power Interconnection Project, which is the first interconnection system in the region, has been completed in 2011and positively contributing for both Ethiopia and Djibouti's mutual benefits (African Development Bank Group, 2013; IRENA, 2013). The Ethiopia-Diibouti Power Interconnection intensified the two countries' already existed economic interdependence. Currently, Ethiopia is exporting 35 MW electricity, per a month, for Djibouti charging it USD 70 per kWh. Accordingly, it has brought significant change in terms of reducing electricity related problems of the country. Shortage of energy in the country has been reduced as it started to get hydroelectricity from Ethiopia at a cheaper price. In this connection, Styan (2013) affirmed that "following Djibouti's connection to Ethiopia's electricity grid in 2011, retail and industrial domestic tariffs were cut significantly, easing pressures on household and business budgets". Generally, the reduction of energy cost has produced enabling environment for the overall socio-economic development of the country (African Economic Outlook, 2012). To increase the already existing amount of power supply to 230 MW, the two countries also agreed on the 2nd electric power system interconnectivity (MoFA, 2014). This promises a strong prospect on the two countries' future economic integration.

c) Infrastructure

Ethiopia and Djibouti have gone through a long time of economic relations on the basis of mutual progress. To facilitate their economic relations they have been devoted to lay down infrastructural connectors. It is obvious that infrastructural linkages have undiminished role in the overall economic relations of the two countries. This is why they are highly devoted to lay down several infrastructural linkages. The rehabilitation of the Djibouti-Ethiopian Railway is on progress. Not only this, the emphasis given to the infrastructural link of the two countries can clearly be observed from their subsequent attempts. Accordingly, in January 2013 ministers signed a contract to construct a pipeline to supply drinking water from Ethiopia to Djibouti. This is scheduled to carry 100,000 cubic metres a day, with the project due for completion in 2014 (Styan, 2013). The underway constructions of the new *Addis Ababa-Dewele-Djibouti* rail route as well as *Tadjourah-Mekele* rail corridor could also be mentioned as best instances as regards the utmost significance given to infrastructural links (MoFA, 2014). The construction of these passageways will, therefore, further facilitate import and export of goods, for instance for Djibouti to import commodities from Ethiopia like khat for which some family pay out up to 30% of their income (African Economic Outlook, 2012).

The tripartite agreement reached in February 2012 by Ethiopia, Djibouti and South Sudan is also another factor that cements the already existing infrastructural linkage and economic cooperation between Ethiopia and Djibouti. The agreement allows Djibouti to extend its telecommunications network to South Sudan, to construct oil pipeline as well as freight and rail infrastructure that connect it to South Sudan (ibid). Thus, the passage of Djibouti's line via Ethiopia further strengthens Ethio-Djibouti's interdependence.

III. SECURITY COOPERATION

The economic interdependence of the two countries spilled over to political and security cooperation. This is like what happened for Ethiopia and Sudan where they arrived at an agreement to establish a joint military force so as to create enabling environment for both countries' economic cooperation and joint development activities (Tesfa-Alem, 2014). Likewise, this is apparent from Ethio-Djibouti's prevailing cooperative engagement in the peace and security areas. In the 2013 joint ministerial commission meeting, which was held in Addis Ababa, both countries agreed on a range of areas embracing "the exchange of military information, military training and joint activities in controlling activities of smugglers, terrorists and other 'spoilers'" (Addis standard, 2014). As regards security cooperation, it would be better to see both countries' security cooperation from two angles: 1) cooperation to maintain peace and security in the two countries, and 2) cooperation to maintain peace and security in the Horn of Africa region at large.

Firstly, following the agreement reached at the joint ministerial commission in 2013, Ethiopia and Djibouti undertaken six-month security cooperation. In the meeting for evaluation of this six-month cooperation, it was affirmed that Ethiopia trained Djiboutian soldiers contributing for sharing of information and the successful joint border operation (ibid). They are cooperatively working on security of the border areas being cognizant of the need to exert further effort to boost security cooperation and, thereby creating enabling environment for their all-rounded cooperation.

Secondly, in pursuit of the agreement reached at the joint ministerial commission, they have also

successfully collaborated and exchanged experiences in fighting against Al-Shabaab under the auspice of AMISOM in Somalia (ibid). They are cognizant of the fact that the security of their country is not independent of the security of the region as a whole. It is also a well established fact that IGAD is working on the fight against terrorism in the Horn of Africa region. Accordingly, the IGAD Council of Ministers adopted two conventions pertaining to Extradition and Mutual Legal Assistance to the ultimate goal of wiping out terrorism in the area (Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation and IGAD Security Sector Program, 2012). The fact that Ethiopia and Djibouti become the forerunner in terms of ratifying those conventions undoubtedly shows their coordination and teamwork in the area of peace and security of the region.

In a nutshell, what one can deduce from the above discussion is the common interest both countries showed to have a stabled and peaceful region as they are aware of the fact that security is essential for the rest of their multidimensional cooperation. Convinced of this fact, they are jointly devoted to maintain peace and security on both countries as well as the Horn of Africa at large by consolidating consultation and cooperation. They further promised to continue working on the basis of brotherhood and mutual understanding in the maintenance of both countries' security.

The two countries are cooperative in almost all aspects of their activities. Economic, social, political and security relations are getting consolidated. They are working strongly being hand and glove in different spheres. Pertaining to this, the president of Djibouti, Ismail Omar Guelleh, unequivocally announced that "the two countries are partners. There is no sector in which the two countries do not cooperate"......"We do not find any difference between Djibouti and Ethiopia" (Ethio-Somali Democratic Council, 2004). Though the study focuses on the role of economic interdependence in amplifying security cooperation, the existing facts distinctly demonstrate an all rounded cooperation of the two countries on the basis of mutual interest, being a best model for Horn of Africa regional states. As a result of the above observed strong relations and cooperations, the question one may encounter is would the prevailing cooperation of the two countries leads to political unity? In portraying the possibility of the two countries' political unity, the president of Djibouti conferred that "if the Diibouti and Ethiopian peoples want unity, we should implement it" (ibid). From this one can deduce the political will of Djibouti government to establish political unity going beyond the already firmly established economic and security cooperations. The bottom line is the fact that at the core of this level of relations is the strong economic interdependence between two countries.

IV. Conclusion

Ethiopia and Djibouti have longstanding relationships. Economic relations have been the backbone at their historical relations. Ethio-Djibouti railway and the port of Diibouti have had always a central pace in the two countries' economic relations since long time ago. And, still they have undiminished role. Notwithstanding such historical relations, the recent strong economic interdependence can be seen as a new major change in the Ethio-Djibouti relations. This is due to the degree and dimensions of their cooperation. Ethiopia's electric power export to Djibouti has a paramount importance in the further consolidation of their relations. Moreover, the underway rehabilitation of Ethio-Djibouti railway, the ongoing constructions of other infrastructural facilities like road, pipeline, and additional electric line interconnection clearly show the strong integration of the two countries.

At the top of all, the two countries are aware of the fact that their economic integration would not be successful unless the peace and security of the two countries and the region at large is maintained. Accordingly, they are jointly working on the peace and security areas. This is apparent from their coordinated involvement in AMISOM and their joint military operation in their border areas. Hence, the strong economic interdependence of the two countries inevitably spilled over into the peace and security areas cooperation. Currently, Ethiopia and Djibouti are working on allrounded cooperation, namely, economic, social, political, peace and security cooperation.

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Importance of Oil to the Global Community

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Abstract- Oil is a very critical and essential product to the international community to such an extent that it benefits the globe especially in terms of reserves and production at totally different levels. While the reserves are beneficial to the Southern developing nations of the world, the Northern developed countries are appreciably put at a serious disadvantage in areas that relate to reserves and production of oil. It is however important to note that oil is such a very important product to both the North that is disadvantaged in reserves and production and equally to developing nations that have great reserves and are at advantage in production. It can in fact be asserted that oil is by far much more needed in the developed countries than in developing ones. This is clearly reflected and represented in the consumption levels of developed nations which are by far higher and greater than those in developing nations. In fact to an appreciable extent, the civilization of the western, Northern, developed, technologically advanced countries are strongly attached to adequate and regular supply of oil. Invariably therefore, it has become imperative that those nations strategise at employing new sources of oil supply that will be internal and which will considerably reduce dependence on the outside.

Keywords: oil, oil politics, the global community, the south and the north.

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Importance of Oil to the Global Community

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Abstract-Oil is a very critical and essential product to the international community to such an extent that it benefits the globe especially in terms of reserves and production at totally different levels. While the reserves are beneficial to the Southern developing nations of the world, the Northern developed countries are appreciably put at a serious disadvantage in areas that relate to reserves and production of oil. It is however important to note that oil is such a very important product to both the North that is disadvantaged in reserves and production and equally to developing nations that have great reserves and are at advantage in production. It can in fact be asserted that oil is by far much more needed in the developed countries than in developing ones. This is clearly reflected and represented in the consumption levels of developed nations which are by far higher and greater than those in developing nations. In fact to an appreciable extent, the civilization of the western, Northern, developed, technologically advanced countries are strongly attached to adequate and regular supply of oil. Invariably therefore, it has become imperative that those nations strategise at employing new sources of oil supply that will be internal and which will considerably reduce dependence on the outside. Research has shown that oil may continue to be as essential and as critical as it is presently except any reasonable and reliable alternative is found to oil. This work therefore is aimed at indicating in very clear terms and details what oil represent s to the global community and especially to the western industrialised nations and the extent at which disadvantages in reserves and production have affected the Northern developed countries. The work adopts and interpretative analysis in which it first analyzes the importance of oil to those developed countries after which it does an assessment of production consumption levels with a view to indicating the extent at which reliance on oil has affected the Northern nations. It shows that because of the criticality of oil to the international community, the developed countries have continued to suffer greatly in issues and matters that relate to oil. It concludes by indicating that except alternatives are found to oil in the foreseeable future, the trend may as well continue.

Keywords: oil, oil politics, the global community, the south and the north.

I. INTRODUCTION

il represents one product that brings both the Northern developed and the Southern developing nations together in terms of its essentiality and criticality to both zones. As far as oil is concerned, western civilisation and in fact technological advancement of the different western nations are directly attaché to oil. In essence, it has become a product that the North lacks but which it cannot do without. It is there fore, becoming important on a daily basis that oil should be one product that may fuel war even between the North and the South. This work is divided into four sections. The first is a conceptual framework on such critical areas as North, South, oil and oil politics while the second critically analyzes the importance of oil to the international community. The third views the production consumption levels of the North to the South while the fourth concludes.

II. CONCEPTUAL DISCOURSE

a) The North

The North is made up of countries, which have far-reaching political, social, economic and usually military influence internationally.¹Such nations are by a geographical accident concentrated in the Northern part of the globe, and as such are referred to as the North.

This is a nucleus consisting of the highly industrialized, capitalist countries of Western Europe, North America and Japan, otherwise known as the prosperous urban center.²

b) Characteristics

The development of the North is marked by a number of common traits; organised and highly independent economies devoted to utilising primary products of the South towards producing finished products of the developed world. The South also provides market for their finished goods. Other traits of the North are modern, urban social structures; moderate population growth; and economic riches.³Nations in the Northern part of the globe were also former colonial masters of those in the South and in spite of independence of several years, still exert considerable control and influence over these former colonies. The North also dominates and controls the international economic relations.

A linkage therefore exists between the dependent role of the Third World and the relationship between the raw material and the finished products. Olofin⁴ and Wosley⁵ for instance both agree that

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¹ Wehmeier, S.2000, Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary , 519.

² Anyegbunam, O. 1980, International Economic Relations and National Development. *Readings in Social Sciences,* E.C. Amucheazi ,Ed. .Enugu, Fourth Dimension Co. Ltd, 231.

³ Kasdan,A.R. 1973, *The Third World: A New Focus for Development,* London: Longman, 117.

⁴ Olofin S. 1980. In search of a New International Economic Order *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs* 6.1 and 2: 17.

because the North makes rules and their interpretation, the prices of the raw material have consistently grown at a lower pace or declined relatively to prices of finished goods. This can be explained by the fact that in virtually all important and relevant international organizations such as the IMF, the World Bank and the UN, the North not only dominates but also determines the rules.

III. The South

The South or the Third World are the economically underdeveloped, poor, technologically backward countries of Asia, Africa, Oceania, and Latin America, that are considered as an entity with common characteristics, such as poverty, high birth-rates, and economic dependence on the advanced countries.⁶ All such nations interestingly belong to the Southern hemisphere of the globe and are therefore understandably collectively referred to as the South, a stagnating countryside. The French demographer, Alfred Sauvy coined the expression Third World ("tiers monde" in French) in 1952 by analogy with the "third estate," the commoners of France before and during the French Revolution-as opposed to priests and nobles, comprising the first and second estates respectively.⁷

The South can therefore be described as the technologically less advanced, or developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, generally characterized as poor, having economies distorted by their dependence on the export of primary products to the developed countries in return for finished products. These nations also tend to have high rates of illiteracy, disease, and population growth and unstable governments. The term Third World was originally intended to distinguish the non-aligned nations that gained independence from colonial rule, beginning after World War II, from the Western nations and from those that formed the former Eastern bloc, and sometimes more specifically from the United States and from the former Soviet Union (the first and second worlds, respectively).⁸

Like the third estate, the South is nothing, and it "wants to be something."⁹ The term therefore implies that the South is exploited, much as the third estate was exploited, and that, like the third estate, its destiny is a revolutionary one. It conveys as well a second idea, that of non-alignment, for the South belongs neither to the industrialized capitalist world nor to the industrialized Communist bloc.¹⁰ The expression, third world, as synonymous to the South, was used at the 1955 conference of Afro-Asian countries held in Bandung, Indonesia. In 1956, a group of Social Scientists associated with Savvy's National Institute of Demographic Studies, in Paris, published a book called Le Tiers-Monde. Three years later, the French economist, Francois Perroux, launched a new journal on problems of underdevelopment, with the same title. By the end of the 1950s the term was frequently employed in the French media to refer to the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, Oceania, and Latin America.¹¹

IV. CHARACTERISTICS

The underdevelopment of the Third World is marked by a number of common traits; distorted and highly dependent economies devoted to producing primary products for the developed world and the provision of markets for their finished goods. It also includes traditional, rural social structures; high population growth; and widespread poverty. Nevertheless, the Third World is sharply differentiated, for it includes countries on various levels of economic development. And despite the poverty of the countryside and the urban shantytowns, the ruling elites of most Third World countries are wealthy.¹²

This combination of conditions in Asia, Africa, Oceania and Latin America is linked to the absorption of the Third world into the international capitalist economy. by way of conquest or indirect domination. The main economic consequence of Western domination was the creation, for the first time in history, of a world market. By setting up throughout the third world, sub-economies linked to the West, and by introducing other modern institutions, industrial capitalism disrupted traditional economies and, indeed, societies. This disruption led to underdevelopment.¹³ Even after decolonisation (in the 1950's, 1960's, and 1970's), the economies of the Third World developed slowly, or not at all, owing largely to the deterioration of the "terms of trade"-the relation between the cost of the goods a nation must import from abroad and its income from the exports it sends to foreign countries.

Because the economies of underdeveloped countries have been geared to the needs of industrialized countries, they often comprise only a few modern economic activities such as, mining or the cultivation of plantation crops. Control over these activities has often remained in the hands of large foreign firms. Large buyers in the economically dominant countries of the West usually determine the

201

Year

⁵ Wosley P. 1967, *The Third World*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 291.

⁶ Gerard C, 2004, *Third World,* London; Longman, 49.

 ⁷ Ibid., p.52.
 ⁸ Cole,J. 1987. *Development and Underdevelopment*, London: Longman, 172.

⁹ Ibid., p.53. ¹⁰ Ibid., p.53.

¹¹ lbid., p.55.

¹² Kasdan,A.R 1973 . *The Third World: A New Focus for Development* ,London: Longman, 117.

¹³ Hermassi,E.1980 *The Third World Reassessed*, London: Longman,105.

prices of third World products. Trade with the West also provides almost all the Third World's income.¹⁴ This is to say that the underdeveloped nature of the Third world economies, which has made the articulation of its internal structure incapable of auto centric development, is a product of the long history of incorporation into the world capitalist system.¹⁵ It is in the same vein that Gunder Frank agrees that;

Indeed, the economic and political expansion of Europe has come to incorporate the new under developed countries into a single mainstream of World history which has given rise simultaneously to the present development of some countries and the present underdevelopment of others...¹⁶

The relation of interdependence between two or more economies, and between these and world trade assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant), can expand and give impulse to their while other countries own development, (the dependent), can only develop as a reflection of this expansion. In all cases, the basic situation of dependence leads to a global situation in dependent countries that situates them in backwardness and under the exploitation of the dominant countries.¹⁷ Galtung¹⁸, Johnson¹⁹, Katzenlson²⁰, Williams²¹, O'Conner²², and Onimode²³ all agree that the dependent nature of Third World economy is one that situates them in backwardness and under the exploitation of the dominant countries.

V. ROLE IN WORLD POLITICS

The Bandung conference, in 1955, was the beginning of the political emergence of the Third world. China and India; two nations whose social and economic systems were sharply opposed, played a major role in promoting that conference and in changing the relation between the Third World and the industrial countries. As a result of de-colonialisation, the United

Nations, at first numerically dominated by European countries and countries of European origin, was gradually transformed into something of a Third World forum. With increasing urgency, the problem of underdevelopment then became the focus of a permanent, although essentially academic, debate. Despite that debate, the unity of the Third World remains hypothetical, expressed mainly from the platforms of international conferences.

VI. ECONOMIC PROSPECTS

Foreign aid, and indeed all the efforts of existing institutions and structures, have failed to solve the problem of underdevelopment. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) held in New Delhi in 1971 suggested that one percent of the national income of industrialized countries should be devoted to aiding the Third World. That figure has never been reached, or even approximated. In 1972 the Santiago (Chile) UNCTAD set a goal of a 6 percent economic growth rate in the 1970's for the underdeveloped countries. But this, too, was not achieved. The living conditions endured by the overwhelming majority of the 3 billion people who inhabit the poor countries have either not noticeably changed since 1972 or have actually deteriorated.²⁴ No study of the Third World could hope to assess its future prospects without taking into account population growth. In 1980, the earth's population was estimated at 4.4 billion, 72 percent of it in the third world, reaching 6.2 billion, and 80 percent of it in the third world, at the close of the century. This population explosion in the third world prevented any substantial improvements in living standards as well as threatens people in stagnant economies with worsening poverty.²⁵

Whatever economic development has occurred in the Third World has not been distributed fairly between nations or among population groups within nations. Most of the Third World countries that have managed to achieve substantial economic growth are those that produce oil: Algeria, Gabon, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, Oman, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Venezuela. They had the money to do so because after 1973 the Organization of Oil producing Countries (OPEC), a cartel, succeeded in raising the price of oil drastically.

Other important raw materials are also produced by underdeveloped countries, and the countries that produce them have joined in cartels similar in form to OPEC. For example, Australia, Guinea, Guyana, Jamaica, Sierra Leone, Suriname, and Yugoslavia formed the Bauxite International Association (BIA) in 1974; and Chile, Peru, Zaire, and Zambia formed a cartel of copper producing countries in 1967.

¹⁴ Reitsma,H.A and Kleinpenning,J.M.1985. *The Third World in Perspective*, London: Longman, 153.

¹⁵ Claude A.1981. *A political Economy of Africa,* London, Longman, 55.

¹⁶ Offiong D.1980. *Imperialism And Dependency* Enugu, Fourth Dimension Publishing Co. Ltd,50.

¹⁷ Cockropt,J. Andre,F. Dale,J.1972. *Dependence and Underdevelopment*, New York; Anchor Books,9.

¹⁸ Galtung,J. 1973. *The European Community: A Superpower in the Making*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 80.

¹⁹ Dale, J.1979 *Dependence Negotiation: Analysis, Approaches, Issues,* San Francisco: Jossey – Bass: Inc. 71.

²⁰ Katzenlson I.1974 *The Politics and Society Reader,* (New York: David McKay Co.175.

²¹ Williams,G.1987. *Third World Political Organisations; A Review of Development*, London: Macmillan , 39.

²² O'Conner,J. 1971. The Meaning of Economic Imperialism *Readings in US Imperialism*_K. T. Fann & D. Hodges, Eds., Boston: F. Ponter Sargent, 53.

²³ Onimode, B..2000. *Africa in the World of the 21st Century*, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 50.

²⁴ lbid., p. 56.

²⁵ Onimode, B . 20000. Op Cit, 53.

But even strategic raw materials like copper and bauxite are not as essential to the industrialized countries as oil, and these cartels therefore lack OPEC's strength; while the countries that produce cocoa and coffee (and other foods) are even less able to impose their will. Indeed, among the countries that do not receive oil revenues, only Brazil, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan have enjoyed significant economic growth.

Nonetheless, the relationship between the underdeveloped and the industrialized countries has improved somewhat. In 1975 the nine-nation European Economic Community (EEC) concluded an agreement, called the Lome Pact, with 46 African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) nations that exempted most ACP exports from tariffs. The Lome II Pact, signed in 1979 by the EEC and 57 ACP countries, consolidated and broadened the Lome I agreement-for example by guaranteeing income from agricultural exports.

With the exception of only a few oil-producing countries with low population, the economic crisis of the 1970s was more detrimental to the third world than to the West: and there did not seem to be much chance in the foreseeable future for any significant change in the between the industrialized relationship and underdeveloped countries. Nor did the prospects for economic development in the Third World appear to be very bright: Between 1960 and 1980 half of the African countries had actually regressed. The only countries to receive some of the capital needed for development were those lucky enough to have a significant amount of raw materials, most especially oil to export.

VII. Oil

The laws of many countries define oil or crude oil as mineral oil in its natural state before being refined or otherwise treated. Natural gas, like crude oil therefore consists of hydrocarbons and as its name suggests, it exists in the gaseous state. For convenience, petroleum is sometimes defined as mineral oil or natural gas. In these discussions the terms oil, crude oil and petroleum are used interchangeably. References to the oil industry will, where appropriate, include the natural gas industry.

Oil is a raw material as well as a convenient and effective source of energy.²⁶ In the form of energy it increases man's capacity to get work done. As a raw material it provides the feedstock for the fastest expanding industry in the world – the petrochemical industry. It provides fuel for agricultural tractors and pumps.²⁷ In power generation it has made notable inroads into the traditional roles of coal and hydropower.²⁸ Petroleum products play an important

²⁷ Ibid.3. ²⁸ Ibid.3. and increasing role in domestic energy consumption: for lightning, space heating (or cooling) and cooking. Their role in transportation is beyond challenge: they are essential for air transportation; in road transportation they have no real alternatives; in water transportation they provide a clean and economical fuel; in real transportation they are important for diesel locomotives.²⁹

All over the world the lives of people are affected and the destiny of nations are probably determined, by the results of oil industry operations. Oil keeps the factories of the industrialized countries working and provides the revenue, which enables oil exporters to execute ambitious national and economic development plans. Those developing countries that have no oil are faced with a grim struggle for survival: if they lose they are relegated to the "fourth world". The march of progress would be retarded and life itself could become unbearable if the world was deprived of oil. That is why oil has become the concern of governments, a vital ingredient of their policies and a crucial factor in their political and diplomatic strategies.

VIII. OIL POLITICS

Politics in relation to oil includes all the relationships, policies and strategies, national and international, which have a direct or indirect bearing, influence or effect on the production and utilization of oil and on the international oil trade.³⁰ In the past, people were made to believe that the oil industry was just another business venture, although it happened to be very big and profitable. Government intervention and political pressure for many guarters have changed that impression. Oil has been brought into the mainstream of national politics and international relations. What was once the almost private business of some lucky investors has become the public concern of many nations, with serious public policy implications. The high political stakes have superseded the economic consideration of the oil business.

In the 60s and 70s, senior oil industry spokesmen, with much sincerity and reasonable success, usually pleaded to be left alone to do what they knew best, which was to warm the industry. Any of them making the same pleas now would not expect to be taken seriously. Oil has become a business of government and no government will now leave the oil company or anyone else, to run the industry without interference. It was inevitable that the oil industry should become a candidate for government intervention. It had all the characteristics which attracted political attention: the large size, the immense power and in better times the huge profit. It was the largest and the most important industry in the world. It was powerful and a

²⁶ Feyide, M.O.1996. *Oil in World politics*. The J.I.C. Taylor Memorial Lecture for 1996.Lagos, University of Lagos press, 13th & 14th March, 1

²⁹ Ibid.3.

³⁰ Ibid.4.

few major international oil companies once exercised its power. It was generally believed, and many still do believe that the oil industry could do almost anything, transform almost any situation and produce almost any range of results.

Oil has been absorbed into the political ideologies of many countries and become an integral part of the resulting economic arrangement. It is the concern of all levels of government in all-political and economic systems. "Oil politics" cannot be precisely defined, just as one cannot define precisely many things about oil. That partly explains why many countries have not successfully determined the appropriate means of handling oil matters in their administrative arrangement. In some countries oil matters are assigned to some ministries of oil, in others to the ministries of finance and in yet others to the ministries of industries, the Presidency or the Palace (as the case may be) or even the ministries of internal affairs, or their equivalents. One or two countries have experimented with a total absence of direct ministerial responsibility for oil, and there are cases where oil ministers are appointed without a ministry in the traditional sense.

IX. The Importance of Oil in the Global Economy

Natural resources including energy are unevenly distributed in the world and very few countries have been endowed with an abundant commercial energy base. Invariably, therefore, commercial sources of useful energy and their distribution among nations vary considerably over time. This makes energy a commodity of paramount importance to individuals, enterprises and nations.³¹ Becht and Belzung both agree that "known resources per person including mineral and forest wealth are far greater in some countries than in others."³² This further confirms the fact that the blessings of nature are not evenly distributed throughout the world.

In contradiction to assertions of writers on Great Power- Small Power relation and in agreement with the view of Becht and Belzung above, the introduction of oil as a raw material of immense value to the economies of the world has been given adequate attention by various authors to indicate the position of the raw material in changing the asymmetrical nature of international economic relations. Ikein for instance describes oil as a critical product to Northern economy,³³ an assertion that Doran³⁴, Fried and Schultz³⁵, Ali³⁶, Willrich³⁷, Aribisala³⁸, Fisher and Ridker³⁹, Hansen⁴⁰ and Frankel⁴¹ all agree with. The Independent Petroleum Association of America (IPAA) (2001) actually describes oil as Black gold; declaring that;

It is the energy source that dominated the 20th Century and will continue to be pivotal for the foreseeable part of the 21st Century. It is the most versatile energy source available today. It is the most political of energy sources, the resource that makes countries go to war, the resource that countries must have to wage war. It is the single largest commodity in international trade and has been one of the most volatile.⁴²

OPEC Secretary-General describes oil as a 'very important product as it is today still the cheapest and most convenient source of energy."43 He further states that "without any doubt, the economy of the west, and indeed that of the entire world, is very much dependent on the availability of this source of energy"44 David West describes it as "the primary commodity, the primary energy source to the industrialised world",45 while Jubril Aminu another of Nigeria's former minister of Petroleum sees oil as the most important single commodity in world commerce.⁴⁶ Don Etiebet who was also a former oil minister in Nigeria claims that oil is about the most important source of energy in the world today.⁴⁷ As far as Edmond Daukouru Nigeria's special adviser on petroleum matters is concerned, oil is a precious product that is essential to different economies, both developed and underdeveloped.⁴⁸. Qatar's second deputy prime minister and minister of energy and industry, Abdullah Bin Hamad al Attiyah describes oil as the cheapest and most convenient source of energy.⁴⁹ Saudi Arabia's minister of oil

⁴⁰ Hansen, R.D 1974.: The Politics of Scarcity – in Hower, James W; *The US and The Developing World; Agenda for Action,* London, Praeger Publishers. 51-52.

- ⁴⁴ Ibid.
- ⁴⁵ David-West T. 2004.Interview ; March 20.
- ⁴⁶ Aminu J,2004. Interview, June 17.
- ⁴⁷ Etiebet D,2004. Interview, June 19.
- ⁴⁸ Dakouru E,2004. Interview, June 19.
- ⁴⁹ Abdullah, *B.* H.A.2005. Interview, March 14.

³¹ Alnasrawi, A. 1973 Collective Bargaining Power in OPEC. *Journal of World Trade Law 7*, MarchApril,: 188–207.

³² Becht E and Relzung L.D:1975 *World Resource Management*, Prentice Hall, Inc, New Jersey, 82.

³³ Ibid,85.

³⁴ Doran, F.C 1977.: *Myth, Oil and Politics: Introduction to the Political Economy of Petroleum* London, The Free Press.58.

³⁵ Fried E and Schultz C 1975: *Higher Oil Prices and the World Economy:* Washington, the Brookings Institution.

³⁶ Ali S. 1976: *Saudi Arabia and Oil Diplomacy* New York, Praeger Publishers. 25-27, 52, 92.

 $^{^{37}}$ Willrich M 1975: Energy And World Politics New York, The free Press. 1.

³⁸ Aribisala, F 1986,: Nigeria and OPEC Olusanya G.O. and Akindele R. (eds) *Nigeria's External Relationships: The first Twenty-five years* Ibadan, Ibadan University Press. 82.

³⁹ Fisher J.L. & Ridker R.G 1973: Population Growth, Resources availability and Environmental Equality . *American Economic Review*, 63..2: 82.

⁴¹ Frankel J 1981: *International Relations in a Changing World* Oxford, Oxford University Press 111.

⁴² Independent Petroleum Association of America (IPAA) (2002): Understanding the World Petroleum Association of America Market 2000 Washington DC:IPAA, .15.

⁴³ Silva-Calderon A; Interview ; December 8,2003.

petroleum and mineral resources, Ali I. Naimi sees oil as the most convenient source of energy⁵⁰ and Kuwait's minister of energy, Sheikh Ahmad Fahad Al-Ahmad Alsabah views oil as very important and significant to the global community.⁵¹

The industry is a unique industry, with characteristics which distinguish it from every other sector. Oil is the lifeblood of the developed industrialized world, providing readily accessible power and heat, as well as a vast array of consumer, commercial and industrial products.⁵² Oil holds numerous benefits as a product and over other commercial energy sources such as accessibility, versatility, transportability and cost,⁵³

Oil was the major global energy fuel and is likely to remain so for the next 30 years, at least. Fossil fuels dominated the energy supply in the second half of the last century and will almost certainly continue to do so in the second half of this century.⁵⁴ The promise of new and renewable energy sources and its great expectations were not realized and are unlikely to do so in the foreseeable future. New energy fuels, like biofuels proved to be uneconomical, and new energy carriers – hydrogen energy and fuel cells are still in the research laboratories rather than in markets and are unlikely to have a dent on the energy scene for years to come⁵⁵.

In the near future, as the stress on the world's scarce mineral resources grows stronger and supply of strategic minerals becomes more uncertain, new mineral problems of a social and political nature are bound to take shape, with even more important bearings on world affairs This situation has made the Third World, especially net producers of mineral resources, critical and important in today's world.⁵⁶

Oil as a Southern weapon of bargaining is fundamentally represented in Zindani's description of the commodity as the element of blue tactics in the Third World's economic and political struggle vis-à-vis the Western World.⁵⁷ Henry Kissinger once noted that "oil is the world's most strategic commodity", ⁵⁸ an evaluation that must have been made after critical analysis.

Crude oil is the most important single commodity in world commerce and it has accounted for over 50 percent by weight of all sea-borne international trade. What is more, in many applications, the most notable of which is transport, there was as at 1996 and even at present, no substitute for oil products.⁵⁹ Oil is perhaps the most important source of energy in the world today. Apart from the common energy derived from oil, more than 600,000 chemical products are said to be obtainable from the commodity. Some common by products of oil are lubricating oil, paraffin oil (kerosene), Gasoline (Petrol) etc. These do not have immediate effective substitutes.

Oil is also easier and cheaper for industrial use than coal and solar energy. Coal is difficult to extract and heavy to transport. It has been difficult discovering solar energy for industrial use due to scientific problems and the heavy cost involved. Oil therefore provides nearly half of the world's energy requirements and since 1973, energy demand has risen by an average of 2% per year.⁶⁰ It is estimated that by 1970, the world required an equivalence of 173 million barrels of oil per day and by 1979 the world outside the communist areas consumed 80% of the world's oil supplies.⁶¹ The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) member countries remained heavily dependent on oil, most of which came from OPEC. In 1981, the world outside communist areas was dependent on OPEC for three fifths of its oil supplies.⁶²

As a result of the economic significance of this commodity, it has also acquired a great strategic significance in international politics. The focus of the world on the Middle East and especially on the Persian Gulf is mainly because these areas primarily export the largest amount of oil to non-communist countries. The West, headed by the US could not afford that these areas be controlled by the communists, during the cold war era, for this might result in a likely economic warfare by the communists to squeeze and strangulate the economies of the West. Even after the cold war era, focus and attention of the United States have remained on the Middle East. This is why the United States has jealously guided the Middle East and has persistently built military bases to act as deterrence.

It is also because of the importance of oil that developing countries attempted to link energy matters to the North- South dialogue. Discovering the importance of this resource, the oil exporting developing nations realised they could use oil to redress the imbalance

⁵⁰ Ali I. N,2004. Interview, December 8.

⁵¹ Sheikh A. F 2004.Interview December 8.

 ⁵² Silva – Calderon.A 2003.Welcoming Address To The Joint OPEC – IEA Workshop On Oil Investment Prospects, April 28. 3.
 ⁵³ Ibid. 5.

⁵⁴ Amuzegar, J. 1999. *Managing the Oil Wealth: OPEC's Windfalls and Pitfalls*, London/New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers. 142.

 ⁵⁵ Hisham A. 2004.Sundays Feature, The Future of Energy: Alternatives Ahead. Source: www.ieer.org/report/energy/bushfigs.html
 ⁵⁶ Tanzer. M 1990. *The Race for Resources, Continuing Struggles Over*

Minerals and Fuel, New York, Monthly Review Press.

⁵⁷ Zindani, A.W. 1977. *Arab Politics in the United Nations*. India, Sana's University Publications. 207.

⁵⁸ Kissinger. H.1974. Energy crisis: Strategy for Cooperative Action. Speech delivered on Nov. 14,. ORBIS, 21. 3 :15.

⁵⁹ Rybezynski.T.M. 1996. *The Economics of the Oil Crisis* .London, Macmillan Press.3.

⁶⁰ Leys C. 1980. Underdevelopment in Kenya .London, Macmillan. 1002.

⁶¹ Ibid: 1002.

⁶² Ibid: 1002.

between the haves and the have-nots. This was the origin of the oil crisis of 1973, which caused some major changes in relations of the North and the South.

Natural crude oil has therefore, since the early 1970s, remained a major source of commercial energy. It is expected to maintain its role as a standard of value and of reference, especially in view of obstacles in the way of developing substitutes, ranging from close substitutes such as synthetic crude, to partial substitutes such as nuclear power. Mikdashi actually identified three major obstacles in the way of substitutes to oil; namely, that it requires large-scale investments, advanced technology and long lead times.⁶³

Reserves, Production and Χ. CONSUMPTION RATES PER REGION

In 2000, the reserves of North America which were thirty-five billion, five hundred and eighty-six million barrels in 1990 had reduced to twenty-six billion, nine hundred million barrels in 2000, which was a reduction of a little less than nine billion barrels! That of Western Europe which shows to be sixteen billion, eight hundred and ninety million barrels in 1990 had however by 2000 increased slightly by a little over one billion barrels to eighteen billion, thirty-two million barrels. The reserves of Asia and Pacific which also indicate to be forty-two billion, five hundred and thirty million barrels in 1990 had also increased by about 10 billion barrels to fifty-two billion one hundred and thirty-two million barrels.⁶⁴ In essence, the fortune of the developed nations as far as the reserves of oil were concerned that could have positively changed by 2000 with a reserve increase of eleven billion barrels by two of the regions, was unfortunately almost totally neutralized by the nine billion dwindling reserves of North America. Invariably therefore, the reserves of the three regions controlling international economic relations could only increase by a paltry two billion barrels in the ten year period between 1990 and 2000.65

The reserve of Eastern Europe which in 1990 was fifty-eight billion five hundred and eighty-six million barrels had by 2000 increased to eighty billion, five hundred and eighty-six million barrels of oil. The Latin American reserve had however reduced from its one hundred and twenty-two billion three hundred and twenty-nine million barrels, that it was in 1990 to one hundred and nineteen billion, six hundred and sixty-nine million barrels in 2000, which happened to be a reduction of close to three billion barrels.⁶⁶ In Africa, the reserve that in 1990 was fifty-nine billion, seven hundred and thirty-three million barrels was shown to have

66 Ibid.

increased appreciably to ninety-two billion, four hundred and fifteen million barrels that meant an increased reserve to the tune of almost thirty-three billion barrels.⁶⁷The Middle East reserve which was six hundred and sixty-two billion, nineteen million barrels in 1990 had also slightly increased by 2000 to six hundred and ninety-four billion, seven hundred and five million barrels, representing an increase of well over thirty-two billion barrels.68

It can therefore be noted that between 1990 and 2000, the reserves of the four regions had increased by seventy-four billion barrels. This, apart from strengthening the position of the underdeveloped Southern nations, also completely contradicts the position of authors who claim that in the turn of the 20th Century, the reserves of oil all over the world would have started to depreciate.⁶⁹ Production in North America which was 8, 518,000 barrels per day in 1990 had by 2000 reduced to 7, 213,000 barrels per day. This indicates that the North American production which in 1980 was 9, 891,000 barrels per day and which reduced to 8, 518,000 barrels a day in 1990, further reduced to 7, 213,000 barrels per day in 2000. Invariably, the North American production in two decades had dwindled by not less than 2, 500,000 barrels on a daily basis.⁷⁰

The Western Europe production which between 1980 and 1990 increased from 2, 520,000 barrels per day to 4, 68,000 barrels a day had further increased to 6 million 287,000 barrels everyday in 2000. There has therefore been a remarkable and dramatic increased production in the two decades from 1980 from 2. 520,000 barrels per day to 6, 287, 000 barrels a day, signifying an increase of a little less than four million barrels on a daily basis in the twenty years.⁷¹ Asia and Pacific with a production of 4, 924,000 barrels production per day in 1980 which increased to 6, 289,000 barrels a day in 1990 also increased to 7, 124,000 barrels in 2000, representing a little over two million barrel a day increase from what it was in 1980.⁷² One can therefore see that in spite of the dwindling production of North America to the tune of 2, 500,000 barrels a day in twenty years, the three regions gained a surplus or increased production of 3, 500,000 barrel production per day in the twenty years.⁷³

Consumption of North America which was 17, 572,000 barrels per day in 1990 had however, increased to 21, 419,000 barrels per day in 2000, representing an increased consumption of a little less than 4 million barrels per day in the ten year period between 1990 and Year 2015

⁶³ Mikdashi. Z.1996. The International Politics of Natural Resources, Ithaca, Cornell University Press. 1.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 70 Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid. 72 Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

2000.⁷⁴ In Western Europe, consumption which in 1990 was 12, 223,000 barrels per day had increased to 13, 899,000 barrels a day in 2000, representing an increase of well over 1, 5000,000 barrels per day within the decade between 1990 and 2000.⁷⁵ Asia and Pacific with a consumption rate of 12, 746,000 barrels per day in 1990 had increased to 19, 541,000 barrels a day in 2000 which was an increased consumption of close to 7 million barrels everyday in the ten years between 1990 and 2000.⁷⁶

Invariably, North America with a production of 7, 213,000 barrels per day in 2000 consumed as much as 21, 419,000 barrels per day which indicates a shortfall of over fourteen million barrels per day that the North American region cannot but depend on the outside.⁷⁷ Western Europe had a production of 6, 287,000 barrels every day in 2000, but consumed 13, 899,000 barrels on a daily basis thus depending on the outside for not less than 7, 600,000 barrels per day.78 Asia and Pacific with production of 7. 124,000 barrels per day in 2000, was in the same year consuming 19, 541,000 barrels every day, signifying a difference of over 12 million barrels for which it cannot but rely on the outside on a daily basis.⁷⁹ On the other hand, the region of Africa, which produced 5, 961,000 barrels of oil per day in 1990 had increased production by 2000 to 6 million, 769,000 barrels, while its consumption by the same year (2000) was 2, 201,000 barrels per day, leaving an excess of close to 4, 5000,000 barrels to supply to the outside.⁸⁰

Latin America which was producing 6, 861,000 barrels in 1990 had its production increasing to 9, 167,000 in 2000. By the same year (2000) consumption in Latin America was as high as 6, 347,000 barrels a day, representing close to 3 million barrels excess on a daily basis that could go to needy nations.⁸¹ Eastern Europe which had a production of 11, 275,000 barrels per day in 1990 had its production reducing to 7, 629,000 barrels a day in 2000, representing a reduction of a little less than 4 million barrels per day. Consumption per day in Eastern Europe in 2000 was 4, 858,000 barrels, which represented an excess of a little less than 4 million barrels' supply a day for those with a shortfall.⁸²

Production which was 16, 076,000 barrels a day in the Middle East in 1990 increased to 21, 430,000 barrels in 2000 and with a consumption of only 3, 838,000 barrels per day had an excess of over 17,

74 Ibid.

- ⁷⁵ Ibid.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid. ⁷⁷ Ibid.
- ⁷⁸ Ibid.
- ⁷⁹ Ibid.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid.
- ⁸¹ Ibid.
- ⁸² Ibid.

500,000 as excess production over consumption.⁸³ Invariably by 2000, the four regions disadvantaged by a biased international economic relations had an excess of twenty-eight million barrels per day to supply to those countries in the Northern developed regions, with shortfall of thirty-three million barrels per day.⁸⁴

By 2003, reserves in North America had increased from twenty-six billion, nine hundred million barrels which it was in 2000 to twenty-seven billion, two hundred million barrels. Production however reduced from the 7,213,000 barrels per day of 2000 to 7,190,000 barrels per day in 2003. Consumption had again increased by 2003 from its initial 21, 419,000 barrels per day of 2000 to 22, 332,000 barrels in 2003. In essence, by 2003, the North America dependence on outside oil was over fifteen million barrels per day!⁸⁵

Reserves in Western Europe also increased in 2003 from its 2000 level of eighteen billion and thirty-two million barrels to eighteen billion three hundred and eighty-five million barrels. Production which was 6, 287,000 barrels per day in 2000 reduced to 5, 624,000 in 2003. Consumption was at the same level of 13, 899,000 barrels per day of 2000 by 2003. Western Europe therefore had a shortfall of over eight million barrels per day in 2003, for which it could only depend on the outside.⁸⁶

In Asia and the Pacific, reserves of fifty-two billion one hundred and thirty-two million barrels in 2000 had by 2003 reduced to forty-five billion, eight hundred and sixty-two million barrels. Production in the same year (2003) had also slightly reduced to 7, 075,000 barrels per day from its initial 7, 165,000 barrels of 2000. Consumption which was 19,541,000 barrels per day had further increased to 20, 857,000 barrels everyday in 2003. In essence, a shortfall of about 12, 500,000 barrels existed in Asia and the Pacific in 2003.⁸⁷

In Eastern Europe however, reserves had increased by close to eight billion barrels by 2003 over the previous eighty billion, five hundred and eighty-six million barrels of 2000 to eighty-eight billion, two hundred and ninety barrels. Production had increased from its 7, 629,000 barrels per day level to 9, 937,000, while consumption had in the same period (2003) increased from 4, 858,000 barrels per day to 5, 059,000 barrels a day. In spite of the increase in consumption however, there was still an excess of over five million barrels everyday to supply to outside need.⁸⁸

In Latin America, reserves of one hundred and nineteen billion six hundred and sixty-nine million barrels of 2000 had reduced to one hundred and sixteen billion four hundred and thirty-seven million barrels in 2003 with

- ⁸³ Ibid.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid.

production increasing from 9, 167,000 barrels per day to 9, 539,000 barrels a day. Consumption had however reduced from 6, 347,000 barrels per day of 2000 to 6, 189,000 barrels a day. An excess of over three million barrels therefore still existed in 2003.⁸⁹ Figures in Table 1 show that African reserves of ninety-two billion four hundred and fifteen million barrels of 2000 had increased to one hundred and five billion, five hundred and seven million barrels in 2003. Production of 6, 769,000 barrels per day of 2000 had also increased to 7, 270,000 barrels a day in 2003. Consumption of 2, 201,000 barrels per day had slightly increased to 2, 363,000 barrels a day. The excess of the African region by 2003 was therefore a little less than five million barrels a day.⁹⁰

Middle East, with a reserve of six hundred and ninety-four billion, seven hundred and five million barrels in 2000 had increased to seven hundred and thirty-five billion, eight hundred and sixty-six million barrels of 2003 while production of 21, 430,000 barrels per day of 2000 had however, reduced to 20, 451,000 barrels a day in 2003. Since consumption by 2003 in the Middle East was only 4, 199,000 barrels per day an excess of over sixteen million barrels still existed in the Middle East for which it could supply needy nations of North America, Western Europe and Asia.⁹¹

By 2004, reserves in North America had reduced from twenty-seven billion, two hundred million barrels that it was in 2003 to twenty-six billion, one hundred and ninety-one thousand barrels per day. Production had equally reduced from 7, 190,000 barrels per day in 2003 to 6, 835,000 barrels per day.⁹² Consumption had again increased by 2004 from its initial 22, 332,000 barrels per day of 2003 to 22, 857,000 barrels per day. In essence, by 2004, North American dependence on outside oil was over sixteen million barrels per day!⁹³

Reserves in Western Europe also reduced in 2004 from its 2003 level of eighteen billion and thirtyseven million barrels to seventeen billion three hundred and ninety-one million barrels Production which was 5, 624,000 in 2003 reduced to 5, 367,000 barrels per day. Consumption also increased from 13, 899,000 barrels per day of 2003 to 14, 189,000 barrels in 2004. Western Europe therefore had a shortfall of 9, 500,000 barrels per day in 2004, for which it could only depend on the outside.⁹⁴

In Asia and the Pacific, reserves of thirty-nine billon four hundred and sixteen million barrels had by 2004 reduced to thirty-nine billion, two hundred and twenty-nine million barrels. Production in the same year

94 Ibid.

(2004) had however, slightly increased from 7, 075,000 barrels per day to 7, 306,000 barrels per day. Consumption which was 20, 857,000 barrels everyday in 2003 had increased to 22, 400,000 barrels per day 2004. In essence, a shortfall of about fifteen million barrels existed in Asia and the Pacific in 2004.⁹⁵

In Eastern Europe however, reserves had increased to ninety-one billion, two hundred and ninety million barrels. Production had slightly reduced from its 9, 937,000, to 9, 928,000 in 2004, while consumption had in the same period (2004) increased from 5, 059,000 barrels a day to 4, 932, 000 barrels per day. In spite of the increase in consumption however, there was still an excess of over five million barrels everyday to supply to outside need.⁹⁶

In Latin America, reserves of one hundred and sixteen billion four hundred and thirty-seven million barrels in 2003 had increased to one hundred and eighteen billion nine hundred and fifty-two million barrels in 2004, with production reducing from 9, 539,000 barrels a day which it was in 2003 to 9, 928, 000 barrels per day in 2004. Consumption had however slightly increased from 6, 189,000 barrels a day, 452,000 barrels per day. An excess of over 2,500,000 barrels therefore still existed in 2004.⁹⁷

African reserves of one hundred and five billion five hundred and seven million barrels in 2003 had increased to one hundred and eleven billion six hundred and forty-five million barrels. Production of 7, 270,000 barrels a day in 2003 had however increased to 8, 385,000 barrels per day. Consumption of 2, 363,000 barrels a day of 2003 had slightly increased to 2, 506,000 barrels of oil per day in 2004. The excess of the African region by 2004 was therefore more than five million barrels a day.⁹⁸

Middle East, with a reserve of seven hundred and thirty-five billion, eight hundred and sixty-six million barrels of 2003 had increased to seven hundred and thirty-nine billion one hundred and thirty-five million barrels of oil by 2004, while production of 20, 451,000 barrels a day in 2003 had increased to 22, 015,000 barrels per day in 2004. Since consumption by 2004 in the Middle East was only 4, 603,000 barrels per day, an excess of over 17, 500,000 barrels still existed in the Middle East for which it could supply needy nations of North America, Western Europe and Asia.⁹⁹

Invariably, by 2003, an excess of over twentyfour million barrels per day existed in the four regions that were at gross disadvantage in the international economic system that could serve as an element of power over the Northern developed nations.¹⁰⁰ By 2004,

- ⁹⁸ Ibid.
- ⁹⁹ Ibid. ¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² OPEC Statistical Bulletin 2004.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

an excess of over twenty-nine million barrels existed everyday for which the Northern developed nations could not but depend on the South. It can therefore be deduced that if oil producing nations in the South had utilised the oil power as a political force rather than mainly for economic benefits which it presently represents, it is more likely than not that the dependence as illustrated above would have changed the North- South relation to the benefit of developing nations. This is because for forty four years, consumption of developed nations have not been met by production and reserves. This implies that dependence on Southern oil has remained for the past forty four years and with the exception of the 1973 event in which the oil power was utilised as a political force. the South has been incapable of utilising the global crude oil reserves, production and consumption pattern to reverse the economic status quo. The problem at effectively utilising the Northern dependence to Southern benefit is because oil remains the means to only an economic benefit, and does not assume its role of a political force which introduced remarkable achievements in the 1973 oil embargo days.

XI. Conclusion

Oil has continued to be very essential to the international community even though the reserves have continue to favour the South over the North the consumption of the North has been by far higher than that of the South. To an appreciable extent in fact, it can be clearly stated that the consumption level of the North has far surpassed its production level, a situation that has introduced a high level of dependence and reliance on the North and for which only an alternative to oil may eliminate.



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A Critical Analysis of the Institutional Outcomes of Nigeria's Economic Diplomacy

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Abstract- Economic Diplomacy was used as a an instrument of foreign policy execution in Nigeria with the aim of achieving national development. This study, while using the political economy approach therefore, investigated the institutional outcomes of this instrument in areas of debt management, Gross Domestic Product (GDP employment, and external reserves. Secondary sources of data which include publications of Central Bank of Nigeria, Africa Peer Review Mechanism country report and press reports were used to critically analyse the observed institutional outcomes of economic diplomacy. Economic diplomacy resulted in reduced debts, increases in the nation's GDP, and external reserves. However, the level of poverty and unemployment was not positively affected by economic diplomacy. This study therefore recommends that subsequent employment of economic diplomacy should be targeted at the substantial improvements of the peoples' socio-economic status.

Keywords: economic diplomacy, gross domestic product, outcomes, poverty.

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Abstract- Economic Diplomacy was used as a an instrument of foreign policy execution in Nigeria with the aim of achieving national development. This study, while using the political economy approach therefore, investigated the institutional outcomes of this instrument in areas of debt management, Gross Domestic Product (GDP employment, and external reserves. Secondary sources of data which include publications of Central Bank of Nigeria, Africa Peer Review Mechanism country report and press reports were used to critically analyse the observed institituional outcomes of economic diplomacy. Economic diplomacy resulted in reduced debts, increases in the nation's GDP, and external reserves. However, the level of poverty and unemployment was not positively affected by economic diplomacy. This study therefore recommends that subsequent employment of economic diplomacy should be targeted at the substantial improvements of the peoples' socio-economic status.

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I. INTRODUCTION

hile different countries have at different times utilized different instruments in pursuing their foreign policy objectives, Nigeria has adopted, in recent times, Economic Diplomacy as a key plank to achieve its foreign policy goals and national development. Economic Diplomacy, in this regard, connotes the deployment of the country's foreign policy to attain economic benefits. Without prejudice to the official adoption of the phrase "Economic Diplomacy' by the Federal Government in 1988 as its foreign policy template, economic pursuits as a factor in foreign policy making and implementation have played very crucial roles in post-independence Nigeria ever since. Economic Diplomacy according to Asisi Asobie (2001) is the management of international relations in such a manner as to place accent on the economic dimension of a country's external relations. It is the conduct of foreign policy in such a manner as to give topmost priority to the economic objectives of a nation.

Put differently, economic diplomacy is, simply, the diplomacy of economic development. Thus, as Nigeria transited to a civilian democracy in 1999, Olu Adeniji (2003), the former Foreign Minister argued that one of the cardinal principles enumerated for Nigeria's foreign policy was the creation of the necessary economic, political and cultural conditions to secure the independence of Nigeria and other African countries. This is embedded in section 19 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The pursuit of this goal has, since independence, been at the bilateral, multilateral, sub-regional, regional and global levels.

The outcome of this is a response by the country either individually or collectively to brace up to the challenges of globalization while seeking to reap the benefits of the 'window of opportunities' provided by economic globalization. In accessing the opportunities, there is an increasing recognition that nations must position themselves properly within and abroad. The external content involves the development of a virile foreign policy posture and the informed articulation and implementation of such. Perhaps, this was why Fafowora (2001) emphasized that nation's foreign policy must be focused on securing a greater share of the world's known and unknown resources to maximize its influence.

His view is partly informed by the changes brought about by the impacts of the end of the bipolar world order, and the imperatives of globalization. The consequence, according to Ana Criste (2006), is that the role of economic diplomacy as a tool of promotion and protection of national interests gained new importance with foreign policy strategies

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are different approaches to the study of international relations either in the external or internal milieu. These approaches have isolated certain aspects of global relations with a bid to use such for the explanation of recurrent issues in international relations, and diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy articulation and execution. The liberal political economy approach would be engaged in this study.

Given that Ake (1985) described the approach as that which gives primacy to material conditions particularly economic factors, in the explanation of social life, he argued that the approach emphasizes the dynamic character of social life and treats social life and material existence in their relatedness and not as being static. He noted that the approach enables us to look and think of the world in terms of continuity and relatedness with a keen awareness that this continuity is

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essentially very complex and also problematic. The approach is important because in his words, the interconnectedness of the economy structure, social structure, belief system and political system demands an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the society. Momoh and Hundeyin (1999) also argued that the liberal political economy approach probes into the depth of issues, the interconnection of phenomena, policies, etc. with a view to knowing their class, origin, character and composition as well as the logic of their existence Situated within this context and the direction of this the need to recall that economic diplomacy is Aina (1986) submitted that liberal political economy developed because of the need to integrate both political and social factors as explanatory elements in economic analysis. This approach is adequate in determining and evaluating the origins, trend and dimension of the entire gamut of Nigeria's external relations with particular focus on the patterns, processes and effects of foreign policy implementation in the period under study. Using the liberal political economy approach, a more holistic appreciation and explanation of the intricate web of socio-political and economic outcomes of Nigeria's economic diplomacy in the era of Globalisation comes unto better contemplation. So also are explanations of policy responses to these intricate bilateral, multilateral and regional interactions between the country and the rest of the world. Thus, this study is mainly based on secondary sources of data collection, making use of published journals and books. The data garnered were interpretatively content analysed within the context of the liberal political economy approach.

III. Objectives of Study

Nigeria's adoption of economic diplomacy and the attendant embrace of SAP during the military regime of Babangida had impacted negatively on the nation and her nationals, thus provoking extensive debates on the viability of the instrument as an instrument of foreign policy implementation. In addition to this, there is the need to understand the focus of the regime on economic issues in the pursuit of the nation's foreign policy. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, the first objective is to identify the reasons for Nigeria's focus on economic objectives in its foreign policy thrusts between 1999 and 2007. The second objective was to determine institutional outcomes of the nation's economic diplomacy in the period under study.

For the purpose of achieving the first objective of this study, it was discovered that the domestic political and social crises in the country and the attendant reactions from the international community, coupled with the intensity of globalization marked the major reasons for the regime's focus on the economic objectives of its foreign policy thrust between 1999 and 2007. May 29, 1999 marked a new beginning as it were in the political history of Nigeria. It was a day that heralded the much awaited democratic system of government after twenty seven years of military dictatorial regimes. Although military regimes in Nigeria had been blamed for the high level of underdevelopment and economic setbacks experienced by the nation, the General Abacha-led government of 1993-1998, which was a pre-cursor to the civilian regime of President Olusegun Obasanjo, actually plunged the nation deeper into the doldrums of political instability and subsequent economic despondency. In describing the aftermath of the regime, Fawole (2003) had noted that the nation had swiftly fallen from the impressive height of being the "African power" that it had occupied since the 1970s and became a pariah country derided and isolated by all its traditional allies and friend.

Despite the efforts of the General Abdusallam Abubakar's regime to restore the 'lost glory' of the nation and as such provoke an economic renaissance, his efforts yielded limited fruits. Thus, on assumption of duty on May 29, 1999, the Obasanjo-led administration was faced with economic indicators which revealed that the composite consumer index was 6.6%, incidence of poverty was 67%; the external debt stood at \$28,066.9million while the debt service payment stood at \$1,724.9million (see Omofa and Omotola 2004). This scenario amongst others therefore made it imperative for the civilian regime of President Olusegun Obasanjo to focus on the economic re-birth of the nation through a pro-active foreign policy.

Another important reason for the regime's focus on economic objective of the country's foreign policy was the advanced nature of globalization which operates on the neo-liberal principles of free trade as a pre-condition for development. It was in the light of this challenge that, Osita Agbu (2004) had observed that the way and manner to respond to globalization in its various manifestations with a view to ameliorating its negative impacts constituted an important challenge for Nigeria's foreign policy.

Neoliberal perspectives on growth and development had opined the further integration of an African economy like the Nigerian into the global growth and economy will lead to economic development, and consequently reduce poverty. This is thought to be enhanced by the attraction of Foreign Direct Investment, Deregulation and Privatisation. Furthermore, it is also believed that the more integrated а national economy is into the global economy, (irrespective of the fact that integration into the world economy demands compliance with stringent laws of trade liberalization), the faster such would attain the desired level of development. It is within the understanding of this reality that Chibuzor N. Nwoke (2009) had observed that given the inescapable integration that faced the regime, it was advised that the

country's economic diplomacy should be designed to IV. fashion out a set of strategies and tactics through the employment of a comprehensive bargaining processes in order to effect a fundamental change in the existing international economic order

Thus the need to attract the necessary foreign capital, aid and technology that would move the nation from its economic backwardness into 'one of the twenty developed economies of the world', necessitated the focus on the actualization of the economic objectives of the nation's foreign policy. The need for the actualization of these economic objectives, as observed by Abdulmummin (2004), led to the various visits of President Olusegun Obasanjo to various countries. These visits actually paid off with the return visits of former US Presidents: George W. Bush, Bill Clinton and Jimmy Carter. In addition, Tony Blair (British Prime Minister), Jean Chretien (Canadian Prime Minister), and Thabo Mbeki (South African President), amongst others also visited the country. Of note, in the attraction of foreign investments, was the visit of Jiang Zemin (Chinese President) which led to the strengthening of the Nigeria-Sino Joint Commission of Trade, Economic and Technical cooperation and the signing of the significant influx of Chinese investment into the Nigerian economy, especially in the areas of technology

This quest for foreign capital therefore explains the steadfast and dedicated fight against corruption at the domestic level of Nigeria's international politics. Thus the government set up the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC), charged with the responsibility of handling cases of corrupt practices in the public and private life of Nigerians. In addition to this, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) was also set up to prosecute cases of financial crimes. In this vein, the Chairman of the EFCC, Mallam Nuhu Ribadu (2004) had reiterated that the war against corruption was to restore investors' confidence in the nation's business environment

In addition to this, the government sold her shares in some public owned enterprises in order to fast track its privatization program. All these, as observed by Abdulmumin Jibrin, was to encourage, foreign participation in the economy of the nation. It is thought that the full embrace of the neo-liberal policies would lead eventually, to Nigeria's attainment of national development and also place her in a vantage position in international politics. The success, as it were, of these policies to the Nigeria government is however subjected to the scrutiny of its outcomes in the individual lives of Nigerians.

INSTITUTIONAL OUTCOMES OF NIGERIA'S ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY

a) Debt Relief

The Obasanjo-led administration on assumption of duty on May 29, 1999, was faced with economic indicators which revealed that the composite consumer index was 6.6%, and incidence of poverty was 67%. The external debt stood at \$28,066.9million while the debt service payment stood at \$1,724.9million². By December 31, 2004 Nigeria owed a total of US\$35.994 billion (that is about N 4.82 trillion). The immediate implications of this debt burden, according to the Debt Management Office (2005) were that sharing the debt among 130million Nigerians would mean that:

each person will owe N 37, 101. 51 to the outside world. But Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Per Capita is N 3,379.50, meaning that on average, each person in Nigeria is only able to earn N 3,379.50 in one year. That means every Nigerian who in the very unlikely event manages to save say half of his total annual income (N 1, 689.75); will need about twenty-two years to save enough money to pay off all our debt. And to achieve this, this Nigerian must survive on N 5.00 a day

The grievous implication of servicing the debt (with about \$1billion annually) on the nation's and nationals economic growth and development necessitated the aggressive pursuit of the debt relief from the Paris Club by the regime. The diplomatic moves of President Olusegun Obasanjo and Dr Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, the finance minister eventually paid off with the conditional write-off of \$18 billion dollars by the Paris Club. However, there are divergent views on the outcome of the debt relief to the nation's economy and the national's. For example, in their study observed that the debt relief had in event caused a reduction in the nation's debt stock and thus

... freed up critical resources needed for sustainable development. Government was able to save US\$1 billion a year- with US\$750 million in savings for the Federal Government, and a sum total of US\$250 million to the state governments. The savings, which was referred to as 'debt relief funds', was channeled into critical sectors and projects such as provision of 4000km of rural roads, 166 new primary health centres across the country, 400,000 insecticidetreated bed nets, a million doses of anti-malarial medicines, and training of 145,000 teachers amongst others. In the Budgets of 2007 and 2008, additional expenditure of US\$750 million on poverty reducing programmes and projects ensured increased spending on core social infrastructure. Attention of the government was also turned to provision of safety nets for the people. The National Poverty Eradication

Programme (NAPEP) received the sum of US\$75 million to fund Nigeria's first comprehensive social safety net scheme. A further US\$150 million was put aside to increase the resources available for basic services at the local government level. The managing the debt relief was designed such that a conditional grants scheme allowed for both federal funding of MDG-related projects at the state level, and through a matching component, leverage some of the US\$250 million of state debt relief towards MDG-related projects. The flexibility of the virtual poverty fund (VPF) made such innovations in public expenditure management possible.⁹

Also, while investigating the nexus between external debt relief and economic growth in nigeria Ekperiware and Oladeji (2012) had concluded that the 2005 debt relief released resources for investment in human capital and this has paid up in the stable economic growth given that the debt relief has reduced the amount allotted for external debt servicing in the country, hence more resources have been provided growth enhancing investments in the country. These resources in the long run is therefore expected to lead to infrastructural development, creation of enabling environment for enhanced productivity, through the creation of more jobs and thus lead to a reduction in both unemployment and poverty levels in the nation.

In contrasts to this opinion, however, Professor Sam Aluko, (cited in Comet 2006) an economist is of the opinion that given the conditionality for the debt relief granted the nation would in the long run the nation in actual sense gained nothing. In his words,

if you pay \$12 billion in one year, which the Federal Government has paid, there is virtually little or no gain because if you put that \$12 billion in a bank at about 10 per cent rate of interest you get \$1.2 billion in a year. In effect, we gained virtually nothing (from the debt deal). So, over the next 10 years if we (Nigerians) invested that \$12 billion, we would have got about \$24billion. So, the white man is very clever. He does not lose in either way. We may feel that we gained momentarily but in the long run, we gained virtually nothing.

The debt relief package in its intent had of a truth reduced the extent of debt servicing burden in the nation's yearly budget. However, the diverse opinion on its advantage to the nation and the nationals in the long run raises some questions that borders on people's well being, and poverty reduction.

i. Gross Domestic Product

The Nigerian economy witnessed remarkable improvements during the regime of President Olusegun Obasanjo. The domestic policies of economic diplomacy which the regime adopted and implemented had attendant overall outcomes on the socio-economic development of the nation. The most visible of these indices of change was in the Gross Domestic Product of the nation's economy in the period under study.

The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is the money value of goods and services produced in an economy during a period of time irrespective of the nationality of the people who produced the goods and services. It is calculated without making deductions for depreciation. The table 1 below shows the progression of the nation's GDP in the period under study.

Table 1 showed a progression from N3, 313,563.1 million in 1999 to a total of N14, 610,881.4million in December 2006. It is thus instructive to note that the money value of goods and services produced in the Nigerian economy during that period of time (irrespective of the nationality of the people who produced the goods and services) increased exceedingly. As shall be pointed out later in this study, this increase in GDP was traceable to the participation of foreign investors in the national economy; the confidence in the Banking Sector due to the Bank Recapitalisation policy; aggressive anti-corruption campaign and the embrace of democracy. The changes recorded in the nation's GDP in this period is instructive given the fact that the country's GDP has oscillated between N688,136.6million and N2,271,178.4million between 1993-1998. In tandem with this, President Olusegun (cited in Abdulmumminin) remarked inter alia that:

Personally, I see hope in our economic prospects. There is strong evidence that capacity utilization across the country is beginning to rise, while foreign direct investment in the economy has increased significantly. For instance, the Nigeria and Investment Promotion Council (NIPC) has in the last three years recorded the establishment of about 170 enterprises with foreign participation. These companies are reported to have generated about 643million US dollars or 80billion naira. At the same time, about 575million US dollars of capital goods are recorded to have been imported for investment since 1999. Meanwhile, new investment opportunities are steadily developing. We recently broke ground for a large methanol plant in Lekki, Lagos and we are likely to see many new investments like this emerging in the coming months.

These 'hopes' anchored on the improvements on nation's GDP and establishments of 'new' enterprises however had not culminated into infrastructural improvements, and poverty reduction. One of the reasons alluded to this was the prevalence of corruption in the political system despite government's anticorruption efforts. Thus, Nageri, Gunu and Abdul (2013) had submitted in their study on the nation's development vis-à-vis increases in GDP that:

Corruption has caused lack of public infrastructures, it has increased the level of poverty in the country despite the nation's enormous resources, less respect for fundamental human rights, and it shows that no matter the efforts of government to improve the economy and the presence of other developmental indices when corruption is not reduced to its bearable minimum, economic growth and development will be very difficult to sustain in Nigeria

Apart from the issues of corrupt practices which had seemingly eroded the benefits of the nation's economic growth, the World Bank (2008) had also observed that in the period under survey, access to potable pipe borne water, good and affordable transportation system and educational enrolment had been very low. On the high increase was the incidence of child mortality and less productivity of the industrial sector. This lower productivity has also been traced to incessant power outages. The report thus stated that:

Every survey of the Nigerian business sector has identified the inadequacy of Nigeria's infrastructure as the main constraint to the country's growth. Virtually no enterprise of reasonable size relies solely on public supplies of power; all invest in generators, which produce power at a cost far greater than that of other countries. Transport is an equally important bottleneck: less than 20 percent of national roads are rated as being in good condition. Nigerian enterprise thus faces both a high cost structure and low prices from competing products because of the appreciation of the exchange rate caused by rising oil and gas export earnings

From the foregoing, it is evident that despite the economic growth accorded to increased GDP by the regime, there was no attendant social and infrastructural development that would have enhanced the well being and effectiveness of the generality of the citizenry in the period under study.

Neo-liberalists would have considered this an evidence of development in Nigeria's economy. However, there is a need to find out the concomitant outcome of the improvement of the nation's economy with regards to the citizens socio-political and economic experiences.

Poverty is pronounced deprivations in well being. Thus it refers to a state of hunger, lack of shelter, being sick and unhealthy, not knowing how to read, joblessness, and fear for the future, lacking access to clean water, powerlessness, vulnerability, lack of supportive, lack of opportunities, representation, and also of freedom and social exclusion^{15.} Poverty is associated with lack of dignity, status, security, and hope. In addition to this is material deprivation, characterized by poor insecure housing; food insecurity and limited access to utilities and services (Mamman, Nweze, Odebiy, Shehu and Sacshs 2002). In Nigeria however, poverty implies poor income, in adequate material assets, low quality of life and poor environment (Odusola 2006).

The National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) is an adopted means of the President Obasanjo administration for the attainment of National Development which takes into international consideration the emphasis on a market driven economy and thus a reduction in the role of the State, as it were, to develop a developmental programme which seek the welfare of the people, economic development and also make Nigeria an economic giant in the international sphere. Thus, the central philosophy of NEEDs; which was the use of the private sector as the engine of growth of the economy with the government only serving as an enabler and catalyst¹⁸.

In the quest for this failure, the study agrees with the observation of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), poverty reduction program(s) could not succeed in isolation. The APRM had submitted that.

We believe that poverty can only be effectively tackled through the promotion of democracy, good governance, peace and security, the development of human and physical resources; gender equality; openness to international trade and investment; allocation of appropriate funds to social sector; new partnership between governments and the private sector, and with civil society.

b) External Reserves

One of the noticeable changes that followed the increase in the money value of goods and services produced in the Nigerian economy during this period of time was the increase in the nation's external reserves. External Reserves have at various times and fora been defined and called by various names. However, for this study, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) *(seehttp://www.cenbank.org/AboutCBN)* definition and coinage would be adopted. In this light, external reserves (or international reserves) is defined as:

"consisting of official public sector foreign assets that are readily available to, and controlled by the monetary authorities, for direct financing of payment imbalances, and directly regulating the magnitude of such imbalances, through intervention in the exchange markets to affect the currency exchange rate and/or for other purposes

In the period under review in this study, the regime had substantially through public sector reforms improved on the country's external reserve accounts. This is as shown in the table below:

Table 2 shows that the nation's external reserve increased steadily from N546,873.1 million in 1999 to N5,617,317.0Million in 2006. This monumental change is

traceable to the debt cancellation enjoyed by the country through her foreign policy and increase in the nation's GDP. This change is noteworthy if one could observe that the nation's external reserves had oscillated between N67, 245. 6Million in 1993 and N226,702.4million in 1998.

The importance of this growth in the nation's external reserves, in the era of economic globalization cannot be overemphasized. This especially, in a nation that was once a pariah to other nations of the world; a nation known worldwide as a corrupt and insecure. In capturing the essence of this phenomenal achievements, Ibrahim (2011) had outlined some of the importance uses of external reserves to include, but not restricted to

- To Boost a Country's Credit Worthiness External reserves provide a cushion at a time when access to the international capital market is difficult or not possible. ...improves a country's credit worthiness and reputation by enabling a regular servicing of the external debt thereby avoiding the payment of penalty and charges. Furthermore, a country's usable foreign exchange reserve is an important variable in the country risk models used by credit rating agencies and international financial institutions.
- To Provide a fall back for the "Rainy Day" Economies of nations sometimes experience drop in revenue and would need to fall back on their savings as a life line..

The country's foreign reserve was utilized in this period as a buffer during the fulfillment of the debt relief granted the nation by both the Paris and London club. The prudence and commitment towards its sustenance and growth, was also an important factor that encouraged the patronage of the nation's economic space by foreign investors. This observation was also corroborated by Ibrahim when he noted that:

... some other important inferences that can be drawn ...are that; change in external reserve has been having a positive influence on the growth of Foreign Direct Investment and exchange rate appreciation in the country...

c) Employment Rates

Another noticeable change that followed the increase in the money value of goods and services produced in the Nigerian economy during this period of time was a reduction in the registered unemployed of the professional and executive cadres as exemplified in the table below:

Table 3 shows that among the registered unemployed (professional and executive cadres), there was an initial increase from 63,669 in 1999 to 104,490 in 2000. This could probably be the outcome of the citizens realization of the entrenchment of democracy, hence registration escalated to take advantage of the window of opportunity. However, this figure declined to 83,291 in 2006. This reduction could be the outcome of the creation of jobs through the establishment of more private firms, improvement in the telecommunication sector, and the release of foreign capital into the nation's economy. This perception is corroborated by the fact that, there was an increase in the productivity and expansion of the manufacturing sector of the economy from 3.44% in the year 2000AD to 10.0% in 2004A.D. However, amongst the lower grade workers, there was a steady increase in the number of registered unemployed from 86024 in 1999 to 311119 in 2004. As would be discussed later, this scenario could be the outcome of the incidence of casual workers in the 'foreign firms' and possibly due to their lack of needed technical skills and low education.

However, it is also plausible that the number of unemployed lower grade workers would have been more if and only if the vast majorities were aware of the possibility of registering in their various wards for employment opportunities. It is also pertinent to note that there was a huge upsurge in the number of young unemployed able bodied men who took to commercial motorcycle riding (OKADA), which could have contributed in the increase in the number of self employed youths. In addition to this, the Africa Peer Review Mechanism (ARPM 2008) had also added that:

- Nigeria's efforts to reduce poverty substantially and sustainably though effective policy and programme implementation are being hampered by an apparent disconnect between the government and the citizenry. This was evident in almost all the states. The CRM observed that some states are implementing sophisticated and large-scale projects like solar powered security monitoring systems (Imo State) and an international airport (Akwa Ibom State). However, the ordinary people appeared disillusioned about the states' vision, especially as their primary concerns were about the lack of access to potable water; erratic power supply; poor health and educational facilities and so on.
- On the whole, there was a perception that NEEDS programmes and projects were being used basically as conduits for siphoning off public resources into private pockets, which made a mockery of the main national instrument designed to bring about economic self reliance. The lack of inclusiveness, weak targeting of the poor, and political motivation of NEEDS programmes, thus benefiting mostly the rich and powerful were some of the shared views on the NEEDs strategy.
- The CSAR reports that the poverty incidence in Nigeria has dropped from 54.4% in 2004 to 41% in

2005. However, the feedback from Nigerians surveyed for the CSAR appears to contradict this. The CSAR survey indicates that poverty levels are very high in urban centers because of high unemployment rates, although poverty is mainly a rural phenomenon.

The IFES survey (2007) had sought the opinion of Nigerians on what they felt were "biggest problems Nigeria faces as a country– that is, the problems that are of most concern to them²¹. Interestingly, cited poverty and food scarcity as being the biggest problems. In the area of unemployment, 38% of the IFES survey respondents opined that it is one of the biggest problems in the country.

V. Conclusion

From the discussions above, it is observed that the employment of economic diplomacy by the Obasanjo regime had contributed in the improvement of certaion aspects of the nation's economy. However, these achievements had not resulted in the general improvements of the well being of the citizens. This study therefore agrees with the APRM (2008) report had observed that

Similarly, the country is having difficulty in delivering social services, potable water, and energy and has been unable to manage rapid and uncontrolled urbanization, or provide effective intra- and inter-urban transportation. Further, with a Gini index of 50.6, Nigeria is among the top countries in the world with the widest gap between the rich and the poor.

Given these observations, one can conclude that improved institutional outcomes does not automatically translate into poverty reduction, and improved socio-economic status of the people. Thus, it is recommended that subsequent employment of economic diplomacy should be targeted at the substantial improvements of the peoples' socioeconomic status.

Appendices

Year	GDP AT CURRENT FACTOR COST(NMILLION)	
1999	3,313,563.1	
2000	4,727,522.6	
2001	5,374,334.8	
2002	6,632,243.6	
2003	6,061,700.0	
2004	11,411,066.9	
2005		
2006		
Q1	3,315,281	
Q2	3,405,933.6	
Q3	3,832,022.2	
Q4	4,057,641.5	

Table 1 : Table Showing Gdp At Current Factor Cost 1999-2006

Source: CBN Annual Reports December 2006, Vol. 17,

Table 2 : Table Showing Nigeria's External Reserves 1999-2006

Year	Nigeria's External Reserves(NMillion)		
1999	546,873.1		
2000	1,090,148.0		
2001	1,181,652.0		
2002	1,013,514.0		
2003	1,065,093.0		
2004	2,478,620.0		
2005	3,835,433.0		
2006	5,617,317.0		

Source: CBN Annual Reports December 2006, Vol. 17,

<i>Table 3 :</i> Table Showing Employment Rates 1999-2006

Year	Registered Unemployed (Professionals and Executives)	Registered unemployed (Lower Grade Workers)	
1999	63669	86024	
2000	104960	85368	
2001	84359	85928	
2002	94663	85648	
2003	59373	130060	
2004	91263 311119		
2005	75318	-	
2006	83291	-	

Source: CBN Annual Reports December 2006, Vol. 17,

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You can use your own standard format also. Author Guidelines:

1. General,

- 2. Ethical Guidelines,
- 3. Submission of Manuscripts,
- 4. Manuscript's Category,
- 5. Structure and Format of Manuscript,
- 6. After Acceptance.

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Complete support for both authors and co-author is provided.

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(e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition; sources of information must be given and numerical methods must be specified by reference, unless non-standard.

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(h) Brief Acknowledgements.

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Approach:

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- Use standard style in this and in every other part of the paper avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

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- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.

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The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Carry on to be to the point, by means of statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently. You must obviously differentiate material that would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matter should not be submitted at all except requested by the instructor.



Content

- Sum up your conclusion in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In manuscript, explain each of your consequences, point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and comprise remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.

• Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or in manuscript form. What to stay away from

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- Manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate the identical information.
- Never confuse figures with tables there is a difference.

Approach

- As forever, use past tense when you submit to your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.
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- You may propose future guidelines, such as how the experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details all of your remarks as much as possible, focus on mechanisms.
- Make a decision if the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory, and whether or not it was correctly restricted.
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- One research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind, where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

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References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

INDEX

Α

Ayma · 4

D

Disillusionment · 11 Djibouti · 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21

G

Gomal · 1, 4, 8, 10

I

Inayatullah, · 3, 11

J

Juncture · 14

М

 $\begin{array}{l} Massawa \cdot 15, \ 16\\ Massively \cdot 4\\ Mekele \cdot 18\\ Miraculously \cdot 9 \end{array}$

S

Saskatchewan · 10

T

Tadjourah · 18



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0

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