

AFRICAN RENAISSANCE

VOLUME 7, NUMBER 1, 2010

US-Africa Relations Under Obama

*Bamidele A. Ojo. Tim Hughes. Monika Rózalska.
Daniel Volman*

Nigeria

Nuhu Ribadu. Ioannis Mantzikos. Lemuel E Odeh

Somalia

Abdulkadir Osman Farah

Haiti

Rose Ure Mezu

Reflections On Historicity and Legitimacy in West Africa

Amy Niang



Contents

Editorial

Jideofor Adibe (Editor/Publisher) 5

Obama and Africa: Understanding the Framework for President Obama's
Foreign Policy in Africa

Bamidele Ojo 9

U.S-Africa Relations: The Modest Foundations of Obama's Four-
Pillar Platform

Tim Hughes 13

From Great Expectations to the Reality of "Tough Love" - Obama's
Doctrine Towards Africa

Monika Różalska 17

Obama's National Security Policy Towards Africa: The First Year

Daniel Volman 30

Examining U.S-Nigeria Relations in a Time of Transition

Nuhu Ribadu 37

Sino-Nigeria Economic Relations 1990-2009

Lemuel E. Odeh 43

The Absence of the State in Northern Nigeria: The Case of Boko Haram

Ioannis Mantzikos 57

Haiti: The Land Where Negritude First Stood on its Feet

Rose Ure Mezu 63

Discordances and Dissonances in Oral History: Reflections on
Historicity and Legitimacy in West Africa

Amy Niang 80

Sino-Nigeria Economic Relations 1990-2009

Lemuel E. Odeh

Abstract

The history of man has been marked with interactions both at the level of individuals and politics. Nations have been known to be in a continuous interaction so that man at the centre world achieves his chief goal, which is true happiness and fulfilment. Thus, the continuous interaction of man at all levels has lent credence to the popular saying that 'no man lives in isolation'. Therefore, nations interact with one another for the benefit of mankind and as well to assist and support in areas some nations are deficient and incapacitated. The foregoing bears fang on the long standing relationship existing between China and Nigeria since 1970's, but specifically the period 2007 - 2009. To this end this paper attempts an appraisal of the Sino-Nigerian Economic Relations from 2007-2009, the benefits, matters arising and the prospect of these relations.

Key Words: Globalization, Bilateralism, Multilateralism, Economic Inequality, Imperialism.

Globalization: the word is derived from 'global', which means things affecting the world. Thus Globalization means the breakdown of national economic barriers, the international spread of trade, financial and production activities and the growing tower of transnational corporation and international financial institutions.

Bilateralism: this means involving two groups of people or two countries with a bilateral relations consisting economic socio-cultural.

Multilateralism: this situation involves three or more groups, nations taking part in a discussion.

Economic Inequality: simply means wealth or income differences. This comprises all disparities in the distribution of economic assets and income.

Imperialism: a system in which one country controls other countries particularly after defeating them at war. His also a way of a powerful nation increasing her influence on a weaker one through business, culture e.t.c.

Introduction

Trade relationship at the level of individuals groups or nations is meant to serve a purpose. In the history of mankind, it has been noted that relationships are very beneficial to the parties that enter into them. However, it is also true that while some relationships are fruitful to both parties, another fact remains that one party in a relationship may benefit more than the other party. Some relationships are tilted such that one of the groups in the relationship perpetually exploits the other. This was seen in the relationship between the Europeans and people in the slave trade and the later years of legitimate trade¹. The Africans were at the exploitative end in those relationships.

The objective of this paper is to examine the economic relationship that has been taken place between China and Nigeria. The paper shall look into the details of the nature and character of the economic relations between China and Nigeria.

Conceptual Analysis

China is located in the east of the Asian continent, on the western shore of the Pacific Ocean. China also christened Peoples Republic of China (PRC) has a vast land area of about 9.6million square kilometre, and is the third-largest country in the world, next to Russia and Canada². China is the most populous country in the world, with over 1 billion people at the end of 2001, one fifth of the world's total³.

A study of China-Nigeria economic relations can best be explained by the theory of globalization. Globalisation is the most extensive and intensive phase of five centuries of expansion of capitalism and imperialism as noted by Adejoh⁴ who argued further that 'its fundamental pillars like the 19th century capitalist structure rest on the fact that, it is not just about the interaction of but 'open up' of all

economies and all productions, services and natural resources to the business operations of expansionary global corporations.

Globalisation is thus a global capitalist system and the nature of its character is still much thriving mercantilism. Adejoh⁵ stressed further that globalisation involves the integration of economies worldwide through trade, financial flows and widespread adoption of information technologies and inter-networking.

According to Eskor Toyo, 'globalisation is a phase of anti-stagflation, counter-revolutionary, tripartite competition, and neo-monopolistic propaganda offensive of imperialism Hakim reveals that the return of neo-liberal ideology of market forces in favour of globalisation set the individual and the market at the heart of the leap into modernity and the implication of this logic is that state intervention has reduced the individuals margins of freedom and only the market would be able to release the capacities of innovation of social actors.

An Account of Trade and Development in Economic Relations

Trade is vital to the development of any society and world trade in particular could be a powerful tool to reduce poverty and support economic growth and development. Adejoh⁶ however argues that 'but that potential was lost since the 19th because specialized and long distance trades have over the ages been predatory. Oxfam who argued in the same direction with Adejoh asserted that 'the problem is not that international trade is inherently opposed to the needs and interests of the poor, but that the rules that govern it are rigged in favour of the rich⁷. This is why competition is unequal in two circumstances; the first is competition in circumstances of inherited inequality in equipment, technology, access to market and so on. The second is when competition is exploitative. Globalisation, capitalism and imperialism are the realities of a single phenomenon in a perpetual motion.

According to Mcmichael⁸ globalisation is the accelerating trend that is creating greater access and exposure to opportunities, values and products while also increasing world social and environmental destruction. Nayar⁹ in his argument asserted that globalisation has various facets, which include: economic globalisation, political globalisation, and cultural globalisation. Economic globalisation is characterized by the breaking down of national economic barriers, the international spread of trade, finance and production activities and growing power of transnational cooperation and international finance

institutions in these processes. Thus, developing countries with low-incomes tend to account for only a minuscule part of the world trade while changes in demand for or pieces of its export commodities or a policy of reducing import duties may have an economic and social effects on that country.

Esko Toyo argued in this direction that they are also designed to enlarge the living space for imperialism by enlarging the living space for capitalism. He has argued further that the current globalisation and the SAP logic constitute the post 1970 capitalist and imperialist economic anti-people activities, a camouflage of hostility to welfarism through hostility to the state patriotism and socialism. The argument above has given us information on the origin of the globalisation. This information is vital to this research more especially that this research is a historical study. The argument above has however not been able to address the issue of the nature and character of Sino-Nigeria bilateral relations.

Globalisation and Economic Development

The work of Orhungur and Igbo examines the concept of globalisation and the challenges it poses to the developing countries. They argue that while other view globalisation with hostility and fear, it increases inequality within and between nations and as well threatens employment, living standards and thwarts social progress, others regard globalisation as a development. This argument gives a glimpse about the contending arguments that surround Sino-Nigeria relations. The argument however does not delve into the specificity of the Sino-Nigeria economic relations. ¹⁰Orhungur and Igbo went ahead to enumerate the characteristics of globalisation impact of globalisation on developing countries to include flow of migrants to advanced economies provides means through which global wages converge, also is the transfer of potential skills back to developing countries. And that the advancement of certain technologies by the developed nation into the underdeveloped countries, rather than helping matters make it difficult for developing countries to formulate policies. Examples like satellite televisions, small receivers, electronic mail, and internet make it difficult for governments to determine cultural or communication policy or to control the spread of information and cultural products. Two, that globalisation creates room for rising inequality; developing countries are made weaker by low prices and significant terms of trade decline as well as the debt crises and the

burden of debt servicing. That globalisation also erodes independent policy making capacity of developing countries.

In this regards, governments are now to implement policies that are in line with the decision and rules of such international institutions as World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organisation. Non compliance to World Trade Organisation programmes and agreements can result in trade sanctions being made against a country's exports through the dispute settlement system. This argument of Orhungur and Igbo appears palliative. However, they have failed to examine the positive impact of globalisation as such they have failed to look into the roles played by developing countries in the globalised setting in order to attain greater heights.

Bilateralism

Most international diplomacy is done bilaterally¹¹. Examples of this include treaties between two counties, exchanges of ambassadors, and state visits. The alternatives to bilateral relations are multilateral relations, which involve many states, and unilateralism, when one state acts on its own.

There has long been a debate on the merits of bilateralism versus multilateralism. The first rejection of bilateralism came after the First World War when many politicians concluded that the complex pre-war system of bilateral treaties had made war inevitable. This led to the creation of the multilateral League of Nations¹².

Despite the high profile of modern multilateral systems such as the United Nation and the World Trade Organization, most diplomacy is still done at the bilateral level. Bilateralism has a flexibility and ease that is lacking in most compromise-dependent multilateral systems. In addition, disparities in power, resources, money, armament or technology are more easily exploitable by the stronger side in bilateral diplomacy, which powerful states might consider a positive aspect of it, compared to the more consensus-driven multilateral form of diplomacy, where the one state-one vote rule applies. Thus the relationship that exit between China and Nigeria is at the bilateral level which seems to favour Nigeria better considering the economic disparity in terms of resources, money, armament and technology. At the present stage Nigeria stands to benefit from this one-legged romance because of various inadequacies.

Multilateralism

International organisation world over are tended towards multilateralism in the sense that they work in concert with international bodies such as the United Nations and the World Trade Organisation. Thus larger states act unilaterally while the smaller ones may have little direct power at all in a voting bloc. In this sense, multilateralism gives the nations working together an advantage over those working singularly¹³.

The first instance of multilateralism occurred in 19thc in Europe after the end of the Napoleonic wars, where the super powers met to redraw the map of Europe at the congress of Vienna. Industrial and colonial competition combined with shift in the balance of power after that conference and created diplomacy and conquest. The concert was however destroyed by the first world war and after the first world war came the creation of the league of nations which was put in place to prevent the escalation of wars. The failure of the League of Nations however saw the birth of the United Nation Organisation after the outbreak of the Second World War. Along with the political institution of the UN post war year, a wide array of other multilateral organisation such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) now known as the World Trade Organisation, the World Bank so called Bretton Woods Institution and the World Health Organisation metamorphosed.¹⁴ Their collective framework was in the maintenance of world peace and thereby by extension world trade. It is the believe and view of the proponent of this theory that with world peace trade and development would grow at a rapid and escalating pace.

Economic Inequality

It comprises all disparities in the distribution of economic assets and income. The term typically refers to inequality among individuals and groups within a society, but can also refer to inequality among countries. Economic inequality generally refers to equality of outcome, and is related to the idea of equality of opportunity. It is contested issue whether economic inequality is a positive or negative phenomenon, both on utilitarian and moral grounds.¹⁵

Economic inequality has existed in a wide range of societies and historical periods, its nature, cause and importance are open to broad debate. A country's economic structure or system (for example, capitalism or socialism), ongoing or past wars, and differences in

individuals' abilities to create wealth are all involved in the creation of economic inequality.¹⁶

China and Nigeria Economic Relations

The key to Nigeria China relation has been the tradition of modesty and measured encounters. This state of affairs can be attributed to the physical distance between China and Nigeria, absence of political and ideological connotation in their mutual perception and the objective conditions that have actually over the years defined the sovereignty of each of them.¹⁷

The political and ideological aspects of relations are also self evident, China and Nigeria do not apply politics and ideology into their relations in the way the west has with other countries. From the point when actual functional contact began the pattern of relationship has been such that China exported manufactured and industrial item to Nigeria and exported and imported unprocessed agriculture and mineral product form Nigeria. As time went on China added mechanical and human expertise and investment capital to the list of items it exports to Nigeria. This continued situation of the trend uninterrupted, unaltered and unabated indicates that china has a net industrial and developmental advantage over Nigeria from the beginning and the imbalance has remained. Interestingly too, China has not encountered any challenges from within Nigeria, rather her challenges and competition are from Nigeria hitherto established economic partners i.e. United States, France, European Union, Britain and Japan.¹⁸

It is also a truism that China has not been able to dislodge these erstwhile economic partners because it also depends on them considerably as sources of foreign investment and advanced technology for her own modernisation programmes.¹⁹

At this point in time it is glaring that the structural pattern of economic interaction between Nigeria and China is compressed to a middle level position. For they both have the West and even Japan as their major trading partners. And even below this level they jointly operate their own system of exchange where China has an advantage of importing advance industrial goods from the west and exporting its own goods services and technology to Nigeria. To this effect this pattern has been fully established and has come to stay and both parties know what to expect and offer in a format that actually benefits both.²⁰

Politically and diplomatically, again in the words of Bukarambe they all rely heavily on exchange of visit at various levels and categories, Chinese delegation to Nigeria have covered technical expert, journalist cultural troupe, military officers, youth's association, trade representative, Liberians and scholars. On the economic and technical flank this is a different ball game because China on like the political and diplomatic process has considerable advantage over Nigeria. However, both parties have benefitting over the years. For instance a quick glance at the aforementioned will give us a better idea:²¹

- i) A bilateral trade agreement, signed on November 3, 1972. This agreement expired in 1985. But subsequently, the two countries exchanged a draft bilateral trade agreement with other through diplomatic channel.
- ii) A bilateral agreement on economic, scientific and technical cooperation. This was first signed on November 12, 1972 and subsequently renewed on July 8, 1982 and April 1996.
- iii) Agreement on cultural and educational cooperation. This was first signed on November 29, 1981 and subsequently renewed under the implementation programmes of cultural and education agreements on March 28, 1990.
- iv) May 1997 Agreements:
 - (a) Reciprocal promotion and protection of investments.
 - (b) Protocol on cooperation in electric power project in Nigeria.
 - (c) Protocol in bilateral cooperation on steel industry.
 - (d) Oil cooperation
- v) Agreement on the establishment of Nigeria Trade Officer in China and the China Investment Development and Trade Promotion centre in Nigeria signed on May 22, 2001.²²

Additionally, Nigeria and China operate one of the biggest projects between them, i.e. the \$528.60million contract of December 9, 1995 between the Federal Ministry of Transport and China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation (CCECC) for the rehabilitation of the Nigeria Railway system.²³

China, since the early 1980's has become an increasingly important player on both the world and particularly East Asian regional markets. Since Asia absorbs large proportion of China's export (44% in 2003) and is a major supplier of China's foreign Direct Investment (FDI). It is not hard to see that China's rapidly growing economy since 1978 has impacted

significantly on many East Asian economies to their mutual advantage..... the emergence of China's economy is therefore said to play on accelerated role in building up East Asia's cooperation and intergration²⁴

Okpoh²⁵ points to at least three critical areas, which stand out in support of the above claim. He argued that the first is in the area of intra-regional trade, which for over a decade or two now, China has remained the main impetus in regional trade interdependence in East Asia. In addition to stimulating their growth potentials and capacity utilisation levels most East Asian countries are experiencing considerable increase in their respective shares of exports to China. Okpoh, in order to buttress his argument further with the support of some statistics said that while for the past two decades the proportion of Japan's export to China has more than tripled from 3.9% in 1980 to 12.2% in 2003, the share of Korea's export to China increased from direct trade in the 1980's to 18.1% in 2003²⁶. Similarly, that Taiwan direct export to China experienced a remarkable increase from zero direct trade in the early 1980's to 14.1% in 2003, Hong Kong's from 6.0% in 1980 to a stunning 42.7% in 2003 and Singapore's from 1.6% to 7.0%²⁷.

Secondly, Okpoh points out that China has remained the world's most favoured destination for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). East Asian countries, particularly Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, Singapore and South Korea among others accounted for an overwhelming share on inflows of FDI into China in 2003. By the end of 2005, for example, the Singapore department of statistics declared that China was the largest destination of Singapore's cumulative direct investment abroad with \$19.0billion or 12.4% of annual total²⁸. The analysis glaringly shows East Asia's asserted by Okpoh consequently, as China's economy continues to grow, so would foreign investment into East Asia through China²⁹ demonstrated the pattern, nature and character of these investments and the implications of this for East Asian regional cooperation and integration³⁰

Scholars have continued to examine or investigate the real motive of China's bilateral and multi lateral relations with African countries. Thus, there have been two polemics of contention in the relationship between China and Africa generally. While the first polemic sees Sino-Africa and by extension Nigeria relations as simply imperialistic, the other polemic sees it as a new dawn for the African continent³¹. Those, who see the increasing presence of China in Africa as essentially imperialist point to the political economy of the phenomenon and explain why the emerging

relations would not benefit African countries. For these scholars (they are many),³² the pattern and nature of Chinese activities in the continent is reflective of aspects of erstwhile European imperialism in Africa. They argue that at least three variables make it so: (i) China's quest for Africa's vast raw materials, particularly oil to sustain its growing population and industries; (ii) Chinese attraction to untapped African markets to sell cheap Chinese manufactured goods; and (iii) generally African countries would serve as rich fields for profitable re-investment of Chinese surplus capital. In order to ensure an enabling environment for all these, China has concluded both bilateral and multi-lateral economic and socio-cultural agreements with scores of African countries³³.

The argument from both polemics gives us an insight into the Sino-Africa relationship, which is useful to this paper.³⁴

Sino-Nigeria relations have involved economic cooperation on a multiplicity of projects. Between 1972 and 1974, China imported about \$14million in goods from Nigeria, while Lagos imported Chinese goods estimated at \$249million in this period. Currently, Nigeria has become China's fourth largest trading partner in Africa and multi-billion dollar contracts have been signed for Chinese firms to improve Nigeria's infrastructure and exploit its soil³⁵. This argument has been discussed at the surface the Sino-Nigeria economic relation between 1972 and 1974. The time frame for this argument is lagging behind. Secondly the argument did not give the graphical details of the nature and character of economic relations between China and Nigeria.

An Appraisal on Sino-Nigeria Relations

Arising from Okpeh's view of the three critical areas of intra-regional trade that grips interdependence in East Asia; the aspect of imperialism on the second polemic and the new dawn for the African continent as a result of the third polemic.

First and foremost, the main stream of bilateral relationship is the benefit it ushers in. Nations, which are 'big brothers', or 'Superpowers' enter into trade relations with the sole aim of bettering the lot of other nations and as well benefit from what they are deficient and incapacitated of. This originated in order to cover up economic inefficiency on the part of the parties involved. This position speaks volumes of the intra-regional trade that breeds interdependence as the benchmark or hallmark of bilateral relations. With regard to terms of trade, China and Nigeria set to undermine and underscore the economic

weaknesses as a result of the benefits accrued to the mutual interdependence of the nations concerned. This set objective addresses the mutuality in interdependence which Okpeh's view sets to tackle.

The second polemic advanced by Okpeh points to the fact that in the process of bilateral trade relationship, imperialism seems to exist. Okpeh's view is crucial to the 21st century globalisation. Of a truth, his view bears thumb-up to the fact that, globalisation is established on inequality and economic-winners take all. Today, this global economic relation enables the 'Superpowers' to control the labour market. Like Nkrumah argues that a country that holds economic power controls the political power. Since this is true to a fact, it shows that economic 'Superpower' controls the destiny of the developing country they tend to partner with – all in the name of economic relations.

However, Okpeh's view is a fallacy of haste, generalisation because he was not particular about his argument, rather he tends to use globalisation as a litmus test to assess the polemic of imperialism. Today, it is obvious from all indications that in trade relations, there are always terms of reference, Memorandum of Understanding among others. With these at the threshold of globalisation, it would be difficult to relegate the economic might of a particular country perhaps developing country as a yardstick to control labour market. Okpeh's view can be true if a particular country is playing the role of a fool. Since terms of reference are co-extensive and obvious, it would be subtle to work along such parameter. Therefore, as long as these tools are judiciously harnessed i.e., terms of reference, Memorandum of Understanding and areas of common interest, the overlapping parallel of imperialism would be difficult to flout, hence the unparallel objectives is for equal opportunities. Today, any semblance of imperialism in the disguise of neo colonialism is the promotion of those who voluntarily subject themselves to such inequality.

Lastly, some Scholars see bilateral relations as a new dawn for the African continent. In essence, the bilateral relations between China and Nigeria today are actually a new dawn for the African continent. Generally speaking, the emerging relations between the duos are to help, to explore the untapped raw materials in Nigeria, and while these raw materials would be converted as a re-investment of Chinese surplus capital. This economic variable serves as a rich platform for economic development in Nigeria and the possibility of ensuring an enabling environment to industrialise Nigeria with the fundamental notion for development. Thus, this is the only avenue for development for perhaps

Nigeria especially of those things that ordinarily she wouldn't have been able to produce on her own.

Conclusion

We may not know what could work for us yet, but we definitely know what didn't work for us. While the relation between West and Nigeria has been master-servant for centuries, plundering our resources to give us a tiny part of it back as aids and loans. We now have China talking to us as trade partners. Therefore there is hope in this new relation between China and Nigeria. Nigeria has a lot to learn from China from the informal sector to vocational industry to electronics. Whether it is going to be a win situation really depends on whether Nigerian leadership will adapt by creating conducive environment for both. Nigeria and their rulers should also be aware of the game and see beyond their noses else they will be taken for a good ride.

An old adage says that a 'good' thief is one who steals and allows some for the owner. This appears to be the situation with the Chinese investment in Nigeria. Both China and Nigeria will benefit all that is needed is prudence on both sides to ensure fair exchange. But the degree is different China benefits more because it is both a consuming and producing nation on like African nations that are consuming nations.

The China relation is premised on conditions provided by many African leaders which are 'let's do business and don't talk politics' while the West it is 'let's talk politics and do business'. China thus appears more pragmatic than the West.

References

- 1 Obaro Ikime, (1968): *The Fall of Nigeria: The British Conquest* Heinemann, London,
- 2 Modern Globalisation started from the 1950's
- 3 *China 2002* (New Star Publishers, Beijing, 2002) p.14
- 4 M.A Adejoh (2000): 'The Roots of Globalisation: A Historical Review', in *Journal of Globalisation and International Studies* Vol.1 No.1 (July-Dec,2000) p.1
- 5 M.A Adejoh (2000): 'The Roots of Globalisation: A Historical Review', in *Journal of Globalisation and International Studies* Vol.1 No.1 (July-Dec,2000) p.1
- 6 *China 2003* ... p.39

- 7 K.R. Udo (1968): *A Comprehension Geography for West Africa* (Heinemann, London,) pp 18-20
- 8 National Population Commission, (1999): *1999 Census* (Abuja)
- 9 M.A Adejoh, (2000): 'The Roots of Globalisation: A Historical Review', in *Journal of Globalisation and International Studies* Vol.1 No.1
- 10 M.O Orhungur and H. Igbo (2004): "The Challenges of Globalisation in Developing Countries", *FASS Journal* vol. 2 , p.45
- 11 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bilateralism>
- 12 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bilateralism>
- 13 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Multilateral>
- 14 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Multilateral>
- 15 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/economic_inequality
- 16 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/economic_inequality
- 17 Bukarambe Bukar 'Nigeria-China Relations: (2002): "the Unacknowledged Sino-Dynamics in *African Journal of International Affairs and Development* Vol 7(2) 2002
- 18 Ibid
- 19 Ibid
- 20 Ibid
- 21 Ibid
- 22 Federal Ministry of Commercial, External Trade Development, Bilateral Trade Division, Abuja July 16, 2001.
- 23 Chibundu V.N (2002): *Nigeria-China Foreign Relations, 1960-1999* (Ibadan, Spectrum Books, 2000), p.25.
- 24 E. Toyo (2000): *Background to Globalisation* Educational Publication series 2 (Ibadan: Academic Staff Union of University, 200) p.15
- 25 O.O. Okpeh, (2009): "In the Eye of the Storm?" in O.O. Okpeh, T. Wuam and J.M. Ayaba (eds. 2009): *China and Africa Threats and opportunities*, (Makurdi, Aboki Publishers, pp. 20-21)
- 26 Ibid
- 27 Ibid
- 28 John Wong and Yang Zhang (2004): 'China as Catalyst for East Asian Economic Cooperation' in Lee Poh-Ping, Tham yeon etal (eds) *The Emerging East African Community*, pp.260
- 29 *China Statistics Yearbook* (2004): (China Statistics Press, 2004)
- 30 John Wong, Op Cit
- 31 F Ng and A Yeats (2003) 'Major Trade Trends' *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, 3084 (June)
- 32 Okpeh O. Okpeh, Op Cit

33. Ian Taylor Enter (2003): "The Dragon: China's Growing Presence in Africa", *OSSREA Bulletin* (vol.11, No.3, October)
34. Chris Alden (2007) *China in Africa* (London, 2007) pp.60-68
35. O.O Okpeh Op Cit .p.39

Lemuel E Odeh teaches at the Department of History, Faculty of Arts,
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria
